Journal of Namibian Studies, 43 (2024) : 118-146 ISSN: 2197-5523 (online)

Antecedents And Consequences Of Political Brand Party Hate In Zimbabwe's Political Market

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Abstract

Political brand hate is a socio-psychological praxis in which former fervid party supporters develop intensely adverse hatred towards a political party they formerly loved resulting in negative outcomes such as party ambivalence, rejection, party switching and even nihilism. The motive of this paper was to examine the antecedents for political party brand hate in Zimbabwe. Combining marketing and political science knowledge domains, the study used a multinomial regression equation with three dependent variables: political party hate, political party love and political party indifference. Systematic sampling was used to collect quantitative data from 100 supporters of Zimbabwe's two main political parties. Our findings show that ideological incompatibility, image incongruity, moral self-concept, party betrayal and self-incongruity are key factors in inducing the probability of political party brand hate. Core service offerings that attract political consumers include political ideology, public expenditure management, socio-economic policies and programs. Political parties in Zimbabwe are urged to negative anti-brand strategies such as party arrogance, voter-party incompatibility and breach of pre-election promises in order to increase party brand love. The contribution of the paper to research lies in pioneering the use of multinomial logit

regression equation to integrate political and marketing disciplines to study political issues in Zimbabwe.

Key Words: Political Brand Hate, Political Market, Image incongruity, Party Arrogance, Party Rejection.

1. Introduction and Background

Why do some voters hate certain political parties in the political market? Perhaps the right place to start this treatise is responding to the three questions: What is hate? Is a political party a brand that can be hated? Are their consequences for political party hate? In 430 B.C, Aristotle defined hate as a strong emotional feeling that can emerge even without a preceding offence having been committed by other party. Unlike anger that can only be directed to individuals, hate can be directed at groups such as political entities and organisations (Smith, 2013; O'Cass and Voola, 2011; Butler and Powell, 2014; Gentry, 2018; Sternberg, 1986, 2005). Anger often appears conjointly with pain. In contrast, hate is painless for the hater (Sternberg, 2003). Benedictus de Spinoza argues that hate is pain that is accompanied by the idea of an outside cause. For Gaylin (1985), hate is a severe and sophistical emotion that requires an object to append to. Hate is not always irrational or reasonless emotion (Sternberg, 2005, 2003). Some of the objects that can be hated include goods, products, services, firms, political parties and even countries. Dozier (2002) concurs that hate evolves from self-help survival instinct and is only possible if there is an object to hate. Hate is accompanied by anger, emotions, intense aversion and stereotyping of the hated object (Zarantonello et al., 2018; Sharma et al., 2018; Zhang and Lorecho, 2020). From a similar perspective, Sternberg (2003) contends that hate is bellicose nature of an aversion that reflects an acute form of fear. Sternberg (1986) observes that hate consists of three major categories that is negation of fear, passion and commitment. A hated object frequently arouses anger, dislike, fear revulsion, distaste, contempt, repulsion and disgust (Kucuk, 2019; Chigora et al., 2019 Japutra and others, 2018; Rodriguez et al., 2018; Reimann and others, 2018). Likewise, Staub (2005) also sees hate as an adverse view of the object of hatred in conjunction with intense negative feeling towards the object. Hate is often associated with overt and covert hostility (Sharma et al., 2022; Bayarassou et al., 2020). Feelings of love can be replaced or supplemented

overwhelmingly be feelings of hate. Different people may experience and react to the feeling of being hate in different ways.

Researchers have reported a very close nexus between love and hate. They explain that hate is neither the absence of love nor the opposite of love (Kucuk, 2018; Islam et al., 2019; Jin et al., 2017; Fetscherin, 2019; Ogun Ramirez and others, 2019; Sternberg, 2003). From this perspective, it can be contended that the relation between political party love and political party hate is complex and protean. This is because the love and hate of a political party love are like monozygotic twins. These two can coexist. Sometimes love follows hate, and in some instances hate follows love. Thus, the aphorism that says the deeper the love, the deeper the hate. It is often argued that it is easier to convert political party love to political party hate. However, other researchers also contend that it is often difficult to convert political party hate to political party love (Jin and others, 2017). Sternberg (2003) states that hate and love are closely correlated with emotions and feelings. Just as in a love relationship between two individuals, in the political market a similar love can exist between an individual voter and a political party (see Ozlem and Ekici, 2009; Padovano, 2013; Harris and Lock, 2010).

The American Marketing Association (2004) defines a brand as a name, term, sign or combination of them, intended to identify the goods of sellers or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competition. According to Keller (2015), anything can be a brand. A political party is therefore also a brand that can either be loved or hated (Padovano, 2013; Harris and Lock, 2010). We define political party hate as a socio-psychological praxis where voters form a passionate, adverse feeling and an abhorrence towards a political party brand. The hatred of a party is often associated with cognitive dissonance and can often lead to voter normativity such as party switching (Dessart et al., 2020; Azer and Alexander, 2018; Becheur et al., 2017), party disloyalty, ambivalence, and dubiety (Fetscherin and Sampedro, 2019; Antonetti, 2016; Ahamed and Hashim, 2018), distrust, rejection and even nihilism (Harris and Lock, 2010; Roman et al., 2015; Zhang and Laroche, 2020).

Voters offer their loyalty, fidelity and trust to a political party with the implicit understanding that the party as a brand will behave in certain ways in the political market. Like products and services brands, political parties must provide their consumers that is, voters with utility through consistent policy performance

on issues like inflation management, corruption, interest rate, exchange and price stability, economic management and welfare management (Muzurura, 2019). If voters realise tangible benefits from associating or voting a political party into power, they are likely to reward the party with re-election in national plebiscites. This is the same way in which consumers make their purchase decisions on choosing certain products or services in supermarkets. Hence, the paper argues in the political market a strong political party brand is important for maximizing voter utility and for winning elections. Successful party branding enhances voter-based brand equity where voters develop a positive and favourable attitude towards that party as a brand. Failure to create favourable voter-based brand equity lies at the heart of political party hate (Gentry, 2018; Harris and Lock, 2010). Since attaining political independence in 1980, Zimbabwe has been ruled by one party, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANUPF). The longevity of the party as a formidable brand throughout the first decade of independence is related to the creation of a strong brand identity that enabled the party to forge a strong brand salience and resonance with almost every Zimbabwean voter. As a party that brought freedom from the former colonial power, ZANUPF was able to effectively use colonial narratives, painful experiences of the liberation struggle, marginalization of blacks by whites, land redistribution, neo-colonisation, and aspirations of Pan-Africanism to construct a political ideology that was in sync with the majority of voters (Mhango, 2012; Raftopoulos and Eppel, 2008). The party leveraged voter-based brand equity on brand elements that included creation of strong cultural identity, advancing black nationalism, territorial integrity, sovereignty and eradication of socio-economic inequalities. However, over the years, the strong party brand has been eroded by systemic political corruption, economic mismanagement, high unemployment, authoritarianism, black petit-bourgeoise, prebendalism, socio-economic inequalities and military-party conflation (Muzurura, 2019).

Many supporters feel disillusioned, dismayed and betrayed by the party they once loved. For the first time since independence in 2023, ZANUPF lost parliamentary majority and its hegemonic influence to a newly formed and politically inexperienced party, the Citizens Coalition for Change (CCC). The CCC is a loose conglomeration of citizens won all urban and most peri-urban constituents. Nevertheless, ZANUPF retained its

majority in rural areas where the majority of the people reside, and also borne the full weight of the liberation war. In many rural areas, ZANUPF is still considered a credible and trustworthy political party and hence, a favourable brand association with the party. The party depends on patronage systems, the power to co-apt farmers, church groups, chiefs and weak oppositional movements to ensure that it remains a loved brand in many rural areas. Such a relationship is described by Keller (2013) as brand resonance that is, the degree to which voters believe their norms and values are in sync with a particular brand.

In fact, Keller's brand resonance model states that establishing proper brand identity, eliciting positive and accessible brand responses, creating the appropriate brand meaning, and forging an intense and active brand relationship with consumers are key issues that reduce brand hate. However, with the loss of urban voters and deterioration of voter-based brand equity in peri-urban rural areas, ZANUPF panicked and responded by using violence, torture, hate speech and sponsoring proxy parties to subordinate urban voters. Despite the orgies of political violence during and after elections most voters switched to supporting the CCC brand even in rural areas that were former strongholds of ZANUPF. The CCC framed and communicated its party branding strategy on a language of post-nationalist aspirations, enhanced democratic space, zero corruption, democracy, and liberalism, protection of private property rights and observance of human right tenets.

In contrast, in order to lure voters ZANUPF is contend using pre- and post-liberation overtones of past experiences, memories, experiences, reconstruction of spiritual myth and perceived solidarity within national liberation movements within Southern African. ZANUPF sees the erosion of its brand as a victim of neo-colonialism and imperialist onslaught spearheaded by the CCC leaders. The rise of MDC the CCC has continued to split the voters into two distinctive groups. Most urban voters hate the ZANUPF brand whilst the rural voters hate the CCC brand. After the military coup that ousted Robert Mugabe, ZANUPF rebranded itself as a neo-liberal party that respects human and private property rights. It has promised to open more democratic space and reduce its political arrogance. However, the CCC party has continued to make significant inroads in peri-rural areas whilst ZANUPF has failed to penetrate urban areas despite making enormous political investments. The main problem facing the two main political

parties in Zimbabwe could be related to political party hate. The two political parties have failed to build strong party brands that resonates with their supporters in different political landscapes. The messages being communicated, past experiences, party policies, ideologies and programs have failed to arouse the desired feelings, thoughts, beliefs, images, opinions, and perceptions that attracts voters. Both parties have resorted to using threats, coercion and actual violence to attract supporters. However, most voters no longer enjoy the election cycles leading to high voter apathy or indifference, and to a larger extend party switching.

Harris and Lock (2010) and Schweiger and Adami (1999) state that in the political market voters can be perceived as consumers of politics and have deep knowledge of party structures, policies and ideologies of particular political just like they behave towards product and service brands they consume in their homes. In this regard, a political brand can be perceived as a multifaceted cobweb of intersecting attitudes, values, norms, flow of ideas and political information. Unlike tangible goods, political brands can be considered an intangible service bundle where voters make judgements using total message stored in their memory or as a packaged concept (Smith, 2005; Gentry, 2010). Increasing political party hate in Zimbabwe is likely to lead not only to non-traditional consequences of political party hate such as brand switching but to destructive outcomes such as economic degrowth, internal terrorism, narcissism, hate speech, reduced democratic space, violation of human rights and even genocide (see Straub, 2005; Sternberg, 2003).

The study is important for the following reasons. Many voters choose political parties by employing using similar attributes consumers use to make their choice on product and service brands. The party itself as a brand, its public expenditure, policies, programs and the politicians act as core service offerings that attract political consumers. According to Stinger (2002), these distinctive elements are essential for building voter-based brand equity as they enhance political party recognition, cohesion, predictability and fidelity. As also argued by Scheneider and Ferie (2015), party branding is a differentiating feature between political parties. A party brand helps to communicate the party image, build loyalty, create self-congruity and to capture the aspirations to voters who are the key consumers of political messages. The political image or its brand positioning differentiates the party offerings from its competitors/rivals in front of the targeted voters.

Lupu (2014) confirms that if parties care about their voters there must be careful in their brand positioning by adopting political and economic strategies that engender voter-based brand equity.

The political party image as part of its brand and resultant brand resonance in the eyes of voters are crucial for winning supporters and ultimately election victory (Butler and Powell, 2014; O'Cass and Voola, 2011; Bryson et al., 2013). The PPH has serious developmental consequences in economies like Zimbabwe. The country has held more than four disputed elections due to mis-information, scapegoating and open hostility, hate speech, feelings of fear and devaluation of supporters, as well as captured governance institutions. The fermentation of political party hate encourages supporters to perceive the use of force and violence as instruments for attracting supporters. If not controlled, this may frustrate voters who want to use democracy to advance their aspirations for self-determination, achieve individual and national security, the quest for true humanity, and expand political and economic freedom as envisaged by the country's constitution. Understanding the antecedence of PPH my enable political parties in Zimbabwe to devise peaceful ways of attracting voters. It may also help to reduce incidences of negative brand outcomes of PPH such as party switching, party rejection, party avoidance and party indifference. The subject of hate has been studied widely separately in political sciences, sociology, psychology and marketing studies with particular focus on consumer brand hate of certain products and services (Zhang and Laroche, 2020; Rahimah et al., 2023; Sharma et al., 2023; Rahimah et al., 2023; Abhishek et al,. 2022; Banerjee and Goel, 2020; Garg et al., 2018; Kucuk, 2019; Rodrigues et al., 2021; Hegner et al., 2017; Zarantonello et al., 2018; Iddrisu et al., 2022; Reimann et al., 2018; Oddon et al., 2019; Jin et al., 2017; Dessart et al., 2020; Ozlem and Ekici,2009; Harris and Lock, 2010). However, the multidimensionality of hate in political science has not been well interrogated from an inter-disciplinary perspective (see Harris and Lock, 2010; Gentry, 2010; Smith, 2005; Schweiger and Adami, 1999). The extant study argues that political parties are brands that have attributes like services brands. It is therefore necessary to examine political party brand hate by integrating marketing insights into political science.

From this background, the main intent of the extant study is to close the lacuna in the political market literature by adopting a multi-disciplinary approach that bridges political, psychological and marketing sciences in one study. We do this by exploring the

antecedents of PPH by drawing insights from the two main parties in Zimbabwe. The article contributes to literature by borrowing from the Duplex theory of hate to understand antecedents of PPH. In addition, many studies on political science have tended to rely on interpretivism philosophy and qualitative research strategies. This study pioneers the application of the multinomial logit (MNL) regression model to analyse the relationship of ideological incompatibility, self-image incongruity, symbolic incongruity, moral self-concept and brand betrayal on PPH. The paper is organised thus; the first section presents the introduction and background. Section 2 covers literature review. The third, fourth and fifth part covers methodology, findings and recommendations from the study.

2. Theoretical and Empirical Literature Review

The well-known theory that has often been used to explain hate both for individuals and groups is the duplex theory of hate first proposed by Sternberg (2003). This theory posits that the emotion of hating a group of individuals or a single individual is the same. However, hating a political party does not always guarantee that you also hate all individual members of that political party. Sternberg (2003) says that psychologically hate is closely correlated to love since love can easily turn to hate. Understanding hate can also help to understand love (Sternberg, 1986). As demonstrated by Sternberg (2003), hate is conceived as a triangular structure made up of commitment, passion and disavowal of intimacy. Intimacy refers to feelings of connectedness, trust, communication, closeness, affinity and bondedness in loving relationship. As averred by Hatfield and Walster (1981), passion refers to the state of acute yearning for association with and object and hence, may be characterised with self-esteem, affiliation, nurturance, submission and dominance. Finally, commitment refers to the decision to love an object and to maintain the relationship. Of the three, commitment is critical since it is the sine qua non for keeping the relationship going through good and hard times.

Fromm (2000) argues that hate denotes the travesty of constructive positive possibilities for humanity. They added that hate is not inherent in human beings. Hate is something we acquire as a consequence of our perceptions of the ways in which others act towards us (Fromm, 1992). Nevertheless, some people acquire hate as a result of manipulations of their feelings and cognitions by

political parties, government and religious leaders (Gentry, 2018; Butler and Powell, 2014; O'Cass and Voola, 2011). Sternberg (1986) avers that to create passionate hate from a position of indifference, one needs first to create an intense relationship. Brand hate is defined as a serious dislike for a service or product by consumers (Dessert et al., 2020; Bryson et al., 2013; Astakova et al, 2017; Jin et al., 2017; Hegner et al., 2017; Zarantonello et al., 2020). The subject of branding as component of marketing has received less attention as key in understanding the nature of the market of politics (Gentry, 2018 Chigora et al., 2019). Many studies have examined consumer feelings on brands that is, brand hate and brand love (Bayarassou et al., 2020; Arquimedes et al., 2023; Dessert et al., 2020; Reimann et al., 2018; Demirbag-Kaplan et al., 2015; Kucuk, 2019; Albert et al., 2013; Kahr et al., 2016).

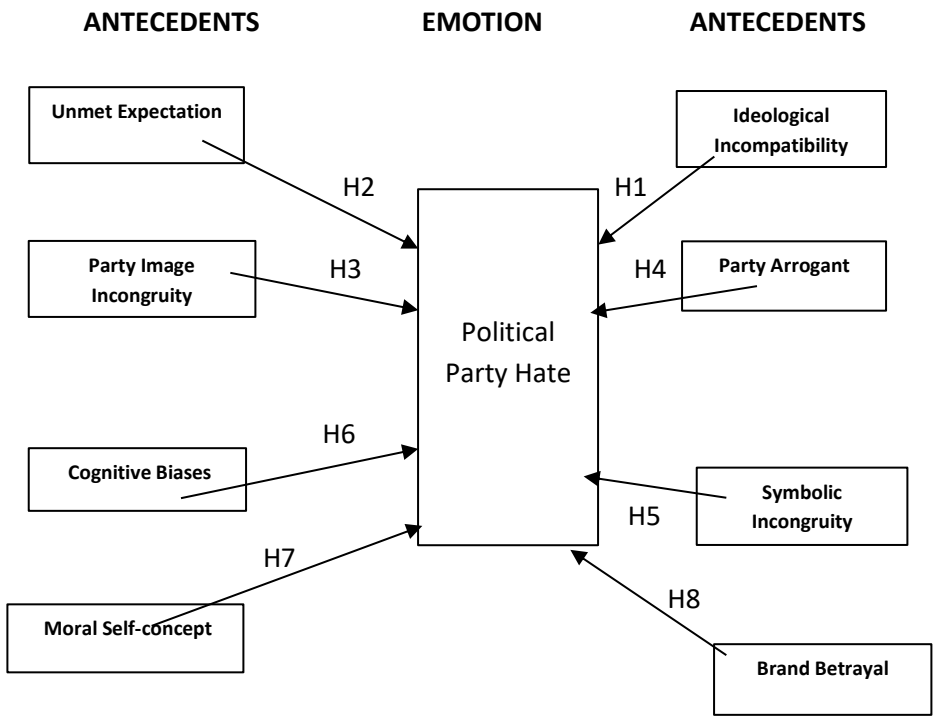
The most common constructs that have been used in studying brand hate include brand detachment (Jin et al., 2019; Odoom et al., 2019; Hegner et al., 2017), brand disloyalty (Makri et al., 2020; De Campos and Aktan, 2015), brand disgust and brand revenge (Romani et al., 2015; De Campos et al., 2018), brand dissonance, aversion, rejection and avoidance (Fetscherin, 2019; Zarantonello, 2020; Curina et al., 2019; Zhang and Lorecho, 2020; Christodoulides et al., 2021). Zhang and Lorecho (2020) and Fetscherin (2019) also claim that brand hate is a construct that is multi-dimensional and include dimensions such as contempt, despondency, trepidation as well as anger. In examining political party brand hate constructs such an unmet expectations, ideological incompatibility and symbolic incongruity have been used widely (Abhishek et al., 2022; Wolter et al., 2016; Sharma et al., 2023).

For instance, Banerjee (2021) reports the involvement of political products mediates the nexus between ideological incompatibility; unmet expectations and symbolic incongruity. The major consequences of PPBH encompasses the avoidance of the brand (Alba and Lutz, 2013; Butler and Powel, 2014; Smith, 2005; Jost et al., 2009; Johnson et al., 2011) and brand extremism (Duck et al., 1995; Harris and Lock, 2010; Padavano, 2013) brand revenge (Reeves et al., 2006; Scheneider and Ferie, 2015; O'Cass and Voola, 201; Fitness and Fletcher, 1993), brand opposition and retaliation (Sharma et al., 2023; Johnson et al., 2011; Bergan, 2011; Lupu, 2014), brand contempt, brand disgust and anger (Singer, 2002; Smith, 2005), symbolic incongruity (Curina et al., 2019) and boycotting of the brand (Romani et al., 2015; Kucuk, 2019;

Mutambara and Muzurura, 2023; Hegner et al., 2017). From the literature review the following conceptual frame work is proposed for the study.

2.01 Conceptual Framework

The paper conceptualizes the antecedents of political party brand hate as shown in Figure 1 below. The key antecedents of political party hate are anger, contempt, disgust, party arrogance, symbolic incongruency, ideological incompatibility, individual moral self-concept and political hate speech. These factors are likely to result in party switching, avoidance, retaliation, revenge and party rejection.



Source Authors (2023)

3. Methodology

To understand factors informing brand hate in marketing, researchers have employed a number of models ranging from simple qualitative studies to structural regression equation (Banerjee et al., 2023; Zhang and Laroche, 2020; Zarantonello e al., 2016; Iddrisu et al., 2022; Kang and others 2015; Knittel et al., 2016; Gentry, 2018; Fetscherin, 2019). Unlike these studies, the extant study adopts a multinomial logit (MNL) regression equation, which is a discrete choice model. The choice of the MNL is

informed by its advantages such as being strong and parsimonious to any violations regarding the assumptions of equal co-variances across autocorrelated variables (see Muzurura, 2018). Unlike other econometric models, the MNL is efficient and has easily interpretable diagnostic tests. We generalise our study from logit models popularised by Long (1997).

We argue that political party brand hate (PPH) is likely to arise from three voter decisions. First an individual is likely to hate a political party that is, PPH. Second the individual is likely to love a political party PPL. Third, the individual is neither a fan nor rejects the political party but simply does not care about the political party at all, that is, political party Indifference (PPI). The decisions PPH, PPL, and PPI are unordered and mutually exclusive. This also means that each of the 3 dependent variables are not inevitably superior or inferior to the other. It also implies that the dependent variables have an equal probability of being selected by participants. In line with MNL, the outcome PPI was chosen as the baseline category where the decision PPH and PPL was compared to (see Small et al., 1985; Keane, 1992). The dependent variables were PPH, PPL and PPI were coded with values 1, 2 and 3 respectively. A serious concern of using MNL models in studies is related to the underlying assumption of what is termed the independent of irrelevant alternatives (IIA) (Dow and Endersby, 2004; Fry and Harris, 1998; Keane, 1992; Small et al., 1985). The IIA is the ratio of likelihood of selecting two alternatives that are truly independent from existing third alternative. (Hausman and McFadden, 1984). If IIA is violated the model loses its validity. We tested the IIA using the Small and Hsiao and Hausman and McFadden tests. (Zhang and Hoffman, 1993; Train, 2003; Green, 2003). Other diagnostic tests for model validity that were done include the combination test (see Hausman and McFadden, 1984), the Wald test and the log likelihood ratio (see Greene, 2003; Train, 2003).

4.0 Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses Development

Starting from a simple probabilistic regression equation

$$P_{ij} = probability\ (y_i = j_{x_i}) = \frac{E\ (x_i\beta_j)}{\sum_{j=0}^{2} E\ (x_i\beta_j} \quad \text{(i)}$$

y_i and j_{xi} represent exponentiated probability of political brand hate. Equation (i) can be expanded into the more familiar MNL model with three dependent variables PPH, PPL and PPI. Equation (1) can be expanded into three equations that represent the voter's decisions to either hate or love or to remain indifferent to a political party.

$$P_{ijt},1 = P(Y_{ijt} = 1) = [\frac{E\{X'_{ijt}\beta 1\}}{\{1+E\{X'_{ijt}\beta_2\}+E\{X'_{ijt}\beta_3\}}]$$

(ii)

$$P_{ijt},2 = P(Y_{ijt} = 2) = [\frac{E\{X'_{ijt}\beta_2\}}{\{1+E\{X'_{ijt}\beta_2\}+E\{X'_{ijt}\beta_2\}}]$$

(iii)

$$P_{ijt},3 = P(Y_{ijt} = 3) = [\frac{E\{X'_{ijt}\beta_3\}}{\{1+E\{X'_{ijt}\beta_3\}+E\{X'_{ijt}\beta_3\}}]$$

(iv)

Where equation (ii) denotes the likelihood that the i^{th} voter will select an alternative j (j = 1, (PPH). Equation (iii) shows the outcome PPL and equation (iv) denotes PPI. X'i are the voter's-specific regressors as shown in the conceptual framework in Figure 1. $\beta_{1,}$ β_1 and β_1 are elasticities of coefficients that are presumed to be positive. The equation (iii) was to set to zero in order to guarantee the identification of the equation. This equation was also set as the baseline or referent category. Setting β_0= 0 and calculating the predictability the predicted probabilities give equation (v).

$$Pijt = Pr\,(y_i = jIx_i = \frac{E\,(x_i\beta_j)}{E\,(x_i+\sum_{j=0}^{2} exp\,(x_i\beta_j}$$

(v)

$$= \frac{E\,(x_i\beta_j)}{\sum_{j=2}^{2} E(x_i\beta_j}$$

(vi)

Equation (vi) (baseline category PPI) can be expanded as below into equations (vii) and (ix).

$$Pijt = Pr(y_i = jx_i = \frac{E\,(x_i\beta_j)}{E(x_1 3)+\sum_{j=0}^{2} \mathrm{E}\,(\mathrm{x_i}\beta_j}$$

(vii)

$$\mathrm{Pijt} = \mathrm{P}\ (y_i = jx_i = \frac{1}{1+\sum_{j=1}^{2} \mathrm{E}\ (x_i \beta_j} \quad \text{(viii)}$$

The Risk relative ratios (RRR) for the baseline category PPI are shown in equation (x). The RRR shows how the relative risk of the alternative compares to the benchmark decision. The unit increase in the explanatory variable is shown in equation (x).

$$\mathrm{RRR} = [\frac{\mathrm{P}\{Y_{ijt}=h\mathbf{I}Y_{ijt}+1\}/\mathrm{P}\{Y_{ijt}=3\ \mathbf{I}Y_{ijt}+1\}]/\mathrm{P}\{\ Y_{ijt}=h\mathbf{I}Y_{ijt}\}}{\mathrm{P}\{Y_{ijt}=3\mathbf{I}Y_{\mathbf{ijt}}]\mathbf{I}}, \mathbf{j} =$$
$$\mathbf{1} \ldots \mathbf{N}: \mathbf{I} \neq \mathbf{j}; \mathbf{t} = \mathbf{1} \ldots \mathbf{T} \quad \text{(ix)}$$

Using the above equations, the final equation is specified as follows

$$\mathrm{P}\ (1,2,3) = \partial_0 + \partial_1 \mathrm{idcom} + \partial_2 \mathrm{umex} + \partial_3 \mathrm{imin} + \partial_4 \mathrm{parr} +$$
$$\partial_5 \mathrm{sinc} + \partial_6 \mathrm{sein} + \partial \mathrm{msei}_7 + \partial_8 \mathrm{betr} + \varepsilon_{18}$$

Where idcom is ideological incompatibility, unmx-unmet expectation, imin-image incongruity, parr-party arrogant, sinc-self-incongruity, sein-symbolic incongruity, msei-image self-incongruity and betr is betrayal

4.1.1 Ideological Incompatibility

Ideological incompatibility is a set of voter's beliefs, values and norms that are in conflict to what the political party stands for. Ideological incompatibility could be in terms of using deceptive communication, deviation from core values, principles and good ethics (Curina et al., 2019; Romani et al., 2018; Kucuk, 2019). For example, many voters identify with core issues like good governance, zero corruption, gender equality, climatic change, global warming, protecting the environment, human rights, private property rights, green economy and democracy. Failure to comply with these norms, values or beliefs may lead some voters to hate a political party brand hate (Butler and Powell, 2014; O'Cass and Voola, 2011; Harris and Lock, 2011). Hence, the following hypothesis was tested;

H_1 Ideological incompatibility is likely to lead to political party brand hate

4.1.2 Unmet Expectations

Unmet expectation arises when political parties over-promise their supporters and under-deliver what was expected from it. Unmet

expectations have been used in many studies as key constructs for determining brand hate of a product (Bayarassou et al., 2020; Arquimedes et al., 2023; Antonetti, 2016; Joshi and Yadav, 2020). Unmet expectations often arouse emotions and intense feeling associated with anger (Chen et al., 2016; Garg et al., 2018), revulsion, disgust and contempt of the party (Harris and Lock, 2010; Gentry,2018). Voters select political parties on the basis of promised offerings and actual performance. A bad experience with a political party is likely to lead to dissatisfaction and negative outcomes like party rejection, party switching and party avoidance as party of voter revenge.

H_2: the probability of political party brand hate increases with unmet supporter expectations.

4.1.3 Party Image Incongruity

Self-image incongruity refers to a mismatch between the typical brand image and one's actual self-image (see Sirgy, 1982; Kang et al., 2015 Rodriguez et al., 2021). From past experience supporters have developed an image of a political party they support in terms of principle values, party authenticity, credibility, and integrity. In turn, we argue that supporters may try to align their values or principles with party's values, ideologies or acceptable social norms. Studies focusing on product and service brand have reported a close relationship between self-image incongruity and brand hate (Zarantonello et al., 2018; Zhang and Laroche, 2020; Abhishek et al., 2022; Dessart et al., 2020). If there is a congruence between supporters and the political party there is like to be more brand resonance. Thus, the hypothesis:

H_3: the probability of hating a political party increases with self-image incongruity

4.1.4 Party Arrogance

Party arrogance is under-researched in literature that focus on consumer brands and even in political science. Party arrogance is defined as the propensity to publicise one's superiority over other political parties. Party arrogance reveal one's exaggerated sense of party's own importance or abilities. Carlson (2013) asserts that party arrogance is associated with condescension and bragging. It results in negative connotations. In fact, many researchers associate brand arrogance with is termed narcissistic personality

disorder which is a combination of grandiosity, emotional instability and self-obsession (Schlenker and Leary, 1982; Miller and Campbell, 2008; Tracy et al., 2012). Party arrogance can be considered a multi-construct trait that in politics manifests to use things like prebends, property and other rewards to create social and political superiority over other political parties. Party arrogance conveys superficial superiority and threatens supporters' self-concept. Party arrogance is likely to cause party rejection or switching. The following hypothesis is tested.

H_4: Party arrogance leads to political party brand hate.

4.1.5 Symbolic Incongruity

Literature on symbolic incongruity argues that consumers prefer brands that are correlated with a set of personality traits that are congruent with their own personality (Sun and Huddleston, 2017; Khan et al., 2018; Cehn et al., 2016). Indeed, Elliot (1997) said symbolic congruence is the idea that consumers no longer consuming products or services for their material utilities but consume the symbolic meaning of those products as portrayed in their brand image and positioning. Hegner et al (2017) found brand hate is strongly related to factors likely symbolic and functional incongruence with the consumer's personality. We therefore posit that party supporters also behave like consumers in that they not only choose political parties to fulfil their basic needs but what the political party represents. Hence, the hypothesis that;

H_5 There is positive relationship between symbolic incongruence and political party brand hate.

4.1.6 Cognitive Biases

Cognitive biases have been reported to be an important factor in influencing consumer purchase behaviour of certain products (Bertassini et al., 2021; Hofman Dessart et al., 2020; Sharma et al., 2022) et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2021; Kang et al., 2015). Cognitive biases are responsible for creating heuristics and mental short-cuts in the consumer decision to purchase certain brands. In political sciences it is likely that cognitive biases can influence to moral identity and self-image.

H_7: Cognitive biases may result in political party brand hate

4.1.7 Moral Self-Concept

Moral self-concept is defined by Sirgy and Su (2000) as the entirety of the individual's thoughts and feelings by having reference to himself as an object. The paper argues that in politics the issue of party morality is crucial as political parties offer intangible services. Moral self-concept is linked to moral identity. Traits like being fair, credible and honest are central to an individual's self-concept (Böckler et al, 2016; Hertz et al., 2016; Lefebvre and Krettenauer, 2019). Supporters with high moral self-concept tend to behave pro-socially and they are likely to love political parties that have consistently credible policies that care and are predictable. With a match between moral self-concept and political party attributes and what it represents, supporters are more likely to develop a favourable association with a party. Self-image, ideal self-image and social self-image have also been aligned to self-congruity (Sirgy et al., 200; Muzurura, 2023).

Hence, the hypothesis:

H_7: Moral Self-Concept leads to political party brand hate

4.1.8 Party Brand Betrayal

Party betrayal refers simply to the failure to keep promises or deviating from core principles and can be associated with emotions like anger, revulsion, disgust, contempt and political party rejection and avoidance. Indeed, Fetscherin (2019) and Kucuk (2019) also show that in consumer products brand betrayal may lead to different behavioral outcomes, including brand rejection, brand switching, public complaining and brand rejection. In the study party betrayal is conceptualized to be a mixture of anger, revulsion, disgust, distaste, disappointment and frustration. Brand betrayal marks the beginning of the deterioration of relationship since it is also a sign of unfaithfulness.. Political party betrayal is a sure signal for a broken promise and could provoke intense feelings of brand hate. Thus, the study predicts the following hypothesis;

H_8: Political party brand hate is strongly related to party betrayal.

Data Collection

Data were collected from an online survey of 200 passionate ZANUPF and CCC party supporters. First, the participants were asked to confirm the name of the party they supported, still support or have stopped supporting. Secondly, they were asked also confirm whether they had voted for the party in the last three

elections to ascertain if the feeling of hate or love comes from the actual voter or an external influence. Structured questionnaire was used to collect data from 100 respondents who were selected using systematic sampling technique.

Findings and Discussions

Multicollinearity Diagnostic tests

Table 1 shows that all regressors do not move together in a systematic manner since they are all below the threshold of 0.80. it can therefore be concluded that individual effects on the decisions to hate, love of be indifferent to a party can be isolated.

Table 1: Multicollinearity Test

Factor	Ideological incompatibility	Unmet expectation	Image incongruity	arrogant	Symbolic incongruity	Self-incompatibility	Moral self-concept		Betrayal
Ideological incompatibility	1.00								
Unmet expectation	0.25	1.00							
Party Image incongruity	-0.14	0.15	1.00						
Arrogant	-0.11	0.12	0.02	1.00					
Symbolic incongruity	0.35	-0.11	0.05	-0.05	1.00				
Cognitive Biases	0.45	-0.28	-0.08	0.01	0.12	1.00			
Moral self-concept	0.02	0.25	0.17	0.07	-16.00	0.17	1.00		
Brand betrayal	-0.24	0.15	0.08	-0.14	0.05	0.30	0.04		1.00

Source

Independence of Irrelevant Alternative (IIA) Test

Unlike other models the coefficient sign of an MNL does not indicate the direction of the relation between dependent and independent variables (Bowen and Wiersema, 2004). The MNL model assumes that odds of PPH decision against an alternate like PPL are independent of other choices. Table 2 shows the Hausman and Small-Hsiao test. The test shows that the coefficients of PPH is -14.25, PPL, (-505.25) and PPI is (-345). According to Hausman and

Hsiao (2005), a negative sign on coefficient of a variable shows that the assumption of IIA was not indicates that the assumption of IIA was not infringed upon. Hence, it can be concluded that the 3 choices PPL, PPH and PPI are independent of each other and do not have an effect on the factors that accentuate political party brand hate. Similarly, employing the p-value the decision PPH that is political party hate is statistically significant at 95% whereas both PPL and PPI outcomes are statistically significant at 99% level of confidence. The p-value also supports the assumption that IIA cannot be rejected.

Table 2: The Hausman and Small-Hsiao Test

,mlog test, Hausman
smhsiao base
*** Hausman tests of IIA assumption with
N=100
H0: Odds (Outcome-J) versus Outcome-K are independent of other alternatives

Omitted	CH^2	df	Pr>Chi^2	outcome		
PPH	-1.87	4	------	------		
PPL	-7.05	4	------	------		
PPI	0	4	1	for H_0		

NB: id Chi-Square is less than 0, the estimated regression equation does not meet asymptotic assumptions of the test
H0 odds (Outcomes-J) versus Outcome-K) are independent of other alternatives

Omitted	Lnl (full)	Lnl(Omitted)	Chi^2	df	Pr>Chi^2	outcome
PPH	-14.25	-5.05	12.85	4	0.03	Against H_0
PPL	-505.65	-0.003	27.69	4	0.00	Against H_0
PPI	-345	-0.005	31.54	4	0.00	Against H_0

Note PPH-political party hate, PPL-political party love, PPI-political party indifference

The Wald Test

Table 3 shows that the test for combining dependent variables is statistically significant at 95% level of confidence. The findings

therefore shows that PPL, PPI and PPL cannot be combined but must be analysed separately. A voter cannot either love, hate or choose to be indifferent simultaneously.

Table 3: Wald Tests

. mlogtest, combine

***Wald test for combining alternatives (N=100)

H_0: All coefficients except intercepts associated with a given pair of alternatives are 0 (that alternatives can be combined)

Alternatives Outcomes		Chi^2	df	p>chi^2
PPH	PPI	14.809	7	0.039
PPH	PPL	11.582	7	0.015
PPI	PPL	15.900	7	0.026

Note PPH-Political Party Hate, PPL-Political Party Love, PPI-Political Party Indifference

Source: Authors (2023)

Likelihood-Ratio Variable Test

Table 4 shows that all variables are statistically significant at various level and thus can be used to predict determinants of voter political party brand hate in Zimbabwe.

Table 4: Likelihood Ratio Variable Goodness-Fitness Test

.mlogtest, ir			
*** Likelihood ratio test for IIA (N=100)			
H_0: All coefficients associated with given variables are zero			
Factor	**chi^2**	**df**	**p>chi^2**
Ideological incompatibility	8.54	4	0.00***
Unmet expectation	8.61	4	0.03**
Image incongruity	17.45	4	0.00***
Arrogant	0.08	4	0.05**
Symbolic incongruity	6.54	4	0.03**
Self-incongruity	13.81	4	0.00***

Moral-self Concept	12.47	4	0.05**
Party Betrayal	8.69	4	0.08*

NB ***Implies significant at 1%, **significant at 0.05 and* significant at 0.10

Relative Risk Ratios

Unlike linear regression models, a negative sign on MNL models do not indicate that a decrease in the independent variable is related to a decrease in the likelihood of selecting an alternative choice (Bowen and Wiersema, 2004; Long and Freese, 2006; Hoetker, 2007). The coefficient sign shows neither the direction nor the size of marginal effects on the probability that an alternative decision is chosen (Cameron and Trivedi, 2005; Green, 2003). Numerous studies recommend using relative risk ratios to interpret MNL models (Teuber, 1990; Bier, 2001; Sackett, 1998). Table 5 shows relative risk ratios of political party brand hate in Zimbabwe provided other factors are held constant.

Political Party Hate versus Political Party Love

The RRR for ideological incompatibility is 0.455 indicating that if the party's ideology is to change by one unit, the relative risk for loving that party is expected to decline by 45.5%. A political party's ideology is important to its supporters as a cornerstone for its policies (Arquimedes et al., 2023; Butler and Powell, 2014; Jost et al., 2009). Similarly, factors like contempt, image incongruity, betrayal, self-incongruity, symbolic incongruity and moral self-concept were found to be positive and statistically significant at various levels. The results show that these factors are important for the creation of political brand hate (see Islam et al., 2018; Ahmed and Hashim, 2018; Hegner et al., 2017; Kucuk, 2019; Smith, 2013). These findings have important implications in that political parties in Zimbabwe should strive to create positive images. In particular, ZANUPF should work towards restoring its former image as a liberation party that attaches importance on creating socio-economic inequalities in order to woo urban voters. On the other hand, the CCC should make efforts to distant the party from elitist image in order to resonate with rural voters.

Political Party Love versus Political Party Indifference

The coefficients of ideological incompatibility, image incongruity, symbolic incongruity and moral self-concept are all positive and statistically significant. This means an increase by 1% in any of

these factors would will reduce the relative risk on the voter's decision to love the party rather than being indifferent**.** These results are confirmed by various studies on brand hate (Zarantonello et al., 2020; Bayarassou et al., 2020; Axer and Alexander, 2018; Dessart et al., 2020; Joshi and Yadav, 2020; Banerjee et al., 2021). However, factors like self-incongruity, party betrayal, arrogant and self-incongruity were found to be negative and statistically significant. The findings indicate that a 1% increase in any of these factors would increase the relative risk of inducing party indifference compared to loving the party. The implications of these findings are very clear. Political parties that are perceived to be arrogant and have policies that are not resonant with key supporters are likely to force voters to switch their allegiance. This can be done through various strategies such as brand revenge, political party avoidance, rejection and retaliation where voters deliberately punish the party they formally loved.

Table 5: Relative Risk Ratios

.mlogit Multinomial logistic regression Log likelihood=30.45			Observations=100 LRChi^2 (15) = P>Chi^2 =0.0000 Pseudo R^2 = 0.65			66.04
Voter decision outcome	RRR	St. Error	z	P>|z|	95% Conf.	interval
Part Party Hate						
Ideological incompatibility	0.455	0.02	-2.65	0.02	0.15	0.936
Unmet expectation	0.02	0.04	1.14	0.03	3.8	0.65
Image incongruity	250.25	81.47	2.82	0.06	0.36	6.58
Arrogant	-0.74	0.14	2.45	0.75	5.64	0.17
Symbolic incongruity	0.05	2.65	0.02	0.00	0.45	13.69

Self-incongruity	-0.411	0.03	-4.55	0.01	0.72	2.25
Moral-self Concept	0.07	0.158	-3.87	0.286	0.14	12.25
Betrayal	-12.15	0.24	-4.55	0.13	0.85	0.18
	Base Income					
Political Party Love						
Ideological incompatibility	0.01	0.01	-2.85	0.05	0.85	2.88
Unmet expectation	1.45	2.03	-2.99	0.01	2.25	2.65
Image incongruity	14.25	10.12	3.14	0.04	0.14	1.89
Arrogant	2.05	4.49	0.65	0.08	0.02	12.25
Symbolic incongruity	0.01	0.01	8.56	0.04	3.25	0.52
Self-incongruity	25.65	4.98	3.16	0.08	2.17	40.48
Moral-self Concept	13.65	3.68	3.31	0.09	1.45	3.69
Betrayal	10.22	2.72	-4.45	0.02	1.25	4.45

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