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RESEARCH TOPIC

An analysis of the implications of Factionalism on economic development in Zimbabwe in the 21st century.

By

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DECLARATION

I, Shantell T. Ngundu , declare that this research report is based on my own work. It is being submitted for the degree of **POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT** at the Midlands State University . It has not been submitted before for any Degree for examination at any other University.

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Dedications

I dedicate this thesis to my mum and grandparents for the unceasing support and encouragement that enabled me to be where I am today.

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ABSTRACT

Factionalism in Zimbabwe has always been an issue dating back to the pre-independence era, it has reaped many unbearable fruits in the 21st century .The struggle for power between the two main political parties ZANU-PF and MDC has seriously affected the economy. Factionalism contributed positively and negatively to the economic development of Zimbabwe. Its effects however are more negative than positive The causes of factionalism include issues to do with struggle for power ,violation of constitutions, undemocratic tendencies by leaders, dictatorial controls, tribalism and regionalism, injustice, unfair wealth, property, service and material distribution between the members ideological differences, issues to do with ethics, morals and religion .This has led to economic deterioration as political leaders spend more time fighting for power rather than coming up with economic strategic plans for a better Zimbabwe. However, factionalism has its benefits factions promote generational change looking at Zimbabwe as one nation where an entire generation has struggled roughly to formulate an important contribution to the country' s politics. It increases debate and competition within a party which is good and can moderate a party in its actions.

ACRONYMS

GNU	Government of National Unity
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
ZAAC	Zimbabwe Anti Corruption Commission
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZIMDEF	Zimbabwe Manpower Development Fund
ZIMASSET	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.

1.1 Introduction

Political Factionalism has always been a global problem affecting economies around the world. It must be noted that various nations comprise of a multi-party political system in a democratic system, (Sarakinsky and Fakir, 2009). Zimbabwe among other countries is a multi-party controlled country. It has been characterised but two main political parties ZANU PF and MDC (Shandirwa, 2016 Wafawarova, 2014). Reports have indicated that the economy has been seriously affected due to the nonsensical tussling between the parties and their quest for power (Persion and Bueblita, 2011). Factionalism has been described as a thorn of economic development and was evident in Zimbabwean politics as the economy crumpled amid of political violence imposed by President Mugabe on opposition MDC to secure his regime (Mavirima, 2016). Much effort has been invested in political sabotage and strategies to remain in power at the expense of focusing on economic development issues.

Other sources of factionalism have been traced to have emerged from government led by dictators. Similarly to Zimbabwe, the government has been led by Mugabe who was described as a dictator by many organisations including the United Nations (UN). There is a risk of mass uprising or a coup arising out of dictator led government and results would emerge in poor economic development since the government would be fighting against potential political rivals in pursuit for political existence (Li and Zhang, 2012). Monetary issues, policy modification and fabrication and international relations drawbacks have been listed as negative effects of factionalism in a nation (Mavirima, 2016). Factionalism can be splitted into two namely multi or intra party factions (Kollner, 2005).

This research mainly focused on both multi and intra-party factionalism and determines how it has adversely affected the economic development of Zimbabwe whilst advocating for unit in governance and build a sustainable economic development and growth in Zimbabwe.

1.1 Background of the study

Factionalism in Zimbabwe dates back to the post-independence period (after 1980) ((Sithole, 2010) when the ruling party ZANU PF was seriously contested by MDC led by Morgan

Tsvangirai (Dottorato, 2011). The advent of the MDC in 1999 came as a blow ZANU PF and stormed the 2002 election with violence and many reports on human rights abuses. During the same period it was clear that the Zimbabwean economy was seriously harmed, a condition described by Mavirima (2016) as the destructive nature of multi-party factionalism. The quest for power within parties continues during the 2008 and 2013 elections in which the Zimbabwean economy suffered many blows. During the period of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in 2009, the economic development indicated a greater potential in Zimbabwe and the economy was stabilized with a 3.7% growth and dollarized (Bandaiko, 2014). Since the end of the GNU in 2014, the economy began to crumple with reports of more than 1800 workers losing their jobs (Wafawarova, 2017), unemployment rate reaching 80% and the external debt amounting to US\$10 million. Bandaiko (2014) went on to say that there was policy paralysis at MDC and ZANU PF respectively during the period and predicted a continued economic fall.

However the history of factionalism in Zimbabwe did not begin by the emergence of the MDC, but it also originated from the ZANU PF pre-independence era with splits occurring. During the liberation struggle, ZANU PF and PF ZAPU were the major two political group in existence fighting the Rhodesian Government (Cameron and Dorman, 2009). Just before independence, the first splitter group was the FROLIZI which was joined by Nathan Shamuyarira from ZANU PF . After the death of Hebert Chitepo, a ZANU PF cadre another split emerged (ZANU) led by Sithole in 1975. Soon after Zimbabwe gained independence from Britain in 1980, the ZUM led by Edgar Tekere was formed and a coalition was formed in 1987 recognised as the Unity Accord between ZANU PF led by Mugabe and PF ZAPU led by Nkomo with the aim of stabilizing the country and focus on economic issues (Mavirima, 2016). Despite the efforts ZANU PF continued to suffer political factionalism with another group led by Joyce Mujuru after the national congress in December 2014. Recently the party (ZANU PF) was also involved in a split scenario described a succession war for the 92 year old party leader Mugabe . Two other splits evolved, Team Lacoste advocating for Mnangagwa and G-40 advocating for Grace Mugabe.

The hatred and tensions created by factionalism have resulted in many Zimbabwean living in poverty as the government would spend much time and resources focusing on sustaining their power and existence rather than on topical economic and developmental issues. The effects of

factionalism can be traced to administration and policy making level where conducive policies will be crafted to suite the need to remain in power, a case of Zimbabwe. Li and Zhang (2012) indicated that in a system affected by factionalism, most officials would serve for political interest to stay in power and maintain their loyalty. Factionalism can also orchestrate policies that would protect individual interest to remain in office at the expense of economic development.

1.2 Justification of the study

Factionalism in Zimbabwe has been described as a catalyst to economic degradation which had rocked the nation from 2002 to date (Mavirima, 2016). ZANU PF led by Mugabe has imposed policies for example the land reform program in 2002 as a political step to outcast the opposition MDC led by Tsvangirai. Such steps to fight against factionalism have reaped adverse effects on the economy leaving the majority of Zimbabwean suffering and in poverty. Factionalism in ZANU PF particularly from 2013 to date (propagated by the garmatox and VONC) has forced Mugabe to create a scenario in which the government spends the country's resources and government efforts on fighting conflicts within the party and outside the party at the expense of the government to fulfil its mandate .

Very controversial decisions have been made and argued on and many stories storm the media on which the government invests its energy on minor issues which may not benefit the struggling Zimbabwean citizens. Bandauko (2014) outlined other problems brought about by factionalism as policy inconsistency, political uncertainty and poor economic development with no projected solution in sight which has been evident in ZANU PF government. This research explored several causes of factionalism and strategies of dealing with it as a hindrance to economic development. It uncovered the underlying roots and effects of factionalism on the economic development and growth.

1.3 Problem statement

Factionalism in Zimbabwe has been always an issue dating back to the pre-independence era. To date it has reaped many unbearable fruits on the economic development of the country. Its future existence has anticipated continuous economic degradation and calls for attention and mitigation before it result in more harm.

1.4 Significance of the study

The research mainly focused on factionalism both multi and intra party existing in Zimbabwe and uncovered the underlying root causes and effects it has made on the economy of the country. The data that was gathered during the research will be very useful to student, public and political organisation as well as policy makers to make decisions that will benefit the nation at large other than individual and party interests. The information will be vital for the quest of building a united Zimbabwe where coalition led government would be a solution to create a sustainable economic development of Zimbabwe.

1.5 Research Questions

- Is factionalism a hindrance to economic development in Zimbabwe?
- What are the implications of factionalism on the economic development of Zimbabwe?
- What are the sources/causes of factionalism in Zimbabwe politics?
- What are the effects of factionalism in Zimbabwean economic development?

1.6 Research Objectives

- To examine the implications of factionalism on economic development in Zimbabwe in the 21st century.
- To examine the extent to which factionalism in political parties is affecting the Zimbabwean economy.
- To examine the causes and effects of factionalism in Zimbabwe.
- To ascertain measures of dealing with factionalism in Zimbabwean politics and improve economic development of the country.

1.7 Research Methodology

The research method used for this research involves the use of quantitative methods in which data was grouped and presented in different forms such as graphs, tables and pie charts. Primary and secondary data was used for analysis which involves the use of questionnaires, interviews, textbooks, internet, journals and e-book to obtain relevant data for the research. The research also used qualitative methods which will allow the author to discover variables

and relationships leading to understanding of the complex processes. Qualitative research is an approach that equips the researcher to understand the processes involved, understand the differences on theories stated or implemented and understand unexplained phenomenon. The method also gave the researcher direct interaction with the society/subjects under study and a more first-hand interaction with information.

1.8 Limitation of the study

The limitations of this study were basically the challenges faced during the course of the research. Some of the targeted politicians were not willing to provide information for fear of incrimination and this ended up creating some gaps in trying to find the current rifts rumpling the Zimbabwean politics. It was difficult for the researcher to reach some of the possible study areas due to financial constraints.

1.9 Delimitation of the study

The choice of the research was deemed delimitation to the study. The researcher focused on the rift between ZANU PF and MDC and also the rift between ZANU PF itself. The research did not cover other factionalist movements in other political parties in Zimbabwe.

1.10 Literature Review

Sharp et al (2002) defines literature review as an evaluative or analytical report of information found in the in the area of study. It is therefore of paramount importance in shaping the general knowledge of the researcher in the area of study. According to Saunders et al (2009), critical literature review helps to refine the researcher's ideas and to avoid repeating work that has already been done.

Factionalism can be described as 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. 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.

It must be noted that from 2014 up to 2017 factionalism in ZANU-PF became more vicious and popular and triggered economic instability as well as political instability in the country. Factionalism in ZANU-PF emerged and intensified at a period whereby the economic development is drowning in unrecoverable crisis. It is therefore revealed in this study that factionalism in Zimbabwe did not just degrade the national development of the country but rather brought a crisis in the general government administration. The former first lady Grace Mugabe took advantage of the factionalism in the party and tried to use the divide and rule principle so as to eliminate all possible competition or voices that raised questions on the capability of the president in running the state. However team Lacoste which is allegedly led by the current president Cde Emmerson Mnangagwa managed to call off the heat by what is somehow called a coup by different scholars.

It must be noted with great concern that the former first lady was extravagant since she ended up using government expenditure that resulted in doubling since the dismissal of the Mujuru faction. It is therefore a fact that factionalism in the ruling party ZANU-PF has drained much funds in the economy of the country and continued to increase an ulcer to the people in terms of the economic constraints. Surprisingly, all these squabbles in the ruling party did not bring any economic development or democratization in the country; it rather worsened the economic situation in the country. Both parties acquired wealth, which need political power to maintain, protect, entrench and expand. Therefore factionalism in Zimbabwe has not brought anything but more tears to the peasantry family. However it managed to bring the so called “new dispensation” under the leadership of President Emmerson Mnangagwa. It is seen as the answer to Zimbabwe’s economic question although there are no positive results yet.

Gono (2014) argues that factionalism in ZANU PF affected negatively the implementation of economic policies. 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.

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 particularly focuses on party factionalism to political economics, providing a unique and understudied phenomenon.

1.11 Theoretical Framework

This part of the study defines a phenomenon that inspires the study. For the sake of this study, the section explore two parameters which cover factionalism and economic development. The section examine the primary concept/variable ' factionalism' as adopted from Boucek (2010) which suggests factionalism may occur in different faces of politics, (multi or unitary) . In this study a classical conceptualization of factionalism will be explored namely competitive factualism (schismatic factionalism), cooperative factionalism (common factualism) and degenerative factionalism (pervasive factionalism). These theories will be explained and described in detail. The Keynesian theory will be used to evaluate the above mentioned phenomenon.

1.12 Keynesian Theories of Economic

The basis of Keynesian economics emerged from the British economist John Maynard Keynes. The theory indicated that private sector decisions sometimes lead to insufficient economic output which requires active policy in the public sectors including monetary policy by the central bank and fiscal policy by the government. Keynesian advocates for a mixed economy where the government intercedes at all cost. The Keynesian theories can best explain the Zimbabwean crippled economy through its extra spending prior to factionalism. The central part of the government is policy formulation. The focus of the research is to expand the fiscal policy such that it does not overspend and helps in economic development. The question would remain that how will the government adopt the Keynesian theories of economics to repair damaged. The theory helps to explained how factionalism emerged in Zimbabwe and how its effects have damaged the economy. The cooperative theory of factionalism highlighted that common interest and goals can give birth to positive factionalism.

1.13 Sampling

A model can be defined as a minor fragment designed to show the elegance, superiority and a character of the complete, Ferber (1994). Kothari (2009) views a sample as divide up of the population that is embodiment of its characteristics. It is rather a way or process whereby individuals are chosen from the targeted group.

1.14 Simple Random Sampling

According to O' Leary (2004) unsystematic sampling relies on haphazard selection, or the method by which each component in a population has an equivalent chance of miscellany and its process that get rid of bias and allows for statistical guess of representatives. It is also noted that simple unsystematic sampling is the easiest type of unsystematic sampling because within a designated elements have an equal chance of inclusion, and this is well thought-out as fair and allows findings to be generalized O'Leary, (2004). The aim of unsystematic sampling is to keep sampling error at a least range . The study adopted a form of structural random sampling which had a wide Enumeration Area, within the political and economics' landscape of Zimbabwe.

1.15 Sample Size

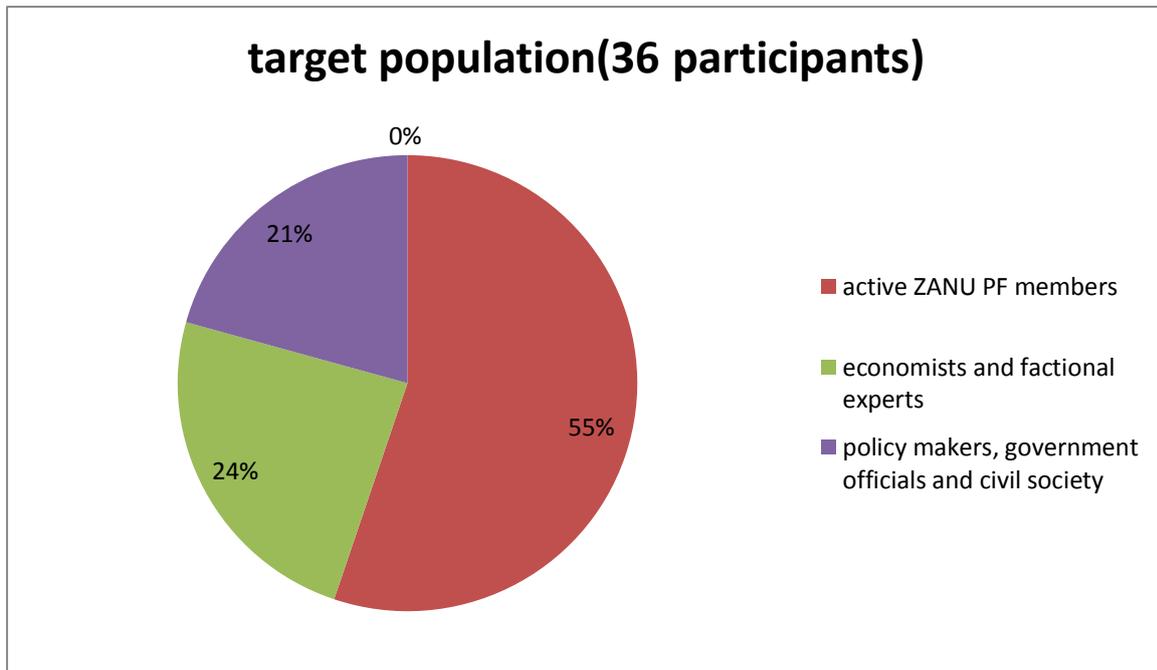
It was not easy to investigate all the people from which conclusions are to be drawn. It was again not easy for the researcher to interview all groups equally as a result researcher chose a sample from the ZANU-PF's top officials. In this study, the population constituted of 36 participants were active ZANU-PF top officials and those who were once members of the party. This was done to establish the impact of factionalism in Zimbabwe. The selected sample was representative of the active population in ZANU- PF.

1.16 Table 1 Interviewed participants

Stratum	Total participants	Interviewed participants
Active members of ZANU PF and those booted out	7	3
Economists and Factional experts	4	2
Policy makers, civil society and top government officials	25	10
TOTAL	36	15

Source: Primary data

1.17 Fig. 1 Population used for the sample size



Source: Primary data

1.17 Table 2 Questionnaire response rate

Stratum	Administered questionnaires	Number of those who responded	Number of those who did not respond	Percentage response rate
Active ZANU PF members and those booted out	7	5	2	80%
Civil society, top governmental officials and policy makers	25	15	10	90%
Economists and factional experts	4	3	1	90%
TOTAL	36	23	13	70%

Source: Primary data

1.18 Chapter outline

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

The chapter mainly focused on familiarising the research under the study and gave the reader a general idea and understanding of the chapters followed. The chapter contained the background of the study by tracing back the historical development of the factionalism in Zimbabwe. It also looked at the statement of the problem, justification of the study, research objectives and the research questions. Under this chapter the delimitations which made the

research to be complete with the pertinent information was provided and also the limitations were given as the barriers encountered by the researcher. The chapter ends with the structure of the study providing the key components of the whole research

Chapter 2: FACTIONALISM AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

The chapter has dealt with the development of factionalism in Zimbabwean politics dating back from the war of liberation during Rhodesian regime. Then it developed after 1980. Factionalism in Zimbabwe dates back to the post-independence period (after 1980) ((Sithole, 2010) when the ruling party ZANU PF was seriously contested by MDC led by Morgan Tsvangirai (Dottorato, 2011). The advent of the MDC in 1999 came as a blow ZANU PF and stormed the 2002 election with violence and many reports on human rights abuses

Chapter 3: THE CAUSES AND DEVELOPMENT OF FACTIONALISM IN ZIMBABWE

This chapter is an analysis of the causes of factionalism and the development of factionalism in Zimbabwe. This chapter mainly focuses on the factional fights within the country's main political parties MDC and ZANU PF. Factional tendencies in these parties have however managed to strengthen them and enabled them to choose other potential leaders. According to Sibanda (2015) the causes of factionalism in political parties include issues to do with violation of their constitutions, undemocratic tendencies by their leaders, dictatorial controls, tribalism and regionalism, injustice, unfair wealth, property, service and material distribution between the members, power struggle and greediness, ideological differences, issues to do with ethics, morals and religion, human rights issues, issues of leadership qualities, succession politics and the involvement of the international community in the party politics

Chapter 4: IMPACT OF FACTIONALISM ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ZIMBABWE

The chapter explains how Factionalism in Zimbabwe crippled the economic development in the country since leaders tended to forget about improving the crumbling economy but rather concentrated on factional fights towards the acquisition of power. The state of affairs in the Zimbabwean economy needs to be prioritized by the leaders. Factionalism in Zimbabwe has contributed both negatively and positively Zimbabwe's political development. Intensified

factionalism within Zanu (PF) represents probably the biggest threat to the resuscitation of Zimbabwe's national socio-economic-political fortunes between now and the next elections in 2018.

Chapter 5: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The chapter carries the conclusions and recommendations observed in the study by the researcher. The chapter also gives the overall stance of the researcher. Recommendations and conclusions were mostly drawn from respondents who were encountered by the researcher.

1.19Chapter summary

The chapter introduced the study and brought enlightenment to all key issues that surround the study. It outlined all the major aspects that are to be found in the study. It defined factionalism through literature review and elaborated some of the major aspects surrounding the area of study. The chapter also summarizes the sampling methods used during the collection of data.

CHAPTER 2: FACTIONALISM AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

2.1 Introduction

Failure of economic development in Zimbabwe is debited to factionalism in ZANU PF. The ruling party's failure to come up with a clear cut succession policy saw the emergency of factions in ZANU PF with core leaders alleged to be Grace Mugabe (G-40) and Emmerson Mnangagwa (Team Lacoste). Factionalism is blamed for increasing the pain on the economic ulcer that is haunting Zimbabwe. However it must be noted that factionalism brought a new dispensation in Zimbabwean politics. The factionalist movements in ZANU PF saw the demise of Robert Mugabe who stayed in power for so long which compromised the realisation of a sound economic development scheme to be implemented in the country. Therefore this chapter of the study critically examines the implications of factionalism to the economic development of Zimbabwe. Factionalism contributed positively and negatively to the economic development of Zimbabwe. Its effects however are more negative than positive.

2.2 Economic development in Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwean economic status has tormented the majority of the country's population. Factionalism in ZANU PF was seen by respondents as greediness and selfishness and the struggle for power. ZANU PF was alleged to have been ignoring important economic development policies while prioritizing their dreams of succeeding the old president Robert Mugabe. Chinamasa (2015) stated that the GDP in Zimbabwe had declined to 3.2% which symbolizes that almost 90% of the population in Zimbabwe is living in abject poverty. 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.

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 2018 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.

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, 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 stayed for the past 2 years which has added to the country's budget burden.

2.3 Factionalism and economic paralysis

Factionalism in ZANU PF drained the country's national purse since all the government officials concentrated on factional politics. The economic status in Zimbabwe was ignored and the government officials involved themselves in a verbal war whereby the former first lady Grace Mugabe attacked all alleged Team Lacoste members in a speech. This however

intimidated potential investors as noted by Mliswa on his exclusive interview with CNN (n.d). The new dispensation ZANU PF government is no failing to separate lacoste members and G40 member which is now giving the headaches in trying to eliminate them. Not only that they are also working toward the failure of Mnangagwa with a dubbed campaign *Bhora musango zvakare* which have seen Mugabe being vanquished by Morgan Tsvangirai in 2008 focus on the internal factional fights forgetting about policy formulation and implementation initiatives. Hiring and firing of ministers became 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.

“...The old horses in ZANU PF manipulated the future of all the youthful generation in Zimbabwe since their stay in power....”,

said Lumumba on one of his popular video post on his social media page. It must be noted therefore that, factionalism in Zimbabwe left a permanent scar both to the economy and the lives of the upcoming generation. Robert Mugabe's long stay in power jeopardized the future of Zimbabwe's economy.

2.4 Civil unrests as a result of factionalism

The year 2016 saw the rise of one of the greatest civil unrest since the 2013 elections. Different factors can be alluded to the cause of the unrest. The leading factor was to remove Robert Mugabe from power since he had over stayed. His long stay in power was the major reason behind factionalism in ZANU PF. The so-called “Tajamuka” group demanded an immediate resignation of the incumbent Zimbabwean former 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 down-trodden economy 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. However in 2017 after a house arrest by the military Mugabe was ironically forced to resign in a peaceful way. It must be noted that, the Zimbabwean citizenry was sick and tired of the prevailing economic situation and therefore felt that it was Robert Mugabe and his government who failed to provide a sustainable economic transformation.

Factionalism in ZANU PF was being prioritized at the expense of a crumbling economy .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, 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. All these fights was a result of the government's concentration on factional fights rather than the implementation of a sound economic policy.

2.5 Factionalism and Corruption in Zimbabwe

Factionalism in Zimbabwe aggravated the rate of corruption in the country, top officials were involved in corruption scandals which increased to drain the country's economic coffers. 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 wanted 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 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 was said to be

factional. In this case, 2014 witnessed the dismissal of quite a number of Government Parastatal Directors due to allegations of corruption. The very familiar PSMAS scandal which saw government 's loss of millions proved to be factional 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. Jonathan Moyo was alleged to have swindled \$430-00 from the ZIMDEF funds into his pocket at the expense of the ordinary college students. All these culprits were only named and shamed since they aligned to strong factions like G-40 which seemed to have had a strong hand during Mugabe's resignation .

2.6 Chapter summary

Concluding from the above drawn facts the researcher concluded that factionalism within ZANU PF resulted in an increased rate of corruption which drained the country financially. The country's economic status is much blamed to the growing rate of corruption. Factionalism has increased the rate on a collapsing economy leaving Zimbabweans in the most painful dispensation of their time. 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. Factionalism therefore is noted as the major drivers of corruption. However factionalism brought a new dispensation in Zimbabwe when it resulted in the removal of Robert Mugabe who had stayed in power for 37 years since Zimbabwe obtained its independence. Zimbabweans are hoping for a better tomorrow since there seems to be a change in country. The hopes and future of Zimbabweans are in the hands of the alleged factional leader Emmerson Mnangagwa. With the death of Tsvangirai on the 14th of February 2018 Zimbabwe is expecting a change in the party's presidential candidacy.

Factional fights in MDC are seen to be able to provide a better political leader who would bring Zimbabwe out of its economic mess.

CHAPTER 3: THE DYNAMICS OF FACTIONALISM IN ZIMBABWE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is an analysis of the causes of factionalism and the development of factionalism in Zimbabwe. This chapter mainly focuses on the factional fights within the country's main political parties MDC and ZANU PF. Factional tendencies in these parties have however managed to strengthen them and enabled them to choose other potential leaders. According to Sibanda (2015) the causes of factionalism in political parties include issues to do with violation of their constitutions, undemocratic tendencies by their leaders, dictatorial controls, tribalism and regionalism, injustice, unfair wealth, property, service and material distribution between the members, power struggle and greediness, ideological differences, issues to do with ethics, morals and religion, human rights issues, issues of leadership qualities, succession politics and the involvement of the international community in the party politics.

The development of factionalism in Zimbabwe can be traced long back before independence during the colonial regime. It also surfaces during the 1980s characterized by ideological nuance, policy variation and contending political trajectories, even within relatively coherent political parties as alluded to by Laakso (2002). Factionalism in Zimbabwe resulted in the removal of Robert Mugabe from power and saw the coming of a new political dispensation. It must be noted that the development of factionalism in Zimbabwe went on a faster rate when there was clear factions within ZANU PF and MDC resulting in a political transformation. Therefore this chapter seeks to unpack and unravel the causes of factionalism and its development in Zimbabwe in detail.

3.2 Causes of factionalism in Zimbabwe

Various reasons can be attributed to emergency of factionalism in Zimbabwe political parties since independence .Driving factors to factionalism This chapter focuses on the various factors leading to creation of factions in Zimbabwe's major political parties which fall under two categories, either they are long term factional triggers or short term triggers of factions and splits but this chapter highlights in point form all the factors leading to factionalism and will conclude with highlighting a summary of the immediate triggers of splits which are mainly just the sparks to breakaways of long time existing factions.

3.3 The struggle for power

The struggle for power is one of the major drivers leading to creation of factions within the ZANU PF and MDC formations. According to Cambridge Dictionary online struggle for power is an unpleasant or violent competition for power, whilst the Collins Dictionary defines it as a situation where two or more people or organizations compete for influence, thus from these definitions it is clear that struggle for power is just the competition that exists in this context among politicians of different political parties to gain power, supremacy and influence over others, which is evident in ZANU PF and MDC formations as it is one of the major cause of factions and splits as all members want to control, and influence others and fighting to be in a higher influential position than they are in, with those in influential positions fighting to preserve their influence not pursuing the portrayed party objectives. Makombe (2011) alludes to these plays that Zimbabwean political parties whatever their history are synonymous with factionalism as their leaders are continually fighting for control at the expense of purported party objectives, as what is happened in the smaller MDC faction formerly led by Mutambara is nothing new as the country's political history clearly shows that internal power struggles and wrangles have often led to splits going as far back the 1960s.

He further explains that the splitting of parties in Zimbabwe starting with the ZAPU 1963 split and the 2005 MDC split is all a doing of the fight over to control parties which is a struggle for power .According to Mlambo (2015) factionalism in the ZANU PF party is not about individuals but is centred on Mugabe's succession power struggle, which just goes back to a struggle for power though it has been housed in the succession saga. Sachikonye (2011) asserts that the existing competitive factions in ZANU PF between Mujuru and Mnangagwa is a struggle for power with its focus on succession after Mugabe relinquishes power, their sparring for power has not broken out into open conflict but remains fierce behind the scenes. He also notes that the factional fights in the MDC that led to the 2005 split is a result of a naked ambition for power, which is struggle for power though the senate issue provided the immediate pretext. According to Ruhanya (2015) given the morbid symptoms in opposition forces and the ruling party itself, where the corruption of the politics has replaced the urgent need to transform society with a narrow culture of power grab mainly by the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) formations and ZANU PF resulting in unfocussed rapturous power struggles.

The agenda to grab power by both opposition and ruling party leaders has relegated the desires of ordinary citizens and the nation at large to transform the political economy to build a durable democratic society, both ZANU PF power struggles ahead of its congress in December 2014 and the second split of the opposition MDC in April 2014 are best explained by the narrow agenda to grab power. There is no focus on the need to democratise the state and its institutions in order to construct a durable democracy. Ruhanya further explains that as an example, the power struggles by the MDC formations that have culminated in the recall of 21 MPs by a faction led by Morgan Tsvangirai is not premised on a national agenda to transform the state and its undemocratic institutions, both groups are pre-occupied with power grabs within their little zones while relegating the need to have durable national transformation questions on the periphery.

Ruhanya (2015) further alludes to the view that Zimbabwe's politics has been corrupted to the extent that both in ZANU PF and the MDC, power capture now defines their modus operandi. Powerful groups in both parties use unorthodox ways of power retention, among them political violence. It is tragic that power capture has mainly defined the differences between the opposing groups in the MDC formations, their differences are devoid of any meaningful or discernible need to transform the predatory politics of their opponents in ZANU PF. Equally so, the opposition has failed to read and provide a long-term political trajectory through a survey of the shifting changes in the modes of production and the need to address the urgent question of livelihoods. The recall of the 21 MPs epitomises the power-grab mentality of the opposition leadership. It would not be surprising to see power struggles in the Tsvangirai camp to occupy the vacant seats. Equally so, it would surprise a few if there are no fissures already within the MDC Renewal group as a result of this setback, because of the desire to grab power that has now defined opposition politics, both groups may face an uncertain future unless they refocus to the need to broadly change state politics. Giving an investigative look on causes of factionalism that diverge from issues, it will end to a struggle for supremacy as all these other factors are means to willed power. The reason why factional politics seem unavoidable with all struggling for power can best be understood in this study on its unravelling of the human nature concept in the study of politics.

3.4 Human nature and factionalism

The unpredictable behaviour of mankind has made the development of the human nature concept. This section explores the reason why factions exist in Zimbabwe's political parties considering the concept of the human nature theory thereby serving also as a proof of the theory's relevance in the field of politics. This human nature concept is a work of ancient philosophers but this section try and focus on the Hobbesian conception of the human nature that men is by nature greed, selfish and driven by the desire to dominate others. This human nature conceptualization can be seen at play being manifested in the ways of life of politicians in Zimbabwe's political parties in their acts of factionalism and splits hence can be considered the drive to factionalism proving it inevitable for factions not to exist. Considering the fact that factionalism has been noticed with the start of the first liberation political parties the ZAPU and ZANU with splits occurring along their political journeys from the 1960's, it is justifiable to consider that factions and splits within political parties is inevitable due to the direct nature of men expressed by the human nature concept that men is selfish, greed and driven by the desire to dominate others.

Also reconsidering Ruhanya (2015)'s views that given the morbid symptoms in opposition forces and the ruling party itself, where the corruption of the politics has replaced the urgent need to transform society with a narrow culture of power grab mainly by the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) formations and ZANU PF resulting in unfocussed rapturous power struggles. The agenda to grab power by both opposition and ruling party leaders has relegated the desires of ordinary citizens and the nation at large to transform the political economy to build a durable democratic society, Both groups are pre-occupied with power grabs within their little zones while relegating the need to have durable national transformation questions on the periphery. To Ruhanya they have diverted themselves from the idea of achieving democracy as the opposition parties are losing patience due to their long time suffering but he is of the view that they should be patient and wait as it takes long to achieve democracy, but from this background one can argue that "long" takes a whole life time making it unrealistic to achieve democracy, the character displayed by both parties of selfish egos in factional fights to power are natural to men driven by the human nature and makes it inevitable to have factions in political parties thus this serves as a clear explanation of the reason why factionalism and splits have rocked both the ZANU PF and MDC formations and that its never true that they stand for the masses and for furthering democracy

but uses this as channels to achieve their selfish greedy gains of political dominance as driven by their human nature.

The human nature concept serves as an overall answer to the question of why factions exist and why they seem inevitable as they are evident in all the Zimbabwean political parties whether small or big, new or old as supported by Ruhanya (2015) views. The recall of the 21 MPs epitomises the power-grab mentality of the opposition leadership. It would not be surprising to see power struggles in the Tsvangirai camp to occupy the vacant seats. Equally so, it would surprise a few if there are no squabbles in MDC Alliance as a result of this setback, because of the desire to grab power that has now defined opposition politics, both groups may face an uncertain future unless they refocus to the need to broadly change state politics. Considering Ruhanya's explanation of it not surprising to find fissures in the new political movements it stresses it out that these fissures are natural to men hence unavoidable which reflects the human nature concept at play behind Zimbabwean factional politics.

3.5 Regionalism and tribalism

Tribalism as acknowledged by Macmillan Dictionary, is a very strong loyalty that someone feels for the group they belong to, usually combined with the feeling of disliking all other groups or being different from them while regionalism is defined as the feeling of loyalty for a particular region, basing on these definitions applying them to political contexts of their influence to creation of factions, regionalism and tribalism are therefore consciousness and consideration of tribal and regional background in political decisions and actions. This regional and tribal consciousness has influenced to a great degree the actions behind Zimbabwe's politicians and political parties since their formation thereby causing factions and splits, the major competition has been between the two most dominant tribes and regions of the Shona and Ndebele tribes and their associated regions of Mashonaland and Matebeleland. According to Pindula online the formation of ZANU PF in 1963 as a split from ZAPU was ethnic based, based on the Shona and Ndebele ethnicities located in Zimbabwe's different regions which can be termed as regionalism at play. Sabelo (n.d).

Ndlovu in Makombe (2011) asserts that what has not been said about the split of 1963 is that it was partly to do with which ethnic group between Ndebele-oriented and Shona-oriented ones considered itself the authentic subjects of the nation with primal rights to rule over

Zimbabwe at the end of colonial rule and that Ndabaningi Sithole miscalculated by leading the split because he did not belong to those who were claiming primal ethnic rights to inherit Zimbabwe from white colonizers and it was inevitable that he would be deposed, hence the final control of the split by Mugabe, proving the influence of tribalism and regionalism over splits in Zimbabwean political parties. Whiz (2009) asserts that the 2005 split of Zimbabwe's main opposition party the MDC was likely fuelled by strains caused by Morgan Tsvangirai treason trial and tribalism, as revealed by an unpublished report compiled by the party. He asserts that though the party is considered to have split due to the senate issue, a report had already been made prior that, which explained that the party was inexorably heading towards a split plagued by tribal mistrust and competing political ambitions.

The report acknowledges tribal regional fights between the Ndebele and Shona with Tsvangirai and other leaders alienated to the Shona faction by way of their tribal origins while Ncube and Sibanda alienated to the Ndebele faction as they are tribally Ndebele. The factional fight was recorded to have grown thicker in the issue of who would stand for Tsvangirai in his absence on the treason trial as his next in line were Ndebele the likes of Sibanda and Ncube, so the Shona led faction fought to prevent a Ndebele dominated MDC party which led to the 2005 split though it happened in the pretext of the senate issue but was originally regional and tribal. Cliffe and Stoneman (1989) allude to this view citing that the nature and content of the leadership contest that has characterized post-independence Zimbabwe has been in general not been overtly ideological, however the tendency for party barons with their local bases to compete with each other at the national level posed several kinds of difficulties within the party.

First the sustaining of their local base and the furthering of their national standing determined their tactical calculations rather than the furtherance of any coherent strategy, this competition between the barons stirred up factionalism among leaders and top officials that was supposedly based on ethnic grounds associated with certain regions hence regionalism influence in creation of factions. The MDC-T congress held in 2011 in Bulawayo had tracts of regional fights as acknowledged by Zoli (2011), as the contests intensified party officials went for broke and threw everything, including regionalism and tribalism, into the fray. Tribalism and factionalism made the fight for positions even uglier, for instance, the fight for MDC-T chairmanship between Moyo and Lucia Matibenga degenerated into a tribal battle.

The result of all this fierce infighting and dirty politics was to leave the party badly fractured and reeling from exacerbated factionalism and deep internal divisions.

The overtime Mutambara and Ncube leadership tussle can be interpreted also along these tribal lines as they are of the different alleged competing tribes. Considering these tribal and regional plays and allegations it is discreet to note that these have caused factions and splits in both the ZANU PF and MDC formations though it has not been acknowledged by the political players, they have chosen to play it in the hiding yet it's very evident in analysis of their actions, decisions and policies that prove this biasness, which is an explanation of the occurrence of many splits under other pretexts yet in the long run it would have been purely regional and tribal.

3.6 Disregarding the rule of law in decision making

Constitutionalism as acknowledged by Cambridge Journals online is associated with the study of the constitutive elements of legal and political practice that are central for the assessment of its legality or legitimacy, it analyses the role of fundamental norms, the type of actors, and the institutions and procedures through which legal and political decisions are made. In a more narrow modern sense constitutionalism focuses on the basic ideas relating to justice (such as human rights), procedural fairness and participation for example democracy and the rule of law as they relate to institutional practices and policies in and beyond the state. In a clearer way constitutionalism in this context will refer to the existence of governing laws in political parties and their adherence to those laws. It is explored in this analysis that some factions and splits that have rocked ZANU PF and MDC are a result of unconstitutional tendencies, which have acted as push factors driving other members away to form factions and to split against unconstitutional tendencies.

According to Holland (2014)'s speech under the Guardians Council which serves to offer wisdom and advice to national party leadership, in the Herald, it reported that the unconstitutional tendencies by party leaders have caused harm to the party as they are acting against the party's constitution by attacking each other both verbally and physically which is a violation of article (4).6 of the MDC party. The resulting deep and dangerous internal party divisions have separated the party from its values and focus. She further notes that in clear violation of the party constitution, the National Standing Committee has formed factions that

are splitting the party down to the grassroots where party structures are openly fighting and injuring one another, the party factions have been acting unconstitutionally by claiming to have suspended each others leaders.

These factional wars cannot be separated from constitutional issues, they are all centred around the constitutional debate which is a highlight of the constitutional attributes to the creation of factions and splitting of parties. According to the MDC Youth Assembly the 2005 MDC split has been largely articulated to have been caused by the debate whether or not to participate in the senate election in which the party held an internal election which was won in favour of the pro-senate group and the president Tsvangirai is alleged to have dictatorially opposed the results and made a final declaration as the party president that the party was not going to participate in the senate election even if it means the party breaks up, which led to the party split, undermining the rule of the election, which was unconstitutional. These dictatorial tendencies have been regarded as against the rule of law and against the party constitution forcing other members to split out as they accused the party president Tsvangirai of dictatorially overriding the rule of the constitution and election thus leading to the split and the creation of the MDC-Mutambara which later became MDC-N. These above constitutional issues and other unconstitutional allegations have been said to have led to some factions thus the contribution of the constitutional debate to factionalism.

3.7 Lack of common ideology

Lack of a common ideology has also been attributed as one of the drives to formation of factions as they align on the basis of sharing the similar ideology or ideas. Ideology as asserted by Cambridge Dictionary (2015) is a set of beliefs or principles, especially one on which a political system, party, or organization is based. Considering the definition that ideology is a set of principles upon which a political party and its leaders are based, failure to have this common ideology will lead to factions and splits as said and evidenced by some sources in the politics of ZANU PF and MDC. Eppel (2008) acknowledges that the 2005 MDC split which crystallized over the issue of whether or not to participate in the senate election was caused by lack of good leadership and lack of ideological unity, with most of more credible Ndebele leadership in one faction, which occurred after years of intense state oppression.

It can be deduced from this background that the pro-senate group shared a similar ideology while the anti-senate group also shared a similar ideology in which they would not compromise to exist together in one union thus leading to the split, which is a long time contribution of lack of common ideology shaping factional lines along the party. According to Magaisa (2015) the reason why Zimbabwe's opposition parties split so much is due to lack of ideological fluency. He asserts that these parties are not formed around firm ideologies that people believe in but are formed around individuals or the need to remove individuals which leads people to find a new person and form another party when they are frustrated with a leader. He acknowledges that it is different with ZANU PF as it has an ideology though criticised but it is there as it holds on to something, ideas like land reform, pan-africanism, indigenization and black empowerment.

He further asserts that the MDC was formed by different disparate groups with different interests with the primary mission of removing ZANU PF and Mugabe from power yet there was no firm ideology that brought these disparate interests together thus leading to splits as any group that sees itself better to achieve the goal will just form another party, all these conceptions reveal the contribution of lack of common ideology leading to factionalism and party splits. ZANU is no exception to splits that are a result of lack of commonness in party ideology as it can be deduced from what is acknowledged by Sibanda (2005) that the 1963 split that led to its formation was due to resentment to Nkomo's tactics and even the following split by Ndabaningi Sithole was also a clash of ideas as he did not like Mugabe's militant agenda, these different tactics and ideas are part of an ideology as in its simpler terms it represent a set of a party's shared ideas, thus ideological differences also contributed to splits in ZANU PF, which is all an expression of ideological contributions to factionalism.

3.8 Unfair distribution of political gains and resources.

The resources are spread among party owner and is an issue of importance to curb wars. The disgruntled members of a party can form factions and use other morals as a smokescreen for achieving power them to acquire resources and gains . The lagging behind of Matebeleland in terms of development has been attributed to factionalism that has led to ZAPUs split from ZANU PF after the unity accord which is as a result of unfair distribution of resources within Zanu PF. This can be traced from the explanation of the splitting moves

by ZANU and ZAPU during the 1980 elections before independence. They already had division based on geographical and tribal lines even the voting patterns explain it all .

To prove this Sachikonye (2011) asserts that divisions are avenues to power and resources but also to marginalization. An early diagnosis pointed out regionalism as a basis of factionalism in ZANU PF, amongst the factional leaders using their region as a basis. As time went on, power struggles were expressed through provincial factions spread throughout the country. All these wars are regarded as desires to represent their regions due to fears that the national cake may not be equally shared on those who will have minor influence, thus the role of unfair distribution of political gains and resources in shaping factionalism.

3.9 External and Western Influence

Political parties are competitive entities in nature and seek to dominate and override other players so as to acquire power and influence and cannot be devoid from the game of interfering in the business of other parties to be able to counter them. The fact that they seek funding from external hands makes them to suffer from external interference and influence as they will be getting funding and will have to play the game according to the tune of the resource supplier to enable continuous flow of the funding resource. External influence and western influence have also been said as an outcry in Zimbabwe's political parties contributing to factionalism and splits.

According to Sabelo Gatsheni Ndlovu (2014) the cause of the splits that rocked the Zimbabwean political parties since 1963 cannot be one cause but multiple causes amongst these multiple causes he cites external penetration as part of the cause to the splits. Kahuni (2014) asserts that the problems of factionalism in MDC-T are engineered by the West funding as alleged that they create puppet political parties that serves to enforcing regime change agenda attested by alleged withdrawal of funding from Tsvangirai to Biti who now stands on democratic grounds which he is alleged to use as a smokescreen to further the regime change agenda of his western funders who now want a new person to use unlike Tsvangirai who proved incompetent, which has led to these multiple splits. The MDC has also put blame over its splitting on the interference by ZANU PF and the CIO into its internal affairs leading to factions and splits, The Insider online (2012) alludes to this view as it cites

the commission saying the MDC had been infiltrated by the CIO leading to splits and further disturbances in the factions.

The MDC formations have blamed the ZANU PF over many of the factional plays as they even align Mutambara with ZANU PF and blame it over the factional wars that rocked the party. The ZANU PF also blame the Western former colonial states over its factional problems as it views some factions as funded to cause regime change in the country, as it sees even some who split out as puppets of the West. Kahuni (2014) alludes to this view as he cites that political parties that are founded and sustained by western donor funds to cover the West regime change agendas are bound to experience political turmoil. The Western intention were to use the academic freedom spearheaded by intellectuals to disturb the state affecting the ruling party to gain political power , this evidence and more cannot dismiss the contribution of external influence and western influence over factional plays in Zimbabwean politics.

3.10 Lack of firmly established party binding structure

Absence of firmly established party binding structures on its own can lead to the emergency of factional alignments and splits. A political party should be able to devise mechanisms to unite its members into fitting within its ideas and should create a history of common suffering or experiences that it refers to in order to counter factionalism with splits. This has kept ZANU PF to contain factionalism as it is bonded by the liberation struggle history and refers to it consistently which brings a sense of unity and loyalty to the party avoiding members of moving out of the party through splits, unlike the MDC which does not share a long time historical experience, though it might be there it fails to constantly refer to it thus the splits that rocked it. Magaisa (2015) alludes to binding structures that should be there such as structures of discipline, loyalty and patience to maintain the party without splits occurring, which he cites lacking in the opposition parties in Zimbabwe making them to split so much unlike ZANU PF which has these structures respected binding the party together avoiding major party splits. He cites that there are greater costs of leaving the ZANU PF party as seen that even the dismissed members or punished have always been quiet and humble to bear their punishment returning back into the party, the likes of Jonathan Moyo and others which is not found in the opposition forces.

3.11 Lack of political strategy

Political parties to survive with influence and power have to have a political strategy garnered by the party leader; failure to have a political strategy will lead to the collapse of the party, to factions and to splits. The political leader should have political skill to quickly address any arising changing events in a healthy way which does not fracture the party and political strategy to counter the opponent parties. Onslow (2011) acknowledges that Tsvangirai's political skills are frequently questioned and widely not respected while Mugabe manages to dominate and win popular support through supreme political skills which involves his ability as an orator and communicator, and his charismatic leadership, which can be interpreted as the strengths that has accounted to his ability to contain factionalism without major party splits occurring unlike in the MDC and all its formations. Many scholars have attributed ZANU PF's success story to the intellectual capacity and political strategies of Mugabe in which in regard to factionalism he has managed to play around the factions avoiding a party split.

According to Chigora (2011) experience counts for a party to be in power which lacks in MDC against their rival Mugabe who is more experienced in politics, and has witnessed the party splits, but managed to manoeuvre his way around. He attributes the splits that is affected MDC to be the cause of poor performance in politics. The lack of political strategy in MDC has led to failure to manage party splits. Mugabe and ZANU PF who now has lots of political experience as evidenced by his ability to manoeuvre progressively through the challenges hence leading to a good strategy in managing factionalism avoiding main splits. Lack of succession policy Issues relating to succession have been very critical in lack of clear or succession plans and policies that govern the succession of political party leaders which has led the main political parties in Zimbabwe the ZANU PF and MDC with its formations to be linked to certain leader names monopolizing party controls for years, making it difficult for there to be any leadership transitions leading to splits.

According to Mlambo (2015) factionalism that has currently marred ZANU PF party is based on Mugabe's succession power struggle and cannot be ended by the dismissal of a faction leader but can only be solved through the solving of Mugabe's permanent succession question, when it becomes clear on who will succeed him. The end to factionalism is to correct on the problem cause which is lack of a succession policy, ZANU PF should have

clear a succession policy and procedures for succession that explains clearly the leadership intermediary terms to correct succession crisis, unless so the crisis continues as attested by these succession wars reported in the media . Magaisa (2015) asserts that planning and the unwillingness by leaders to give way to others are often major points of incongruity in political parties, leading to the formation of splinter organizations. He further asserts that the split of 2014 of MDC Renewal Team was caused by grievance that the party leader Tsvangirai had outlived his usefulness but was unwilling relinquish power.

All these succession wars in the political parties in Zimbabwe have been due to this lack of succession policies which makes the party principals to monopolize the party ruling power as seen by the long stay by Tsvangirai at the helm of the MDC though disgruntlements have been there over succeeding him even over its democratic relevance, this issue is left unresolved creating more and more splits along the journey to regime change, making Tsvangirai a mimic of Mugabe as regards the commonness of their monopolistic characteristics of maintaining grip on party leadership power, thus succession's contribution to factionalism. Summary of immediate triggers of splits. The above listed causes of factionalism expressed in this chapter are part of the many drivers to factionalism as they involve both long term and short term contributions to splits. The subsequent party splits that rocks political parties are a combination of multifarious long time players behind the political movements which take the form of all the above listed causes and waits until the final split plug sparks, determining the final major breakaway splits.

These sparkers are not necessarily the cause of the splits but are just used as arenas for splits due to the long term dissatisfactions and contributions of factors that would have brought factional alignments which will be waiting for a justifiable cause to split, a hide to the real factional long term drives in the political movements. This last analysis of this chapter summarizes the immediate triggers of the splits that have been used to justify the causes of the splits though they are not the real drives of the splits as will be expressed later in this study findings on what the real causes are, leading to splits. The first split of 1963 that led to the formation of ZANU has been justifiably presented as caused by the frictions that rocked ZAPU due to its being banned by the Rhodesian government which threatened its existence as alluded to by Sibanda (2005) and is also sometimes expressed as caused by dissatisfaction of the militant tactics of Nkomo, the following split by NdabaningiSithole to form ZANU

Ndonga has been justified to have been caused by differences in the militant agenda that Mugabe had while Sithole resented.

The events that followed were the factional rebel lines led by Nhari in 1974 in the ZANLA forces of ZANU in which Nhari rebelled with Badza against ZANU and its High Command with the justification that he was dissatisfied with the fact that members of ZANU High Command were squandering party funds abroad in luxury those which were meant for the struggle while the others were suffering as alluded to by White (2003) though they are other factors to that cause. This was followed with the split from the Patriotic Front of ZANU and ZAPU towards the 1980 elections as Nkomo and Mugabe wanted to contest separately struggling for the presidency as alluded to by Sibanda (2005). This was followed by the dismissal of Edgar Tekere from certain posts like the ministerial post in 1981 and his final expulsion from the party which led to the formation of the ZUM (Zimbabwe Unity Movement) led by Tekere himself, this was attributed to the fact that Tekere opposed the way the party operated, Mugabe's dictatorial tendencies and sheltering corruption as acknowledged by Chigora (2015). He also acknowledges the following events of the 20th Century ZAPU split by Dabengwa which he termed as regional and ideological in the nature of its cause. There is also a recording of factional lines of dismissed members like Simba Makoni frustrated by the long rule of Mugabe and Jonathan Moyo who stood as an independent candidate in the 2005 parliamentary election and later was reinstated in the party as was dismissed on grounds of challenging the president's plan to appoint Joyce Mujuru as deputy president. The MDC and its 2005 split attributed to have been caused by the debate over to participate in the senate election.

The further split with the formation of MDC-99 led by Job Sikhala over power struggles as acknowledged by Whiz (2009), the splitting of many MDC-T members to stand in the elections as private candidates due to dissatisfactions over the conduct of the party's primary elections and dictatorial impositions of candidates by Tsvangirai. The 2013 MDC-T split and the formation of the Renewal Team largely attributed to the succession struggle and undemocratic unwillingness of Tsvangirai to step down as alluded to by Chigora (2015). He further explains the current succession factional fights in ZANU PF divided along the Mujuru and Mnangagwa camps which led to suspensions and dismissals with Mujuru dismissed from

the party on accusations of corruption, assassination attempts and fanning of factionalism in a bid to gain power.

3.12 Development of factionalism in Zimbabwe

Sibanda (2005) asserts that in the pre-independence era was witnessed the formation of liberation political parties ZAPU and was banned by the Rhodesian government and this move caused factions within the party's leaders as it was threatened its existence by the day's government, in 1962 the movement split, this saw the coming together of various ZAPU executives in Highfields in August 1963 and formed a new party Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) headed by Ndabaningi Sithole with Robert Mugabe as the party's secretary general. Joshua Nkomo was left with the leadership of ZAPU and later the ZANU split as Ndabaningi Sithole formed the ZANU Ndonga with a minority Ndau people which later was known as (ZANU Mwenje) and left ZANU Mugabe who had a more militant agenda. Later the ZANU and ZAPU came together in what was called the Patriotic Front in order to get majority rule and after getting majority rule they split again and stood at the 1980 elections separately as Mugabe's ZANU PF and Nkomo's PF ZAPU, with Mugabe's ZANU PF winning the elections and Nkomo's ZAPU retaining a stronghold in the provinces of Matebeleland. According to KuvakaZim (2015) there were two splits within ZANU prior independence, first was with Nathan Shamhuyarira and others leaving to join FROLIZI in 1973 after his bid for party leadership was defeated by Chitepo, after Chitepo's assassination Sithole assumed leadership but the Mgagao declaration led to the split of Sithole and the group led by Mugabe and Muzenda which wanted violent struggle which Sithole resented and had backing of ZANLA forces. According to White (2003) the events that followed were the factional rebel lines led by Nhari in 1974 in the ZANLA forces of ZANU in which Nhari rebelled with Badza against ZANU and its High Command with the justification that he was dissatisfied with the fact that members of ZANU High Command were squandering party funds abroad in luxury those which were meant for the struggle while the others were suffering which led to their assassination. According to Sibanda (2005) the independence era saw the occurrence of a lot of events in the country's politics with the coming in of majority rule and a democratic government which allowed freedom of political expression thus leading to the formation of new political parties.

After independence there was a civil war outbreak termed Gukurahundi, in 1987 the opposition party ZAPU led by Joshua Nkomo was absorbed through the unity accord into ZANU PF in what was seen as a move towards a one party state thus the beginning of a ZANU PF party of combined ZANU and ZAPU executives with a move towards achieving a common goal. The Telescope news online (2014) records the split of Edgar Tekere who was second to Mugabe who left to form the ZUM party, 2008 Simba Makoni left to form the MKD party and Jonathan Moyo stood as an independent candidate in the elections. According to online (2015) online, ZAPU executives split again after the unity accord to re-establish the ZAPU party under Dabengwa.

In 1999 was formed a new political party MDC by the Trade Unionist leader Morgan Tsvangirai with the hope to enforce regime change in the country. In 2006 the MDC party split into two factions one led by Morgan Tsvangirai which became known as MDC-T and the other break away party led by Arthur Mutambara and it became known as MDC-M, and later as MDC-N led by Welshman Ncube who later took over the party from Mutambara due to factions within the party as alluded to by Fakir (2008). According to Whiz (2009) the MDC-N further split into formation of MDC 99 led by Job Sikhala. The MDC-T has been surrounded by factional politics as there has been the Tendai Biti faction eyeing to succeed Morgan Tsvangirai and also the Tsvangirai faction led by him the long-time party leader who had no thoughts of surrendering the position to any other as is outlined by the party's constitution in the leadership terms.

According to Magaisa (2015) in April 2014 the MDC suffered another major split due to grievances over the long stay of Tsvangirai who refused to let go, which led to the formation of the MDC-Renewal Team. The ZANU PF itself is no exception it split in November 2008 as group of former ZAPU members came out and formed ZAPU again, there was also formation of Mavambo party by former ZANU PF minister of finance Simba Makoni and Zimbabwe Union for Democrats (ZUD) party by the dismissed ZANU PF member Margaret Dongo as alluded to by Fakir (2008), he further notes that in 2008 there was also the split of Professor Jonathan Moyo from the party and stood independently for the elections which has also been noticed in the recent elections as some ZANU PF members stood as independent candidates, the ZANU Ndonga led by Sithole is also a result of ZANU PF split. In 2015, issues of factionalism continued to be reported within ZANU PF which was are seen as a bid

to succeed the president who was old and expected to retire, the Factions were reported to be five which were led by the former vice president Joyce Mujuru, former defence minister Emmerson Mnangagwa, The Military, The Youths (G40) and lastly the Mugabe faction dominated by all who are loyal to him. The most prominent members in these factional politics are Emmerson Mnangagwa and Joyce Mujuru who are reported to be fighting in an indirect manner in order to secure positions for leadership. They led different factions of those who are loyal to them, they were reports even in the 2013 cabinet that they were fighting secretly to acquire for themselves and their factions most influential posts that can help them step easily to the presidential post.

The 2015 political field in relation to factionalism witnessed some hidden factional plays come to the open as the ZANU PF party expelled many of its members alleged to be behind these factional plays, the likes of the dismissed vice president Joyce Mujuru, Gumbo, Mutasa and other key party long time leaders who were dismissed with vote of no confidence. These dismissed members are alleged to be behind the Mujuru faction with the party remaining with the Mnangagwa faction who was promoted to vice presidency. The year 2017 saw the results of factionalism ending the ruler ship of a long-time dictator Robert Mugabe through a well-planned coup by the Mnangagwa faction in corhot with the military. A house arrest on Mugabe and his family was reported. Musengi (2017) noted that the leaders of the two factions in ZANU PF were aiming for presidency since Robert Mugabe was old. He allucidate Team Lacoste was the strong faction since it was backed up by the military. The development of factionalism in Zimbabwe brought together negative and positive effects in the country's political landscape. This study therefore brings a closer in sight on the development of factionalism in Zimbabwe political parties.

3.14 Effects of the development of factionalism in Zimbabwe

Tracing back the development of factionalism in Zimbabwe, it can be eluded that factionalism brought both positive and negative effects to the political socio economic situation in Zimbabwe. The formation of ZANU PF as a result of factionalism enabled the party to spearhead the country in its bid to gain independence.

3.15 Negative and positive effects of factionalism

The study of the field of factionalism has proven factionalisms unavoidable nature in any human setup starting from the simplest family arrangement to a broader social grouping, but its necessity has been untold in the public sphere though its evils have been said they also lack deep analysis over their negative extent hence the attempt by this chapter to first explain factionalism and its unavoidable nature then do a cost-benefit analysis over the phenomenon of factionalism to determine whether it has greater costs or benefits to political parties so that it may be possible to devise mechanisms to manage this phenomenon to the benefit and progress of a political movement.

3.16 Factionalism and its unavoidable nature

The existence and occurrence of factionalism in political parties is part and parcel of the drive of human nature as explained by various theories of Madison, Harmel, Plato and Hobbes and other informative contributions as will be highlighted which have all agreed to explain factionalism as inevitable and part of human society. These theories and the practical examples that history has recorded makes it a realistic fact that factionalism is unavoidable as this is based on what is on the ground rather than just mere theoretical explanations. According to Madison as long as the reason of man continues fallible and he is at liberty to exercise it, different opinions will be formed, these different opinions and reason will lead to heated and sometimes violent division in society the latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of man; and we see them everywhere brought into different degrees of activity, according to the different circumstances of civil society.

He concludes from this analysis that the causes of factions cannot be removed, and that a solution instead must be sought by minimizing the effects of factions, this proves factionalism unavoidable. To support this premise it is clear looking in the Zimbabwean context of the factional plays that have been witnessed over time in the dominant parties the ZANU PF and MDC that factionalism and human societies interlink and are in each other's pocket. This study practical factional evidence that underlie the historical developments of the ZANU PF and MDC parties proves that factionalism has unavoidable nature as the formation of ZANU as a split from ZAPU in 1963 in itself could not distance itself from factions though it was already a faction, it split again with Sithole forming the ZANU

Ndonga, as if it was enough and free from factions as Sithole had left Nhari led another factional rebellion following his assassination and his factional colleagues, as if factionalism was now totally dealt with Edgar Tekere led other factional lines until his dismissal from the party up to dismissal of Makoni another faction leader, Dabengwa split again then the recent factional lines of Mnangagwa and Mujuru which led to Mujuru's expulsion from the party and the rise of more factional talks, this ZANU journey alone has proven that factions cannot be avoided though dismissals, splits and assassinations of factions can be seen, more factions will still emerge as it is part of human nature to be aligned to factions. The MDC's journey reflects the same with its first split in 2005 with formation of MDC-T and MDC-M then following MDC-99, MDC-Renewal Team, many independent candidate splits during election times and other splits not mentioned here and factions within the splits proving the same unavoidable nature of factionalism in any human society or movement as one split will produce other splits then multiple splits with the equation continuing like that, with no party being immune to this factional virus hence its unavoidable temperament.

3.17 Cost Benefit Analysis

This study here carries out an analysis of the costs of factionalism in political parties and its benefits to that effect in order to be able to determine effective ways of managing it to the advantage of a political party that it may serve its existence in a much easier way winning the electorate and beating other parties without being disturbed by factional issues. Costs of factionalism and splitting Various contributions have been put to try explain the costs of factionalism to political parties which are a matter of diverging different opinions but this study scrutinizes all as valuable to explain the different angles that these contributions affect political parties in regard to the factional debate. According to Boucek (2009) factionalism takes three forms which are co-operative, degenerative and competitive. He acknowledges that conflicting factional partialities and polarized party opinion produces 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. Factional capture jeopardizes prompting a destructive series of factionalism, and parties that monopolize power for a stretched time are particularly rendered to this jeopardy. In the completeness of time, the solitary-minded hunt of factional goals makes public horrific, such as unaccountable governments and misused public resources,

which can convert a party into a value-destroying brand. Conversely, too much factional struggle and fragmentation can threaten parties and form decisional stalemate, without valuable leadership and institutional checks and balances to limit scrapping, competitive factionalism dangers running out of control. According to Kollner and Basedau (2005) factions can weaken the organization and the efficiency of political parties, precise dissent contained in a party and ensuing repression can take parties to the margin of disintegration and beyond. Factionalism leads also to intra-party assessments on personnel that are not based on merit and capability of the people involved but on their factional connection. Faction-based dissent can harm a party's capacity to employ new members, to run effective campaigns, and to enter coalitions, leads to contradictory and blurry positions of a party and thus cases voters' decisions more complicated. It can disturb or block intra-party discussions and issue-oriented debates can be drawn into the vortex of inter-factional power struggles, in some cases factionalism can even be made responsible for corruption within a political party or even within the political system at large. In totting up, factions can harm or decline the moral authority and integrity of personage parties or the whole party system and can threaten the party system and it can lead to increasing suspicion on the part of voters.

Wafawarova (2014) in Zimbabwe specific involvement comment that factionalism can made ZANU PF to fail, and one can focus on the bickering between politicians across the political divide as evidence of this and undermine cohesion and efficiency of political parties and he bases his view on citing the example that the president Mugabe complained the effects of factionalism in on succession competitors within the ZANU PF. He further asserts that in the worst case base it can lead to splits and disintegration as seen with the splintering of MDC into at least five rival groups since 2005. It leads to blurry policy standings within a party as seen in the contradicting conflicts of ZANU PF officials over the indigenization policy and over media polarity.

3.18 Benefits of factionalism

Factionalism though publicly viewed as an evil it has got its unpublicized benefits which have been explained differently as matters of divergent opinion contributions but are all scrutinized as jointly valuable to this study to present an unbiased overall analysis of the phenomenon. According to Boucek (2009) factionalism is a multifaceted phenomenon which can change itself in response to incentives, basing on conclusions of factionalized political

parties in established democracies he argues that benefits of factionalism are often overlooked as factionalism can acquire different faces of co-operative, degenerative and competitive natures at different times under specific conditions. He explains that a factional configuration has the prospective to raise the aggregate capacity of political parties and to aid intra-party cooperation where centripetal incentives exist, by affording a structure of cooperation among separate intra-party groups, factionalism can broaden horizons of party appeals and speed up party integration to the extent that factions articulate the opinions and policy preferences of divide societal clusters and assemble separate memberships and communities of interests within a solitary group, they can play a constructive role in building integrated parties, in a nutshell, factionalism has the potential to be consensus-building.

Boucek (2009) further asserts that cooperative factionalism can get a bipartisan form and be a force for good if it lessens political radicalism and eases cross-party cooperation by allowing members from opposing parties to moderate the stances of their political heads, as long as it facilitates cooperation factionalism can be good for parties and for democracy. Factions have the potential to widen choices for voters and party followers by providing a mechanism of internal differentiation among leadership contestants and their particular agendas, can also moderate party heads' policy stances and promote the nomination of modest politicians in legislatures and governments. Moreover, a factional structure can empower party grassroots, politicians, activists and the rank and file by granting them a chance in party decision making.

Bousek (2009) acknowledges that factions provide group members with the means to communicate with their heads to be able to bring them to account, he suggests that competitive factionalism may provide for long-term management solutions to heads of complex political parties that monopolize government for a long time and by providing a method of elite circulation it can re-energize democratic politics in sub competitive party systems, however the absence of sufficient safeguards, factional struggle can become excessive, hence to contain factional pressures under management, leaders have to be cautious to this danger and to listen to the worries of dissenting groups within their parties. Three main facets of factionalism have been identified here which are cooperative, degenerative and competitive, with cooperative factionalism which is often associated with party development and regime change being essentially consensus-building. By making easy

the comprehensive capacity of parties while safeguarding subgroup identities, a factional organization may be influential in upholding intra-party cooperation and in building integrated parties. As long as it is managed, competitive factionalism can be a force for good. It can widen voter choice where it is restricted for example in sub-competitive party systems; it can improve intra-party democracy; for example by facilitating debate and communication between leaders and followers and by granting rebels a voice. Factionalism can offer a structure for internal power-sharing and conflict resolution. Looking at the Zimbabwean specific contributions Wafawarova (2014) asserts that positively factionalism kills apathy and generates interests in our country's politics and this may be good, sometimes factionalism furthers a good principle and provides a good sense of belonging to members. It can also be argued that factions promote generational change and he cites Zimbabwe as one nation where an entire generation has struggled roughly to formulate an important contribution to the country's politics. It increases debate and competition within a party which is good and can moderate a party in its actions. An overall look to the cost benefit analysis, it is evident that there is more literature on the benefits that factionalism brings than its costs which will encourage its management to avoid the costs and utilize its benefits for the good of a political party.

3.19 Solutions to factionalism

This chapter focuses on an analytical unveiling of the strategies that have been employed by the political parties under study to deal with the phenomenon of factionalism in a bid to avoid its bad attributes to the party's overall progress and the avoidance of major splits as expressed in this study's recorded literature. The reaction that these political parties took to address factionalism shall be taken in this section as its strategy to deal with this phenomenon and a number of reactions to factionalism have been recorded in the history of these political parties though some of them were not regarded as strategies, this chapter will refer to such actions as strategies. Solutions to factionalism were also provided by the public respondents. These include a strong political will, trust, constitutionalisation, well defined reasons for creation of factions.

3.20 Chapter summary

The chapter analysed the causes and development of factionalism in Zimbabwe. Its implications to the economic development were critically examined in this chapter. Considering the facts outlined in the chapter on the causes of factionalism, one is made to conclude that one of the major reasons for factionalism is the struggle for power. The greediness of power by recognized political figures is one of the major drivers of factionalism. Factionalism have both negative and positive effects on the economic development of Zimbabwe; factional fights in ZANU PF increased in draining the country's national purse however it brought a new dispensation through the removal of Robert Mugabe who had overstayed in power. It provided Zimbabweans with a new hope on the resuscitation of their economic development schemes.

CHAPTER 4: IMPACT OF FACTIONALISM ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

4.1 Introduction

Factionalism in Zimbabwe crippled the economic development in the country since leaders tended to forget about improving the crumbling economy but rather concentrated on factional fights towards the acquisition of power. The state of affairs in the Zimbabwean economy needs to be prioritized by the leaders. Factionalism in Zimbabwe has contributed both negatively and positively Zimbabwe's political development. Intensified factionalism within ZANU (PF) represents probably the biggest threat to the resuscitation of Zimbabwe's national socio-economic-political fortunes between now and the next elections in 2018. When the government of national unity was formed in 2009, there was potential for economic prosperity thanks to the resumption of regional and international trade, coupled with inflows from international financial institutions and donor support for social and public services. Under the inclusive government, the economy stabilized, and became dollarized. Economic projections suggested that Zimbabwe's economy was supposed to grow by 3.7 per cent in 2009. Official statistics indicated that the budget deficit was expected to narrow down from 21.4 per cent in 2009 to 19.9 per cent in 2010. All these assumptions seem to be just dreams not reality since the economy continued to decline. The scarcity of money in the country saw people waiting in long queues for several hours only to get a \$50 to home.

This happened when factionalism in ZANU PF was at its peak. This therefore shows that factionalism impacted the economy of Zimbabwe negatively compromising the lives of innocent citizens. The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) reported that more than 1800 workers lost their jobs in the first quarter of 2014. We are now a far cry from achieving the 1.2 million jobs that ZANU-PF promised in the last elections. Today, the government of Zimbabwe faces a number of economic challenges, including deteriorating social and economic infrastructure, regulatory deficiencies, a large external debt burden of over US\$10 billion, over 80 per cent unemployment, and a lack of investor confidence according to Mungwiniri(2018).

This lack of confidence amongst investors was partly due to a distrust of Mugabe himself, but it was also due to the pressures that leaders are under to press forward with plans to indigenize the economy. The ZANU-PF government's indigenization policy required that

in sectors like mining, foreign investors surrender 51 per cent of their share to indigenous entrepreneurs. In practice, this is not motivated by a desire for radical redistribution but rather by an urge to further enrich ZANU PF elites. Effective and inclusive economic policies in Zimbabwe are notable by their absence. Therefore factionalism in ZANU PF drained the country to its bone since the elites prioritized their individual interests of obtaining power and expanding their wealth.

4.2 ZANU PF and MDC-T factional struggles

The country's economic problems are being exacerbated by the imploding factionalism in the MDC formations and ZANU-PF. Zimbabwe Democracy Institute's analysis is these tensions are not due to any incompatible ideas on democratization, but by personal political and economic ambitions playing out ahead of their respective elective congresses in December 2014. The MDC, led by former Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai, was defined by the politics of factionalism within bruised and weakened political opposition. ZANU-PF, on the other hand, was wracked by factions struggling over President Mugabe's successor.

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. The struggle for succession was dominated by two factions, one led by former Vice President Joyce Mujuru and by the current president Emmerson Mnangagwa. Neither of these groups have more than an instrumental interest in supporting democratization and inclusive development in Zimbabwe. Both parties were not interested in the development of the economy, it must be noted with great concern that all these factional fights increased to bruise the economic ulcer to death.

While ZANU PF was embroiled in its internal strife, the opposition MDC split following its electoral loss. One faction led by its former secretary general Tendai Biti, accused leader Morgan Tsvangirai of undemocratic and violent practices. The immediate trigger for the split in February 2014 was a letter written by Elton Mangoma, the party's deputy treasurer and a Biti ally, calling Tsvangirai to resign following his electoral defeat and in light of his increasingly undemocratic leadership style. For the better part of the year, the opposition party has been tearing itself apart rather than taking advantage of ZANU-PF's instability to consolidate a support base ahead of the next elections in 2018.

4.3 factionalism and its threats it poses to Zimbabwean economy

The factional fights that intensified within ZANU PF and MDC pressured the economy and made them to ignore the implementation of economic policies like ZIMASSET. 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. Citizen participation in terms of policy formulation is being ignored by the factional leaders who continue to fight for personal satisfaction in form of power and wealthy. The implications of factionalism to the economic development in Zimbabwe are more of a human right violation as far as morality is concerned. The majority of people in Zimbabwe are unemployed and living in almost abject poverty while the ruling party and the opposition are busy fighting for power rather than improving the living standards of Zimbabwean future. Factionalism has not only crippled the economy but rather jeopardized the future of democracy and the young generation in Zimbabwe.

Factions are dissensions within a group, or a group or combination of people acting together within and usually against another group within a larger body, in our particular case a political party. Even churches and corporations do have factions as well .The positives of factions include the fact that they can progressively break ranks with retrogressive traditional patterns of political behaviour, like the culture of impunity protecting errant veteran leaders from accountability. Factions arise essentially because some people within political parties will be struggling for power, and as such factions normally advance the ambitions of particular persons, and sometimes they do advance specific policies or ideology. Normally factions represent party divisions based on personal interests of factional players, not on principles, Mabvura (2015). However, factionalism in Zimbabwe brought a new dispensation through the removal of Robert Mugabe who had stayed in power for long. It also brought the emergency young and active potential leaders like Nelson Chamisa who can be able to facilitate the implementation of sound economic policy. It helped in removing a long standing political regime in Zimbabwe.

4.4 Factionalism and Zimbabwe' s trodden economy

Zimbabwe' s economy has been characterized by failure since 2000. Factional squabbles in ZANU PF started prior independence. The major reason of the factional fights being the struggle for power, saw the leaders ignoring and forgetting about mending Zimbabwe' s

economy. Majonga (2017) notes factionalism in ZANU PF as a disgrace and embarrassment to the dignity of all Zimbabweans. Their open display for the greediness of power shows that the ruling party is not concerned about the difficulties being posed by the dying economy to the people. Grace Mugabe went as far as humiliating Emmerson Mnangagwa on a Youth Interface rally in Bindura. This shows an undignified approach to politics by the former first lady. " *Zimbabweans want jobs not factional stories, we need a sound economic policy that is going to sustain our future and our children's*", chanted one of the angry respondents. Therefore, factionalism has been seen by many respondents as a taboo that is against the Zimbabwean culture and as a major driver towards the failure of the country's economy.

During the period (2014 - 2015) the economy alarmed 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 force of weak economic performance has been the production sector whose overall capacity operation has continued to demur, a situation caused by the government's failure on policy initiation mainly driven by factionalism within government operation.

Moreover, signs within the current Zimbabwean economic position are that cost rationalisation, reformation, cost-cutting, process optimisation and consolidation are likely to dominate in 2018 as organisations seeks efficiencies to maintain profitable. This course is feature to working capital shortages, high production , 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.

4.5 Chapter summary

This stage examined the effects of factionalism on economic development of Zimbabwe. Summery drawn from this shows that factionalism is unnecessary taboo. Factions in ZANU PF crippled the economy because they concentrated on grabbing power from the president. Economists argue that, this shift in power might trigger new economic policies that will improve Zimbabwe's trodden economy. Therefore, factionalism have both positive and negative impacts to the economy.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

The chapter focuses on conclusion and recommendation observed in the study by the researcher. The chapter also gives the overall stance of the researcher. Recommendations and conclusions were mostly drawn from respondents who were encountered by the researcher. 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. 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 provided a political situational maturity in the country leading to the existence of multi-party political system necessary for democratic development.

5.2 Summary of findings

The study focused on the implications of factionalism to the economic development of Zimbabwe. The economic downturn in Zimbabwe can be attributed to many factors but however factionalism remains outstanding as the basis of all socio-economic and political problems in the country. Factionalism was regarded as a sign of a weak and disorganized political party although it turned out strengthening ZANU PF under the leadership of a factional leader. It must be noted with great concern that factionalism in ZANU PF was ironic since all the alleged factional leaders refused the knowledge of their factional parties. Findings in this study concluded that factionalism at its pick in Zimbabwe contributed much to the country's economic degradation.

The failure to resuscitate the economy by the Robert Mugabe government was mainly attributed to ZANU PF factionalism. It was noted that squabbles in ZANU PF on the succession matter was blamed by respondents as the other root and continuous cause of economic failure in the country. In fact it negatively affected the socio-economic and political situation in the country. Factionalism was regarded by respondents as a sign of lack of political will and constitutionalisation. It must be noted that during the study; respondents found the research as a topic of interest since they were much concerned about how the country was being ruled.

However, factionalism is said to have brought a new political dispensation. The emergency of G40 and Team Lacoste in ZANU PF saw the genesis of Emmerson Mnangagwa government. To other respondents it is seen as the coming of a new era which might bring the long waited economic fortune. Factionalism in ZANU PF saw the demise of one of Africa's longest serving leaders; Robert Mugabe. Factional politics was seen as important in bringing change in Zimbabwe since a new leader emerged after the factional squabbles. One can conclude that without factionalism Zimbabwe would not have succeeded in removing the over stayed president. In this study respondents noted that it was important to experience some sort of change since it is a step towards the resurrection of the economic development in Zimbabwe. Hope for a sound economic development lingers in the minds of most Zimbabweans after factionalism in ZANU PF is turning out to bear fruit.

It was realised in this study, that factionalism within ZANU PF caused unnecessary security fees. In fact, ZANU-PF in itself had 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 Phelekezela Mphoko who resided in a hotel and according to the Zimbabwean Independent (2016) he spent more than US \$536 on a daily basis.

Factionalism has also stalemated the policy making framework. Factionalism made some senior officials to make policies that favoured their factional tendencies. 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.

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. Factionalism has proven to be of importance since it brought a new dispensation which saw the emergency of a new leader after 37 years of independence. 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 Recommendations

- Politicians should have a defined political will so as to accomplish the positive objectives of government and serving the citizens of Zimbabwe with quality service delivery.
- Factionalism must stop in ZANU PF and the recognition of the constitution must be regarded.
- The ruling party must implement the ZIMASSET policy so as to curb the economic problems facing the country.
- The government should ensure citizen participation in policy formulation, strategy and implementation.
- A strong local government system should be implemented in line with the requirements of the various pieces of legislation; the Zimbabwe constitution in particular.
- Auditing should be frequent in all public ministries so that accountability, transparency and efficiency would be achieved.

5.4 Chapter summary

The chapter focused on conclusions, recommendations and a summary of findings drawn from the research respondents. It answered the objectives and questions of this study basing on the respondents' point of view. The implications of factionalism to the economic development of Zimbabwe were noted as more negative than positive. Factions were seen by respondents as the major drivers of the economic downturn and the increasing rate of corruption in the country. The police were alleged to have been working for G40 leader, former first lady Grace Mugabe, collecting money from road blocks. This manipulated the majority of Zimbabweans financially since they had to pay large amounts of money to the police. However, it must be also noted that factionalism in Zimbabwe caused the removal of Robert Mugabe who had overstayed in power. Citizens of Zimbabwe are looking forward a new economic dispensation that will help them in the near future.

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