

Midlands State University



Faculty of Social Sciences

Department of Politics and Public Management

***A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF FACTIONALISM ON POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE, THE CASE STUDY OF ZANU PF***

BY:

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***This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Bachelor of
Science in Politics and Public Management, Honours Degree to Midlands State University,
Zimbabwe.***

Zvishavane, Zimbabwe.

October 2016

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Midlands State University



The undersigned strongly certify that they have read and made recommendations to the Midlands State University for acceptance of a research project entitled: *A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF FACTIONALISM ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE, THE CASE STUDY OF ZANU PF*. The dissertation was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Honours Degree in Politics and Public Management.

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DECLARATION

I Suellen Shandirwa declares that all material presented for examination in this study is my own work and that it has not been submitted before any Degree or examination in any other university; and that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I present for examination.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the author and finisher of my life, Jesus Christ for taking me this far, my late mother Esnath Shandirwa, my late grandmother Rhoda Ngwenya, my brother Hope Mthethwa, my guardians Mr. and Mrs. Maletle and my life partner Nyasha Tsikira.

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ABSTRACT

Factionalism in ZANU PF has brought about several challenges to political development in Zimbabwe, of course MDC has had its own fair share of factionalism but the impacts were never felt like the current factionalism in ZANU PF. The rampant factionalism in ZANU PF ballooned since the December 2014 conference where several ZANU PF members faced the ZANU-PF axe including the then vice president Joyce Mujuru ,since then poor Zimbabweans still continue to feel the heat of factionalism within the ruling party. This factionalism within the ruling party is entrenched in succession issues, affiliate organization intervention, divisive slogans, differing party policies and new ideologies, greediness and selfishness and policy inconsistency amongst a few. Moreover, the current ZANU-PF factionalism can be justified as democratic contestation of power, hence the phenomena of the multi-party system owes its credit to the democratization principles in Zimbabwe ,although factionalism within the ruling party poses great threats to political development in Zimbabwe, the brighter side of the democratization process should not be overlooked. Hence the purpose of this research is to critically analyze the effects of factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe paying particular attention to ZANU-PF. This study was purely a mixed methods model in nature and the data soliciting techniques included questionnaires and in-depth interviews that targeted ZANU-PF officials, ZANU-PF members of Parliament, political science students, preferably those affiliated to ZANU-PF, political activists like YARD currently led by a former ZANU-PF legislator, Temba Mliswa to acquire detailed information about the serious effects factionalism poses on political development in Zimbabwe. Moreover, purposive or judgmental sampling was used as the research only targeted people with the knowhow of the current ZANU-PF factionalism. Content and thematic analysis were employed by the researcher in her research together with document analysis. Moreover, professionalism and confidentiality were observed by the researcher as part of her ethical conducts, the researcher did not force anyone to participate in her study neither did she record the interviews without the interviewee's consent. Using descriptive statistics to analyze data, the researcher found that although factionalism in ZANU-PF was a clear indication of the democratization process in Zimbabwe, many people suffered because of it. Effects of ZANU-PF factionalism to political development which were discussed in the study included worsening economic woes, poor service delivery, policy paralysis, misuse of public funds, multiparty and civic protests amongst a few. ZANU-PF is recommended to make sure that it introduces robust education on political leadership to its party members, and that it shuns divisional slogans, introduction of stiff penalties on media abuse is recommended and an introduction of a more robust dispute resolution system is recommended to curb factionalism in ZANU-PF that poses as a great threat to political development in Zimbabwe.

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ABBREVIATIONS/ ACRONYMS

AD	Alliance for democracy
AG	Action group
ANC	African National Congress
CYL	City Youth League
DA	Democratic Alliance
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustments Programs
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
FROLIZI	Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe
G 40	Generation of 40
HIV	Human immune virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC M	Movement for Democratic Change led by Mutamabara
MDC N	Movement for Democratic Change led by Ncube
MDC T	Movement for Democratic Change led by Tsvangirai
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NDP	National democratic party
PAIGC	Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde
PF	Patriotic Front
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
SADC	Southern African development committee

SPLA	Sudanese People’s liberation army
SRANC	Southern Rhodesia African National Congress
SSLA	South Sudan Liberation Army
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
UN	United Nations
VONC	Vote of no confidence
YARD	Youth Advocacy Reform and Democracy
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZCC	Zion Christian Church
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union
Zim First	Zimbabwe First
Zim PF	Zimbabwe People’s First
ZIMASSET	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The study focuses on the effects of ZANU PF factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe. This introductory chapter offers a background to the study, providing a brief background of factionalism in ZANU-PF tracing it back to its formation in 1963 up until the rebirth of ZANU-PF factionalism in 2014. The chapter also offers explanations on the research gaps of the effects of factionalism to political development in Zimbabwe under the ruling party ZANU-PF, it also offers a section on country experiences on factionalism. Lastly the chapter covers the statement of the problem, research objectives and questions deduced from the statement of the problem, justification of the study, as well as the delimitations and limitations of the study with the structure of the study included.

1.2 Background of the study

The first political party to be established in Zimbabwe was the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) in the 1930s though it was frail (Sibanda; 2005). It was to be restructured in 1957 by Joshua Nkomo after integrating it with City Youth League. The party was built on factional lines as they had different interests but the same motives. This is why the party was divided in the early 1970s to form FROLIZI. In the 1960 it took the name National Democratic Party and ultimately it was ZAPU by 1961. Though factions were not detectable at that point in time they were to take place in 1963 when ZANU was formed and also in the 1970s when FROLIZI was also formed (Sibanda; 2005).

The Zimbabwe African National Union was a belligerent organization which battled against the white rule in Rhodesia, It was shaped under factional lines as it was a section from the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU),(Tekere 2007).ZANU won resoundingly the 1980 elections under the leadership of Robert Gabriel Mugabe and after seven years in 1987

converged with Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU to form ZANU-PF. ZANU was formed on the eighth of August 1963 when Ndabaningi Sithole, Henry Hamadziripi, Mukudzei Midzi, Edgar Tekere and Leopold Takawira chose to split far from ZAPU at the homestead of Enos Nkala in Highfield, (Ndlovu 2005).

The founders were disappointed with the militant strategies of Joshua Nkomo, on the other hand both sides drew from both the Ndebele and Shona which are the two momentous tribes of the nation Zimbabwe, (Bhebhe 1999). ZANU and ZAPU both formed political wings within the country, the military wings fashioned were the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) an associate of ZANU that intensely relied on China and other socialist countries for their finance, training and military arms. There was equally ZIPRA (the ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARM), (Reed 1966).

There were 2 divisions in ZANU prior to Independence in (1980). The first faction was of Nathan Shamuyarira and others that left to join the FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ZIMBABWE (FROLIZI). In 1973 after Shamuyarira's proposition for the party leadership was overpowered by Chitepo, (David 1981). After Chitepo's death on 18 March 1975, Sithole assumed leadership of the party but was challenged by the capable activist wing of ZANU as it was claimed that Sithole was a hero of bargain. Subsequently this emergency developed with the Mgagao declaration where leaders and guerillas pronounced their aggregate dissatisfaction with Sithole prompting the enormous split of ZANU into a clique led by Sithole that transparently disavowed the violent struggle and the other group was spearheaded by Robert Mugabe and Simon Muzenda who had the full backing of ZANU and favored a violent revolution. They killed and scared farmers both Mugabe and Sithole were serving under the pennant of ZANU however they had diverse mentalities towards the struggle, (Sibanda 2005).

Sithole later on joined a transitional Government of whites and Blacks in 1979 which was led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa and in joint they went to London to the Lancaster House agreement where another constitution was set up and election dates were proposed. In the Independent elections of 1980 Mugabe and ZANU PF were enlisted as a party with an extra moniker of the Patriotic Front to separate themselves from Sithole's group, it was in these elections that Mugabe emerged as a victor and Sithole's ZANU that later on got to be ZANU NDOGA failed to win any seats, (Sithole 1999)

The factional fights were not yet over as Mugabe was confronting other intra battles even after his election triumph. There were fights to succeed Mugabe in the late 1990s, (Mandaza undated). The failure of the Structural Adjustment Programs presented by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank for the imaginary advancement of African countries can be attributed as one of the jolt which prompted the objection to Mugabe who assumed leadership of the party since 1977 a la mode, pushing for his succession. In 1997, there was a 'stay away' and in January 1998 there were food riots. These junctures are said to have prompted the objection of substituting Mugabe. Solomon Mujuru who was otherwise called Rex Nhongo turned into a prickle in the substance for Mugabe as he was supervising the ouster of Mugabe (Smith 1977).

IN the 1999 ZANU PF Congress Solomon Mujuru was fearless to design the pathway in to the extent the matchless quality of Mugabe was concerned. He likewise trusted that if his plans succeeded, the individual that should have been named as the National Chairman of the party was anticipated to succeed Mugabe for the 2002 elections. Nevertheless, Mugabe was triumphant and Mujuru's plans were fruitless. After the 2002 elections, Mugabe emerged as a victor and the general people were unhappy as they were certain that the voting procedure was blemished by vote rigging and vote buying. It was reported both on the print and electronic media that in the wake of this predicament, Mugabe acknowledged to Thabo Mbeki, the then president of South Africa and Olusegun Obasanjo the then president of Nigeria that he had lost the elections.

Mugabe is said to have asked for the assistance of Mbeki to help him rifle for the successor from among his ZANU PF officials and Simba Makoni was additionally a potential applicant before his breakaway from ZANU PF around the 2008 elections. After the 2004 ZANU Congress, the succession skirmish was heightening. Solomon Mujuru again was advocating for the end of Mugabe regime. This turned into his rhetoric amid the 2006 ZANU PF Conference held in Goromonzi, the December 2007 Extra-Ordinary Congress and the 2008 'Bhora Musango' Campaign.

The recent re birth of ZANU PF factionalism has been characterized as a battle for succession which has been dominated by two groups, one led by Vice President Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa covering up under the name Lacoste, and another by Grace Mugabe who is purportedly the pioneer of the supposed G40. Neither of these gatherings have more than an instrumental enthusiasm for supporting democratization and comprehensive advancement in

Zimbabwe. Both sides are looking for control since they have accumulated generous riches, which requires gigantic political influence to keep up, ensure, settle in and grow. The contention between these groups is climaxed by Mugabe's constant refusal to encourage a majority rule procedure of choosing a successor.

The current political occasions have been marred by the flaring up of factional politics. The factional brain is getting habitual to the ruling party ZANU PF as confirmed by the resurrection of PF ZAPU to be led by Ndumiso Dabengwa, a former disciple of Joshua Nkomo. The truth of the matter is that these factional groups are too much to stomach for the ruling party specifically as the votes will be divided. As indicated by Tsvangirai (2011), the 2013 election misfortune by the MDC T and different formations embodies how exorbitant the factions can be to any political party. The ruling party ZANU PF is presently experiencing "intra party factions" The expelled ZANU PF spokesperson Rugare Gumbo once noted in one of his discourses that intra party factions is another type of majority rule government.

However the recent politics of gamatox factionalism validates the observation of Rugare Gumbo as rhetoric. As a general rule ZANU PF has been equivocal about its internal issues in the past until the advent of this gamatox purge and the 'Vote of No Confidence' period which has further divided the party. The December 2014 Congress revealed the factional lines in the ZANU PF which saw the ouster of the main Zimbabwean female Vice President Joyce Mujuru and her affirmed partners. As of late, factionalism has very much characterized elections of the party's Youth League and Women's Assembly, which were purportedly defaced by savagery and fixed along factional lines.

Mugabe's better half, Grace Mugabe, was appointed as the Secretary for Women's Affairs a clear indication that she seeks to secure her family's enormous financial interests in the long haul. However, her election has been opposed by the Mnangagwa (Ngwena) camp, who felt that she has been maneuvered into the succession politics to help the political ascendance of the G40 camp. While ZANU PF is entrapped in its inward strife, the resistance MDC additionally split after its election misfortune. One clique, led by its former Secretary General Tendai Biti, accused their leader Morgan Tsvangirai of undemocratic and rough practices. Alternate factions are of Welshman Ncube, and Mtambara amongst all others. For better part of the year, the opposition

party has been shredding itself instead of exploiting ZANU-PF's precariousness to unite a bolster base ahead of the 2018 elections.

These progressing power mêlées inside ZANU-PF have genuine political and financial repercussions. The current factional politics in ZANU PF has led to policy paralysis within the party and Zimbabwe at large. In particular, in these fights over power and prosperity, the voices and needs of common individuals continue being disregarded. The sad part of it is that citizens have become subjects in their own Zimbabwe. Thus this factionalism in ZANU PF can likewise be exorbitant ahead of the 2018 elections, considering the fact that the axed former Vice President Joyce Mujuru formed her new party, 'The Zimbabwe People's First', the majority of the general population who are being expelled and suspended are discovering solace in this recently shaped political party, along these lines there is fear that the votes will be divided and the results would be unpredictable as the supporters of the ruling party are decreasing every day.

As indicated by the Zimbabwe democracy of institutes when the government of national unity was formed in 2009, there was prospective for economic growth, more tribute given to the recommencement of regional and international trade. , tied with inflows from international institutions and donor support for social and public services. Under the inclusive government Zimbabwe's economy soothed and became dollarized. Economic projections suggested that Zimbabwe's economy was expected to grow by 3.7 percent in 2009. Official insights showed that the budget shortfall was required to narrow down from 21.4 percent in 2009 to 19.9 percent in 2010.

Since the end of the inclusive government and the triumph of ZANU-PF, the economy has deteriorated The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) reported that more than 1800 laborers have lost their jobs in the first quarter of 2014. We are currently a long way from accomplishing the 1.2 million jobs that ZANU-PF promised in the last elections. Evidently, the government of Zimbabwe is facing various financial difficulties, including crumbling social and economic foundations, regulatory insufficiencies, a large external debt load of over US\$10 billion, unemployment rate above 80 percent, and a lack of investor confidence.

This absence of investor confidence is partly due to mistrust of Mugabe himself, yet it is likewise because of the weights that leaders are under to press forward with plans to indigenize the economy. The ZANU-PF government's indigenization policy requires that in sectors like mining,

foreign investors surrender 51 percent their share to indigenous business visionaries. Practically, this is not spurred by a yearning for radical retaliation but instead by an inclination to promote and improve ZANU PF elites. Compelling and comprehensive economic policies in Zimbabwe are prominent by their absenteeism.

The fiscal issues are being exacerbated by the imploding factionalism in ZANUPF. Zimbabwe Democracy Institute's investigation is these strains are not because of any contradictory thoughts on democratization, but rather by individual political and economic aspirations playing out ahead of their respective elective congresses in December. ZANU-PF is wracked by factions battling over President Mugabe's successor. Consequently these current factional squabbles, if left unattended stance genuine dangers to political development in Zimbabwe, (the Zimbabwean situation 2013).

1.3 Statement of the problem

While factionalism can be traced in all political parties in Zimbabwe its amelioration in ZANU PF which has emerged as the most dominant and powerful political party in Zimbabwe is a thorn in the flesh of many citizens in Zimbabwe as it has contributed greatly to policy paralysis in the country as well as arousing unpredictable politics in all Zimbabwean political parties. ZANU-PF factionalism does not only affect its supporters but it also affects the whole Zimbabweans at large. MDC factionalism has had less impact in Zimbabwe, something totally different from the current factionalism in the ruling party. ZANU PF is the ruling party and the overall policy makers, though MDC is involved in the policy making in Zimbabwe, ZANU PF has an overall say. The economy is not getting any better in Zimbabwe and not even signs of economic resuscitation in Zimbabwe as this is worsened by the recent factionalism in ZANU-PF as many believe ZANU PF is their only hope to the current economic woes in the country, hence this has prompted the researcher to establish how factionalism in ZANU PF is affecting political development in Zimbabwe and how best it can be solved.

1.4 Research objectives

The study seeks to satisfy the following objectives:

1. To analyze the indicators of political development in Zimbabwe
2. To assess the causes of factionalism in ZANU PF
3. To investigate the effects of ZANU PF factionalism on Zimbabwe's political development.
4. To proffer recommendations on enhancing political development in Zimbabwe.

1.5 Research questions

The study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the key indicators of political development in Zimbabwe?
2. What are the causes of factionalism in ZANU PF?
3. What are the effects of ZANU PF factionalism on Zimbabwe's political development?
4. What recommendations can proffer to the current factionalism in ZANU PF?

1.6 Justification of the study

The recent factional politics of gamatox and Vote of No confidences (VONC) is new in ZANU PF, of course factionalism in ZANU PF can be traced back to the early 1980s but this type of factionalism is new in ZANU PF. Most importantly in the past decades ZANU PF has been cagey about its affairs, the politics of gamatox contributed to the expulsion of many of its members in the December 2014 congress and it has unraveled ZANU PF factional issues to the whole world. This therefore gives the researcher a room to investigate more on the ballooning of this factionalism in ZANU PF and the damage it is causing especially to the political and economic spheres of Zimbabwe.

The study is important in that it highlights the effects of ZANU PF factionalism especially on political development in Zimbabwe. The study also contributes to possible solutions to the distressing effects of factionalism in Zimbabwe. Researches, though not many have been done on the current topical factionalism in ZANU PF most of the researches were in detail and most of

them did not focus more on the after effects of factionalism both on the politics and the economy of the country. Hence this exploratory research seeks to fill in literature gaps to the existing stock of knowledge by relating to the effects of ZANU PF factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe. On the academic side this research will add on to the references and literature to be employed on the issues relating to factionalism in ZANU PF.

1.7 Delimitations of the study

The delimitations of the study are the choices made by the researcher which should be mentioned. They also describe the boundaries that the researcher has set for the study. Factionalism has effects on the social, economic, technological and political development of a nation but of interest to the study is “the effects of factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe, using ZANU PF as a case study. The researcher chose a case study of ZANU PF over other political parties because the ruling party influences policies and it is the voice of the voiceless. Moreover, ZANU PF has branches all over Zimbabwe and also abroad, in South Africa and other SADC countries making it easy to reach for sources of information. Hence this explains why the research is mainly focused on ZANU PF.

1.8 Limitations of the study

The limitations of the research are the constraints encountered in conducting the research (Goode 2005). The study focuses on ZANU PF the ruling party, and the researcher faced challenges of party officials who refused to be interviewed, some officials did not agree to participate in the study even though strict confidentiality was to be observed. There were also fears of revealing party secrets by the officials. The time factor was not favorable also to the research in particular, some organizations have procedures to follow and those procedures were taking time and that also affected data collection. At the same time some officials were busy to be in contact with and as such this hampered the progress of the research. Moreover the study has urban bias as the researcher did not manage to get rural views due to financial constraints. However the researcher had to make use of some of the published information both on print and electronic media to try and amend the data gaps or challenges faced during the data collection process.

1.9 Structure of the study

The study constitutes of five (5) chapters which are to be offered in a summary form below:

Chapter 1: Introduction

This is a section where the researcher introduces her chapter by highlighting the issues to be captured in the study. Under the introductions there are sub sections like the following, **Background of the study:** Under this section the researcher gives a brief background of her study for example on the effects of ZANU PF factionalism to political development in Zimbabwe, the researcher writes about the origins of factionalism in ZANU PF and also mentions their current rebirth and the damage they are causing politically.

There is also the statement of the problem a section in which the researcher identifies the problem in her writings, for instance the topical issue is factionalism, and it is under this section that the researcher identifies where the problem of factionalism is and how the researcher seeks to address it. Research objectives are also part of this chapter, they follow soon after the statement of the problem. Under this section, the researcher states her goals that she wishes to achieve at the end of the research. These goals can only be achievable after identification of a problem.

Research questions are also part of this section, these are questions that are crafted after objectives. Research questions should be married to the research objectives in order to achieve the intended goal, say if research objectives are 4 research questions should also tally. Moreover the justification of the study is also included under this chapter, under this section, the researcher explains why she chose the study and how distinguished her study is from the rest and at the same time gives reasons why the study should be creditable.

Under delimitations of the study in chapter 1, the researcher writes about the choices she made in relation to her study and also the boundaries set by the researcher to this study. For example in this case the researcher chose to focus on the effects of ZANU PF factionalism to political development in Zimbabwe though factionalism can affect a country socially, economically and technologically. Considering the fact that factionalism is also rampant in many political parties in

Zimbabwe, the researcher chose ZANU PF as it is the ruling party that influences policies in Zimbabwe and that ZANU PF has branches all over the world of essence is SADC hence information would be made easily available unlike in other studies. In addition to that the limitations of the study are also mentioned in this chapter under this sub section of Chapter 1, the researcher highlights the constraints that she encountered during her research.

Chapter 2: literature review

Firstly the researcher introduces the chapter by highlighting what is to be expected in the chapter. Under this section the researcher uses reviewed literature in relation to her study, this is when she acknowledges several scholars on their work and also notes some leakages in their writing. At the same time the researcher marries her literature review section with a theoretical framework with theories that have been propounded by various scholars to explain the study. Sub themes that tally with the research questions are also created to formulate answers for the study in question. Lastly there is a chapter summary that summarizes the chapter as a whole.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Under this section the researcher states the techniques that she seeks to employ in her research and she also offers reasons why she chose a certain research method over the other as each and every method has its pros and cons. Under methodology there are sub sections like the research design in which the researcher explains the overall strategy that she employed to demonstrate an argument. At the same time the section also focuses on sample selection methods that the researcher chooses together with the approaches that the researcher will use in the analysis of data and data collection. Lastly this chapter also talks about ethical conducts that the researcher used in the conduct of her research and a chapter summary is offered to give a summary of the discussions above.

Chapter 4: Presentation and analysis of findings

This chapter presents analysis and interprets of findings of the study and the researcher also employs the different research techniques she used, most importantly the researcher concludes the chapter with a chapter summary that is more like a map to what the chapter was all about.

The chapter encompasses the presentation of the findings obtained by the researcher through the use of the mixed methods approach in her presentation of data. It is of paramount importance to note that the data gathered reflected different interpretations from different respondents to avoid biasness of information.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter is a final or rather a summary of all the chapters. It summarizes all the chapters and also proffers recommendations to the problems raised accordingly. After a recap a chapter summary is also offered to give a summation of what the chapter was all about and after this chapter summary there is a section of the references, where all scholarly work used by the researcher is referenced orderly in a manner that it was referenced in the study.

CHAPTER 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on the subject matter of the study and will critically consider what has been researched and published which is relevant to the current study. The main thrust of this chapter is centred on identification, evaluation and interpretation of the existing recorded work produced by researchers and scholars. It focuses on point's divergence and convergence among various authors, identifying the gaps and areas of further study. Embedded in this chapter in particular is an overview of the presentation of the history and development of factionalism in Political parties, the relationship between political development and factionalism together with types of factions. The chapter also addresses the causes of factionalism in an analytical and theoretical manner, explaining the various concepts behind the causes of factions. The chapter also addresses the research questions through formulation of sub themes tallying with the questions. At the end of this chapter a chapter summary is offered that gives a summary of the study under discussion in short form.

Chapter 2.1.1 History and development of factionalism

There is no legitimate meaning of factionalism, most mid-twentieth researchers favored utilizing the term fraction to faction as they felt it was somewhat offending to the well-being of politicians (Cole 1989). The reflection above would propose that amid that interval the word faction was still associated with individuals who had vicious agendas. Tactlessly most offshoots inside political parties have demeaning endings. Factionalism is a well-organized, insightful group with methodologies that are not equal to any composed group of politicians (Rose 1964). While Beller and Belloni (1978) define factions as any group that exists within the background of some other groups as a political faction. While Maor (1999) differs in his argument that factionalism in political parties can be understood as a type of a conflict organization which is reflective of the tendencies of intra party actors acting collectively to reach common goals.

Factionalism can indicate a circumstance whereby a group of individuals within an organization accomplice themselves against the leading group since they subscribe to same thoughts, for

instance in a political party, or a congregation; (Kollner and Basedau, 2005). For researchers like Cole, groups are negligible groups driven by selfish interests. It is noteworthy that factions come in various forms and with various aims. Not all factional groups have the intention of seeking power as prominent in Cole's definition. The main individual who first defined the word faction was Harold Laswell in 1931 in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, he defined it as a group which develops within a larger body and seeks to propel the policies of one individual who at last turns into their leader, (Kollner and Basedau; (2005). Zariski (1960) defines a faction as a clique whose adherents are connected due to their uniqueness or share an aggregate reason in their own particular mold to accomplish their objectives. The definitions above depict an example of comprehending factions or fractions with regards to groups that seeks power gains over others. Rose (1964) and Hine (1982) both agree on a common definition of factionalism, in their conclusion that factionalism is an expression of deeply rooted disparities within political parties

In comprehending factionalism in political parties it should be noted that factional groups present themselves in groupings that develop within the party and normally group together as they have joint interests and joint discernment. (Zariski 1960). In the above section it was expressed that factions do not really present themselves in groupings always but they can be maverick though accentuation was made that in most cases within political parties they occur in groups. Factionalism ought not to be projected as a phenomenon that is limited to political parties alone, but instead it can also be prevalent in a company management or any other structural leadership. Factions are not restricted to political parties only but they are also as pervasive to the civil society organizations, places of worship inter alia. Of note in Zimbabwe is the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union which was split into two factional groups in 2011 and the ZCC church groups and Guta Ra Mwari among others. Thus factionalism is a term we are currently acquainted with in Zimbabwe when discussing the intra party rows happening in political parties and churches since a ton of it has took a middle stage in recent years.

The sensation of factionalism is not a new thing, it was in manifestation since time immemorial. Its ancestries can only be traced to wars. Factions yielded political parties, in antiquated Greek there was nonexistence of political parties but rather two factions with divergent interests epitomized by the sanatorium. The groups were the Plebeians which encompassed affluent

merchants and middle class, and the patricians which was comprised of the honorable families. The first two political parties were formed in England that is the Whigs and the Tories in the late 17th century after the Popish Plot, (Encyclopedia Britannica.com).

The Whigs pushed for the legislature of human rights while the Tories were in backing of King Charles. It was then that the idea of political parties was embraced, and it was then that political parties gave birth to factionalism. The idea of political parties speeded across the globe and it was then that it gained impetus. In Africa it was embraced amid the liberation struggle the greater part of which were pressure groups to put pressure on the colonial regimes in Africa to unshackle the indigenous Africans. Such parties include the PAIGC by Amilcar Cabral and the ANC in Southern Africa.

2.1.2 Factionalism in political parties

Political parties are of central prominence to the operative of democratic systems (Lipset 2000). It is therefore not startling that their structures and processes, and additionally the progression which determine or influence them, have been analyzed over and over again. Generally, factionalism can be seen as a sensation having a place with the 'pathologies of politics (Friedrich 1972). This surely mirrors the perspectives of party leaders and officials for whom the presence of factions poses a great threat to party leadership. Factions can undermine the structure and efficacy of political parties. Hostility within a party and subsequent totalitarianism can take the party to the skirt of crumbling and past.

Factionalism can likewise prompt intra-party resolutions on work force that are not in light of legitimacy and capacity of the general population included yet on their factional affiliations. Faction based discord can likewise prompt foggy and conflicting positions of a political party and therefore render voters' choices more difficult. Factionalism can impede or block intra-party discussions and issue-oriented debates can be drawn into the cyclone of Inter-factional power struggles.

Factionalism can even be blamed for defilement within a political party or even within the political system at large. Shortly, intra-party factions can weaken the moral authority and integrity of individual parties or the whole party system. Factionalism can destabilize the party

system and it can prompt developing wariness with respect to voters. The term faction is regularly used in both analytical and judgmental terms (Sartori 1976); (Beller and Belloni 1978). There have been distinctive approaches to manage intra-party factions which reflect, inter alia, their specific capacities and their freedom in addition to the political context in which they are embedded.

Responses have ranged from violent suppression like in the case of Stalin's Soviet Communist Party, silent acknowledgment like in the case of the former Italian Communist Party to formal affirmation in party statutes as in the case of the Brazilian Labor Party, (Samuels 2004) or the Polish Democratic Union (Waller and Gillespie 1995) for instance the case of the Spanish UCD, (Gunther and Hopkin 2002). On the other hand factions can serve as a transmission belt for negotiation processes, conflict resolution and consensus building within parties.

The formation and further advancement of factions can likewise result in enlarged participation and mobilizing impacts for party members and supporters particularly, but not only with regards to internal elections. The presence of innumerable power aggregates within a political party can add to connecting distinctive social groups to the Party and subsequently to fortifying the inclusionary character of the party. Also, it is even thinkable that factions stabilize a party's leadership. This can be the case when factions serve as early cautioning systems, shrouded conflicts and when the institutionalization of factions makes intra-party resistance more calculable.

Theoretical framework:

2.2. The Realist theory

According to the realists, individuals are obsessive with sustaining their power as well as the attainment of new power. The engineers of the realist theory are theorists like Hans Morgenthau and Thomas Hobbes amongst a few. According to the realists there is perpetual struggle of power in the international arena, resulting in some individuals gaining power at the expense of others. Hence with all this in mind it is quiet laudable to ponder that the realist theory is usable in

explaining factionalism in Zimbabwe especially in the ruling party. Power and selfish interests have driven people to split into different groups.

The existence of two factional groups (the G40 and the Lacoste) in ZANU PF is all because of the occupation of the number one position in the political spheres, failure to acquiesce themselves to the current leadership is an upshot of selfish and greedy craving for power at the expense of others. The same theory can be used to explain the current factionalism in MDC which has also broken into various factions which are: the Tsvangirai faction, Biti cabal, the Welshman Ncube cabal and apparently the media has been ruminating that Nelson Chamisa is also planning to form his own factional party, hence the same can also be said about the ruling party which is fragmented into many factions which embraces the G40, Lacoste and formerly the gamatox faction led by Joyce Mujuru.

2.2.1 The theory of the law of curvilinear disparity

May (1973) also tries to illuminate the power struggles through his theory of the Law of curvilinear disparity. Rendering to the law of curvilinear disparity political parties are not unified actors as there are diverging political opinions between the innumerable veins. Political parties are divided into three stratum which are, comprising of the top leadership, sub leadership and the low status membership. Hence members of the divergent veins have conflicting views about the political animation and policies (May 1973). Commonly the top leadership and the sub leadership are the ranks with conflicting views. The low status membership has impartial judgements or rather voice in the policy. The cradle of conflict rises from the rows between the top leadership and the sub-leadership concerning policies and in particular stratagems to achieve party goals. Examples can be drawn from the current ZANU PF split and expulsion of its party members.

Hence the two theories that is the realist and the law of the curvilinear disparity are closely related in that they both highlight the issues of power as being the root causes of factionalism together with selfishness and greed, in the theory of the curvilinear disparity the issues to do with power and selfishness are evident in the existence of the top, sub and low status membership, the squabbles between the top and sub leadership are enrooted in power issues and everyone wants to be heard and undermines the views of others, that is when selfishness and greed come in, as

the top and sub leadership will never reach a consensus, they all fight to be on top while in the realist theory explains that individuals are selfish and they are always at war, resulting in individuals gaining power at the expense of others, it also explains that people only safeguard their on self-interests. Hence the two theories, mutually explain the current factionalism in ZANU-PF and other political parties around the world as being enrooted in power struggles and the drive by selfish interests to acquire power at all angles, thus explaining the current ZANU-PF divisions between the team Lacoste and the G40 probably because the two have failed to unite for a common cause or because they have divergent views to leadership, or rather the desire to be in power pushes them to be in their own faction to further their agendas.

2.3 Regional trends of factionalism (Case studies)

2.3.1. South Africa

Factionalism is not just restricted to Zimbabwe, the attributes of factionalism are likewise found in South Africa. Towards election time there was awful factional blood between Jacob Zuma and Thabo Mbeki both from the ANC. Conflicts between the pro Zuma and the pro Mbeki factions were not based in issues of assessment. Both factions were really worried about the expanding well known hostility to the ANC's professional business approaches, which Bishop Desmond Tutu compared to a powder keg. They varied on the most proficient method to protect steadiness in the nation and on who could best defend the interests of the advantaged minority (The African source June 27 2016).

In addition Zuma got backing from the party and trade union associations since they feared that in the event that Mbeki was voted into power once more, Mbeki would rip them off the wealth to be produced from exercising power. Factionalism in South Africa incredibly added to monstrous disaffection with the government, particularly in the townships where neediness is at its pinnacle. South Africa is becoming greatly divided, with a small segment of black businessmen and women, generally made up of the ANC leadership, who are elevating themselves through the government's policy of Black Economic Empowerment. Contrariwise, recent distributed figures by the South African Institute of Race Relations disclosed that the living conditions for the greater part of South Africans have really intensified since the end of Apartheid 12 years back.

In South Africa more than six million citizens are living with HIV, and a few have admittance to treatment under the government's anti-retroviral program. Furious demonstrators in the neediness stricken areas of the real urban communities have requested decent housing with sanitation, and an end to power cuts and water shutoffs. The administration under Thabo Mbeki just criticized the dissents as the work of a mystery force animating inconvenience trying to overthrow democracy. It was this developing scorn from Thabo Mbeki and the government that made the ANC disliked, Zuma's ascendancy to presidency was a result of diligent work and enormous campaigns as the general populace had lost confidence in the A.N.C

On the 20th of June 2016 ferocious protests erupted from Tshwane as a consequence of factionalism, the metropolitan region encompassing South Africa's official capital, Pretoria. Five people died due to the violent protests. The protests broke out after the ANC special national executive committee overruled the recommended list of mayoral applicants consented to them by local ANC leaders in Tshwane. The then ANC mayor Kgossientso Sputla Ramokgopa was one of the individuals who were excluded from the electoral list, a move intended to desist from impelling factional competitions inside the political party. After acknowledgment that the incumbent people's mayor had been debarred by the national executive committee as a probable candidate, disillusioned Tshwane tenants responded by blazing tires, toppling and setting a light trucks and transports, and blocking streets. Prior to the party leadership's declaration of its substitute candidate a man was shot and injured in a factional push outside the meeting lobby.

Surprisingly since South Africa's independence, there is an exceptionally existent possibility that the party may lose political control over some of South Africa's biggest urban areas to the ANC's opposition party, the Democratic Alliance that as of now has control over Cape Town, the nation's second most populous urban region. The late declaration of Tshwane's mayoral applicant (Thoko, Dhidiza) aggregate with the ensuing distress is symptomatic of the factionalism that is transcendent inside the ANC. It has truly been an extreme year for a party that is attempting to resuscitate itself once more. The country's leader, Jacob Zuma, has survived two vote of no confidences passed against him a year ago, mostly activated by what has been named his "heedless" monetary management of the country.

In December 2015, Zuma axed two finance ministers within two days, eliciting frenzy in the business sectors. Following mounting pressure from his party members Zuma appointed former

finance minister Pravin Gordhan to fill in the vacancy with an end goal to steady the economy ahead of the municipal elections that were scheduled for 3 august 2016. The economy progression is at its slowest rate since 2009. Earlier this year, the public protector investigated President Zuma's expenditure on his homestead and ordered that he repays the money he used for his own private non-security advancement. The Constitutional Court sealed that President Jacob Zuma overlooked the Constitution when he disregarded the public protector's endorsements.

The grand student's dissents at universities around South Africa have been reflective of a marker of open disgruntlement with the absence of economic advancement experienced by black South Africans over a quarter century of the formal end of apartheid. The rising salutation of the radical Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) a party led by former ANC youth president Julius Malema illustrates a growing craving for transformation and is very obvious of the rampant factionalism in South Africa. The party has failed to bring factionalism under control and the cracks are progressively obvious as witnessed by the June 2016 Tshwane protests.

2.3.2. South Sudan

There are records of factionalism in South Sudan, where a progression of savagery was accounted for as a result of factionalism and evident power amusements. South Sudan's autonomy was won by a singular, joint movement, the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), whose prolonged war against the administration in Khartoum for several years prompted a peace understanding in 2005, and after that the 2011 independence referendum. The December 2013 violence was an interior SPLA strife between factions loyal to Kiir and Machar. This reverberated an old and troubling break in the movement in the mid-1990s, which took 10 years to fix and which has left profound scars on the Juba world class. Birmingham (2014)

The faction clearly in charge of the downing of the UN helicopter is ceremoniously freed of both Kiir and Machar however at present basically connected with the last mentioned, and comprises of the parts of a different revolt, the South Sudan Liberation Army (SSLA). Its leader, Peter Godets, was at first a member from another revolt bunch, the South Sudan Defense Forces. He joined the SPLA in 2006 however left to establish the SSLA in 2011, claiming to be disappointed with the Juba organization's thin division of the riches of war along ethnic lines and along its favor of powerful allies.

Gadet is by all account not the only revolt leader to control a swathe of South Sudan without being a formal part of either warring faction. Nor are his troops the main dynamic state army to have grown up outside the SPLA amid the civil war, been acclimatized into the movement, and afterward left it in aversion at their sparse prizes. In all actuality the SPLA was, and stays, only one of numerous military organizations in South Sudan; it is basically the biggest and best resourced. A large portion of the nation's political challenges come from the Juba organization's inability to convey these other endless groups to the negotiating table.

That frustration, thusly, mirrors the regime's horrendous record of cronyism. Keeping the transient backing of key partners by doling out state assets and offices to them, to the detriment of pariahs, has been Kiir's usual way of doing things ever since he assumed control of the SPLA in 2005 .That has transformed the incipient South Sudanese state into minimal more than a slush fund for compensating and paying off particularistic groups. Three years subsequent to winning independence, it is far from solidarity, peace and success because of the uncontrolled factionalism.

2.3.3. Nigeria

Generally, a faction is a group, or clique within a larger group, party, government or organization. Nigerians like numerous other political parties has now built up a propensity for factions in practically every political circle. Moreover, there is a the split that happened lately to the gigantic People's Democratic Party amid their mini convention where 7 Governors and some political substantial weights of the party, left the venue to set up 'The New PDP' at the Sheu Musa Yar'Adua Center. Going by the prevalent motto, 'united we stand, and divided we fall'.

Undoubtedly, no group of individuals can achieve anything profound without congruity, especially in politics, since a political party infers the conjunction of a group of people sharing the same passion, ideologies, aspirations and inclinations to capture the instrumentalities of power. If politicians who are expected to be united for the purpose of safeguarding power give room for bitterness, selfish interests, acrimony or differences to enter their midst and cause distraction or derailment, for the purpose of their political ambitions will naturally become purposeless and unprofitable.

Nobody would have suspected that the self-acclaimed leading political party in Africa would get its very own dosage of medicine. The ruling party of Nigeria has been permeating the gleam of divisions and promoting a faction among their ranks. In addition, it is still novel in everyone's memory how President Good Luck Jonathan, openly aligned with Governor Jonah Jang's faction after the quizzed Nigeria Governor's Forum election, in which Governor Rotimi Ameachi of Rivers State was the unpretentious winner. Notwithstanding that, there are numerous PDP state sections that have been factionalized, inferable from unsettled inner political emergencies, in this way prompting disputes over the election primaries, party leading figure and other insubstantial reasons.

These factions heighten, when the people that are projected to resolve disputes regularly take sides in an inner party issue, thereby advancing foul play and sowing the seeds of hostility and disunity amongst party members. This normally prompts the commotion, bedlam and breakdown of peace and order in society. The Punch daily paper on one event reported that, President Jonathan axed the Minister of Youth Development, Inuwa Abdulkadir, for misusing the National Youth Council of Nigeria's elections in Makurdi and Minna hence this gave birth to the factions of the council.

Despite the fact that the PDP appears not to be the only party battling with this pervasive they give off an impression of being the main party that breeds divisions by not putting their house in order. At some point when people thought the APGA uproar was long gone, two applicants emerged from two corresponding primaries in Anambra state. The Maxi Okwu led inner circle which had chosen Dr. Chike Obidigbo while the Chief Victor Umeh group had selected Chief Wiilie Obiano as their standard deliverers. This was a major stretch for INEC in front of the 2014 gubernatorial race in Anambra state.

It is a sad and disappointing discovery that President Olusegun Obasanjo allegedly had a hand in the formation of the New PDP as he is not a toddler to the politics of factionalism. With reference to a consecutive battle he had with Buruji Kashamu-led faction over the control of Ogun State section of the PDP. Recorded precursors has it that Nigerian politicians since the first republic have been stomaching disunity and factionalism to blockade the advance of their party, and at the detriment of democracy, good governance, stability and tranquility.

Towards the 2003 elections, The Alliance for Democracy (AD) slammed because of factionalism between Senator Mojisola Akinfenwa and Chief Bisi Akande. Due to that, AD was totally detached from power; the party wretchedly lost 5 out of 6 States singling out Lagos as the main AD controlled state in the South West. There is nothing that can be compared to solidarity in a fractured and once powerful Nigeria. Moreover, there was a period, when the pan Yoruba socio cultural group Afenifere was partitioned into two groups; there was the Afenifere proper and the Afenifere Renewal Group.

2.3.4. Lybia

Components of factionalism that powered savagery are likewise recognizable in Libya, since the end of the 2011 Libyan war which ousted Muammar Gaddafi, there has been brutality including different local armies and the new state security powers. The brutality increased into the then war. The militias included guerrillas, Islamists, and state armies who battled against Gaddafi however declined to surrender their arms when the war was over in October 2011. As indicated by some civilian leaders, these last militias moved from just conceding the surrender of their weapons to effectively stating a proceeding with political part as the guardians of the revolutions. Some of the well-equipped and biggest militias, are in association with the Islamist groups today establishing political parties before the sanctioned end of hostilities between loyalists and opposition forces, there were reports of sporadic clashes between rival militias, and vigilante revenge killings (Dettmer 2012.)

The BBC news of 23 October (2014) reported that In September 2012, Islamists assaulted the United States consulate in Benghazi, and killed the US minister and three others. This incited a far reaching turmoil against semi-lawful militias that were still functional and brought about the attack of various Islamist militia centers by demonstrators. A critical government clampdown shadowed on non-government approved militias, with the Libyan Army raging various unlawful militias' central station today and requesting them to disperse. On 1 November 2011, a group of drunk Zintan combatants stormed a hospital in Tripoli and requested the hand-over of a fighter who was harmed earlier in a smash that took the life of another militiaman.

On 8 May 2012, demonstrations outside the Prime Minister's Office turned awful when ex-rebels, demonstrated on the non-payment of the promised cash handouts by the government, they mugged the workplace in Tripoli. One Internal Ministry's Top Security Committee guard was

killed, while four others, one dissenter and three of the gatekeepers, were harmed. On 5 June, a militia checkpoint in Gwarsha region was attacked and smashed by the family members of an individual from the security force who had been lethally shot before by a militiaman at the checkpoint.

On 6 January 2013 GNC President Mohamed Magarief declared that the death endeavor at the Hotel in Sabha was meant for him, he was staying there with his delegation on a visit. He told the Libyan state TV that the shooters struck the inn with substantial weapon discharge. A continuous fight between Magarief's own bodyguards and the shooters went on for three hours and left three of his gatekeepers injured in despite the fact that, the Defense Ministry's spokesperson had said that he trusted the shooting in Sheba had not been particularly meant for the GNC President, but rather connected to the intertribal conflicts of the precedent days in town.

2.3.5. Uganda

Ugandan politics is likewise elevated by factionalism as evidenced by the breaking away of Amama Mbabazi a once prominent NRM member and former Prime minister who contested in the presidential elections with the current President Museveni who is also another NRM member. On the 12th of May 2016, the President Museveni from the National Resistance Movement (NRM) was sworn in for his 5th term in office and progressing with his 30 year rule. The 18th February elections were won with 60.62% of the vote through a mixture of mainstream backing, electoral cohesion, and terrorizing strategies.

The way to triumph was far from simple. Museveni faced remarkable difficulties from Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) applicant, Kizza Besigye, who secured 35% of the vote and from an unmistakable NRM deserter and former Prime Minister, Amama Mbabazi, who secured only 1.8% of the vote, running as the Go Forward electoral candidate. Mbabazi challenged the election aftermaths at the Supreme Court, which in this manner ruled in favor of Museveni and his charged triumph. The European Union and the United States condemned the electoral procedure, claiming that the Electoral Commission needed its independence and that security crackdowns and mass captures had created an intimidators atmosphere.

The electoral procedure uncovered the party's intensifying factionalism to the point where Mbabazi felt he had a genuine opportunity of securing the presidency by drawing on the backing of disenchanted party members. With 19 cabinet ministers who lost their seats, the rejuvenation of the cabinet may prove an imperative tool for managing various internal divisions. However, choice for such positions in the midst of inside rivalry dangers creating debate and harming Museveni's impact inside the NRM. Besides, instability over the future authority of NRM may highlight pressures inside the gathering throughout the following five years in a potential move stage.

2.4 Types of factions

Rose and Hine (1964) collectively argue that intra party groups that only exist for a limited span of time are not fit to develop an organizational spine, hence the longevity of a political group qualifies it to be called a faction, (Pridham, 1995). While Rose and Hine distinguish factions from other intra-party groups, Beller and Belloni (1978) offer a divergent opinion, they argue that factions are a chief category of differently organized intra party groups. They both differentiate the groups on the basis of their particular organizational traits. Beller and Belloni (1978) differentiate between (a) cliques and tendencies, (b) personal client group factions, (c) institutionalization, organization factions.

2.4.1. Cliques and tendencies

Beller and Belloni (1978) both argue that faction cliques and tendencies have very little structure, they could either be disorganized or they exhibit only a very momentary organizational setup for pursuing a single issue or for fighting an electoral campaign, there are no hierarchical structures and leadership of the group exists on an adhoc basis.

2.4.2. Personalized factions

They are based on the central mechanism for mobilization which is clientelism, they are usually characterized by irregular exchanges of power resources. Chains of commands are vertical and often named after the group's leader who is prominent to the identity of the group.

2.4.3. Institutionalized factions

There are factions that display an advanced organizational structure and a higher level of bureaucratization, its recruitment is done on equal basis and members share common values through a formalized membership. In addition, political ambitions of group leaders are of great essence for the faction's survival.

2.4.4. Elite Factionalism

Beller and Belloni (1978) also added elite factionalism as another type of faction, in their definition elite factionalism is restricted to elite groups within divergent political parties and it also affects the whole party as a whole, this is reflective of the rampant factionalism in most countries especially in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Libya amongst a few.

2.5. Possible causes of factionalism in political parties

There are several causes of factionalism in political parties of discussion we have, the general socio-economic and political dynamics and structure, moreover there are also formal institutions that are said to be root causes of factionalism, together with the party system as it shall be discussed below.

2.5.1 General socio-economic and political dynamics and structures

The socio cultural milieu in which organizations spring, influences them in different ways and also gives birth to factionalism in political parties, and also lowers levels of development and scarcity of resources fuels distributive fights within political parties, hence mounting factional propensities, this can be an attestable theory when likening it to countries like Zimbabwe, Malawi and India among the rest. In addition, political parties established on essential dogmas often retort to new political concepts by securing themselves places in different factional groups, a pointer is that the introduction of neorealism promoted splints within 2 British parties, (Detter beck, 2006).

2.5.2. Formal institutions

The state's organization and government structure creates motivational structures that promotes factions, for example if federal or decentralized state structures are in linkage with important resource disseminations like India and Germany, there is elevation of county-wide deep-rooted factions, In addition, direct elections of state presidents that are imbedded in robust executive proficiency, give birth to factionalism. (Zariski 1960). Confinements on the institutionalization of new parties and constraints of radical parties amounts to a higher level of factionalism, since it pushes people to opt for factional groups. Moreover, the majoritarian voting system nurtures factionalism and in the circumstance of the sealed nominee lists, intra party groups can utilize the opportunity towards elections to shelter propitious slots for their aspirant (Kollner and Patrick, 2006).

2.5.3. Party System

The political muscle of political parties promotes factionalism, factionalism is more conspicuous in governing political parties, as those political parties would be in custody of the administrative power for a lengthier period hence there would be prospective for persona based conflicts, control over distributive power, resource allocation ,and there are inclinations of political contests, that could be equated to politics of patronage, factionalism and federal parties give birth to factionalism at the principal party level. In multiparty systems alliances and election promises can lead to intra-party skirmishes and associated factional activities, (Pridham, 1995)

2.6. The relationship between factionalism and political development

The notion of Political development can be traced back from the 1950s when American political scientists were undertaking the study of political crescendos of the freshly emergent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The term is still in the evolution process and there is no commonly agreed definition. Learner (1958) equates political development to political modernization. Rustow (1990) treated political development as a typical phenomenon of the industrial society. He was of the opinion that the industrial societies are the patterns setters of political development for other societies. While Shils (1961) offers a divergent opinion as he treats political development as a nation state building.

On the other hand Verma (1961) categorized Shils' stages of political development, on the first stage of political development Verma (1961) notes that there is political democracy, followed by tutelary democracy, modernizing oligarchy, totalitarian and traditional oligarchy. Organski (1955) categorized political development in terms of political unification, industrialization, national welfare and abundance of material affluence. Almond (1966) on a different note offers a contradictory understanding as he defines political development as the augmented distinction and specialism of political structures and amplified secularization of political culture. In addition Effectiveness and efficiency were concluded to be the yardstick of political development.

Pye and Verba (1966), categorized, three crucial elements of political development which are equality signifying mass participants, law applicable to every individual, recruitment on merit basis. Secondly on capacity symbolizing government's overall performance, its efficacy and effectiveness, and specializing in the work sector pioneering for divisions of labor. Moreover, Huntington (1996) differs with the above arguments as he posits that political development is not a solo sensation, rather it is the organization degenerating, disbanding and maturing.

Hence with the above definitions it is quite easy to relate factionalism and political development. The existence of factionalism or divisions in any political party renders the phenomenon of political development useless. When deducing Pye and Verba's crucial elements of political development like recruitment on merit basis it appears to be a mere myth far from reality in fractionally infested political parties. It is quite evident that in political parties where factionalism is rampant recruitment is based on factional linkages rather than on merits.

Moreover, when using Organski (1955) categories of political development which are political unification, industrialization, national welfare and abundance of material wealth, to begin with political unification, we cannot talk of political unification when factions are in existence, in a way factionalism and political development are somehow conflicting since the existence of the other undermines the utility of the other. Moreover, for a country to be industrialized it must be intact, and industrialization is more functional in a more unified country than the other way round.

Moreover, Verma (1961) equates political democracy to political development, hence on this note one may deduce that the existence of factionalism in any political party is enrooted in the

democratic processes of a country, so if political development is a product of democracy, in a way factionalism and political development are correlated. Moreover, effectiveness and efficiency are said to be the benchmarks of political development, in other words factionalism is reactionary to the absence of the stated benchmarks that is effectiveness and efficiency. Thus in a bid to develop politically, through effective and efficient ways factionalism acts as a reminder to the political loopholes. Hence factionalism may act as a wakeup call to a government in its slow progresses and hence pushes it to revisit its political development arrears.

2.7 The aftermaths of factionalism in political parties

In general terms, factions can also promote the unification of a party by articulation and channeling of divergent group interests within the party. Hence the elementary objectives of the party are not put in question. Principally within ruling parties, factionalism helps stimulation of indispensable competition between ideas and persons. The existence of inversely oriented factions within a party works in a moderating manner if fundamental and radical positions are already defined within a party. Factions in political parties can help stabilize the part, factionalism in political parties can be an ambivalent phenomenon.

Both negative and positive effects of factionalism can be intersected and they might occur at the same time. Of essence, factionalism leads to a broader representation of social clusters in a party thereby bettering election outcomes, and at the same time it can also weaken the capacity of the same party to govern meritoriously. Additionally, factionalism in a party can mature from an advantage into a shortcoming and vice versa, factionalism is a two-edged format although it can be very constructive to rejuvenation, it can also be dysfunctional, (Sferza 2002).

Factional organizations and practices can be used to skirt the stringencies of the party's formal structures. Moreover, Factions can even support the sincerity of the formal party framework if they help in the integration of traditionally shared values into the formal structures, by so doing they would be securing support for formal intellectual party organizations. While on a different page factionalism can result in the degeneration of political parties and their party systems, henceforth flagging the capacity of political parties to govern. The proficiency and legitimacy of

political systems be smashed and also the survival of fledgling democracies is at stake. (Pridham 1995).

Japan has had its own fair share of factionalism, the factionalism inside the LDP and other chief Japanese parties has dented the unity, lucidity, and hierarchical constitution of the party as postulated in the party organization charts and decrees. LDP factions were visible in the posts filling, securing funds, and in the nomination of the candidates, a duty that was supposed to be executed by the LDP party on its own. As expected, the LDP did not operate as a unified organization but as a union of individual power circles. In this context it is worth concluding that factionalism has undercut the ceremoniously accepted leadership proficiencies of the LDP leader and the prime minister, the very reasons for the survival of the LDP. The established factional scheme within the LDP gave birth to decentralization and disintegration of power within Japan's ruling party. Hence the Japanese prime minister represented his people even during the long solo-reign period of the LDP more as the leader of a coalition than of a single-party government (Reed; Richardson 1997).

2. 7.1 Chapter summary

The thrust of this chapter was mainly on the presentation of the history and development of factionalism in political parties, country experiences on factionalism, it also focused on various scholars on factionalism, their divergent and convergent opinions in relation to factionalism. Moreover, the focus was put on effects of factionalism and the existing relationship between factionalism and political development. The chapter also addressed the causes of factionalism in a generalized and theoretical form explaining the various concepts behind the causes of factions. The chapter also addressed the research questions through formulation of sub themes tallying with the questions.

CHAPTER

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter explains the techniques used by the researcher in the collection of data. A research is an investigation undertaken with the help of uniform techniques in order to get information, (Creswell 2003). The chapter also atlasses the research design selected by the researcher in her study whilst sample selection methods and techniques used for data collection are discussed together with the methodical approaches to the data collected. Lastly the ethics which the researcher considered in her research are also under discussion as they are vital in the conduct of any study.

3.1.1 Research methodology

Research methodology is the skill or technique which the researcher engaged in her research (Popkewitz, Tabachnick, and Zeichner 1979). There are specific reasons why the researcher chose a certain research method over the other. The choice of a research methodology depends on the pattern that is guiding the research, more precisely theories about the nature of realism and humanity ,(ontology),the theory of understanding that informs the research (epistemology) and how the understanding could be gained (methodology). Hence paying much attention to the epistemology ,ontology and methodology should be a principal feature of any related discussion on the nature of social science research as these elements shape and define the conduct of an investigation. (Popkewitz, Tabachnick, and Zeichner 1979).

3.2 Research design

Churchill (1999) defined a research design as the structure or strategy for a research that is employed as a guide in the collection and analysis of data. It is also a plan used for data collection and analysis. It is a conscientious blue print used in guiding research study towards its goals. The researcher employed the mixed methods approach in her study. The mixed methods

approach is conducting a research which is mutually qualitative and quantitative. The researcher chose this method as it is both expressive and enumerative in nature, hence it is not restrictive to the researcher and it also gives her room for enumeration in this case the researcher is dealing with numerous politicians in her study hence this method helped the researcher in the providence of in-depth detailed stories in relation to ZANU-PF factionalism without being limited to either qualitative or quantitative.

3.2.1 Mixed methods research

Mixed methods research is a research method that encompasses collection, analysis and integration of qualitative and quantitative research (Casey 1993). This type of research is usable when this assimilation offers an improved understanding of the research problematic than either qualitative or quantitative method. One of the most advantageous ways the researcher found in using the mixed methods research is that it provided a more complete and comprehensive understanding of the research problem on effects of factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe, and the researcher was not limited to either quantitative or qualitative approaches alone.

3.3 Sample selection

Sampling is a selection of individuals or objects from a chosen population in a way that the chosen group encompasses the elements representing the existent characteristics of the entire group (Leary 2004). Hence in this study the researcher engaged the purposive sampling technique in her research. The choice of this sampling method is vindicated by the idea that it was usable to a selected individuals for the study and the selected individuals represented a larger group from their selection Thus, the researcher used sample of the ZANU PF legislators, former ZANUPF politicians and ZANUPF officials to mention but a few, since they had the current factional situation of ZANUPF in their fingertips.

3.3.1 Purposive or Judgmental sampling

Purposive sampling or judgmental sampling is a deliberate sample chosen in a thoughtful manner to achieve certain objectives to designated gauges pertinent to answer specific research

questions (McMillan 1999). Purposive sampling is also defined as a non-representative sub set of a large populace and is fabricated to serve a very unambiguous purpose .In this case the researcher gathered information particularly from the people with the know-how of the subject matter, like ZANU PF legislators, political activists, political science students and other ZANU PF officials. The advantages of this sampling method were that the researcher managed to get information from respondents that were very crucial to the study in this study the ZANU PF officials were of great prominence.

3.4 Methods of data collection

Data collection implicates conducts or techniques used in data collection, it customarily involves observations, (Leary 2004). The researcher employed the mixed methods approach in her study, therefore she chose questionnaires and In-depth interviews in the research as well as document analysis. Newspaper articles and journals were also employed in the study, the internet sources also included the use of YouTube information. The researcher put more focus on the questionnaires, in depth interviews and document analysis. Some other materials like the newspapers and journals were just supplementary information to the data in existence.

3.4.1 Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a form used in the comprehension of all data collection techniques in which each personnel is requested to respond to the matching set of questions in a prearranged order (Leedy 1999). For the drive of this study, the researcher used a questionnaire encompassed with a typical number of questions aimed and targeted at ZANU PF officials, political activists, ZANUPF legislators and other political students affiliated to ZANUPF as all the enlisted personnel appeared to have material evidence on the recent factionalism in ZANU PF and therefore they had better answers than outsiders.

3.4.2 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviewing is a form of qualitative research method involving the conduct of exhaustive individual interviews with few respondents exploring their perceptions on a specific idea, position program, (Michael, 2002). For example, participants could be asked or any staff and other people with the know-how of a certain program or idea, about their understandings and

prospects related to a certain program or idea and also they could be asked to give in ideas about what they think could be done to change the outcomes of any program or idea.

In-depth interviews are convenient when seeking detailed information about a person's judgements and behaviors or in exploration of new issues in depth, (Adamchack et al 2000). Interviews are usually employed to deliver context to the existing data as outcome data, posing a more comprehensive portrait of what transpired in the program and why it transpired. For example, one may have measured an increase in youth attendance to a ZANU PF political rally, and through in-depth interviews you find out that the youths noted that they attended to the rally because they saw rally posts advertising its rally and venue. You might also interview a ZANU PF member to find out their perspectives on the political party and youth mobilizations.

In-depth interviews can substitute focus groups if the probable partakers may be excluded or if they may be uncomfortable in opening up to a group, or when you want to extricate individual opinions concerning certain matter. They are habitually used to improve questions for future studies of a particular group. Hence in this case in depth interviews with ZANUPF politicians were employed and it helped the researcher to gather valid and reliable data relevant to the research questions and objectives pertaining to effects of ZANU-PF factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe. Interviewees in the study incorporated the ZANU PF officials, ZANU PF legislators and political activists amongst a few.

3.4.3 Merits of in-depth interviews

The advantages of in-depth interviews to the researcher were that they delivered more comprehensive information at greater complexity than what was obtainable through other data collection techniques. They also if a more unperturbed troposphere in the collection of information, people felt more relaxed having a dialogue with the researcher about their opinions on factionalism as conflicting to filling out a survey. The other merits deduced from in-depth interviews is that there was plasticity of reshuffling the questionnaires, moreover, the researcher managed to keep her own personal information after several interviews in relation to effects of factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe.

3.4.4 Document analysis

Document or Documentary analysis is a domineering research tool and it is a contributory part of most patterns of triangulation, (Richie 2003). It also refers to the incalculable practices involved in the analysis and interpretation of data engendered from the investigation of documents and records pertinent to a particular study. Furthermore, documentary work involves reading loads of written material. It aids in the scanning of documents in a computer and in usage of qualitative analysis package. A document is something readable and something relating to some facets of the social world. Official documents are envisioned to be read as impartial declarations of information but they are publicly produced, (Richie 2003).The researcher also used newspaper articles and journals as additional tools to her document analysis.

Newspaper articles and journals quantify secondary information. They are readily available sources in reference to the data collected, analyzed and published by someone, (Robson 2011).Hence the researcher took extra caution in selecting which newspaper articles and journals to use as not every data was suitable for usage. The merits of using newspaper articles and journals were that there was already available information to use concerning factionalism in ZANU-PF and the threats it is posing to political development in Zimbabwe. The researcher also employed books in her research. The reason why the researcher chose to use newspapers, books, journals and the internet were that it was part of the data that was used to supplement the information acquired by the researcher through use of in depth interviews and questionnaires, hence this helped to add up to sufficient information to the research, and it helped the researcher avoid producing half-baked information.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations designate the morally accepted principles when conducting research, (Stevens 2013). According to Resnick (2011) ethics help promote the study's objectives such as knowledge, truth, and aversion of miscalculations, moreover ethics promote the values that are crucial to mutual work such as honesty, accountability and reciprocated respect. Researchers should be guaranteed that partakers are well well-versed on the tenacity of the research they are

participating and that they cognize the risks and benefits of the study. Moreover, participants should be guaranteed privacy and confidentiality, (Stevens 2013).

Firstly, professionalism and confidentiality were perceived in conducting the study. The researcher upheld individual rights in that it did not endeavor to power anyone into making contributions to the study. Upon interviewing the interviewee the researcher first informed the interviewee that every detail was to be recorded and kept confidential and promised that the research was only meant for academic use and not for publicity. Hence every recorded interview was after an agreement. At the same time the researcher promised not to quote any questionnaire respondents in her writings and also some of the officials interviewed requested anonymity which they were granted by the researcher. The researcher also did not force officials to answer questions they were not comfortable in answering.

3.6 Data analysis

According to Goode (2005) data analysis is any method used for depicting interpretations by accurately and methodically identifying specific characteristics of messages. Data analysis can also be defined as the method of transmuted raw information into serviceable information, frequently presented in the manner of a published analytical editorial to add value to the numerical output. Having gathered all the data from respondents, using in-depth interviews and questionnaires through the mixed methods research, data was analyzed using the descriptive statistics, a method consequential from the statistical package for the social sciences, this method was applied through usage of a pie chart in presenting the empirical findings of the researcher. The researcher also employed content and thematic analysis in her data analysis, the researcher analyzed all recorded information, copies of interviews, dissertations, and you tube information, rallies and documents as substitute information.

3.6.1 Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)

Nice and Bent, doctoral students of Stanford in 1968 together with Hadlai Hull, developed a software that permitted the transformation of raw data into information using statistical applications. Their establishment, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), was not at first created with the idea of mass dissemination. However, its application speedily jammed on

and, soon after its development, it was evenly disseminated. Hence the research employed this technique somehow, as it is quantitative in nature.

3.6.2 Descriptive statistics

According to William (1973) descriptive statistics are usable in describing the elementary topographies of the data in a study. They offer summaries in connection to the sample and measures. Collectively with simple graphics analysis, they constitute the basis of fundamentally every quantitative data analysis. Descriptive statistics are classically dissimilar from inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics simply describes what the data is showing. While inferential statistics, tries to reach conclusions extending beyond the instantaneous data alone. For instance, inferential statistics are used when trying to deduce from the sample data what the populace might reflect.

Thus, inferential statistics is usable when making inferences from available data to additional circumstances, while descriptive statistics is simply used to describe what is transpiring on available data. The merits that the researcher deduced from using descriptive statistics were that it helped the researcher simplify large amounts of data that she gathered from interviewing ZANU PF politicians in a practical way, they also helped the researcher in her presentation of quantifiable descriptions in a convenient form. Moreover through usage of descriptive statistics there was reduction of lots of data that was gathered from interviews in relation to factionalism into a simplified summary.

3.6.3 Content and thematic analysis

Thematic analysis can be defined as a qualitative analytical technique that is used for investigating, identifying, and reporting patterns within data. It plainly organizes and describes your data in detail. Besides organizing and describing data it also interprets numerous facets of the research topic (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Whilst content analysis encompasses every recorded communication, copies of interviews, speeches, proprieties of interpretations, video tapes, and documents. Content analysis does not only analyze the apparent content material as the name suggests, (Becker and Lissmann 1973). There are distinguished stages of content, themes and

chief concepts of the text that are categorized as primary content, as well as context data constituting latent content

Content analysis is the usage of replicable and usable methods for assembling specific insinuations from a text to other positions or chattels of its source (Krippendorff 1969). Qualitative content analysis delineates itself within this background as a method of empirical, methodologically controlled analyses of scripts within their milieu of communication, ensuing content analytical rules, without impulsive quantification. The advantages that the researcher deduced from content analysis were that it is an effective method of data collection, it helps in the analyses of a policy by studying provisions like an official's statement of an open hearing rather than having to interview the legislators.

3.7 Chapter summary

This chapter captivated the methodology used for data collection and different technicalities adopted in the collection of data to collect applicable data ample to authenticate the objectives of the study which is to critically analyze the effects of factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe paying particular attention to ZANU PF. The data collection methods and techniques selected were justified. In the succeeding chapter, the gathered data and findings will be unfilled and analyzed conferring to the researcher's discoveries.

CHAPTER

4.0 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter offers an overview of data findings, presentation and analysis. The data in the research was attained through the usage of questionnaire methods, the usage of interviews comprising of the party rallies and press conferences on YouTube and television. Newspaper articles, journals and books were also employed by the researcher. The researcher employed the mixed methods research techniques, thematic sub topics that tallied with the researcher's questions, and a pie chart. The study's objective was to analyze the opinion of the interviewed politicians and the distributed questionnaires on the effects of factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe paying particular attention to ZANU PF. The interview questions and distributed questionnaires were hand in glove with the research objectives and questions.

The researcher targeted all senior ZANU PF party members, ZANUPF legislators, former ZANUPF officials and legislators and student interns at ZANU PF offices. Many people were interested in the subject as it is viewed topical though only a few agreed to be interviewed due to fear of victimization and voice recognitions through recorded interviews. Most of the respondents opted to fill in the questionnaires as they were discreet and had no name on them at the same time no handwriting could be traced for any victimization whilst some saw questionnaires as time consuming as compared to interviews as risky as they are.

Politicians are busy people and sometimes dealing with them was a mammoth task getting hold of them was a major shortfall of the research. At times they would make appointments and cancel them on the day of appointment, hence this was a challenge to the researcher as some of the important respondents (politicians) who had promised to show up for certain interviews failed to turn up due to important meetings scheduled ahead of them. The targeted respondents were 20 politicians in all different wings but the researcher ended up interviewing only 4 who were willing. One of the greatest challenges the researcher faced was when she would call up an interview with a politician in question and upon hearing the topic on factionalism the

respondents would refuse to continue with the interview as they felt it was sensitive and they did not trust the final destination of the interview.

4.2 Questionnaire response rate

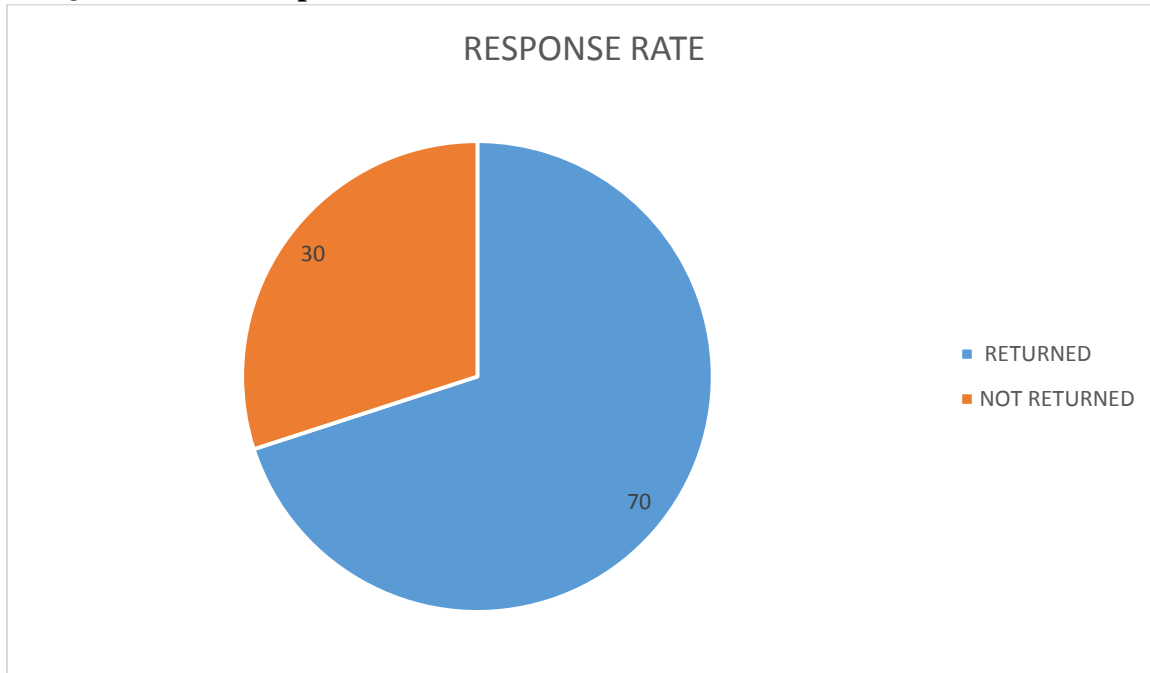


FIG 1: pie chart questionnaire response rate

Source: research data 2016

The questionnaires targeted the ZANU PF legislators, ZANU PF officials, political science students on attachment at ZANU PF offices and political activists like YARD. The distributed questionnaires were 20. The returned questionnaires were 12, and 8 were not returned. The return rate was 70% and those that were not returned were 30% as illustrated by the pie chart. Most people opted for questionnaires as it gave them time to write down their ideas without being limited to time, hence this helped curb biasness of information, the other reason for questionnaire high response rate was that the questionnaires distributed by the researcher were discreet in nature, such that the respondent does not have to fill in their names or private details.

4.3 Factionalism within ZANU-PF

ZANU PF is a Zimbabwean ruling party since she gained independence in 1980. In actual fact ZANU PF was born as a result of the split from ZAPU in August 1963. From its birth as a splinter party, it is clear that ZANU PF was founded on factional grounds. It is also not surprising that the party had to experience leadership crisis at its infancy Nyahongo (1978) argues that ZANU as it was called then had leadership crisis. After the death of Herbert Chitepo in 1975 the leadership wrangles continued within the party. Though before the death of Chitepo the crises were not evident, Mgagao Declaration now became the proof that ZANU had crisis. The Mgagao Declaration came with the expulsion of the new President of the party Ndabaningi Sithole; and also the coronation of Robert Mugabe and Simon Muzenda at the helm of the party (Sibanda;2005).

Post -independence ZANU was merged with the ZAPU during the first decade of independence after the Matabeleland disturbances which became to be known as the Gukurahundi Massacres. This was a move that necessitated a one party socialist state. However, towards the end of the first decade of independence the new ZANU PF experienced its first split with Edgar Tekere pulling out to form ZUM. According to Mandaza (undated) there was another faction in ZANU PF towards the 1994 congress. Such a faction was that of Kumbirai Kangai and Didymus Mutasa. According to Mandaza (undated) the factions of that time were created by expectations that Mugabe will leave power after the Congress.

During the past two decades factions within the ZANU PF quarters were driven by leadership issues. The same could be said about the Tsholotsho declaration. The whole issue of post Mugabe leadership within ZANU PF has been a central issue in factional disputes. Lately ZANUPF had been very discreet on the way they handle their factional disputes, Jonathan Moyo was the only member back then who attracted the social media as he was the only member who was dismissed in the party for act of dividing the party.

The era that became most important and most trying for ZANU PF is the post 2013 period. This is when ZANU PF factionalism became rampant up to date. At the Centre of the struggle for supremacy in ZANU-PF before the December 2014 congress there were two major factional groups. One purportedly pro-business and bloc seen as attempting to push ZANU-PF politics to

the political center ground, and in doing so make peace with the international community. The “moderates” as this faction was sometimes known as, were associated with the leadership of the then vice president, Joyce Mujuru (Tinh.2014). The other group was the so called “hard-liners” or the “old guard” – a camp that was led by the then minister of Justice, Emmerson Mnangagwa. ZANU PF factionalism has taken another different dimension with existence of different factional groups such as the G 40, allegedly being led by the First Lady DR Grace Mugabe and the team Lacoste being led by the Vice President Mnangagwa (Newsday; 9 October, 2015).

Factions in the ruling party are created in a quest to win Mugabe’s confidence against the other faction. Such factions are the Mujuru camp which faced ZANUPF expulsion in 2014 and the team Lacoste fronted by the current Vice President Mnangagwa and the Generation 40 sometimes referred to as the gang of four (in reference to Dr Grace Mugabe, the first lady and the ZANU PF Women’s League Chairperson; Jonathan Moyo, the Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education; Patrick Zhuwao the nephew of the President and the Minister of Local Government and Public works Saviour Kasukuwere (Ndlovu 2015).

Currently the Generation 40 is calling the shots in ZANUPF, this explains why there were a chain of expulsions and suspensions after the 2014 congress, and anyone who was against the G40 was shown the exit door of ZANUPF even up to now. Christopher Mutsvangwa, the former war veterans chairman, together with his wife were suspended on the grounds of them being allegedly linked to the Mnangagwa faction (nicknamed Ngwena), at the same time Mutsvangwa received a Vote of No Confidence after calling the G 40 lunatics (Ndlovu 2015).The President also appears to be in support of the faction led by his wife that is why he chooses to denounce his fellow war veterans in public and humiliate them in favor of his wife, a move which Jabulani Sibanda the former war veterans chairman denounces as “bedroom politics.” Jabulani Sibanda was also shown the exit door after his utterances that Mugabe was introducing bedroom politics into the political arena of ZANUPF by introducing his wife into politics.

Moreover, the “*Munhu wese kuna amai*” (Meaning everyone to the mother) slogan is divisional on its own, some critics have questioned the slogan, the wearing of the t-shirts with Grace Mugabe’s image in public raises eyebrows whilst the President is still alive. In retaliation the Ngwena (mnangagwa aligned youths have been currently walking around wearing t-shirts labelled (Lacoste) as if that is not enough, tempers were flared at heroes acre on the 10th of

august 2015 when Harare Youths attended the heroes day with t-shirts that had the picture of the First lady Grace Mugabe and the late Vice president Joshua Nkomo after utterances by Mnangagwa that the late Vice President Joshua Nkomo was a coward.

The youth exchanged blows and the Harare ZANU PF Political Commissar Shadreck Mashayamombe (a G40 alleged ally) got his share of insults from the mnangagwa allied youths for funding the printing of the t-shirts hence all these silent campaigns leaves a lot to be desired. Ever since ZANUPF was voted in power it has been busy with intra factions rather than fulfilling their election promises, and delivering what they were voted in for, hence slowing down political development in Zimbabwe.

Within the ZANU PF itself, Grace Mugabe seems to have become powerful, this was seen in her Province rallies in which she called herself the “whistle-blower” in ZANUPF, the most shocking of all was when she publicly said the two Vice presidents take notes from her, in one of her rallies in Mashonaland West. It is clear that in the current state of ZANU PF the de facto president of the country is the president’s wife who is also the Women’s league Boss. Her campaign against Mujuru and also the expulsion of War veteran Minister Mutsvangwa vividly explains the above observation, (Ndlovu, 2015).

Moreover, it seems everyone must try by all means never to cross her path, hero worshipping the first lady would give one’s assurance of his or her own job security. Ministerial positions are acquired by the same gesture. The Vice president Mphoko has been showering praises on the first lady and also adopting to the aggressive speeches of the First lady, this was seen in one of the rallies of the first lady when he publicly humiliated Cde E. Nhari who had denounced the G.40 in her slogan, probably out of ignorance, so as to safeguard his position as the state and party’s Deputy. Those who fail to express the simple gesture of hero-worshipping the first lady are branded as aligned to the team Lacoste, or are named ‘Gamatoxes.’ (Newsday, 9 October 2015).

Moyo (2015) describes Grace Mugabe as “Mary Antoinette”, just like during the French Revolution of 1789, Zimbabwe is allegedly under peat coat government where the president no longer has control, and no longer has the needs of his people at heart, instead Zimbabwe is allegedly now being indirectly controlled by a pro luxurious Mary Antoinette who misuses state

funds whilst poor citizens are jobless and suffering. Many including Moyo (2015) have referred to the current leadership of the ZANU PF as the betrayal of the armed struggle.

This is evident to the War Veterans protest in Harare where they were brutalized by the police. The reason for the brutal attacks was because the War Veterans are allegedly linked to the Team Lacoste. Mnangagwa himself has faced direct attacks from the G 40 faction during the politburo meeting where he was told that he resembles a duck that keeps quiet and lets its children being devoured by the predators, (Newsday;10 February 2016).In Zimbabwe, the end of Robert Mugabe's leadership of both his political party and the country is fast approaching.

4.4 The key indicators of political development in Zimbabwe

From the researches the researcher deduced that there are several pointers to political development in Zimbabwe, the prominent ones being democracy, provision of good social services, and decrease of illiterate rates amongst a few.

4.4.1. Democracy

Democracy is one of the pointers or indicators of political development in Zimbabwe, a country cannot say it is politically developed if it does not uphold democracy in its country, (Kaplan, 2008).In an interview with unanimous on the 16th of June 2016, he noted that the existence of the multiparty system in Zimbabwe owes its existence to the democratization process that is sometimes mistaken for factionalism in Zimbabwe. Moreover, through research the researcher discovered that Zimbabwe for the past decades has been holding elections in its country, and giving everyone who is 18 years and above the right to vote in a democratic manner. Hence all these could be said to be the right pathways to democracy. While on a different note Melber (2005) argued that Zimbabwe has documented human rights abuses, ignorance of the rule of the law by the Zimbabwean President, and at the same time the Zimbabwean electoral system has been marred with vote rigging, vote buying and voter's intimidation a clear indication is the 2008 era, hence the above enlisted points undermines the concepts of democracy thereby making political development in Zimbabwe a farfetched dream.

4.4.2. Provision of good social services

One of the pointers to political development in Zimbabwe is the ability to provide good social services in the country. Kaplan (2008) argues that a country cannot say it is politically developed when it is failing to provide good social services to its country. Ndlovu (2015) noted that under the government of the national union in Zimbabwe in 2009-13 things stabilized, there was provision of good social services in every corner of Zimbabwe, everyone had access to medication, and the education level improved by far not also overlooking at the employment rate that stabilized then, this is a pointer that Zimbabwe was trying by all its means to develop politically. However in its bid to develop politically, Zimbabwe has also been marred by the post GNU misgivings up to date, Shortages of food, pharmaceuticals and petrol, inflation rates hovering between 400 and 600% a year, a drop in tobacco sales to a quarter of the 2000 level, unemployment and poverty at about 75%. Moreover, the current shortages of money in banks and where accessible people are only given a minimum of about 200 US\$ and they cannot buy anything because of shortages of money is exasperating in a country that has tried so hard to develop politically.

4.4.3. Decrease of illiterate rate

This has been marked as one of the most achievable indicator to political development in Zimbabwe. In its move to develop politically Zimbabwe has been very successful in decreasing the illiterate rate, this is evident in the number of graduates it produces annually, In a bid to reduce the illiterate rate the Zimbabwean government has been offering scholarships to the less privileged, the introduction of the government program on STEM has encouraged a lot of students to do even better in their education thereby decreasing the illiterate rate. Moreover the introduction of free education at primary level and reduction of school fees in most rural places are pointers to the government's efforts to reduce the illiterate rate. At the same time the continual building of new schools in every corner of Zimbabwe and through some of the legislators in their constituencies has helped Zimbabwe curb the illiterate rate. Currently Zimbabwe is rated as one of the best literate country in Africa. Therefore, Zimbabwe should be credited for minimizing the illiterate rate in Zimbabwe, a promising move to political development in Zimbabwe.

4.5 Causes of factionalism in ZANU PF

Causes of factionalism are multidimensional. They vary from one party to another. Some parties are established as pressure groups. In Zimbabwe we have the ZAPU and the MDC which emerged from trade unions in 1961 and 1999 correspondingly and therefore, they share similarities in their formation. Some emerged as liberation parties like ZANU and SWAPO of Namibia, ANC of South Africa. Hence the formations of these political parties as well as their administrations have a bearing in the event they face intra squabbles. The following discussion therefore seeks to excavate the different roots of factionalism paying much attention to the ZANUPF formation as a case study.

4.5.1 Succession issues

Leaders must come and go as postulated by Julius Malema (July 2015, YouTube). This phrase is palpable on its own as it suggests a scenario of successive leadership, an opposite of what Mugabe and his party ZANUPF sermons to the wretched, hungry and jobless Zimbabweans. Claims that Mugabe was the only leader chosen by God, are only there to justify Mugabe's longevity in power (The Southern Daily; 30 March 2016). Poor Tsvangirai is also subscribing to the same notion hiding under the shield of a self-proclaimed savior of the remorseful Zimbabweans from the allegedly overstretched Mugabe bondage.

This is all in the name of clinging on to power, the President has done a very good job in the past and he still continues doing well, he is also commended by other members outside his party for being a visionary leader but people feel it is about time he announced his successor. Some scholars are also of the view that it is good for a leader to retire whilst people still love him, hence alleged delay to addressing the most pivotal succession issue in ZANUPF explains the unending factional tendencies since December 2013 up to date.

Clinging on to power for this long is exasperating at a time where many people have confidence in democratic principles of governance. Duvenger (1964) equates the concept of clinging on to power by political party leaders to that of *fuhrer prinzip* where elections in party congresses no longer matter in choosing leaders or they are done to reinstate the incumbent. For Duvenger such parties develop into oligarchic parties' camouflaged as democratic parties because of conducting

mock congresses to elect leaders. This is descriptive of ZANU PF and also applies to MDC at the current moment. Both parties seem blinded to the fact that they fail to realize that clinging on to power creates factions within the party structures as modern democracy stresses successive leadership.

Succession rows are shared in every political party if the succession line is not vibrant. A clear case study is that of SWAPO in Namibia which proposes that succession squabbles are avoidable if party succession line is indicated. In the context of SWAPO Hifikepunye Pohamba expedited a peaceful succession by handing over power to his successor Hege Geingof, an unfulfilled wish of Zimbabwean citizens who also wish to see the person who will succeed the President. However what generates succession disputes is that political party leaders create succession vagueness which tends to give birth to factionalism. The Patriotic Front which is the Zambian ruling party, also had succession issues or rather disputes. The succession disputes in Zambia were created by Michael Sata's failure to name a successor within his party such that when he died succession rivalries became the blot in his party (England 2014).

Hence this is the case with Zimbabwe and in particular ZANU PF. This is the problem that has been facing ZANU PF for over 22 years now. Mandaza (undated) proposes that the succession battles started in 1994 congress when most ZANU PF titans believed that Mugabe will step down but they were disappointed when he did not show any sign of stepping down as sudden as they all anticipated. One faction that was in existence at that time was the late Kumbirai Kangai and Didymus Mutasa cabal (Sigauke 2015). The problem escalated up to 2002 to a point where some of the ZANU PF titans started complaining.

Mandaza (undated) also cited Zvobgo when he alluded to the fact that, Mugabe would drag Zimbabwe to its knees because he does not believe in the concept of succession. As it was highlighted in the above paragraph where such actions tend to create the politics of uncertainty and as such factional lines amongst the aspiring leaders within the party continue giving birth to more factional babies. Of note is the Tsholotsho Declaration of December 2004 which was as a result of factional battles within a party where the succession line was not clearly defined.

In the yester years, the succession disputes in ZANU PF greatly contributed to the axing of ZANU PF members like Didymus Mutasa, Temba Mliswa, Rugare Gumbo and former Vice President Dr Joyce Mujuru from the party structures and others. As a result Mujuru and her allies

have formed a new political party under the name “Peoples First”. All of that is blamed on the issues of succession disputes within the ZANU PF party. As if that is enough many people continue getting their suspensions and the unfortunate getting expelled without proper procedures being followed simply because of opposing and challenging the leading faction (the G40).

Active and presupposed innocent ZANUPF cadres like the former Youth secretary Cde Pupurai Togarepi together with his disciple Lewis Matutu, the then youth secretary for administration the former deputy minister for Home affairs Hon Ziyambi Ziyambi, David Butawu, Kudakwashe Bhaskiti and a chain of youths that were expelled which include the former ZICOSU president Tonderai Chidhawa, the former youth Chairman for Midlands province (Edmond Samambwa, the former youth Chairman for Mashonaland West (Vengai Musengi, former Harare youth chairman Godffrey Gomwe all suffered because of their allegiance to Mnangagwa.

4.5.2 Affiliate organization intervention (war vets)

The interventions of the affiliate organizations like the war vets into the political business has worsened the current factionalism in ZANU PF. War vets as war liberators are supposed to be advisors and not divisive. We have incidents where we have Christopher Mutsvangwa the former war veterans chairman attacking the commissariat department led by Hon Savior Kasukuwere claiming that the commissariat does not know what it is doing and instead it should be restructured and the department should be led by people with war credentials hence this then creates animosity hatred between him and Kasukuwere who feels belittled and the two exchange aggressive words on social media hence worsening the factional minds in ZANU PF. Apparently the war vets and most affiliates see the V.P Mnangagwa as the rightful candidate to succeed the president, this was seen by the controversial letter written by war vets to the president concerning Mnangagwa’s successorship.

4.5.3 Divisive slogans

ZANU PF is a party that operates with its own constitution, according to its constitution the President is the only person who people can say forward to and no other person, hence the newly found slogan “*Pamberi na doctor Grace Mugabe*, (meaning forward with Grace Mugabe) has

worsened factional woes amongst ZANU PF members who see the slogan as provocative and divisive at the same time. Moreover the *Munhu wese kuna amai* (everyone to the mother) slogan has raised eyebrows in many people as it is aggressive in nature, it is clear that it is sending a message to a certain faction that all roads are leading to Grace Mugabe in the current ZANU PF factionalism, hence if things like these are left un addressed they would shake ZANU PF both politically and economically.

4.5.4 Party policies and new ideologies.

Africans still uphold conservatism as an ideology, they have a tendency of keeping old-fashioned (traditional) ideologies. Those who subscribe to that do not know that they will be keeping problems especially in this dynamic world that is ever changing, there is need to revisit some ideologies that seem inconsistent with the modern times. Kollner and Basedau (2005) alluded that new political applicable ideas that could be embraced by some party members can divide the party. The 2004 break out of Jonathan Moyo from ZANU PF and the 2013 political divisions and expulsions after the 2013 elective congress of a concretized ZANUPF and also the MDC 2005 factions could be linked to the issue of differences in ideologies. Hence differences in ideologies and failure of adaptation to new policies may also lead to factionalism due to failure to reach a common ground.

4.5.5 Greediness or selfishness

In the current Zimbabwean hunter's economy whereby one eats what he has hunted, formation of a church that preaches the gospel of prosperity or formation of a political party is a plus. In an interview with a former ZANU PF legislature Temba Mliswa (14 June 2016), he noted that factionalism in Zimbabwe is caused by greed and it is also driven by selfish interest to control the mass. The selfish nature and greediness of an individual drives him to form a party knowing very well that the West our current enemies would prefer someone who advocates for Anti-Mugabeism hence people would go out of their way to feed their pockets giving a blind eye to the risks and the disadvantages at hand. Hence this explains the escalating rate of factionalism in Zimbabwe.

4.5.6 Policy inconsistency

According to Bandaiko (2014) in the Zimbabwean Independent, he alludes that factionalism is enrooted on the public policy inconsistency. Apparently Zimbabwe is still under economic sanctions from the west, the situation in Zimbabwe is getting worse as each day passes by. According to a questionnaire respondent, (June 14 2016) too much time is being spent on non-economic issues, that is against the manifesto hence contributing to policy paralysis. At the same time ZANU PF is yet to honour their election promise of the two million jobs, people continue to suffer, there is hunger in Zimbabwe, the graduates are selling airtime and some are conductors whilst civil servants have no proper pay dates, hence due to the serious conditions in Zimbabwe people end up losing their faith on ZANU PF and hence some political leaders within the party try and act like the little saviours outshining the president and promise to do better.

According to a questionnaire respondent on the 21st of June 2016 he noted that factionalism is caused by prolonged decision making on key issues, while in an interview with Mliswa on the 14th of June 2016, he noted that the causes of factionalism in ZANU PF are , “to assume control of the status quo ,in assuming control of the status quo, you will then be able to know a chronic, sort of effect, and those supporting you must benefit at the end of the day, and the effects are there to the economy, and that is what is important, and it certainly does not tally with the party’s manifesto, as the party would have said to the electorate, from an economic point of view more time is spent fighting issues”.

On a different note another questionnaire respondent on the 14th of June 2016 blamed rejection of leadership and policies as a major cause of factionalism in ZANU PF. Another questionnaire respondent on the 22nd of June 2016 noted that the major causes of factionalism in ZANU PF are issues to do with power and greediness. Another questionnaire again on the 15th of June expressed concern on the overstaying of a ruler for a long time in power, and also blamed greediness to cede power as one of the major contributing factors to the current ZANU PF factionalism.

The President has done a very good job in the past and he still continues doing well, he is also commended by other members outside his party for being a visionary leader but people feel it is about time he announced his successor. Some scholars are also of the view that it is good for a

leader to retire whilst people still love him, hence alleged delay to addressing the most pivotal succession issue in ZANUPF explains the un ending factional tendencies since December 2013 up to date. Clinging on to power for this long is exasperating at a time where many people have confidence in democratic principles of governance.

Hence with all this in mind the researcher through her findings deduced that the major causes of factionalism in ZANU PF are greediness, succession issues, overstaying of the president into power, rejection of leadership and policies. As this was seen in both findings from questionnaires and interviews, together with other scholars who explained the causes of factionalism. There is no new cause of factionalism, the issues of succession, greediness, power hungry and selfish interests of leaders affect different countries, they are not only limited to Zimbabwe. Nigeria, South Africa and South Sudan amongst a few as indicated in the previous chapters are also suffering from the same fever of factionalism, with same causes of succession, greediness and selfish interests.

4.6 Effects of factionalism on political development in ZANU PF (ZIMBABWE)

Effects of ZANU PF factionalism are results that can either be negative or positive to political development in Zimbabwe. Hence according to a questionnaire respondent on the 14th of June 2016 he propounds that too much time is spent on uneconomic issues and that factionalism on its own creates political instability, hence considering the fact that politics and economics work hand in glove, it is quiet undeniable that political development in Zimbabwe through ZANUPF becomes a myth in Zimbabwe. Therefore if factionalism in ZANU PF is not quickly addressed more damage is to be expected both politically and economically making political development in Zimbabwe a dream far from being achieved.

4.6.1 Worsening economic woes

According to Nhongo (2014) the agrarian revolution of 2000 can be marked as one of the President's biggest mistake. It is this same agrarian or fast track land reform as some might want to name it that crippled Zimbabwe's economy. The fast track land reform was a bit harsh and violent to the white minorities and in retaliation Zimbabwe was hit by sanctions, it was removed from Foreign Direct Investment, IMF, World Bank and other foreign investors withdrew their

trade deals from Zimbabwe. Hence Zimbabwe was left in isolation and could not sustain her own economy alone, thus worsening the serious economic crises in Zimbabwe.

According to the West the sanctions were targeted on Mugabe and some other ZANUPF officials but the unfortunate part of it is that it is not them who suffers but the majority of Zimbabweans are suffering for the sins they know nothing about. Bourne (2011) notes that the Land reform was a blow in the economic performance of Zimbabwe. Therefore the current factionalism in ZANUPF is uncalled for especially with an economy which is almost down to its knees, factionalism will do nothing but harm. Hence with the existence of the worsening economic crises in Zimbabwe it is very difficult to develop politically if our economy is lagging behind.

4.6.2 Poor service delivery

Both ZANUPF and MDC are partly to blame for both the economic and political development backwardness as they are all policy formulators. Bhebhe (1999) explains that during the leadership of ZAPU the setbacks which were there were enrooted in quarrels, hence the party would be burdened to do the gap filling of the left members, leading to giving people wrong leadership positions. Kollner and Basedau (2005) are of the idea that factions destabilize political party systems hence affecting the legitimacy and relevance of its political discourse.

Hence if ZANUPF is not careful with its factional games the same will happen. The appointment of some deputy ministers into various posts is questionable. Of note is A. Musiiwa from Mashonaland West who is currently under suspension in his province but was given a position to deputise the minister of health yet he had little or no health expertise, critics claim that he did not even set his foot at any university but he is a deputy minister, hence raising more eyebrows in the leadership we have in ZANUPF and perhaps giving an answer to why we are lagging behind both politically and economically.

4.6.3 Policy paralysis

Policies fail in Zimbabwe due to factionalism, there would be a certain group in favour of a certain policy yet another group is in disapproval hence making it very difficult to reach a consensus. Bandauko (2014) in the Zimbabwean Independent is of the view that factionalism has a bearing on the public policy inconsistency with reference to all political parties in Zimbabwe.

Of note is the indigenisation policy that has demotivated the investor's confidence in the country. This policy has received criticism both in the international and local community.

Hence having no policy that is constant, and having different approaches to policy formulations and adaptations has given birth to factionalism that offers no solutions or any concrete brick for political development in Zimbabwe. This is also explained by Simon Khaya Moyo on the Sunday mail of (7 February 2016) that factions have scared away investments and also heightened economic crises. Hence with all this in mind it is crystal clear that achievement of political development in Zimbabwe is likened to a barren 80 year old mother with imaginations of waking up and seeing kids running around her yard.

4.6.4 Misuse of public funds

It is a common saying that "a good leader should be a leader with his people at heart, a leader who takes his people's sufferings and makes them his, a leader who subjects himself and addresses the needs of his people. All this is still a myth in the Zimbabwean situation, political development means addressing democratization issues, and by this we mean a government of the people for the people situation, a government with an open door policy. All this is achievable if the economy is steady. Misuse of public funds by government officials and other political gurus has made the achievement of political development in Zimbabwe a mere wish that is far from being fulfilled.

The popular 21st February birthday celebrations and the annual ZANU PF conferences that are conducted customarily, are quiet resourceful and uncalled for in this shaky economy, calling people to a massive gatherings full of hungry crowds will never change their poverty, people still go back to their miserable lives after the birthday celebrations. In fact the money used for that celebration is a lot to feed the rest of Zimbabweans for the whole year, these continuous celebrations have been criticized by several political analysts as being driven by selfish motives at the expense of poor Zimbabweans.

At the same time Grace Mugabe's meet the people rallies' in all of the ten provinces were also costly, since it was the state money being used, the existence of the ZBC wherever she was does not only show her nicodemus authority but we are also looking at the expense being met by calling all the ZBC crew for all of her rallies broadcasted live at every event. According to the

Zimbabwe Independent of 17 October 2015 Grace Mugabe abused 98 million, of the Brasilia loan meant for Harare food initiative programme. Moreover Mliswa was also quoted on YouTube on the 22nd of October 2015 when he said the rallies were there to fan factionalism, an assertion supported by Grace Mugabe's aggressive speeches to any targeted party member in her different rallies. It is in one of her rallies that Grace Mugabe denounced Joyce Mujuru in public, and called for her resignation letter before any move was taken.

At the same time Vice President Mphoko's continual stay at the Rainbow Hotel since his coronation to date angers people as he is using a hotel room that could have been used in all these years to generate money for developing Zimbabwe. Instead Mphoko continues staying in the hotel room claiming he is waiting for his house to be finished, this explains the demonstration by other citizens on him for his long stay in a hotel. Hence political development is slowed down by misuse of public funds as some of the money meant for political development is spent on other non-economic issues.

4.6.5 Multi parties

The existence of multi parties is a result of factionalism, this is exemplary in the break outs of MDC, MDC is now made up of different fragments, for example MDC N, MDC T, ZANUPF has the G40s and the team Lacoste though it hasn't broke out yet. African governments across the continent have a bad habit of allowing too much power concentration in the central government and forgetting the grassroots level through their draconian legislation (Crane burg 2003). Hence multi parties are a blessing in disguise as they give room for the democratization process, thus taking a step towards political development in Zimbabwe.

4.6.6 Civic protests.

The ballooning factionalism in ZANU PF has given civic groups room to protest in whichever way they deem necessary, forgetting that each and every party is governed by a constitution. The 6 July 2016 protests by the group named Tajamuka was really a shocker to the people of Zimbabwe as they had the audacity to influence all workers from different sectors to abscond work to send a clear message to the government of Zimbabwe that the people were no longer

happy with the service delivery in Zimbabwe and most of them were attacking the Mugabe regime, these demands were unconstitutional as Mugabe's term is not yet over.

The Tajamuka together with Pastor Evan Mawarire gained their fame overnight due to Facebook politicking demanding Mugabe's premature retirement, hence factionalism in ZANU PF has gone way out of hand that even the party itself seems to have lost its foresight concerning its control over its enemies. Another shocking event was when the President was publicly insulted by the ZANU PF Hatfield former shadow Member of Parliament, commonly known as Acie Lumumba. Lumumba used to glorify the president and support him both on local and social media as evident in his Facebook posts, his insults to the president at a press conference mesmerised many as people never really understood how ugly ZANU PF factionalism was. Hence ZANU PF factionalism has sent a wrong signal to the international community and to its enemies at large, it has also given the opposition false hope and too much relaxations to think that they can outvote ZANU PF through Facebook politicking yet it takes more than political muscles to remove ZANU PF.

With the degree of factionalism in the country, it is undoubtable that political development in Zimbabwe is nothing but a mere myth, it is a dream that is far from being achieved. In an interview with T. Mliswa former Hurungwe West legislator on the 14th of June 2016 he argues that factionalism is costly to political development in Zimbabwe as too much time is being spent on non-economic issues against its manifesto. He also argues that factionalism contributes greatly to policy inconsistency thereby slowing down political development in Zimbabwe. Mliswa also argues that factionalism in ZANU PF is not called for as it is not part of the party's manifesto and the Party (ZANU PF) has failed to deliver what it promised during elections, like for instance the promised 2 billion jobs that ZANU PF has promised to honor has made people to lose confidence in it hence leaving no room for political development.

On a different note according to a questionnaire respondent on the 6th of June 2016 he postulates that factionalism has a negative bearing on political development in Zimbabwe as it affects the party in terms of mass mobilization, as people will lose faith in the party's ideology, hence leading to mistrust in the party and deterioration of party supporters. Therefore it is very difficult to develop politically when people have lost faith in a party and no longer understand its ideology. Moreover the respondent believes factionalism is uncalled for, instead for people to

develop politically they have to marry the ideas of democratization, party cadres must remain loyal to the party and address party grievances the correct way. Making noise in the media and gaining unnecessary popularity for the wrong reasons by party members in the media sector does not only tarnish the image of ZANU PF at large but also draws it back politically.

Factionalism is also a huge blow when it comes to performance in the ballot, political development means adopting to the democratization processes like the voting system. It is only the ballot that plays a pivotal role in developing a nation politically. With the current situation in Zimbabwe under the ruler ship of ZANUPF people are left in a state of confusion as to who they should vote for as there is no political party that can be singled out when it comes to factional struggles. ZANU PF has endured the post 2008 elections only because the electoral laws were designed to favor them. Hence this is the reason why opposition members signed a petition asking for electoral transformations. ZANU PF is the only receiving end to the current electoral laws that were put in place only at their advantage.

Hence this will give ZANUPF an added advantage to extend its dominance without any other opposing party come 2018 elections. Therefore, the electoral modifications desired by all opposition parties are far from being achieved. Of note is the MDC's withdrawal from the 2015 by elections as ZANU PF failed to submit to their presupposed electoral reforms hence this led to ZANU PF's regaining of all the seats in Parliament. Hence if there are no electoral reforms as suggested by opposing members ZANU PF will continue presiding over its opponents leaving no room for opposition parties and hence ignoring the democratization process which is a wheel leading to political development in Zimbabwe.

According to a questionnaire respondent on the 21st of June 2016 he believes factions in ZANU PF have positive effects on political development as they offer a good counter balance measure that presses the need to address outstanding issues and that the existence of factionalism brings out the silent issues out in the public that need to be addressed. Concerning the party's performance in the ballot ahead of the 2018 elections the respondent postulated that the party has overtime upon a national challenge outgrown mediocrity to pursue a national challenge and hence he believed factionalism would not affect elections in anyhow.

On a different note another questionnaire respondent on the 22nd of July 2016 is of the view that factionalism in ZANU PF has a negative impact on political development in Zimbabwe as it

scares away potential investors for example it was alleged that China had refused to release its money for the mega deals they had invested on the country as they demand a clear succession policy, hence if a country has an economy that is almost at its knees without a strong backup from its sponsors or investors it is very difficult to develop politically without economic development as politics and economics are inseparable twins.

The respondent also thinks that factionalism is necessary as it creates a platform where by the party can deliberate on the issues at hand and look for solutions to the raised issues without fear there by expediting policy consistency and political stability. On the issue of political development through elections the respondent postulated that factionalism is likely to be a big blow in the forthcoming elections in 2018 as the party is likely to experience voter apathy like what happened in 2008 (*the bhora musango scenario*) whereby people voted for ZANU PF legislators and singled out the president.

In an interview with Cde M. Machacha (a director in the Commissariat department) on the 6th of June 2016 he postulates that ZANU PF is a dominant party and has massive following as reflective in the 2/3 seats in parliament but because of factionalism there is a tendency of expelling and suspending some of the leading members supposedly belonging to a different faction, hence more focus is being put on infighting and elimination of candidates or personnel deemed as threats to a certain faction therefore weakening the party and diverting it to its core business which is to deliver on its manifesto of 2013 and ZIMASSET.

He also believes that ZANU PF is giving a wrong signal to the opposition and our enemies abroad who think that ZANU PF is almost at its near end and giving false hope to the opposition who see themselves in power in the near future ahead of the 2018 elections. Mr. Machacha thinks the current competition for positions or rather factionalism can be seen as a positive move as people are kept busy interacting with the people and the masses, and that the million man march was a clear indication that party members can unite for a common cause.

According to a questionnaire respondent on the 12th of July 2016 he propounded that factionalism is the least expected thing in ZANU PF as no investor may want to come when they are in doubt of what the possible outcomes are in dealing with Zimbabwe in such shaky conditions. On a different occasion, another questionnaire respondent on the 14th of June 2016 believes factionalism is a major drawback to ZANU PF as it creates political instability thereby

slowing down political development. The respondent argued that factionalism define political parties and that factionalism is perfectly normal for example factionalism is also in existence in ANC, MDC, and the newly found Zimbabwe people's first and also other political parties over the world, hence factionalism is not a new phenomenon.

4.6.7 Characteristics or attributes of factionalism in ZANU PF

In an interview with Mliswa on the 14th of June 2016 he noted that the clear characteristics of factionalism in ZANU PF, are policy inconsistencies, suspensions and expulsions of party members. "I am a victim myself, I was axed for allegedly belonging to the Mujuru faction for wanting to kill the president, funny enough there has never been a commission of inquiry or a report against me to the police that I wanted to kill the president....." said disturbed Mliswa. Another shocking revelations were when Mandi Chimene a war veteran's leader humiliated Mnangagwa the Vice President and her senior in the party too for fanning factionalism in front of a huge crowd and called for his immediate resignation. "*Hondo ye Tsholotsho Yaitungamirwa nava Mnangagwa, nhasi irikunzi Lacoste irikutungamirwa nava Mnangagwa*, meaning to say Mnangagwa has always been the cause of divisions in ZANU PF up to now. Hence this public humiliation of the vice president by his junior Mandi Chimene draws a clear picture of the ugliness of factionalism in ZANU PF.

On the 15th of June 2016 a questionnaire respondent argued that "characteristics of factionalism in ZANU PF are internal fights amongst party members, that is from the G40s and the Lacoste faction, and attacks from the once loyal war veterans". There is also inconsistency amongst the political commissar and the secretary for administration who were in favor of different candidates during the 10 June 2016 By elections for the Harare East candidate, Chombo was in favor of Mavis Gumbo's candidature whilst Kasukuwere favored Terrence Mukhuphe's candidature. Hence all these are a true indications of the rampant factionalism in ZANU PF.

4.6.8 Acceptance of the current ZANU PF factionalism

According to a questionnaire respondent on the 6th of June 2016 factionalism in ZANU PF is uncalled for because party cadres must remain loyal to the party and address party grievances through the right channels. "Factionalism in ZANU PF is the demise of the ruling party and equally a necessary evil in that change is eminent, when Kaunda stood for the elections, he was told everything was well but when he went to the polls he lost and that was the end of him and

this is the demise of ZANU PF whereby they really scored their own goal, and ZANU PF is destroying themselves and no one else. The in-house fighting, the economy issues, and the existence of two viable oppositions is a clear indication that ZANU PF applied for its own downfall.....” Said fuming Mliswa in an interview on the 14th of June 2016.

4.7 Chapter summary

The chapter was mapping out data attained during field researches that the researcher undertook engaging data from both questionnaires and interviews in analyzing the prospective effects of factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe paying particular attention to ZANU PF. The researcher employed both qualitative and quantitative research techniques, thematic sub topics that tallied with the researcher’s questions, and a pie chart. The study’s objective was to analyze the opinion of the interviewed politicians and the distributed questionnaires on the effects of factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe paying particular attention to ZANU PF. The interview questions and distributed questionnaires were hand in glove with the research objectives and questions.

CHAPTER

5.0: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a comprehensive summary of the research findings, draws conclusions based on the analysis of the collected data, and suggests recommendations as solutions that might assist in narrowing or solving the research problem. Analysis of the collected data persuaded the researcher to suggest potential future research areas that could not be conclusively dealt with under the current area of study. This chapter also gives the overall position of the study. This section also offers a chapter of references, where the researcher lists all the research materials she used during her research according to their alphabetical order.

5.2 Summary of findings

The study used Cole's definition of factionalism where he argued that factionalism can be defined as petty groups driven by selfish interests, the groups come in different forms with different intentions. The study also noted that a faction is not only limited to politics, any group with a leader can be affected with factionalism, for example a church. This study focused on ZANU PF factionalism and how it affects political development in the country.

5.2.1 Key indicators of political development in Zimbabwe

The study deduced that the key indicators to political development in Zimbabwe are democracy, good provision of social services and decrease in illiterate rate. The study reflected that so far in the bid to develop politically Zimbabwe has been successful in reducing the illiterate rate in Zimbabwe as evidenced by the image that Zimbabwe has portrayed in Africa of being one of the countries with the best literate levels, moreover Zimbabwe has been producing fruitful graduates over the years. Furthermore, the government program of STEM in different provinces in the world has managed to decrease the illiterate level by instilling courage and competition amongst students to do better. On issues to do with democracy Zimbabwe has been applauded for the acceptance of the emerging multi-party systems in Zimbabwe that is allegedly mistaken for factionalism at some point, and also granting rights to each and every individual of 18 years and above the right to vote for their party of choice. However, the democratic system of Zimbabwe

has been marred by massive abuse of human rights on record and by voter's intimidation and vote buying amongst the rest, thus blemishing Zimbabwe's move to political development. Moreover under provision of good social services Zimbabwe has only been credited under the Government of National Unity for being able to provide good social services to its people, for managing the food shortages in Zimbabwe, for providing good health services and educational facilities in the country but however have been blemished for the current money shortages in banks and inconstant pay dates of civil servants, shortages of food, pharmaceuticals and petrol, inflation rates hovering between 400 and 600% a year, a drop in tobacco sales to a quarter of the 2000 level, unemployment rate and poverty at about 75%. Hence the above listed factors have been draw backs to the major indicators to political development, if the loopholes are addressed Zimbabwe will swiftly progress to political development.

5.2.2 Causes of factionalism in ZANU-PF

The study also deduced that the causes of factionalism in ZANU-PF are enrooted in succession issues, party members are at logger heads as they are trying to replace the long serving president of Zimbabwe, moreover, affiliate organization intervention (war vets), is said to have fueled factionalism in ZANU-PF, war veterans are supposed to be advisors and not the ones to challenge the party and the president in public, their continuous interference in party politics heightens the already worsened factionalism in ZANU-PF. Moreover, divisive slogans also lead to factionalism, sloganeering for the first Lady Grace Mugabe heightens factionalism as she is allegedly the leader of a G40 faction, hence such slogans frustrate the Lacoste factional group and other party members who are against sloganeering to the wife of the President, who is a junior politically to most of the party members. Differing party policies, and new ideologies, greediness and selfishness of party leaders together with policy inconsistency amongst a few were deduced to be some of the major causes of the current ZANU-PF factionalism.

5.2.3 Effects of ZANU-PF factionalism in political development

The effects of ZANUPF factionalism on political development in short as deduced from the findings are that too much time is being spent on non-economic issues that are against its manifesto, hence leading to the current economic woes in the country, factionalism is affecting the ruling party in its mass mobilization as people have lost faith in the ruling party. The same

factionalism in ZANU-PF has given birth to civic protests policy paralysis, multiparty system and misuse of public funds to mention but a few, hence posing a threat to political development in Zimbabwe. The study also noted the characteristics of ZANU –PF factionalism are the unending suspensions and expulsions since December 2014 of party members after uncontested vote of no confidences passed against them, the continual intra fights amongst party members for example the existence of the G40 and the Lacoste in ZANU-PF.

5.3 Conclusions

Political divisions are a baby of factionalism, it also intensifies intra party fights thereby slowing down political development as many policies are left un attended to, especially the current ZIMASSET is being affected by the ongoing factionalism and there is fear amongst citizens that it will not be successfully implemented. If not properly managed factions can further divide a once admired, strong and unified party, ZANU-PF. Nonetheless it is noteworthy that factions play a pivotal role in the democratization process in Zimbabwe, for instance the emergence of the Zimbabwe People’s First and acceptance of other opposition parties like MDCs is a clear indication that Zimbabwe upholds the ideas of democracy to a certain level.

However in as much as factions owe their existence to the democratization process in Zimbabwe they may be seen as treacherous to some point. Mostly those who break away from their original parties are said to be linked to an opposing party, probably a threat, currently anyone going against ZANU PF and breaking away from it is labelled a ‘gamatox’ (an exit ticket of many party members of ZANU PF who appear to be threats to a leading faction) or probably aligned to the Mujuru faction (the People’s First).Factionalism is catastrophic to any political party in Zimbabwe. In as much as factions resemble traits of democracy they have diverging effects especially when it comes to political development of any political party, factions are costly as they also affect the whole nation at large.

Political parties are more like civic groups whose mandate is to protect the people at large as the people are the ones who vote for the leading party they want. Hence political divisions amongst party members, especially in the ruling party exacerbates political instability there by decelerating political development in the party. Political divisions replicate a war which is a

clear sign that the party would tend to be less progressive and nothing good comes out of a state of war hence the anticipated political development would be nothing but a mere myth, hence both ZANU PF and MDC are partly to blame for political instability in Zimbabwe and for the brouhaha prevalent in all their encampments. It goes without saying that the poor citizens of Zimbabwe are affected mostly by factionalism than actual chauffeurs of factionalism as seen by the 6th July stay away engineered by a group with a brand name 'Tajamuka' a movement triggered by dissatisfaction of the service delivery in Zimbabwe where civil servants no longer know their pay days as they continue being shifted.

More time is being spent on factional rumpuses at the expense of policy making, hence this seems to be a major blow to political growth. The Zimbabwean economy grieves due to such political bedlams in political parties particularly in the ruling party. Of note is that in the Zimbabwean context ZANU PF is crucial when it comes to policy making as it has the overall say and has more representation in parliament than the opposition. Hence it is being affected by in-house factional squabbles in its party, a clear indication why they cannot develop Zimbabwe politically thereby making it very difficult to resuscitate the Zimbabwean economy that is almost at its knees as all policy makers are busy refiguring themselves in the factional struggles.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations to be proffered in the study are those of bettering factions as earlier on discussed that factions bring schism to political parties. If not addressed factions may greatly affect ZANU PF come election time.

(To work on dis) According to a questionnaire respondent on the 21st of June 2016 he postulated that the possible solutions to the ballooning factionalism in all political parties, particularly in ZANUPF is to increase communication amongst party members, to increase capacity building on dealing with pertinent issues. While on the other hand in an interview with Mliswa, the former legislator for Hurungwe West, he suggests that the solution to curb factionalism is to have a clear succession message and democracy to prevail on the elective congress. At the same time on a different occasion on the 6th of June 2016 a questionnaire respondent expatiated that one of the viable solutions to factionalism is for party cadres to remain loyal to the party and the party must be able to choose the right personnel at every post in the party.

5.4.1 Education on political leadership

There is a need to educate party members on leadership skills so as to curb factionalism in future. When a leader is educated politically he knows when and how to speak when given the microphone in public, moreover when a leader attains political education he knows how to respect leadership and also knows his constitution like the back of his hand. The ZANU PF recently opened the Chitepo School of ideology this year, a school targeting all party leadership. It is through such education that unprogressive moves like factionalism are addressed. Leaders are also taught about personal conduct and respect for leadership hence this helps to mold a less destructive and progressive party leader, moreover if the education is made compulsory to each party member, each and every one will have their roles defined, we will not have war veterans who are supposed to be advisors interfering into party politics and causing confusion unless they are asked to contribute, while issues to do with greed and selfishness could be addressed in an amicable way. Hence if other opposition parties like MDC could also look for ways in which they could educate each other on political leadership it could also help them curb the rampant factionalism in their party too.

5.4.2 Early verdict

Endicott (2011) quoted James Madison's way of dealing with factions which was to quickly address and deal with the causes and at the same time being able to predict and manage the possible outcome of factions. It goes without saying that problems are controllable at their early stages as it would be very difficult to deal with them after their maturity as they would be overwhelming. Hence having such techniques in mind it is quiet vivid that if such techniques are employed in all political parties, especially in the ruling party factions can be easily circumvented.

5.4.3 Shunning of divisional slogans

The ruling party should refrain from introduction of provocative and divisional slogans instead they should stick to their usual slogan (*pamberi Nava Mugabe, pasi nemhandu*) meaning 'forward with Mugabe and down with enemies.' As entitled in the ZANU PF constitution. The moment ZANU PF members start sloganeering against one another they then give room to factionalism. There are some scholars who think adding the first lady in their slogans triggers more anger and hatred among party members who think it is rather divisional and provocative

when there are other senior political members who are more senior than her, whilst some think it is too quick to give her that merit since she is still new in politics. Hence the issue of slogans in the ruling party needs to be addressed to avoid political divisions as people can be easily placed to a certain faction after a slogan whilst others can be mistakenly grouped to a faction they know not about leading to political differences in the near future.

5.4.4 Introduction of stiff penalties on media abuse

ZANU PF should try by all means to trace all party members who rubbish the party's name in the private media. There has been instances where party members exchange harsh words through the private papers and through the social media like Facebook, twitter and WhatsApp, thanks to the recently cyber laws on the pipeline. The state should be cautious about party members abusing the media for their own personal recognition at the expense of the President who is the leader of ZANU PF. Instead ZANU PF must deal with each and every one causing divisions to the ruling party and stiff measures should be put in place.

5.4.5 Introduction of robust dispute resolution systems

There is need for political parties to create a neutral dispute resolution system to avoid internal party disputes. ZANU PF has the Politburo, Central Committee and above all the National disciplinary committee currently chaired by the Vice president Mphoko. It is unfortunate that the National disciplinary committee has been blamed for taking its decisions based on factional grounds, most expelled and suspended party members complain of being un procedurally dismissed from the party without applying the 'hear both sides principle. 'Most critics argue this fact basing on the post December 2014 ZANU PF congress that evicted most of its members on allegations of treachery and plotting to unseat the president unconstitutionally. In an interview with Mliswa on the 14th of June 2016 the former Hurungwe west legislator, he blamed factionalism for his eviction and also questioned the National disciplinary decision of showing him the exit door whilst accusing him of treachery, according to him treachery is a very serious offence to the state and often people found on the wanting are jailed but he is still walking free. Therefore the question still remains why' are the members who were accused of plotting to kill the president still walking freely including Joyce Mujuru. One may reach to a conclusion that factional games were at its peak and the expelled members were unfortunate enough to lose.

Magaisa (2015) postulates that classified structures that are rigorous and undemocratic should be endorsed to enforce loyalty and to manage ruptures. Magaisa goes on to argue that democracy is not restricted to majority rule but similarly the opinion of the minority should be encompassed. Hence it is vital for dispute resolution systems to introduce resolution committees to avoid bias as it is quite obvious that the leadership in the disciplinary committee would be part of the ruling party hence there are higher chances that a leader can have a group that he favors over the other and in most cases the presiding leaders are at times factional leaders so it is very difficult to make fair decisions in such committees hence some end up paying for the sins of others.

5.4.6 Introduction of a clear succession policy

The President must introduce a clear succession policy whereby he chooses a leader who will succeed him after his retirement. All factional squabbles are due to the succession issue. Everyone is positioning themselves in the post Mugabe's regime, and this explains why there is a lot of back biting in the party ZANU PF as everyone is trying to win the heart of the president for succession. At the same time ZANU PF should have a constitution that specifies a term limit of a leader without renewal hence avoiding future power struggles and avoidance of a clinging on to power by a leader for so long. The president must also allow democracy to prevail in an elective congress.

5.5 Conclusion

The study therefore concludes that, the current factionalism in ZANU-PF poses serious threats to political development in Zimbabwe as seen by the ballooning unemployment rate in Zimbabwe ,ZANU PF is too pre occupied with its intra fights instead of maximizing the opportunity and fulfilling their election promises of 2 million jobs, instead their job is being done for them by the mushrooming political parties who are promising to deliver what ZANU-PF has failed to deliver for so long, due to the preoccupation of ZANU PF with its factional squabbles, civic protests have appeared to be more important than the ruling party, factionalism in ZANU PF gave birth to misuse of public funds, economic woes and policy paralysis amongst a few, hence with all this in mind it is quite clear that the current factionalism in ZANU-PF really poses serious threats to political development in Zimbabwe as everything is now at stand still. Nevertheless, it should also be considered that what we term as factionalism here in Africa is simply labelled as democratic contestation in western nations, hence the same can be said about the current factionalism in Zimbabwe. One may argue that the current factionalism in ZANU-PF can be

credited as ZANU-PF is exercising its democratic rights, and it should not be ignored that democracy is not a one size fits all, what other countries may define as democracy may not be democratic to Zimbabwe. Hence it should be noted with great concern that although factionalism in Zimbabwe may represent traits of democracy it is already causing more damage than anticipated and that if not properly addressed may affect the upcoming 2018 election result, hence further worsening Zimbabwe's move to political development and democratic contestation of a free and fair election.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: QUESTIONNAIRE

I am Suellen Shandirwa, currently a fourth year student at Midlands State University studying a degree in Politics and Public Management. I am carrying out a research titled: *A critical analysis of the effects of factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe, paying particular attention to ZANU PF factionalism.* My research is interested in active politicians, fellow politics students, civic groups and political analysts. I would greatly appreciate your participation in this survey, and guarantee that information gathered from this research is only for academic purposes and would strictly be kept confidential.

Date.....

SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name of Organization or Political Party.....

SECTION B:

How long have you been active in politics?

.....

In your own view what do you understand about the term factionalism?

.....
.....

What do think is the cause(s) of factionalism?

.....
.....

Do you think the ongoing factions have effects on political development in Zimbabwe? If yes why and if not why not.

YES

NO

Explain your answer

.....
.....

What are the characteristics or attributes of factionalism at ZANUPF?

.....
.....

Do you think factionalism can affect the forth coming elections in 2018?

YES NO

If yes, explain your answer?

.....
.....

Do you think the current factionalism in the ruling party is necessary or it's uncalled for?

YES NO

Explain your answer

.....
.....

What solutions can you proffer to eliminate factionalism and to enhance political development in Zimbabwe's Political parties or at ZANUPF

.....
.....
.....
.....

Appendix B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

I am Suellen Shandirwa, currently studying Politics and Public Management at Midlands State University. I am carrying out a research titled: *A critical analysis of the effects of factionalism on political development, paying particular attention to ZANU PF*. My research is interested in active politicians, fellow politics students, civic groups and political analysts. Your participation in this survey will be greatly appreciated, and guarantee that information gathered from this research is only for academic purposes and would strictly be kept confidential.

1. What do you understand about the ongoing factionalism within the political parties in Zimbabwe, particularly in ZANUPF?
2. With reference to the ruling party, what do you think are the causes of factionalism in Zimbabwe?
3. In your own view, what do you think are the effects of ZANUPF factionalism on political development in Zimbabwe?
4. What are the effects of factionalism in ZANUPF on the outcome of the 2018 elections in Zimbabwe?
5. Do you think the current factionalism in Zimbabwe marks the demise of the ruling party or it is a necessary evil?
6. What do you think are the advantages of the current factionalism in Zimbabwe?
7. Explain the weaknesses of factionalism in ZANUPF
8. Do you agree that there are factional wars within the ruling party (ZANUPF)?
9. What do you think can be done to address factionalism and to enhance Political development in Zimbabwe' ZANUPF?

Appendix C

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