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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

Interrogating the Feasibility of Collective Governance in Addressing African Problems: Case of Ezulwini Consensus from (2005-2017)

By

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A research project submitted to the Midlands State University in Partial fulfillment for the requirements of a Master of Science in International Affairs Degree

2018

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DEGREE TITLE: Master of Science in InternationalAffairs Degree

YEAR: 2018

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DECLARATION

I Thembisani Mpofu, Registration Number R174301A do hereby declare that this entire research is a product of my own work. It is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Science in International Affairs Degree, in the Faculty of Social Sciences at Midlands State University.

……. ……./……./……..

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DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this study to my father Mr Stanley Mpofu, my mother Mrs Esteri Mpofu, young sister Sithuliso and my young brother Stanley for being a pillar of strength throughout the course of the years. Thank you so much.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly I would like to thank the Lord Almighty who protected me throughout the entire course and made it possible for me to have fruitful academic years. This research could not have been a success without the encouragement and insights of several people along the way.

My heartfelt thanks to my supervisor Dr. M. Parichi who gave me profound advice for the completion of this document and all my lecturers for sharpening me to be who l am today. I also wish to applaud my family who made it possible for me to pursue with my education through their continuous support and faith in me. To my sweetheart Prudence thank you for all the support.

I should like to thank the Commander Air-Force of Zimbabwe, Air Marshal E. Moyo for all the support throughout the course and setting up interviews for me. To the Chief Instructor Zimbabwe Military Academy, Colonel P. Maranjisi thank you for the support and insight throughout the course.

Special mention goes to all the interviewees who spared their important busy schedules and gave the critically important analytic responses. Lastly special thanks goes to my friends Tumbude Family, Blessed Tsunga and Kibron ChimedzaI would not have done it without you and l salute you for that.

God bless you all.

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on collective governance in addressing African problems using the Ezulwini consensus as a case study of collective governance. Citing reasons for the call for United Nations Security Council (UNSC) reforms, examining the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems, discussing the role of the international community in helping Africa to achieve the Ezulwini consensus goal, evaluating challenges faced by collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems. This study will mainly focus on the African problem of unequal representation in the UNSC where Africa does not have a permanent seat with veto power like other regions such as America, Europe and Asia. This problem resulted to collective governance in the form of the Ezulwini Consensus where most African states united and are calling for UNSC reforms so that Africa can be represented in the UNSC like other regions. The study also provides recommendations and solutions to the achievement of collective governance in addressing African problems hence in this case in achieving the Ezulwini consensus goal. To obtain primary data the study utilised in-depth interviews, questionnaires and a focus group discussion. The study mainly targeted government ministries and diplomats, scholars and political analysts, international organisations and MSU Politics and Public Management Students in acquiring primary data. This was further complemented by secondary data from an extensive relevant literature. The study used both qualitative and quantitative research methods and the data gathered from the field was also presented by the use of tables, charts and graphs. The information gathered showed that national interests, dependency syndrome, external influence, veto power and colonial legacies only to mention but a few are some of the major challenges of collective governance in addressing African problems. The study concludes by giving recommendations to collective governance or the AU to be specific in addressing African problems and how to achieve the Ezulwini consensus goal.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACIRIC	African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises
APAUNR	African Parliamentary Alliance for UN Reforms
AU	African Union
EU	European Union
G-4	Brazil, Germany, India and Japan
ICC	International Criminal Court
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
P-5	Permanent five (5) of the United Nations Security Council
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UN	United Nations
UFC	Uniting For Consensus
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA	United States of America
US-AFRICOM	United States Africa Command
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health organisation

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CHAPTER 1
BACKGROUNG OF THE PROBLEM

1.0 Introduction

This study focuses on collective governance in addressing African problems using the Ezulwini consensus as a case study of collective governance. This chapter serves as the basis and foundation of the research. The chapter comprises the background to the study, a statement of the problem, hypothesis, preliminary literature review, the significance of the study, research objectives, research questions, theoretical framework, research methodology which also includes research design, target population, data collection methods, the techniques used in data collection such as interviews, questionnaire and focus group discussions, and also analysis of data. Chapter 1 also includes limitations, delimitation, ethical considerations, chapter outline and chapter conclusion.

1.1.0 Definitions of key terms: collective governance, Ezulwini, Consensus and Predicament

1.1.1 Collective governance

Collective governance according to Ansell and Gash (2008), is a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets. Himmelman (1994), argues that the purpose of collective governance is to generate desired outcomes together that could not be accomplished separately or alone.

1.1.2 Ezulwini

Ezulwini means a "place of heaven", www.indiferentlanguages.com/translate/zulu-english/ezulwini. Furthermore Ezulwini is a valley of northwest Swaziland and the Ezulwini valley is the kingdom's main tourist area offering a wealth of attraction, www.kingdomofswaziland.com/pages/attractions/theattractiona.asp?AttractionsID=13 . Therefore, the name Ezulwini consensus comes from the Ezulwini Valley in Swaziland where the consensus was made in 2005.

1.1.3 Consensus

According to http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/consensus a consensus is a generally accepted opinion or decision among a group of people. More so, consensus can also be defined as group solidarity in sentiment and belief, www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/consensus. Hence this shows that the Ezulwini consensus a generally accepted decision and belief by the AU.

1.1.4 Problems

A matter or situation regarded as unwelcome or harmful and needing to be dealt with and overcome, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/problem. According to http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/problem.html a problem is a perceived gap between the existing state and the desired state, or a deviation from a norm, standard or status quo. So basically the challenges of collective government in addressing African problems, are the situation that makes it difficult to achieve the goals of AU common position on UNSC reforms.

1.2 Background to the study

Collective governance according to Ansell and Gash (2008), is a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets. Himmelman (1994) argues that the purpose of collective governance is to generate desired outcomes together that could not be accomplished separately or alone. Therefore, the above definitions help to explain why some international organisations and agreements (consensus) were formed, and one of the goals is to address common problems and enhance cooperation. This study will be focusing on the Ezulwini Consensus as an example or case study of collective governance as African states individually could not reform the UNSC but as a collective, they can achieve some results or rather reform the UNSC.

On the history of collective governance, According to www.un.org/en/sections/history/history-united-nations states first established international organisations to cooperate on specific matters, and the International Telecommunication Union is one of the first international organisations which was founded in 1865 as the International Telegraph Union, and followed by the Universal Postal Union in 1874, both are now UN specialised agencies. In 1899, the International Peace Conference was held in The

Hague to elaborate instruments for settling crises peacefully, preventing wars and codifying rules of warfare. It adopted the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes and established the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which began work in 1902 www.un.org/en/sections/history/history-united-nations.

In 1919 the League of Nations was established under the treaty of Versailles with the intention to promote international peace and security, human dignity, in addition to a platform for deliberations among countries, Northedge (1986). According to Tams (2007), The League of Nations ceased its activities after failing to prevent the Second World War (WW11). A number of the disasters of the League of Nations can be attributed to the reality that it lacked its own armed forces and it depended on the victorious great powers of WW1 for contributions and funding ignoring other states like the USA who had been capable in keeping peace in the world https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/League_of_Nations. This failure of the League of Nations led to the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 with 51 member states which belonged to the victorious powers after the Second World War (WW11) Ziring et al (2005). Since the formation of the UN the international system has undergone many changes, most notably during and after the cold war, for example in 1965 the expansion of the UNSC from 11 to 15 members, with the super-majority required for action being increased from 7 to 9 votes; the 1973 expansion of the UN Economic and Social Council from 27 to 54 members; and after the cold war Russia assumed the Soviet Union's permanent seat in the UNSC, Bourantonis (2004). According to Touray (2009), the changes of the UN also led to the call for reforms in the UN by many countries, especially from Africa, therefore, leading to the Ezulwini consensus of 2005.

Africa collectively, under the then Organisation of African Union (OAU) pushed for an expansion of the UNSC, Morris (2000). The OAU summit of 1963 called for the redressing of Africa's under-representation in the UN, (OAU 1963). Africa was the only continental block to endorse a common position on the UNSC reform, Yeboa (2012). The African position draws on the 1997 Harare declaration when the OAU called for the enlargement of the United Nations Security Council with 2 permanent seats and 5 non-permanent seats for Africa, Weiss (2005).

According to Spies (2008), the brainchild of the OAU 1963 summit and the Harare declaration 1997 was the Ezulwini Consensus in 2005. The Ezulwini Consensus is named after Ezulwini, a valley in central Swaziland where the agreement was made in 2005,

http://hsf.org.za/resource-centre/focus/issues-31-40/issue-40-fourth-quarter-2005/walking-a-tightrope-sa-africa-and-the-un. The consensus was then adopted at an Extraordinary Session of the Executive Council of the African Union, in March 2005, in Addis Ababa, Kumalo (2005). According to www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/cap_screform_2005.pdf and supported by Freiesleben (2008) the Ezulwini Consensus is defined as a position on international relations and reform of the United Nations, agreed by the African Union. Murithi (2012) notes that the Ezulwini consensus calls for a more representative and democratic Security Council, in which Africa, like all other world regions, is represented.

According to Du Plesis (2013), Africa has the largest number of the UN member states with 54 member states and also, Africa has witnessed a number of conflicts mostly armed conflicts and terrorism over the years and these reasons led to Ezulwini consensus. Africa wants at least two permanent seats with veto power in the UNSC, Spies (2008). The Ezulwini consensus calls for African solutions to African problems as noted by Moller (2009). Furthermore, African states are against veto power given to only five permanent members, namely Britain, France, USA, Russia and China, also known as the permanent five (P-5), Venter (2003). This is considered undemocratic by the same scholar since the P-5 can abuse their veto power to pursue their national interests.

Africa also accuses the P-5 or the UNSC of ignoring other African conflicts like the 1994 Rwandan genocide which lead to the death of over 800 000 people, Barnet (1997). Somalia is another country where the UNSC has ignored and there is still conflict up to date, Brunk (2008). According to Ewing (2008) Ethiopia has been no stranger to the same conflicts, but the UNSC is reluctant because there are not (Somalia and Rwanda) the P-5 areas of interest as most of these countries are poor as compared to Syria, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua where they used veto power to protect their trade and political interests. In addition, Africa accuses the UNSC of using the Right to Protect (R2P) principle to pursue its national interest as evidenced by NATO's invasion of Libya, Dembinski and Reinold (2011). The same scholars also argue that the UNSC members claimed they wanted to protect human rights violations in Libya but, instead they were after resources as Libya is rich in oil, the aftermath was violence in Libya as compared to the period before NATO's invasion.

This made African states to unite and call for reforms in the UNSC as they want representation and a voice in matters concerning peacekeeping and add value to the world peace. African states have received support from other states outside Africa like Japan and

Canada who want reforms and they are against the issue of veto power only given to the P-5, Ronzitii (2010).

However, despite Africa's unity in calling reforms in the UNSC, there is great debate on which 2 countries of the 54 UN member states should represent them in the UNSC and have veto power and decide on behalf of other African states on matters concerning peace and security of the continent, Xinhua (2007). There is also great contention on the criteria to be used to select African representatives in the UNSC, Du Plesis (2013). There is also debate on whether African states in terms of resources can afford to be members of the UNSC. African states in their request face great resistance from the P-5 who wants to consolidate their power and veto power, Maseng (2012).

Basically, it is against this background that this study examines the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems focusing on the Ezulwini consensus, where Africa is trying to solve the problem of unequal representation in the UNSC and other African problems like conflicts, sanctions and poverty which African most states they feel are overlooked by the UNSC.

1.3 Statement of the problem

There have been several proposals from developing and also developed nations to reform the UN, so as make a true reflection of the current international system and also respond efficiently to global threats and challenges such as conflicts, poverty and diseases. This research is an analysis on the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems, focusing on the Ezulwini consensus which is Africa's common position calling for reforms in the UNSC as Africa is trying to solve the problem of unequal representation in the UNSC. The study seeks to evaluate if collective governance through the Ezulwini consensus can be achieved, examine how effective collective governance through the Ezulwini consensus is in meeting the expectations of the UN and addressing African problems. The need for representation in the UNSC has seen Africa through collective governance calling for veto power which is currently held by only five states (European (3), Asian (1) and America (1). The study also cites and examines predicaments or huddles of collective governance in addressing African problems focusing on the Ezulwini consensus.

1.4 Hypothesis

- The goals of collective governance in addressing African problems such as unequal representation in the UNSC through the Ezulwini consensus can only be achieved if the P-5 accepts the proposal from Africa.
- Unity of purpose is the best solution to solve predicaments affecting collective governance in addressing African problems focusing onthe Ezulwini consensus.
- For the AU to respect the UNSC in promoting peace, equality and view the UNSC as legitimate and credible, the P-5 must agree to the Ezulwini consensus proposal.

1.5 Preliminary literature review

The field of the collective governance and Ezulwini consensus is awash with literature covering a wide spectrum of issues. Huxham et al (2000) argue that collective governance helps to attain goals that cannot be reached alone. In essence, the Ezulwini consensus was adopted by African countries on the need to end or combat gross inequalities between the developed and developing countries, the need to end conflicts in Africa and the need to promote peace in the world. The Ezulwini consensus is an example of collective governance hence it tries to collectively solve the above-mentioned problems. However, Huxham et al, although defining collective governance, was not focusing on a specific case while this study will be focusing on collective governance using a case study of the Ezulwini Consensus from 2005 to 2017.

According to Bond (2003), an internal struggle exists between those who promote global apartheid and those fighting global social justice. In this case, Africa' call for UNSC reforms seeks to fight global social justice by including the marginalised areas of the international community (in this case Africa), in maintaining peace and security in the world. However, Africa's call for UNSC reform is not only about global social justice, but there are other factors which will be covered by this study such as the collective quest for power by AU states, as Hobbes (1992) states that the international system is a struggle for power, which Bond (2003) did not cover.

Ronzitti (2010) has identified some of the reasons for the UNSC reforms which are the birth of new states and the transformation of the international community; continual use of force by states; the rise of new threats like international terrorism and the rapid increase of the UN membership hence these reasons led to the call for reforms of the UNSC. However, there are other factors like an abuse of the veto power by the P-5 to pursue their national interests,

McDonald and Patric (2010). More so, Ronzitii wrote in 2010 and this study is covering new developments until 2017. Some of the reasons for UNSC reforms which were not covered by the previous study are the 2011 Arab springs which led to conflict in most Arab African states such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Algeria and this led to the call for collective governance and in this case the Ezulwini consensus.

Spies (2008) argue that it is appropriate to focus on the relationship between Africa and the UNSC when addressing the issue of the latter's reform, since Africa dominates the council's agenda in terms of the number of conflicts unresolved and the number of humanitarian crises, thus also providing a reason for arguing in favor of a permanent African seat. Adebajo (2009) arguing in line with Spies' view, points out that almost 70% of the issues considered by the UNSC are problems in Africa, hence the need for a permanent seat by Africa. While these researchers are correct my research will focus on the enforcement of collective governance, in this case, the enforcement of the Ezulwini consensus.

Furthermore, Adebajo (2009) asserts that contradictions embedded in the UN, especially the security council are so glaring that the great powers or P-5 can manipulate the system to the disadvantage of developing states, for example, Libya's case in 2011 hence the UNSC needs reforms and this strengthens the need for collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus so as to solve this problem. For Adebajo (2009) the veto power granted to the P-5 is a hindrance to UNSC reforms and in this case a hindrance to efforts of collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus. However, my research acknowledges the fact that change is inevitable hence the UNSC will over time be reformed. Drawing examples from the colonial period and the liberation struggle in Africa, as colonialism seemed difficult just like reforming the UNSC.

More so, Weiss (2003) believes that the reform agenda of the UNSC is divisive in nature as some states they disagree on the issue of permanent members. Landsberg (2009) in line with Weiss's view notes that at the 2005 UN summit Africa did not speak with one voice despite the Ezulwini consensus as Nigeria and South Africa wanted to compromise on the veto question. Therefore, this compromise on the veto by some African states is a hindrance to collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus. While the above scholars wrote are correct my research will be reviewing the Ezulwini Consensus up to 2007, whilst the above scholars wrote in 2003 and 2009 respectively. In addition, this study is covering recent activities like

the re-admission of Morocco in the AU, which might be a problem if Morocco decides to join the race for UNSC permanent seat because it is financially capable.

In addition, according to Jackson and Sorensen (2007), realist assume that states act in their interests, thus this perception informs better, the contest between Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa for the UNSC seat. Therefore, this quest for national interests by some African states affect collective governance and in this case refereeing to the Ezulwini consensus. Although the research is valid, my research will focus on other factors hindering collective governance or Ezulwini consensuses such as western interference, capabilities in terms of resources and dependency syndrome.

Maseng (2012) argues that France wants to capitalize on the opportunity of Security Council reform to increase its leverage by likely advocating for a francophone country to form part of the permanent members should there be a consensus on the UNSC, hence this further divides Africa and hindering collective governance efforts or the Ezulwini Consensus. However, the scholar did not cover other factors like the interests of other P-5 members like Russia and USA who are against the expansion of the UNSC and veto power, which will be covered by this study.

According to Du Plesis (2013), the Ezulwini consensus has many setbacks, the AU has thus far not identified its anointed members to be included in the reformed UNSC. The same scholar also notes that the AU has not yet identified the criteria that would be used to identify qualified candidates to be included in the UNSC. Hence these above challenges they hinder collective governance efforts or the Ezulwini consensus goal. However, although this research is valid the scholar was mainly focusing on South Africa while this study will be covering the whole of AU, therefore, there will be different results as there are different areas of study.

Beri (2012) argues that the Ezulwini position has been seen by critics as an inflexible negotiation position, and is, therefore, doomed to failure. However, the scholar is moving away on the goal of the Ezulwini consensus and the AU must not compromise their goals so as to achieve their intended Ezulwini goal as covered by this study.

The research will also seek to generate recommendations or strategic policy for successfully achieving the goal of the Ezulwini consensus through collective governance and also

recommendations or strategic policy for dealing with predicaments affecting collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus.

1.6 Significance of the study

The research seeks to add knowledge to the already existing knowledge or information in Zimbabwe, Africa and the whole world in relation to the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems focusing on the Ezulwini consensus, as Africa is calling for reforms in the UN which exist mostly in reports and newspaper articles, and is largely not aggregated. The purpose of this study is contributing to the academic and strategic policy in Africa and beyond. This study will discuss other factors which hinder collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus such as the quest for national interest, dependency syndrome and Western interference which have divided Africa. In doing so, international states, international organisations and other private organisations became prime actors for analysis. Government ministries, civil society and individuals will also be examined in their roles towards collective governance in addressing African problems focusing on the Ezulwini consensus.

1.7 Research objectives

1. To analyse the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems focusing on the Ezulwini consensus.
2. To examine the challenges of collective governance or Ezulwini consensus in addressing African challenges.
3. To suggest academic strategies and strategic policy recommendations to the achievement of Ezulwini consensus and collective governance in addressing African problems.

1.8 Research questions

1. To what extent can collective governance address African problems, focusing on the Ezulwini consensus?
2. Whatare the challenges faced by the collective governance system or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems?

3. What are the academic solutions and strategic policy recommendations to collective governance in addressing African problems or the achievement of Ezulwini consensus goal?

1.9 Theoretical framework

Collective security among countries is one of the major characteristics of states in the international community and a number of theories have been put across to try and understand the reasons for collective security among countries in the world and this helps in explaining the Ezulwini consensus and African predicaments towards achieving the goals of the Ezulwini consensus, this research will incorporate theories that try to explain the occurrences of collective security and African predicaments towards achieving the objectives of the Ezulwini consensus at national, regional and continental levels. The research will use two theories that are the realist or power theory and the dependency theory.

1.9.1 Realist or Power Theory

The realist or power theory is a state level theory that argues that all states seek power. Major proponents of the theory are Hobbes (1992) and Mogenthau (1993). According to the realism theory states seek to increase their power, they seek to decrease the power of their enemies and everything they do is in the name of amassing power. This helps to understand why the Ezulwini consensus was made. African states formed the Ezulwini consensus to increase their power as they want two members from Africa to have veto power in the UNSC thus they want to increase their power and influence in the world. Through the Ezulwini consensus Africa will be decreasing their enemies' (P-5) power as the P-5 used to have veto power now Africa will have two members with veto power.

More so, according to realism theory states sees other powerful states as rivals because power, when it is not in your hand, is threatening. So this explains why African states are threatened by the veto power of the P-5 hence they also want veto power to ensure their survival in the international arena as noted by Adebajo (2009). In addition, realism argues that people are greedy, insecure and aggressive, so the states they govern will have those same characteristics. Hence this explains why states formed the Ezulwini consensus as states were insecure of the P-5's veto power. Also, states are greedy hence explains the

predicaments of Africa in achieving the Ezulwini consensus as there is a debate on who is going to represent Africa in the UNSC as all states are greedy.

1.9.2 Dependency Theory

Dependency theory is another theory that will be used to explain the Ezulwini consensus and Africa predicaments. Major proponents of the theory are Walter Rodney (1972) and Samir Amin (1978). The theory focuses on the historical origins and the subsequent development of underdevelopment, therefore this helps to explain the creation of the Ezulwini consensus as it wants to overturn historical developments. Historically the UNSC was formed by the victors of the Second World War that is the P-5 and now Africa wants to change that and be represented in the UNSC.

According to the dependency theory all developing and underdeveloped states are dependent on the developed states as for technology, finance and capital, monetary systems and trade. This explains the African predicaments to the achievement of the Ezulwini consensus as in Africa there is disunity in their quest for UNSC reforms as some state does not want veto power as they are depended to the P-5 for protection and peace in the world. More so some countries they are dependent in terms of aid, capital and trade from the P-5 members, hence they don't speak with one voice with other African states as they want to please their masters and continue getting aid and capital. So due to the fact that most African states are depended on the on the so-called developed states especially the P-5, they are dominated in terms of decision making even on affairs affecting Africa directly such as conflicts, debt, diseases and poverty as explained above.

The theory argues that development can only be realized if capitalism is overthrown. In this case, capitalism is the P-5 dominance hence the formation of the Ezulwini consensus in order to reform the UNSC and limit the power of the P-5.

1.10 Methodology

According to Mouton (1996) methodology is the means or method of doing something. Methodology refers to ways of obtaining, organising and analysing data, Polit and Hungler (2004). Kothari (2004) describes research methodology as the systematic, theoretical analysis of the procedures applied to a field of study. The methodology also encompasses concepts such as designs, target population, sample size and sampling procedure, data collection instruments and data analysis, Kothari (2004). This study will employ a triangulation method as it used both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

This is an in-depth study about the call for UN Security Council reform, its feasibility and its impact on the unity of the African continent, the AU in particular. Therefore, the research approach used a triangulation of research methods. Triangulation is defined by Cohen and Mania (2000) as an attempt to map out or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint. Triangulation gives a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation, as noted by Altrichter et al (2008). This study employed triangulation so as to increase the credibility and validity of the results.

According to Leedy and Ormrod (2010), qualitative methodology 'emphasizes personal experiences, interpretation, and self-knowledge over quantification, are concerned with understanding the meaning of social phenomena and focus on links and attributes across relatively few cases.' hence this explains why this methodology is suitable for this study. Qualitative methodology is the best in answering the why and how questions in this study as noted by Creswell (2012). According to Parichi (2017), qualitative methods have also been proved to be flexible and responsive to the social context of the researched, hence this led to the researcher using this qualitative methodology. The researcher also used the qualitative methodology as it deeply explores and interprets issues as argued by Arora and Stoner (2009). Parichi (2017) argues that qualitative research encompasses several forms and components that include the narrative, interpretive, phenomenological, ethnographic, grounded, and case study approaches. Hence this makes qualitative methodology suitable for this study as the study focuses on a case study which is the Ezulwini consensus.

The study also used the quantitative methodology which is defined by Rajasekar et al (2013) as research based on the measurement of quantity or amount. Leedy (1993) noted that quantitative research is used to answer questions on the relationship between measurable variables with an intention to explain, predict and control phenomena. Hence this study

employed this research method so as to measure the extent to which collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus can address African problems. The study also employed quantitative research method as statistical methods mean that the analysis is often considered reliable.

In this study, the researcher aimed to explore collective governance challenges in addressing African problems using the Ezulwini consensus as a case study and measure the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems. Therefore, quantitative research method was vital as it is appropriate for situations where systematic, standardised comparisons are needed in this case measuring the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems.

1.10.1 Research Design

According to Kothari (2004) research design is a plan, a roadmap and blueprint strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions. Brink and Wood (1998) noted that the purpose of a research design is to provide a plan for answering the research question and is a blueprint for action. The research design is largely qualitative and quantitative in matters that are appropriate. This study will employ a case study as a qualitative research method. Sauro (2015) notes that a case study involves a deep understanding through multiple types of data sources. Zainal (2007) argues that a case study can be used in explaining an organisation, entity, company or event. In this case, the study will be explaining an organisation the AU focusing on the Ezulwini consensus which is an event, therefore a case study is appropriate in this study, as Zainal (2007) noted that a case study enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context. Basically, the research design is interpretive research taking a form of a case study as the researcher will be interpreting results from a case study which is the Ezulwini consensus. Walsham (1993) noted that interpretive methods of research start from the position that our knowledge of reality, including the domain of human action, is a social construction by human actors and this applies equally to researchers.

1.10.2 Sampling Techniques

Welman et al (1994) defined a sample as the miniature image or likeness of a population or a subset of a population. Parichi (2017) argues that sampling involves the selection of a few items from and representative of the larger group, which forms the basis of estimating or predicting a fact, situation or outcome regarding the corpus.

In terms of sampling purposes, sampling will be employed and it is largely geared towards targeting people who have information about the subject matter. Strydom (2005) identifies this purposive sampling as a variant of non-probability sampling and states that it is based entirely on the judgment of the researcher, in that a sample is composed of elements that contain the most characteristics, representative or typical attributes of the population. The study also employed snowball sampling because participants of the study were hard to find due to the nature of their jobs as most of them were diplomats. Stephaine (2014) defines snowball sampling as a process where research participants recruit other participants for a test or study.

1.10.3 Target Population

According to McLeod (2014), the target population is the total group of individuals from which the sample might be drawn. Buns and Grove (1997) argues that target population is the entire aggregation of respondents that meet the designated set of criteria. The research will be conducted targeting African countries especially the AU. The target population in this study will constitute of 6 scholars and political analysts, 1 group of students, 3 representatives of international organisations, 6 diplomats and government ministries inside and outside Africa who have information and knowledge relating to the Ezulwini Consensus and challenges affecting the Ezulwini Consensus in addressing African problems.

1.10.4 Sample Size

According to Kumar (2011), sampling is the process of selecting a few from a bigger group to represent the whole population under study. According to Frey et al (2000), a sample is a subgroup of a population. A sample size according to Erikson (2008), is a portion or subset of the population that will be used to respond to the research questions. The research shall, therefore, use 6 scholars and political analysts, 3 representatives of international organisations, 6 diplomats and government ministries government ministries to represent the whole of Africa. The sample population shall also constitute 1 group of students from MSU. 15 officials and a focus group of students will be used in the collection of sample data, making the total sample size of the study 16.

1.10.5 Data collection methods

Buns and Grove (1997) defines data collection as a systemic way of gathering information, which is relevant to the research purpose or questions. In this study, primary sources will

provide valuable data that is relevant in the area that is under study. The bulk of this study will be confined to the analysis of primary and secondary data. It is reiterated that all media information public and private will be used with caution to avoid politically persuaded opinion and in some instances patriotism which clouds the relevant issues for the discussion. Data is presented in a discursive format.

According to Salkind (2010), primary sources provide direct or first-hand evidence about an event. Kothari (2004) argues that primary data is data which is collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be original in character. Various data collection techniques like interviews, questioners and a group focus discussion (targeting MSU students) will be used for sourcing data from individuals who have knowledge of the Ezulwini consensus and the challenges affecting collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems. Unstructured interviews and questionnaires will be conducted largely targeting government ministries, diplomats, civil society and non-governmental organizations, scholars and political analysts at the national level. For international actors, information will be sourced from the embassies and representatives of international organizations present in the country. Where they are not available in Zimbabwe the use of other means like emails, fax, telephone and the internet will be used.

The research will also rely on secondary sources that would involve the survey of literature on the subject matter. According to Kothari (2014), secondary data are those which have already been collected by someone else and which have already been passed through the statistical process. Secondary data can be defined as data that is already available hence it refers to data which have been collected and analysed by someone else. These secondary sources will include books, speeches, newspapers, journal articles, internet articles, AU and UN reports among others.

1.10.6 Interviews

Interviewing is a direct contact between the interviewer and the responded in a suitable environment Kuman and Aaker (1999). Interviews should be possible up close and personal, by phone and furthermore be talking utilizing the internet. Interviews shall be used in this research in order to get information from the relevant stakeholders of the Ezulwini consensus and those who have knowledge of the challenges affecting collective governance in addressing the African problems mainly focusing on the Ezulwini consensus. These stakeholders include representatives of international organisations (SADC, AU and UN), and

also scholars and political analysts. The researcher will use unstructured interviews as they are characterised by a flexibility of approach to questioning, they allow the interviewer great freedom to ask in the case of need a supplementary question and at times the researcher may omit certain questions if the situation so requires. The advantages of utilizing interviews according to http://www.evalued.bcu.ac.uk/tutorial/4c.htm are that they are valuable to get nitty gritty data about individual sentiments, discernments and feelings, more so interviews they permit more point by point inquiries to be asked, in interviews the respondents' own words are recorded, ambiguities can be cleared up and inadequate answers caught up, additionally interviewees are not affected by others in a gathering last but rather not slightest a few interviewees may be less unsure in a coordinated circumstance. The disadvantages of interviews according to https://thebusinesscommunication.com/advantage-and-disadvantage-of-interview/ are that they can be exceptionally time–consuming: setting up, talking, deciphering, dissecting, input and reporting, all the more so they can be excessive.

1.10.7 Questionnaires

According to McLeod (2014) questionnaires can be thought of as a kind of written interviews. They consist of a number of questions written in a definite order on a form or set of forms. There are two types of questions that are open-ended and closed-ended questions. This research also used questionnaires in order to source data from stakeholders of the Ezulwini consensus and individuals who have knowledge of the challenges affecting collective governance in addressing the African problems mainly focusing on the Ezulwini consensus. Government ministries especially the foreign ministries of different countries were targeted with questionnaires. Questionnaires also targeted diplomats across Africa and outside Africa. The questionnaire will be mainly directed to political analysts and scholars. Advantages of questionnaires according to https://wiki.ecdc.europa.eu/fem/w/wiki/advantages-and-disadvantages-of-questionnaires are that they are relatively easy to analyse, also a large sample of the given population can be contacted at relatively low cost; they are simple to administer; more so the format is familiar to most respondents; they are usually straightforward to analyse, in addition, they can be used for sensitive topics which users may feel uncomfortable speaking to an interviewer about, lastly the respondents have time to think about their answers; they are not usually required to reply immediately.

The disadvantages of questionnaires according to https://surveyanyplace.com/questionnaire-pros-and-cons/ are that if you forget to ask a question, you cannot usually go back to respondents, especially if they are anonymous, more so it is sometimes difficult to obtain a sufficient number of responses, especially from postal questionnaires, also those who have an interest in the subject may be more likely to respond, another disadvantage is that some respondents may ignore certain questions, in addition, questionnaires may appear impersonal and last but not least some questions may be incorrectly completed.

1.10.8 Focus group discussions

They are a form of both qualitative and quantitative research in which a group of people are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes, Morgan (1988). According to Krueger (1994), questions are asked in an interactive group setting where members are free to talk with other group members. In this research focus group, discussions are also used so as to gather information about the Ezulwini consensus and the challenges affecting collective governance in addressing the African problems mainly focusing on the Ezulwini consensus targeting the MSU Politics and Public Management (PPM) and Masters of International Affairs (MSIA) students. Advantages of focus groups as noted by Krueger (1994) and Morgan (1988) are that they are used to obtain detailed information about personal and group feelings, perceptions and opinions, also they can save time and money compared to individual interviews, more so they can provide a broader range of information, they offer the opportunity to seek clarification, lastly they provide useful material for example quotes for public relations publication and presentations. The disadvantages of focus groups are that there can be disagreements and irrelevant discussion which distract from the main focus, they can be hard to control and manage and also they can be tricky to analyse, Krueger (1994) and Morgan (1988).

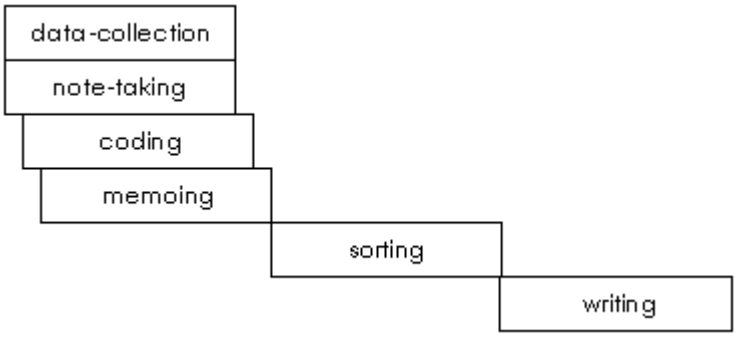
The research will also rely on secondary sources that would involve the survey of literature on the subject matter. These would include books, speeches, newspapers, Journal Articles, Internet Articles and AU, UN reports among others. According to Salkind (2010), secondary sources describe, discuss, analyse and evaluate articles. So this study will also be analysing various books and articles related to the study.

1.10.9 Analysis of data

According to Burns and Grove (2003), data analysis is a mechanism for reducing and organising data to produce findings that require interpretation by the researcher. Data analysis is also described by De Vos (2002) as a challenging and a creative process characterised by an intimate relationship with the researcher with the participants and the data generated.

Content analysis and textual analysis will be used to analyse data in this study. The analysis will also be based on grounded theory where the task of the researcher is to understand what is happening, how players manage their roles in the successes of the Ezulwini consensus and African predicaments to achieve the goals of the Ezulwini consensus. This will be achieved through observation, conservation and interview. After each session of data collection, the researcher notes down key issues. The process involves firstly comparing interview and other forms of data and comparison are done theoretical approaches that will be employed. The results of this comparison are categorised according to themes or variables and their properties. This whole process is represented in the following diagram.

Fig 1



Source: http://www.scu.edu.au/schools/gcm/ar/arp/grounded.html

1.11 Limitations

Challenges that are likely to be faced by the researcher are that most of the diplomats interviewed might be anxious to speak about issues other than the official positions of their countries on the discourse; this might limit the outcomes of the study because it needs them to open up and give their personal account on the discourse. More so, finance might be another challenge as there will be a need for a lot of money for travelling because the government ministries headquarters, most intergovernmental organization representatives like the UN are located in Harare the capital city of Zimbabwe as the researcher is based in Gweru. Also, time will be limited as the research will be carried out within a very short

period of time and it will be difficult for the researcher to strike a balance between lectures and research fieldwork.

1.12 Delimitation

This research was mainly done focusing on Africa or AU because the study is suing the Ezulwini consensus which is Africa's common position on UNSC reforms. As a study area, Africa is composed of the 54 member-states and 8 Regional Economic Communities. The UNSC is another area of study, and this due to the fact that collective governance in the form of Ezulwini consensus is calling for reforms of the UNSC which is composed of 15 members (the P-5 and 10 non-permanent members). The study will be mainly conducted in Zimbabwe because the researcher is based in Zimbabwe. This study did not dwell more on other examples of collective governance like the G-4 proposal as the study is using the Ezulwini consensus as a case study hence the study focuses more on the Ezulwini consensus.

1.13 Ethical considerations

According to Israel and Hay (2006), ethical behaviour helps protect individuals, communities' environment and offers the potential to increase the sum of good in the world. Mazur (2007) notes that ethics are norms or standards of conduct that distinguishes between right and wrong. Ethics they help to determine the difference between acceptable and unacceptable behaviours, May (2011). This study employed voluntary participation as people were not coerced into participating in the research. In addition, the study ensured informed consent as the participants were informed about the aim and the purpose of the study. Furthermore, the study guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity as the participants will remain anonymous, though out the study. The researcher also avoided plagiarism by acknowledging the sources because there was an extensive review of related and relevant literature of the discourse.

1.13 Outline of chapters

Chapter 1

Which is the introduction comprising of the background of the study, a statement of the problem, hypothesis, significance of the study, research objectives, research questions,

research design, and source of data, delimitation, limitations, ethical considerations and chapter breakdown.

Chapter 2

The chapter which the literature review consists of the definition of important terms of the research, such as collective governance, Ezulwini, Consensus and problems. This section also critically reviewed the literature on Africa and the UNSC reforms and challenges affecting collective governance, in this case, the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems.

Chapter 3

This section covers the research methodology and focuses on how data was gathered and analysed in this study.

Chapter 4

Consists of data presentation, analysis and interpretation.

Chapter 5

This section consists of the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

1.15 Conclusion

In a nutshell, the chapter has managed to carry out why the study is being conducted and where. The chapter also managed to outline the background of the study, research objectives, research questions, limitations, delimitation, literature review and the methodology. The chapter also provides the contribution to literature and last but not least it also contains the chapter online of the whole dissertation project.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews existing literature on the subject matter of collective governance in addressing African problems focusing on the Ezulwini consensus. The chapter also discusses collective governance and the UNSC in general, it looks at collective governance in addressing African problems and the UNSC reforms. Last but not least the chapter also focuses on the challenges of collective governance in addressing African problems or achieving the Ezulwini consensus goal.

2.1 Collective governance and the UNSC in general

The historical background of collective governance has been covered in chapter 1 as international organisations a result of collective governance was formed or established and the Telegraph Union is one of the first being established in 1866. This sub-heading focuses on the UNSC in general as the study is interrogating the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems such as unequal representation in the UNSC, conflicts, debt, diseases and poverty only to mention but a few, it also focuses on the Ezulwini consensus as a case study. Therefore, it is important to understand the UNSC because the Eulwini consensus under study is a common position of African countries calling for the UNSC reforms.

Historically the failure of the League of Nations led to the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 with 51 member states which belonged to the victorious powers after the Second World War (WW11) as noted by www.un.org/aboutun/history.htm and also supported by Ziring et al (2005). Claude (1996) notes that back then (period of 1945), the UN Charter was agreed upon with the triumphant world powers with the hope that it would act to prevent conflicts between states and make future wars impossible. This goal, according to McCoubrey and Justin (2000) was to be carried out through the collective security system, which awarded the power of veto to the victorious alliance as an implicit guarantee to all members that they will not be asked to wage a war, in the name of the UN, against any of the big powers. Therefore, in fostering the idea of collective security, the major powers would act as trustees of peace on behalf of the international community. However, this study questions the legitimacy of the P-5 members. McCoubrey and Justin (2000) noted that veto power was awarded to the P-5 so as to maintain peace and security, on the contrary, this study notes that the P-5 not democratically elected as the UNGA has never been involved in the election of these P-5 members. So how can states that are not democratically elected acts as guides of peace? no wonder national interest takes precedence over P-5 members.

The UN Charter has over the years gained a unique legal standing in international relations and has been described as a constitution of the world community, Simma (2002) and Tomuschat (1995). According to Chapter 1, Article 1 of the UN Charter the purposes of the UN are to maintain international peace and security, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principle of justice and international law only to mention but a few. While Simma (2002) and Tomuschat (1995)'s views are valid this study questions why some conflicts or problems receive little attention from the UNSC a case-in-point is the Somalia war (1991), the 1994 Rwandan genocide and the Darfur conflict of (2003). This study also notes that national interests take precedence over the P-5 members and Somalia and Rwanda crisis received little attention as they were not the P-5 areas of interests. Hence the UNSC has not been all successful but it has some failures in maintaining peace and security in the world as explained above and some of the reasons for the failures will be explained in this study.

In addition, Article 24 of the UN Charter permitted the UNSC to play a central role in fulfilling the purposes of the organisation. Hence its members confer on the UNSC primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the SC (Security Council) acts on their behalf (Article 24 UN Charter). Therefore, member states are obligated under Article 25 of the UN Charter to accept and carry out the decisions of the Council in the exercise of its responsibilities, which are set out in Chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII of the UN Charter. However, this study argues that most of the P-5 members instead of maintaining peace as alluded in the UN Charter they are actually the ones influencing violence, for example, USA wars against Iraq in 2003 and Afghanistan which resulted in massive deaths and unrest in these countries till date. Also most recently in Syria USA and Russia are putting forward their national interests while thousands of Syrians are dying instead of maintaining peace in Syria they are actually fighting for their national interests.

According to Falk (1994), the UNSC was from the onset, not structured to be a universal instrument of geopolitics. More so, its composition is nothing more than the victory coalition of 1945, Krauthammer (2003). Currently the UNSC is comprised of the victorious powers of the World War II, namely; the United States of America, France, Britain, China and Russia (P-5) and ten non-permanent members, who are elected for two-year terms on a regional geographical rotation as evidenced in Article 23 (1) and (2) of the UN Charter. This has

resulted in the criticisms and calls for reform of the UNSC as the current situation contradicts the principle of the sovereign equality of all UN member states as stipulated in Article 2 (1) of the UN Charter as veto power is only given to the P-5. although the above scholars are valid, this study examines the capabilities of these states calling for UNSC reforms if they are capable to be in the UNSC as the operations of the UNSC requires countries that are financially capable and have resources especially manpower.

The UNSC has witnessed some changes over the time, most notably during and after the cold war, for example the 1965 the expansion of the UNSC from 11 to 15 members, with the super-majority required for action being increased from 7 to 9 votes; the 1973 expansion of the UN Economic and Social Council from 27 to 54 members; and after the cold war Russia assumed the Soviet Union's permanent seat in the UNSC, Bourantonis (2004). However, this current study examines if the UNSC is willing to be changed or reformed given the above changes by Bourantonis (2004). This study also discusses if the P-5 is willing to share their power especially with African states and also analyse some of the reasons why they are against the Ezulwini consensus which the above scholar did not cover.

Many factors over the years have resulted in the call of UNSC reforms like the undemocratic nature of the UNSC as only the P-5 have veto power as noted by Murithi (2007), hence there is no equality in the UN system as the P-5 has the final say on the fate of other states which are non-permanent members. According to Farrall (2008), unequal representation is another factor which had led to the call of UNSC reforms. Africa is not represented fully in the UNSC as there is no permanent seat for Africa while Europe has 3 permanent seats, Americas 1 and Asia 1 as noted by Spies (2008). So by this, it shows that the UNSC should be reformed and grant Africa a permanent seat for equal representation in the UNSC. Furthermore, since the formation of the UN, many changes have happened in the international system including, the expansion of the UN membership from 51 to 192 as noted by Parvin and Khan (2015). according to Yeboah (2014), there is a need for reforms and expand the UNSC members with the veto as the membership has also increased almost 3 times the members who were present in 1945. However, this research will differ from the above scholars' researchers as it was focusing on the Ezulwini consensus as a case study.

So basically all the above factors contributed to the call of the UNSC reforms and are also some of the factors which contributed to the Ezulwini consensus, which according to AU (2005) and Spies (2008) is a position on international relations and reform of the United

Nations, agreed by the African Union. The Ezulwini consensus calls for a more representative and democratic Security Council, in which Africa, like all other world regions, is represented and granted veto power, Yeboah (2014). There are also other proposals for UNSC reforms like the G-4 (Brazil, Germany, India and Japan) which called for UNSC reforms with 6 permanent members (2 for African states, 2 for Asian states, 1 for Latin America and Caribbean, 1 for Western Europe and other states) and 4 non-permanent seats (1 Africa, 1 Asian, 1 Eastern Europe, 1 Latin American or Caribbean) Ronzitii (2012). The same scholar also notes that UFC is another proposal of UNSC reform as it calls for 10 new non-permanent members with the possibility of immediate re-election after expiring of their mandate. However, this study will help to explain why these above-mentioned proposals for UNSC reform are failing to materialise.

2.2 Collective governance in addressing African problems and the UNSC reforms

During the formation of the UN in 1945 Africa was not fully represented and the majority of current African UN members was colonised or were under external domination, Spies (2008). The same scholar also argues that in 1945 only four countries from Africa, namely; Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and South Africa were members of the UN, and presently Africa comprises more than a quarter of UN membership with 53 states. Hence, these factors contributed to the call for UN reforms by African countries. According to Murithi (2007), African countries were preached to rather than consulted as equals hence the call for UNSC reforms as Africa wants equality in terms of representation. Whilst the above scholars are valid, this study examines if the call for UNSC can be achieved given many challenges such as the fact that there are no enforcing agencies in Africa for supporting the UNSC reforms they are rather just taking but no action. Also, another challenge is that Africa is not speaking with one voice in calling for UNSC reforms as some states are silent in the fight hence raising the question that can the goal of reforming the UNSC be achieved by Africa or the Ezulwini consensus.

It is important to note that it was Africa collectively, the then OAU that made the first post WW11 call for an expansion of the UNSC on the OAU first summit of 1963 calling for a redressing of Africa's under-representation in all organs of the UN (OAU 1963). This is supported by Luck (2006) who argues that Africa challenged the relationship between the UN and Africa since 1963 as Africa advocated for UNSC expansion during the OAU's very first summit. The OAU Tunis summit in 1994 also called for UNSC reforms Du Plesis (2013). Furthermore, the Harare Declaration of 1997 according to Weiss (2005) called for the

enlargement of the UNSC, with two permanent seats and five non-permanent seats for Africa in the UNSC. The Harare Declaration and is the brainchild or a predecessor of the Ezulwini Consensus in 2005 as it also calls for UNSC reforms with two permanent seats and five non-permanent seats for Africa in the UNSC including veto power, Spies (2008). However, this study differs from those of the above scholars as it questions the capabilities of the Ezulwini consensus in achieving the goal of reforming the UNSC. The above scholars note that since 1963 Africa has been calling for reforms but to date, there is no progress. This study advises Africa not to form other agreements within the AU but rather strengthen the AU's capabilities in maintaining peace and security in that case they can effectively solve African problems.

More so, according to Spies (2008) Africa's profile in the UN has significantly changed as its quantitative presence of over 53 states (now 54 since 2012) has rendered it a potent voting bloc in the UNGA. In addition, UN membership has expanded from 51 founding states in 1945 to 192 states in 2006, and the vast majority of which are part of the Global South including Africa, Du Plesis (2013), therefore leading to Africa call for reforms. Furthermore, the continent has produced several influential Secretaries-General of the UN, for example, Egypt's Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992-1996) and Ghana's Kofi Annan (1997-2006), www.un.org/sg/en/content/fomer-secretaries-general also supported by Spies (2008) hence it shows that Africa 's profile has significantly changed in the UN and now they need to have a say in the UNSC. Whilst the above scholars are valid, this study is different as these scholars wrote focusing on South Africa's quest for a permanent seat in the UNSC while this study is focusing on the whole of Africa, not on a single state.

Furthermore, of specific relevance to the UNSC is the extent to which Africa dominates its agenda as according to Adebajo and Scanlon (2006) almost 70 percent of the issues considered by the UNSC are problems in Africa. Therefore, most UN humanitarian efforts are based in Africa and the continent host the largest, most numerous UN peacekeeping missions in the world. Hence this led to the call by Africa for a permanent seat in the UNSC to help in solving African problems. The pressure to reform the UNSC, according to Strydom (2007) reflects global demand for a more democratic, secure and rules-based international order. However, this study notes that although Africa is calling for reforms most of the P-5 members such as Russia and USA are not willing to reform the UNSC as they want to consolidate their power in the world hence it is difficult for Africa to achieve their goal of reforming the UNSC as Russia or USA can veto their request. In addition, this study also notes that the P-5 member states are moving their different political interests in Africa by

increasing their presence in the African affairs, in a bid to gain and maintain more power as politics is a game of power as supported by Mogenthau (1993).

Spies (2008) argues that there are new human security threats like the spread of internal wars, crime, terrorism, poverty, environmental degradation and even underdevelopment. Hence the UNSC needs to acknowledge not only the hard security threats but also consider soft threats like poverty and underdevelopment which are widely encountered in Africa, Du Plessis (2012). Therefore, there is a need for UNSC reforms in Africa to be able to deal with these challenges that mostly affect Africa. Whilst these scholars are valid, this study notes that most African states are not willing to help each other in times of crises an example is that of Zambia in 2012 had a very good harvest while Zimbabwe was in poverty but Zambia did not help despite this provision stipulated in the AU charter to help each other in the times of need.

The Ezulwini consensus is; a position on international relations and reform of the UN agreed by the AU. It calls for a more representative and democratic UNSC, in which Africa, like other world regions, is represented. The Ezulwini consensus proposes at least two permanent and five non-permanent African seats on the UNSC, (AU 2005) Martin (2009). The Ezulwini consensus according to Spies (2008) rejected both of the models proposed by the High-Level Panel as Africa claims two permanent seats and no fewer than five non-permanent seats, insisting that Africa will only accept the permanent seats only if given the same privileges and powers including veto. More so, the Ezulwini consensus also claims that the criteria for selection of African members should be a matter for the AU, Du Plesis (2013). However, this study points out that in Africa there is no enforcing agency towards the Ezulwini consensus hence other states are not supporting the consensus as some African states did not support the Sirte declaration of 2005. In addition, this study also argues that given the colonial legacies where most Francophone countries are against UN reforms as they support the stance of their colonial masters as they are getting military support from France as shown by conflicts in Mali, Central Africa Republic (CAR) and Ivory Coast where France participated more. Therefore, this leads to division and disunity in Africa towards collective governance in addressing African problems.

Okumu (2005) notes that various coalitions or groups were seeking support for their proposals with the UN's 60-year anniversary in full swing and the Millennium Review Summit looming. The G-4 and AU according to the same scholar, thought that an alliance

would be better as their independent bids would not muster for the needed two-thirds majority and realising UNSC reforms. Both the proposals according to Spies (2008) were relatively similar as the G-4 proposed for six new permanent members and from those six new permanent members two seats were for Africa, this was in line with the Ezulwini consensus where Africa wanted two permanent seats in the UNSC. The main difference between the two proposals was that the Ezulwini consensus wanted veto power, whereas, the G-4 wanted to compromise on veto power and willing to wait 15 years, Spies (2008). Whilst the above scholars' views are valid, this study differs from the above views because of the time factor, Spies wrote in 2008 and the current study is covering events of the Ezulwini consensus up to 2017 showing that this study covers new developments in Africa as compared to the above scholars. This study focuses on new developments like ACIRC formed in 2013 where some African states like South Africa, Algeria and Chad are supporting the existence of external forces in Africa as contrary to the AU decision of not accommodating external forces in the African soil and this move is further dividing Africa hence limiting chances of collective governance in addressing African problems.

In 2005 a meeting was held in London between the AU (Ezulwini consensus group) and the G-4 about UNSC reform as they wanted an alliance. However, the meeting failed largely as a result of disagreement among the AU states. According to Curtin (2005) in London some AU countries like South Africa and Nigeria were willing to compromise on veto rights, arguing that Africa should accept the offer by the G-4 and focus on obtaining their two permanent seats and postpone the issue of veto until they have acquired their two permanent seats although they will be not veto-wielding seats. However most African states especially the North African group rejected to compromise on veto power. Although Curtin (2005) is valid this study shows that there is no unity in Africa as some states are against Nigeria and South Africa's quest for permanent membership in the UNSC, citing many reasons and one of them is that some African states view South Africa and Nigeria as traitors due to the fact that they voted for a resolution against Libya in 2011 supporting the UNSC decision, whilst the AU had agreed that Libya's issue was a regional problem hence AU should solve the problem.

Following the failed alliance negotiations between the AU and the G-4 in London, according to Adebajo (2009) Nigeria (the then president of the AU) requested an emergency AU summit to gather support for amending the Ezulwini consensus. The meeting exposed deep divisions in the AU as countries like Zimbabwe, Egypt, Libya and Algeria led the "all or nothing" camp and opposed the compromise on veto power, El-Ghitany (2005). This led to

the then Egyptian Foreign Minister to accuse Nigeria of trying to manipulate the Ezulwini consensus to serve its narrow interests in a way that does not reflect the required transparency in dealings between Africa www.weekly.ahram.org.eg/2005/754/eg11.htm . Hence this resulted in the failure by Nigeria to amend the Ezulwini consensus. However, this study covers recent activities and due to change of leadership in most African states including Zimbabwe and Angola, there is a high chance of unity in Africa for the UNSC call as there is new blood in the region.

More so, the Ezulwini consensus or the call for UNSC reforms by Africa the AU is supported by other members of the international community although they might have a slight difference most of them they are also calling for UNSC reforms. The G-4 according to Ronzitii (2012) proposed for UNSC reforms with 6 permanent members (2 for African states, 2 for Asian states, 1 for Latin America and Caribbean, 1 for Western Europe and other states) and 4 non-permanent seats (1 Africa, 1 Asian, 1 Eastern Europe, 1 Latin American or Caribbean). This is in line with the Ezulwini consensus but there is a difference in that the G-4 are willing to wait 15 years to have veto power while Africa wants veto power from the onset. However, this study shows that it might be possible for Africa to achieve their goal of UNSC reform as Africa currently is gaining support from many P-5 members like China, and with the new developments of BRIEXIT, Britain might search for new partners in trade in Africa and end up supporting the call for UNSC reforms by Africa.

Africa is also receiving support from some other P-5 member states. According to http://www.mfa.gov.cn/zflt/eng/jlydh/t1342707.htm a Chinese diplomat Liu Jieyi claims that the UNSC reform should give top priority to increasing the representation of developing countries, especially that of African countries. The Chinese diplomat also claims that the reform should enable more countries to gain more opportunities to serve in the council and participate in its decision – making process. However, this study notes that there is an aspect of double standards in the UNSC as noted by Chiwenga (2014). This aspect of double standards shows that China might support Africa in their call for UNSC reform due to their own national interests mainly quest for resources in Africa.

2.3 Challenges of collective governance in addressing African problems or achieving the Ezulwini consensus goal.

The Challenges of collective governance in addressing African problems they can be simply viewed as factors that hinder the achievement of UNSC reforms by African states or the Ezulwini consensus goal. According to Murithi (2007), the UNSC debate has revealed broader problems in achieving the Ezulwini consensus. The same scholar argues that African states they place national interests above the common purpose of their continental body. This view is supported Morgenthau (1982) who notes that states in the international system they pursue their national interest, this is evidenced by the fact that Nigeria and South Africa were willing to compromise on the veto issue so that they can have seats in the UNSC (national interests) despite the Ezulwini consensus clearly stipulating that it needs the veto power to be granted to African states Spies (2008). The compromise on the veto by Nigeria and South Africa faced great resistance from other African states like Zimbabwe, Egypt, Algeria and Libya EL-Ghitany (2005), this shows that there are divisions in AU. Therefore, this clearly shows that national interests are one of the African predicaments towards achieving the Ezulwini consensus. Although the above views are valid, this study will also explain the national interest of the P-5 as a challenge to collective governance whereas the above scholars were mainly focusing on the national interests of African states as a challenge of collective governance in solving African problems.

Struggle for power is another African predicament towards achieving the Ezulwini consensus. According to Hobbes as cited in Malnes (1993) the international system is the struggle for power and survival of the fittest. This struggle for power concept is witnessed in the AU, as South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Senegal and even Zimbabwe they want the permanent seat in the UNSC as the Ezulwini consensus advocates for two permanent seats in the UNSC, therefore there is a debate on who is going to represent the continent on those two seats in the UNSC as they all want to be members of the permanent seats.

More so, Okumu (2005) is of the view that Africa does not have hard power and economic power to persuade or coerce other states to support its agenda of reforming the UNSC. Spies (2008) also note that availability of sufficient financial and human resources are crucial for permanent members of the UNSC because, in terms of global diplomacy, they need to be quantitatively and qualitatively well represented. In addition, Luck (2006) notes that the UN member states, especially the less developed ones like African states, are hesitant to commit to the UNSC interventions as they carry financial implications, material and political risk. Furthermore, Okumu (2005) also notes that of the three African contenders for the UNSC permanent seats, South Africa is the only one that has consistently paid its UN dues in time.

So basically this shows that lack of economic power and hard power by most African states can be viewed as some of the African predicaments in achieving the Ezulwini consensus. Although the research is valid, my study covers recent developments as it notes that with the readmission of Morocco in the AU the struggle for a seat in the UNSC has increased as Morocco is financially capable to represent Africa in the UNSC.

More so, disunity in Africa can be stated as some of the African predicaments in achieving the Ezulwini consensus. According to Choane et al (2011), xenophobia is one of the hindrances to unity in Africa. South Africa 's xenophobia has led to the country falling out of favour by other African countries like Zimbabwe, Somalia, DRC, Nigeria, only to mention but a few. More so disunity in Africa has been caused by many interstate wars, as Valeriano (2011) notes that Africa has been divided due to many interstate wars. Furthermore, there is no unity of consensus in Africa according to https://idsa.in/event/understanding_Africas_Position_on_the_UN_Security_council_Reforma nd also supported by Beri (2012), only 34 out of 54 (20 states did not vote for) African states voted in favour of the Sirte Declaration. This shows that there is no unity in Africa and can lead to failure of the Ezulwini consensus if these 20 countries who did not vote for the Sirte Declaration decide not to vote for Africa in the UNGA, Beri (2012). In addition, as noted above some African states also were willing to compromise on veto power while others claimed veto power. Therefore, it clearly shows that disunity in Africa is one of the African predicaments in achieving the Ezulwini consensus goals. However, these scholars wrote a long time ago and recently there are no xenophobic attacks in South Africa and many states are reviving their relations with the country. Also due to change of leadership in Africa, we have noticed many developments such as an agreement of making the continent a free trade area. Showing that the continent is now singing with one voice.

The veto power is one of the African predicaments in achieving the Ezulwini consensus. According to article 27 of the UN Charter, each member of the UNSC shall have one veto. Veto power, according to www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council_Veto_Power.html enables the P-5 to prevent the adoption of any substantive resolution as well as decide which issues fall under the substantive title. Therefore, the P-5 can use their veto power to hinder UNSC reforms as the P-5 has the final say as noted by McDonald and Patrick (2010). Whilst the research is valid, my study will also focus on other challenges to collective governance which were not mentioned by the above scholar. One of the factors is that Africa has many regional

blocks which creates a sense of division hence it makes it difficult for African states to select the two members to have permanent seats representing Africa in the UNSC.

There are also other proposals like the G-4 and UFC which can be a stumbling block for Africa towards achieving the Ezulwini consensus. According to Ronzitti (2012), the G-4 tabled a draft resolution aiming to increase the UNSC to 25 members of which 6 will be new permanent members, with the possibility of a veto right after 15 years, plus 4 non-permanent members. More so the same scholar also notes that Italy and a group of other countries formulated the Uniting for Consensus (UFC) proposal, which advocates for 10 new non-permanent members with the possibility of immediate re-election after the expiring of their mandate. This poses a great challenge to the Ezulwini consensus which calls for two permanent seats with the veto and five no-permanent seats. The G-4 and UFC proposals pose a threat to the Ezulwini consensus as the other 2 proposals are more appealing to the international community as they are not demanding for the veto. Although the above facts are valid my study will reflect on other factors or challenges of collective governance in addressing African problems. An example is the AU's budget, African states are calling for reforms whilst they are dependent on donor funding for funding operations in Africa as noted by https://www.thesouthafrican.com/who-funds-the-african-union/,Brantigamand Knack (2004). Hence most African have a dependency syndrome and are not capable of accessing a permanent seat in the UNSC as they are falling to fund AU operations so how can they fund UNSC operations which are more expansive.

There is also another proposal from the Small Five (S-5) consisting of Jordan, Costa Rica, Singapore, Switzerland and Liechtenstein who are not interested in the UNSC enlargement, Du Plesis (2013). The same scholar also notes that the S-5 believes in reforming the SC's working methods and strengthening the relationship between the UNSC and the UNGA. So this is also a stumbling block for Africa towards achieving the Ezulwini consensus as the S-5 might vote against the expansion of the UNSC, which Africa is calling for. Although this research is valid, my research is also looking at double standards accusations on some African states such as Rwanda and Uganda, who are accused of sponsoring revolts and causing unrest in DRC as argued by Reyntjens (1999) and Williams (2013). This is a challenge to collective governance in addressing African problems as Africa wants to reform the UNSC so as to effectively enforce peace in Africa but some African states are actually influencing unrest as noted above.

Another African predicament towards achieving the Ezulwini consensus is lack of political will by the P-5. The will of the permanent members to revise the charter is very much important as any necessary tool needed to reform the UN, Yeboah (2012). The same scholar also notes that it is going to be a difficult task to get all permanent members to agree to either do away with veto power or share with others. Article 108 of the UN Charter stipulates that amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all members of the UN when they have been adopted by a vote of two thirds of the members of the UNGA, and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the members of the UN including all the permanent members of the UNSC. However, Yeboah wrote in 2012 and my study is covering events up to 2017 hence research findings are different due to the time factor.

External influence is another African predicament to the achievement of the Ezulwini consensus. According to Maseng (2012), France is influencing francophone states (former French colonies) to also lobby for a seat in the UNSC among the two permanent seats in the Ezulwini consensus. Hence this divides the AU as Senegal also want a seat in the UNSC. So basically external influence is one the African predicament towards the achievement of the Ezulwini consensus as noted above. While the above research is valid, my study will also focus on developments affecting African unity such as xenophobia attacks where many Africans were killed in South Africa leading to disunity among African states as noted by http://sunnewsonline.com/xenophobic-attacks-the-contradictions-in-african-unity/, Neocosmos (2010). Therefore, due to the above problem of xenophobia states affected (by xenophobia) might not vote for South Africa to have a seat in the UNSC, therefore, this is a direct challenge of collective governance in addressing African problems as there is disunity in Africa.

2.4 Conclusion

In a nutshell, the chapter managed to show the definition of key terms which are collective governance, Ezulwini, Consensus and problems. The chapter was also able to discuss collective governance and the UNSC in general, it also managed to look at collective governance in addressing African problems and the UNSC reforms. Last but not least the chapter was to highlight some the challenges of collective governance in addressing African problems or achieving the Ezulwini consensus goal.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will now focus on the research methodology, outlining the manner in which the research shall be conducted. This chapter shall outline the research design, target population, sample size, the data collection instruments used in this research as well as data analysis techniques to be employed.

3.1 Research methodology

According to Mouton (1996) methodology is the means or method of doing something. Methodology refers to ways of obtaining, organising and analysing data, Polit and Hungler (2004). Kothari (2004) describes research methodology as the systematic, theoretical analysis of the procedures applied to a field of study. The methodology also encompasses concepts such as designs, target population, sample size and sampling procedure, data collection instruments and data analysis, Kothari (2004). This study will employ a triangulation method as it used both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

This is an in-depth study about the call for UN Security Council reform, its feasibility and its impact on the unity of the African continent, the AU in particular. Therefore, the research approach used a triangulation of research methods. Triangulation is defined by Cohen and Mania (2000) as an attempt to map out or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint. Triangulation gives a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation, as noted by Altrichter et al (2008). This study employed triangulation so as to increase the credibility and validity of the results.

According to Leedy and Ormrod (2010), qualitative methodology 'emphasizes personal experiences, interpretation, and self-knowledge over quantification, are concerned with understanding the meaning of social phenomena and focus on links and attributes across relatively few cases.' hence this explains why this methodology is suitable for this study. Qualitative methodology is the best in answering the why and how questions in this study as noted by Creswell (2012). According to Parichi (2017), qualitative methods have also been proved to be flexible and responsive to the social context of the researched, hence this led to the researcher using this qualitative methodology. The researcher also used the qualitative methodology as it deeply explores and interprets issues as argued by Arora and Stoner (2009). Parichi (2017) argues that qualitative research encompasses several forms and components that include the narrative, interpretive, phenomenological, ethnographic, grounded, and case study approaches. Hence this makes qualitative methodology suitable for this study as the study focuses on a case study which is the Ezulwini consensus.

The study also used the quantitative methodology which is defined by Rajasekar et al (2013) as research based on the measurement of quantity or amount. Leedy (1993) noted that quantitative research is used to answer questions on the relationship between measurable

variables with an intention to explain, predict and control phenomena. Hence this study employed this research method so as to measure the extent to which collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus can address African problems. The study also employed quantitative research method as statistical methods mean that the analysis is often considered reliable.

In this study, the researcher aimed to explore collective governance challenges in addressing African problems using the Ezulwini consensus as a case study and measure the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems. Therefore, quantitative research method was vital as it is appropriate for situations where systematic, standardised comparisons are needed in this case measuring the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems.

3.2 Research Design

According to Kothari (2004) research design is a plan, a roadmap and blueprint strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions. Brink and Wood (1998) noted that the purpose of a research design is to provide a plan for answering the research question and is a blueprint for action. The research design is largely qualitative and quantitative in matters that are appropriate. This study will employ a case study as a qualitative research method. Sauro (2015) notes that a case study involves a deep understanding through multiple types of data sources. Zainal (2007) argues that a case study can be used in explaining an organisation, entity, company or event. In this case, the study will be explaining an organisation the AU focusing on the Ezulwini consensus which is an event, therefore a case study is appropriate in this study, as Zainal (2007) noted that a case study enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context. Basically, the research design is interpretive research taking a form of a case study as the researcher will be interpreting results from a case study which is the Ezulwini consensus. Walsham (1993) noted that interpretive methods of research start from the position that our knowledge of reality, including the domain of human action, is a social construction by human actors and this applies equally to researchers.

3.3 Sampling Techniques

Welman et al (1994) defined a sample as the miniature image or likeness of a population or a subset of a population. Parichi (2017) argues that sampling involves the selection of a few

items from and representative of the larger group, which forms the basis of estimating or predicting a fact, situation or outcome regarding the corpus.

In terms of sampling purposes, sampling will be employed and it is largely geared towards targeting people who have information about the subject matter. Strydom (2005) identifies this purposive sampling as a variant of non-probability sampling and states that it is based entirely on the judgment of the researcher, in that a sample is composed of elements that contain the most characteristics, representative or typical attributes of the population. The study also employed snowball sampling because participants of the study were hard to find due to the nature of their jobs as most of them were diplomats. Stephaine (2014) defines snowball sampling as a process where research participants recruit other participants for a test or study.

3.4 Target Population

According to McLeod (2014), the target population is the total group of individuals from which the sample might be drawn. Buns and Grove (1997) argues that target population is the entire aggregation of respondents that meet the designated set of criteria. The research will be conducted targeting African countries especially the AU. The target population in this study will constitute of 6 scholars and political analysts, 1 group of students, 3 representatives of international organisations, 6 diplomats and government ministries inside and outside Africa who have information and knowledge relating to the Ezulwini Consensus and challenges affecting the Ezulwini Consensus in addressing African problems.

3.5 Sample Size

According to Kumar (2011), sampling is the process of selecting a few from a bigger group to represent the whole population under study. According to Frey et al (2000), a sample is a subgroup of a population. A sample size according to Erikson (2008), is a portion or subset of the population that will be used to respond to the research questions. The research shall, therefore, use 6 scholars and political analysts, 3 representatives of international organisations, 6 diplomats and government ministries government ministries to represent the whole of Africa. The sample population shall also constitute 1 group of students from MSU. 15 officials and a focus group of students will be used in the collection of sample data, making the total sample size of the study 16.

3.6 Data collection methods

Buns and Grove (1997) defines data collection as a systemic way of gathering information, which is relevant to the research purpose or questions. In this study, primary sources will provide valuable data that is relevant in the area that is under study. The bulk of this study will be confined to the analysis of primary and secondary data. It is reiterated that all media information public and private will be used with caution to avoid politically persuaded opinion and in some instances patriotism which clouds the relevant issues for the discussion. Data is presented in a discursive format.

According to Salkind (2010), primary sources provide direct or first-hand evidence about an event. Kothari (2004) argues that primary data is data which is collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be original in character. Various data collection techniques like interviews, questioners and a group focus discussion (targeting MSU students) will be used for sourcing data from individuals who have knowledge of the Ezulwini consensus and the challenges affecting collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems. Unstructured interviews and questionnaires will be conducted largely targeting government ministries, diplomats, civil society and non-governmental organizations, scholars and political analysts at the national level. For international actors, information will be sourced from the embassies and representatives of international organizations present in the country. Where they are not available in Zimbabwe the use of other means like emails, fax, telephone and the internet will be used.

The research will also rely on secondary sources that would involve the survey of literature on the subject matter. According to Kothari (2014), secondary data are those which have already been collected by someone else and which have already been passed through the statistical process. Secondary data can be defined as data that is already available hence it refers to data which have been collected and analysed by someone else. These secondary sources will include books, speeches, newspapers, journal articles, internet articles, AU and UN reports among others.

3.6.1 Interviews

Interviewing is a direct contact between the interviewer and the responded in a suitable environment Kuman and Aaker (1999). Interviews should be possible up close and personal, by phone and furthermore talking utilizing the internet. Interviews shall be used in this research in order to get information from the relevant stakeholders of the Ezulwini consensus and those who have knowledge of the challenges affecting collective governance in addressing the African problems mainly focusing on theEzulwini consensus. These stakeholders include representatives of international organisations (SADC, AU and UN), and also scholars and political analysts. The researcher will use unstructured interviews as they are characterised by a flexibility of approach to questioning, they allow the interviewer great freedom to ask in the case of need a supplementary question and at times the researcher may omit certain questions if the situation so requires. The advantages of utilizing interviews according to http://www.evalued.bcu.ac.uk/tutorial/4c.htm are that they are valuable to get nitty gritty data about individual sentiments, discernments and feelings, more so interviews they permit more point by point inquiries to be asked, in interviews the respondents' own words are recorded, ambiguities can be cleared up and inadequate answers caught up, additionally interviewees are not affected by others in a gathering last but rather not slightest a few interviewees may be less unsure in a coordinated circumstance. The disadvantages of interviews according to https://thebusinesscommunication.com/advantage-and-disadvantage-of-interview/ are that they can be exceptionally time–consuming: setting up, talking, deciphering, dissecting, input and reporting, all the more so they can be excessive.

3.6.2 Questionnaires

According to McLeod (2014) questionnaires can be thought of as a kind of written interviews. They consist of a number of questions written in a definite order on a form or set of forms. There are two types of questions that are open-ended and closed-ended questions.

This research also used questionnaires in order to source data from stakeholders of the Ezulwini consensus and individuals who have knowledge of the challenges affecting collective governance in addressing the African problems mainly focusing on the Ezulwini consensus. Government ministries especially the foreign ministries of different countries were targeted with questionnaires. Questionnaires also targeted diplomats across Africa and outside Africa. The questionnaire will be mainly directed to political analysts and scholars. Advantages of questionnaires according to https://wiki.ecdc.europa.eu/fem/w/wiki/advantages-and-disadvantages-of-questionnaires are that they are relatively easy to analyse, also a large sample of the given population can be contacted at relatively low cost; they are simple to administer; more so the format is familiar to most respondents; they are usually straightforward to analyse, in addition, they can be used for sensitive topics which users may feel uncomfortable speaking to an interviewer about, lastly the respondents have time to think about their answers; they are not usually required to reply immediately.

The disadvantages of questionnaires according to https://surveyanyplace.com/questionnaire-pros-and-cons/ are that if you forget to ask a question, you cannot usually go back to respondents, especially if they are anonymous, more so it is sometimes difficult to obtain a sufficient number of responses, especially from postal questionnaires, also those who have an interest in the subject may be more likely to respond, another disadvantage is that some respondents may ignore certain questions, in addition, questionnaires may appear impersonal and last but not least some questions may be incorrectly completed.

3.6.3 Focus group discussions

They are a form of both qualitative and quantitative research in which a group of people are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes, Morgan (1988). According to Krueger (1994), questions are asked in an interactive group setting where members are free to talk with other group members. In this research focus group, discussions are also used so as to gather information about the Ezulwini consensus and the challenges affecting collective governance in addressing the African problems mainly focusing on the Ezulwini consensus targeting the MSU Politics and Public Management (PPM) and Masters of International Affairs (MSIA) students. Advantages of focus groups as noted by Krueger (1994) and Morgan (1988) are that they are used to obtain detailed information about personal and group feelings, perceptions and opinions, also they can save time and money compared to

individual interviews, more so they can provide a broader range of information, they offer the opportunity to seek clarification, lastly they provide useful material for example quotes for public relations publication and presentations. The disadvantages of focus groups are that there can be disagreements and irrelevant discussion which distract from the main focus, they can be hard to control and manage and also they can be tricky to analyse, Krueger (1994) and Morgan (1988).

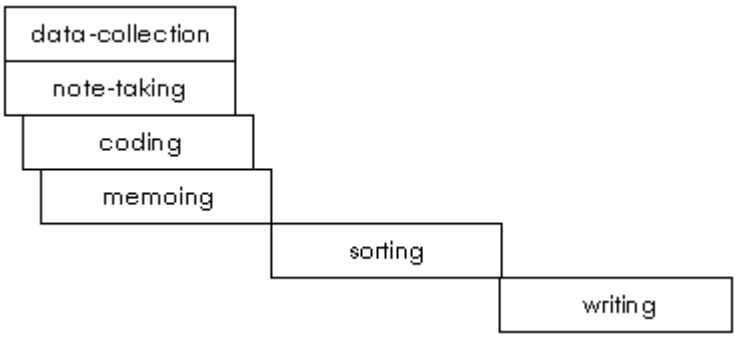
The research will also rely on secondary sources that would involve the survey of literature on the subject matter. These would include books, speeches, newspapers, Journal Articles, Internet Articles and AU, UN reports among others. According to Salkind (2010), secondary sources describe, discuss, analyse and evaluate articles. So this study will also be analysing various books and articles related to the study.

3.7 Analysis of data

According to Burns and Grove (2003), data analysis is a mechanism for reducing and organising data to produce findings that require interpretation by the researcher. Data analysis is also described by De Vos (2002) as a challenging and a creative process characterised by an intimate relationship with the researcher with the participants and the data generated.

Content analysis and textual analysis will be used to analyse data in this study. The analysis will also be based on grounded theory where the task of the researcher is to understand what is happening, how players manage their roles in the successes of the Ezulwini consensus and African predicaments to achieve the goals of the Ezulwini consensus. This will be achieved through observation, conservation and interview. After each session of data collection, the researcher notes down key issues. The process involves firstly comparing interview and other forms of data and comparison are done theoretical approaches that will be employed. The results of this comparison are categorised according to themes or variables and their properties. This whole process is represented in the following diagram.

Fig 1



Source: http://www.scu.edu.au/schools/gcm/ar/arp/grounded.html

3.8 Conclusion

The chapter managed to outline the research methodology and research design that was used in undertaking the research. The target population, sample size, sampling techniques and data collection methods were outlined in the chapter as a way to guide the research in gathering all the data. The study also used both qualitative and quantitative approaches in interrogating the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems, using a case study of the Ezulwini consensus. The chapter also looked at questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussion as some of the data collection methods used in this study. Last but not least the chapter also looked at how data was analysed in this study.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation of data, interpretation of data and data analysis from the research. The responded included diplomats, scholars, political analysts, IGOs, NGOs, government ministries, and students.

4.1 Response rate

Of the 6 questionnaires sent to government ministries and diplomats, only 4 responded, of the 6 scholars and political analysts interviewed 5 responded, 3 international organisations were also interviewed and they all responded, and one focus group discussions of MSU students were examined. So the total number of respondents is 13, adding 4 responses by government ministries and diplomats plus 5 responses of scholars and political analysts, plus 3 responses of international organisations and also adding 1 focus group discussion. So our response rate is 13/16*100=81.25%

Table 1

stratum	Total interviews, questionnaire and focus group discussion	Number of those who responded	Number of those who did not respond	% response rate
Government ministries and diplomats	6 questionnaires	4	2	66.66%
Scholars and political analysts	6 interviews	5	1	83.33%
International organisation	3 interviews	3	0	100%
Focus group discussion (students)	1 group	1	0	100%
total	16	13	3	81.25%

Source: Raw data

Table 1 above shows the response rate for the research methods used in this study which are questionnaires, interviews and a focus group discussion. These research methods were targeting government ministries and diplomats, scholars and political analysts, international organisations and a group of MSU students. The overall response rate was 81.25%, a fairly high response rate attributed to the data collection methods used by the researcher which was a direct distribution of questionnaires and interviews; emails were also used to gather information in places where the researcher could not reach. 18.75% of the questionnaire and interviews were not answered and government ministries and diplomats being the major contributors due to the fact that some government ministries and diplomats failed to disclose information citing security reasons as some of the information was viewed as state secrets. Of the 6 scholars and political analysts where the research was conducted only 1 did not respond due to the fact that he did not see the email on time.

Figure 2 shows a bar graph showing the response of the respondents

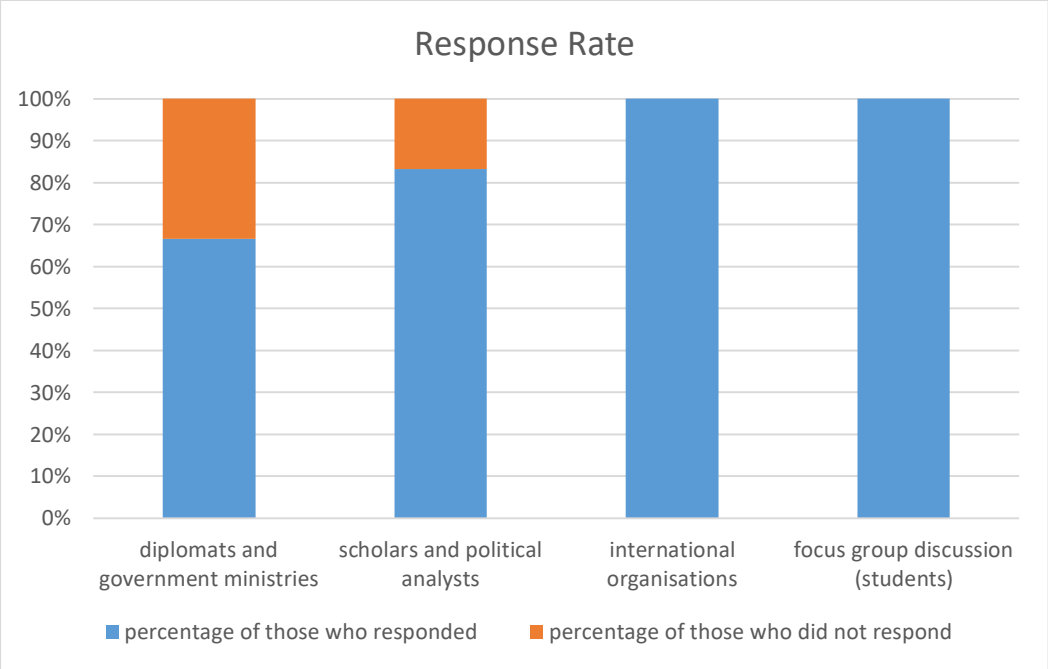


Fig 2

Source: raw data

Fig 2 shows a bar graph showing the response rate of the respondents and their respective rates. The bar graph shows that the government ministries and diplomats had 67% response rate as 33% of the questionnaires were not responded to. The response rate was fairly above average and this is due to the fact that some governments ministries and diplomats could not disclose information as some of the information was viewed as state secrets. The bar graph also shows that scholars and political analysts had an 83% response rate mainly due to the fact that 1 political analyst did not respond to the interview questions due to network problems. The bar graph also a 100% response rate from international organisations' representatives in Zimbabwe. Last but not least the bar graph clearly shows a 100% response rate from a focus group discussion by MSU students due to the fact that the researcher was a former student and currently studying his master's degree at MSU so it is easy for the researcher to relate to the group and organise it.

4.2 The efforts put in-place by African states to support collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems.

The respondents (diplomats) noted that Africa or the AU is doing little in supporting collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems. From the questionnaires, diplomats noted that African states are not serious or keen to support the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems as they are not creating platforms for dialogue and discussing their challenges. Diplomats and scholars also noted that African states are just advocating for UN reforms on their individual capacity at the international stages or forums for example in their head of state's speeches at the UNGA. Therefore, from the findings, it is noted that African states are not doing enough to support collective governance in addressing African problems for various reasons such as state interests and no enforcement on states, and this will be discussed below on challenges of collective governance.

More so, the diplomats and government ministries noted that more effort is needed from African states to draft a powerful road-map or plan on how they are going to push for UN reforms. Students and international organisations noted that in achieving collective governance and achieving the Ezulwini consensus goal of reforming the UN so as to address African problems, the AU created the African Union Committee of ten heads of states known as the C-10, the role of the C-10 is encouraging other African countries and make sure the goal of UN reforms is still alive. However, the researcher noted that the C-10 has done little in spreading the gospel of UN reforms in Africa due to a lake of funding for the committee to contact their duties. In addition to that, there is no enforcement mechanism to force states to fund the AU or C-10 activities.

Political analyst and diplomats from the interviews contacted also noted that in pushing for the Ezulwini consensus goal so as to address African problems the AU formulated the African Parliamentary alliance for UN reforms (APAUNR) which also supports the efforts of the AU to have a permanent membership in the SC. However, the researcher noted that the APAUNR is not doing enough mainly due to divisions towards the Ezulwini consensus goal and national interest of the APAUNR members.

In supporting collective governance and the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems some scholars, diplomats and political analysts are of the view that the late president of Libya Gadhafi had done a lot in uniting Africa and wanted to create the United

States of Africa, therefore, making Africa a single country, and this was a good move for collective governance and addressing African problems as problems now affecting Africa would be solved as the nation of Africa. Gadhafi was planning to introduce a single currency in Africa and sell African resources like oil, minerals and other raw materials using gold, therefore, inflation, debt, underdevelopment and poverty were going to be solved by this move. However, Gadhafi was killed by external forces in the name of NATO using the Right to Protect Principle (R2P) therefore the idea of uniting Africa to be a single state collapsed meaning efforts of collective governance had a setback.

In solving other African problems like environmental degradation, diseases, poverty and terrorism, diplomats and international organisations are of the view that Africa has signed a lot of agreements like the Kyoto protocol focusing on environment and Africa is supporting the war against terrorism, therefore, the AU is the right direction towards collective governance and addressing African problems. However, the researcher argues that even if Africa signs a lot of treats, for example, the one against environmental degradation, if the treaty is breached especially by one of the P-5 members Africa will not have a say as there are no enforcement agencies in these treaties.

4.3 The role of international actors in supporting collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems

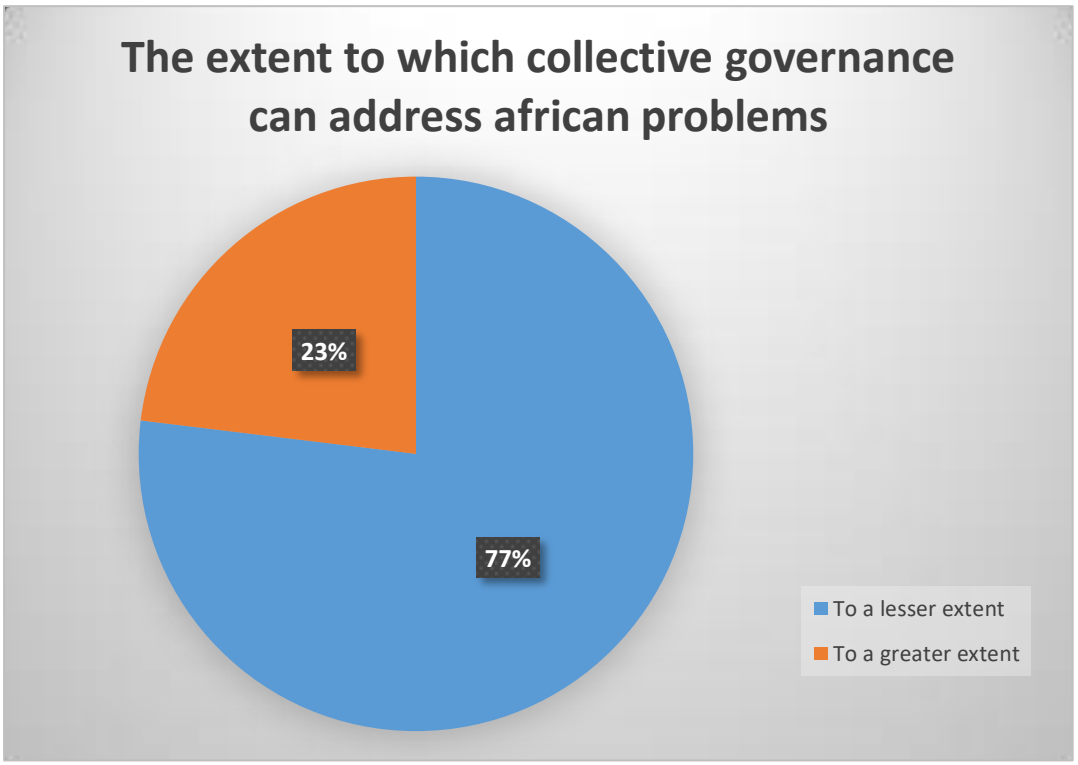
Asked about the role of international actors in supporting collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems, diplomats and international organisations noted that some countries like Japan, Canada, China and India, only to mention but a few are supporting Africa in achieving the Ezulwini consensus goal. However, the researcher noted that this support by international actors in is to pursue their national interest like China is supporting Africa leading to Africa liking China, therefore, China will enjoy more trading partners with African states. On the issue of Japan and India, students and scholars noted that these countries are supporting Africa so that Africa will, in turn, support them also to gain seats in the UNSC. Hence it is not genuine support but they have hidden agendas.

More so, international organisations and government ministries are of the view that international organisations and some foreign governments have assisted Africa in the fight against diseases, poverty and underdevelopment. Some examples are the World Health Organisation (WHO) which assisted the African continent in the fight against diseases which

is one of the African problems. Other agencies like World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) assisted many African countries to fight against poverty and underdevelopment through providing loans. However, the scholar noted that this support by international organisations like WB, IMF and WHO has led to the dependency syndrome in most African states, therefore, posing as a challenge to collective governance and the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems. More so, through these international organisations or donor funding most African states are being manipulated by these donors and international organisations to accept policies and ideologies which are not favorable to African states like privatisation of government entities and accepting other norms like gay rights, an example is Malawi she accepted gay rights under Joyce Banda because over 60% of Malawi's budget comes from donor funding hence donors have a say in the country.

4.4 The extent to which collective governance can address African problems, focusing on the Ezulwini consensus

Fig 3



Source: raw data

Fig 3 above shows the responses of government ministries and diplomats, scholars and political analysts, international organisations and a focus group of students to the question: to

what extent can collective governance address African problems focusing on the Ezulwiniconsensus? The pie chart shows that 77% of the respondents are of the view that collective governance can address African problems to a lesser extent, while 23% of the respondents are of the view that collective governance can address African problems to a greater extent. The above data shows that most of the respondents think collective governance cannot address African problems mainly because the Ezulwini consensus since 2005 to date has not achieved its goal. The respondents also cited many challenges of collective governance which will be discussed below such as national interests and external influence. Also from the above data, one can note that some respondents (23%) they think collective governance can address African problems. The respondents believe so because they believe change is inevitable and Africa is going to unite and put away differences in the fight for UNSC reforms.

4.5 Major challenges faced by the collective governance system or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems

4.5.1 State interests Vs collective interests

National interests are cited by almost all respondents as one of the challenges of collective governance in addressing African problems. The respondents noted that states in the international system are acting to serve their national interests. This has been evidenced by power struggles in Africa regarding the two permanent seats in the UNSC where South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt, Senegal, Kenya and Ethiopia have all shown interests and are competing for the permanent seats. Hence this is a challenge to collective governance and Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems as unity is more important in achieving the Ezulwini consensus goal. The researcher noted that unity in Africa is the best way of addressing African problems as a united Africa is a powerful and rich Africa.

Furthermore, national interests according to diplomats and political analysts have led to other African states to agree on a deal with the USA to set up military camps in their states so as to gain security and financial support despite the AU agreeing not to allow the USA to have military camps in the African soil. An example is Djibouti which is a poor country situated in the horn of Africa, it accepted the USA's offer to set up a military base in her land. Due to national interests of security and financial support, Djibouti agreed but at the expense of the AU's vision and desires. Hence this shows that national interests are a major challenge to

collective governance as state interests are more important than collective interests as shown by the above findings.

From the interviews, scholars and political analysts noted that some African states they do not contribute on the funding of the AU due to the interests of their states, therefore, prioritising other projects and duties than contributing to the AU. Hence this is a challenge to collective governance as for the AU to yield results and be able to address African problems funding is needed. However, from the findings, it was also noted that there is no enforcement mechanism to force states to contribute to the AU hence states they act on their state interests not for the collective interests.

In addition, on the same note of national interests as a challenge to collective security or the Ezulwini consensus goal in addressing African problems. Most of the respondents especially political analysts, scholars and some diplomats noted that due to their national interests of collecting raw materials and minerals in Africa most developed or European states especially the P-5 they are against the idea of a united Africa plus extending veto power to African countries as they know the African continent is very rich hence a united Africa with a permanent seat in the UNSC will change the balance of power in the world. Hence the Western states especially USA is against expanding the UNSC as it want to consolidate its power and status as per the national interests.

4.5.2 Colonial legacies

Diplomats and students noted that colonial legacies are one of the major challenges of collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems. The respondents noted that Africa is divided according to their colonial masters and this is evidenced by France's role in their former colonies. The francophone states most of them are against the Ezulwini consensus and are supporting France to consolidate its power in the P-5. through these colonial legacies France is fueling disunity in Africa by encouraging Senegal her former colony to also contest for a permanent seat in the Ezulwini consensus. Hence this is a direct hindrance to collective governance as there is divisions among African states.

4.5.3 Dependency syndrome

Almost all respondents also noted the dependency syndrome is one of the major challenges to collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems.it was noted from the research that most African countries are dependent from the Western states a case in point is Djibouti' agreement for a USA base in the country as it dependent on the USA for protection. Nigeria recently invited the USA to help them fight against terrorism especially Bokoharam, Ghana recently also agreed for a partnership with USA and agree to set a USA base in the country despite the AU agreeing that USA should not have a base in the African soil. Most developing states are dependent in terms of finance and development from the developed states

4.5.4 Nature of the collective governance

The students and some political analysts note that the nature of collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus was one of the major challenges in addressing African problems. The respondents noted that the Ezulwini consensus was not an agreement by the African states hence it was less binding this is the reason why some African countries dis not participate in the Sirte Declaration of 2005. consensus was defined by the respondents as a process that seeks widespread agreement among group members while agreement was defined as an understanding between entities to follow a specific course of conduct. So by this the researcher noted that if the Ezulwini consensus was an agreement by all African states there was going to be unity in Africa towards collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus goal.

4.5.5 Political environment in Africa

The diplomats and scholars noted that the political environment is one of the challenges of collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems. The political environment in Africa according to the respondents is not conducive for collective governance as many leaders are viewed as corrupt and are accused of being dictators. African states also are accused of sponsoring rebels in other African states therefore fueling divisions in the continent hindering collective governance which requires unity to flourish. Examples are that of Rwanda and Uganda which are being accused of sponsoring rebels and causing unrest in DRC. Another example is of Sudan being accused of sponsoring uprisings and rebels in South Sudan thereby dividing the African states.

4.5.6 Lack of cohesion and proper coordination among African member states

The students, diplomats, political analysts, some government ministries and scholars noted that the lack of cohesion and proper coordination among African member states are some of the challenges of collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems. This is noted by the fact that in terms of collective governance there is no cohesion by African state. An example is of Ghana and the ICC where Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and Cape Verde went against the decision of other African states in pulling out of the ICC citing that the organ was only targeting Africans. Hence this shows that there is no cohesion in decision making as there are divisions.

Another example that shows that lack of cohesion and proper coordination among African member states are some of the challenges of collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems is the inefficiency of the Africa standby force which was developed by the AU since 2003 as noted by diplomats. Till date, the African Standby force is not effective in solving African conflicts due to lack of funding, cohesion, proper coordination and commitment from African countries. The researcher noted that if the African counties properly coordinate the African standby force, Africa will be able to solve some of the conflicts in Africa, therefore, limiting external forces in the land.

4.5.7 External influence

Diplomats, scholars, government ministries, international organisations and students noted that external influence is one of the major challenges of collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems. The respondent noted that external countries are fighting against a united Africa and are against Africa's self-reliance. A case in point is the formation of the United States Africa Command (US-AFRICOM) which was formed by the USA in 2006 to help Africa in fighting regional conflicts. However, the respondents noted that the US-AFRICOM was established to counter the Africa standby force which was developed in 2003 but up-to-date is not functional. The main reason for the poor performance of the Africa standby force is that some African states like Liberia, Ethiopian and Djibouti have shift focus on developing it but rather are supporting the US-AFRICOM, hence it is a major challenge to the Ezulwini consensus as there is division in Africa.

More so, external countries have fueled divisions in Africa which is a challenge of collective governance in addressing African problems. The G-5 Sahel is a case in point which was

formed by France in 2014 to enhance development and security matters in West Africa. This move has divided Africa as the G-5 Sahel is made up of former France colonies like Chad, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Mauritania which are in West Africa where Nigeria one of the big powers in Africa is located. The researcher noted that this move further hinders the goal of uniting Africa as the African states are now divided on their colonial grounds.

In addition, the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC) of 2013 is another example of how external influence is a challenge to collective governance. ACIRIC was created to held Africa to resolve conflicts but the respondents noted that it was a way of hindering the unity of Africa and the capabilities of Africa to be self-reliant on security matters using their own Africa standby force. However some African states like South Africa, Algeria and Chad support ACIRIC which is contrary to the AU's vision of not having a USA base in the African land.

4.5.8 Quest for resources

Quest for resources according to almost all the respondents is one of the challenges of collective governance in addressing African problems. The diplomats noted that Gadhafi was killed by external forces in Libya in 2011 due to the USA's quest for resources as Libya is oil rich. External forces have been accused by most African states for sponsoring revolts and opposition parties as the want disorder and a platform to grab resources in Africa. Some political analysts noted that Bokoharam was being sponsored by the USA to cause unrest in Nigeria to provide a platform for the USA to have access to the Nigerian oil. In Zimbabwe, external forces are accused of sponsoring the opposition party MDC so as to overthrow the ruling government and for USA and Britain to have access to land and minerals in Zimbabwe. So the external forces quest for resources affects collective governance in addressing African problems as more problems are being created so as to have an unstable Africa so that they can have access to resources.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter focused on data presentation, interpretation and analysis. The chapter outlined the responses of the various respondents. The response rate of the respondents was captured in this chapter, tables, graphs and charts were also used in the chapter in presenting data.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMANDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusion of the study findings as per objective and the study recommendations which are based on both research findings and other relevant literature considered necessary and vital to be used in the future to improve the study situation.

5.1 Conclusion

Over and above the study noted that states they join or form collective governance so as to address problems as evidenced by the Ezulwini consensus which was formed to try to address the problem of Africa's marginalisation in the UNSC and other problems like poverty, debt and conflicts. The research was undertaken in efforts to interrogate the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems focusing on the Ezulwini consensus from 2005-2017. The study also sought to identify the extent to which collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus can address African problems and also outline major challenges to collective governance in addressing African problems.

From the findings, it was noted that Africa will never achieve its goals as long as the P-5 still stands as shown by the first hypothesis which states that the goals of collective governance in addressing African problems through the Ezulwini consensus can only be achieved if the P-5 accepts the proposal from Africa. History has, in essence, reflected the motives of the European countries which seem to be closely linked to looting African resources namely ivory, gold, platinum and diamonds. Therefore, the P-5 they are against a powerful African continent as it will hinder their quest for resources.

More so, in relation to the above hypothesis, the P-5 has veto power and they can veto any decision by the UNGA even if the AU gets more votes to reform the UNSC. Therefore, this hypothesis was proved right or correct as supported by the above facts. So basically the agreement of the P-5 is necessary for the AU to achieve the Ezulwini consensus goal in addressing African problems.

Furthermore, as shown by the second hypothesis that unity of purpose is the best solution to solve predicaments affecting collective governance in addressing African problems focusing

on the Ezulwini consensus. From the findings, it was noted that unity in Africa was crucial so as to put pressure on the P-5 and gain support from other international states in the UNGA. A united Africa results in a strong, rich and powerful continent as Africa is home to vast resources and now is the fastest growing continent. Hence this second hypothesis was also proved right or correct as it was noted from the findings that a divided Africa can never achieve the Ezulwini consensus goal in addressing African problems. The findings noted that a single state cannot address problems affecting Africa as a whole hence there is a need for unity.

The third hypothesis noted that for the AU to respect the UNSC in promoting peace, equality and view the UNSC as legitimate and credible, the P-5 must agree to the Ezulwini consensus proposal. From the findings, it was noted that Africa is demanding a seat in the UNSC so as to effectively address African problems. So the AU is viewing the UNSC as undemocratic and is threatening to pull out of the UN if their demands are not met. Therefore, the third hypothesis was also proved right or correct as it was noted from the findings that for the UN to remain credible they must reform as other nations not represented might also pull out of the UN.

From the findings, it was also noted that collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems is to a lesser extent feasible. This is mainly due to many challenges of collective governance or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems such as the existence of veto power and the P-5, national interests of states, lack of criteria by the AU to select members to represent the AU in the UNSC, colonial legacies, external influences, dependency syndrome and lack of cohesion and proper coordination among African member states, only to mention but a few. However, from the findings, only a small figure of the respondents was of the view that the Ezulwini consensus goals can be achieved, but at a slow pace and this could take many years due to the above-mentioned challenges

All the above-mentioned challenges led to the following recommendations.

5.2 Recommendations

Africa unity is equally vital as UNSC reforms are important. For African states to achieve their goal of reforming the UNSC and solving the problem of unequal representation in the UNSC they should all unite and all 54 states should vote and push for the UNSC reforms so as to achieve their goal.

More so, the AU should nominate, select or vote for countries to represent the region and its interests in the UNSC. This selection should be done on the regional bases or while they are conducting the AU meeting, and the selection should be based on pan African ideologies, economic stability, political stability and military strength. In selecting these two countries through a vote, it helps the AU member states to support the democratically elected members and also the elected members to seek support from other international states or regional groupings and even their allies, hence making it easy for the Ezulwini consensus goal to be achieved.

In addition, criteria for selecting or voting for AU candidates to represent them in the UNSC should be designed to ensure that there is no outside interference from countries outside the African continent. A democratic vote should be conducted by all representatives of the AU. Therefore, this helps in African unity as all member states will support the elected candidates hence leading to a united voice in calling for reforms in the UNSC.

Continual state motivation is required so that the Ezulwini consensus goal can be achieved. Only 35 countries out of the then 53 member states voted in favor of the Sirte Declaration which supported the Ezulwini consensus hence there is a need for the AU to continue motivating other African states to vote for the Ezulwini consensus goal so that speak with one voice and acquire more votes especially all 54 votes from Africa. These motivations can be done through conferences, songs and magazines encouraging other African countries to vote for the Ezulwini consensus.

Furthermore, to desist from the dependency syndrome, African states should opt for “SELF HELP” as shown by the former President of Zimbabwe Cde R.G Mugabe who donated a million dollars to the African Union. This gesture if imitated by more heads of states, business personnel and willing individuals it will ensure a standing budget to be used in funding AU operations, peacekeeping operations, and financing a standing army to assist in any conflicts across Africa.

African states should use all media outlets including the fast-growing social media to air Africa's views and mobilise international support to reform the UN. Social media is one of the modern ways of advertising and communication, therefore, the AU must use this platform to their advantage and advocate for equal representation in the UN. An example of the power of social media in mobilising support is the Arab spring where protesters used social media to mobilise support against their corrupt governments. Therefore, the AU can use social media to mobilise support locally and internationally so as to achieve their Ezulwini consensus goal.

In order to for the AU to be able to address African problems effectively, the AU must be granted overriding powers by all African states over regional groups within Africa or the AU like SADC and ECOWAS. This move will help to unite Africa and help in resolving conflicting situations and external interference like what happened on the ivory coast issue in 2010 where the AU and ECOWAS took conflicting resolutions and this led to external forces to intervene in the Ivory coast internal affairs.

In order to reduce the problem of external forces in Africa, supporting and strengthening the AU standby force is the best option. The AU standby force has been talked about but up-to-date there is no standing AU army. If the AU standby force is functional AU will be able to solve conflicts faster and effectively hence there will be no need for external forces to help in fostering peace in Africa.

African states to reduce the problem of external influence, they should invest in the continent or in other African states. If African states like Nigeria, South Africa and Morocco who have strong economies invest in other African states this can strengthen relations in Africa thereby uniting the continent other than external investment which has over the years divide Africa rather than uniting African states.

African states in order to gain international support for voting for the Ezulwini consensus goal they should gunner support from international organisations and treaties they are members. For example, South Africa should gunner support from BRICS, Nigeria from OPEC, and Morocco from the EU as it has good relations with many EU countries.

Pulling out of the UN when the UNSC is not reformed is the last option of the AU since they don't have a say and are rather preached on. Africa as a region with most member state if it pulls out of the UN some developing states without a voice in the UNSC who are also demanding reforms may follow suit leading to the disintegration of the UNSC and maybe to a formation of a democratic organisation where all regions are represented only.

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Appendix 1

Letter of informed consent

Dear Sir/ Madam

My name is ThembisaniMpofu, a Master of Science in International Affairs student at the Midlands State University in Zimbabwe. I am currently undertaking a research study as part of the academic requirements at out institution. The title of my research is "***Interrogating the Feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems: the case of Ezulwini Consensus from 2005-2017"***

Background of the problem

After the failure of the league of nations which was created in 1920, under the treaty of Versailles with the intention to promote international peace and security, human dignity,in addition to a platform for deliberations among countries. Although a number of disasters attributed to its failure the most notable ones are that it did not have its own army, it depended on the victorious great powers of World War 1 (WW1) for contributions and funding ignoring others states capable in keeping peace in the world like USA. This led to the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 with 51member states which belonged to the victors of WW11. However since the formation of the UN the international system has undergone many changes, most notably during and after the cold war.this led to the call for reforms in the UN by many states especially from Africa therefore leading to the Ezulwini consensus, which is Africa's common position calling for UN reforms with 2 permanent veto wielding seats and 5 non-permanent seats in the UNSC. In this quest Africa is facing many challenges like resistance by the p-5 members, which 2 countries should represent Africa and also which which criteria to be used in choosing the African representatives.

Statement of the problem

There have been several proposals from both the developing and also the developed nations to reform the UN, so as to make a true reflection of the current international system and also respond efficiently to global threats and challenges. This research is an analysis on the feasibility of achieving the Ezulwini consensus, which is Africa's common position calling for reforms in the UNSC as Africa is trying to solve the problem of unequal representation in the UNSC. The study seeks to examine how effective the Ezulwini consensus is in meeting

the expectations of the UN. The need for representation in the UNSC has seen Africacalling for veto power which is currently held by only five states (European (3), Asian (1) and America (1). The study also cites and examines African huddles in achieving the goals of the Ezulwini consensus.

Sir/ Madam the objectives of this study are as follows:

1.To analyse the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems focusing on the Ezulwini consensus.

2.To examine the challenges of collective governance or Ezulwini consensus in addressing African challenges.

3.To suggest academic strategies and strategic policy recommendations to the achievement of Ezulwini consensus and collective governance in addressing African problems.

The research questions are as follows:

1. *To what extend can collective governance address African problems, focusing on the Ezulwini consensus?*
2. *What are the challenges faced by the collective governance system or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems?*
3. *What are the academic solutions and strategic policy recommendations to collective governance in addressing African problems or the achievement of Ezulwini consensus goal?*

I intent to carry out an interview with you on the date and time that is convenient to you before 25 April 2018. My interview will take less than 30 minutes, and your name will not be disclosed, if you want to terminate during the interview its allowed. You can also skip questions which you are not comfortable in answering the information you will have provided will only be used for academic purposes.

For confirmation and other staff you can contact me on my email address mthembisani@gmail.com ,call 0773369722 or you may contact my supervisor DR Mandiedza Parichi of Midlands State University on email mazvitadawn@gmail.com or call 0773632829.

Respondent

Name ……..

Date ……..

Signature…….

Appendix 2

Master of science in international affairs (MSIA) Fieldwork and research questionnaire

Sir/madam

My name is ThembisaniMpofu, I am a student at the Midlands State University (MSU) studying for a Masters in International Affairs Degree (MSIA).I am carrying out a research on the topic "I***nterrogating the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems :the case of Ezulwini Consensus from 2005-2017"*** . The study is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the program and I therefore ask that you assist by responding to the questions below.

The information will be used for academic purposes only and no information will be divulged to third parties without your consent.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated

Regards

ThembisaniMpofu

Section A

Research objective 1- To understand the reasons of the Ezulwini consensus

- What do you understand by the term Ezulwini consensus?

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Objective 2 -To analyse the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems focusing on the Ezulwini consensus.

- To what extent can Africa achieve the Ezulwini consensus goal and why?

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Objective 3 -To examine the challenges of collective governance or Ezulwini consensus in addressing African challenges.

- What are the challenges faced by the collective governance system or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems?

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- What can be the solutions to some predicaments you have mentioned above?

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Objective 4-To suggest academic strategies and strategic policy recommendations to the achievement of Ezulwini consensus and collective governance in addressing African problems.

- What can be done to assist Africa achieve their goal?

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- What has the international community done to support Africa in realizing their Ezulwini consensus goal?

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- Which two African countries do you think are the best to represent Africa in the UNSC, and why?

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- Which criteria can the African union use in selecting their representatives in the UNSC?

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Appendix 3

Master of science in international affairs (MSIA) Fieldwork research interview questions

Sir/madam

My name is Thembisani Mpofu, I am a student at the Midlands State University (MSU) studying for a Masters in International Affairs Degree (MSIA).I am carrying out a research on the topic "***Interrogating the feasibility of collective governance in addressing African problems :the case of Ezulwini Consensus from 2005-2017".*** The study is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the program and I therefore ask that you assist by responding to the questions below.

The information will be used for academic purposes only and no information will be divulged to third parties without your consent.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated

Regards

Thembisani Mpofu

Interview questions

1. What do you understand by the term the “Ezulwini consensus”?

2. To what extend can collective governance address African problems, focusing on the Ezulwini consensus?

3. To what extent can Africa achieve the Ezulwini consensus goal and why?

4. Which two African countries do you think are the best to represent Africa in the UNSC, and why?

5. What are the challenges faced by the collective governance system or the Ezulwini consensus in addressing African problems?

6.Which criteria can the African union use in selecting their representatives in the UNSC?

7.Which are some of the African predicaments towards the achievement of the Ezulwini consensus goal?

8. What can be the solutions to some predicaments you have mentioned above?

9.What has the international community done to support Africa in realizing their Ezulwini consensus goal?

10.What are the academic solutions and strategic policy recommendations to collective governance in addressing African problems or the achievement of Ezulwini consensus goal?

11. What can be done to assist Africa achieve their goal?

12.Why is the UNSC still respected by the AU although Africa is not fully represented?