



Sub-Saharan Report

These reports are by Mr. Ryota Kikkawa, an expatriate employee working in Johannesburg with a view across the region.

Sub-Saharan Africa - Special Edition

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2017 Sub-Saharan Africa Elections - Focus on Kenya's Presidential Election -

This time, as a special edition of the Sub-Saharan Africa report, I would like to look at the Kenyan presidential election, which is one of the most important elections taking place in sub-Saharan Africa in 2017 and key to sub-Saharan Africa's future.

Since gaining independence in the 1960s, the path to democracy for many sub-Saharan African countries has been steep. Until the 1980s, not many elections were carried out in sub-Saharan Africa; presidential elections just once every 10 years on average. In the 1980s though, Africa suffered a severe long-term economic downturn which required many African economies to rely on financial and economic assistance from international agencies and the industrialized countries. In return for this international support strong external pressure to democratize was applied and this, combined with the collapse of the former Soviet Union, accelerated democratization in African countries in the 1990s. Currently, the construction of democratic political systems continues to proceed with many sub-Saharan African countries having instituted 5-year presidential terms. In this regard, last year, 15 presidential and 12 parliamentary elections were held in sub-Saharan Africa, with 6 incumbent presidents being replaced (6 newly elected), a year that could be said to be the year of the election in sub-Saharan Africa (table 1).



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In order for the Marubeni Research Institute to acquire first hand information from the field and contribute to the Company's strategy, young Marubeni staff well-versed in economic and industry analysis have been posted to the region.

Table 1: Sub-Saharan Africa Elections in 2016

Country	Presidential Election	Parliamentary Election	Presidential Election Results
Benin	March		<i>Patrice Talon (newly elected)</i>
Cape Verde	October	March	Jorge Carlos Fonseca (re-elected to 2nd term)
Central African Republic	February	March	<i>Faustin Archange Touadera (newly elected)</i>
Chad	May	May	Idriss Deby (re-elected, 27 years)
Comoros	April		<i>Azali Assoumani (newly elected)</i>
Ivory Coast		December	
Djibouti	April		Ismail Omar Guelleh (re-elected, 18 years)
Equatorial Guinea	April		Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo (re-elected (38 years)
Gabon	August		Ali Bongo Ondimba (re-elected to 2nd term, Bongo family 51 years)
Gambia	December	April	<i>Adama Barrow (newly elected)</i>
Ghana	December	December	<i>Nana Akufo-Addo (newly elected)</i>
Niger	March	March	Mahamadou Issoufou, (re-elected to 2nd term)
Republic of the Congo	March	October	Denis Sassou Nguesso, (re-elected to 2nd term, 21 years)
Democratic Republic of the Congo*			*Presidential election delayed to 2018
Rwanda		March	
Sao Tome & Principe	August		<i>Evaristo Carvalho, (newly elected)</i>
Seychelles		September	
Somalia	*	December	*Presidential election delayed to 2017
Uganda	February	February	Yoweri Museveni, (re-elected, 32 years)
Zambia	August	August	Edgar Lungu (re-elected to 2nd term)

Sources: Data taken from various press reports Note: Names in italics marks where incumbents replaced

There are also a number of important elections scheduled this year (table 2). Already, Somalia elected a new president, Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed, in February and parliamentary elections will be held in Gabon and Senegal in July. The parliamentary elections in Senegal will be a test of confidence in the current president, Macky Sall, in the run-up to the 2019 presidential election. In August, presidential elections will be held in rapid succession in Rwanda on the 4th, Kenya on the 8th and in Angola on the 23rd. In Rwanda, President Paul Kagame aims to be re-elected. In Mr. Kagame's case there is concern that a dictatorship is emerging as he had the president's two-term limit in the constitution removed so that he could run again. In Angola, President dos Santos has been in power for 37 years, since 1979, making him the second longest serving president in sub-Saharan Africa after the president of Equatorial Guinea (by just one month). However, he indicated at the end of last year that he would not run in the 2017 election saying he would throw his support to Mr. João Lourenco, his defense minister, thus bringing an end to his long-term rule. As the head of the largest political party automatically becomes president in Angola, and as Angola has no substantial opposition party, Mr. Lourenco is all but assured to become president. As such, many believe that Mr. dos Santos will still be pulling the strings through Mr. Lourenco.

Another important upcoming election is the South African ruling African National Congress (ANC) party's general election for president of the party to be held in December. It is generally considered likely the president of the ANC will be elected president of the country in the 2019 presidential election. As far as candidates go, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, the deputy president and Ms. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, chairwoman of the African Union Commission and ex-wife of the current president of South Africa, Joseph Zuma, seem to be the frontrunners at this point.

Table 2: Sub-Saharan Africa Elections in 2017

Country	Presidential Election	Parliamentary Election
Angola	August 23rd	August 23rd
Gabon		July 29th
Gambia		April 6th
Kenya	August 8th	August 8th
Liberia	October 10th	October 10th
Republic of the Congo		July
Rwanda	August 4th	
Senegal		July 30th
Somalia	February 8th	
Somaliland	Novemebr 13th	
Lesotho		June 3rd

Sources: Data taken from various press reports

In addition, one of the most important elections is the upcoming Kenyan presidential election (to be held simultaneously with national parliament and provincial governor elections) on August 4th. Kenya is the 5th largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa with strong future growth expectations. Reflecting this, Kenya was selected and successfully hosted, for the first time in Africa, TICAD VI (Tokyo International Conference of Africa's Development) with very positive results and in which Marubeni was also a participant. On the other hand, Kenya is also a country that has had, at times, bitter experiences as a result of their presidential elections. In the past, Kenya has seen their economy significantly decline due to political turmoil both before and after presidential elections. Given this trend a lot of attention is being paid to the upcoming election (table 3)

(graph 1).

Table 3: Kenya Country Information

Basic Data (2016)	
Land Area	580 thousand km ² (1.5 times Japan)
Population	45 million
Ethnic Groups	Kikuyu 17.2%, Luhya 13.8%, Kalenjin 12.9%, Luo 10.5%, Kamba 10.1%, Kenyan-Somali 6.2%
President	Uhuru Kenyatta (elected in 2013 to 5-year term)
Deputy President	William Ruto
Nominal GDP	\$68.9 billion
GDP Growth Rate	6.00%
Per Capital GDP	\$1,520
GDP Share by Sector	Agriculture 30%, Manufacturing 10%, Transport 8%

Source: IMF, World Bank, Japan Foreign Ministry, others

Graph 1: Kenya's Economic Growth Rate



Source: IMF

In viewing the presidential elections in Kenya, we need to also understand the country's history and ethnic problems. As in many other African countries, Kenya's population is made up of multiple ethnic groups, the largest being the Kikuyu which has retained strong political power in the country that other ethnic groups have historically fought long and hard against. Following independence, Kenya's first president was Mr. Jomo Kenyatta from the Kikuyu ethnic group. He mainly focused on economic growth, especially in developing Kenya's agricultural regions (grain or breadbasket belts), achieving 10% annual growth in the process and putting the country on a path to become a sub-Saharan economic superpower. At the same time, the government's policy was to sell its agricultural lands to those from the Kikuyu tribe which expanded the disparities with other ethnic groups in Kenya's agricultural areas, which made up a significant portion of the country. This created considerable friction and a confrontation with Kenya's vice president, Mr. Oginga Odinga of the Luo tribe, leading Mr. Kenyatta to strengthen his presidential authority.

Kenya's second president (following the death of Jomo Kenyatta in 1978) was Daniel arap Moi, who was from the Tugen tribe, a minority ethnic group considered part of the Kalenjin people, but who had had the support of President Kenyatta. In the 1990s, Kenya introduced a multi-party political system in which the parties basically formed along ethnic lines serving to just deepen the divisions already in place between Kenya's ethnic groups. In particular, frequent conflicts have occurred between the Kikuyu people, who migrated to Kenya as farmers, and the Kalenjin people, who are native, semi-nomadic and raise livestock, with the Kalenjin trying to drive the Kikuyu away.

Ethnic Map of Kenya



Source: Marubeni Research Institute

Although there was some ethnic violence leading up to the 2002 presidential elections in Kenya, Mr. Mwai Kibeki of the Kikuyu tribe and Mr. Raila Odinga of the Luo tribe came together to form the opposition National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) and won the 2002 election with Mr. Kibeki becoming president with Mr. Odinga's support. At first it seemed as if this marked a peaceful change of government transcending ethnic divisions.

However, after taking over the presidency Mr. Kibeki reneged on his promise to make Mr. Odinga prime minister, instead filling that and other important posts with people from his own Kikuyu tribe. In the presidential election of 2007 Mr. Odinga took on Mr. Kibeki, which in the end saw the National Electoral Commission declare Mr. Kibeki the victor in a close count under dubious circumstances and in a non-transparent manner. Dissatisfaction exploded among the Luo, Luhya and Kalenjin peoples who vehemently protested the validity of the election eventually leading to conflicts with the Kikuyu ethnic group with riots spreading around the country claiming more than 1,000 lives and displacing more than 600,000 people.

In the last presidential election Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta (son of Kenya's first president Jomo Kenyatta) challenged Mr. Odinga, the incumbent. Following a close election which Mr. Kenyatta won, the opposition Luo tribe challenged what they said again was a non-transparent voting count and clashed with Mr. Kenyatta's Kikuyu ethnic group over the result. Although violent activity was limited, the opposition refused to recognize the result and protests continued in the capital of Nairobi and other locations for some time.

On August 8th of this year Kenya's 6th direct presidential election will be held. At the same time, a national parliamentary election with 416 seats at stake will be held along with provincial governor and legislature elections with 47 governorships and 1,450 legislature positions to be decided and the results to be announced on August 15th. Looking at past elections, we know that they have been plagued by ethnic struggles. In September of last year and prior to this year's presidential election, the current president Uhuru Kenyatta of the Kikuyu tribe and his vice president, Mr. William Ruto of the Kalenjin people, formed a new political party called the Jubilee Alliance Party (picture 1). The Kikuyu make up the largest share of Kenya's population, but it is only about 20%. Even so, he has been able to maintain his hold on government as the opposition has not been unified due to its multi-ethnic make-up. However, in April of this year, the opposition parties of the Luo, Luhya and Kamba tribes came together to support Mr. Odinga as their unified candidate for president. Interestingly, this contest between Uhuru Kenyatta of the Kikuyu and Raila Odinga of the Luo mirrors the past contention between their fathers, Kenya's first president and first vice president. It has been the view that the ruling party would likely win the election, however, support from all the opposition parties and the downturn in Kenya's current economy seems to have boosted Mr. Odinga, with current opinion being the opposition has gained and may have caught up with the ruling party.



Picture 1: President Uhuru Kenyatta surrounded by supporters (from Uhuru Kenyatta's official twitter site)

As for the differences between the ruling and opposition parties, the fact is, ideologically-speaking, there is very little that separates them. Indeed, President Kenyatta in a recent newspaper interview said the very same thing, that there was very little in policy differences between the political parties. If anything, Kenyan politicians are more concerned about money rather than ideology or policy. Political corruption has become a big problem in Kenya with Kenya being ranked a very low 145th out of 176 countries in Transparency International's corruption rankings (picture 2). Kenyan politicians receive a basic salary plus assorted allowances including a few thousand dollars a month for housing, but also have various other means or sources to get their hands on money. It was recently pointed out that a state-run youth organization in Kenya was found to have paid \$2 million to a fictitious company, just one transgression among a variety of shady dealings in Kenya where money has disappeared into thin air. As such, the elimination of political corruption has become one of the main issues in the upcoming election.



Picture 2: Corruption extends to private enterprises as well. This is a picture of the Imperial Bank, which went into bankruptcy proceedings after it was discovered to have carried out an improper deal with Kenya's central bank.

Election misconduct has also become a focus of attention. In the primary election held at the end of April this year, a number of ballots were stolen and candidate names were leaked beforehand resulting in such types of election fraud as ballot-stuffing and multiple voting and such mistakes as declaring more than one winner for the same office.

When I visited Nairobi in May, my impression was that people thought the ruling party was in a stronger position to win, but were worried that if the opposition loss by a close margin that disorder might ensue. A clean-up of the National Electoral Commission, which acted in a non-transparent manner in the last election, has not been carried out, so the opposition may not be able to accept defeat especially if the election is close. Depending on the results opposition protests over an unfair election could rapidly escalate. Also, in the past, election dates have been delayed. In fact, in the April primary the election date was delayed due to the late arrival of voting machines. Since economic activity usually stagnates both before and after Kenyan elections, some even voiced concern over whether the election will even be held as planned.

Since gaining independence, many sub-Saharan African countries have political systems that have continued to be dominated by certain families and/or ethnic groups. For sub-Saharan African countries with multiple ethnic groups the fact is that it has been easy for semi-dictatorial politicians and political systems to emerge. Still, the wave of democratization is continuing to spread across sub-Saharan Africa. I think there is a great deal of interest in seeing how democracy in Kenya, as both a large and multi-ethnic country, will perform, especially as a prognosis for the future of democracy in Africa.

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