



Investigating the perception and challenges of the existence of tribalism in
Zambia: A case study of Kalingalinga and Mtendere Compounds of Lusaka

BY

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DECLARATION

I, **Mudenda Mudenda**, do hereby declare that this dissertation is a product of my own effort, and that it has never been done before. The sources of all materials referred to in this report have been acknowledged. Any misrepresentation of information that would arise from this report is purely my responsibility.

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of Mudenda Mudenda is approved as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Science in Peace Leadership and Conflict Resolution, of the University of Zambia and Zimbabwe Open University.

Examiners' Signatures

1.....Date.....2018

DEDICATIONS

To my children Libongani Mudenda Libongani, Moomba Mudenda Libongani and especially Nchimunya Mudenda Libongani whom I've deprived of the motherly love, i spent most of my time in school and he never got tired of reminding me to study hard, he tirelessly prayed for me to prosper and whom I love so much but whose love was deprived during the period of my studies. I have set a path for him and I believe he will reach greater heights. At the time of compiling my report, I dedicate this to Mr and Mrs Sunday Musonda who helped me without complaining to kick start my program the almighty God bless you and your family.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SPSS	-	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UNZA	-	University of Zambia
UPP	-	United Progressive Party
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
NPP	-	National Progress Party
UPND	-	United Party for National Development
ANC	-	African National Congress

ABSTRACT

While the emergence of societal processes has profoundly stemmed tribalism, extreme resistance from prominent tribes that want to preserve their autonomy has antagonised this development. Because of this, the tribe elites/those with the power in society has sometimes unjustifiably managed to influence dominant tribal forces by providing them with unjustified favours in order to retain power. Corrupt governments commonly use widespread corruption, including the exploitation of state revenues generated by the utilisation of natural resources, to charm loyal tribes. This approach has backfired to a large extent, particularly when different tribes are excluded. This report exposes the degree to which tribalism perceptions bring about challenges in a society. The main research Objectives was to investigate the perception and challenges of tribalism among the public in Lusaka district of Zambia. This paper used a descriptive study design, with a sample size of 250 respondents using both primary and secondary data, the data analysis was conducted using SPSS. The major causes of tribalism, 30% said that cultural beliefs or orientation, the other 24% shows that political affiliations, and to determine the effects of tribalism in the community most respondents said 25% it will lack of unity in the community and possibly lead to conflict such as civil war. Similarly, with literature review it was shown that over time, tribalism brought on a wave of deep conflict between contending people and/or tribes. Good examples are Rwanda, Iraq and Sudan, where tribal conflicts retarded the flourish of democracy. It is clear that tribalism has confined the evolution of an inclusive society. So, democratic processes cannot effectively prevail if tribalism survives. Members of the political elite who manipulate tribal forces to retain power should be defied. Benchmarking tribalism through the promotion of inclusive governance is a distinct approach to heighten decreasing tribalism. Inclusive governance also hosts an enabling environment, without exploiting minority tribes.

Table of Contents

DECLARATION.....	ii
COPYRIGHT	iii
APPROVAL	iv
DEDICATIONS	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
ABSTRACT.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2. Theories which guided the study	3
1.2.1 Cultural transmission theory	3
2.4 Conceptual Framework.....	4
1.3 REASERCH OBJECTIVES	6
1.3.0 General Objectives.....	6
1.3.1 Specific Objectives	6
1.3.2 REASEARCH QUESTIONS	6
1.4 Significance of the Study	6
CHAPTER TWO	7
LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.0 INTRODUCTION	7
2.1 Tribe and Ethnicity	7
2.2 Empirical Review.....	8
2.2.3 The Negative Experiences of tribalism in Iraq and Sudan	13
2.2.4 Politics and Tribalism in Zambia.....	15
2.2.5 Tribalism can be a potential assert for civil war and genocide.....	23
2.2.6 Brand tribalism.....	23
2.2.7 Self-expressive brand and brand tribalism.....	25
2.2.8 Let’s get rid of the science stuff first.	28
2.2.9 Impact of Ethnic Conflict on Economic Development.....	29
2.2.10 Online tribalism: the tribal discussion board	30
2.2.11 Tribalism in Popular Culture	31
2.2.12 Literary tribalism	32
2.2.13 Traditional Establishments.....	33

2.2.14 Conclusion	34
CHAPTER THREE	36
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	36
3.1: Introduction.....	36
3.2: Research Design	36
3.3 Sampling procedure and Sample size	36
3.4 Sample Size calculation	37
3.5: Data Collection tools and instruments.....	37
3.6: Data Analysis	38
3.7 Ethical Considerations	38
3.8 Reliability and Validity of Data	39
3.8.1 Validity	39
3.8.2 Reliability	40
3.9 CONCLUSION	40
3.9.1 Structure of the Final Report	40
CHAPTER FOUR	41
4.0 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS	41
V) Existing challenges that Hinders to Reduce the Negative impact of Tribalism	47
5.1 Discussion of Findings	55
5.1.1 To determine the causes of tribalism.	55
5.1.2 To determine the effects of tribalism.	56
5.1.3 To investigate the perception about tribalism among the Public.....	56
5.1.4 What are the possible solutions to tribalism	56
6.0 Conclusion/Recommendations	57
6.2 Recommendations/Way forward	58

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Sex of Respondents	42
Figure 2: Age of Respondents.....	42

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The Major causes of Tribalism in the Community.....	43
Table 2: The Effects of Tribalism in the Community.....	44
Table 3. The Possible the Solutions of Tribalism.....	47
Table 4. The Perceptions of Tribalism.....	48

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

One of man's greatest needs is the need for identity. Human beings always delight in knowing who they are, where they come from and who their folks are. It is because of this need that such concepts as ethnocentrism, euro centrism and all other centrism exist. Though this need is an important one when met, it can negative impact other people who do not belong to that particular grouping. Examples of extremists in terms of discriminating against other people who do not belong to a particular group include Adolf Hitler's slaughter of the Jews and the South African apartheid among others. The danger and evil of tribalism can also be seen in the war between the Tutsi and Hutu of Rwanda, Ndebeles and the Shonas of Zimbabwe as well as other civil wars across the continent of Africa. Tribalism and other related evils by and large have been perpetuated by history and the origins of different people (Gidds, 2007).

Tribalism is the state where individuals within a particular tribe emphasize strong loyalty to their community while exalting themselves as superior to the rest. As such, the commitment to one's tribe results into strong negative emotions for any person outside the group. Tribalism is supposed to act as a form of identity for people in a particular social group; however, when it comes to Tribalism in Zambia, it is mostly associated with negative ethnicity and corrupting influences. It is presumed by many that the human brain is wired to tribalism owing to its evolutionary advantages. In Zambia, tribalism is reflected in the outcome of the election results by province, where the trend is usually that a political candidate automatically wins elections in the provinces of his tribe. Tribalism unfortunately also leads to other evils such as favouritism and nepotism where people in high offices allow their relatives to get certain jobs even when they are not qualified for them (ibid).

Tribalism is a holistic concept which encompasses several other elements. In Zambia, however, people refer to such behaviours as association with only people of one's own tribe, speaking only one's tribal dialect or language and favouring one's own tribal relatives as tribalism. Tribalism from the University of Zambia point of view can present itself in many forms, which may include election into the University, lecturer favouritism and many more. Tribalism occurs when group members so closely align and identify with their own unit that

they see other groups or parts of the organisation as competitors, obstacles, or even threats. They lose sight of the broader or higher-level goals and instead become fixated on outdoing or out-competing other people of different tribes.

In Zambia, youth, academics and the society as a whole face many challenges based on clan configurations. Most of the youth do not control their own future due to fear of tribalism, nepotism and the existence of few opportunities. Tribal forms and characteristics vary, but in Zambia societies are characterized by tribal structures that are cephalous (headless). Clan affiliations were the basis for survival, security, political affiliations and identity in traditional Zambian society and continue to be so today for most Zambians. The issue of tribal politics in Zambia has been a legendary song that every Republican President has danced to. Zambia, with 72 tribes is always dissatisfied with the unjust way political positions and resources are distributed across the country. Clan affiliations also continue to provide the moral framework that shapes Zambians' Perceptions, attitudes and behaviours (James, 2006).

1.2. Theories which guided the study

There are a number of theoretical standpoints from which the problem of the existence of tribalism in Zambia can be viewed and explained. The cultural transmission theory, was used to explain the phenomenon of tribalism.

1.2.1 Cultural transmission theory

This theory was espoused by a sociologist by the name of Sutherland and it suggests that people acquire certain behaviours through interaction with others. According to Sutherland, “an individual undergoes the same basic socialization whether learning, conforming or deviant activities” (La Verne, T. (1995). This theory explains that through social interactions with either the primary group or significant others acquire definitions that are deemed proper or improper. Therefore, through the process of socialization, people are more likely to engage in certain behaviours if they associate with people who engage in such behaviours. According to this theory, associates, depending on the degree of association and interaction can baptize people with a certain way of behaving, be it proper or improper. Tribalism therefore, from whichever angle is looked at, whether as evil or as necessary is as a result of socialization. According to this theory, tribalism is as a result of the interactions and associations to which any individual has been subjected. If a person has been socialized in an environment where value is placed on being tribal, then they will end up being tribalistic.

Other theories Steven (1994) argues that the proponents of the primordial theory argue that there exists an ethnic grouping because there are traditions created for people to believe that people living in the same location have similar biological features. Donald says that kinship is what binds people of the same ethnic grouping. Kinship make members of an ethnic group think like a family. In this model, ethnicity is seen to be having a utility function. People are seen in this case to be deriving their identity from the ethnic background. Ethnic conflict comes therefore, as a response the threat of one’s identity. In the instrumentalist theory, Anthony (2001) says that this theory, which came in the 70s and 80s, holds that ethnic conflict is a result of community leaders who use cultural groups to do mobilization of people in protection of power and resources. In this case therefore, Green (2003) argues that ethnicity is an instrument used towards some end. This means therefore that mere ethnic difference in ethnicity is not reason good enough for violence.

The third theory is constructivism. It holds that ethnic conflicts are a result of a historical process. This means that over time, people develop some attitude about a certain other group and this creates hatred. If two ethnic groups have been in war in the past, each group

develops an image of a bad people. Constructivism is therefore an external process and not internal as instrumentalism or primordialism. In forming the theoretical framework of this research, the researcher will use all the above mentioned theories since they are all interrelated and they all relate to the topic of the thesis.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

After a critical review of all the theories, it was discovered that the cultural transmission theory espoused by Sutherland is the best explaining the problem of tribalism in Zambia. This theory suggests that people acquire certain behaviours through interaction with others. According to Sutherland, “an individual undergoes the same basic socialization whether learning, conforming or deviant activities” (La Verne, T,1995). This theory explains that through social interactions with either the primary group or significant others, people acquire definitions that are deemed proper and improper. Therefore, through the process of socialization, people are more likely to engage in such behaviours. According to this theory, associates, depending on the degree of association and interaction can baptize people with a certain way of behaving, be it proper or improper. Tribalism therefore, from whichever angle it is looked at, whether as evil or as necessary is as a result of socialization. According to this theory, tribalism is as a result of the interactions and associations to which any individual has been subjected. If a person has been socialized in an environment where value is placed on being tribal, then they will end up being tribalistic. Therefore, tribalism from the point of view of this theory can be said to be a learned behaviour through agents of socialization such as families, school, church, peers and television among others.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Zambia has nine provinces which are divided into seventy-two (72) districts and 72 recognized ethnic groupings or tribes. The country stands on the motto of “one Zambia, one nation” popularized by the founding President, Dr Kenneth Kanda. The motto implies that every Zambia needs to be treated on the basis of them being Zambian and not necessarily as them being part of any of the tribes. Ideally, this motto is supposed to be respected and adhered to in every setting. This however, has not been the case and tribalism and tribalistic tendencies have been reflected in myriad and varied ways some of which are those which have already been alluded to. Social observers through the ages have noted that tribal behaviour is rooted in some of our most positive human qualities. “We are social animals – creatures of groups carrying a natural desire to relate to others who are like us in some way and to form strong bonds of trust and loyalty within our families and our peer groups. This is extended into businesses, schools and other settings which are essentially communities of groups bounded and linked by shared goals, roles, structures and processes” (La Verne, T; 1995).

As it was evident in Rwanda tribalism caused the 1990 – 1994 genocide, the genocide was all because or as a result of ethnic divisions. The three tribes that where in Rwanda felt that the other groups were being unfairly treated as a result they revolted as they struggled to be the best and take up the lead. Tribalism obviously has an extremely negative effect on Zambia’s unity, and in some cases, can even be life-threatening, because some people are ready to do anything to stand for their ideals. The tribalism experiences of the other countries show us that such division brings nothing but conflicts, fear and exclusion. Therefore, this study seeks to determine perceptions about tribalism in Zambia and come up with possible solutions.

1.3 REASERCH OBJECTIVES

1.3.0 General Objectives

- To investigate the perception and challenges of tribalism among the public in Lusaka district of Zambia.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

The study was guided by the following objectives

- a. To determine the causes of tribalism.
- b. To determine the effects of tribalism.
- c. To investigate the perception about tribalism among the Public.
- d. To determine the possible solutions to eradicating tribalism

1.3.2 REASEARCH QUESTIONS

This research focuses at finding answers to the following research questions:

- a. What are the possible causes of tribalism?
- b. What are the effects of tribalism?
- c. What are the perceptions of tribalism among the public?
- d. What are some possible solutions to tribalism?

1.4 Significance of the Study

After 50 years of uninterrupted peace and tranquillity, Zambians have lost a sense of feeling the dangers of tribalism. Taking things for granted, they can no longer see what the by-products of tribal conflicts can cause in terms of disrupting national security. In their view, a possibility of war/s is farfetched. And because of lack of experience they do not know how to hate war. Instead they tend to invite it. When you have been in one and seen the senseless killings and destruction of property and witnessed human suffering – like a Rwandan or Kosovoan has, at that point I am sure then, you would realize the foolishness of playing ‘monkey games’ with it. The debate around tribalism is reaching alarmist proportions and no one knows what is driving it and who is benefiting from it. Therefore, this research is important as it seeks to investigate the existence of tribalism perceptions among Lusaka residents in Zambia.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the available literature related to the study. In this chapter, literature on the most important studies that have been carried out by other researchers in the field of tribalism perceptions socially, economically or even politically just to mention a few will be reviewed. It starts by defining the key concepts, then empirically reviewing available literature with an overview on the key areas. There after a review of theory literature will be written based on existing theory and then a conceptual will also be developed. Finally, a conclusion will be drawn based on what will be reviewed in the literature and tribalism state in Zambia. This review is very important since it highlights the scope of this study and further relates to other studies done in different parts of the world. Therefore, conclusion which should contain lessons learnt on each variable, major weaknesses on each variable and the gaps identified will be written.

2.1 Tribe and Ethnicity

Tribe and ethnicity The Concise Oxford English Dictionary defines a tribe as a social division in a traditional society consisting of linked families or communities with a common culture and dialect. Prominent ethnicity occurs when there are low levels of political and economic development (Bannon et al., 2004). The term “ethnicity” and “ethnic group” overlap and replace problematic concepts such as race or tribe (Lentz, 1995). Ethnicity can furthermore be used collectively in situations of alienation and uncertainty. It provides the foundation for a moral community, and can become a resource for political mobilisation. This perception has been widely used on the African continent to promote certain political matters and seek economic power (Opondo, 2003).

The tribe mixes with the modern political world in a manner that stresses “solidarity and mobilisation” without intellectual coherence. This is largely because leadership in the tribe is hereditary (Alheis, 2011). In some cases, religion has prevented citizens from participating in the political process (Myers, 2013). Allegiance to a certain clan remains an integral component in providing directional leadership to ordinary people in tribal communities. Tribes’ political influence remains a challenging assignment. Members of the political elite

find it difficult to overwhelm tribal societies. This depends on the degree of consultation, since some tribes are more generous than others, making it easy to engage them. According to Alheis (2011), when a tribe enters into the political process, a stalemate develops because of the following problems:

- The tribe is irreconcilable with modern civic notions. It monopolises the “voice of the individual” through loyalty.
- In the management of its affairs, the tribe uses a pyramidal structure that undermines standard procedures.
- Because of administrative deficit, the tribe could be commanded in the wrong directions

2.2 Empirical Review

Literature Review allows one to check researches conducted on the same topic by other researchers so as to familiarize themselves with what other people have found vis a -vis the same topic under investigation. Literature review also identifies gaps in former researches and also acquaints a researcher with the methodologies that other people employed in carrying out their research. A number of researches have been conducted in relation to problems of tribalism in learning institutions.

A research was conducted in Nigeria by Adeyo Chinedu, a socialist at Ile-Ile institute of business studies to determine the interaction patterns of students. A sample of 460 students was selected and each of them completed a self-administered questionnaire. Asked whether they were inclined to tribal associations, 97% indicated that they were not inclined to tribal associations. When asked to state who their best friend, study mate and roommate was, 79% of the students indicated that their best friend, study mate or roommate was someone they shared the same tribe with. Asked who their favourite lecturer was, 76.9% showed their favourite lecturer was someone they shared the same tribe with while only 18% showed that their favourite lecturer did not share the same tribe with them. The rest indicated that they had no one specific lecture. According to Adeyo (2011), tribalism can exist even unconsciously and his conclusion was that Ile-Ile institute of business as his study area was inclined to tribal associations though students themselves were not fully aware of it.

In Rwanda, a group of researchers conducted a research in 2006 in which they wanted to establish the extent to which the Hutu and Tusti tribes related years after genocide. The research was conducted on four different public secondary schools in which high school

students were in the study group. Each respondent was asked to state both the mother and father's tribe. Typical Hutus or Tutsis were those whose parents were both of the same tribe. 78% of the respondents were either typical Hutu or typical Tutsi, the rest had either their parents a Tutsi or Hutu. Asked to state which person they regarded the best in four different categories which included sports, politics, academics and business, 73% of respondents who were either typical Hutu or typical Tutsi, indicated in at least three out of the four categories, that the best person was their own tribe's mate. The respondents who had either one Hutu or Tutsi parent provided mixed answers where 51% of them indicated two Hutus and two Tutsis as the best in the four categories. The research concluded that tribalism not only existed in adults but also in school going children to a higher extent (Gidds, H; 2007). I would like to believe that this was one of the causes of the genocide that took place in Rwanda in 1990-1994, which led to many loss of lives and the government of Rwanda has now decided to abolish this issue of tribes and just keep one as Rwandese, there is nothing like Tutsi or Hutu nor Twa, just Rwandese.

Conflicts worldwide have shut the dreams of so many people. They have brought some people a lot of agony and distress all their lives. But in places where signs of these conflicts have been detected early, they have managed to stay out of them. Ethnic conflict remains the biggest cause of deaths especially in the continent of Africa. Virtually all states of Africa have in one way or another been involved in warfare of ethnic basis. This therefore cannot be considered as a way of life. There is a great need to understand it and get a remedy to it. Ethnic diversity in itself is a very nice thing because it offers variety of doing things in a country. Those nations that have managed to create good structures of equity among the different ethnic groups boast of a very cohesive way of living with beauty in diversity.

However, those that have not gotten a solution always sit staring at a potential time bomb, a volcano of ethnocentrism ready to erupt anytime. The effects of ethnic violence are huge and at times they have brought down huge economies into becoming banana nations. These effects stretch from loss of lives e.g. the Rwanda case where they lost over 1million people, to massive displacement of people, and to economic downfall.

It is worrying to see the trends of this phenomenon in Africa and across the globe and it is important for us to discuss it. Africa has lost a lot of resources because of these fights in the last 50 years. 70% of the wars like I have earlier mentioned are of ethnic type. It is ironic to say that before the start of colonialism, most countries in the continent were so united. Different communities that comprised of people of different cultures lived so well together.

The effects of these tribal conflicts have been evident. Africa as a continent has ragged behind in development for quite a long time. Because of these wars, most African countries make one step forward and few steps back. Multinationals that had pitched tent in most hence nose-dived greatly oblivious of the riches of natural resources in the continent.

A thesis done in Kenya looked at the impact of the post-election violence in Kenya in 2007/2008 and its impact of the economy. The researcher sought to understand how ethnic conflicts have affected the economy of their country. It showed how internal business has been lost as well as how ethnic conflict have led to a strained relationship between Kenyan and her neighbours and other business partners. What were the effects and what is the extent of that damaged relationship? The research was conducted on Kenyan communities that have been involved in war of an ethnic nature and seek to see if, during such wars, for example the Post-election violence of 2007-2008, some economic opportunities and investments were shuttered. The research draw examples from countries in Africa that have experienced these sorts of conflicts as it put that research into perspective. In the literature review, it analyse the writings of previous authors on this subject matter. This will involve analysing the theories of ethnic conflict and what has been written on the effects. The researcher will develop the theoretical framework/conceptual frame as well as do a justification of the study. The researcher also indicated how data was collected, analysed and a report written.

A survey conducted by Typen and Howrad Schawler (2001:67) in their study of identity also indicated the tendency of people to identify with other people who have the same traits with them Typen and Schawler discovered at an international school in Quebec, Canada that students interacted based on their shared traits. For example, it was discovered that French speaking students shared similar associations. It was also established that black students who had different origins interacted together on the basis of their colour even when they spoke

different languages. The duo concluded that human beings are always searching for identity and always look out for someone who they can identify with.

As survey was conducted among university students in six African countries: Ethiopia, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, Ghana and Senegal. Questionnaires were developed which dealt with intergroup relations, inter-tribal likes and dislikes, stereotypes of Africans, Europeans and other minorities. As it turned out, tribal membership or identification proved to be an important variable in that study; this was often linked to social and political attitudes. Tribal identity was more salient than national identity. Nigeria represented the most striking demonstration in that most Nigerian students showed the highest frequency (together with those from Ghana) of tribal and regional identity attributes; the highest frequency of friendship and (again with Ghana) of a greater feeling of ease with others of the same tribe. The picture was clear and consistent; on practically every measure that was relevant, Nigerian students placed tribe high and nation relatively low. The students from Ghana as had been indicated also ranked very high in tribal and regional identity in attributing high importance to their tribe, in feeling more at ease with members of their own tribe, and considering that tribal structure and traditional authority may be useful to progress (Klineberg .et,al; 2008).

Finally, Lekins and his colleagues in 1994 conducted a cross sectional study of different societies in Mumbai, Saskatchewan and Chile to determine the factors behind associations. Among other factors, language, ethnicity and social economic status were discovered to be some of the factors that bind people together. In Mumbai, it was discovered that 79% of all observed associations of people were on the basis of social economic status. Religion was also discovered to be an important factor determining associations of people. Though this study was not necessarily hinged on tribal associations, it was concluded that people usually associate with others with whom they share some similar traits.

Quite a number of post-colonial autocratic governments have retained tribal loyalties in order to maintain power (Myers, 2013). In this case, Nigeria, Mexico and Bosnia Herzegovina are good examples of countries in which democratic reforms have posed challenges, and where ethnicity and regionalism have a substantial political influence (Liu, 2012). Censured civil

wars in Sudan, which are predominantly driven by a power struggle between different Sudanese tribes, remain prominent in the LT Groupings, thoughts of many people. Saddam Hussein, who was the fifth president of Iraq, used authoritative Iraqi tribes to preserve power over decades. Iraqi culture comprises many tribes from Arab countries where failure to honour prominent tribes can provoke instability. This, in turn, has seriously backlashed with democratic processes that stem from tribalism. Despite democratically elected leaders' efforts to engage tribes, particularly in Africa and the Middle East, some tribal groups are not dedicated to solving flagging political conflicts. This is because they plead for independence.

Rich tribes' ability to control the use of natural resources conflicts with the principles of democracy. The open-ended conflicts in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) exemplify this argument. In the face of constitutional reforms in favour of democratic processes, many tribal communities stay outside the political processes (Liu, 2012). This reality has unwaveringly contributed to the disappointment in democracy experienced in many nations. This article proposes appropriate ways of eliminating tribal affinities. The article's emphasis remains on abolishing conflict spurred by tribal disagreements. The cultivation of curative measures pertinent to the advancement of countries prone to tribalism is of crucial importance.

The integration of tribal groups in the mainstream political system of many countries remains incomplete. Political transitions are usually difficult to undertake when they consist of the reconciliation of different ethnic and tribal groups (Liu, 2012). Sluggish democratic processes are accompanied by rival tribes' unpreparedness to pursue peaceful dialogue. The fact of the matter is that some tribes view the democratic arrangement as a serious threat to their relevance. Resisting drastic transformation is the foremost step to staying relevant in an ever-changing environment. Since modern political systems are exposed to conservative clans that continue to make strides to exist, opposition that disrupts entire communities is inclined to emerge.

Political tribalism normally triumphs, immersing the democratic process in violence and probably genocide (Klopp, 2002). Daunting instances have occurred where people have lost

their lives due to squabbling that is incited by tribalism. Such prominent cases include the Rwandan genocide and the Sudanese civil wars that started due to tribal and ethnic differences. The DRC conflict, which has led to the death of about four million people thus far, should not be forgotten either. These conflicts lead to the displacement of refugees, which causes an immense humanitarian crisis, including the spread of chronic diseases. The present environment exposed these conflicts, which were propagated by ethnic disagreements that, in turn, negatively affect communities.

The nature of tribalism reflects the lack of a constructive role in modern society (Mqotsi, 2004). Despite the reality that some dominant tribes are not informed enough to abandon their egocentric tendencies, they seem to perceive modern political systems as posing a threat to their dominance. The number of tribes that are participating in the democratic process is steadily rising, but they remain conservative. In the Arab social culture, political identities serve as magnets for loyal tribe members (Alheis, 2011). Consequently, tribe members' political associations are based on a particular party's ability to meet their needs, without consideration of coherent ideologies that advance the countries' economies.

Furthermore, a person from a particular ethnic or tribal group could receive unwarranted favours. In countries where a culture of tribalism is intrinsic, senior public positions are obtained on the basis of tribal affiliation. As a result, a hostile environment is created, where people from inferior ethnic groups are separated from those from the more prominent ethnic groups. Mistreating people based on their tribal origins violates their democratic rights. In many African states and beyond, autocratic governments are founded on a tribal mentality. These states are governed by political leaders who are determined to promote people from their tribes. The political elite is hasty to favour its members' tribes in exchange for political support (Alheis, 2011). This is primarily because post-colonial democracies in many countries have disappointed and have not fully eliminated divisions between major monarchies.

2.2.3 The Negative Experiences of tribalism in Iraq and Sudan

Increasing regional conflicts, which are stirred by ethnic oppositions, can be difficult to tackle in a broader society. This section specifically shares profound perceptions regarding hostile experiences that are incited by tribal beliefs, as affirmed in Iraq and Sudan. These

countries are examples of what could go wrong if governments do not address tribal clashes effectively. Many regions remain unstable due to power struggles that are cultivated by ethnic dissatisfaction. The failure of ethnic and/or tribal authorities to regard democratic processes as a conventional instrument of governing all tribes without prejudice intensifies these conflicts. Selfish political leaders who lack political integrity normally bypass democratic procedures when engaging with ethnic leaders.

These engagements are carried out with the sole objective of sustaining political power by accommodating the interests of leading tribal powers that command massive support. The provision of gifts and unwarranted favours is often used to get illicit aid. These trends occur when certain tribes are preferred over the rest, which causes discontent. The subsequent outcome would be infinite conflict between opposing tribes, which threatens peace and stability. Therefore, Iraq and Sudan are appropriate examples of what could happen if tribalism is not properly managed.

The Sudanese gained independence in 1956, which compelled Britain and Egypt to vacate Sudan when General Ibrahim Abbud came to power. In 1962, his approach of mandatory Islamisation and Arabisation received excessive resistance, which ultimately triggered a civil war between the north (Arab Muslim) and south (Christian/Animist). The civil war ended when a peace accord was signed between the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement and the Sudanese government in Addis Ababa. The war resurfaced in 1983 due to former President Nimeiri's failure to honour the Addis Ababa agreement when he instituted Islamic laws in the southern region (Paglia, 2006).

In 2005, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), which aimed to end the civil war, was concluded. This agreement paved the way for the complete separation of the Sudanese regions. On 9 July 2011, South Sudan was fully recognised as the world's newest nation. This was greatly hailed as the milestone that would end conflict and deeply rooted tribal differences. Within two years of the establishment of South Sudan, another civil war almost resurfaced, this time among the South Sudanese. According to Fisher (2013), the cause of the

conflict could be traced to the period before South Sudan's independence. He suggested three major forces driving the conflict.

Firstly, South Sudan was still underdeveloped and a scarcity of resources tends to crack politics and worsen ethnic clashes. Secondly, forces that played key roles in attaining independence may start forming associations along tribal lines. Thirdly, the resignation of the Vice-President, Riet Machar, may have aggravated the ethnic conflict, together with political dispute in the new state. The South Sudan leadership structure comprised President Salva Kiir Mayardit, who originated from the Dinka tribe, and the former Vice-President, Riet Machar Teny Dhurgon, who was from the Nuer tribe. When analysing the history of the Sudanese north-south conflicts, it is clear that these conflicts are rooted in tribal and regional differences. The latest conflicts are probably associated with tribalism ideology. It is crucial that political leaders are mature enough to handle these differences.

2.2.4 Politics and Tribalism in Zambia

The voting pattern is reflective of many angles that include Tribe, Policies, Personality, History, Political Rhetoric and Demographic Blueprint and this in turn produces a ballot that cannot exactly be pin-pointed as being tribal. The further we move away from industrialised districts, we encounter rural areas where the majority are illiterate, base most of their knowledge on tradition, lack proper information flow and to an extent are governed by tradition leaders like Chiefs who are still trying to hold on to an outdated culture that influences a tribal voting pattern in their subjects. 2015 and 2016 election results are of little variation to the Zambian norm of tribal voting. But why are the Tonga people singled out and called names for a voting pattern that is clearly country wide and only natural in such a jejune democracy?

The ethnic influence has varied in prevalence at different stages of Zambia's political history. In the pre independence era, ethnic cleavage was not prominent in political parties due to the nature of politics that prevailed. The post-independence period however, experienced increased incidences of ethnicity and regionalism in political operations. This study drew greatly from Sikota Wina's *Night Without a President*. Wina's work gives a vivid picture of

what transpired during UNIP's general conference in 1967 at Mulungushi Rock of Authority. It shows how the formation of two blocks based on ethnic connection brought discontent within UNIP. While the Bembas and the Tongas agreed to support each other, the Lozis aligned themselves with the Nyanja speaking people of Eastern Province. However, Wina's work takes an introspection of UNIP and the problems of ethnicity within the party and how Kaunda attempted to resolve the tension.

This study benefited from Lise Rakner's work which among other things discussed the formation of the United Party for National Development (UPND) in 1998. She points to the effect that at its inception, UPND attracted national-wide support which enabled the party to come out second in the 2001 presidential elections. This work was critical in providing a starting point in trying to understand why UPND has since failed to score such successes in the elections that followed. Rakner's work however does not examine the operations of other political parties in the context of democracy.

In his analysis of party politics and ethnicity, Bizeck J. Phiri concluded that UPND failed to attract support from other provinces because of its failure to escape the ethnic trap. To him UPND has remained confined in one region because of its ethnic campaigns. Phiri's work was among the major works that informed this study. The work gives a comprehensive discussion of political trends in Zambia dating back to colonial period. In his work, Phiri argued that "the most important feature of interparty competition was the allegiance of political parties" geographical base of support." Though not directly related to Phiri's work, this study drew greatly from this work.

The ethnic sentiments were used as a propaganda tool by different parties to woo support, while at the same time using it as a weapon to de-campaign their political opponents. UNIP leaders were claiming that their Copperbelt supporters were denied access to fish in Sinazongwe and Namwala. At the same time, some people from southern province were also claiming of not being allowed to sell their fowls freely on the Copperbelt by virtue of being Tonga. In Eastern Province the ANC supporters alleged that the party was failing to operate freely and even hold meetings because the Ngonis' were all supporting UNIP.

Political parties are established based on certain common principles by people who share in such principles, virtues, philosophies, customs etc. In most African countries, the issue of tribal and ethnic dimensions play major role in determining the strength and weaknesses of political institutions and body politic of these countries. In Ghana the natural alliance between majority of Akans and the NPP cannot be denied by any serious mind and we have the same alliances in other African countries. In Zambia for instance the Bemba tribe has huge influence on the country's political dynamics and politicians always take advantage of the existing tribal dynamics to push their agenda depending on where they gather their strength from and that led to the introduction of the one party state by Kaunda and his "Humanism" theory. Just like the Akan language in Ghana, the Bemba language has come to supplement English as Zambia's second language. What we must know is that language can be used as a vehicle of tribal dominance and if not curbed strategically, could be used by mischievous politicians to push through their parochialism agenda.

The truth is that in as much as I have serious issues with the Akan tag of the Npp and have always expressed my reservations about tagging the Party with the Danquah/Busia brand, the party will always make significant gains from its Akan base and will forever revolve around its Akan philosophy. It is a tradition and have succeeded in indoctrinating many of the Akans to accept the doctrine that the Npp is a natural political vehicle for all Akans. That notwithstanding, the party will still suffer low support among the non-Akans because of that natural disposition of section of the Akan block. The NDC is a Congress and has people from different ideological blocks, tribes, religious backgrounds etc coming together to pursue a common agenda. The party has no common "traditional" philosophy it revolves around. Members joined the party either based on ideological influence, partial tribal influence, special traits and personal philosophies and others purely because of love and respect for the person who founded the party. The strength of the party ought to have been how it propagates its ideology and adhering strictly to its core values which attract certain chunk of the poor and vulnerable into its basket. The party always suffer secession issues after electoral defeats because of its Congress nature and the structure of its base.

The NDC will remain formidable if it resists tribal games in the party. The party is structured on certain unique principles and those are the principles it must forever revolve around. The conservatives since the days Sir Robert Peel has operated around certain principles which attract certain voters to their side. If you study the politics of the Whig Party, you would understand why the party believes in their philosophy. Labour displaced the liberal party because of certain principles it espoused through the Trade Union. Sir Stafford Cripp was expelled from the party in 1939 for circulating a memorandum in favour of dropping extreme socialism and urged cooperation with the liberals.

That was how internal discipline ensured cohesion and consistency in the party's operation. The National Democratic Congress must operate from same philosophical standpoint. Any attempt to entertain tribal permutations in the NDC will surely lead to serious apathy, disintegration and serious rebellion. The National Peoples Party is gradually infiltrating the natural bases of the NDC through certain populist policies and considering the level of illiteracy and vulnerability of the population, any such moves must be treated with solid scientific methods. Political scientists thinking from pure academic position may rubbish this Akan plus Muslim permutation by our parties to balance their electoral mathematics but the reality is that we cannot do away with easily because of how we've handed our political discussions from 1996. Rawlings comfortably went into elections twice with non-Muslims but won all. The NDC per the dynamics of the time cannot move same direction, that natural alliance between Rawlings and the northern enclave is one issue we must watch and maintaining that natural alliance must be the issue. The NPP through strategic moves is eating into the strongholds of the NDC so what stops the NDC from doing same and doing it with solid and strategic mechanisms. All the party's will always need significant votes from strongholds of their opponents to cross the mark hence the need to always think outside their immediate environment.

We cannot deny the fact that in the last elections, voting was heavily determined by ethnic and tribal loyalties rather than the intellectual and political integrity of the presidential aspirants. This my reason for condemning certain pronouncements made by some members of our CSOs the strength of our political parties has come to depend upon the degree of ethnic and tribal loyalties they can bring under their command and manipulation. A practical example of this emerging danger is this pronouncement made by some people prior to the 2016

election that "even if a particular party asphalts roads in a particular region, they will still not vote for that party" that is the emerging danger and the irony is that the political party of these people cleverly mounted billboards of projects implemented in their area by this government in the strongholds of the government just to create disaffection and incite the people against their party and government.

The NDC always come out strong and formidable whenever it revolves around its core philosophy and a its leadership. The party should reach out to people outside its immediate environment and must do that strategically because of the fresh voters. Internal contest shouldn't be based on mere hero worshipping and individual's desires and aspirations, but rather on strategic methodologies which will help the party get significant votes across the various ethnic blocks.

The NPP in the eyes of the public appear formidable but that is not the case. It will also suffer serious "intra-Akan block" crisis between the Ashantis and the Akyems either before it leaves office or immediately after it has left power. Hawks will vehemently deny these facts but the moderates and the discerning supporters will confirm this divine truth. The Ashanti block are quiet because of internal intimidation and dislike of the NDC what will happen is that they may not vote NDC, but apathy and harboured pains will keep them in their homes instead of going to vote for the party in the next election.

To a large extent, this study shares Andrew Sardanis, Macola, and Tordoff's views that the Choma Declaration was a historical event in the political history of Zambia. These scholars argue that the Choma Declaration ushered in a new political dispensation in Zambia, the One Party Participatory Democracy. In his work, Sardanis, discusses Nkumbula's unreserved rejection and attack on the introduction of a One Party State. This, he argued was evidenced by his refusal to serve on the Chona Commission. However, these arguments were in contrast with Robert Rotberg who believed that the Choma Declaration was simply a formality meant to implement what had already been decided. He observed that at that time Nkumbula had long ceased to provide effective leadership politically. part from examining the importance of

this work, this study explores the effects of the Choma Declaration on Southern Province and national politics after 1973.

Another study that was beneficial to this study was Langley Ayo's work. Ayo's work gives a general perspective of politics of ethnicity in West Africa particularly Ghana and Nigeria. In his argument, he observed a vehement opposition to the introduction of a lingua franca in Ghana fearing that it would lead to the domination of one tribal culture by another. Ayo further argued that while advocating for a unitary Government, the people of Ghana still wanted to maintain their tribal identities even in politics. This was contrary to the Zambian situation where unity in diversity was greatly appreciated and encouraged as this study will reveal. The study drew heavily from West African experiences while investigating the factors that could lead political parties to be ethnically inclined.

Another critical work reviewed was Arend Lijphart. In his argument, Lijphart holds that political parties were principle institutional means for translating segmental cleavages into the political realm. He further points out that there was a close connection between party preference and ethnic cleavages. This study benefited from Lijphart's work in justifying our argument that all political parties in multi-ethnic countries like Zambia first drew support from their groups before thrusting to other regions

In his insightful work on party organisation, Hartmut Hess observed that political parties are groups of people who have joined forces to pursue their common political and social goals. Hess observed that party solidarity was a two-way street where party members must see their own interests and political will being represented in their party. This study drew greatly from Hess's work in examining party affiliation and voter alignment in Southern Province, in comparison to other areas.

This study acknowledges Carolyn Baylies and Morris Szeftel's article which gives an in-depth analysis of the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) in terms of support, patronage as well as operations. They further explored the parallels that existed between MMD and UNIP. This work provided ideal insights in the operations of the two parties that

led the country between 1964 and 2011. This work is relevant in examining the parallels between the ANC and UPND.

The work of Leroy Vail was significant to our study by providing the background information to ethnic formation in Southern Africa. Although the work deals with ethnic formation in general and not necessarily in party politics, it helped in understanding the historical genesis of ethnic patronage. Vail's work explores the way societies in Southern Africa have used the ethnic coalition to defend themselves against intruders as well as in fostering their demands.

In the Zimbabwean scenario, what clearly emerges from Jonathan Moyo's work is that ruling parties had a tendency of ascribing the ethnic tag to opposition parties. Moyo examined the operations of the ZANU-PF against the PF-ZAPU. With the latter being projected as an ethnic political party because it was an opposition party, and dominated by a minority ethnic group. Our study concurs with Moyo's view that opposition parties are usually victims of their opponents' propaganda. Moyo further discussed the 1987 Unity Agreement between Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkhomo that gave ZANU-PF authority to establish a One Party State. This helped in understanding the circumstances behind the Choma Declaration of 1973, and how it impacted on the politics of the province.

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Among the most recent studies undertaken on Zambia's political history has been works by Giacomo Macola and Miles Larmer. While giving a biographical study of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, Macola took a comprehensive exploration of political developments in Zambia from colonial era to the recent past. Additionally, Macola gives the perception of different political parties that has existed since 1948. This study drew insights from Macola's work in terms of party and national politics in Zambia. Macola was one of the scholars who have written on Zambia's political history in recent years. He gives a clear picture of how many scholars have overlooked or indeed under played the role Nkumbula played both in the liberation struggle and the post-independence era. The projection of UNIP as an all-powerful party that worked for the good of every Zambian has to a large extent been exaggerated and overshadowed the contribution of opposition parties like ANC. Macola's work was very illuminating to this study as it gave a vivid discussion of Nkumbula's contribution to Zambian politics.

Larmer's work is basically on the operations of the United Progressive Party (UPP) under the leadership of Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe. However, he goes further to acknowledge the relevance of the ANC as an opposition party especially after independence even though it failed to ascend to power. Nonetheless, Larmer does not state the ANC's operations during the First Republic. By discussing the difficult conditions UPP operated in, our study was informed of some of the hurdles opposition parties in general faced in multiparty regimes. In his analysis of UPP, Larmer attributed the party's foundation to economic deprivation on the part of the Bemba speaking people of Northern Province. Who felt that their province was being sidelined in terms development. Larmer holds that the UNIP government used propaganda to portray the UPP as a party for the Bembas without any national agenda. His work was critical to this study in comprehending the operations of other political parties such as the ANC, UP, MMD, and UPND in the context of ethnicity and regionalism. Therefore, Larmer's work on UPP was used as a comparative study to other parties like the ANC and the UPND.

Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola's chapter in *One Zambia Many Histories* was very critical to this study. The chapter provided a vivid analysis of the operations of the ANC in the post-independence era. The authors argue that Nkumbula contributed greatly to the political history of Zambia by providing checks and balances to UNIP which was becoming too powerful. Although the chapter does not specifically discuss

political parties like the UPND, it helped in providing insights on the perception of political parties, especially those in the opposition.

2.2.5 Tribalism can be a potential assert for civil war and genocide

Any kind of exclusion is possible in the existence of tribalism. This is why one of the biggest problems in South Africa is that negative terms are used when thinking and speaking about 'other'. There is a considerable number of testimonies to the fact that many incidents of genocide that occurred originated from tribal and ethnic divides. Hintjens (1999:248) articulates that from the inception of genocide in April 1994 in Rwanda, the international media indicated that it stemmed from ethical tension. Paglia (2007) in her article entitled, 'Ethnicity and tribalism: are these the root causes of the Sudanese civil conflicts?' is in agreement that in the Sudanese context, tribalism and ethnicity played a role to stir up civil conflicts this is According to Mwakikagile (in Shivambu 2005):

The Nigerian civil war reminds us in a very gruesome way that African countries cannot continue to survive and function as stable political entities if some of their tribes are not guaranteed equal protection and opportunity enjoyed, and some even taken for granted by members of other ethnic groups.

The Creation of Tribalism has taken its place as the basic line in the research of tribalism and as the background research of it, and so far there have not been other studies of the history of tribalism to the value of The Creation. Some new points of views were given by Okwudiba Nnoli in his introductory article in *Ethnic Conflicts in Africa* (1998). Nnoli does not bring ethnicity up as completely bad thing and he points out for example the solidarity related to it. In the article he tries to bring scientific understanding closer to the everyday ethnicity in Africa. Nnoli is also more careful than earlier researchers about the effects of colonialism: in his words, colonialism did not create but it did encourage. Nnoli notes also to the ethnicity of Africans before colonialism but at the same time he adds that ethnicity was not a problem for Africans before colonial administration. Okwudiba Nnoli writes about ethnicity a bit softer than the research does in general but he also does agree with the others about the negative effects of it.

2.2.6 Brand tribalism

Brand tribalism (Cova, 1997) has relevance to a study of self-expressive brands, as tribalism considers the degree of connectedness between consumers and brands, and suggests self-expressive benefits from the shared experience of brand 7 consumption (Cova and Cova,

2002). Brand tribes refer to “a network of societal micro-groups in which individuals share strong emotional links, a common subculture and a vision of life” (Veloutsou and Moutinho, 2009, p. 316). The concept of brand tribalism is centered on the use of symbolism to demonstrate a member’s allegiance to the group (Cova, 1997). It is acknowledged that tribes are about shared passion, which can result in a “parallel social universe (subculture) with its own myths, values, rituals, vocabulary and hierarchy” (Cova and Pace, 2006 p.1089).

In that paper, it was contending that, in the act of consuming or wearing certain brands, tribes can express their shared passion, and the wearing of fashion becomes a demonstration of tribal values. In this way, consumers can create a social link that allows tribal members to signal their shared passion, and gain acceptance from the tribe (Cova 1997; Mitchell and Imrie, 2011; Moutinho et al., 2007). This study considers that using the brand to express one’s self-concept, may form part of the signalling ritual of the brand tribe. For example, in the context of fashion brands, consumers may share rituals about the type of brands worn by the tribe. As such brands are also socially visible; we query whether their consumption enhances their sense of tribal membership, and how this membership relates to the brand’s self-expressive function. We examine a) the extent to which consumers believe brands are self-expressive, and b) consumers’ perceptions about their brand tribalism.

Implied in the concept of self-expression is consumers’ cognisance of the appraisal of others on their brand choices. The literature recognises that an important determinant of an individual’s consumption behaviour is the influence of others (Bearden et al., 1989; Kurt et al., 2011). This study investigates the influence of others on consumers’ brand attitudes. Specifically, the study considers consumers’ susceptibility to interpersonal influence (SUSCEP) as an antecedent to self-expressive brand choices, and their brand tribalism. Further, the ubiquity and popularity of online social networking sites (SNS) offer unique opportunities for social self-expression through brands (Belk, 2013; Pagani et al., 2011), and a means to display personal values and identity in order to engage with others (Pagani et al., 2011). Therefore, the study examines whether SNI influences consumers’ self-expressive brand choices, and their tribalism. We next discuss the constructs SUSCEP and SNI in greater detail.

Extant literature suggests that consumers buy brands to conform to the expectations of others (Bearden et al., 1989; Clark and Goldsmith, 2005) and also to signal the group of consumers to which they (wish to) belong (Chernav et al., 2011; Escalas and Bettman, 2005). Therefore,

through the influence of others, consumers buy certain brands that allow them to display their group membership. Earlier we noted that brand tribes are groups of consumers that form around the brand (Veloutsou and Moutinho, 2009), yet less is known about the factors that influence consumers' tribal membership. Past research has shown that consumers buy brands to conform to the expectations of others (Bearden et al., 1989; Clark and Goldsmith, 2005). In particular, studies suggest that consumers seek the approval and opinions of friends and peer groups when shopping for self-expressive items as they aim to consume brands consistent with the norm of the group they (wish to) belong to (Kinley et al., 2010). Such personal relationships tend to be maintained through shared, regular consumption (Gainer, 1995; Veloutsou and Moutinho, 2009), and when consumers are influenced to buy a brand through the relationships they have with others, they are more likely to become, or align with, members of the brand tribe they (wish to) belong to. In this study, we investigate whether consumers who are more susceptible to the influence of others will have greater propensity to adopt tribal behaviour.

2.2.7 Self-expressive brand and brand tribalism

As previously noted, consumers use brands to express and validate their identities (Aaker, 1997; Chernav et al., 2011; Escalas and Bettman, 2005). Brands are visually consumed and serve as external signals that communicate to others (Chernav et al., 2011; Liu et al., 2012). As such, brands can establish and confirm a consumer's self-concept (Belk, 1988; Fournier, 1998). Moreover, consumers can show the groups they (wish to) belong to by adopting brands that conform to the group's social norm (Banister and Hogg, 2004; Khare et al., 2012). Through consuming brands, consumers can display their membership to certain brand groups. Additionally, self-expressive brand consumption can create a social link that allows tribal members to gain group acceptance (Cova, 1997; Mitchell and Imrie, 2011; Moutinho et al., 2007). Brand tribes exist around the use of symbolism to show allegiance to a group, this symbolic consumption creates a social link that expresses the consumer's self-identity (Cova, 1997; Mitchell and Imrie, 2011). The ability to express one's self-identity has been described as a core reason for involvement with a brand tribe (Mitchell and Imrie, 2011). In fact, Veloutsou and Moutinho (2009) assert that brand tribes are the result of a consumers socialised expressions. By consuming specific brands and adopting accepted brand community behaviours, consumers can signify and express their group membership (Bagozzi and Dholakia, 2006; Schau et al., 2009). Khare et al. (2012) also state that consumers adopt certain brands to display their group membership. Based on this literature it is reasonable to

suggest that those consumers who seek self-expressive brands do so because they allow them to display their tribal membership and achieve a sense of belonging.

History is filled with similar examples of apocalyptic sects whose members chose death over life, some peaceful and other extremely aggressive to anyone who doesn't "belong."

"Belonging" is a key word here. It has its origins in our tribal past, when groups of individuals would struggle and fight for survival in adverse environmental conditions. To belong to the tribe meant protection from outside aggressors and an immediate sense of identity. I am part of a group that shares my values. Being part of this group makes me strong. Those who are not part of my group, that don't share my values, are a threat. They are the enemy. If we don't destroy them, they will destroy us. We, thus, must convert others to our value system or, if that fails, destroy them by any means available.

There are gradations of tribalism, of course. Only the most extreme would adopt the those-who-don't-belong-are-enemies value system, and only the most aggressive within these will opt to destroy their opponents. Most tribes actually feed on each other's strength and motivation to pursue a common goal. In his recent book *Tribe*, Sebastian Junger argues for the importance of such socially-bonding values, citing the detribalization of modern life as a cause for our current social and political misdirection. Tribalism can play a positive role in society and has been key to our survival.

However, taken to its extreme, tribalism is divisive, prejudiced, small-minded, and, as we see every day in the news, deadly.

Anthropologist Scott Atran, director of the Institute Jean Nicod in Paris, and from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, has been studying radical Islamic movements for years. In particular, Atran is interested in what makes peaceful and mostly non-religious young people leave their countries and families to join violent organizations such as the Islamic State. Atran's arguments resonate with the attraction of extreme tribal behavior mentioned above: Young people adrift in a globalized world go to ISIS and other extreme movements seeking a shared identity that gives their lives a sense of meaning and purpose.

"The rise of the Islamic State is a revolutionary movement of historic proportions. Many of its members are devoted actors with an apocalyptic belief that they must destroy the world to save it," said Atran, as quoted by Bruce Bower in *Science News*.

Most extreme tribal behaviour springs from a perceived threat to what the group believes are sacred values or beliefs. "Sacred" here doesn't necessarily imply religious values: "Secularized sacred," as Atran refers to it, can play a key role as well, as in political notions of "human rights" or in ideologies that attempt to save "humanity" through political revolution (socialism, anarchism, communism, fascism, etc.)

There is a paradox here, as we humans need to belong. We are social animals, and being part of an identifying group is essential to a healthy emotional life. We experiment with such tribal behaviours all the time, from cliques in junior high school to sports fans with painted faces. Sometimes, such experiments get heavy — and violence erupts.

Tribalism is deeply ingrained in our value system. There's no way out of it. We need it; we love it; we hate it. What leads to extreme behaviour, however, is something else. Extreme behaviour comes from a radicalized sense of belonging, a desperate attachment to a single-minded goal that causes a short-sightedness of the "other." Extreme behaviour is inward-looking, intolerant, unwilling to grow, to look out. The need to belong trumps any other value system, even the value of one's own life. Leaders feed on the devotion of their followers; followers feed on the devotion to their leader and the cause he or she represents.

After millennia of agrarian civilization, we remain morally stuck in our tribal behaviour. Buddhists talk of detachment as the way to inner peace, that the root of all ill comes from our attachment to things, to values, to people. This is a hard lesson to learn for most of us, but if we connect a level of detachment to openness we may have a chance to move on.

Studies have consistently established the corollary of tribalism, notably: that ethnic fragmentation affects the quality of institutions (La Porta et al. 1999; Easterly and Levine, 2001; Alesina et al. 1999; Alesina et al. 2003). Among the rare studies that have considered ethnic fragmentation as a consequence of institutions is Leeson (2005). Prior, Easterly (2001) had established that best institutions can attenuate the negative impacts of ethnic fragmentation. Leeson (2005) builds on Easterly (2001) to show that issues of ethnic fragmentation (e.g. tribalism) are consolidated in the presence of poor institutions. The author demonstrates from the pre-colonial era of Africa that poor institutions were caused by tribal configurations or ethnic problems. Hence according to Leeson (2005), ethnic fragmentation is both exogenous and endogenous to the quality of institutions. The notion that ethnic fragmentation could be endogenous has been explored by Michalopoulos (2012) and Ahlerup and Olsson (2012) in a clear and substantive manner.

However, the idea of testing the particular hypothesis of Leeson (2005) has not been covered in the literature. Hence, we are attempting to test this hypothesis in order to isolate the effect of ethnic fragmentation within the framework of tribalism on government institutions. Wang and Steiner (2015) and Churchill et al. (2015) have employed differences in elevation, land quality, and latitude as instruments for ethnolinguistic diversity. Within the framework of this study, latitude is employed which has been demonstrated by Ahlerup and Olsson (2012) to be exogenous to ethnic fragmentation and/or tribalism. This is simply explained in the perspective that the literature employs this variable as a regressor for the quality of institutions. Hence, we are left with the instruments of Michalopoulos (2012), namely: elevation and variation in land quality. Michalopoulos (2012) and Wang and Steiner (2015) have documented the theoretical discourse on the validity of these instruments.

2.2.8 Let's get rid of the science stuff first.

Psychology and its cousins, Anthropology and Sociology provide a scientific perspective to the debate, a phenomenon known along University halls as The Familiarity Effect or in the cut throat business of advertising, the Mere Exposure Effect. In a nutshell, the Familiarity Effect is a mental shortcut our minds make use of when evaluating arguments, Humans tend to accept persuasions or arguments from an individual they feel is similar in background, beliefs, tribe or economic conditions to them.

What's science if it can't be practical? 2008 USA Presidential Elections that ushered in the first black president had a statistical increase in young black voters and minority groups like Hispanics and Asians also reported a sharp increase in voters, this was coupled by a drop in voters with white and non-Hispanic origin.

Humans beings are social beings and since time immemorial have been separating each other along different lines, ethnicity, race, nationality etc. members of any of these groupings have been known to subjectively provide loyalty and support to members of their group as is believed that an advancement of one member is of benefit to the whole. Leaders particularly make use of this shortcut, they board buses and appear at filling stations with empty containers during a fuel shortage to attract the common man as did Sata, they conspicuously appear on the front page of print media reading a bible or invite Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation to church as does ECL to attract the Christian community and some even feebly spell it out like Daniel Munkombwe, all this is done in an effort to garner loyalty from people who will view them as one of their own.

The “buy Zambian”, “local is laka” or the more malign “wako ni wako” slogan is the familiarity principle at work, on a whimsical note, we see this loyalty in football games where supporters of the Zambian National team are predictably Zambian, even when the odds are stacked against our Sunzu we paint our faces in green, black, orange and red while letting our eagle soar to prove our loyalty to our boys. When it manifests in loyalty to a country, we call it Patriotism, loyalty to one’s family, we term them as family values, when it manifests as loyalty to a tribe, we call it Tribalism.

Democracy is a system of political organisation whose underlying principle is the right accorded to the led in choosing who should lead. The world has become a complex system whose facets include Economics, Law, Politics, Health, Technology, Finance, International Treaties etc. and whoever wishes to lead must either be fully conversant with the aforementioned or have under his belt a qualified team that does.

In a good democracy, the led must be literate enough or have at least a rudiment understanding of the above coalesced with an unbiased media supported by intellectual input from universities and think tanks so as to effectively scrutinise political parties that wish to lead. That joylessly is not the case with mother Zambia, illiteracy levels in Zambia stand at an alarming 70.6%, 25th in Africa and 142nd in the world (as of 2013). People in our country are unable to read or write, I doubt the average cadre dressed in political regalia could understand let alone read the words written on their T-Shirt or Chitenge.

2.2.9 Impact of Ethnic Conflict on Economic Development

According to Barro (1991), ethnic division brings in conflicts which could lead to political instability and civil wars that have long-lasting economic effects. People change their economic behaviours by resulting to spending most of their finances on activities of consumption than investment e.g. looking for rent in safer places.

Ethnic diversity can become a hindrance to the economic growth and development together with social stability. For example, if some group of people/ community is given some special treatment by the government like it happens in most African states, and then growth is not equitable. However, Hino 2012 notes that ethnic diversity, as it is meant to be and when it is encouraged by leaders, can lead to great social and economic growth and the reduction or elimination of poverty. Many scholars and leaders have suggested that possible ethnic inequalities should be incorporated into overall development policies, in order to have an effective conflict prevention strategy.

As earlier discussed, ethnic conflicts have a myriad of impacts to the communities in warfare. There is a direct linkage between ethnic conflicts and its impacts including economic growth and development of a country. Any economic, social or political development requires an environment of stability and peace. More specifically, activities of economic growth and development require the players to be in a non-conflict situation.

Besides this, ethnic conflict also destroys a lot of what has been developed during the time of stability. It breaks structures created for economic development. Businesses are brought down, infrastructure is destroyed and lives of people who drive development activities are lost. Countries like Nigeria, Congo, Rwanda, Syria, and parts of Kenya have had instances of underdevelopment precipitated by ethnic conflicts.

Oucho (2002) says that while it is true that ethnic conflict affects the economy, economic interests of a country or community may play a big role in ethnic conflict and hence lead to even more destruction into the economy. It ends up being a never ending vicious cycle.

Ethnic conflict affects people's economic incentives. Some sections of the economy flourish, while others suffer. To evaluate this, researchers have tested and discovered that the less destructive conflicts affect the labour-intensive sectors more. Conflict reduces the share of the manufacturing sector in the GDP, increasing the exploitation of some natural resources and reducing. Labour-intensive sectors are also negatively affected by conflict. It is also found that exporting sectors and industries that require external financing suffer more during conflict according to Hirschman (1981).

Africa states' economies have been struggling for decades suffering from permanent false start all the time. The common denominator in most of the nations has been conflicts, and more precisely ethnic related conflicts. It is not just Africa that has this problem, countries in the rest of the world faced this long time but luckily most of them were able to navigate out of the quagmire. In the previous chapter, we have covered an overview of the journey that this thesis is going to take. There has been a clear mention of the expectations of the research to be achieved at the end.

2.2.10 Online tribalism: the tribal discussion board

Virtual or online tribalism has recently become a growing arena for representing opinions, individual and communal views on changing legal, social and political issues. This type of expression is easy and quickly done and reaches a large group of followers. In combination with increased personal communication through cell-phones, tribal members are now well

connected with each other, either inside the kingdom or abroad. Obviously, this has resulted in a changed way of communicating with each other. In the past, generational and social hierarchies had to be respected in every conversation and interaction. Nowadays young tribal members can talk to their elders more freely, as can men and women with each other.

The Internet offers many new forums to promote controversial ideas. Although highly regulated by the state, some niches exist where tribal members are able to exchange information and ideas about their past, present and future, which occasionally go against the government's attempts to spread culture of national unity. While individual bloggers and social network sites have often been blocked, the online discussion board has enjoyed great popularity among the tribal masses and less state censorship. Here, the registered users exchange thoughts about topics with tribal importance: nasab (descent), history, marriage, religion and of course current events in their area. The only control mechanisms are self-censorship and the courage of the discussion board manager, who is able to block users and delete comments. However, many tribal members on their own tribal sites use this vehicle to glorify their tribe and to diminish the other.

2.2.11 Tribalism in Popular Culture

Saudi popular or youth culture has also experienced rapid and profound changes. The tribal youth in the past was supposed to respect the elders, do what they were told and increase the honour and reputation of the tribal group. Today, the idea that the community is more important than the individual, especially the young one, has turned to the opposite. The young generation voices their understanding of values, traditions, entitlements and hierarchies in the media and the streets. Not surprisingly, this understanding and the generational struggle it entails often goes against the official narrative. The young generation tries to find its place in society. While some have found their calling in the Islamic movements, others joined radical militant groups. However, the silent majority, many of those young males who moved to the big cities and have been marginalised there, found refuge and support in their tribes. In return they proudly display their loyalty to their own tribe and hostility to other tribes or non-tribal groups. Many of them live in the 'Bedouin Belt' on the outskirts of the big cities, often separated from their families who still live in the tribal village. Those uprooted young tribal members are usually despised by the city people for speaking a primitive language, wearing different clothes and following old-fashioned values and customs. Public displays of tribal loyalty can be seen in the graffiti sprayed at walls and houses to indicate that members of a particular tribe live in this neighborhood. Another sign

is the car license plate where a three-digit code symbolises the tribe of the driver. For example, 111 stands for the Harb tribe, 305 is Mutayr, 501 Anazah, 555 Shammar and 511 Utaybah. They can be seen in public, and the media has picked up the issue, discussing its pros and cons. Displaying tribal membership in this way can be helpful in times of accidents or police confrontations, and can even prevent car theft.

2.2.12 Literary tribalism

Tribal animosities are age-old and they have been displayed through poetry and on the battlefield. However, since the 1980s, new tribal identities have emerged in the Saudi Arabian public sphere. Evidence is shown in the large number of publications about tribal customs, histories and genealogies. A quick check at the largest bookstores in Riyadh and Jiddah revealed that books on tribal topics are the second most popular after Islam-related books. Most of these books have been written by Bedouin/tribal authors. They show how tribes make use of literature and the media and how the tribes like to present themselves to the public.

The majority of Zambians are illiterate; it is impossible to expect them to understand party manifestos or fully appreciate Government policy, this curse is exacerbated by a poor reading culture among the literate, half of college students up to now still don't know what they voted Yes to and these are people that can read, write and understand complex mathematics like the Fourier series.

Illiteracy levels in Zambia are so bad that when the Government calls for a referendum to vote in basic human rights, they have to be parental and tell the people how to vote, so bad that the number of rejected votes outnumbers the votes of most political parties.

So what happens when you take a political system that depends on information seeking and understanding literate individuals and place it in a society where the majority lack those basic skills? You have a political dispensation no different from Zambia's that lacks objectivity but thrives on subjectivity, lacks impartiality but full of ipse dixit, favours political handouts and stunts intelligent but economically humble individuals and a seemingly divisive cancer, where electorates no longer see a candidate for his ability, skills and intellect but for evidently non-essential traits such as tribe, faith and history, the familiarity principle kicks in.

1991 was the year Zambia laid to rest the one-party rule and in a move to oust the sitting President at the time Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia rallied behind a short, charismatic and tough man, Fredrick Chiluba. At the time Zambians were not largely concerned with tribe and in

the who's who of Zambian politics but them all shared one common goal, a change of leadership. Titus ruled the country for 10 years under a constitution that allowed two 5-year terms, but after tasting the sweet nectar of Presidency, Titus couldn't resist the urge that swallowed his predecessor and bid for a third term but after facing tough resistance from within and outside the MMD, he handpicked a successor, a former politician at the time and a Ndola lawyer born in Mufurila, Levy Mwanawasa.

This defiance of the MMD's constitution angered a lot of vying candidates within the party, this junction in time led to the birth of PF. Zambia arguably held its first veritable multiparty elections in 2001, the candidates were as follows; Levy Mwanawasa MMD, Anderson Mazoka UPND, Tilyenji Kaunda UNIP, Tembo Christon FDD, Miyanda Godfrey HP, Mwila Benjamin ZRP, Nevers Mumba NCC, Konie Gwendoline SDP, Shamapande Yobert NLD, Inonge Lewanika AZ and Michael Sata PF. Top contenders were Mwanawasa, a Lenje, Anderson Mazoka, a Tonga, Tembo Christon and Tilyenji Kaunda of the Nsenga or Nyanja and Mwila seemingly, a Bemba. The results were as follows:

2.2.13 Traditional Establishments

Every Traditional Establishment constitutes an interest group. Like any other group of people, it has values and interests it cherishes and would like to perpetuate. Every Traditional Establishment also has particular relations with the state. These may be positive, if it views the state as being accommodative of its interests or negative, if it considers the state as being inimical to them. The type of relations normally determines whether the Traditional Establishment will be supportive of the party in power during an election or not. And whatever the case, the Establishment most invariably urges/directs its subjects to vote in a manner it considers most likely to advance its cause. Such directives are not always adhered to, however, unless they are in harmony, rather than at variance with those of the subjects themselves. For although Traditional Establishments are linked to their peoples, the interests of the two groups are not always identical. There sometimes exist differences of opinion or choice between the two; when faced with opposing parties seeking election to political office(s). This actually happened in the Barotseland protectorate in the early 1960s, when the Traditional Establishment's favoured party, Barotse National Party (BNP) was twice defeated by the United National Independence Party (UNIP).

2.2.14 Conclusion

This literature has articulated the fact that different countries hold multifarious cultural values and beliefs, connected to ethnicity and/or tribal customs. Handling these issues inappropriately can trigger deep divisions between opposing tribes. The competition for prominence between tribes has also hindered the achievement of goals associated with sustainable growth and development. Since many countries have adopted democratic processes to replace tribalism ideologies, this development has broadly worked against tribal leaders, who formerly commanded power over their territories. This ultimately compels leading tribes to battle democratic processes because of shrinking levels of sovereignty.

To counter this, the political elite has conceived diplomacies that allow its members to get unwavering support from prominent tribes, especially during elections. This somewhat contradicts the principles that are necessary for democracy to flourish in many countries. This article recognises the fact that Arab countries have primarily been founded on tribal groups. This is also the case in many African countries. These countries are confronted by extreme challenges that originate from instability due to the legacy of tribalism. In certain regions, democratic processes have completely collapsed because tribal leaders have rejected drastic changes that diminish their authority. Even though tribalism is not entirely grounded on intellectual supremacy, tribal leaders normally snub constructive engagements because they are grounded on illogical reasoning. As part of this section, the situation in Iraq and Sudan is presented critically to illuminate the adverse effect of tribalism in those countries. The experience of Iraq presents a very complex situation regarding the effect of tribalism on the long-term stability of the country as this can be used as evidence of the impact of tribalism even on Zambia in the long run.

The advent of the democratic state around the globe has threatened many prominent tribes. This article demonstrates that the damaging experiences of Iraq and Sudan cannot be embraced if countries are to achieve equal rights for all people, despite their origins. Several challenges originating from the culture of tribalism emerged in this article. Firstly, tribalism has continually resisted the rise of the democratic process. This has deprived ordinary citizens of access to the benefits that are part of the democratic process. Secondly, many people are loyal to tribal groups as a way of eliminating fear, without embracing an intellectual orientation. In this regard, tribal groups are seen as ideal to further the interests of ethnic groups during the outbreak of conflicts. Thirdly, the political elite normally uses prominent

tribes to retain power. This can ultimately lead to deep divisions between opposing tribes in the event of discrimination based on tribal affiliations.

Fourthly, scarce resources have the potential to promote conflict between tribes. This is mainly because limited resources cannot cater for all tribes at the same time. Politicians therefore distribute wealth to prominent tribes that are seen as commanding a large support base to retain political power. Fifthly, tribalism lacks the intellectual ability to provide proper direction to the nation because it is founded on principles that nullify democracy. This has a direct effect on the community, especially if the people are led by leaders who have no desire to uplift them. The general finding in this article is that there is a serious mismatch between the democratic process and tribalism. The problem, however, is that politicians who came to power as a result of a democratic process, still want to instil a tribalism culture in order to remain relevant. These leaders are prepared to encourage civil wars between ethnic tribes if democratic processes do not favour their goals.

In a situation of conflict, there is expected to be impacts. In all conflicts of ethnic nature involving communities with different tribal background, there is bound to effects be they social, economic or political. In a nutshell, all ethnic conflicts have consequences. When people fight instead of participating in economic activities, then the growth and development of that particular economy fails to take place. Property is destroyed, life is lost, infrastructure brought down and investors are scared away.

The diversity of ethnic groups brings in an aspect of diversity in cultures, language, and religion. A country endowed with different ethnic groups boost of successful intercommunity trade, tourism attraction, a lot of learning from each other and generally a super blending among people of different back grounds. It is the best thing that brings about unity in diversity and a lot of symbiosis. The resultant of all this is a hybrid country.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1: Introduction

The chapter looks at the methods that was used in the survey of the factors influencing Perceptions on tribalism in Lusaka Town. The chapter was structured into research design, population of study, sample, data collection and data analysis.

3.2: Research Design

The research design was a descriptive survey. Descriptive survey was preferred for it is used to obtain information concerning the current status of a phenomena and the purposes of these methods is to describe “what exists” with respect to situational variables i.e. this helps to explain the relationship between and among variables. This method was successfully used by Wanjiru (2010), in a study of factors causing tribalism with a lot of success and so the method is perceived to be the best in obtaining in-depth data.

3.3 Sampling procedure and Sample size

The population size was **250** and purposively selected 150 respondents of interest in this study consisted of respondents of community members political and civic leaders from Kalingalinga and Mtendere Compounds.

3.4 Sample Size calculation

The following statistic formula was used on the factors of the study population.

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

Where n = sample size

N= total population under study

e = the probability of the population less than 100 at 0.03 or greater than 100 at 0.05

If we substitute with real values, we have:

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{250}{1+250(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{250}{1+0.625}$$

$$n = \frac{250}{1.625}$$

$$n = \underline{154}$$

Due to financial constraints, my sample size was reduced to only 150. Therefore, only 150 respondents were questioned.

3.5: Data Collection tools and instruments.

This study was facilitated by the use of both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected from the community members political and civic leaders.

Secondary data was collected from various magazines, newspapers, libraries, prospectus, journals, brochures and any other document released to the researcher during the research.

The research involved a portion of both interview administered in cases of illiteracy and the self-administered questionnaires were largely used because the targeted population comprises respondents who are presumed literate. Secondly, respondents had more time to recollect, consult and obtain information thereby minimizing content errors. Thirdly, the self-administered questionnaires generated more confidence among respondents because of the assurance of the confidentiality of records. The underlying assumption is that respondents

were free to answer the questions in the questionnaire at own convenience and honesty. Furthermore, questionnaires were time effective as the researcher had more other academic activities to do.

English was the language used in the questionnaire but the researcher interpreted and/or translate into the local dialect of the respondents. In cases of illiteracy, it was the responsibility of the researcher to explain or interpret the question to the participant using the interview administered questionnaires.

3.6: Data Analysis

The data obtained from the questionnaires was grouped based on the research questions and analyzed by descriptive statistics such as percentages, mean scores and standard deviations which eventually led to conclusions on the objectives of the study. SPSS analysis tool package was used to generate graphs and charts. Data analysis involved both qualitative and quantitative data. The quantitative data collected using questionnaires was analyzed using manual and computer software called Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The SPSS is user friendly and will allow for mathematical manipulation of data and the creation of frequency tables, bar graphs and charts. Further, qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis. Content analysis is a technique for systematically describing written, spoken, or visual communication. The analysis involved reviewing the contents of the in-depth explanations given by the key informants on perceptions of tribalism in Zambia.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

The researcher ensured that responses from respondents were sought by asking them to voluntarily provide answers on the designed research instruments without inducing them to provide those answers. In addition, the researcher protected and withheld the identities of all the respondents. In the course of all research activities, from the planning to the dissemination process, ethical considerations were addressed. The first ethical consideration is integrity of the research, meaning that the research avoids plagiarism and any information referred to shall be cited. All content in the research, whether data gathering information, tools that were used to gather the data, quality control supervision forms and the rest of the information that will be in this research paper, shall be mainly from the creativity of the researcher and any other information that belonged to other writers whether direct quotation or paraphrasing shall be identified by a proper citation.

3.8 Reliability and Validity of Data

The validity and reliability of the measures of the data collected are all about whether the researcher was using the right instruments to collect data and if the measures were consistent respectively. In this case the researcher thinks the measures that were used to collect data were very good, which is, the administering of questionnaires, another way to confirm that my data was valid is through the method that was used to analyze it, that is excel, this software was able to bring out the required graphs.

3.8.1 Validity

Stemming from positivist discourse, the concept of validity refers to “whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are” (Joppe, 2000: 1). Validity has been a problematic concept to articulate within qualitative research practices, and as a result “many researchers have developed their own concepts of validity such as, quality, rigor, and trustworthiness” (Golafshani, 2003: 602). However, traditionally within quantitative inquiry, validity has consisted of two contributory components, namely internal and external validity. Keeping in mind the interpretative perspective adopted by this study, measures taken to ensure the internal and external validity of my inquiry will be discussed.

Broadly, internal validity refers to “the degree to which the results can be attributed to treatment”, which essentially addresses the credibility of a researcher’s given approach to drawing conclusions from gathered data (Ali & Yusof, 2011: 30).

On the other hand, external validity, otherwise defined as the “generalizability of the results” (Ali & Yusof, 2011: 30). ‘Generalizability’ or what is commonly referred to as transferability within qualitative research, describes “the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations” (Merriam, 1998: 207).

Therefore, by revealing the context and process by which data were generated and conclusions reached, the researcher can clarify the environment giving rise to such outcomes. Therefore, by elucidating the manner in which data will be gathered, and reflexively articulating the role of the researcher in the construction of findings, other researchers that feel their studies are of similar design and purpose can to some extent draw generalisations from these findings, albeit cautiously (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

3.8.2 Reliability

Another ill-defined concept in research is reliability, which refers to whether, given the same environment and participants, the same findings would be reproduced by other researchers. According to Morgan and Drury (2003: 6): This can be achieved by explaining the methodological framework and the range of strategies that have been used within the study. The rationale for the way in which participants will be selected to take part should also be described, as should the researcher's role and their perceived relationship to those participants. It will be necessary to document analytic constructs and meanings, which derive from data, alongside the methodological approach and procedures that were used for producing data.

Having thoroughly covered the theoretical and methodological pathways inculcated in the above description this research will be able reinforce the potential replicability, and thus reliability of the research approach.

3.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter has looked at how the research went about conducting this study by giving detailed way or means by which the objectives were achieved. The study identified a population consisting of Lusaka residents. Sampling Procedure and data sources emphasizing on the use of both primary and secondary data was add more. Finally, data collection was done using questionnaires from which data was drawn from and analyzed using SPSS 18.

3.9.1 Structure of the Final Report

The report will consist of preliminary pages such as the abstract, acknowledgements, Declaration, Dedication, Table of contents, List of Tables, Figures and Boxes and Acronyms or abbreviations used. The report will present the findings of the study on the: the perception and challenges of the existence of tribalism in Lusaka. The specific objectives of the study will be highlighted, there after the literature review and methodology will be looked at. The report will have a chapter which will cover the presentation, analysis and interpretation of the findings the researcher obtained from the field based on the above research objectives. This section will start by capturing the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of

respondents. The findings will be shown in the tables, graphs and charts. The report will show thorough analysis of findings through intelligent interpretation and literature matching. It is against this analysis that the researcher will make conclusions and recommendations in report. The conclusion will show how clear and concise points in the report were and recommendations will be logically linked to the findings of the study. Recommendations will also be action oriented, giving suggestions of the actual action to be taken and how the proposed strategies will help improve the situation on tribalism.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

This chapter presents the results of the collected data on the perception and challenges of the existence of tribalism in Lusaka and its interpretations. It gives the response rate in relation to age, gender, and level of education through inferential analysis and the summary of the statistics. The presentation is on two parts. Part one converts the socio-demographic data of respondents, while part two converts the main findings from respondents.

4.1. Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents.

The Socio-demographic data collected include sex, age and educational background of respondent.

Figure 4.1: Sex of Respondents

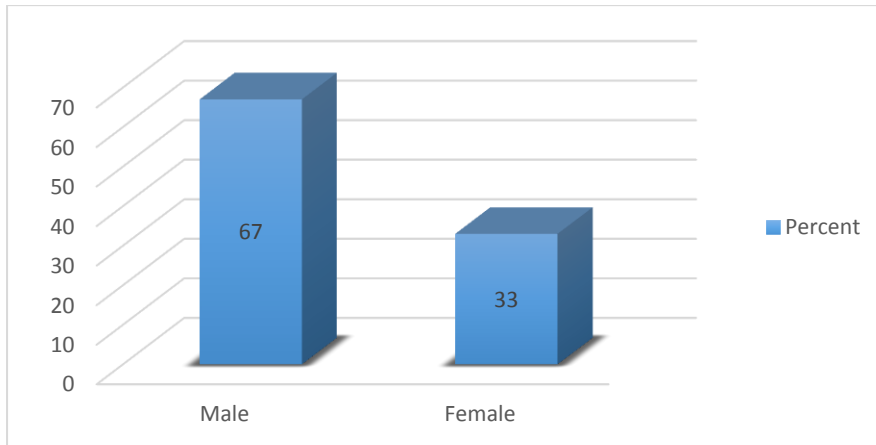


Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of the respondents by sex. The table shows that out of the 150 respondents 67% were males and 33% were female. This implies that there were more Males than females among the respondents by a difference of 34%. A sign that more males were engaged in the community interviews as compared to their female counter parts.

Figure 4.2 Age of Respondents

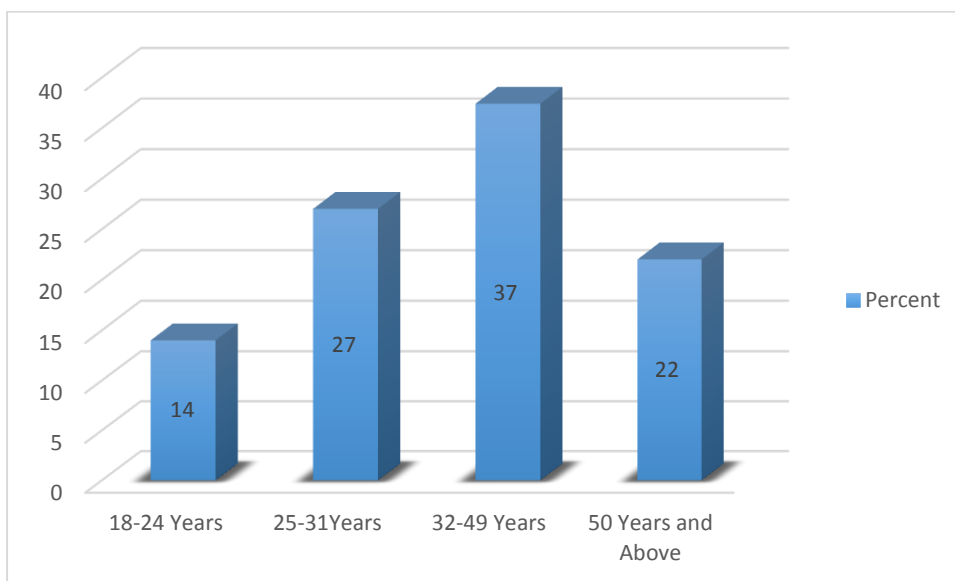


Figure 4.2 shows the distribution of respondents by Age. Those between the age of 32 years to 49 years constitute 37% of the main study's respondents, while 14% of the respondents' age were between the age 18 to 24 years, 27% being between 25 to 31 years, 22% being 50 years old and above. This implies that there were more respondents aged between 32 to 49 years that took part in the study.

Figure 4.3 Educational Background of Respondents

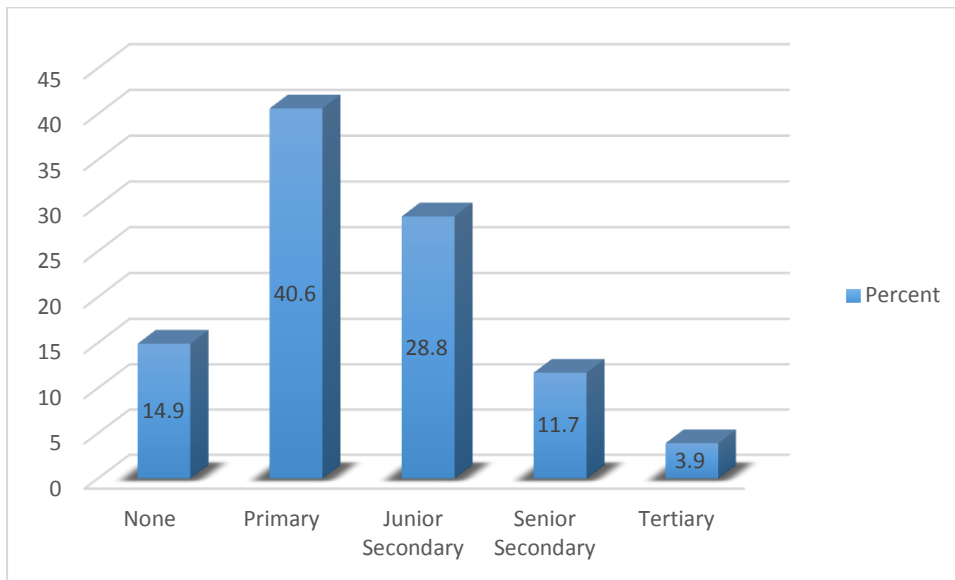


Figure 4.3 shows the educational background of the respondents, 14.9% had no formal education, 40.6% had education but ended up to primary level, 28.8% went up to junior secondary, 11.7% went up to secondary level and 3.9% went as far as tertiary level of education. It can be observed from figure 4.3 that there were more respondents whose educational background goes up to primary level.

Table 1: The Major Causes of Tribalism in the Community.

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1. <i>Political affiliations</i>	36	24
2. <i>Cultural barriers</i>	20	13
3. <i>Lack of inter marriages</i>	09	06
4. <i>Cultural Beliefs/orientation</i>	45	30
5. <i>Low levels of Education</i>	09	06
<i>Total</i>	150	100

Table 1, shows the major causes of tribalism,30% said that cultural beliefs or orientation, the other 24% shows that political affiliations, 13% shows that least cause of tribalism said was lack of intermarriages and low levels of education represented each at 6 percent.

Table 2: *The Effects of Tribalism in the Community.*

	Frequency	Percent
1. Lack of unity in the community	38	25
2. Ethnic Discrimination	20	13
3. Nepotism	12	08
4. Xenophobia attacks may arise	05	03
5. Increase in violation of human rights	15	10
6. Conflict	24	16
7. Inequality of labour distribution	11	07
8. It may cause civil war	06	04
9. Lack of participation in communal activities	14	09
Total	150	100

Table 2, shows the effects of tribalism in the community, 25% shows that most said about effect of tribalism in the community is lack of unity in the community, and the least said xenophobic attacks may occur as a negative effect of tribalism on the community.

A question to the respondents on how they think tribalism can affect a community;

As on respondent said; *“Tribalism is a chronic disease that has badly affected Lusaka communities in general, and particularly in Zambia’s societies. It seriously damages Zambia’s population from an individual level to the national level, physiologically psychologically and in terms of productivity”*, as Male aged 25 years of age.

The Effects of Tribalism on Zambia’s peace and Security

Tribalism has multi-faceted effects on peace and security in Zambia, the following responds were given;

D) Socially

One Respondent female, in kalingalinga compound said *“that that loyalty to the tribe and home village remains strong even among those who have lived in towns for many years. One result of this is that very few of the large population manifest civic loyalty or responsibility for the new towns in which they make their living.”*

Another respondent (Male by Sex and aged 47 years) said *“I don’t want what happened in Rwanda to happen in Zambia, because wars among Rwandans tribes which were based on clan superiority/inferiority, water, pasture and land conflicts along with regular and frequent propaganda, prejudices and stereotypes through poems and traditional dances. These excessive prejudices weakened the social bonds and interactions between the tribes as they are located in different areas for the purposes of their genealogical settlements and this negatively impacted social integrations, confidence, co-existence, and collaboration which created a conflict sensitively environment”*.

ii) Economically

Female respondent aged 30 years of age said *“The combination of economic disparity among tribes can bring youth gangs, constant youth unemployment could also lead anti-governmental demonstrations and barriers against internal investment and banking which could also cause civil wars. The outcome of these three forces is negatively contributing to instability throughout the country”*.

iii) Politically

According to literature Review, the prevailing political environment’s battles for the domination of the democratic process to incorporate society could hinder the aspiration of prominent tribes that are not ready to withdraw their autonomy. Political parties that do not base their survival on the fundamental principles and ideologies of political processes, but rather on ethnic orientation, often intensify this challenge (Opondo, 2003). In post-apartheid South Africa, government proceeded to embark on a comprehensive transition through the integration of different tribal and regional groups (Liu, 2012). However, this is often contradicted by countries that want to embrace both tribal and democratic ideologies simultaneously. This is an essential reason for the division of many countries along tribal lines, despite the institution of pertinent democratic policies that warrant unity.

This research found similar results based on most of the respondents, as they had the following to say;

To begin with, people can vote for someone from their tribe and then realize they will suffer a lot. It is possible for people to unite and choose one leader, but am afraid tribalism makes it impossible to choose one person (Male aged 27 years).

People believe that when one of their own is in power, they find pride in that because it means other tribes will not have a say in matters. People boast about that yet ethnic voting has not gotten rid of poverty in Zambia. I would say it has just strengthened the problems we have, and I would say that negative ethnicity will not end in Zambia (Female aged 37, Christian by religion).

This is also backed by an article by Journalist Chali Nondo (2017) in Zambia, that strictly addressed the core arguments about how ethnic identity and identity politics have manifested into a flurry of political violence along ethnic identity. The notion that a state is obligated to provide security and protection to the governed has remained unchallenged, thus one of his core arguments to justify state failure, economic stagnation, human suffering resulting from geographical dislocation and gross human rights violation that constitute crimes against humanity for which the governing PF is squarely guilty as charged. When a government fails to provide security and protection to its people and worse still as in the case of PF government, unleashes violence on the very people it is supposed to protect, it loses legitimacy to govern. The only option available to such a government is to stand down. This is exactly what the PF government is expected to do in the best interest of national security. Its relevance in politics is fast fading and its continued existence in political power is deepening the societal divide cause of tribalism.

Iv) Legally

Clan superiority among Zambian tribes, political representation and nomination based on clan superiority and stereotypes rather than personal qualifications, experiences and efficiency, economic disparity among Zambian tribes. It is evident according to literature in other countries that; domination of customary law over national laws, produces feeble government, ruins accountability and exacerbates corruption which could lead to injustice, nepotism, favouritism, conspiracy, murder, and tribe conflicts all the way to civil wars.

Turning to the other side of the arguments, towards the effects of the tribalism on peace and security, a majority of the respondents in this study pointed out that tribalism is a double-

edged sword. They reported that tribalism is contributing negatively to the peace and the security of the country.

V) Existing challenges that Hinders to Reduce the Negative impact of Tribalism

According to the arguments of the majority of the scholars there are huge existing challenges which hinder attempts to reduce the negativity of tribalism including but not limited to:

I. Poor education among societies
II. Feeble existing government systems
III. People are not aware of the hazards of prolonged tribalism
IV. Community prejudices are encouraging the continuity of tribalism
V. Very weak national legal frameworks
VI. Rampant corruption and mismanagement of government sources and facilities
VII. Poor leadership and governance styles

Table 3.0 The Possible the Solutions of Tribalism.

	Frequency	Percent
1. Integration of different cultures	4	8
2. Educating people on its negative effects	6	12
3. Involving each tribe in governing issues	2	4
4. Encouraging inter marriages	7	14
5. Introducing anti-tribalism clubs in schools	9	18
6. Use of media for campaigns against tribalism		
7. Encouraging Sharing or respecting each other's tribal values and beliefs	14	14
Total	150	100

Table 3 shows the suggested solutions/mitigation measures that can be put in place on eradicating tribalism, the most said was encouraging sharing or respecting each other’s tribal values and beliefs and the least suggested was involving each tribe in governing issues in Zambia.

Therefore, fighting tribalism with acceptance is extremely significant for every Zambian. Instead of pointing out each other’s differences and blindly following the stereotypes, people need to learn to see good things and possible contribution to the future of the country in each other. Today, the young generation is really aware of how important is tolerance, and how much it helps to build healthy relationships between people. There is still a lot to learn, but the first steps are done.

All participants agreed that awareness is promulgated for educating communities and government that tribal politics hinders the good governance, cohesion and unity of Puntland in Somali people. The social structure of a tribe cannot be denied, but its engagement in politics resulted in intense feelings among people. As the interviewed scholar put it: “Awareness is now on rise, we are only waiting the role of the government to act. “Participants also mentioned that awareness raising usually takes place in different channels of communication such as radio, TV, social media and so on. You can see that people’s awareness is greater, but within government there is a reluctance concerning implementing and establishing parties for one person one vote. As one interviewed government official put it “at this point there is full awareness in every corner, on how we have politically failed, and I am pretty sure it is not that we detest each other, but it is because we have bad leaders and a bad political system.”

Table 4.0 The Perceptions of Tribalism

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1. <i>Very Bad</i>	32	21
2. <i>bad</i>	62	41
3. <i>Moderate</i>	30	20
4. <i>Good</i>	18	12
5. <i>Very good</i>	9	6
Total	150	100

Table 4 shows the extent to which the community's perception on tribalism, 41% shows that the perception on tribalism was rated to be bad while the least said that the perception is very good.

Figure 4.4: That the Government Policies/methods in the Operations Contribute To combating Tribalism.

The study also sought to find out the extent that the government policies in the operations contribute to combating tribalism in Zambia.

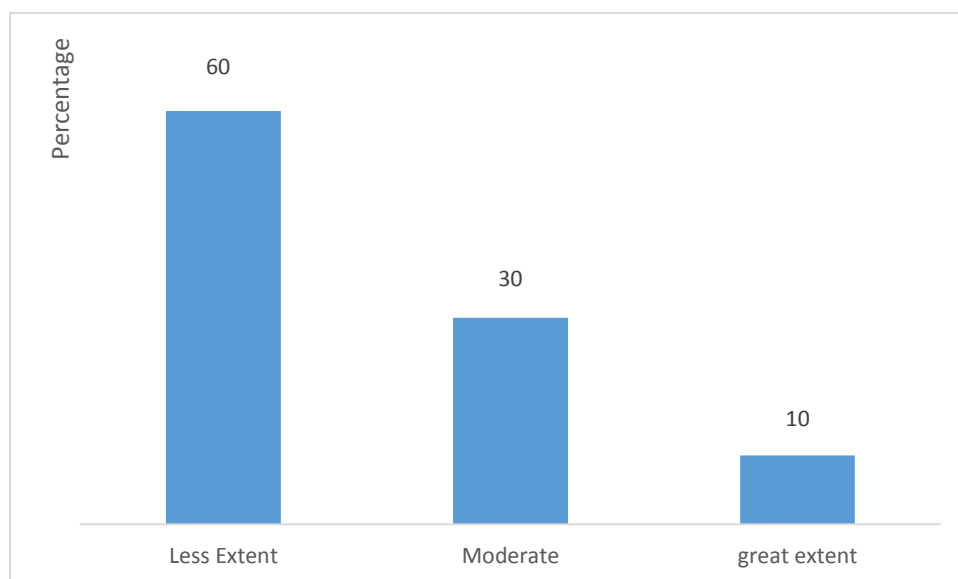


Figure 4.4 from the study, shows that most respondents as indicated by 60% reported that the government policies or methods don't contribute to combating tribalism to a less extent, 30% of the respondents offered a moderate response, while a small proportion of respondents as indicated by 10% said to a great extent. This information shows that government policies or methods did not have a great influence on combating tribalism in Zambia.

Actors and Areas Can reduce the Negative impact of the tribalism

One of the respondents said that *“the voting in the presidential, parliamentary and local municipality elections should be based on ideology and competency of the candidates, not nepotism and clan superiority. Also the nomination of the ministers and other governmental officials should be based on their capability, experience, and qualifications but not a clan*

representation system. For job placement and hiring of staff it should be publicly widespread to employ recruitment policies and procedures and to avert poor transparency, lack of fairness, nepotism, and favouritism”.

Another respondent Male 32 years of age suggested that the “Engagement of the community members through social integration and interactions; particularly people should be all open to one another in the period of marriage (some of the minor clans could be married to major clans but oppositely a foreign man/woman could marry man/woman from major clans); and also reduce the dependency on clan leaders by employing national laws rather than customary laws”

4.5 The Effects of Tribalism on Zambia’s Politics

4.5.1 Lack of Good Governance

Zambia is a victim of a high level of bad governance and it is not an exception. The research participants highlighted that there is poor governance in the government system. They stress that officials put their self-interests and personal agendas before the public interest.

Therefore, the state remains underdeveloped. This also creates poor accountability and transparency in governance and important service delivery. The interviewed respondents explained that: “it is a common knowledge that the tribalism badly affected our entire system of governance, most government offices are incapacitated or barely working because of poor personnel”.

4.5.2 Lack of Capable Officials

Another critical element is the lack of knowledgeable and skilled staff. Officials in the government are unlikely to have the potential capabilities to serve in a manner that contributes to the long-term development prospects and enhances good governance. However, tribalism brought poor leaders who used tribalism as a weapon to be in office. The politician respondent stated that: “Tribal politics affected the country, you will find out that wrong people are in offices of the government, and to be frank this system made it easier for a lot of undeserved leaders to come to offices.

4.5.3 Poor Social Integration

Tribal politics resulted in poor integration between the communities. One easily finds out that people are not connected very well. Inter-clan conflicts between tribes in Zambia brought a disconnection in terms of economics and movement in one district to another. In Lusaka, for example, there is a social disconnection in certain places because of the inter-clan based conflicts which meant that tribes do not intermingle. This occurs mostly in villages and bush areas, and some urban areas where pastoralists who have some kind of tribal vendetta cannot move freely beyond their boundaries.

It evident that as one respondent said" poor social integration between tribes exists in Zambia, it is not only as a result of tribal politicization, but in some cases you'll find out some political alienations and enmities against politically dominant tribes which plays a significant role in poor social integration"

4.5.4 Corruption and Misuse of Power

Tribal politics has brought corruption that has affected almost every office in the government. Laws and guidelines to fight corruption are in place to curb corruption activities, but they have not been enacted. For instance, officials in the government are placed above the law

because the stronger immunity and lack of law enforcement attracts corruption and misuse of power to public offices. The interviewed scholar, said: “corruption is vast in Zambia, and as you can see almost every official in the government is corrupt.”

The participants agreed that corruption is a significant problem in Zambia. A number of them highlighted that they have never seen a corrupt official in the government brought before justice, which makes them above the law. That is one reason that corruption and misuse of power are thriving in Zambia.

4.5.5 Political Instability

Instability has engulfed Zambia at large. The participants agreed that tribal politics brought grievances and political crises which results in political instability in the region. Since Zambia adopted tribal politics, some tribes feel they are being politically dominated or not happy with the power sharing which results in political instability, mostly by their regions or district. The religious leader respondent said that: “because of poor transparency and lack of good governance, political instability has become the major social ill plaguing the peace.

4.5.6 Personal Agenda

Government officials mostly have the tendency to remain in power, and the easiest way to do so is to make sure that the tribal system should take place in every election. In this vein, many participants in the study perceived that in regards to tribal politics the Member of Parliament (MPS) and traditional elders are happy with it, because they are the most influential and significant players in tribal politics. But it is a totally different story when the state is exercising a one person, one vote system. It is quite difficult to influence an entire population. That said, government officials have less concern in promoting and preparing the state to the next level which is a democratic election. As described by the interviewed politician: “most officials who already occupy government offices are not willing to go and cede power, and the only way for

because they are the most influential and significant players in tribal politics. But it is a totally different story when the state is exercising a one person, one vote system. It is quite difficult to influence an entire population. That said, government officials have less concern in promoting and preparing the state to the next level which is a democratic election. As described by the interviewed politician: “most officials who already occupy government

offices are not willing to go and cede power, and the only way for them to make sure they should stay in office is to promote tribal politics

4.5.7 Tribal Politics Continues to Direct Governance

Public accountability cannot be done properly, if there is a lack of transparency. Drawing on responses from the participants, one can conclude that tribal politicization resulted in bad leaders which translates into bad governance. Furthermore, the system of tribal politics is mainly not free and is unfair; bad officials have come into office which brought bad governance. The Government official, my key informant, highlighted that “of course tribal politicization affects the governance, because political parties have not been formed and the concerned parties seems unenthusiastic to do so”

4.5. 8 Tribal Politics and Women’s Engagement

Politics in Puntland has always been a male domain. Women are likely to face many challenges in the political arena. They lack political networks that are necessary for Interview with Interview with the Government official them to win seats of power. For example, traditional elders play a pivotal role and take politically sensitive decisions such as the Members of Parliament MPS selection. For this the women participants agreed, tribal elders have the rather unfavourable cultural belief that women cannot participate in politics. One women’s group representative who was interviewed said:

“Tribes represent a major component of the social structure, yet almost all tribes in Puntland have representatives in the government. Tribes constitute a fearsome challenge of security and stability - and at time it looks as if it's stronger than the state. As a result, many officials took their offices for granted and believe they represent their tribe mates which impedes good governance”

Women’s political engagement is less than men. Participants said that women stay marginalized or segregated from politics. Tribe mates or traditional elders mostly don’t want a women representative in their share of the government. In addition, women participants also stated that if the woman candidate contesting a position is married to different tribe mate than hers, it is quite hard for them to win, since it’s believed her loyalty may lie with her husband’s side or his tribe mates. A female Key Informant highlighted that: *“I was a candidate running for an upper house seat. I talked to tribal elders about it, they told me*

since I am a women, I do not have their first priority, later on I haven't been nominated to contest.

4.5.9 Religion and Tribal Politicization

From the religious perspective, tribal politics wouldn't be a problem if it would contribute to justice, equality and fairness among people. As one religious leader stated: "If the political system is fair and just, and it doesn't oppose the Islamic teachings it has no problem as long as the majority of the society wants it, but if they don't it should be replaced with another system they want." The participant also stated that tribal politicization affected Zambia because people are troubled by unjust causes of political unfairness and inequality among the community. Hence, traditional elders, government officials or those who are involved in politics mostly act on their own personal preferences and agendas rather than on behalf of the public good. The religious leader stated that: "Tribalism is the main problem Zambia in general, and if we use that system here and then, we will just repeat the history itself."

4.5.10 Impact of Politicians on Tribal Politics

Interviewed politicians agreed that they have little influence on tribal politics. Politician participants agreed that they can only raise awareness about the need to eliminate tribal politics. Government officials and concerned parties are the ones supposed to advocate and promote democratization. Besides, most politicians prefer a system which is easier for them to engage in politics. Nevertheless, there are those who see their interest in tribal politicization, and some, who have less chance to achieve their political desire in tribal politics. As one interviewed politician explained: "Our only task as politicians is to raise awareness both in government and society. Other than that, it is the government whose job is to establish parties to end this nightmare of tribal politicization." Another interviewed politician stated that: "I am politician, and there some offices in the government that I cannot contest for, because of tribal politics. For instance, if politicians of my tribe succeed to a certain post in government that counts, I might lose to achieve mine, because of tribal politicization. One tribe cannot take more than a certain number of posts and that impedes a lot of opportunities that prominent leader may get"

CHAPTER 5:

5.1 Discussion of Findings

The discussions in this chapter are based on research findings and literature review with its relationship to the objectives of this study.

So what lessons can we draw from this discussion? One thing clear is that Zambia is not tribal. But we may be going through a politically sensitive period. The country is trying to adjust or going through a generational shift. Also being in a digital age, with information readily available though there is lack of authoritarian voice or base. Since everyone is now a boss – this causes confusion among us which manifests itself as “tribalism”. In other words, because there is shortage of gray matter – a source for guidance, everybody is acting as a Chief.

5.1.1 To determine the causes of tribalism.

The major causes of tribalism, 30% said that cultural beliefs or orientation, the other 24% shows that political affiliations. According to literature Review, the prevailing political environment’s battles for the domination of the democratic process to incorporate society could hinder the aspiration of prominent tribes that are not ready to withdraw their autonomy. Political parties that do not base their survival on the fundamental principles and ideologies of political processes, but rather on ethnic orientation, often intensify this challenge (Opondo, 2003). In post-apartheid South Africa, government proceeded to embark on a comprehensive transition through the integration of different tribal and regional groups (Liu, 2012). However, this is often contradicted by countries that want to embrace both tribal and democratic ideologies simultaneously. This is an essential reason for the division of many countries along tribal lines, despite the institution of pertinent democratic policies that warrant unity.

This research found similar results based on most of the respondents on the causes of tribalism, as they had the following to say;

To begin with, people can vote for someone from their tribe and then realize they will suffer a lot. It is possible for people to unite and choose one leader, but am afraid tribalism makes it impossible to choose one person (Male aged 27 years).

5.1.2 To determine the effects of tribalism.

To determine the effects of tribalism in the community most respondents said 25% it will lack of unity in the community and possibly lead to conflict such as civil war. Similar results were evidenced also by Barro (1991), ethnic division brings in conflicts which could lead to political instability and civil wars that have long-lasting economic effects.

5.1.3 To investigate the perception about tribalism among the Public.

The community's perception on tribalism, 41% shows that the perception on tribalism was rated to be bad while the least said that the perception is very good. Tribalism can furthermore be used collectively in situations of alienation and uncertainty. It provides the foundation for a moral community, and can become a resource for political mobilisation. This perception has been widely used on the African continent to promote certain political matters and seek economic power (Opondo, 2003).

5.1.4 What are the possible solutions to tribalism

The most suggested solution to combating tribalism in the communities by the respondents was to encourage Sharing or respecting each other's tribal values and beliefs. The result was different as literature review suggested otherwise on combating tribalism in that "the voting in the presidential, parliamentary and local municipality elections should be based on ideology and competency of the candidates, not nepotism and clan superiority. Also the nomination of the ministers and other governmental officials should be based on their capability, experience, and qualifications but not a clan representation system. For job placement and hiring of staff it should be publicly widespread to employ recruitment policies and procedures and to avert poor transparency, lack of fairness, nepotism, and favouritism"

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Conclusion/Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter gives conclusion of the study undertaken in Lusaka district among people per household to determine the perceptions leading to tribalism and also makes recommendations based on the findings. Future researches area of concern will be suggested.

6.1.1 Conclusion

Tribalism is what divides us and keeps us divided. It leads us to believe some things that are not true. It leads us to dismiss other things that are true. Tribalism badly affects Zambia's society from different angles including socially, politically, economically and legally, which can also influence the safety and security of local communities, the most vulnerable individuals being the youth and women who have felt its impact as a barrier to their rights and induced them to be desperate concerning their future.

Tribalism discourages free market business, blocks clan integration, promotes nepotism and self-interest, lowers justice, escalates conflicts among clans and results in domination of one clan over the others. In other words, only major clans can survive since they have access to all resources over the others; unemployment of qualified youth is mostly caused by tribalism, this results in youth being desperate for education.

The effect of tribalism can be felt by anyone and its course continues due to poor leadership and governance institutions, lack of quality education, poor perception, belief by people in the power of clans, denial, as well as corruption and mismanagement of resources for government.

6.2 Recommendations/Way forward

There is no point in addressing the ills bedeviling Zambia while ignoring the actual causes, since the major cause of tribalism in Zambia (and in Africa as a whole) today is the competition and confrontation over power and resources. There must be a clear formula of sharing of power and resources via constitutional arrangements. This will ensure that there is no more skewed distribution of state resources. At that point each tribe/community might be fairly represented.

6.3.1 Political leaders must not propagate division between different tribes

The keenness to retain power can motivate political leaders who benefit from tribalism ideologies. This is done by accommodating prominent tribes that command massive support. The problem, however, is that smaller tribes are overlooked in the process, as they command little support and are unable to influence the outcome of the democratic process. In this regard, influential tribes impose their interests on others, thereby overlooking smaller tribes. This is why small tribes across the globe are opposed by political leaders who originate from more prominent tribes. This acts against the democratic principles that leaders must uphold at all times. It is thus recommended that political leaders must work tirelessly to integrate tribes so that people from different ethnic groups can appreciate one another. The fact of the matter is that no one person should be elevated above another on the basis of ethnicity.

It would also be best if power was completely devolved to regional governments – a federal type of government is the only sure way to protect small tribes from those who would wish to exploit and subjugate them. The other option would be to moot an arrangement that caters for the rotations of key posts between tribes. So far, federalism seems the better option since historically Zambian communities have lived apart.

6.3.2 People are encouraged to accept one another, regardless of their tribe of origin

A number of people from prominent tribes often claim that they are superior to those from smaller tribes. This incites them to behave in a very arrogant way towards people from other tribes. It is this emphasis that compels people to appreciate one another, despite their ethnicity. There is no distinctive reason to prove that people from dominant tribes are more special than people from other tribes. This is a mind-set that disrespectful people want to implant in the minds of others. They want to appear better than others, which is a mindless claim. People must not be fooled by anyone who uses tribal origin as a permit to achieve fame. Because of the arrogance attached to dominant tribes, individuals from smaller tribes

can be targeted if they are on the verge of superseding people from prominent tribes. Their intellectual capabilities are reduced by their belief in tribalism ideologies that have no substance.

6.4.3 The other suggested ways to help combat tribalism in Zambia are the following below;

It is also necessary to enforce strict laws that regulate discriminatory practices in the provision of public service.

Tolerance is obviously a major requirement if Zambians are to be united in diversity, so that citizens learn to accept and accommodate customs and practices that are different from theirs. Tribalism is a retrogressive practice, as some citizens do like demeaning others and belittling others by disrespecting and making fun of other people's cultures and customs.

We must help citizens to learn, understand and even just get a glimpse into the cultures of other Zambians, since this alone will wipe out myths, generalizations as well as misconceptions, skewed and limited information about other tribes/cultures.

Building bridges across different cultures is necessary since, when standing inside our own conceptual schemes, we are blind to the possibilities of other ways of thinking, seeing, understanding, and interpreting the world.

It would also help if international donor agencies such as the World Bank would peg all development aid to conditions such as success in instituting constitutional changes and other appropriate anti-tribal violence measures. This is vital since it is only with the eradication of tribalism that real and sustainable development can be achieved.

If tribalism is to be successfully combated, then meritocracy has to be fully embraced in both the civil service as well as the private/corporate sector. It is only the most qualified people who should be considered for job placements. The hiring process ought to be transparent, interviews done and only the best candidates considered. When the issue of tribalism is adequately addressed, the main cause of the conflicts will have been defused and in time governance should improve, corruption should decrease, skilled citizens will return home, investment will be encouraged, developments will occur and living standards will most likely improve. Most importantly tribal violence will be eradicated in Zambia.

- Awareness needs to be raised and citizens informed that tribal politicization has kept Zambia politically ossified and has failed. While these actions of awareness raising are carried out in Zambia, civic education is also an imperative for their critical understanding, wise choices they have to make or encouragement of their public active engagement in attempts to eliminate tribal politicization.
- A clear approach and policies to eliminate tribal politicization need to be developed. The role of the government is to act and do fairly well on whatever issues that need to be tackled in a manner that match up the public needs.
- The right of every citizen to have fairness and justice to participate in politics needs to be promoted no matter which region or tribe he/she belongs to.
- The role of tribal leaders in politics needs to be reduced and confined to traditional and custom issues. Further, accountability and transparency must be guaranteed, to ensure the effective power of democratically legitimate government.

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Table 1: Work Schedule

ACTIVITY	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUNE
Submission of final report										
Submission of draft report										
Report writing										
Data Analysis										
Field work										
Pre testing of data collection tool										
Preparation of data collection Tool										
Proposal Submission										
Proposal Presentation										
Proposal writing										
Collect Literature										
MONTHS	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUNE
	2017				2018					

Table 2: Budget

Description of Item	No. of Item or Personnel	Personal Days	Cost per Item K	Total Cost
1. <u>Personal Cost</u>				
a.) Team Leader	1	19	30 000	570 000
b) Research Team	8	21	20 000	3 360 000
c) Typist	1	4	20 000	80 000
Sub Total				4 010 000
2. <u>Stationary</u>				
a) Ream(s) of Paper	2		20 000	40 000
b) Storage Device (Compact Disc)	2		2 000	4 000
c) Pens and Pencils	1 box each		15 000	30 000
Sub Total				74 000
3. <u>Report</u>				
a) Binding			10 000	10 000
Sub Total				10 000
4. Contigent Cost	10% of Total Budget		170 400	409 400
GRAND TOTAL				4 503 400

Interview Themes Tool

What is tribalism

Impact of tribalism

Possible reasons for tribalism in Zambia

What are the possible solutions of tribalism?

How politics influence tribalism?

Impact of tribalism on development in a country?

Perceptions of tribalism in Zambia

Recommendations on politics and tribalism