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## **The Politics of Resource Bargaining, Social Relations and Institutional Development in Zimbabwe Since Independence**

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prepared for the UNRISD project on  
Politics of Domestic Resource Mobilization for Social Development

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This paper is part of a series of outputs from the research project on the Politics of Domestic Resource Mobilization for Social Development.

The project seeks to contribute to global debates on the political and institutional contexts that enable poor countries to mobilize domestic resources for social development. It examines the processes and mechanisms that connect the politics of resource mobilization and demands for social provision; changes in state-citizen and donor-recipient relations associated with resource mobilization and allocation; and governance reforms that can lead to improved and sustainable revenue yields and services. For further information on the project visit [www.unrisd.org/pdrm](http://www.unrisd.org/pdrm).

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## Acronyms

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| AAC       | AIDS Action Committee   |
| ASM       | Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining                              |
| CIT       | Corporate Income Tax  |
| DRM       | Domestic Resource Mobilization                                |
| ESAP      | Economic Structural Adjustment Program                        |
| FDI       | Foreign Direct Investment                                     |
| FTLR      | Fast Track Land Reform Programme                              |
| GDP       | Gross Domestic Product  |
| GNU       | Government of National Unity                                  |
| IEE       | Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act                   |
| IMF       | International Monetary Fund                                   |
| KPCS      | Kimberley Process Certification Scheme                        |
| MDC       | Movement for Democratic Change                                |
| MOHCW     | Ministry of Health and Child Welfare                          |
| NAC       | National AIDS Council   |
| NATF      | National AIDS Trust Fund                                      |
| NSSA      | National Social Security Authority                            |
| ODA       | Official Development Assistance                               |
| PIT       | Personal Income Tax   |
| RBZ       | Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe                                      |
| SML       | Special Mining Lease  |
| SOE       | State Owned Enterprise  |
| SWF       | Sovereign Wealth Fund   |
| TNF       | Tripartite Negotiating Forum                                  |
| VAT       | Value Added Tax   |
| ZANU-PF   | Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)             |
| ZIM ASSET | Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation |
| ZIMRA     | Zimbabwe Revenue Authority                                    |
| ZIMCORD   | Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development         |
| ZIMPREST  | Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation     |
| ZINARA    | Zimbabwe National Road Authority                              |

## Summary

This paper examines evolving models and experiences of domestic resource mobilization in Zimbabwe since independence in 1980. Grounded in UNRISD's Politics of Domestic Resource Mobilization and Social Development project, the study explores key questions around the nature and dynamics of resource bargaining over revenue mobilization and allocation; the changes in relationships among key actors; and the forms and outcomes of institutional development surrounding resource bargaining processes. It adopts a historical-comparative approach to explore the evolving balance of forces among actors and emerging institutional constraints that are seen as catalyzing the formulation of successive resource mobilization strategies and associated development outcomes. Three case studies of divergent resource mobilization innovations underscore the complexity of challenges faced by governments whose actions are shaped by uneven state capacity and policy autonomy; a weak formal sector in which established business actors wield significant power and influence; and growing contestation over legitimacy and participation by political and social actors. The Zimbabwean case underscores the critical importance of political undercurrents and contesting interests in resource bargaining and the shaping of development policy. It also highlights the uneven nature of social actors' access to and influence in bargaining processes; and of the state itself, in the wake of neoliberal austerity, state capture and intra-elite competition. At the same, the study finds, evidence from Zimbabwe points to the benefits of more transparent, inclusive and capacitated forms of revenue mobilization involving a wider array of social actors.

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