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**EXAMINING EFFECTS OF TRIBALISM ON POLITICAL  
PARTIES. A CASE STUDY OF ZIMBABWE**

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## ABSTRACT

*This study looked at how tribalism affected Zimbabwean political parties. The study also looked into the factors that affect tribalism. The research provided answers to the question of what causes tribalism in Zanu PF. What effects does tribalism have on party politics, national politics, and the growth of the economy? The qualitative research design was used to collect and analyze the data in this study. The Zanu Pf Bindura district party chairperson, one CCC aspiring MP (formerly a member of mdc), sixteen Zanu Pf party members from Bindura and Harare, and six CCC party members made up the sample population. Unstructured questionnaires and focus group discussions were used to gather necessary information from informants. The Gukurahundi are credited with orchestrating the current tribal sentiments in Zimbabwe, according to the study. Adding on, ancestrally troublesome governmental issues of Zimbabwe has annihilated and disappointed our networks' social and social texture delivering Zimbabweans practically unequipped for successfully articulating themselves and exploring their political ways. In light of exploration discoveries, suggestions are that pioneers to embrace new procedures that assist with defeating social unsteadiness and gathering complaint. In addition, the logical next steps for Zimbabwe's socioeconomic development are to eradicate tribalism and corruption, encourage the growth of human capital potential, and promote social justice.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Factionalism, tribalism, ethnicity, development, political parties, and politics.*

## **DECLARATION**

I, B192974B declare that this project was written entirely by me and that it has not been taken from any other source without permission.

Signature.....

Date.....

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents. I am grateful that you raised me and allowed me to attend school.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

My gratitude goes without saying how grateful and honored I am to God Almighty, who gives me strength and enables me to accomplish anything. my supervisor for his support and direction throughout this study. I received assistance in completing questionnaires and interviews from a variety of staff members. Lastly; I'd like to express my gratitude to everyone else who played a role in making this project a success.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>MDC.....</b>	<b>MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE</b>
<b>(ZLHR).....</b>	<b>ZIMBABWE LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS</b>
<b>U.N.H.....</b>	<b>UN-HABITAT</b>
<b>D.A.....</b>	<b>DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR</b>
<b>LA.....</b>	<b>LOCAL AUTHORITIES</b>
<b>UNICEF....</b>	<b>UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY INTERNATIONAL FUND</b>
<b>WC .....</b>	<b>WARD CONCILLORS</b>

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

### 1.1: Background

Tribalism within political parties has had a history of influencing the party-oriented structures and organizational visions. Tribalism has created conflict within political parties which has happened previously under the Mugabe regime as Factionalism which led to the creation of a shadow political frame under the guise of Generation 40 popularly known as the G-40 cabal, factionalism is one among the effects of Tribalism in Zimbabwe's long serving nationalist party, Chikasha (2016). An upsurge in political violence cases is a direct manifestation of supporter's agony towards the marginalised distribution system of resources and services within the country's 10 Provinces as one province has benefited more as compared to others in terms of systematized development especially in terms of infrastructure, technology as well as economic transformation (Maromo,2017).

Tribalists are capitalising on the economic misfortunes of the youth, as a result The youths are engaging in political violence more than positive political engagement (Chiwose, 2017). They are seen as means to political gains; pressure groups capitalize on their misfortunes by paying them to make certain violent actions, this is fuelled by lack of unemployment and the need for drugs. Vote selling among the youths is a factor which has led to descriptive and tokenism representation of youths making participation of youths questionable.

Here in Zimbabwe, tribalism is a cancer that has crippled political parties. It is detrimental to the development of the parties and country. Tribalism has caused a lot of problems and frustration of different ethnic groups quest for power. Questions whether tribalism has caused corruption, maladministration and erosion of meritocracy which any democracy yearns for? is ethnicity responsible for violence that occurs at party and national levels. The politics of ethnicity cannot be separated from development for the people of Matabeleland. Ama Ndebele are the culturally dominant people in the province. The province's socioeconomic marginalization as a result of its predominantly isiNdebele-speaking population only serves to exacerbate an already dire situation. According to Mtetwa, Dziro, and Takaza (2013:32), stigma and discrimination go hand in hand with the population's socioeconomic marginalization. Eppel (2014) adds that Matabeleland is associated with terms like marginalization, exclusion, and underdevelopment, and that the province is a source of political opposition. Matabeleland is one of Zimbabwe's poorest provinces due to this socioeconomic marginalization. According to Takaza (2013), "This marginalization may be caused by political beliefs, ethnicity, or religion." Using Zanu PF as a case study, this study therefore investigates the effects of tribalism on political parties.

## **1.2: Statement of the problem**

Tribalism has dominated the organizational activities of Zimbabwean political parties. As a result, small minority groups have been suppressed and ignored, resulting in the underdevelopment of their communities, which has had a negative impact on the nation-building agenda. Ethnicity determines who gets first picks for important government positions. In the political context of Zimbabwe, tribalism continues to be a significant issue that impedes the country's development, peace, and stability.

### **1.3: Aim**

The purpose of this study is to investigate how tribalism affects Zimbabwe's political parties, with a focus on Zanu PF. The study will also try to make suggestions based on these cases that could help bring together different ethnic groups in Zimbabwe.

### **1.4: Research objectives**

- ❖ To discuss factors which influence tribalism
- ❖ To examine the political and economic effects of tribalism
- ❖ To assess whether tribalism is responsible for the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe

### **1.5: Research questions**

- ❖ What are the causes of Tribalism in Zanu PF?
- ❖ What are the effects of tribalism on party politics, national politics and economic development?
- ❖ How does tribalism have anything to do with the political and economic crisis being experienced in Zimbabwe?

### **1.6: Assumptions**

The assumptions of this research are that tribalism is rooted within Zanu Pf and MDC political parties. Moreso, it can be assumed that development is implemented along ethnic lines in Zimbabwe.

### **1.7: Significance of the study**

The results of this study will help Zimbabweans understand how tribalism in political parties like Zanu PF has affected the development of the country. The study will allow for the development of viable political parties capable of providing services that are satisfactory regardless of ethnicity. Intellectuals will benefit from this study because its findings will add to what is already known about tribalism in Zimbabwe.

## **1.8: Delimitations**

Zimbabwe will serve as an example. Based on how the ruling party is controlled and manipulated by the majority and most influential in the party and government, as is evident in the country, the study will involve Zimbabwean political parties.

### **1.8.1: Limitations**

limitations include the political parties' reluctance to reveal private information. This restriction was circumvented through the use of triangulation. Due to civic reluctance, collecting incomplete questionnaires will be difficult, which will result in some citizens' opinions being left out. A response rate of 100 percent would guarantee that concerns raised by Zimbabwean citizens about tribalism would be covered in depth. The fact that only members of the intellectual elite will be interviewed adds to this study's potential for bias. As a result, the study will not directly reflect the opinion of the typical Zimbabwean. A survey would be ideal in this regard, but time constraints will probably prevent it. Instead, the research is based on what people who are more directly involved in tribal or political affairs believe the general public to be thinking.

## **1.9: Definition of terms**

**Tribalism:** According to Nothwehr (2008), "tribalism is the mentality and behavior of harboring such a strong feeling of loyalty or bonds to one's tribe that one excludes or even

demonizes those "others" who do not belong to that group." can be defined as a conscious commitment and loyalty to a single tribe that elevates that tribe above other groups.

**Ethnocentrism:** According to Barth (1998), it is the mentality of putting one's own ethnic group at the center of other ethnic groups and using one's own culture as a standard against which all others will be measured and evaluated.

**Ethnicity:** (Sanders, 2007) may be defined as a social group or category of the population that is distinct from the rest of the population and is united by ties of race, language, nationality, or culture.

**Decentralisation:** According to Mosha (2006), "the transfer of legal and political authority to plan, make decisions, and manage public functions from the central government and its agencies to field organizations of those agencies, subordinate units of government, semi-autonomous public corporations, or statutorily derived autonomous government units" is what is meant by the term "decentralization."

**Democracy:** According to Davernport (2011) Democracy is both an ideal and a collection of institutions and practices. As an ideal, it encapsulates two straightforward principles: first, that members of any group or association should have ultimate control over its policies and rules and participate in discussions about the common good; Second, Davenport contends that they should treat each other and themselves equally.

## **1.10: Chapter outline**

Chapter 1 contains an overview of Zimbabwean tribalism, the study's purpose, problem statement, research objectives and questions, study boundaries, significance, assumptions, and key terms. Chapter two two depends on writing literature reviews and theoretical framework. The research design, data collection techniques, ethical considerations, and study population are discussed in Chapter 3. The study's data analysis and presentation form the basis of chapter four, and chapter five offers a summary, a conclusion, and recommendations.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1: Introduction**

A wide range of academics and intellectuals presented previously published research on civic tribalism and its impact on Zimbabwean and Rwandan political parties in this chapter. Elder (2015) says that a literature review is important because it gives you a clear understanding of relevant past research and new trends. According to Cresswell, a literature review determines the study's scope. As indicated by Saunders et al. (2009), a critical review of the literature will serve as the basis for this study's research. The objective is to incorporate the current research into the existing body of knowledge, as well as current trends in ethnicity and tribalism. The reader will have an easier time grasping the particular issue as a result of this. It was easier to locate and explain the patterns of tribalism in Zimbabwe and Rwanda because the chapter was designed around the concept of social identity.

## **2.2 Theoretical framework**

### **2.2.1: Identity Theory**

Tribalism and ethnic identity are two subsets of the larger social identity theory. According to Tajfel (1979), Turner (1979), one of its advocates, defined social identity as a person's sense of who they are based on their membership in a group. According to the theory, identification is bolstered by groups' conflicts and competing interests. In particular, threats to a group cause members to band together more strongly, which increases identification (Reiche, 2001). The need to maintain power, social control, and competition for employment and resources all increase the likelihood that an individual will view himself or herself primarily in terms of ethnicity rather than non-ethnicity (Bannon et al., 2004). Therefore, social identity theory helps to explain why leaders in Zimbabwe may engage in tribalism.



### **2.3: Tribalism in Rwanda**

A secular, sovereign, independent, democratic, and social republic, The Rwandan Republic's guiding principle is "Government of the People, by the People, and for the People." Madani (2016) asserts that Rwanda recognizes a multiparty government. Rwanda has signed a number of significant regional and international human rights agreements, including the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD). It is surprising that Rwanda does not recognize the Twa as Indigenous or "Twa" despite its membership in the ICCPR, CERD, and ACHPR, all of which place an emphasis on self-identification as the primary criterion for determining who constitutes a minority or Indigenous group independent of state recognition (James, 2012). According to Madani (2016), despite the fact that the government of Rwanda recognizes the Twa as a minority and that they meet the requirements for Indigenous identification, they are not recognized as Indigenous people. The government of Rwanda maintains that regardless of their ethnicity, religion, region, or other identity-related characteristics, all citizens are entitled to the same rights and protections. However, many Twas continue to be subjected to racial prejudice that labels them as "dumb" and "uncivilized," making it more difficult for them to exercise their fundamental human rights (Boucek, 2009). Boucek likewise features that associations working for the Twa have experienced lawful issues while endeavoring to address this local area since zeroing in on one ethnic gathering is viewed as divisionism.

Tribal sentiments are evident in the exercise of political power in Rwanda. According to Msindo (2017), it argues that the establishment of the Rwandan state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries led to an increasing concentration of power in the hands of a small elite.

The extreme violence of the 1994 genocide was brought about by the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic identities, which served as a means of power consolidation and contestation (Msindo, 2017). Rwanda is a state that is very centralized; On the other hand, the state hasn't been as strong in the periphery as it is in the center. An assessment of the connection among neighborhood and unified power is expected to make sense of the spread and variety of destructive savagery, as well as the execution of legitimate reactions to that brutality. Newbury (2009) proposes, Rwanda's ethnic personalities are socially created and profoundly impacted by power with the end goal that adjustments of these classes are connected with changes in the power setting.

Rwanda's political space has been shrinking since 2000; According to Falola (2014), opposition that supports RPF shadow policies is the only type permitted. Multiparty elections in 2003 marked the beginning of Rwanda's transition to democratic governance, but since then, political space has been completely closed off (Falola, 2014). In the lead-up to the election, the MDR party, the only viable rival of the RPF, was barred due to allegations of spreading divisionism. Pasteur Bizimungu, the leading MDR candidate and former President of the National Unity Government, was arrested on charges of putting national security in danger, stealing public funds, and inciting ethnic divisions.

However, Mr. Kagame has undergone a remarkable transformation over the past several decades, moving from soldier to statesman to reformer (Pigou, 2016). Ethnicity, a major factor in the bloody genocide, had been removed from identity cards and public discourse under his administration. Gacaca was an impressive transitional justice system that tried to bring those responsible for terrible crimes to justice through grass-roots courts. Importantly, Rwanda is

frequently praised as a model for peace after a conflict, surpassing other 1990s conflicts like Bosnia, which are still marred by ethnic tension Tompson (2019).

#### **2.4: Development in Rwanda**

One of the tools for social reconciliation in post-war contexts is the sponsorship of material development, as unequal resource distribution was one of the factors that led to ethnic conflict (Msindo, 2017). Long-term peace can be made possible through development. Ethnic polarization in Rwanda was exacerbated by the distribution of state resources like employment and education (Shea, 2018). As a result, the current government has launched an ambitious development campaign. The Rwandan government appears determined to forge a common identity and "one nation" in order to prevent further violence. The widespread participation of the Rwandan people in the genocide forces the Rwandan government to address issues of reconciliation despite its emphasis on the need to establish a sustainable socioeconomic base (James, 2012). Since the beginning of the reconstruction process, Rwanda has emphasized and implemented a deliberate transitional justice strategy as well as various programs like cooperatives (where village residents collaborate for community development).

#### **2.5: Causes of tribalism in Rwanda**

Tribalism is a hurt in Africa's neck since it has obstructed a few positive choices that benefit the landmass, Victoria (2012). Due to their self-avowed tribal supremacy, Africans are viewed as murderers of other Africans, as dehumanizing Africans, as conspirators against Africa, and as enemies of Africa's morals and values. The values of anthropology, mythology, and lineage give rise to tribalism. This indicates that various tribal orientations, which are frequently regarded as traditional practices Victoria, serve as the social foundations for customary tribes. Nearly 84% of Rwandans are Hutu, a people with a strong agricultural background. They make

up the majority of Rwandans. Despite making up only 15% of Rwandans, the Tutsi have played a significant part in the country's history as cattle farmers and the monarchy's figureheads. A third group, the Twa, are Pygmy people who make up less than one percent of the population. As a result, they are frequently omitted from the contemporary narrative about Rwanda because they are seen as a politically insignificant group.

The pronounced ethnic divide that would later be the primary cause of conflict was sown by European colonialism; The conflict caused long-term social and economic harm to the region. (Jean,2016). After German and Belgian colonization, Tutsis took control of Rwanda, igniting animosity between the two ethnic groups. Relations between the two tribes were mostly peaceful prior to colonization; years of intermarriage cooled any heated arguments because they shared a similar culture and language. However, Germans favored Tutsis, a European-looking race, effectively ending their commonality (Shah, 1999). Because discrimination quickly led to nepotism, the Tutsi aristocracy was made the local "colonial puppet" ruling power, with better access to education and economic opportunities. As a result of the unfair divide, some Tutsi took advantage of their Hutu counterparts, and the differences "that later developed into jealousy transformed into rage by 1994" encouraged feelings of separatism.

In addition, Belgian colonization after World War I established a system that prevented Tutsis from blending in by requiring all citizens to carry "tribal cards" that clearly stated their ethnicity. According to historian Michel Chossudovsky (1998), divisions between ethnic groups during colonial times have had a significant impact on Rwandan society today. Because the colonial system fostered long-term animosity between the two races, which laid the groundwork for subsequent short-term political and economic causes, it is possible to argue

that colonialism is the most significant cause. Without the introduction of such a gap, which did not exist prior to the establishment of Europe, the ethnic divide would never have been as prominent in Rwandan culture. Consequently, the ethnic-based genocide would not have taken place.

Since the 1960s, debates about the political role of ethnicity in Rwanda have tended to adopt an essentialist understanding of rural tribes. The politics of "winner takes all" and the "culture of impunity" have long fostered ethnic division in Burundi and Rwanda. Political activity increased in anticipation of negotiations with the RPF and with the formation of a transitional government in Rwanda at the beginning of 1992. Inter-tribal violence would "spontaneously" break out in some part of the country whenever negotiations with the RPF became particularly tense or delicate. This pattern began to emerge.

The Tutsis were exploited by the political regime of Habyarimana, and pro-Hutu indoctrination exacerbated ethnic tensions. With an all-Hutu government after Rwanda gained independence in 1962, decades of Tutsi injustice began (Falola, 2014). In 1973, General Habyarimana established a military dictatorship that was heavily Tutsi-biased. Due to its nepotism and corruption, Tutsi discrimination was widespread. The Akazu, a Hutu elite group that supported and contributed to the development of anti-Tutsi ideology in an effort to gain political power, provided support for Habyarimana's one-party state. Boucek (2009) says that Habyarimana also used military mobilization to keep power, which gave the Akazu free reign to kill RPF opponents. The regime used propaganda and political warfare to maintain its political hold on a nation with a majority of illiterate citizens and to exacerbate tensions between the two races as a result of its political struggles. The distinction between Tutsi "cockroaches" and Hutus was consistently emphasized in the "Hutu Ten Commandments" and other forms of indoctrination,

severing any ties that had previously existed between the two races. As a result of the crumbling regime, Hutu extremists murdered Habyarimana in 1994. The creation of radical antagonistic individuals in a short amount of time attracted enough widespread Hutu support for the Tutsis to clear the way.

## **2.6: Political and economic effects of tribalism in Rwanda**

Rwanda's growth has been influenced in part by tribalism. Jacobson and Deckard (2012) have known for a long time that tribalism and corruption go hand in hand. Abdulrahim (2020) has empirically proven that tribalism and corruption go hand in hand at the country level. Numerous studies have linked tribalism and corruption. Deckard (2012) says that kin networks that pressure government officials to use nepotism to help members of their tribe become richer are linked to tribalism and corruption in Rwanda. It is also essential to keep in mind that individual norms and values may significantly influence corruption (Theron, 2013). According to Theron (2013), tribal officials in Rwanda typically accept gifts because they are regarded as a part of their cultural norms. In Hutu collectivist culture, individuals are accountable for taking care of their relatives and close family members. The collective tribal life might lead members of the tribe to fulfill their cultural responsibilities through corrupt practices like favoritism and nepotism because cultural norms were established by social pressure.

## **2.7: Tribalism/ethnic conflict and Rwandan genocide**

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the Great Lakes region was ruled by a number of centralized, hierarchical, and frequently at odds kingdoms, according to Deckard. However, prior to colonization, the "Hutu" and "Tutsi" peoples lacked battle lines that were geographically and culturally distinct. Additionally, the Great Lakes region was home to a number of centralized, hierarchical, and frequently at war kingdoms prior to the arrival of the Europeans. However, the geographically and culturally distinct "Hutu" and "Tutsi" populations were not divided along battle lines in pre-colonial conflicts (Theron, 2013). Regardless of whether they were a pre-colonial kingdom or a modern nation bounded by colonial borders, Tutsi and Hutus share a common language and cultural heritage. Stereotypes portray the Tutsi and Hutus as "pastoralists," "agriculturalists," "patrons," and "clients," or "rulers" and "ruled," respectively. Several academics have attempted to utilize the possibility of "rank." However, political prejudices from the present and the past are read into each of these frameworks, highlighting how distinct the two are.

In the post-colonial era, extremists on both sides have come to view the divide as a racial divide (Jochen, 2005). Political inequalities and conflicts perpetuated stereotypes and exacerbated division during the colonial era. In the traumatic conflicts that followed in Burundi and Rwanda, they were enshrined even more. Despite the efforts of many moderates and the existence of numerous extended families across the Hutu/Tutsi divide, extremist ideologies and fears are deadly forces (Marume, 2016). However, they are primarily based on political rivalries and current generational experiences rather than being the result of ancient and unchanging "tribal" distinctions.

## **2.8: Politics and tribalism in Zimbabwe: A road map**

The ongoing political and monetary emergency in Zimbabwe, which has made Zimbabwe an untouchable state, shows the issue of tribalism. It has continued to haunt both the project of nationalism, which ended up unraveling along the Ndebele-Shona ethnic fault lines, and the post-colonial nation-building process, which was marred by ethnic tensions and violence in the 1980s (Moyo, 2007). Both of these processes were attempting to build a new nation at the end of colonial rule. A series of historical processes that took place prior to, during, and after colonial rule led to the development and consolidation of tribalism. Moyo (2018) claims that it is the result of an accumulation of resentment and rage toward Shona triumphalism. Consequently, the literature suggests a connection between the politico-sociological historical analysis and a social constructivist perspective on comprehending the complex politics of identities in general.

### **2.8.1: A brief history**



The largest and generally strongest tribes are the Karanga and Zezuru. Chikasha (2016) asserts that Karangas and Zezurus are involved in a significant conflict within President Robert Mugabe's ruling ZANU PF party that is about to escalate to the point where it will completely alter Zimbabwean politics. The Karanga is Zimbabwe's largest clan, and it is responsible for approximately 35% of the 11.5 million people who live there. The Zezuru are the second largest race, accounting for roughly 25% of the total population. Between 1972 and 1980, the Karanga provided the majority of the fighting soldiers and military leaders who took part in the successful chimurenga, or battle, that resulted in independence and a black majority government. However, the ZANU movement, which was later renamed ZANU PF, was led by a Zezuru intellectual with multiple degrees. According to Mbembe (2003), ZANU's declaration that unity was one of its guiding principles made ethnic divisions seem insignificant at the time. Mugabe's predecessors as president were Ndabaningi Sithole, a Ndaou, and Herbert Chitepo, a Manyika who was killed 30 years ago under enigmatic circumstances.

However, when Mugabe pushed the Karangas out of power in 2005 and appointed members of his Zezuru clan to every high-ranking position, these clan rivalries resurfaced with fury. Muleya (2006) says that the Karangas are enraged because they know their men won the chimurenga. Joyce Mujuru and Joseph Msika, both Zezurus, served as Mugabe's vice presidents in the past. The army's head, General Constantine Chiwenga, replaced General Vitalis Zvinavashe, a seasoned Karanga fighter whose highly combative wife Jocelyn had threatened to eat a white farmer during the height of the farm invasions in 2000 and 2004. Commissioner Augustine Chihuri served as the national police's former chief. He was a Zezuru who made it abundantly clear that he had always backed ZANU PF and Mugabe.

In 1957, the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC), the first mass nationalist organization, the Ndebele-Shona axis emerged. It was reflected in the party's leadership structure and speeches delivered at the founding congress. According to Sithole (1995), the Ndebele and Shona made conscious efforts to achieve ethnic or regional harmony. In 1963, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) broke up along ethnic lines, forming the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which was led by Shona, and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which was led by Ndebele (Nkomo, 1984). As a result, rather than uniting the Ndebele and Shona, the histories of ZAPU and ZANU have become tales of ethnic politics and tribalism.

The idea that Zimbabwe should be divided into Shona and Ndebele tribal groups and that Shonas should lead the country was the foundation of the party ZANU-PF. According to Comagnon, ZANU-PF, which is referred to as "The Party," has always had Shonas in key leadership positions, and the leadership elite includes a number of Ndebele opponents. The party had to enlist the assistance of Ndebele apologists in order to portray a government of national unity in light of the meaningless "Unity Accord" that was signed in December 1987. The supporters of Ndebele were instructed to behave like gagged guests at this party, "don't raise questions about the development of the other half of the country," and "make no key decisions." The presidium's composition also reflects tribal sentiments in Zimbabwe. Chikasha chooses vice presidents, most of whom come from Matabeleland.

## **2.9: Tribalism effect on Zanu PF**

According to Muleya, the Zimbabwean nationalists were given the task of balancing the ethnic component within their respective political organizations in an effort to win over the nation's support and to alleviate ethnic tensions. How to balance and manage the equally volatile issue of Karanga, Zezuru, Manyika, and Korekore intra-Shona ethnicities was the issue facing ZANU. Manyika (2011) offered the intriguing viewpoint that ZAPU had to strike a balance between the proportions of Ndebele, Kalanga, and Shona because Muzorewa and Sithole were engaged in processes that were similar within their respective organizations. According to Maromo (2017), the ideal situation in Zimbabwe would be for each administrative unit to be made up of a single culturally and linguistically homogeneous tribe. In this scenario, people would continue to live in indigenous institutions and would be subject to "tribal discipline" through the structures of local authority. Seven out of ten provinces opposed Mujuru's appointment as vice president prior to the electoral congress and preferred Karanga Mnangagwa, also known as Sadomba. The need for control also prevents Zimbabwean society from changing. In the ensuing political chaos, Mugabe fired Ndebele Jonathan Moyo, his powerful information minister who is now running for parliament as an independent. Mugabe banned six provincial chairmen from politics for six years. Manicaland, Masvingo, the Midlands, and Matabeleland North, Central, and South were non-Zezuru provinces.

Since 1985, Mugabe has given his fellow Zezuru, Tobaiwa Mudede, the all-powerful Registrar General of Clionadh, control of the electoral process in an effort to strengthen his hold on power. The Zezuru hegemony has crept up and become a fact of life in Zimbabwean politics, Clionadh, despite the fact that there was intense debate about Mugabe's origins for many years. The Karangas were in charge, despite the fact that Sithole, a Ndaou from Manicaland in the far east of Zimbabwe, was the party's founder. Karangas Leopold Takawira, Nelson and Michael Mawema, Simon Muzenda, and Eddison Zvobgo were all influential members of the group. The Karangas, led by Josiah Tongogara, mirrored the tribal makeup of ZANU's armed wing and served as the liberation struggle's foundation. Emmerson Mnangagwa is just one of many well-known Karangas.

Chikasha (2016, 2016) also hypothesized that the GNU directly resulted in the reemergence of Zanuism as Zimbabwe's dominant political force; Zanuism is the sum of power without scruples. The clan and tribe are the Zanuism's grain. MDC-T and Zanu PF are virtually indistinguishable today in terms of all of these aspects, with the exception of their faces. Additionally, it is known how Tsvangirai, Arthur Mutambara, and Mugabe collaborated with Welshman Ncube. As a result, MDC-T and Zanu-PF have split up over the crucial issue of tribalism politics (Sadomba, 2011). The Ndebele now appear to be in their place, and Zimbabwe politics resume as usual. The reappearance of Zanuism, presently as a political power of both Zanu-PF and MDC-T, has made a political vacuum that must be filled, (Comagnon,2010)

For less hopeful onlookers, in Matabeleland, the joke was that Zanu-PF previously sat as host inviting the MDC visitors to the development of another Zanu-PF. It's possible that the joke was overblown, but those who made it are entitled to feel vindicated. The MDC itself has long confirmed Zanu-PF's deep inside presence, represented by state intelligence presence. The MDC adopted Zanu-PF's model from the beginning, even adopting its bizarre tribal balancing politics. Tribal balancing is Zanu-PF's political caste system, which places all clans below the Zezuru in order. Everyone else's version places them below the Karanga.

Some politicians from Matabeleland and the Midlands regions have a strong desire to join political organizations like the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and fight for what they call a "New Zimbabwe" in addition to the radical separatist politics. These politicians still believe territorial nationalism can be powerful, and rather than focusing on ethnicity, they see the problem as one of governance. The privileged few of ZAPU patriots, who have been minimized inside the party and government, add to these supporters too. These nationalists have continued to be ZANU-PF members. All of this shows that politics in Matabeleland are complicated and that there isn't a consensus in the region about the best course of action. In addition, after decades of relative silence, Gukurahundi activism was rekindled in the late 2010s by those who had grown up in its aftermath. According to Moyo (2010), the Mthwakazi Republic Party (MRP), whose narratives of Gukurahundi were intertwined with calls for the "restoration" of the Ndebele state, also known as Mthwakazi, as it had existed in Matabeleland and a portion of the Midlands region prior to colonialism, was at the forefront of the subsequent protests. In 2018, MRP claimed approximately 20,000 card-carrying members. It was one of many Ndebele organizations that had come together to support this "restoration agenda" in terms of politics or culture. It was mostly led by young, unemployed men in Bulawayo when it was founded in 2014. In the end, they divided the nation into Ndebele-speaking victims and Shona-speaking perpetrators and beneficiaries based on a particular reconstruction of this history that emphasized the ethnic rather than the political aspects of the conflict. A significant number of their active members were either infants during or shortly after Gukurahundi. These narratives, which claimed that "Gukurahundi continues," were not only historical, but they also criticized the current situation and questioned the idea of Zimbabwean nationhood as a whole.

## **2.10: Chapter summary**

The social identity theory was used in presenting the literature from a variety of scholars. The chapter provided a clear picture of how Tribalism is flourishing in political parties. A case study for Rwanda was presented so as to juxtapose the Rwanda politico to the Zimbabwean context, showing how tribalism has created marginalisation/divisions in terms of development

## **CHAPTER THREE**



# **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

## **3.1: Introduction**

This chapter covered the research's methodology and methods. This chapter provided an explanation of the adopted research design, the population and sample used, sampling procedures, research instruments, data collection procedures, data analysis, and presentation. Measures to guarantee validity and reliability were taken into consideration. The ethical aspects of the study were also discussed by the researcher.

### **3.2 Research Methodology**

The data for this study were gathered and analyzed using the qualitative research design. This design was chosen due to its appropriateness in order to ascertain the opinions of Zanu PF party members regarding tribal welfare. Using qualitative methods, researchers can examine the perspectives of both homogenous and diverse groups of people in a community, making it easier to decipher these diverse perspectives. By employing a qualitative research design, the researcher was able to thoroughly gather data through close contact and high-level involvement with the Zanu PF leadership in Mashonaland, resulting in a clear picture of tribalism in Zimbabwean politics. The research process includes the researcher's interpretation of the data's meaning, new questions and procedures, data typically gathered from participants, and inductive data analysis that builds from specifics to general themes. The final written report, as stated by Creswell (2007), has a flexible structure. The lavishness and profundity of investigations and depictions that help the specialist in outlining or portraying issues connecting with tribalism in Zimbabwe, regularly bringing about adequate subtleties for the peruser to appreciate what is happening, was the essential benefit of involving subjective examination in this review. This method determines the reason for and frequency of an event. As a result, it monitors behavior. Because the responses were primarily descriptive, the researcher chose a qualitative research design.

### **3.3 Research design**

The case study research design was used to investigate and situate tribalism in various geo-contexts in order to obtain responses, opinions, and probe for responses on issues related to the study. Green (2008) says that a case study gives the researcher direction for collecting data so they can present through the research design. Green (2008) says that the case study research design can also be used to find out if a theory or model actually applies to real-world events. This design is helpful when little is known about a problem or phenomenon.

The case study design was chosen for this study due to its strengths and suitability to the study's nature. Original data needed to be gathered primarily from ZanuPF leadership and party members who are familiar with the party's composition and formation for the study. Additionally, the design was chosen due to its suitability for examining a population's characteristics, opinions, attitudes, and experiences, making it pertinent to the nature of the study.

### **3.4 Population**

Any group of people who share one or more of the characteristics that the researcher is interested in is referred to as the "target population." ZanuPF, provincial MDC leadership, and some national leadership participated in this study.

### **3.5 Sample population**

One Zanu Pf Bindura district party chairperson, one CCC aspiring MP (formerly a member of mdc), sixteen Zanu Pf party members from Bindura and Harare, six CCC party members, and one person from the Rwandan embassy in Harare made up the sample population, for a total of 25 individuals .It is hoped that the sample will be able to capture or provide general

perspectives on the problem of tribalism. To prevent responses from being biased, this sample was chosen based on intellectual capacity and party position. This assumes that those in positions are better able to respond to questions about tribalism within their party because they know how the party works.

### **3.6 Sampling technique**

participants in the study were chosen from locale and public party structures through random sampling. The random sampling technique was utilized to choose the review members from every quota. According to Creswell (2007), in probability sampling, each thing gets an opportunity of being picked. Bundles are tended to in the model in their genuine degrees or, where conflicting probabilities are used the data are reweighted back to the authentic degrees. As indicated by Gay et al. (2006), the objective was to make an example that was genuinely delegate and reasonable for testing speculations. Thus, the analyst utilized this inspecting strategy in light of her own decisions in regards to members who had the option to give their own points of view on tribalism.

### **3.7: Data collection tools**

In this study, questionnaires and focus group discussions served as research tools. The primary research instruments are questionnaires with and without questions, interviews, and observations (Brink, 2010). Leedy and Ormrod (2011) say that research instruments are the tools needed to get relevant data in order to solve the problem being studied. The researcher only used a questionnaire and an interview guide to collect project-relevant data.

#### **3.7.1: Questionnaires**

The use of questionnaires for this study was made possible by the lower likelihood of information or facts being misrepresented. Additionally, because the researcher will be present

to clarify some ambiguous points for respondents, the researcher is certain to receive pertinent responses. According to bell , questionnaires gives the researcher a chance to talk about the topic and encouraged people to be honest with their responses. The primary goal of this study was to give respondents a chance to share their thoughts and perspectives. Questionnaires sped up the process of collecting data because they required fewer skills to complete or answer. A list of research objectives was used by the researcher in this study to find out what respondents thought about the subject under investigation. Open-ended questionnaires were generally preferred because there were no predetermined responses to the questions in this study. This allowed respondents to freely express their attitudes and perceptions, which provided qualitative insights and enlightenment.

A benefit of a questionnaire, according to Leedy and Ormrod (2013), is that it contains questions designed to gather pertinent data for analysis. In a questionnaire, respondents read the questions, determine what is expected of them, and record their responses. Saunders (2007) asserts that it is feasible to contact a substantial portion of the targeted population at a relatively low cost. In addition, questionnaires are quick and easy for respondents to complete, as well as simple to administer and analyze.

### **3.7.2: Focus Group Discussions**

A focus group discussion with 24 people took place at the Zanu PF party office during the research. There were two district chairpersons and 22 party members chosen for their intellectual capacity and proximity to Bindura. It was utilized to extract information in a participatory manner in order to include the perspectives of both the participant and the researcher. Using PRA methods, people were encouraged to give honest and voluntary

responses, even to sensitive questions. The approach was appropriate because they were able to respond with examples and have discussions in their native tongues. Focus Group Discussions are one method used to encourage discussion and information sharing.

### **3.8: Data presentation and analysis procedures**

The data were presented using the qualitative method of narrating the data gathered during the research. A thematic approach was used to analyze the collected data. This was the method by which significant issues that were brought up in a variety of responses were grouped into a single theme and examined.

#### **3.8.1: Validity and reliability.**

By applying qualitative approaches for data collecting, the researcher ensured the validity of the study. This is so because a qualitative methodology is built on a foundation of phenomenon comprehension. A reliable measurement is one that consistently yields the same findings when the same idea is measured in different ways or repeatedly. The main goals should be that a later investigation should be able to reach the same results and conclusions if it used the exact same procedures as those stated by an earlier investigator and conducted the same study again. (Cresswell, 2010). In order to acquire enough data in line with the study's aims, a variety of instruments, including focus groups and questionnaires, were used in the study..

Kumar ( 2000) et al claim that, while reliability refers to the measurement's consistency—the degree to which a measuring device will produce the same results when applied multiple times to the same person under similar conditions—reliability refers to the measurement's validity. The fact that all aspects of research are both empirical and theoretical, according to Patton (2002), is the primary reason why the concept of validity irritates methodological reflexivity.

### **3.8.2: ETHICAL ISSUES**

The Data Protection Act of 1988-2003 served as the research's compass, emphasizing confidentiality throughout. Another ethical consideration that was taken into account in this study was the informed consent ethic. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2003), ethics is a set of rules that dictate how research should be carried out. In order to collect sufficient and accurate data without bias, the researcher on this study will ensure neutrality—that is, he will not exhibit signs of favoritism toward another political party.

### **3.9 Chapter Summary**

A qualitative research methodology was used in the study because of the nature of the research, which required the analysis of qualitative data. For this chapter, the case study research design was chosen. FGD and questionnaires were used as research instruments. The chapter also looked at data validity, reliability, and ethical considerations.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The findings of the study on Zimbabwe's Zanu PF political party and the analysis of the collected data on tribalism are the subject of this chapter. To successfully analyze and present the data for interpretation, the study's thematic content analysis will be utilized. This chapter answered the research questions in accordance with the objective. The chapter concludes with a summary.

#### **4.2 Response rate**

The response rate is calculated by dividing the total number of customers in the group sample by the percentage of respondents who completed the survey. Dilma et al., 2012 The figure below depicts the number of questionnaires that were distributed and the number that were returned. The study's data were gathered through the use of a closed-ended questionnaire. The fact that only 21 of the 25 questionnaires were successfully completed, with male and female responses totaling 84%, demonstrates the corporative nature of the study's respondents. Additionally, fifty percent of the questionnaires that were sent to district chairpersons were filled out, giving the overall completion rate of eighty-one percent. Since the majority of respondents had the option to take an interest, the response rate provided the expert with an unmistakable perspective on the subject.

Four questionnaires were not returned due to difficulties communicating with respondents and the embassy, and some respondents were not contacted at the time of collection. Attempts to

retrieve the questionnaires were unsuccessful due to the fact that some respondents had misplaced them. According to Draugalis (2014), a response rate of at least 50% is required for research field results to be considered accurate and for sample characteristics to be inferred from population characteristics. The high response rate is consistent with this requirement.

**Table 4.2:1 Response Rate**

<b>Group targeted</b>	<b>Administered questionnaires</b>	<b>Total response</b>	<b>Response percentage</b>
District chairpersons	2	1	50%
Zanu PF Party members	22	20	80%
Rwandan embassy	1	0	0%
ccc supporters	6		

### **4.3: Factors influencing tribalism in Zanu PF**

#### *Findings from the FDG*

The majority of the group participants representing the age (45 and above) indicated that a silent noisy hatred between the shona and the ndebele is becoming a cancer slowly influencing tribalism. Almost 70 percent highlighted that The Gukurahundi orchestrated the the current tribal sentiments which are currently being felt in Zimbabwean. Giving an account of what characterized that period (the 1980s), one lady who participated in the focus group discussion said that:

*: In Matebeleland, being able to speak Shona was a prerequisite for obtaining anything, including employment. These are the people who are hurting, have deep scars, and their pleas for forgiveness are being ignored. Some of them went to therapy, while others relied on the fact that time is a healer and have not recovered from the unpleasant experience.*

Furthermore, the Zanu PF district chairperson added that:

*"Problems that are characterized by suspicion and mistrust between the two major black political parties, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Gabriel Mugabe, and Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua." M. Nkomo reappeared shortly after Zimbabwean independence, silently accelerating tribalism.*

## **Discussion**

The abyss of suffering felt by the Matebeleland communities is exemplified by the statements made above. Because of that violence, people in the Matebeleland region still have scars from it. This is consistent with what Sithole (1995) said: "The government never gave an apology other than to say that we cannot apologise because it was war." This continued to go against the expectations of many who had called for the current regime to be held accountable for its actions and to be able to offer its apologies to the affected masses. These findings corroborate Muleya (2006)'s assertion that Zanu PF's current challenge is balancing Zimbabwe's ethnic divisions as a means of resolving the issue.

5 out of 16 who participated in the discussion agreed that tribalism exists in the political parties of Zimbabwe. They cited some reasons as the influencers of tribalism: One of them was recorded saying:

*' the positioning of the Shona in influential positions in Government is often met with resistance as they are viewed as a people who are trying to reassert themselves in the country as the dominant and numerically superior group.*

This is viewed as one way in which the Shona are still perpetuating their dominance over the Ndebele there by consolidating their supremacy through Zanu PF.

#### 4.4: Political and Economic effects of Tribalism

In the FGD conducted, the members depicted the political-ancestral struggle in Zimbabwe according to a few alternate points of view, going from the authority government position, to the place of the solidly oppositional MDC and CCC gatherings. The members stressed various parts of the connection among ancestral and political life, many subjects arose:

One such topic is the public's absence of confidence in ideological groups. The region executive perceived this issue expressing that;

*‘one of the tasks of the Ministry of Home affairs is to educate Zimbabweans on the importance of political parties in a democratic system’.*

In the meantime, the Zanu Pf representative also said that people don't trust parties because they don't know the difference between the government and the parties that are supposed to influence it and don't trust all government business. The District Chairperson offered a completely different explanation for the lack of faith in political parties, citing two primary reasons for his preference for tribal candidates, which he claimed

*‘The government prioritize Zanu pf issues presented by the Shona over those by the Ndebele within the same party.’*

The majority of the group participants agreed that while the political importance of the liberation of Zimbabwe among the Zimbabwean populace contributes to this prioritization, the chairperson emphasized that:

*tribalism is causing divisions and cracks within the party owing to this segregation.*

Sixty percent of those who filled out the questionnaire regarding the difficulties that tribalism presents to political parties stated that parties have little opportunity to increase their own political influence and that parties will remain weak in Zimbabwe until either the government implements reform or there is a grassroots movement calling for reform. This is in part because this finding was discovered. As a result, all party representatives in the FDG agreed that if the party's national leadership pressed the government to implement election law reforms; the rules pertaining to political parties; and the rules for how governments are formed.

#### **4.5: Tribalism as a cause to the economic crisis in Zimbabwe.**

Respondents gave tribalism a 9 score on approximately 10 questionnaires, indicating that it contributed to Zimbabwe's economic collapse. because it has hindered the development of the nation. The ZANU-PF separatist dynamics and dimensions, which are rooted in tribalism, have led to policy inconsistencies, hampered the country's chances of an economic turnaround, and continue to be a barrier to attracting foreign direct investment (FDI). Most government operations are overly politicized due to ZANU-PF's factional dynamics, at the expense of actual issues; Consequently, the government has developed a chorus of indecisive viewpoints. Coherence in the formulation and implementation of government policies is under threat from factionalism within the ZANU-PF. Participant of the ZANU-PF in the FDG emphasized that:

*'I have no idea why we were so oblivious to all of this conflict. We had the best policies that met the needs of the people, but because of this thing called tribalism, none of those good policies were put into action.'*

#### **Discussion**

The general populace suffers from negative political and socioeconomic effects as a result of the ongoing policy contradictions and abrupt policy shifts. Policy inconsistency and negative effects on other economic sectors are most evident in the Land Reform. The Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) has a negative impact on food security. According to the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment (ZimVac, 2015), between January and March 2016, when hunger was at its worst, 1.49 million people in rural areas lacked access to sufficient food. Factionalism and drought, which frequently result in starvation and undermine the labor force, may at least lessen the effects of poor planning. Rau (2016) claims that factionalism caused the ZANU PF government to abandon planning, resulting in the worsening of the situation and the starvation and extreme hunger of millions of Zimbabweans. One member of the opposition claimed that the incumbent party's policy decision was inadequate and that:

*Hondo yeminda yakaita kutivanhu veZANU-PF wavane minda kwete*

*kuti ruzhinji ruwane minda asi kuti vazhinji tiwe nekutambura nekuda kwezviga zvebudiriro*

*zvakatemerwa hurumende yatora minda zvisi pamutemo” (The Third Chimurenga was a means to give land to ZANU-PF supporters and not to Zimbabweans, what we got, as a result, were sanctions imposed on the government after it unlawfully confiscated land.*

The negligence of policy procedures didn't just occur in that frame of mind of the FTLRP however is as a matter of fact a significant issue for the economy which turned out to be likewise clear through the scorn of property privileges that started with the land seizure in 2000 which had a limited vision of repaying war vets for their commitment to the freedom battle without an estimate of its effect on the economy.

The indigenous policy was also mentioned as evidence of the strong tribal feelings in Zimbabwe's political system at the moment. This is in line with Makombe's (2009) observation that the indigenization policy was imposed by factional dynamics. The customer had to find a way to compensate his customers for their work at this point, at the expense of property rights

and financial performance. One participant in the FDG who belonged to the G40 faction attributed the indigenous policy's failure to factionalism and miscommunication:

*"A definitive cost we have paid therefore is monetary implosion and unfortunate living conditions. The indigenisation strategy in spite of being nationalistic in nature was utilized as a milestone by pastors isolated by factional limits."*

This feature that factionalism causes a broken strategy stage as likewise contended by (Bandauko, 2014). Because of the useless strategy stage, the nation botched a ton of chances in the process hampering the improvement direction. The strategy irregularity in the party featured the degree to which People can be self centered the length of that gets them their longings for this situation predominance, it doesn't matter to them who gets harms en route. This signs ceaseless battle as featured by the pragmatist hypothesis that battles inside ideological groups are, truth be told, the thing to take care of.

#### **4.6:Chapter Summary**

The section contains the introduction of subjective information discoveries and their examination in accordance with writing audit contents in part two. In light of the discoveries introduced in this section There is an impression of a reasonable image of how Tribalism is prospering in ideological groups.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides a summary of all previous chapters and the research's findings. The chapter also offers suggestions that Zanu PF can implement to improve its relationships with its tribal members. These suggestions may be useful for making development-related enhancements.

#### **5.2 Summary**

In Chapter 1, the local and regional history of tribalism was discussed in detail. This first chapter's primary objective is to formulate the research question and study goals. This study focuses on Zanu PF as an example of how tribalism affects Zimbabwe's political parties. The reason for the review was to investigate the political and monetary outcomes of tribalism, to examine the components that drive tribalism, and to decide if tribalism is to be faulted for Zimbabwe's political and financial issues. The researcher's limitations during the study, how they were overcome, and the restricted geographical area were also covered in this chapter.



The literature on tribalism was examined in the second chapter. The social identity theory was used to present a lot of academic literature. This chapter made it abundantly clear that tribalism thrives in political parties. By juxtaposing Rwandan politics with Zimbabwean circumstances, an illustration of how tribalism has resulted in marginalization and development divisions was provided.

It is stated in Chapter 3 that the study utilized a qualitative research approach due to the nature of the investigation, which necessitated the analysis of qualitative data. For this chapter, the case study research design was chosen. FGD and surveys were utilized as examination apparatuses. The chapter also looked at ethical questions as well as the reliability and validity of the data.

Chapter 4, which also provides a clear picture of how tribalism is flourishing within Zanu PF, also presents the study's findings. The data was presented qualitatively so that the respondents' thoughts and opinions could be clearly seen. Both FGD and survey results were presented.

### **5.3: Conclusions:**

#### **5.3.1 Tribalism's Influencing Factors**

The Gukurahundi orchestrated the tribal attitudes that are still prevalent in Zimbabwe today, according to the findings. Conflict between the Kalanga, Zezuru, Shona, and Ndebele populations of Zimbabwe for dominance is fueled by discrimination. Separatist politics and ethnic identity in party formation have had an impact on nation-building. Policy paralysis, corruption, tribalism, regionalism, nepotism, disdain for the rule of law, vulnerability to disintegration, and civil instability are negative outcomes of factionalism. Because its benefits

are inferred, the researcher concludes that factionalism has a greater negative impact on development.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011) says that the 1963 split in ZAPU that led to the Shona-dominated Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) is still important because it shows how nationalism was rooted in tribalism and ethnicity. Tribal politics have been a part of ZANU-PF since the beginning, and since colonial regional divisions, the problem has grown in scope. The colonial master divided Zimbabweans into regions to control and manipulate them easily. The researcher concludes that the Nationalist Party's use of the divide-and-rule strategy to gain power exacerbated the situation.

### **5.3.2: Political effects of Tribalism**

Colonialism and the tribally divisive politics of Zimbabwe have destroyed and disenfranchised the social and cultural fabric of our communities, making it nearly impossible for us to effectively articulate ourselves and navigate our political path even within our territory, the political effects of tribalism suggest that a shift in philosophy is possible to assist us in navigating the political minefield that ZANU PF has set in our path. Black people in the area have been taught to despise their own customs and cultures. The degree to which an individual deviates from the norms and values of their community, as well as their proficiency in the English language, are used to measure progress and development. One is considered to be more "educated" the further away they are from themselves. Access to opportunities in independent Zimbabwe is determined by proficiency in the Shona language and ties to or subservience to ethnic Shona people. Strangely, this has made speaking the Shona language seen as a sign of progress and education rather than tribalism, making it an informal indicator of tribalism. In Zimbabwe, progress and inequality coexist in a beneficial way. Inequality is a hydra that can

be viewed through the prisms of racial, economic, political, and gender inequality, just like ethnicity. The fact that Zimbabwe's political independence has revealed previously suppressed ethnic attitudes within the federating elements is another possible conclusion.

### **5.3.3: Tribalism as a cause to economic crisis**

The study found that numerous minority groups, including the Ndebele in Zimbabwe, have been denied their fundamental rights to equitable access to economic, political, and cultural resources, posing a security threat. Tribalism as a cause of the economic crisis Disparities in educational attainment, employment status, and property ownership among ethnic groups lead to separatist or ethnic strife. Because it has influenced Zimbabwe's development and contributed to the marginalization of the country's minority ethnic groups, tribalism has a connection to development issues in this instance. The study also demonstrated that tribalism had a direct and indirect impact on socioeconomic development through human capital potential, corruption, and social justice. Theoretically, the findings of the study could help scholars explain why tribalism is responsible for corruption in Zimbabwe. Researchers may also be able to determine which tribal factor is most responsible for Zimbabwe's corruption levels.

### **5.4: Recommendations:**

- Create a design guide for policymakers to pay more attention to tribalism and how it affects the distribution of wealth.
- Leaders should embrace novel tactics that assist in overcoming social instability and group animosity.

- The logical next steps for Zimbabwe's socioeconomic development are to eradicate tribalism, corruption, encourage the growth of human capital potential, and promote social justice.

### **5.5 Areas for Future Research**

- The central government's role in reducing the negative effects of tribalism
- How Zanu PF's divisions and factions are being created as a result of the closing of the democratic space for political party governance.

### **5.6 Chapter Summary**

The chapter introduced a synopsis of section 1 to 4 and furthermore findings drawn per objective and key discoveries. Additionally, suggestions were made based on the problem's conclusions.

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## **Annexture 1: Questionnaire**

### **FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

#### **DEPARTMENT OF PEACE AND GOVERNANCE**

#### **CONSENT FORM**

My name is Blessing Mutasa a student at BUSE. I am currently studying towards attaining a BSc Honours Degree in Peace and Governance. I am carrying out research.

My research topic reads: **EXAMINING EFFECTS OF TRIBALISM ON POLITICAL PARTIES. A CASE STUDY OF ZIMBABWE**

You have been identified as one of the relevant participants and your input in participating in focus group discussion is sincerely appreciated. Your contribution will help in the completion of this study. The information you provide will only be used for academic purposes. Participation in this research is voluntary and your confidentiality is guaranteed.

The following are the terms of the agreement:

- The participant should respond with no prejudice or bias
- The participant can and may use any language for responding to the questions

All the information will be treated with confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes. So please answer all the questions as honestly as you can. (Tick where appropriate)

#### **Questionnaire**

1. Age 0\_\_18    19\_\_30    31\_\_\_\_44    45and above \_\_\_\_\_

2. Gender Male\_\_\_\_\_ Female\_\_\_\_\_

3. Educational Qualifications .....

4. How long have you been a member of your party?.....( insert party )



5. What challenges has tribalism brought to your party?

.....

6. What are the possible solutions to the above-mentioned challenges?

.....

7. Please rate the presence of tribalism in your party (10) score

## **ANNEXURE II: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

My name is Blessing Mutasa a student at BUSE. I am currently studying towards attaining a BSc Honours Degree in Peace and Governance. I am carrying out research.

My research topic reads: **EXAMINING EFFECTS OF TRIBALISM ON POLITICAL PARTIES. A CASE STUDY OF ZIMBABWE**

You have been identified as one of the relevant participants and your input in participating in focus group discussion is sincerely appreciated. Your contribution will help in the completion of this study. The information you provide will only be used for academic purposes. Participation in this research is voluntary and your confidentiality is guaranteed.

The following are the terms of the agreement:

- The participant should respond with no prejudice or bias
- The participant can and may use any language for responding to the questions

All the information will be treated with confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes. So please answer all the questions as honestly as you can.

## **INTERVIEW GUIDE**

1. For how long have you been a Zanu PF or MDC party member?
2. Can you explain in your own understanding what is meant by Tribalism?
3. What are the conflict resolution mechanisms that have been put in place by Government to ensure the clearance of tribalism in Zimbabwe?
5. What are the challenges that Zanu PF is facing as a result of tribalism in the Party
6. How do u address the challenges mentioned above?
7. What successes have you made in terms of rooting out tribalism?

