ABSTRACT
This research paper examines the role of leadership in Sub-Saharan Africa vis-à-vis tribalism; it explores the historic to current impact of tribalism within the election outcomes and voting patterns of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe. Furthermore it utilizes a proposed model, with tribalism as the pivotal variable, to investigate the role of tribalism in elected state governments. It concludes by proposing a predictive model, via the lens of tribalism, by extrapolating the relationship between tribalism and other factors as well as their interconnectivity towards projecting the future of Sub-Saharan Africa and its impact in the region.
INTRODUCTION

Africa’s paradox of, resource rich but poverty-stricken is often attributed to widespread corruption and illiteracy, amongst other considerations. Rotberg cites in Leadership Factor; The Political Dimensions of Africa’s Economic Development, “…rampant inflation, a rapidly depreciating currency, marginal foreign exchange reserves, large and growing official deficits, massive unemployment, heavy corruption and accusations of crony capitalism…” These maladies define the challenges that many African nations face today; however the underlying variable that underpins this paradox is leadership. Furthermore a significant component of the leadership decision is based on a citizen’s political party choice, which is often imbedded in the tribal affiliation. Tribalism is divisive; essentially it is a form of sectarianism. Characteristics of tribes, such as population, customary landmass, levels of illiteracy and economic strength all influence the state leadership selection, i.e. governance of a nation. There is a systematic sequence of factors affecting tribalism; tribalism is a precursor to the selection of political party dominance, which in turn determines state leadership and the utilisation of a country’s resources, which influences the economic conditions. Prevailing economic conditions is the crucial variable that maintains an inverse relationship with tribalism, and is the principal driver of tribalism.

BACKGROUND

The genesis and evolution of tribalism from colonial rule to present, provides a historic account and insight into the trajectory for the future Sub-Saharan Africa. When the leadership choice is viewed through the lens of tribalism, the aptitude to project Africa’s future is significantly enhanced.

Tribalism is defined as “loyalty to a tribe or other social group especially when combined with strong negative feelings for people outside the group.” The use and application of tribalism first appeared in the 1800s, under European rule. It was an administrative mechanism utilized by colonial scholars to differentiate groups of distinctive characteristics, such as location, language, customs, rituals and ceremonies. Today, “tribalism is a form of identify, like nationalism, for which the current iteration in most African communities developed during the colonial and post colonial eras.” The evolution of tribalism, into a form of identify, which often clashes with nationalism has been a significant stumbling block to national development. Loyalties to tribal leadership and state leadership collide, especially in circumstances in which the composition of state leadership does not encompass tribe representation. Tribalism in its current form, still maintains characteristics of its definition, but has evolved into more complex and targeted state patronage of social and economic development, along ethnic lines. This observation is reiterated in Reader’s Africa, it cites that, “tribal distinctions that were established to facilitate administration during the colonial period in Africa became substitutes for the social and economic distinctions which have inspired political reform...” Projects and programs tend to be weighted on the tribal affiliation of the leadership in power. It is the precursor for determining which areas, both in terms of location and social sectors, receive government support and defines the extent of government reforms.

The opinion that tribalism plays a divisive and retrogressive role in Africa is one that is shared by Uganda’s President Yoweri Museveni. In his estimation “One of the biggest weakening factors in Africa is tribalism and other forms of sectarianism”, in his work, “What is Africa’s Problem.” Tribalism is the central and pivotal variable that precipitates prevailing socio-economic conditions and will determine the next fifty years in Africa.

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2 http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary
5 Museveni, Yoweri K. What is Africa’s Problem? Kampala, NRM Publications, 1992
YOUR TRIBE; YOUR IDENTITY

One’s tribal association or affiliation determines not only how are you are received in a job interview but defines who and what you are. It is your identity, determines your loyalty and leadership, your social and financial network. It also determines activities in your daily life and significant life events, such as the birth, marriage, end of the rainy season, coming of age and death. Tribes vary in terms of the specific characteristics, however the characteristics that define the tribe are largely similar.

Tribe Characteristic Tree

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Literature abounds on the numerous maladies that contribute to Africa’s paradox of resource rich but poverty stricken. Professor George Kinoti’s nine causes of Africa’s ill, in “Hope for Africa and What the Christian Can Do”6. The ills listed are; incompetent governments, unjust international economic systems, evil aspects of African culture such as disregard for time, poor management, widespread illiteracy and educational standards, immoral practices (including tribalism, corruption, dishonesty and laziness), scientific

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6 Kinoti, George. Hope for Africa and What the Christians Can Do, Nairobi, AISRED, 1994
The Cycle of Tribalism

and technological backwardness, population growth and man-made environmental crises. These complexities do not include other central challenges that will determine the future of socio-economic development, such as regional trade integration, access to clean water and reliable energy. These maladies however are only a by-product of Africa’s ills, but rather, what is at the core of these ills, is tribalism.

Characteristics of a tribe persuades the political party choice in a nation, which in-turn elects the political party and thus national leadership. This has implications on the efficient and effective use of the nation’s resources and the state of the economy. The prevailing economic condition is the primary variable in tribal dominance; a failed economy can alter the tribal and thus political party dominance selection.

COUNTRY CROSS-SECTIONAL ANALYSIS

The Republic of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), all share an intertwined link of tribe migration. Many of the migrants from modern day South Africa and DRC settled in Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe. This has lead to the link of similar dialects, customs and rituals. However a history of colonial rule that carved out the country boundaries, many of them as we now them today, divided ethnicities, clans and other groupings. Reaction to colonial rule created further divisions along the same ethnic lines. This observation is reinforced, “In Africa, the injustices of colonial rule inspired nationalist movements that united the most diverse of ethnic groups in the drive for independence. Once independence had been achieved, however, the nationalist movements all too often fractured into political groupings of purely ethnic dimensions, whose struggles for power and wealth not only left national issues inadequately addressed and injustices largely remedied, but also polarized economic and social discontent along ethnic lines, with some dreadful consequences”.

Tribalism has played a significant role in the leadership choice in the above-mentioned countries. It has both polarized and unified peoples of varying tribes. It has been seen as a significant divisive factor. However with acute understanding of tribalism’s components, it could be an amalgamating factor, across the countries and within the region.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

The establishment of the Congo Free State in 1885 under King Leopold II of Belgium, as his private property, led to international scandal and the Belgian parliament annexing Congo in 1908. Its unsavoury history of brutality under forced labour was atrocious. Mazrui cites in The Africans, “Nowhere was this post-slavery forced labour more brutally realised than in the so-called Congo Free State under King Leopold II of the Belgians. The natives of the Congo were compelled to produce rubber for the rubber monarch under ruthless conditions. King Leopold of the Belgians had elaborate forms of punishment for those who did not deliver; unrelenting forced labour, mutilated limbs, villages razed to the ground because of the offence of a single individual. Populations were decimated.”

This barbaric treatment created animosity and hatred of Belgian rule but did not unite the tribes.

In the late 1950s a wave of Pan-Africanism was spreading in the region. Countries like Ghana were the first to gain independence in Sub-Saharan Africa and it was clear to the Belgians that “empires were collapsing around them and that domestic public opinion would not tolerate armed repression, the Belgians hastily arranged elections, intending to transfer political authority to Africans in 1960 while retaining administrative and military control”

The impact of the announcement of the first democratic election resulted in a flurry of registered political parties, over one hundred in total (ibid). However with voting being primarily on tribal lines and Lumumba’s MNC (Mouvement National Congolais) being the only party with a national complexion, he won the elections. Lumumba was born in a village in Kasai. In ethnic terms, he belonged to the Batetela, the tribe that had led the great mutiny during the Arab campaigns in the late nineteenth century.”

Democratic Republic of Congo: Tribe as percentage of Population

Source: Cole, Roy and De Blij (2007)
Survey of Sub-Saharan Africa; A regional Geography. Oxford University Press, New York

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9 Africans; the history of a continent (2010), John iliffe
However despite independence, conflicts along tribal lines continued. “Politician’s were divided between unitarists from small ethic groups and federalists from the large Kongo and Lunda sections.” The conflict of more dominant and influential tribal leaders over Government left the country in constant disarray.

There are four tribes that dominate approximately 97% of the population. The Kongo tribe occupy the north and coastal regions and represent the Kasavubu’s Abako party. This tribe has a long history that dates back to 15th-17th century, and is known as a slave-trading kingdom. The Kasai tribe led by the mineral rich province of Katanga currently under the Governorship of Moses Katumbi, is significantly smaller in terms of percentage of population but dominates the most mineral rich region. The capital Kinshasa population is approximately 8.798 million as compared to the second larges population in Lubumbashi at 1.556 million (ibid).

There are numerous policies parties; the primary parties are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Parties - Democratic Republic of Congo</th>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Leader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian Democrat Party</td>
<td>PDC</td>
<td>Jose Endundo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congolese Rally for Democracy</td>
<td>RCD</td>
<td>Azarias RUBERWA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention of Christian Democrats</td>
<td>CDC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forces of Renewal</td>
<td>FR</td>
<td>Mbusa NYAMWISI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement for the Liberation of the Congo</td>
<td>MLC</td>
<td>Jean-Pierre BEMBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s Party for Reconstruction and Democracy</td>
<td>PPRD</td>
<td>Evariste BOSHAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Movement for Renewal</td>
<td>MSR</td>
<td>Pierre LUMBI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unified Lumumbist Party</td>
<td>PALU</td>
<td>Antoine GIZENGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union for the Congolese Nation</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>Vital KAMERHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union for Democracy and Social Progress</td>
<td>UDP</td>
<td>Etienne TSHISEKEDI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of Mobutuist Democrats</td>
<td>UDEMO</td>
<td>MOBUTU Nzanga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WWW.CIA Factbook

The state of the economy of DRC in a Moody’s report (Sept 2014) allude to, “Democratic Republic of the Congo’s (DRC) B3 sovereign rating, with a stable outlook, primarily reflects the fragility of the country’s economy and the country’s very weak institutional strength, as evidenced by its low rankings on several international surveys.” The Report concludes with a bleak projection, “Downward pressure on the rating could arise from factors that include (1) a sustained decline in the prices of the main commodities exported by the DRC; (2) a rapid depreciation of the Congolese franc, which could drain foreign-exchange reserves through central bank intervention, making the economy and the government more vulnerable to further external shocks; (3) a large deterioration of the government’s fiscal balance that leads to macroeconomic imbalance and volatility; and (4) an intensification, albeit currently unlikely, of the instability in the east of the country.” (Ibid).

ZAMBIA

Zambia is home to seventy-two tribes, many with their own language or Bantu dialect, customs, ceremonies and rituals. Migrants from the DRC occupy the northern part of Zambia. They are primarily from the Bemba tribe and settled large tracks of the northern province. The east was dominated by the Chichewa’s from modern day Malawi. From the south, the Zulu’s settled portions of Zambia via Zimbabwe. Reader cites, “a breakaway Zulu faction did found the Ndebele nation in Zimbabwe; groups of Ngoni-speakers did migrated northward and establish populations in modern Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, and Tanzania; ...” The Western Province is primarily dominated by the Lozi tribe. It has a long history, with an organized centralized administration system. In the 1800s they consumed twenty-five other groups to the Lozi tribe, however due to a true Lozi being part of the lineage, these entrants were subservient to the Lozi who had family lineage. The title of Litunga is King; translated is ‘the earth’, the keeper of the land and the people. Loyalty is to the Litunga.

The rich ceremonies such as the Kuomboka, which takes place at the end of the rainy season, and marks the movement of the Litunga from the Barotse floodplains to higher ground in Limulunga.

On October 24th 1964, when Northern Rhodesia became Zambia, when it gained independence from the British colonialists, there were seventy-two culturally rich tribes occupying 752,614 Km2. President Kenneth Kaunda realizing this challenge undertook three critical actions to unite the country; firstly the Cabinet would be inclusive of all regions, secondly, the introduction of the country motto of “One Zambia, One Nation”, and lastly was the cross-pollination of representation. This last effort to unify the country has had the most significant impact on tribalism, as for example, a Southerner who was from the Tonga tribe would be sent to the North to represent, Bembas. The result was a new generation of integrated tribes. In 1973, the Zambian constitution established a one-party state, and all other political parties were banned. Only Kaunda’s political party, UNIP (United National Independence Party) members were permitted to run and three general elections with just a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ vote took place in 1978, 1983 and 1988, with Kaunda as the only presidential candidate. There was additional pressure due to increasing deterioration of the economy following the collapse of copper prices in 1975. “By 1987 Zambia’s external debt had reached US$5.7 billion or four times GDP. And debt service obligations what equivalent to 70% of exports including repayment of arrears. By this time Zambia was facing the depletion of its copper reserves during the 1990s.12

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The suppression of political party choice via the introduction of a one party state had significant undercurrents at tribal leadership level. The populace sentiment that tribe representation in cabinet and executive leadership was non-existent, coupled with a failing economy, combined two divisive variables, leading to the change in political party dominance and thus state leadership choice. The result of which was an attempted coup and introduction of multi-party democracy and the Movement for Multi Party Democracy (MMD) taking office in 1991, under the leadership of Frederick Chiluba. Significant reforms followed under the MMD administration however one of the most emotive reforms required were land reforms. Land ownership has historically fallen under chiefs and chieftainess. Chiefs/chieftainess are responsible for all the land that falls within their jurisdiction. The conflict between State and Tribal land prevails. Chiefs do not posses the complex administration required to administer land to place on title for use, for example in the financial sector, as collateral. Today only 6% of Zambia’s land mass is under title (a 99 year lease). Approximately 94% of Zambia’s land mass is under the ownership and administration of chiefs under customary law. There are two parallel legal systems, similarly to most former British protectorates; Customary Law and the State recognised Judicial System, thus creating a duplication of often conflicting citizen rights.

In September 2011 when the Patriotic Front (PF) took office, an effort to recognise and harmonize these two legal systems was undertaken by two significant reforms; the introduction of the Ministry of Chiefs and Traditional Affairs and the Legal and Justice Reforms Programme. The intent of the introduction of the Ministry for the “purpose of administering and promoting chief’s affairs, traditional governance systems, conservation and preservation of Zambia’s heritage, culture and arts”\(^{13}\). Despite the intent and purpose, the primary activity undertaken to date has been the building of Chiefs palaces. The Land Reform Program has, for many years, and continues to be underway, with no significant milestones.

\(^{13}\) www.parliament.gov.zm
ZAMBIA LEADERSHIP DIMENSION

ZAMBIA ADMINISTRATIONS (1964-PRESENT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Moto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaunda</td>
<td>1964-1991</td>
<td>Bemba</td>
<td>UNIP</td>
<td>One Zambia, One Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiluba</td>
<td>1991-2011</td>
<td>Lunda</td>
<td>MMD</td>
<td>The hour has come.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwanawasa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lenje</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banda</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ngoni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sata</td>
<td>2011- Present</td>
<td>Bemba</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>Lower taxes, more jobs, and more money in your pockets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lungu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bemba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CIA Factbook

First term by the political party, Patriotic Front (PF), which is primarily dominated by the Bemba tribe, took office in September 2011. The next general election was expected around September 2016, however at the demise of the first president, Pres. Michael Sata, Pres. Lungu was elected in a presidential by-election, to complete Sata’s term. The last election, a presidential by-election, illustrated clear voting patterns on tribal lines. UPND lost the election with a differential of 1.6%, Zambia is clearly a country divided.

ZAMBIA PRESIDENTIAL BY-ELECTION (2015)

A Country Divided

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ),
The Patriotic Fronts’ motto is; Lower taxes, more jobs, and more money in your pockets. However since the administration took office there has been a significant downturn in the economy. The devaluation of the currency from 4.9 Kwacha (ZMW) to $1 at the time of PF taking office to the prevailing rate of ZMW 7.56 March 30th 2015 has adversely affected the country. Much of the existing economy imports raw materials and posses a miniscule manufacturing sector. Other adverse factors include increasing and unsustainable debt (internal/external), downgrade by Fitch, policy inconsistency and incoherence. Furthermore the mining tax adjustments from 6% to 20% have, in conjunction with the decline in copper prices, precipitated several mines to go on ‘care and maintenance’, this has crippled the Zambian economy. Instead of long term fiscal and monetary policy reforms, Government has embarked on several short-term interim and unexpected solutions. For example efforts to reduce continued currency devaluation was done by decreasing Kwacha liquidity in the market. This was achieved by increasing the minimum capital requirement threshold for local commercial banks, however continued unexpected changes simply exasperate the economic situation. The most significant variable affecting tribalism is prevailing economic conditions.

REPUBLIC OF MALAWI

Malawi derives its name from Maravi, a Bantu people who came from modern day DRC approximately 600 years ago. They branched off into two primary tribes; the Chewas who live primarily along the west bank of Lake Malawi and the Nyanjas who occupy the southern party of the country. The Chewas dominate the population at approximately 32%, the Nyanja tribe dominates the southern party of the country and the Tumbuka and Tonga tribe dominates the north.

Malawi: Tribe composition by percentage
The Ngoni’s, who are an offshoot of the Zulu’s (South Africa), live in lower north and lower central regions and the Yao, who are mostly Muslim, live along the south-eastern border with Mozambique. Although the Portuguese were the first significant Western contact in Malawi, it was the British Government in 1891 that established the Nyasaland Protectorate. Nyasa is the Yao word for “lake.” In 1953 the Federation of Rhodesia (modern day Zambia and Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland was formed.

After several failed attempts to gain independence, it was only under the leadership of Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda with the Malawi Congress Party (MCP). The British maintained financial security and judicial systems until the new constitution took effect in May 1963. The dissolving of The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland on December 31st 1963 facilitated full independence in July 1964. This was followed two years later by a one-party state under Dr Banda and declaration in 1970 that he was the President for Life under the MCP and of Malawi in 1971. Chirambo observes in his work, Corruption, Tribalism and Democracy, ‘Since 1964 when Malawi attained independence and even before corruption and tribalism have been two of the major issues in public discourse, albeit hushed during the years of dictatorship; 1964 – 1974.’

During President Hastings Banda’s rule Malawians experienced suppression of rights such as freedom of speech and endured political violence. This lead to cryptic messages being coded into folk songs, such as Mkandawire’s work that facilitated political debate and discourse. It is further observed by Chirambo; “Major political parties draw the majority of their support from regions where the leaderships of the party comes from, thereby establishing regional enclaves. The frustrating aspect of this is that the region with the majority population, is essentially assured of electing the national leadership, if ethnicity as a factor in elections persist. Ethnicity or tribalism manifesting as nepotism shows mainly through the employment all people in the public sector and the distribution of national development resources, such as public infrastructure.”

The three main political parties that emerged at the start of the democratic dispensation in 1994 were the United Democratic Front (UDF) led by Bakili Muluzi, a Yao from the south, the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) led by H.K. Banda a Chewa from the central region, and the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) led by Chakufwa Chihana, a Timbuka from the northern region. Thus multi-party politics effectively reinforced regionalism as each of the three main political parties had established enclaves within their regions. The enclaves were confirmed by the electoral results in the presidential and general election of 1994 and 1999 (ibid).
### Malawian Political Parties (1964-Present)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H. Banda</td>
<td>MCP</td>
<td>1964-1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muluzi</td>
<td>UDF (AFORD- alliance Gov.)</td>
<td>1994-2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Mutharika</td>
<td>UDF/DPP</td>
<td>2004-2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Banda</td>
<td>PP</td>
<td>2012-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Mutharika</td>
<td>UDF/DPP</td>
<td>2014-Present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: US Department of State; Background Notes

To date Malawi has several political parties, which have regional and tribal affiliation.

### Malawian Political Parties (2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Acronym</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Progressive Party</td>
<td>DPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Democratic Front</td>
<td>UDF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi Congress Party</td>
<td>MCP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance for Democracy</td>
<td>AFORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi Forum for Development</td>
<td>MAFUNDE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maravi Peoples Party</td>
<td>MPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Rainbow Coalition</td>
<td>NARC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Republican Party</td>
<td>NRP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoples Progressive Movement</td>
<td>PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoples Transformation Party</td>
<td>PETRA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Party</td>
<td>RP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress for National Unity</td>
<td>CONU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoples Party</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: US Department of State; Background Notes

Malawi’s last General Election was in 2014. Peter Mutharika, who is the younger brother of the Malawi’s 3rd President (Bingu wa Mutharika 24, May 2004 – 5 April 2012), stood as the candidate for the same party that his brother represented, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and was elected as President of Malawi. The next general elections are expected in 2019.
REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe gained independence from the British Government on April 18th 1980. During the transition period of British rule and leading up to the first local elections, nine political parties campaigned. But it was Robert Mugabe’s ZANU (PF) party that won an absolute majority. The first cabinet that was installed, was a reconciliation cabinet that comprised of members of both ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU.

Zimbabwean Political Parties and Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>Tribal Affiliation</th>
<th>Leadership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZANU-PF</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>Mugabe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF-ZAPU</td>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>Nkomo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


After conflicts between Nkomo and Mugabe both “ZANU-PF AND PF-ZAPU agreed to unite in December 1987, and the parties formally merged in December 1989.”

The population is primarily of the Bantu tribe; there are two offshoots of the Bantu and two primary languages, Shona and Sindebele, each of which are associated to their respective Bantu offshoots. The Shona dominate the population and Ndebele, who are an offshoot of the South African Zulu tribe, account for about 16% and live in the southwest, the Bulawayo area.

Zimbabwean Tribes as a Percentage of Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>% of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other tribes</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Caucasian</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S Department of State, Background Notes,
The establishment of the Movement for Democratic change (MDC) in 1999, was in reaction to economic downturn. “Opposition to Pres. Mugabe and the ZANU-PF government had grown in part due the worsening economic and human rights conditions.”

### Zimbabwean Political Parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>Leadership</th>
<th>Acronym</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front</td>
<td>Mugabe</td>
<td>ZANU-PF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement for Democratic Change</td>
<td>Tsvangirai</td>
<td>MDC-T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement for Democratic Change</td>
<td>Ncube</td>
<td>MDC-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe African People’s Union</td>
<td>Dabengwa</td>
<td>ZAPU</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: US Department of State; Background Notes

### DISCUSSION

The ability to forecast Sub-Saharan Africa’s future and, due to regional influence, the continent, will be predicated upon recognition, comprehension and utilizing the primary variable of tribalism. The accuracy of the forecast will be enhanced by discernment of the other factors that influence tribalism, such as the inverse relationship of the state of an economy, a tribe’s power and prevailing conflicts of loyalty to tribe versus state. The leadership tribal choice influences the political party choice, which in turn drives, the selection of administration in power. Furthermore the leadership in power controls utilization of a country’s resources, projects and programmes and level of reform; these elements define the state of the economy. Examination and addressing the cyclicity of the relationship of these variables and outcomes are at the core of projecting Africa’s future.

The current administration in Malawi is primarily dominated by the Chewa tribe, it is a coalition government of both the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and United democratic front Under the leadership P. Mutharika. KPMG’s 2014 (Q4) Report, referrers to corruption, specifically a recent cash-gate scandal, that is being addressed but continues to affect confidence in the government and market, “While Malawi’s economic prospects remain positive following the economic reforms put in place in 2012, we have lowered our estimate for GDP expansion last year in the wake of the cash-gate corruption scandal. Consequently, we have adjusted our estimate of 5.5% real GDP growth in 2013 downwards to 5%”. With inflation still high at 19% but had declined by 3% over the last 2 years, it is expected P. Mutharkia will continue at the helm after the next general election.

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20 US Dept of State
Malawi: Tribe as Percentage of Population

Source: CIA Fact Book

A significant percentage of the Zambian population is Bemba by tribe 22% however, a greater percentage, 33% is Bemba speaking. Language is a critical factor in determining a tribes’ power and thus dominance. In light of Zambia’s prevailing economic conditions and stressed economic fundamentals, it is a highly likely that Zambia will experience a change of administration in 2016.

Zambia Population: Percentage of Tribe vs. Percentage Language

Source: CIA Fact Book
On April 18th 2015, Zimbabwe will be commemorating 35 years of independence from British rule, thus ranking Mugabe as the 3rd longest serving president. With 71% of the population being Shona and thus dominating both tribally and from a political party perspective, it would be expected that a continuation of Zanu-PF is expected, however the atrocities under Mugabe’s leadership have over the years caused undercurrents of resentment towards the administration, furthermore ZANU-PF is synonymous with Mugabe and it is expected that the demise of Mugabe will result in the Read defining tribal coalitions towards a coalition government.

**Zimbabwe: Tribe as Percentage of Population**

![Graph showing Tribe as Percentage of Population in Zimbabwe](source: CIA Fact Book)

Due to constitutional limitations, continuation of the current Kabila administration is unlikely; this is compounded by the decline in DRC’s economy. Despite Katanga accounting for a percentage of the population it is DRC’s economic hub and will drive the outcome of elections.

**Democratic Republic of Congo: Tribe as Percentage of Population**

**ECONOMIES AND TRIBALISM**

There exists a highly correlated inverse relationship between a thriving economy and tribalism. In nations that are experiencing a prosperous economy we tend to observe less divides across tribal lines. Instead there is a focus of the citizenry on their individual financial growth and prosperity. The opposite has also been observed; in circumstances where there is an economic downturn, we tend to observe greater sense of tribalism and divides, with a focus on leadership within the tribe and not on national identity. In A History of Sub-Saharan Africa, Robert states, “The ethnic hostilities of the 1970’s and 1980’s, however, developed in an environment of economic crisis. During these decades, Africa experienced a slackening demand for its export products, spiralling inflation, unprecedented population growth, new epidemic diseases, and the destabilizing influences of Cold War politics”\(^{21}\) This phenomenon has been is substantial dispute in each Zambian administration as it relates to the Lozi tribe of Western Province. A significant portion of the Lozi tribe is not part of the royal family and therefore has not benefited economically. This has resulted in numerous efforts since the inception of Zambia, for cession of Western Province into its own state. The possibility of warfare in uncertain economic times is fuelled by tribal and ethnic factors, “…although the primary explanation for Africa’s civil wars lies in the continents economic structures in certain circumstances ethnic factors can increase the likelihood of warfare.”\(^{22}\)

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\(^{22}\) Williams, Paul D. (2011) War and Conflict in Africa, Polity Press, United Kingdom
LOYALTY TO TRIBE OR STATE

The conflict of a citizen’s loyalty to either their tribe or state has been an inhibitor to national development. This is compounded by leadership at the state level often contradicting tribal decrees in an attempt to dominate and supersede tribal authority to demonstrate supremacy. Tribal leaders view state leadership as a threat to their position, culture and customs. A response to the end of colonialism and desire for tribes to participate in state administration via political parties has been seen across the continent. “The sudden appearance of these ethnically based parties was an inevitable response to colonial administration, which had made a fetish of customary law and favoured tribal leaders. Not surprisingly, these “traditional” rulers felt threatened by the nationalists, who sought to subsume the power of royal institutions and ethnic minorities within a unitary state. In turn, African urban politicians perceived these ethnically based parties and their “traditional” rulers as a threat to the integrity of the postcolonial state. They often viewed royal and ethnic parties as tools of the colonial authorities and as a potential impediment to national integration. They despised them as a retrograde form of tribalism that was antithetical to their modernizing agenda” 23 This view is confirmed by Adeyemo, in Africa’s’ Enigma and Leadership Solutions, “Too strong a tribal or ethnic tie that promotes nepotism and fuels ethnic hatred and total disregards for others’ human rights is a bane to the entire society in the long run.” 24 This conflict between tribal leadership and state administration is reinforced in delivery of the justice system in many postcolonial countries. “The most far-reaching inventions of traditional in colonial Africa probably occurred precisely when European administrators believed they were respecting age-old African customs, whereas what were called customary law, customary land rights…” 25 By running concurrence and parallel justice systems, neither of which I recognized by either system or a harmonized, to further divergence and fuelled a state versus tribal leadership power struggle.

POWER OF TRIBE

A tribe’s dominance is defined by land mass, population resources, influence, language etc…is a precursor to nepotism. Nepotism is defined as: “the unfair practice by a powerful person of giving jobs and other favors to relatives.” 26 Ademoyo describes how the African leadership enigma causes biases apparent on the continent, the biases include: Economic biases—The rich rule whether incompetent or not, Gender bias- leadership is male-dominated, Ethno bias-Tribal and racial prejudices thrive, Family dynasty- Leadership passes to offspring and close relatives, Elitism -Africans like titles even when there is nothing to show for them.” 27

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26 http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nepotism
Tribe Vs. State Loyalty

LEADERSHIP CHOICE - ELECTIONS

Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa are often marred with accusations of voting rigging, spoiled ballots and intimidation by other political parties. Typically several political parties participate in the elections, each representing a tribal dominance. This is unlike the West with two primary parties, the Republicans and Democrats, with the primary identity of the voter being American, regardless of one's political party affiliation. In the 2015 Presidential by-elections in Zambia, 11 political parties participated in the elections and since then there has been a newly formed party that has joined the fray. There are upcoming elections in the DRC and Zambia within the next 18 months. In light of the influences of elections outcomes, we explore the upcoming elections and possible outcomes of each.

THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

Elections Date: September/October 2016

Although no specific date is in the Zambian Constitution for general elections, it typically is conducted around September to October. The reason is partly due to the onset of the rainy season, which usually begins in October. Since the Patriotic Front (PF) took office in September 2011, Zambia has experienced a substantial economic downturn. The Bemba tribe primarily dominates the PF. Countrywide the Bemba’s dominate in terms of land mass, language coverage and political influence but do not have the largest population. However in light of the considerable decline in the prevailing economic conditions,
Zambia is likely to experience a change of an administration in the 2016 General Elections.

**Expected Registered Political Parties - 2016 General Elections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>Lungu</td>
<td>Bemba</td>
<td>Northern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPND</td>
<td>Hichilema</td>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>Southern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMD</td>
<td>Mumba</td>
<td>Bemba</td>
<td>Northern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainbow</td>
<td>Kabimba</td>
<td>Ila</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDD</td>
<td>Nawakwi</td>
<td>Namwanga</td>
<td>Northern</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia

**THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO:**

*Elections Date: December 17th 2015*

The primary variable that influences tribalism is the state of an economy. Power of a tribe, is another significant variable. The recent announcement by President Kabila, that the DRC General Elections are being postponed to around December 2016, could have negative repercussions for the Governor of the mineral rich province of Katanga, as on-going discussions to divide Katanga into five provinces, could dilute the influence of the current Katanga Governorship. It is projected that similarly to historic elections, the upcoming general election results will demonstrate that voting on tribal lines persists. The current constitution prohibits Kabila to seek an additional term, therefore a likely outcome is a coalition government between the Kabila and Katumbi factions. Economically the country continues to experience fragility in economic fundamentals. Moody’s cites, “The main drivers of DRC’s B3 issuer ratings are:

1. The fragile economy, albeit with robust growth prospects given the large foreign investment in the mining sector; 2. Very weak institutional strength, although indicators have gradually improved over the past 10 years; 3. Weak fiscal fundamentals despite multilateral debt forgiveness in 2010; 4. Elevated vulnerability to economic and political risks, arising from its relatively limited fiscal and foreign-exchange reserves, growing
regional economic disparities and recurrent instability in the east of the country. “The economic challenges further support a change of administration in DRC in the upcoming presidential elections.

THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE

Elections Date: 2018

Although the tribal membership of ZANU-PF accounts for over 90% of the population and consists of two significant tribes there are other variables to consider. Zimbabwe has experienced significant economic decline, witnessing inflation rates in excess of 1000% over the last 20 years. However the leadership of Robert Mugabe has been plagued with suppression of civil rights and liberties. Furthermore ZANU-PF is considered a party of one man, Robert Mugabe. It is therefore foreseen that despite the significant economic downturns, of the significant percentage of population that belongs to the tribes affiliated with ZANU_PF, the variable all the threats to life and liberty has been a bit significant inhibitor to democracy in Zimbabwe. It is therefore foreseen that a continuation of ZANU-PF will persist until his demise. The last Zimbabwean General Election was held in July 2013. The election resulted in a win for ZANU-PF gaining 61.09% of the vote.28

MALAWI

Elections Date: 2019

Malawi’s last General Election witnessed the ousting of Joyce Banda under the Peoples Party (PP). A party she founded and attempted to revive once she became president at the demise of Bingu wa Mutharika. The party did not have the history and membership as did DPP and significant steps such as dissolving cabinet did little to address the most arduous challenge of corruption. The successful nomination and election of Peter Mutharika, the younger brother of the Malawi’s 3rd President Bingu wa Mutharika, was therefore not a surprise in light of the continued decline in the economy under Joyce Banda, which is often characterized by increased dependency on international debt and aid. Peter Mutharika had been an unofficial advisor to his older brother was his brother was in office. The economic conditions under B. Mutharika, although not thriving, were substantially more improved, than under the leadership of J. Banda (PP). Peter Mutharika is viewed as continuation of the improved economic conditions. Additionally the tribal representation of DPP dominates the majority of the Malawian population. It is therefore expected that the next general elections due in 2019, will see the continued Mutharika administration under the DPP unless there is a substantial economic decline in the country.
CONCLUSION

The future of Sub-Saharan Africa is predicated on its ability to identify, customize, domesticate and implement solutions that have historically hindered sustainable social and economic development. Each country has unique conditions that required customised solutions, however the underlying variable that drastically determines elected leadership is tribalism.

The most significant variable that either promotes or suppresses tribalism is prevailing economic conditions. There is an inverse relationship between tribalism and state of the economy. The economy in turn could precipitate change of tribal leadership and thus state leadership. Other variables to consider are conflicts of loyalty, to state leadership versus tribal leadership.

Furthermore in order to address the sectarianism effect of tribalism, unity and cohesion are required. Numerous African regional unifying bodies and agreements exist, such as the AU (Africa Union), also trade focused, such as COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa) and SADC (Southern African Development Community). Regional unification and outcomes of such efforts and institutions would be enhanced with unification and coordination within each country via:

-Identity: Nationalism complimented by tribe
-Unity of purpose: Unified customary system and legal system.

Finally characteristics of the tribe itself, determines dominance and influences the political party in power. Countries socio-economic challenges are not limited to the borders and boundaries of that country it also affects neighbouring countries and the regions as a whole as well as the regional agreements, unions, communities and political parties. Zambia for example played a significant role in the region as it relates to its ethnic and tribal cohesion, most notably in South Africa. The ANC was headquartered in Lusaka, Zambia. Zambia was host to momentous groups and meetings, which too had challenges in breaking the tribal and ethnic divide. Macmillan cites of the meetings in Zambia, ‘...the Revolutionary Council, which had not only met twice in the previous two years, had not been a great success. But the most serious problems were the racial and ethnic issues that threatened the unity of the organization”29.

Therefore socio-economic development within each country and the region, is pivoted on addressing the core issue of tribalism, it has been the single most divisive factor that Sub-Saharan African countries face today.

29 Macmillan (2013) The Lusaka Years
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