YOUTH PATRONAGE: VIOLENCE, INTIMIDATION, AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN ZIMBABWE

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Abstract: The Zimbabwean political terrain has been inundated with deep seated youth violence and neopatrimonial politics, mediated through President Robert Mugabe and his political party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and its patronage networks. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork research with youth in Harare, this paper focuses on the dynamics of youth patronage and violence as a tool of political mobilization by ZANU-PF in urban spaces. This paper shows that one of the remarkable ways in which Mugabe has been able to remain in power is through his ability to transform his political position into a source of opportunities for his political clients. It examines the ways in which Mugabe's political party mobilizes political violence in return for political benefits within the city of Harare. We examine this political patronage system and the ways in which it influences the ordinary lives of youth in the city. We argue that Mugabe should be construed as a political 'Big Man' patron with a huge network of political clients, the youth included. We show how ZANU-PF creates parallel structures that mediate the exchange of resources in return for political loyalty and mobilization of violence by ZANU-PF against its real or perceived political nemesis.

Key words: Political, violence, militias, patronage, youth, victimhood

Introduction

In this paper we focus on the voices of those who have been victimized by youth who 'work' for President Robert Mugabe and his political party: the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) in the city of Harare. While studies have showed how ZANU-PF youth have successfully mobilized the rural population through the threat and deployment of violence, there has been limited attention to the political visibility of youth who do 'violence work' for President Robert Mugabe and his party in urban areas like Harare. We argue that even though ZANU-PF has continued to lose the majority in parliamentary and municipal elections in Harare, the youth employ violent strategies to mobilize people to attend ZANU-PF political meetings. These strategies include forcing market stall closures to compel owners to attend ZANU-PF political meetings, welcoming the President from his many foreign trips, attending funerals of high-ranking ZANU-PF politicians, and commemoration gatherings such as Independence Day, Heroes Day, and Defense Forces Day. Here Mugabe presents public speeches in which he denigrates and represents the opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by Morgan Tsvangirai as enemies of both ZANU-PF and the State. The youth who commit acts of violence on behalf of ZANU-PF are rewarded illicitly – they are given plots of residential land in and around the city, benefit from partisan issuance of market stalls, and are politically sanctioned to extort terminus and route fees from taxi drivers in and around Harare.

We argue that the allocation of stands through informal and personalized patron-client networks, and without the authority and permission of the City Council of Harare (run by the MDC), ZANU-PF violates the conventional legal system which defines idealized forms of statehood.[1] We reveal how this neopatrimonial relationship between President Robert Mugabe and the youth has driven the latter to engage in political violence on behalf of the former. This patron-client relationship is therefore one which is characterized by political and socio-economic benefits for both the patrons and the clients. Indeed, for Mugabe this relationship has been rewarding in his quest for continued stay on power.

The politics of violence

Zimbabwe has a long history of political violence. Zimbabwe became independent through the liberation struggle which formally ended in 1979. The

war was mainly fought by the two-armed guerrilla wings of political parties: the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), an armed wing of ZANU-PF led by President Robert Mugabe, and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army, an armed wing of the Zimbabwe African People's Union led by the late Joshua Nkomo. Through the Lancaster House negotiations, Zimbabwe was granted independence in 1980. However, gaining independence did not mean an end to violence in the country. There were protracted internal political clashes between ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU in the Matabeleland region. The latter was accused of plotting a coup against President Robert Mugabe. This was necessitated by the rise of ZIPRA 'dissidents' and the 'discovery' of arms caches in Matabeleland.[2] In this regard, President Robert Mugabe manufactured a legitimate reason to deploy soldiers under the 5th brigade, a North Korean trained brigade unit to unleash violence and terror against the 'dissidents.'

The deployed soldiers unleashed violence; they maimed and killed more than 20, 000 civilians.[3] The massacre was termed *Gukurahundi* a Shona word meaning "the first rains that washes away the chaff."[4] In the process, the so-called dissidents (chaff) were framed by Mugabe as enemies who should be exterminated through intimidation and violence. This violence only ended by the signing of the unity accord on 22 December 1987 between ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU and the subsequent formation of a united government. Under this pact, Nkomo was made the vice president and Mugabe retained executive powers as the president of the country. The deployment of soldiers and killing of civilians (Gukurahundi) in Matabeleland, was later acknowledged by President Robert Mugabe as a 'moment of madness'.[5] However, President Mugabe is criticized for perpetuating and using violence to defend and sustain his political position.[6]

What we emphasize here is that President Robert Mugabe and his political party thrives on deploying violence against their political rivalries. This is also underscored by some scholars who argue that Mugabe and his ZANU-PF henchmen have never peacefully co-existed with opposition parties since independence in 1980.[7] For instance, in post-2000 elections, ZANU-PF relied heavily on commanding youth to inflict violence against the MDC.[8] The late Minister of Youth, Border Gezi, introduced the National Youth Service program to indoctrinate youth into ZANU-PF's politics of violence. The trained youth, pejoratively called 'green bombers' as a result of the fatigue uniforms they wore, were deployed in youth militia bases, especially in the rural areas. Here they perpetrated acts of political violence against MDC

supporters.[9] Apart from youth militia, ZANU-PF also deployed war veterans prior to, and during elections to intimidate voters into voting for Mugabe. Likewise, the war veterans have also been rewarded accordingly for their violence with farms, monthly allowances and tractors, among other benefits. While the participation of war veterans in political violence in support of Mugabe, is not the focus of this paper, it helps us to understand how Mugabe mobilizes violence for his political status especially in post-2000, when his political power base began to wane.

The political violence occurred in conjunction with an unprecedented economic crisis which worsened in the post-2000 era. Thus, when ZANU-PF deployed youth to perpetrate violence, especially in the much disputed 2008 elections, the Zimbabwean economy was pronounced dead *(kufa)*.[10] The economy became *kukiya-kiya* (surviving by making do).[11] For some scholars, the economy became *kubhena*,[12] meaning that hard currency was difficult to find in the formal market. All foodstuffs were imported from South Africa and Botswana. The crisis heightened to the extent that Mugabe ordered shops to reduce their prices as a way of combating hyperinflation. A country-wide price freeze blitz was imposed through an elaborate deployment of state security agents to force compliance.[13] Prior to this move, shop owners had to change prices for goods on an hourly basis to keep pace with the inflation rates.

The former Finance Minister in the Unity Government, Tendai Biti described the above-mentioned approach of arresting inflation as *ginya-nomics*, i.e. use of extra-legal means for the sole purpose of retaining political power. Biti referred to the aforementioned situation as a 'vampire militarized state' whose sole aim was the reproduction of political power. It was this form of politics which pushed the majority of the Zimbabwean youth into informal employment; selling secondhand clothing *(bhero)*, selling airtime on the streets, becoming vendors in the street and in the local market, and engaging in creative steel and wooden furniture making in self-initiated home industries. Some operated informal public transport services locally known as *mushikashika* in the city.

The government sometimes unleashed terror against informal street vendors.[14] Because the majority of people who engaged in this informal economy were the youth, we focus on the ways in which they engaged with ZANU-PF youth's political threats, intimidation, and extortion in public markets stalls and on taxi city routes. The ability of ZANU-PF youth to resort to violence

was backed by both ZANU-PF politicians and the security agencies such as the police, military, and the Central Intelligence Organization (CIO). This was against the background that Mugabe had a political relationship with the security forces: army, police, and the CIO.[15] The security forces themselves enjoyed political and economic benefits.[16] For instance, in Mbare-a low-income area in Harare a youth militia group called *Chipangano* was notorious for its role in engaging in political violence, extortion, capture of market stalls, bus terminuses, and streets while enjoying the backing of the ZANU-PF government of Mugabe. Even if the *Chipangano* committed acts of violence, the police would not dare to arrest them.

Researching the context of fear

Being in a context where violence is legitimized by the state, posing questions to those who commit acts of violence and those who experience it is political. We began this research in the city of Harare. Our conversations were not necessarily about violence but what people do in their everyday life to get by. We approached the youth who were manufacturing wooden furniture: making couches, tables, chairs, kitchen units, wardrobes, coffins, window/door frames, electric gates, etc. - mainly in high-density suburbs. We started the conversation with one of the carpenters, named "Tino". He was interested in us because on a good day, we would have been his potential customers. He asked in our local language, Shona:

> "'*Ndokuitirai chii ma Boss angu-Ndokupai chii nhasi?*' (What can I do for you my bosses? Which products do you want today?). We responded: '*Ndimi ma Boss*' (You are our boss). Tino retorted, '*musadaro madhara*' (Don't say that (while laughing)). We then told him that, 'we are just interested in seeing what you guys are making in case when we get money we will know where to buy good couches and tables.'"

In our conversations, Tino later spoke about the fear of the spies "planted" by the Mugabe's government and how the ZANU-PF youth indoctrinate them (informal vendors) through the politics of representation of the former as "sell-outs" and outsiders. The idea of "sell-outs" is embedded in ZANU-PF's discourse of "patriotic history,"[17] based on the binaries of "patriots" and "sell-outs." Under this patriotic history, in which Mugabe is celebrated as the past, present and future leader of Zimbabwe,[18] ZANU-PF loyalists and sympathizers were viewed as patriots while opposition politicians and supporters were branded sell-outs. As such, suspected sell-outs lived

under constant state surveillance from the youth militia. Tino talked about how people fear their neighbors and how this anxiety has permeated their daily activities and practices - including greeting strangers. We presented our ethical clearance letter from the University and Tino was persuaded that we were conducting academic research.

We were introduced to other carpenters and steelmakers on the complex located in a high-density area in Harare. In his introduction, Tino said, "these are my friends; they are from a University in South Africa. They just want to know our lives here at the complex; maybe you can also talk to them." Tino left us with other young men who were making window/door frames and electric gates. Because we were introduced as friends from a university in South Africa, most of these youths did not bother to ask us about our interest in the door and window frames. However, we asked them if we can just have a closer look at what they were making. Indeed, they were doing great work. We later talked with them about our research on their lives in the city and importantly, how they were able to make a living. The responses revealed to us that ZANU-PF youth deployed different techniques of control such as a mobilization register, i.e., a record of all the youth working in the complex and ensuring their attendance of ZANU-PF political campaigns.

'Biographies of violence': mobilization register

To enter into the abovementioned carpentry complex, we went through a manned, boom gate. Here a young man acted as a security guard and kept an eye on who went in and out of the complex. In our conversation with Tino he noted, "we were made to be ZANU-PF, the ZANU-PF youth keeps the register, and that security man at the gate is one of them." According to Tino,

> The register is a real book, all the names of the people who work here are in that book. All our details, phone numbers, and physical addresses. If there is a ZANU-PF political campaign and if the president is coming from abroad, then we are ordered to go to the airport to welcome him and if any of us does not go, then you know the consequences of being beaten up and losing your workspace.

The conversation with Tino reveals several important issues about the acts of violence committed by the ZANU-PF youth. The register constitutes a tool of violence symbolically; for example, by entering the names of people like

Tino into it. The register disciplines young men like Tino in the ZANU-PF way. The young men are left with no political choices when it comes to supporting a political party, they believe in. Thus, the discipline and control are political - made by and for ZANU-PF. Importantly, the register is in itself a "biography of violence," a political record, and an "archive of violence" in which people's addresses and contact numbers are made known to ZANU-PF. It is a biography of the prey of violence, those who are ordered to attend ZANU-PF political campaigns. The register reveals that ZANU-PF survives through intense and deliberate political surveillance. Thus, through the register, ZANU-PF youth are able to monitor and control the activities of possible anti-Mugabe supporters. The register is what Foucault (1977) refers to as a "technology of power," with a particular political 'gaze' to discipline dissent into ZANU-PF political practice. This includes making people celebrate Mugabe through dancing, marching, and singing in all his political campaigns and talks.

Singing songs, marching, and dancing

In the city of Harare, where the majority of voters shun Mugabe's political meetings, ZANU-PF youth work hard to rehearse and choreograph political dances and songs. The majority of young men like Tino are forced to participate by cheering for Mugabe when he returns from foreign trips. These youth are also forced to attend ZANU-PF political rallies where they dance for a man they do not support. One of our interlocutors, Tafi revealed that:

> We are always told when the President is leaving the country, and we know when he is coming back. The ZANU-PF youth tell us all this and sometimes we are dragged into ZANU-PF's factional wars. We are always told that we have a role to play. When he come back, we close this complex, and go to sing for him. They think we support ZANU-PF, but we don't.

Forcing young men to welcome Mugabe is a testimony of how violence has been instrumentalized to prop up the power of ZANU-PF. Young people have become central in defining politics for Mugabe. When the opposition MDC called for Mugabe to step down, pro ZANU-PF youth mobilized people in Harare to embark on a ONE MILLION MAN march (including young women) in support of Mugabe. One of our participants, Tatenda noted that,

> In the complex where we are working, we were told that we are all going for a one-million-man march to support President Robert Mugabe, and after that we would be addressed by the President. There was no room to ask what we were supporting, or whether it was worth marching. In fact, it was not, but we just marched in the streets, singing, praising him, and denouncing the MDC.

Mugabe's cadres compel the young people to sing, dance, march, and "worship" him, thereby creating an appearance of his legitimacy as a ruler. But if legitimacy is about the exercise of authority through voluntary obedience,[19] then Mugabe (and his youthful supporters) acts illegitimately. However, the youth do not organize and deploy violence alone. Instead they work in parallel with the state security agencies. For Tonderai,

> The youth do not work alone; they are well-connected to the CIO (Central Intelligence Organization), the police and the military. You cannot argue with a ZANU-PF youth. If you do, then you are literally passed into the hands of the CIO. The youth work as spies and or informers of the CIO. Once the youth label you as Anti-President Robert Mugabe, for us who are working in the complex doing the carpentry, you know you are out of the place. So, we just try to follow their orders for us to survive.

There is a political relationship between ZANU-PF youth, the CIO, the police, and the military. According to our research participants, the violent youth section of the political party are an extension of the army and other state security agencies. They all share information on and about the perceived enemies of Mugabe. Indeed, in the complex where this study was conducted, it was not uncommon to hear of youth informers who spy on behalf of the CIO.

In a sense there is a process of the militarization of ZANU-PF youth. We use militarization as both a category of analysis and category of practice. While the former has to do with understanding the relationship between the youth and security agencies, the latter has to do with the tactics employed by ZANU-PF youth to instill fear in young men who work as entrepreneurs in high density suburbs in Harare. In return, the ZANU-PF youth are awarded unauthorized residential stands at the peripheries of the city. In addition, ZANU-PF grants the youth the political right to extort taxi drivers in Harare. This is typical of what Bayart call the "politics of the belly" in African polit-

ical systems.

Political benefits: appeasing youth

One of the remarkable ways in which Mugabe has been able to remain in power is through his ability to transform his presidency into a source of opportunities for his political clients. As evidenced above, in order to appease the youth who, perpetrate acts of violence, Mugabe and ZANU-PF allocate residential stands to them, thereby enabling them to extort money from taxi drivers at terminuses. This is an example of "political clientelism," and a form of political patronage in which there is an exchange of resources for political support.[20] In a sense, patronage is more focused on the distribution of favors which binds the patron and the client.[21] In such cases, [political] authority is converted into a private patrimony, where the distinction between the office and the office holder is blurred.

In the workings of the ZANU-PF patronage system, Mugabe could be construed as the political "Big Man".[22] He distributes resources to his many clients including the youth wing of the party. In turn, these youth - as clients – commit acts of violence on behalf of Mugabe and his ZANU-PF henchmen. This resonates powerfully with political organizations in many countries where the Big Man's followers and clients enjoy substantial material benefits from their patron, who would in turn enjoy the prestige and authority that comes with a huge and loyal following. Indeed, ZANU-PF youth in Harare construct Mugabe as a visionary leader, with some calling for the renaming of the Harare International Airport and other iconic buildings after him. The allocation of residential stands by ZANU-PF to youth "employees" of its structure of violence is a way of undermining the elected MDC, who run the city of Harare. Due to successive electoral defeats by the MDC in Harare, ZANU-PF created parallel party structures and deployed the notorious CIO and youth militia to regain control through violence and the threat of violence.[23] As such, urban and peri-urban land and resources have become a battleground between ZANU-PF and the elected MDC aligned council. In Harare, when the MDC dominated council seats in the city in post-2000 elections, the then Minister of Local Government Ignatious Chombo fired Elias Mudzuri, the elected Mayor of Harare. The reasons were viewed as political.[24] Though the MDC led council has tried to challenge ZANU-PF's illicit dealings, many MDC councilors have been fired by the Minister of Local Government Ignatius Chombo. In addition, the most recently appointed ZANU-PF Local Government Minister Savior Kasukuwere fired the

entire Chitungwiza council and the Mayor of Harare, all of which belonged to MDC-T. Thus, while the MDC had the majority of elected councilors, ZANU-PF appointed its own minister of local government who then worked to sabotage and frustrate the MDC councilors. In an interview with one Harare councilor it emerged that the ZANU-PF minister of Local Government wantonly suspends and expels MDC councilors who challenge his and Mugabe's decisions. In the words of one MDC-T councilor,

> Though we are the majority in the Harare council, the minister of Local Government is in total control, Mugabe made sure that even during the government of national unity, he retained strategic ministries including local government. So, anyone who opposes their illicit dealings is framed as corrupt or will just be suspended or fired.

Indeed, expulsion and threats of expulsion acted as a form of social control for the MDC councilors in Harare. Combined with threats of violence by the ZANU-PF youth militia, the MDC-T councilors were forced into submission. This strategy enabled ZANU-PF to do what it deemed necessary in spite of the presence of MDC council leadership. It is important to understand the complex mechanics of power deployed by ZANU-PF in its quest to retain political power in the urban areas. We therefore contend that while the GNU offered opportunities for co-existence, ZANU-PF and MDC, ZANU-PF entered the deal in bad faith and never implemented all the agreements. Instead, it jealously monopolized all strategic ministries and sectors. Further, while opposition youth have sometimes responded to resist political violence, most of them have been arrested, imprisoned, and abducted.

Thus, the ZANU-PF uses state resources to "reward" the youth who commit acts of violence on behalf of the party. One of our participants contends that,

> The ZANU-PF youth are people we know, we have lived with them as our neighbors, but what is surprising is that, you will hear them saying I have a residential stand. They don't work anywhere but now they have a stand. This is work for ZANU-PF, its ZANU-PF pension.

In this regard, residential stand allocations are a future "pension" for ZANU-PF youth. The residential stands represent compensation for purveyors of violence, and they are a reward of working for the ZANU-PF to retain and keep a hold on political power. In our conversation with one of the government officials from the Ministry of Local Government, it was noted that,

> The youth are allocated land directly by the Ministry of local govern-
> ment. So, what happens is that the youth leaders either register co-
> operatives, or land developers. So, we give them the land around the
> city, and they are the ones who will now re-allocate it to their fellow
> youth as residential stands. However, much of the residential stands
> are sold by these youth leaders to individuals because many of them
> cannot afford to build a proper house.

According to McGregor, when ZANU-PF lost local government elections,
they turned the city into an object of political struggle by undermining the
City Council responsible for service delivery.[25] Thus, ZANU-PF deploys "in-
formal politics which invade formal institutions."[26] This arrangement gives
credence to Chabal and Daloz' argument that in neopatrimonial settings,
wealth and other resources are redistributed through vertical clientelist
networks, in this case ZANU-PF networks.[27] However, it should also be un-
derscored that the logics of reciprocity between patrons and clients me-
diates the functioning of these neopatrimonial systems. Thus, while the
ZANU-PF youth benefits from residential stands, Mugabe in return enjoys
loyalty and allegiance from them. This allegiance and control of the youth
militia enable ZANU-PF to mobilize them for violence against its political
nemesis like the MDC.

By undermining the MDC in the City of Harare, ZANU-PF is able to take care
of its support base and the youth militia. This resonates with Chabal and
Daloz who noted that the aim of political elites is not just to gather power.[28]
It is more fundamentally to use that power and the resources which it can
generate, to purchase, as it were, the "affection" of their people. This kind
of practice relates to what has been termed by neopatrimonial scholars
as "spoils politics" in which once a political party is in power it distributes
political benefits by employing and allocating resources to it supporters to
keep it in power.[29]

Extortion as "protection" fees

As indicated above, ZANU-PF youth do not only survive on dubious and illegal
land allocation in the city but extort money from taxi drivers at city/suburb
terminuses. In one of Harare's high-density suburbs, Mbare, a well-known
group of ZANU-PF youth militia known as *Chipangano* extort money from
taxi drivers. The *Chipangano* youth militia group took over most taxi termi-
nuses/ranks. *Chipangano* is a wider network which controls much of city/

high density suburb life, allocating market stalls and deciding who operates in strategic and profitable market routes like Mbare. The Mbare route is one of the busiest routes to and from Harare city centre. Mbare area is home to the biggest market for farmers' fresh fruits and vegetables, flea markets, and certain industrial products. The busiest long-distance bus terminal is located in Mbare - about 3km from the city. The distance is short and profitable for taxi operators; hence taxis always travel between the markets and the city. The route's profitability makes it also a target of the *Chipangano* militia group.

Chipangano members ensure that every taxi driver pays the "operating fees." According to Sandura, a taxi driver, "you have to pay *Chipangano* youth and that will be 'entry fees' and 'protection fees.'" The idea of such fees reveals to us how ZANU-PF youth create constituencies within constituencies: by having control over particular 'terrains' within the city. These are terrains of fear and intimidation, where power is centered around ZANU-PF. The "entry fees" should not only be understood in terms of monetary value, but as a metaphor of power, i.e. how ZANU-PF - through its youth 'arm' creates spaces of power.

Tanaka, who also operates along the Mbare route, noted that "*Chipangano* collects roadworthy fees." By paying the fee, a taxi qualifies to operate and becomes "roadworthy." This is a political practice which reminds us of how ordinary path/roads are configured into violent spaces. Failure to pay normally results in taxis being barred from operating on the Mbare market route.

There can also be other consequences. This was highlighted by Gomba, a taxi driver, who said, "if you try to resist, they can beat you, they can impound your taxi." Going to the Police is not seen as an option because: 'how can you report to the police, when the police behave like *Chipangano*. The police are also ZANU-PF, so where do you report. You have to comply if you want to operate in that route.' (Gomba). This relationship between the youth and the police reveals how the state, which is ZANU-PF, is closely connected in this organized violence. The police are itself politicized and acts as an extension of the party. ZANU-PF dictates, manipulates or simply disregards the law.[30] ZANU-PF is in itself the law. They determine what to do and what not to do and why. In this situation a political party and its youth supporters act as the law.

For Simba, the taxi driver,

> Sometimes the *Chipangano* militia would falsely accuse you of being MDC so that they beat you as punishment for refusing to pay their fee.

This political trend was also reported in the Mupedzanhamo flea market and the Mbare vegetable market, where some of our interlocutors told us that suspected MDC supporters were violently removed and barred from trading. Sandura, a 35-year-old trader in Mupedzanhamo market narrated his traumatic experience with the *Chipangano* youth militia:

> One afternoon while I was selling my things, a group of youth ap-proached my stall-before I even greeted them, they started demand-ing money, when I told them that I do not have any money because nothing was bought, they became violent. One of them shouted, 'we don't want opposition people here, this man should go'. I tried to ex-plain but they could not have any of it. When I came back the next day, they violently evicted me and told me the stall belongs to someone now.

For Sandura, eviction and violence were acts of retribution for his failure to pay the youth militia. Sandura's experience was not exceptional, but it reso-nates with the narratives of some of our interlocutors around Mbare market area. Most of them were told that Mbare was a no-go area for opposition supporters – whether imagined or real.

In this context characterized by political uncertainties, youths' lives are also uncertain. ZANU PF youth are themselves (as a group) a client that needs their patron (Mugabe) to either avoid political misfortunes and/or to be able to achieve goals which would have been impossible to accomplish.[31] Thus, ZANU-PF youth militia at the market make political loyalty a pre-requisite for accessing and maintaining market stalls. During Mugabe's birthday cel-ebrations, the ZANU-PF youth Militia went as far as to move around and forcibly collect "subscriptions" from non-supporters to contribute to fund-ing the celebratory activities, thereby politicizing it. This strategy of extort-ing traders and taxi operators enables ZANU-PF, through its youth wing to control and keep a tight grip on the urban constituency, a predominantly opposition MDC stronghold. As such, the urban markets in Harare are only allowed to function through the deployment of a violent patronage network

system. Consequently, in the context of high unemployment and deepening poverty, ZANU-PF's coercive patronage systems strongly mediate people's livelihoods in and around the city.[32]

These are the reciprocities which help to cement political relationships (Pitcher, et al., 2009) and they are the means by which ZANU-PF youth impose political obedience to their party on the ordinary population. The forceful collection of protection fees by the ZANU-PF youth militia in Harare has created chaos in the transport sector. This has led to what Chabal and Daloz referred to as the "instrumentalization of disorder." It means that for ZANU-PF, disorder is a political resource in which criminal activities such as extortion are perpetrated and celebrated. Thus this 'instrumentalization of disorder' serves ZANU-PF's political ends, to create a category of youth with less motivation to work for formal institutions. ZANU-PF thrives in disorder, and the deployment of disorder is a political practice meant to maintain a grip on political power by threatening the opposition. These youth have a zeal and zest of organizing and mobilizing political violence on behalf of the ZANU-PF, in return for their personal material benefits.

Conclusion

This paper has revealed the ways in which ZANU-PF youth mobilize violence to keep Mugabe in power. We have argued that the relationship between ZANU-PF and its youth is consolidated by shared political benefits for Mugabe and the youth. It is a reciprocal political relationship, one in which President Mugabe "employs" the youth to perpetrate violence, and in return political benefits. The paper contributes to our understanding of the symbiotic relationship between the two. Hence politicians who thrive on political violence, threats and intimidation, keep themselves in power, especially by instrumentalizing violence. ZANU-PF makes the youth believe in its political project of coercing and intimidating its political opponents. Violence therefore becomes a vocation or type of 'work,' which is characterized by political elites' employment of party-aligned youth.

The ways in which ZANU-PF created parallel political structures and undermined the MDC which legally controlled constituencies in the City of Harare enables us to understand how Mugabe thrived on the "politics of disorder." It is within this "politics of disorder" that ZANU-PF has been able to reward its political clients in a disorderly and illegal manner.

NOTES

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