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The Impact of Voter Exit on Party Survival: Evidence from Zimbabwe's ZANU-PF

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THE IMPACT OF VOTER EXIT ON PARTY SURVIVAL
EVIDENCE FROM ZIMBABWE'S ZANU-PF

by

CHIPO DENDERE

Under the Direction of Daniel Young, PhD

ABSTRACT

This dissertation considers the impact of voter exit on the survival of incumbent regimes. I argue that voters exit the political process as a result of emigration or political violence. Using the example of Zimbabwe, I argue that ZANU-PF benefited from the exit of nearly four million Zimbabweans who emigrated outside the country in response to declining economic conditions and who exited the political system as a result of violence.

INDEX WORDS: Incumbent, Zimbabwe, Authoritarian, Mugabe, Migration, Violence

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by

CHIPO DENDERE

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Georgia State University

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my mother, thank you mama.

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I would like to thank the more than one hundred women and men who shared their life stories with me. The human cost of migration and politics of transitioning countries is heart breaking, as an immigrant I recognize the difficulty of opening up about one's life. Thank you for trusting me with your life stories. I am also eternally grateful to my advisor Dr. Daniel Young. As an advisor and friend he spent many hours listening to my broad ideas, challenging me, and encouraging me. Without his support that went above the call of duty there would be no dissertation. My mentor Elisabet Rutstrom provided encouragement and financial support that made this project possible. I am also grateful for my sisters and friends for their support. And finally, I am thankful for my husband and best friend for his unyielding support and love.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In the decade beginning in 2000, Zimbabwe went through one of the worst political and economic crises in global history. Zimbabwe, once the African breadbasket and the continent's beacon for democracy, was at the center of human rights abuses, violence, and a quickly deteriorating economy. Between 2000 and 2009, the annual rate of inflation rose to 516 quintillion percent – that's 516 followed by 18 zeros. Zimbabwe's inflation surpassed the infamous German economic meltdown of 1923 when inflation reached 29,000 percent. A trip to the grocery store for a loaf of bread was accompanied by a basket of Zimbabwean dollars. Prices were changing by the hour. And yet, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) regime and the man at the head of the government, Mr. Robert Mugabe, remained in power. The puzzle driving this dissertation is the survival of ZANU-PF under the worst economic and political crisis in the country's history.

In response to the crisis, millions of Zimbabweans left. Scholars have referred to this decade as the Great Zimbabwean Exodus (Crush & Tevera, 2010). Men left their wives and children. Mothers left children. Young people gave up on their dreams; those who did not quit school altogether, gave up dreams to become doctors and engineers and instead fought for positions as gardeners, cleaners, and nurse aids in foreign countries. I met Sarah in 2012, four years after she had first immigrated to the United Kingdom. Like most immigrants, she was hesitant to talk about politics. She felt that she had no role in politics and that she was not political. Instead, she said she would share with me the details of her life:

“I was working as an accountant in Harare before I came here. But in 2002 the economy was becoming really bad and my sister and her husband were here so they bought me a ticket. I left my husband and our 3-year-old son. The plan

was that I would come first and sort out our papers and then they would follow. No, I did not want to get involved in the politics. There was no use so I came here. I was working in a nursing home here, about 60 hours a week and sending money home. My husband got a second wife. She wasn't watching our son as he was walking from school. He was in first grade; I have his picture from his first day of Grade one. They said the driver was going too fast. He was hit and died on the spot. I did not have my papers yet so I did not go to the funeral. I received asylum two years later. Now I have no reason to return to Zimbabwe. I have finished nursing school and Scotland doesn't seem as cold as it was when I first moved here."

Female 32 Glasgow, Nov 2012

Sarah's story is sadly common. Tendai, a 43-year-old lawyer, left a law practice and two children to work for eight years as a night nurse aid in the United Kingdom. In 2008 Peter, a promising young scholar at the University of Zimbabwe, left school midway to work cleaning trains on the Zimbabwe/Botswana route. Each of these immigrants interviewed said that they were not activists, and yet their exit, and the exit of thousands like them bolstered ZANU-PF by weakening the base of opposition support.

The cost of movements that usher in democracy is very high. The human cost for the survival of undemocratic regimes is even higher. Path-breaking work on the survival of similar parties such as Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) by Magaloni (2005) and the survival of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) by Scheiner (2006) argues that ruling parties tend to survive when the economy is doing well and the opposition is weak. Conversely, they generally lose power when they face a strong opposition and when failing economic conditions

weaken their ability to buy votes. ZANU-PF, therefore, presents a major puzzle. It survived despite the fact that Zimbabwe underwent the worst economic crisis in modern history, with inflation topping three trillion percent in 2008 and a strong and well-funded opposition led by a popular presidential candidate, Morgan Tsvangirai. This dissertation engages the conversation on party survival, arguing that the natural human inclination to exit unfriendly environments bolsters the survival of incumbent regimes. Using a combination of ethnographic interviews and statistical analysis of survey data, I argue that ZANU-PF survived its most challenging political decade because citizens who would have supported the opposition exited the political system.

1.1. Background

At independence from the United Kingdom in 1980, there were high hopes for Zimbabwe's political and economic prosperity. Zimbabwe was one of the four most industrialized countries in Sub-Saharan Africa; it had a more diversified economy compared with its neighbors, a well-trained and strong human resource base, and the country had earned a middle-income status. Additionally, Robert Mugabe's reconciliation speech in 1980 shocked the world that had in the last decade been inundated by news of a violent liberation struggle between the black majority and the white minority. Robert Mugabe was often praised as a true democrat geared for change and development. White Zimbabweans who had packed their bags ready to flee in anticipation of a black majority win, actually remained (with the exception of those who had already left in the period leading up to the election; Tevera & Chikanda, 2009). Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith ran for office in the 1986 election and won a seat in parliament. His party also won in the 1986 election and won the 20 seats reserved for whites in Parliament. News of the brewing genocide in the southern parts of the country never made it to the local headlines and the international community chose to ignore those atrocities and

remained blissfully unaware of the troubles.

The unification of the two major black parties, Mugabe's ZANU and Nkomo's PF ZAPU to form ZANU-PF, did not raise much national and international suspicion except in Matabeleland. In the southern region, supporters of Joshua Nkomo found it hard to accept that he had joined with ZANU, even as reports of killings in Matabeleland by the Fifth Brigade were still coming out. Joshua Nkomo was brought into the fold after years of having his life threatened. His decision to allow the merger of the two parties was met with skepticism by some in Matabeleland who feared he was being bought out by the ruling ZANU-PF. However, there were others who understood that the cost of peace would be a united government.

“He [Joshua Nkomo] did what he had to, people understood that it had to be done to bring peace in Matabeleland”

Interview, South Africa, 2013

The fear that white Zimbabweans would isolate themselves fell to the wayside as a significant number of white Zimbabweans joined forces with the government, both in the private or public economic sectors. Some even ran for office as ZANU-PF candidates.

“It was a strategic choice (running for office). It was a new day and if there was a voice of reason in the party I wanted to work with that voice. I was white but always a Rhodesian- well Zimbabwean at that point-Zimbabwean. I ran for a seat in Matabeleland, I won.”

*Interview with a white Zimbabwean, former MP and farm owner,
now residing in Capetown, 2012*

By most standards, Zimbabwe was doing well. Perhaps the praise was inflated and not entirely deserved, but it was relative. South Africa was riled by apartheid; Mozambique was caught up in a protracted civil war; Zambia's economy had all but collapsed. However, by the

mid-1990s, the Zimbabwean economy that had been slowly declining finally plummeted. In 1997, Harare was rife with civil servant strikes and riots headed by then-trade union leader Morgan Tsvangirai. That same year, ZANU-PF faced its first public outcry against their decision to send Zimbabwean troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo to shore up Laurent Kabila's government against rebels. The two year military intervention cost Zimbabwe an estimated US\$200 million at a time when the Zimbabwean economy was already depressed (UN News Report, 2000). Zimbabweans argued that their government did not have the money and resources for the mission. There was also concern with the high number of Zimbabwean casualties in the war.

In the same year, war veterans made public their demands for remuneration for war related injuries and demanded compensation in the form of land and money. In November 1997, the government responded to the demands from war veterans by initiating pension payouts of up to Z\$50,000 (US\$4,500 at the time). In addition to the Z\$50,000 payouts, the war veterans were also promised a Z\$2,000 monthly income. President Mugabe went on a national tour defending the release of the funds, even as critics argued that the money had not been budgeted for. The payouts served as a final nail in the coffin for the Zimbabwean economy. The economy was struggling to recover from the negative effects of the World Bank's Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP), as well as corruption and banking scandals. On the day that the president made the announcement officiating the payouts, the Zimbabwean dollar fell from Z\$11:US\$1 to Z\$21:US\$1, and the country experienced its first national power blackout, the infamous "black-Friday" (Meldrum, 2006). By the end of the year, the Zimbabwean dollar had lost 75.5 percent of its value and the stock market had crashed by 46 percent.

Prior to the November payouts the war veterans had laid out a series of demands including hospital and school fees coverage for their families and government redistribution of land. The payouts did little to ameliorate tensions between war veterans and the ruling party. The ruling party leaders increasingly became agitated with the War Veterans Association, which was now openly hostile towards the ruling party. In 1999, the trial of Chenjerai Hunzvi dominated newspaper headlines and made public tensions between party elites and the war vets. At the same time, the MDC was gaining public support, and the ruling party could not afford to fight two battles – one with the rising opposition and another with the war veterans. The government sided with the war veterans. Comrade Hunzvi was acquitted; his acquittal marked the beginning of his brutal land reform campaign, which would become the front and center of ZANU-PF campaign message in the last decade. Hunzvi led the initial farm grabs in 1999, and the government later took over the process in 2000. The government tried, but largely failed, to formalize the equitable redistribution of farmlands (Muzondidya, 2007).

The issue of land reform was not new. Land had played a critical role in the 1979 Lancaster House agreements. According to the agreements, the British government would give financial assistance to the new government to initiate land reform after a ten-year grace period. The Thatcher government had been primarily interested in protecting the property of the white minority. At Lancaster, then British Foreign Minister, Lord Carrington, assured liberation struggle leaders that the British government would enlist the help of its allies to secure the monies needed for land redistribution. Carrington assured the delegation that the "future government would be able to appeal to the international community for help in funding acquisition of land for agricultural settlement." (McGreal, 2002). This served to calm the fears of the leaders who believed that the "assurances go a long way in allaying the great concern we

have over the whole land question arising from the great need our people have for land and our commitment to satisfy that need when in government" (McGreal, 2002). During the first decade after independence, the new government was limited on what they could do to redistribute land because of a constitutional mandate that said reform could not be initiated in the first ten years after independence. By the time the mandate expired, neither the government nor the white farmers took land reform seriously because the agriculture sector was bringing in a lot of revenue for the country. It seems that there was an unwritten agreement between the new government and white farmers – the blacks would run government while the whites would run the economy. This implicit compromise kept everyone happy until the late 1990s.

Time appeared to have slipped away from both the British and Zimbabwean leaders, and the promise to give land to millions of poor blacks hung in the air as the economy constricted the demand for land reared its ugly head on the unsuspecting government. At independence in 1980, over 15 million hectares of land were devoted to commercial farming, and the white minority owned almost all of the land. The first phase of land redistribution was a gradual process starting in the mid-1990s where a little over three million hectares were portioned. The remaining white-owned commercial land (est. 12 million hectares) would quickly decline after 2000, when the government allocated 4,500 to new farmers for a total of up to 7.6 million hectares (Scoones et al., 2010). The country experienced a dramatic shift from large-scale farming to smaller-scale farms focused on mixed farming and often with very low levels of capitalization. The decline in agriculture production led to an increased need for imported foods and a decline in national exports, which negatively affected the nation's GDP. Between 2001 and 2010, the national GDP never made it above 10 percent and was as low as -18 percent in 2003 and 2008 ("Zimbabwe GDP - real growth rate - Economy," n.d.).

By the mid-2000s, Zimbabwe could no longer afford to feed its people or import grain. Zimbabweans were depending on aid for every basic commodity. The once beaming industries were now closed. Following the land reform initiative, the government in 2000 banned foreign transactions; it became illegal for businesses to deal with foreign currency without prior approval from the government. This led to a further decline in operational businesses and industries as foreign companies fled the nation. Under the doctrine of a “Third *Chimurenga*,” President Mugabe’s regime introduced the indigenization policies, which first came into effect in 2008 (Scoones et al., 2010). The Indigenization and Empowerment Act was officially signed into law on March 7, 2008. The act required all foreign-owned companies to offer at least 51 percent of their shares to indigenous Zimbabweans (Mugabe, 2001).¹ Foreign investors in Zimbabwe spoke out against the law, and a fair number withdrew their businesses. Market analysts worldwide expressed their outrage and concern over the policy, arguing that the act would “effectively seal Zimbabwe's fate as a pariah to international capital” (*Id.*). Marian Tupy, a Cato Institute policy analyst, condemned the Act even more strongly as “yet another step on Zimbabwe's road to economic suicide” that will “expropriate non-black owners, while providing the ZANU-PF [ruling party] elite with a new source of income. The biggest victims of the Orwellian measure... will be the black majority”(Zeldin, 2008). In 2001, the government agreed to end land invasions in exchange of British funds to finance land reform, but the two governments failed to reach an agreement and the invasions continued.

Between 2001 and 2003, Minister of Information Jonathan Moyo crafted a number of unpopular media policies that all but killed the Zimbabwean media under the Broadcasting Services Act (BSA; 2001), the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (Commercialization) Act

¹ The full text of the indigenization act can be found here http://www.africayouthskills.org/images/pdf/lrg/National_Indigenization_and_Empowerment_Act.pdf

(2003), the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA; 2002), the Public Order and Security Act (2002), and the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (Commercialization) Act (2003). The efforts to nationalize all media resulted in programming focused solely on the liberation struggle and the virtues of the ruling party. The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) lost the viewership of young voters, and over time most Zimbabweans had purchased satellite televisions to watch South African broadcasting.

The laws were very unpopular both locally and internationally. ZANU-PF founding father and later opposition leader, Edson Zvobgo, bemoaned the end of free media in Zimbabwe when Moyo introduced the bills to parliament. The day Mr. Moyo brought AIPPA, for a vote in parliament, Dr. Zvobgo said, "I can say without equivocation that this Bill, in its original form, was the most calculated and determined assault on our liberties guaranteed by the Constitution in the 20 years I served as Cabinet minister" (Gagare, 2014). Foreign papers and broadcasting agencies BBC and CNN were the first victims of the new media laws. On July 24, 2001, the BBC was forcibly banned from broadcasting from Zimbabwe. Minister Moyo accused the BBC of "reporting lies about the land reform program" (Nkosi, 2007).

The BBC was later relicensed in 2009, but during their ban they were allowed to report from Zimbabwe on just two occasions, both during cricket games and after intervention from the International Cricket Council (ICC). In 2003, the government issued a ban on the only independent newspaper, the Daily News, founded in 1999 by opposition sympathetic journalist Geoffrey Nyarota. The paper, along with a number of independent newspapers, was relicensed in 2009. The period from 2000 to 2009 was rife with reports of harassed journalists that reported unfavorably about the president, land reform, indigenization, and the ruling ZANU-PF, or reported positively about the MDC. The government has gone to great lengths since 2009 to

distance itself from the policies of Jonathan Moyo. In the period between 2000 and 2008, only the state media agencies, Herald and ZBC, were allowed to freely report, and the media became an extension of ZANU-PF. This caused many in the country to discount anything reported in the media. The government not only banned political coverage but any programs that were not Zimbabwean. Popular American and British TV shows were deemed inappropriate, and the radio was mandated to only play local music. While the move generated an interest in local production, it reduced viewership and listenership of ZBC.

Zimbabwe's economic problems reached another tipping point after the controversial and highly violent 2008 election when a cholera outbreak ravaged the country. The impact of cholera was felt most in urban slums where hundreds lost their lives, primarily because the health sector had ceased to function. The majority of state hospitals were non-functional, and in the rare occasions that they did treat people the cost of treatment was beyond the means of the average person. Thousands of school children dropped out of school in response to the increase in tuition fees and the exodus of teachers. At the time, the Organization of Migration estimated that at least 3 million Zimbabweans were living abroad. This is the largest wave of migration in modern history in a non-conflict zone. The international community, led by Great Britain, Zimbabwe's former colonizer and ZANU-PF's biggest international nemesis, imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe beginning in 2000 that were meant to restrict the movement and business operations of political elites with the hope that this would be enough to lead to regime change. Internally and externally, ZANU-PF faced the biggest and strongest challenge to its dominance in the last decade. Economic, political and international pressures should have brought an end to the ZANU-PF rule and bolstered the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Even as economic and political conditions worsened, ZANU-PF maintained a puzzling hold on power,

notwithstanding the formation of the unity government. In his opening remarks at the annual ZANU-PF party congress in 2008, Mr. Mugabe told supporters that although ZANU-PF had been weakened the revolutionary party, they were ready to “fight like a wounded beast” for a decisive win in the March 2008 elections (Dzirutwe, 2012). He would repeat that statement throughout the election period. The question at the heart of this dissertation is how ZANU-PF managed to survive where many parties not unlike itself failed.

1.2 Post independence political parties

When Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980, there were nine active political parties. However, none of the eight opposition parties had the strength or popularity of ZANU-PF, and after the 1986 unification of ZAPU and ZANU that guaranteed the Matabeleland vote for ZANU-PF, the remaining opposition parties were relegated to provincial and tribal parties. Of the nine parties that contested the 1980 elections, only three won any seats. Mugabe’s ZANU-PF emerged as the clear winner, with 63 percent of the votes and 57 of the 80 seats allocated to black Zimbabweans. Nkomo’s PF-ZAPU came second with 24.11 percent of the vote and 20 seats, and Muzorewa’s UANC came third with only 8.28 percent of the vote. The rest of the parties fared less well. The ZANU-PF wins were in its Shona strongholds of Mashonaland East, Central, and West Victoria (now Masvingo) and Manicaland, where it won between 71 and 87 percent of the vote in each constituency (Makumbe, 2006). PF-ZAPU won the majority of votes in its support bases in Matabeleland and Midlands, the southern parts of the country. Muzorewa’s UANC won three seats scattered in and out of the Harare province. In the second elections in 1985, ZANU-PF improved on their earlier wins and gained 77 percent of the vote and 64 seats, and PF-ZAPU lost five seats, winning only 15 seats. Muzorewa won less than two percent of the vote and no seats, and Ndabaningi Sithole regained his hometown seat with one

percent of the vote in Chipinge. ZANU-PF came out of independence as the ruling party, but the party began to face troubles in the southern parts² of the country. The ruling party was also aware of the comeback that Ian Smith's party had staged in the 1985 election. A combination of troubles in the South and a fear of a strong white minority forced the ZANU-PF elites to reach out to the PF-ZAPU elites to form a unified ZANU-PF. The new party guaranteed both Nkomo and Mugabe political stability and majority wins.

After the unification, ZANU-PF sailed through elections until 1999, facing very little opposition. In 1999, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was formed. The streets in both suburbs and townships were filled with very loud murmurs of *Chinja, Change, Gukulaizenzo*. The MDC open palm symbol "chinja/change" spread through universities, factories, and cities all across the country. MDC had great appeal in the urban areas and especially among the young, the born-frees, or Generation Y who had no experience with the liberation struggle (Sachikonye, 2002a). Much of the MDC leadership was young, enterprising, and energetic and presented a clear contrast to the aging ZANU-PF leadership. Tsvangirai at the head of MDC was young and charismatic, and that more than made up for his lack of liberation struggle credentials amongst his base, who were more interested in his message centered on the economy and political change. In ZANU-PF much of the leadership was older, leaving very little

² The troubles in the South "Gukurahundi" have been referred to as attempted genocide, mass massacres or state sponsored violence. The troubles in the region resulted in thousands of deaths especially among the minority Ndebele tribe. As violence escalated the state defended their position by arguing that the region was infiltrated by dissidents who were loyal to the ZAPU and where accused of killing civilians including tourists in the Southern region (International, 1987; Reuters, 1983). The fifth brigade was sent by then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe to capture the dissidents, however, the situation in the South escalated with the soldiers resorting to massive violence and killing of hundreds and thousands of civilians. A report by the Catholic Peace and Justice forum puts the numbers of those deceased during the massacres at over 4,000 and suggests that the true numbers might be higher (Justice, Zimbabwe, & (Zimbabwe), 2007) President Mugabe in a 2012 with Dali Tambo interview admitted that the atrocities took place and referred to the time period as a "moment of madness". The leader of PF-ZAPU also faced many incidents of violence including the infamous bombing of his house in Bulawayo. That incident was a catalyst in the formation of ZANU (PF) a union of ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU.

to no room for the youth to gain leadership positions in the party. The joke in Harare was that the youth league in ZANU-PF starts at 60.

1.3 The Constitutional Referendum

In 1999, ZANU-PF began selling the idea of a new constitution, a referendum to the constitution adopted at the Lancaster agreement. They argued that the new constitution would usher in an era of independent black-majority rule. It is no coincidence that ZANU-PF decided to change the constitution just as the newly-formed MDC was gaining support in urban areas. Thus, the MDC participated in their first election campaign in 2000 when they launched a successful “No” vote campaign against the constitutional referendum proposed by ZANU-PF. The MDC and its allies launched an attack on the ZANU-PF proposed constitution, advocating instead that voters support their “No” vote campaign. The “No” vote took the cities by storm. When people went to vote, they voted with the new party. The “No” votes handed the president and his party their first electoral defeat since they came into power at independence in 1980

MDC had done the impossible: they presented a real challenge to the establishment. The party was not a regional union but had grown roots all across the country with strong leadership in both Mashonaland and Matabeleland. Previous opposition parties had been unable to bridge the differences between their own regional interests and those of the larger Zimbabwe. The constitutional referendum was an expression of frustration with the economy and a direct call for change.

The results of the 2000 constitution referendum are presented in the table above. MDC managed to win the support of their major bases, the two main urban provinces Harare and Bulawayo, as well as Manicaland, home to many of the previous opposition leaders, including

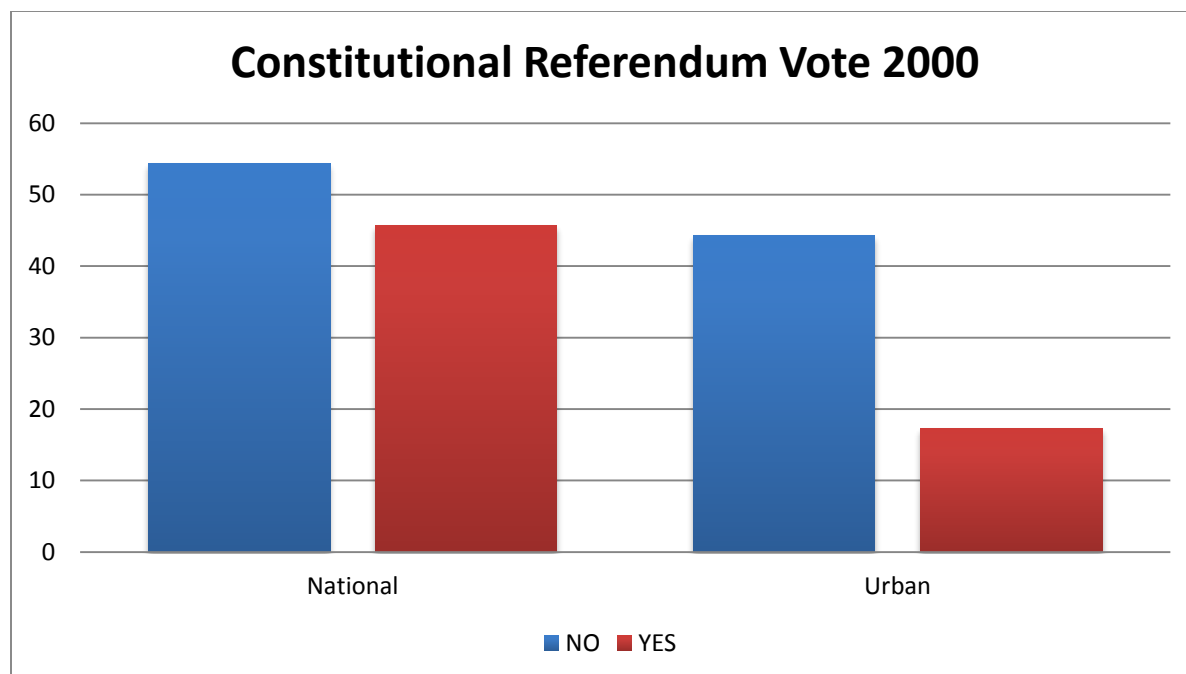


Figure 1 Referendum Vote 2000

key liberation leaders like the late Ndabaningi Sithole and Edgar Tekere. In those three provinces, “NO” received more than 95 percent of the vote. ZANU-PF retained all other provinces, predominately located in the rural areas. The referendum failed to pass; this was a testament to the power of urban mobilization. Over 80 percent of the Zimbabwean population resides in rural areas, but less than half of that population turned out to vote. In June, the MDC cut further into ZANU-PF dominance.

Implications of the referendum vote

There are a few lessons that can be drawn from the outcome of the referendum. First, the successful “No” vote campaign was a test of the newly formed opposition party’s power and popularity. The MDC was a contrast from past opposition parties because it was both a party of intellectuals and the masses; the party was also attractive to white farmers who needed a political outlet. The results revealed that the opposition was strong enough to amass support from a more

diverse group of voters and that they had the votes to defeat ZANU-PF. Those results provide an important starting point for my analysis; the premise of my dissertation that the exit of the middle class from the political system had a negative impact on the success of the MDC. The international community and urbanites celebrated the failure of the constitutional referendum. International and domestic critics of ZANU-PF argued that calling for a constitutional referendum vote just as the opposition was gaining momentum was a sign of weakness on the part of ZANU-PF. Indeed ZANU-PF was growing weary of the opposition, and the revolutionary party was also under pressure from war veterans who were eager to go full-scale on the land reform program.

The MDC and civil society argued that they had advocated for a “No” vote for the following reasons:

1. The process: In the view of the MDC, the constitution making process had not been democratic. They argued that direct appointment of the members of the Constitutional Commission by the President violated the principle of an independent commission. In addition to appointing the commission, the president also set the timetable for the commission, and, was thus actively involved in setting the Commission’s agenda. The president is also said to have had the final say of what went into the Draft Constitution that was put up for a vote. Unlike the 2013 Constitution Referendum process, the people of Zimbabwe were not given the opportunity to provide their opinions on major issues such as land reform and presidential term limits. The Commission was by and large only beholden to the President and not the people.
2. The Content: The MDC and civil society argued that the content in the constitution was not in line with the preferences of the people. Such contentious provisions include:

- a. *Executive presidency*: The draft constitution did not adequately curb the presidential powers. Indeed the Zimbabwean President has the power to appoint and dismiss most public figures, he can dissolve parliament without consultation and he could declare a state of emergency again without consultation.
- b. *An unworkable system of government*: The 2000 constitution made a provision for a Prime Minister, but, the Prime Minister's powers were curbed by the President. For example, the Prime Minister was said to be the head of government and yet the President was appointed the chair of the cabinet.
- c. *A weak Senate*: The 2000 draft proposed the reinstatement of the Rhodesian senate, which was weak and had no powers. The senate like the parliament would provide no checks on the president, instead it would bolster the strength of ZANU-PF in government.
- d. *A narrow bill of rights*: The constitution had a very narrow provision for the bill of rights; a particular point of contention was that the constitution did not recognize past human rights atrocities such as Gukurahundi.
- e. *Inadequate provisions for free and fair elections*: They argued that the Electoral Commission as it was described in the new constitution was not an independent body. It relied on funding from the government. Additionally, all the top leadership of the commission would be appointed by the president and no other government body would approve their appointments.
- f. *No devolution of governmental powers to the people at appropriate levels*: The opposition, particularly those in Matabeleland wanted the constitution to include

provisions for devolution of power. They argued that the government should set up provincial governing bodies.

- g. Land reform:* The opposition and its supporters, particularly white framers, felt that the land clause as stated in the 2000 draft gave ZANU-PF too much power in land redistribution. Also, that ZANU-PF was using the land issue to rewrite history. ZANU-PF wanted to shift the political narrative from the failing economy and ZANU-PF's hegemony to a fight against what the opposition argued was imagined "neo-colonialism."
- h. The economy:* The opposition and their supporters felt that the constitution did not make any provisions for bolstering the economy or for the poor in the society.

For their part, ZANU-PF argued that the constitution would mark the end of colonial interference in the country. The new constitution, had it passed, would have transitioned the country away from the constitution drafted during the independence negotiations at Lancaster House in 1979. ZANU-PF also argued that the constitution could bring a resolution to the land issue that had begun to pack some heat in the late 1990s. ZANU-PF was under pressure from the war veterans who felt that the ruling party had ignored their needs and gone back on their pre-independence promises. ZANU-PF argued that the new constitution would allow for a better and more efficient way to distribute land.

1.4 The 2000 Parliamentary Elections

The results of the referendum vote foretold the outcome of the general election later on that year. In October, Zimbabwe held its first competitive parliamentary elections. The election in 2000 marked a turning point in Zimbabwe's history and presents a fitting starting point for these analyses. Prior to 2000, ZANU-PF had sailed through elections facing very little

opposition. In the 1995 elections that preceded the 2000 elections, ZANU-PF had won 118 out of 120 seats with 82 percent of the vote. In the 2000 elections, ZANU-PF only won 62 seats with just 49 percent of the vote to MDC's 57 seats with 47 percent of the vote.

Election results parliamentary elections 2000				
Party	Votes	% Votes	Seats	%Seats
Zanu PF	1 205 844	58	62	52
MDC	1 171 167	47	57	48
OTHER (ZANU-Ndoga)	15 776	1	1	1
Total	2 506 973	100	120	100

Table 1 Parliamentary Elections 2000

ZANU-PF conceded defeat in the parliamentary elections just as they had done a few months earlier for the referendum vote. The period before and after the 2000 referendum and the general election was very safe, with most international and local observers agreeing that the election had been free and fair (Laakso, 2002). The main political parties accepted the election results, and although Tsvangirai lost his bid for a seat in his hometown, he announced his intentions to run for presidency. There was some concern that the environment leading up to the election had been unfriendly towards the opposition supporters. In an interview with the PBS after the election, Mr. Wollock of the National Democratic institution (NDI) criticized the process because of incidents of political violence, an unlevelled playing field, and abuse of electoral institutions by the ruling party. Although observer groups bemoaned the fact that many of their licenses to monitor were withdrawn a few days prior to Election Day, the general consensus was that the first contested election in Zimbabwe had gone well.

With the benefit of hindsight we can look back to the impact of the elections in 2000, both the referendum election and the June general election, on the next decade of Zimbabwean politics and ZANU-PF's survival. At the time, the elections were seen as a success for the MDC. Indeed, the MDC had managed the impossible – they reduced the ZANU-PF hegemony. The MDC made a name for itself by pushing for the “No” vote on the constitutional referendum. However, the Draft Constitution of 2000 was not fundamentally and substantively different from the Draft Constitution of 2013 that the MDC later supported and campaigned “yes” for. The important issues in 2000 are very similar to those presented in 2013; the issues included land reform, executive term limits, and citizenship. Perhaps ZANU-PF had used the referendum election as a litmus test for the opposition strength and to draw out opposition supporters.

1.5 The Elections 2002-2008

The peaceful nature of the 2000 elections was short-lived, and the tone of elections became more violent in subsequent years. Every election since 2000 has been marred by reports of extreme cases of pre- and post-election intimidation, fraud, and violence. The state became more militant; voters especially in rural areas in the ZANU-PF base were bullied into attending political rallies and turnout to vote in the elections (L. M. Sachikonye, 2002b). While the actual day of the election has always been relatively peaceful; the environment leading up to and after elections has not allowed for an even playing field.

After the 2005 election, the government initiated the infamous Operation Restore Order, which resulted in the displacement and deaths of over 700,000 urbanites. The ruling party adopted strategies of political violence to suppress opposition support. A vocal ZANU-PF critic, Margaret Dongo, accused the government of implementing the policy to punish urbanites for voting for the opposition. In nearly every election, the opposition reported that their campaign

teams found it difficult to reach rural areas because of increased roadblocks and military presence. The opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai often had his life threatened, including an unfortunate event when he was beaten to an inch of his life at a police station after going in to negotiate the release of his supporters.

In 2008, Zimbabwe held its most contentious elections yet. The harmonized elections in March 2008 had been anticipated to bring the much needed regime change. If the economy had declined in the early part of the 2000s, by 2008 there was no economy to speak of. The shops were empty, most children had been pulled out of school, and the hospitals were not functioning. The remaining Zimbabweans were struggling to leave the country. It was a fight for survival. One interviewee said this:

“By 2008 I was at the UZ (University of Zimbabwe) and things were bad. We would illegally jump on trains to go to Botswana to look for piece jobs (part time work) for the weekend. South Africa was no longer an option, they required a visa and that cost money. I tried boarder jumping but I saw people dying in the Limpopo.”

The excerpt above is representative of the struggles facing the majority of Zimbabweans at the time. There were no economic classes, and, those who remained in Zimbabwe were living a pre-industrial life of butter trade. Another interviewee added this:

“The situation for us was that we would ask around the neighborhood, who has a bread-maker, who has a garden and we would exchange. One person would get the bread or the tomatoes, that is how we survived 200.8”

Interview with a white Zimbabwean in Harare, April 2013

Despite these conditions, voters turned out in the millions. Voters posted results from their polling stations on social networks such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter and via text messages. The results circulating on the Internet and by word of mouth indicated an outright MDC win. The initial official results announced for the House of Assembly candidates also pointed to an MDC landslide win. However, after a few days of the initial parliamentary results being announced, there was silence: no official results came in until three weeks later, causing the world to suspect foul play. The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) employees interviewed for this project argued that the delay was due to court cases that were brought to the Supreme Court by the opposition in two districts demanding a recount of local results. They argued that the national election results could not be announced until all the court cases related to local elections had been resolved. Additionally, ZEC bemoaned the lack of resources in the running of the election. They argued that the organization was under equipped to run the election in a timely fashion.

Meanwhile in Harare, members of civil society who had been camping outside the ZEC headquarters daily waiting to write post-election reports were asked to go back to their offices and would be called back when the results were ready. Any and all broadcasting of the election became an illegal activity. Zimbabweans and the world waited for over one month before the election results would be announced. The official results indicated that none of the presidential candidates had an outright win. Robert Mugabe lost the election with only 43 percent of the vote, the third candidate Simba Makoni managed to get 8 percent of the vote, and Morgan Tsvangirai's second bid for the presidency had failed with 49 percent of the vote – just shy of the two percent for the required 51 percent majority win. Most did not even know of this rule. Voters would have to go back to the polls to choose a new leader between the two front-

runners: Robert Mugabe of ZANU-PF and MDC's Morgan Tsvangirai. The period leading up to the run-off election was brutal and likened to the days of liberation struggle. Rural dwellers, especially those suspected of being sympathetic to the opposition, were often the subject of violent attacks.

In this chapter, I have attempted to set the stage for introducing my theory of party survival for ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe. I also provide background of the political situation in Zimbabwe. In the next chapter, I discuss in greater detail the theory of party survival. My theory is that the exit of voters due to migration and to violence from the political processes bolstered the survival of the ZANU-PF regime. In chapter three, I discuss the role of migration in sustaining the survival of ZANU-PF. I show that the profile of the average Zimbabwean emigrant – young, urban, and educated – is also the profile of the opposition supporter. Their exit weakened the opposition base. In chapter four, I discuss the role of violence in Zimbabwean politics in the last decade. I argue that ZANU-PF employed strategies of intimidation and violence to suppress opposition turnout all the while mobilizing turnout among their base. In chapter five, I conclude the project and connect the impact of external and internal exit on the survival of ZANU-PF in their last decade.

2 AN UNCONSIDERED THEORY OF EXIT AND PARTY SURVIVAL

My theory is that the voluntary and/or involuntary exit of voters from the political process can serve to bolster ruling parties, weaken opposition support bases, and thus contribute significantly to ruling party survival. When voters exit their countries in response to unfavorable conditions, either economic or political, their exit is beneficial to ruling parties that might be facing possible electoral defeat. I argue that the majority of voters in autocratic regimes who

emigrate are more likely to support the opposition over incumbent parties. Large-scale voter exodus diminished Zimbabweans' willingness to challenge the regime and lowered support for the opposition party. I propose that the exit of voters who could not participate in elections contributed significantly to the survival of ZANU-PF and subsequently to the weakening of opposition support.

A second part of this argument is that ruling parties also use their monopoly of state policymaking structures to implement policies that force opposition supporters to exit the political system. Incumbents make use of intimidation and other forms of electoral fraud to force opposition supporters to exit the political process, even if they do not emigrate out of the country. Collier and Vicente (2010) have argued that autocratic parties such as ZANU-PF and the former ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) in Nigeria use violence to mobilize voter turnout. I add that violence and other fraudulent activities can also be used by incumbents to suppress the turnout of opposition supporters whilst mobilizing turnout among their own support base. Intimidation and other acts of election fraud will force opposition voters to withdraw from politics because the real danger of risking their lives does not outweigh the potential benefits of the election outcome. Reports of vote fraud and stolen elections can also lead to voter apathy, especially in situations where the economy is failing and voters are more concerned with economic survival.

The goal of this chapter is threefold: First, to discuss the existing literature on party survival and identify significant gaps; second, to identify how each of the previously adopted theoretical explanations further our understanding of the Zimbabwean situation; and third, to detail my explanation of the role of exit on party survival.

2.1 Explanations in the literature on party survival

The question of party survival has been explored extensively with works focusing on the survival and demise of ruling parties such as the Mexican Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI; Magaloni, 2006), the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Japan (Scheiner, 2005), and The Congress Party of India (Riker, 1979). In recent decades, scholars of democratization have watched with bewilderment in the post-Third Wave era as former advocates for democracy have turned into autocrats in Africa and much of the developing world. In southern Africa alone, all of the countries but Zambia and Malawi remain under the rule of the independence party.

2.1.1 Electoral Fraud

The prevailing argument for hegemonic party survival is that the ruling party steals the election by stuffing the ballot to ensure an electoral win (Huntington, 2006; Levitsky & Way, 2002; S. I. Lindberg, 2006; Magaloni, 2006). Indeed, an explanation of ZANU-PF survival would be greatly lacking if it did not address the role of electoral fraud in the last decade of elections. There is a possibility that since 2000 ZANU-PF has engaged in some ballot stuffing to maintain their electoral wins, but reports from both local and international observers indicate that ballot counting has been a relatively clean process.³ Low ballot fraud can be explained by the fact that all the Zimbabwean elections since 2000 have been high-stake elections, drawing the attention of local political actors and the civil society as well as international observers. The first critical parliamentary elections were held on June 25, 2000. This was just a few months after the ruling ZANU-PF had lost the constitutional reform election because of the MDC -ed “Vote-No” campaign (Staff Writer, 2000). The defeat came as a shock, and although the regime accepted the results, they accused the opposition of conspiring with foreign forces against Zimbabweans and

³ See ZESN 2000-2008 election reports and Eisa Zimbabwe election archive

of unleashing violence on ZANU-PF supporters. Having faced an earlier defeat during the 2000 constitutional referendum election, the party went into the general elections with a cautious attitude, but upheld some democratic principles that undermined their ability to steal the election at the ballot. According to act 161A of the Zimbabwean Electoral Commission, local election monitors had to be appointed in advance of the election and approved by the Registrar-General.⁴ The act required that at least four observers be stationed at each of the 535 polling stations and that all observers receive mandatory training. Both the Commonwealth and EISA reports indicate that although the accreditation arrangements of local observers took a very long time to get processed, all the observers were accredited and given training “based on a well prepared training manual and practical exercises”⁵ a few weeks before the election. More than twenty international observer missions applied for permission to participate in the election, and almost all were given permission and granted access. To be sure, there were major problems of violence and intimidation before the election, but the days of the election were said to have been peaceful and presented favorable conditions for an election to take place.

While the ballot counting had been relatively clean, the opposition raised concerns of ballot-stuffing and the busing of people from rural areas to urban areas. In the most recent harmonized elections in July 2013, the opposition reported that there had been busing of voters into former Minister of Finance Tendai Biti’s urban district. Biti presented video evidence of non-constituency residents at the polls, but the veracity of the video could not be authenticated. The opposition also reported charges of voter fraud to the Supreme Court, but was unable to

⁴ The Zimbabwe Electoral Act and related reports were accessed from http://www.kubatana.net/docs/legisl/zim_elec_comm_act_050114.pdf

⁵ The Report of the commonwealth observer group http://www.thecommonwealth.org/shared_asp_files/uploadedfiles/percent7B192F0843-36A2-4C8A-9042-5F25DA5186CF_percent7D_zimbabwe.pdf

establish with factual evidence that there was ballot stuffing. However, in Zimbabwe, as is the case in similar countries, it is an open secret that ballot boxes are often tampered with. One local election observer likened the Zimbabwean election to the infamous Zimmerman trial in the United States that took place in the same months of the election.

Among the many issues raised prior to the election, one main area of concern was that the Attorney General, Mr. Mudede, a long time ZANU-PF politburo committee member, refused to release the electronic version of the voters roll. The opposition and their supporters complained that the voters roll included “ghost voters” and that some voters had been registered in multiple constituencies, allowing them to vote twice. These accusations suggest that ZANU-PF is deliberately tampering with the urban constituencies to shore up their electoral returns in those areas.

1.1.1.1 The Voters Roll: Registration challenges, “ghost voters,” and absent voters

Critics of the ruling ZANU-PF have in the past decade argued that ZANU-PF uses its monopoly of state apparatus, in particular the Attorney General’s office – the office responsible for voter registration – and the voters roll, to rig the elections. Critics claim that ZANU-PF has rigged the electoral process in almost every election, saying that:

1. Voters, especially urbanites, are turned away from the polling stations because their names are absent from the voters roll;
2. Voters find out that they are registered to vote when as far as they know they have never registered to vote; and
3. Voters are not able to register in their voting precinct.

With regard to election fraud complaints related to the voter’s roll, it is important to discuss the official processes of voter registration and deregistration from the voters roll. There

are only two official ways in which a voter's name can end up on the roll. First, those born in or before 1980 were automatically added onto the voters roll. This was the law under the Smith regime, and the system was updated just before the independence elections of April 1980 to ensure that soldiers returning home from the war would be able to register to vote. Second, one can physically register at the registration center for their ward. As a result, anyone born in 1980 or before that might find their name on the roll even though they never physically registered to vote. This provision provides clarity on complaints by voters, usually those between the ages of 33 and 45 who have found their names on the voters roll even though they have never participated in an election or the voter registration process. A person born in 1980 would have been eligible to vote after 1998, and their first election would have been the 2000 referendum election. For referendum elections, one does not need to have been registered to vote, and they would have only learned of their registration a few weeks prior to the presidential election. When voters were registered at birth, they were automatically registered to vote in their birth precinct. If they had moved from their original birth home, or if their precinct was redistricted, they would need to physically update their registration information at the central processing offices in Harare or Bulawayo. However, in order to process the change of registration voters had to be aware that they were registered to vote in the first place.

For most urbanites, the first election they voted in was the 2000 election. In Harare and in the diaspora, I spoke to many urbanites who admitted that prior to the 2000 election they had largely stayed out of politics, choosing instead to focus on their academics, businesses, or professional careers. Most discussed their shock at finding their names on the voters roll because they had not been aware that they were registered at birth, and others bemoaned finding their names in a different voting precinct than their current residency. While this was a major problem

for urbanites, rural voters – except those who immigrated to urban areas – did not report facing the same challenges. This is likely because in most rural villages there tends to be just one voting precinct. For example, in Victoria Falls where some of the field research was conducted, there is a rural Victoria Falls and Urban Victoria Falls voting precinct. In the urban area there are about five voting precincts, and in the rural areas there is just one voting precinct. Let's say voter A was registered to vote in Chinotimba for the 2008 election, but relocated to Mkhosana, just two blocks down the road. Voter A would need to update his registration information to vote in Mkhosana on Election Day or return to Chinotimba to cast his vote. Voter B in rural Victoria Falls does not have the same constraints because all voter registration and voting is done at the only primary school in Monde Village. Regardless of how many times voter B relocates within the village, she will remain in the same voting precinct. Unlike urbanites, rural voters tend to live at the same residency their entire lives. In almost every election there is confusion among urban voters on their registration status.

In Victoria Falls, when voter registration concerns arise they are typically easily resolved because the town has a ten kilometer radius, it has a population of less than 30,000, and it is not difficult to travel between voting centers. However, such administrative problems have grave implications in larger urban cities, especially in Harare and Bulawayo. During the 2008 and 2013 elections, there were numerous incidents reported of voters turned away from polling stations because their names were not found on the voters roll. In Harare, people were asked to go to the central office and verify their original registration precinct. The central office was almost a two-hour journey for most voters in the furthest parts of Harare, and those who braved public transportation and the cold weather would have to endure long lines to find out their registration information and then make another two-hour journey to vote at the right precinct. Urban voting

wards within the same precinct also change more often, while nothing changes in rural areas, causing more confusion and voter fatigue. The majority of voters interviewed on Election Day who were among those “turned-away” opted to go home instead of voting. In essence, the confusing registration laws and inaccessibility of information forced voters to involuntarily exit the political system.

Let us consider the case of voter C, whom I interviewed on Election Day in Harare. Voter C travelled from South Africa, where he had been a resident since 2005, two days prior to the election to vote in the harmonized elections. The last election he had voted in was the 2005 parliamentary election, and since then his family had purchased a home in a different part of town – about a 30 minute drive from his old home. Prior to the 2008 election, there was a delimitation (re-districting exercise). With the exception of a single announcement in the Herald two weeks prior to the election on the new voting precincts, no other information was released, and the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) announced that the agency was “too broke to conduct any voter education.” Voter C, having been out of the country when the announcement was made, was unaware of the precinct changes. Although a resident in Harare full time, voter C’s spouse was also unaware of the voter precinct changes because, like most urbanites she did not watch or listen to state media, Herald and ZBC. Therefore, voter C and his wife travelled to their old voting precinct, only to be informed that their new address had been redistricted and that the ward authorities at local precincts could not provide them information on their new voting precinct because local wards did not have access to the computer databases. Only the central control center in the Central Business District (CBD) could provide that information. Voter C and his wife, and four other voters to whom they were giving a lift, drove another 30 minutes toward the control center in the CBD to get correct information on their voting precinct.

Fortunately for this voter, he was driving, and because he resided in an affluent, sparsely populated area, he was able to vote after standing in line for a modest three hours at the correct precinct. This is not the case for most voters who either reside in densely populated areas or who do not have a personal vehicle. On average, people would stand in line for over six hours before they were able to cast their vote. This case study shows that there are major problems with the registration process, but given that there also major problem in every major administrative office in Harare, it is difficult to claim that these registration constraints are intentional voter fraud. For example, it takes at least eight hours to submit an application for a new passport, to obtain birth certificate for a newborn, or to acquire a driver's or business license. All these important documents are also processed at the attorney general's office, the same office responsible for voter registration.

The second way in which a person can be added to the voters roll for those born after 1980 is if they physically register to vote. In most developed countries this is a simple enough exercise, but in Zimbabwe and similar countries this process is often tedious and cumbersome. Although ZEC lists all-year registration and the availability of the voters roll for inspection on demand as two of the most important pillars of a democratic electoral process, in reality voter registration is only open a few weeks before an election and the voters roll is almost always unavailable for inspection. Between 2000 and 2013, on average, voter registration has been conducted just a few months before the election. The longest registration period was in 2001 prior to the 2002 elections, when registration was open initially for just two months from October 15 to December 13, 2001. Registration was then extended to January 27, 2002 and finally to March 2002. Even then, there were complaints, primarily in urban areas, that voter registration dates had not been adequately advertised (Common Wealth Secretariat, 2002: 22).

According to the Norway Observer Mission, the extension to March 3 was only announced in the Herald morning edition on March 3, 2002 (Norway Observer Mission Election Report). In spite of these challenges, 5.6 million registered voters appeared on the voters roll. Part of this inflation can be explained by the conditions of registration discussed above. In 2008, a national mobile registration exercise was conducted from June 18, 2007, to August 17, 2007. A total of 121,233 new voters were registered for that election, bringing the total of registered voters in the voters roll to 5,621,464.

In 2013, mobile voter registration was only open initially for 30 days starting on June 10, 2013, in anticipation of the July 31, 2013, elections. As in previous elections the process was fraught with many problems. Earlier, I discussed the challenges associated with availability of information and registration centers, In addition to those challenges are challenges related to access to registration centers for new voters and those voters wanting to update their registration information. If voters are unable to register, they cannot vote. Once voters are unable to register, either because of personal choice or registration problems, they are effectively forced to exit the political system. The claim against ZANU-PF is that they use their control of the registration processes to discriminate against the urban voter. Hyde et al (2008), in their pioneering work on election fraud, also identify manipulation of registration laws as one of the chief ways in which political parties can steal an election to keep themselves in office. I will preempt my analysis by pointing out there is more work that needs to be done to understand electoral fraud; however, electoral fraud is only effective if it forces a particular group of voters to exit the political system or gives an unfair advantage to the supporters of one political party over all others.

In nearly every election since 2000, a recurrent complaint from the opposition, civil society, and the international community on the Zimbabwean elections has been the

cumbersomeness of the voter registration process. Critics argue that the process is designed to disadvantage the MDC, whose base is largely resident in urban areas, by making it extremely difficult for urbanites to register to vote. ZANU-PF elites have been openly hostile towards urbanites, and it is no surprise that they should be accused of deliberately making voter registration difficult for urbanites. While these accusations have been accepted as truth, this is the first work that attempts to provide empirical evidence of the impact of voter registration difficulties on party survival. I will use data from the 2008 and 2013 elections for this analysis because data for prior elections has thus far been impossible to acquire.

Voter registration for the July 2013 elections opened on June 10, 2013, and was scheduled to last for three weeks. In Zimbabwe, once a voter registers to vote, their registration is valid for the rest of their life unless they change their voting precinct in between elections. Therefore, voter registration is primarily targeted at new voters, who are usually young, and voters who need to update their registration information. Ideally, the allocation of registration centers should be based on not just population size, but also predictions of the population of new voters and how easy it is for voters to access these centers.

1.1.1.2 Population considerations and access to registration and voting centers

The 2012 census revealed that Zimbabwe's population had increased from 11,631,657 in 2002 to 13,061,239. The population distribution was equally distributed between males and females. Of interest and concern with regard to Zimbabwean politics are the different ways in which ZANU-PF has used their monopoly of state resources to influence the voting behavior of urban and rural voters. Is what appears to be government bias toward rural voters over urbanites, an indication of ZANU-PF bias or simply representative of the structure of the Zimbabwean population? In 2002, the total population was just under 12 million at 11,631,657. Of that

population, 65 percent were rural residents while only 35 percent were urbanites. In 2012, the population was an estimated 13 million, an almost 1.5 million increase since the previous census. These census findings challenge estimates that suggest that at least two to four million Zimbabweans have emigrated since 2000. However, the numbers are actually consistent with UN growth expectations in developing nations because the census count also includes those in the diaspora. When census officials asked respondents to count members of their families for the census, the count included those in the diaspora regardless of how long they had been away from home.

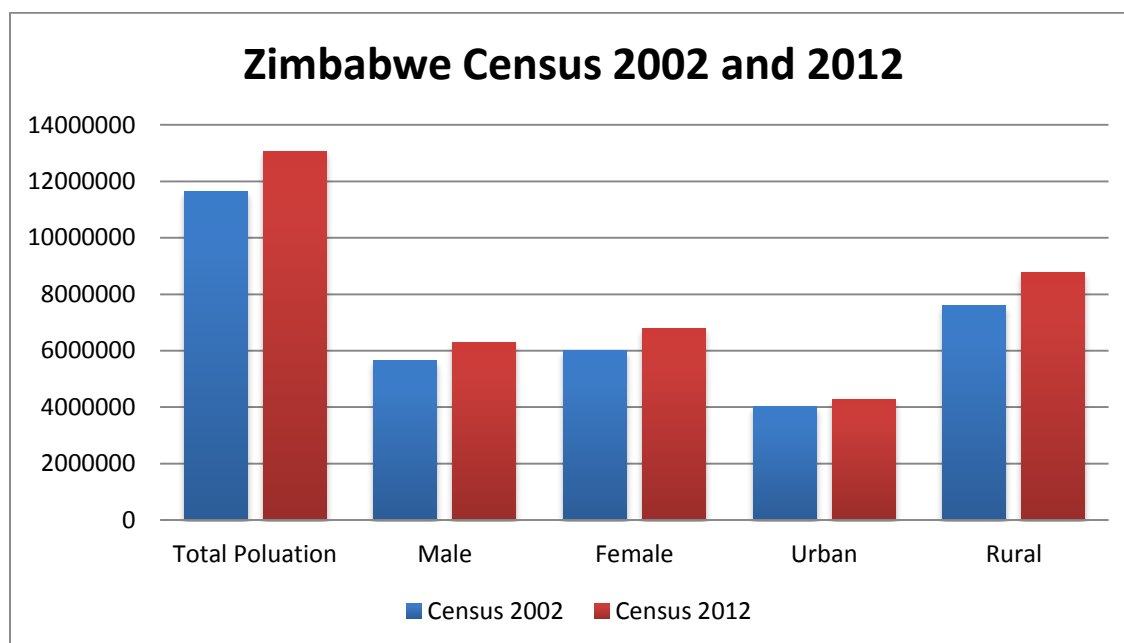


Figure 2 Zimbabwe Population Census 2002 and 2012

The distribution in Figure 2 provides evidence for what we have always known: that the majority of the Zimbabwean population is resident in rural areas. It also shows that the majority of rural voters, over 60 percent, are located in ZANU-PF bases in the Mashonaland Provinces. However, the most populous province is Harare, with 16 percent of the population. Therefore, if

the allocation of election centers in a province is based on population, then Harare the single most populous province in the country and, as such, should have the most centers. However, the reality on the ground does not reflect this. In fact, the reality is that the allocation of election centers is biased in favor of rural areas.

In 2008, ZEC established about 2,665 mobile registration centers across the country. Harare currently has 16 percent of the population and had 16, 15, 13.75, and 19.12 percent of registered voters for 2000, 2005, 2008, and 2013, respectively. Yet, Harare is only allocated 44 registration centers, a mere 1.65 percent of the total registration centers for each election since 2000.

In 2008 and 2013, ZEC established 641 registration centers nationwide. Of the 641 centers, Harare only gained 25 registration centers, or 3.9 percent. The next most populous province is Manicaland. The population in Manicaland was 1,568,930 (13.4 percent) in 2002 and 1,752,698 (13.4 percent) in 2012. The voter registration population Manicaland as a fraction of national voter registration was at 12 percent in 2000 and 2005, 12.54 percent in 2008, and then declined to 10.50 percent in 2013. The allocation of election centers in Manicaland is higher than that of Harare and very unrepresentative of provincial population. Although Manicaland's total population is at least four percentage points less than that of Harare, the province is allocated 300 (11 percent) of the 2,665 available registration centers. Manicaland was also allocated 49 voting centers, which is about 7.64 percent of the 641 voting centers.

The Mashonaland provinces Central, East, and West and Masvingo each have a population of between 8 to 11 percent of the national population. Mashonaland Central has a population of 995,427 or 8.8 percent of the national population, and voter registration has never been more than 9 percent of total registered voters between 2000 and 2013, yet the province is

allocated 391 (15 percent) of the registration centers and 76 (11 percent) of the national voting centers.

Mashonaland East has a population of 1,127,413, or 10.3 percent of the national population, and voter registration ranged between 10 and 11.9 percent of total registered voters between 2000 and 2013, yet the province is allocated 284 (11 percent) of the registration centers and 76 (11 percent) of the national voting centers.

Mashonaland West has a population of 1,127,413 or 10.53 percent of the national population, and voter registration has ranged between 10 and 11 percent of total registered voters between 2000 and 2013, yet the province is allocated 349 (15 percent) of the registration centers and 77 (12 percent) of the national voting centers.

Masvingo has a population of 1,320,438, or 13.49 percent of the national population, and voter registration has ranged between 11 and 12 percent between 2000 and 2013, yet the province is allocated 257 (9.64 percent) of the registration centers and 41 (6.39 percent) of the national voting centers.

Midlands has a population of 1,463,993, or 12.59 percent of the national population, and voter registration hovered just over 13 percent between 2000 and 2008, but fell to 11 percent in 2013, yet the province is allocated 360 (13.50 percent) of the registration centers and 74 (11 percent) of the national voting centers.

The Matabeleland provinces have the lowest population in the country. The population in Mat South was 653,054 (6 percent) in 2002 and 683,893 (5 percent) in 2012; the population in Mat North was 704,948 (5.61 percent) in 2000 and 749,017 (5.7 percent) in 2012. Voter registration is also significantly lower in the South than anywhere else in the country. In the last decade, voter registration in Mat South and Mat North hovered around 6 percent from 2000 to

2005 but fell to close to 4 and 5 percent, in the registration period leading up to the 2013 election. However, as is the case with the other rural provinces, Mat South and North are allocated more registration centers relative to their population. Matabeleland South is allocated an overwhelming 193 registration centers and Matabeleland North, the least populated province in the country, is allocated 451 registration centers. Additionally, Mat South and North each have 85 and 89 voting centers – more than double the centers allocated for Harare (44) and Bulawayo (36).

While it is difficult to establish with factual evidence that ZANU-PF has managed to keep itself in power by tempering with ballots, the evidence presented here shows that MDC urban bases have suffered from restricted access to electoral centers. ZEC has in the past argued that rural areas are allocated more electoral centers because voters in those areas are not as mobile as those in urban areas, but that explanation does not justify the under-allocation of election centers in the more populous urban areas. The uneven distribution of centers has serious implications for the democratic process. A major complaint leveled against ZANU-PF in almost every election is that the party is deliberately making the voting process much more difficult for urbanites. This is better illustrated with an example: As part of my research for this project I participated in the election as a voter in Harare West. Harare West is the forty-first voting district, covering at least five neighborhoods with a total population of 55,881 according to the 2012 census. In Harare West, like all other Harare districts, there was only one voter registration center and 14 polling stations. ZEC officials have defended their allocation of election sectors, saying that their decision is not based on population, but instead on ease of access for the residents. Their argument is that rural areas should have more centers because rural voters are not as mobile as urbanites. Indeed, the challenge for urbanites is not related to accessibility of the

centers because a significant population owns personal vehicles and public transportation is abundantly available for only \$0.50 a trip. The challenge for most urbanites is linked to the hours of service at the registration centers. The official hours of operation at the registration centers were 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Monday through Friday. During the last week of registration, the hours were extended to 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. and the weekend.

In addition to time constraints, urbanites also have difficulties with the voter registration requirements. The registration process requires that a new registrant, or one updating their registration information, present photo identification such as a passport or national identification card and proof of residence. The requirements appear simple enough, but the proof of residency requirement is a hindrance for young voters who do not own their homes or who rent. Voters who do live in a home they do not own are asked to present an affidavit letter from the owner of the house. This is very difficult for those renting from absent landlords, and in some cases landlords use the letter of affidavit to settle scores with their renters. ZEC was forced to waive the proof of residency requirement after numerous reports had been released of voters who were turned away from the centers, including the 18 year-old twin children of Former Prime Minister and MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai.

Rural voters simply do not face the challenges that urban voters do when it comes to voter registration and voting. In rural areas, most residents are farmers and do not have the time constraints often faced by urbanites. As mentioned earlier, in rural areas the large numbers of registrants were new voters. At the rural centers I visited for this project, the average line of voters had less than 50 voters at any time during the day. This was in grave contrast to the challenges faced in urban areas. On the day I managed to successfully register to vote, I arrived at the polling station at 6:00 a.m. The polling station did not open until 9:30 a.m., but by the time

the registration was officially open for business a significant number of registrants had left the polling station to return to work. The environment in and of itself, based on this research and reports in the media, was relatively peaceful and clean once the registrants were able to enter the registration center. The accusations that ZANU-PF deliberately tampered with the ballot boxes and/or ballots are difficult to substantiate. In the days soon after the election, rumors circulated that ZANU-PF had partnered with the Israeli technology company NIKUV and designed the ballots in such a way that a vote cast for MDC would change to a vote for ZANU-PF because of an invisible pen. In my view, these claims are at best are fictional and highly imaginative. It is hard to imagine that given the administrative challenges faced by ZEC, ZANU-PF would have been able to successfully engineer invisible pen ballots. A more realistic implication is that voter access to the electoral system is biased in favor of ZANU-PF. I would argue that the cumbersomeness of the voting process forces voters, especially those in urban areas, to exit the political system.

1.1.1.3 Ghost Voters and Absent Voters

Scholars and commentators of African politics often raise the concern that ruling parties engage in electoral fraud by inflating the voters roll with “ghost voters” or shrinking the voters role by purging the names of likely opposition supporters. The assumption and/or accusation is that ZANU-PF adds names of ghost voters so that if they do stuff the ballot box, the numbers of voters who voted and those on the roll will match. Ghost voters also make it easy for the party to bus in voters. On the other hand, ZANU-PF systematically purges the names of opposition supporters from the voters roll in an effort to lower turnout for the opposition. There is no empirical way to measure the addition or removal of voters, but in this subsection I will discuss the two official ways in which a voter’s name can be removed from the voters roll. It is possible

that the ruling party has used state control to their advantage to manipulate weaknesses in the system.

First, if someone dies in a hospital and is given a death certificate, they will be automatically removed from the voters roll. In urban areas, this is not of much concern because the law requires that each death be reported to the health officials, and a person cannot be buried in the urban cemeteries without a death certificate and a letter from the mortuary. In rural areas, this issue is more complicated. Most deaths are not reported because rural people tend to die at home and are buried on the family plot. Burial in rural areas does not require any documentation unless there is reason to suspect foul play. A consequence is that most rural voters are not removed from the voters roll; this explains the existence of century-old citizens on the voters roll in a country where the average life expectancy is 47 for women and 50 years for men. There is no way to truly substantiate the claim that ZANU-PF at election time prints fake identification cards for deceased rural voters, allowing their supporters to vote with a false identity. A few researchers have teamed up to conduct a forensic analysis of the voters roll to try and gain greater understanding of anomalies in some rural areas. My own experience observing and monitoring elections leads me to believe that if there was vote rigging, then it was not conducted via the electoral roll or ballot boxes, at least for the 2013 elections.

The second way a person's name can be taken off of the voters roll is if they write to the Supreme Court to ask that their name be removed from the voters roll, or if an immediate family member writes to the Supreme Court on their behalf. Research for this dissertation did not find any documentation at either the supreme and local courts to establish that any individuals have requested to be removed from the voters roll. The direct consequence of this is that the two to four million Zimbabweans in the diaspora who left the country after they had registered to vote

remain on the voters roll. Using the Hatfield Constituency as a case study, I was able to cross check the names of people in the diaspora against the actual roll. As expected, almost all the residents of Hatfield born in or before 1980, who are known to this researcher and are now resident abroad, remain on the voters roll. This is important because a major complaint by the opposition has been that the turnout numbers in their urban constituencies are far below the numbers of registered voters in those constituencies. They are exactly right to bring this up, but until the Zimbabwean Electoral Commission (ZEC) creates a new voters roll database, both the rural “ghost voters” and diaspora urbanites will remain on the roll, and the roll will continue to be unrepresentative of the true population. However, to create an entirely new voters roll would disadvantage those voters in the diaspora who might not be able to return home to register to vote. In fact, most voters in the diaspora tend to travel home just a few days before the election due to time constraints.

The analysis presented here is not exhaustive and does not exonerate ZANU-PF from accusations of voter fraud. What it shows is that there is more work that needs to be done to understand the role that electoral fraud in hybrid regimes and the true extent to which political parties are able to manipulate the voters roll to their advantage.

2.1.2 Historical legacies

Another view argues that hegemonic parties are able to sustain themselves on their historical legacies. Huntington (1968) argues that the “stability of a modernizing political system depends on the strength of the political parties. A party in turn, is strong to the extent that it has institutionalized mass support” (408). Huntington also argues that one-party regimes that emerge out of social revolutions or independence movements, which bestows them with a distinct aura of legitimacy:

“The stability of a one party system derives more from its origins than from its character. It is usually the product of a nationalist or revolutionary movement. The more intense and prolonged the revolution is the deeper and stronger the ideological commitment of its followers and the greater its political stability.”⁶

Huntington’s observation is very accurate in the Zimbabwean case, in particular, as it relates to the survival of the party in the immediate post-independence era. The ZANU-PF party symbol of a clenched fist sends a clear message to supporters and opponents alike that ZANU-PF is the party of the liberation struggle and the party to which Zimbabweans owe their independence. ZANU-PF has in the last decade emphasized their role in the liberation struggle, contrasting their leadership with that of MDC, particularly Tsvangirai, who has no liberation struggle credentials. In fact, the party is accused of attempting to rewrite the Zimbabwean history by portraying the country as having had been a British colony until 1980, when in fact the Rhodesian government defected from British rule in the early 1970s, and it was the British government that facilitated a ZANU-PF victory in 1980 by co-signing and hosting the Lancaster agreement.

Although ZANU-PF always emphasizes their liberation struggle credentials to gain support, it is important to understand the context under which that rhetoric came to dominate Zimbabwe’s political narrative. Prior to the formation of MDC, when ZANU-PF’s hegemony was secure in the 1980 and 1990s, ZANU-PF’s campaign rhetoric stressed their achievements in developing the economy and maintaining peace after independence. It was only after 2000 that the liberation movement rhetoric became a central message in their campaigns. This is partly due to the fact that the earlier opposition parties, ZANU, ZAPU and ZUM, were led by other

⁶ Huntington (1968) as cited in Magaloni (2008)

freedom fighters whose liberation struggle credentials were just as strong if not more reputable than those of some in the ZANU-PF leadership, and also because the party was not under threat. In the post-2000 era, there has always been the real possibility that the party will lose power; hence the party's efforts to remind Zimbabweans of their historical struggle to gain liberation. The rushed move in 2000 to redistribute farms was also an attempt on the part of the government not only to calm economic demands from war veterans, but to also turn the conversation from the weak economy to a fight against neo-colonialism. In recent years, we have seen another shift in the ZANU-PF rhetoric from a primary focus on colonial struggles as they have done in every election since 2000 to campaign rhetoric centered on job creation.

ZANU-PF losses in 2000 also indicate that although most Zimbabweans understood the need for land reform, most could not be fooled about the real intentions behind the government's move towards land redistribution (Lindgren, 2003). It was clear to most voters that after being in power for nearly 20 years, the push to occupy farms by ZANU-PF was a weak attempt by a regime under threat to regain voter loyalty. The political situation in the country was not stable, and there was a lot of uncertainty about the future (Lindgren, 2003). Unemployment and inflation were high, reaching almost 60 percent.⁷ There is no doubt that many Zimbabweans share a special bond with ZANU-PF and that the President is respected because of his role in the liberation movement, but the love Zimbabweans have for their founding fathers can explain only part of party survival.

⁷ At that time people thought 60 percent was high but in a few years hyperinflation would go over 3 million percent the highest in the world since Germany at the end of the World War.

2.1.3 Performance theory

Another approach to explaining hegemonic survival is the “performance legitimacy” theory, the idea that hegemonic parties retain popular support by implementing good and sound policies that lead to economic growth (Hansen, 1994). Scholars and practitioners have used this approach to explain the survival of hegemonic parties in Asia’s economic tigers, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Singapore, where the economy has grown exceptionally well under one-party rule. Intuitively, the argument makes sense – parties should retain power when the economy improves and should collapse when the economy fails. There is empirical evidence of this from parties such as the UNMO in Malaysia, the PAP in Singapore, the LDP in Japan, and the BDP in Botswana. However, Geddes (1999) correctly points out that there are many other regimes that have persisted despite deteriorating economic conditions. ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe has presided over economic growth and stability during the first two decades of its rule, which most certainly contributed to their survival. But in this last decade, starting from 2000 they have presided over the worst economic crisis in world history since Germany’s record-breaking hyperinflation after the Second World War.

The Zimbabwean economy began a steady decline in the late 1990s, partly due to the effects of the 1992 drought that ravaged most of Africa, problems with the structural adjustment programs, and the implementation of the land reform program starting from the mid-nineties. In 1995, inflation was at a manageable 22.5 percent, but then rose quickly to an alarming 58 percent by 2000, to a shocking 6,723 percent in 2007, and finally exceeding 231 million percent in July of 2008 (World Bank Report, 2008). The Zimbabwean economy nearly came to a halt between 2007 and 2010 when many of the government run health, finance, and education sectors stopped functioning. The joke from Zimbabweans in the country to their relatives in the diaspora was “by

the time you come home the country will be shut down; the gates will be closed.” By 2008, the Zimbabwean dollar had devalued to such extremes that the Reserve Bank was forced to slash 12 zeros from the highest note to allow for everyday transactions. The price of goods was going up by the hour; employee salaries were not sufficient for everyday expenses. There are extreme cases where employees took a bus into town to deposit their paycheck, but had to walk back home because their entire month’s salary was no longer enough to cover their bus fare home.

The deteriorating economic conditions triggered a decline in health services. Between 2000 and 2011, the death rate reached a high of 25 percent (Mundi Economic Report, n.d.). In 2001, then-Minister of Finance Simba Makoni warned that the country faced a major food crisis with almost 700,000 people living on less than one meal a day (WIKILeaks report). Those numbers would only go higher, so that by 2007 the majority of families were going without meals. Food producers were closing down because they did not have the supplies to make food. For example, Lobels Zimbabwe’s main bakery closed all but two of their outlets in 2007 and were only able to produce 40,000 loaves a day, down from 200,000 in May of the same year (Chinaka & Banyu, 2007) . Unemployment increased from 40 percent in 1999 and stayed over 80 percent from 2005 to 2007, then shot up to almost 100 percent from the later part of 2008 to 2010 (“Zimbabwe - Unemployment rate - Historical Data Graphs per Year,” n.d.).

By nearly every measure of economic performance the Zimbabwean government had failed, and yet they retained the presidency and won a fair share of seats in parliament. In fact, during that period of economic crisis the government continued with policies that for all intents and purposes were geared to further kill the economy. The land reform policy all but collapsed the agriculture industry between 1999 and 2010. At independence in 1980, over 15 million hectares of land were devoted to commercial farming, and the white minority owned almost all

of the land. The first phase of land redistribution was a gradual process starting in the mid-1990s, where a little over three million hectares were portioned. The remaining 12 million hectares of commercial land would quickly decline after 2000, when the government allocated to 4,500 new farmers for a total of up to 7.6 million hectares (Scoones et al., 2010). The country experienced a dramatic shift from large-scale farming to smaller-scale farms focused on mixed farming and often with very low levels of capitalization. The decline in agriculture production led to an increased need for imported foods and a decline in national exports, which negatively affected the nation's gross domestic product (GDP). Between 2001 and 2010, the national GDP never made it above 10 percent and was as low as 18 percent in 2003 and 2008 ("Zimbabwe GDP - real growth rate - Economy," n.d.).

Once hailed as the breadbasket of Africa, Zimbabwe could no longer afford to feed its people or import grain. Zimbabweans were depending on foreign aid for every basic commodity. The once-beaming industries that produced meat, milk, and mealie meal were dead or shut down. Following the land reform initiative, the government in 2000 banned foreign transactions; it became illegal for businesses to deal with foreign currency without prior approval from the government. This led to a further decline in operational businesses and industries as foreign companies fled the nation. Under the doctrine of a "Third *Chimurenga*," President Mugabe's regime introduced the indigenization policies, which first came into effect in 2008 (Mugabe, 2001). The Indigenization and Empowerment Act was officially signed into law on March 7, 2008. The act required all foreign-owned companies to offer at least 51 percent of their shares to indigenous Zimbabweans (Mugabe, 2001).⁸ Foreign investors in Zimbabwe spoke out against the law, and a fair number withdrew their businesses. Market analysts worldwide expressed their

⁸ The full text of the indigenization act can be found here http://www.africayouthskills.org/images/pdf/lrg/National_Indigenization_and_Empowerment_Act.pdf

outrage and concern over the policy, arguing that the act would "effectively seal Zimbabwe's fate as a pariah to international capital" (*Id.*). Marian Tupy, a Cato Institute policy analyst, condemned the act even more strongly as "yet another step on Zimbabwe's road to economic suicide" that will "expropriate non-black owners, while providing the ZANU-PF [ruling party] elite with a new source of income. The biggest victims of the Orwellian measure ... will be the black majority."⁹

Declining economic standards and a united opposition are two factors that have been credited with the demise of other hegemonic regimes in the past; for example, the declining economy is credited with the demise of both Malawi's Congress Party and Zambia's United National Independence Party (UNIP). In neighboring Malawi, like Robert Mugabe, former President Hastings Banda ruled for three decades from 1961 to 1994. Banda was recognized for his role in leading the country to independence. However, after the initial years of progress and what appeared to be a path towards democratization, Banda became more dictatorial and even declared himself President for Life. Also like Zimbabwe, in the start of the 1990s the Malawian economy began a steady decline, which was accompanied by citizen discontentment and frustration. In 1992, Malawi was rocked by an unprecedented eruption of strikes, stay-aways, student and professional demonstrations, and riots that paralyzed the economy even more. The international community added pressure to the Banda regime by suspending all aid activities (Maroleng, 2004). Banda responded to the demonstration by stepping up repression and violent attacks on protesters, but his grip on power was weakening and the combined force of international and local pressures was too powerful. He was forced to agree to a referendum to

⁹ *Cato Scholar Comments on Zimbabwe's Indigenization and Economic Empowerment*, Cato Institute Web site, Mar. 10, 2008, available at Act <http://www.cato.org/pressroom.php?display=comments&id=859>.)

open up political space and allow for multi-party competition. The referendum allowed for opposition parties to be officially registered and to legally participate in the election. That first election saw Bakili Muluzi of the United Democratic Front (UDF) oust the long serving Dr. Banda, thereby ending 33 years of hegemonic rule in Malawi (Editor, n.d.). The Malawi case is a clear example of a bad economy leading to an end in hegemonic rule as voters make their choice with their pocket books in mind. This presents a contrast to the Zimbabwean case; in the last decade the Zimbabwean economy was in worse shape than the Malawian economy, and there was a lot more internal and external pressure on the Mugabe regime to resign, but the party survived.

In Zambia, prior to its demise in 1991 at the hands of the United Opposition Movement (MMD), UNIP had governed Zambia for more than two decades from 1964 to 1991. Under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia had instituted one-party rule in the mid-seventies and banned all opposition political activities. A combination of bad economic policies, the 1980s global economic crisis, and Zambia's dependency on copper saw the country's economy decline at an alarming rate. President Kaunda was opposed to capitalism, supporting instead his own homegrown form of socialism known as "Humanism" (Maroleng, 2004). Like the land reform policies adopted by ZANU-PF in the late 1990s, UNIP sponsored expensive spending commitments that ran the economy further into the ground. To make up for its overspending, UNIP borrowed heavily from international lending agents such that by 1990, Zambia owed over US\$7 billion, making it the most indebted country in the world. Like Malawi's Congress Party, UNIP was faced with increasing public discontent, riots, strikes, and demonstrations from labor and student groups that all but paralyzed the already weakened economy. The ZCTU quickly rose to power and asserted themselves in the political arena, challenging the one party-one state

policy and forcing UNIP to loosen their grip on power and open up political space (Posner, 2007). Eventually, a combination of international and local demands and the joined opposition forces led to the ouster of UNIP in a sweeping MMD victory in the 1990 elections.

Zimbabwe's political and economic situation is not unique. In fact, long-term hegemonic rule accompanied by economic failure is quite common. The puzzle is that ZANU-PF was able to withstand both international and domestic pressures that led to hegemonic failures of its sister parties in Zambia and Malawi. Unlike UNIP in Zambia and the Malawi Congress Party, ZANU-PF not only oversaw a devastating economic decline, but the party also faced a strong, well-funded opposition party with massive international backing. ZANU-PF was able to use foreign support for the MDC to their advantage by accusing the party of being a Western puppet and thus playing into voter fears of neo-colonialism, especially among rural voters. The fact that Zimbabwe was never a formal one-party state meant that ZANU-PF was well-versed in maneuvering the electoral system. Zimbabwe consistently held elections from independence onward, and ZANU-PF was well aware of electoral rules and how to handle opposition in that arena.

2.1.4 Vote buying, clientelism, neopatrimonialism, and patronage in African elections

African politicians are often accused of engaging in vote buying or patronage politics (Arriola, 2009; M. Bratton & Van de Walle, 1994; S. I. M. Lindberg, 2008; Omotola, 2011; Van de Walle, 2007; Vicente & Wantchekon, 2009; Wantchekon, 2003; Young, 2009). The two are often used interchangeably, although they inherently mean different things. On one hand, it is argued that African politicians will blatantly offer money in exchange of votes (M. Bratton, Bhavnani, & Chen, 2012; Collier & Vicente, 2011), and on another, scholars argue that instead of cash politicians promise to deliver gifts, goods, and services to voters who support them

(Omotola, 2011; Wantchekon, 2003). Recent literature in the field shows that although patronage politics is strong, vote buying in terms of a vote for actual cash exchange is not as common, and in fact very rare. However, African voters do expect more personal gifts and attention from their representatives than do voters in more developed democracies (Arriola, 2009; Basedau, Erdmann, & Mehler, 2007; Carlson, 2010).

As politicians who are better able to deliver patronage to their constituents tend to get more votes and stay in office for longer periods of time. ZANU-PF, like most ruling parties in the region, have benefited from having control over the state purse, which enables them to deliver goods and services to voters, especially during election season. ZANU-PF has consistently delivered fertilizers and other farming equipment to their rural voters. At the start of the 2012 campaign season, ZANU-PF strategically delivered seed grain to rural voters in packaging engraved with ZANU-PF symbols. The strategy was met with outcries of injustice and accusations of vote buying from opposition leaders, who argue that ZANU-PF is using state funds for campaign purposes (Staff Writer, 2012). The survival of ZANU-PF can thus be explained in part by the party's ability to consistently deliver patronage to their supporters, but patronage delivery does not fully explain why voters remained loyal even when the party could not deliver such patronage.

At the height of Zimbabwe's crisis between 2008 and 2010, the Human Rights Watch group reported that the food deficit in Zimbabwe had affected an estimated 4.1 million. The food crisis was worsened by the drought, and as result most rural provinces did not have good harvests during that time. Most affected were rural dwellers in the arid regions of Matabeleland. In May 2008, the government via the Ministry of Social Welfare issued a directive prohibiting international aid agencies from distributing food in a few rural provinces, including the ZANU-

PF stronghold of Masvingo. The government argued that international agencies were using food to buy votes for the opposition, and yet without donor food many rural Zimbabweans would have died. The government blamed food shortages on the drought, the MDC and western sanctions.

While urbanites were without a doubt severely affected by the economic crisis, in rural areas the situation was ten times worse. Whereas urbanites could engage in many different forms of informal employment to earn cash income, in rural areas most people are subsistence farmers and therefore lack the resources or time for other employment. Many were not able to grow enough maize (the most popular crop) to feed their families, and subsequently did not have enough to sell for cash to buy other basic commodities. Hospitals and clinics in rural areas all but shut down in the last decade, and schools were not functioning. There is a whole generation of children who dropped out of primary and high school between 2005 and 2008, the majority of whom were from rural areas. The number of people who died from HIV and related illnesses was high, and this put pressure on grandparents in rural areas who are usually left to care for orphans. The cholera epidemic ravaged high-density areas and rural areas the most because of poor sanitation and shortages of fresh water in those areas.

The rural population was hit worse by the economic conditions, and most villagers depended solely on food donations NGOs. Yet, between 2006 and 2008 the government banned NGO donations in the country, leaving rural dwellers destitute. More than anyone else the rural voters should have been the ones voting for the opposition. However, at the support for the opposition did not grow by much in rural areas beyond MDC elite hometowns. In the post-dollarization era, the effects of the poor economic growth are still felt more in rural areas. While use of the US dollar and South African rand has eased things in urban areas, that has not been the case in rural areas. The use of foreign currency resulted in a more complicated problem for those

in rural areas who simply do not understand the foreign currencies nor have access to foreign currency. Notwithstanding all this, ZANU-PF maintains a stronghold in the rural areas. Clearly patronage cannot explain rural voter loyalty; my theory is that ZANU-PF benefited from the absence of a strong and vocal middle class who presented the only viable opposition to the ruling party rule. The ruling party also took advantage of their monopoly on policymaking by instituting policies that made life harder for the urban poor, leading to desperation, which resulted in political apathy.

The struggle facing the rural voters presented a perfect opportunity for the MDC to attract new voters in a formally no-go area. The opposition for the most part failed to take advantage of this crisis. During the last decade, the most important issue in Zimbabwe has been the land issue, and in the view of most rural voters the opposition has been on the wrong side of history. The ruling party successfully managed to portray the opposition as being anti-land reform. For decades, many of the rural dwellers resided in reserves –the less fertile lands – while whites resided in and owned most of the fertile land (Moyo, 2002; Simon Coldham, 2001). Generations of rural families spent their lives working on white-owned farms and never directly benefited from their labor. As a result, although the land reform resulted in a deteriorating economy, rural voters remained loyal because they had land and, like good farmers, waited patiently for the land to yield good results in the future. The Movement for Democratic Change’s rhetoric of change and democracy was too far removed from the rural voter: their focus was on the urban middle class. Additionally, the party’s mandate has always been a narrow one, their message focused on regime change – something that appeals to urbanites but holds very little water with rural voters. At the same time, ZANU-PF has been focused on building a strong grassroots movement by

selling the doctrine of black empowerment, a message more amenable to rural voters (Moyo, 2002).

A common explanation for voting behavior and party survival in Africa is the “ethnocization” of African politics. Ethnic voting literature has roots in Horowitz’s 1985 seminary book *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Horowitz argues that voters in multi-ethnic countries seek affirmation of self-worth through their identities as members of ethnic groups. He further describes elections in newly democratizing African states as nothing more than ethnic census or a “counting of heads.” This view of voting is primordial, assuming that people’s ethnic allegiances are nonnegotiable. In this view, voters will sometimes vote against their own interest to preserve group interests ahead of their own (Ferree, 2006).

The more recent literature on the role of ethnicity in elections is moving away from this rigid explanation to a more constructivist understanding of voting behavior. This approach suggests that ethnicity is used by politicians and voters alike like any other political tool, and as such is subject to change and manipulation (Basedau et al., 2007). Ethnic preferences interact with voter evaluations of the incumbent party’s performance on the economy and policy (Ferree, 2006), promise delivery (Kandeh, 2003), and other factors such as violence and intimidation (M. Bratton & Kimenyi, 2008). This view of ethnicity is more amenable to existing theories of voting behavior outside of Africa. Sociological approaches to voting argue that “a person thinks politically as she is socially” (Lazarsfeld et al. 1968: 27), and this is consistent with ethnic voting because people tend to be socialized in communities of co-ethnics (Habyarimana, Humphreys, Posner, & Weinstein, 2007). The same holds true when we look at the macro-sociological cleavage approach (Erdmann, 2007; S. M. Lipset & Rokkan, 1967) or a sociopsychological approach, which conceptualizes party identification – and, thus, voting preferences – as a product

of social ties (Dalton and Wattenberg 2000: 20-21). And finally, ethnic voting fits neatly under the rational voter model (Aldrich, 1993; Downs, 1957; Fiorina, 1978), since in some cases voting for a co-ethnic candidate may be expected to serve the voter's best interests. In fact, an empirical study by Lindberg (2009) shows that in Ghana and elsewhere ethnic voting is tied to expected benefits that a co-ethnic candidate might deliver once in office (S. I. M. Lindberg, 2008). In Zambia and Kenya, voters tended to choose co-ethnics if they feared that other voters would do the same (Bogaards, 2007; Bratton & Kimenyi, 2008; Young, 2009). Bratton and Kimenyi (2008) found that voting in Kenyan elections remains highly ethnic even though at an individual level most voters do not identify in ethnic terms or see a candidates' ethnicity as a primary motivator for their vote. They also found that even though voters might want to vote in non-identity terms, they tend not to do so because they are afraid that other ethnic groups will not do the same. While voters see themselves as not being biased towards other ethnic groups, they definitely see those groups as being biased towards them. Thus, voters fear that if they do not vote along ethnic lines they will lose out due to ethnic favoritism inherent in the political system (Posner 2005, 104). Zimbabwean ethnic politics function in a way consistent with the more updated view of ethnocization. There are three ethnic groups in Zimbabwe: black Africans who make up about 95 percent of the population, and Whites and Asians who make up 5 percent.

Amongst the Africans there are a number of groups, but generally these are divided into two: Shonas, who make up 80 percent, and Ndebeles, who make up 16 percent, making them the largest ethnic minority. In Zimbabwe, group tensions work in this way: whites vs. Africans and Shonas against Ndebeles, with the Asian minority made up largely of Indians who stay out of politics, investing more in business. Tensions between whites and Africans have roots in the colonial history of the country; Zimbabwe was a British colony from 1850 until its independence

in 1980. During colonial rule, blacks were excluded from both politics and the economy; the educational and health systems were segregated. After independence, then-Prime Minister Robert Mugabe delivered a shockingly positive speech about the role of whites in the Zimbabwean future. The Prime Minister urged the country to

“pledge to forget our grim past, forgive others and forget, join hands in a new amity, and together, as Zimbabweans, trample upon racialism, tribalism and regionalism, and work hard to reconstruct and rehabilitate our society as we reinvigorate our economic machinery.”

“Robert Mugabe speech to the nation of Zimbabwe, 4 March 1980,” n.d.

Mugabe’s 1980 speech was an unexpected but welcome call for reconciliation in a country that had spent the last decade embattled in a civil war that cost thousands of lives. In the spirit of reconciliation, the newly formed government had black and white ministers working together with their Ndebele and Shona counterparts. The post-independence Zimbabwean parliament was the first Southern African Rainbow Coalition before the post-apartheid South African Congress. However, peace was short lived, in less than three years after independence, massive ethnic killings would erupt in the south, known as Gukurahundi. The government-sponsored para-military group known as Green Bombers terrorized families in the rural south, home to the majority of Ndebele people. Thousands of people died, and the government did not lift a finger to stop the genocide. Tension and violence in the South was very high, and there were numerous attempts on the lives of ZAPU elites. For example, more than ten attempts were made on the life of ZAPU party leader Joshua Nkomo. In 1985, Nkomo was forced to make a public statement on the situation after his house had been torched and his wife and children forced to seek refuge outside the country. The situation in the south continued to deteriorate,

forcing President Mugabe to reach out to Joshua Nkomo in the formation of a unified ZANU-PF. The gesture was not well received by people in the South, who saw it as too little too late. Joshua Nkomo felt the brunt of people's anger when he lost his hometown seat in the following 1987 elections. To their credit, the unification ended the violence and also resulted in a rewriting of Zimbabwean history – a new narrative in which Joshua Nkomo was now presented as father Zimbabwe, a title he continues to hold to this day.

The unification of ZAPU and ZANU to form ZANU-PF meant that the party controlled over 95 percent of the electorate. The unification was ZANU's first and only attempt to co-opt the opposition. After the unification, no other party could stand up to the domineering ZANU-PF. The unification also resulted in an amendment to the constitution requiring that the country would have two vice-presidents: a Shona and a Ndebele; the party wanted to send a clear message to the South that ZANU-PF was not a Shona party, but a party for the people. Since then, support for ZANU-PF in the South has fluctuated, but the party has maintained at least three of the most important seats in Beitbridge, Umguza, and Insiza. All three seats are located in the liberation struggle hotspots.

ZANU-PF was aware that they could not maintain a peaceful dominancy without the Matabeleland vote. Tensions between the Shona and Ndebele continue to exist, but both groups have been unified in their own way in their support or opposition for the ruling party. The ruling party definitely wins more in Mashonaland than in Matabeleland. However, their wins are regionally focused. The ruling party wins with strong majorities in rural Mashonaland areas and a fair share in Matabeleland rural areas. The ruling party has low support in Mashonaland urban areas and even lower support in Matabeleland urban areas. To the extent that the ruling party is winning huge majorities in Shona areas, those wins are tied to the rural mindset of those voters,

which is in turn tied to their views on the liberation struggle, party performance, and access to media.

While the ruling party has gone out of their way to maintain the rural Ndebele vote, they have also gone out of their way to exclude white voters from the electoral system. The Lancaster House Agreement signed prior to independence made a provision that 20 House seats would be reserved for white representatives, who would be elected in a “white only” election held before the general election. The mandate was set to end after the second general election in 1985. Ian Smith, former president of Rhodesia, opposed the end of the mandate, arguing that this would lead to black majority rule and would “invariably” alienate the white minority from politics (Bogaards, 2007; M. Bratton & Kimenyi, 2008; Young, 2009). Ian Smith was clairvoyant in his remarks because in the 1990 election, without the protection of the mandate, Dr. Timothy Stamps, an independent candidate, would remain the only white person in government. The Mugabe regime was eager to eliminate the mandate, arguing that the separate mandate gave the impression that Zimbabwe had two classes of citizens. To be fair, President Mugabe by that time had the support of many in white community, who had been impressed by Mugabe’s economic policies since independence and his willingness to work with the whites. White voters were willing to withdraw from the political system and focus on the economy; it appeared to be a peaceful trade.

The absence of whites from politics contributed to the ZANU-PF hegemony. With an extra 20 seats at their disposal, ZANU-PF ran candidates for each open seat, banking on the support of villagers because most of the white seats had been held in rural farming areas. It was not too difficult for the party to win there. For as long as the whites stayed out of politics, ZANU-PF did not face a strong opposition. The white minority posed a real threat because they

had the financial capabilities to challenge the ruling party; the majority of Zimbabwean economy was dependent on agriculture, and whites owned over 90 percent of the commercial farms. From 1985 to 1999, the ruling party did not have to worry about the white minority – a pretty significant and economically influential population. Zimbabwean whites made Zimbabwe the breadbasket that it was for the first two decades post-independence.

Most of the white citizens had emigrated in the late 1970s, as they feared an outbreak of violence and some could not stand living under black rule. Between 1980 and 1984, 50,000 to 80,000 whites left the country (Crush & Tevera, 2010). The white population continued to decline, and by 1995 there were fewer than 100,000 whites left in the country. Those who remained in the country chose to invest their energies in the economy, primarily in the agricultural sector. However, the community faced threats as the government began rolling out the long-promised land reform plan. From the time of independence, the government had gradually engaged in land reform – taking or buying land from whites and redistributing it to landless blacks. There is debate regarding the true recipients of the land program. In any case, while some whites left in anticipation of harsh land reform, some remained in the country and joined forces with disenchanted urbanites and laborers to form the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

White voters and ZANU-PF clashed on a critical point: the issue of land. Land redistribution was the most important pre-independence promise made by the liberation fighters to villagers who risked their lives feeding and protecting fighters from the wrath of the Rhodesian military. The government could not avoid talking about land. In the mid- to late 1990s, war veterans were demanding that the government do something about the land issue. ZANU-PF's priority could not be the white voter; they did not need them to stay in power. What

looked like an attack on the whites based on race was actually a matter of survival for the ruling party.

In the mid-1990s the Zimbabwean economy was struggling in large part because of the after-effects of the ESAP program and the 1992 drought. Although the government had put in contingency plans to stop the economic bleeding; things did not look good; riots and protests were rampant in urban areas, and war veterans were insisting that the government address the land issue. As predicted by the modernization theories and Bates (1985), economic decline forced the urban elites to reconsider their loyalty to ZANU-PF – not that they had been loyal. After the 1985 election, voter turnout declined especially in urban areas.

Now that the country had gained independence, many in the middle class – mostly urban blacks and whites – were no longer focused on or interested in politics. ZANU-PF did not go out of their way to attract the urban vote because urbanites had never supported their agenda. When Edgar Tekere formed ZUM and ran against President Mugabe, his party won the most votes in urban areas. Urbanites were prone to forming opposition movements, and the government actively tried to squash urban protests without much success. ZANU-PF politicians who defected in the mid-1990s were mostly urban MPs.

Faced with a choice of either addressing urbanite concerns or those of war veterans and rural citizens, the government chose their base: rural voters and veterans. In what journalists and scholars alike have called a rushed attempt to buy support, the government fast-forwarded the land redistribution act. The government was not oblivious to the murmurs of an opposition movement brewing in their backyard. The opposition in Zimbabwe was well positioned to win the 2000 election. The opposition had urban support, and they had successfully revived the white minority, which was only too eager to give their financial weight to the movement. The

international community, frustrated with the treatment of white Zimbabweans and particularly the British, were only too eager to support a movement that would end the Mugabe regime. The regime was not an innocent bystander; it was definitely working hard to repress any opposition.

2.1.5 Elite unity and superior organization skills

In an influential study of India's Congress Party, Riker (1976) argued that party dominance is maintained when the incumbent can "divide" and "conquer" by sticking toward the center and splitting challengers to the left and the right. In politics of developing nations, the ideological lines are not clear-cut and parties tend to share many of the same values. However, Riker's logic remains relevant in that ruling parties do in fact attempt to divide the opposition by promising opposition defectors benefits that the newer and poorer parties cannot offer. In the Zimbabwean case, ZANU-PF has not employed this strategy a whole lot. The party is very wary of incorporating opposition defectors into the fold. The party appears to function in a very top-down process: older party loyalists and founders remain at the top of the food chain, and there is not much room for new people. A theory that reaches closer to my explanation is Geddes' thesis on elite unity.

Geddes (1999) argues that hegemonic parties are able to survive because they are immune to elite splitting; elites within the regime realize that there are gains to be made from staying as a unified front. She argues that:

"Factions form in single-party regimes around policy differences and competition for leadership positions, as they do in other regimes, but everyone is better off if all the factions remain united in office. This is why cooptation rather than exclusion is usually the rule in established single-party systems. Neither faction would be better off ruling alone, and neither would voluntarily withdraw

from office unless exogenous events changed the costs and benefits of cooperating with each other” (11).

This theory, as with the others, is extremely important in understanding how ZANU-PF was formed and how the party managed to wave off opposition from independence until the 2000 election. At independence they were nine political parties that contested in the 1980 elections. Of the nine parties, only three won any seats. Mugabe’s ZANU-PF emerged as the clear winner, with 63 percent of the votes and 57 of the 80 seats allocated to black Zimbabweans. Nkomo’s PF-ZAPU came second with 24.11 percent of the vote and 20 seats, and Muzorewa’s UANC came third with only 8.28 percent of the vote. The rest of the parties fared less well. The ZANU-PF wins were in its Shona strongholds of Mashonaland East, Central, and West, Victoria (now Masvingo), and Manicaland, where it won between 71 and 87 percent of the vote in each constituency. PF-ZAPU wins were in its support base in Matebelaland and Midlands, the southern parts of the country. Muzorewa won three seats scattered in and out of the Harare province. In the second elections in 1985, ZANU-PF improved on their earlier wins and gained 77 percent of the vote and 64 seats, and PF-ZAPU lost five seats, winning only 15 seats. Muzorewa won less than two percent of the vote and no seats, and Ndabaningi Sithole regained his hometown seat with one percent of the vote in Chipinge (Makumbe, 2006). ZANU-PF came out of independence as the ruling party, but the party began to face troubles in the southern parts of the country.¹⁰ The ruling party was also aware of the comeback that Ian Smith’s party had

¹⁰ The troubles in the South turned out to be targeted violence known as Ghukurahundi. The troubles in the region resulted in thousands of deaths especially among the minority Ndebele tribe. As violence escalated the state defended their position by arguing that the region was infiltrated by dissidents who were loyal to the Rhodesian regime. No evidence of dissidents in the region ever came to life. The leader of PF-ZAPU also faced many incidents of violence include the infamous bombing of his house in Bulawayo that incident was a catalyst in the formation of ZANU (PF) a union of ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU.

staged in the 1985. A combination of troubles in the South and a fear of a strong white minority forced the ZANU-PF elites to reach out to the PF-ZAPU elites, forming a unified ZANU-PF. The new party guaranteed both Nkomo and Mugabe political stability.

The union between Nkomo and Mugabe, as predicted by Geddes' theory, served to unite the elites. The unification also supports Magaloni's argument that dominance is maintained when parties form oversized coalitions. It is no wonder, then, that after the union ZANU-PF continued to win with more than 90 percent of the vote nationwide. While ZANU-PF elites opted to form a unity party with ZAPU, it is also important to note what they did not do. They did not attempt to bring Muzorewa into the union or to reintegrate one of the founding fathers, Ndabaningi Sithole, who had gone independent. While Muzorewa had lost credibility when he joined the unity government with Ian Smith in 1979, he remained an important figure in post-independence Zimbabwean politics. If survival were solely based on elite unification, then ZANU-PF elites would have let bygones be bygones and brought Muzorewa into the fold. The same is true with how the party has treated other defectors from the party. Sithole, in 1980, decided to run as an independent candidate, claiming the party name ZANU and forcing both the Nkomo and Mugabe factions to add PF before and after their names. For the rest of his political career, there are no known attempts by Robert Mugabe or any other ZANU-PF elites to bring him back into the party, although he was an important historical figure.

Moving forward to 1989, Tekere, another one of the founding fathers, defected from the party and formed ZUM. Tekere had held key positions in the party and had strong support in urban areas, yet the party went to great lengths to discredit and campaign against him but not to welcome him into the party. The same happened with Edson Zvobgo, who was ousted from the party while on a health trip to the United States in late 1989. He came home to find that his

position had been filled. The official explanation was that he was replaced due to his poor health and the party wanted to give him more time to heal without the burden of public office. For the rest of his political career, Zvobgo fought tooth and nail to hold on to his position while the ruling party appeared equally eager to discredit him.¹¹ In the mid-1990s ZANU also faced the defection of another key leader, Margaret Dongo, who has been a vocal critic of the president and his regime.

None of these party defections made a significant dent on the party's electoral wins, and because of that the party elites mostly left the defectors alone. Elite defections within ZANU-PF served to help the party maintain its hegemony, or at least did not present much of a threat to the regime. For example, after Ndabaningi Sithole left the main ZANU wing, he never gained support beyond his Chipinge hometown. In fact, Sithole lost his own seat multiple times. Sithole was not a strong enough candidate to pose a threat to the regime. Tekere's ZUM came into politics at a time when murmurs of a one-party state were making both the black-urban elite and white voters uncomfortable. Tekere's political presence is credited with bringing to an end ZANU-PF's proposal for a one-party state. However, after the 1990 election Tekere went into oblivion without any help from ZANU-PF. Until his death, like Sithole, Tekere continued to win his hometown seat in Manicaland, and ZANU-PF never put up strong candidates against him.

I argue that ZANU-PF did not go out of its way to win back the defectors because although they left the party neither one of them, with the exception of Tekere, formed a strong enough opposition that threatened the ZANU-PF hegemony. The fact that the parties were regional limited their mobilization to a small population; they could not compete against the

¹¹ See <http://www.newzimbabwe.com/pages/zvobgohearing.htm> Zvobgo's 2003 trial

ZANU-PF oversized coalition that broadly covered large parts of both rural Mashonaland and Matabeleland.

The Zimbabwean case poses challenges for Geddes' theory because although the elites defected, they did not join the opposition, even at a critical time in 2000. We can only speculate the impact that having one of the ZANU-PF founding fathers joining with MDC would have had on the survival of ZANU-PF. In their own words, defectors were frustrated with Mugabe's leadership style but still held true the ZANU-PF principles at heart: the liberation struggle, indigenization, and land reform. I think it is much harder for hardcore ZANU-PF supporters to cross over to support MDC than for MDC party faithfuls to switch their support to ZANU-PF. In the post 2000 era, the defections have been a blessing for ZANU-PF because they mean a few seats less for MDC to win. For example, although Margaret Dongo defected from ZANU-PF and remains a strong political figure, she has been explicit in her disagreement with MDC. While acknowledging that ZANU-PF has used tactics such as Operation Clean Up to weaken the opposition, she has also been vocal in her support for major ZANU-PF policies – in particular, land reform. ZANU-PF has not made an effort to bring Dongo back into the fold or to put a candidate against her, because for as long as she continues to win each election, then MDC has no chance of winning in her constituency.

All roads indicated an MDC win in 2008, but a number of factors contributed to the party's loss. One major factor was the candidacy of former ZANU-PF minister of Finance Simba Makoni, now leader of the third party *Mavambo*. Simba Makoni, like many ZANU-PF elites, was involved in politics in the 1970s. He was one of the youngest people to go to war, and he continued his political activism as a student at the University Zimbabwe. At independence, he became the youngest minister at age 30. Since independence, he has held many positions in the

government and regional bodies. In 2000, his return to politics raised the hopes of middle class Zimbabweans who thought *Sekuru* was grooming him to take over. Still, in his early fifties Simba Makoni was the ideal candidate to take over from *Sekuru*.¹² He was young, educated, and had participated in the liberation struggle. In 2000, he was appointed finance minister, but resigned shortly afterwards because “the president refused [his] advice to devalue the economy.” After his resignation, his relationship with the president went sour. The President publicly denounced him as an “economic saboteur.” However, even after his resignation he remained a member of the ZANU-PF politburo; he argued that he was trying to “bring change from within.” When that failed, he announced in a move that shook up the 2008 elections that in response to the poor economic conditions in the country, he was going to run for the presidency as a third party candidate. Although Makoni did not succeed in bringing any big ZANU-PF guns (with the exception of former Home Affairs Minister Dumiso Dabengwa) with him to his new party, he managed to confuse voters, especially the middle class. The middle class, frustrated with MDC and wanting the president to retire, was attracted to his candidacy, and many of them switched their vote from MDC to Mavambo. During the election, Mugabe denounced him as a traitor, and Tsvangirai accused him of working for ZANU-PF. Makoni presented the first worthwhile defection, but again it turned out to be a blessing for ZANU-PF because his candidacy denied MDC an outright win. In the postmortem analysis, most pundits and scholars agreed that ZANU-PF benefited by having Simba Makoni run as an independent candidate in the election. His presence split the urban vote, an MDC stronghold and ZANU-PF weak point. With the urban vote split between Makoni and the MDC, ZANU-PF only needed to ensure that the rural voters came out to vote. Additionally, internal fighting within MDC forced the MDC-W faction to offer

¹² *Sekuru* meaning grandfather in Shona is the affectionate name used for Robert Mugabe, Sometimes he is also referred to as *Mudhara*.

their support to Makoni. MDC-W is now the major party in Matebelaland, which has 13 constituencies. Three of these have always been held by ZANU-PF giants: Kembo Mohandi in Beitbridge, Andrew Langa in Insiza, and Obert Mpfu in Umguza.¹³ The rest have over the years moved to MDC, including seats previously held by ZANU-PF VP Joshua Nkomo. The unified MDC relied on the ten Matebelaland seats to maintain a majority, but those seats were lost to Makoni's Mavambo in 2008. Makoni himself did not even acknowledge the help of MDC-W, and the party did not hold him to it. Without those ten seats, MDC-T lost their majority in parliament. Attempts to woo those PMs were futile, partly because MDC-W knew that by remaining independent they could influence the course of the unity government, which they did because Aurther Mutambara was added as a GNU principal.

The case of Jonathan Moyo is a good example of ZANU-PF elites being more beholden to the party than the reverse. The party in Zimbabwe monopolizes state resources, and being a member of a party who serves in government is very lucrative for politicians. Politicians are paid exorbitantly and receive at least \$1000 a month at a time when most Zimbabweans make less than \$500. In the past, MPs received housing, car, tuition, and health allowance. The party has never needed to provide many incentives for political elites to stay within the party framework. A fair number of politicians who denounced the party quickly found themselves back begging for positions within the party. For example, Jonathan Moyo ran as an independent candidate many times but always returned to the party. The party also seems to have used strategic pruning of members before they became too powerful. There are many stories of elites who disappeared after making public statements that are not in line with the party mantra.¹⁴

¹³ The 3 are strongholds but there are 5 others in Mat accidentally held by Z but with MDC Councillors all-over, ie Bubi, Beitbrigde West, Nkayi North, Lupane West and Gwanda South

¹⁴ <http://newsgroups.derkeiler.com/Archive/Soc/soc.culture.zimbabwe/2005-08/msg00177.html> the death of Peter Pamire

Magaloni (2008) provides a fifth view of the factors that have influenced hegemonic party survival in Mexico. Magaloni argues that hegemonic parties survive by creating oversized coalitions that make them immune to elite defections and gives them a monopoly on mass support.

“The pillar of a hegemonic-party regime is its monopoly of mass support, which in turn allows the regime to deter elite decisions and to manipulate institutions by unilaterally controlling institutional change”(2006: 15).

2.2 My theory of party survival

Previous theories of party survival have focused on direct strategies by incumbent parties to increase their party wins at the polls, such as vote buying, patronage delivery, and ballot stuffing. The literature also focuses on internal party strategies, such as oversized coalitions and coordination challenges within opposition parties that bolster the survival of hegemonic parties. This dissertation does not dismiss any of the past theories, but instead suggests that ZANU-PF has since independence employed the various strategies successfully, allowing the party to survive unchallenged from 1980 to 1999. After independence, ZANU-PF used their monopoly of state resources to channel particularistic benefits to their support bases, largely in the rural areas. ZANU-PF introduced free education and free health care in the early years of their rule.

From the time of independence until 1999, the survival strategies of ZANU-PF fit perfectly within the framework of traditional explanations of party survival. The party had a powerful oversized coalition that guaranteed them super majorities in parliament. As expected, voters remained faithful to ZANU-PF when the economy was doing well. The MDC presented a real challenge to ZANU-PF dominance because unlike previous opposition parties, MDC was well-funded, well-organized, and had strong networks within Zimbabwe and abroad. ZANU-PF,

therefore, presents a major theoretical puzzle. It survived despite the fact that Zimbabwe underwent the worst economic crisis in modern history, with inflation topping three trillion percent in 2008, and a strong and well-funded opposition led by a popular presidential candidate, Morgan Tsvangirai. Thus, existing theory cannot account for ZANU-PF's long tenure, which suggests it may be employing strategies not previously identified.

I am introducing a theory that has not been considered before: the impact of voter exit both in terms of physical migration outside the country and forced migration inside the country. I argue that the declining economic conditions and policies by the ZANU-PF regime created conditions that forced voters to leave their country and seek better living conditions abroad. As people left the country, they also exited the political system. Therefore, voter exit can sustain the survival of political parties. Political parties might not be able to engineer bad economic conditions to systematically target opposition supporters, but generally those who seek opportunities to leave the country tend to also match the profile of those who would have supported the opposition party. Faced with a strained economic situation and unable to buy the votes of the opposition supporters, the ruling party implemented policies that directly affected urbanites, forcing them to relocate to rural areas – ZANU-PF strong holds – or leave the country altogether.

An estimated two to four million Zimbabweans left the country in the last decade, starting in the late 1990s and reaching a peak in 2005. Initially, ZANU-PF had been opposed to outward migration. The government accused those who were leaving the country of being traitors, and the relationship between ZANU-PF and the diaspora was particularly tense with those in the United Kingdom. The president often made insulting statements about the diaspora often suggesting that those who left did so because they had failed to make a living in

Zimbabwe. As the situation in the country further deteriorated, more people were forced to leave, and those who had already left became the primary breadwinners for their immediate and extended families back home.

2.2.1 Key theoretical concepts

Voter Exit

There are a number of explanations offered in the literature for the survival of parties under difficult circumstances. Within the African studies literature, the most common explanations hinge on the use of voter fraud, ballot stuffing, and other overt forms of vote buying using patronage and neo-patrimonialism. All of these factors played a role in Zimbabwean elections at one point or another. ZANU-PF has been accused of vote buying and using a lot of strategies to limit and prevent the participation of the opposition in national politics. This dissertation argues that voter exit via emigration and voter exit because of internal withdrawal due to violence, economic hardship, and apathy also played an undeniably large role in the survival of the ruling party.

It could be bad politics when a country loses a significant part of its population because of economic hardship. Most theories of voter participation argue that parties tend to do well when the economy is doing well, but in Zimbabwe the economy did not just fail: the economy crashed. Why, then, is it that the MDC was unable to galvanize public support for an outright win against the regime given that the odds were stacked in their favor? The MDC in 2000 had managed the imaginable: making history by not only running a successful “No” vote campaign for the constitutional referendum, but also delivering the first electoral challenge to ZANU-PF’s parliamentary dominance in the elections later on that same year. The MDC reduced the ZANU-PF majority from 100 percent (ZANU held 120/120 seats) to 52 percent (67 seats) to MDC’s 47

percent (52). Tsvangirai's loss to Robert Mugabe in 2002 was not nearly as bad as many people had anticipated because this was the first time that Robert Mugabe had been at real risk of losing the election. Mugabe retained the presidency with a very slim edge over Tsvangirai with just 62 percent of the vote to Tsvangirai's 42 percent. However, in the subsequent elections ZANU-PF began recovering. In 2005, they gained back 16 seats and regained an edge over MDC, which lost 16 seats in an unanticipated upset.

My argument is that the intense emigration that occurred between 2000 and 2008, where an estimated four million Zimbabweans left the country, negatively impacted support for the MDC. Additionally, repressive policies such as Operation Murambatsvina and election-related violence also reduced voter participation among MDC supporters, thereby buying time for ZANU-PF to recover from their earlier losses and the threat of the opposition. Voters physically exited the political system when they left the country. The majority of those who left the country were MDC supporters who have since not been able to vote in the last decade. Only Zimbabweans working for the government in a diplomatic capacity abroad have had the opportunity to participate in the elections at home. At such a critical time of transition as Zimbabwe has experienced in the last decade, every vote counts, and it is quite evident that the loss of diaspora votes has had an undeniable effect on the fortunes of MDC. In anticipation of the coming 2013 election, MDC officials announced that they would go on a global campaign to encourage their supporters in the diaspora to return home to vote. The Zimbabwean constitution does not allow for external voting, which means that a significant population – almost a quarter – is disenfranchised.

The second part of voter exit is related to internal voter withdrawal. In 2005, the Zimbabwean government engaged in an intense clean-up process that left over 700,000 urbanites

mostly in Harare and Bulawayo homeless. The timing of the operation in 2005, an election year, was significant. Many of the people who lost their homes were forced to move to different parts of the city, and in extreme cases to move to different cities completely. The result is that by emigrating those votes were effectively redistricted, and to vote in the next election they would either have to travel back to their old neighborhood or update their registration information. The operation also had severe psychological and emotional impact on voters; the majority of those who lost their homes also lost their forms of survival when their informal businesses were destroyed. After Operation *Murambastvina*, more than 80,000 children had to be withdrawn from school when their families relocated far away from their schools (Potts, 2006). The result was increased voter apathy and urban withdrawal from the majority of political activity as voters invested their energy in securing a livelihood for themselves and their families. .

Political violence and the number of political victims also increased over the years, leading to more voter withdrawal, especially in the cities. Voters in high-density suburbs such as Mbare and Epworth – two of the largest MDC strongholds in Harare – no longer felt safe at home during the elections. Parents, especially those with teenage sons, moved their sons to live with friends and neighbors in quieter, safer, low-density areas where chances of getting caught up in violence were much lower. While the threat of violence increased apathy amongst urbanites, I argue that violence in rural areas increased fear and voter turnout. In rural areas, it is much easier for perpetrators of violence to carry out their threats, and most rural voters are more likely to believe that their vote is not a secret and political party authorities could easily find out whom they voted for.

1.1.1.4 Exit lowers support for the opposition

To win elections a party needs to win the most votes at the ballot box. Regardless of all

other strategies, political parties work hardest in pure democracies and hybrid regimes alike to “get out the vote.” When a group of voters is prevented from voting or unable to cast their ballot on Election Day, then the party that depends on that group of voters is disadvantaged. Past literature on transnational politics has not always viewed the diaspora favorably. In the African context, the diaspora has been accused of fueling civil wars by providing financial resources to rebel groups (Collier & Hoeffler, 2009). Those in the diaspora tend to be much wealthier than their fellow countrymen and are able to fund their preferred political groups. The Zimbabwean diaspora is no different in this regard. The opposition party factions abroad have over the last decade actively assisted the main party in the home country to raise funds, build networks, and train party officials. The leader of the MDC, Morgan Tsvangirai, and his other party leaders have held rallies in the diaspora both to raise money and encourage the diaspora to return home to vote.

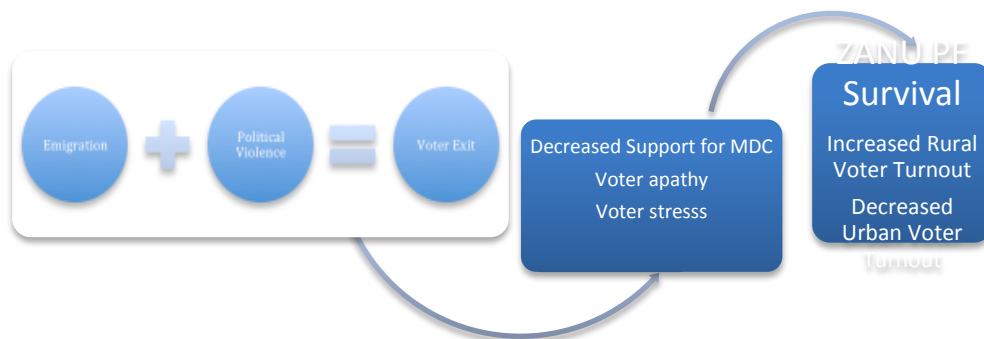


Figure 3 Mapping Party Survival and Voter Exit

Unfortunately for the MDC and most political groups who depend on diaspora support for their survival, that support does not translate to the most important form of support, which is votes on Election Day. Regardless of how vocal the diaspora is in their support for any political

group in the home country, unless that support can transform into actual votes on Election Day, ruling parties can use voter exit to their advantage

My approach builds on Magaloni's theory in emphasizing the importance of an oversized coalition in the survival of ZANU-PF not only in the last decade, but also since independence. However important Magaloni's contribution, it does not account for the ability of the MDC to effectively field candidates all over the country, winning even in some ZANU-PF bases without ZANU-PF suffering major defections, or the fact that ZANU-PF has survived the last decade with just a slight majority. To be sure, the fact that ZANU-PF has a well-organized party machine that infiltrates nearly every constituency, including their weak zones in urban areas and Matebeleland North, helped the party weather some of the MDC threat over time. ZANU-PF was formed as a para-military organization during the liberation struggle, thus the organization was built from the grassroots up. The party's strategy was to form holdings in every community, starting from smaller units of ten families or less called cells, leading to the ward, brunch, district, and eventually the province. The party developed leaders in every community and ran candidates during each election every level of governance from cell leader to MPs, thereby maintaining a political presence, and they have continued to do so even during their losses. ZANU-PF's widespread presence has facilitated the party's ability to implement and execute policies that have largely served to maintain the party's power.

I move forward from the oversized coalition explanation by focusing on the party's ability to use policies to redistribute populations in a ubiquitous form of redistricting. In cases where parties rely on winning elections to maintain their power, hegemonic parties will use their position as policymakers to influence voter distribution. At a time of high politics or when

politicians anticipate close elections, they will use both legitimate and illegitimate legislative resources to weaken opposition support and maintain a core of their support.

Another explanation of hegemonic survival hinges on the use of intimidation and repression by political elites.¹⁵ The field of political violence is small and growing, and it is my intention to add to this literature with respect to how ZANU-PF has strategically employed violence to maintain its hegemony. Collier and Vicente (2010) argue that politicians will use violence and intimidation to suppress turnout for the opposition. Violence does not necessarily increase votes for the ruling party, but it reduces turnout of opposition supporters. Recent studies by Freedom House and Bratton & Masunungure (August 2012) support the thesis that political intimidation by the ruling party suppresses turnout for the opposition party. The two studies found that in the period after 2008, support for ZANU-PF and MDC-T stood neck to neck, but a significant percentage (about 30 percent) of Zimbabweans refused to report party allegiance. Refusal to indicate party identification amongst Zimbabwean voters is correctly identified as an expression of fear and a response to political intimidation. Political repression has played and will continue to play an important role in shaping how voters view political parties and their choice to participate or exit from politics. Political violence is thus a tool like any other political

¹⁵ Border Gezi, Zimbabwean Minister for Youth and Employment; [BBC report](#): (date: April 28, 2001), Christopher Giwa, Zimbabwe (activist), Brigadier Armstrong Gunda, Zimbabwe; Abdalnabi Kadhem, Bahrain; [Government Inaction: Bahrain Watch](#), May 26, 2001; Moven Mahachi, former Zimbabwean Minister of Defense; [The Independent report](#): Sydney Malunga, Zimbabwe, “Nikita” Mangena, Zimbabwe, Elliot Manyika, Zimbabwe, Solomon (Shloyme) Mikhoels (Соломон Михайлович Михоэлс (Вовси)), Soviet Union (date: December 13, 1948), Mthandazo Ndema Ngwenya, Zimbabwe, Peter Pamire, Zimbabwe (business executive), Oswaldo Paya, Cuba (dissident); [Late Cuban Dissident's Family Doubts Crash Report](#): Peter Orsi. *My Way* August 1, 2012. Witness Rukarwa, Zimbabwe, Josiah Tongogara, Zimbabwe, Christopher Ushewokunze, Zimbabwe, Justice Ziyambi, Edison Zvogbo, Zimbabwe

instrument available to political elites to shape voting behavior. As with the other explanations, repression and intimidation alone cannot explain the survival of ZANU-PF. The past decade has shown that Zimbabweans are committed to and have developed a strong love affair with elections. With the exception of the run-off election in 2008, voters have consistently turned out to vote since 2000.

When asked why they continue to vote in such adverse circumstances, Zimbabweans have often said “my vote is my right.” The use of violence had negative results for the ruling party in the last election. After the first round of the 2008 election, the weeks leading to run-off were rife with violence. Images of people brutalized beyond recognition made rounds on both local and international media, forcing the MDC candidate, Mr. Tsvangirai, to withdraw from the process, leaving Mr. Mugabe to run uncontested. The campaign of violence unleashed by agents of the ruling party delegitimized Mr. Mugabe’s win, and the president was forced into a unity government with the opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai. I also propose a theory of electoral violence, which suggests that violence can be used to force opposition supporters to withdraw from politics while mobilizing the incumbent support base to turn out and vote.

Citizen participation determines the quality of a political system and its processes. When voters vote and engage their politicians through petition, and in some cases demonstrations, it legitimizes the political system. When voters are prevented from participating, are disengaged, and/or stay away from politics, the quality of the democratic process is undermined. In our ever-globalizing world, migration has become easier, allowing people an easy route in and out of their home countries.

3 EMIGRATION AND PARTY SURVIVAL

In this chapter, I bring in two major sources of data – interviews from Zimbabwean emigrants and survey data from the Afrobarometer – to test one aspect about my theory. I have argued that voter exile in the form of emigration bolsters the ruling party by weakening the core opposition support base. First, I detail the patterns of migration for Zimbabweans over time. Next, I establish the profile of a typical emigrant. Finally, I match the profile to that of an opposition party supporter.

3.1 Migration patterns in Zimbabwe

Migration in and out of Zimbabwe pre-dates the most recent wave of migration that began in the late 1990s. Due to its central location in southern Africa, sharing borders with South Africa, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, and Namibia, Zimbabwe has been a sending, receiving, and transient country. South Africa has always been a preferred destination for Zimbabwean migrants. In the 1940s, migration was mostly to gold and diamond mines. Migration out of Zimbabwe was largely male-dominated until the 1960s and 1970s when women began short-term migration to South Africa for part time work. In the period leading up to independence, white migration increased as white Zimbabweans – in anticipation of black majority rule – left the country in thousands, dwindling the white population to less than one million.

Zimbabwe has also been a host of labor migrants, not only from neighboring countries Malawi, Zambia, and Mozambique, but also from Asia and Europe. Descendants of labor migrants would become important political groups in the post-2000 era. The majority of black African immigrants worked on farms run by decedents of European immigrants. These populations would find themselves in a fight for identity as the citizenship and residency laws

changed in the recent decades. Zimbabwe continues to be a transient country for Africans from as far out as Uganda seeking to travel to South Africa and Botswana.

Aside from emigration in 2000, there have been at least four other distinct waves of emigration in the last century as identified by Pasura (2008a). Between 1975 to the early 1980s, a significant number of white Zimbabweans left the country; many emigrated to Britain, where they reclaimed their ancestral citizenship, and others moved to the neighboring South Africa (Dominic Pasura, 2012). As Tevera and Crush (2003: 6) explain, “between 1980 and 1984, 50,000 to 60,000 whites left the country because they could not adjust to the changing political circumstances and the net migration loss was over 10,000 per year.”

The current wave of migration began in the late nineties as the economy began its initial decline. Forced to leave home because of declining economic conditions, Zimbabweans were leaving their home country on a daily basis. Although Zimbabweans are now scattered all over the world, the top two destinations for Zimbabweans have been South Africa and the United Kingdom. The United Nations and World Bank statistics place the Zimbabwean emigrant population at about four million with at least three million of that population resident in South Africa and the United Kingdom. Between 2001 and 2008, the population of Zimbabwean immigrants in Britain increased from 47,158 to 200,000, and the numbers would only continue to increase. It is hard to get official estimates of the Zimbabweans in South Africa because the majority of immigrants in South Africa are undocumented.

The constant movement of people within and between countries and their changing legal status makes it difficult to gather conclusive data of who is living where. This is true for the Zimbabwe migrant population as well. According to a UNCHR 2011 report, Zimbabwe was one of the top asylum-seeking countries with over 51,000 asylum applicants submitted by

Zimbabweans living abroad. In 2011, South Africa issued over 65,000 work permits to Zimbabwean employees, many of whom had been working illegally in South Africa.

In the early 2000s, at the beginning of the crisis, the first wave of migrants left the country for the United Kingdom. The majority of migrants were middle class professionals, primarily nurses and teachers who could afford the cost of international airfare and had the networks to allow them to do so. In the late 1990s, most professionals emigrated via official recruitment channels in the United Kingdom or Canada (Chikanda, 2005). Those who did not emigrate using official channels benefited from social networks already established by friends and family in the country of destination. In the early 2000s, emigration had been a relatively simple affair because the immigration laws in South Africa and the United Kingdom were friendly towards Zimbabweans. Until 2003, Zimbabweans travelling to the United Kingdom and South Africa did not need a visitor's visa for entry. There is very little data available on Zimbabwean migrants because both the destination and sending countries did not collect good data on entry and exit. From the U.K. data is available for official entry, but there is nothing on exit or those who switched their status from visitor to refugee or permanent resident.

A second peak of exit occurred during the 2005 election period. In 2005, the economy was in a clear decline and the political situation continually unstable. Most of those who left during this time were going to South Africa. Until 2005, South Africa had been a short-term destination for people going to trade and returning home. Great Britain was no longer a favorable destination because of a new visa system introduced in April 2004. Until 2004, Zimbabweans entering the United Kingdom as tourists did not need a visa. After 2004, in addition to a visa requirement, visitors needed to provide additional financial support for their application, and at a minimum applicants needed to prove that they had at least three thousand pounds in a savings

account. Zimbabweans found ways to enter into the U.K. using manufactured documentation, such as fake college acceptance letters, but the laws in the U.K. were tightening, making it harder to enter the country illegally. The U.K. was also increasingly deporting Zimbabweans. Although South Africa had also changed its visa requirements, asking that Zimbabweans acquire a visa before travel, the process was a lot less cumbersome and easier to manipulate. South Africa remained accessible to both immigrants with money and those without. As the economy deteriorated, devastating reports of people who died while attempting to swim across the Limpopo increased.

The peak of the economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe occurred in 2008, and in response to the troubles on the economic and political front Zimbabweans again left their country in thousands, headed to neighboring South Africa and Botswana. The choice of destination is closely related to the financial status of those in the country at that time. By 2008, the economic situation was under such turmoil that traditional economic classification of upper, middle, working classes no longer made sense. Almost everyone was poor and living from hand to mouth. In fact, the wealthiest Zimbabweans at that time were those who had worked in the informal sector selling foreign currency and basic groceries on the black market.

3.2 Mapping out respondents in the United Kingdom, South Africa and United States

Given the sensitive nature of the study and low response rate in previous studies of politics in Zimbabwe, I chose to use a snowball or chain referral sampling method to find participants. This is best because respondents are approached through someone whom they trust and feel confident with, thereby increasing their confidence and trust in the researcher. The snowballing method was also the best for this project because it is usually much more difficult to approach small immigrant populations, especially if the project covers sensitive topics such as

legal status in the host country. Snowballing has been applied to research involving less visible subjects, especially those that might be involved in drug behavior (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Snowballing is discouraged by scholars who fear that contacts gathered through this process tend to share similar characteristics and are therefore not always representative of the population of interest (Welch 1975). While this is a valid concern, representativeness for studies on special populations has to be thought of differently from representativeness in studies of bigger populations. Flick (2007b) had the following to say about representativeness:

“[Q]ualitative researchers are interested in people who are ‘really’ concerned and experienced with the issue under study. So we are looking for the core cases for the experience, knowledge, practice, etc., we want to study. In this way, our sample should be representative – not in a statistical way or in representing the reality in a basic population. Rather, our cases should be able to represent the relevance of the phenomenon we want to study in our research participants’ experience and concern with this phenomenon.”

I also made the decision not to contact respondents through formal organizations. One of the reasons for doing this is that most respondents lost confidence in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) after a leading NGO became involved in the Home Office self-deportation scandal in 2008. That same NGO had conducted interviews within the diaspora community and are rumored to have given the Home Office the edge they needed to continue deportations. I worried that if community leaders, especially those affiliated with political organizations, approached respondents, their responses might be influenced by their attitudes towards people of authority. To decide on which communities to approach in the United Kingdom, I relied the mapping exercise of the diaspora conducted by Pasura in 2007.

The few studies on the Zimbabwean diaspora have received much of their information from elites, and this tends to give a skewed perception of the political activities of average people in the diaspora. In total, I contacted 30 Zimbabweans whom I knew personally and through contacts and shared with them my research agenda. I asked each key informant to contact between ten to 20 people within their community to ask them to participate in my research study. I used the information gathered from my informants to gain an understanding of their communities and general attitudes towards interview participation. Most of the diaspora communities tended to be divided along tribal lines. I approached seven Ndebele informants, ten Shona informants, and three white key informants in the United Kingdom, United States, and South Africa.

3.2.1.1 The United Kingdom

For this part of the study, my interest was in Zimbabweans who emigrated between 1999 and 2010. In general, Zimbabweans are Christians and tend to find a church in areas they relocate to. In the last decade, a lot of Zimbabwean churches have started in the U.K., South Africa, and the U.S. in populous areas. Church tends to be conducted in the local vernacular, either Shona or Ndebele. The key informants that I worked with had links with Zimbabweans in these communities, but were not necessarily church leaders. Once I interviewed a new contact, I asked them to introduce me to someone else in their community to increase the diversity of the respondents. I also contacted respondents through Zimbabwean groups on Facebook and other social networking sites. This was the best approach for contacting white Zimbabweans who have easily assimilated into local communities and tend not to be a part of Zimbabwean churches or social groups. To gain better understanding of the situation of Zimbabweans in the diaspora, I spoke with three immigration lawyers, community coordinators at two asylums, and refugee

centers in Scotland and in Cape Town. I also spoke with academics and scholars in the United Kingdom and South Africa. All in all, 100 interviewees participated in the research.

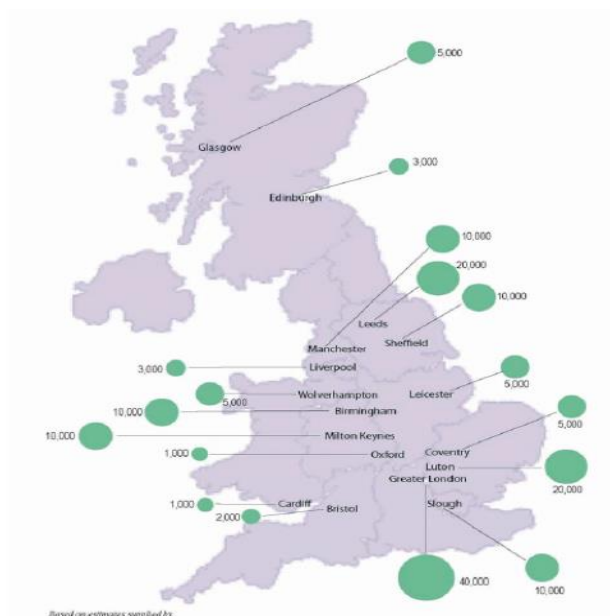


Figure 4 Geographical spread of Zimbabweans in the U.K

The mapping exercise on location of Zimbabweans done by Pasura (2007) revealed that the majority of Zimbabweans first (in the early 2000) emigrated to greater London (est. 40,000) and nearby cities Luton (est. 20,000), Slough (est. 10,000), and a small population settled in Scotland (est. 8,000). Using this as a guide, seven of my ten informants were from the greater London areas, and there I spoke with about 60 Zimbabweans but only interviewed 19 of them formally. The data from the other conversations was not in structured interviews but was important for restructuring the formal interviews and gaining a deeper understanding of the lives of people in the diaspora.

Informal interviews and conversations with Zimbabweans in the greater London area suggested that in the mid-2000s Zimbabweans emigrated from the south to the north to Scotland because the immigration process was much easier and there were better opportunities for

employment. I contacted three key informants in Edinburgh, Sterling, and Glasgow. From those contacts, I attended a number of Zimbabwean gatherings, including church services, and managed to interview ten more respondents formally. The total formal interviews here were 29.

3.2.1.2 The Republic of South Africa

Zimbabweans have historically travelled to South Africa in search of employment and trade opportunities. In the early 1920s, young males made the journey across the Limpopo to work in the mines known to locals as *egoli*, in reference to the gold mining. In the late 1970s and 1980s, white Zimbabweans fleeing the war and later black majority rule left in thousands, some to the United Kingdom but mostly to South Africa. The low cost of travel and close proximity with home meant that Zimbabweans of different income groups, education, and age found it easy to legally and illegally cross the border into South Africa. The UN estimates that at least two million Zimbabweans are in South Africa. There is debate about the veracity of these estimates, but what is not debated is that a large number of Zimbabweans have made South Africa their new home.

A study by Makina (2008) found that migration has indeed increased over the years. Between 1979 to 1999, immigration into South Africa from Zimbabwe was a mere 354 (8 percent of total immigrants), between 2000 and 2002 the number sharply increased to 4300, and by 2008 the number was as high as 800,000 (Makina, 2008). Zimbabweans are largely located in Johannesburg and Capetown, but they can be found in nearly every major South African city. Zimbabweans have permeated every sphere of South African life from those working in farms to CEOs and television personalities.

The high number of Zimbabweans in South Africa made it an easy and obvious choice for research. Unlike migrants in the United Kingdom, Zimbabweans in South Africa are not

nearly as suspicious of researchers. The decision to conduct fieldwork in Capetown was only finalized after I had spent two weeks in Capetown mapping out the diversity of the Zimbabwean population. The mapping exercise was done by spending time in different communities, attending social gatherings, and living in Capetown. Once I felt confident that the population was diverse enough in terms of race, tribe, age, income class, and gender I approached random Zimbabweans asking if they would be willing to be interviewed. I also used the snowballing method, although the first respondents were contacted through key informants. In the end, I interviewed 40 respondents in South Africa: 20 in Capetown, ten in Johannesburg, and ten in nearby small towns and cities.

3.2.1.3 The United States

The two top destinations for Zimbabweans in the diaspora have been South Africa and the United Kingdom, but there is a significant population of Zimbabweans in the United States. In general, the number of Africans in the United States is quite low compared to other countries of origin. The U.S. Census counted 12,148 Zimbabweans in 2000, up from 5,222 Zimbabweans in 1990. The rise is consistent with increased numbers of Zimbabweans in other parts of the world.

There have not been any mapping exercises of Zimbabweans in the United States to my knowledge, and any information on Zimbabwean immigrants is generally presented as part of a larger study on African immigrants (Waters, Ueda, & Marrow, 2009). However, I gathered information from Zimbabwean networking sites, and from engaging with different contacts it became clear that the majority of Zimbabweans in the United States are in Texas and Indianapolis. Although the number of Zimbabwean associations has declined, there are a few associations who list their membership on the Internet. I also used the presence of Zimbabwean

churches in the United States, such as the Forwarding Faith Ministries (the most international Zimbabwean church), to identify areas for interviews. I benefited from being a part of the United States Achievers Program (USAP), a program founded in 1999 to assist high-achieving Zimbabwean students to enroll in colleges in the United States. Since 1999, the program has assisted over 500 students in relocating to further their studies in the United States.

I used the USAP students as a starting point to build a database of Zimbabwean networks. The student groups were useful because they tend to actively seek out Zimbabweans communities and churches, they are wide spread across the United States, and they tend to be more active on social networks. However, because the USAP population is very select and unique from regular immigrants, I only interviewed two USAP students, instead focusing on their other connections with the organization. USAP students leave the country when they are between 18 and 20 years of age, and none of them to my knowledge have ever participated in an election in their home country. Only a handful of students have since returned home. Using the USAP connection, I was able to gather information on more than 20 Zimbabwean associations in the United States. The associations include religious groups, development groups, and political parties, mostly U.S. branches of the MDC. In the United States, as in the UK and South Africa, supporters of the ZANU-PF are hard to find and do not organize themselves into groups. Although the USAP student population is not representative of the average immigrant, it does show that the youth are seeking opportunities outside their home country ,and when they find them they are not returning home – at least not in the early years.

Respondents in the United States were approached through key informants in the 20 associations I identified in earlier research. The methodology was not nearly as systematic as the one employed in the United Kingdom and South Africa, as the United States is a much bigger

country, and it was difficult to conduct studies in every important state. In the end, I interviewed a total of 21 respondents in the United States. I met people in Georgia, Texas, Oregon, California, Indiana, and the Washington, D.C.-Maryland-Virginia metro areas.

Figure 7 provides a visual summary of the location of respondents. The spread of respondents in this study is consistent with the geographical spread of Zimbabwean emigrants around the world. The majority of Zimbabweans have taken residency in South Africa and the United Kingdom. However, this study underrepresents immigrants in other neighboring countries, especially Botswana. Also not represented are immigrants in Australia and Canada. However, the findings provide us a starting point to learn the political impact of migration.

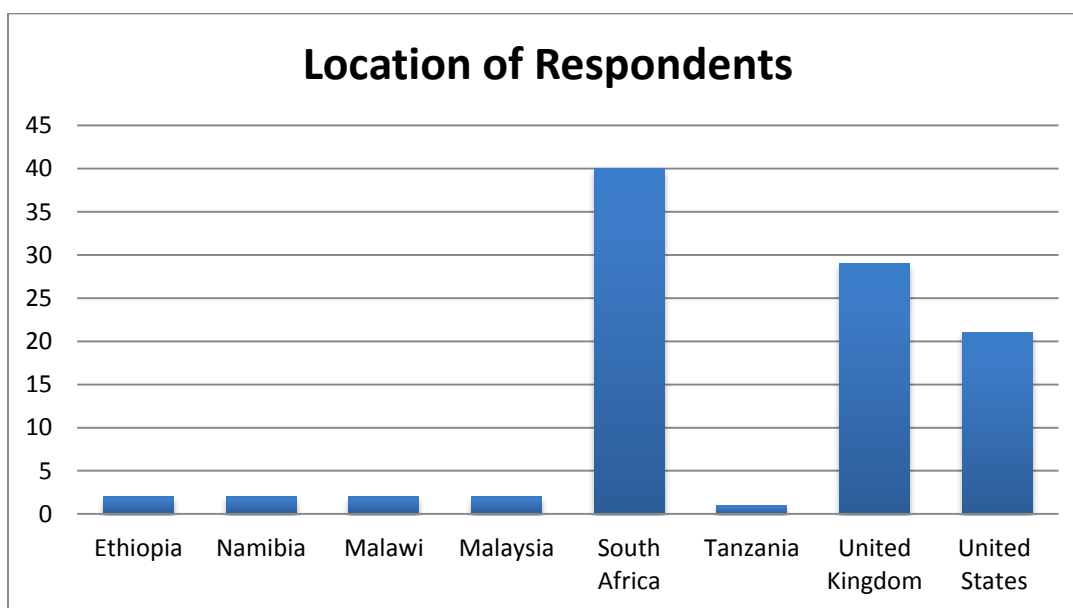


Figure 5 Location of the Zimbabwean Diaspora

3.2.1.4 Creating the interview questions and structure, identifying the target group and interviewees

The interview was divided into four parts. The introduction section (added in the field) asked interviewees to tell the researcher about themselves: where they were born, grew up, and

went to school, etc. The questions were meant to increase the comfort level of the respondent and build a rapport with the researcher. The second part was a structured set of questions on demographic features, including hometown, year of emigration, reasons for emigration, and the actual emigration. The third part included questions on life in the home country: occupation, education (improvements after arrival in the home country), and more sensitive questions on immigration status. The final part of the interview included questions on links with the home country, remitting behavior, access and interest in local political affairs (e.g. news), voting behavior before emigration and after, party preferences, and hypothetical questions on voting behavior in 2000, 2008, and upcoming elections in 2013. The conclusion allowed for the respondent to ask questions and for those who refused to provide written consent at the start of the interview another chance to do so (all respondents refused).

3.2.1.4.1 Interview Guides

While the interviews were structured, there was a lot of flexibility in the order in which the questions were asked. The advantage of this is that I collected data that can be compared across different interviews. With the exception of two interviews conducted with two people each, the rest of the interviews were individual interviews. The reason for this was that respondents felt better sharing personal information, especially regarding their legal status, in private. In a few instances, due to the small size of the immigrant communities, I would end up having group interviews after some individual interviews. Each interview lasted an average of an hour, with the exception of a few that went over three hours each.

3.2.1.4.2 Language, setting, and duration

The interviews were conducted in multiple languages, but most of the interaction was in English. Zimbabweans are bi- and multi-lingual, and most speak English and either Ndebele or

Shona or all three languages. In general, Shonas tend to only speak English and Shona, while Ndebeles tend to speak all three languages and whites and other racial minorities tend to only speak English. All the primary questions were asked in English, but the interviewees were encouraged to respond in a language of their choosing. A pattern did form, where respondents would answer sensitive questions in their native language, perhaps because it was easiest to explain complex circumstances in the native language than in English and also because using native languages encouraged the respondent to speak informally.

The location of the interview was almost always the choice of the interviewee, and many of the interviews took place in people's private homes. Respondents felt more comfortable in the security of their private environments. This was also a practical decision, especially for interviews that occurred at the height of European winter in December and January in the United Kingdom.

3.3 The profile of a Zimbabwean migrant

The profile of exiles is important because demographic factors influence political choice, and this in turn influences the structure of the political scene. This migrant profile is also important because *this is the profile of the middle class and that of a risk-taking participant who is willing and able to organize opposition politics.*

The key demographic features of the respondents, gender, age and, tribes, are discussed below. The majority of Zimbabwean emigrants are young and generally under the age of 30. Among those who were interviewed, 80 percent of the respondents were between the ages of 21 and 40; over 70 percent were urbanites, having emigrated from Harare (57 percent) or Bulawayo (20 percent), the two major cities; 50 percent of the respondents were male; and 60 percent were highly educated, with at least 20 percent holding a degree beyond the first bachelor's degree.

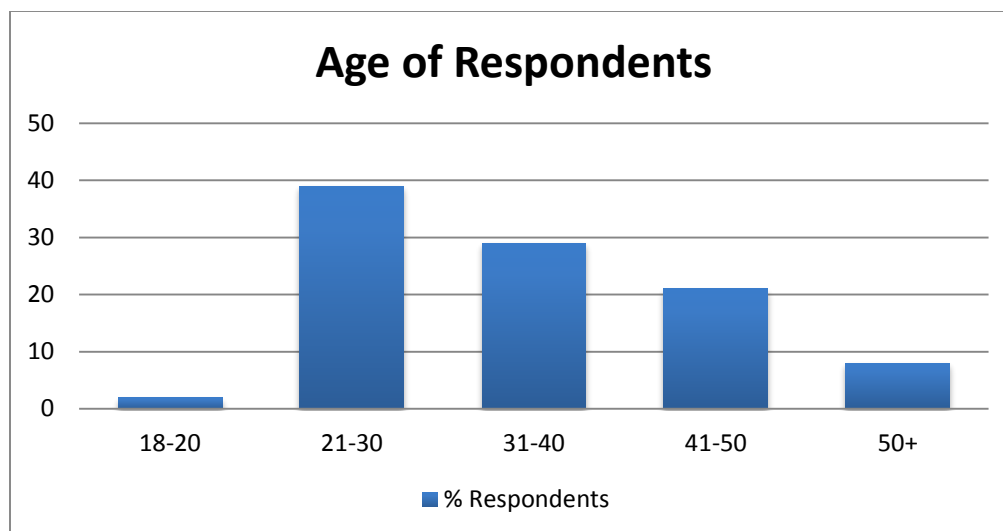


Figure 6 Age of Diaspora Respondents

3.3.1.1 Gender

The gender breakdown of the respondents interviewed was 50 percent female and 50 percent male. This is close to the gender breakdown in other key studies, such as those done by Makina et al (2007) where their gender breakdown was 41 percent female and 59 percent male, and those by Pasura where the breakdown was 43 percent female and 57 percent male.

3.3.1.2 Age

The migrant population is young, with 68 percent of the respondents between the ages of 21 and 40. This is consistent with the two comparable studies of Pasura and Makina. The fact that most respondents left after the age 21 means that most left after the completion of secondary education. It also means that most of the respondents were in the working age group. The majority of those who left the country were young, and the young tend to be the ones who push for social movements. The impact of their exit was felt in the declining public opposition to ZANU-PF. As Zimbabweans emigrated, the number of people willing to attend rallies dwindled. Exit of young people also had a negative impact on the economy.

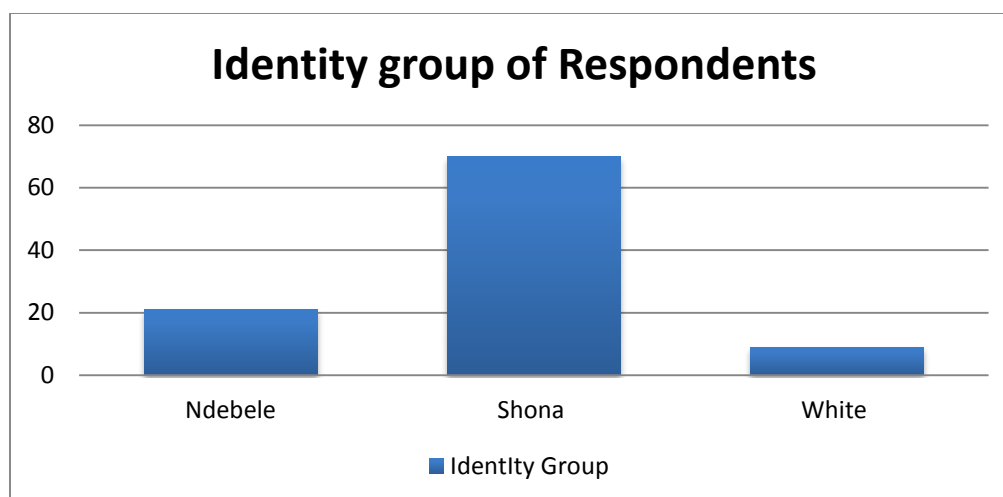


Figure 7 Diaspora Identity Groups

3.3.1.3 Tribe

The majority of respondents are Shona (70 percent); this is consistent with the actual tribe breakdown in Zimbabwe where an estimated 85 percent are Shona, 13 percent are Ndebele, and the rest are a combination of other minority groups: white, Asian, and others. The other groups, Ndebele (21 percent) and whites (9 percent), are oversampled, but given the size of the sample it provides a good balance of the diversity of views. In most African countries, ethnicity plays an important role in the way that people vote in elections. In Zimbabwe, the political and economic crisis had a marked impact across all groups of citizens. Zimbabweans from every tribal group were seeking opportunities to leave the country at the same rate. Their exit was forced in different ways; most whites left in response to the land reform while blacks left in response to the general decline in economic and political conditions.

3.3.1.4 Hometown of Respondents

Consistent with findings from other studies (Makina, 2008; D. Pasura, 2009), the majority of those who left were urbanites. They emigrated from the two largest cities, Harare and Bulawayo. My theory hinges on the impact of voter exit on the strength of the opposition. The

MDC was an urban party; they relied on urban support to win elections. The mass exodus of urbanites was likely to weaken the opposition in their urban bases, and it did.

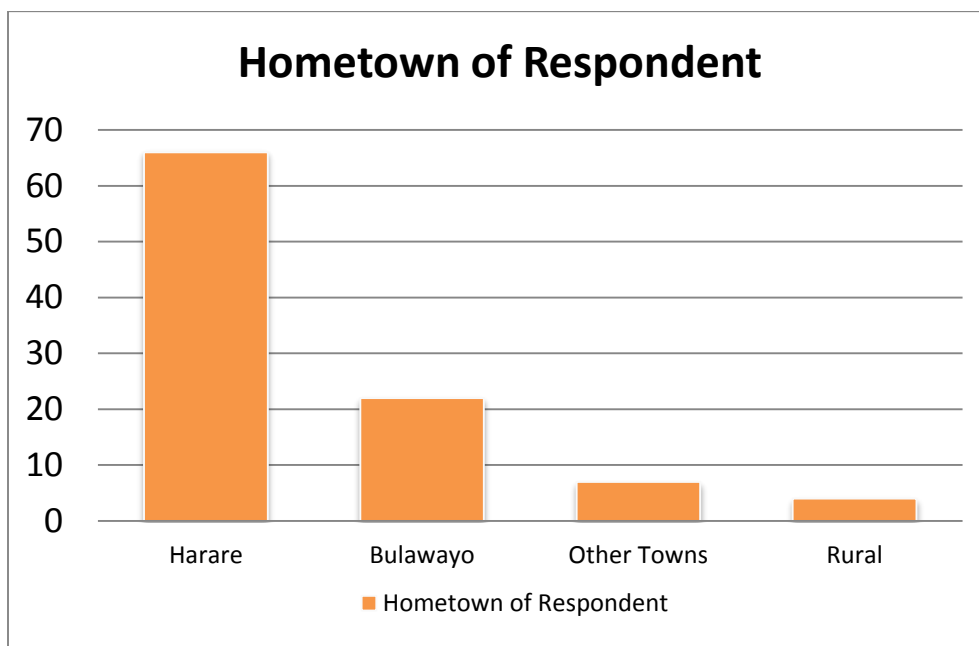


Figure 8 Diaspora Hometown

3.3.1.5 Education

The migrant population, in addition to being young, is also highly educated; the majorities of emigrants left after completing their high school education and have since then furthered their studies. Figure 11 shows the age profiles of respondents for the large-scale project by Daniel Makina (2007) and for this study in 2013. The young are certainly leaving the country much more than the older migrants.

The education profile presents a comparison between the emigrant profile of respondents in the larger Makina study conducted with over 5,000 Zimbabweans in South Africa and the profile for this study conducted with just over 100 respondents in the United States, United Kingdom, South Africa, and returning diasporans in Zimbabwe. The average Zimbabwean emigrant in the large-N and small-n studies are highly educated. Respondents in the small-n

study have more education than the larger study, but that is probably a result of being a much smaller study with a sample size of 100.

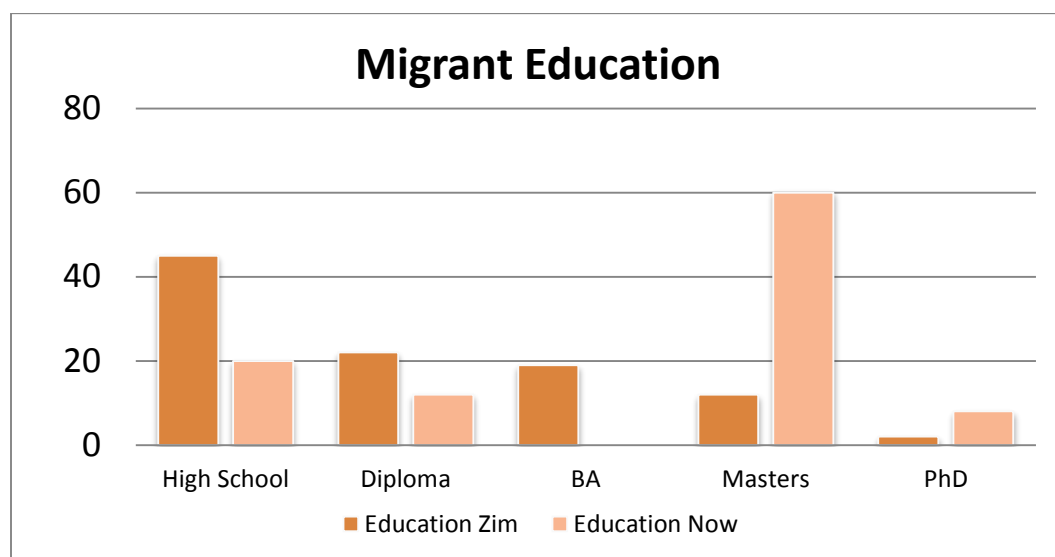


Figure 9 Diaspora Education

During their time in the diaspora, most Zimbabweans have continued to further their studies, improving on the skills they already had prior to emigrating. When they first emigrated, the majority of respondents either had a high school education (40 percent) professional training such as a teacher-training certificate (20 percent), but in 2013 the majority of respondents reported having a university degree (56 percent). Once people have completed their education, the next logical step is that they should find gainful employment to be able to support themselves and their families. As the economic situation in Zimbabwe declined, the young who were just finishing high school and university degrees were the most badly affected. High school graduates wanting to further their studies found very limited opportunities to do so.

The youth are the backbone of the country, and their development tends to be a crucial indicator of how well an economy is doing. Younger workers (ages 18 to 30) the world over

generally tend to face higher levels of unemployment than other age groups. According to the 2012 annual labor and unemployment report by the United Nations' International Labor Organization (ILO), close to 75 million, or 12.6 percent, of 15 to 24 year olds are out of work. The Middle East has the highest unemployment of youth at 26 percent (3.4 million), but in real numbers unemployment is highest in Sub-Saharan Africa where over 11 percent of the region's youth are unemployed, translating to over 10 million unemployed youth.

3.4 Declining Economy & Middle Class Exit: The case of nurses

In the ten years between 1999 and 2009, unemployment in Zimbabwe rose sharply from 48 percent in 1999 to over 95 percent in 2009. Between 2002 and 2009, unemployment has stayed above 60 percent. More recent figures indicate that out of the country's 12 million people, only 480,000 were formally employed in 2008, down from 3.6 million in 2003 (The United Nations Office of the Coordination Humanitarian Affairs [UNOCHA], 2008). Data from large-scale Afrobarometer household surveys also show increasing unemployment between 1999 and 2009. What is not captured in the data but was clearly present is underemployment. Most Zimbabweans were doing work far below their training level or not working full time. As the political situation declined, industries closed and left many unemployed or underemployed.

Unemployment in Zimbabwe is directly linked to the political and economic crisis that has plagued Zimbabwe since 2000. The unstable economic environment during this period led to the proliferation of the informal sector and parallel (black) market, which absorbed most of the young people as agents and brokers. The most referenced professional immigrant group are health workers, in particular nurses who were the first documented group to leave the country. The impact of emigration was greatest in the health care and education industries. The exodus of teachers and nurses is the most well-documented and provides the clearest picture of the impact

of the economic conditions on decisions by the middle class to leave the country and about how their exit created a vacuum in the political atmosphere.

The backbone of the Zimbabwean economy, like that in most of the developing world, had been civil servants, teachers, nurses, and doctors. The health care and educational sectors were the hardest hit by the reforms advised under ESAP. In 1992, doctors and nurses began referring to "ESAP deaths," described as deaths caused by the inability of patients to pay for the minimal length of time in the hospital or for prescription medicine (Chikanda, 2005). Then Minister of Health, Dr. Timothy Stamps, acknowledged that only one in ten Zimbabweans could afford to pay for their own healthcare. Yet fees remained in place, largely at the insistence of ESAP policymakers. In the mid-1990s, as conditions in the public sector initially declined many doctors, nurses, and technicians were tempted into seeking employment in the higher-paying and better-equipped local private sector.

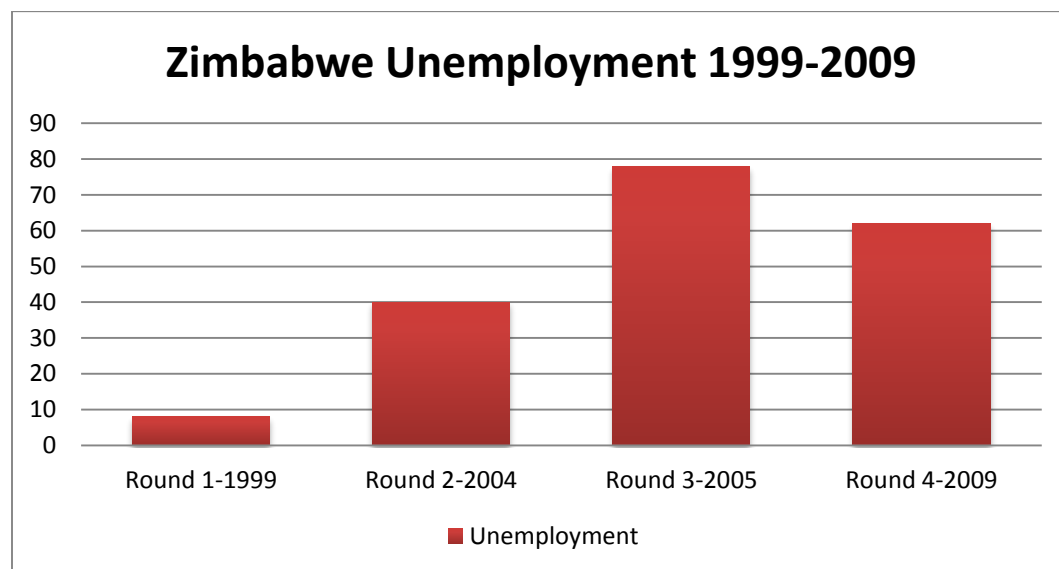


Figure 10 Zimbabwe Unemployment 1999-2009

However, even in the private sector the situation continued to deteriorate, forcing medical

professionals to seek opportunities abroad. By 2000, at least 17 percent of healthcare professionals indicated that if given the opportunity they would emigrate to work abroad or that they had already secured work opportunities abroad. That number would rise to over 60 percent by 2005 (Chikanda, 2005). In real terms, by 2000 a reported 18,000 Zimbabwean nurses were reported to be working abroad, mostly in South Africa, the United Kingdom, and Australia (Mangwende, 2002). For instance, while there were 15,476 registered nurses in Zimbabwe in 1998, only 12,477 remained by December 2001 (CSO 2003). At the same time, by 2003 the number of Zimbabweans registered in the UK had risen from 52 in 1999 to 485 in 2003.

In earlier studies of immigrant professionals Chikanda (2002) and Tevera and Crush (2010) found that 48 percent of the total migrants in South Africa from Zimbabwe had been skilled professional workers, and that of the skilled professionals a majority (69 percent) had been health professionals. No economy can survive such a drain, especially since inward migration to Zimbabwe slowed down in the mid-1990s with the exception of refugees, especially those coming in from the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Figure 10 provides an overview of the employment of respondents during their time in Zimbabwe and in the host country. This provides a clear connection between exit and poverty. Among those interviewed for this project, 15 percent reported that they had been unemployed before they emigrated from Zimbabwe. Once we factor in those who reported to have returned to school because of the weak job market, the numbers rise to over 30 percent. In Zimbabwe, formal unemployment has hovered over 98 percent in the last decade. The majority of those who reported being employed had been employed as professionals, a mixture of accountants and lawyers, and seven percent responded that they had been teachers. These findings, although very

small, do add a missing piece in our knowledge of the Zimbabwean diaspora, as past studies have mostly focused on teachers and nurses.

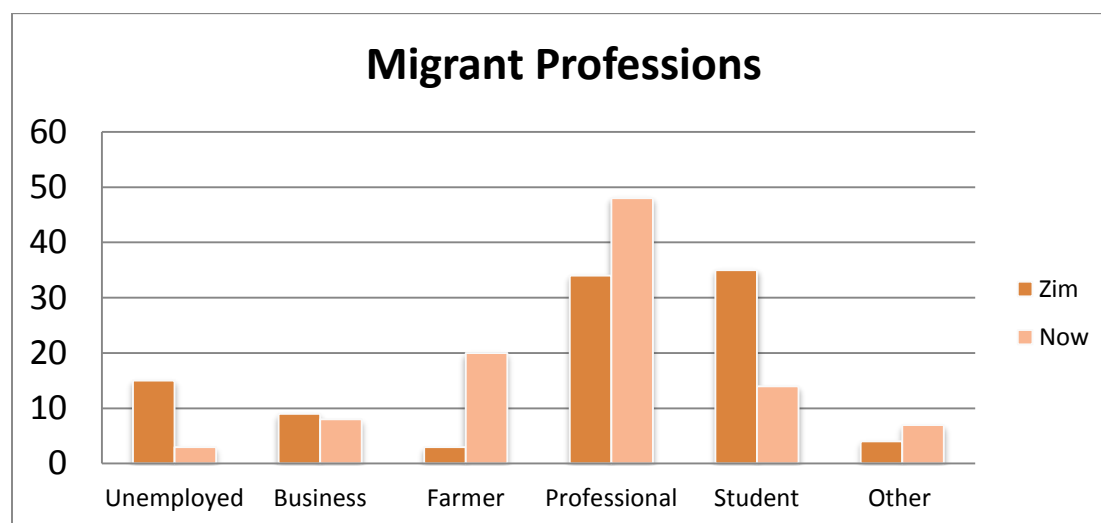


Figure 11 Diaspora Professions

The mass exodus of nurses and teachers who made up the bulk of trade unions created a problem for the newly found opposition party, MDC. The MDC was founded by leaders in the trade unions and thus relied on the financial backing of trade union members. It was also much easier for the party to advocate for their issues via the organized professional networks.

Additionally, teachers and nurses had served as grassroots leaders for the movements in their local communities. For example, in the Matabeleland province, the MDC had relied heavily on headmasters to mobilize other teachers and locals. Unfortunately, as teachers sought out opportunities in neighboring South Africa and the United Kingdom, they often left as entire communities. In the worst cases, a school would lose about 20 teachers within the same term. This was also true in hospitals. Those in Matabeleland had an easier time relocating to South Africa because they did not face language and cultural barriers faced by their Shona counterparts.

In the first study of professionals abroad, when asked why they had emigrated the majority of professionals cited the deteriorating economic and political reasons as the major motivating factor for their exit. These findings by Chikanda (2002) presented in Figure 13 are consistent with the findings from the interviews conducted for this dissertation. In the Tevera and Crush (2010) study, they found that 48 percent of the total migrants in South Africa from Zimbabwe had been skilled professional workers, and of the skilled professionals a majority (69 percent) had been health professionals. This exit of young, educated urbanites is what sustained ZANU-PF. The profile of the Zimbabwean immigrant is also the profile of an opposition supporter who would challenge a regime like ZANU-PF.

3.4.1.1 Why are they leaving?

Why did Zimbabweans emigrate? Zimbabweans emigrated primarily in response to the failing economic conditions and the worsening political situation. Zimbabweans outside their home country, when asked to identify the major reasons for leaving home, the majority will say the economy, with political reasons as a close second. Additionally, in cases when respondents do not directly identify political reasons as a cause for their move, when asked about the background situation at home they almost always link political turmoil to the economy. In the Makina et al (2007) study, they found that 58 percent of respondents cited worsening economic conditions as their primary reason for migrating to South Africa. Results from our modest study also show the same pattern.

The majority of respondents (57 percent) cited economic reasons as the main push factor. In the interviews, the majority of respondents bemoaned the fact that they could no longer afford to support their families from their salaries that were shrinking with each day. One former insurance broker said that by 2008 his salary was no longer enough to cover his transport

expenses to work. A young man who had worked as an office clerk told the following story: in 2008, he went into town to pick up his salary, but his entire paycheck was not sufficient to cover his return bus fare. Another respondent, a mother who had worked as a preschool teacher before migrating to South Africa where she now works as a domestic worker, told a story of struggling to make tuition payments. According to this respondent, in 2005 she paid tuition fees three times during the semester for her daughter. They paid tuition at the start of the semester, and then the school requested two more additional payments, more than double the initial tuition. During that time, many of the schools, government and private, alike were struggling to make ends meet. The majority of boarding schools cut meals to two meals a day, and across the board teachers were working without pay. The tuition fees paid at the start of the semester were quickly eroded by inflation a few days into the start of the term. To bridge the gap between expenses and revenue, schools resorted to asking parents to pay “top up” tuitions. The top up was in some cases more than double the original fees.

Year	Employment	Economic	Political	Other
1979-1997	36%	27%	33%	3%
1998	40%	33%	24%	3%
1999	31%	37%	21%	11%
2000	42%	23%	31%	4%
2001	46%	19%	32%	3%
2002	22%	17%	56%	5%
2003	20%	23%	54%	3%
2004	16%	25%	55%	4%
2005	22%	29%	44%	5%
2006	34%	27%	35%	4%

Mid | 47% 31% 18% 4% |

Table 2 Time-varying Reasons for Migration to South Africa -Makina study (2007)

The second most cited reason for emigration was education. Interview data shows that had the economic situation in Zimbabwe remained stable and conditions at the national university (University of Zimbabwe) remained favorable, most of the young people would not have emigrated. The University of Zimbabwe is the heart of higher education in the country and until the early 2000s was reputed as one of the top African Universities. However, by 2000 like nearly every other public institution in the country, the University of Zimbabwe was no longer functioning. In 2003, as a direct result of hyperinflation, salaries for professors were pegged at \$2.5 million Zimbabwean dollars. Between 2000 and 2003, university lecturers and students were perpetually on strike until March 13, 2003, when the government announced that the university would close indefinitely (Mavhunga, 2003). Students at Midlands University located in the central region had to top up their tuition more than three times in 2007, while their university was shut down for the majority of that year. Tuition at local universities was increasing by the month, and by the end of 2008 students were paying the equivalent of US\$800, an increase of over 120 percent. The new fees structure was unimaginable to most students, who came from working and middle class families and whose parents were earning less than US\$100.

Main Reason for leaving	Percent	Cumulative
Economic	57	57
Education	24	81
Family	9	91
Politics	6	97
Work	3	100

Total

100

Table 3 Main Reason for Leaving Zimbabwe 2013 study

In response to the situation, those who could afford to study abroad transferred to universities abroad; the majority went to universities in South Africa. However, the majority of students came from low-income families and relied on university grants to pay for their education. This group of students dropped out or became weekly traders, going to Botswana during breaks to work menial jobs in landscaping and domestic services to pay tuition.

Struggles for democracy and change have traditionally started and taken place at universities (Seymour Martin Lipset, 1964; Petersen, 1970). In the 1960s, university protests were credited with forcing the United States government to respond to calls to end the Vietnam War. Student organizations in communist countries played an important role in rallying liberal groups via magazines and newspapers. In Poland, the student magazine *Po Prostu* (Plain Talk) was banned after an article published in the magazine led to riots (Seymour Martin Lipset, 1964). In pre-independence Africa, the majority of liberation struggle movements started on university campuses led by student leaders and faculty alike. During 1989, and for part of 1990, across sub-Saharan Africa – from Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Benin, and Nigeria in Western Africa to Cameroon, Zaire, and Gabon in Central Africa; and from Uganda, Sudan, Kenya, and Somalia in Eastern Africa to Zimbabwe and Zambia in Southern Africa – peasants, workers, the clergy, opposition political leaders, and students and other youth were among the social forces demanding political and economic changes in post-independence Africa (Nkinyangi, 1991). Student activism has a long history in Zimbabwean politics. The Rhodesian government was openly hostile to African students at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ). In 1973, a year before the start of the second *Chimurenga War*, black students at the UZ staged multiple demonstrations

resulting in the imprisonment of over 200 students for sentences ranging from six months to two years (Mlambo, 1995). In the post-independence era students at the UZ maintained their tense relationship with authorities. The MDC found students ready to engage the state on their behalf in the early 2000s. UZ students continued to make demands on the state, and the state responded to student demands by arresting protestors. Throughout the last decade, student leaders at the UZ have been consistently harassed and arrested by the police. One respondent had been a student leader at the UZ between 2000 and 2003, prior to relocating to the South Africa. He had joined student leadership because he knew it was a sure way to get involved in national politics.

Political parties understood and used the economic crises at the UZ to lure students to join youth wings in the party. Student loyalty went to the highest bidder. Association with ZANU-PF was more lucrative because the ruling party could provide better incentives for students: money, food, and other material things that were in serious shortage countrywide; while association with the MDC was punishable by beatings, and in more extreme cases death. Increased cases of violence against opposition student activists forced many students to withdraw from politics, and in some cases both politics and the university. One respondent mentioned that after being beaten in 2005 for staging protests on campus, he and ten other student leaders left the country and sought refugee status in the United Kingdom, where they completed their studies. The repressive state systems benefited from the withdrawal of students from the political space.

3.5 Middle Class frustration increased opposition support

In Zimbabwe, the MDC faced an organizationally strong ZANU-PF whose base was largely in the rural areas. To win, the MDC would need to amass all the urban support and gain ground in the rural areas. Traditionally, the opposition support base has been the urban middle

class: made up of mostly civil servants, teachers, nurses and university students. Post-independence regimes in Africa and elsewhere feared urban revolt and sought to buy urban favor by implementing pro-urban and anti-rural policies (Bates 1985). In Zimbabwe, the impact of the weakening economy in the early nineties resulted in public demands for better policies by the urbanites. The government responded by implementing retrenchment programs that offered a significant severance package to retrenched factory workers. However, the government's efforts had short-term success, and by the late 1990s the economy was in a clear decline and urbanites were very unhappy.

Middle and working class frustrations facilitated the formation of the opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), led by Trade Union leader Morgan Tsvangirai. The formation of MDC would present the ruling party with its first strong opposition movement since Tekere's ZUM in 1991. The MDC was founded on the back of a strong civic movement, accentuating the need for political and economic reforms, and the party was able to capitalize on the disgruntlement of urban citizens over the eroding economic conditions. The MDC came at a time when the younger generation of civic activists was no longer paralyzed by the fear of confronting the "Party of Liberation" and the ideological burden of liberation politics. The 1990s were a time of hopeful and energetic politics.

The combination of constitutional reform and trade union activism provided the opposition with a broad national organizational reach and an expansive campaign opportunity that radically challenged the declining exclusivity of ZANU-PF's nationalism. The newly founded MDC managed to engage thousands of activists and ordinary citizens across the country in a message of Change or *Chinga, Ngukula Izenzo*, a direct call to change the regime. Their "open palm" symbol became commonplace in towns and cities. For the first time in decades, the

air of possibility and hope dominated the political space. The MDC's mobilization and activism was rewarded in September 2000 when they successfully launched the "No" vote for constitutional reform. This would be the first time the ruling party would lose an election since independence. The constitution vote was the ruling party's idea and their attempt at showing wavering supporters that they were still in control. When the majority of Zimbabwe's voted no, the party acted in a very democratic way by accepting the election outcome.

3.6 Linking exit to politics

Now that I have established the profile of the Zimbabwean emigrant I show how that profile is linked to the profile of those opposed to ZANU-PF rule in Zimbabwe. The average Zimbabwean emigrant is young, educated, and urban. That is also the profile of the opposition supporter. The primary argument driving this dissertation is that those in the diaspora are supporters of the opposition and that given the opportunity to vote in the last decade they would have voted for the MDC. I use data available from the household surveys conducted by Afrobarometer an independent non-partisan organization. The Afrobarometer conducts regular surveys on topics related to democracy in Zimbabwe and at least 29 other countries. In Zimbabwe the surveys were conducted in 1999, 2004, 2005, 2009, 2010 and 2012. In each round a representative sample of 1,200 (in some cases 2,400) adult Zimbabweans were interviewed. Generally, the Afrobarometer Data is considered to be some of the best data available on African voters but it must be used with caution, as would be the case with any large data sets.

3.6.1.1 Opposition to ZANU-PF

In earlier chapters I discussed that prior to independence ZANU-PF had sailed through elections with super majorities. ZANU-PF was very popular especially in rural areas. However, starting in 1999 there is a marked decline in ZANU-PF popularity (see table below). This is not

surprising given the declining economic conditions and the rise in MDC's popularity. In 1999 29 percent of respondents said that they felt very close to ZANU-PF and only 5 percent said they felt to the MDC. By 2009 only 8 percent of respondents said that they felt close to the ZANU-PF and 37 percent of respondents said that they felt close to the MDC. Of note is that overtime support for other opposition parties that are not MDC had also declined as support for the MDC rose. A troubling pattern of Zimbabwean responses is the high number of respondents who say that they do not feel close to any party, and, those who refuse to say which party they feel close to. An analysis of the implications of these findings is beyond the scope of this dissertation but it does indicate some form of voter withdrawal from politics.

Among voters who remained in Zimbabwe the profile of the opposition supporter is urban, young, educated, and, unemployed. This is also the profile of those who emigrated. From the table below we see that the relationship between being urban and supporting the opposition remains strong from 1999 to 2009. If support for ZANU-PF was declining (table above) and inversely the support for the opposition was rising then how come that support did not translate into votes?

The explanation that I provide is that the core opposition supporters as identified in the table above are the same people who left. In order to win the elections, the opposition needed a decisive win, a super majority win that would not be easily questioned as was done in the 2008 election when the MDC failed to take over the presidency because they only gained 49 percent of the vote instead of 52 percent. When asked the hypothetical voting questions, "If an election were held tomorrow, which party's presidential candidate would you vote for?" Voters in the diaspora should largely indicate that they would have voted for the MDC. In fact 80 percent of respondents in our modest study said that they would have voted for the MDC had they been

able to vote in the last decade. Clearly these findings are based on evidence from a small-targeted sample of Zimbabweans in the diaspora but the support for the MDC in the diaspora is evident from the mock elections held in U.K. concurrently with elections in the home country.

Clearly support for the MDC is high but there is also some support for ZANU-PF. I was surprised that at least 16 percent of the respondents in the diaspora said that had they been home they would have voted for ZANU-PF. An implication of this finding is that support for ZANU-PF in the home country is not dead. And therefore, the exit of millions of potential opposition supporters had real implications for how well the MDC did during elections. The majority of respondents attributed their decision to emigrate to frustration with the failing economy as a result of poor governance. If voter anger had translated to votes during elections then it is unlikely that ZANU-PF would have been able to hold on to power. Instead opposition supporters voted with their feet by leaving the country.

The profile of the Opposition supporter				
Opposition Support	R1-1999	R2-2004	R3-2005	R5-2009
Rural	-1.214 (5.23)**	-0.542 (2.78)**	-1.094 (4.37)**	-1.146 (2.70)**
Age	-0.000 (0.41)	-0.012 (1.44)	-0.026 (3.42)**	0.009 (0.61)
Education	0.753 (5.08)**	0.882 (6.09)**	0.750 (5.90)**	0.906 (3.11)**
Employed	-0.243 (0.38)	-0.606 (3.09)**	-0.062 (0.25)	-0.907 (2.53)*
Head of Household			-0.253 (1.09)	0.249 (0.66)
Constant	-0.979	0.394	1.135	1.029

	(1.36)	(0.88)	(2.83)**	(1.18)
N	429	631	560	333

Table 4 Opposition Voters Profile

Voter exit also benefited ZANU-PF because further away from home some in the diaspora began to feel frustrated with the opposition. This might explain the 16 percent of respondents who said that they supported ZANU-PF. Some of the respondents also admitted that they joined MDC at its inception in 1999 because they believed that the new party was the only alternative to ZANU-PF rule. As professionals and students they had been active members of MDC, however, after the party lost the 2002 election and then the 2005 election many doubted that any party could win a free and fair election. When asked if the problems that MDC was facing at home had changed their perception about MDC the MDC as a viable opposition to ZANU-PF, the interviews suggested that those in the diaspora are frustrated with the events at home. Many of them follow the news at home everyday (77 percent) and others at least once a week (20 percent) with only a minority reporting that they hardly follow the news. But Zimbabweans abroad like those I spoke to at home admit that although MDC is an imperfect party there is great need for an alternative to ZANU-PF rule. Emigration presents a big challenge for parties like the MDC and indeed any party that relies on the diaspora for support because their support does not translate into votes. In their absence they cannot vote.

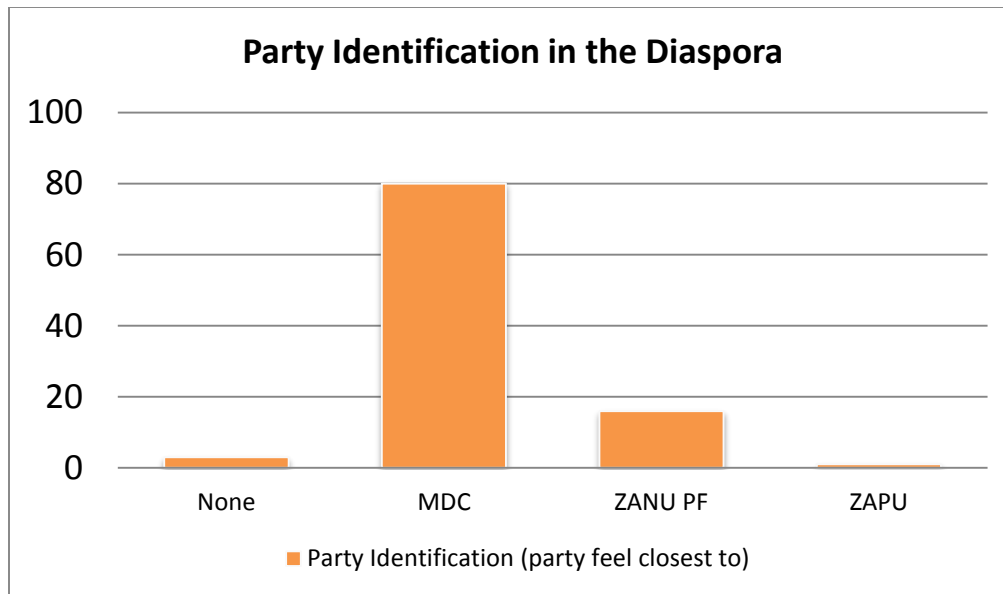


Figure 12 Diaspora Party Identification

3.6.1.2 Migration reduces turnout for the opposition

Many factors are at play in an election but ultimately elections are a numbers game. The party with the most votes wins the election. In every election since 2000 while votes for ZANU-PF declined the support for the opposition was not big enough for a decisive win. In the 2002 elections Morgan Tsvangirai narrowly failed to win the presidency. Turnout amongst the remaining urbanites was high, but their support base was not as big as it had been in the 2000 election. The MDC losses in 2002 can be tied to their declining support in urban areas and the fact that the ruling party had maintained a strong hold in rural areas. In 2002, turnout was an impressive 3,130,913(55.4 percent) but this reduced to 2,537,240 (43 percent) in the first round of the 2008 election. In 2008 the economy was at its worst and another wave of emigration began just before the March 2008 elections.

In the diaspora an impressive 80 percent of respondents said that they identified with the MDC but only 36 percent of those in the diaspora have participated in elections. Among those who have voted just 29 percent voted in an election where they supported the MDC

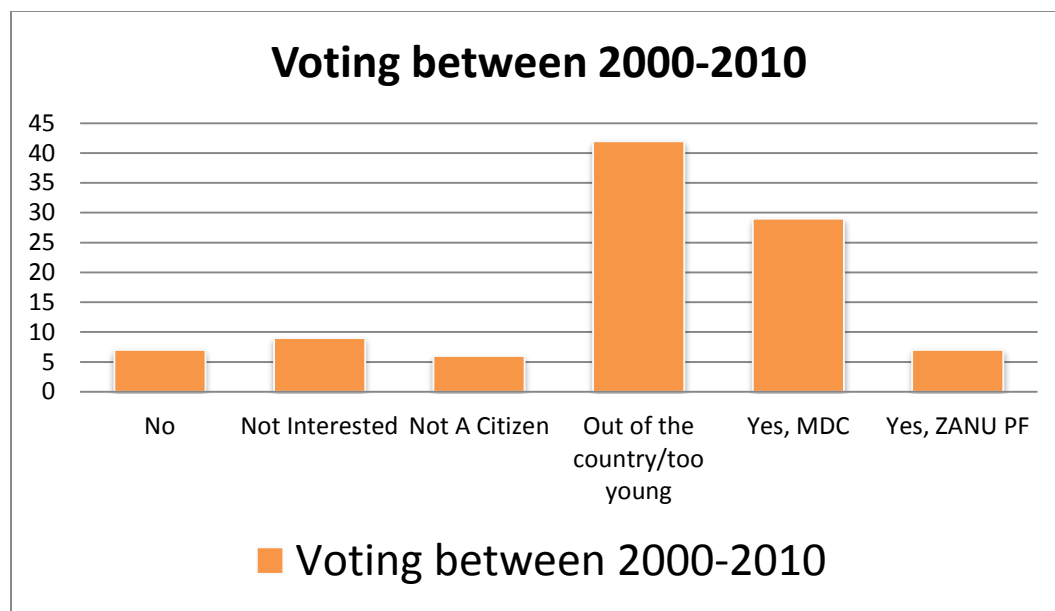


Figure 13 Diaspora Voting Patterns between 2000-2010

An overwhelming 64 percent of respondents said they had never voted in any election between 2000 and 2010. Among those who said they had never voted 42 percent of the respondents said that they have never voted in Zimbabwean election because they had been out of the country during every major election. Another finding of importance was that 9 percent of respondents said that they had never voted because when they left the country they were not yet of age. That group of respondents would now be in their late 20s and early 30s and yet they have never participated in the democratic act of voicing their preference for leadership because Zimbabwe does not allow for external voting and most of the young people would not have been able to afford to return home because of the prohibitive costs.

3.6.1.3 Voter Exit Prevents Participation, which benefits ZANU-PF

In some established democracy when someone leaves the country they are not necessarily giving up their right to vote. A lot of countries in the world have voting provisions for their

citizens in the diaspora, they either allow for mail in ballots or in the case of Mexico they might even have polling stations in the host country. This is not the case in Zimbabwe. Once someone leaves the country, unless they are willing to spend money on travel to go and vote at home they are unlikely to participate in an election. In this section I discuss additional barriers to political participation faced by those in the diaspora. These barriers I argue benefited ZANU-PF. The government recognized that allowing the diaspora to vote would likely bring an end to ZANU-PF rule and they have in the last decade actively worked to block any proposals for external voting.

3.6.1.4 Barriers to Diaspora Vote:

Zimbabwe does not allow for external voting with the exception of citizens who hold diplomatic posts abroad. The constitution in 1980 was ratified to allow for postal of voting for Zimbabweans living abroad while in service to the government. In 2005 the Electoral Act was amended limiting voting rights for those abroad and there is no mention of voting at a diplomatic mission “Eligibility to vote by post is limited to persons ordinarily resident in Zimbabwe who are resident in the constituency (electoral district) in which the election is to take place or were resident in that constituency 12 months preceding polling day and have good reason to believe that they will be absent from the constituency or unable to attend at the polling station by reason of being ‘absent from Zimbabwe in the service of the Government of Zimbabwe’ (section 71(1)(b)).”

The electoral authorities have taken great care to ensure that the external voting process is transparent for the minority who are granted the right to vote. However, the authorities in Harare have been unwilling to expand voting rights to the millions of Zimbabweans living abroad. In the last decade Zimbabweans in the diaspora, especially those in the UK have been very vocal in

their demand for the right to vote. In 2005 a coalition of Zimbabweans resident in the UK lodged a case against the government to the Zimbabwe Supreme Court (Case no. SC 22/05). The Supreme Court dismissed the case arguing that it did not hold any merit despite the fact that the constitution provides suffrage for all Zimbabweans regardless of race, creed or place of residency at the time of an election (Tungwarara, 2005). This ruling had grave implications for Zimbabwean democracy. By denying the diaspora a vote ZANU-PF was disenfranchising more than a quarter of the country's population. It is not far reaching to conclude that the ruling party was afraid that if those in the diaspora are allowed to vote they would vote in support of the opposition and bring an end to ZANU-PF rule.

Zimbabweans in the diaspora have accused the ZANU-PF government of discriminating against diasporians by only allowing a minority of population to vote. In response to the court case, the Zimbabwean government, represented by the Minister of Justice and Legal Affairs, denied that Zimbabweans living abroad were being discriminated against by the absence of external voting provisions in the constitution. The Minister who was cited as the first respondent also argued that the electoral law disqualified from the voting process voters who had been absent from Zimbabwe for 12 months or more prior to the election. When Zimbabweans in the diaspora pointed to the voting rights as documented in the Southern African Development Committee (SADC) Declaration of Human Rights Charter, the government argued that the SADC charter is a "guide that SADC countries must follow towards a future democratic idea, (but that) it is not a legal document that is binding on member states" (Tungwarara, 2005).

The government response to demands of enfranchisement by the diaspora is consistent with the ZANU-PF response to most if not all demands for better governance from citizens in the last decade. ZANU-PF has used democratic institutions such as courts to strengthen their hold to

power. In 2012 the diaspora vote issue once again came to the forefront of Zimbabwean politics during the constitution making deliberations. The Constitution Committee (COPAC) sought out a diversity of opinions and feedback on the constitution including opinions of Zimbabweans living abroad. The Zimbabwean diaspora asked for three provisions to be included in the constitution; dual citizenship, devolution of power and a diaspora vote. Dual Citizenship is important for Zimbabweans who have established residency abroad but also wish to maintain ties with their homeland. Zimbabweans living abroad argue that they should not be asked to choose between places where they have built homes for their families and their country of birth. Dual citizenship and a provision for diaspora vote would allow Zimbabweans to participate freely in their host countries as well as in the affairs of their homeland. Most Zimbabweans who migrated continue to maintain strong ties with family members who remained in Zimbabwe.

ZANU-PF party leaders have simply ignored the current draft insisting instead on 26 amendments to the current document, which could result in an entirely new document. Under their proposed draft ZANU-PF clearly objects to dual citizenship (“Zimbabwe’s constitution process a battleground,” n.d.). International and local political analysts and journalists alike argue that ZANU-PF’s objection to dual citizenship is politically motivated and interest driven. Opposition party supporters argue that ZANU-PF is afraid that dual citizenship will work in favor of the opposition parties during elections. In recent years the Zimbabwean government has argued that the current economic and political situation in Zimbabwe makes it impossible to establish external voting provisions for Zimbabweans in the diaspora.

With regards to the diaspora vote the constitutional draft is mum, and opposition leaders appear to be backtracking on their support for the measure. The MDC’s national Secretary, Mr. Bhebhe, in September 2012 argues that his party was now tabling the issue of the diaspora vote

because their fear rigging of postal votes by the ZANU-PF. Mr. Bhebe said that his party's position was that the diaspora vote be addressed at a later date as "It is not clear how the government would allow the generality of Zimbabweans outside the country, some of whom are illegal immigrants, to vote. The parties (in government) agreed that the rest of the Diasporans should be left out for now". He added that while the MDC-T agrees "in principle" that citizens in the Diaspora should be allowed to vote, there are "united liberation movements" in Southern Africa that will do anything to support their counterparts in elections." The MDC is now arguing that governments in the SADC region would rig election outcomes in support for ZANU-PF because of liberation struggle ties("Bulawayo24 NEWS | MDC-T, ZANU-PF agree to disallow diaspora postal votes," n.d.). MDC's current position on the diaspora vote is in direct contradiction with past statements by MDC President Mr. Tsvangirai who has on a number of occasions in the past openly supported the diaspora vote. The MDC Prime Minister in 2011 called for the restoration of the Diaspora Vote, which was scratched from the books by ZANU-PF in the late 80s as they feared the votes of exiled white Zimbabweans. The Prime Minister said, "The MDC believes that all adult Zimbabweans, regardless of their station either at home or in the diaspora, must be allowed to vote in the next and in any election if democracy has to assume its generic meaning out of today's political transition."(Marambanaye, n.d.).

The ZANU-PF has remained consistent in their opposition of the diaspora vote. ZANU-PF Minister of Defense Emerson Mnangangwa, spoke on behalf of his party on the diaspora vote issue arguing that the MDC wanted those in diaspora to be able to vote because they are the only ones who can address voters in Europe. The party has consistently argued that the sanctions placed on their top leaders barring them from visiting the most western countries including the United Kingdom home to the largest Zimbabwean diaspora population made a diaspora vote

hostile for the ruling party. Mr. Mnangangwa repeated the party line that, “Sanctions must go first and if they don’t, those in the diaspora would not be able to vote until they returned home”. Another ZANU-PF spokesperson and Minister of Justice Mr. Patrick Chamisa gave what he called “101 Reasons why those in exile can not vote”, among his list of reasons was the argument that the country is not financially equipped to take on such an under taking. He argued that running a successful external vote was beyond the capacity of the Zimbabwean government given the financial and logistical costs involved. Like Mr. Mnangangwa, Mr. Chamisa argued that the sanctions undermined the democratic process. Referring to the impact of travel bans on the ZANU-PF elites he said “Those individuals (referring to sanctioned elites) are senior people in a political party and one of the fundamental elements of democracy is that the voters must be accessible to all those candidates who want to seek office. They must be accessible to all not only to a few. It must not be a hostage population, only free and accessible only to one of us”(Marambanaye, n.d.).

It is highly unlikely that the Zimbabwean diaspora will get their vote. If the diaspora vote is not granted it is highly unlikely that the opposition will succeed in gaining the votes they need to oust the ruling party. As a political strategy it makes perfect sense and shows brilliant acumen that the ruling ZANU-PF would oppose that the electoral laws make a provision for the diaspora vote. It makes no sense though that the opposition MDC should also support the provision. Their argument that elections if held in other African countries would be rigged by pro-ZANU-PF regimes does not hold water. The majority of Zimbabweans in the diaspora, almost two million, are resident in South Africa. The Zuma government remains one of the biggest MDC cheerleaders on the continent. The second largest Zimbabwean diaspora is resident in Botswana, another pro-MDC government. With the exception of the Cha Chama Mapinduzi

regime in Tanzania former opposition parties lead most Southern African governments with more ties to MDC than they do with ZANU-PF. At his recent wedding Prime Minister Tsvangirai had a minister from the Zambian cabinet as his best man.

3.6.1.5 Remittances strengthened ZANU-PF hold to power

The puzzle at the heart of this project is the survival of ZANU-PF under the worst economic crisis in global history. Economic voting literature informs us that voters tend to vote out the incumbent if the economy is not doing well. The Zimbabwean economy has not been doing well for more than fifteen years. I argue that while the economy declined remittances from the diaspora provided a financial life-line for the struggling regime. While over 90 percent of Zimbabweans in the country were unemployed between two and four million Zimbabweans had found employment outside the country and the majority of those in the diaspora were remitting money on a regular bases.

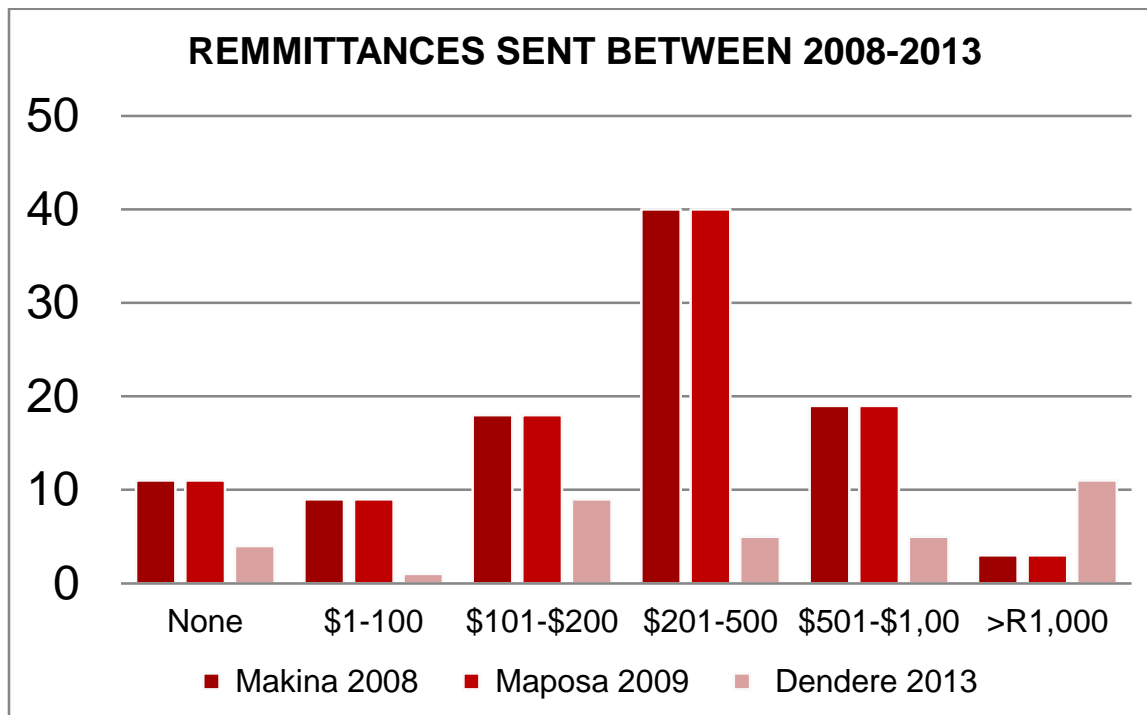


Figure 14 Diaspora Remitting Behavior 2008-2013

The table above shows the remitting behavior of Zimbabweans between 2008 and 2013. On average Zimbabweans interviewed for this project said they remitted at least \$100 a month. By the time these interviews took place the amount being sent home had declined for a number of reasons in particular the declining global economy. In earlier studies people were sending back as much as \$500 a week. These personal reports are substantiated by data from the World Bank, the Zimbabwean government and other agencies that report on global economies. According to the International Fund for Agriculture, in 2008 when the Zimbabwean economy was at its worst the diaspora remitted nearly US\$361 million and that number doubled in 2009. By 2012 diaspora remittances made up to 40 percent of the local GDP, reaching almost US\$1, 4 billion (Makina, 2012). The receipt of remittances sustained the staggering economy allowing those who remained at home to continue purchasing local goods and services. Most families, urban and rural alike depended heavily on support for every day basic commodities on their family members in the diaspora (Bracking & Sachikonye, 2006). Sachikonye et al (2006) found that one in three families in both rural and urban areas were receiving some sort of financial support from a family member in the diaspora. Most families tie their survival in the last decade to the receipt of remittances from the diaspora.

Among the diaspora interviewed for this study, only 5 percent said they did not directly support anyone at home, 38 percent said they supported less than five dependents at home and an overwhelming 56 percent support more than five dependents. The majority of those interviewed were living with their immediate family in the diaspora but they still had significant responsibilities at home including paying tuition for extended family. In 2013 most people in the diaspora agreed (80 percent) that they no longer needed to send food items such as cooking oil,

mealie meal and rice from abroad as they had done in 2006 when the Makina study was undertaken. The dollar amount that people are sending home monthly has reduced greatly from highs in 2008 but at least 35 percent of respondents in this study were still sending 100 dollars or more each month for everyday upkeep of their families. From the Vic Falls study, 15 percent said that they receive remittances from their family members who are living abroad. Among those who do receive some remittances from family abroad about 40 percent received between \$20 and \$100, and the remainder received between \$100 and \$250.

While remittances have had a positive impact on the economy they have had a negative effect on politics. True to form the ZANU-PF government found a way to tax remittances and thus channel money into the struggling government. The government increased its taxes on remitting agencies such as Western Union and MoneyGram. At one point in 2005 the government banned all international remitting agencies with the hopes that this would force those in the diaspora to send money via the Central Bank of Zimbabwe (CBZ). The plan to formally channel remittances via the government failed! Instead of using the CBZ which at the time was the only operating bank after the government had forcibly shut down all other banks the diaspora resorted to black market trading. The government realized that they were unable to tax the black market and relicensed the remitting agents but not without condition. Until 2008 all money remitted to Zimbabwe could only be issued in Zimbabwean dollars. The Zimbabwean dollar was at that point worthless even signs at the Zimbabwe/South African border cautioned against using the “Zim dollar as toilet paper”.

Remittances funded the survival of ZANU-PF. At a time when the country was not producing any goods for export the ZANU-PF regime had a steady foreign currency income. The chart below a visual representation of the impact of remittances, as the economy declined,

remittances increased; remittances became the second major source of national economy after agriculture.

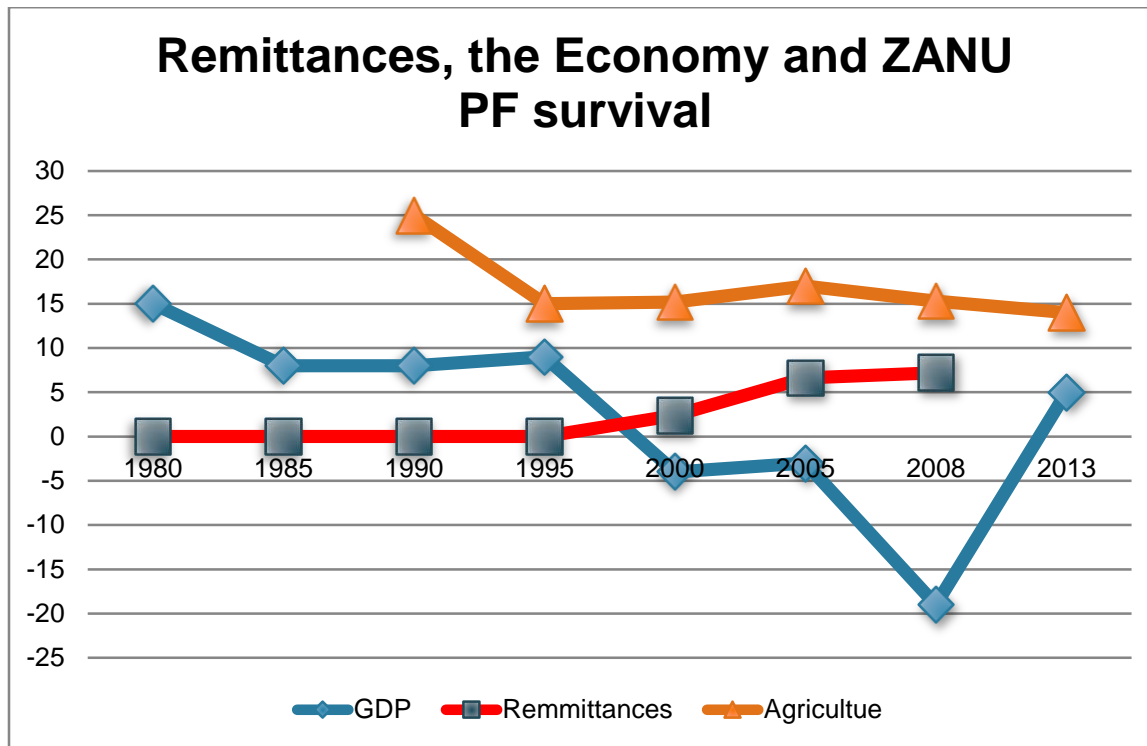


Figure 15 Remittances, the Economy and ZANU-PF Survival

I believe that the availability of remittances allowed the government to ignore demands for change. The government had no reason to provide welfare because they knew that Zimbabweans would get support from friends and family abroad. Zimbabweans in the diaspora did not just remit money, they also remitted basic goods like rice, bread, cooking oil and in some cases fuel. ZANU-PF did not need to change their economic policies, for example, the indigenization act that was hurting the economy because they had no incentive to do so. While the government could not tax the citizens resident in the country they could tax those working high paying jobs abroad. Voter Exit was the gift that kept giving for ZANU-PF. ZANU-PF would speak negatively about those in the diaspora all the while benefiting from their exit.

3.7 Concluding thoughts

ZANU-PF survived the most difficult decade since independence because a significant population of Zimbabweans who would have handed the revolutionary party electoral defeat were exiled. In the decade starting in 2000 an estimated 4 million Zimbabweans left their country in response to the deteriorating political and economic situation. The profile of those who left is young, urban, educated –this is the profile of individuals who typically support the opposition and bring regime change. When this population of Zimbabweans left they created a political vacuum that weakened the opposition movement. Over 80 percent of Zimbabweans in the diaspora say that if given the opportunity they would have voted for the opposition. However, Zimbabwe has no provision for external voting and thus disenfranchising millions of its citizens. Ultimately elections are a numbers game and the opposition suffered from the exit of its supporters.

It is a puzzle that ZANU-PF survived with its government managing the worst economy in the world. The exit of millions of its workforce should have brought the Zimbabwean government to its knees and maybe forced the regime to concede defeat, and it did, but it also provided income for the failing government. ZANU-PF benefited from income from remittances. The average Zimbabwean was sending between \$100 and \$500 a week to family in Zimbabwe. The government was able to tax the foreign currency and feed the income into the broke government.

Citizen participation determines the quality of a political system and its processes. When voters vote and engage their politicians through petition and in some cases demonstrations it legitimizes the political system. When voters are prevented from participating, are disengaged and or stay away from politics the quality of the democratic process is undermined

4 THE USE OF VIOLENCE AS A SURVIVAL STRATEGY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I consider the impact of strategies of political violence on the survival of ZANU-PF. I use a combination of survey data from the Afrobarometer and content analysis to test the second part of my theory of domestic exit. In chapter three, I argued that voter exit in the form of emigration bolstered the ruling party by weakening the support base of its core opposition. In this chapter, I show that ZANU-PF used strategies of political violence to weaken the opposition base and simultaneously mobilize their supporters to vote for them. First, I detail the patterns of violence in Zimbabwean elections over time. Then, I show how ZANU-PF has in the last decade used direct and indirect forms of violence to maintain power.

An analysis of the survival of Zimbabwe's ZANU-PF would be greatly lacking if it did not consider the impact of strategies of intimidation and violence by the ruling party to maintain its hold on power. Indeed, much of the conversation about Zimbabwean politics has focused on the decline of democracy. In particular, it has focused on the multiple incidences of imprisonment of Morgan Tsvangirai and other key opposition actors, Operation Murambastvina in 2005, and the bloody runoff election in June 2008 that resulted in the formation of a coalition government between ZANU-PF and MDC in 2008. In addition to making policies that benefited ZANU-PF electorally, such as the indigenization and land reform acts, the ruling party has also strategically used repression and political violence to silence dissenting opinions (Michael Bratton & Masunungure, 2012; Kriger, 2005; LeBas, 2006; L. M. Sachikonye, 2002b). Kriger (2005) suggests that the analysis of the role of violence in Zimbabwe should begin at independence rather than just in the last decade. Kriger also argues that violence has always been an active strategy used by ZANU-PF even in the absence of a strong opposition. I would add that

any such analysis must also consider the historical implementation of strategies of violence prior to independence. However, I also caution that the use of violence does not always result in good outcomes for the incumbent party. For purposes of this dissertation I focus my analysis on the use of survival strategies of violence by ZANU-PF in the last decade, beginning in the late 1990s.

I theorize that there is a link between the use of intimidation and other strategies of violence and party survival. Strategies of political violence and intimidation by political parties can force voters to enter or exit the political process, and both voter exit and entry can sustain parties in ways that benefit incumbent regimes. The use of intimidation and other forms of electoral fraud played a dual role in sustaining the life of ZANU-PF in Zimbabwean politics in the last decade. Prior to this, Zimbabwe had generally been a peaceful country in the sense that even at its worst during the years of the liberation struggle, fighting between the official Rhodesian soldiers and fighters for ZANLA and ZIPRA was contained. However, starting in the late 1990s we have seen an increase in incidences and impact of violence. Zimbabwean violence is often a form of state terrorism, which Sachikonye (2011) describes as violence in which “the state turns against its citizen, state executed terrorism on its citizens.” In all incidents of violence since 1980 the state has indeed turned against its citizens, either by using the military, the police, or civilians with official government mandate to unleash violence on non-retaliating civilians. And, more importantly for this dissertation, nearly all violence recorded in the last decade has been election-related, occurring in the time surrounding elections.

There is a growing literature on the role of violence in elections. This interest is motivated by the realization that violence related to elections has been a common feature of developing world elections. Scholars are interested in understanding when, why, and how

politicians use violence to secure ballot success. Do politicians use violence before, during, or after elections? Is electoral violence used like any other campaign strategy, or are there special circumstances under which politicians use violence? Bermeo (1997) makes an important observation that elections are inherently violent, especially where political institutions are weak. Syder (2000) offers a similar argument. In his seminal work on democratization Dahl (1971) cautioned that the introduction of political competition in a previously closed system “invites the potential for conflict between [parties] and each weighs the costs of violence and toleration.” Collier (2009) argues that elections increase violence and goes on to differentiate between the impact of violence on supporters of incumbents and those of the opposition. Straus and Taylor (2009) find that electoral violence is quite widespread, occurring in almost 19 percent of elections in Africa. They also find that when violence occurs it is usually perpetrated by the incumbent, and the violence that occurs after elections tends to be more severe and might involve challengers.

Collier and Vicente (2010) provide an excellent review of the more recent literature on violence but some of the main works are important to highlight here. Ellman and Wantchekon (2000) focus on the use of violence after elections. They argue that politicians use violence after elections because the expected violence after elections shapes voting behavior. Voters anticipating post-election “punishment” from the incumbent will vote for the incumbent. For Robinson and Torvik (2009), the targets of violence are swing voters. Both the incumbent and the challenger will use violence to suppress turnout of swing voters who they fear might support the opposition. And Hafner-Burton, Hyde, and Jablonski (2014) argue that violence is used as a strategy when politicians face losing an election and feel they have no control of decision-making institutions. The general question here is whether or not violence helps sustain ruling

parties. More specifically, did it help sustain ZANU-PF in a context where they should have otherwise been defeated? In attempting to answer this I will borrow significantly from the literature just reviewed.

ZANU-PF used violence before, during, and after elections with varying degrees of intensity. Consistent with Ellman and Wantchekon's (2000) expectations, ZANU-PF used violence in the post-election period in 2000, 2002, 2005, and 2008 for the purpose of punishing voters. In rural areas the goal was to punish the base for a) not turning out to vote or b) voting incorrectly. In urban areas, post-election violence was used primarily as a punishment for voting for the opposition party, MDC. Over the last decade, ZANU-PF lost control of their monopoly on democratic institutions (e.g. courts and the electoral commissions), and in response to the weakening of their power they used violence to silence dissent. Hafner-Burton, Hyde and Jablonski (2014) find that as the Zimbabwean government weakened there was an increase in the incidence of violence affecting politicians and civilians.

Collier and Vicente (2010) have built a formal model of political violence and fraud. I share their assumption that political parties care about winning elections and establishing their legitimacy. I do not necessarily think that those wins have to be super majorities, but incumbents prefer indisputable wins. In their model, violence is aimed at suppressing the turnout of opposition supporters and, in some cases, swing voters.¹⁶ They argue that intimidation has no impact on hardcore voters of either the incumbent or challengers, but swing voters can be swayed by violence. They define hardcore voters as co-ethnics, arguing that in the majority of African elections voters tend to support candidates of the same ethnic group. My model of election violence differs in a few ways. First, I argue that swing voters do not play an important

¹⁶ Evidence of violence reducing election outcome is also found in works by Wilkinson (2004), Bratton (2008), and an experiment by Collier and Vicente (2009).

role in Zimbabwean politics because the majority of voters identify with either the ruling party or the opposition. Second, voters are more aligned along an urban/rural divide than they are on ethnic lines, though the two cleavages have some overlap. Thus the majority of ZANU-PF's hardcore supporters are in rural areas, while the majority of the opposition's hardcore supporters are urbanites. Using data from the Afrobarometer, the table below demonstrates that ZANU-PF support is divided along regional lines.

A key assumption of the Collier-Vicente model is that incumbent autocratic parties, such as ZANU-PF and Nigeria's People's Democratic Party (PDP), and sometimes challengers to those regimes use violence to suppress turnout of swing voters. I add that violence can also be used as a tool for voter mobilization. A weak incumbent facing a strong opposition (high possibility to lose an election) will use violence to boost turnout among their base. In established democracies, elections can be combative, but politicians generally act within the parameters of democratic institutions and the rule of law. It is unacceptable to send militia to attack your opponents in a democracy. In the absence of strong political institutions that can curtail violence, it is possible that passionate verbal exchanges may turn violent.

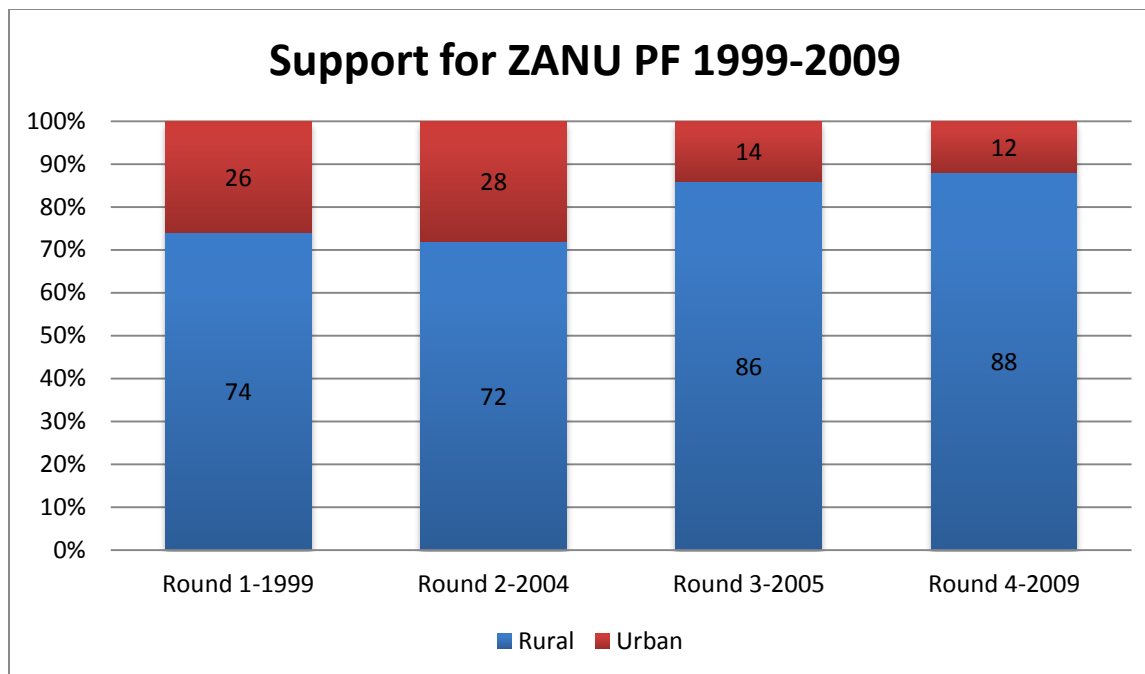


Figure 16 ZANU-PF Support 1999-2009

4.2 A new theory of political violence

The theory of domestic exit as a result of violence is detailed in chapter two, but it is worth explaining again here. I argue that incumbent parties use political violence like any other campaign tool. Violence is used to suppress turnout for the opposition while mobilizing support for the incumbent. While incumbent parties initiate violence, challengers use violence as retaliation to the incumbent and not necessarily as their main campaign strategy. This theory of electoral violence is summarized in the model below. Incumbent parties like ZANU-PF use violence to redistribute voters, suppress opposition turnout, and to mobilize their base. The primary goal for using violence is reduce opposition turnout and increase votes for the incumbent.

Violence is a strategy that is always available to the incumbent. However, the degree to which it is deployed varies with other factors, such as control of political institutions, strength of

base support, and perceived strength of the opposition. If the incumbent is weak and has lost some control of political institutions of power, they may use violence. If the incumbent perceives that the opposition is strong and has a strong base of hardcore supporters, stable finances, and strong international support the incumbent may use violence. Violence can be used in the pre-election or post-election period. I assume that incumbents do not view elections as a one-time game. Incumbent parties care about their success in the current elections as well as the next. Intimidation might persuade voters, especially those who support the opposition, to withdraw from politics because the real danger of risking their lives outweighs the potential benefits of voting for their preferred candidate. This is particularly true when the opposition candidate has failed to win decisively over a long period of time. Reports of voter fraud and stolen elections may also lead to voter apathy, especially in situations where the economy is failing and voters are more concerned with economic survival.

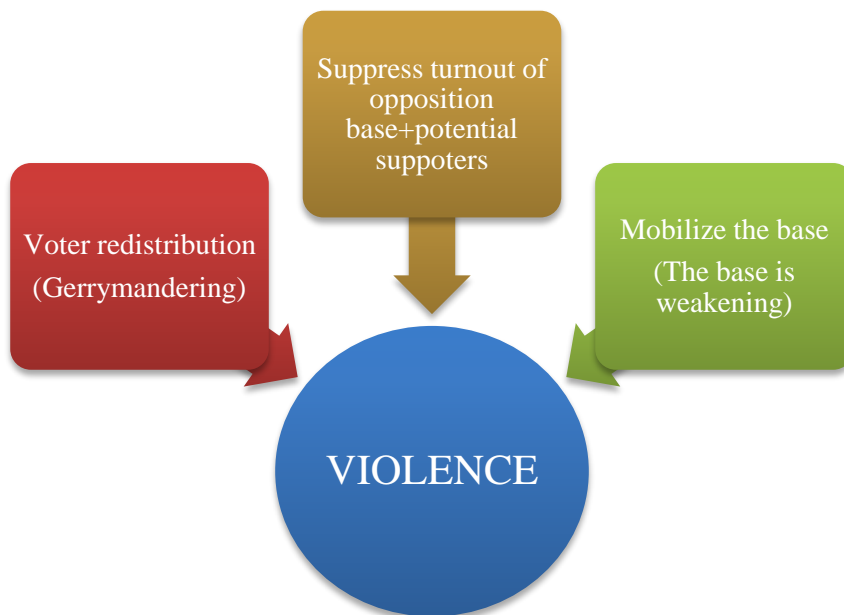


Figure 17 Theory of Voter Violence and Party Survival

In the period after the highly contested 2002 presidential elections, infamous pictures of the badly beaten-up MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai made the rounds in international and local media, bringing the world's attention to the plight of the Zimbabwean democracy. Tsvangirai was the most viable opposition leader to Robert Mugabe's rule since Joshua Nkomo. Acts of violence and intimidation had been high in high-density areas home to poor urbanites and a once booming but now struggling middle class. Violence was also often reported in rural areas, especially in contested areas where the MDC was making inroads. It is important to note that ZANU-PF support bases were also not safe from violence. After the first round of the 2008 elections, increased violence was reported in rural areas and other ZANU-PF strongholds.

4.3 ZANU-PF Historical legacies of violence pre and post-independence

The following section provides a historical overview of how ZANU-PF has used violence to achieve its political goals in the past as way of providing context for the way ZANU-PF has used violence in recent elections. The use of violence that we observe in the post-2000 era is not unique, nor is it isolated from the broader political history of Zimbabwe's politics. Before independence, the liberation struggle leaders were not organized into political parties. Instead, the two major political parties, ZANU and ZAPU, were not initially formed as vehicles for democracy but as political arms of the para-military organizations ZANLA and ZIPRA, whose main goal was to fight Ian Smith's Rhodesian regime. Until as late as 1979, the guerilla movement was not structured as functioning political parties, and the leaders hurriedly formed parties that would contest in the 1980 elections.

Liberation struggle leaders used less than democratic means in their fight against the colonial regime. During the war of liberation, the black leaders often found themselves caught between a rock and a hard place in their relations with the local rural population. In order for the

liberation movement to succeed, they needed the support of the rural peasants, whom they were dependent upon for shelter, food, and logistical assistance. However, they often faced uncooperative peasants who themselves were afraid of the Rhodesian government and the high chance that fraternizing with rebel leaders would earn them a jail term. The Rhodesian government was notorious for taking people to jail for lesser infractions. Early attempts by the guerrillas to appeal to people's cultural nationalism and a better future after independence fell on deaf ears. The cadres were forced to use coercion and brutal force on villagers, or else continue losing on the battlefield because peasants had informed on them to the Rhodesian soldiers who routinely terrorized them for information (Nzenza 1988: 63-64). The cadres opted for the only solution available to them – violence; guerrilla leader David Todlana describes their situation as follows:

“[The peasants] could not imagine that as few as we were, there was any chance of us toppling the regime. Quite pessimistic. As you know, there are few people who can line up for a cause in which they know that the chances are very slim. So many people, for fear in many cases ... used to comply or cooperate with the other organization. At some stage, around 1973 ... we sat down to evaluate our progress ... We agreed, generally, that the local people weren't supporting us as they should ... because they were afraid of the regime ... Some of them knew we were fighters ... but [they] rather chose to support the regime for fear of their own lives. So, the only thing, for our survival, [was] to inflict fear within the people.”

Interview with David Moore, July 1991, Harare

The cadres knew that to make an impact, they would have to inflict more fear and pain than the Rhodesian military. Comrade Todlana argued that guerrillas had to be much more brutal

if they were going to win the war. They lacked a legitimate monopoly on state violence; they did not have jails, a judicial system, or a tax base to use as punishment. They had to execute both justice and terror simultaneously and efficiently, leaving no room for their authority to be questioned. Their words, which is all they had, needed to be seen as a living promise and not as empty threats. If they promised death for defection, then they had to kill someone when he defected. Todlana further summarized their situation as follows;

“So, this is one demonstration in which we were trying to instill fear.

Because we were convinced, either we educate them, and they accept us ... or if they refuse to accept us out of fear [of the enemy] then we instill fear ... Then eventually this fear will be transformed into understanding. Eventually.”

Cited in Moore, 1995

As the war continued, leaders of both ZANU and ZAPU were forced to use undemocratic means within the organization to guarantee discipline and loyalty. Older villagers interviewed for this dissertation recall vividly the terror instilled on them by the “boys” – a term used for the guerillas. One villager near a missionary school in the Eastern part of the country had this to say:

“Going to school was a luxury in the 70s (late 1970s). The boys (Liberation struggle fighters) would come and ask us to line up along the walls and give us a pat down. They hated the teachers. They accused them of working with the regime (Rhodesian). They would take the big girls and the boys and we never saw some of them again until after the war but some we have no idea where they went. Those who refused to cooperate would get the short sleeves [have their limbs cut-off].”

Interview with a villager in Marondera (2013)

In their defense, the liberation struggle fighters felt they had no other viable option to gain the loyalty of the rural residents, whose loyalty was split between their desire to support the “boys” and their fear of the Smith Regime. The price of independence was the violent loss of human life that could not be avoided, nor should it all be blamed on the ZANU and ZAPU forces. The war of independence was a violent process that left the nation deeply wounded and split. There was an unfair, or rather inflated expectation from the international community that the post-independence era would be largely peaceful. President Mugabe, then-Chairman of the organization after the tragic death of Honorable Hebert Chitepo, had to convince the world that the military wing was under his control and loyal to him. Indeed, after independence then-Prime Minister Robert Mugabe delivered a shockingly positive speech calling for a reintegrated Zimbabwean society where both black and white Zimbabweans would play an active role in rebuilding the country. The Prime Minister urged the country to:

“pledge to forget our grim past, forgive others and forget, join hands in a new amity, and together, as Zimbabweans, trample upon racialism, tribalism and regionalism, and work hard to reconstruct and rehabilitate our society as we reinvigorate our economic machinery.”

Robert Mugabe speech to the nation of Zimbabwe, 4 March 1980, n.d.

Mugabe’s 1980 speech was an unexpected but welcome call for reconciliation in a country that had spent over a decade embattled in a civil war that cost thousands of lives. In the spirit of reconciliation, the newly formed government included white ministers who worked alongside their black Ndebele and Shona counterparts. The post-independence Zimbabwean parliament was the first Southern African Rainbow Coalition before the post-apartheid South

African Congress. However, peace was short lived; in less than three years after independence, massive ethnic killings would erupt in the south, known as Gukurahundi.

After independence, President Mugabe was accused of unleashing the paramilitary organization known as the "fifth brigade" on Nkomo's ZAPU, forcing them into a coalition government. The main victims of the violence were civilians in an attack known as Gukurahundi, a Shona word which refers to the cleansing spring rains that rinse away dirt before planting season begins. During the period between the unification of ZANU and ZAPU and 1999, the use of repression and intimidation was low but not entirely absent. The bloody period between 1983 and 1987 is well documented elsewhere, including documents from the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and other scholarly writings (Eppel, 2004; Justice, Zimbabwe, & (Zimbabwe), 2007; Roberts, 2009; Sisulu, 2007). The investigation by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace puts the numbers of those deceased at 4,000 with the possibility that the numbers could be double that. The atrocities of Gukurahundi must be understood in the historical context in which they occurred and how that historical legacy has been used to manipulate the current political climate. The signing of the Lancaster House Agreements that ushered in democratic independence under the mantra of "one man one vote" on 18 April 1980 did not end all violence, although the official leaders of ZANU-PF and PF ZAPU called for a ceasefire. The ceasefire asked members of the two main military wings of the liberation struggle, Mugabe's ZANU Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), to return to the country and surrender their weapons. Most returned and were integrated into the national army. Zimbabwe's peace was threatened by a few important factors, such as the presence of an antagonistic regime in South Africa that had

benefited from the Ian Smith regime and wanted to destabilize the newly independent Zimbabwe.

Scarnecchia (2011) provides an excellent analysis of the role of international players in supporting and sponsoring the Fifth Brigade's campaign on terror. He argues that ZANU-PF benefited from the cold war, during which the Western world was eager to show the strength of democracy over communism and preferred the narrative of Mugabe's regime as a beacon of democracy. Thus the international community remained silent while the government-sponsored and Korean-trained para-military group known as the Green Bombers terrorized families in the rural south. Thousands of people died, and the government was slow to respond – perhaps because ZANU-PF was willing to watch the violence go on for a while longer in order to force Nkomo's ZAPU to dissolve their party structures and join with ZANU-PF. It is also possible, as Robert Mugabe claimed in the 2012 interview with Dali Tambo, that Gukurahundi was simply a time of madness and the Fifth Brigade abused their mandate. Mr. Mugabe had this to say about Gukurahundi: "It was a time of madness. As in any war some soldiers will include a personal element in their fighting." These statements are different from those he made in 1985 at the heart of struggles in the South, when he called for a one party state and referred to Nkomo and ZAPU members as dissidents who were "headed to destruction and sought destruction."

Between 1980 and 1985, the environment in the south remained tense and violent. In addition to the mass massacres, there were numerous attempts on the lives of ZAPU elites. For example, more than ten attempts were made on the life of ZAPU party leader Joshua Nkomo. In 1985, Joshua Nkomo was forced to make a public statement on the situation after his house had been torched, his wife and children forced to seek refuge outside the country. The situation in the south continued to deteriorate, forcing President Mugabe to reach out to Joshua Nkomo in the

formation of a unified ZANU-PF. The gesture was not well received by some in the south who saw it as too little too late. Joshua Nkomo felt the brunt of people's anger when he lost his hometown seat in the following 1987 elections. To their credit, the unification ended the violence and also resulted in a rewriting of the Zimbabwean history: a new narrative in which Joshua Nkomo was now presented as Father Zimbabwe, a title he continues to hold to this day.

4.4 Implications for party survival

The argument presented in this dissertation is that ZANU-PF survived because of the exit and entry of select groups in the political process. Between 1980 and 1999, ZANU-PF faced very little opposition –partly because of their success in managing the economy. However, as the economy began to deteriorate in the mid 1990s, urban demonstrations of organizations led by the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and University Student Associations occurred with increased frequency. The ZANU-PF regime responded to demands for change with more overt forms of intimidation and repression. ZANU-PF protected their political dominance by violently oppressing any opposition to the regime.

As demands for change increased, ZANU-PF launched targeted attacks on ZCTU leaders. In 1997, the first known attack on Tsvangirai, then-president of the ZCTU, occurred in his office where he was beaten unconscious by unknown assailants. In March 1998, their ZCTU office in Bulawayo was looted and burned. These attacks took place after the army had been deployed to put down urban protests over rising food prices. As harsh as they were, these attacks on civilians and opposition leaders took place in relative obscurity. The situation deteriorated with increasing frequency after 1999. In 2000 the Fifth Brigade, or a reincarnation of it, surfaced in the period before the election (Lindgren, 2003). These events are evidence that violence was targeted at

MDC supporters whose support for the newly formed party was the biggest threat ZANU-PF had faced in its more than 20 year-old reign.

In the period after 1999, voter intimidation was featured prominently in Zimbabwean elections. The ruling party, facing its strongest opposition since the unification of ZAPU and ZANU in 1987, was forced to use greater coercion and voter intimidation tactics than it had done in the last two decades since independence. The deteriorating economic conditions (hyperinflation was 11,200,000 percent in July 2008 according to a report from the Zimbabwe Central Statistics Office), disgruntled war veterans, and growing opposition had forced the government to engage in land reform programs; however, voters remained dissatisfied. While many acknowledged the need to have land redistributed, most preferred strategies of economic reform. MDC had also managed to infiltrate the ZANU-PF's strongest voter bases in the rural areas, and ZANU-PF was at its weakest point. As such, the party resorted to repression to maintain some political power (Collier & Vicente 2010). ZANU-PF was limited in their use of voter fraud because of the heavy presence of international and local observers. The state was also limited in its ability to use patronage and other forms of vote buying because the state was broke. Thus, the only strategy they believed to be available to them was violence.

4.4.1.1 The relationship between Urbanites and ZANU-PF

The majority of politically-related violence in the last decade has occurred in urban areas, likely because of the precarious relationship between ZANU-PF and urban voters. After the 1980 election that brought an end to colonial rule, ZANU-PF focused much of their campaign efforts in rural areas. This was in part because the rural areas had always been a strong base for the revolutionary party and also because ZANU-PF urban support had never stable. During its first decade in power, ZANU-PF implemented socialist policies, including free education and free

healthcare that were popular in both rural and urban areas. As the economy continued to grow urbanites largely stayed out of politics, but when they did vote they almost always voted for one of the smaller opposition parties. After the unification of the two major parties, ZAPU and ZANU in 1986 to form ZANU-PF, there was speculation that President Mugabe and his party were looking to introduce a one-party state in Zimbabwe. The issue came to the forefront during the 1990 election. In 1990, ZANU-PF won seats in all rural provinces, but there was clear support for Edgar Tekere's ZUM in urban areas. Edgar Tekere, one of the founding fathers of ZANU-PF and later opposition leader for ZUM, had run an urban-based campaign against Robert Mugabe. Tekere's ZUM won almost 20 percent of the vote, mostly in urban areas where voters were opposed to the proposal of a one-party state.

Urbanites frequently organized demonstrations and riots against the ruling party from as early as 1992, and the structural adjustment programs did not ameliorate the tense relationship between ZANU-PF in those in urban areas. The government attempted to appease relations by giving generous severance packages in the mid-1990s to those who lost their jobs under ESAP, but that did not help. By 1998 the situation in urban areas was getting worse, and middle class Zimbabweans – teachers, nurses and factory workers, for example – were anxious for change. Under the leadership of the Zimbabwean Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), leaders Morgan Tsvangirai and Gibson Sibanda planned massive strikes. Robert Mugabe placed a six-month ban on strikes, but Tsvangirai and his allies continued to take their message of CHANGE to the streets. In February 1999, the ZCTU approved the formation of a union-based political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Morgan Tsvangirai and Gibson Sibanda resigned from the Executive Trade Union board to form MDC and were joined by constitutional lawyer Welshman Ncube. The MDC took advantage of their urban popularity and of urban frustration

with ZANU-PF and successfully ran a "No" vote campaign against the 2000 constitutional referendum. In urban areas, support for the "No" vote campaign was overwhelming. In Bulawayo, where almost 120,000 people vote, approximately 90,000 voted "No"; in Harare, 292,000 voted in total and 219,000 voted "No." With MDC came an end to the political apathy and low turnout that had characterized previous elections since independence. After the referendum election, urban areas became awash with posters and stickers of the MDC "CHINJA" open palm symbol. The MDC was the workers party, and thus an urban party.

As the economy worsened, its impact on urbanites was huge. Most people in the urban areas also support their families in the rural areas. In response to the failing economic conditions, people left the country in hundreds and headed to South Africa or the U.K. The impact of emigration was felt the most in service industries such as health care and education. The middle class used their qualifications to leave, which proved a major blow to the MDC base. In the interim after the 2000 and 2002 elections, the government continued with their policies that disenfranchised MDC's urban supporters. Major policies in the 2000s that disenfranchised voters include the Citizen Act of 2000 and Operation Clean-up of 2005.

4.4.1.2 The 2000 Citizenship Act and Politics of Identity and forced voter exit

When scholars have evaluated the events surrounding the constitutional referendum vote in 2000, the parliamentary election that followed in the same year, the presidential election in 2002, and the parliamentary elections in March 2005, they often point to the historical success of the MDC. Unlike any other opposition in Zimbabwe's history, the MDC managed to not only win seats, but also reduce ZANU-PF's super-majority. However, with the benefit of hindsight we can also say that ZANU-PF was acutely aware of the growing voter dissatisfaction in urban areas

and used the elections to map out areas of MDC support in order to unleash massive physical violence and harassment on voters.

It is my argument that the violent policies were designed with the intention of forcing opposition voters out of the political system. In 2001 the government introduced the citizenship act No. 12, a law stating that Zimbabweans by birth would have to denounce all ties with any other nationality. In 2002 and 2003, the attorney general announced that the citizenship act had been amended to nullify citizenship by birth. Those born in Zimbabwe to foreign parents would need to provide evidence that they had denounced ties to their country of ancestry. Two groups of citizens were largely affected by this law: white Zimbabweans, mostly of British descent, and blacks of Mozambican and Malawian ancestry many of whom were farm workers. The population affected by this policy was about 1.5 million Zimbabweans. The majority of white Zimbabweans had maintained a dual citizenship with Britain. When asked to make a choice between a Zimbabwean and British passport, many chose to reclaim their British citizenship because of the weakening economic situation in Zimbabwe and the hostile political environment that particularly targeted white farmers. The citizenship laws expelled over a million Zimbabweans from the political process at a time when Zimbabwean politics were highly contentious and the opposition was gaining support.

The next general election was held in June of the same year. ZANU-PF was still reeling from their February losses and faced an energized MDC. Still, ZANU-PF won the election with just 47 percent of the seats, and MDC won 45 percent. This was yet another blow for the ruling party. The biggest losses were in urban areas, especially Bulawayo where ZANU-PF failed to win a single seat and MDC won all eight seats. ZANU-PF also lost in Mat South and North the rural areas in the southern part of the country. MDC gained seven seats in Manicaland, and

ZANU lost two seats in Masvingo. After the general election in 2000, it is no wonder that the government pressed full force on implementing the land reform program. Violence associated with the post-election atmosphere and land reform served to disperse and alienate voters. In 2001, the government introduced new changes to the citizenship bill. The changes targeted whites who had not yet denounced their British or other European citizenship and blacks who were mostly poor urbanites and farmer workers whose ancestors had emigrated from Mozambique and Malawi. Critics saw the bill as a move to punish those two groups for voting in support of the MDC.

Below are a few excerpts of reports that best show the impact of the citizenship laws on individuals and the democratic processes in Zimbabwe. The ZANU-PF government implemented policies without regard for the feasibility of those laws. The regime was clearly interested in short term goals that strengthened their hold on power by excluding any populations they felt threatened their survival. In November 2001, in anticipation of the 2002 presidential election, the government announced the Zimbabwe Citizenship Amendment Act that gave a January 6 deadline for citizens to a) renounce their other citizenships – either imagined or real, and b) renew or reclaim their Zimbabwean citizenship. The announcement was clear that those who did not take either of the two actions would lose their Zimbabwean citizenship. In doing this, the government essentially forced a significant population of their citizens to become stateless.

At the time of the announcement, the government had not put in place enough structures to help citizens wishing to follow the law. As a result, by the beginning of January most people affected by the law were unsure of their legal status. The government was forced to extend their initial deadline by a day. On January 6, 2002, the state media, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) Radio 3 FM broadcast announced that:

“The [Zimbabwean] registrar-general, Mr Tobaiwa Mudede, has announced the extension of deadline for the regularization of foreign citizenship by those intending to become Zimbabweans. Initially the exercise was scheduled to end today, but following an extension by one day, the processing of papers will continue at the citizenship offices until the end of the day tomorrow 7 January [2002].”¹⁷

Critics of the law argued that in addition to the limited time frame the majority of the people affected by the law had no idea that they were affected. Emphasizing the possible consequences of the July 2001 Zimbabwe Citizenship Amendment Act, a 20 December 2001 Financial Gazette reported the following:

“The government in July [2001] legislated for the renunciation of all foreign citizenships by January 7 [2002] but the new law has been heavily criticized [sic] for going further to insist that people with a claim to foreign citizenship, even if they do not know about it, have to renounce that citizenship to keep their Zimbabwean status.

“The move has resulted in thousands of Zimbabweans with foreign-sounding surnames or of foreign parentage being denied registration and their Zimbabwean passports and national identities being confiscated by the state until they prove that they have renounced any claims to foreign citizenship.

“Mike Mwale, the convener of this evening's ZIMCRO [Zimbabwe Civil Rights Organization] meeting, said the new law affected thousands of Zimbabweans of Malawian, Mozambican and Zambian origins, among others,

¹⁷ Insert citation.

even when they were born and bred in this country.”

The law essentially sanctioned the government to engage in xenophobic attacks against people whom they felt threatened their political survival. The timing of this law is suspicious. ZANU-PF suddenly felt that it was important to ensure that all citizens carried a Zimbabwean identity at a time when the government's financial resources were depleted and the government had inadequate resources to follow through with the program. Additionally, the program was introduced after ZANU-PF had experienced their first electoral losses since independence. If the ruling party was sincere in their efforts to clean up the citizenship process, why did they not carry out the exercise in the years immediately following independence? Or ten years, or even fifteen years after independence? The only pertinent difference between the first fifteen years after independence and 2002 is that the government in 2002 was faced a strong opposition, and there was a real chance that the revolutionary party would lose power.

While my theory does not explain every aspect of the Zimbabwean situation, this evidence shows that government policies in the last decade were deliberate efforts to force voters to exit the political process. This exit was a substantial hit for the newly formed MDC because the new laws directly affected the majority of their supporters. Their rural base of white farm owners and their employees were unable to register to vote for the next elections pending their citizenship status.

How did voters respond to the law? Most whites chose to keep their European citizenship; by 2003 the Zimbabwean economy was in such bad shape that most people were leaving the country in thousands. The Zimbabwean passport would soon become a liability. After the 2002 presidential elections Zimbabwe was suspended from the commonwealth, and in December of the same year President Mugabe withdrew Zimbabwe entirely. Without the

commonwealth, Zimbabweans could no longer travel to the UK in the same way they had done before, and white Zimbabweans could no longer claim ancestral citizenship. Zimbabweans were being hit on all fronts, the economy was bad, and their avenues to leave the country legally were becoming limited. For some, they were being forced to choose between the only home they had ever known and a foreign land because of their name or skin color. Those with the means to do so chose their foreign citizenship and made the trek “home” to obtain a Mozambican or Malawian passport that would give them easy access into the UK. Those who remained would continue to face more troubles, including not being able to register and vote in the 2005 elections.

The Attorney General, Tobias Mudede, announced the policy by proclaiming that any citizens who had maintained a dual citizenship or had ties to another country had six months to denounce their other citizenship and renew their Zimbabwean citizenship. The effects of this policy on middle class Zimbabweans are discussed in Chapter 2; those with the resources used their “other” passports to emigrate. However, the poor urbanites and farm workers found themselves suddenly illegal and likely to face persecution. The challenge for most citizens was that many were unaware that they had ties to another country, and this only became evident to them when they went to get a government document because anyone with alien ties had an identity number that began with a zero, indicating that they had no Zimbabwean origins. By the time many citizens realized that they were not Zimbabwean, the six-month grace period to change citizenship had lapsed, and the process to regain citizenship was lengthy, expensive, and beyond the means of many. Many of those affected lived in fear of deportation to countries to which they in reality had no ties and nowhere to go should they be deported. As they tried to escape the wrath of the law, many victims of the new law found themselves homeless and

unemployed. Despite numerous court decisions and efforts by civil society to clarify that only those who had actually possessed a foreign citizenship could be expected to renounce it, the Registrar-General continued to apply the law in the same way. Between 2001 and 2003, the office of the Attorney General continued to argue that the “aliens,” including those born in Zimbabwe of a Zimbabwean mother or father, could not get access to the national ID. Those Zimbabweans would remain stateless in the country of their birth and the country of their mother or father.

Consider the case of Immaculate, who was 25 years old in 2001. Immaculate was born of a Zimbabwean mother and a Malawian father in a peri-urban location of Epworth just outside the law density of Hatfield. Immaculate had eight brothers and sisters, all of whom had been born, raised, and educated in Zimbabwe and had never left the country. In 2001, like many other young people, she found it hard to find employment. In an effort to better herself, she went to the Attorney General’s office to try and obtain a passport, but she was told that because she was an alien she could not get a passport. In fact, they would need to revoke her national ID and offer her a proper ID that reflected her true residency status. If she did not make this change, she would face jail time. In her panic, she left the office in a rush and, like many other Zimbabweans, tried to obtain a passport illegally. Unfortunately, she would be taken to jail for a year and charged with an attempt to defraud the state. The story of Immaculate is not unique. The law was targeted at disenfranchising white voters, farm workers, and poor urbanites that the government saw as a threat. The government had adequately used the results of the 2000 referendum vote to map out areas of opposition support. Without any form of national identification, at least 1.5 million Zimbabweans would be unable to vote.

4.4.2 Post-2000 Land Reform and forced voter exit

At the same time that the government introduced the citizenship act, they also began an active land reform campaign. The failure to pass the 2000 constitutional referendum meant that there was no protection for farm owners. Had the constitutional referendum passed, the government would have been forced to slow down the land reallocation process and use a more legal process to relocate farm workers and owners. The point of this chapter is not to debate the worthiness of the program and its benefits but rather to highlight the extent of the violence and the emotional and physical impact on farm owners and workers. There was no organized process on how farms would be taken, and the result was a chaotic and violent process. Pictures of battered white Zimbabweans made rounds in the media igniting international anger, but little attention was given to the fate of black farm workers, many of whom lost their lives trying to protect the lives and property of their white employers.

The extent of the violence is well documented in news reports, academic articles, and other sources. However, what is missing from the narrative is a concise appraisal of the political implications of what came to be known as the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP). The failure to pass the 2000 constitutional referendum gave the ZANU-PF government unprecedented powers to allow the land takeovers. The regime was facing growing unrest in urban areas and increased demands for land by war veterans. ZANU-PF after the referendum vote was aware of MDC's popularity, and with elections coming later on in the year they recognized the need for their own survival through partnering with the war veterans. Thus the ZANU-PF campaign for the June 2000 elections was organized to begin at the same time that the party authorized land seizures. Scoones (2013) goes to great length to differentiate between scholars who use terms such as "land seizures," arguing that this suggests a view of the land

reform as illegal, and those who use terms such as “land reform act,” arguing they saw the process as legitimate. In this dissertation, I use both because the land reform process was a clear cut strategy. As I discuss in the introduction, the government had always been interested in land redistribution. However, the use of land, resettlement, and agriculture has been political, reflecting the different local and international realities. In the 1985 ZANU-PF manifesto, under section (5) on Resettlement, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation the party had this to say about land:

“To cater for over 1.4 million people who have been displaced by war, the ZANU (PF) government embarked on a resettlement program. 2.5 million hectares formerly monopolized by the minority settlers (white Zimbabweans) has been acquired for the resettlement of the formerly exploited majority... part of the land has been used to resettle over 35, 000 families.”¹⁸

*In the 1990 ZANU-PF manifesto,
under section (5.1) on land, the party had this to say about land:*

*Takatarisana nezviri mberi kwedu, munguva yepiri yeshanduko,
Musangano uachaeda kupa minda kuvanhu vanoirima. Kuti titsigire zvakataura
pamusnagano wemubatanidzwa uchangopfuura. Musangano une donzvo rokupa
kuvanhu avo vasina chavainacho kuti vakwanise kuzviriritira. Zvirongwa zvedu
ndesvekuti tipe minda kumazana nemazana emhuri pagore rega rega.*

¹⁸ In the 1985 Manifesto there is a very brief mention on Agriculture, the party highlights government successes in encouraging both the commercial and communal agricultural production. The section is less than a page long.

*5.2: Pamusoro peizvozvo, hurumende ichaedza kutumira nyanzvi
kumaruva kuti dzibatsire varimi vahombe pamwe nevadiki kuti vakawanise
kuwana mukoho wakanka uye vazivezve muchengeterwo waho.*

In the early manifesto, the mention of land is linked to other economic reforms by the government and the land distribution policies, when mentioned, are not militant. The messages are not racially charged, or at least not in the same format that we see in the later post-2000 election years. In the 2000 ZANU-PF election manifesto, titled “Land is the Economy and Economy is the Land,” ZANU-PF devoted the entire manifesto to a discussion on land and the land reform act.

In the long run, there is no doubt that the more organized form of land reform was economically beneficial to recipients of the land and had positive benefits to the revolutionary party. However, in the early months since implementation, between February 2000 after the referendum vote and June 2000 in the build up to the election, the land campaign was a violent and largely unorganized process. The reform process was referred to as *jambanja*, a term that means “warfare,” and party officials even referred to the land invasions as the *third chimurenga*, likening the process to the war of liberation struggle. In one of the more extreme campaign tactics by the revolutionary party, a ZANU-PF candidate urged voters to “cut off the heads of the whites and present them as trophies,” The MDC advocated for court action against the candidate with no success.

At the same time, President Robert Mugabe authorized a \$72m (£51m) order for rocket-propelled anti-personnel shells, hand grenades, assault rifles, and tank ammunition from China. The state paper, the Herald, in June 2000 defended the acquisition, arguing that “These [were] weapons needed to put down civil unrest.” The immediate result of the land reform was the

displacement of over 700,000 whites and uncounted blacks from their homes and their voting precincts. Unofficial estimates of the population displaced at the time suggest that over 350,000 blacks were redistributed.

Chenjerai Hunzvi, a self-proclaimed “Hitler,” treated the land reform program as a return to war. He was unapologetic for the violence unleashed by his followers and for the racial tension. The ZANU-PF politburo was afraid or unwilling to rein in Mr. Hunzvi’s terror campaign because they depended on war veteran support for their survival. The role of war veterans was important in the initial stages of the process. ZANU-PF hoped that land reform would relocate poor urbanites to the 500 million or so hectares of land abandoned by whites ahead of the elections. The brutal violence served one purpose: it forced voters out of the political system. Those Zimbabweans who left the country were unable to participate in the elections because Zimbabwe does not have a provision for diaspora vote, and those who remained in the country were unable to vote either because of displacement or due to the emotional frustration of being victims of terror. The government saw no need to manage the violence because it benefited; their efforts to thwart MDC support after the referendum vote had exposed their weaknesses. In response to local and international media calling for the end of violence, the state-controlled Herald had the following to say about the process:

“Three days after the ‘no vote’ in the February 2000 referendum, seven veterans bumped into each other in Mucheke suburb in Masvingo. Like many land-hungry Zimbabweans, the war veterans had hoped that a new constitution would finally satisfy their unquenchable thirst for land ... As they discussed the results, one thing became apparent, that the ‘no’ vote had dealt a severe blow to the economic empowerment of blacks through a constitutionally provided equitable land

redistribution programme. It was also clear that about 4,000 white farmers who clung jealously to Zimbabwe's prime farming land had bankrolled the no vote campaign with assistance from their kith and kin locally and abroad ... For the first time, white commercial farmers supped, dined and drank with their labourers in open air parties held to celebrate the victory of the 'no vote' ... In the quiet of the night of February 16, 2000, the seven war veterans moved to occupy Yothum farm in Masvingo East commercial farming area. The occupation effectively gave birth to the fast-track resettlement programme — the Third Chimurenga — which ushered a vibrant agrarian revolution for Zimbabwe ...”

*Herald, 8 August 2002*¹⁹

The government portrayed the violence as driven by people who were angry because of “land-injustice,” By doing this, they shifted the blame of the violence onto white farmers. They even argued that they had no power or jurisdiction over the war veterans. However, as events continued to unfold it would become clear that the government had played a role in the organization of the jambanja movement.

I agree with Sachikonye (2005), who argues that the goals of the jambanja were twofold. First, the primary goal was to “punish” whites for getting politically active. After independence, there appeared to be an unwritten agreement between whites and the black government, that in exchange for peace the whites would withdraw from politics and concentrate on the commercial sector and the blacks would take over the governance of the country. However, the rise of the MDC had not only excited black urbanites, but also the white population who saw a chance for

¹⁹ Quoted from Sachikonye (2003) report on “The situation of Commercial Farmworkers after the Land Reform in Zimbabwe”, a report prepared for the Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe.

representation and political engagement. The white community had been active in providing the much-needed financial support for the new opposition. Above all else, ZANU-PF had been successful in fending off opposition parties because they had more financial resources than the smaller parties. Unlike former opposition parties, MDC was a financial match to the struggling ruling party. The Wikileaks cables revealed that at its formation the MDC had benefited from funding from the white commercial farmers and business owners, agencies of the United States, and agents of the British government and Scandinavian countries, including Norway. Violence was meant to threaten the core of MDC's survival. Without money, the opposition party would not be expected to manage the financial obligations of running two campaigns.

Related to this, acts of violence and threats of violence were expected to close off the commercial farming areas and other rural districts from the opposition. In addition to awakening white and urban engagement, the MDC was also breaking ground by being the first opposition party since independence to run campaigns in rural areas, especially rural areas in ZANU strongholds in Mashonaland. ZANU-PF could not allow the MDC access to the rural vote. As they had done during the liberation struggle, the revolutionary party was prepared to use violence to maintain the loyalty of the rural base. By the first few weeks of March 2002, an estimated 400 farms in Mashonaland had been occupied under the jambanja reallocation scheme (Meredith 2002). Locally and internationally, there were calls asking the President to intervene and stop the violence. In most cases, farm invasions involved looting, destruction of property, beatings, and burning of livestock. In some cases there was even rape of women, old and young alike, by the invaders.

Interviews and conversations with white farmers settled in Capetown revealed the extent of the violence on citizens. One woman pointed to a wide gash extending from her forehead all

the way down her cheek. She called it the gift from her “forefathers.” They had heard about the invasions from other farmers; many of their neighbors had fled the country, some going to Mozambique and many others to South Africa. Most victims abandoned all their property and escaped with just the money in their bank accounts and their cars. However, this young woman and her sister had no family outside Zimbabwe, and they had no choice but to stay. She recalled that she and her sister had asked their farm manager, a black Zimbabwean of Malawian descent, to try and negotiate a settlement with the veterans. It worked for a month; they were told they could keep their house if they gave up most of the staff quarters to veterans, but when the second wave of war veterans showed up they did not honor the agreement. She was attacked and lost part of her eye. That is when they had made the decision to join millions of Zimbabweans crossing the Limpopo to apply for asylum in South Africa.

The fate of black farm workers who chose to side with their employers was worse, referred to as “sell-outs,” a derogatory term used during the liberation struggle to refer to blacks siding with the Rhodesian army. By the election in June 2000, officially 30 people had been reported dead, and most of them were opposition supporters.

The largely involuntary exit of those who emigrated bolstered ZANU-PF’s strength. The relocation from urban to rural and within rural areas benefited ZANU-PF in two ways. Those who emigrated from urban to rural after receiving land would become ZANU-PF loyalists. This also weakened the growing support base for the opposition in urban areas. Black voters in rural areas either became party loyalists of their own accord or they voted for ZANU-PF out of fear of *jambanja*. ZANU-PF learned that violence was a useful strategy for displacement and subsequently the expulsion of unfriendly voters from the voting process. Inversely, a campaign of terror would turn out the vote for the rural population. There is no substantiated data on the

statistics of those affected directly or indirectly by the land reform exercise. The acts of massive violence in the early months of the land reform set the precedent for violence in 2005 under the government-sanctioned operation *murambatsvina*.

4.4.2.1 Operation Murambatsvina: Violent gerrymandering

The Zimbabwean economy continued to deteriorate between 2000 and 2005. All around the country Zimbabweans bemoaned their declining quality of life, and people continued to emigrate. In the 2005 parliamentary election ZANU-PF gained back some of their majority seats going from 62 seats in 2000 to 78 seats in 2005. There are a number of reasons for ZANU-PF's survival, including the internal problems in MDC and clever maneuvering of the laws by the ruling party.²⁰ The period leading up to the elections had been marred by reports of election violence. However, events following the election are even more concerning. ZANU-PF appeared not to get pleasure from their electoral gains in the parliamentary elections. The ruling party, seemingly unaware of the real challenges facing Zimbabweans each day, embarked on a process to "cleanup" the urban cities, in particular Harare. Like most government programs, the cleanup process had a colorful name loaded with political meaning. Operation Cleanup came into effect in May 2005, and after only two months the process had left hundreds of thousands homeless. On May 25, 2005, just two months after the March 31 elections and when most families would have been home celebrating Africa Day, a national holiday, the government announced that it would be embarking on a cleanup program, "Operation-Murambatsvina." The government translated the Shona term to Operation Cleanup, but in Shona the term *Murambatsvina* means to get rid of the filth. The term was reminiscent of *Gukurahundi*, another effort to clean out the "opposition filth". The "filth" was urbanites.

²⁰ See the discussions of these factors in previous chapters.

The government's spokesperson and chair of the Harare Commission, Sekesai Makwavarara, announced that the government was embarking on a program to:

“Enforce by-laws to stop all forms of illegal activities. These violations of the by-laws in areas of vending, traffic control, illegal structures, touting/abuse of commuters by rank marshals, street life/prostitution, vandalism of property infrastructure, stock theft, illegal cultivation, among others have led to the deterioration of standards thus negatively affecting the image of the city. The attitudes of the members of the public as well as some of the city officials has led to a point whereby Harare has lost its glow. We are determined to bring it back...it is not a once-off exercise but a sustained one that will see to the clean-up of Harare. Operation Murambatsvina is going to be a massive exercise in the CBD and suburbs, which will see to the demolition of all illegal structures and the removal of all activities at undesignated areas.”²¹

Herald May 25, 2005

This announcement was received with a mixture of disbelief and horror from citizens, opposition leaders, human rights advocates, and international actors who all argued that the country was ill-prepared for such an undertaking. There were no known provisions to house the thousands who would be displaced in such a large-scale program.²² The government did not pay any attention to the outcry, either because they truly believed in the legitimacy of the program or because they had nothing to lose having already lost most international and humanitarian aid already. In parliament, opposition leaders brought the people's plea to the attention of the

²¹ Verbatim of speech appearing as Appendix 2 in Solidarity Peace Trust (Solidarity Peace trust, n.d.)

²² See the solidarity peace report for a detailed account of international responses to OM (Solidarity Peace trust, n.d.)

Minister of Urban Living, Mr. Chombo, whose offices had designed and implemented the cleanup program. However, as has been typical of Zimbabwean politics, there was a clear divide along party lines. All the MDC parliamentarians stood firmly against the operation while ZANU-PF parliamentarians stood firmly in support. Urban parliamentarians argued that the program was being conducted in the height of the winter season, leaving families, women, and children living out in the open. Many small business traders had lost their inventory when their stalls were bulldozed.

In 2005, MDC parliamentarians represented all of Harare. Parliamentarians were divided along party lines during the debates on Operation Murambatsvina. ZANU-PF: MPs argued that the program was long overdue and the city was in need of cleaning up. MDC representatives raised their concern that the government had implemented Operation Murambatsvina to punish urbanites for the outcome of the 2005 parliamentary elections. Some of the debate from parliament is worth putting down on paper in its original form.²³ The debates not only show the clear division in parliament, but also provide a better picture of the extent of the damage that the operation caused in the opposition strongholds.

In their statements, the MDC representatives all argued that ZANU-PF had used the cleanup to retaliate against voters who no longer wanted the party in power. The following excerpts provide evidence that suggests that at least in the view of the MDC the government policy had nothing to do with the need to “restore order.” Additionally, the frequent interruptions by the ZANU-PF Speaker of the House also indicate that the ruling party was unwilling to listen to constituency concerns over the operation.

²³ The following speeches are verbatim appearing on the Kubatana.net website.
http://archive.kubatana.net/html/archive/demgg/050628parlzim.asp?sector=URBDEV&year=0&range_start=1

Statement by Mr. Mushoriwa of MDC, July 12, 2005

MR. MUSHORIWA The first issue is the fact that Government is aware that it is no longer popular with the people of this country. It is aware that even after rigging the elections, Hon. Chipanga you know that the people in your constituency no longer want you. The other aspect . . .

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, can you withdraw that statement about rigging elections.

MR. MUSHORIWA: All I wanted to show is that . . .

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Just withdraw the statement.

MR. MUSHORIWA: I withdraw Madam Speaker. What I was saying is that the general feeling in towns is that they feel as if they are being punished for having decided to vote for change and to vote for progress in this country. The other aspect which is very clear is that as we speak right now, there is no fuel. If you go into the supermarkets today, the rate at which prices are increasing is alarming. Now the Government wants the people to shift their attention from the economic decay and they want to create other avenues where people can go. I think it is unfair and it is wrong for the people of this country to be treated that way.

In response to the accusations by the MDC representatives, those in the ruling ZANU-PF were unwilling to acknowledge that the operation had been a political device to punish voters. Mr. Chihota, the ZANU-PF Deputy Minister of Industry and International Trade, presented the ZANU-PF argument that the operation's sole goal was to remove illegal structures. However, many of those structures that the government suddenly viewed as illegal had been in place since

independence. The operation was a suddenly thrust on unsuspecting voters with no warning.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF INDUSTRY AND INTERNATIONAL

TRADE (MR. CHIHOTA): It is sad, unfortunate and disheartening to know that ladies and gentlemen of high credibility and integrity can stand up and say the removal of illegal structures is illegal. The question is whether or not those structures were illegal or legal. If indeed they were illegal, what normal move would a normal Government take to correct that situation. My friend talked about poverty in the rural areas and when you look at a wealthy person in any normal environment you are talking about a person who has his own water in front of his house, who has the ability to build his own house. This is what this Government has done through the land reform programme to empower its people by giving them wealth and strength. 90 percent of our people who have been voted into Parliament from the other side are not indigenous and the constituencies they talk about have no identity and recognition.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, people who vote in Zimbabwe are Zimbabweans and that is their identity.

ZANU-PF was also accused of using the operation to target people whom they viewed to be foreigners. The attacks were meant to exile those people viewed to be “foreign” from the political process. Mr. Chihota affirms these allegations in his statement when he says that illegal residents had voted MDC representatives into power.

The government’s efforts to “tidy up” the city were reminiscent of the *Gukurahundi* when the government had tried to rid the Sothern region of dissidents who opposed ZANU-PF rule. In the South the operation was even more disorganized, affecting even those in rural areas.

In the Mashonaland, ZANU-PF strongholds rural areas were not affected by the operation. Mr. Sibindi in the statement below showed that over 80 percent of residents in Victoria Falls were homeless. Victoria Falls, like most urban areas, never recovered from the operation. In 2012, when I went to conduct research for this project, the majority of urbanites remained homeless. And many reported that they family members had emigrated to South Africa and Zambia in response to the cleanup.

Unfortunately for MDC politicians in Victoria Falls, voters felt that the party had failed them by not stopping the operation. Since 2005 the MDC in Victoria Falls has faced internal strife, and some of the leaders have been co-opted by ZANU-PF at the expense of the larger MDC movement.

Statement by Mr. Sibindi of MDC, July 5, 2005

MR. SIBINDI: Thank you Madam Speaker, I am on this issue of Operation Murambatsvina. Victoria Falls is another place which was hit hard by the so-called Operation Murambatsvina. This town has a population of about 60 000 people. 5 000 people have got accommodation and the rest do not have accommodation. In the high density of Chinotimba - that suburb was built during the 1970s. Since 1980, this government has failed to build even a single house in Victoria Falls. Shacks were destroyed. Most of the people were staying in these shacks and majority of these people were employed in the Safari Industry. When they went to work early in the morning, the police - we call them in Victoria Falls as the second Gukurahundi because they came destroying property inside those shacks. They never retrieved anything.

It is unimaginable that any government with the interest of its people at heart would

justify actions that left more than half a million people homeless. The president's nephew, Mr. Leo Mugabe refused to acknowledge that the cost of cleaning the city outweighed the perceived advantages.

Statement by Mr. Leo Mugabe of ZANU-PF , July 5, 2005

MR. MUGABE: I stand up to defend the actions of Government. What I know is that Hon. Sikhala and the rest of them are very happy with what the Government has done to destroy illegal structures. They are so happy to the extent that even Hon. Chimankire yesterday confirmed to me that the operation restore order was proper. He said that it was only the timing he did not agree with. There is no other good time other than now. Hon. Sikhala accepted that it was long overdue and even in his own presentation now when he is pointing to ZANU-PF members that they also have illegal structures. Those illegal structures must also be destroyed. We are agreeing that illegal structures must go. Hon. Sikhala should admit and perhaps suggest the way forward, that it could have been done slightly different. The fact that this operation had to happen everybody agrees including Hon. Chamisa.

4.4.2.2 Motivation and effects of operation Murambatsvina

In official statements, the government and its representatives stated that the operation was a long overdue process to rectify the injustices of colonial rule. The Minister of Local Government, Public Works and Development Chombo, in his statement, argued that the white minority had owned more housing than the entire black population of Zimbabwe, and as such the government believed that it was their responsibility to rectify this injustice. However, the process did not redistribute the properties of those who owned multiple homes, but instead asked those

who owned nothing to destroy the little they owned. At the time that the operation was implemented, the Minister of Urban Affairs, Mr. Chombo argued that the operation was motivated by an immediate need for “arresting disorderly or chaotic urbanization, including its health consequences; stopping illegal, parallel market transactions, especially foreign currency dealing and hoarding of consumer commodities in short supply; and reversing environmental damage caused by inappropriate urban agricultural practices.” While acknowledging the negative impacts on some residents – for example, “(i) Some families have been rendered homeless (ii) Some genuine informal traders have been pushed out of business, as they no longer have legally sanctioned premises to operate from” – the minister refused to yield to calls from the opposition and civic community to halt the program. He argued that the benefits much outweighed the costs. Some of the benefits highlighted by the minister include:

- (i) Most of the Central Business Districts throughout the country are clean and peaceful following the removal of menacing street kids, touts and kombis, illegal vendors and unroadworthy vehicles. The exercise has resulted in significant decongestion of CBD's in the cities in general.
- (ii) Crime has significantly gone down following the destruction of illegal structures, which served as rendezvous for criminal activities.
- (iii) Enforcement of traffic laws by the police during the operation has resulted in impounding of road unworthy vehicles.
- (iv) Basic commodities, which had disappeared from the shelves of most shops, are slowly re-emerging following the destruction of illegal tuck shops, which served as ready markets for such goods.
- (v) The provision of services such as water and electricity suppliers and

sewerage systems are set to improve following the destruction of the illegal structures, which diverted the provision of such services away from targeted beneficiaries.

- (vi) Incidence of traffic congestion has reduced following the relentless crackdown on all traffic offenders.
- (vii) Cases of sexual abuse that emanated from the over-crowding conditions of some areas such as Mbare are set to diminish.
- (viii) The rapid urbanisation of the country in the past decade has witnessed the migration of young and able-bodied man and women into the town and cities of some whom partook in illicit pre-occupation such as vending, touting, prostitution, begging among others. The launch of this operation has reversed this trend and reunited youths with the elderly who had to fend for themselves in the absence of this productive age groups.²⁴

The rest of Zimbabwe and the international community disagreed with the official reasons behind the operation. Gleaning from the opposition positions in debate, interviews, and the U.N. envoy reports the other motivations can be summarized as follows:

4.4.2.2.1 Operation to Restore Sunshine City Status

The government had concerns over the increasing chaos in the capital and the mushrooming of illegal black-market trading as a result of declining economic conditions. Urbanites blamed the government for the city's deterioration, and nostalgia over Harare's status as the "sunshine city" was on the rise. The government felt that if it did not act, it would not be

²⁴ These points are summarized from Mr. Chombo's full speech given to Parliament in June 2005. Please see Kubatana report for full speech.

able to contain their demands. At the time, in 2005, most commodities were out of stock in regular stores, which created a black market for essential goods including cooking oil, rice, sugar, and even milk. The black market was pervasive, but it would often get violent as people fought for access to the scarce goods. Inflation was on the rise, and the prices of commodities were going up by the hour, creating a toxic environment for business and general life. Most children were dropping out of school to participate in the black markets because it was an easy way to make money. There was lawlessness.

ZANU PF Decline in Popularity among urbanites					
PARTY CLOSE TO	URBAN VOTERS AND PARTY PREFERENCE				
	1 (1999)	2 (2004)	3 (2005)	4 (2009)	4.5 (2011)
ZANU	25	22	21	3	6
MDC	8	10	36	38	30
NON-IDENTIFIERS	59	9	37	56	54
REFUSE	1	1	12	6	8

Table 5 ZANU PF support among urbanites

4.4.2.2.2 Operation to punish the urbanites

The operation was an act of retribution against urbanites by the government for voting against them in 2000, when the majority of Zimbabweans had voted for the opposition. The government used the referendum and subsequent elections to map out areas of high opposition support. Prior to the 2000 election, ZANU-PF had held all the seats in parliament. However, after 2000 they lost their super majority; the MDC won all the seats in the two major areas of Harare and Bulawayo and some scattered urban areas around the country. In Zimbabwe, like most African countries, the Executive Office of the Presidency is the most powerful branch of government, and the legislature has very little power, but ZANU-PF had never been open before to an opposition win. In a 2005 PBS interview Margaret Dongo, a liberation struggle hero, former ZANU-PF member, and now the only independent female MP had this to say about operation cleanup:

“The majority of the people opposing Mugabe are disadvantaged people – people who have been created because of the economic fall in this country, the

unemployed. The country can no longer create employment.

“All the investors have left, and there are no investors coming in. Harare has become overpopulated because of migration from rural to urban, looking for greener pastures. But people are living in the shantytowns that have been created – the backyards and high fields of Harare. This is where it was easy for opposition to grow. Mugabe realized that the opposition controls the cities and thought, ‘How can I dilute that?’

“You see, so Mugabe is a strategist... now inflation is too high. Life is unbearable here. There's no one in the streets because they've been cleared. He has cleared the streets. People have been displaced all over the rural areas.”

(PBS Interview 2005, accessed from PBS.org)²⁵

Her statement supports the majority view that the operation was a political movement to force voters who disagreed with ZANU-PF to exit the political system. The official election results in 2005 suggest that ZANU-PF had retained parliament with 78 percent of the vote – a jump from 2000 when they lost their supermajority and only retained a 60 percent majority. However, there is a discrepancy between popular preferences for ZANU-PF and the official results. From the Afrobarometer household surveys conducted in 2005, shortly after the parliamentary elections only 20 percent said they had voted for a ZANU-PF candidate in the last election.

4.4.2.2.3 Operation to restore ZANU-PF unity & divert from the economy

The operation was a result of internal strife within ZANU-PF and orchestrated as a way

²⁵ One can read the full interview here:
http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/zimbabwe504/interview_dongo.html

to either test the authority of President Mugabe or challenge his position. There were unsubstantiated rumors of internal conflict and fractionalization inside the ruling party. It was also an effort to divert the attentions of the president from pressing matters and demands, in particular the under-utilization of newly acquired land under the Fast Track Land Reform Program. At the time, only a portion of the redistributed land was being used for farming.

4.4.2.2.4 Operation for forced urban to rural migration

There was an effort to reverse rural to urban migration, with the belief that this was good for Zimbabwe's development. In fact, the president announced several times during this process that those affected by the cleanup process in Harare should "return to their rural home." The challenge, though, was that many of those affected did not have original rural homes to return to. These are the same people who had been rendered homeless under the Citizenship Act of 2000.

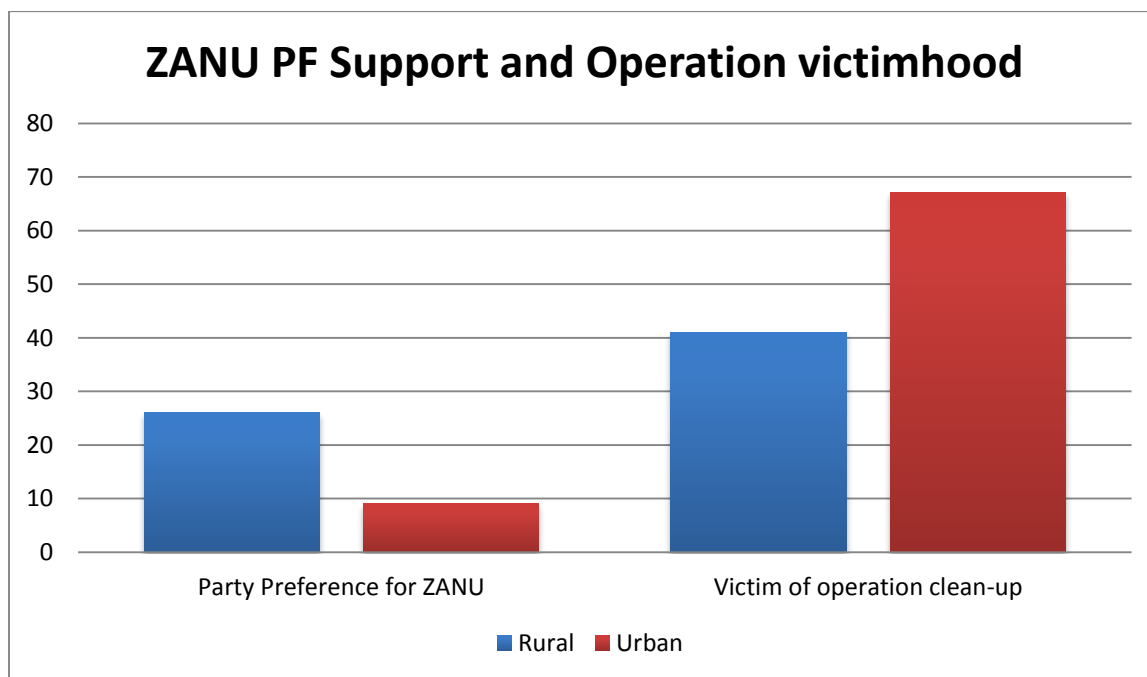


Figure 18 ZANU-PF support and Operation Cleanup

The operation affected thousands: many were left homeless, and a significant number suffered from related factors such as loss of income and reduced access to HIV medication the ARVs (Kapp, 2005; Potts, 2006). An extensive report, produced by UN Special Envoy Anna Tibaijuka, estimated in July 2005 that around 650,000 to 700,000 urbanites had lost either the basis of their livelihood or their homes, and in severe cases both. The government reports suggest that over 92,000 dwelling units had been demolished, about 570,000 people had lost their homes, and a staggering 98,000 were reported to have lost their informal sector livelihoods (Potts, 2006). Specifically, the official government figures released on July 7, 2005 –almost two months after the implementation of the program – revealed that a total of 92,460 housing structures had been demolished, directly affecting nearly 133,534 households. At the same time, the structures of 32,538 small, micro, and medium-size enterprises were demolished. Based on average household size derived from the 2002 census and authoritative studies on the informal economy, the population having lost their homes can be estimated at 569,685, and those having lost their primary source of livelihood at 97,614 (U.N. Report on Zimbabwe Operation Murambatsvina).

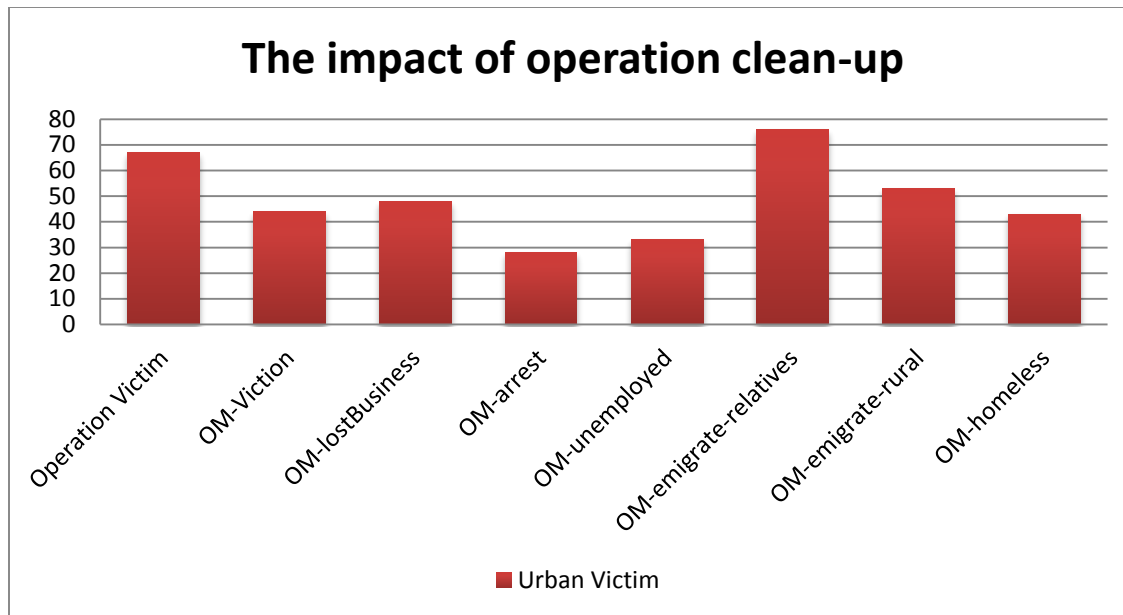


Figure 19 Impact of Operation Cleanup

From a nationally representative survey conducted by the Afrobarometer in 2005, shortly after the exercise was initiated, 50 percent of respondents said they had been affected by the operation in some way. Among urbanites, 67 percent said that they had been affected. The high impact of the exercise in urban areas gives weight to arguments by critics that the program had been initiated with an intention to “punish” urbanites, partly because prior to its announcement and commencement there had been no warning to citizens. Additionally, the exercise was conducted in the winter, when temperatures would fall to almost 8 degrees Celsius and the government – even after numerous calls to halt the program – did not stop. Of interest to this project are the statistics of those “forced” to emigrate as a result of the cleanup exercise. The majority of urbanites suffered in multiple ways from the exercise; at least 78 percent said that they were forced to move in with relatives, and 53 percent moved to the rural areas. This involuntary movement of people changed the electoral map in significant ways. After the

exercise, many urban areas became political deserts, and there was very little to no political action in affected areas.

An analysis by Bratton and Masunungure (2005) found that the cleanup most affected “younger, unemployed families whom the [state] saw as potential recruits for social unrest.” The same analysis found that while close to 80 percent of the urban families were affected by the operation, less than 45 percent in rural areas reported being affected. In essence the ruling party, lacking many avenues to gain the urban vote, used their monopoly on law making to disperse the urban voters. Government spokesperson Rugare Gumbo, in a speech given in late 2005, told urbanites, “we have land for you, go and use that land.” {Herald 2005}. Most people did not move right away, but a small number were forced by a combination of factors to seek refuge in the rural areas. One of the arguments I make is that the voter move from urban to rural areas was good for ZANU-PF because over time new settlers have begun to see some benefits of farming, and that credit is being given to ZANU-PF. Additionally, urbanites began to appreciate the positive aspects of operation cleanup, such that in recent months people frustrated with the increase in vendors in the city center are calling on the city council to engage in another cleanup process.

The operation had more than just a physical effect on voters. It also led to a lot of emotional and psychological turmoil, which resulted in apathy and a decline in willingness to participate in politics amongst those affected. In general, most Zimbabweans were left desperate and became too preoccupied with their own survival to care about politics. This apathy would be seen four years later in 2011 when an attempt to rally Zimbabweans for a Zimbabwean Spring similar to ones that toppled long serving regimes in Egypt and Libya failed to garner support from urbanites (Chihwape, 2011). Although voter turnout has been high in the last decade,

turnout is still generally lower than 55, percent with the exception of the 2002 election which had 55 percent voter turnout. Urbanites, especially those in rural areas, have suffered greatly from political violence, cholera, and other disease outbreaks along with a number of other factors that have led to poor living conditions. All these factors combined have led to voter fatigue and frustration with the MDC, whose MPs in urban areas have been embroiled in corruption charges. The tensions within MDC have split the urban voters and led to confusion among the electorate. Urbanites have constant access to the news, and this is not always a good thing for political motivation. In the last year, while ZANU-PF has largely been focused on indigenization policies, the MDC has been at the forefront for scandal after scandal be it party splits, which have resulted in at least three MDC factions, or Tsvangirai's marital problems. Faced with a choice between MDC and ZANU-PF, urbanites might choose neither party.

4.4.2.3 State of fear and violence

In the minds of most Zimbabweans, politics has become synonymous with violence. The events during the initial months of the land reform program and operation cleanup are easily identifiable incidents of violence. Zimbabweans live under a constant fear of politics, including discussing politics in public or attending opposition rallies and meetings. Political rallies in urban areas became fewer and fewer as the years went by because at nearly every rally the police would use brutal force to disperse people. In clear response to the increased number of rallies and the opposition's success in encouraging public uprising in January 2002, the government first introduced the Zimbabwe Public Order and Security Act (POSA). The POSA Act states:

“To make provision for the maintenance of public order and security in Zimbabwe; to amend the Citizenship of Zimbabwe Act [*Chapter 4:01*], the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act [*Chapter 9:07*] and the Miscellaneous

Offences Act [*Chapter 9:15*]; to repeal the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act [*Chapter 11:07*]; and to provide for matters connected with or incidental to the foregoing.”²⁶

Under this act, all public meetings including study groups, weddings, and even church gatherings would require written approval from the police. Organizers of an event were asked to submit a written application stating the purpose of the event and a full list of attendees a week before the event. In reality, such an application would need to be submitted weeks in advance because it often takes police departments much longer to clear the requests.

As part of the process for getting approval to conduct research in Victoria Falls, I was asked to submit an extensive research application. After months of deliberation and a \$500 fee, the research application was denied for my American advisor. I was also asked to provide additional documentation for the meetings and the full research dossier to authorities before any research could be conducted. The authorities also required police presence at all research locations, and the same is expected at most gatherings that might be suspected of being political in nature. Fear of political retribution is very evident in communities. Our local contacts asked us to remove any phrasing that was political in nature. As a result, we were unable to include important voting questions in the political participation questionnaire. We noticed that when the research materials went through customs, any questionnaires with the terms “politics or violence” were thoroughly vetted before the materials were delivered.

The impact of POSA was greater on the opposition movement because many of their rallies were denied under the act because they violated most of the POSA conditions. Under POSA:

²⁶ Accessed from Kubatana.net.

“meeting” means a meeting held for the purpose of the discussion of matters of public interest or for the purposes of the views on such matters.

“public gathering” means a public meeting or a public demonstration;

“public demonstration” means a procession, gathering or assembly in a public place of persons and additionally, or alternatively, of vehicles, where the gathering is in the pursuit of a common purpose of demonstrating support for, or opposition to, any person, matter or thing, whether or not the gathering is spontaneous or is confined to persons who are members of a particular organization, association or other body or to persons who have been invited to attend.²⁷

The policy discussed above rendered almost every “meeting” by the opposition illegal. MDC leaders, especially Morgan Tsvangirai, were often jailed for violating the various parts of the POSA and MOA acts. The interpretation of the law varied depending on the views of the implementing officers and the level of threat that they perceived a particular group to cause. Although police presence is not required under POSA at rallies, at almost every opposition rally the Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) is heavily present. In 2008, I attended a rally in Harare protesting the student fees hike for University. The rally was dispersed within minutes as murmurs that the police was coming spread around the town square. Typical of most rallies in the last decade, the police arrived within minutes and beat anyone in their way, arresting many others. The following incidents reported by the Human Rights Watch provide further evidence that movements and associations have been heavily restricted in ways that disadvantage the opposition.

²⁷ POSA ACT 2002 from Kubatana.net

The Human Rights Watch documented the case of MDC Member of Parliament for Makokoba constituency in Bulawayo, Thokozani Khupe, who was arrested and detained under section 24 of POSA on the charge of holding a public meeting. On January 23, 2005, the MP held a private strategic planning workshop with ward members from her constituency at her restaurant in Bulawayo. As the meeting progressed, plain-clothes policemen approached Khupe and enquired whether she had police permission to hold the meeting. She informed the policemen that she did not require permission to hold a private meeting. Halfway through the meeting, up to fifty riot police entered the restaurant and arrested sixty-two MDC members, including Khupe. Khupe was detained overnight at Bulawayo Central police station, presented in court the following day, and then released on bail.

Another incident involved the arrest of high profile independent opposition leader Margaret Dongo. On March 3, 2005, in an interview from Harare with the London-based SW Radio Africa, independent candidate for Harare Central constituency Margaret Dongo complained that police had denied her permission to hold four meetings because meetings at shopping centers were prohibited. However, she pointed out that ZANU-PF candidates were able to hold rallies at shopping centers. Dongo observed that “[the police] are only doing it to the opposition. I don’t know why. It is not happening to ZANU.” Margaret Dongo has been a vocal critic of the president and been harassed many times at the hands of the police (Human Rights Watch Report 2006)²⁸.

ZANU-PF managed to create a state run on fear. Zimbabweans have been afraid of the state, the police, and the military. There is no aspect of Zimbabwean life that has not been

²⁸ HRW Zimbabwe report “Not a level playing field: Zimbabwe’s Parliamentary Election 2005: the Electoral Environment” report accessed from <http://www.hrw.org/legacy/background/africa/zimbabwe0305/5.htm>

policed. After the enactment of POSA, it became illegal to hold public gatherings including prayer meetings. This was a blow to many Zimbabweans given that the country is about 99 percent Christian. The government viewed the church organizations, in particular the Zimbabwean Christian Alliance, to be anti-government and ran an active campaign to discredit many of the religious leaders at the forefront of the movement. In September 2007, vocal clergyman Pius Ncube was forced to resign his position after details of his affairs emerged in the media. Mr. Ncube claims that the government was behind the scandal. In the past, ZANU-PF has been accused of using Herald to expose personal weaknesses in their opponents. The same was done to leader Morgan Tsvangirai in the period leading to the 2013 elections. For over a two week period the Herald would publish sordid details of his relationships with women, including verbatim text messages.

4.5 The electoral implications of violence and state repression: Forced exit and entry sustains ZANU-PF

The discussion so far has shown how specific acts of violence bolstered ZANU-PF rule. The land reform act was motivated by a need to strengthen ZANU-PF rule in the rural areas and among the war veterans while forcing white voters outside the country. The government also used the land reform act to marginalize black farm workers, who they portrayed as illegals. In Zimbabwe, illegal residents cannot participate in elections. Operation cleanup was a policy clearly targeted at marginalizing and punishing urbanites for voting for the opposition. Operation cleanup was essentially a form of voter gerrymandering that left the opposition weakened in urban areas.

This next section provides an overview of the impact of violence on party preferences over time. Using the Afrobarometer data, I am able to show that voter opposition to ZANU-PF

was strongest among those affected by violence. An unfortunate consequence of the situation in Zimbabwe is that most of the respondents in the surveys chose not to respond to the party identification questions, for example: “Do you feel close to any party? Which party? How close do you feel to this party?” It is unclear if the choice to not identify is driven by fear or perhaps a strong preference to keep their vote and party preference secret. During interviews for this project, when I would ask respondents about their political party preference many of them would find a way to subtly remind me that their vote is a secret.

The profile of a ZANU-PF supporter is rural, employed, and of lower education. Thus, those who support the opposition party are urban, unemployed, and educated. This is the profile of those who have been targeted by the government’s violent policies. Those who evaluated elections to be free and fair supported ZANU-PF. This makes intuitive sense; a belief that the election is free and fair exonerates ZANU-PF from accusations of rigging the election. And in the mind of the voter if the democratic process is clean, then the party that wins election is worthy of voter support. However, those voters who viewed elections as unfair did not support ZANU-PF.

Consistently across different time periods, voters who felt that people need to be “careful what they say about politics” did not identify with ZANU-PF. In a democracy, voters should be free to discuss politics. When voters are silenced their democratic power is limited, and such disenfranchisement can only benefit the incumbent party. Interview data informs us that the fear to discuss politics is fear of retribution from ZANU-PF. Voters are unsure of whom to trust in their communities, and many feel that there is a real chance that if their comments are perceived to be against the government they might face retribution.

An interesting finding that points to Zimbabwean faith in democracy is the finding that voters did not attribute the political violence to multi-party politics. Voters have been able to separate the dearth of their own democracy from the goodness of democracy as an institution.

Up until 2008, there had been no incident in which sweeping violence was tied to an election outcome. In the past, the government had used violence primarily to discourage voters from supporting the opposition, and threats of violence served as a warning for the repercussions of incorrect voting. In 2008, the world watched with horror as the situation deteriorated with great intensity between the relatively peaceful March 2008 elections and the June 2008 run-off election. In 2008, following an agreement between the ruling ZANU-PF and opposition MDC, Zimbabwe held its first harmonized presidential and parliamentary elections. The agreement led to a constitutional amendment with the hopes that harmonized elections would improve political freedoms and cut down the costs associated with running separate elections. Political conditions improved somewhat, but the MDC continued to be harassed, and their supporters continued to face incarceration at the hands of the police. Despite the poor conditions, violence prior to the March elections was less severe than expected. The MDC won 99 seats in parliament and effectively eroded ZANU-PF's electoral majority in the upper house. ZANU-PF won 97 seats, and the MDC break-out faction won 10 seats – largely in Matabeleland. The MDC majority survived calls for multiple recounts in 105 constituents.

Support for ZANU PF and voter Intimidation 1999-2009				
	1999	2004	2005	2009
Rural	1.311 (5.35)**	0.574 (2.92)**	0.976 (3.93)**	1.188 (2.34)*
Education	-0.843 (5.52)**	-0.962 (6.80)**	-0.185 (1.61)	-0.338 (1.05)
Employed	-0.016 (0.03)	0.618 (3.19)**	-0.013 (0.05)	1.015 (2.46)*
Freefair_elections	-0.405 (4.33)**		-0.851 (9.93)**	
Careful politics	-0.013 (0.53)	-0.195 (2.47)*	-0.374 (3.80)**	-0.209 (0.96)
Multiparty_causes_violence		-0.048 (0.74)	-0.008 (0.08)	
Operation property			-0.522 (2.72)**	
Electoral intimidation				0.198 (1.02)
Vote Secret				-0.083 (0.46)
March Free&Fair				0.281 (1.60)
Runoff Free&Fair				0.941 (4.87)**
_cons	2.693 (3.26)**	0.824 (2.13)*	1.410 (3.55)**	-4.495 (4.05)**
<i>N</i>	429	631	977	324

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$ **Table 6 ZANU-PF Survival and Citizen Intimidation**

The extent of violence following the March 2008 election is well documented in reports by international and national human rights organizations as well as academics (Human Rights Watch 2009, Freedom House 2009), Michael Bratton & Masunungure, 2012; Hickman, 2011). The purpose of this section of the dissertation is to show that the violence campaign was a targeted campaign that advantaged ZANU-PF over the opposition in the June 2008 run-off election. What made the March 2008 elections so different from the others that the government felt the need to unleash such an overt campaign of violence? The primary difference with other campaigns is that in March 2008, Robert Mugabe lost the election. For the first time since independence, Zimbabweans rejected Robert Mugabe at the polls.

I believe that violence is directly linked to the presidential election because the parliamentary election results were released within a reasonable time frame. The harmonized elections were held on March 29, 2008. The first official results were announced on April 2, 2008. Prior to that announcement, the opposition and local observers had unofficially announced results. However, the most important announcements were by ordinary citizens who had captured the election results from their cellphones and sent them to family members in other constituencies and abroad via phone messages. Cellphone messages provided the world with a general picture of the situation in Zimbabwe. It was easy for the world to tally with some accuracy the election results that indicated that MDC had won a majority in parliament, ZANU-PF had won with a slight majority seats in the lower house, and the most important results indicated that Morgan Tsvangirai had done the impossible, he had won the presidency with a majority vote over Robert Mugabe. That was the worst year in Zimbabwe's recent history in terms of the economy, international relations, and general denigration of human quality of life. ZANU-PF should have expected that they would lose the election.

After the announcement of the House of Assembly results and requests for subsequent recounts, the government went to great lengths to let it be known that any speculation of the presidential election was a punishable offense. In the weeks leading up to the announcement of the results, the riot police were patrolling the streets daily to head off any protests. Journalist encounters paint a picture of massive repression of the media. Journalists had begun camping outside the ZEC offices until a police order banned what they termed “illegal loitering.” Inquiries regarding the election results were deemed illegal and punishable. The heavy policing after the election was not surprising to anyone following Zimbabwean politics prior to the election. Before the election, the police commissioner, Augustine Chihuri, and the head of the armed forces, General Chiwenga, said they would only serve President Mugabe. In fact, they said they would not stand aside while Morgan Tsvangirai took over the country. During the same campaign, Mr. Mugabe had given a speech and said that his party would not allow the MDC to “take with pen,” a reference to voting, “what they had taken with a gun.”

Unlike in past elections, the MDC was very vocal both in the local and international media. Mr. Biti, then secretary of the MDC, made multiple statements in which he claimed his party’s victory over ZANU-PF. In an interview with the Telegraph, he told reporters that his party had won the election and more specifically that Mr. Tsvangirai had won the presidential election with 67 percent of the vote. He said that his party was willing to release results based on their internal polling surveys. ZANU-PF responded to these threats by the MDC by jailing the MDC top leadership and accusing them of treason and attempts to overthrow a legitimate government. Then ZANU-PF spokesman warned the MDC, “if He announces results, declares himself and the MDC winner and then what? Declare himself president of Zimbabwe? It is called a coup d’état and we all know how coups are handled.” The language used by the

spokesperson is consistent with the language used by ZANU-PF in reference to the MDC from the time of the party's founding. ZANU-PF views any opposition as a threat that needs to be silenced instead of equal partners with whom to engage on the future of the country. At independence, ZANU-PF leaders had referred to Joshua Nkomo as a traitor who needed to be silenced. To that end, Nkomo was jailed many times and his house was burned down. In 1983 those opposed to ZANU-PF were labeled dissidents, and the government unleashed the fifth brigade on them, leading to thousands of deaths. Since 2000, anyone suspected of opposing the government has died in a mysterious car crash, been beaten to within an inch of their lives, or had their life threatened in some way.

4.6 Concluding thoughts on violence and voter Exit

Ultimately, elections are a numbers game. Parties win elections by gaining the greatest number of votes. Regimes like ZANU-PF have learned that even authoritarian governments need to maintain a facade of legitimacy by continuing to have elections, and they need to win those elections with undeniable margins. In the absence of sound policies the incumbent parties revert to using violence to establish their power. When ZANU-PF was faced with the real possibility of losing power, they manipulated important issues such as land reform, citizenship, and housing to maintain their hold on power. There is no argument that the land issue needed to be addressed; however, the way in which the policy was implemented was a clear strategy to eliminate dissenting voices and to suppress the white minority who had found a voice in the opposition party.

In Zimbabwe, like any country with large immigrant populations, there was always the need to address citizenship laws. Zimbabwe is not the only country opposed to dual citizenship and, therefore, in that regard there was technically nothing sinister about the government asking

citizens to vow allegiance to Zimbabwe. However, the timing of the process was politically motivated. The government had no financial resources to carry out such a big undertaking, and there was no real emergency facing the dual citizens. Thus, the only logical conclusion is that the government used the citizenship acts to limit access to ballots for those viewed to be foreigners. The citizenship laws were a form of political exorcism.

Much like the citizenship act and the land reform act, the Zimbabwean government introduced the cleanup process at a time when it was not equipped to deal with the urban housing problems. The problems facing Hararians and other urbanites had little to do with their housing and more to do with unemployment that was hovering at 99 percent. People needed paying jobs. Instead of addressing the unemployment crisis, the government worsened the situation for urbanites by destroying their shelter. The government argued that residents could move to rural areas and claim land. In essence, the government was removing the urban threat and silencing dissenting voices.

However, violence can also be costly for the incumbent. The bloody election period between the March 2008 elections and the June 2008 run-off forced the opposition to withdraw from the election. This was good for ZANU-PF because Robert Mugabe ran unopposed and won the election with over 90 percent of the vote. However, the election and his win lacked legitimacy. Even authoritarian regimes care about legitimacy. Violence had delivered the votes but it could not deliver political legitimacy thereby forcing the veteran leader to negotiate with the opposition parties. The decade starting in 1999 ended with the formation of a coalition government between ZANU-PF and the MDC. However, the cost of peace was a lot of citizen bloodshed over the ten-year period.

5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 The Impact of Voter Exit on ZANU-PF Survival 1999-2009

The puzzle driving this dissertation is the political survival of Zimbabwe's ruling party ZANU-PF in the face of strong opposition, regional and international pressure for regime change, and under the worst political and economic conditions in the period starting in the late nineties. Since independence, ZANU-PF had sailed through elections facing very little opposition, and as a result ZANU-PF had won every election with huge majorities. ZANU-PF also survived at a time when global pressure for regime survival was very high. Zimbabwe was suspended from the Commonwealth and later quit their membership. This move isolated Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean government and key leaders have been under severe sanctions that restrict travel and business engagements. ZANU-PF also stayed in power at a time when Zimbabwe's economy has been at its worst. In 2008, inflation reached a high of 516 quintillion percent: that is 516 followed by 18 zeros.

ZANU-PF's survival challenged traditional explanations of party survival, providing evidence for my argument that long-term ruling parties survive elections because of voter fraud, historical legacies, elite organizations, and coopting the opposition. I have shown how each of these other explanations provide a fraction of the party survival puzzle, but do not give a full picture. For example, in Chapter Two I discuss that excessive use of voter fraud can have negative consequences for the ruling party, especially cases of high-cost elections. In 2008 when the government delayed announcing the results of the presidential election by a month, it brought into question the legitimacy of the election. The subsequent run-off election was not effective in establishing Robert Mugabe as president, even though his candidacy tallied more than 90 percent of the vote.

I have instead argued that voter exit matters. Voter exit, both in terms of internal and external withdrawal from politics, is an important and yet an unconsidered explanation of party survival. Under this theoretical framework I have shown that the massive exodus of between two and four million Zimbabweans bolstered ZANU-PF survival. This is because the profile of those who left – young, educated, and urban – is also the profile of the likely opposition voter. The ruling party also used their monopoly on policymaking to implement policies such as the Citizenship Act of 2000, Operation Murambastvina, and the Fast Track Land Reform Program directly and indirectly forced voters out of the political system.

5.2 A Theory of Voter Exit and Findings

In this dissertation, I have built a new theory of party survival. At the core of this theory is the assumption that parties strategically force those who disagree with them to exit politics. Such policies include the opening of borders to increase migration, preventing citizen return, and implementing policies that might cause internal withdrawal from politics. In a more direct effort to push voters out, governments can redefine what citizenship means in a way that target groups that are not friendly towards the government. Political violence is also a consistent strategy used in the elections of new and emerging democracies. Violence is targeted at suppressing the voice of dissenting voters and at mobilizing wavering base supporters.

In the Zimbabwean case, the initial waves of emigration were not government-mandated, but voters emigrated amass in response to failed government policies that resulted in economic decline. The government also used targeted violence as a campaign tool to both push and pull voters into the political system. Targeted violence affected white farm owners, black farm workers and urbanites, and other groups that supported the opposition party MDC. In response to the poor economy and violence, millions of voters left the country. Their exit weakened

opposition support, especially in urban areas, because the majority of those who left were urban professionals – in particular nurses and teachers. The MDC had been founded out of the Zimbabwe Trade Union Association; the majority of the ZCTU membership was teachers and nurses.

Using a combination of ethnographic interviews of the Zimbabwean diaspora, household surveys, and historical analysis, I establish that the profile of those in the diaspora matches the profile of the opposition voters who remained in Zimbabwe. Once voters left the country, they effectively exited the political system because of the policy barriers that prevent diaspora voting. The Zimbabwean constitution does not allow for external voting by non-diplomats. As a result, the millions of Zimbabweans living outside the country, about one third of the population, is unable to vote. The Zimbabwean government argue that those in the diaspora are not disenfranchised because they are free to return home to vote. However, for many in the diaspora the cost of returning home simply to vote is too high at a time when their families in Zimbabwe require financial support. For others, returning home was not an option because of their legal status in the host country. The majority of migrants, at least in their first few years in the host country, may have no status or status that does not allow them reentry. For those with complicated status in the host country, returning home to vote is not a risk worth taking in the event that they should be denied reentry. Additionally, Zimbabwe did not allow for dual citizenship. In the 2013 constitution the clause on dual citizenship remains unclear, but prior to 2013 it was clearly stated that Zimbabweans who decided to gain a new citizenship ceased to be Zimbabwean. At the time, the Zimbabwean passport was a liability for many seeking to work internationally, and as a result most chose to get citizenship in the host country. If this happened, they would no longer be able to participate in politics or travel freely into Zimbabwe.

ZANU-PF also benefited from internal voter exit from the political process because of violence and policies that disenfranchised large populations. In 2000, after the constitution referendum failed to pass, the government initiated a fast track land reform program. Without constitutional restraint the government used their power to initiate a program that forced white farmers to leave their homes and subsequently their voting precincts. At the same time, this strengthened ZANU-PF control of rural areas. Displaced farmers and farm workers would no longer be able to participate in politics. The land reform not only killed the agricultural sector and foreign currency inflow ,but it also stopped financial support to the opposition party from whites.

In 2001, the government put into action the Citizenship Act that required all Zimbabweans with a known or unknown dual citizenship to denounce that citizenship. This law affected whites of European decent and blacks of immigrant decent. The government gave little notice to affected groups and threatened eviction for those who did not meet the deadlines. Most white Zimbabweans chose to reestablish or reclaim their British citizenship. This was partly because most Zimbabweans, regardless of color, were seeking to leave the country, and it would be easier to do so with a different passport. Some black Zimbabweans also chose to reclaim their Malawian or Mozambican identity, but many lacked the financial resources of their white counterparts to do so and instead went through the process to denounce citizenships they never knew they had. This policy, like most policies introduced in the last decade, was implemented ahead of the 2002 presidential elections. The policy rendered thousands of Zimbabweans stateless. The thousands affected by the policy became ineligible to participate in elections.

In May 2005, just a few months after the March parliamentary elections, the government announced that it would now be implementing a cleanup exercise in urban areas. The analysis in

this dissertation shows that the policy was a politically motivated act of retribution against urbanites for voting for the opposition. The government defended the policy, arguing that the city was now run down, but the fact that the government was broke and without financial means to sustain any large scale operation suggests that the government was not sincere in introducing the policy. The operation had more than just a physical effect on voters. It also led to a lot of emotional and psychological turmoil, which resulted in apathy and a decline in willingness to participate in politics amongst those affected. In general, most Zimbabweans were left desperate and became too preoccupied with their own survival to care about politics. There is a clear link between supporting the opposition and being a victim of the myriad policies introduced in the last decade.

5.3 Implications Beyond Zimbabwe and Future Research

According to the International Organization of Migration, nearly three percent of the global population live outside their country of birth. The majority of immigrants are moving from developing to developed countries, usually in an effort to find better economic and living conditions. The migration literature has focused on the negative consequences of brain drain; an often-cited example is that there are more Ethiopian doctors resident in the United States than there are in the whole of Ethiopia. Lacking from these analyses is the impact that their exit has on democratization in their home countries.

This dissertation is part of a growing literature looking into the implications of voter exit on regime survival. To understand the lack of democratization or opening of political space in countries like Zimbabwe, Cuba, or Russia, students of democracy might consider how policies in those countries push voters out of the political system. This is not a new argument, but one that is becoming more and more important in our times. In April 2008, the world was reminded of the

consequences of migration in South Africa with a second outbreak of xenophobic attacks targeted at African immigrants. The majority of the immigrants in South Africa are from Zimbabwe and other neighboring countries. South Africa's neighbors have each suffered from bad politics that negatively impacted their economies and pushed citizens further south. The accessibility of South Africa, an economic haven, explains the survival of ZANU-PF and Mozambique's ruling party RENAMO because the people who support challengers to those regimes are leaving the country.

5.4 Future Research and Conclusion

Moving beyond the dissertation, the first step is to try and calculate the electoral impact of the diaspora in quantitative terms. Large-scale diaspora data is not easily available, and this could take time. However, it would be a useful addition to the field to be able to show quantitatively how a diaspora vote would change the Zimbabwean political landscape. It is also important to look at similar comparative cases such as Russia and Mexico to draw out differences and similarities in how regimes in those countries both use and have used voter exit to maintain power.

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