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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

**FACTIONALISM IN ZANU PF AND ZIMBABWE'S POLITICAL
ECONOMY(2013-2016)**

BY

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DEDICATION

This piece of work is my first intellectual attempt to produce a comprehensive scientific examination of societal political phenomenon and was written in line with the field of study I have pursued, that is, Politics and Public Management. In this respect I dedicate this piece of work to my family and most of all to myself, the intellectual capacity I acquired for the past four years I have studied under the Department of Politics and Public Management at the Midlands State University. In fact, this is a test of my mental aptitude which was scientifically cemented at the Midlands State University.

Last but not list I would like to give thanks to Jehovah Jireh, my provider. You were so faithful to me in this academic pursuit and also in my life. You blessed my mind as I read. My life is therefore a testimony of your love and I am amazed by what you have done to me. You have raised me from the grass to where I am now. Thank you Lord... I sing Ebenezer-1 Samuel 7 v 12.

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ABSTRACT

This research was an investigation into the influence of factionalism to political economics. The study was naturally focused on factional tendencies within ZANU-PF and the consequences to Zimbabwe's political economy from 2013 to 2016. In this case, this study automatically adopted a qualitative research methodology due to its confidential nature and pre-requisition to directly interact with society and the components under investigation. The study employed a two-dimensional sample technique sequence including a simple random participants' sample and a purposive/judgemental sampling method. In this case, the study went on to adopt all data gathering methods necessary for collecting qualitative data. The research revealed that factionalism is in fact a catalyst of economic quagmires in Zimbabwe. The study revealed that factionalism has orchestrated a policy implementation deadlock in the country and has been used to create a divide and rule scenario aiding to create a Mugabe dynasty in Zimbabwe which has further angered the general public leading to a political violent attempt by the general public to force the resignation of the incumbent Zimbabwean President. In this case, the study proposes the outright destruction of the ruling party's ZANU-PF (*factional fights*), as the only possible solution to deal with factionalism and its negative impact on socio-economic development in Zimbabwe.

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ABBREVIATIONS

PB:	Politburo
CC:	Central Committee
DRC:	Democratic Republic of Congo
G-40:	Generation 40
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
MDC:	Movement for Democratic Change
NDAC:	National Disciplinary And Appeals Committee
NMDA:	National Manpower Development Act
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organisations
OPC:	Office of the President and Cabinet
PSMAS:	Premier Service Medical Aid Society
SADC:	Southern Africa Development Community
ZACC:	Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission
ZANU-PF:	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZBC:	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZIMASSET:	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation
ZIM-PF:	Zimbabwe People First
ZIMSTAT:	Zimbabwe Statistics Agency
ZUM:	Zimbabwe Unity Movement

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0: Introduction

Factionalism within political parties has always presented itself as a thorn to the free-flow of the socio-economic continuum. This is especially prevalent in one-party dominant systems to which Zimbabwe is a part. Evidence of factional divisions has presented itself within the country's major political parties, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). For this study, concentration will be on the factional fights within the ruling party, ZANU-PF from year 2013 to 2016, factionalism that has recently proved to be distracting to the Zimbabwe's socio-economic growth. In this respect, factionalism within ZANU-PF has largely influenced the character of Zimbabwe's political economy. This can be premised by the fact that, at a time the nation languishes in economic deadlock; political divisions within ZANU-PF have taken the priority stand which has led to the government's limited efforts on economic transformation. Divisions in the ruling party have overflowed to the national government causing direct monetary expenses, policy misdirections and international relations backdrop.

In fact, the ruling party's factional fights have determined the country's policy initiatives and the nature of Zimbabwe's economy. In this light, the research alludes to the effects of factionalism in ZANU-PF on the political economy of Zimbabwe. It reveals how factional tendencies within the ruling party have affected the free-flow of the country's economic activities both at local administration level and foreign policy levels.

In this case, this chapter seeks to incite a sales piece on the subject under review and present a background appreciation of the subject under review. It provides a marketable examination of the consequences of divisionism *vis-à-vis* poor or hypocritical democracy to governance

and public sector management. The chapter will articulate a concise article of the study, statement of the problem, aims of the study, delimitations, limitations and summary.

1.1: Background of the study

Factionalism has been a significantly prominent phenomenon within any multi-party political discourse. Its history in Zimbabwe's political spectrum stretches back to the immediate post-independence period which marked optimistic democratic organisation in the country's political circles. Boucek (2009) even argued that factionalism within political parties in Zimbabwe is an inherited concept which revealed its pre-mature existence in Rhodesia. This has been the case in contemporary Zimbabwean political economy.

In this case, factionalism has always been driven by power struggles, so-called "succession issues", especially when reference is given to ZANU-PF. Factional politics or power struggles are within both MDC formations and ZANU-PF and have led to the policy paralysis of the two parties. Factionalism in ZANU-PF has a longer history stretching back to the pre-independence period which allegedly saw comrades assassinating one another prior to the independence of the country. This has largely been argued to have been spearheaded by power struggles which later became the bed-rock upon which the 1987 Unity Accord was signed to show victory to one faction and its accommodation of the other.

These divisions within the ruling political party ZANU-PF have never ceased but only been contained by the charisma and inspiration of the party leader, Robert Mugabe. In fact, in the 90s, another sequence of chaos erupted leading to the split of one of the liberation leaders, Edgar Tekere forming his own Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) which was easily thwarted and silenced but was a result of factional intentions within the party. Unfortunately the contemporary or recent factional fights within ZANU-PF have driven the party into tartars and further stretched into the socio-economic outlook of the country, affecting the

ordinary citizen who maybe non-partisan but in need of government services alone. The factional tendencies have even overflowed to affect the country's international relations, policy initiatives and local administration sectors. In fact, recent factionalism has led to a large number of top officials being fired from the party and government, an instance which has produced direct monetary expenses to the national purse and Treasury. This brought a load on the country's current economy which is never stable even in remunerating civil servants. Zimbabwe's economic meltdown has begun to show prominence, hence maybe argued to have in some way been inspired by the factional divisions within the ruling party, ZANU-PF. This scenario has inspired the foundation of this study and will enable an empirical approach which shall ascertain the precise influence of factionalism in hindering the sustainable socio-economic development of Zimbabwe.

1.2: Statement of the problem

Zimbabwe has been economically identified as a sinking ship, whose economic recovery strategies have all been exhausted. The economic quagmires facing the country are argued to have a multi-causal effect, some of which may be exacerbated by factionalism, especially within the ruling party, ZANU-PF. In this light, this study has been inspired by the need to ascertain the role ZANU-PF factional fights have played in spear-heading the country into an unrecoverable economic quandary.

1.3: Justification of the study

The findings of this research are aimed at producing a unique and surprising phenomenon which many schools of thoughts focusing on factionalism have ignored. From the on-set, the variables selected by the researcher have not been commonly mixed by past studies on the subject. This study has developed a unique stance, which makes it a special analysis on the dangers of 'out of hand' factional tendencies. In this case, the study is a masterpiece for reference to variety of stakeholders on the subjects in question. This makes the research very

significant to readers from all works of intellectual life, including the political parties (current and future), students, the economist, political analysts and even non-political organisations or the general public.

As has been mentioned earlier, this study produces a unique endeavour, especially when reference is made to the selected variables. In this case, the mixture of factionalism and its negative effects to the political economy of Zimbabwe, presents a new threat to the country's socio-economic development agenda. Such an examination is a major significant highlight to policy makers, economists, the general populace who suffer the most when there is a deadlock in economic growth, international lenders and development agencies (NGOs, among all other stakeholders focusing on the national economy). This to say that this study provides a totally new threat to economic development, "factionalism", which makes it easier for all these stakeholders to identify the root cause of the problem, especially in developing public policy initiatives.

Moreover, this study can be used as early warning system of the dangers of, as re-phrased above, 'out of hand factionalism' to the survival of the political. The assumption of this research is that the political party in question, ZANU-PF, due to its plundering of the national socio-economic agenda, has massively been de-tested by the Zimbabwean people. This study acts as a guide on the "does and don'ts" for political party survival in the country's political spectrum. Current and future ruling parties will learn from this study, especially on the effects on systemising and institutionalising the party's ideology to all other government business. This is to say that (when everything in a country becomes ZANU-PF because ZANU-PF is the ruling party, when ZANU-PF fails to rule or is dismantled, everything in a country also pulls to pieces). In this case, this study shall present a lesson to a framework in which such a scenario can be avoided in future or be contained and managed.

Finally, this research provides a very important examination to the intellect field. It is an interesting area of study for students of politics and the social scientists. It is a future area of reference and presents unique and eye-catching scientific data that can be referred to by students or even policy makers. Hence this study is largely significant in different ways to different stakeholders.

1.4: Research Objectives

The research aims:

- To identify the causes of factionalism within Zimbabwe's major political parties.
- To premise the effects of factional politics on Zimbabwe's socio-economic development agenda.
- To ascertain the advantages of unity on the country's political economy.
- To identify effective and efficient systems that can be used to improve political and policy management within political parties in Zimbabwe.

1.5: Research questions

In light of the objectives, this research intends to answer the following:

- What are the causes of factionalism and power struggles within political parties in Zimbabwe?
- What are the effects of factional politics to the country's economic development agenda?
- What are the advantages of unity within political parties in Zimbabwe's socio-economic set up?
- What should be done to improve unity and development of multi-party politics in the country?

1.6: Methodology

The study will follow a qualitative approach which allows the researcher to discover new variables and relationships, reveal and understand complex processes, and illustrate the influence of the social context. Marshall and Rossman (1995) suggested that, among other reasons, qualitative research is designed to understand processes, describe poorly understood phenomena, and understand differences between stated and implemented policies or theories. This method of research is selected because it is more open and more involved than other strategies that work with large quantities and are strictly standardised, and therefore more objective, (Wilson: 1970). The chosen method involves direct interaction with the society under study, allowing the receipt of first-hand experience that is critical in providing empirical results. With regards to this research, a qualitative approach enabled the researcher to interact with a wide range of politicians in Zimbabwe and abroad. The research also included quantitative research tendencies that enabled the author to capture important statistics on the subjects in question, providing data for the qualitative analysis explained above.

1.7: Delimitation of the study

The study does not seek to outline and describe the causes and effects of factionalism within political parties in Zimbabwe. In contrast, the study examines the impact of factionalism to Zimbabwe's political economy from 2013 to 2016.

1.8: Limitations

The subject matter under study seems to be a hot area of study in the current political environment. In this case, the field of study encompasses confidential material that may require highly private and censorship of acquired material and evidence. In this case, this may lead respondents to be reluctant to disclose their views and opinions in fear of personal confidentiality. Moreover, limited capital to fully carry out the research is an area of concern

as a limitation to the free-flow of the research. The researcher will not have access to outstations as data from this study will be done on a single station, the headquarters hence generalization might lack relevance. Restricted access due to the privacy and confidentiality policies, triangulation will be used to overcome this limitation.

1.9: Ethical Considerations

This was a scientific qualitative research which involved widespread human interaction and access to confidential information which requires a diligent adoption of privacy. Principles of research morality were be diligently taken into consideration with honesty, integrity, distinctiveness, straight- forwardness and uniqueness adopted as the principal motivations that guided the composition of this study. All data and information of this study have been and will continue to be held in strictest confidentiality required in qualitative research.

1.9.1: Summary

The chapter has been an exploration of the background sequence of the occurrence of factionalism within post- independence Zimbabwe's leading and ruling party, ZANU-PF. The chapter presented a justification of the platform that inspired this study. It highlighted the necessary data needed to premise the importance of this research and the overall significance of the area under investigation which will provide a sales piece for the relationship between mainstream politics and socio-economic transformation for any one-party dominant political system in the developing world. The chapter introduced the study and provided the bedrock upon which the research rests, hence providing the required research principles and processes followed by the researcher in conducting this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0: Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed review of the written documentation around factionalism and political economics. It provides an analytical appreciation of the information present around the above mentioned subjects. In this chapter, the shortfalls of the literature written around the subjects under discussion will also be given and providing the uniqueness or measures taken by this research to present a different analysis of the area under study. The chapter explores into the consequences, nature, definition, scope and reasons for factionalism. It also highlights the meaning and processes around political economics. It further presents literature written on the occurrence of factionalism within Zimbabwe's major political parties, especially the ruling party, ZANU-PF. Furthermore, the chapter develops a theoretical framework that surrounds this study. It presents the concept that inspires the subjects under review.

2.1: Literature Review

A literature review is an evaluative report of information found in the literature related to your selected area of study. It helps, according to Sharp et al (2002), the researcher to improve knowledge in the research area. It is the preliminary search that helps and refines the researcher's ideas. The role of critical literature review, according to Fisher et al (2007) is to provide the raw material from which the conceptual framework is built. Saunders et al (2009), agrees and further state that crucial literature review helps the researcher to refine further their research objectives and questions and help them avoid simply repeating work that has been done already.

2.1.1: An Overview of Factionalism in Zimbabwe

Factionalism is a multi-faceted phenomenon that should be conceptualised in unrestrictive processes, that is, as a dynamic process of sub-group partitioning and it is the nature of this process that gives factions their particular characteristics, (Boucek, 2010). This is one particular fact of factionalism developed by the classical schools of thoughts who have extensively written on the subject.

In fact, factionalism has been taken to be “a concept in political anthropology that is used to describe groups of people formed around a leader who rejects a status quo and actively work against an established authority within a society, such as a state, political party, organisation. Lewellen (1983) even argued that groups classed as factions engage in conflict with official power structures by means of verbal contention and often physical action and violence.

The Etymology Dictionary in (2013) suggested that the term “factionalism” derives from “faction”, which is rooted in the French language of the 14th century. The Dictionary further suggests that the term is ultimately rooted in Latin through the word “*factio*” which means ‘political party’, ‘class of persons’ or ‘a making’.

Moreover, Hill (2013) added that “in order to be considered a faction, a group should contain a number of qualitative elements and capacities. These are measured by, organisational structure of the group, the leadership style and their recruitment of members. It is also on the time span of their activities, their strategies and tactics used against established authorities and their relation to the society from which they operate.

The definition of factionalism comes from various schools of thoughts that have premised the actual meaning of the concept in multi-party political systems. Factionalism can be assumed to develop its sense from the ‘unitary actor’ phenomenon of political parties that links the party as a single organisation with a clearly defined objective and goal. This inspires the

concept of factionalism in the sense that, where the goal remains the same for a political party, differences may only occur pertaining to the processes and procedures undertaken to realise the political party's aim. Dewan and Squintani (2015) suggest that this is clear when taking into consideration one of the major roles of political parties, that is, the production of a manifesto. They argue that "manifesto commitments are enforced in an imperfect state through party discipline which relates to institutional features such as the confidence procedure and party whips". This entails that internal party factions determine a political party's choice of statements. This appears true when considering the 2013 ZANU-PF election campaign which saw the development of the "BhoraMugedhi" statement which was opposed by the "BhoraMusango" statement developed by another faction within the party which was then viewed as opposed to the party's goal. This faction was led by then Vice-President JoiceMujuru who was later thrown out of both government and party structures, together with all her allies and sympathisers.

This study focuses more on the argument that factionalism, though maybe in every political party contestation, the extent or level of factional viciousness inspires this research. For the past two years, that is 2014 to the first half of 2016, ZANU-PF's factionalism has become so popular and vicious that it has triggered political instability in the country and has emptied the National Treasury. The amount of attention accorded to ZANU-PF's factional infighting has rapidly increased and much of the 'executive government' effort has been directed towards factional endeavours, at a time economic development is drowning in unrecoverable crisis. This study goes further to reveal the effects of too much factionalism on national development and general government administration. Though factionalism may have its profits in democratic development and maturity, in Zimbabwe, it has caused a stalemate that has left Zimbabwe to continue being led by the oldest president on the continent, a scene which could have been avoided if only the party could speak with one voice and send

Mugabe packing, so that the remaining members would vote for the next president after the resignation of the incumbent president. In fact, the research picks on the assumption that Mugabe and his wife are playing a divide and rule game so as to eliminate all possible competition or voices that may raise questions on the capability of the president to run the state.

Moreover, the First Lady has developed to be “a little Mary Antoinette” who is squandering developmental funds or rather funds that could be appropriated to national socio-economic development on frivolous and squander-maniac endeavours. It is a fact that because of factionalism within the party, government expenditure has approximately doubled ever since the dismissal of the Mujuru Faction.

This is largely driven by the fact that factional politics in ZANU-PF has stretched for quite a long time, starting from the struggle for independence from British colonial rule in the 1960s and increased significantly in the 1970s when Mugabe assumed the leadership of the former guerrilla movement. Mugabe, who is now 92 years old, has been the leader of Zimbabwe since 1980 and the leader of ZANU-PF since 1977 and the veteran politician has declared that he has no immediate plans to leave active politics and office. The struggle for Mugabe’s succession has been dominated by two factions, one led by Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa under the name, ‘Team Lacoste’ and another led by Vice President PhelekezelaMphoko known as ‘Generation 40 or G40’ alleged to be loyal to First Lady Grace Mugabe seeking to outwit each other at any available opportunity. Neither of these groups seems to have more than an instrumental interest in supporting democratization and inclusive economic development in Zimbabwe. Both sides seek control because they have accrued substantial wealth, which requires enormous political power to maintain, protect, entrench,

and expand. The conflict between these factions is worsened by Mugabe's continuous refusal to facilitate a democratic process to elect a successor.

1). Factionalism and Economic Development

Classical studies on the subjects in question have premised that degenerative factionalism in a one-party dominant "Third World" state turns out to be extremely expensive. This has been aptly brought forward by Gono (2014) who argues that factional tendencies within Zimbabwe's political parties have affected the economic policy platform in the country, especially the power struggles within the ruling party, ZANU-PF.

This is to say that factionalism within ZANU-PF has in all corners overburdened the country's economic growth endeavour. In fact, factional driven endeavours have presented a direct expense to the national purse. Moreover these fights have delayed socio-economic transformation agendas.

This is to say that the factional motivated firing of ministers and accompanying cabinet reshuffles have had far-reaching financial implications and strained an already troubled treasury. The ministers have taken away with them expensive vehicles that government would have bought for them, in addition to other "golden handshakes" (Not forgetting the fact that former Vice-president, Joice Mujuru remains on government pay-roll). Those that replace them have received new cars, new houses or, as in several current cases that include Phelekezela Mphoko and Makhosini Hlongwane, the sports minister, booked into five star hotels for extended periods, (Zhuwao, 2015). Fired ministers do not immediately vacate accommodation provided by government, which means that they may continue to incur rental, communication, power and other utility expenses that taxpayers must unwillingly and unknowingly meet. To add on to all this nonsense, the relocation expenses involved, particularly for those replacements that would have lived outside Harare hitherto, not to

mention obstinate damage of property. Needless to say, by-elections cost millions of dollars, consume scarce time that must be spent on production and, of course, keep the country in an election mode and therefore instigating a cycle of anxiety and uncertainty.

The factional fights have also given rise to prosecutions, police investigations, in-the-week rallies and many dark alley meetings involving government officials, civil service employees, security details and cabinet ministers, all who need fuel, food and accommodation and ultimately abandon their work-stations and neglect production and service delivery. Government employees hardly do their work as they attend to factional concerns and censor themselves from making professional and economy-friendly decisions for fear of being labelled as belonging to this or the other faction and are, worse still, involving themselves in outright treachery and sabotage that ultimately make economic revival a pipedream.

"The first lady's meddling in party structures has arguably fuelled and accelerated elite dis cohesion and popularised the politics of dissent within ZANU-PF," (Mandaza, 2015). In fact, ZANU-PF members are now being fired more for disrespecting the first lady than infringing the party constitution. "Statements by former war-veterans leader Jabulani Sibanda that ZANU-PF "is suffering from a bedroom coup," are a result of Grace Mugabe's 'ubiquitous political interference in party affairs beyond her realm as secretary of the Women's League', (Zindoga, 2015).

This has presented a new and dangerous system into the country's political discourse. It seems the First Lady has taken a step forward in trying to protect the Mugabe family's realm. This has brought question of the Lady's authorisation and status within the party and government against her level of influence and authority which has given her the audacity to inspire the firing of a country's Vice-President and gone further to offend a newly appointed

Vice-President. This situation may allegedly inspire sequences of Presidential sabotages in connection to socio-economic development.

In this case, this study further analyses the First Lady's spheres of influence and inspiration in order to scale the worth-ness of sacrificing a competent Vice-President at the command of a "second-wife First Lady".

2). Factionalism and Political Development

Fortunately, factionalism within ZANU-PF seems to present a political maturity era in Zimbabwe. Factionalism within the ruling party can be a platform within which democratic development can be realised in the country.

Factionalism has characterised the political landscape of dominant party systems in Southern Africa. It has defined contemporary politics in South Africa, Zimbabwe, DRC, Mozambique, among many other countries in Southern Africa. This has inspired Magaisa (2014) to identify the consequences of factionalism to the economic circles of developing countries.

In fact, factionalism should be viewed in non-exclusive terms, that is, as a dynamic process of subgroup partitioning. Harmelet *al*, (1995) argues that ".....factionalism is a fact of life within most political parties..." He adds that political parties are not monolithic structures but collective mechanisms that are characterised by competition, divided opinions and dissent which creates internal pressures. In turn, these pressures trigger the formation of factional tendencies that render the unitary actor assumption largely arguable. Therefore, factionalism is still a relatively under-studied phenomenon. This study seeks to provide an additional discourse to influence a better understanding of the concept of factionalism within the study of political science, especially within ZANU-PF's political life. The research further relates party factionalism to political economics, providing a unique and understudied phenomenon.

In recent months, factionalism has defined elections of the party's Youth League and Women's Assembly, which were marred by violence and rigged along factional lines. Mugabe's wife, Grace, has been elected chair of the ZANU-PF Women's League – an indication that she could be looking to protect her family's huge economic interests in the long term. However, her election has been opposed by the Mujuru camp, who felt that she has been pulled into the succession politics to aid the political ascendance of Mnangagwa's camp.

3). Factionalism and Social Development

These on-going power struggles within the ZANU-PF have serious political and socio-economic repercussions. And, most important of all, in these battles over power and prosperity, the voices and needs of ordinary people continue to be ignored. Once again, citizens have become subjects in Zimbabwe. Unfortunately, much of the literature surrounding the current factional tendencies within ZANU-PF does not provide a thorough examination of all the scenarios surrounding the political space of the country. The literature pays much attention to the causes and consequences of these fights to the unity aspect of political discourse. This research as mentioned earlier provides a further macro-economic examination of factionalism.

More so, the dominant approach to the study of factionalism as an independent variable has been to devise typologies based on sub-party group categories with different features. In political science, the dominant analytical approach to the study of factionalism as an independent variable has centred around typologies of intraparty groups with different attributes, dimensions and categories based on variables such as stability, organization, function and role, and occasionally group size and number (Bettcher, 2005; Hine, 1982; Janda, 1979; Rose, 1964; Sartori, 1976 and, to a lesser extent, Belloni and Beller, 1978). In

contrast, the study of factionalism as a dependent variable is guided predominantly by analytical perspectives based on behaviourism and rationalism with or without formal modelling. In this case, this study adopts the study of factionalism as a second variable to political economy. This presents a certain impact of factionalism to development, especially within developing economies.

4). Factionalism and Policy Formulation and Implementation

Moreover, policy objectives and suggestions within the party's priority areas define the formation of different factions. In fact, Budge, Ezrow and McDonald (2011) suggest that parties are ideologically based and pursue their own policies, that they are internally factionalised and operating under high levels of uncertainty. They further argue that in order to understand the policies proposed by a party, there is need to account for the balance of power between its factions and the mechanisms deployed to reduce uncertainty in manifesto writing and policy initiative development. In fact, Wafawarova (2016) provided a clear and simple definition of factionalism from James Madison who suggested that "A faction within a political party is a group of members who regularly vote together to carry decisions regarding party policy and rules; and regularly vote for candidates on faction's tickets in elections within the party." This entails that factionalism is inevitable in every political party set-up. Wafawarova (2016) added that "...it is a fact that political parties across the world are characterised by intra-group gangs competing for power, and the only difference is the level of factional viciousness". In this case, factionalism can be argued to be a true fact of political life.

Gono (2014) suggests that "Dynamics in ZANU-PF, as the ruling party, must have natural influence on national policy, governmental decisions, actions and systems. That influence is desirable only if it is positive and progressive or bona fide. The problem is that the power turf

wars in ZANU-PF have spawned retrogressive influences on national governance when they should be confined to the political institution. One negative impact that the factional fights have made relates to the functions and processes in the executive arm of government. More precisely, they have caused unwarranted and expensive firing of cabinet ministers and resultant cabinet reshuffles. For instance the expulsion of Mujuru also entailed the firing of a combined 16 full and deputy.

The study also borrows much from the article submitted by the Fitch Group Company Unit, BMI Research in its summary report on Zimbabwe Country Risk, titled “POLITICAL STABILITY KEY FOR ZIMBABWE’S GROWTH”. Unfortunately this report focused more on the consequences of factional politics within the ruling party to the country’s re-engagement efforts with the international community and multilateral lenders. It leaves out much on the policy part and corporate issues of the country’s political economy that factionalism has largely crippled. In this case, this study produces a unique appreciation of the negative impact of the ferocity of ZANU-PF factional in-fighting to national socio-economic development endeavour.

5). Factionalism and Succession Politics

Factional politics in ZANU-PF has a long history, which started during the struggle for independence from British colonial rule in the 1960s and increased significantly in the 1970s when Mugabe assumed the leadership of the former guerrilla movement. Mugabe, who is now 92 years old, has been the leader of Zimbabwe since 1980 and the leader of ZANU-PF since 1977 and the veteran politician has declared that he has no immediate plans to leave active politics and office. The struggle for Mugabe’s succession has been dominated by two factions, one led by Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa under the name, ‘Team Lacoste’ and another led by Vice President Phelekezela Mphoko known as ‘Generation 40 or G40’

alleged to be loyal to First Lady Grace Mugabe seeking to outwit each other at any available opportunity. Neither of these groups seems to have more than an instrumental interest in supporting democratization and inclusive economic development in Zimbabwe. Both sides seek control because they have accrued substantial wealth, which requires enormous political power to maintain, protect, entrench, and expand. The conflict between these factions is worsened by Mugabe's continuous refusal to facilitate a democratic process to elect a successor.

2.2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This part of the study develops a concept that inspires this research. It develops and provides the theories that influenced this study. Most importantly, the concepts that are developed are binding throughout this research. In fact, this section can be argued to be the heart of the study. In this case, the study will follow concepts that are binding on the two important variables of the study, which are, factionalism and political economy. The chapter provides a conceptual examination of the primary variable 'factionalism' and infuses a theory of political economics that is in this case, argued to be related to factionalism. The development of a conceptual understanding of the phenomenon, 'factionalism' is adopted from Boucek (2010) who suggests that, "factionalism may acquire different faces, in different parties and at different times". In this case, this study adopted a classical conceptualisation of factionalism, dividing it into the three main classical understandings of the phenomenon, which are, competitive factionalism or (schismatic factionalism), cooperative factionalism (also understood as common factionalism), degenerative factionalism or (pervasive factionalism). Explanations on the advantages and disadvantages of the phenomenon will further be addressed in the developments of these theories. Moreover, this study provides a Keynesian theory that will be infused in the above mentioned theories and evaluate how "out

of hand factionalism” can hibernate national expenditure, a scenario which is largely dismissed by the mentioned political economy theory.

2.2.1: Cooperative Factionalism

This approach suggests that factionalism can develop a cooperative structure within a political party, based on the developments of different social group opinions and policy initiatives. This assumption stems up from the fact that political parties are made up of members arising from a variety of social classes who push for their social concerns to appear on the party’s agenda, hence these groups and their diverse opinions integrate to develop an appeal for national concern and manifesto building. This face of factionalism has been developed by Boucek (2009) who suggested that a factional structure has the ability to upsurge the collective capability of political parties and to facilitate intra-party cooperation where centripetal motivations occur. By providing a structure of cooperation between separate intra-party groups, factionalism can diversify party appeals and accelerate party integration. To the extent that factions articulate the opinions and policy preferences of separate societal groups and mobilize separate memberships and communities of interests within a single organization, they can play a constructive role in building integrated parties. This type of factionalism often results from a primordial sorting-out process when a democracy or a party becomes established. Political elites and followers with convergent preferences and attitudes, but who belong to separate political groups (but are located on the same side of a salient political cleavage), often emerge as key actors during periods of political change, such as regime change, transition to democracy, party system realignment, party mergers and party splits. A factional structure may have a role to play in enabling these groups to retain their separate identities and memberships during party consolidation and sometimes beyond. In a nutshell, factionalism has the potential to be consensus building.

Moreover, it is important to add that there is also an element of human psychology in the partitioning of a party into separate factions and which may reflect cultural norms. In large groups and organizations, people with common traits, strong family ties, powerful community loyalties, or simply common interests and convergent preferences are driven, sometimes spontaneously, to partition themselves into separate groups. Political parties are no exception, especially big-tent parties under two-party dynamics where there is a premium on party unity. Humans are tribal social beings who try to fit in with the group. However, as individuals they have a natural desire to differentiate themselves from the mass. For politicians, factional affiliation can fulfil this need for identity, particularly in ‘big-tent’ parties, where lack of recognition by voters and co-partisans can be problematic for ambitious office-seekers. In sum, as long as it facilitates cooperation, factionalism can be good for parties and for democracy. However, cooperative factionalism can be difficult to sustain in the long run because centrifugal incentives may change the direction of intra-party competition, which can threaten party unity.

This form of factionalism is a general type, used in defining fundamental differences between subgroups in nation-states. These subgroups are well established, and confront each other as a result of the failure of a larger group (Lewellen, 1983). Anthropologists such as Nicholas stress that these are defined as small groups with strong ties instead of broader groups. He argues that when such groups grow beyond interpersonal relationships, they can no longer be defined as a faction (Nicholas in Swartz, 1966). This can be infused in this study as marking the pre-mature state of factionalism within ZANU-PF which was largely contained but allowed to grow into the following kind of factionalism which may mark another stage of the phenomenon that was left to grow until it erupted into an uncontained giant that has ruined the party and nation at large.

2.2.2: Competitive (Schismatic) Factionalism

As has been provided above, fractionalization of a party into competing factions, after the formative stage, is often associated with centrifugal competition resulting from internal disagreement or the effects of institutional incentives (or both). In contrast to cooperative factionalism, which indicates merging cleavages and fusion, competitive factionalism indicates fragmentation and splits. While factional competition is not necessarily a bad thing, it can be difficult to manage. Divergent factional preferences and polarized party opinion create splitting pressures and loosen intra-party ties as factions become opposed rather than simply separate. In addition, too much fragmentation complicates decision-making and the enactment of coherent policy packages. Evidence shows that political parties often become polarized because of deep-seated issues that are difficult to integrate within party ideology.

It also concerns the fault lines between segments within large groups or coalitions. Disputes that start at a small level expand to a larger context that involves the entire society or state, which can lead to rebellion or even civil war (Siegel and Beals, 1960).

This type of factionalism is mostly episodic but destabilizing for parties and for governments. If party fragmentation is not kept in check, competitive factionalism may produce negative outcomes that threaten party unity. It is well acknowledged that electoral systems which allow intra-party competition can be responsible for institutionalizing factionalism.

In most cases, competition is good because it sharpens performance. Evidence suggests that competitive factionalism can improve party performance, policymaking and intra-party democracy. By articulating different policy positions, factions can indicate to party leaders which policies are acceptable or which are not (Bowler et al., 1999) and they can facilitate coalition-bargaining under minority government (Laver and Shepsle, 1996, 1999; Maor, 1998). Factions have the potential to broaden choices for voters and party followers by

providing a mechanism of internal differentiation between leadership candidates and their respective agendas. Factions can also moderate party leaders' policy stances and promote the nomination of moderate politicians in legislatures and governments. Moreover, a factional structure can empower party grassroots, activists, politicians and the rank and file by giving them a stake in party decision-making. Factions can provide group members with the means to communicate with their leaders and hold them to account. In addition, competitive factionalism may offer long-term management solutions to leaders of complex parties that monopolize government for a long time. By providing a method of elite circulation, factionalism can rejuvenate democratic politics in sub-competitive party systems.

However, without adequate safeguards, factional competition can become excessive. Hence, to keep factional pressures under control leaders are required to be vigilant to this risk and to listen to the concerns of dissenting groups within their parties.

2.2.3: Degenerative (Pervasive) Factionalism

This form of factionalism can be argued to be apex of any organisational infighting. It is the last in the sequence of factional divisionism. It is rather descriptive and easily explained by its very naming. Perverse incentives and mismanagement can cause factionalism to degenerate and, in a worst-case scenario, may destroy a party. There are three main dangers attached to giving factions official status as legitimate units of intra-party representation and decision-making: excessive fragmentation, privatized incentives and faction embeddedness. Delegating power to factions may encourage them to grow, and failure to put a check on this growth risks creating collective action dilemmas inside parties. The fragmentation and diffusion of power complicates the extraction of majorities and may transform factions into veto players.

Factional capture risks triggering a destructive cycle of factionalism, and parties that monopolize power for a long time are particularly exposed to this risk. In the fullness of time, the single-minded pursuit of factional goals creates public bad, such as unaccountable governments and wasted public resources, which can transform a party into a value-destroying brand.

This type of factionalism is a way to describe the continual degradation of trust within societies that gives way to reliance on factional groups until a formal power structure is established (Lewellen, 1983).

This sequence of the development of factionalism can best explain ZANU-PF in its current state. The party has gone through all the above discussed faces of factionalism and is on the verge of approaching the final and ultimate stage of this phenomenon, that is, destruction. Unfortunately, before reaching the stage of destruction, the party is believed to produce an unaccountable government and wasted public resources, as mentioned above. The worst part of it, is that Zimbabwe is a struggling third world economy whose current economic status should not be permitted to tolerate such irresponsible political mediocrity, as showcased by the ruling party, ZANU-PF. This makes up the theoretical outlook of this research.

2.2.4: Keynesian Theories of Economics

These are the various theories about how in the short run, and especially during recessions, economic output is strongly influenced by aggregate demand (total spending in the economy). In the Keynesian view, aggregate demand does not necessarily equal the productive capacity of the economy; instead, it is influenced by a host of factors and sometimes behaves erratically, affecting production, employment, and inflation.

The theories forming the basis of Keynesian economics were first presented by the British economist John Maynard Keynes during the Great Depression in his 1936 book, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. Keynes contrasted his approach to the aggregate supply-focused classical economics that preceded his book. The interpretations of Keynes that followed are contentious and several schools of economic thought claim his legacy.

Keynesian economists often argue that private sector decisions sometimes lead to inefficient macroeconomic outcomes which require active policy responses by the public sector, in particular, monetary policy actions by the central bank and fiscal policy actions by the government, in order to stabilize output over the business cycle. Keynesian economics advocates a mixed economy – predominantly private sector, but with a role for government intervention during recessions.

Keynesian economics served as the standard economic model in the developed nations during the later part of the Great Depression, World War II, and the post-war economic expansion (1945–1973), though it lost some influence following the oil shock and resulting stagflation of the 1970s. The advent of the financial crisis of 2007–08 caused resurgence in Keynesian thought, which continues as new Keynesian economics.

Keynes argued that the solution to the Great Depression was to stimulate the country ("inducement to invest") through some combination of two approaches:

1. A reduction in interest rates (monetary policy), and
2. Government investment in infrastructure (fiscal policy).

If the interest rate at which businesses and consumers can borrow is decreased, investments which were previously uneconomic become profitable, and large consumer sales which are normally financed through debt (such as houses, automobiles, and, historically, even

appliances like refrigerators) become more affordable. A principle function of central banks in countries which have them is to influence this interest rate through a variety of mechanisms which are collectively called *monetary policy*. This is how monetary policy which reduces interest rates is thought to stimulate economic activity, that is "grow the economy," and why it is called *expansionary* monetary policy.

Expansionary fiscal policy consists of increasing net public spending, which the government can effect by a) taxing less, b) spending more, or c) both. Investment and consumption by government raises demand for businesses' products and for employment, reversing the effects of the aforementioned imbalance. If desired spending exceeds revenue, the government finance the difference by borrowing from capital markets by issuing government bonds. This is called deficit spending. Two points are important to note at this point. First, deficits are not required for expansionary monetary policy, and second, it is only *change* in net spending that can stimulate or depress the economy. For example, if a government ran a deficit of 10% both last year and this year, this would represent neutral fiscal policy. In fact, if it ran a deficit of 10% last year and 5% this year, this would actually be contractionary. On the other hand, if the government ran a surplus of 10% of GDP last year and 5% this year that would be expansionary fiscal policy, despite never running a deficit at all.

In the price mechanism of neoclassical economics, it is predicted that, in a competitive market, if demand for a particular good or service falls, that would immediately cause the price for that good or service to fall, which in turn would decrease supply and increase demand, thereby bringing them back to equilibrium. A central conclusion of Keynesian economics, in strong contrast to the previously dominant models of neoclassical synthesis, is that there are some situations in which a depressed economy would not quickly self-correct towards full employment and potential output, but could remain trapped indefinitely with

both high unemployment and mothballed factories. To the observation that these were, in fact, the prevailing conditions throughout the industrialized world for many years during the Great Depression, classical models could only conclude that it was a temporary aberration. The purpose of Keynes' theory was to show such conditions could, without intervention, persist in a stable, though dismal, equilibrium.

By the end of the Second World War, Keynesianism was the most popular school of economic theory in the non-Communist world. Beginning in the late 1960s, a new classical macroeconomics movement arose, critical of Keynesian assumptions, and seemed, especially in the 1970s, to explain certain phenomena better. It was characterized by explicit and rigorous adherence to micro-foundations, as well as use of increasingly sophisticated mathematical modelling. However, by the late 1980s, certain failures of the new classical models, both theoretical and empirical hastened the emergence of New Keynesian economics, a school which sought to unite the most realistic aspects of Keynesian and neo-classical assumptions and place them on more rigorous theoretical foundation than ever before.

Interpretations of Keynes have emphasized his stress on the international coordination of Keynesian policies, the need for international economic institutions, and the ways in which economic forces could lead to war or could promote peace.

In this case, the Keynesian theories seem to be the best conceptual framework that can explain how factionalism and extra-ordinary government spending has crippled Zimbabwe's economy. The theory's emphasis on government policy is stringent in this case. It explains how factionalism which has driven a policy paralysis in the country has stalemated socio-economic transformation in Zimbabwe. This is the focus of this research and has been best

expanded and inspired by the concept in question, that is the Keynesian Theories of economics.

This chapter has been focused on revealing the conceptual frameworks that inspire this study. The chapter revealed the theories that centre on the two basic variables of this research, which are factionalism within ZANU-PF and the political economy of Zimbabwe. For the primary variable, factionalism, the chapter highlighted the Cooperative theory of factionalism that suggests that takes the face of political party cooperation arising from different factions that work towards one goal. The chapter provided a chronological sequence of the development of the phenomenon which may lead to the ultimate destruction of a political party, which in this case is believed to be the road which ZANU-PF is following. Moreover the section concludes with the supply of a political economics theory which centres on developing government policy directions as important to national development and economic stability, which in this case has been failed by the struggling ZANU-PF which has shown mediocrity in socio-economic development initiatives.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0: Introduction

This chapter justifies the conclusions developed by this study. It is the section that alerts the reader of the ways used to gather the information used to induce the writer's analysis. The chapter reveals the method used to collect data which ascertains the impact of factionalism to the political economic outlook of Zimbabwe. It describes and justifies the qualitative research methodology used to provide answers on the subjects under study. The chapter also provides the research design employed to select relevant information and the personnel responsible for providing the necessary data for further analysis to the area under study. It further describes how data was collected from the personnel relevant in providing information for the subject in question. Finally, it describes the data analysis procedures employed in this study.

3.1: Methodology

The research employed a qualitative method which involved a systematic investigation that included an inductive, in-depth understanding of the subjects under investigation. This was borrowed from (Thyer 2001 and Creswell (2009) who defined qualitative research as a means of exploring and understanding the meaning, individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human process. A qualitative research approach was suitable for this study because the researcher sought to understand the actual explanatory impact of factionalism on political economics. The method allowed direct dialogue between the researcher and the political figures involved in this divisionism. It included a direct connection with ZANU-PF party structures from grass-root to national level, including a series of active economists in the country. The researcher investigated expert views and perceptions concerning the impact of factionalism on the development of Zimbabwe.

According to Creswell (2009), qualitative researchers tend to collect data in the natural setting at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study.

Consequently, this study was throughout Zimbabwe, with particular focus on ZANU-PF structures and national government. In this case data was collected mostly informally from participants due to the sensitivity of the subjects under discussion. In this research project, the researcher was interested in the perspectives attached to and experiences of politicians, economists and the general citizenry in the areas under study. Thus, qualitative research seeks to explain the meaning of social phenomena through exploring the ways in which individuals understand their social worlds (Boeije 2010). This marked the selection of this method since it enabled the author to record and then evaluate how factionalism has worsened Zimbabwe's economic quandary.

This research method was most suitable for the field under study, rather than the quantitative method because it drives interpretations and evaluations from the women's perspective. Unlike quantitative researchers who seek causal determination, prediction, and generalization of findings, qualitative researchers instead seek illumination, understanding of human responses to a situation (Hoepfl, 1997), as done for this study. This was also the aim of the researcher's use of the qualitative method in this study.

3.2: Research Design

Research design is a process whereby an investigator puts a research study together to solve to solve a question or a list of questions. It works as an organized plan detailing the study, the researchers' ways of collection, information on how the study will get its conclusions and the limitations of the research. According to Bryman (2004) research design is an aspect of a phenomenological study design to research guide data collection and analysis. Basically, research design is a plan of action before actual work on the project is carried out. Kumar (2011) defined it as a plan strategy of investigation so conceived as a obtain answer to research questions and problem.

For further or better understanding on factionalism in ZANU PF and Zimbabwe's Political Economy, qualitative research will be predominantly used in this study since it is appropriate and it enables the researcher to collect in-depth information. The researcher will use the open ended-structured questionnaires and in-depth interview methods to collect data for this study.

In the view of Makore-Rukuni, (2001) the research design would be mainly qualitative because its principal objective is to "bring out data on people's experiences, their feelings, challenges, and emotions using flexible language". This perception is shared by McLeod (1994) who views qualitative research as "a process of systematic inquiry into the meanings, which people employ to make sense of their experience and guide their actions". What the authors suggest is that the qualitative paradigm attempts to understand the situation in its original context. There is concurrence with these propositions in that if the data is to be interpreted, it should not be in isolation to its context. In actual fact, it is the context that determines the meaning of data.

Hadley and Mitchell (1994) justify the use and appropriateness of the qualitative research design citing that this method is concerned with behaviour. Since behaviour occurs within a context, it also follows that data should be understood within its context in order to get the insights of the problem under investigation. Thus, this design was selected with a view to assess the reality of the analysis of factionalism in ZANU PF and Zimbabwe's Political Economy.

3.3: Target Population

Target population is the aggregate of all possible elements for which results are required. It is the part of the population most suitable for giving out the required results for the research. In fact, McMillan and Schumacher (2010) posit that “a (study) population is a group of elements or cases, whether individuals, objects or events that conforms to specific criteria and to which we intend to generalise the result of the research.

The population for this study targeted specific experts in politics and economics. This was done for the assumption that the two cannot be separated in the African political landscape, especially in Zimbabwe’s political economic spectrum. In this case, the research in in-self will include a wide range of the targeted population because of the lot of information that will be needed to justify the some-what complicated conclusions of this study. The target population, guaranteed by a probability measure were enough to guarantee an estimate of the situation on the ground in line with the subject in question.

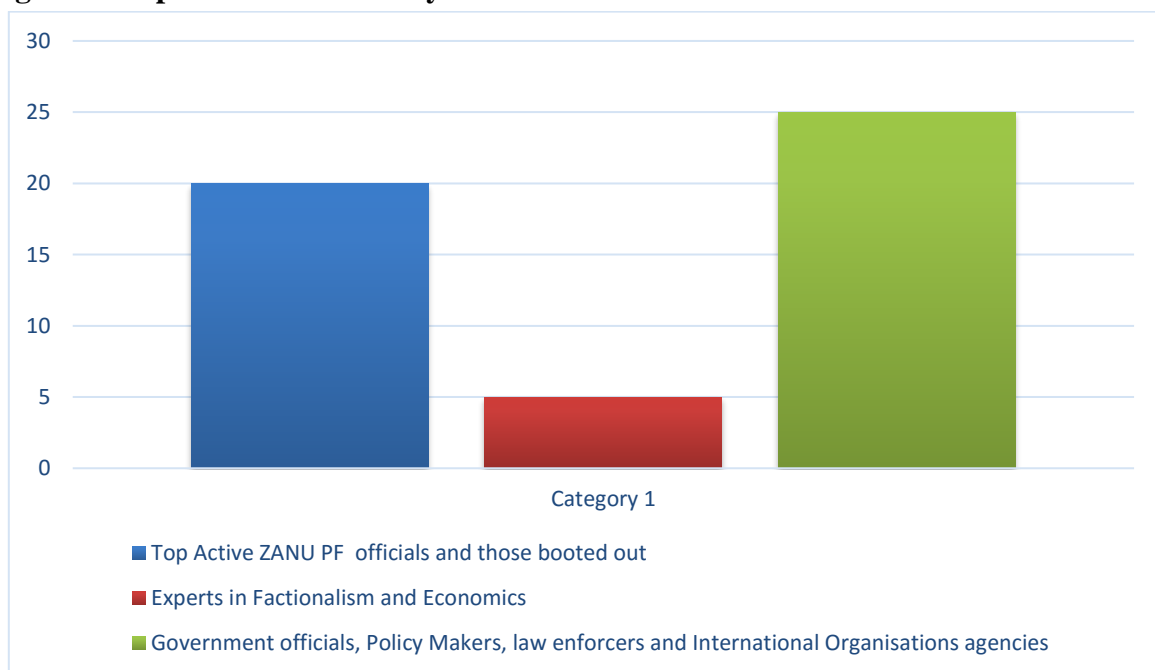
In this case, the study had a target population of 50 participants, covering all the intended methods of data collection, which are, interviews and survey. These participants were equally distributed in terms of gender and class. A total of 20 participants will be top officials within the ruling party ZANU-PF, 5 are intended to be experts in factionalism and economics. The remaining 25 participants will involve top government officials in their professional governance status and not as party participants; policy makers, law enforcers and international organisations’ agencies. Below is a table which presents target population size of 50 participants.

Table 1: Target Population

Stratum	Total Participants	Intended to be interviewed
Active ZANU PF officials and those booted out	25	✓
Economist and Factional experts	5	✓
Top government officials, policy makers, international organisations agencies	20	✓

The above can also be shown in form of a bar graph as illustrated by:-

Fig.1 Participants distribution by size



3.4: Sampling

A sample can be defined as a minor fragment of whatsoever designed to show the elegance, quality and a nature of the whole, Ferber (1994). Kothari (2009) views a sample as apportioning of the population that is epitomes of its general characteristics. It is rather a way or process whereby individuals are selected from the targeted population. This study will therefore, engage a stratified sampling method under probability sampling and purposive sampling (which is also termed convenient /judgmental sampling) under the non-probability sampling technique.

3.4.1:Purposive/ Judgemental Sampling

Kumar (2011) writes that purposive or judgemental sampling *is the judgement of the researchers as to who can provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study.* He alludes that this type of sampling is extremely useful when one wants to construct a historical reality, describe a phenomenon or develop something about which only a little is known (Kumar, 2011). In this case, not every member of the population will be quantifiable for reasons of cost and time limit. This form of sampling shall be seen as the deliberate collection of an amount of participants who are to provide data since one will magnet conclusion about some group.

3.4.2: Simple Random Sampling

According to O'Leary (2004) *random sampling relies on random selection, or the process by which each element in a population has an equal chance of selection and it is a process that eliminates researcher bias and allows for statistical estimates of representatives.* She goes on to note that simple random sampling is *the simplest type of random sampling because within a designated population all elements have an equal chance of inclusion, and this is considered fair and allows findings to be generalized* (O'Leary, 2004). The aim of random sampling is to *“keep sampling error at a minimum”* The study adopted a form of structural

random sampling which had a wide Enumeration Area, within the political and economics' landscape of Zimbabwe.

3.5: Sample Size

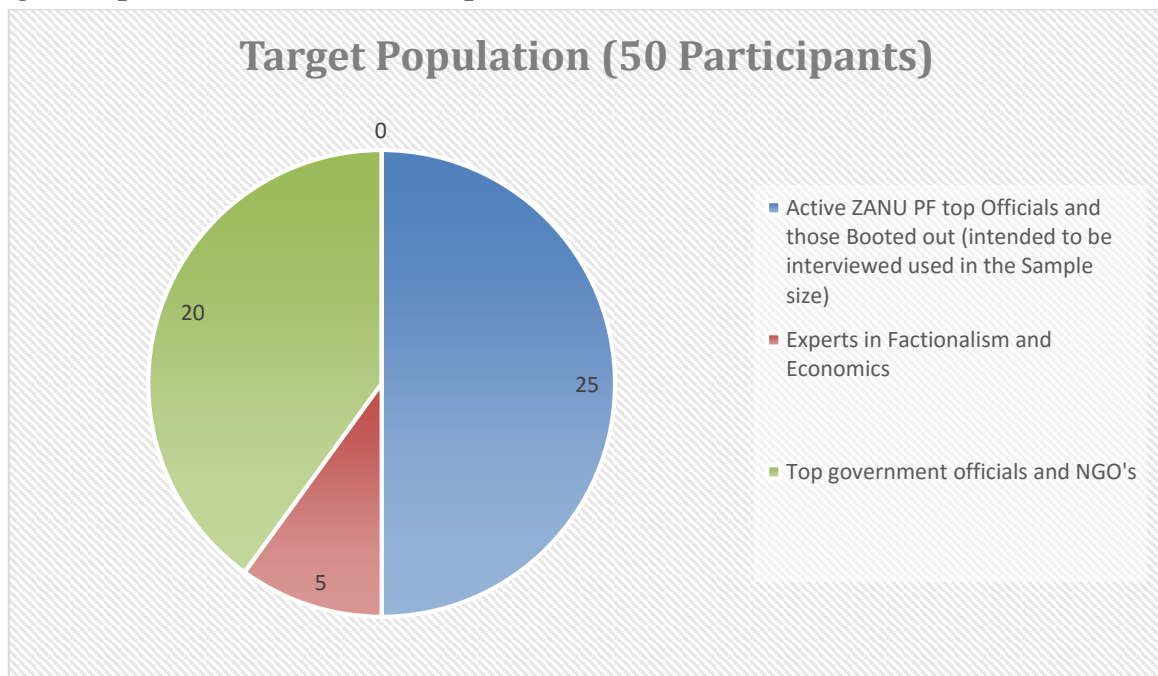
It would be difficult for the researcher to investigate all the people from which conclusions are to be drawn. The researcher would find it difficult to interview every member of the studied population; hence the researcher may select a sample from the country's political landscape, particularly among ZANU-PF's top officials. In this study, the population constituted of 50 participants, as given above. This synthesised 25 active ZANU-PF top officials and among them, those booted out of the party. This was all done to ascertain the actual impact of factional politics in complicating the policy formulation cycle in the Zimbabwean government. Cohen *et al* (2006) observes that too large a sample might become unwieldy and too small a sample might be unrepresentative. The selected sample was representative of the active population in ZANU-PF's factional politics. Below table shows the constituted 50 Participants with only 25 active ZANU PF top officials and those booted out being used.

Table 2: Intended participants to be interviewed.

Stratum	Total Participants	Intended to be interviewed
Active ZANU PF officials and those booted out	25	✓
Economist and Factional experts	5	✗
Top government officials, policy makers, international organisations agencies	20	✗

The above can also be shown in form of a pie chart as illustrated by:-

Fig. 2: Population used for the sample size.



3.6: Sample Design

A random sampling technique was used such that the sample of participants taken from the population would include participants from all facets of political life in the ruling party. The randomly sampled population was appropriate in carrying out this particular study so as to get the diverse views from people, especially those booted out of ZANU-PF and those observing the proceedings from the side-lines. Under this method, a simple random sampling was done where the process of selecting a sample gave every unit a chance of selection. The simple random sampling method complemented the snowballing method. This involved the selection of participants at random as alluded to by Blaxter *et al* (2006).

Denscombe (1998) notes that “snow balling is an effective technique for building up a reasonable-sized sample...” These different sampling methods enabled the researcher to get different views from different people on the subject under study. These methods were specifically employed because of the sensitivity of the subjects in question. The snow ball method will involve enquiring from interviewed participants on who to interview next.

3.7: Data Gathering Methods

Interviews, questionnaires, personal observation and reference from documented texts are the intended data collection methods for this research. The researcher will also make use of the norms, values, and proceedings of the area under study to complement the findings. Thus the researcher will recognise the importance of the need to exercise the research ethics in an effort to make this research a success. The data collection methods are explained in detail below.

3.7.1: Interviews

The research is intended to involve a sequence of in-depth and informal interviews based on a snow ball selection procedure. This will include consulting a respondent on who to interview

next, as mentioned above. This will be done because of the sensitivity and confidentiality of the subjects under discussion. In fact, Bhattacharjee (2012) postulated that interviews are a more personalised form of data collection than questionnaires and are conducted by trained interviewers using the same research protocol as questionnaire surveys, that is, standardised set of questions. The researcher is thus required to make a diligent use of research ethics in this instance. These will include assurance of confidentiality, informed consent as well as anonymity as salient, among others. According to Fox (2009) there are various skills interviews need, in order to obtain valuable data. These are, establishing a good understanding with the person being interviewed, adopting a non-judgemental approach and developing effective listening skills.

As mentioned above, 25 interviews will be conducted and the majority of them on an informal basis. These interviews will include 10 for ZANU-PF top officials who are actively referenced in factional fights. A total of 3 interviewees are intended to be those big giants that were booted out of the party. A total of 4 interviews will also be conducted with policy makers and top government officials to ascertain the destruction that ZANU-PF factional fights have posed to government business. In this case, 4 economists will also be interviewed to develop a concept in which the researcher would ascertain how factionalism has influenced the outlook of Zimbabwe's economy. Two participants will also be interviewed from the international organisations responsible in monitoring political and economic stability in Zimbabwe. The remaining 5 participants will be drawn from experts in factionalism and economics.

3.7.2: Observations

This study also owes a lot to personal observations to be made by the researcher. This process will guarantee a first person involvement of the writer to the events as they unfold. In fact, the researcher will act as an active member of the party and attend party rallies of the party

under investigation, which is ZANU-PF. Conclusions to be drawn from these observations will ensure a direct link between the writer and the subject under discussion. The assumption inspiring the writer to actively engage in this observation process is that factionalism within the party has come out in the open and top officials for the party attack each other even in their scheduled public gatherings. This process will also allow the researcher to setup intended targets for interviews and schedule the interviewees for appointments.

Unfortunately, personal observations are usually clouded with the deficiency of misjudgement which the researcher will diligently take into consideration and try to limit. Limitations of disillusionments will be comprehended by a double observation process which will involve the inclusion of a second colleague observer to accompany the writer. This will enable a double observation scheme which will allow a neutral and scientific judgement, hence authenticating the writer's conclusions.

3.7.3: Questionnaire

As provided above, this research will involve a survey questionnaire of 25 participants who would have been left out in the interview process. These participants will include ZANU-PF grass root structures, the general public in Zimbabwe, civil servants and law enforcers. The mixture of these participants who will participate in a single similar survey will ensure opinion of different structures of the society and enable an unbiased analysis of ZANU-PF's factional fights and their impact on the country's political economy. This questionnaire will encompass 17 survey questions to be presented to the above mentioned participants and will enable a diverse and empirical investigation.

3.7.4: Written Texts

Since the year the topic in question has been extensively explored, especially by Zimbabwean scholars. In this case, this study will borrow much from these articles. A stringent analysis of some texts especially by Zimbabwean scholars will be made to allow a diverse judgement of the issues concerned. In fact, factionalism has become a topical issue for most intellectuals and this has allowed the existence of a variety of documentation at the disposal of this study's writer.

3.8.: Ethical Considerations

This was a scientific qualitative research which involved widespread human interaction and access to confidential information which requires a diligent adoption of privacy. Principles of research morality were be diligently taken into consideration with honesty, integrity, distinctiveness, straight- forwardness and uniqueness adopted as the principal motivations that guided the composition of this study. All data and information of this study have been and will continue to be held in strictest confidentiality required in qualitative research.

3.9: Conclusion

This chapter has been a justification of this study's findings. It justifies the process through which these findings were realised. The chapter has presented the methods used to gather information for the subject in question. It highlighted the professional measures taken to justify the scientificness which underlines this research's findings. In this case, the chapter had the purpose of providing the qualitative methodology used for this study. It presented the total population sample used to provide answers to the researcher's questions. The research focused on the targeted components of the subject in question, that is ZANU-PF top officials and under-fire ZANU-PF members, together with those thrown out of the party. Therefore,

this chapter has managed to purposefully defend the method used to collect data for this study and justify the researcher's findings and conclusions.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA REPRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0: Introduction

This chapter presents the main focus of this study, focused on answering the research questions and realising the research objectives discussed earlier. The chapter discusses the two reference points presented by the chapter topic itself, which are, “data presentation and analysis.” In this case, data analysis has been defined by Holliday (2002:99) as the process of making sense of, sifting, organizing, cataloguing, selecting determining themes-processing the data. Data obtained was in its raw and complex state, hence it is the task of the researcher to juggle, organize and interpret the information. This is basically a shift from social reality to an act of interpretation. Responses and views obtained through questionnaires and interviews will be analysed and categorized accordingly. Most of the views will also be presented in form of graphs and charts to simplify and explain findings.

The chapter presents the research findings motivated by the previously provided qualitative methodology employed to gather the information that inspires the scientific provisions of this chapter. It highlights the employed sequence of data presentation and analysis. The chapter reveals the political culture endorsed by ZANU-PF to the Zimbabwean society. It describes every component of ZANU-PF’s factional fights and the consequences on the prioritisation of socio-economic development. The researcher’s aim was to present a unique appreciation and evaluation of factionalism and its land-marking effects on the free-flow of Zimbabwe’s economy. This is clearly brought out in this chapter together with the basic provisions to mitigate political culturalism to state economic building. In this case, this chapter justifies the writer’s conclusions and recommendations, guided by the research exercise’s results presented hereby.

4.1 QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE RATE

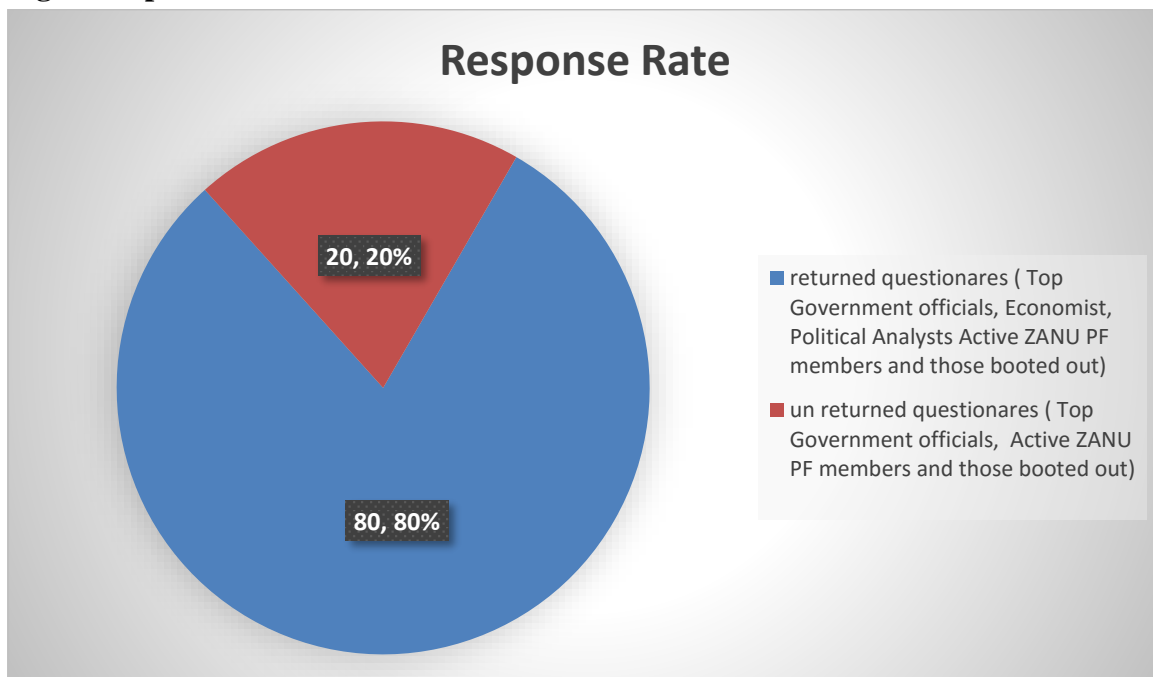
Table 3: Questionnaire Response Rate

Stratum	Administered questionnaires	Number of those who responded	Number of those who did not respond	%Response Rate
Active ZANU PF members and those booted out	25	19	6	76
Top Government Officials	20	16	4	80
Experts, Political Analysts, etc.	5	5	0	100
Total	50	40	10	80

Source: Survey

The above can also be illustrated by the pie chart below;

Fig 3: Response Rate



Source: Survey

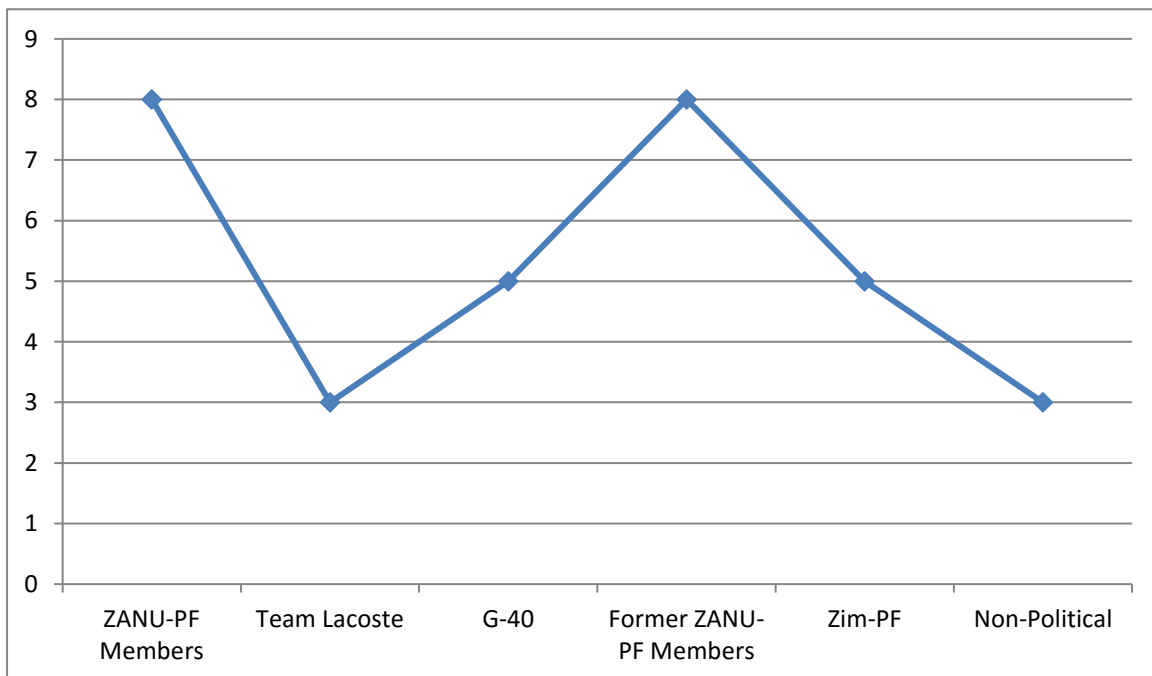
The chart shows that a total of 40 participants responded to the research exercise out of an intended 50 participants. This means that an 80% response rate was achievable from the research exercise. This is a positive response rate considering the confidential nature of the

subjects under study. A majority of Non-ZANU-PF members were not available for questioning largely due to fear of being labelled a factionally motivated government official. Fortunately enough, the participative members of the civil service in this study's research exercise provided very helpful answers to the research questions, hence authenticating the findings of this research.

4.2: Factional Political Affiliation of the Respondents

Respondents to the study's research exercise were categorised into three clusters including Government Officials, selected apolitically, intellectual experts on factionalism and ZANU-PF or former ZANU-PF members who were expelled from the party. In this respect, this section explores the political association of the latter so as to ascertain a balanced response sequence and avoid a biased examination guided by political belonging.

Fig 4: Response Rate as per Factional Affiliation



Source: Survey

This graph reveals that among the 16 politically active participants to this research, 8 are currently still members of ZANU-PF, and among the 8, 3 are affiliated to one faction in the name of “Team Lacoste” or a faction loyal to the current Vice-President Emmerson Mnangagwa, whilst 5 are associated to the G-40 group loyal to the First Lady, Grace Mugabe and the other Vice-President, Phelekezela Mphoko. The other 8 participants are former ZANU-PF members, expelled from the party and among them, 5 have become members of the newly formed party, Zimbabwe People First or Zim-PF, whilst 3 have quit politics. As suggested above, this was done to provide a balanced evaluation of the subjects under review.

4.3: Factional characteristics and complexities in ZANU PF.

Factionalism within ZANU-PF, especially in the 21st century has proven to be a well organised, cohesive and durable system. This is especially proven by the fact that a majority of the members thrown out of the party have organised themselves into an opposition movement. It is clear that characteristics of factionalism in ZANU PF are hiring and firing, policy inconsistency and divisional slogans. *Statistically 60% of the respondents are of the view that factionalism in ZANU PF is being perpetuated by succession politics and the unconstitutional acts assed by other bigwigs in the ruling party and 40% are of the view that factionalism has manifested itself from failure to enhance political development, government inadequacy to offer social services and policy paralysis.*

In fact, the ruling party’s continuous persistence to hinder the image and reputation of the booted out members can be further proof that the factional fights which have separated ZANU-PF and seen the existence of a new political party in the name of Zimbabwe People First were well organised, cohesive and still durable. Such a scenario has pushed this research to adopt a descriptive and interpretive presentation of the study’s data. Key themes or subjects that emerge from the research have been presented in separate sections for a focused

appreciation of the investigation and its findings. Simple, coherent and user-friendly data presentation that elucidated on some of the technical terms or elements of the subject matter under consideration was used.

This means that information concerning the validity and significance of the effects of accelerated factional infighting within a one-party political system, such as ZANU-PF are consequential on the free-flow of socio-economic development and general economic stability. Of course, Zimbabwe's economic outlook had already taken a sharp down turn due to other reasons exclusive to factionalism, but ZANU-PF infighting in the 21st century has further aggravated the instability of the country's economy. This entails that the political tradition endorsed by the incumbent political party are of required priority within the 2014 to 2016 Zimbabwe's political *vis-a-vis* economic outlook. Among other reasons, a lack of innovation to lure investment because of a controversial succession plan has added to the stagnation of the country's economic development. Another reason, driven out of the traditional setup of the country includes the government's failure to maintain an all-encompassing international attachment necessary for acquiring development aid from the developed, Western World.

In this case, this study followed a thematic analysis sequence which Quest (1999) argues that "it moves beyond counting explicit words or phrases, and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, construction of themes. Thematic analysis is the most commonly used data analysis method in qualitative research. This method of data analysis was therefore used to distil the acquired data in order to abstract meaning and sense with regular attention to the research questions.

4.4: Factionalism and Political Tradition Created by ZANU-PF

The ruling party, ZANU-PF from 1980 to date has managed to create a political system marred by conflict, violence and political patronage in Zimbabwe. This has made the party seem as if it is the only source of administration and human survival in the country. Political Tradition can be defined as shared beliefs in the rights of property, the philosophy of economic individualism and the value for competition, and they have since adopted the Capitalist culture under the socialist ideology as noted by other political analyst's respondents, *"despite the fact that there will be contentious battles"*. This has since been believed to be evidenced by on-going factional fights as Vice-President Mphoko the Choppies Supermarkets owner needs the political might to protect his business.

One of the respondents to the interview exercise urged that: *ZANU-PF has become the source of strength for all Zimbabweans. The party has presented itself in a way that primitive and uneducated rural Zimbabweans have come to believe that nothing can be done in the country without ZANU-PF.*

This has illusively made the party's First Secretary and Zimbabwe's president to believe that nothing can be done without him. Mugabe has come to a point where he believes that all other Zimbabwean citizens cannot be trusted with the country's administration, without his intervention and the governance of ZANU-PF. In fact, ZANU-PF's First Secretary strongly believes that he only has the power and authority to rule and select the next ruler for the country, a scenario which has made the party's leading officials to suggest that: *"There is no better government, but ZANU-PF"*. This has become the source of economic, political and development instability in the country. In this light, ZANU-PF's has developed a cluster of Mugabe bootlickers who can be regarded as the main source of factionalism and corruption in the country. The research revealed that the respondents from this study who are affiliated to

either ZANU-PF factions work to present themselves as the only trustworthy and loyal servants to the president, a scenario that has seen sabotaged operation of government

Another respondent cited that such a political tradition has influenced ZANU-PF intervention in all sectors of state governance and administration, a scenario which has exacerbated economic strife in Zimbabwe. The country has in that case adopted a one-party dominant rule system which is a disadvantage in national governance. Such a system has created a centralised system of state administration and worsened by the party's factional fights, administrative sabotage, corruption and socio-economic development stagnation has become the result.

4.4.1: Factionalism and Succession Politics

The political system created by ZANU-PF and discussed above has aggravated the delay in succession negotiations and has left Zimbabwe without a predictable future after Mugabe. Zimbabwe currently seems to adopt a monarchical ruling system, especially accompanied by the First Lady and self-proclaimed Doctorate holder, Grace Mugabe's campaign statements that: *“even on wheelchair, Mugabe remains Zimbabwe's ruler”*.

Factional politics has left Zimbabwe without an interested prospective ruler within ZANU-PF. The punishment of the so-called “fanning factionalism” has apprehended a plethora of Mugabe's bootlickers in the party who have played the “YES SIR” political strategy which has discouraged all other innovative, capable prospective candidates for the presidential seat within the party.

The above discussed scenario has historically led to the gradual split of ZANU-PF into many small political parts, first being the creation of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) in 1995 and then Mavambo (Kusile) formation in 2007. These movements were immaturely

thwarted because they lacked a strategic support base that recent factionally driven ZANU-PF split movements enjoy. In fact, this study has revealed that most of the opposition parties in Zimbabwe have been orchestrated by ZANU-PF loyalists who found out that the party was too bureaucratic to tolerate innovation and all power lie in the President (and his family), leaving no room for his succession. The recent split of the party which saw the formation of Zimbabwe People First (ZIM-PF) led by the former Vice-President Joice Mujuru has proved to be a big blow to the political stability of the party and has further led to a formation of two more complicated factions within the party. Such formations have proved to be expensive and draining the national treasury.

A rapid research by Afrobarometer (2014) revealed that 56% of ZANU-PF members strongly believe and wish that Mugabe rules until his death. Such sentiments have become popular within ZANU-PF and the 2013 harmonised election's campaign process revealed a new and quite primitive similarisation between Mugabe and the Biblical "Moses" character. In fact, quite a number of ZANU-PF members still believe that there is no other better ruler for Zimbabwe within or outside ZANU-PF.

One responded said that even the Party's president Cde Robert Mugabe has admitted that: *there are factions that are accusing each other, using the opposition papers to say bad things about one another....we need to stop this. Where are we going? I appeal to you to unite for the good of the party,*" This was a cry from the President to his colleagues from ZANU-PF. This appeal has been charismatically directed towards creating unity within ZANU-PF at a time when there is rampant corruption within the country and such maladministration being orchestrated by the same comrades that Mugabe appealed to unite politically with such verve and honesty.

The sad part is the President ignores the corrupt and maladministration tendencies orchestrated by his comrades and focuses more on stopping corruption at a time economic development is on a sharp decline. This has since been witnessed by Kasukuwere selling stands meant for the benefit of Youth and Jonathan Moyo abuse of ZIMDEF funds for unintended purposes.

4.4.2. Factionalism and ZANU PF's Constitution

There has been complexities around the constitutionalism of the party's constitution as the hiring and firing of members and respect for privacy has since been overlooked. The emergency of First Lady Dr Grace Mugabe "*The Mother of Revelation*" in ZANU PF politics as the secretary of Women's League has brought forward unseasoned politics within the party which has since led high factional fights. Some respondents had to say that Kasukuwere and Dr Amai Grace Mugabe had breached the law of the party on their hands during the firing members which were said to be factional as this according to the party constitution was done by the *Central Committee (C.C)* which seats once every 3 months. This firing was supposed to be done after a thorough investigation but it happened other way round as it factionally driven focusing on politicians aligned to Mnangagwa "Team Lacoste".

Such politics was also observed on ZANU PF's National Disciplinary and Appeals Committee (NDAC) which was chaired by one of the Faction leaders CdeMphoko and Dr Grace Mugabe. This has witnessed on the delay on appeals made by those aligned to Mnangagwa hence weakening the party to the much anticipated 2018 elections which have been referred to "*The Mother of all Tests*". Some analysts have since opted for a monitoring and evaluation of how some party members were removed from the party as most things were done unconstitutional.

4.4.3 ZANU PF's Constitution and Succession Question

In the event of President Mugabe's death or becoming incapacitated, developments in the ruling party's statute will have preponderance over that of the nation. ZANU-PF will have to sit down as a party and select a candidate using its own internal processes. Though initially there was a disparity, as the party's constitution was not aligned to that of the state, in December 2014, a clause was added in the amended ZANUP-PF constitution to deal with the election of a new party leader. According to section 26 (2) of the ruling party's constitution, an extraordinary session of the congress may be convened 'in the event of a vacancy occurring in the Office of National President requiring the party to nominate a successor, at the instance of the secretary for administration'. The party will then have to nominate and vote a leader who will complete the rest of the presidential term. Many analysts appear to have prematurely concluded that as vice president, Mnangagwa is better positioned to take over the party leadership. But appearances can be deceiving.

Despite the actuarial possibilities, the vice president's mere occupancy of the position does not mean that he will be automatically nominated in the event of Mugabe's death, resignation or incapacitation. As a presumptive heir, instead, this will depend on Mnangagwa's successful exercise of his position as state vice president, and those positions as the second in command of ZANU-PF, to consolidate power, and not his colleagues' acknowledgement that they must obey him because he occupies these offices. Thus, Mnangagwa needs to use these positions to institutionalise his authority in order to entrench himself within the party system if he is to stand a better chance at winning the party's nomination.

However, due to the concentration of power in the positions of the First Secretary and President of the party, in reality, Mnangagwa as deputy in both the party and state does not possess the vast powers he needs to consolidate his authority over the party in preparation for

the inevitable departure of Mugabe. As head of the party, President Mugabe has immense powers that allow him control of the main organisational and appointment machinery of the party. This is at the expense of other party institutions such as the central committee, the politburo and the office of his deputy, Mnangagwa. Hence it has showed most analysts and respondents have high hopes on Mnangagwa having high stake of Cde R.G. Mugabe, even though the problem of factionalism is being fuelled by Mugabe's failure to name his successor as this has since affected the investor opportunity in Zimbabwe and hence affects the economic development of Zimbabwe.

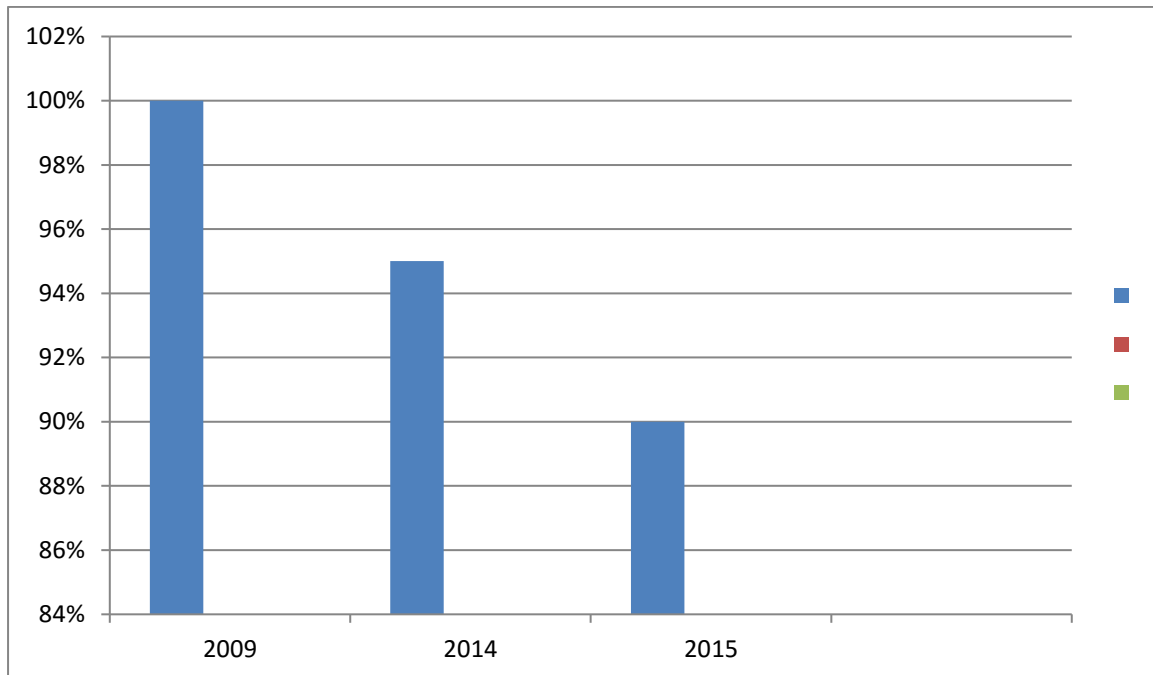
Other respondents suggested that factions and succession politics shenanigans has been orchestrated by Kasukuwere who is a G-40 moniker and they have since suggested that he must step down as Political Commissar as he does not hold war Credentials.

4.5: Factionalism as a contributing factor to Zimbabwe's poor Economic Outlook

During the period (2014 - 2015) the Zimbabwean economy exhibited weak signals on key macro-economic fundamentals, to which factional politics has a hand. Projections of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth were pegged at a moderate 3.2% for the year 2015, (Chinamasa, 2015). The major driver of weak economic performance has been argued to be the production sector whose overall capacity utilisation has continued to decline, a scenario infused by the government's lack of policy initiation mainly driven by divisionism within government operation. The sector took off in 2009 at 10% of capacity utilisation and had reached a record of 57.2% in 2011 before decreasing in 2013 to 39.6% and further decreased to 36.3 in 2014.

The manufacturing index in the production sector for the period 2009-2015 is presented in Figure 1.0 below:

Fig 5: Volume of manufacturing index (2009-2015).



Source: ZIMSTAT, Quarterly Digest 2015.

The figure reflects that the volume of manufacturing index in 2009 was 100%, for the year 2014 was 95% and was almost 5% lower when compared to the same period in 2015. This proves a decrease in production which has driven the economy to a deadlock downturn and loss of employment. ZIMSTAT (2015) recorded that the indicators used to measure changes in the volume of production were: physical quantities produced or material used, value of sales or output deflated by price index. Since 2009, new weights have been used and the year has also been used as the comparative base year in economic growth.

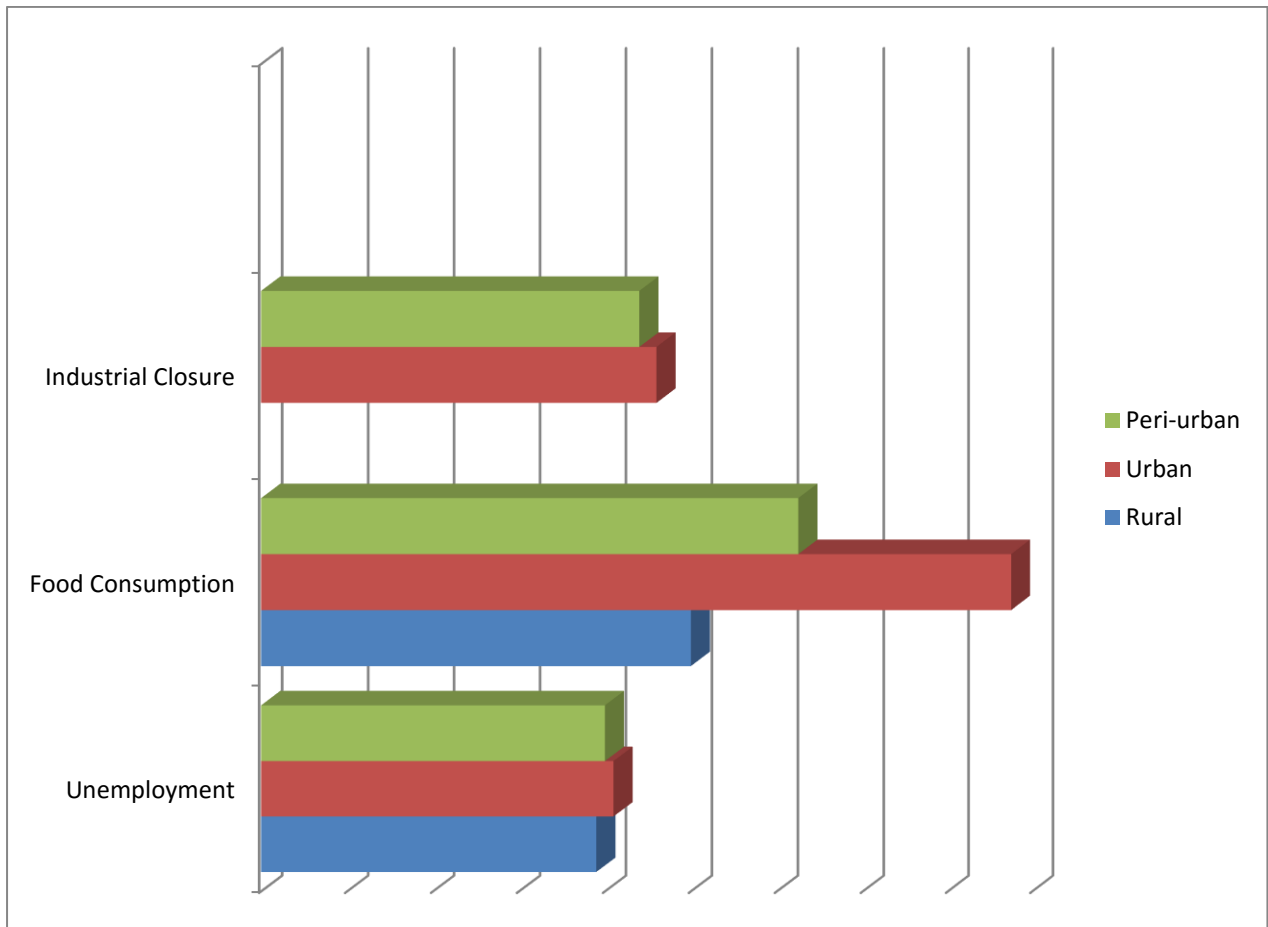
Moreover, indications within the current Zimbabwean economic outlook are that cost rationalisation, restructuring, cost-cutting, process optimisation and consolidation are likely to dominate in 2016 as companies seek efficiencies to remain profitable. This course is characteristic to working capital shortages, high production costs (due to old and obsolete equipment and machinery), liquidity challenges that have resulted in contraction in aggregate demand evidence by a continued decline in inflation rate and unfair competition from foreign products and exacerbated by high cost of utilities such as electricity and water.

In this case, one of the notable effects of liquidity challenges is the depression that the economy is persistently experiencing. Inflation for January 2015 was recorded at -0.4% before decelerating in February and March, recording -0.5% and -0.9%, respectively, (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 2015, June). Moreover, the annual inflation rate for February 2016 shed 1.45% points to -2.45% in March 2016, (ZIMSTAT, monthly digest, 2016, April).

Such statistics proves that Zimbabwe witnesses a very low “household consumption” rate. The above analysis provides that above 86% of Zimbabweans are unemployed.

As suggested above unemployment rate is very high in Zimbabwe and therefore leading to very low household consumption levels. These consumption levels determine the rate of consumer buying power and level of poverty in the country. The Zimbabwe Statistics Agency and the World Bank (2015) added that the average household consumption level in Zimbabwe is below \$1.50 against 78% households. This means that over 8 million households survive with less than a \$1 per day. With an overall of 86% unemployment in the country, these consumption levels largely hinder socio-economic development in the country.

Fig 6: Unemployment and Household Consumption Level in Zimbabwe



Source: ZIMSTAT

The above graph shows that unemployment levels amongst Zimbabwe’s population are quite high among the country’s urban citizenry, accounting for 82% of unemployed Zimbabweans. More so, urban populations face severe food shortages, such scenarios which have led urban life to be quite expensive in the country.

In this case, Zimbabwe’s urban population have triggered violent attention seeking demonstrations with the belief that the Zimbabwean government had concentrated more on factional politics than economic restructuring. As cited by respondents that the new appointed vice-presidents are an expense draining the State Treasury which is very unstable, as this is witnessed by the demand of the crowd for the evacuation of Vice-President Mphoko from the

Hotel he has been staying in for the past 2 years which has added to the country's budget burden.

4.5.1: Factionalism and policy paralysis.

The ZANU PF party currently has failed to come with constancy and have different approach in policy formulation and implementation which has since influenced factionalism that weakens the party and causes disunity. This however chased away some of the potential investors as noted by Mliswa.

ZANU PF government has now put more focus on the internal factional fights forgetting the about policy formulation and implementation initiatives. Hiring and firing of ministers has become the major phenomenon within the ruling ZANU PF government. As all the policies are crafted within the ruling government at party level, factional fights have now assumed that stake as no Economic Policy has since been perfected since 2014 up to date. This has since witnessed the failure or stagnancy of Zimbabwe's Economic blueprint policy Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (**ZIMASSET**) policy which is big blow to the Zimbabwe's Economy. One of the respondents had to further allude that the unstable politics of ZANU PF has proved to be major contribution in the policy formulation as most top officials are not technocrats and have failed to pave a way for young technocrats to the policy formulation rather focusing on factional fights;

“Mugabe’s endurance on the crown together with his generation of the 60s has now become a time bomb. The time bomb is expected to decimate 2018 or even later, Zanu PF has a lost generation, or even generations. Its corridors of power are filled with senior citizens who, in the fullness of time, will be phased out in a whisker. The party will be left with a serious power vacuum, having failed to invest in future leadership. Such is just the current leadership’s lack of foresight, a weakness for the organization. Again, the party has a serious deficit of brains, experience and capacity in the ages of 20-50. Very few young people have been allowed to rise in the echelons of power in the party”

(New Zimbabwe) “the few young people in ZANU’s power corridors like Tabitha Kanengoni, Patrick Zhuwao, Muzenda Jr etc. are relatives of top ZANU chiefs even raises questions about whether they were recruited them on merit. And other young folks in the party have turned out to be self serving crooks and charlatans with nothing to offer. And Psychology Maziwisa? Sigh! ZANU’s only hope is on people like Walter Mzembi and uh ... No, Walter Mzembi only. There will therefore be a serious crisis in Zanu PF very soon, probably in the next 5 to 10 years, if nothing is done.”

4.5.2: Factionalism a contributing factor to Civil Unrests (Strikes)

The turn of 2016 witnessed an angry Zimbabwean citizenry that has booted out all fears of the repeat of a 2002 and 2008 violent attack on civilians orchestrated by ZANU-PF and took up arms to challenge the ZANU-PF led government. Such demonstrations were directed and initiated by a number of factors. In fact, the leading drive to these demonstrations was the need to remove President Mugabe from office. The so-called “*Tajamuka*” group demanded an immediate resignation of the incumbent Zimbabwean President, Robert Mugabe and demanded the holding of a presidential election.

This proves that Zimbabwe has strained the citizenry and ZANU-PF’s lack of initiative ideas to resuscitate the country’s downtrodden economy has pushed the population to seek alternative means to remove the president and suggest new candidates who may be able to guarantee sustainable socio-economic development and advancement. In fact, the media’s concentration on ZANU-PF’s factional fights seemed to have angered the public and probed them to strike against the Government. In fact, such demonstrations were further aggravated by the mid-year cash shortages that saw delays in the payment of civil servants.

In this case, recently rioters went on a rampage and looted from shops including Choppies, vendors and burnt two trucks belonging to the police and ZBC. They also destroyed a police base and stoned several cars in the city.

Moreover, unidentified rioters also set ablaze a Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) news crew vehicle and a police truck. The incidents occurred during the launch of the so-called “#MyZimbabwe campaign” by angered Zimbabweans concerned with the development of their nation and to protest a deteriorating political and economic crisis blamed on President Robert Mugabe’s government. The launch turned riotous when police stopped a planned march by the youths, who were violently dispersed with tear smoke and water cannon. Anti-riot police assaulted freelance journalist, Lucy Yassin, who was covering the protest, while rioters attempted to torch a downtown police base at the Market Square commuter pick-up site. Such incidents have been rampant in mid-2016 and orchestrated by the general urban population in the country, showing the reaction of the people to the negative impact that ZANU-PF’s factionalism has had on Zimbabwe’s economy.

4.5.3: Factionalism and Corruption

Factionalism within ZANU-PF has further aggravated corruption within the country’s administration authorities. In fact, factional politics has largely hindered anti-corruption efforts by the government. The government officials responsible for curbing corruption have chickened out of the streamline of their role and ignored clear corrupt practices that have driven a corrupt governance failure in the country. This has since witnessed the degeneration of the ZANU PF’s government leading to factionalism as politicians now seek a new government or a new leader under ZANU PF to curb this corruption which has hindered Zimbabwe’s Economic Development violated the National Manpower Development Act (NMDA). This has however led to the assuming of the Zimbabwe Anti- Corruption Commission (ZACC) by the Office of the President and Cabinet (OPC) as the top management is being said to factionally driven.

In this case, 2014 witnessed the dismissal of quite a number of Government Parastatals’ Directors due to allegations of corruption. The very familiar PSMAS scandal which saw

government's loss of millions proved to be factionally driven in the sense that no action was further taken in line with prosecuting the perpetrators of such corrupt incidents. More so, the firing of ZBC Boss in 2015 also seemed to be factionally driven as nothing was also done pertaining to the issue. This therefore has caused misuse of public funds, poor service delivery, selfish or greediness averted by avarice hence the inadequacy of the ruling party to address such issues influencing factional fights (Mliswa 2016).

Therefore, due to the fear of being aligned to one or another faction, anti-corruption authorities like Zimbabwe Anti- Corruption Commission (**ZACC**) have been detracted from frankly and professionally carrying out their duties, hence aligned factionalism to corporate governance development in Zimbabwe.

4.6: Conclusion

The above discussed chapter revealed the researcher's findings from the research exercise carried out to conclude this study and answer the research questions. The findings proved the writer's hypothesis and led to the realisation of the research objectives in question. In fact the research proved that ZANU-PF factional fights have quite much to do with the nation's developmental stagnation. Factionalism carries a lot of blame in line with the country's economic troubles and the Zimbabwean citizenry's suffering. Hence corruption is in fact, one of the drivers to Zimbabwe's slow socio-economic development.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0: Introduction

This chapter is the last of this study. It provides the study's conclusions and recommended solutions to the problems identified in the research exercise. This research focused on the economic problems comprehended by factionalism within ZANU-PF, which is the current ruling government and has failed to address the nation's economic quagmires. This chapter suggests that the best solution is out rightly do away with ZANU-PF and guarantee its political demise while establishing a standpoint of the party's everlasting absence from Zimbabwe's political landscape.

5.1: Research Conclusions

This study has ultimately concluded that factionalism within ZANU-PF has led to a negative halt to Zimbabwe's socio-economic development. In fact, divisionism within ZANU-PF may provide a political situational maturity in the country leading to the existence of multi-party political system necessary for democratic development. Unfortunately, violence and "threat politics" involved in factionalism has made female politicians to chicken out of politics and revealed a further political patronage system.

5.2: Factionalism and Democratic Development

Research has proven that factionalism and political splits are in a way necessary for the development of democracy in a one-party dominant political system. In fact, party splits have introduced new political parties in the country leading to multi-partyism in new democracies. Kunambura and Mhetu (2016) suggested that at the 2018 election, Mugabe is likely to face his long-time rival, Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change. For the first time in the country's history, the veteran politician is also likely to get inside the ring with an aspiring female presidential candidate, JoiceMujuru, his long-time deputy until they fell out in 2014. This proves to be a development in Zimbabwe's political history which

was surrounded by a one-party rule scenario which destroyed governmental transparency and accountability.

5.3: The Expensiveness of Factionalism

This study has realised that factionalism within a ruling party can lead to a very expensive monitoring and evaluation of security forces system. In fact, ZANU-PF in itself has set up quite a number of unnecessary security systems that have presented new expenses to the national treasury. In this case, the selected Vice-Presidents have also proved to be expensive, particularly the incumbent Vice-President PhelekezelaMphoko who for the past two years has been residing in a hotel and according to the Zimbabwean Independent (2016) has spent more than US \$536 on a daily basis.

Factionalism has also stalemated the policy making framework. The loyalty driven governance system has led senior government officials to adopt factional favourable policies. This has been witnessed by the press's supply of propagandist news. Even other government departments have been frightened by factionalism and led to adopt unjustified and non-profitable policy frameworks, a scenario which has stagnated socio-economic development in Zimbabwe.

5.4: Recommendations

- The first point of reference in dealing with factionalism within ZANU-PF and especially in line with Zimbabwe's political economy is to guarantee ZANU-PF's political fight demise. In fact, ZANU-PF factional fights should be totally destroyed together with the political tradition it has infiltrated in the country. This is so because the party has failed to address the nation's economic problems, even when it was concretely unified. ZANU-PF in itself has proved to consist corrupt officials who have systematised corruption within the country's administration system

therefore all other ZANU-PF generations to follow are most likely to adopt a similar system

- If a more moderate solution is to be adopted, the nation has to address political problems with more dialogue than violence. The use of the ZANU-PF Appeals Committee may prove to be a more profitable and viable solution if peace within the party is to be guaranteed for a better dispute resolution. Unfortunately, this research has noticed that factionalism within ZANU-PF in itself is not a problem to the general citizenry but economic hardships have pushed the population in the country to adopt more harsh and rapid solutions to guarantee the ouster of ZANU-PF's leader president Robert Mugabe. In this case, even if peace can be created within the party, economic quandaries in Zimbabwe may even continue to persist.
- ZANU PF should deal with issues in a Technocratic way and stop the politics of patronage and enhance politics of merit for this will help economic development of the state in the crafting of good domestic and foreign economic policies.
- More so, the creation of stiff penalties on social media abuse and divisional slogans as this will break a room for factionalism and it enhances unity and is a viable solution if peace accompanied by tangible economic development is to be realised.
- To add on, enhancing of political development through multiparty government for the democratisation of the state as this will promote good governance which promote corporate governance for the economic development of Zimbabwe.
- Moreover, educating the people on political leadership and ideology is a major issue since most people in ruling party have since been ignorant about it. This help people to acquire political leadership skills and respect of the current leadership hence this would enhance unity peace and development within the ruling party and government.

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**Appendix 1: Questionnaire for the ordinary Zimbabwean citizens on the
outlook of the country's economy**

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

*Household monthly earnings and projected living standards, established in terms of
employment status, gender and social classification*

Research Questionnaire

My name is Adam J. Mavimira, studying for a Bachelor of Science in Politics and Public Management (Honours Degree). I am conducting a research on the average living standards for an ordinary Zimbabwean household. This study aims to establish the impact of ZANU-PF's factional fights to the national economic development agenda. This research in particular is crucial to the actual public opinion on Zimbabwe's economic standing

This process is done in acknowledgement of the confidentiality clause agreed upon by the researcher and yourself. Your identification is not required but only your truthful and utmost cooperation are of significance. You are also required to disclose your opinion by ticking in the space provided or commenting or describing where necessary.

Section 1

This section requires you to highlight by ticking the category you fall in.

Employed	Unemployed	Under-employed	Self-employed
----------	------------	----------------	---------------

This part also requires you to reflect by ticking the amount your monthly earnings as a family

Below 100	100 - 200	200 - 400	400 – 500	500+
-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	------

This part requires you to reflect by ticking the average amount of money you use per day as a family

Below \$1	\$1 - \$2	\$2 - \$4	\$4 - \$6	\$6+
-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	------

Please reflect by ticking the category you fall in

Married	Single	Divorced	Widowed
---------	--------	----------	---------

Please tick yes or no.

Do you have any children?

YES	NO
-----	----

If Yes above, how many?

.....

Do your children go to school?

YES	NO
-----	----

If No above, state why?

.....

Highlight by ticking the level of education you have acquired

Below "O" Level	"O" Level	"A" Level	Diploma	Degree +
--------------------	-----------	-----------	---------	----------

Are you politically active?

YES	NO
-----	----

Have you ever voted?

YES	NO
-----	----

How much do you and your family spend per day?

.....

Is the money you use per day enough to sustain you and your family?

.....

Section two

Questionnaire for the ordinary Zimbabwean citizen for interviews on the outlook of the economy

1. With regards to the survey questionnaire presented above, how do you view the outlook of Zimbabwe's economy?
.....
2. In your view, who do you think should take the blame for the challenges facing the country's economy?
.....
3. In your own assessment, What would be your comment on the statistics presented by the Government of Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency ZIMSTAT

2014 Report), “Labour Force and Child Labour Survey” LFCLS, concerning the country’s unemployment rate and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Growth?

.....

4. Do you think that Zimbabwe can ever take a first step towards socio-economic development under the stewardship of ZANU-PF and President Robert Mugabe?

.....

5. In your observation, Who do you think is responsible for the outbreak of ZANU-PF infighting from 2014 up to today? Explain your answer.

.....

6. Is ZANU-PF’s infighting any threat to socio-economic development in the country?

.....

7. Overall, what do you think should be done to stabilise the Zimbabwean crisis, from economic hardships to political stability?

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COMMITMENT

This questionnaire had been aimed to approximate and rate the level of household living standards against the appropriated United Nations poverty datum line living standards. The research was conducted with a consciousness of involving participants from different levels of classification, mainly focusing on sex, marital status, level of education and employment status. It is therefore in the researcher’s intention to draw the intended conclusions and results concerning the subjects in question from this projected questionnaire.

Appendix Two

Interview questions presented to ZANU-PF members involved in factional infighting, former ZANU-PF members suspended or booted out of the party due to factional tendencies and political analysts following the factionalism in question.

Greetings to you Sir/ Ma'am how are you? My name is Adam J. Mavimira and I am a final year student at the Midlands State University. The purpose of my visit is my endeavour to carry out an interview with you for academic use. I assure you that whatever shall be discussed shall remain undisclosed no matter what circumstances. This research is aimed at identifying the perpetrators of factionalism within ZANU-PF and understanding the consequences of such infighting to national socio-economic *vis-à-vis* political stability.

1).What was your position within ZANU-PF by the time you were suspended/expelled?

.....

2). Do you have any appeal against your suspension/expulsion?

.....

3). Who do you think could have orchestrated your suspension/expulsion?

.....

4). When did this current factional infighting within ZANU-PF begin?

.....

5). Does the current factional infighting within ZANU-PF have anything to do with democratic maturity within the country's political discourse?

.....

6). In your view, is there any chance that the death of **Retired General Solomon (Rex Nhongo) Mujuru** might have anything to do with the expulsion of his wife, (**Former Vice-President JoiceMujuru**)?

.....

7). Is there any chance that the current rioting amongst the general populace has anything to do with factional infighting within ZANU-PF?

.....

8). in your view, do you think the newly appointed **Vice-President, PhelekezelaMphoko** spends per day in the hotel that he has been staying for the past two years?

.....

9). Are the newly appointed **Vice-Presidents** more expensive than former **Vice-President Mujuru**?

.....

10). Are there any chances that the 2014 to 2015 revealing of corruption within Government Parastatals was factionally driven and why?

.....

11). If YES above, does it mean that those corrupt officials belonging to the ruling factions are not audited and are still rampant within the Government of Zimbabwe?

.....

12). Is the failure by Government organisations such as ZIMSTAT to reveal true and justifiable statistics (especially the 2014 LFCLS Report which revealed unemployment rate to be 11.8%) in any way related to their fear of being aligned to the wrong faction?

.....

13). In your own discretion, are there any instances of sabotage within Government operations that are in line with ZANU-PF's factional infighting?

.....

14). In your own observation, what authority do you think that the First Lady **Dr Grace Mugabe** holds within both ZANU-PF and the Government of Zimbabwe to be so influential and to have the audacity to utter the statements that the press always reveals her uttering?

.....

15). Are there any chances that the First Lady **Dr Grace Mugabe** and former **Vice-President Joice Mujuru** could have a private battle between themselves?

.....

16). Who do you think holds the President's favour, Generation 40 or Team Lacoste?

.....

17). Under your own judgment, are foreign direct investors or prospective Government to Government relationship investors scared to invest in Zimbabwe because of the current ZANU-PF factional infighting and the uncertainty of who **Cde Mugabe's** successor could be?

.....

18). To what extent is it true that, **Vice-President Phelekezela Mphoko** is a major shareholder within Choppies Supermarkets and is trying to get vast amounts of power to protect the business?

.....

19). In your own discretion, Do you think **Vice-President Mnangagwa** is very diplomatic and rightful successor of **H.E Cde R.G. Mugabe**?

.....

20). To what extent, Do you think **Warveterans** are very much in support of **Cde E.D. Mnangagwa** and **H.E Cde R.G. Mugabe**?

.....

21). What are the effects of the hiring and firing of candidates aligned to team Lacoste in ZANU PF and its influence to the economy *visa-vee* 2018 general election?

.....

22). First Lady **Dr Grace Mugabe** is referred to as the "**Mother of Revelation**", to what extent has it influenced factional fights and weakening of the revolutionary party ZANU PF?

.....

23). To what extend does the factional fights being influenced by the need to control economic resources amongst the ZANU PF big wigs hence turning the party to a Capitalist party?

.....

24). If **Kasukuwere** is demoted as **Political Commissar** will it stop the factional fights within the revolutionary party ZANU PF? Please explain your answer further.

.....

25). To what extend has the factional fights in ZANU PF influenced policy formulation and the implementation of ZIMASSET?

.....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND COMMITMENT