



**UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL**

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**INYUVESI  
YAKWAZULU-NATALI**

**AFRICA'S BID FOR A PERMANENT SEAT IN THE UNITED NATIONS  
SECURITY COUNCIL (UNSC): PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES FOR  
NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.**

**By**

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**2015**

# DECLARATION

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# ABSTRACT

This study explored the three aspects: political, economic and crime and corruption factors on South Africa and Nigeria as they compete for the permanent seat on the United National Security council (UNSC). The recent announcement that Nigeria is now a superpower in Africa in terms of economic growth, is one of the factors that prompted the study. On the other hand, South Africa had been enjoying the status of being a superpower economically in Africa for decades. On top of that the recent reports say that Nigeria will continue to increase its economic budget from Nairas 4, 4 trillion this year to 8 trillion in 2016 (Reuters, 2015: 17). This shows that South Africa needs to work harder to reclaim its status.

But the arguments amongst the economists that Nigeria will not enjoy the status for a long time is one issue that is discussed in the study. They economic analysts believe that Nigeria is far behind from South Africa in terms of infrastructure. The living conditions of Nigerian people have not changed. What does this mean in terms of the prospects for either of the two countries claiming a place on the UNSC? This is the core question addressed in this study.

The study followed a qualitative research paradigm which leaned more towards desktop research. Data were collected using existing sources – both historical and current – as well as document analysis. Statements and comments by experts on the issues addressed in the study were also solicited and analysed in order to get a better sense of the current situation and postulate on the likely prospects for each of the two countries.

The findings show that both countries have advantages and disadvantages that will either bolster or retard each country's prospects should the permanent seat in the UNSC become available. These are both endogenous and exogenous. The conclusion is that both Nigeria and South Africa have prospects and challenges. Therefore, the recommendation is that neither of these countries should take it as a given that it will automatically get the UNSC seat should it become available.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Most importantly I give thanks to God Almighty and my ancestors who ensured that both of my parents, Ndoda and Qineleni Mbhense were able to provide their parental guidance which brought me to where I am today.
- Secondly, I would like to thank my friends, colleagues and fellow students for their tireless support.
- Thirdly, my sincere gratitude goes to my dear wife Buhlebuyeza Mbhense who sacrificed everything and remained my pillar of strength as I embarked on this long journey of working towards finishing my dissertation.
- How can I forget my three children, Mnelisi, Sbongakonke and Thandolwethu Mbhense who were always my physical and psychological boosters as they were playing around during the time that I was writing this dissertation.
- Last but not least I would also like to thank my supervisor, Dr Bheki R. Mngomezulu (Dlakadla!) who always encouraged me all the time. His ideas and insight into the study were of tremendous assistance in ensuring that this study was successfully completed on time.

## **ABBREVIATIONS/ACCRONYMS**

ACHPR	Australia Centre for Health Promotion Research
ANC	African National Congress
ANN7	African News Network 7
AU	African Union
AZAPO	Azanian Peoples Organisation
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EFCC	Economic Financial Crimes Commission
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FIFA	Football International Federation Association
FNB	First National Bank
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ICAP	International Centre for Alcohol Policies
ICC	International Criminal Court
IGB	Institute for Global Dialogue
IPC	International Political Economy
MTBPS	Medium Term Budget Policy Statement
MTN	Mobile Telephone Network

NCWS	National Council of Women's Societies
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO's	Non-Governmental Organisations
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAFA	South African Football Association
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SRC	Student Representative Council
SWOT	Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WHO	World Health Organisation

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# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND**

### **1.1. INTRODUCTION**

This study looks at the prospects and challenges for Nigeria and South Africa to get the yet-to-be-created permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). In so doing, the study explores the three aspects: political, economic and crime as well as corruption factors on South Africa and Nigeria as they compete for the permanent seat on the UNSC. These factors are very critical in the international community in terms of assessing the country that qualifies to get a permanent seat on the UNSC or to assess if the status quo of the country has changed.

The recent announcement by the economists and relevant government officials that Nigeria has overtaken South Africa in terms of economic growth was a great shock as South Africa had been enjoying the status of being a superpower economically in Africa for decades. A quick observation shows that Nigeria continues to increase its economic budget. According to the Reuters in Abuja (2015: 17) “the government is proposing to have a budget of 7 to 8 trillion naira (R 568 billion) for 2016, up from 4, 4 trillion this year”. This is a significant increase which should not be taken lightly. This happens at the time when South Africa’s economy is showing signs of decline or only showing a very slight increase than expected.

Will this improvement give South Africa’s arch rival Nigeria more points to get a seat on the UNSC? This is a factor which the study is exploring. This is an interesting development as there are mixed feelings and opinions on the positive changing of Nigeria’s economic status. Economists argue that figures were misrepresented. Others emphasize that even if Nigeria was above South Africa in terms of economic growth, the lives of Nigerian people have not changed and none of them will enjoy the fruits of economic growth except senior officials.

### **1.2 BACKGROUND**

Both countries use all available means to get a seat on the UNSC. Economic growth, political factors and the contribution they have made locally and globally in different fields, are some of the factors both countries would prioritize in bolstering their chances to win the hearts and minds of the international countries to vote for them in the UNSC.

Researchers and writers from across academic disciplines believe that the size of Nigeria geographically is three times bigger than South Africa's. Authors confirm that the population of Nigeria is estimated to be around 180 million. They continue to say that "Nigeria's 170 million inhabitants experience severe electricity shortages that have crippled economic growth, something Osinbajo's document identified as a key challenge" (Reuters: 2015-17). This is one of the advantages of Nigeria to get a permanent seat on the UNSC. But is this enough? This is one of the questions interrogated in this study.

South Africa was the last country in Africa to get freedom from colonialism and oppression in 1994. South Africa was among the African countries that established structures that would maintain an everlasting peace and unity among racial groups in the country, especially after democracy was embraced. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the Commission for Gender Equality and Public Protector and others "are institutions that were established to promote meaningful reconciliation" (Ramaphosa, 2015: 6). Can South Africa use that as part of its strategies to canvass for a permanent seat? Perhaps, it can work for South Africa as some of the structures are effective in terms of avoiding any confrontation and given the fact that no coup has taken place in South Africa compared to Nigeria due to existing institutions meant to consolidate democracy and uphold the National Constitution.

Although both South Africa and Nigeria have weaknesses and strengths in different aspects, both countries have participated in many continental and international structures to bring about change and unity and development where it was necessary. For example, Nigeria and South Africa have played an important role in bringing peace to countries affected by wars and faction fights which ended up escalating to other neighbouring countries. These include the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sudan, Mali, Zimbabwe and many others.

Irrespective of their cooperation, both countries believe that they deserve to represent Africa in the UNSC. Davis (2015: 1) quotes President Jacob Zuma saying that South Africa is adamant that there should be change in the UNSC.

In his address, President Zuma stated that "South Africa will use its participation in the 70th session to continue our relentless work to achieve the reform of the UN, especially of the Security Council which has a key role to play in promoting world peace and security."

On the other hand, Nigerian Vice-President Yemi Osinbajo (2015: 1) recently announced that if one country was to permanently represent Africa on the council [UNSC] it should be Nigeria.

He opined, "We take the position based on our peacekeeping role in the United Nations, the size of our economy, and the fact that we have the largest population in the continent to say that Nigeria deserves a permanent status in the Security Council"

Surprisingly, one of the African icons and the president of Zimbabwe has different views on the matter. Davis (2015: 1) quoted President Robert Mugabe calling on African leaders to refrain from voting both Nigeria and South Africa on the UNSC. He argued: "Africa could never back the two countries because they had betrayed the continent by voting for the Security Council resolution which saw military action taken against Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi".

Crime and corruption are the aspects that couldn't be easily ignored as they have a huge impact on the failure and success of the country in terms of getting a seat in the Council. Senior officials and presidents from both countries have repeatedly announced that they are prepared to root out criminal elements and corruption in their respective countries because they know that this is an important aspect that needs to be urgently and carefully addressed.

According to Akintunde (2015: 1), the director for Nigerian Development and Finance Forum, "more recently we heard of a reform of the federal payroll and payment system through the use of biometric and e-payment solution. As a result, over 60 000 ghost workers have been rooted out of the federal payroll, and so far, cumulative N185 billion have been saved."

Business Day Newspaper correspondent in Abuja, Julia Payne (2015: 22) reports that more than \$7, 5 billion Rands (R93, 1 billion) between 1999 and 2008 still needed to be recovered from oil and gas companies in Nigeria.

As Nigeria is boasting about her economic growth, there are economically related challenges that need to be addressed by the country. As such, "Nigeria, which has Africa's biggest economy and is the continent's top oil producers, faces its worst economic crisis in years brought on by the sharp fall in the crude oil prices. It relies on oil exports for 70 percent of government revenue" (Reuters, 2015: 17).

As the competition continues for the permanent seat, many countries intensify their campaigns to get the seat, especially South Africa and Nigeria from the African continent.

This research looks at the factors that could favour both countries to get the permanent seat in the UNSC as well as the challenges that could hinder both countries to fulfil their goals.

But the call still remains that the UNSC must be transformed. Davis (2015: 1) in the article titled ‘Can South Africa win a seat on the UN Security Council’ quotes the UN General Secretary Ban Ki-moon saying “the reform of the council was “too long overdue” given the shifts in geopolitics since the council’s establishment in the wake of World War II”. This is the background within which the present study was conceived.

### **1.3. PROBLEM STATEMENT**

The study looks at the impacts of three factors, which are political factors, economic factors as well as crime and corruption factors on both Nigeria and South Africa. Both countries have done a lot in terms of developing Africa. But the initiative of both countries to openly declare their availability to represent Africa in the UNSC has intensified the competition. The overtaking of South Africa by Nigeria in terms of economic growth has poured salt on the wound and that is likely to increase the rankings of Nigeria above South Africa. Is that an advantage for Nigeria to snatch a seat from South Africa? Analysts, political observers and academics doubt if Nigeria will stay in driver’s seat for a long time due to other challenges the country is faced with as well as the ageing infrastructure.

Political stability is another factor the study will explore. Both countries are now enjoying the benefits of democracy. They have worked hard to establish structures that will support democracy and they have engaged in international peace treaties with other countries. Nigeria had been experiencing coups over the past few decades after independence in 1960. However, the country has been able to avoid the occurrence of other coups since the return to civilian rule in 1999 when President Obasanjo ascended to power. But Akintunde (2015: 1) is concerned with the failure of government to deal with the Islamist group Boko Haram. In his view, “A true ceasefire agreement with Boko Haram is desirable. It might portray the Nigerian state as weak and unable to quell an insurgency. It might also be seen to exemplify the misperception that Goodluck Jonathan is a weak individual who is occupying the very powerful office of the Nigerian president”.

On the other hand, South Africa did not experience any coup incident. The polite and professional way of bringing stability and peace during the transition period was commended. The democratic government did not retaliate to the oppressors of the black majority in the country, instead the government promoted peace among different racial groups.

Internationally both countries have formed relationships with international countries as means of improving economic growth, sharing information and expertise in different fields. Nigeria and South Africa are members of locally based organisations such as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and South African Democratic Community (SADC) respectively. Both Nigeria and South Africa are members of the AU, Commonwealth and UN. This means that both countries enjoy the same local and international status politically. But for South Africa, being a member of BRICS is the right platform for the country to get more support, especially from Russia and China as they are permanent members of UNSC. This means South Africa still enjoys more popular status than Nigeria on the international scene due to the late South African icon Nelson Mandela. On the hand, this does not mean that it (South Africa) has won the battle.

The acts of terrorism, kidnapping and killing of people, especially young girls by the Islamic group Boko Haram, prompted anger among different people and countries within the African continent and within the international community. The incident put the name of the country in disrepute for failing to detect incidents that were likely to put the lives of Nigerian citizens at risk. According to Mngomezulu (2013:362), “as a general norm in the world, politics and economics are inextricably interwoven and interdependent.” He further argues that, “political upheavals in a country have a direct impact on the national economy.”

Mngomezulu is supported by Aribisala (2014: 1) when he says that Nigeria has neither friends nor godfathers in the international system. Nevertheless, we deserve the understanding of the international community as we move to contain the insurgency. There is general consensus in the academy that efforts of the Nigerian government in countering insurgency need to be acknowledged and supported in light of how intractable similar problems have proved to be in several countries where international resources have been mobilized to greater degree.

The celebration of Mandela Day by the whole world is another way of scoring points for South Africans and keeping the flag of the country flying high on the international scene. During the time of the research (2015), the South African tycoon Tokyo Sexwale availed himself as FIFA presidential candidate. The South African Football Association (SAFA) president Danny Jordan in an interview aired on the South African Broadcasting Cooperation radio station Ukhozi FM (2015) stated that “I had to travel more than 150 countries talking about South Africa in the world, therefore, Sexwale has started that campaign to market himself and South Africa in the international football organisations,



telling them about South Africa and its beauty so that they will vote for him.” The comment shows that South Africa enjoys more publicity compared to Nigeria.

But Agudah (2014: 1) is optimistic that Nigeria is still dominating in Africa. He dreamt: “at 12 midnight on the 31st of December, 2029, the fireworks are blasting from the Centenary City in Abuja. At 1:00 a.m. on the 1st of January, 2030, the results are in: Nigeria has broken the World Record for the largest, grandest and longest fireworks display in history. For discerning observers, who have been following Nigeria's phenomenal growth and progress over the last 20 years, this came as a little surprise”. Does that mean South Africa will get a seat in the UNSC? That is what the study intended to explore.

#### **1.4 HYPOTHESIS/OBJECTIVES**

The study looks at Africa’s bid for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC): Prospects and challenges for Nigeria and South Africa looking specifically political, economic and crime and corruption factors. The hypothesis of this study is that neither Nigeria nor South Africa will have plain sailing in terms of securing a seat on the UNSC should it become available since both countries have advantages and disadvantages.

##### **1.4.1. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The objectives of this study are:

- To research why do both countries strongly believe that they deserve to get a permanent seat in the UNSC.
- To evaluate the strengths of South Africa and Nigeria which can allow them to get a permanent seat in the UNSC.
- To investigate the weaknesses of both countries that can disqualify them to get a permanent seat.
- To examine the Africa’s benefit if Nigeria or South Africa were to be given a permanent seat.

## **1.4.2. RESEARCH PROBLEMS**

(a) Key question.

Why do both countries (South Africa and Nigeria) believe that they deserve to get a permanent seat in the UNSC?

(b) Sub-questions

- What are the strengths of South Africa and Nigeria which can allow them to get a permanent seat?
- What are the weaknesses of both countries that can disqualify them to get a permanent seat?
- How would Africa benefit if Nigeria or South Africa were to be given a permanent seat?

## **1.5. IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH**

The importance of this study is that it compares two countries which are giants in Africa –both economically and politically. It looks at the political role of Nigeria and South Africa in Africa and in the world. As has been highlighted previously, both countries have played a significant role in bringing peace to African countries. This bolsters their claim for a permanent seat on the UNSC.

Crime and corruption will be discussed as writers such as Roberts (1990: 1) from Human Sciences Research Council (HSCRC) mentioned when presenting the findings of his research that fear of crime has become a prominent social and political problem in international circles in South Africa. This statement prompted the research to dwell much on the topic as shall be seen in the next chapters. The study will also take a glance at all sides of Nigeria as she enjoys the status of being an economic superpower in Africa. Reports state that “Nigeria, which has Africa’s biggest economy and is the continent’s top oil producers, faces its worst economic crisis in years brought on by the sharp fall in the crude oil prices. It relies on oil exports for 70 percent of government revenue” (Reuters, 2015: 17). This will be an interesting point to pursue because Nigeria needs to put more efforts to ensure that all her programmes produce positive results that will impact positively in terms of changing the status quo of the country.

But Orya (2014: 1) avers that Nigeria will now influence a new trade scenario within Africa. In his view, this is established in the far-reaching structural adjustment in our domestic economy, as revealed in the new GDP data. The trade influencers are tied in both the absolute size of the country's \$509.9 billion GDP (which is by a wide margin the biggest in Africa), and the structural diversification that is revealed in the recent GDP rebasing. The efficacy of this economic fact in increasing or reducing chances for Nigeria's prospects will be addressed.

## **1.6. METHODOLOGY**

The research paradigm for this study was the qualitative paradigm. The researcher collected information by means of reading books, newspapers, and other government documents. The researcher followed the recommendations of his supervisor, Dr. Bheki R Mngomezulu and the university's Higher Degrees Committee (HDC) to use the desktop based research method to collect information and then supplement it with other data collection strategies.

The study was confined to and conducted in KwaZulu-Natal province, some of the sources of information were extracted from columns by different experts, academics and researchers, reports from independent research institutions and the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Radebe (2014: 86) says "a literature review is said to be the best example of this type of research as it looks at the findings of the previously published studies". For the purposes of this study the researcher had to look at the previous data sets which entailed books, journals and newspaper articles in order to summarise and critique them with the view to make a case for the present study.

Benfield and Szlemko (2006: 1) espouses the view that "by its very nature, the internet appears to be very promising medium for researchers. As a vehicle for data collection, it promises increased sample size, greater sample diversity, easier access and convenience, lower costs and time investing and many other appealing features".

The author also used the internet to source some information as it is supported by the above authors. The researcher found this method easily accessible and time saving unless the website or the content of the webpage needed the researcher to put the password to access the information.

The findings of the study were recorded for future references and for the benefit of the next generation. As is required, the final document [the dissertation] will be kept in the library of the University of KwaZulu-Natal to be used by other researchers. Ragan (2011: 2) avers that “once you have analysed the data, don’t forget to record your analysis. It is really easy to think of something the data is telling you but to forget to write it down. Make sure you write all your observation down. You can go through them later when you are writing the report but at this stage get it all down on paper”. The author subscribes to this philosophy.

### **1.7. DEMARCATION / SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

Based on the views from different writers, it came to the attention of the author that the political situation in each country is challenging. The Nigerian political situation is still a challenge as there are many people who lost their lives due to political unrests and the then continuous coup incidents. Therefore, it came to the attention of the researcher that individuals and political leaders must be applauded for their role in bringing relative calm and stability in Nigeria.

Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo, Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari are among the leaders that deserve a big round of applause and acknowledgement for their bravery in bringing transformation, especially peace and stability in Nigeria. The three leaders can use their influence for the country to get a seat. Their track records speak for themselves because of their achievements in bringing and maintaining democracy.

As i mentioned earlier, crime will determine the failure and success of Nigeria in its bid for the permanent seat. The mark made by Boko Haram to kidnap young girls must be noticed and Nigeria needs to prove that she is capable of dealing with acts of terrorism in the country.

The recent running for cover of Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari deserves to be noted as it showed the feebleness of the law enforcement agencies in Nigeria. Nwabughio (2015: 1) puts it this way: “there is no security assurance of the community from the government and law enforcement agencies are not capable of bringing political stability in the country”.

South Africa experienced apartheid for decades until she was emancipated in 1994. The smooth transition of South Africa from the apartheid era to democracy was applauded across the globe. But the challenge that faces the country is to uphold the principles and values of democracy.

Other authors in the previous chapters criticise African leaders for failing to honour their promises of bringing basic services to the people and ensuring that there is political stability. Are South African leaders really prepared to address challenges facing the people of Africa? This is the question the author addresses in the relevant chapters.

The forceful removal and killing of foreign nationals in South Africa got the attention of the world and drew criticism from international organisations such as the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees and the Red Cross, as the country is well respected in terms of promoting peace across the globe. The Staff Writer for Business Day Newspaper (2015: 1) says the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is deeply concerned by the continued outbreaks of xenophobia that have been occurring around the country in 2015, particularly in Durban where many foreign families, including refugees and asylum seekers, have been displaced.

The UN, Common Wealth, AU, Brazil, Russia, India, China South Africa (BRICS), International Criminal Court (ICC) and many others are international organisations that promote economic growth and democracy in the whole world or in countries that are members of these organisations. South Africa is one of the African countries that has joined international organisations in order to advance and deepen democracy. When South Africa refused to arrest Sudanese President al-Bashir, what message did this send to the International Crime Court (ICC)? This was a powerful initiative taken by the country to act against the principles and regulations of the ICC and the message sent is likely to force the ICC to change its principles, as they believe the institution targets African leaders. The following chapter will paint a clear picture as relevant analysts and experts will be quoted expressing their views on the topic and other issues raised above.

## **1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION:**

The dissertation is divided into six chapters, namely:

### **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

In this chapter I outline the background of the study and present the aims of the study. The questions the study sought to address and the objectives it aimed to achieve have been presented in this chapter.

### **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter will discuss what other researchers, academics, intellectuals and analysts have said or written about the research topic. Similar and different opinions of the authors will be presented in this chapter. Literature review will help to justify the importance of conducting the research and its relevance and contribution to the existing body of knowledge.

### **CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter will discuss the theory on which the study is grounded. This is done not just because this is conventional practice (important as that might be). On the contrary, the aim is to locate the study within the broader theoretical context.

### **CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY**

This chapter will present the methodology used in conducting the research. This will include data collection methods as well as any challenges the researcher might have encountered during the data collection process.

### **CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

This chapter will present the findings of the research followed by a discussion based on the findings. The discussion will give meaning to the research topic, questions asked and the objectives of the research.

## **CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The chapter will conclude the study and highlight strong points which emerged during the research. Recommendations will also be presented and proposals made for further research on the topic. Limitations of the study (if any) will be highlighted and recommendations made on future research on a related theme.

### **1.9. CONCLUSION**

The chapter presented the introduction of the chapter, background of the study and the structure of the whole dissertation was presented. The focal point of the study is look at the political, economic and crime and corruption factors on both Nigeria and South Africa as they compete for the seat on the UNSC. The background of the study highlighted some important points on these issues. In a nutshell, Chapter one presented the broader background within which the study was conceptualized and provided the reasons why such a study was deemed necessary. Chapter two, which is literature review will discuss the topic further by considering what other authors and commentators have said or written about the theme of the present study. This will locate the study in the general discussion within the continent and in the context of international debates.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter explores three issues: the political situation, the economic status and crime as well as corruption in both countries, South Africa and Nigeria. These aspects are very critical in the international community in terms of assessing each of the two countries. As the above mentioned countries are canvassing for a permanent seat on the UNSC, the three issues will be explored because they form part of the United Nations' criteria for the country to qualify to be a member of the United Nations, especially the UNSC.

The recent announcement by the economists and relevant government officials that Nigeria has overtaken South Africa in terms of economic growth has raised eyebrows as South Africa has been enjoying the status of being a superpower economically in Africa all these years. Will this shift give South Africa's opponent more points and increase Nigeria's prospects to join the UNSC? This is the question the chapter will be exploring. Some economists argue that the figures were misrepresented while others emphasize that even if Nigeria is above South Africa in terms of economic growth, the Nigerian people's lives will remain the same and none of them will enjoy the fruits of economic growth except senior officials.

Other analysts argue that infrastructural development goes parallel with economic growth. So, how has Nigeria overtaken South Africa whereas she has old ageing infrastructure? Given that Nigeria's population is three times bigger than that of South Africa, will that contribute to the economic growth of the country? Will Nigeria's large population be an added advantage for the country to get more votes to secure a permanent seat on the UNSC? The chapter will look at how various sources address these and other questions pertinent to the study.

#### **2.2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.**

##### **2.2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This section of the chapter deals with the background of Nigeria and South Africa. Various authors and researchers wrote extensively about these two countries.



This section gives a clear picture about the challenges and difficulties faced by both countries during colonialism and strategies both countries used to fight against oppression.

### **(a) Nigeria**

As some African countries were annexed by European countries, Nigeria was also annexed by Britain in 1861. The annexation of Lagos, the alleged largest city in Africa, led to the establishment of Southern Protectorates in Nigeria. Before the annexation, there were a number of kingdoms. These included the Kingdom of Ife and Benin, and the Yoruba Empire of Oyo. There were city states of the Niger Delta, which had grown in response to European demands for slaves and later palm oil, as well as politically decentralized but culturally homogenous Ibo peoples of the Eastern region and the small tribe of the plateau. All these state structures grew tremendously through some form of trade, either internally or externally with foreigners.

The nation struggled and even fought to create a sense of nationalism. There were doubts as to whether Nigeria could survive as a sovereign federation. The Nigerian Nationalist Movement aimed to make Nigerians think of themselves as a unit, less as members of distinct ethnic groups but as citizens of one political entity. Initially, its goal was not self-determination, but rather increased participation in the governmental process on a regional level. The movement produced prominent personalities such as Herbert Macaulay, revered today as ‘the father of Nigerian Nationalism’ and descendent of Bishop Crowther, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, president of the newly formed indigenous senate and eventually governor-general of the independent federation and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Nigerians first indigenous Prime Minister and Chief Obafemi Awolowo, radical activist and leader of the group.

The role of women in the struggle against oppression and colonialism must not be forgotten. The early stages of a nationalist revolt against British rule also took the form of local skirmishes like ‘Aba Women’s Riots’. From 1928 to 1930, Aba women rose in protest against the oppressive rule of the colonial government. The women were particularly unhappy about the over taxation of their husbands and sons which they felt was impoverishing them and leading to economic hardship. Their actions forced the local chiefs to relinquish their power and they also had control over local trade and specific crops. They also protected their interests through assemblies. Today, Nigeria has many women’s organizations, one of them is the National Council of Women’s Societies (NCWS).

After a long struggle for independence, in October 1960, the British government lifted its colonialism from Nigeria. Wines (2010: 1) of the New York Times says at a stroke of midnight on October 1, 1960, at a racecourse outside Lagos, a crisp green and white flag climbed a giant flagpole, replacing a British Union Jack.

As fireworks lit up the sky, tens of thousands of people roared collectively and sang the words of a new national anthem. After a century of a British rule, Nigeria had become an independent nation.

Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the first Prime Minister after independence delivered the first speech in 1960. In it, he stated inter alia that “The first of October 1960 is a date to which for two years every Nigerian has been eagerly looking forward. At last, our great day has arrived, and Nigeria is now indeed an independent sovereign nation. Words cannot adequately express my joy and pride at being the Nigerian citizen privileged to accept from Her Royal Highness these Constitutional instruments”. (<http://www.blackpast.org/1960-sir-abubakar-tafawa-balewa-independence-day>)

In January 1966, a group of army officers, consisting of Ibo people and led by General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, overthrew the central and regional governments, killed the Prime Minister, took control of the government, and got rid of the federal system of government and replaced it with central government mostly dominated by Ibos as advisors.

The Global Literacy Project gives the breakdown of years according to their incidents. In 1967, the military governor of the Eastern region, Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu refused to accept the division of the Eastern Region and declared the Eastern Region an independent republic called Biafra. This led to a civil war between Biafra and the remainder of Nigeria. In the 1970's, the major reconstruction of the areas that were formerly part of Biafra was undertaken. Sheu Shagari was returned as president of the second republic. In December 1983, Shagari's administration was deposed by Alhaji Shehu and immediately a second coup took place in 1983 by General Ibrahim Babangida, who promised new elections. And in 1983, according to British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) (2015: 1) Muhammadu Buhari ruled Nigeria from January 1984 until August 1985 after a military coup in December 1983.

From 1990 to 1997, Nigerians overwhelmingly voted for Social Democratic Party candidate Moshood Abiola as the president of the country. Babangida stepped down in August 1987.

On January 20, 1999, Nigerian and international election observers declared the election in Nigeria as free and fair. Two days later, the winner was announced which was the former military ruler Olusegun Obasanjo.

According to Radebe (2014: 7), Obasanjo had proven to be some kind of a catalyst for Nigeria's politics simply because in 1979 he returned the country to civilian rule.

And in 2007, he stepped down peacefully. But according to Rachel Ogbu (2013: 1) Obasanjo had borrowed money to acquire certain government assets. The shares were offered to many government officials including former Vice-President Atiku Abubakar and the then Minister of Finance, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala.

Radebe (2014) notes that the Nigerian president was directly elected for a four year term. To be elected as president, a candidate had to also get 25 percent of the votes in two-thirds of the states of the federation and the Federal Capital Territory. This was achieved. Nigeria has enjoyed a smooth transition of power from Obasanjo to Umaru Yar'Adua to President Goodluck Jonathan, and from him to the incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari.

Radebe (2014: 7) quotes Ikome saying that Nigerian legislature rests with the National Assembly, consisting of a 36 member House of Representatives and a 109 member Senate. The judiciary consists of the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal and the Federal High Court. Each federal state has an elected governor, serving a four year term and is the state's chief executive leader. However, the Islamic group, Boko Haram's kidnappings and killings of citizens in northern part of Nigeria and the Niger Delta region volatility are proving to be daunting task for the federal government. These are some of the known facts about Nigeria.

## **(b) South Africa**

The Lonely Planet Travel Information (2015: 2) reports that South Africa's history extends back to around 40 000 BC when the first San people first settled in Southern Africa. South Africa was colonized by the British in the seventeenth century. The discovery of gold in the country led to the intensification of colonization by Britain in 1886. Following independence from Britain in 1963, an uneasy power sharing between the two groups held sway until the 1940's, when the Afrikaner National Party was able to gain strong majority following the 1948 election.

Strategists in the National Party invented apartheid as means to cement their control over the economic and social system. Initially, the aim of apartheid was to maintain white domination while extending racial separation.

In the 1960's a plan of 'Grand Apartheid' was executed, emphasizing territorial separation and police repression towards the blacks. The article 'The History of Apartheid in South Africa' reports that in 1948, laws of discrimination were established and these laws were touching all aspects of life, including a prohibition of marriage between non-whites and whites and the sanctioning of whites only jobs.

In 1950, the Population Registration Act required that all South Africans be racially classified into one of the three categories: white, black (African) and coloureds and Indians.

Classification into these categories was based on appearance, social acceptance and decent. For example, a white person was defined as a white person, or generally accepted as a white person. A person could not be considered white if one of his or her parents was non-white. The then Department of Home Affairs was responsible for the classification of the citizenry. During the process, all black people were required to carry pass books all the time wherever they went. These documents contained personal information such as finger prints, photo and information on access to non-black areas.

The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, The Public Safety and Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 were passed as means of restricting a free movement of black people in their country of origin. (<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/south-africa/history>).

The Union of South Africa was established in 1910 uniting four provinces (the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal). During the reign of the National Party, General Barry Hertzog raised issues championing Afrikaner interests. The passing of the oppressive laws, as discussed above, was a clear indication that the interests of the Afrikaners were prioritized while those of the other racial groups were undermined.

Campbell (2010: 1-10) makes the point that African resistance against oppression and apartheid was intensified among the Blacks, which included the Soweto Uprising of 1976. But this was by no means a new development. In 1912, Pixley Ka Seme formed a national democratic organization to represent blacks. It was initially called the South African National Congress.

In 1949, the ANC for the first time advocated open resistance in the form of strikes, acts of public disobedience and protest marches with occasional violent clashes between the whites and activists. This was followed by the Defiance Campaign from 1952. In June 1955, several organizations including the Indian Congress held a congress in Kliptown for a non-racial and democratic state.

At this congress the Freedom Charter was adopted and served as the foundation for the envisaged liberated South Africa.

Lonely Planet Information (2015: 3) adds that in 1960, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) called for a nationwide strike at Sharpsville against black oppression. The police opened fire to the demonstrators killing 67 people and wounding 186. Soon after that both the PAC and ANC were banned and the security forces were given the right to detain people indefinitely.

Nelson Mandela became the leader of the underground structure of the ANC and Oliver Tambo went abroad to establish the organization and the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto Wesizwe (MK). As mentioned above, in 1976, the Soweto Students Representative Council (SRC) protested against the use of Afrikaans. This led to the riots and mass arrests.

In 1990, F.W. de Klerk at his opening address in parliament freed the ANC, PAC and the Communist Party. Media restriction was also lifted. In 1991, the Convention for the Democratic South Africa (CODESA) began negotiations on the coming together of a multi-racial groups and total abolition of apartheid through voting. At midnight on 26-27 April 1994, the old national anthem "Die Stem" was sung across the country. Also, the national anthem 'Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika' was also sung (Lonely Planet Information: 2015-3).

In the first democratic election, the ANC won with 62, 7 percent votes. It also won all seven provinces except Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. In 1997, Nelson Mandela voluntarily handed over ANC leadership to his deputy Thabo Mbeki.

Mbeki resigned as President after almost ten years in September 2008 following the decision by the ANC to recall him. He was followed by Kgalema Motlanthe as a 'caretaker' president until the next election in 2009. As the political dramas were playing around, social dissatisfaction rose in May 2008. The foreign nationals were also targeted even if they did not do anything wrong. In the process, several of them were beaten up and even killed.

To curb the spread of violence, army forces were deployed in the affected areas but commentators had argued that riots causes had not been properly addressed and that a similar incident could happen again. (Lonely Planet Information, 2015: 3).

Jacob Zuma also affectionately known as JZ was assured victory when his sexual rape charges were dropped weeks before the polls opened in 2009. Indeed, Zuma won the 2009 election convincingly 65, 90 percent. He was re-elected into office in May 2014 and is currently serving his second and last term in office the country's president. The next general election is scheduled for 2019.

## **2.3. THE IMPACT OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.**

### **2.3.1. Introduction**

This section of the chapter deals with the political situation of Nigeria and South Africa. Various authors, commentators, analysts, researchers and other writers have presented their views and opinions regarding the status of the political situation in Nigeria and in South Africa.

This is one of the most critical factors that determine whether both countries respectively qualify to get a seat on the UNSC or not. Other researchers have alluded that the political situation in Nigeria is not the same and it has improved dramatically from dictatorship to democracy since 1999.

#### **(a) Nigeria**

Kaigama (2014: 1), the Arch-Bishop of Jos in Nigeria says "The current political situation in Nigeria is more dangerous than the time of the Biafra War. The religious dimension belongs to the profound intimacy of people. One is likely to appeal to the irrational instincts of man".

Kaigama (2014) in his article quotes former Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan as saying. "The situation is even worse than the civil war. During the civil war we knew and could even know on which side the enemy came from, but the challenge we face today is more complicated".

He adds that in these areas the Christians, especially those from the South, as the Ibo people, are deeply anxious and are preparing to return to their home areas. I have just returned from the visit in Southern Nigeria. Even there, the Muslims, who are from the North, are deeply concerned and are preparing to return to the north. In my opinion, a very dangerous development. This is the message directed to the government to make sure that he brings peace and avoid the incidents of kidnapping.

Cornelius (2015: 1), a member of Fund For Peace in Nigeria espouses the view that “Nigerians can focus on their country’s building democracy. The ability for Nigerians to maintain peace in the post-election period has huge implications for the whole West African region. If Nigerians can collectively take the driver’s seat and steer the trajectory of their country towards democracy, they will serve as a model to other countries for what can be achieved with credible elections”. The author believes that Nigerian government could not win the battle of political instability in Nigeria, which means foreign assistance is needed to help Nigeria and these are signs of the failure of government to protect its citizens for future attack.

Annan (2015: 1-2) added that Jonathan and his opponent who was an incoming president Muhammadu Buhari, agreed to peaceful presidential elections by signing an interparty agreement committing them and their parties to taking active measure to prevent electoral violence before, during and after elections. They also agreed to respect the outcome of the ballot.

Nigerian author of Author Me.Com Mac-edwin Obi (2005: 1) and Abdullahi Adamu (2007: 02-05) respectively agree that the population of Nigeria can have an influence and add value for Nigeria to get a seat on the Council. Nigeria is the most populous black nation in the world. One out of every four Africans is a Nigerian. One out of every five blacks in the world is a Nigerian ([writechangenigeria.com/broadband-a-catalyst-for-national-development](http://writechangenigeria.com/broadband-a-catalyst-for-national-development)). The United Nations put the total population of the world at 6, 1 billion in the year 2000. Interestingly, 25 percent of the world is black and these are people who desire that their vote must be heard as a distinct racial group in the world.

Van Wyk (2000-2006: 07) still believes that democratic values must be instilled in Nigeria for her to qualify for a seat. According to van Wyk, “At the political level, as soon as Nigeria embraced democratization, both states revived their moribund economic and trade relations, that would establish the economic policy approach to the development of the two states”.

Okumu (2005: 1), a Canadian based analyst of African Affairs agrees that Nigeria would win this round based on the size of its population.

He writes: “This often confuse to have a large number of African population. Nigeria, as the most populous African country would win on this count, even though, 7/8 Africans do not live in Nigeria and would therefore be unrepresented and what is needed is the selection that is not based on the size and composition”.

Meanwhile, Aribisala (2013: 2-5), the Nigerian Development Financial Forum and the Chairman of the Editorial Board and former Special Advisor to the Foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria argues that the involvement of Nigeria in the struggle against apartheid or oppression of the African countries especially South Africa is one of Nigeria’s credentials. In others words Nigeria is regarded or is among the countries that had already done its part in terms of proving that she is capable of dealing with its own affairs and also of neighbouring countries. South Africa is a good example of her ‘efforts’ in spite of the fact that it is in far-way West Arica and not in Sothern Africa.

The international role of Nigeria in the international community is also regarded as an aspect that can add value and put Nigeria in an advantage position, as the country has been at the forefront on international peace keeping force and it is the “largest exporter of peace” in Africa and the fourth largest in the World.

The former Nigerian foreign minister Olugbenga Ashiru was faced with tough questions when he addressed members of the media in the US in 2011 regarding the security and safety of the country. In response, he stated inter alia that:

I fully agree that Nigeria is facing a serious problems in terms of bringing political stability and security in Nigeria. Yes, I can assure you that we had a useful discussion on that with the Secretary of State (Hillary Clinton) to offer support and assistance to Nigeria to combat this issue of terrorism. You see, no one country can handle this issue on its own, so it has to be multilateral and multifaceted. We believe our government is on top of the situation and they will continue to develop expertise and capability to manage and curtail this new menace that we have. (Olugbenga Ashiru, 2011: 3-4).

Although the contesting of the permanent seat between Nigeria and South Africa has dominated headlines, Salifu (2011: 02-03) suggests that if both countries compete for the permanent seat on the UNSC, that can advance the African continent economically.



In his view, “While both South Africa and Nigeria offer competition arguments for UNSC permanent occupancy, they would do well to ensure that their competition for permanent membership is not at the expense of their relationship”. This comment emphasizes the importance of unity among the Africans and the writer shifts the focus from the competition, instead he paints a positive picture on the involvement of both countries when they compete for the permanent seat.

Okumu (2005) argues that Nigeria’s financial records in the UNSC is not good. The late payment of the UN membership by some African countries can be a disadvantage to all countries who intend to compete the UNSC permanent seat. The amount of the permanent membership due is assessed according to a country’s ability to pay. African countries including Nigeria are notorious for late payment and delinquencies only matched by the United States, which intentionally withholds payment as a way of exerting pressure on the UN or to make political points.

Ademiluyi (2013: 1) holds the view that if Nigeria gets a permanent seat that will be another form of serving the interests of the USA and other European countries instead of Nigerians.

It is a well-known fact that foreign aid is granted on the basis of strategy, and not on humanitarian grounds. Being on the Council is not necessarily a guarantee of additional foreign aid. It is possible for Nigeria to be arm twisted by both the United States and the United Nations to do what is not the Nigerian interest for the mere sale of granting Nigeria aid.

Boswell (2015: 39), the Young Women Leadership Project at the African Gender Institute at the University of Cape Town is concerned with the high level of the violation of women’s rights and restricting women from expressing their views by means of movement and dress code in Nigeria. The policing of women’s clothing has occurred into two broad waves in Africa. The first was in the late 1960’s and 1970’s, when the newly independent nations sought to build national by distinguishing themselves culturally from the West. In this Kenya, Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania preceded Uganda and Nigeria in their banning or attempting to ban items of women’s clothing such as mini-skirts and revealing trousers, on the grounds that these were ‘unAfrican’, corrupted national culture, encouraged prostitution and led to moral degeneracy.

Professor of Clinical Microbiology at the University of Lagos, Ogunsola (2015: 18) says the Nigerian government registered its name in the international world countries by saving the Nigerian people's lives during the outbreak of the deadly virus Ebola which had claimed many people's lives in Africa and the whole world. Ogunsola writes: "Within three months, the most densely populated country in the continent had managed to contain the deadly virus with only eight deaths. By October 20, the World Health Organisation (WHO) declared Nigeria Ebola free. In stark contrast, fourteen months after the case of Ebola was declared in Liberia, the country is only this week celebrating the announcement that it is Ebola free".

Irrespective of all what has been said about Nigeria, Clinton (2011: 3) also commended Nigeria for the role she played in Africa and globally on the UNSC. She noted: "Nigeria also played a key role in on global issues through its seat on UNSC and has been a leader in helping to improve stability in West Africa. Nigeria played a critical role in supporting the difficult democratic transitions in Guinea and Niger. Nigeria's own example of credible elections provides it with great credibility in democracy promotion across the continent."

Now, it is up to the readers to analyse facts, opinions, comments from analysts and specialists and conclude whether Nigeria is likely to get a seat or not. This is a platform which allows the throwing of ideas.

## **(b) South Africa**

The Chief Director of the United Nations from the South African Departmental of International Relations and Cooperation Leslie Gumbi (2011: 9-15) suggests that the following must be taken into account in terms of underpinning the principle of South Africa's foreign policy: commitment to human rights, promotion of democracy, justice and international law, international peace and the resolution of conflicts.

South African political analyst Aubrey Matshiqi supports South Africa in the article on the topic: The Emerging Powers Dimension (2011: 4) by saying that South Africa was depicted as being very idealistic prior to 1994 because of the nature of the liberation struggle. The moral and ethical dimensions of apartheid influenced South Africa's outlook of what the World should be. Today the country is being judged on the basis of those expectations.

This is the indication that based on the good track-record of South Africa in prioritizing the human rights, promotion of equality of all racial groups and other aspects, these factors can be an advantage to the country and can influence other countries to vote for South Africa.

Njonguo (2013: 2-5) fully agrees that South Africa deserves to get a permanent seat as Africa will benefit politically, economically and socially. He starts by mentioning that South Africa has already laid a strong foundation politically by joining international organisations. “South Africa has already been jockeying for positions for power around new globe. The South Africans are a member of the BRICKS and even hosted its 2013 BRICKS Summit and she is a member of the Group of Twenty (G20)”.

de Waal (2015), the Director for World Peace Foundation adds that irrespective of the challenges the country is facing but the dignity, recognition and credibility of the country in the international communities had been eroded following the failure of the South African government to arrest Sudanese president Omar al Bashir during the sitting of AU in South Africa in 2015. “South Africa has ratified the Rome Statute that set up the International Criminal Court (ICC) and has an obligation to comply with its provisions. It is also a country with a reputation for an independent judiciary and upholding the rule of law. Famously, President Thabo Mbeki resigned from his position when a court found against him”.

Hamilton (2014: 1-2) on the topic “Are South Africans Free?” argues that the political situation in South Africa does not cater all the people of South Africa.

In his view, “Despite South Africa’s successful transition to democracy and lauded constitutional freedom for the majority of South Africans remain elusive. The poor majority are poorly represented and lack power and thus freedom”.

But Professor Amusan (2013: 1) from the Department of Politics and International Relations at the North-West University contends that “looking into the responsibilities that it entails as a permanent member, no African states have attained the status because of economic underdevelopment, over reliance on the developed states for economic development and political instability coupled with high level of corruption” This comment triggers debate about the country that should qualify to get a permanent seat in the Council as both countries are allegedly affected by high rates of corruption and financial embezzlement by government officials.

Mamphela (2015: 19) says African leaders set a bad example about Africa as they fail to develop the continent. She avers: “South Africa is a victim of the failure of African leaders for failing to improve the lives of their respective people. African leaders fail to honour their commitments to provide for the basic needs for all citizens and invest in the development for their talents to create shared prosperity. Governance failures are pushing poor Africans into desperate migration into our country.” Mamphela proposes that South Africa must implement the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) recommendations of 2008 such as the proper migration policy in order to prevent the further attacks and political instability in the country.

According to Neethling (2001: 1) the participation of South Africa in peace missions in Africa has been noticed by the UNSC and South Africa has put a mark in the international community in terms of bringing stability in Africa. Neethling recalls: “On Monday October 2001, the UNSC unanimously adopted a resolution to back the creation of a temporal international security force for Burundi, it also endorsed the efforts of South Africa, and other countries, to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement which was signed by Burundi’s warring factors in August 2000.”

Dr. Okumu (2005: 1-6) throws his weight behind South Africa’s participation in bringing peace in the African continent and writes: “South Africa has played an active role of promoting Africa’s development through the NEPAD initiative and heading the AU at its formative period.”

What if both countries (South Africa and Nigeria) put their differences aside and come together and speak with one voice for the benefit of the African continent in the UNSC? Amusan (2000-2006: 3) pours cold water on the idea. He argues that although both countries have many things in common including their role in peace keeping missions, the interdependence theory is not a solution in the competition of UNSC seat, instead they must take separate ways. He adds that as much as integration can generate stability, predictability, regularity, unity, growth and development, it can also breed frustration, anger, instability, competition and conflict. Interdependence may be asymmetrical, whereby one of the units in a system tends to benefit more than the others (periphery states).

South African International Relations minister Dr. Maite Nkoane-Mashabane (2015: 18) observes that twenty-one years after the attainment of freedom and democracy, peace and friendship remain one of the most core objectives of our foreign policy.

The African continent remains central to our foreign policy, and this approach forms the basis of our friendship, cooperation and peace efforts all over the world. We stand for cooperation and partnership, instead of competition, in our relations with Africa and the World.

But on the section called 'Letters to the Editor' in the Mail and Guardian Newspaper (2015: 30), the reader is concerned about the failure of South African leaders to prioritise the needs of its citizens. "South Africa's reputation is at stake. We need straight answers, not amateur videos with smarmy music, not bluster and obfuscation and not accusations of colonialism and imperialism being thrown about. We are patriotic South Africans. We must not be treated like idiots".

The reports about the involvement of South African Force in sex abuse in Peacekeeping mission in Africa dominated headlines. United Nations Office of Internal Oversight Committee (2015: 12) reveals that South African Peacekeepers are the worst sexual predators on peacekeeping mission across the world. This source contends: "South African soldiers were involved in just about every crime imaginable and this include rape and murder. In the eight years that South Africa headed the peacekeeping mission in Burundi, South African soldiers were charged with almost misdemeanours and there were about 1000 military trials for crimes ranging from being absent without to rape and murder."

South African Minister of Defence Nosiviwe Maphisa-Nqakula (2015:12) told members of the South African parliament that 93 cases were brought against South African soldiers who were serving in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

She told parliament that: "South African National Defence Force (SANDF) was supposed to be a 'disciplined military force'. Of the 93 cases, most shockingly, at 23 involved crimes against women. They included, for example, alleged sexual molestation, rape, murder of Burundian girl, sexual abuse and exploitation and sexual abuse and misconduct". UN General Secretary Ban Ki-Moon was quoted by Business Day Newspaper journalist Wyndham Hartley (2015) saying: "It is a sad reflection on the leadership and discipline exercised in peacekeeping missions, particularly South Africans ones, that a simple Google search for abuses amongst peacekeepers produces literally hundreds of pages and incidents".

The refusal of South Africa to arrest Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir sparked debate regarding the image of South Africa in the international community.

Mazwai (2015: 7), a former journalist and political activist in South Africa says South Africa left a mark or set up a good example to other African states for disobeying the top down approach of the International Criminal Court (ICC) to arrest Sudanese president. He opined: “That we are military superior to Sudan is not a point. The point is, had we arrested Al-Bashir and handed him over to the ICC, we would now be the polecat of Africa. We have spent the past 20 years integrating ourselves into Africa, which has the African Union, of which we are proud members. If this body takes a decision, we must comply.”

Professor Maluleke from the University of Pretoria (2015: 29) believes the credibility of the South African president Jacob Zuma locally and continentally for being strategic politically must be used to canvass for South Africa. In his view, “First, we must hasten to say that Zuma is not unique, either here in South Africa or elsewhere. That is not to suggest, as some lazy thinkers sometimes do-often with naked racist intent-that Zuma is bad because he is black and, “like the rest of them”, he cannot govern. I suggest that we render unto Zuma what is due to Zuma”.

A Commissioner at the Gender Commission for Gender Equity Shozi (2015: 18) says “the high number of the violation of women’s rights through the patriarchal system in South Africa is a concern. If patriarchy is not destroyed completely, it will covertly, destroy our democracy and all founding pillars of our constitution”.

Shozi’s comment is echoed by Phasha (2015: 19) when he says traditionally, women in South Africa were denied access to property rights under customary law as they were generally regarded as legal minors under the guardianship of their father, husband or brother.

Shozi further argued that “Although women’s rights to equality and property rights have been protected by the constitution since 1996, many women still face social and legal obstacles accessing and using property”. These comments paint a clear that South Africa still facing a challenge of educating women with their rights and failure to do so, women will be the victim of a patriarchal system forever.

United Nations Under-Secretary General and Executive Director and former South African Deputy President Mlambo-Ngcuka (2015: 18) regards the payment of women in sports as a joke. She opines: “Women players also face a huge gap.

The total pay-out for the Women’s World Cup was \$15 million (R186 million), compared with \$576 million for the last year’s World Cup, 40 times less.

The winning women's team received \$2 million in prize money, whereas the winning men's team took away \$35 million. The losing US men's team was still awarded \$8 million".

Former South African President Mbeki (2015: 16) raised concerns about the high number of academics and skilled professionals who leave the continent for the United States and United Kingdom, whereas the two African countries (South Africa and Nigeria) are contesting the seat on the UNSC. He laments: "The number of skilled professionals our continent has lost over the decades is truly frightening. Since 1990, Africa has lost 20 000 academics and 10 percent of highly skilled information technology and finance professionals have also left the continent in recent years".

Professor Pityana (2015: 26), Thabo Mbeki's Foundation Programme Adviser and Visiting Professor at Rhodes University insists that the country has failed to change people's lives. His observation is that "The political lesson is that even though some 12 million South African are unemployed and that the elderly and indigent receive state grants and housing, it clearly is not enough to make them 'happy'. More is needed. That means a quality of life that must include not just employment but also a decent livelihoods, safety and security, peace and environment conducive to prospering as human beings. The absence of these weighs heavily against us".

South African beauty queen and Miss World Rolene Strauss (2015: 21) in an exclusive interview with The New Age Newspaper journalist Fungayi Kanyuchi praised South Africa for being diverse in unity, something which other African countries are failing to do.

She proudly stated: "I am very proud South African, the many colours, cultures and races that make our country almost qualify it for a 'mini world' I think it's one thing that made me do really well on stage".

The beauty of South Africa is that all racial groups enjoy the same rights and structures formed to address racial discriminated issues look effective, but it is unclear if they will produce positive results for the country to win the battle of getting a seat on the UNSC. If the above aspects are failing, the following factors such crime and corruption and economy, perhaps will convince the reader to think twice.

## **2.4. THE IMPACT OF CRIME AND CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA**

### **2.4.1. INTRODUCTION**

Crime is one of the indicators of security in any country and it has been mentioned by various stakeholders and political observers as the main cause of persecution and violation of human rights in the world. The chapter will also cover the aspect as it is among the most important aspect on the research on both countries, Nigeria and South Africa. Under this topic the researcher will also present the views, comments and analysis of the status of crime in Nigeria and South Africa, as both are main contender for a permanent seat on the UNSC.

#### **(a) Nigeria**

Moyo (2015: 19) criticizes African authorities (South Africa and Nigeria) for failing to address the challenges facing their respective communities before they apply for a permanent seat position. “The increasing number of slums dwellers in Africa is due to poor service delivery by local authorities, which more often than not worry most about filling their pockets from local authorities coffers instead of channelling proper houses facilities to poor people, which then pushes homeless individuals into building slum settlements.”

According to Amnesty International’s report of 2015 by Smith (2015: 9), the Mail and Guardian journalist reports that military officers in Nigeria should be investigated for war crimes including the murder, starvation, suffocation, and torturing to death of 8000 people. The report states: “During the security operations against Boko Haram in the North East, the armed forces committed countless acts of torture, hundreds if not thousands, of Nigerians have become the victims of enforced disappearance, and at least 7000 people have died in military detention as a result of starvation, extreme overcrowding and denial of medical assistance”.

After the formation of Binational Commission between Nigeria and USA, Nigerian’s foreign minister Ashiru (2011: 3-4) and Secretary of the State, Hillary Clinton (2011 3-4) said “We will set forth our priorities and they include improving governance, fighting corruption, delivering services more effectively to the people. We are working toward a strong anti-corruption agency, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and other ways we can promote transparency.”



This was the most powerful statement from the leaders of both countries, and the initiative showed that crime and corruption was reversing the country's economy.

Onu (2015: 23), the Voice of Africa's Journalist reports that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria has announced that "Six Nigerian bankers were this week charged with fraud in an eight billion naira (R 480 million) currency switch. Six commercial bankers were also charged with conspiring with the Central Bank of Nigeria regional executives in a 'mega scam involving the theft and circulation and recirculation of defaced and mutilated currencies'"

Ademiluyi (2013: 1) on the topic: 'Whither Nigeria's UN Security Council Seat?' says senior government officials are the ones who perpetrate crime and corruption and if the government wants to deal with crime effectively, he must target the officials. "The National Assembly has not found it necessary to conduct an intense probe of her activities. We are currently faced with the Stella Oduah scandal of purchasing two bullet proof cars valued at \$1, 6 million. No probe of any kind, no firing and conspirational silence of the presidency and the ruling People's Democratic Party".

The above reports, comments and analysis paint a negative picture about Nigeria in the international community regarding the alleged further abuse of human rights and the perpetuation of corruption and crime activities by the Nigerian senior officials. Even the Nigerian forces have been mentioned in many illegal activities such as torture. It is alleged that Nigerians forces are behind the disappearance and death of 7000 people in military detention as a result of starvation, extreme overcrowding and denial of medical assistance".

## **(b) South Africa**

South African Crime Statistics (2013/14) report that "South Africa is less safe than two years ago, its emerged murders, house robberies and hijackings are on the increase".

The findings show that little has been done by the government to deal with crime and other related incidents for the past fourteen years. This is witnessed by the study conducted by Human Sciences Research Council (HSCRC) in 1990 on the South African Social Attitudes Survey. It says "the fear of crime has become a prominent social and political problem in international circles".

Dr. Pillay and Mabena (2015: 37), the Deputy Director General for HIV/AIDS, TB, Maternal, and Child Health in the department of health and Deputy Commissioner for Health Services in the department of Correctional Services respectively say crime is the responsibility of South Africa. “Protecting inmates from infectious diseases such as TB is important not only for their health, it makes good public health sense. For most inmates, in-mates incarceration is temporary: about 25 000 of the 160 000 inmates in prisons are released annually”.

Brummer and McKune (2015: 8), the Mail and Guardian reporters astonished by the senior South African officials for putting the country’s image into disrepute in the eyes of the world by allegedly paying FIFA officials in securing 2010 World Cup. “Two of the numbered individuals are South Africans: #15, who allegedly handed a suitcase stuffed with cash to a relative of the Caribbean football boss Jack Warner in a Paris Hotel room, and #16, who was central to the alleged agreement to pay Warner and two others \$10 million (R 120 million at today’s rates) to vote for South Africa to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup”.

The writer and commentator Dikoi (2015: 18) is worried about the high level of crime incidents in the African townships and he says criminals are no longer taking police seriously. “Every day in the townships, the story in the morning is about who got shot, who won’t be coming home whose body was found in the ditch and whose home was broken into. They are not afraid of the police, they are not afraid of death”.

Professor Mkhize (2015: 20), Deputy Minister of Telecommunications and Postal Services and the National Convener of the Progressive Women’s Movement of South Africa is worried about the abuse and rape of women and the incident has compromised the credibility of the country in Africa and in the world for failing to decrease or completely end all forms of abuse directed at women and children. “Sex abuse incidents in the country are shocking. The rate of sexual abuse and violence in South Africa said to be among the highest in the World with thousands of cases reported each year”.

Mkhize (2015) adds: “71% of women were sexually abused, women were raped every 26 seconds. This statistic is sickening and one can only imagine the depth of physical and psychological effects this trauma inflicts on women. This is not a laughing matter, nor is it something to turn into a joke”.

Advocate Madonsela (2015: 33), the South African National Public Protector mentions the South African president’s name as the illegal beneficiary in the construction of his home.

She says “Key conversations in the media around the same time were dominated by the big amounts of money, such as the R 248 million state expenditure on the president’s private home in Nkandla, a R 120 million alleged “bribe” or “gift”, depending on which side you are on, paid or given by South Africa in connection with the country’s hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and R 17 million golden handshake allegedly given to the outgoing national director of public prosecutions on his resignation after a stint of less two years.”

Thabo Mbeki’s Foundation Programme Adviser and Visiting Professor at Rhodes University Pityana (2015: 26) says South Africa has even overtaken by underdeveloped neighbouring countries for failing to deal with crime. “The third surprise is that South Africa, the continent’s best performing economy at that time and previously number 96 on the rankings, does not make the top 100 list, falling behind Zambia (85), Morocco (92). It is important to note that on measures such as gross domestic product per capita, social support, level of social generosity, healthy life expectancy, freedom to make voices and perception of corruption, South Africa performed badly”.

KaCeza (2015: 19), the Durban based freelance journalist and an independent socio-political analyst calls on all relevant stakeholders to be part of the solution. “All reports on serious crimes point to drugs and alcohol consumption as the primary cause for the majority atrocious crimes. Therefore, those who still adhere to sound moral ethics, norms and values lead the struggle toward moral regeneration”.

Authors touched different types of crime and corruption that affect both countries. Law enforcement agencies were also mentioned as sometimes part of the problem and on the other hand failing to deal with crime and corruption effectively. The economic factor is another aspect both contenders for Nigeria and South Africa need to consider. And the economic aspect will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **2.5. THE ECONOMIC FACTOR OF NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA**

### **2.5.1. INTRODUCTION**

The topic explores the economic status of Nigeria and South Africa. This is an interesting topic as there is still a debate between the two countries (Nigeria and South Africa) on who is the real superpower in Africa.

And the competition between the two countries in representing Africa in the UNSC has added a salt on the injury. But the economy or financial status will be among the aspects that will be considered during the contestation.

#### **(a) Nigeria**

According to the World Bank (2014) confirms that Nigeria is the biggest Africa's economy, leap-frogging South Africa. "The data indicates the economy grew to \$453 billion in 2012, instead of \$264 billion in 2014. South Africa's economy was at \$384 billion in 2012".

Nigerian finance minister Okonjo-Iweala (2014) confirms that the economic growth of Nigeria has changed the country's rankings. "Nigeria has moved to be largest economy by Gross Domestic Product (GDP) size in Africa and has moved to be the 26<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world".

South Africa's Nedbank economist Dykes (2014) is positive by the economic growth in Nigeria as it will open business opportunities for South African companies. "Nigeria's new position as Africa's largest economy should be 'viewed positively'. The news figures should help South African investors identify new opportunities in Nigeria's \$2, 688 was still the most important measure of the economy. Being Africa's number one is definitely a great confidence booster for Nigeria, but it won't change much".

Kale (2014) pours cold water on the idea that the recent shift of Nigeria's economic status will put the country into better opportunities to get a permanent seat and the lives of an ordinary people will remain the same. "For only Nigerians, most of whom still live in less than \$2 a day, the rebasing is likely to have little effect, but it will improve the country's balance sheet and its credit ratings and promote it from being a low-income economy".

Senior Analyst for the Independent Conflict Prevention Organisation International Crisis Group in Nigeria Obasi (2015: 31) says Nigeria continues to lose the battle to preserve resources, as a result, the economy has slumped during the past year, following a more than 50% plunge in the price of crude oil,

whose exports accounts for more than 70% of government revenue. "Economic growth slowed to 4, 6% in the first quarter of this year, down from 6, 2% in the first quarter of 2017. In recent months, the federal government has had to borrow just to pay workers. Eighteen of the 36 states governments owe employees back pay, some for up to months."

A Sovereign Risk Analyst at South Africa's Rand Merchant Bank Golpaldas (2015: 17) does not think that Nigeria should give herself a big round of applause as the recent announcement of economic growth would have no impact at all on Nigeria's campaign to get a seat in the UNSC. He argues that Africa's largest economy and most prolific oil producer churns out roughly 2 million barrels of crude a day, but ordinary people have not benefited. Two-thirds of the nearly 180 million population live on less \$1 (R13) a day".

The improvement of the African continent, is the benefit of South Africa and Nigeria in terms of getting status that will support them in their bid respectively. Mohamed ElBaradei (2015) has no doubt that the African continent has done a lot to bring changes in Africa irrespective of the current challenges. "Africa's governance is improving in many respects, and a bright future awaits the continent. Poverty, inequality, communicable diseases, oppression, violence and environmental degradation represents immense challenges. These grisly realities shame us all. But we must not ignore the real progress that has been made and the many African success stories."

But Dr. Mokgokong (2015), the Chairperson of Community Investment Holdings argues that Africa is rich with all potentials but the country lacks vision to pursue the ideas. "Nigeria has more than 160 million people, just a few than Japan. If that is the case then why is Japan the second biggest economy in the World, with virtually no resources? Why is it that Nigeria has oil and minerals but it is far behind in terms of the size of its economy and the standard of living than Japan"?

Senior Analyst for the Independent Conflict Prevention Organisation International Crisis Group in Nigeria Obasi (2015) argues that irrespective of economic growth in Nigeria but ordinary people have not seen any impact on their lives. "Unemployment remains pervasive: officially 22 million are jobless, but many believe the real figure is much higher. The country still has 10, 5 million out-of-school children- the world highest number- many of whom may be future candidates for insurgency and organized crime."

Amusan (2006: 189-190) emphasizes since the Nigeria threw its hat into the ring for permanent seat regards herself as a winner. "Nigeria is the largest market in Africa in terms of purchasing capacity, Nigeria is the fifth largest fossil fuel exporter to the international market and with all the implications this has for the survival of the US and other permanent members of the UNSC"

But he (Amusan) has some reservations on the idea as Nigeria) sometimes relies on South Africa for arms production. “In spite of this, the two states embarked on a joint venture in arms manufacturing. Denel resuscitated its faltering Nigerian counterpart, DICON, to manufacture small arms for Nigerian consumption, and later for African market and abroad, which could be interpreted as another means of interdependence between these states”. He adds that the technology is being currently transferred to Nigeria from South Africa will in unarguably elevate Nigeria militarily. Therefore, Nigeria’s dependence on South Africa’s technology is increasing.”

Kay (2015: 18), the Mercury Newspaper Correspondent in Lagos writes that the Nigerian billionaire Aliko Dangote has put Nigeria in the global map to be the first Nigerian business to invest billions outside Nigeria. “It has received 90% of the regulatory approvals needed for construction in the Asian nation hit by two earth quakes this year. It is going to be the first factories for us outside for comfort zone, outside Africa. Dangote invests \$400 million (R5 billion) in the country to build a cement plant with a capacity of as much as 2 million tons”.

Ago (2014: 1) says “It will be interesting to see how international relations will be affected by when South Africa is no longer the largest African economy. South Africa is, for example, the only African country represented in the G20”.

### **(b) South Africa**

Joffe (2015: 3), the Editor At Large in the Business Day Newspaper adds that although Nigeria is number one in Africa, but South Africa still retains its position as recipient of foreign direct investment (FDI) and into Africa and the biggest African investor into the rest of the continent. He continues that South Africa still gets the largest of foreign direct investment (FDI) of any country on the continent, at double the next closest competitor for capital.

Tourism minister Hanekom (2015: 3) is not worried with the recent economic shift for South Africa. He says South Africa as part of the African continent has possibilities of enjoying economic injection through tourism attractions available in other countries.

“In fact, at South Africa’s Cradle of Humankind, fossils tell us about our common ancestry. Where on earth can you find sites that tell such a powerful story?”

But Mavuso, The New Age Newspaper reporter (2015: 16), quotes the director for Grant Thornton Advisory Services Bac paints a black picture on the tourism industry and it is not an aspect that can help South Africa to win the battle of getting a seat. “The figures reveal a bleak 6% of decline in total foreign tourists’ arrivals to South Africa for the period ending 31 March 2015. The 6% decline recorded in foreign tourists arrivals for the first three months of 2015 equates to a loss of 150 000 tourists, compared to the same period recorded last year. This is a decline of 1600 tourists- or four jumbo jets - per day.”

First National Bank (FNB) Chief Economists Nxedlana and Smith (2015: 31) don’t see South Africa reclaiming its status due to persistence growth disappointments that constrain tax revenue would eventually warrant higher taxes. “As the result of the deteriorating GDP growth outlook government finally capitulated last year and proposed tax increases in the Medium Term Budget Policy Statement (MTBPS). The tax increases were to complement efforts to reduce the large budget deficit and the rising level of debt through caps on expenditure”.

Former South African Finance minister Nene (2015: 4) agrees that South Africa failed to look after the interests of her own citizens. He emphasized that South Africa had seen a lot of growth but poverty had worsened. “This was because policies that supported growth had failed to recognize that economic growth did not trickle down to the poor and most vulnerable in society. It is a symptom of a bigger problem”.

He continues: “The opportunities we have in the country are not adequate for young people, but we have learnt a lesson, we are also looking at the challenges of unemployment and poverty”.

According to New World Wealth Africa Report on The New Age Newspaper (2015) reveal good news about South Africa in terms of the increasing number of new millionaires in the country. The Report further states that “South Africa has the most wealthy individuals on the continent and, despite a steadily weakening local currency, it is not excluded from these stellar individual wealth growth figures, with the number of dollar millionaires in this country rising by 9% since 2007”. The report brings back hopes that the South African individuals can reverse and retain the country’s economic status. The report adds: “And this growth is not showing signs of slowing down and by 2017 there will be around 55 5000 dollar millionaires in South Africa”.

Okumu (2005) clarifies that South Africa is widely seen as favourite to fill one of the 'permanent seat' that will be set aside for Africa at the Security Council, should the UN adopts model One. But the Business Day Newspaper Columnist and the Former Editor of the Rand Daily Mail Sparks (2015: 4) insists "But no. The Zuma regime is throwing money around like a drunken sailor, while millions of our people are struggling to make ends meet. We have just seen it buy off the national director of public prosecutions, Mxolisi Nxasana, for a cool R 17 million. It looks like a golden handshakes of this nature are now continuing expenses to the nation".

The government institution, Statistics SA in 2015, also reveal that the South African economy still suffers another blow which is the decline of the number of government employee. Thousands of civil servants resigned during 2014 over false rumours about pension fund reforms and the declining number shows up in the growth figures. "The government service sector shrank by 0, 8% in the first quarter of 2015. It is the second largest sector, superseded only by the finance and business services industry." The report shows the seriousness of the current situation in the country. If such high number of employees resign from their positions, who is going to produce quality work that will improve the economy and where is governing going to get revenue? Which means there are slim opportunities for the country to return to her previous status.

Professor Gumede (2015: 16) at the University of the Witwatersrand School of Governance agrees that the state owned entities reverse back the status of economy. Underperforming and inefficiency in state-owned firms ranging from power utility Eskom to South African Airways to the postal service is lopping into to three percentage points off annual growth. Most probably, a lot of the missing growth in the economy is because state owned companies are not working.

Lastly, The New Age Newspaper (2015: 17) quoted The People's Daily Newspaper in China about the Chinese employees refuse to take paid leave as they did not want to be labelled as 'lazy employees'. According to the newspaper around half of the Chinese employees chose not to take paid leave. The newspaper found interviewees who work for government institutions and state-owned enterprise reluctantly give up their rights due to concerns that asking for a paid leave might 'leave bosses the bad impression of being lazy'.



This is a good lesson the South African community can learn from the Chinese in terms of working hard for economic growth and reclaiming the previous economic status of the country? The Chinese initiative is an indication that economic growth is not an individual's responsibility but it's a collective efforts and hard work for all so that the country can win the seat on the UNSC.

## **2.6. CONCLUSION**

The chapter highlighted different views and opinions from different authors. According to the researcher, these views are likely to be a package that will be used by the UN's panellists to determine the right candidate that deserves the permanent seat on the UNSC. Arguments, opinions and analysis presented by researchers, academics and analysts show that even Nigeria can overtake South Africa economically but there are other aspects that can favour and support South Africa to retain its status to be superpower in Africa and also help South Africa to get the seat. The gap the researcher noted is that small businesses were not regarded as a backbone of economic growth in both countries.

Farmers especially emerging farmers are not taken seriously as initiative to form the foundation of changing the status of both countries. To address the gap the researcher would propose the formations of one African structure that could accommodate and address the needs of small businesses. For the structure to be accessible, it must be based in these respective countries and share common goals.

Politically, the researcher has noted with disappointment the exclusion of local historians in terms of getting political related solutions. One may argue that politics is for the elites and educated people, Yes, it is true but indigenous knowledge is the basic and foundation of everything. For example, it is easy to get a solution if you know the background of the area and environment. That what forms part of the prioritization of basics which could result to the unification of racial groups and formation of concrete policies that could not be easily disputed.

Chapter three will present the theoretical framework which is relevant to the topic. The theory will also touched different and relevance of aspects such as politics, economy, crime, economic growth and development.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **3.1. INTRODUCTION**

The previous chapter focused on the review of the literature. The aim was to see what has been covered on the theme of this study so that the present study would locate itself in broader discussion without repeating what has already been discussed elsewhere. This chapter is about theoretical framework which guided the study. The theory that was chosen for this study is the Realism Theory. This is the theory on which the study was grounded.

Realism was deemed relevant to the study as it helped the researcher to unlock other doors in terms of establishing why each of the two countries used in the study took certain decisions or did certain things in the economic and political sectors. The theory assisted the researcher to look at the three aspects of South Africa and Nigeria, which are the political situation, crime and corruption as well as the economic aspect as the areas which assisted in the analysis of the prospects of each of the two countries outpacing each other in the global arena.

In this chapter, the importance of the theory will also be presented by giving examples from different authors regarding the political situation, economic and crime status in South Africa and Nigeria respectively. Nigeria was severely affected by political instability, especially before the national democratic dispensation in 1999 which saw the return of civilian rule after many years of military rule. Many people lost their lives and their belongings during the political unrests which dated back to the 1960s following Nigeria's independence on 1 October 1960.

On the other side, a similar situation prevailed in South under apartheid and in the early 1990s before the first democratic election in 1994 where political parties, especially the members of the IFP and the ANC were killing each other. Now, according to reports both countries have been democratized and the political situation is conducive for the freedom of speech, economic freedom and other activities.

But is the current situation politically and socially viable to allow them to canvass for the permanent seat in the UNSC? This is the question to which the study hopes to find answers.

In an attempt to address the question posed above, the realism theory is used in this study as the lens through which some the activities of both countries could be interpreted. It is this theory that will be explained to unpack the contents of the chapter. Various authors, commentators, researchers and academics will be cited to support the statements made or to try and understand the activities of both countries. This will be done in order to demonstrate the theory's relevance to the topic of this study.

### 3.2. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

There is always a danger to assume that concepts are self-explanatory and that their meanings are known to everyone. The reality is that concepts are, in a way, abstracts and only gain meaning from the context in which they are used. Even concepts that seem to have general meanings still need to be defined. Therefore, "one of the main reasons for defining concepts is simply that definitions enable both the author and the reader(s) to have at least a similar understanding of the concept in order to be able to engage at the same level" (Mngomezulu, 2015: 3). It is within this context that the present section defines some of the concepts used in the present chapter. These concepts are: realism and theory.

**(a) Realism:** Outhwaite (1987: 19) describes Realism as "The common sense of ontology, in the sense that it takes seriously the existence of the things, structures, and mechanisms revealed by the science at different levels of reality." In other words, from a general perspective we could argue that the concept *realism* is associated with that which is real and can be easily noticed or seen. In the context of this dissertation, the concept will be understood to refer to those activities that can be observed in both South Africa and Nigeria which will be used in the analysis to see if they enhance or reduce each country's prospects of getting the UNSC seat.

**(b) Theory:** Theory can be understood in different ways. From a general perspective, it means that which exists in the mind but cannot be seen or observed as is the case with realism. Viotti and Kauppi (1987-1999: 3) define theory as "an intellectual construct that helps one to select facts and interpret them in such a way as to facilitate explanation and prediction concerning regularities and recurrences or repetitions of observed phenomena".

The fact that these authors perceive theory as a construction confirms that it is not something tangible or that which can be seen by everyone.

### **3.3. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE REALISM THEORY AND ITS TENETS**

Realism Theory was established in the twentieth century by Thucydides, Michiavelli and Hobbes. According to Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (2010: 1) “Realists consider the principal actors in the international arena to be states, which are concerned with their own security, act in pursuit of their own national interests, and struggle for power”.

Some of the characteristic features of realism include the following. Survival is the principal goal of each and every state, states are rational actors, their actions are goal-directed, all states possess some military capacity and it is great powers with economic clout & military might that are decisive.

For the benefit of the reader, there are many types of Realism Theories, but it is important to mention a few for the benefit of the reader. This is imperative as it will help the reader to follow the discussion with ease in case some of the theories are mentioned in the dissertation.

#### **(a) Offensive realism**

This theory emphasizes that in order to ensure survival, states will seek to maximize their powers relative to others (Mearsheimer, 2001). If a rival country has enough power to threaten a state, hegemony is a preferred option. All states strive to maximise their power and the strong ones survive.

#### **(b) Defensive realism**

This theory believes that domination is an unwise strategy for state survival (Waltz, 1979). It argues that hegemony can bring a state into conflict with peers. And it believes in the balance of power system (equality among states, polarity).

### **(c) Peripheral realism**

peripheral realism is a foreign policy theory arising from peripheral states, which believes that the international system has a hierarchical structure based on perceived differences between states (some give orders, obey and rebel).

It also focuses on states that do not apply the rules of the game peripheral states' foreign policies are framed or implemented such that the national interest is defined in terms of development. Confrontation with great powers is avoided.

The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (2010: 1) also adds that "Realists emphasize the constraints imposed on politics by the nature of human beings, whom they consider egoistic and by the absence of international government". In other words, realists think about and for themselves first before they consider others. In the context of this dissertation, both South Africa and Nigeria think about national interests before considering how the other party or parties will be affected. It is the nature of realism theory. Outhwaite (1987: 21) emphasizes that "Realists analyze causality in terms of the nature of things and their interactions, their causal powers".

The theory is relevant to the study as the study is about the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) where some underdeveloped, developing and developed countries insist that there should be transformation of one of the United Nation's organs, which is the UNSC. As part of this debate, both Nigeria and South Africa present arguments on the basis of which they claim that they deserve to get a permanent seat should one be allocated to Africa. The fact that each country thinks for itself means that the two countries subscribe to the theory of realism.

### **3.4. REALISM IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA**

Since the United Nations was formed in 1945 and its arm called the United Nations Security Council set up to maintain peace in the World, very little has been done to reform this organ. The then General Secretary of the UN in 1992 Boutros-Boutros-Ghali, published an agenda called "An Agenda for Peace" with the aim of restructuring the organ or the UNSC.

In 1992, Japan and Germany as some of the largest financial contributors to the UNSC demanded a permanent seat on the council. On the other hand Brazil and India formed an interest group called G4 to forge with their demand of getting a permanent seat.

Again, on 21 March 2005 the then General Secretary of the UN Koffi Annan called on the UN to reach consensus on expanding the council to 24 members in a plan referred to as “In Larger Freedom”. Annan (2005: 01-02) said: “This important issue has been discussed for too long. I believe member states should agree to take a decision on it-preferably by consensus but in any case before the summit.”

This was a powerful statement that put pressure on the members of the UNSC to bring change in the UNSC so that it would be easier to address challenges facing those countries. These statements are powerful and indicate that there have been concerns all these years about the lack of transformation on the UNSC and the exclusion of African countries in fully participating in structures that are relevant to develop the African countries economically and politically, which is the UNSC.

Therefore, the Realist theory gives the author the right platform to explore and write about the topic and look at the status of both countries (Nigeria and South Africa) the factors that might contribute to each country getting the permanent seat in the UNSC.

Former South African Ambassador to the UN Dumisani Khumalo (2000: 2) made a similar point about lack of transformation of the UNSC referring to the exclusion of the African continent. He argued: “For the developing world, there need to reform is especially critical, given the fact that many, if not most, of the conflicts which threatens international peace and stability takes place between, or within, developing world and threaten international stability”.

In line with the arguments enumerated above, it is critical to look at how each of the two contenders subscribes to the realism theory in building its case to get the UNSC seat.

### **3.4.1. Realism Theory in Nigeria**

As discussed above, realism is the theory that recognizes the existence of states – it is state-centric in nature.

The theory holds that “All states act for their own interests that they all act the same way, states are dangerous to each other, do not know each other’s intentions, each strives for its own survival and sovereignty or autonomy” (Jonathan Cristol: 2011: 1)

The study looks at the two African countries (South Africa and Nigeria) which are regarded as superpowers in the African continent in terms economic growth and infrastructural development, and both have come forward and threw their heads on to the ring to contest for the seat on the UNSC. Therefore, it is important to state that the economy, political situation and crime or corruption are the most important aspects that are taken into consideration in the ratings of countries.

The Realism theory has opened the gate for the researcher to write about the changes and status quo in a broader context of Nigeria. Nigeria is reported to have high gross violation of human rights compared to South Africa, corruption is rife and leave the ordinary citizens suffer due to the shortage of food and basic needs. These points show that Nigeria has its own strengths and weaknesses that can impact positively or negatively on their campaign to get a seat on the UNSC. This also emphasizes that development programs of the country must be strong enough to deal with political issues that can dent the image of the country in the international community. This is what Realism does as it says states act for their own their own interests.

Viotti and Kauppi (1987-1999: 6) opine that: “Realism is based on four key assumptions, states are the principal or most important actors. States represent the key unit of analysis”. These authors (Viotti and Kauppi) add that “International organizations such United Nations may aspire to the status of independent actor, but from the realist’s perspective, this aspiration has not been achieved to any significant degree” (1987-1999: 6).

The authors fully support the researcher as the topic touches on the role of the UN in terms of determining the country that is suitable to get the permanent seat on the UNSC. The African body, which is the African Union (AU), can also be included in the discussion as it is expected to make recommendations on the suitable candidate to get a permanent seat, according to Executive Council of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Extra Ordinary Session of Ezulwini Consensus’s recommendations in Addis Ababa in 2005. “Harare Declaration has made significant impact on the world community and has thus been fairly reflected in the proposed

The UNSC adopted the following: “The question of the criteria for the selection of African members of the Security Council should be a matter for the AU to determine, taking into consideration the representative nature and capacity of those chosen” (2005: 11).

Reports show that Nigeria’s current economic status has overtaken South Africa, in terms of economic growth from April 2014. Does that mean that the country enjoys the same status even on the political aspect?

Viotti and Kauppi (1987-1999: 6), the Realists Theorists emphasize the importance of unity among the community of that particular country in terms of winning the battle.

They write: “Even in those exceptional cases, for example, a foreign ministry expresses policies different from policy statements of the same country’s defence ministry, corrective action is taken in an attempt to bring these alternative views to a common and authoritative statement of policy”. The above statement indicates that international or foreign ministers of both countries have an influence in presenting the image of the country in international communities.

This is supported by Hornsby (2013: 1) who argues that the rise of Nigeria will also be dependent on its ability to address socio-economic challenges. Long standing civil conflict due to insurgent groups and struggles to put in place safeguard measures to protect human rights will also prevent Nigeria from becoming the dominant player on the continent. These challenges are real and if not addressed, will detract from Nigeria’s ability to assert its dominance through the use of force or through moral persuasion.

Morgenthau (2015: 5), the founding father of the contemporary political realism says realism is the theory of world powers, which pursue power politics courses, therefore, realism needs to be complemented for with the assumptions of the competing of the International Political Economy.

As the researcher closely looks at the aspect of military and security of the state in the relevant chapter of the research, the writers (Viotti and Kauppi, 1987-1999: 7) agree that potential conflict between state actors and the use of force, examining how international stability is attained or maintained, how it breaks down, the utility of force as a means to resolve disputes, and the prevention of the violation of territorial integrity. Military security or strategic issues are sometimes referred to as high politics.



Viotti and Kauppi (1987-1999: 85) add that “Given the national security prism through which realists view the world, other concerns such as the socio-economic gaps between rich and poor societies or international pollution rarely make the realist agenda”.

The economic growth or and economic failure in both countries is one of the aspect which can determine the country that should win the seat. This is confirmed by different writers on the research topic as they use the economy as a strong aspect that will support the candidate to get a seat on the UNSC. As the World Bank (2014) has confirmed that Nigeria is the biggest Africa’s economy in Africa.

On the other side, Joffe (2015: 3), the Editor At Large in the Business Day Newspaper adds that “South Africa has retained its position as both the largest recipient of foreign direct investment (FDI) and into Africa and the biggest African investor into the rest of the continent”.

Realism theories also support the role played by politics especially the national politics as it is the realm of authority and law, whereas international politics, they sometimes claim, is a sphere without justice, characterized by active or potential conflict among states. The theory supports the writer or the researcher as it emphasizes that the state must be active in terms of ensuring that its citizens are not trapped in an unnecessary conflict. Odima (2012: 1-2) says African leaders including Nigeria have failed to change the status quo rapidly and the absence of democracy, human rights abuses and poor governance continue to undermine Africa’s efforts to play on the world stage”.

One of the founders of the Realists Theory Hobbes (1660: 02) states that the population majority between the main contenders (South Africa and Nigeria) is the issue should be taken into consideration. “Human nature is a starting point for classical political realm. Human beings are as inherently egoistic and self-interested to the extent that self-interest overcomes moral principles”.

Hobbes (1660: 04) adds that “The lives of the individuals in the state of nature can also be interpreted as a description of how states exist in relation to one another. Once state established, the individual drives for power becomes the basis for the state’s behaviour, which often manifests itself in their efforts to dominate other states and peoples”.

United Nations is a good example of the statement, as it has become an organization that determines how other countries should run their affairs and draw up their economic policies in line with the UN policies. Even Nigeria will also fall under one category of being judged based on the progress she has made in terms of prioritizing the rights of its citizens and other aspects. Hobbes's theory is a gate keeper on the topic.

Lynch and Briney (2014 & 2015) on the 'Encyclopaedia Britannica' describe UN as the international organization, which is the second multipurpose international organization in the 20th century that was worldwide in scope and membership. It is the organization designed to enforcement of international law, security, economic development and human rights easier or countries around the world".

Kat (2015: 01), the Realists in the International Political Economy says "Realism is relevant in International Political Economy (IPC) because power and military capabilities depend on capital accumulation and economic development". Does Nigeria has economic muscle to continue to deploy more military forces if there is a need especially when she gets a seat on the UNSC? That is the question Realists need to be pursued as the security is the most important inside the country and outside the country.

Cook (2012: 1) on the topic 'Right Realism Perspective' explains the approach of realists on the topic of crime. This is one of aspect the study explores. Realists say behaviour is determined by our choices we make as we have free will. Criminal behaviour is a choice made by people who have been incorrectly socialized. The society has become more and more used to immediate gratification". Nigeria has been identified as one of the countries that is leading in terms of crime and corruption in Africa. The Business Day Newspaper correspondent in Payne (2015: 22) says more than \$7, 5 billion Rands (R93, 1 billion) had to be recovered from Nigerian oil companies.

The theory emphasizes that in some cases crime escalates in some part of Nigeria due to the lack of law enforcement agencies and the denial of relevant stakeholders to deal with crime and corruption.

Murray (2012: 1) is another realist theory. He says poor socialization leads to crime mainly on underclass. "Underclass are subjected to several factors which lead to crime, violent unemployment, poverty and this lead to higher crime"

This is another factor that indicate that crime and corruption needs to be dealt with accordingly in all levels of the society as the study does.

Payne (2015) witness the relevance of the theory as he reports that the Central Bank governor Lamido Sanusi was sacked under former president Goodluck Jonathan after he embezzled up to \$20 billion in oil revenues between 2012 and 2013 had not been remitted to the government by the state oil companies. The statement can dent the image of the country and in terms of getting support to get a permanent seat in the UNSC.

### **3.4.2. Realism Theory in South Africa**

Realism also applies to the South African context. Mercantilism, is another type of Realist Theory of the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century. Mercantilism assumes that “the achievement of wealth is an essential objective of all states, because in doing so states increase their military power and therefore ensure their security” (<http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/Mercantilism.html>). This point supports the previous presentation by different South African writers about the deployment of peace keepers to a war torn African countries. The deployment of peace keepers by South Africa and Nigeria has become a ticket to canvass for the seat on the UNSC, as Neethling (2001: 1) on the topic ‘Deployment of SANDF –Burundi’ says the participation of South Africa in a peace mission in Africa has been noticed by UNSC and South Africa has put a mark in the international community in terms of bringing stability.

Kat (2015: 2) quotes the political philosopher David Hume saying “What really matters in economic relations between states is the idea of relative gains. International trade is described as a zero-sum game in which one nation gains is another’s loss”. The theory argues that even if both countries, Nigeria and South Africa can establish and form trade agreements, but one of them can benefit. World Competitive Report of 2011/12 supports by saying that South Africa was ranked 50<sup>th</sup> out of 142 countries in the world in terms of economic growth.

Hamilton (1791: 3), the supporter of Mercantilism theory, created what is called infant industry argument. “Protection of new industries from international competition through trade barriers should exist until these new industries are able to compete globally”.

The theory emphasizes the generation of economy heavily relies on the existing of small and big companies in order for the country to be classified as underdeveloped, developing and developed country.

Even Martins (2015: 15), Financial Planner at the Old Mutual Private Wealth Management says the continued growth in numbers of rich individuals in South Africa can be attributed to the combination of factors including the country's continued position as a business and investment gateway into Africa, its appeal as a global investment destination,

and its robust physical financial infrastructure. The theory indicates that even the individuals in that particular country can influence the decision of the UN to be in favour of their country.

The researcher quoted writers boasting the affordability and the high number of peace keeping mission sent by their respective countries compared to the fellow African countries.

Therefore, Realist theory, Carr (2001: 4) is relevant to the topic as he says "The science of economy presupposes a given political order, and cannot be profitably studied in isolation from politics. The larger the economy, the more advanced national defence it can afford. The damaging the economy of a rival state is as crucial as defeating its armies".

Gulpin (1971: 7) in the article 'A Conceptual Analysis of Realism in International Political Economy' makes the point that "Boundaries, multi-national corporations, international institutions and non-governmental organizations are arising in importance.

The world economic structure is affected by both markets and the policies of the nation states especially those of powerful States". Writers and commentators mentioned specifically the importance of multi-national corporations in developing the economy of that particular country. For example, the investment made by South African companies such as MTN and others in Nigeria particularly is critical. And the role should be played by the continental body which is African Union is important.

According to the theory, that economic activities in these countries can be taken consideration in terms of choosing the right candidate on the UNSC. Therefore, the African body which is the AU is likely to assess the country based on the economic growth and policies the country has put in place for economic development.

Gulpin (1971: 07) continues, “The interest are shaped by the governing elites, powerful lobbying groups and the national economic systems”.

The theory supports the relevance and importance of NGO’s, women organisations and others in shaping the economic and political direction of the country.

Cilliers, Ikome, du Plessis, Scott, Lamb and Hendricks (2010) supports the theory by talking about the aspect which was not discussed previously, which they think can accumulate points for the candidate, which is the promotion of women.

“South Africa known to be a leading nation on the deployment of women peacekeepers and at the forefront of the advocacy to implement resolution 1325”.

They further say the completion of South Africa’s plan will demonstrate the extent to which the country is serious about promoting women in peace and security and the extent to which it will be able to encourage other countries to adopt the same stance. South Africa can also lead in pushing for women to be represented at negotiation tables and in peacekeeping.

Ferrall (2011: 01) says Structural Realists can be applied to terror groups, but it simply has to be translated to the new environment. Doing so can yield some interesting insights and immediately suggests that some policy responses”.

He adds that Ferrall “Structural Realists provides many insights to the formation of alliances and the reasons why group’s divergent interests may drag them away from cooperation, quite possibly in spite of their professed wishes for such cooperation”.

Investec Portfolio Manager and the South African economist Horne (2014) supports the statement by the Realists “South Africa will always remain be the most important economies in the continent.

South Africa will always remain one of the important economies of the continent, though this rebasing will be a significant step in establishing Nigeria as a true African powerhouse”.

Thompson (2011: 2) says realists theory are primary concerned with developing responses to a perceived intensity in the public’s fear of crime.

Realists challenge many of the ideas put forward by earlier perspectives which are seen as not addressing the real issues of crime, violence, and burglary. This comments hints that South Africa has its strength and weaknesses but it also criticizes officials for not being strong enough to deal with crime and other social ills.

Thompson (2011) separates Left Realists and Right Realists. He says Right Realist tend to look for causes external to the individual and becoming a criminal is a matter of choice of people who had never been properly socialized.

They argue that the amount of crime is conducted by young men living in cities, combine this with poor socialization in schools, the family and their wider community affects their behavior.

A study of 2011 by Gender Links and the Medical Research Council reveal that 71% of women were sexually abused, women were raped every 26 seconds. This shows that the majority of young people are behind the perpetration of rape and physically abuse of women and children.

And that is why Maseko (2015: 19), the Africa News Network 7 journalist (ANN7) advice young people to fight for their rights and at the same creating a strong foundation for themselves in creating a better future. “We as a youth of South Africa, have to fight for our generation’s mission, no other generation can solve our issue apart from us. We need to move away from class materialism, greed for power, money and expensive items that add no value to our pursuit of economic freedom”.

Murray (2011: 3), Right Realism touches the economic aspect of the country. “Changes in the world economy has brought about a decline in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. This has hit other groups of lower working class males with low levels of educational attainment. This then excludes them from main stream society through an accessible job market and inaccessible area of society such as security guarded shopping centres and gated communities”.

De Ionno (2015: 3) supports the theory that the decline of local economy impacts negatively on an uneducated and unskilled people. “Indeed more than a decade of consistently high growth rates have not yet trickled down to significant parts of the population: nearly one of two Africans continue to live in extreme poverty and income inequality in the region remains among the highest in the world.”

As the competition continues between Nigeria and South Africa continues for a permanent seat of the UNSC, this is a clear indication that South Africa is likely to lose the seat as there is high number of unemployed young people in the country and the country has not done enough for economic growth.

Pillay (2015: 19) throws his weight behind Right Realism and also suggests that weak endowments of human, capital, and financial resources such as low level of education, few marketable skills, low productivity and generally poor health.

He adds: “many young people are trapped into a culture of entitlement and dependency turning to alcohol and drugs or a life of crime. On the other extreme are those who are the forefront of transformation taking the opportunities that come with freedom and democracy”.

Viotti and Kauppi (1987-1999: 6) emphasize that Realists view the state as unitary actor and as being encapsulated by a metaphorical hard shell. “A common assumptions associated with realist thought is that political differences within the state are ultimately being resolved authoritatively such that the government of the state speaks with one voice for the state as whole”. Again, as both countries (South Africa and Nigeria) are prepared to canvass for the permanent seat, their announcement for both countries is regarded as a unifier in different political parties within the country, especially political opposition parties. Briefly, according to the Realists, it is important for political parties to speak with one voice if they want to win the hearts and minds of the international community and get a permanent seat.

Viotti and Kauppi (1987-1999) emphasize the importance of unity among the community of that particular country in terms of winning the battle. “Even in those exceptional cases, for example, a foreign ministry expresses policies different from policy statements of the same country’s defence ministry, corrective action is taken in an attempt to bring these alternative views to a common and authoritative statement of policy”.

The above statement indicates that international or foreign ministers of both countries have an influence in presenting the image of the country on international communities.

Neethling (2001: 1) on the topic 'Deployment of SANDF –Burundi' fully agree with the theory that the deployment or participation of military forces of each country is a positive step in terms of convincing the international community that country particular country is the right candidate in the UNSC. He says the participation of South Africa in a peace mission in Africa has been noticed by UNSC and South Africa has put a mark in the international community in terms of bringing stability. "On Monday October 2001, the UNSC unanimously adopted a resolution to back the creation of a temporal international security force for Burundi, it also endorsed the efforts of South Africa, and other countries, to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement which was signed by Burundi's warring factors in August 2000".

Left Realists (2011: 2) suggest that there should be increasing police powers and there is a need to be informal social control. Jobs with futures, quality housing, quality social services, and quality community areas like play areas, which all create a sense of belongings.

Still on the topic, National Youth Development Agency's chairperson Pillay (2015) says "since its inception in 2009, the agency has assisted more than six million young South Africans with some kind of product or service to better their lives as means of addressing issues of poverty and unemployment which is likely distract the focus of the country". These are challenges that have been identified or pointed out by the theory and some of them are likely to hinder South Africa to get a permanent seat if the country does not address these challenges as soon as possible.

Young and Matthews (1992: 1) argues that the creation of the categories of criminality is obviously the most fundamental action of both the state and the society. The criminal law can be seen as a language describing certain types of social actions and providing legitimation for the existence and activity of state agencies in their relations with individuals as offenders, victims, witnesses, holders of the relevant information.

Ngcuka (2015) suggests that women must take upon themselves to fight against all forms of oppression in sports. Women and girls should be encouraged to explore sports, and anyone who would like to participate should be able to do so. Sports and the pursuit of gender equality can be mutually reinforcing through the creation of role models, the promotion of values and powerful outreach.



Both can generate a dream and drive people to strive for change, unleashing tremendous benefits for individuals and for our society at large”. This is the reality that women are still facing challenges of oppression and patriarchal system in South Africa.

### **3.5. CONCLUSION**

This chapter presented the Realism Theory and demonstrated its relevance to the topic. The chapter explored this theory and linked it to both countries-South Africa and Nigeria. South Africa is known as the country that has established a strong foundation for democracy across the country and South Africa’s constitution is recognized across the world. To keep the reader updated, the researcher will present the research methodology for the benefit of the reader. This will be followed by the findings of the research and recommendations of the research.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented a theoretical framework which guided this study - the Realism Theory. This is the theory that was used by the researcher to unlock other doors in terms of locating the study in the broader theoretical context. The theory assisted the researcher in looking at the three aspects of South Africa and Nigeria, which are the political situation, crime and corruption and economic aspects. In the chapter, the importance of the theory was presented by giving examples from different authors regarding the political situation, economic and crime status in South Africa and Nigeria respectively.

Chapter four is one of the very important chapters as it presents the research method used by the researcher in order to get the desired results. There are many kinds of research methods authors use which are relevant to their studies. Some methods of research are determined by the nature of the research topic. The researcher of the topic of the present study saw it fit and relevant to use a Qualitative Research Method as the study deals with qualitative matters.

Qualitative Research methodology is a method of enquiry employed in many different academic disciplines. Traditionally, it is used more often in social sciences, but has also found its way into the social market research done by the business sector. It investigates the *why* and *how* of the decision making.

Bogdan and Taylor (1990: 2) argue that “Qualitative research holds that understanding comes from exploring the totality of the situation after one has access to large reams of “hard data” and begins with propositions proceedings in a scientific and empirical way throughout the research process”. This method of research is suitable for the study as it focuses on words instead of numbers. Primarily, the study used document analysis and desktop information as a data collection method. In this case, official reports on both countries were interrogated.

According to World Economic Analysis (2014: 1), Qualitative Research is understood to be a general term pertaining “to investigative methodologies and techniques described as naturalistic, ethnographic, field, anthropological or observer research.” As such, this type of research tends to place emphasis on the value of looking at variables in their natural setting where they are commonly found as opposed to focusing on quantifiable data sets.

Madrigal and McClain (2012: 1) say “Qualitative Research provides valuable data for use in the design of a product including data about needs, behaviour patterns and use cases”. The researcher echoes these words and subscribes to the conceptualization of the qualitative paradigm. The researcher mainly got the information from documents, newspapers, journals, articles and internet. From the start, it was unlikely that the researcher would use statistics due to the nature of the topic. Obtained data was analysed thematically and any small statistical data from reports will be presented in the form of tables and/or charts in the thesis.

The chapter also unpacked the comments from different writers, analysts, researchers and academics about the topic. The results will be presented in the next chapter. As mentioned above, there are many research methods researchers use. Some are more relevant to certain topics than other. Therefore, it is important for the researcher to support why he preferred the above mentioned research methodology instead of other methods.

But before doing so, it is important to note that due to difficulties and challenges researchers normally encounter in the field of research, it is important to present those challenges and give solutions and answers if it is possible to indicate how challenges were tackled and confirm the credibility of the results.

The type of research approach the study undertook, which is qualitative research, was chosen because the study is mostly desktop based. According to Radebe (2014: 78) if the study is desktop based, “it is therefore appropriate to call the data collected secondary data”. Therefore, as data was collected by the author, the secondary data was generated through books, journal articles, newspapers and internet resources. This approach provided bibliographic and contextual information that has complemented the empirical data used by other scholars on the theme. The methods of research used in this study produced the data used by the researcher for the benefit of the readers, researchers and for future references and in order to answer he research questions asked in the previous chapter.

As alluded above, qualitative research does not deal with numbers as quantitative research does. Instead, it deals with text or words. As Ritchie and Lewis (2015: 1) from the Office for National Statistics state, the general consensus is that qualitative research is a naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with understanding the meanings that people attach to actions, decisions, beliefs, values, and the like within their social world and understanding the mental mapping process that respondents use to make sense of and interpret the world around them.

Ritchie and Lewis (2015: 1) further say “Qualitative research can describe or provide further understanding of a subject and its contextual setting, provide explanation of reasons and associations, evaluate effectiveness and aid the development of theories or strategies”. Radebe (2014: 78) quotes Bryman (2004:266) and Berg (2001:3) describing qualitative research as, “the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things, whereas, quantitative research refers to counts and measures of things.” The above mentioned definitions indicate clearly that the research methods used by the author are relevant to the topic.

It is clear that although the research approach is relevant but it is flexible in order to accommodate or open room for adjustment in case there is a need to use numbers or statistics as the topic compares South Africa and Nigeria in terms of economic growth, political stability crime and corruption –which themes could also have some statistical data, albeit small.

#### **4.2. JUSTIFICATION FOR THE METHODOLOGY**

As mentioned above, the study used the qualitative research method, which is the method that suits the nature of the study. This research method deals with social behaviour, interaction and other social related aspects. According to Ritchie and Lewis (2003: 1)

Qualitative research can: stand alone, stand alongside and complement quantitative survey inquiry to provide depth and richness to an investigation and can be used in the development of quantitative investigation by informing survey content and coverage and developing themes and typologies on which a survey questionnaire modules can be designed and in testing questions objectives.

The words ‘depth and richness’ from the quotation are powerful and convey the idea in terms of the relevance and importance of the research method for the research topic. Radebe (2014) says “there is no single, widely agreed upon framework for naming or classifying types of research approaches”. Therefore, the researcher is allowed to choose the research method which is suitable for his study and the method which can help the researcher to address and answer questions of the study.

Thomas and Hodges (2010:27) hold the view that “there is a list of seven different methods of social research. Included in this list are the following:

Cross-sectional design, the most common form of which is survey research;

- Field research;
- Experiments;
- Historical (comparative) design;
- Content analysis;
- Existing data research;
- Evaluation research.

But Ritchie and Lewis (2003: 1) are of the view that “Qualitative method play an important role in developing, maintaining and improving survey quality by assessing vital issues that field pre-tests and pilot surveys alone cannot address. They are able to identify the problems experienced by the respondents in answering questions because they place a more systematic and in-depth spotlight on each question and its administration”.

The two authors add that “Qualitative research does not introduce treatments and manipulate variables or impose the researcher operational definitions variables on the participants, rather it lets the meaning emerge from the participants. It is more flexible in that it can adjust to the setting, concepts, data collection and data collection methods can be adjusted as the research progresses”(Ritchie and Lewis2003: 1).

The research method on the study of the economic situation, crime and corruption and political aspects of Nigeria and South Africa is based on observation and opinions from qualified people and experts in that particular field. This is an indication that the method chosen will not lead to the misrepresentation of facts and distortion of information due to the wrong tool of the research.

There is a generally held view that observation is used extensively in studies by psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists and programme evaluators. Direct observation reduces distortion between the observer and what is observed that can be produced by the instrument. It occurs in a natural setting not a laboratory or controlled experiment.

The context or background of behaviour is included in the observation of both people and their environment. It can also be used with inarticulate subjects, such as children or others unwilling to express themselves. (<http://web.sculb.edu/msaintg/ppa696/696quali.htm>).

This guarantees that since the research topic is based mostly on the observation of both South Africa and Nigeria, there will be no distortion of facts. This means that the findings of the research will be presented as they are, irrespective of aboriginal inhabitant of the researcher.

This is the aspect that sometimes compromises the independence and the credibility of the findings, as some believe that the independence of the author can sometimes be compromised in the event of originality.

World Economic Analysis (2014: 6) mentions the advantages of Qualitative Research as follows:

1. Issues and subjects covered can be evaluated in depth and in detail.
2. Interviews are not limited to particular questions can be redirected or guided by researchers in real time.
3. The direction and framework of research can be revised quickly as soon as fresh information and findings emerge.
4. The data in qualitative research depends on human experience and this is more compelling and powerful than data gathered through quantitative research.
5. Complexities and subtleties about the subjects of the research or the topic covered is usually missed by many positivistic inquiries.
6. Data is usually gathered from few individuals or cases, therefore, findings and outcomes cannot be spread to larger populations. However, findings can be transferred to another setting.
7. With this type of research, the researcher has a clear vision on what to expect. They collect data in a genuine effort of plugging data to bigger picture.

The above aspects gave a broader scope of the expectations from the researcher and this is a challenge to all researchers to make sure that they produce the quality results as mentioned above.

Meanwhile, Radebe (2014: 85) adds other advantages of Qualitative Research that made the researcher to use them, whereas there are other types of research. Radebe reminds us that according to Roberts (2004:111), there are five reasons for doing qualitative research:

- 1 The conviction of the researcher based on research experience
- 2 The nature of the research problem
- 3 To uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomenon about which little is yet known
- 4 To gain novel and fresh slants on things about which quite a bit is already known
- 5 To give intricate details of phenomena that are difficult to convey with quantitative methods.

Again the World Economic Analysis (2014: 6) emphasises that Qualitative Research has disadvantages as well. These include the following:

1. The quality of research is heavily dependent on skills of the researcher and can be easily influenced by personal idiosyncrasies and biases of researchers.
2. Rigidity is more difficult to assess, demonstrate and maintain.
3. The quality of data makes interpretation and analysis time-consuming.
4. Qualitative Research is sometimes not accepted and understood especially within scientific communities.
5. The presence of researcher in the process of data gathering is unavoidable and can be therefore, affect or influence the responses of subjects.
6. Issues of confidentiality and anonymity can pose problems during presentation of findings.
7. Findings can be time consuming and difficult to present in visual ways.

The Marketing Donut Resources Agency (2009: 1) stated that “Qualitative research is about getting people to expand on their answers so that you can get more insight into their attitudes and behaviour. It’s all about getting underneath people’s responses to find out what is driving their decisions”. The research topic covers all the aspects in detail as the researcher is fully aware of the importance of digging down the information and give detailed findings of the research. But the comment from the agency gives a credible insight in terms of the expectations.

Bless, Higson-Smith and Sithole (2013: 15) hold the view that “Qualitative method emerged out of more recent philosophical beliefs that truth is relative and that knowledge is constructed by human beings.” In other words, our understanding of the world is a product of our personal assumptions, biases and prejudices about it.

Social science research can either use qualitative or quantitative research or a combination of both approaches. The quantitative research relies extensively on numbers and statistics.

There are contradicting arguments among authors on how to choose the relevant research method and how to determine that this is the right or correct research method the researcher is using. The research topic for this study is not just about the competition between South Africa to get a permanent seat on the UNSC, but it is looking at the three aspects that can favour or disadvantage both of them, which are: political situation, economic aspect and crime and corruption.

Ackroyd and Highes (1981: 6) opine that what is clear is that the research process involving the collection of relevant data materials for the research cannot be haphazard. Thus, the physicist uses the vast armoury of instrumentation to record data, instruments ranging from the simple ruler or the thermometer to the incomprehensible of the electron microscopes and the 'atomsmasher'. Similarly, the social scientists has at his or her disposal such techniques or instruments such as questionnaires, attitudes scales, tape or video-recorders, various methods of observation, statistical formulae and so forth. By and large a number of social scientists do not make use of the same instruments. The above mentioned comment supports the author in terms of the research methodology adopted.

In the literature review, some authors and analysts mentioned that the domination of the Nigerians across Africa economically can help the country to get the permanent seat in the UNSC. This comment raises some questions on the objectivity and subjectivity of the researcher as ethnicity and race are likely to compromise the independence of the researcher. For example, the topic is about Nigeria and South Africa. The author is South African. The question arises: will his originality not influence the outcomes of the research? The answer is 'NO'.

Ackroyd and Highes (1981) argue that what the distinction recognises, at a minimum level, is that human being possess unique properties. Above all else they can have culture and language which makes possible the development of societies which can change and adapt, though not always in foreseen ways, as a response to human will. Natural sciences study human beings but they don't study human beings as social and cultural creatures. The findings of the research will be determined by the facts presented by the authors, researchers, academics and analysts as opposed to representing the author's interests. In most cases the qualitative approach is often used when the problem has not been investigated before.



Bless, Higson-Smith and Sithole (2013: 15) further say that other researchers are more inclined to qualitative methods in which the plan of the research is more flexible and circular. The researcher investigates a problem from the respondent's point of view. The focus of the study is to determine what respondents think and feel about a particular phenomenon or issue. In other words, reality is interpreted from the respondent's frame of reference. These studies attempt to understand phenomena in their natural context, rather than the more controlled environment favoured in the quantitative approach.

The writers propose an important point, which is flexibility. The researcher is flexible to allow and accommodate other elements that might be needed in the research as long as those elements will add on producing the undistorted, factual and credible results or findings. Therefore, to change the research methodology the author has chosen, would be a huge mistake. That is why the qualitative method cannot be replaced as it goes with the flow in the field of research in general and social science research in particular.

Bless, Higson-Smith and Sithole (2013) add that the distinction between the quantitative and qualitative approach are notwithstanding, both are authentic scientific approaches to developing knowledge in the social sciences. Such knowledge as we have benefited from, and which posterity stands to learn from, was generated through the use of either one or two of these approaches.

Privacy is another aspect that should be handled with care in the research to avoid the leaking of information and plagiarism. But what is privacy in the first place? Homan (1991) quotes James Michael who defines privacy as: the control of information about natural living persons, by those persons.

Bok (1984: 10-11) in Homan defines privacy as: "the condition of being protected unwanted access by others-either physical access, personal information or attention". But the Lindop Committee in the book by Homan describes privacy "as the interest to determine for what himself for what data relating to himself shall be known, to what other persons and upon what terms as to the use which those persons may make of those data".

According to Swetnam (2004:32), "The phenomenologist abandons all prior assumptions about the social world and does not test any hypothesis as this would automatically imply a preconception about the actors and the situation. A phenomenologist would not employ techniques such as structured interviews."

Radebe (2014:79) interprets the quotation as follows: this is a clear indication that the study embarked on has required the researcher to not allow oneself to be biased in his assumptions due to his experiences and perspectives. As I reported earlier on about the danger of being influenced by the originality and historical background, the above quotation simply agree with the researcher that the findings of the research should not be influenced by the above mentioned aspects.

Although the researcher has mentioned few advantages of Qualitative Research above from different writers, below are additional ones mentioned by Grundtvig (2010: 4):

1. Depth and detail - may not get as much depth in a standardized questionnaire
2. Openness - can generate new theories and recognize phenomena ignored by most or all previous researchers and literature
3. Helps people see the world view of those studies - their categories, rather than imposing categories; simulates their experience of the world

It is in the interest of the researcher to also remind the readers that when the study was conceived the aim was to explore the impact of political stability, economic growth and crime and corruption on South Africa and Nigeria as they are both main contenders of the UNSC's permanent seat. These are some of the questions that the study is sought to address:

#### **Key questions**

- Why do both countries (South Africa and Nigeria) believe that they deserve to get a permanent seat in the UNSC?

#### **Sub-questions**

- What are the strengths of South Africa and Nigeria which can allow them to get a permanent seat?
- What are the weaknesses of both countries that can disqualify them to get a permanent seat?
- How would Africa benefit if Nigeria or South Africa were to be given a permanent seat?

### 4.3. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

As it was mentioned previously, the research approach used in the study was the qualitative method. Before the author continues with the chapter, it is important to define these terms so that the reader will go with the flow of the chapter. Mngomezulu says “one of the main reasons for defining concepts is simply that definitions enable both the author and the reader(s) to have at least a similar understanding of the concept in order to be able to engage at the same level” (Mngomezulu, 2015: 3).

According to the Office for National Statistics (2010: 1) “data collection is a collection of information in a form of interviews, telephone, mail and the internet”. Another definition of this concept is that it refer to “ the process of gathering and measuring information on variables of interests, in an established systematic fashion that enables one to answer stated research questions, test hypotheses, and evaluate outcomes” ([https://ori.hhs.gov/education/products/in\\_illinois\\_datamanagement/dctopic.html](https://ori.hhs.gov/education/products/in_illinois_datamanagement/dctopic.html)).

Based on the above mentioned definitions, the reader understands what data collection is. Initially, the researcher proposed to collect data by means of reading books and newspapers, as well as conducting interviews and distributing questionnaires. Some of the methods were implemented in the research but some were disapproved by the University of KwaZulu-Natal’s research committee due to the shortage of time and the delay to process the application to conduct interviews with relevant sources. For example, the sending or distribution of questionnaires and arranging of interviews with foreign ministers of Nigeria and South Africa would have enriched the study.

However, this research method was deemed impractical by the university, for the reasons stated above. It was then abandoned.

Benfield and Szlemko (2006: 1) both from the department of Psychology at Colorado University support the recommendation of the researcher’s supervisor, Dr. Bheki R. Mngomezulu and the university of KwaZulu-Natal’s Higher Degrees Committee to use the desktop-based method and document analysis to collect information. The two authors mentioned above make the point that the research involving persons requires some form of informed consent, wherein the persons agree to participate and acknowledge the risks, benefits and their rights. This can take the form of a verbal consent or a written one.

In both verbal and written consents it is ascertainable whether the person providing the consent is indeed the person participating in the research.

The Western Australia Centre for Health Promotion Research (ACHPR) (2010: 1) says “data usually collected through qualitative methods addresses the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of a programme and tend to use unstructured methods of data collection to fully explore the topic”. The comments emphasise that the university research committee’s recommendations were to the benefit of the researcher and the planning and time schedule of the researcher. This recommendation saved time. Authors agree that it is important to collect information correctly to avoid errors. If the researcher has limited time, the research method needs to be chosen carefully to ensure that the study is carried out properly and produces credible results.

Another comment says “while the degree of impact from faulty data collection may vary discipline and the nature of investigation, there is a potential to cause disproportionate harm when these research results are used to support public policy recommendations”.

[https://ori.hhs.gov/education/products/in\\_illinois\\_datamanagement/dctopic.html](https://ori.hhs.gov/education/products/in_illinois_datamanagement/dctopic.html).

The above source adds that “regardless of the field of study or preference for defining accurate data collection is essential to maintaining the integrity of research. Both the selection of appropriate data collection instruments (existing, modified, or newly developed) and clearly delineated instructions for their correct use reduce the likelihood of errors occurring”. The statement supports the decision taken by the university’s committee and this is a hint that although it did not cover all the angles, but the credibility of the findings will allow the author and other researchers to further authenticate and verify the facts of the study.

ACHPR (2010: 1) also warns that the consequences of the improperly collected data include:

- Inability to answer research questions accurately
- Inability to repeat and validate the study
- Distorted findings resulting in wasted resources
- Misleading other researchers to pursue fruitless avenues of investigation
- Compromising decisions for public policy.
- Causing harm to human participants and animal subjects.

The study was confined and conducted in KwaZulu-Natal province, some of the sources of information were extracted from columns by different experts, academics and researchers, reports from independent research institutions and the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Radebe (2014: 86) states that “a literature review is said to be the best example of this type of research as it looks at the findings of the previously published studies.” For the purposes of this study the researcher had to look at the previous data which entails books, journals and newspaper articles so as to summarise and critique them accordingly. As stated previously, published studies, books, journals and newspaper articles are among the sources the researcher used in order to conduct the research and collect information.

Benfield and Szlemko (2006: 1) both from the department of Psychology in Colorado University state that “with the advancement of information and communication technology, researchers have found new methods of data collection and analysis. This has evolved from telephone surveys, computerised data collection analysis, and use of cell phones and pagers”. These are some of the methods of data collection, but the author supported by the university’s research committee saw it fit to use the desktop information as one of the fast methods of getting information without compromising the study.

Thomas and Hodges (2010:32) argue that “systematic reviews usually aim to weigh up the strength of the total available research evidence relating to a particular research question and meta-analysis is a slightly different approach that mainly aims to combine the statistical results from several existing studies in an effort to provide more robust or reliable findings regarding whether or not a particular intervention, therapy or service is effective.”

Rao (2010: 1) adds that the problems of collecting primary data in foreign countries are different only in degree from those encountered in the United States. Assuming that the research problem is well-defined and the objectives are properly formulated from the start, the success of any primary research hinges on the ability of the researcher to get correct and truthful information that addresses the research objectives. Most problems in collecting data in international marketing research stem from cultural differences among countries and range from the inability of respondents to communicate their individual opinions to inadequacies in questionnaires translation.

The author of the study emphasises that although the research is not conducted in a foreign country but I fully agree with the author that it is on the shoulders of the researcher to be objective and to present truthful information based on the particular method the researcher is using. This line of thought prompted the author to proudly emphasise that all the tools of research the author used and implemented are relevant to the study.

Benfield and Szlemko (2006: 1) argue that “by its very nature, the internet appears to be very promising medium for researchers. As a vehicle for data collection, it promises increased sample size, greater sample diversity, easier access and convenience, lower costs and time investing and many other appealing features”. The author also used the internet to source some information as it is supported by the above authors. The researcher found this method easily managed and time saving unless the website or the content of the webpage needed the researcher to put the password to access the information.

But the authors (Benfield and Szlemko, 2006: 3) also warn that “internet data collection may not seem as legitimate as data collected in a community centre or a university laboratory. Internet collection data could indeed be problematic from the point of view of source credibility, an important issue in persuasive communication”. The present author refrained from using Wikipedia as a source of information due to the alleged report of its incredibility and, according to reports, it can be altered or edited. This was supported by the institution’s research committee, reviewers of the study and the supervisor, Dr. Bheki R. Mngomezulu. They all warned against the use of Wikipedia as a tool to access information.

As the topic is exploring the political, economic crime and corruption aspects of Nigeria and South Africa the process of data collection was limited or confined to KwaZulu-Natal province. The information, as mentioned in the previous chapters, was sourced and accessed from different public libraries in the province of KwaZulu-Natal – including the library from the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Due to the nature of the author’s work to criss-cross the province of KwaZulu-Natal, it was easier for the researcher to use the close and available libraries during the time of research. That is why the University of Zululand library is among the libraries the author used to access information.

Radebe (2014: 86) makes the point that the researcher has to keep abreast of what has happened and still is happening in the economics of both Nigeria and South Africa by ensuring that he reads the business sections of the local leading newspapers. In fact, it is the newspaper reports that were repeatedly reporting about the imminent surpassing of South Africa by Nigeria as the leading economy in the continent, which prompted this study. As such, newspapers were used as sources of data for the present study. Cuttings of the articles were made and kept in a safe place for future references. The researcher was able to read other dissertations from different researchers or authors.

Those of Mngomezulu and Radebe were among them. Radebe (2014: 86) highlighted the challenges he encountered during the process of data collection, which include the breaking of his personal computers (PC). To compare the challenges, the author of the study did not experience any challenges and glitches on the usage of the computer and to its operational technical tools. This was an advantage in that it meant that the study was not interrupted.

#### **4.4. DATA ANALYSIS.**

This chapter is about data collection, which is about the process of information gathering by the author. Analysis is a great and important tool in research. However, data analysis does not form part of the present chapter. Instead, what is covered in this section is simply how collected data were analysed in readiness for presentation in subsequent chapters. For the benefit of the readers, the author always finds it important to define or give the meaning of the words used in the discussion. According to the Data Management Institute, cited from Shamoo and Resnik (2003:1) “data analysis is a process of systematically applying statistical and/or logical techniques to describe and illustrate, condense and recap, and evaluate data”.

But Thorne (2000: 1) describes data analysis as “the most complex and mysterious of all of the phases of a qualitative project, and the one that receives the least thoughtful discussion in the literature”. The above descriptions of data analysis have paved the way and given a clear picture of what data analysis is about and what is expected from researchers during the process of data analysis.

As the author used the qualitative research methodology which is the method that does not use numbers or statistics but uses qualitative information, the above definitions confirms that the presentation of results should be logical and well evaluated based on properly packaged data sets. Ragan (2011: 1) suggests that “the focus groups are done, the questionnaire is in, the interview data is in, now you have a mountain of information before you. Now comes the part when you get to see what stories the data tells you through your data analysis”. The present author collected necessary information to be analysed for presentation.

All the steps in the analysis of data were followed to flow with the reader until the findings of the investigation are presented. The International Centre for Alcohol Policies (ICAP) (1995: 1) says the process of data analysis usually includes the following:

- Organising the data for analysis.
- Describing the data
- Interpreting the data.

The above quotation paints a clear picture that the analysis should be based on some facts collected by the author. ICAP (1995) believes that there are five evaluation steps the author can use to analyse data.

- Relevance
- Effectiveness
- Efficiency
- Results or Impact
- Sustainability.

The five points mentioned by the centre emphasise on the ready criteria the author decided to use in order to get findings or results that are reliable and efficient. This is a benefit for both sides (readers and the author) to present the results that will be informative, especially to the community.

Ragan (2011: 1) concurs that “like with other parts of doing a programme evaluation, there are different ways to analyse data. This is important because how you analyse it will affect what kind of conclusions and recommendations you come up with”.

Did the qualitative research methodology give the author the right path to collect the information that is enough for the analysis or was the methodology right in such a way that the author can finalise the chapter? These are some of the questions researchers wrestle with.

According to Ragan (2011), qualitative research methodology analysis is a bit more-tricky as it involves looking for patterns, trends and themes. For Ragan, “Data analysis can be inductive, which means you use data to generate ideas. You don’t go in with predetermined things you are looking for, you keep your mind open as much as possible and let the data speak for you”. The data collected is enough to conclude the chapter at the right time.

Due to the availability of information, the author, as the above quotation mentions, came up with different ideas, comments and suggestions that opened the gate for the author to pursue the study to the next level. Thematic analysis made data packaging easier.



Ragan (2011: 2) adds that “you can triangulate your data by comparing what each group’s responses are. If the participants say it was terrible and the programme staff say it was great you know you have an issue. If they both say the same thing you can be more confident in what the data is telling you”. This is an important comment which emphasises the relevance and importance of the availability of information in the study. All aspects and points were scrutinised and translated into meaning as the study sought to achieve.

The findings of the study will be recorded for future references and for the benefit of the next generation. The report or the findings of the research will be kept in the library of the University of KwaZulu-Natal as means of keeping it safe and avail it to other researchers. Ragan (2011: 2) states that “once you have analysed the data, don’t forget to record you analysis. It is really easy to think of something the data is telling you but to forget to write it down. Make sure you write all your observation down. You can go through them later when you are writing the report but at this stage get it all down on paper”. In short, data analysis in this study followed conventional practice as confirmed by the various authors above.

#### **4.5. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

This topic highlighted the challenges and impediments that hindered or limited the author to continue with the study. There are many factors that could disturb the continuation of the study, some could be personal such as family matters, some physical or psychological such as injury or any illnesses during the data collection process.

These aspects can force the author to consult a doctor for medical examination or being admitted to the hospital to be examined by the experts, which sometimes can be time consuming.

Verial (2015: 1) of the Demand Media says “studies usually have at least one limitation that makes some aspects of their results less likely to be accurate, such as the hypothesis not being proved though it might be true, the introduction of bias, a necessity of to rely on estimates for some data or limitations on the scope and applicability of the study”.

The author of the study is proud to report that nothing hindered him to perform his job to a level of his initial expectations – except for changing the data collection methods somewhat.

Irrespective of his professional work and family related matters and challenges, the author was able to make time to continue with the research and ensured that the set target time was not missed.

Verial (2015: 1) believes that funding has a huge impact on the success of the study. The author states the following: “in addition because scientists across the globe have different sources and amounts of funding, not all scientists can use large groups of subjects. The small sample sizes that make the statistics of a study less dependable, the results of a study that lacks sufficient funding might not be strong or mathematically strong”. Funding is very crucial for the author to conduct the research effectively as the author needs, for example, to conduct interviews and travel from one research institution to the other in search of information. That exercise needs money and transport. The author did not have to bother with funding as there was no need to travel to other countries such as Nigeria. This was averted by the fact that the study used a desktop based method, journals, books, newspaper articles, columns and reports from experts in that particular field.

One term rarely used in research is ‘confounder’. But what exactly does this concept mean? Verial (2015: 1) describes a confounder as a quality or variable that affects the results of the study but is not included in the study itself. Verial (2015) says that confounders include environmental factors, neglected differences between the subjects and unexpected changes during experiments. Verial (2015) highlights the important point that outside factors can cause serious delays in the completion of the study on time.

The present author can mention that the balance of time and work in order to accommodate the study made it possible for him to avoid delays in executing the study. The failure or inability of the author to get books on time at the library can be one of the challenges the author encounters during the study. The present author experienced this problem but not all the time.

In his dissertation, Radebe (2014) states that as his study did not use interviews, questionnaires or surveys but only used desktop research, this was an advantage in that it enabled him to finish the study without worrying about respondents not responding or any other time constraint. The same thing applies to the present author. The research was desktop-based as mentioned earlier and it was easier to research information without any disturbance and relying on individuals and correspondents to get information on time.

Continuing with his report, Radebe (2015) states: “however on the downside it prevented the researcher from getting the views of the people from both countries and independent experts on the subject of the study.” He saw this as something over which he had no control and concluded by saying that if the outcome of the results is affected by this sort of limitation “then it should be understood where the researcher is coming from”.

As mentioned earlier, the present author planned to interview or send questionnaires to the experts from both countries (South Africa and Nigeria), but the author ended-up leaving the method and focused on the recommended method, which was a desktop-based approach and the use of books and other official documents as it was recommended by the supervisor and the university’s Higher Degrees Committee. No difficulties or serious challenges were identified or noticed during the research, except that the researcher had to adjust working hours in order to accommodate and continue with the research. In that sense, the study had minimal glitches which were in no way insurmountable.

#### **4.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has identified and discussed the research methodology that was followed in conducting the study. The chapter introduced the research methodology and provided the reasons as to why that research methodology was used to conduct research for the study. The method’s advantages and disadvantages were enumerated for the readers’ benefit.

The key terms and concepts used in the chapter were defined to give clarity and to make sure that readers go with the flow. The likely challenges experienced during the data collection process were mentioned. However, the present author indicated that very few of these challenges were applicable in the context of the present study. Any deviation from the initial plan of the study was spelt out and reasons for the change were provided. Importantly, the discussion in this chapter was linked to the general practice in research. This was a deliberate decision meant to locate the study in the broader context and to subscribe to research conventions.

Building on this chapter, the next chapter is about the research findings. In the next chapter, the findings of the study will be presented and discussed in order to give meaning to them in line with the research objectives and research questions of the study.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### 5.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented the methodology used to collect data for this study. In that chapter, it was stated that the data of the research was collected using different means of data collection. Books, journals, newspaper articles and reports from various sources were used for data collection. The research methodology used in this study has been outlined in chapter four. It is now the time to present the findings and discussions based on the data collected. This will be the focus of the present chapter. An unknown writer (2003: 1) in the article titled 'Discuss Your Findings' advances the compelling view that "in the discussion of your findings you have an opportunity to develop the story you found in the data, making connections between the results of your analysis and existing theory and research". (<http://www.monash.edu.au/lls/hdr/write/5.9.html>). The quotation has laid the foundation and opened the gate for the researcher to present the findings of the investigation. The findings will be interlinked with the steps the research has undertaken up to this stage.

Azar (2006: 2) opines that "one of the biggest errors students make in their discussion is exaggeration. Acknowledge that you are speculating and you don't stray too far from your data". This was the advice the authors should not undermine because sometimes researchers tend to exaggerate when they present their findings and discussions. Although the author found it difficult to separate the two, the information presented was supported by the theory and the research methodology discussed earlier.

According to Flom (2001: 2) "in the analysis section and qualitative paper, it may include strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) analysis". The author was mindful of the fact that he used the opportunity fruitfully and at the same time showed strength in terms of presenting the findings of the research. The author believes that there is one or two powerful ways of conveying the message, it is writing until the message is effectively and efficiently conveyed to the intended recipient.

Flom (2001: 2) adds that "the author who writes analysis must be knowledgeable about the methods he used. If it is a quantitative paper, he or she may be a statistician or data analyst.

The author who writes findings should be knowledgeable about the way findings in the field are reported. He will often be the lead author of the paper”. The author regards himself as a commander and driver of the vehicle, but irrespective of the advantage of the author, he must make sure that findings are presented in line with the set-out guidelines. Yes, the author can use his creativity and skills in writing and presentation of the findings but there should be no exaggeration.

Flom (2001) believes that “the analysis section includes a justification of the methods used. It is often technical in nature, and may be skipped by many readers”. In his view, “the findings section is purely descriptive, and should be easily understood by all members of the paper’s targeted audience”.

Looking at the same issue from a slightly different perspective, Radebe (2014) quotes Ball (2012:45) saying, “you must be clear about precisely what is appropriate: is it the raw results and nothing else, or should you also provide some contextualising discussion that helps to explain the outcomes but falls short of analysing them?” As the author is aware of the importance of the study, therefore, it is important to be precise but at the same time, the author must allow the constructive criticism from other authors such as identifying the unnecessary and less important part in the topic.

Radebe (2014) quotes Roberts (2004:166) putting it this way: “analysing qualitative data requires that you read through all your interview notes and transcriptions from beginning to end several times. Only then you realistically generate categories, themes, and patterns that emerge from the data.” These are some of the set guidelines the author followed in analysing data and they (guidelines) helped the researcher to analyse the qualitative data and ensuring that it is informative.

## **5.2. THEMATIC DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS**

In the above discussion, the author mentioned few steps that were taken or followed to collect data. The steps were highlighted in order to show the readers how the author reached the findings of the research. Although the author quoted few authors in order to give a sense or full meaning about the topic, that did not mean that the descriptions were final, instead there was room for alternatives and changes.

The British Dental Journal (2008: 1) reports that there are two fundamental approaches to analysing qualitative data: the deductive approach and the inductive approach.

The deductive approach involves using a structure or predetermined framework to analyse data. Essentially, the researchers impose their own structure or theories on the data and then use these to analyse the data such as interview transcripts.

Radebe (2014) quoted Roberts (2004:143-144) where she describes a systematic process to analyse textual data. In a nutshell, the eight steps listed by Roberts are as follows:

- 1 Get sense of the whole. Read all the transcriptions carefully. Perhaps jot down some ideas as they come to mind.
- 2 Pick one document- the most interesting one, the shortest, the one on top of the pile. Go through it asking yourself, “What is this about?” Do not think about the “substance” of the information but its underlying meaning. Write thoughts in the margin.
- 3 When you have completed this task for several informants, make a list of all topics. Cluster together similar topics. Form these topics into columns that might be arrayed as major topics, unique topics, and leftovers.
- 4 Now take this list and go back to your data. Abbreviate the topics as codes and write the codes next to the appropriate segments of the text. Try this preliminary organising scheme to see if new categories and codes emerge.
- 5 Find the most descriptive wording for your topics and turn them into categories. Look for ways of reducing your total list of categories by grouping topics that relate to each other. Perhaps draw lines between your categories to show interrelationships.
- 6 Make a final decision on the abbreviation for each category and alphabetize these codes.
- 7 Assemble the data material belonging to each category in one place and perform a preliminary analysis.
- 8 If necessary, recode your existing data.

According to the British Dental Journal writers (2008: 2) says there are several computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software packages available that can be used to manage and help in the analysis of qualitative data. Common programmes include ATLAS and NVivo. It should be noted, however, that such programmes do not ‘analyse’ the data that is the task of the researcher, they simply manage the data and make handling them easier.

The above comment was seriously noted and the researcher used readily available resources to analyse data and also make sure that the duty was fully performed in a manner that could satisfy the concerned parties, which are researchers and the readers.

Verification process is another aspect that couldn't be left out easily. The British Dental Journal (2008) states that there is a debate as to whether qualitative researchers should have their analysis verified or validated by a third party. It has been argued that this process can make the analysis more rigorous and reduce the element bias. There are two key ways of having data analysis validated by others: respondent validation-returning to the study participants and asking them to validate analyse and peer review, whereby another qualitative researcher analyses the data independently.

The point raised is valid and the researcher took full responsibility to verify and validate the information presented. But the author found it difficult to determine and separate which part of the research was truthful and factual. But as the information is in front of the readers, it is up to the readers to make their conclusions based on the information presented.

Below are some of the findings of the present study as they were gleaned from different sources.

## **5.2.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA**

### **(a) Nigeria**

The findings of this study force us to go back in history to trace the context of the present situation. As some African countries were annexed by European countries, Nigeria was also annexed by Britain in 1861. Niger Delta, is one of the state that grew in response to European demands for slaves and later palm oil, as well as politically decentralized but culturally homogenous Ibo peoples of the Eastern region and the small tribe of the plateau. All these state structures grew tremendously through some form of trade, either internally or externally with foreigners.

The Nigerian Nationalist Movement aimed to make Nigerians think of themselves as a unit, less as members of distinct ethnic groups but as citizens of one political entity.

Its goal initially was not self-determination, but rather increased participation in the governmental process on a regional level. And the role of women in the struggle against oppression and colonialism must not be forgotten as it led to the emancipation of the whole country. After a long struggle for independence, in 1960, the British government lifted its colonialism from Nigeria. Wines (2010: 1) of the New York Times.

The first prime minister of Nigeria Abubakar Tafawa Balewa said “the first of October 1960 is a date to which for two years every Nigerian has been eagerly looking forward. At last, our great day has arrived, and Nigeria is now indeed an independent sovereign nation.

Words cannot adequately express my joy and pride at being the Nigerian citizen privileged to accept from Her Royal Highness these Constitutional instruments”.  
(<http://www.blackpast.org/1960-sir-abubakar-tafawa-balewa-independence-day>)

After that Nigeria experienced many coups incidents, for example, Alhaji Shehu are among the leaders that were overthrown. On January 20, 1999, Nigerian and international election observers declared the election in Nigeria as free and fair. Two days later, the winner was announced which was the former military ruler Olusegun Obasanjo.

According to Radebe (2014: 7), Obasanjo had proven to be some kind of a catalyst for Nigeria’s politics simply because in 1979 he returned the country to civilian rule. And in 2007, he stepped down peacefully. But according to Ogbu (2013: 1) Obasanjo had borrowed money to acquire certain government assets. The shares were offered to many government officials including former Vice-President Atiku Abubakar and the then Minister of Finance, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala. Nigeria has enjoyed a smooth transition of power from Obasanjo to Umaru Yar’Adua to President Goodluck Jonathan, and from him to the incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari.

## **(b) South Africa**

The Lonely Planet Travel Information (2015: 2) reports that South Africa’s history extends back to around 40 000 BC when the first San people first settled in Southern Africa. South Africa was colonized by the British in the seventeenth century. The discovery of gold in the country led to the intensification of colonization by Britain in 1886.



To make sure that the National Party stayed in power forever, they invented apartheid as means to cement their control over the economic and social system such as the Population Registration Act of 1950. (<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/south-africa/history>).

Campbell (2010: 1-10) makes the point that African resistance against oppression and apartheid was intensified among the Blacks, which include the Soweto Uprising of 1976.

Political organisation such as the ANC and others struggled to overthrow the rule of the minority. Until such time where Nelson Mandela became the leader of the underground structure of the ANC and Oliver ambo went abroad to establish the organization and the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto Wesizwe (MK).

As mentioned above, in 1976, the Soweto Students Representative Council (SRC) protested against the use of Afrikaans. This led to the riots and mass arrests.

In 1990, F.W. De Klerk, made a surprising statement that he would implement a total abolition of apartheid through voting and the dreams of the Africans and democratic lovers was achieved on 26-27 April 1994. In the first democratic election, the ANC won with 62, 7 percent votes. It also won all seven provinces except Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. In 1997, Nelson Mandela voluntarily handed over ANC leadership to his deputy Thabo Mbeki.

Mbeki resigned as President after almost ten years in September 2008 following the decision by the ANC to recall him. He was followed by Kgalema Motlanthe as a 'caretaker' president until the next election in 2009. (Lonely Planet Information, 2015: 3). Jacob Zuma also known as JZ was assured victory when his sexual rape charges were dropped weeks before the polls opened in 2009. Indeed, Zuma won the 2009 election convincingly 65, 90 percent. He was re-elected into office in May 2014 and is currently serving his second and last term in office the country's president. The next general election is scheduled for 2019.

## **5.2.2. THE IMPACT OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH**

### **AFRICA**

#### **(a) Nigeria**

Based on the views from different writers, it came to the attention of the author that the political situation in each country is key to everything.

In Nigeria, to achieve political freedom was not an easy task, it was characterised by many coups incidents, killing of innocent people and political leaders. There is general consensus among authors that the contribution of individuals and leaders of political parties should be acknowledged in bringing peace and stability in the country after a long bloodshed.

The high number of ethnic groups in the country contributed to the country's negative international image. Others believe that the presence of Nigerian nationals in other countries, either in Africa or Europe attributes to changing the negative image of the country.

The existence of democracy in Nigeria is another aspect that is acknowledged by the African communities when rating the country's political image. Nigeria is regarded as a matured country in terms of democracy and political stability.

Although many leaders have been trying to bring about political stability, the role of Nigerian leaders including Olusegun Obasanjo, Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari has been applauded as no political disruption occurred during their term of office.

Although Nigeria has experienced economic growth, the political situation and crime are some of the issues that determine the failures and successes of a particular leader. The failure of the government to avoid and rescue the kidnapping of young girls by Boko Haram dented the political image of the country including its leaders.

As the author kept abreast with the update in terms of the situation of the victims, reports said some of the girls had been forced to marry the kidnappers while others died of different causes. This is the incident the Nigerian government will have to prepare to live with for decades.

Still on the theme, it has been reported that Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari had to take cover and ran away after being attacked by an angry community in Kaduna area in July 2015 (The Cable News, 2015: 1). If such an incident could happen to anybody, even senior politicians, what message did it convey to the ordinary people who do not have security guards and who do not use cars with bullet proof? This was scary and it sent a message to other African countries on the continent and to the world that Nigerian citizens lived with God's mercy. There is no security assurance of the community from the government and law enforcement agencies are not capable of bringing political stability in the country.

Comments from different authors and commentators brought hope to the African continent in terms of ensuring permanent peace and stability in the country. For example, former United Nations Organisation General Secretary and chairperson of the Kofi Annan Foundation, Kofi Annan alluded that after the Nigerian general elections in 2015, the political environment in Nigeria is conducive for any activities and for the first time in history an elected president handed power to another elected president. The peaceful presidential agreements signed committing them and their parties to putting in place active measures to prevent electoral violence before, during and after elections are signs of the shift of the status quo from political instability to political stability. This brings a semblance of hope.

But Nigeria is not off the hook yet, and this is witnessed by authors who still offer free advice to the Nigerian government such as Mohamed ElBaradei, the Egyptian Law Scholar and the of Nobel Peace Prize winner who preaches about the need to understand the importance of social unity and reaching consensus on the basic values and laws that should govern the pluralistic society (<http://www.g-l-f.org/index.cfm?id=71152>).

The researcher has found that Nigeria is the African country that has the highest population in Africa with approximately more than 170 million people. This is an indication that Nigeria is the biggest country in Africa in terms of the population. Therefore, it deserves to be recognised. Many Nigerian authors state that Nigerians are found everywhere on the face of the earth and that there are over 140 million Nigerians in Africa.

While this might be a good thing, the author is worried about it, as according to the author, this shows that the Nigerian government is failing to look after the needs of the Nigerians, thus forcing them to be scattered across Africa and the world. How do they (Nigerians) support themselves in those countries, do they have legal permits to stay in those countries, are they not committing crime in those countries and what mechanism does the government have in place to monitor their activities and movements outside Nigeria? These are questions that need to be debated when discussing Nigeria's prospects for taking a UNSC seat.

The influence of Nigeria locally, continentally and internationally was emphasized in the earlier chapters. Authors believe that Nigeria did a lot in terms of bringing political stability in the continent and emancipating other countries that were still experiencing oppression from colonial rule. This was a crucial contribution. However, the question is whether this is enough to guarantee Nigeria a seat in the UNSC.

Another point the researcher deems important is the influence and reliability of Nigeria's role in Africa. If Nigeria was regarded as superpower in Africa, according to the authors, how did she fail to instil values of respect to her people at home before issuing commands outside the boundaries of the country? The author believes that the political instability is the main cause of economic downfall and increasing number of crime related incidents in the country. This has been witnessed in many countries ravaged by war. This means that if senior political leaders come out and claim that they don't recognise the current president Buhari or they support Islamists group Boko Haram, would Nigeria be able to deal with such challenges?

If the country failed to maintain political stability internally, would it succeed in carrying the hopes of the African continent in the UNSC? These are important questions which can only get negative responses.

#### **(b) South Africa**

The transition of South Africa from the apartheid era to democracy was applauded. The establishment of various institutions to support and deepen democracy contributed a lot in bringing political stability in South Africa. Although there were remnants of political violence and mistrust among political parties after the 1994 election, the relevant institutions were quick to address those challenges.

The institutions, the author is referring to are chapter nine institutions such as the Human Rights Commission, Gender Commission, Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and others. The TRC, while not a Chapter nine institution but a temporal measure, was one of the institutions that played an important role in bringing about everlasting reconciliation among the South Africans and different racial groups. The perpetrators of political violence had to appear in front of the Commission to ask for forgiveness for carrying out the 'dirty' work under the apartheid regime. This was where the chairperson of the Commission Reverend Desmond Tutu burst into tears when he heard how some of the killings were executed.

Other authors in the previous chapters criticise African leaders for failing to honour their promises of bringing basic services to the people and ensuring that there is political stability. Are South African leaders committed to change people's lives?

Based on the comments and analysis from different authors, the researcher gets the impression that South African political leaders are good in praising the policies of government and the content of the constitution of the country, but they fail to lead by example.

While there is political stability in the country, the findings of the South African Public Prosecutor Advocate Thuli Madonsela that President Zuma unduly benefitted from the renovation programmes of his homestead at Nkandla painted a negative picture about South Africa in the continent and across the globe. The danger the researcher found is that the image and the reputation of the country was permanently damaged and it is likely that the next coming president could inherit such an image.

South Africa had been exemplary to many African countries and internationally by introducing economic programmes that are not available in other countries.

Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) was one such programme the government introduced to bridge the gap between the poor and the rich.

Billionaires such as Patrice Motsepe, Tokyo Sexwale and others were among the black beneficiaries of the programme. But the increasing number of unemployed people and the widening of the gap between the poor and rich signs of the failure of the government to create job opportunities and ineffectiveness and inefficiency of government's policies to address challenges of the country. If not addressed properly, this situation could negatively affect the country's political stability.

The killing and persecution of foreign nationals in South Africa allegedly by South Africans was a good example of fighting over scarce resources, mostly job opportunities. Can South Africa be proud that she was permanently politically stable?

If the answer is 'Yes' how come that the number of unemployed South Africans was alarmingly increasing each and every day? Are we not sitting on a time bomb that can explode anytime and affect the well-being of the society? The researcher refreshes the reader's memories that the killing of foreign nationals in 2015 was the second incident in South Africa, the other one having happened in 2008. In short, it is up to the reader to decide whether South Africa is truly politically stable or not.

Internationally, South Africa is well respected in terms of promoting peace across the globe. South Africa is a member of international organisations such as the UN, Common Wealth, AU, BRICS, International Criminal Court (ICC) and many others.

She has signed many bilateral treaties and international trade agreements with international countries. The participation and involvement of the country in these organisations help the country to voice its concerns on issues that affect the nation, the region, the continent and the globe.

But the refusal of South Africa to arrest Sudanese President al-Bashir, allegedly violating and ignoring orders of the ICC sent the strong message to the international organisations that South Africa never entertains unnecessary European interventions at the expense of African countries. By doing so, the ICC is likely to re-look at its objectives as it has been criticised for targeting African leaders. Does that mean South Africa should be regarded as a hope of Africa in voicing concerns about the wrong doings and injustice of these organisations? If so, will that benefit South Africa in terms of its bid for the UNSC seat? These are interesting questions which the author believes should be answered in the affirmative although some would disagree.

In a nutshell, the political situation in both Nigeria and South Africa is critical in terms of assessing the prospects of each country to get the UNSC seat.

Overall, both countries seem to be somewhat politically stable compared to what there were just a few years back. However, as discussed above, in both countries there is a possibility for the political situation to deteriorate if nothing is done to address current challenges which differ from each country.

### **5.2.3. THE IMPACT OF CRIME AND CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA**

It has become a norm that almost 90 percent of political leaders especially during election time make promises to eradicate poverty, corruption and crime if they are elected. Leaders for both countries (South Africa and Nigeria) have fallen victim to this practice. They promised to root out all forms of corruption and crime and to free their countries from criminal activities in order to live with peace and harmony. But according to the authors nothing tangible and concrete has been done to fight corruption in both countries.

## **(a) Nigeria**

Nigeria is one of the countries in Africa that produces oil but corruption, financial embezzlement and theft has destroyed and reversed the economic growth of the country. Local people don't benefit from the country's natural resources, starvation and unemployment and poverty is high due to corruption and crime. According to reports, more than \$7, 5 billion (R93, 1 billion) needed to be recovered from oil and gas companies in Nigeria (Michael Eboh: 2015-1).

This is a large sum of money that should have been invested in the creation of job opportunities, skills and education development as means of promoting self-dependence and infrastructural development. The worse part of it is that malpractices are likely to impact negatively on the African continent. Nigeria is in Africa, so if international countries judge or perceive Nigeria as the most corrupt country in Africa, Africans too will be judged collectively as corrupt due to individual countries such as Nigeria. Given that the country wants to claim the UNSC seat, such perception does not augur well since the international community will have a say on who gets that seat from Africa when it becomes available.

Nigeria signed a Bi-National Commission and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission with the USA whereby USA would help Nigeria to deal with corruption and crime and improve Nigeria's economy. That was a good initiative as the agreement would create a conducive environment for the Nigerians free from crime and corruption.

On the other side, the researcher fully supported the initiative of Africans to form partnership with European countries to improve their respective economies. But do African leaders do enough to protect the reputation of African countries in terms of being perceived as failures? The author asks this question because Nigeria is rich in natural resources and mineral resources, and billions and billions of Nairas are generated out of resources but leaders fail to channel the money to the people.

The culture of equal distribution and the promotion of self-sustainability is almost non-existent. There are slim opportunities for the country to establish its own everlasting structures that will help to promote its own local economy and deal with crime accordingly without the help and intervention of foreign countries.

Available evidence shows that Nigeria should not abolish international relations agreements, but these agreements must be a true reflection of historical background of Nigerians so that it would be easy to assess the progress and failures of these agreements based on the wishes, willingness and objectives of the citizens.

Authors argue that crime has created movement barriers in different parts of Nigeria. People cannot visit and go to other parts of the country because of high numbers of crime, robbery and theft incidents. The author believes that Nigerians are indirectly restricted to move freely in their own country because of crime. The researcher found it difficult to accept that crime and corruption had become one of the most feared factors in the country more than the policies and law enforcement agencies of the country. This is a lesson the Nigerian people need to learn. Nigeria needs collective efforts to deal with crime. At the same time, individuals can come up with their programmes and meet the government halfway in terms of dealing with social ills in the community.

The Nigerian government is lacking and failing to form different platforms and open channels of communication so that individuals will be empowered on how to deal with crime. Should the country intensify its campaign to fight crime, this will be cost effective.

The more the government spends on crime and corruption, the more other services will be hindered, crippled and disturbed. When that happens, the country's international image will be dented and its prospects for a UNSC seat will be diminished.

## **b) South Africa**

South African Crime Statistics (2013/14) reports that "South Africa is less safe than two years ago, it is emerged murders, house robberies and hijackings are on the increase".

This is a true reflection of the situation in the country and epitomises some of the challenges facing the South African people. If statistics show that security and protection of South Africans is not guaranteed, this conveys the message that local and outside peace structures need to be effective. On the other hand the above quotation conveys two meanings. Firstly, it shows that the government is either deliberately failing to end crime activities or there are not enough resources to deal with all forms of crime and corruption in the country.



Corruption and crime sometimes are the main cause of inequality among the community, as some become richer for stealing the money and some become poorer due to the lack of basic skills and basic needs.

Would South Africa be able to turn the situation around and return to normalcy in terms of crime? According to the analysis of the author South Africa has a capacity to end corruption and crime. All that is needed is the political will to do so.

The 2010 FIFA World Cup is a good example, the whole world was in South Africa to attend the World Cup. What was noticeable was that there was no single incident of robbery, hijack, heist and rape and other related cases, why? It is because the country used all available resources to make sure that there was peace and smooth running of programmes and that the good image of the country was maintained and not dented in the eyes of the world. Can we confidently say that the increasing cases of crime are perpetrated by the laziness of government? Some might be pardoned to say 'Yes', because South Africa has the financial and material capacity to deal with all forms of crime and corruption in the country but is not putting this ability into practice.

The figures from the former member of Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) Mngxitama (2015: 33) painted a bad picture about the country where he said the last time the police reported on the statistics, it was clear that within a period of twelve months we murdered about 17 000, mostly black, young men. The Black Africans who arrive here from outside South Africa are placed in this generalized violent reality.

As each and every country is concerned with the protection of the its image in the international scene, South Africa needed to work harder to convince the world that she is a safe and peaceful country, especially after the alleged involvement of senior South African officials in putting the country's image into disrepute by allegedly paying FIFA officials in securing the 2010 World Cup. Put simply, South Africa, just like Nigeria, needs to be concerned about crime and corruption as the country readies itself for the UNSC seat. Failure to address these issues would negatively affect the country's plans and ambitions.

## **5.2.4. THE IMPACT OF THE ECONOMIC FACTOR ON NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA**

### **(a) Nigeria**

As discussed in the previous chapters, reports indicated that Nigeria is the biggest economy in Africa despite its challenges. The country's economy grew to \$453 billion in 2012, as opposed to \$264 billion in 2014. These figures can be interpreted in different ways by different people, but the current situation will determine the interpretation. For example, the presentation of such figures to the unemployed people brings hope of a better life, the creation of job opportunities, and easy access to health services, justice and education. To the successful people, this means the accumulation of more wealth. Various authors in previous chapters have expressed different views on Nigeria's status.

Firstly, the status of Nigeria is the indication that Africa can strategize and come up with positive ideas without the help of foreign countries to improve the African economy. On the other hand the current status quo put Nigeria in a better positions in terms of getting a permanent seat on the UNSC. Authors in the previous chapters argued that the economic indicators were very important on the candidate of the UNSC as members of the UNSC need to pay a membership fee, and other countries sometimes fail to pay on time due to financial challenges and difficulties in their respective countries. This means that Nigeria has scored points on the race of getting the UNSC.

Corruption, crime and political stability are aspects that cannot be separated if the individual wants to address one of the challenges in the country. If the situation is not conducive in that particular country due to political instability, there are slim chances of economic development.

Therefore, irrespective of Nigeria's domination in Africa in terms of economic growth, the researcher does not think that Nigeria will enjoy the current economic status permanently because crime and corruption still dominate and there are billions of Nairas that have been allegedly embezzled by senior officials including government officials. This activity would slowly and surely reverse the progress and achievements of the country in changing the lives of the people and the economy of the country.

The author believes nothing would change in the lives of the ordinary people, instead the individuals who have access to resources would use or take advantage of the economic growth for their own benefit.

The signing of agreements by the government with local structures and international countries to deal with crime was the indication that Nigeria was prepared to move obstacles aside that could hinder the country to achieve its goals of being a superpower in Africa economically. But the challenge was: who evaluated and closely monitored the effectiveness and efficiency of the agreements? Did they achieve their objectives and how did they deal with individuals who are failing to perform their work within the structures? These are some of the questions the researcher thinks Nigeria needs to look at in order settle and enjoy the economic status for decades to come.

Recently, Nigeria announced that the South African network cellular giant company MTN will be fined more than 7 billion Rands for failing to comply with Nigeria's regulations to register all its sim cards. The researcher fully agrees that the image of South Africa was damaged especially for failing to keep the trade relations agreements with other countries. This was another indication that Nigeria is strict when it comes to investment and all countries which need to do business with Nigeria must fully understand the content of the agreement. Nigeria was trying to show South Africa that she (Nigeria) is still in charge and they don't care whether South Africa decided to de-invest in the country or not. The researcher also thinks that this was a deliberate initiative of Nigeria to dent the image of the country in the international scene as Nigerians know that they were competing for the seat on the UNSC.

## **(b) South Africa**

South Africa is well-known for deepening democratic values. This was witnessed during the smooth transition from the apartheid government to the new dispensation in 1994. That process confirmed to the investors that South Africa was still the right country to invest in.

The country had been enjoying that status of being an economic super power in Africa for decades until Nigeria took over in April 2014.

Irrespective of South Africa being overtaken by Nigeria, the country retained its position of being both the largest recipient of foreign direct investment (FDI) into Africa and the biggest African investor into the rest of the continent.

South Africa got the largest of foreign direct investment (FDI) of any country on the continent, at double the next closest competitor for capital. The Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD) reported in the previous chapter that although Nigeria leads in Africa in terms of economic growth but South Africa has better infrastructure.

What does that mean? It means that South Africa is likely to return to her previous economic status due to the good infrastructure, because good infrastructure is the backbone of economic growth.

The decline of the economy in South Africa led to the increasing number of unemployment especially among the youth. First National Bank (FNB) Chief Economists Nxedlana and Alex Smith (2015: 2) said economic growth is seen rising to 3% by 2017 in South Africa, including the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa. However, insufficient electricity supply is expected to impose a serious constraint on output and exports over the short term.

Other South African leaders including South African Minister for Finance, Nene, agreed that Africa had seen a lot of growth but poverty had worsened because policies that supported growth had failed. The opportunities we have in the country are not adequate for young people, but we have learnt a lesson, we are also looking at the challenges of unemployment and poverty. In that sense, while Nigeria's economy may have improved in 2014, South Africa still remains a force to be reckoned with.

### **5.3. THE RIVALRY BETWEEN NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRIA**

A quick look at the literature on the two countries leads to the conclusion that they are competitors in many respects. This includes the political and economic spheres. The fact that Nigeria became a democratic country long before South Africa is a factor that cannot be excluded from the analysis. The Economic Commission of West African States (ECOWAS) was founded in 1975 to promote economic integration across the region. It was considered as one of the collective efforts meant to ensure self-sufficiency for its member states. Nigeria is one of the member of ECOWAS.

The researcher believes that being a member of ECOWAS gives Nigeria the right platform the country needs to persuade the international community to overtake South Africa politically so that she would get a permanent seat on the UNSC. According to reports, Nigerian former president Olusegun Obasanjo had been the chairperson of the organisation which should be regarded as an advantage to Nigeria. On the other hand, South Africa is a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), of which Nigeria is not.

The objectives SADC, among other things, is to increase domestic products, create employment opportunities and the promotion of foreign direct investment and joint ventures. The researcher believes the objectives of both organisations are more or less the same. Therefore, it depends on how influential or powerful the organisation (ECOWAS and SADC) is to act on behalf of their members to get a permanent seat on the UNSC.

Again, both Nigeria and South Africa are members of the Commonwealth, the organisation which was formed mostly by countries that were colonised by Britain. Would both countries use the Commonwealth membership card to position themselves on the UNSC? According to the researcher, it is possible but it will depend on Britain to decide which country she thinks deserves the seat as a permanent member of the UNSC. But South Africa stands in a good position to enjoy support from Britain due to the long historical background such as the war between the British soldiers and the Zulus at Isandlwana in 1879. That alone could prompt both countries to use the incident as the foundation to forge political relationships. Secondly, both countries have Royal Households or Kingdoms, which is another aspect which is likely to steal the hearts and minds of the UK to vote for South Africa and pave the way for the country to enjoy the same status as developed countries.

In 2010, South Africa also took another important step by joining BRICS, which was a great milestone. On top of that South Africa hosted the fifth BRICS Summit from 26 to 27 March 2013 in Durban. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade Report (2010) South Africa is in the top 20 priority economies for foreign direct investment. Apart from hosting such big a conference, South Africa is likely to benefit from concrete projects of BRICS such as agriculture, security and justice. It must be noted that China and Russia are permanent members of the UNSC, which could be an advantage for South Africa to use as a platform to get a permanent seat.

What is more important and noticeable benefit of South Africa by being a member of BRICKS has been the establishment of a branch of the BRICS Bank in South Africa.

The country is likely to use that to expunge negative perceptions about itself in terms of alleged reports of high levels of crime and corruption.

The African Union (AU) is another important organisation in Africa. The appointment of the South African citizen Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma over African leaders including Nigeria to be the chair of the AU Commission, leaves a mark in terms of the role South Africa has played and will play in the continental and international organisations. Recently, South Africa was announced as a member of INTERPOL, which is the only country in Africa to be a member of the organisation and to even chair it at some point. So far, based on the above presentations, the researcher believes that South Africa has done a lot locally, continentally and in the whole world compared to Nigeria to change the image of Africa and to improve the lives of Africans.

Again South Africa continued to dominate Africa by putting the name of the South African tycoon Tokyo Sexwale as FIFA president candidate. Sexwale is the only African among the contenders for the position. If he wins, that will be the benefit of Africa as a whole but would mean more for South Africa as a country in terms of its international standing. Sexwale must be regarded as the wagon that would bridge the existing gap between the African continent and the international countries. At the same time, he is likely to be a draw card for South Africans in terms of selling ideas, principles and the position of the country on international matters, especially in soccer.

#### **5.4. CONCLUSION**

This conclusion is one of the most important parts in this chapter as it refreshes the reader's memory about the whole chapter. The chapter discussed the findings of the study. The findings were separated into four themes: the historical background of Nigeria and South Africa, the impact of political situation in Nigeria and South Africa, the impact of crime and corruption and the impact of economic situation in both countries. These were closely scrutinized because they have a huge influence in the collapse of the country if they are not properly addressed. For example, the country cannot develop economically if crime and corruption is high. The themes were presented in a manner that would paint a clear picture about the findings of the research.

The historical background of both countries was one of the most interesting parts as it made easier for the researcher to convey the message based on the background information.

The historical background of both countries showed that both countries were colonised by the British government and they suffered a lot socially and economically as they could not use their resources as they pleased or to benefit the rightful owners. The high rate of unemployment, illiteracy and lack of development are some of the issues both countries inherited due to their exploitation by the British government.

Sometimes, the raw resources were diverted to the British government and imported to both countries as finished products. No job opportunities were created, no skills transfers happened during the discovery of resources such as gold and other resources. Instead, it created and resulted in the increase in cheap labour, exploitation and oppression in the form of knowledge limitation and the oppression of human rights.

Irrespective of hardships and challenges both countries faced and experienced, they took different forms of struggle. For example, South Africa took the military route to overthrow the white minority rule but eventually obtained democracy through negotiations and then experienced political stability. Nigeria's case is different as the country had to deal with black military dictatorships after obtaining independence from Britain. Moreover, looting of the resources of the country for personal benefit became the order of the day. But what is important is that it was a long and thorny journey to both countries to enjoy the fruits of democracy. Today both countries are rated as superpowers, especially economically compared to other African countries due to their hard work.

The researcher cannot turn a blind eye on the competition between the two countries in terms of domination economically. But the findings suggest that Nigeria was rated as superpower over South Africa economically, whereas, South Africa is powerful in terms of infrastructure and has political stability. This suggests that South Africa is likely to reclaim her status of being Africa's economic powerhouse.

In chapter six, which is the last and concluding chapter of this dissertation, the researcher will be summing up what transpired in the entire dissertation. Limitations of the study will be highlighted followed by recommendations of the study on what future studies on the same theme might focus on as a way of expanding what the present study has established.

## **CHAPTEE SIX:**

### **GENERAL SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1. INTRODUCTION**

The study has discussed a number of factors that might either strengthen or weaken the chances of both Nigeria and South Africa in their bid to take up a seat in the UNSC should it become available. This chapter is one of the most important chapters in the study. It will present the summary, conclusions of the information collected and gathered in the previous chapters, and then make recommendations.

As a norm, the end product of the research should paint a clear picture about the whole research project. Key points and conclusions will be highlighted in the chapter and will be followed by recommendations. This is done mainly for the benefit of other researchers and those who would like to further the study by filling the gaps to be enumerated.

This chapter reflects all aspects of the research. Firestone (2003: 1) states that “the summary is the condensed version of an original text, usually a full article or a book.” In her view, “summaries are used in a variety of situations”. This indicates that the summary presentation must be presented in a manner that it paints a clear picture in the minds of the reader or of the researcher. It is important to note that the researcher cannot put all the information in the summary but most importantly the summary must not lose the meaning that could be useful to other readers.

Radebe (2014: 115) argues that for most researchers at postgraduate level this constitutes the most difficult chapter throughout the whole research. It requires that all the faculties of the brain should be alert and that the researcher should go beyond the normal routine of reporting objectively to being an informed analyst of the findings and their meanings. In order to make sure that the researcher goes beyond the routine of reporting or presenting the findings, the researcher will interpret the findings and recommendations as part of accommodating the reader in terms of giving the whole and full content of the summary.



## **6.2. SUMMARY OF THE STUDY**

The aim of the study was to look at the impact of political, criminal and corruption as well as economic factors on Nigeria and South Africa as they are both interested in representing their respective countries and Africa in the UNSC. The researcher decided to write about these two countries as they are both regarded as superpowers in Africa, therefore, both countries believe that they deserve to get a seat on the UNSC. What is interesting is that although it was announced that Nigeria has overtaken South Africa in terms of economic growth, other economists have some reservations or different views on the announcement.

Based on that, the researcher found himself in the middle of nowhere due to Nigeria's current economic status and South Africa's many years of economic strength on the African continent. This leaves a question whether Nigeria could continue to throw its hat into the ring and also raise its flag for the position of being a superpower country in Africa to get a seat or if the country should wait few years and reassess its growth as its ageing infrastructures are likely to reverse the present economic status.

### **6.2.1. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

**The objectives of this study were**

- To research why do both countries strongly believe that they deserve to get a permanent seat in the UNSC.
- To evaluate the strengths of South Africa and Nigeria which can allow them to get a permanent seat in the UNSC.
- To investigate the weaknesses of both countries that can disqualify them to get a permanent seat.
- To examine the Africa's benefit if Nigeria or South Africa were to be given a permanent seat.

## 6.2.2. RESEARCH PROBLEMS

(a) Key question.

Why do both countries (South Africa and Nigeria) believe that they deserve to get a permanent seat in the UNSC?

(b) Sub-questions

- What are the strengths of South Africa and Nigeria which can allow them to get a permanent seat?
- What are the weaknesses of both countries that can disqualify them to get a permanent seat?
- How would Africa benefit if Nigeria or South Africa were to be given a permanent seat?

### 6.2.3 Other features of the study: Research site, methodology, background

The study was confined to and conducted in KwaZulu-Natal province. Some of the sources of information were extracted from excerpts by different experts, academics and researchers, reports from independent research institutions and the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

For the purposes of this study the researcher had to look at the previous data obtained from books, journals and newspaper articles in order to collect information as well as summarise and critique those sources. Benfield and Szlemko (2006: 1) make the point that “with the advancement of information and communication technology, researchers have found new methods of data collection and analysis.” They continue to say that this “has evolved from telephone surveys, computerised data collection analysis, and use of cell phones and pagers”.

The researcher, supported by the university’s research committee and the supervisor of the research project, Dr. Bheki R Mngomezulu, agreed that the study should use the desktop methodological approach to get information as well as document analysis.

Under the theme ‘the historical background of both countries, South Africa and Nigeria,’ the author found that there are similarities and differences in terms of the occurrence of the events. The colonisation of both countries is one of the similarities both countries had to go through. The colonisation of Nigeria led to the establishment of Southern Protectorates in Nigeria.

Unfortunately, slavery, exploitation, lack of education or the high rate of illiteracy in both countries were the results of colonisation. According to the research of the Federal Research Division of the United States of Library Congress slavery in Africa led to the loss of tribal identity, especially in those territories where families were up in-discriminatory and where no consideration was given to the welfare of the slaves.

The findings show that political parties in both countries were formed to liberate these countries. The Nigerian Nationalist Movement was formed in Nigeria to fight for the emancipation of Nigeria from colonial rule.

Leaders such as Herbert Macaulay, Bishop Crowther, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (Nigeria's first indigenous prime minister) and Chief Obafeni Awolowo were produced by the movement.

On the other side, South Africa struggled to liberate herself in the 1950's against the apartheid government's oppressive laws such as the Population Registration Act, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, the Public Safety and Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953. The African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (AZAPO) are among the political organisations that were formed during the struggle. The struggle produced leaders such as Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe, Steve Biko, Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi and others.

After the decolonisation of Nigeria, it took time for the country to enjoy the political freedom compared to South Africa. Nigeria was marred by endless coups and the killing of opposition political leaders and also the looting of the resources of the country by individuals to enrich themselves. The overthrow of government in 1966 by Ibo people led by General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi and the deposition of Shagari's administration in December 1983 followed by a coup by General Ibrahim Babanginda are some of the examples.

In South Africa, the apartheid government was completely defeated on the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of April in 1994, where the old national anthem "Die Stem" and the national anthem 'Nkosi Sikelel'í-Afrika' were sung by the South Africans (Lonely Planet Information, 2015: 3). The handing over of power voluntarily by the first democratic President Dr. Nelson Mandela to Thabo Mbeki in 1999 was a lesson to other African leaders that the voluntary step down is another form of keeping an everlasting peace.

President Mbeki led the ANC to victory in the 2004 national elections, and the black middle class was engaged by government through the introduction of the concept 'African Renaissance'

The role of women in the struggle against all forms of oppression and colonialism in both countries was noticed. Aba Women's Riots from 1928 to 1930 in Nigeria dominated headlines as they were unhappy about the over-taxation of their husbands and sons. Whereas, in South Africa, the ANC Women's League marched to the Union Buildings led by Lilian Ngoyi,

Bertha Gxowa and others demanding the abolition of pass laws, the emancipation of women and the whole of South Africa.

On the topic: the Rivalry between South Africa and Nigeria, it was clear that South Africa and Nigeria were arch-rivals politically and economically. This was witnessed by different trade organisations both countries belong to. For example, Nigeria is a member of The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which was founded in 1975 to promote economic integration in northern region. The researcher believes that this is the right platform for the country to use and persuade the international community to overtake South Africa politically so that she would get a permanent seat on the UNSC.

On the other hand, South Africa is a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which aims at increasing domestic products, creating employment opportunities and assisting in the promotion of foreign direct investment. The researcher believes the objectives of both organisations are more or less the same, but at the same they widen the gap between the two countries in terms of seeking collective solutions on challenges facing Africa. But it is not guaranteed that these organisations would be a strong foundation for both countries to get a permanent seat on the UNSC. Instead, it will impact negatively on their respective organisation (ECOWAS and SADC) and their members in terms of economic growth.

Again, both Nigeria and South Africa are members of the Commonwealth, the organisation which was formed mostly by countries that were colonised by Britain. Would both countries use the Commonwealth membership card to position themselves on the UNSC? According to the researcher, it is possible but it will dependent on Britain to decide which country she thinks deserves the seat as a permanent member of the UNSC. According to the researcher South Africa stands a good chance to enjoy support from Britain due to the long historical background such as the war between the British soldiers and the Zulus at Isandlwana in 1879.

Secondly, both countries have Royal Households or Kingdoms, which is another aspect which is likely to steal the hearts and minds of the UK to vote for South Africa and pave the way for the country to enjoy the same status as developed countries.

Moreover, being a member of BRICS is an added advantage to South Africa. The United Nations Conference on Trade Report (2010) puts South Africa in the top 20 priority economies. South Africa is likely to benefit from concrete projects of BRICS such as agriculture, security and justice.

It must be noted that China and Russia are permanent members of the UNSC, which could be an advantage for South Africa to use them as a platform to get a permanent seat.

What is more important and noticeable benefit of South Africa to be a member of BRICKS, is the establishment of BRICS Bank in South Africa. And South Africa is likely to use that to expunge negative perceptions about the country in terms of alleged reports of high level of crime and corruption.

The appointment of the South African citizen Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma over African leaders including Nigeria to be the chair of the AU Commission leaves a mark in terms of the role South Africa has played and will continue to play continentally and globally to promote trade investments and political stability.

The announcement by the South African tycoon Tokyo Sexwale that he is one of FIFA candidates for the presidential position is another important development. This will help South Africa to communicate with other influential leaders and spread positive images about South Africa. It must be noted that if Sexwale gets the position, this would be the first time that someone from Africa occupied this position. In a nutshell the findings from background information about the two countries used in the study are revealing.

## **6.3. FINDINGS RELATED TO THE LITERATURE AND THEORY**

### **6.3.1 LITERATURE**

From the discussion thus far, it is clear that lot has been said and written about Nigeria and South Africa, especially about the relationship between the two countries.

Although many agreements have been signed by both countries to promote investments and cooperation and political relations, the issue of ‘who is doing what and with whom’ between the two countries is still a challenge. The recent announcement that Nigeria is now an economic superpower over South Africa is likely to overshadow the recent agreements signed by former Nigerian president Goodluck Jonathan and the current South African president Jacob Zuma.

The competition between both countries over the UNSC seat also poured salt on the wound as both countries needed to reveal the brighter side of their actions in the eyes of the world. That is why the researcher focuses on the competition between the two countries over the UNSC seat.

The debate and competition is likely to drag for a long time given that relevant structures and permanent member states have not determined the date or allocate the time for the appointment of another permanent member.

Ade-Ibijola (2014: 37) says “the calls for African representation on the Security Council in permanent capacity has gone on for 20 years, these calls have intensified significantly in the last five years at different diplomatic forums, the most important being at the United Nations General Assembly”.

The researcher quoted different authors and experts in the field of international relations and some agree and some have different views and opinions in various newspapers and journals on the country they think deserve a permanent seat on the UNSC. Authors and analysts, especially from Africa still believe that to get a seat is not an easy task, as economic status, the promotion of human rights, maintaining political stability and economic development, to mention the few are aspects need to be seriously considered.

What is also clear from the literature is that some authors believe that the situation is not conducive at all in Nigeria, but other writers such as Kofi Annan (2015: 1-2) who believe political environment in Nigeria is conducive for any activities.

The influence of Nigeria locally, continentally and internationally has accumulated points for the country as its role has been noticed by other authors such as Ade-Ibijola (2014: 37) as, according to him, the country is ranked 7<sup>th</sup> followed by South Africa ranked 10<sup>th</sup> in Africa. But the achievements of Nigeria is overshadowed by crime and corruption activities. Researchers say there is a long way to go for the country to fully eradicate crime and corrupt activities in Nigeria.

The presentation of different opinions and comments is noticed in this section, as Neethling (2001: 1) argues that irrespective of the noticeable participation of Nigeria in Africa, but South Africa's participation in Africa was noticed by the UNSC. The comments scores more points for South Africa compared to Nigeria, due to its good records and reputation is now in the UN's books. This is very critical, the researcher believes due to commendable remarks from the UNSC, this should be regarded as a pre-stamped letter for South Africa to be a UNSC permanent member.

The scepticism and doubtful of some economists that Nigeria is truly a superpower in Africa in terms of economic growth, is also another dent and they are not sure how long Nigeria will maintain the position due to the high rate of crime and corruption and it reverses the economic growth. Ademiluyi and Payne (2013: 1) insists that Nigerian's senior government officials are the ones who perpetrate crime and corruption.

But does not mean South Africa should relax as crime and corruption, although is not as high as in Nigeria but needs to be rooted out. Gould (2014: 1) supports the argument as he says as horrifying as these statistics are, in 2012/13 alone, 13, 123 men were murdered.

South Africa enjoy the same status as Nigeria in terms of the country's contribution in the African politics. Authors strongly believe that African leaders need to learn from South Africa in terms of dealing with local and international matters. Although there is much has been written about the topic, but so far, many authors the political and economic historical background of South Africa is likely to support the country to get a seat in the UNSC.

Gumbi (2011) singles out that South Africa has done a lot in prioritizing human rights, promotion of democracy, justice and international law, international peace and the resolution of conflicts locally and international. But other authors totally reject the ideas, because of the high number of people who live below poverty line and sleep without food, which means both countries have problems of crime and corruption and unemployment and high number of people who suffer due to starvation respectively. (Hamilton (2014: 1-2). That alone can decrease the opportunity of the country to get a seat.

### 6.3.2 THEORY

Realism Theory is the theory the study used and which is relevant to the study as it helped the researcher to unlock other doors by pursuing different ideas about the topic. The theory helped the researcher to thoroughly scrutinize how the three factors assessed in the study would impact on both countries (South Africa and Nigeria) in terms of getting the seat in the UNSC.

Based on Realism theory that all states act for their own interests that they all act the same way, the research found that in actual fact all countries are making sure they protect their interests, people and resources. South Africa practically witnessed that as she was overtaken by Nigeria with a surprise in terms of economic growth.

Nigeria and South have signed many trade agreements to promote their economies. However, these countries don't share any sensitive information and secrets, plans and strategies to benefit them both.

It transpired that the success and failure of the country lies entirely on the ability and hard work of that particular country, its people and its policies to develop. The researcher believes that the theory should always be a wake-up call to South Africa

The Peripheral Theory also emphasizes that the international system has a hierarchical structure based on perceived differences between states (Some give orders, obey and rebel). In the context of this dissertation, both countries are good example of this, as they sometimes sign agreements to get benefits, but few years an ordinary people need to dig down from their pockets to pay back the expenses. Sometimes these agreements lead to the increasing of crime and abuse innocent people in order to fulfil their needs. Poor people still maintained at the periphery of the states, not knowing what are the programmes of government and how much is allocated for certain projects or to benefit the poor.

Aribisala (2013) supports the view by saying Nigeria's credentials on the UN Councils are contradicting its domestic profile. In his view, the country is well known for Niger- Delta terrorism and more recently Boko-Haram terrorism. An important observation is that when Nigeria succeeds abroad, it fails at home. He (Aribisala) concludes by saying that "unless and until Nigeria takes itself seriously by addressing its domestic economic and political shortcomings, it cannot expect to receive the kind of recognition it deserves in the larger international community".



#### **6.4. IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION**

The research should be an eye-opener to both countries in terms of dealing with and addressing the challenges that are currently facing the two countries. The political factor was discussed and all angles of the study were touched upon to make sure that when the researcher presents the recommendations, he presents the recommendations that are relevant.

As both countries are members of international organisations, they must be sensitized with issues on which they (Nigeria and South Africa) don't do well. Nigeria and South Africa must use these international bodies as a guideline to uplift themselves.

It was clear during the writing that it is important that crime and corruption is dealt with accordingly. South Africa and Nigeria must take upon themselves the campaign of dealing with crime and corruption.

Economically, communities from the respective countries are in dire need of services, therefore, both countries must come up with the strategy to improve the economy and they must also implement some of the policies used by foreign countries and international organisations to resolve their challenges.

#### **6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

The presentation of the recommendations is the important part as it explores the future of both countries in terms of political, crime and corruption and economic factors. Although the researcher touched the three factors, but there is still a room for furthering the study. Some researchers go to those countries to conduct research and get first-hand experience. This helps a lot as the findings and recommendations are based on the first-hand experience or sometimes influenced by being exposed on the environment.

The visiting of Nigeria to conduct research was not part of the proposal, instead the author proposed to send questionnaires to the international relations ministers of both countries, as the author believed that they are well informed about foreign policies of their respective countries and other aspects.

The researcher's supervisor Dr. Bheki R Mngomezulu and the University of KwaZulu's research committee disapproved the idea, instead they proposed a desktop based research as the method was suitable for the nature of the study. Therefore, this gives other researchers an angle to follow.

- The researcher strongly believes that the eye contact and filling of questionnaires by the ministers or relevant experts would give more information that could be used by other researchers to further the study. Perhaps the recommendations of the next study could be used to formulate the policies of the respective countries.
- The participation and engagement of ordinary people in the research is important so that they could express their views and opinions. This could help to formulate policies based on the opinion and experiences of an ordinary people. On the researcher and academic perspective, the study should be taken to another level (doctorate level) so that many angles could be established around the idea.
- The study proposes that it is important for Nigeria to deal with crime and corruption accordingly.
- It is not enough to depend on government and structures established by the government but local community structures must also be empowered and encouraged to form their own programmes so that it will be easier to deal with minor cases around their respective areas. The local structures should compare their success with that of government so that they can easily identify loopholes in the process.
- If the government is not effective and efficient enough to deal with corruption, the government must use strategies being implemented by local structures. This can be another way of forming a strong relationship with all sectors of the community. Government must establish relevant platforms that could be accessible to all the community members to discuss crime and corruption and other issues that are likely to concern the community.

According to the researcher, the first Nigerian democratic president Olusegun Obasanjo managed to bring stability and create a strong foundation for democracy to exist, but the concerns and interests of small groups, local and traditional minority groups need to be addressed as part of bringing stability at grass roots levels first. Thus, the following is recommended:

- Traditional minorities sometimes are the protectors of heritage, therefore, they must be given a task to deal with specific issues that are concerned with culture and religion. At the end of the day, they could become the primary source of information throughout the country.
- The rotation of funds and equal distribution of money and resources among the Nigerian communities should be speeded up to ensure that local residents participate in the protection of the country's interests. Authors mentioned that billions and billions of naira do not reach to the intended recipients. That could not be achieved over one night, instead the government must share expertise with international representatives in their country, people who have familiarized themselves with the behaviour of the community of that country so that their advice and policies would not differ from the local's policies while also being in line with general international practice.
- Should the above suggestions don't work for Nigeria, she must invite other organs such the Commonwealth, AU and ECOWAS, to mention just a few, to help avoid the collapse of the economy and bolster the country's global image.

Nigeria is improving fast to deepen democracy. This has been witnessed by the number of trade agreements and diplomatic relations agreements the country has signed locally, continentally and globally. But the kidnapping of young girls by Boko Haram dragged the name of the country through the mud. During the time of the writing of the dissertation, none of the victims had been rescued irrespective of the government's announcement that it was working around the clock strategizing and planning to get the safest and fastest ways of rescuing the victims.

Previously, some authors applauded the contribution and participation of Nigeria in a peace keeping force in Africa, but her failure to deal with Boko Haram raised questions about the strength and capability of Nigeria to lead Africa in such important position of the UNSC.

- The researcher thinks Nigeria must mostly forge relationships with other African countries and share expertise on how to defeat and detect the acts of terrorism before they happen. The sharing of information during the process is very crucial due to the fact that it could become the foundation of building a trust between or amongst themselves.

The role of South Africa in bringing democracy through votes was well appreciated and applauded by the international countries and international observer missions.

But the challenge of crime and corruption, same as Nigeria, had overshadowed the reputation of the country.

- Now, this is the time for the country to use all available resources to deal with crime and corruption accordingly. The researcher strongly believes that South Africa is capable of eradicating criminal elements completely as it was able to provide all available resources during the 2010 FIFA World. There was no single incident of robbery, theft, killing and other related incidents as all kinds of security and law enforcement agencies were deployed in full force.
- South Africa must use law enforcement agencies to equip all security and law enforcement agencies with knowledge, training and dealing with highly organized crime in a professional manner.

INTERPOL is another institution South Africa could use to overtake Nigeria in terms of skilling security enforcement agencies and acquiring skills in the participation of South Africa in international security matters.

The researcher also believes that South Africa must work hard to intensify the security of the country. Criticism of SANDF by South African defence minister Nosiviwe Maphisa-Nqakula that some SANDF members commit crime and rape sent a negative image to the world that South Africa could not control its defence force. The security of the country is compromised and her vulnerability had been exposed to the international countries especially to her arch rival, Nigeria. During the time of writing, terrorism issue was in the headlines as heads of states were seeking solution to defeat terrorists after the killing of more than 125 people in France in 2015.

South Africa had been a superpower in Africa for years, but being overtaken by Nigeria economically should be a lesson.

- South Africa should use the foreign direct investment (FDI) approach to reclaim the status of being a superpower in Africa, as authors suggests. Economic analysts deny the fact that Nigeria could maintain or enjoy the status permanently as she (Nigeria) does not have good infrastructure compared to South Africa. Therefore, this is an opportunity for the country make sure that infrastructural development is prioritized. By doing, South Africa is likely to change the status quo from developing status to the semi-developed or developed country.

## **6.6. CONCLUSION**

This is the last chapter of the research, the political aspect, economic and crime aspects as well as corruption were discussed in different chapters. This Chapter also highlighted these aspects. Chapter six, which is the last chapter of the study not only summarized what was discussed in other chapters. It also presented and recommendations as a way of chatting the way forward on how the study could be taken further.

The study is likely to have an impact especially on the lives of ordinary people in both countries [Nigeria and South Africa], because the factors the study discussed, which were political, economic and crime and corruption, touch the lives of people at grass roots levels on a daily basis.

The study will also help other researchers to further the study and look at other angles the study did not touch. It would be easier for them to continue with the study as more information has been collected, presented and analysed.

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