



PEACE AND GOVERNANCE

BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION

**THE IMPLICATIONS OF FACTIONALISM IN POLITICAL PARTIES: THE
CASE OF ZANU-PF IN THE POST INDEPENDENCE ERA**

BY

B1748403

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF SCIENCE IN PEACE AND
GOVERNANCE DEGREE**

2019

BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF STUDENT: B1748403

TITLE OF PROJECT: THE IMPLICATIONS OF
FACTIONALISM IN POLITICAL
PARTIES: THE CASE OF ZANU-PF IN
THE POST INDEPENDENCE ERA

**PROGRAMME FOR WHICH
PROJECT WAS PRESENTED:** MASTER OF SCIENCE IN PEACE AND
GOVERNANCE

YEAR GRANTED: 2019

Permission is hereby granted to the Bindura University of Science Education to produce single copies of this project and lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only. The author reserves other publication rights neither the project nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

Signed

Permanent Address D30 MQ
House Number 17
Manyame Air Base

Date October 2019

BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION

APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to Bindura University of Science Education for acceptance a research project titled '**the implications of factionalism in political parties: the case of ZANU-PF (1980-2017)**' submitted by Kingsley Zimbudzana in partial fulfilment of the requirements for Honours in Peace and Governance

.....

SUPERVISOR

.....

CHAIRPERSON

.....

LIBRARIAN

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my family and friends, who provided me with emotional support during my studies

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The researcher would like to thank the supervisor, Ms E. Ngwerume, for providing him with guidance during the conduct of the study. Special appreciation also goes to all participants who took part in this study because without their input, the study would not have been completed.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to analyse the types, challenges, and benefits of factionalism in the Zimbabwe African National Union, Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). The study was motivated by the fact that the history of ZANU-PF has been characterised by factionalism in both pre and post-independence periods. The overall objective of this study was to examine factionalism in ZANU-PF and propose options for its management. This study was a case study of factionalism in ZANU-PF. The issue of factionalism, its causes, and management is a highly contested and subjective issue in Zimbabwe and qualitative approach seemed to be more appropriate. The population was made up of officials in ZANU-PF, non-governmental organisations, and political analysts. There was use of quota sampling to ensure some representativeness of all the stakeholder groups pertaining to the issue of factionalism in ZANU-PF. Purposive or expert sampling technique was also in use to identify the institutions and individuals believed to be good prospects for required data. The main tools for data collection in this study were interviews. This study had qualitative data, which was analysed using thematic analysis. The research found out that factionalism is about the power dynamics in a political entity. In ZANU-PF, there have been many factions, including cooperative, competitive, and degenerative factionalism. The challenges caused by factionalism in ZANU-PF were the erosion of internal cohesion, challenges in managing the party, negative influence on electoral success, and ineffective decision-making. The main benefit of factionalism was the widening of the democratic space. The research also found out that leadership plays an important role in managing factions in political parties. The study recommended that members of political parties ought to be tolerant to the emergence of divergent groups within the party. Another recommendation was that there was a need to strengthen rules and regulations against violence and to make sure that divergent view are respected in political parties. It was also recommended that there was a need for a strong and visionary leadership. Having sound disciplinary and grievance handling procedures is essential.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

RELEASE FORM.....	ii
APPROVAL FORM.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xii
CHAPTER I.....	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.2 Aim of Study.....	4
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	5
1.4 Research Objectives.....	5
1.5 Research Questions.....	6
1.6 Assumptions.....	6
1.7 Significance of the Study.....	6
1.8 Analytical Framework.....	7
1.9 Delimitation of the Study.....	7
1.10 Limitations of the Study.....	8
1.11 Definition of Key Terms.....	8
1.12 Chapter Outline.....	9
CHAPTER II.....	10
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
2.1 Introduction.....	10
2.2 Theoretical Framework.....	10
2.3 Factionalism and its Causes.....	11
2.4 Forms of Factionalism.....	13
2.4.1 Cooperative Factionalism.....	13
2.4.2 Competitive Factionalism.....	15
2.4.3 Degenerative Factionalism.....	16
2.5 Disadvantages of Factionalism.....	17
2.6 Benefits of Factionalism.....	18
2.7 Strategies for Managing Factionalism.....	20
2.8 Chapter Summary.....	21
CHAPTER III.....	22
3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	22
3.1 Introduction.....	22
3.2 Research Design.....	22
3.3 Population.....	22
3.4 Sampling Technique.....	23
3.5 Data Collection Methods.....	23
3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation Procedures.....	24
3.7 Ethical Considerations.....	24
3.8 Summary.....	25
CHAPTER IV.....	26
4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION.....	26
4.1 Introduction.....	26

4.2	Response Rate	26
4.3	Factionalism in ZANU-PF and Its Causes	27
4.4	The Forms of Factionalism in ZANU-PF.....	33
4.4.1	Cooperative Factionalism in ZANU-PF.....	33
4.4.2	Competitive Factionalism in ZANU-PF.....	34
4.4.3	Degenerative Factionalism in ZANU-PF	35
4.5	The Challenges Caused by Factionalism in ZANU-PF.....	37
4.5.1	Erosion of Internal Cohesion.....	37
4.5.2	Challenges in Managing the Party Due to Factionalism	38
4.5.3	Negative Influence on Electoral Success	38
4.5.4	Ineffective Decision-Making.....	39
4.5.5	Impediment to Inter-Party Discussions	39
4.6	The Benefits of Factionalism in ZANU-PF	39
4.6.1	Widening of Political (Democratic) Space.....	39
4.6.2	Internal Party Pluralism.....	40
4.6.3	Improved Decision-Making	40
4.6.4	Empowerment of Party Grassroots.....	41
4.6.5	Improving Intra-Party Democracy	41
4.7	Strategies for Managing Factionalism.....	43
4.7.1	Eliminating the Sources of Factionalism.....	43
4.7.2	Vibrant Leadership	44
4.7.3	Formulation of Sound Codes of Conduct.....	45
4.8	Summary	46
CHAPTER V		48
5.0	SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	48
5.1	Introduction	48
5.2	Summary of the Study	48
5.3	Conclusions	49
5.4	Recommendations	50
5.5	Suggestions for Further Study.....	51
References.....		52
APPENDIX I: INFORMED CONSENT FORM.....		56
APPENDIX II: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE		57

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Sample Elements and Justification for their Inclusion	23
Table 4.1: Response Rate.....	26
Table 4.2: Profile of the Interviewees.....	27

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Variables in the Study	7
Figure 2.1: Mapping and Labelling Factions.....	11
Figure 4.1: Perceptions on the Meaning of Factionalism	27
Figure 4.2: Causes of Factionalism.....	29
Figure 4.3: Summary of the Effects of Factionalism in ZANU-PF.....	42
Figure 4.4: The Summary of Strategies for Managing Factionalism	43

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC:	Africa National Congress
COPE:	Congress of the People
EFF:	Economic Freedom Fighters
LPD:	Liberal Democratic Party
MDC:	Movement for Democratic Change
SAPES:	Southern Africa Political Economy Series
ZANU-PF:	Zimbabwe African National Union: Patriotic Front
ZUM:	Zimbabwe Unity Movement

CHAPTER I

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Political parties are of central importance for the functioning of democratic systems (Curini, 2011; Lipset, 2000). It is therefore not surprising that their structures and processes, as well as the factors, which determine or influence them, have been analysed repeatedly. The resulting stream of research has shown a great variety of possible organisational forms that political parties can take, and thus also a variety of ways in which parties perform society and state oriented tasks (Hall, 2015; and Hill, 2013). In organisational terms, political parties can exhibit a hierarchical and bureaucratic form, they can exist as loose umbrella organisations for individual candidates, or they can fall in between these extremes (Morgenstern, 2001). There is no universally valid organisational form of political parties, nor one that is forced upon them by sheer necessity. There is also no ideal or best organisational form since today's advantages of a given form can amount to disadvantages tomorrow (Köllner and Matthias, 2005; and Sferza, 2002).

Political parties are important agencies in making democracies work. In most advanced democratic political entities, they supply the main channels for rendering executives accountable and representing public concerns. Studies of democratic consolidation have revived academic interest in the evolution of party systems in developing countries. Stable democracies depend on well-institutionalised party systems in which rules and regularities in how parties compete are widely observed (Mutlu, 2011; and Persico, Pueblita, and Silverman, 2011). Such systems depend upon the existence of organisations with firm social followings, ideological predictability, good connections with interest groups, and possessing their own corporate identity, independent of the personalities at their helm (Laver and Sergenti, 2010). In a fully developed party system, parties rather than independent individuals contest elections, the same parties compete in elections nation-wide and win the majority of votes (as opposed to regional groups receiving the greater share of votes), and these parties persist from one election to another.

Benton (2007) argues that strong democracies benefit from strong parties. Strong parties attract committed and durable support. They are well organised when there is effective

communication concerning party matters across different levels of the party hierarchy, and, if strength is to be equated with democratic criteria, when communication can occur between units at the same level of party organisation. According to Boucek (2009), the key indications of party strength are when an organisation can survive beyond the life of its charismatic founder. In addition, there is need for organisational complexity and depth as well as links with functional associations like trade unions, and student bodies (Barnea and Rahat, 2010). In similar vein, Asal, Brown, and Dalton (2012) are of the view that strength is seen when its activists identify with the party emotionally and morally rather than merely viewing the party as an instrument to achieve career advancement or other objectives. A good sign of this latter quality is if the party can retain within its full time bureaucracy talented leaders when its officials are in government (Asal et al., 2012).

In predominant party systems, that is, political environments in which a major party competes for office with much smaller ineffectual groups, once in power over time the main party is likely to lose many of the attributes of strength. According to Asal et al. (2012), successive overwhelming electoral victories reduce the importance of the party's activists and hence the influence of membership over leaders. Parties that remain in office for lengthy periods often become more subject to factionalism, that is conflict between informal groupings within the party constituted around particular leaders, as the party's capacity to control public appointments and direct state contracting becomes ever more deeply entrenched and hence the power of party notables as patrons more pronounced (Andeweg and Thomassen, 2010). Like all organisations, political parties exhibit, alongside their formal organisational structure, informal relational systems, operating procedures, and norms, which are institutionalised to different degrees (Lipset, 2000). Political parties are not homogenous organisations, which are sure of their goals and which follow some sort of unitary will.

Political parties are not monolithic structures but collective entities in which competition, divided opinions, and dissent create internal pressures (Budge, Ezrow, and McDonald, 2010). In turn, these pressures often trigger the formation of factions that render the unitary actor assumption highly questionable (Budge et al., 2010). Political parties consist of coalitions of political actors who pursue their individual interests, and goals. The coalitions these actors enter are based on the exchange of political resources. Just as politics in general can be seen as a process based on the conflictive and consensus-

oriented relations among interdependent individuals, intra-party politics is characterised by conflict and consensus between interdependent groups within parties. The activities of intra-party groups, so-called factions, cannot only influence changes in the identity, organisation, and internal decision-making processes of parties (Harmel and Tan, 2003). Factions can also affect the stability of parties and party systems. Nevertheless, although widespread, factionalism is still a relatively under-studied phenomenon.

Factionalism occurs in political parties worldwide. According to Köllner (2004), factionalism in the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and other political parties has fascinated domestic and overseas observers of Japanese politics. Over the years, factions have officially been disbanded quite a few times, only to reassert themselves again after a short while. It is hard to recall how often their demise has been forecast, most recently in the context of the debate on the consequences of the 1994 electoral reform. It seems that factions in Japanese political parties, in whatever form, will continue to exist for some time to come.

In India, Chander (2004) highlights that no political party is beyond the pull of factionalism and the faction indeed is the true unit of Indian political action. Factions exist mainly at state level. It is common for state-party units to be split into two or three factions, each headed by a major party leader such as a Federal Government Minister, a state party president, general secretary, or a Union Minister. Faction leaders stand atop an intricate, pyramidal network of followers and sub-factions, bound together by patron-client relations. At the heart of factionalism is the candidate selection process colloquially known as 'ticket distribution' (Farooqui and Sridharan, 2014). Lists of potential nominees are negotiated by a small group of prominent state leaders, and their recommendations are then submitted to the national-party leaderships for approval or modification (Pai, 2009). The intra-party hostility brought on by the ticket distribution process is understandable: factions that fail to secure an adequate number of legislative tickets for their followers quickly fold (Farooqui and Sridharan, 2014).

In South Africa, the emergence of the Congress of the People (COPE) from the bitter conflict marking the ANC's 2007 Polokwane Conference and the formation of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) are examples of the crystallisation of factionalism (Sarakinsky and Fakir, 2015). In Zimbabwe, factional politics in the Zimbabwe African

National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) has a long history, which started during the liberation struggle in the 1960s and increased significantly in the 1970s when Mugabe assumed the leadership of the former guerrilla movement (Magaisa, 2014). Sibanda (2005) asserts that in the pre-independence era, there was the formation of liberation political parties like the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and was banned by the Rhodesian government and this move caused factions. Accordingly, in 1962, ZAPU split and this saw the formation of ZANU. There was a further split of ZANU and Ndabaningi Sithole formed the ZANU Ndonga (Bourne, 2011). In 1987, ZANU and ZAPU came together to form ZANU-PF. There was a further split, which saw the formation of Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) by Edgar Tekere. In 2008, Simba Makoni and Debengwa left ZANU-PF to form Mavambo and ZAPU, respectively (Magaisa, 2014).

Factionalism was also experienced in the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). 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 (Fakir, 2008). 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, according to Magaisa (2015) in April 2014, the MDC suffered another major split, which has led to the formation of the MDC-Renewal Team.

Moreover, factionalism ought not to be projected as a phenomenon that is limited to political parties alone, but instead it can also be prevalent in a company management or any other structural leadership (Magaisa, 2015). Of note in Zimbabwe is the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union, which was split into two factional groups in 2011 and the Zion Christian Church, Anglican Church, and 'Guta Ra Mwari' among others. Thus, factionalism is a term we are currently acquainted with in Zimbabwe when discussing the intra party rows happening in political parties and churches since a ton of it has taken centre stage in recent years (Ndondo, 2014).

1.2 Aim of Study

This study sought to analyse the types, challenges, and benefits of factionalism in the Zimbabwe African National Union, Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). Before and after the

attainment of independence by Zimbabwe in 1980, politics have been tendentious and fractious, characterised by ideological nuance, policy variation and contending political trajectories (Laakso, 2002). These characteristics have been witnessed in the politics of the main political parties in Zimbabwe, which are ZANU-PF, and Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Accordingly, the research explored factionalism in political parties (forms, challenges, benefits) with a particular focus on ZANU-PF. The research also sought to propose possible strategies for managing factionalism in political parties.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Despite the declarations of unity, differences, which are in various forms, have and continue to afflict political parties. The long history of ZANU-PF has been characterised by factionalism in both pre and post-independence periods. Factionalism has resulted in a number of splits, for example, Sithole (ZANU Ndonga), Tekere (ZUM), and Simba Makoni (Mavambo). The phenomenon, while it is inevitable, seems to weaken the political party as the electorate can also be divided resulting in losses during elections. Some of the Legislative Seats could have been lost because of factionalism. Accordingly, there is need for effective management of factionalism. Related to this unfortunate scenario is also violence which is sponsored and directed at rival factions. This study examined the forms of factionalism in ZANU-PF, interrogates the challenges faced, the benefits, and proposes possible options for managing factions. Effective management of factional conflict would result in the existence of strong and stable political parties, which are able to promote democracy, executive accountability, and representation of public concerns.

1.4 Research Objectives

The overall objective of this study was to examine factionalism in ZANU-PF and propose options for its management. The specific research objectives were to:

1. Examine the forms of factionalism in ZANU-PF in the post-independence era.
 1. Assess the challenges caused by factionalism in ZANU-PF in the post-independence era.
 2. Evaluate the benefits of factionalism in ZANU-PF in the post-independence era.
2. Explore strategies for managing factionalism in political parties and other institutions in order to minimise challenges while increasing the benefits.

1.5 Research Questions

This study sought to ask the basic question, ‘how does factionalism manifest in ZANU-PF and how can it be managed?’ The specific research questions were as follows:

1. What were the forms of factionalism in ZANU-PF in the post-independence era?
2. What challenges were caused by factionalism in ZANU-PF in the post-independence era?
3. What were the benefits of factionalism in ZANU-PF in the post-independence era?
4. What are the strategies for managing factionalism in political parties and other institutions in order to minimise challenges while increasing the benefits?

1.6 Assumptions

1. Factionalism in ZANU-PF brought more harm than good between the years 1980 and 2017;
2. It is not possible to prevent factionalism in political parties, the best would be to manage it; and
3. There was cooperation from all the stakeholders during data collection.

1.7 Significance of the Study

This study was significant in that it sought to address one of the major challenges bedevilling political parties in Zimbabwe which generate intra-party conflict. Accordingly, ZANU-PF is one of the beneficiaries of this research, as the findings could assist the party so that it is able to effectively manage factions and strengthen its structures. A strong ZANU-PF entails that the Party wins more seats.

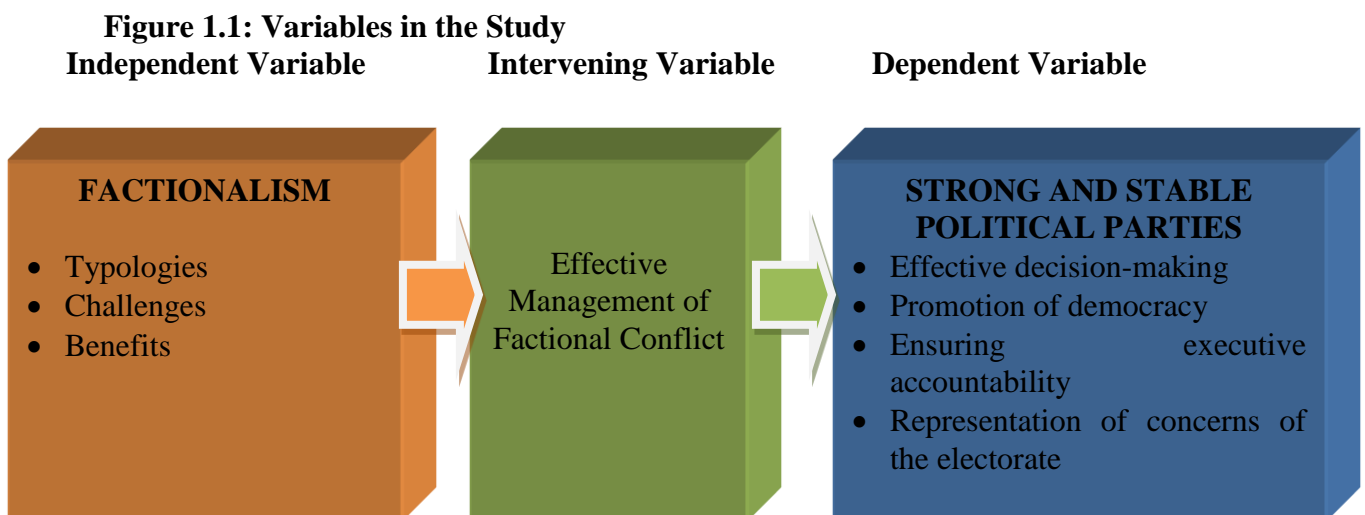
In addition, factionalism ought not to be projected as a phenomenon that is limited to political parties alone, but instead it can also be prevalent in a company management or any other structural leadership, for example Churches. The findings of this study could help in preventing splits in political parties and other organisations. Therefore, the findings of this study could be of significance to Civil Society, and Religious Groups.

To the researcher, the study provided an opportunity to gain a full understanding of factionalism as a cause of intra party conflict in a major political party in Zimbabwe. The

study also sought to add to the body of knowledge and lays a foundation for future academics who will be interested in the same subject.

1.8 Analytical Framework

This study focused on examination of the typologies, challenges, and benefits of factionalism. The study also seeks to identify ways for effective management of factional conflict. Management of factional conflict would result in strong and stable political parties, which are able to make effective decisions, promote democracy, ensure executive accountability, and represent the concerns of the electorate. Factionalism (types, challenges, and benefits) is the independent variable, effective management of factional conflict is the intervening variable, while strong, and stable political parties are the dependent variables. Figure 1.1 shows the variables in the study.



Source: Generated by Researcher (2018)

1.9 Delimitation of the Study

This study was restricted towards examining the types of factionalism that affected ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017. Focus was also on the challenges and benefits of factionalism in ZANU-PF. The study also proposed options for managing factionalism in order to minimise costs and maximise benefits. Data was collected from officials in ZANU-PF, other political parties, non-governmental organisations, and political analysts.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

One of the main limitations of this study was the sensitivity of the issues around factionalism. The fact that some of the targeted participants were not readily available due to work commitments was also a limitation to some extent. To overcome these limitations, approval to conduct research was sought from ZANU-PF, participants were assured that the information provided was strictly for academic exercise and all data collected shall be treated as confidential. Appointments were made in advance so that data collection took place when the participants had conformed availability.

1.11 Definition of Key Terms

- **Conflict:** According to Alden (2005), there are multiple definitions of conflict, including perceived differences in interests, views, or goals, opposing preferences, a belief that the parties' current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously, and the process which begins when one party perceives that another has frustrated, or is about to frustrate, some concern of theirs. While for many people the idea of conflict has negative connotations, it can be argued that conflict itself is better seen as 'value-neutral'. Whether outcomes are positive or negative will depend on the way in which the conflict is handled (Coyle and Meier, 2009).
- **Factionalism:** According to Curini (2011), factionalism pertains to divergence of views within political parties, which lead to divisions and formation of intra-party groups. In simpler terms, Ndondo (2014) define factionalism as disagreements within a political party and there is the formation of sub-groups.
- **Political Parties:** These are institutions that are involved in contesting for legislative and executive positions in government (Bourne, 2011). According to Onslow (2011), a political party is an entity that is made up of individuals who have the same ideology and whose objective is to collectively rule a nation.
- **Power:** In social science and politics, power is the capacity of an individual to influence the conduct (behaviour) of others. According to the classic work of French and Raven (1959), power must be distinguished from influence in the following way: power is that state of affairs which holds in a given relationship, A-B, such that a given influence attempt by A over B makes A's desired change in B more likely. Conceived this way, power is fundamentally relative, it depends

on the specific understandings A and B each apply to their relationship, and requires B's recognition of a quality in A which would motivate B to change in the way A intends. A must draw on the 'base' or combination of bases of power appropriate to the relationship, to effect the desired outcome. Drawing on the wrong power base can have unintended effects, including a reduction in A's own power.

1.12 Chapter Outline

This study is made up of five chapters. This introductory chapter presented the introduction that contains the background to the study, statement of the problem, significance of the study, delimitation, and definition of key terms, and limitations of the study. Chapter II presents a review of literature. There is a review of the theories applicable to the study, and a review of conceptual literature. Chapter III presents research methodology. Focus is on the philosophical framework, research design, population, and sampling technique. The data collection methods, and data analysis and presentation procedures, and ethical considerations are also part of Chapter III. Chapter IV focuses on data presentation, analysis, and discussion. The findings are presented in line with the research objectives. Chapter V concludes the study. It presents the summary of the study, conclusions, and recommendations. The suggestions for further studies are also part of Chapter V.

CHAPTER II

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature related to factionalism, its types, costs, and benefits. The chapter starts by presenting the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. After the theoretical and conceptual frameworks, there is an examination on the causes of factionalism. There is also a review of literature on the forms of factionalism, and this study elaborates on three types, which are cooperative, competitive, and degenerative factionalism. The disadvantages, benefits, and options for managing factionalism are also part of this chapter.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The existence and occurrence of factionalism and splitting in political parties has been part of the drive of human nature and a number of theories have been put across to understand their occurrence in political systems across the world. This study applies the law of Curvilinear Disparity.

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

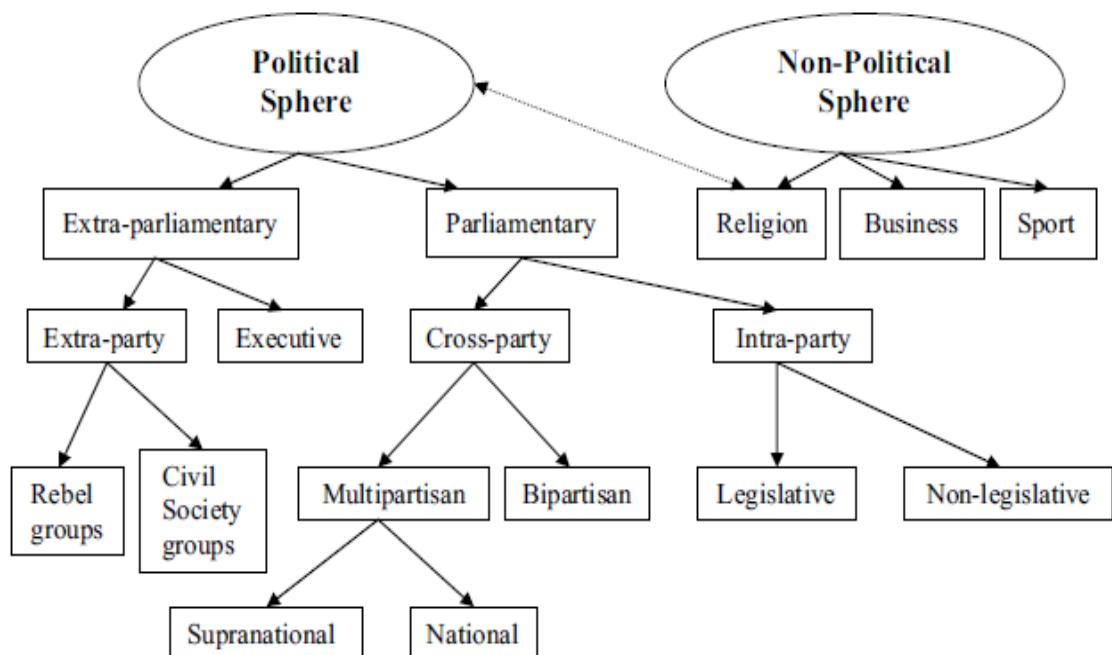
In addition, individuals are obsessive with sustaining their power as well as the attainment of new power (Wohlforth, 2010). Mastanduno (1997) states that the theorists like Hans Morgenthau and Thomas Hobbes argue that there is perpetual struggle of power in the political arena, resulting in some individuals gaining power at the expense of others.

Hence, power and selfish interests have driven people to split into different groups (Morgenthau, 1978).

2.3 Factionalism and its Causes

According to Hall (2015), a faction can be defined as a group or combination acting together within and usually against the larger body (as in a state, political party, or church). For Sarakinsky and Fakir (2015), a faction is a dissension within a group. The two contemporary scholars agree with the vast majority of classical studies that portray factions as groups within parties (Belloni and Beller, 1978; Maor, 1997; and Zariski, 1960, Zariski, 1978). Boucek (2009) provided a mapping of the different spheres in which factions operate. Figure 2.1 shows the mapping.

Figure 2.1: Mapping and Labelling Factions



Source: Boucek (2009)

Figure 2.1 shows that factionalism is not only restricted to the political parties but also affect religious, business, and sporting institutions. The diagram highlights the possible fissure lines which result in factions. It also highlights the aspect that these can be at any level within the organisation. In essence, the world of factionalism and splitting of political parties is crowded with literature covering a broad spectrum of issues (Hill, 2013; Mutlu 2011; and Pai, 2009). Factionalism and splitting in political parties have been occurring in almost all countries' contemporary political scene though noticeable with a

great dimension in developing countries (Boucek, 2009). It is essential to note that the labelling of factionalism in Figure 2.1, by Boucek (2009), was done after studies in various countries. Accordingly, in this study, focus is on Zimbabwean political parties, in general, and on ZANU-PF, in particular.

In addition, the factors that contribute to factionalism and fragmentation are varied. They include lack of political cohesion due to polarised competition within the party, and the failure to manage and resolve internal feuds on important issues like ideology, programmes of action and leadership (Farooqui and Sridharan, 2014). Another cause of factionalism is the inability of the party to adapt to changing circumstances, or reform the party accordingly (Hall, 2015; Pridham, 1995). Largely, factionalism has been attributable to the fragility of democracy in systems that have higher levels of poverty leading to struggle to control resources. In this study, focus is on the factors that were responsible for factionalism in Zimbabwean political parties, a phenomenon that the previous studies by Farooqui and Sridharan (2014), and Hall (2015) did not specifically dwell on given that their researches were not conducted in Zimbabwe.

Factionalism has also been caused by undemocratic tendencies by the leaders, dictatorial controls, tribalism, and regionalism. Persico et al. (2011) provide the other causes of factionalism, which are 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, and human rights issues. Issues of leadership qualities, succession politics, and the involvement of the international community in the party politics have also led to factionalism (Asal et al., 2012). All the authors seem to agree that factionalism is largely due to the failure by political parties to do things in a proper, fair, and equitable manner leading to disgruntlement.

It is essential to note that much of the literature has been on the existence, occurrence, and causes of factionalism and splits in political parties. Nevertheless, while there is vast literature on the causes of factionalism, political parties in Zimbabwe had initially denied existence of factionalism and this denial seemed to have prevented empirical studies from being conducted. Factionalism, especially in ZANU-PF was only acknowledged when the fights between the 'G40' and 'Lacoste' factions worsened. Accordingly, there has

been limited empirical studies on the cause of factionalism in ZANU-PF and this study seeks to cover that gap.

2.4 Forms of Factionalism

Boucek (2009) identified three main faces of factionalism and these are cooperative, competitive, and degenerative. This study shall examine whether the three forms of factions were experienced in ZANU-PF. The succeeding sub-sections describe the three forms of factionalism.

2.4.1 Cooperative Factionalism

According to Boucek (2009), a factional structure has the potential to increase the aggregate capacity of political parties and to facilitate intra-party cooperation where centripetal incentives exist. By providing a structure of cooperation between separate intra-party groups, factionalism can diversify party appeals and accelerate party integration. To the extent that factions articulate the opinions and policy preferences of separate societal groups and mobilise separate memberships and communities of interests within a single organisation, they can play a constructive role in building integrated parties (Hill, 2013).

Cooperative factionalism often results from a primordial sorting-out process when a democracy or a party becomes established. Political elites and followers with convergent preferences and attitudes, but who belong to separate political groups (but are located on the same side of a salient political cleavage), often emerge as key actors during periods of political change, such as regime change, transition to democracy, party system realignment, party mergers and party splits (Onslow, 2011).

In a similar vein, Asal et al., (2012) argue that a factional structure may have a role to play in enabling these divergent groups to retain their separate identities and memberships during party consolidation and sometimes beyond. In a nutshell, factionalism has the potential to be consensus-building (Asal et al., 2012).

Factionalism can develop a cooperative structure within a political party, based on the developments of different social group opinions and policy initiatives (Bourne, 2011). This assumption stems up from the fact that political parties are made up of members

arising from a variety of social classes who push for their social concerns to appear on the party's agenda, hence these groups and their diverse opinions integrate to develop an appeal for national concern and manifesto building. Cooperative face of factionalism has been developed by Boucek (2009) who suggested that a factional structure has the ability to upsurge the collective capability of political parties and to facilitate intra-party cooperation where centripetal motivations occur.

Moreover, it is important to add that there is also an element of human psychology in the partitioning of a party into separate factions and which may reflect cultural norms (Dewan and Squintani, 2015). In large groups and organisations, people with common traits, strong family ties, powerful community loyalties, or simply common interests and convergent preferences are driven, sometimes spontaneously, to partition themselves into separate groups. According to Brollo and Tommaso (2012), political parties are no exception, especially big-tent parties under two-party dynamics where there is a premium on party unity. Humans are tribal social beings who try to fit in with the group. However, as individuals they have a natural desire to differentiate themselves from the mass (Curini, 2011)

According to Barnea and Rahat (2010), for politicians, factional affiliation can fulfil this need for identity, particularly in 'big-tent' parties, where lack of recognition by voters and co-partisans can be problematic for ambitious office-seekers. In sum, as long as it facilitates cooperation, factionalism can be good for parties and for democracy. However, cooperative factionalism can be difficult to sustain in the long run because centrifugal incentives may change the direction of intra-party competition, which can threaten party unity.

Cooperative factionalism is a general type, used in defining fundamental differences between subgroups in nation-states. These subgroups are well established, and confront each other as a result of the failure of a larger group. According to Hall (2012), anthropologists such as Nicholas stress that these are defined as small groups with strong ties instead of broader groups. Hall (2012) argues that when such groups grow beyond interpersonal relationships, they can no longer be defined as a faction. In this study, the research unpacks cooperative factionalism and evaluates its nature in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017.

2.4.2 Competitive Factionalism

According to Boucek (2009), the fractionalisation of a party into competing factions, after the formative stage, is often associated with centrifugal competition resulting from internal disagreement or the effects of institutional incentives (or both). In contrast to cooperative factionalism, which indicates coalescing cleavages and fusion, competitive factionalism indicates fragmentation and splits (Benton, 2007). While factional competition is not necessarily a bad thing, it can be difficult to manage.

Divergent factional preferences and polarised party opinion create splitting pressures and loosen intra-party ties as factions become opposed rather than simply separate (Boucek, 2009). In addition, too much fragmentation complicates decision-making and the enactment of coherent policy packages. Political parties often become polarised because of deep-seated issues that are difficult to integrate within party ideology. This type of factionalism can be episodic but destabilising for parties and for governments (Köllner, 2006).

If party fragmentation is not kept in check, competitive factionalism may produce negative outcomes that threaten party unity (Hall, 2015). It is well acknowledged that electoral systems which allow intra-party competition can be responsible for institutionalising factionalism. In most cases, competition is good because it sharpens performance. Evidence suggests that competitive factionalism can improve party performance, policymaking, and intra-party democracy (Hill, 2013; Mutlu, 2011; and Pedersen, 2010).

Moreover, through articulating different policy positions, factions can indicate to party leaders, which policies are acceptable or which are not (Asal et al., 2012) and they can facilitate coalition-bargaining under minority government (Bourne, 2011). Factions have the potential to broaden choices for voters and party followers by providing a mechanism of internal differentiation between leadership candidates and their respective agendas. Factions can also moderate party leaders' policy stances and promote the nomination of moderate politicians in legislatures and governments.

In addition, Hill (2013) argues that a factional structure can empower party grassroots, activists, politicians and the rank and file by giving them a stake in party decision-making.

Factions can provide group members with the means to communicate with their leaders and hold them to account. In addition, competitive factionalism may offer long-term management solutions to leaders of complex parties that monopolise government for a long time. By providing a method of elite circulation, factionalism can rejuvenate democratic politics in sub-competitive party systems. However, without adequate safeguards, factional competition can become excessive. Hence, to keep factional pressures under control leaders are required to be vigilant to this risk and to listen to the concerns of dissenting groups within their parties (Boucek, 2009). The form of competition that was brought about by factionalism in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017 shall be explored.

2.4.3 Degenerative Factionalism

Degenerative factionalism occurs when factions become too numerous and self-seeking and operate mainly as channels for the distribution of patronage (Boucek, 2009). The resulting privatisation of incentives risks producing factional capture and triggering a destructive cycle of factionalism that may end in party disintegration. Perverse incentives and mismanagement can cause factionalism to degenerate and, in a worst-case scenario, may destroy a party (Barnea and Rahat, 2010).

Degenerative factionalism can be argued to be apex of any organisational infighting. It is the last in the sequence of factional divisionism. It is rather descriptive and easily explained by its very naming. Perverse incentives and mismanagement can cause factionalism to degenerate and, in a worst-case scenario, may destroy a party. There are three main dangers attached to giving factions official status as legitimate units of intra-party representation and decision-making: excessive fragmentation, privatised incentives, and faction embeddedness . Delegating power to factions may encourage them to grow, and failure to put a check on this growth risks creating collective action dilemmas inside parties. The fragmentation and diffusion of power complicates the extraction of majorities and may transform factions into veto players (Onslow, 2011).

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

into a value-destroying brand. Degenerative factionalism is a way to describe the continual degradation of trust within societies that gives way to reliance on factional groups until a formal power structure is established (Curini, 2011). In this research, there would be an analysis of degenerative factionalism that occurred in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017.

2.5 Disadvantages of Factionalism

Factionalism and fragmentation are symbolised by splits into groups within the party, which sometimes culminate into formation of separate parties, and lack of collaboration and alignments between opposing parties. Factionalism within the party has been seen to be dysfunctional to the party as an organisation as it erodes internal cohesion, making the party weak. Unity is very crucial for any organisation to succeed politically and sustain itself, because unity increases the party's chance of winning elections (Waller and Gillespie, 1995; Pridham, 1995).

Factionalism can make party management a great challenge, and one can focus on the bickering between politicians across the political divide. It could undermine cohesion and efficiency of political parties, and in the worst case, lead to splits and disintegration (Asal et al., 2012). Along similar lines, Hall (2015) state that factionalism could lead to mediocrity due to factional affiliation overriding merit in the consideration of office holders as factional leaders focus more on loyalty rather than merit in choosing allies, which destroys or reduces a party's ability to mobilise or recruit new members.

Divisions negatively affect electoral success as a party becomes preoccupied with internal squabbles instead of unifying behind the leadership (Boucek, 2009). A political party's attention can also be diverted away from the efforts towards mobilisation of electoral support or recruitment of membership. Factional fights within the party, which lead to a breakaway party, tarnish the public image of the party, reduce membership drive and support, and result in loss of potential members and leaders. Therefore, any party, which has survived factional strife, has to reorganise itself and renew its appeal to the public to restore confidence in the party (Brollo and Tommaso, 2012).

Factionalism can also lead to intra-party decisions on personnel that are not based on merit and ability of the people involved but on their factional affiliation. Faction-based

dissent can damage a party's ability to recruit new members, to mount effective campaigns, and to enter coalitions. Faction-based intra-party conflict can also lead to blurry and contradictory positions of a party and thus render voters' decisions more difficult (Budge et al., 2010).

Factionalism can impede 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 sum, intra-party factions can damage or weaken the moral authority and integrity of individual parties or the whole party system. Factionalism can destabilise the party system and it can lead to growing cynicism on the part of voters (Boucek, 2009). The studies by Boucek (2009), Asal et al, (2012), Hall (2015), and others were not specifically focus on ZANU-PF, a gap that this study seeks to cover.

2.6 Benefits of Factionalism

Factionalism within a party could have positive results because it might promote internal party pluralism and representation of different political and socio-economic interests of members of the party. Similarly, it may be a good indicator of democracy within the party (Waller and Gillespie, 1995; Pridham, 1995).

According to Boucek (2009), factionalism is a multifaceted phenomenon, which can change itself in response to incentives, basing on conclusions of factionalised 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. Hill (2013) 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.

Similarly, Onslow (2011) states that, by affording a structure of cooperation among separate intra-party groups, factionalism can broaden horizons of party appeals and speed up party integration. The factions can 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. If this happens, the factionalism can 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 (Hill, 2013).

The factions 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 (Pai, 2009).

Boucek (2009) acknowledges that factions provide group members with the means to communicate with their heads to be able to bring them to account. Boucek (2009) suggests that competitive factionalism may provide for long-term management solutions to heads of complex political parties that monopolise government for a long time. By providing a method of elite circulation, factionalism can re-energise democratic politics in sub competitive party systems. However, in 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 (Hill, 2013).

Three main facets of factionalism have been identified in this literature review, 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 organisation 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 (Boucek, 2009).

Factionalism 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. It might also promote a democratic spirit of ‘give and take’, which would pave the way for consensual decision making in the party. Furthermore, splinter parties might contribute to political development as development of a multiparty system is encouraged by adding new parties to the existing ones. This study seeks to add to the body of knowledge by examining whether there were any benefits of factionalism in ZANU-PF.

2.7 Strategies for Managing Factionalism

The study of the field of factionalism has proven the phenomenon’s unavoidable nature in any human setup starting from the simplest family arrangement to a broader social grouping. Boucek (2009) asserts that factionalism is a fact of life within most political parties.

Political parties are not monolithic structures but collective entities in which competition, divided opinions, and dissent create internal pressures; in turn these pressures often trigger the formation of factions that render the unitary actor assumption highly questionable. In similar vein, Madison (2013) believes that factions are inevitable in a free society in which people have diverse interests based on economic circumstances, property ownership, occupation and region. Accordingly, it is paramount to effectively manage factions.

The effective management of factions is crucial because it enables a party’s internal cohesion and ability to work within cabinets and parliament, thus ensuring democratic stability, an essential issue for young democracies (Hill, 2013). Madison (2013) proposes that there are two methods in which mischief for factions can be managed, which are limiting the causes of factions or either by controlling its effects. In addition, a representative form of government mitigates the effects of factionalism (Madison, 2013).

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

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

Most of the intensive studies on factionalism has not been conducted in Zimbabwe and this research seeks to cover that gap. In addition, this study shall identify other ways for managing factions in political parties, in general, and in ZANU-PF in particular.

2.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on literature review. The chapter started by presenting the theoretical framework, where there was a discussion of the realist theory, which pointed out that individuals are obsessive with sustaining their power as well as the attainment of new power. The other theory was the law of curvilinear disparity, which states that political parties are not unified actors as there are diverging political opinions between top leadership, sub leadership and the low status membership. There was also a review of literature on factionalism, its causes, and forms (cooperative, competitive, and degenerative). There was also a review of literature on the disadvantages, benefits, and options for managing factionalism. Most of the intensive studies on factionalism has not been conducted in Zimbabwe and this research sought to cover that gap. The next chapter presents research methodology.

CHAPTER III

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In any study, it is essential that there is collection of data. The data collection process is not a haphazard one, rather it is a planned process. In addition, the appropriateness and truthfulness of any study is dependent on the data. Accordingly, this chapter focuses on the research methodology and describes the research design, the population, the sample used, and the data collection instruments employed. In addition, the chapter provides the data presentation and analysis procedures, and the ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

A research design describes how the researcher shall collect the data (Marczyk, DeMatteo, and Festinger, 2005). It is a blueprint of research dealing with at least four problems: what questions to study, what data is relevant, what data to collect and how to analyse results (Taylor, Bogdan, and DeVault, 2016). According to Saunders et al. (2012) there are five research strategies underpinning qualitative research design. These include experiment, survey, qualitative research, case study, and action research. This study was a case study of factionalism in ZANU-PF. A case study is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context (Marczyk, DeMatteo, and Festinger, 2005). A case study was the most relevant for the particular enquiry because it helped the researcher to elicit some of the intrinsic dynamics that evade the casual scanner. A case study was conducted because it allowed the researcher to have a detailed insight of factionalism in ZANU-PF.

3.3 Population

Any research is based on a population. Studies are not conducted in a vacuum, but the data is collected from the elements of the population. Saunders et al. (2012) describe the term study population as the list of elements from which a sample is drawn. Furthermore, the population can be described as an element of the universe. The population is the exhaustive list of all the elements or items or objects under study or investigation. The population for this study was made up of officials in ZANU-PF, other political parties, non-governmental organisations, and political analysts. It was difficult to state the

population in statistical terms because of the diversity of stakeholders involved and challenges associated with establishing accurate number of the officials.

3.4 Sampling Technique

It was not possible for a researcher to collect data from all the elements of the population. Therefore, a section of the population was studied. Sampling refers to a set of techniques for achieving representation. The primary purpose of sampling was to economise on the resources that are needed to collect and analyse statistical data. Instead of using information from all members of the population, the researcher receives it from only a part of the population (Simon, 2011). There was use of quota sampling to ensure some representativeness of all the stakeholder groups pertaining to the issue of factionalism in ZANU-PF. Purposive or expert sampling technique was also in use to identify the institutions and individuals believed to be good prospects for required data. Table 3.1 shows the sample elements and justification for their inclusion.

Table 3.1: Sample Elements and Justification for their Inclusion

Category of Participants	Justification for Inclusion in Sample	Sample Target
ZANU-PF National Political Commissar	The person is a senior officials who is responsible for managing party affairs nationally	1
ZANU-PF Members (Senior Members and Legislators)	They are the representatives of the ZANU-PF ordinary members	10
Political Analysts	They are the attentive public pertaining to political affairs. Some of the political analysts are academics who could have conducted similar studies	5
Southern Africa Political Economy Series (SAPES) Trust	A non-governmental entity that is involved in political and governance issues	2
Total		18

3.5 Data Collection Methods

The main tools for data collection in this study were interviews. Key informant interviews were used as a tool to explore related issues and problems associated with a given topic. A key informant interview involves talking to persons with detailed knowledge of the issue under investigation (Creswell, 2014). Simon (2011) points out that, the key informant technique is an ethnographic research method in which these key informants, because of their personal skills and position within society, are able to provide information and a deeper insight into what is going on around them. Key informant interviews allowed the researcher to collect quality data in a short period of time in

comparison to the time that in depth interviews can require. In addition, there was document analysis, whereby periodicals like newspapers examined. Though they are deemed to be unreliable, newspaper reports could also help in providing information about factionalism in ZANU -PF.

3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation Procedures

This study had qualitative data, which refers to all non-numeric data or data that have not been quantified. To be useful, the varied responses from qualitative data need to be analysed and the meanings understood. The researcher prepared interview transcripts, which were analysed with the aid of the Nvivo Software. Nvivo helped in grouping the related findings together and computed the ‘word clouds’ and graphical illustrations. In addition, there was thematic analysis. Thematic analysis condenses raw data into categories or themes based on valid inference and interpretation. Data was presented narrative, with quotations. The findings are organised in line with the research objectives, with each objective being a section.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethics define the right and wrong conduct in research (Rawnsley, 2012). The researcher had to respect ethical principles because of several reasons, which include the need to prevent harm to participants, and to meet professional requirements. The protection of the dignity, rights, safety, and well-being of all actual and potential participants take precedence over any other considerations or interests. The researcher also adhered to the highest standards of quality, integrity, moral propriety and governance, and legal compliance.

In addition, the participants were informed about the study and consent (written and verbal) was given. In addition, there was the need to inform participants about the purposes, methods, and intended uses of the data. In addition, the risks and the benefits of the study were elaborated. The information should be accurate, precise, and understood by the potential participant (Rawnsley, 2012).

The research participants had to consent to participate in a voluntary way, free from any coercion, undue influence, or manipulation. The respondents also had the freedom to withdraw from the study should they feel uncomfortable. According to Simon (2011),

freedom describes the acknowledgement of the right of the individual to determine their course of action in accordance with their wishes and plans. Respect for persons is expressed by recognising that their autonomy and right to self-determination underpin their ability to make judgements and decisions for themselves. Therefore, freedom underlies the need for informed consent.

The confidentiality of information supplied by research participants, and their anonymity was respected. It was important to collect, process, retain, store, and dispose of the data in accordance with current legal requirements. In addition, participants were informed that data to be collected is to be used for academic purposes only and information collected would be treated as confidential.

3.8 Summary

This chapter outlined the research methodology used in the study. It was pointed out that the research was a case study of ZANU-PF, that is, there was a detailed examination of a single case. The population was made up of officials in ZANU-PF, and there was use of quota and purposive sampling techniques to select the study participants. Data was collected using key informant interviews, and analysis was done through Nvivo software. The next chapter focuses data presentation, analysis, and discussion.

CHAPTER IV

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study, which are in line with the research objectives. The overall objective of this study was to examine factionalism in ZANU-PF and propose options for its management. There were four specific research objectives, the first one being to examine the forms of factionalism in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017. The second research objective was to assess the challenges caused by factionalism in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017. The third research objective was to isolate the benefits of factionalism in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017. The fourth research objective was to propose possible options for managing factionalism in political parties and other institutions in order to minimise challenges while increasing the benefits. Before dwelling into the findings, there is a presentation on the response rate, profile of the participants, and their implications on the research findings.

4.2 Response Rate

There was an acceptable response from the participants. Table 4.1 shows the response rate.

Table 4.1: Response Rate

Category of Participants	Sample Target	Response	Response Rate
ZANU-PF National Political Commissar	1	1	100%
ZANU-PF Members	10	5	50%
Political Analysts	5	4	80%
SAPES Trust	2	2	100%
Total	18	12	67%

According to Table 4.1, out of a sample target of 18 participants, responses were obtained from 12 individuals. The response rate was 67%, which was acceptable because the data collection method (interviews) is time consuming and usually associated with low response rate. Table 4.2 shows the profiles of the earmarked participants for this research.

Table 4.2: Profile of the Interviewees

Code of Interviewee	Organisation	Position
1	ZANU-PF	National Political Commissar
2	ZANU-PF	Director of Chitepo Ideological School
3	ZANU-PF	Member of Parliament
4	ZANU-PF	Member of Parliament
5	ZANU-PF	Member of Parliament
6	ZANU-PF	Member of Parliament
7	University	Lecturer and Political Analyst
8	University	Lecturer and Political Analyst
9	University	Lecturer and Political Analyst
10	Media	Political Correspondent, Editor
11	SAPES	Executive Chairperson
12	SAPES	Research Officer
Total		18

The 12 participants who took part in the study were from ZANU-PF, universities, a media organisation, and from SAPES. The participants were deemed to have a detailed understanding of political issues and factionalism in ZANU-PF. Accordingly, the data validity of the data was enhanced by having these knowledgeable participants.

4.3 Factionalism in ZANU-PF and Its Causes

Nvivo software was used to analyse the qualitative data pertaining to the definition and causes of factionalism in ZANU-PF. Figure 4.1 shows the ‘word cloud’ on the definition of factionalism.

Figure 4.1: Perceptions on the Meaning of Factionalism



Source: Generated by Nvivo Software

Figure 4.1 suggests that factionalism is about political power dynamics, formation of intra-party and interparty groups, creation of inter and intra-democratic space, divergence

of ideological beliefs, allegiance to a particular group or leader. Control of party members of the party and provision of direction in which the party has to take. It is about expression of democracy in any organism. It is about formation of alliances and domination. Factions are always there when human beings interact, even in family and business institutions there are factions. People always form groups, which may be there for ‘gossiping’ or for supporting members of the preferred faction. When responding to the question on the understanding of the term factionalism. Interviewee 1 had this to say:

Factions are alliances that form within an organisation. A sub grouping of people who support each other usually against the main organisation. Usually there emerges leaders in each of these groupings who will be trying to fight against the status quo. You would find that there will be one which will be working against authority. The sub set normally coalesces into a distinct faction but remains part of the main body as they maintain the same general philosophy.

The participants pointed out that factions are splinter groups, which separate from the main body due to various reasons such as ideological, tribal, religious, and others such as power and control. This is not restricted to political parties only as this can also be found in religious organisations, school associations and many other spheres of human endeavor where people have to work as groups. Lack of consensus can lead to the formation of factions. The emerging consensus was that factionalism is part of politics. According to Interviewee 11, “factionalism is a reflection of the power dynamics. Factions are very fluid, there are never families in political parties, for example, in 2004 Jonathan Moyo was on ED’s side, but in 2017 Moyo became one of ED’s enemies”. One of the participants also said that factionalism denotes the nature of politics. People say ‘politics is a dirty game’ and factions is one element of the ‘dirt’ in the political parties. Factionalism entails that there are divisions within a political party. There would be groups of people opposing one another on the direction that the party must take.

Moreover, the research showed that factionalism is an inevitable part of politics. Sometimes analysts cannot talk of managing factionalism because it manifests in various forms and it is fluid in that allegiances change. According Interviewee 2:

If you look at the Tsholothso Declaration for instance where even as it was being planned some of the players pulled out when they realised that the chances of its success were limited and that there would be retribution. Jonathan Moyo was on the side that wanted Mugabe to retire, after that he was fired but later ‘resurrected’ and became the main proponent of the ‘one centre of power’ politics and Mugabe’s continued stay in power. However come 2018, Jonathan

According to Figure 4.2, the common causal factors highlighted were tribalism, succession issues, and the fight to control resources. One can note that tribalism is an issue in most African settings. Tribal allegiance play a pivotal role in decision-making and most people choose partners and organisations based on ethnicity. This in some instances also breeds favouritism by the leaders. Moreover, succession was one of the major reasons why fractures emerged in ZANU-PF, as there seem to be the absence of a clear succession plan. There was a need to have a clearly defined succession formula, which removes doubt and guides the organisation. Amid the existence of unclear succession plan, the Party members competed over the distribution of resources. According Interviewee 7:

The emergence of the Mtwakazi factions in Matabeleland (as splinter groups from ZAPU or the re-emergence of ZAPU as a splinter group from ZANU PF after the unification) is a clear sign that they have grievances that they feel are not being attended. They complain that the country's resources are being used to develop the Northern regions (Mashonaland) and they then start to agitate for secession. Distribution of resources must be justifiably equitable and transparent. Distribution of posts in the party and in government must also be representative.

The failure to abide to the original ideology of the Party also caused factionalism. One interviewee argued that the Party should not divert from its original ideology as this brings unnecessary conflict and friction. Actually, ZANU-PF ought to have programmes that continuously educate members on the ideology and ethics of the organisation. Factions are also cause by personal differences. In line with this observation, Interviewee 2 was of the opinion that;

Sometimes, Party members allow personal differences to creep in and destroy the party fabric. A case in point was the squabble between Edson Zvobgo and V. Muzenda. Zvobgo tried to refuse that Mzee could move from the Midlands and contest in Masvingo. There were no major reasons why there was this resentment except that he felt that Muzenda was not educated enough to lead the province even though he was the country's Vice President.

Factionalism in ZANU-PF can also be analysed in terms of the phases. There are variations from one phase to another. In the earlier phases when Edgar Tekere left the party and formed his own splinter group, the main reasons were that he believed that there was need to continuously change leadership. Tekere's idea was to give each other a chance at the helm. Unconfirmed reports indicate that Mugabe and 'Twoboy' (Tekere) had had this gentlemen's agreement that the former would lead for the first 10 years and thereafter allow the later to take over. However after the ten years elapsed, Mugabe was

not keen to hand over the baton. There is also a phase when the major driver of factionalism was mainly tribal. Edson Zvobgo and a clique from Masvingo were pushing for the rotation of leadership from the Zezurus to the Karangas. The same was also witnessed when Didmus Mutasa tried to push for the Manyikas to take over from Mugabe. In the last phase that resulted in the formation of the G40 and Lacoste, the major reason was the struggle for power and control of the organisation and government. It had become apparent that Mugabe was in his twilight and the country was struggling, the major factions then started jostling to take over control as it was apparent who ever would have been left in the 'seat' would have it easier to get the peoples mandate to rule thereafter.

The causes of factionalism seem to be many and varied. One of the participants said that, to have a clearer understanding of the causes of factionalism, it is important to look at the State- Power relations. The main arms of the State include the Executive, Cabinet, the Legislature, Judiciary, the Armed Forces including the Secret Services and Prisons, Public Service and Local Government. Those who are in control of these arms, make the policies, which run government. Factionalism is the jostling to get into positions that give access to state resources using these government offices and the impunity they provide. For this to be easier to achieve, players have to form alliances under a particular individual who may be seen to further their interests. Some of the major causes of factionalism in this context would include differences in classes. In this context, class relates to 'who weld economic and financial power'. Those who have the power form their own coalition to protect it and those who do not form their own factions to try to wrestle control and eventually power. More so, while factionalism may appear to be caused by racial or tribal differences, it usually is the tool by which players manipulate followers. It is the expression of factionalism but not the root cause. Usually politicians play the tribal or racial card when they run out of viable alternatives to convince the electorate.

The participants also said that factionalism is caused by external factors. There are other players who are always in the background, invisible to the ordinary people, who have vested interests in the running of the economy and would want to influence the leadership and maintain control of the economy. These include foreign governments, business moguls and cartels. These manipulate the politicians to further their own business and economic interests. Some of these would go to the extent of bank rolling selected candidates and the pay back will be achieved when they are in office, resulting in state

capture. More so, in the past, factions were less visible, but because of the rise of social media, factions have become more visible. The fast speed of communication entails that rumours spread very fast. It is now easier to make both friends and enemies because of social media. Therefore, social media has perpetrated factionalism. In addition, a faction is a conflict, which is a clashing of points of view between two or more parties resulting in disagreement. Conflict is both inevitable and desirable. Conflict is inevitable because it cannot be avoided. There are numerous sources of conflict and this makes it unavoidable. Sources of conflict include resource shortages, differences in interest, gender, education, age, and communication breakdown (ineffective communication). The other causes are greediness, selfishness, corruption, and lack of patience as people want to quickly assume leadership positions. Lack of knowledge about political processes also leads to factionalism as people end up making wrong choices. Lastly, but most important, factions can be due to the lack of strong and visionary leadership. Without strong and firm leadership, cases of indiscipline increase. The party members will also lack direction.

The findings of this study on the causes of factionalism are supported by literature, in particular the Realist Theory. According to the realists, individuals are obsessive with sustaining their power as well as the attainment of new power (Wohlforth, 2010). Mastanduno (1997) states that the engineers of the realist theory are theorists like Hans Morgenthau and Thomas Hobbes. According to the realists, there is perpetual struggle of power in the international arena, resulting in some individuals gaining power at the expense of others. Hence, power and selfish interests have driven people to split into different groups (Morgenthau, 1978). More so, Hall (2015) argued that the factors that contribute to factionalism and fragmentation are varied. They include lack of political cohesion due to polarised competition within the party, and the failure to manage and resolve internal feuds on important issues like ideology, programmes of action and leadership (Farooqui and Sridharan, 2014). Another cause of factionalism is the inability of the party to adapt to changing circumstances, or reform the party accordingly (Hall, 2015; Pridham, 1995). Largely, factionalism has been attributable to the fragility of democracy in systems that have higher levels of poverty leading to struggle to control resources.

4.4 The Forms of Factionalism in ZANU-PF

ZANU-PF's history is full of factionalism. Even before independence, there were factions. The establishment of ZANU in 1963 was due to factionalism. Therefore, the party was born out of factionalism, and factionalism has been part of its DNA. There has been cooperative factions, competitive factions (especially when there is selection of new vice-presidents). Competitive factionalism largely worsened after the death of Simon Muzenda, as some senior party officials jostled for the position. The succeeding sub-sections elaborate on the forms of factionalism in ZANU-PF

4.4.1 Cooperative Factionalism in ZANU-PF

The participants said that cooperative factionalism occurred in ZANU-PF. In any political set-up alliances form vertically and laterally. Anyone who wants to set up a power base has to have connections at the top with like-minded people who will stand with him when opposition pressure mounts. The 'power-hungry' individual also needs to create a support base where he has followers and supporters. So when two or more faction leaders pool their resources and support to create a competitive advantage, this may be seen as cooperative factionalism. It is important however to highlight that some of these politicians are used in the process. While they may have 'a gentleman's agreement' on how they will share power after an election for instance, more often than not you find that the other party once firm in the drivers' seat, will renege on those promises. In the case of ZANU-PF such arrangements were made in 1999 when they agreed that whoever would win the National Party Chairmanship at the Congress would be next President at the 2000 national elections. It should be noted that this became the precursor to the current ZANU-PF factional crisis. According to Interviewee 11, "When John Nkomo beat Emmerson Mnangagwa and became the ZANU-PF National Party Chairman, this created immense rivalry. However, Mugabe changed the goal posts later and wanted to remain at the helm".

There has been cooperative factionalism, when groups of members formed close knit associations. In cooperative factions, some party members are used for the benefit of the other and are then dumped later. When one looks at the era when tribal factionalism was witnessed, he/she would find that that there were other players who despite not belonging to a particular tribe, would nonetheless sympathise with the other tribe in a manner that can best be described as cooperating with that tribal faction. This therefore means two

factions would thus cooperate to wrestle power from the main body. Some times when a group (which has been formed to articulate certain requirements or needs) feels that it may not make the desired impact on its own either due to their size or competition from other groups, it may have the need for others. The group may seek to cooperate with another faction with whom they agree to either push their separate agendas as a larger block or simply fall under that umbrella for future benefit. In this regard, Interviewee 1 argued, “You would appreciate that when the Zvobgo faction would be agitating for power, the Zezurus and the Manyikas would tend to coalesce and form a larger block to oppose the Karangas.” However, in the larger scheme of things, all these factions would come together under the ZANU-PF banner during elections, cooperate to garner a majority, and win elections.

In addition, in a thriving democracy, there is need for active participation by all. This inevitably might lead to a clash of ideas and taste. There is therefore need to have a strong uniting figure who can make all cadres rally behind a common cause. In Zimbabwe, unfortunately, there seem to be the absence of a good example of such a leader, but in Tanzania when the mainland and Zanzibar were having unification problems, when they were asked if they were willing to be led by Mwalimu Nyerere, they unanimously agreed. The fact that cooperative factions exist is supported by literature. According to Boucek (2009), a factional structure has the potential to increase the aggregate capacity of political parties and to facilitate intra-party cooperation where centripetal incentives exist. By providing a structure of cooperation between separate intra-party groups, factionalism can diversify party appeals and accelerate party integration. To the extent that factions articulate the opinions and policy preferences of separate societal groups and mobilise separate memberships and communities of interests within a single organisation, they can play a constructive role in building integrated parties (Hill, 2013). In a similar vein, Asal et al., (2012) argue that a factional structure may have a role to play in enabling these divergent groups to retain their separate identities and memberships during party consolidation and sometimes beyond. In a nutshell, factionalism has the potential to be consensus-building.

4.4.2 Competitive Factionalism in ZANU-PF

During the period under study, the ZANU-PF witnessed competitive factionalism as from time to time, intra party competition was stimulated to in order to enhance democracy.

Various factions were thus formed in order to garner support for certain individuals or sub groups. Undeclared formations would thus be set up to support certain individuals. During the party's primary elections, sub groups would emerge in a bid to utilise pooled resources. However, in some cases, primary elections are generally designed to kill off factions by ensuring that the most popular candidate is selected to represent the party. When this is done correctly and there is no imposition of candidates, this can build consensus and align the people to rally behind the selected candidate and the party's agenda. Competitive factionalism was also witnessed in ZANU-PF, largely beginning at the 1999 ZANU-PF congress when ED lost the national chairperson's position to John Nkomo. In 2004, ED lost the vice presidency to J. Mujuru, and there was factionalism. There is also competition for positions during elections time. At all the levels of the party (from cell to the highest level), there are elections and competition is always there. These findings are supported by literature and, according to Boucek (2009), the fractionalisation of a party into competing factions, after the formative stage, is often associated with centrifugal competition resulting from internal disagreement or the effects of institutional incentives (or both). In contrast to cooperative factionalism, which indicates coalescing cleavages and fusion, competitive factionalism indicates fragmentation and splits (Benton, 2007).

4.4.3 Degenerative Factionalism in ZANU-PF

Degenerative factionalism develops when one faction refuses to cooperate. Interviewee 8 presented the following argument:

When for example one refuses to accept the results of a primary election and chooses to fight a lone battle against the party. Cases in point can be traced to such issues, for example in 1995, when Vivian Mwashita won the primaries in Suningdale Harare but Margret Dongo felt she had been disrespected and should not have been made to contest for the seat in the primaries given her seniority in the party. Subsequently she stood as an Independent Candidate. Many cases were also witnessed in the last two elections where cadres refused to concede defeat in the primaries. Cases such as Kereke who felt hard done at the primaries and was somehow vindicated when he contested as an independent are still fresh in our minds.

Moreover, the participants said that degenerative factionalism was also there, and this was manifested when some senior members left the party to join opposition politics. According to Interviewee 4; "The list of degenerative factionalism is endless, from the

days when Sithole left, Tekere, Dongo, Makoni, Mujuru, and recently Mutinhiri and the G40 faction.” In addition, Interviewee 11 had this to say:

The ‘coup’ was eminent and was going to be the beginning of the fall of the Securocrat State, which is ruling in Zimbabwe. As the dog eat dog politics continued in the public sphere, where the Joice Mujurus were first allowed to move up then suddenly pulled down and thrown out, Mnangagwa was also fired during the run up to the elections. All this was being engineered by the G 40 who had put Grace Mugabe as their road-clearing agent. Knowing fully well that she would not be a worthy candidate for the Presidency it was just going to be a matter of time before they would replace her at the first opportune time. In the run up to the 2018 elections, the factions started to rip each other apart as it was clear whoever was going to win that preliminary race was going to succeed Mugabe going forward. This therefore left the Securocrat with no option but to step in and take over to restore the previous order.

The participants argued that when factionalism goes unchecked or is somehow encouraged, it would inevitably reach a stage where it becomes detrimental to the main organisation. It becomes destructive to the party. The period leading to 2013 elections up to the period when Mugabe resigned was characterised by serious infighting and divisions, which threatened the very existence of the party. The party was failing to work as a coherent unit with others coming up with the ‘bhoramusango’ strategy, which would have seen some of the members of parliament winning in their constituencies but the party losing the presidential polls. Literature supports the findings of this study. According Boucek (2009), degenerative factionalism occurs when factions become too numerous and self-seeking and operate mainly as channels for the distribution of patronage (Boucek, 2009). The resulting privatisation of incentives risks producing factional capture and triggering a destructive cycle of factionalism that may end in party disintegration. Perverse incentives and mismanagement can cause factionalism to degenerate and, in a worst-case scenario, may destroy a party (Barnea and Rahat, 2010). Degenerative factionalism can be argued to be apex of any organisational infighting. It is the last in the sequence of factional divisionism. It is rather descriptive and easily explained by its very naming. Perverse incentives and mismanagement can cause factionalism to degenerate and, in a worst-case scenario, may destroy a party. There are three main dangers attached to giving factions official status as legitimate units of intra-party representation and decision-making: excessive fragmentation, privatised incentives, and faction embeddedness. Delegating power to factions may encourage them to grow, and failure to put a check on this growth risks creating collective action dilemmas inside parties. The

fragmentation and diffusion of power complicates the extraction of majorities and may transform factions into veto players.

4.5 The Challenges Caused by Factionalism in ZANU-PF

Factionalism results in disunity in a political party. Members can engage in sabotage in an attempt to discredit one another. Factional fights mean that there is abuse of resources, an example being the youth interface rallies held between 2006 and 2017, which were being used as platforms of attacking the member of the Lacoste faction. There was use of resources during the interface rallies, which was a huge wastage. The next sub-sections summarise the main challenges caused by factionalism.

4.5.1 Erosion of Internal Cohesion

The participants pointed out that some of the main disadvantages of factionalism include mistrust and lack of consensus among colleagues. Due to infighting, there is a tendency to try and ‘pull each other down’ even if it is to the detriment of the people a senior party member purport to serve or to the destruction of the party on which one ride. This view is supported by literature and Köllner (2006) argues that divergent factional preferences and polarised party opinion create splitting pressures and loosen intra-party ties as factions become opposed rather than simply separate. In addition, too much fragmentation complicates decision-making and the enactment of coherent policy packages. Political parties often become polarised because of deep-seated issues that are difficult to integrate within party ideology. This type of factionalism can be episodic but destabilising for parties and for governments (Köllner, 2006). One of the participants said that, while ZANU-PF seemed to have managed factionalism successfully over the years, there are however some areas and instances where the its bad side was allowed to manifest. The formation of the various splinter parties such as Tekere’s ZUM, Simba Makoni’s Mavambo, the MDC and most recently Joice Mujuru and Mutinhiri’s National Patriotic Front are some examples of how factionalism has continued to erode the party and divide the votes. Incidences where factionalism has resulted in violence and the loss of life have also been recorded. The findings of the study, as presented in the preceding argument, are supported by literature, particularly, the Law of Curvilinear Disparity. In the Law of Curvilinear Disparity, May (1973) tries to illuminate the power struggles through his theory of the law of curvilinear disparity. Rendering to the law of curvilinear disparity political parties are not unified actors as there are diverging political opinions

between the innumerable veins. Political parties are divided into three strata, which comprise the top leadership, sub leadership and the low status membership. Hence, members of the divergent veins have conflicting views about the political animation and policies (May 1973). Commonly the top leadership and the sub leadership are the ranks with conflicting views. The low status membership has impartial judgements or rather voice in the policy. The cradle of conflict rises from the rows between the top leadership and the sub-leadership concerning policies and in particular stratagems to achieve party goals.

4.5.2 Challenges in Managing the Party Due to Factionalism

The participants said that factionalism led to intra-party violence. The Poisoning of ED in Gwanda in 2017 was as a result of factionalism. Unconfirmed reports point out that the White City Stadium blast was an inside ZANU-PF thing due to factionalism. There is also a problem of wasting resources, as the Party lost many resources in trying to eradicate the scourge of factionalism. Time and financial resources were wasted in an endless cycle of counter accusations and sabotage of programmes, which seem to benefit the rival faction. Factional politics has the bad and ugly side when rival factions resort to the use of violence to get their way. In ZANU-PF, unfortunately history seemed to have shown that Hebert Chitepo's assassination might have been internally engineered, which is as far back as 1975. However, during the period under review, the death of Solomon Mujuru has also been attributed to these factional fights. The use of hate speech and slander by Grace Mugabe as was witnessed during the Youth Rallies in 2017 is also another ugly side of factionalism. This also leads to violence and deflects the leadership from concentrating on issues of development.

4.5.3 Negative Influence on Electoral Success

Factionalism negatively affects the success of the party in elections. There is the dividing of votes. One participant said that, due to factionalism, there is a clear danger that the opposing factions will try to make the other side look bad and as such lead to the dividing of votes. This might lead to the party losing the election. The party also lost popularity as it allowed the opposition to gain ground especially when they realised the splits and divisions that had emerged. The opposition was 'smelling blood' when it realized that the party had been crippled by infighting. The arbitrary expulsion of senior members continued to strip the party of a substantial part of the leadership, electorate, and members.

4.5.4 Ineffective Decision-Making

The participants pointed out that factionalism negatively affect decision-making and debates will not be productive. There is a possibility of discarding of good ideas. There will always be a tendency by the powerful to discard ideas from a rival faction even if they may be good and beneficial to the organisation. This view is supported by literature and Budge et al. (2010) argue that factionalism can also lead to intra-party decisions on personnel that are not based on merit and ability of the people involved but on their factional affiliation. Faction-based dissent can damage a party's ability to recruit new members, to mount effective campaigns, and to enter coalitions. Faction-based intra-party conflict can also lead to blurry and contradictory positions of a party and thus render voters' decisions more difficult (Budge et al., 2010). Factionalism can impede 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.

4.5.5 Impediment to Inter-Party Discussions

Some of the bad things that occurred as a result of factionalism in ZANU PF during the period under study were that the party failed to have consensus in policy formulation and implementation. Due to serious infighting, factions such as the G40 would deliberately misinform the public and try to manipulate government processes for their own benefit. The Indigenisation Act became very contentious and difficult to implement as one faction interpreted it one way and the rest of government understood it differently. The ZANU-PF government failed to remedy the economy, which continued on a downward spiral for over twenty years due to infighting. There is also the issue of ineffective performance in many sectors of the economy, as the factional rivalry can spill over to other sectors such as in government. Government programmes are thus compromised and the party starts to perform badly even in other functions as the factions start to pull each other down.

4.6 The Benefits of Factionalism in ZANU-PF

The participants identified some benefits of factionalism in ZANU-PF. These are presented in the succeeding sub-sections.

4.6.1 Widening of Political (Democratic) Space

The formation of opposition political parties is due to factionalism. This entailed the expansion of the democratic space. Some of the advantages that were brought about by

factionalism are the deepening of democracy within the party and this also cascaded into Zimbabwe's political landscape. Having an alternative voice, which challenges the status and comes up with new and innovative ways of conducting party business and managing people, makes it easier for the ruling party to keep in touch with its electorate and the ever-changing environment. For instance in 1987, because of Sithole's ZANU Ndonga (a faction from ZANU), Zimbabwe did not become a one-party state when ZANU and ZAPU merged to form ZANU-PF.

4.6.2 Internal Party Pluralism

Factionalism can also lead to internal party pluralism. Machinations to use the tribal card to garner support by some faction leaders were exposed and discouraged. These had the tendency to fuel tribal divisions and hatred, which could have resulted in conflict and war. In some countries like Rwanda, this resulted in mass genocide as one tribe sort to annihilate the other. The Unity Accord between ZANU PF and ZAPU was a major milestone in uniting the party and focusing the leadership towards nation building. Factionalism also exposed the 'bad apples' who were driven by greed and were hell bent on destroying the party for their selfish gains. According to literature, factionalism within a party could have positive results because it might promote internal party pluralism and representation of different political and socio-economic interests of members of the party. Similarly, it may be a good indicator of democracy within the party (Waller and Gillespie, 1995; Pridham, 1995).

4.6.3 Improved Decision-Making

Factionalism can result in improved decision-making, that is, prevention of mob-psychology. When people debate issues out and try to convince each other on the best policies or best course of action, that can only be described as democracy. However, when they use force or money to influence outcomes through the setting up of informal alliances within an organisation, that becomes factionalism. Factionalism is unfortunately an inevitable part of politics and political life, but it has no clear advantages. The findings of this study are supported by literature. Boucek (2009) further asserts that cooperative factionalism can get a bipartisan form. If this happens, the factionalism can be a force for good if it lessens political radicalism and eases cross-party cooperation by allowing members from opposing factions 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 (Hill, 2013).

4.6.4 Empowerment of Party Grassroots

Participants said that the factions 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.

4.6.5 Improving Intra-Party Democracy

Factions can improve intra-party democracy, as no one's voice would be supreme. One of the participants argued that, by affording a structure of cooperation among separate intra-party groups, factionalism can broaden horizons of party appeals and speed up party integration. The factions can 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, and factionalism has the potential to be consensus-building. Moreover, one of the participants said that factionalism could 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. It might also promote a democratic spirit of 'give and take', which would pave the way for consensual decision making in the party. Furthermore, splinter parties might contribute to political development as development of a multiparty system is encouraged by adding new parties to the existing ones. Sections 4.5 and 4.6 elaborated on the disadvantages and advantages of factionalism. Figure 4.3 shows the results of Nvivo analysis on the effects of factionalism.

Figure 4.3: Summary of the Effects of Factionalism in ZANU-PF

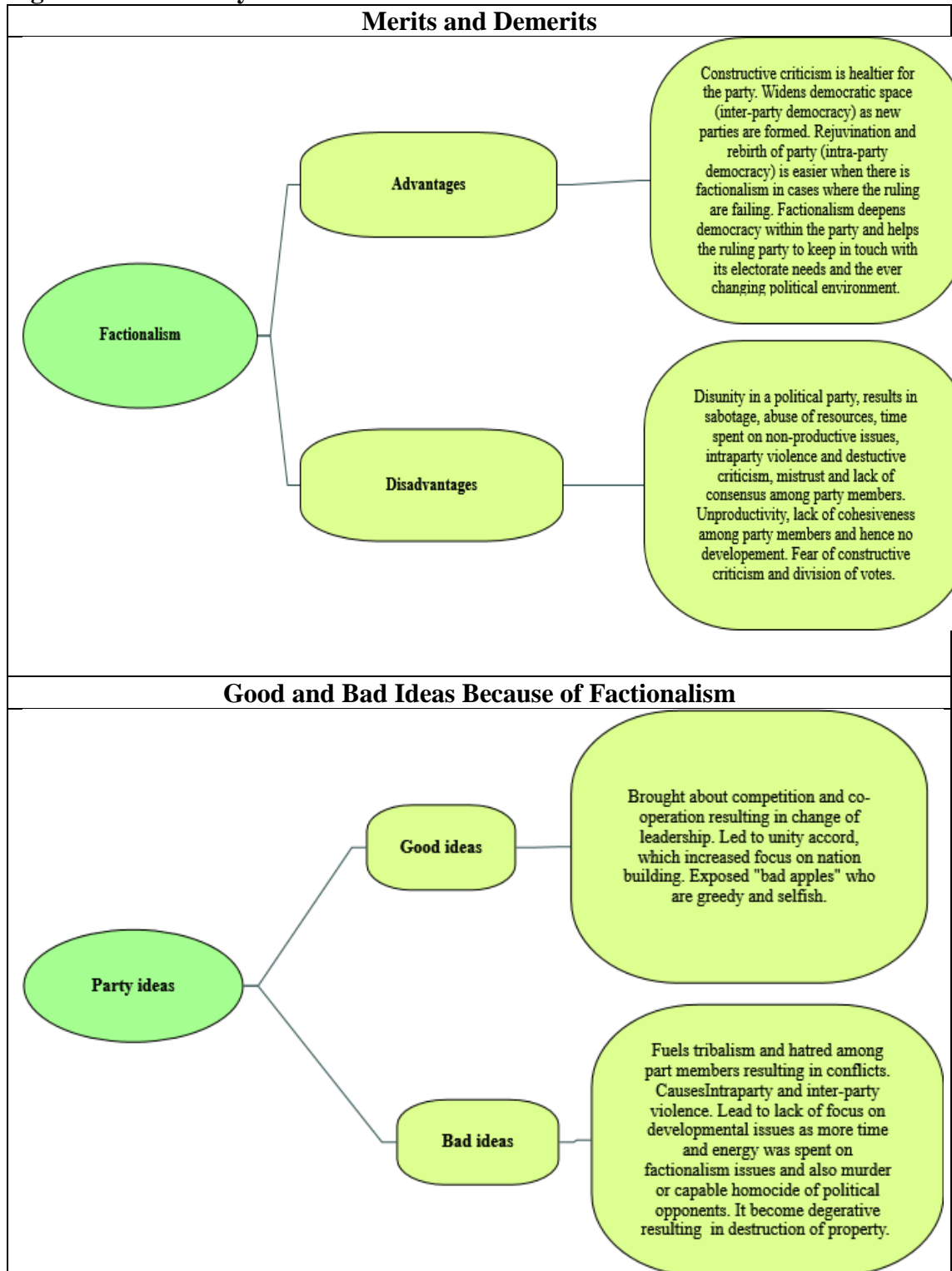


Figure 4.3 shows that there were both bad and good things associated with factionalism in ZANU-PF. The good things included the fact that constructive criticism was healthy, and there was deepening of democracy. The bad things included abuse of resources in factional fights, division of votes, and intra-party violence. It is essential that factionalism

overwhelming. Hence having such techniques in mind it is quiet vivid that if such techniques are employed in all political parties, especially in the ruling party factions can be easily circumvented. The study found out that one of the sources of factionalism in ZANU-PF was that the institution lacks sound principles and ideology for it to be a reputable political party. Interviewee 11 said the following:

It is important to note that ZANU PF is not a political 'party' in the true sense but a liberation movement. Parties like the Communist Party of China or the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom operate under a rigid party constitution and ideology. ZANU PF has neither, they frequently change their Constitution, and they do not have a defined ideology. This is fertile ground for factionalism. People take advantage of the fact that there are no proper guidelines and anyone who has the backing of either the rich cartels such as the recently unveiled 'Queen Bee' cartel or the armed forces can manoeuvre their way through the organisation. Therefore, to put it in short, there is need for a proper constitution and a guiding ideology, which have to be strictly adhered to.

The participants also pointed out that the members of political parties must know their roles and do their duties accordingly. There is a need for the continuous infusion of the cultural values and ideologies of the political party.

4.7.2 Vibrant Leadership

The study found out that there is need for a strong and principled leadership. Having sound disciplinary and grievance handling procedures and implementing effective succession plans are essential. According to Interviewee 12:

There is also evidence that factionalism in ZANU PF was orchestrated from the centre (or from the top) as Mugabe sort to consolidate his position by creating factions and pitting them against each other. He would strategically chose and promote certain individuals to spite one group, build that particular individual up to a point, then pull them down and replace them with another. When Tekere left ZANU PF, he literally shot himself in the foot and pulled himself out of the leadership race. This gave Edson Zvobgo room to manoeuvre but Mugabe then pulled Mujuru into his corner. He even promoted Mujurus wife into the presidium at the expense of other senior party leaders and liberation war comrades. When Mugabe's wife Grace felt she had gained enough support from the Women's League, and was also under immense pressure that Mugabe was getting too old for politics, they labelled Joice Mujuru as 'gamatox' meaning she was trying to 'steal the crown' and she was summarily expelled from the party. In order to create space and a clear passage for Grace Mugabe, Mugabe then expelled ED Mnangagwa expelled from the party which left the path clear for Grace to take over.

In addition, having a vibrant leadership ensures that party debate are controlled. Every member would know their limits and respect authority. Freedom of speech and the suggesting new methods has to be in a respectful and accommodating manner. The leaders would ensure that the members of the party continuously be ideologically schooled so that they remain guided and do not stray. The Party should also have a culture to coalesce members around ruling, working and sharing. All these must not be the preserve of a few.

4.7.3 Formulation of Sound Codes of Conduct

Rules and regulations are essential in managing factionalism. There is a need to respect for the party Constitution. There is need for members to appreciate that there is need to respect and uphold the constitution. The leaders are the ones who come up with sound codes of conduct for the followers and there is a need to ensure that all members comply.

In addition, respecting the core values of Ubuntu (traditional African philosophy) could help to manage factionalism. Ubuntu is the principle of caring for each other's well being and a spirit of mutual support. Each individual's humanity is ideally expressed through his or her relationship with others and theirs in turn through recognition of the individual's humanity. Ubuntu means that the people are people through other people, 'Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu'. Ubuntu is a way of living, or how people relate to one another as human beings. Ubuntu or hunhu as referred to in Shona was so entrenched in the people's way of life so much that people used it as a benchmark in governing their relations in every aspect of life. People would be referred to as good citizens if they conformed to the principles and values embodied in Ubuntu and they were labelled as villains if they did not conform. Everyone viewed Ubuntu as a way of life in Africa, and the culture was engendered from tender ages so much that a young African child grew up with these tendencies inculcated in them. Ubuntu has a number of pillars. These are honesty, hard work, respect, and fairness.

Honesty entails being truthful to others and self always. It meant living up to your word once you said and the ability to be trusted. Honesty is shown by how people upheld their word and lived to their responsibilities. Honesty was also exhibited in trade and daily transactions between people. Cheating, stealing from people was a deplorable and grievous mistake that was punishable by the traditional courts of the chief. This value is

still important, even more, in this modern world where rampant corruption is slowly eating into our societies, communities and businesses. Hard Work is also paramount in Ubuntu philosophy. Africa celebrated hard work. Both men and women were famed for working hard and rewarded for their diligence. Laziness was despised and abhorred. In fact, hard work was so respected that people who did not uphold these values found it hard to fit into society. It was so hard for them that marriage prospects were highly diminished. Women were recommended for marriage according to how hard they worked while men were also respected according to the level of their toil. Hard work was always respected as the man who worked hard always had a perfect standing in society and was awarded a good standing. Respect is also essential. Respect is a basic tenet of human interaction within the Ubuntu set up. Ubuntu is famed and acknowledged for the belief that, “a person is a person because of others”. This was a rooted belief that made individuals in that system accord respect to one another regardless their differences in many things, like age. In fact, if a person lacked respect they were commonly referred to as coming from a place where there are no people, or they would rather say he was not brought up the proper way. It is important that we revert back to upholding this value within our societies so that we restore sanity in our societies. In addition, Ubuntu upheld fairness. A person was supposed to treat other people fairly, including even their servants and slaves. Unfairness was scoffed and looked down upon. Unfair people were labelled in the society and as such, they could not be integrated into society. They were labelled villains and given names as such no one would want to deal with them or work for them. Ubuntu prescribes everything that members of political parties should do in order to manage factionalism. Divisions are always there but through Ubuntu, they can be effectively managed.

4.8 Summary

This chapter presented the finding of the study, which were presented in line with the research objectives. It was found out that factionalism is about the power dynamics in a political entity. Factions are very fluid, there are never families in political parties. In ZANU-PF, there have been many factions. When a ZANU-PF member left the party to join or form an opposition outfit, it is a reflection of factionalism which has gone out of control. The causes of factionalism in ZANU-PF appear to vary from one phase to another. In the earlier phases when Edgar Tekere left the party and formed his own splinter group, the main reasons were that he believed that there was need to continuously

change leadership. There is however a phase when the major driver of factionalism was mainly tribal. In the last phase that resulted in the formation of the 'G40' and 'Lacoste', the major reason was the struggle for power and control of the organisation and government.

It was found out that ZANU-PF's history is full of factionalism. Even before independence, there were factions. The establishment of ZANU in 1963 was due to factionalism. Therefore, the party was born out of factionalism, and factionalism has been part of its DNA. There has been cooperative factions, competitive factions (especially when there is selection of new vice-presidents). Competitive factionalism largely worsened after the death of Simon Muzenda, as some senior party officials jostled for the position. Degenerative factionalism was also there, and this was manifested when some senior members left the party to join opposition politics. The research showed that factionalism resulted in disunity in ZANU-PF. Factional fights meant that there was abuse of resources, an example being the youth interface rallies held between 2006 and 2017, which were being used as platforms of attacking the member of the Lacoste faction. In addition, because of factionalism, ZANU-PF lost popularity as it allowed the opposition to gain ground especially when they realised the splits and divisions that had emerged. Nevertheless, there were some benefits of factionalism. The formation of opposition political parties is due to factionalism. This entailed the expansion of the democratic space. Some of the ways for managing factionalism include eliminating the sources of factionalism, need for a vibrant leadership. Leadership plays an important role in managing factions in political parties. In addition, respecting the core values of Ubuntu (traditional African philosophy) could help to manage factionalism. The next chapter summarises the study and presents summary, conclusions, and recommendations.

CHAPTER V

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter winds up the study. The research sought to examine factionalism in ZANU-PF, and to propose options for its management. In this chapter, there is a presentation on the summary of the study, which highlights the reasons for conducting the research, the research objectives, significance of the study, literature reviewed, methodology used, and overview of the major findings. The chapter also presents the conclusions, which are in line with the research objectives, recommendations, and suggestions for further study.

5.2 Summary of the Study

This study sought to analyse the types, challenges, and benefits of factionalism in the Zimbabwe African National Union, Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). The study was motivated by the fact that the history of ZANU-PF has been characterised by factionalism in both pre and post-independence periods. The overall objective of this study was to examine factionalism in ZANU-PF and propose options for its management. There were four specific research objectives. The first research objective was to examine the forms of factionalism in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017. The second research objective was to assess the challenges caused by factionalism in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017. The third research objective was to evaluate the benefits of factionalism in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017. The last research objective was to explore strategies for managing factionalism in political parties and other institutions in order to minimise challenges while increasing the benefits.

Literature review focused on presenting the theoretical framework, where there was a discussion of the realist theory, which pointed out that individuals are obsessive with sustaining their power as well as the attainment of new power. The other theory was the law of curvilinear disparity, which states that political parties are not unified actors as there are diverging political opinions between top leadership, sub leadership and the low status membership. There was also a review of literature on factionalism, its causes, and forms (cooperative, competitive, and degenerative). There was also a review of literature on the disadvantages, benefits, and options for managing factionalism. Most of the

intensive studies on factionalism has not been conducted in Zimbabwe and this research sought to cover that gap.

This study applied the anti-positivist philosophy, which is qualitative in nature. The issue of factionalism, its causes, and management is a highly contested and subjective issue in Zimbabwe and qualitative approach seems to be more appropriate. This study was a case study of factionalism in ZANU-PF. The population for this study was made up of officials in ZANU-PF, non-governmental organisations, and political analysts. There was use of quota sampling to ensure some representativeness of all the stakeholder groups pertaining to the issue of factionalism in ZANU-PF. Purposive or expert sampling technique was also in use to identify the institutions and individuals believed to be good prospects for required data. The main tools for data collection in this study were interviews. This study had qualitative data, which was analysed using thematic analysis.

The study found out that factionalism is about the power dynamics in a political entity. In ZANU-PF, there have been many factions. When a ZANU-PF member left the party to join or form an opposition outfit, it is a reflection of factionalism. The forms of factionalism in ZANU-PF were cooperative, competitive, and degenerative factionalism. The challenges caused by factionalism in ZANU-PF were the erosion of internal cohesion, challenges in managing the party, negative influence on electoral success, and ineffective decision-making. The main benefit of factionalism was the widening of the democratic space. The research also found out that leadership plays an important role in managing factions in political parties. Factions are some forms of conflict in organisations, which are both inevitable and desirable. The duty of the leadership is to manage factions so that the benefits are enjoyed while minimising the disadvantages. In addition, respecting the core values of Ubuntu (traditional African philosophy) could help to manage factionalism. Ubuntu is the principle of caring for each other's well-being and a spirit of mutual support.

5.3 Conclusions

The study came up with conclusions, in line with each research objective, as follows:

- Factionalism is about the power dynamics in a political entity. Factions are always there when human beings interact, even in family and business institutions there are factions. Factions are part of institutions. Some of the causes of factionalism were ethnicity, the need to control resources, competition for leadership positions, and the argument that the Party diverted from its original ideology.
- ZANU-PF's history is full of factionalism. Even before independence, there were factions. The establishment of ZANU in 1963 was due to factionalism. Therefore, the party was born out of factionalism, and factionalism has been part of its DNA. There has been cooperative factions, competitive factions (especially when there is selection of new vice-presidents). Competitive factionalism largely worsened after the death of Simon Muzenda, as some senior party officials jostled for the position.
- Factionalism brought a number of challenges in ZANU-PF, which included the erosion of internal cohesion, intra-party violence, and wasting resources when trying to eradicate the scourge of factionalism. Time and financial resources were wasted in an endless cycle of counter accusations and sabotage of programmes, which seem to benefit the rival faction. Divisions negatively affected electoral success as a party becomes preoccupied with internal squabbles instead of unifying behind the leadership.
- The main benefit of factionalism was that of widening of the political (democratic) space. The formation of opposition political parties is due to factionalism.
- The study concluded that there are many ways for managing factionalism. These include the need for a strong and principled leadership, and formulation of sound codes of conduct (having respect for the party constitution). Respecting the core values of Ubuntu (traditional African philosophy) could help to manage factionalism.

5.4 Recommendations

The study came up with the following recommendations to ZANU PF as main beneficiary of the study, which could be used to manage factionalism in political parties. These are:

1. The study found out factionalism is part of political processes. Therefore, members of political parties ought to be tolerant to the emergence of divergent groups within the party. There was a need to acknowledge that people, even existing in a common grouping can have divergent views and interest. The existence of factions must not

be 'hidden' or denied but must be celebrated as sign of democracy in a political party;

2. There was a need to strengthen rules and regulations against violence and to make sure that divergent view are respected in political parties;
3. Members of political parties need to know their roles and do their duties accordingly. There is need for the continuous infusion of the cultural values and ideologies of the political party.
4. There was a need for a strong and visionary leadership. Having sound disciplinary and grievance handling procedures is essential.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Study

This study focused on factionalism and one of the key findings was that leadership has an important role in the management of factionalism. Accordingly, further studies could be round the issue of leadership, the extent to which they are able to perform their roles, and the suggestions for improving the leaders in the political parties.

References

- Andeweg, R.B. and Thomassen, J. (2010). Pathways to Party Unity: Sanctions, Loyalty, Homogeneity, and Division of Labour in the Dutch Parliament, *Party Politics*, 17(5), 655-672.
- Asal, V., Brown, M., and Dalton, A. (2012). Why Split? Organisational Splits among Ethno Political Organisations in the Middle East, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 56(1), 212-225.
- Barnea, S. and Rahat, G. (2010). Out with the Old, in with the New: What Constitutes a New Party? *Party Politics*, 17(3), 21-34.
- Belloni, F.P. and Beller, D.C. (eds) (1978). *Faction Politics: Political Parties and Factionalism in Comparative Perspective*, Oxford; ABC-Clio.
- Benton, A. (2007). The Strategic Struggle for Patronage, Political Career, State Largesse, and Factionalism in Latin American Parties, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 19(1), 54-70.
- Bourne, R. (2011), *Catastrophe: What Went Wrong in Zimbabwe*, London; Zed Books.
- Boucek, F. (2009). Rethinking Factionalism: Typologies, Intra-Party Dynamics and Three Faces of Factionalism, *Party Politics*, 15(4), 455-485.
- Brollo, F. and Tommaso, N. (2012). Tying Your Enemy's Hands in Close Races: The Politics of Federal Transfers in Brazil, *American Political Science Review*, 106(04), 742-761.
- Budge, I., Ezrow, L. and McDonald, M. D. (2010). Ideology, Party Factionalism, and Policy Change: An Integrated Dynamic Theory, *British Journal of Political Science*, 40(1), 781-804.
- Chander, N.J. (2004). *Coalition Politics: The Indian Experience*, New Delhi; Concept Publishing Company.
- Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Research Design, Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches, Fourth Edition*, Thousand Oaks, California; Sage.
- Curini, L. (2011). Government Survival the Italian Way: The Core and the Advantages of Policy Immobilism during the First Republic, *European Journal of Political Research*, 50, 110-142.
- Dewan, T. and Squintani, F. (2015), *In Defence of Factions*, London; London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Endicott, J.R. (2011). *James Madison and the Problem of Factions*. Online www.paperblog.htm [Accessed 5 August 2016].
- Fakir, E. (2008). Zimbabwe: Genesis History and Politics, *History Matters*, 21(1), 51-76.

- Farooqui, A. and Sridharan, E. (2014). Incumbency, Internal Processes and Renomination in Indian Parties, *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 52(1), 78-108.
- Hall, A.B. (2015). What Happens When Extremists Win Primaries? *American Political Science Review*, 109(01), 18-42.
- Henning, E. (2004). *Finding Your Way in Qualitative Research*, Pretoria; Van Schaik Publishers.
- Harmel, R. and Tan, A.C. (2003). Party Actors and Party Change: Does Factional Dominance Matter? *European Journal of Political Research*, 42, 409-424.
- Hill, L. (2013), *Political Anthropology: Factionalism*, Pretoria; Maximilian.
- Kato, S. (2002). *A Study of Research Methods, Faculty of Business Administration*, Tokyo; Bunkyo Gakuin University.
- Köllner, P. (2004). Factionalism in Japanese Political Parties Revisited or How do Factions in the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) Differ? *Japan Forum*, 16(1), 87-109.
- Köllner, P. and Matthias, B. (2005). *Factionalism in Political Parties: An Analytical Framework for Comparative Studies*, Hamburg; German Overseas Institute.
- Kothari, C.R. (2004). *Research Methods, and Techniques*, New Delhi; New Age International Publishers.
- Laakso, L. (2002). Opposition Politics in Independent Zimbabwe, *African Studies Quarterly*, 7(2), 3-10.
- Laver, M. and Sergenti, E. (2010). *Party Competition: An Agent Based Model*, Princeton; Princeton University Press.
- Leedy, P.D. and Ormrod, J.E. (2010). *Practical Research: Planning and Design, Ninth Edition*, New York; Merrill.
- Lipset, S.M. (2000). The Indispensability of Political Parties, *Journal of Democracy*, 11, 48-55
- Madison, J. (2013). *James Madison's View of Factionalism*, Online, www.HelpMe.com [Accessed 20 November 2017].
- Magaisa, A.T (2014). *A Factionalised Society: Thinking in Factions, Hiding in Factions*, London; London Institute of Political Studies.
- Magaisa, A.T. (2015). *Why do Zimbabwean Opposition Parties Split so Much? Part 1*, Online www.nehandaradio.com [Accessed 31 August 2015].

- Maor, M. (1997). *Political Parties and Party Systems: Comparative Approaches and the British Experience*, London; Routledge.
- Marczyk, G., DeMatteo, D. and Festinger, D. (2005). *Essentials of Research Design and Methodology*, New York; John Wiley and Sons.
- Mastanduno, M. (1997). Preserving the Unipolar Moment: Realism Theories and US Grant Strategy after Cold War, *International Security*, 21(4), 49-88.
- May, J.D. (1973). Opinion Structure of Political Parties: The Special Law of Curvilinear Disparity, *Political Studies*, 21(2), 135-151.
- Morgenstern, S. (2001). Organised Factions and Disorganised Parties: Electoral Incentives in Uruguay, *Party Politics*, 7 235-256.
- Morgenthau, H.J. (1978). *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, Fifth Edition*, New York; Alfred Knopf.
- Mutlu, H. (2011). *Keeping the Party Together*, Paper Presented at the EPSA Annual Conference, Dublin, 16-18 June 2011.
- Ndondo, F. (2014). *Desperate Times*, London; Ink Drop Publications.
- Onslow, S. (2011). *Zimbabwe and Political Transition*, London; The London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Pai, S. (2009). New Social Engineering Agenda of the Bahujan Samaj Party: Implications for State and National Politics: South Asia, *Journal of South Asian Studies* 32(3), 338-353.
- Pedersen, H.H. (2010). How Intra-Party Power Relations Affect the Coalition Behaviour of Political Parties, *Party Politics*, 16, 737-754.
- Persico, N., Pueblita, J.C.R., and Silverman, D. (2011). Factions and Political Competition, *Journal of Political Economy*, 119(2), 242-288.
- Pridham, G. (1995). *Party Systems, Factionalism and Patterns of Democratisation: Cross-National Comparisons in Southern Europe*, in Gillespie, R., Waller, M., and Lopez, L. (eds), *Factional Politics and Democratisation*, London; Frank Cass.
- Rawnsley, A.C. (2012). *Teeside University Research Governance, Policy, Procedures, and Guidelines for Research Ethics*, Teeside University.
- Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (2003). *Qualitative Research in Practice, A Guide for Social Sciences Students and Researches*, New Delhi; Sage Publishing.
- Sachikonye, L.M. (2011). *Zimbabwe's Lost Decade*, Harare; Weaver Press.
- Sarakinsky, I. and Fakir, E. (2015). A Brief History of Factionalism and New Party Formation and Decline in South Africa: The Case of Congress of the People, *Journal of African Elections*, 14(1), 60-84.

- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2012). *Research Methods for Business Students, Sixth Edition*, London; Prentice-Hall.
- Sferza, S. (2002). *Party Organisation and Party Performance: The Case of the French Socialist Party*, in Gunther, R., Montero, J.R., and Linz, J.J. (eds), *Political Parties*, Oxford; Oxford University Press.
- Sibanda, E.M. (2005). *The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union 1961-1987: A Political History of Insurgency in Southern Rhodesia*, Asmara; Africa World Press.
- Simon, M. K. (2011). *Dissertation and Scholarly Research: Recipes for Success*, Washington D.C.; Seattle.
- Taylor, S.J., Bogdan, R, and DeVault, M.L. (2016). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods, a Guidebook and Resource*, Hoboken, New Jersey; Wiley.
- Waller, M. and Gillespie, R. (1995). *Introduction: Factionalism, Party Management and Political Development*, in Gillespie, R., Waller, M., and Lopez, L. (eds), *Factional Politics and Democratisation*, London; Frank Cass.
- Wohlforth, W. (2010). *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations, First Edition*, Oxford; Oxford University Press.
- Zariski, R. (1960). Party Factions and Comparative Politics: Some Preliminary Observations, *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 4, 26-51.
- Zariski, R. (1978). *Party Factions and Comparative Politics: Some Empirical Findings*, in Belloni, F.P. and Beller, D.C. (eds) 1978. *Faction Politics: Political Parties and Factionalism in Comparative Perspective*, Oxford; ABC-Clio.

APPENDIX I

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

My name is Kingsley Zimbudzana, a student studying towards the attainment of Master of Science in Peace and Governance Degree with Bindura University of Science Education. As a partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Masters Degree Programme, I am conducting a study on the forms, the challenges, and benefits of factionalism in the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) between the years 1980 and 2017. The research seeks to propose possible options for managing factionalism in political parties and other institutions in order to minimise challenges while increasing the benefits. There are no direct benefits for your participation in this study. However, there could overall benefits to the Zimbabwean political landscape given that the findings of the research, if adopted, could help improve the management of factionalism in political parties. All the data you provide shall be treated as confidential and shall not be shared with any individual or institution not involved in this research. Names and any other identification particulars will not be asked for during the interviews. Before you sign this form, please ask any questions on any aspect of this study that is unclear to you.

Signature of Research Participant

Date

APPENDIX II

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

My name is Kingsley Zimbudzana, a student studying towards the attainment of Master of Science in Peace and Governance Degree with Bindura University of Science Education. As a partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Masters Degree Programme, I am conducting a study titled: Unpacking Factionalism in Political Parties: The case of ZANU-PF; 1980-2017. The study seeks to analyse the typologies of factions experienced in ZANU-PF. The study also examines the challenges and benefits of factionalism and proposes options for managing factions. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you have the freedom to withdraw from the study should you feel uncomfortable. All the data you provide shall be treated as confidential and shall be used for academic purposes only.

1. What is your understanding of the term factionalism?
2. What do you think are the major causes of factionalism in ZANU-PF?
3. Can you comment on the forms of cooperative factionalism, if any, that occurred in ZANU-PF in the post-independence era?
4. What are the forms of competitive factionalism, if any, in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017?
5. What is your comment on degenerative factionalism, if any, that occurred in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017?
6. What is your comment on the view that factionalism resulted in erosion of internal cohesion in ZANU-PF?
7. One can say that factionalism led to challenges in the management of the ZANU-PF party. What is your comment and can you give examples of situations that happened between the years 1980 and 2017?
8. What is your comment on the view that factionalism has a negative influence on ZANU-PF electoral success? Can you give examples of cases in elections that took place between the years 1980 and 2017?
9. To what extent does factionalism lead to ineffective decision-making in ZANU-PF?

10. In what ways did factionalism in ZANU-PF became an impediment to inter-party discussions. Give examples of situations that occurred between the years 1987 and 2017?
11. What are the other challenges that were associated with factionalism in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017?
12. What is your comment on the view that factionalism in ZANU-PF led to the widening of political space in Zimbabwe? Give examples of cases between 1980 and 2017?
13. Factionalism in ZANU-PF resulted in improved decision-making. What is your comment?
14. What is your comment on the view that the empowerment of party grassroots in ZANU-PF?
15. Factionalism resulted in the improvement of intra-party democracy in ZANU-PF. What is your comment and give examples of situations that occurred between 1980 and 2017?
16. What are the other benefits of factionalism in ZANU-PF between the years 1980 and 2017?
17. What is your comment on the view that one of the best strategies for managing factionalism in political parties is the elimination of its source?
18. To what extent does the change of leadership work as a strategy for managing factionalism in political parties?
19. What is your comment on the view that the formulation of sound codes of conduct is a strategy for managing factionalism in ZANU-PF?
20. What are the other strategies that could be used to manage factionalism in political parties so that benefits are maximised and costs minimised?
21. Do you have any other information to share pertaining to factionalism in ZANU-PF?

Thank you for your time and effort