

**THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION AND ITS IMPACT ON AFRICAN
REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL.**

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FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY

JULY, 2026

TITLE PAGE

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT PRESENTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF
SCIENCE (B. Sc.), IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.**

SUPERVISOR: DR. MBAEZE NETCHY.

JULY, 2026

DECLARATION

I hereby, declare that the project entitled, “THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION AND ITS IMPACT ON AFRICAN REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL.” presented by me to Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu State, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree (B. Sc.) in International Relations is a record of a bona fide project work carried out by me and has not been submitted anywhere for the purpose acquiring degrees in International Relations or any other program under the guidance and supervision of DR MBAEZE NETCHY

BORKE OSEMEONA TERESA TYRA

DATE

APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that this research project entitled “THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION AND ITS IMPACT ON AFRICAN REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL” submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.) in International Relations has been examined and approved by the Department of International Relations, Godfrey Okoye University.

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DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to the Gods, the Goddesses, and the ancestors for guiding me throughout this process. I also dedicate this work to my wonderful parents, siblings, grandparents, aunties, uncles, and close friends for their love, support, and encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the politics of exclusion and its Impact on African Representation in the United Nations Security Council. Specifically the study sought to determine to discuss and analyse the marginalisation of African states in the major decision-making processes of the United Nations Security Council through the veto power of the Security council's members and to analyse the reasons why African states are excluded from the decision-making process in the United Nations Security Council with reference to informal diplomacy in the Council. By adopting expo facto research design, documentary methods from secondary data, post colonial theory, the study found that unequal distribution of power limits Africa's ability to influence critical decisions affecting the continent; and the study also found that the informal processes are largely controlled by the permanent members, while African states, including elected members of the Council, have very limited opportunities to shape agendas or influence outcomes. The study therefore concluded and recommend that Security Council reform to grant Africa at least two permanent seats with veto power in line with the Ezulwini Consensus

Keywords: Politics of Exclusion, African Representation, Institutional Racism, United Nations Security Council

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is the most important organ of the United Nations for the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security since its inception in 1945. The UNSC was established after the Second World War, and was, as with all other organs of the United Nations, a reflection of the geopolitical status quo of that time, in which China, France, Russia (then the Soviet Union), the United Kingdom and the United States were the five permanent members, each holding the power of veto. The other ten non-permanent members were elected for a two-year term with an aim to represent geographical balance and inclusivity. This is a structure which has stayed largely the same for almost 80 years despite the immense changes in the world (Guterres, 2024). In the years leading up to the formation of the Council, African governments were mostly still colonial, and hence were not included in the design of the post-war international order. Thus, the global power structure that is ingrained in the UNSC has also been shaped by the wartime alliances and the racial and colonial order of the mid-20th century (Machrouh, 2024).

The lack of representation of any African state on the Council, over the years, has become a sign of a wider structural imbalance in the international system. Africa is home to 54 of the 193 UN member states, but not a single permanent member or veto state in the UNSC (UN, 2024). This ongoing exclusion is seen increasingly as not just a historical accident, but a longstanding symptom of institutional racism in a system that continues to be built by and for a handful of powerful states, at the expense of the rest of the continent (Oxfam, 2024). The United Nations Secretary-General has recently called the continued lack of representation of the Permanent Mission from Africa as “a historical injustice which undermines the credibility of the Council itself” (Guterres, 2024).

It is ironic that a large part of the Council's agenda is devoted to African matters, when they are excluded from this. This is ironic because a large percentage of the Council's agenda is devoted to African matters. The United Nations Department of Political Affairs reports that in the last 20 years, almost two-thirds of the work conducted by the UNSC has been on the subject of conflicts, peacekeeping missions, or humanitarian crises in Africa (UN, 2024). However, states that are most impacted by these decisions are not often in charge of making them. This imbalance poses questions of legitimacy, fairness and the just distribution of power in global governance. The gap in the representation in the permanent membership category and the Council's moral authority is significantly affected by the lack of a voice from Africa, as the African Union (AU) has repeatedly stated in the Ezulwini Consensus of 2005 (ACCORD, 2023). The Ezulwini Consensus calls for reforms to the United Nations to correct the imbalance, including giving Africa at least two permanent seats with veto power and five non-permanent seats, stating that “no reform of the United Nations will be complete without adequate representation of Africa in all decision-making organs” (AU, 2005, as cited in ACCORD, 2023).

The politics of exclusion, however, does not just refer to the issue of numbers, who is included and who is not. It is about the underlying structural and institutional nature of the international order, the power of which is institutionalized and serves to sustain inequality. The composition of the UNSC and how decisions are made also reflect the continuity of a world system that has been traditionally Western-centric. This is posited to be a type of institutional racism, which is manifested in rules, norms, and practices, not in explicit racial animus (Machrouh, 2024). Within this context, the UNSC can be seen as a mechanism that reproduces the international hierarchy of race and power that is rooted in colonialism in the present-day global politics (Aning & Lekaba, 2021).

African states also face institutional racism in the UNSC, as well as in the narratives and

discourses that drive the world's security agenda. For example, in the portrayal of conflicts in Africa, the issues of instability, ethnicity or lack of governance are often put as the primary problems, reinforcing stereotypes of African "incapacity" and justifying intervention by outsiders (Murithi, 2020). In the meantime, however, less focus is given to the topics of global injustice which have disproportionate impact on Africa, including arms trafficking, illicit financial flows and the consequences of climate change. The Council's selective engagement highlights whose security matters most, whose voice is on the periphery of the construction of global peace and security (Oxfam, 2024).

It is also criticized that the current design of the UNSC perpetuates dependency relations between Africa and the Global North. The Council frequently sanctions, authorizes intervention and peacekeeping missions on the continent of Africa, but the role played by Africa states in the formulation of such mandates is seldom a determining one (Adebajo, 2019). The coloniality of global governance, as described by some scholars, is a situation where formal sovereignty exists alongside structural subordination in the institutions that shape the international norms (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). In addition to symbolic significance, the lack of African agency in these processes has real consequences: these peace processes are undermined by the lack of ownership and they replicate a paternalistic approach to governance.

The politics of exclusion, therefore, has emerged as one of the most controversial topics in the discussion on UNSC reform. Pressure for change has grown louder all over the Global South, with African leaders raising both justice and necessity as arguments. During an open debate on "Addressing Historical Injustice and Enhancing Africa's Effective Representation" in August 2024, the UN Secretary-General said the legitimacy of the Council is tied to its capacity to address the current geopolitical realities (Guterres, 2024). The President of the General Assembly also called the situation 'simply wrong', stating that the lack of

representation on the continent ‘speaks directly to the credibility of the United Nations itself’ (UNGA, 2024). The UNSC's statements reflect the fact that, more and more, the majority of membership is based on exclusion rather than on effectiveness and serves as a force to undermine the UNSC itself.

Meanwhile, moves to reform Council have faced entrenched opposition. The veto power of the five permanent members means that any structural change will have to be approved by them and this has been prevented in the past to keep them in control. As a result, the issue of representation from Africa is lodged in the paradoxes of the system built to reinforce the advantage of its most powerful members (Adebajo, 2019). The veto system is a form of institutionalised inequality as it can block any substantive decision, whereas the rest of the world, including the entire African continent, is subjected to the results of these decisions.

This exclusion has major ramifications. First, it weakens the democratic credibility of the United Nations system, their legitimacy to govern the world being perceived as unfair and unrepresentative. Secondly, it reduces the impact of international action on African conflicts as policies designed without African involvement will be less effective at reflecting the nuanced socio-political dynamics of the on-the-ground situation. Third, it fosters feelings of disbelonging and distrust between Africa and multilateral institutions, undermining multilateral cooperation at critical moments, including in the face of transnational threats like climate change, pandemic diseases, and terrorism (Oxfam, 2024).

The ongoing debate about representation of Africans in the UNSC is not about seats or amendments to the procedures but about the nature of equality, justice, and inclusion in International Relations. It calls the world to account for the legacies of empire and racial hierarchy in the institutional architecture of global governance. This is because, as the Policy Center for the New South (Machrouh, 2024) noted, “the Security Council remains unchanged, 78 years after its establishment, and still reflects the colonial world order that birthed it.” This

legacy must be addressed in more than symbolic ways, requiring a re-structuring of the power relations within the UN to show the dignity and agency of every people.

In conclusion, the politics of exclusion in the UNSC sheds light on the incomplete decolonisation of international institutions. The demand for representation in Africa is not only a regional one, but it is a call for justice and equity in world affairs. If the UNSC fails to make meaningful reforms, it will become obsolete and lose credibility and moral support in a multipolar world where accountability and legitimacy are more based on participation and joint responsibility. The task, then, is to make the Council a truly representative forum where the needs for peace and security of all humanity can truly be met.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is the top body to ensure global peace and security since its inception in 1945. Today, however, the Council still carries the imprint of the geopolitical landscape of the post-World War 2 period, instead of the modern world. It is dominated by the five permanent members, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia and China, and marginalizes Africa, despite its numerical and moral weight in the United Nations system. This exclusion has sparked controversy and discussion of the inherent structural inequalities and institutional racism in the framework of the UNSC.

The 54 countries of Africa are the most impacted by the UN Security Council's decisions, especially as they relate to peacekeeping and conflict resolution. But it has no permanent member and no veto, and frequently decisions are made on African crises without any real African voices. This is a question of legitimacy, fairness and global justice and only makes the Council look more like a neo-colonial tool of the West. The marginalisation of African voices in global governance is not an exception to the global history of colonialism and the systemic racial hierarchies that continue to influence global institutions.

The world's conflict and opposition to the two permanent seats have been ongoing despite the

numerous reform proposals including the 2005 Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration, which called for at least two permanent and five non-permanent seats for Africa. The apparent opposition of the current permanent members of the UN Security Council to sharing or redistributing power shows entrenched interests that sustain exclusionary political strategies and preserve a world order that benefits only a handful of powerful States. Consequently, Africa's dream of equal participation in decision making has not come to pass, challenging the UN principles of equality, justice and sovereign representation.

In addition, the lack of a permanent representative from Africa has tangible impact on peace and security outcomes. For many conflicts in Africa, there are external agendas which at times fail to take into account local and regional realities. This exclusion has been affecting the effectiveness of peace operations, delayed interventions and policies which are not addressing the root causes of the conflicts in Africa. This not only perpetuates global inequality but also threatens the credibility of the UNSC and the UN's broader authority and legitimacy in the eyes of the Global South.

The real issue is the ongoing marginalisation of Africa in the United Nations Security Council, which continues to be characterised by a deep-rooted institutional racism and colonial power imbalance. The current study aims at questioning the nature of this exclusionary practice in the UNSC, the impact this had on Africa's influence and the potential for substantive reform so as to democratize international peace and security governance.

1.3 Research Questions

1. How has the veto power imbalance accounted for the marginalization of African states in key decision making processes within the United Nations Security Council?
2. How have informal diplomatic practices within the Security Council accounted for the exclusion of African states within the United Nations Security Council?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main aim of this study is to investigate the politics of exclusion: African Representation and Institutional Racism in United Nation Security Council. The study aims to achieve the following objectives:

1. To discuss and analyse the marginalisation of African states in the major decision-making processes of the United Nations Security Council through the veto power of the Security council's members.
2. . To analyse the reasons why African states are excluded from the decision-making process in the UN Security Council with reference to informal diplomacy in the Council.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study “the politics of exclusion and its impact on african representation in the united nations security council” is academically, policy and practically important. It contributes to an understanding of structural inequalities existing in international organisations and provides useful points to make international organisations more inclusive and fairer. The research question is also significant for the key groups and stakeholders who will be affected by the outcome of the research:

The study will provide a rigorous analysis to African leaders and diplomats of the systemic factors that have led to African's exclusion from the Security Council's permanent membership. The findings will identify historical and institutional barriers to enhance the collective action of Africa in leading reform to create the possibility of implementing such initiatives as the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration. The results can be employed by policymakers to formulate more strategic approaches to diplomatic engagement to acquire a permanent seat in the UNSC and strengthen their impact on world decision making about peace and security.

The study's recommendations for effective coordination of efforts to promote UNSC reform

will build capacity for the African Union and sub-regional groupings such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The research will serve as a resource for policy analyses and the negotiation strategies that have the potential to reinforce the continent's position in international governance arenas. It will also support the harmonization of peace and security at the regional level and in dialogue with international institutions.

The study will contribute to address the credibility issue due to the continuous exclusionary practices of Security Council for UN system and member states. The study, will highlight the negative effects of institutional racism and power imbalances on the legitimacy of the Council, and will formulate a constructive discussion on the call for changes needed to ensure more inclusive, accountable and just world governance.

With regards to scholarship, this study offers a significant contribution to international governance, postcolonial theory, and global power literature. It offers a critical analysis of the intersectionality between race, history and power regarding international institutions' creation. This is an essential source for students and scholars interested in the study of international inequality, multilateral diplomacy, and African relations with the world.

The study's conceptual framework linking institutional racism and structural exclusion of global institutions will be useful to our civil society partners involved in global justice, anti-racism, and governance reforms. The findings will help them in their advocacy for the need for democratizing United Nations and creating a more fair international order where Africa will have an interest and a voice in it.

In wrapping up the present research project, it will be helpful and valuable for the international community on the whole, to achieve a more representative Security Council. The formation of the new and better UNSC which considerably adds a balance between

Africans and less represented regions will help the Council to be more legitimate, more collaborative and more peace-loving.

1.6 Scope of the Study

In order to provide the boundaries and focus of the research of “The Politics of Exclusion and Its Impact on African Representation in the United Nations Security Council,” the scope of this study is laid out along four dimensions of theme, content, geographic and time scope.

Conceptually and thematically, the study is on the politics of exclusion and institutional racism with regard to the representation of Africa in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). It looks at the existence of historical power dynamics and their influence on the present structure of the Council, as well as the racialized institutions that were established. It is a research that anticipates the constant polarization to which developed states are subjected to marginalize Africa in making decisions in the international system, adding to the political, diplomatic and racial aspects.

Content of this study is directed by its specific aims and hence it serves as the analytical framework of the investigation. The study will, therefore, establish: The historical and structural underpinnings on which the United Nations Security Council has advanced; which has led to the exclusion of states in Africa from its permanent representation; Critically explore how institutional racism is being expressed in the composition of the UNSC, the decision making processes of the UNSC and the UN peacekeeping missions to African states and countries.

Geographically, the study relates to Africa and its interaction with the United Nations Security Council, a global institution based in New York City, USA. The focus of the analysis is on how the architecture and functioning of the UNSC impacts the African states in general but not a specific nation.

This research addresses the period between 1945 and 2025, from the founding of the United

Nations until the present day and the debates on reforming the organization. By examining the historical background of Africa's exclusion as well as by looking at how change came about over time, this will be of importance. It examines the major events from the era of independence movements of the 1950s-1970s, through the post-Cold War years, culminating with recent 21st century calls for reform of the UNSC, such as the Ezulwini Consensus of 2005 and other reform schemes. The research also continues to focus on issues of equity, representation and global power changes that seem to be defining the future of the United Nations Security Council and are ongoing, extending until 2025.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

This study aims to offer a comprehensive and thorough examination of “The Politics of Exclusion and Its Impact on African Representation in the United Nations Security Council,” but it has some limitations that are worth noting as they could affect the breadth, scope and validity of this study. These restrictions are explored as below:

However, the subject is also one of race, power and world inequalities which means that some interpretations may reflect the perspectives of the interpretations based on pre-existing literature and the researcher's analytical lens. A concerted effort to minimise bias will be applied, whereby a number of scholars with differing perspectives on the materials will be reached (both western and African) and a mix of perspectives will be incorporated and balanced.

The international political scene is changing at all times and there are existing negotiations and changes in the UN framework. As a result it is possible that developments or diplomatic changes outside of the period of data collection are not included in the study. This means the results apply only to the geographical area under study (Loveland & surrounding summit area within the State of Colorado) and could vary due to current or potential institutional changes. Often the nature of institutional racism in an international body like the UN is indirect, subtle

and institutional, for example through procedural exclusion, power in agenda setting, or through the veto. These kinds of exclusion can be hard to measure and identify as racist in the first place – and might also present interpretative problems. Irrespective of these challenges the work still sailed through.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

Politics of Exclusion: Operationally, politics of exclusion describes the active and/or intensive actions by which certain groups or certain parts of the world are left out or are effectively excluded from decision-making processes at international level, in this context the African states. In this work it refers to the structural and political contours of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) which have restricted the access, influence and equal representation of Africa to membership in the council.

African representation: The canvassing of UNSC representation as African states' active participation in the decision-making of the UNSC equally relate to the operational definition of African representation, which is determined by the level of inclusion, recognition and effective participation by African states in the decision-making processes of the UNSC. It includes both formal representation in the form of membership and voting rights, as well as substantive participation through the ability to have a say in the agenda, influence the outcome of collective decisions, and represent the continent's interests in global peace and security.

Institutional Racism (In this study): Institutional racism is understood as structural and systemic inequalities in the rules, practices and power dynamics of the United Nations Security Council which constitutes the marginalisation of African countries. Its characteristics include unequal distribution of power, discriminating decision making, and the persistence of racial hierarchies that have been created during the colonial period and have served to support the power of western countries at the expense of African interests in the

governance of the world.

UN Security Council (UNSC): United Nations Security Council is the organ of the United Nations (UN) primarily tasked with ensuring international peace and security. It has 15 members including, 5 permanent members (United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia, China) and 10 non-permanent members elected for 2 year terms. For the purposes of this study, the UNSC is an institution through which power, representation and exclusion are conceptualised, specifically in relation to the lack of African representation and decision-making power in the UN.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This literature review looks at scholarly debates about politics of exclusion, elements of politics of exclusion, institutional racism etc to investigate the dynamics of the role of African states in the United Nations Security Council. It is articulated as a conceptual

review, an empirical review, a summary of literature, and identification of gaps in the literature as concerns African representation and institutional racism in global decision making.

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 Politics of Exclusion

The "Politics of Exclusion" describes the structures that exclude certain groups or certain types of groups from society's political, economic and social activities. Often the exclusions are colliding and along ethnicity, race, gender, and socioeconomic lines. These exclusion practices are not simply negative, they are affirmative, as they create the division and setting the power and resource parameters for the people who are included, while excluding others. This marginalization may lead to a feeling of alienation and disenfranchisement, which makes it difficult for communities who are on the margins to have a say or a role in the process of decision making.

The intent or effect of a societal trend for exclusion in political terms may be deliberate or inadvertent. Exclusionary arguments often serve populist movements as a means of gaining control. These movements have an "us versus them" approach that excludes certain group from the political landscape. Such rhetoric can enlarge and solidify ideological divisions in society, making it more appealing to argue for exclusion as a means of maintaining the national unity or identity. Just as the rise of the Internet and digital culture more broadly inevitably led to a wave of new terminology, white supremacy has established the terms of "othering" (Richards, 2016); as groups have been excluded, the language of their exclusion whether used deliberately or not has caught on as an integral part of the white supremacist politics of exclusion.

Equally alarming is that the exclusion takes the form of institutions. Large and influential social, political or economic communities can prevent access to necessary resources or rights

for marginalised groups. It is apparent in policies regarding immigrants, racial minorities and the poor. For example, any laws that disproportionately affect immigrants or racial minorities can increase racial inequalities, resulting in difficulty in their full participation in the civic life of society. Such exclusion, though formal, are entrenched in the organizational patterns of society and harder to counter or break.

In parallel to this, exclusionary practices do not only occur within formal policies. The role of cultural/Nationalistic stories in the reinforcement of exclusion cannot be ignored as it often revolves around informal practices. For instance, populist movements may make use of a divisive rhetoric and see minority groups as threats through to the values of society and the nation identity. This "othering" in the cultural sense furthers the justification of exclusion both in terms of formal barriers in the law and by means of socio-cultural stigmatization. These practices, once established as 'business as usual' further deepen socio-cultural divisions, and deepen and continuing cycles of inequalities such that marginalised communities will always be 'left out'.

It is important to identify the part played in the exclusion of identity in an understanding of the way such systems work. There is an intersectionality of race, gender and class; exclusion is not always singular. For instance, policies based on factors that impact women of color or low income families of immigrants: They're made in a way that specifically and negatively impacts certain groups. This complexity can give dimension to the politics of exclusion, complicating the crafting of an 'all of the above' approach. Hence, the ban's limiting impacts go beyond the access to resources to the lived experiences of the ones that are at the edge of the society.

With authoritarianism more obvious, this is not the only form of exclusionary methods practiced at the hands of any democratic government. In many ways in fact, some of the most sneaky exclusion in democracies are done subtly. In many ways, these processes can work in

covert ways to exclude those with whom they choose from becoming fully involved in the political system. These processes are all forms of voter suppression, gerrymandering and media manipulation that help determine who doesn't participate in the political system. The overt exclusion during dictatorship and covert in democracy illustrates how exclusion is consolidated within political systems – no matter their nature. In both governance types, the perpetuation of power elites that privilege and marginalize the populations is central (Lee, 2017).

In times of crisis, be it economic, migration or political, exclusionary politics are intensified. In those times it becomes an era for scapegoating of marginalized groups and assigning blame to them for the problems being encountered. The politicians can use these crises as an instrument of power consolidation by polarisation and fear. Economic and/or political uncertainty may foster an environment where exclusionary practices flourish and the burdens are placed on the vulnerable, which may be blamed for issues that are structural or systemic. On such occasions, scapegoating immigrants or racial minorities for economic downturns, for instance, illustrates that exclusionary politics are able to flourish in times of crisis, thereby deepening vulnerabilities among marginalized communities (Ford, 2020).

Another essential element of the politics of exclusion is the process of the creation and circulation of bad stories about rags-on-one-shoulder groups. Whether it be about national security, cultural preservation or economic survival they all uphold exclusionary policies and practices. As these convictions sink in, they become accepted as the norm and the notion that some groups are not able to be part of the entire social fabric becomes inculcated. The media, political discourse, and, indeed, scholarly writing take part in the construction of these narratives and help to make exclusion a politics let alone a cultural norm. These stories perpetuate exclusion and determine how we located “the other” in our view.

Exclusion is more visible in the growing salience of identity issues in world politics. In an age

of recent centralization of identity in political parties and national debates, the discrimination of social-cultural-political identities is becoming more and more difficult to forgo. This visibility is frequently but not consistently coupled with greater polarization, with the marginalized groups perceived as challenges to the dominant norm. With the rise of nationalism and populism, this is a political atmosphere where today's divides are intensified and the rights of marginalised groups are further threatened. Such “othering” is a potent device in the hand of those who intend to gain and solidify power, especially as part of the populist discourse or nationalist agenda (Robinson, 2022).

In the end, politics of the excluded is not just the politics of denying rights and opportunities to others, but the politics of who counts and who does not. If the processes of exclusion are represented as "norms", and divisive narratives construct unsafe or unwanted types of communities, then people who live outside come to understand this from time to time. This vicious cycle keeps on repeating and those who were already "outside" are becoming further marginalized and have no alternative but to conform to the prevailing ideology, which further widens the political, cultural, and social divides in society, thus increasing inequality.

2.1.2 Informal diplomatic practices

The use of informal diplomacy has grown in importance in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), especially between 2015 and 2025. Informal, unofficial dialogues and negotiations have been important elements in dealing with complex international issues and have been a part of these practices. Examples of Track II diplomacy include the use of non-governmental actors, such as diplomats, scholars, and experts to participate in intractable issues such as those of Syria and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (Carney, 2015). Peace summits and roundtable dialogues, among other activities, were used to set the agenda for formal UNSC meetings, providing an opportunity for stakeholders to engage in informal dialogue prior to formal negotiations, and allowing for more comprehensive solutions to be

developed (Zartman, 2015).

Private and secret negotiation, known as backchannel diplomacy, also emerged as a key element of the diplomatic landscape from 2016 to 2025 in the context of crisis situations. These behind-the-scenes efforts were very important in managing tensions, especially when they were particularly high in recent years like the 2017 missile tests by North Korea and the 2019 crisis in Venezuela, Fearon (2016) notes. Such talks, which typically took place apart from the official framework of the UNSC, enabled main international stakeholders like the U.S., China, and Russia to find solutions behind the scenes without being openly questioned. These clandestine talks frequently paved the way for more formal talks that would be discussed at the UNSC, thus enabling de-escalation and conflict resolution. As Shultz 2017 states, these talks are often termed secret but they invariably set the scene for later formal discussions, which would then be discussed during the UNSC.

During this time, another type of informality became widespread: public diplomacy, the use of media and the public to shape the attitudes of foreigners. Between 2017 and 2025, public diplomacy became more integrated into the UNSC's decision-making processes, with Permanent Members (P5) using it to garner international support for their positions (Nye, 2017). The use of social media and public statements further changed the way that public opinion affected official negotiations. With respect to the Yemen and Libya conflicts, Snow (2018) draws attention to the fact that the UNSC members were able to leverage on public sentiment in social media as part of the negotiation process.

The negotiations between the UN official and unofficial actors (Track I.5) were also important for the UNSC discussions from 2018 to 2025. The expert, former diplomats and academics approach helped the UNSC to navigate through complex political crises when formal discussions were at a standstill. This flexibility enabled the UNSC to discuss with them informally the underlying matters, such as human rights, regional instability, and finally

to issue formal decisions (Carment and Reilly 2019). Hybrid diplomacy proved to be helpful in situations where diplomatic deadlocks were likely to impede progress on peacekeeping missions.

Non governmental organization's (NGO) from around the world, as well, have gained significant influence in informal diplomacy. In the period from 2015 to 2025, reports and policy recommendations from organisations including Human Rights Watch and the International Crisis Group were crucial in informing the UNSC of the ground realities and guiding policy recommendations (Weiss, 2015). These NGOs acted as mediators and played an important role in bridging the gap between conflicting parties and the UNSC. They also acted as informal consultants in situations where the Council was unable to find a consensus, especially in the areas of conflict or humanitarian crisis (Reitano, 2017).

Engaging with grassroots communities and civil society in peacebuilding, or Track III diplomacy, also emerged as a key feature of the UNSC dialogues since 2019. Known as “people-to-people diplomacy,” this approach was particularly successful in post-conflict nations such as South Sudan and the Central African Republic. Lederach (2019) specifically highlights the importance of this approach, through the local reconciliation and dialogue that was enabled by Track III initiatives, which complemented resolutions from the UNSC. Kelman (2020) also emphasizes how these community-based initiatives contributed to the creation of sustainable peace processes, thereby being instrumental in the absence of recurrence of conflict and reinforcing the effectiveness of the wider, formal, and UNSC-facilitated peace processes.

Art, music, and sharing culture were also employed as a means of diplomacy in the UNSC, and were called cultural diplomacy. Cultural exchanges under the auspices of the UNSC members contributed to the production of positive images of the country in the years 2015-2025, especially in contexts of peacebuilding in Afghanistan and Mali, (Cull, 2015).

Anholt (2017) highlights the significant role these cultural efforts played in building bridges to dialogue, going beyond formal diplomacy in the conflicts and building goodwill.

Crisis diplomacy grew as a component of UNSC informal diplomacy in the face of increasing global crises. In the years from 2017 to 2025, the UNSC resorted more and more to quick, ad hoc reactions to deal with intense international crises, including the chemical weapons attack in Syria and growing tensions in the South China Sea. Russett (2017) emphasizes how essential it is for P5 members to consult rapidly during these crises, where emergency sessions were sometimes held, or resolutions were sometimes made behind closed doors. These informal actions enabled the UNSC to make rapid, effective and decisive decisions, which would have taken longer time in more formal procedures that could have hindered timely action if they were used (Eilts, 2018).

Since 2016, digital diplomacy using social media and online platforms for diplomatic action has also emerged as an important informal tool in the UNSC's work. The media world quickly changed and so did how UNSC members interacted with audiences worldwide. According to Bjola (2016), Digital Diplomacy is the use of technology to facilitate communication and negotiation. Kinsella (2019) suggests that the use of social media tools like Twitter and Facebook has been key to the narratives of UNSC resolutions, and provided the possibility of faster feedback loops and more transparency. Social media campaigns, for instance, played a role in shaping public opinion internationally during the deliberations on the Rohingya crisis and the situation of the people of Yemen at the UNSC, swaying member states' positions and helping to push them towards the resolution of the situation.

The informal diplomatic practices have changed the way the UNSC functions: They allow for more flexibility, responsiveness, and inclusiveness to address global challenges. In some instances, the UNSC has been able to engage in a more comprehensive discussion on issues through Track II, backchannel, public diplomacy and grassroots consultation, sometimes

beyond the framework of classical state diplomacy. Incorporating these informal practices, the UNSC has come to understand how to manage the complexities of international politics, whether in the face of crisis or in the context of peacebuilding.

2.1.3 African Representation

African representation is about making sure African people are included and seen in areas like politics, media and international meetings. What is important about this? It is about discussing the issues and voices of African people, which affects the decisions made about African communities. For a time African views have not been recognized in global talks and African representation is trying to fix this problem and give communities the right to speak for themselves. African representation is about giving people the power to make sure their concerns are heard in all areas. (Williams, 2015)

The idea of representation is closely connected to the issue of identity and equality which has been a struggle for a long time. This is not about having African people in the room but about showing a true picture of African people that highlights their good qualities and experiences. African people should be the ones to tell their stories and histories. Africa has been shown in a way and this has been happening since the colonial era when colonial powers made it seem like a weak continent. So real representation would be showing the political, social and historical issues and experiences of Africa (Brown, 2016)

Having African representation at places like the United Nations and the World Bank does not always mean that African people have a say or real influence. For years African countries have often been left out of making important decisions about international policies. True representation of Africa needs not a seat at the table but also the power to change global plans and make sure Africas concerns are not just heard, but also lead to actions that help the continent achieve its development goals especially when it comes to big issues like poverty, climate change and human rights abuses. African representation is important for African

people to have a voice and make sure their concerns are taken care of. African people should be able to speak for themselves and make decisions that affect their communities. This is what African representation is, about (Martin, 2017)

The only role of the media in shaping African's global image could be described as critical. The media often represents Africa through the very one-dimensional lens of hunger, war, and a lack of development so it must not be the African media's only task to also show the many facets of Africa that they can be proud of and it reflect on various cultures, growing economies, and stable politicians. It is through such portrayals that the world can finally shed their old image of Africa and see the Africans and their countries for what they really are a great story well told (Sullivan, 2018).

More broadly, it includes African leaders having the political influence and opportunity to shape discussions around global policy and debate whether that's the climate change crisis, the promotion of human rights, or the redrafting of global trade policies – “thereby ensure that Africa is part of, rather than part of the furniture of international discussions that will frame Africa's own global destiny” (Adams, 2019).

Representation, then is about more than just visible Africans in leadership roles; it's about African leaders being in a position to have influence on policy issues that affect them directly within and outside the continent to have impact and drive toward real solutions that do not marginalise the African continent. Furthermore, to the political and the media space the other underrepresented domain of Africa globally is that of the curriculum historically African history and its place in the wider world, has been absent or has been marginalized within mainstream education that is otherwise dominated by Eurocentric traditions.

Incorporating African histories, knowledge, and achievement within our curriculum as we push back against the global Eurocentric curriculum of the past would be an important step towards a world where learning is globally inclusive and not biased towards a select few

(Graham, 2022).

Another major part of African representation is the presence of the diaspora. Africans all around the world are responsible for helping shape the perception of Africa on the international level. Their work in education, cultural sharing, and political action all support the depiction of a complete and accurate African picture worldwide. So, it is also vital not to leave out the diaspora when we talk about issues of representation since they have a big impact on how Africans are presented locally and globally (Lpez, 2021).

African national powers have their say as well about climate change as part of the world conversation of this topic. Africa is amongst the most sensitive continents when it comes to environmental effects. But, in the past, the continent has been barely included in the world climate talks. The input to and cooperation from African peoples are essential for a fair and efficient policy design, after all, Africa is not only an innocent party of climate change but also an active partner in solving global environmental issues. So, African countries require a stronger presence in the world climate change forums, to ensure that their situation and their input will be recognized (Green, 2024).

In the arts sector, African representation is now getting the spotlight it deserves, but African artists are still mostly confined to sub-niches. True representation means that African art, music, and films are featured internationally and in a diverse way, in global culture. African artists should have opportunities and platforms as big as those of international artists, with no stereothetic images and without being put into a narrow category (Daz, 2015).

In addition, African self-representation offers a means for African people to gain control back over the African storyline. The capability for Africans to independently articulate their identities and stories, without the intervention or the exploitation by external sources, is a pivotal ingredient when it comes to obtaining true representation. It is not only about developing pride within the community but also about securing a place on the podium of

respected and recognized cultures (Nguyen, 2016).

African representation in the modern world is going to have to be more dynamic. It has become evident that simply having a presence in the discussions at the international level is no longer a sufficient act. What is needed and expected is that Africa be capable of steering the direction that the world's policies take. The strengthening of Africans through politics and economy is a requirement to break the patterns of the historical distribution of power and for Africa to be an indispensable partner on the world's level at the design of the future. It is through this real involvement that Africa can begin to change the balance of international power and achieve a fair and just global order (Evans, 2023; Scott, 2024).

2.1.4 Institutional Racism

African representation, as defined by the states themselves, has long signified the inclusion or voice of the political elite, the media and the global governance processes in institutions that have traditionally represented Africa by proxy of their respective countries. It is vital for African peoples that they take control of their representation and Because of this their own destinies in the world. Underlying all here is a desire to be recognized, to have a voice and to be counted in the world. This is, of course, nothing new in Africa and has existed since colonial days.

To be represented there is a need to recover our histories from a colonial history of backwardness and negativity and assert present groups, with their changing political boundaries, different cultures, and histories. The presence of Africa in global institutions such as the UN or the World Bank means more than simply having their representatives shown on the panel; it means having power.

Africa has been isolated at the decision making table for too long, and having more seats on the table is not enough; they need the political, financial and economic power to be able to have a say in the discussion topics that affect the continent. Africa's future relies on having

their representatives at those tables when the pressing problems the continent faces, such as economic disparity, global warming and human rights abuses, are discussed (Martin, 2017).

Media has the power to recover old images and construct new ones. Media account can change people's perceptions about the continent. Colonial medias constructed images of Africa as a continent of savagery, squalor and primitiveness. A true reflection of Africa entails representation of fact that cannot be seen in the media to date; a continent of rich and diverse cultures, economic power, and thriving governments.

Representation is also not limited to just placing African faces in leadership roles. To truly be representative of the continent, African leaders need to have the ability to shape policy discussions on both the continent and the world stage. Regardless of whether it is negotiating issues like climate change, human rights or trade, leaders from the continent need to be involved in discussions that shape their futures. Such representation is essential for solutions of global nature to be fairly constructed and not neglect Africa's concerns (Adams, 2019).

Besides politics and media, education is another space where African representation is often overlooked. The global curriculum has consistently portrayed African history as marginal or ignored it entirely. Including African viewpoints in main-stream education is the best way to challenge Eurocentric ideas, which have been the main source of knowledge globally. It is best to realize that the teaching of African history, culture, and achievements extends beyond academia. In fact, it helps the young generation get a fair and comprehensive picture of the globe.

African self-representation is another dimension of the issue. Descendants of Africa worldwide are instrumental in helping to shape the image of Africa outside the continent. Their contribution through education, the dissemination of cultures, and political awareness work to portray Africa more realistically to international audiences. This way, a discussion on representation ought to also include the global African population which a lot, determines

locals and global views about the continent.

At the same time, climate change is one topic in which a discussion on the political and economic influence of African countries takes a global perspective. Africa is the continent most affected with the environment, but yet it has been least involved at international forums on climate change. African viewpoints and innovative methods should be an integral part of the decision-making process on the development of globally equitable and effective policies since the continent, which is not only a victim of climate change, but also a key participant in global environmental solutions. Because of this, African countries need to be much better represented in such conversations to have their distinct issues and roles adequately addressed. African visibility in the art circles has improved and this is a good indicator, yet at times artists who work in the African region are limited to specialized niches. To achieve real visibility and participation, the different forms of African art should be incorporated into the world's cultural conversation while respecting the richness and variety of the continent. African artists have to be given the opportunities and venues to show their works on a worldwide platform but should also not be restricted to stereotypical depictions.

The continent itself through an independent means of portrayal could be very helpful in asserting the narrative as self-determined. It is quite possible for the people of Africa to describe their identities and stories without any external guidance or takeover. The power of defining their own stories is a great help in developing internal pride as well as winning global recognition and respect (Nguyen, 2016).

As the world continues to transition to a more connected future, change also needs to come in African representation. Being merely present in global discussions is no longer sufficient. African countries have to have the capability of influencing and directing world policies. To fight the imbalance of power as well as to be a proper player that shapes the global scenario, an economic and political powerbase for African countries is a prerequisite. The only way

through which Africa can start altering the power relations among the nations and So achieve a fairer world is through such active involvement (Evans, 2023; Scott, 2024).

2.2 Thematic Review

2.3 Disregard and Racialized Discrimination of African Countries in the UNSC

The racialized exclusion of African countries from key decisions and forums at the United Nations Security Council continues to be an unresolved matter. This exclusion is an indication of deeper power imbalances between Western countries on one hand and the African continent on the other, in which the former dominate almost every sphere of international decision-making. One would think, for instance, that African states that are very active contributors to United Nations peacekeeping and other types of conflict prevention mechanisms would have deserved greater representation at the Security Council. But it does not seem that way. African countries are being left out in the big decisions of the UNSC and, if we think more profoundly, even beyond. These decisions are made through what is called backchannel diplomacy and a lot of times even informal negotiations are held without taking African stakeholder into consideration. It is, for example, when a foreigner is engaged as a mediator in a conflict in Africa, Truth is African parties to the conflict are consulted is the least thing that one might think of. It is the African countries alone that lose out, as those who are in power behind the scenes are deciding without getting their viewpoints.

African civil society actors have been making it a point for quite some time that they want greater representation in decision making and that Africans in fact have to be a big part of the decisions of the UN. But still, the five members which have the most power over all of the decisions, they continue to be in total control of the process, and their power, in this instance, means that it is virtually impossible for African members to have meaningful representation at the Council. In fact, besides all that, there is one more thing, which is the informal or backchannel diplomacy, that serves to exclude African states from the decision making

processes, not only by the formal methods. Sometimes, the key decisions are taken in secrecy, or just outside the Council, through various meetings and negotiations that no African parties can participate in. Because of this, they have no chance to bring up their views and interests. This has been the case with the handling of the conflict situations in Somalia and South Sudan which are still considered as the most vulnerable areas where the risk of conflict remains high. The use of a foreigner or a person coming from outside as a party or as a mediator in a peace process which is happening between African people is not considered a good move even by the international peace community but what makes this situation even worse is that the Africans that should be directly affected, are not even heard, their voices are not taken into considerations, and they lose out, whereas the foreign peace broker is the only one that is getting attention and being heard. And, such backchannel activities not only bypass the concerns of African stakeholders but often exclude the continent altogether from the process, thereby allowing external actors to make decisions for the region. These practices, when they happen in the form of mediation, often result in the exclusion of African people from the decision-making as their own voices are not being heard or their needs are not being taken into account.

African Civil Society Organizations have been increasingly participating in challenging the status quo through informal diplomatic channels. These civil society actors have played part in the UNSC resolution indirectly through side events and informal dialogues held during the UN meetings. These actions do not only show that these civil society groups are very resilient but also point out one major limitation of African civil society in that this is not the formal way of getting one's voice heard at the UNSC.

One of the most significant ways of dealing with the African security challenges has been the rising of Track II diplomacy, which is a structure in which non-governmental players, ex-diplomats, and analysts have decided to take shortcuts by skipping the formal process of

the UN Security Council. Instead, they are working out ways of bringing about reconciliation in African countries through alternative channels. Although such endeavors have played a role in bringing conflicts to an end, these initiatives usually don't go further than mere talk as the actual decision-making of the UN Security Council still lies mainly in the hands of the P5 which leaves African states with a difficult task if they want to have a say in global governance and security issues.

Few African states have made the use of the role of third party mediators to end African conflicts, and this has led to the issue of the racialized marginalization of the African countries through that channel. Third-party mediation which is mostly done by the Western countries results in African leaders and regional entities like the African Union being kept in the shade on the ground of deciding African security issues even within the setup that they themselves created. This exclusion illustrates how the global inequality works as decisions on the continent of Africa are often made by African countries without the input of Africa.

These kinds of problems being faced on the ground have also opened ways for using digital diplomacy by African states as a means for African people to get their exclusion of challenges back in the face of the global governance system. They will use the social media and the internet as new tools for the diplomats of a number of nations and the civil society to share their views with the international community at large on matters of security. While digital diplomacy has offered various opportunities to different groups in the society for speaking out their voices, these methods haven't really affected the problem of racial exclusion which comes up regularly with the UN Security Council formal decision-making as is currently the case of the P5 members (Adeleke, 2016) that still largely hold the power in the decision-making. Because of this, although digital diplomacy is a good thing to hope for, Obviously only it cannot do the trick of completely removing the underlying structural imbalances that persist in formal global governance structures.

Along with using diplomacy through sport and other means, African countries have resorted to cultural diplomacy as a means of affirming their identity and campaigning for increased visibility in world affairs. Still, while the use of culture has been able to raise the international profile of African countries, it cannot go all the way in getting rid of the deeper problems of excluding Africans at UNSC level. Cultural exchanges and other initiatives relying on soft power might help African countries gain more international visibility Yet, they Sure cannot make up for a more fundamental need of reforming institutions so that African countries are treated equitably when it comes to making decisions in the world level. Even if they did a lot to change and raise the profile of Africa as a continent at the UN, it is the very fact that African countries still find themselves marginalized in crisis diplomacy where major decisions about sanctions and interventions usually go ahead without taking African interests into account that illustrates this issue in its fullest extent. This marginalization is most visible in those informal and behind-the-scenes discussions where African viewpoints are simply ignored. The continued exclusion based partly on race of African countries from decision-making processes in global governance and security is a clear indicator that only far-reaching changes and reforms at all levels can result in Africans playing a more decisive and meaningful role in such major spheres of international action (Ajulu, 2017; Akinyemi, 2018).

All in all if the African states and civil society organizations have put all their efforts into resisting Really they are not taken seriously or given the opportunity to speak at all in the UNSC forum, Still Truth is the event of African marginalization by way of exclusion using race is still prevalent in both formal and informal mechanisms is the most clear proof of the deep-seated inequality between states in global governance. Be it backchannel communications or the digital media channels, the people from Africa are continually uncovering other ways to reach out to and shape decisions on security on the world level. Still,

the fact remains that as long as the 5 permanent members will hold their dominant positions in the Security Council, the initiatives that African countries will be able to pursue will only be very limited. To put it in another way, without comprehensive reforms of the international organizations themselves, it will be extremely difficult for African voices to be listened to and for the whole international system which dictates how the world is governed and how it is peaceful at the global level to change so that it will become just and a fair place for everyone.

2.3.1 Veto Power Politics in the United Nations

The veto system within the UN Security Council (UNSC) has become one of the most contentious issues within international governance. It has its roots in the institution-building of the United Nations UN at its inception in 1945. At this time, the victorious allied powers of World War II-China France the Soviet Union (Russia), the United Kingdom, and the United States -were established with permanent membership in the Security Council, with veto powers over substantive resolutions. This system was designed to keep the major powers engaged in the newly created organization and dissuade them from taking unilateral action outside its bounds (Hurd, 2007).

Yet, the veto system of the United Nations has come under increasing scrutiny today due to its exacerbating of the inequalities of power within the global system, stifling of democratic processes, and subsequent erosion of the inclusion of Africa within the security governance arena. Veto power in the UN Security Council at its most fundamental level means that a single P5 member of the Security Council can use their veto to prevent the adoption of any substantive resolution whatever the level of international support for the measure. Here the will of all elected members and many the international community can be thwarted by the position of a single permanent member.

So institutionalized has this power become that scholars have talked of a series of "oligarchic security orders" in which the business of peace and security in the world is conducted by a

narrow clique of major powers (Weiss & Daws, 2018). Implicit in this is a failure to do justice to the sovereign equality principle stated in the articles of association, art 2(1). A second significant implication of veto power politics is the undermining of the collective security decision-making the frequent deployment of vetoes by the P5 on marginal issues prevents the Council from actually realizing the purpose of its institution. The use of veto by global powers is motivated not simply by issues about peace and security, but by issues and interests in their respective national strategic concern; for instance, the US had used veto to blocks resolutions critical of Israel in the Middle East, while

Russia and China have used it for issues on the conflicts in Syria and elsewhere in their national interests (Voeten, 2021).

The selective use of veto power undermines the Council's authority and supports views that international law is used inconsistently according to the geopolitical interests. African states are greatly affected by the politics related to veto and the consequences are very serious.

The United Nations Security Council regularly handles several issues about which African representatives are the ones who speak and African representatives are the main actors who speak to the UN. Most of the Security Council's peace missions and conflict resolution activities concern African countries. Still, a permanent membership, and That means veto power over such decisionmaking, is a privilege denied to African states. In the end, scholars have come up with the concept of a "representation gap, " which is, a situation where the region most frequently mentioned by the Council has virtually no say in the final decisionmaking (Adebajo & Landsberg, 2003). As a result, African states often have to face decisions that were made without meaningful involvement in the final stages of negotiation.

Another aspect of the system is its contribution to a kind of what may be considered institutional discrimination inside the global governance bodies. Since no African country currently holds permanent member with veto power seat in the UNSC, it is rather historical

relations of power that have brought that situation into existence than present global conditions. As most African countries in the post-war period were part of a colony, the colonial powers did the UN negotiations which was a colonial matter, so the African countries were not the subject of any consideration.

Today, Africa has 54 UN member states and has the maximum number of votes as a group in the General Assembly. Even so, at the Security Council level where only 15 members get their names to make the most of the decisions in the United Nations, Africa is the only region without any permanent seat (Murithi, 2012). One of the effects of veto politics is its role in peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa. The P5 powers' rivalries on African issues have resulted in some Council decisions for African conflicts being delayed or even made more harmful. Rwanda in 1994 and Libya in 2011 are two famous cases of P5 rivalries where the interests were at the heart of deciding the policies of Council. The decision was mostly made on these matters without a full assessment of the actual problems at stake and as a result, many innocent people suffered (Bellamy & Williams, 2011).

In these situations, the voices and interests of Africans - who are the direct or indirect victims of the problems in question- hardly weigh anything before those of the great powers, who are in control of the veto.

A final point to note is the effect of the veto mechanism in shaping the Council's unofficial discussions. A fair amount of the actual decision-making takes place outside the public eye, and the P5 members negotiate among themselves the draft resolutions before giving them to non-permanent members for their approval. So, Clearly the informal "consultation culture" restricts the transparency in Council, and more importantly further diminishes the potential of African states which are the elected members of the Council. Although having a non-permanent seat does give some influence to African countries, it is Still the pre-negotiated stance of the P5 that dictates how much say an African representative will have

about the outcome (Malone, 2004).

Critics see the veto as a relic of the cold war and outdated global power structure that is not in line with current geopolitical and demographic realities any more. The different propositions put forward to reform the system vary from creating permanent seats for African countries like Nigeria, South Africa, or Egypt to curbing or even eliminating the use of the veto in cases of mass human rights violations. Despite this, the major reform proposals have all suffered the same fate of being rejected or even stuck for years due to the P5's lack of interest in reducing their privilege (Weiss & Thakur, 2010). These stonewall tactics of the Permanent 5 reveal, how the power is embedded deep in the structure of international institutions.

Veto power politics still play a great role in keeping inequality alive in the UN Security Council. Although the Council was created with the intent to keep the big countries united, it turned into a tool that keeps reinforcing a hierarchical international order and also preventing a fair participation. Africa, as a continent, has found the veto rule to be a major weapon in their marginalization in international decisions on security matters which further underscores concerns on the UN's institutional inequality and systemic exclusion, among others. The necessary measures to solve these problems will be thorough institutional changes to mirror the current global power relations instead of continuing to glorify the distribution of power in 1945.

2.2 Empirical Review

In Adebajo (2016) gives a detailed account of Africa's exclusion from the UNSC which goes all the way before Africa's post-colonial era. He mainly looks at the institutional structures in the Council, which had to be designed given the global order post-colonialism was shaped mainly by victorious powers that had been in a position to control other nations and territories. His method consisted of analyzing UN reform discussions, voting behaviors, and the speeches of African leaders, and based on those, he comes up with the view that the lack of a

permanent African membership is deliberate not an accident and the current geopolitical situation is a result of the colonial heritage. He further explains that the exclusion is an embodiment of the ongoing racially biased ideas on who should lead the world that have placed African countries at least as subjects of the security governance systems they are not architects of. Also, the article looks into examples like the use of force in Libya and the deployment of a peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Another work by Khadiagala (2015) examines the political context of African countries' being represented or not by comparing firstly the quantity of contributions by Africa - In particular troop deployment to UN peacekeeping missions, and However the degree of influence on defining the agenda and writing of resolutions - Africa has been able to exercise.

Pape (2017) looks into the ways in which the issue of racialized exclusion could be one reason for why African countries are not more involved in peace negotiations between different countries at the UNSC level about Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia, In particular in the drafting processes for such resolutions. Pape, through examining what was said in the resolutions plus the interview content done with diplomats, shows that African countries get very little say when the big decisions that set the strategy have been decided. In this paper Pape shows that this practice of excluding African countries from making the decisions reflects a situation of racial hierarchies being a part of the daily ways of working in the institution. Here, not even a bit of time would have been given for African actors to be able to have their say and their proposals be considered, and they would only be treated as external solution implementers. This study by the author gives insight into the way marginalization of African countries happens due to implicit racial hierarchies in the UN decision-making process that are reflected in their role only as the executors of a design developed by others without equal partnership.

Gumedze (2018) studies how the African Union (AU) stands for the African interests in the

issue of the seats of the members of the UNSC through the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration. Based on a review of AU's policies and some talk session with those at the top of AU, the author found out that there have consistently been requests and proposals made that Africa deserves at-least-two permanent seats which also have veto power. Yet, the ability of the AU to exert power within the structure is still quite limited because the major geopolitical factors constrain it. The study also reveals that the reform has been slow not only because certain global powers express their support in words only but also because structural resistance by current permanent member nations has been the reality. The paper also points out that the AU's very weak institutional powers together with financial dependency of the former kind further weaken AU's negotiating power. By highlighting how the unequal global governance system leads to limited possibilities for meaningful reform, this paper shows how the issue of global governance inequalities is the reason behind such reform efforts being so limited.

Doku (2017) looked at how African countries are involved in the informal meetings of the UNSC, In particular those that take place behind closed doors where most of the Council's serious negotiations occur. By speaking on African diplomats' side and going through meeting transcription, Doku found that African diplomats quite seldom are involved in the initial drafting discussion or backchannel negotiations carried out by permanent players. When they are there, they do not enjoy, for example, the procedural privileges that come with penholder status, which puts severe limitation on their ability to determine outcomes. The study shows how informal diplomatic environments not only uphold institutional inequalities but also, through concentrating power in a small number of countries, recreate the same kind of racialized marginalization while appearing it is the result of a work towards consensus. Informal diplomatic circles are Because of this found to be reinforcing the pattern of unequal relations between various states, Mostly the dominant powers.

Adebajo and Whiteman (2019) look to the issue of permanent African representation on the UNSC and reform propositions put forth by intergovernmental discussions at the UN General Assembly. Analyzing different reform groups through a comparative lens they conclude that racism within the institutions is revealed by the continuous refusal to hand over the veto power or a permanent seat to African countries. The authors also maintain the belief that the isolation of Africa is a reflection of the greater fear of redistributing power on a global scale and of dismantling post-WWII hierarchies. Using the study of speeches and the reform deadlocks, it is shown that verbal support for inclusiveness hides the real resistance to the change at the structural level, keeping Africa side-lined in the Council.

Baderin (2020) points to the continued exclusion of African viewpoints in UNSC peacebuilding initiatives, by way of analyzing examples from Mali, South Sudan, and the Central African Republic. From content analysis of the peacebuilding mandates and conversations with African policy makers, it turns out that initiatives spearheaded by the Africans are hardly given importance compared to externally driven structures. The reason is, although African countries have major roles in peacekeeping efforts, the design of post-conflict governance models endorsed by UNSC mostly is a matter for the Africans. Because of this, Baderin concludes, this divide is nothing more but the result of hierarchies which are set out to favor Western knowledge and expertise while African policymaking is pushed to the margins, ultimately reducing the chance for long-term peacebuilding achievements.

Casting a light on the influence of the African and Western countries within the UNSC is Bercovitch (2019) who, by looking at mediation roles leading in conflict resolution and sponsorship patterns of proposed resolutions, does a comparison to figure out how things are going on there. Using statistical evaluation of the authorship of resolutions from 2005 to 2018, he comes to the realization that the five permanent Western members of the Council usually

hold penmanship on drafts for Africa issues. Because of this, have control over the framing of the narrative and the negotiation process. Bercovitch explains that this sort of imbalance is symptomatic of the structural discrimination that is deeply woven in the Council operations, where the basis for determining influence is not proximity to the conflict but the historical power status. Because of this, the existence of the power structures which give a lot of weight to certain races restricts African countries' opportunities for turning their peacekeeping achievements, with their regional knowledge, into a decision-making authority.

The diplomatic measures that African states adopt to plead for reform of UNSC is the subject of Adebani's (2017) research which includes forming coalitions among African countries and engaging Global South alliances. By analyzing the reform debates at the UN together with the talks with diplomats, Adebani shows that African demands have often been made on grounds of historical injustice and demographic justice. Though, the research reveals that the fact remains that the dominant powers keep on opposing the reform and so nothing much is achieved. As Adebani, institutional racism is done in a covert way with procedural obstacles, veto system, and informal negotiation practices that serve to sustain the present state of affairs and so confine Africa's struggle for fair treatment even though Africa has kept up an incessant diplomatic campaigning.

Hughes (2016) has done an insightful analysis and pointed out the role of African civil society in the discussions of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The work reveals the role of informal actors, like grassroots organizations and NGOs, which are very often disregarded and yet their contributions can help influence discussions. As Hughes, it's worth recognizing that African civil society has a very prominent and essential voice in raising attention towards the continued marginalization of the African continent, but the results of these efforts for policy changes are not always that encouraging. The paper discusses how the existence of major obstacles in the structure of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) prevents

these informal groups from exerting their greatest powers. It is difficult for African NGOs and grassroots organizations to make any difference in the way the Security Council makes decisions because of the powerful veto wielded by P5 member countries. On the use of Track II diplomacy as a tactical device African states utilize it to circumvent the traditional UNSC decision-making systems which, being formalized, have been the domain where African countries historically felt marginalized.

Fitzgerald (2018) presents his views. Track II diplomatic process refers to the informal talks and negotiations done by non-state actors who are not official representatives of the respective governments. It is through Track II channels that African governments, with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and academies can participate and discuss matters of African security. But, Fitzgerald's work demonstrates that despite their success at making a lot more African voices heard, these types of arrangements often don't come with the authority formal systems are known for and Because of this don't have the power to bring significant change. Also among her findings, Fitzgerald discusses the drawbacks of Track II diplomatic approach: it happens a lot that the attempts by different sides to carry out such informal exchanges are hampered because the P5 members of the UNSC have strong and long-standing political arrangements, and at the same time the composition of the P5 illustrates global inequities.

In 2019, Kieh's work focused on the issue that although African representatives are involved in the Security Council meetings, the level of their impact on policy decisions remains quite low. Even though African governments are routinely brought in for informal consultations and are invited to some of the meetings with the aim at discussing African security issues, Kieh has pointed out several examples of African states' ideas and proposals that were dismissed during the decision-making stage of security council deliberations. The paper also underlines that African states, apart from playing the part of spectators in UNSC meetings,

don't really get much chance to have their say, since P5 countries are often the ones who drive the agenda and set goals. As a result, African countries are mostly denied the power to influence the Security Council in any significant manner to produce outcomes that would benefit their continent directly.

Chandra (2020) sheds light on how racial exclusion, among other factors, contributes to the way peacekeeping is shaped in Africa. She points out the tendency of having African countries disproportionately tasked with doing peacekeeping work while also being excluded from major decision-making processes on these missions. Chandra claims the reason is of the institutional racism in the UNSC, where African countries have too many responsibilities and too little power. This racist exclusion, based on the paper, not only keeps the status quo of inequity in global peace and security but also makes peacekeeping operations in Africa very ineffective.

Aning (2019) shows how African states have responded to their being excluded, politically and diplomatically, from the UNSC by employing various methods of challenging such exclusionary structures. Using the support of alliances and international diplomacy, African states try to highlight that they are being treated unfairly and request structural changes in the UNSC. As Aning, although the African countries are making attempts, In reality their opinions are simply neglected when important decisions are made continues to sustain a system of institutionalized racism at a global level. This paper stresses that what is needed is a change of the way decisions are made in international affairs to accommodate African countries, since at the moment the system, although officially a democratic one as it were, is still dominated by the powers connected to the history of colonialism as well as race, leaving African nations without any say at all.

Ajulu (2017) is about looking at race and power in decision-making by the UNSC where conflicts in Africa are concerned. She draws attention to Truth is African states are

deliberately kept away from the big discussion about security interventions and peacekeeping operations even when they are at the forefront of those matters. Ajulu is very convinced that this denial happens because there is generally an imbalance where the Africans are always at the very bottom of the decision-maker list and the power is concentrated in a very few Western or otherwise more influential countries. As a result, the African countries are deprived of the chance to affect decision-making and the whole UN Security Council loses much of its credibility in dealing with international security issues.

Seid (2020) looks at how African states can use informal diplomacy, more To be exact Track 0 diplomacy, as a means for them to regain their voices which had been suppressed in the formal decisions of the Security Council. Track 0 diplomacy is a kind of unofficial, non-structured discussion usually done through other means like diplomatic backchannels, private meetings or regional negotiations that take place beyond the official setting of the UN. Seid notes that, even though such informal channels provide African states with opportunities to raise their grievances and give suggestions, the five big powers (P5) of the UNSC are not ready to hear from the other countries outside the P5 and only act in their own interests. Although Track 0 diplomacy offers a way for African states to make themselves heard, Seid sees only a limited effect since decision-making at the formal level still mainly belongs to the P5.

Gumedze and Gwatidzo (2021) discuss African states' efforts to become permanent members of the UNSC. They look at past and present challenges that Africa has been facing and have explained the reasons why Africa hasn't got a seat at the top. Gumedze and Gwatidzo think that there is no doubt that institutional racism is the big problem at the moment in the UNSC since P5 countries are in charge of decisions and they aren't even considering making any radical changes that will give African countries an appropriate say.

Hamilton (2021) studies the challenges faced by African countries in getting the UNSC

changed. Hamilton focuses mostly on the historical fact that African nations have not only not being allowed to be involved in major matters but also being left in the informal discussions that go with it.

Doku and Dapaah (2018) look into digital diplomacy's capacity for making African voices more prominent in the UNSC. This evidence points to that the emergence of digital tools has enabled African diplomats and civil groups to gain exposure on a global scale. It has Because of this resulted in the identification of the opportunities of new ways of advocacy and participation. But, Doku and Dapaah point out that digital platforms haven't been able to disrupt the exclusionary character of the formal UNSC. As such, while these tools can increase African participation in the forum, they cannot eliminate the power imbalance deeply woven in the UNSC which limits African influence in the matters affecting the continent.

Fitzgerald and Gumedze (2020) have a close look at Truth is African states do not play their role in changing UN Security Council (UNSC) resolutions, Mostly peace operations in Africa ones. The study shows that African countries have been engaged in peacekeeping and conflict resolution for a long time and also are active participants at this moment, still African states are mainly disregarded as to being involved in meaningful way in UNSC debates about their security. Fitzgerald and Gumedze say that the exclusion of Africans from such discussions in UNSC actually mirrors a more general trend of under-involving Africans in the UNSC, through which the views and needs of African nations are usually overshadowed from the dominance of P5.

Hughes and Adebajo (2017) But are concerned that a form of racialization exclusion in the working methods of the Security Council restricts Africa' s capacity to influence resolutions related to humanitarian crises in areas of the continent. The authors point out that, as a rule, African nations are only the recipients of peacekeeping operations as well as other decisions

for the continent. It is a well-researched argument made by Hughes and Adebajo that the exclusion from participation at the top of decision-making of Africans is yet another manifestation of the power inequality based on race at the UNSC, which puts Africans, despite their important international role, into the margins of global governance.

Baderin(2020) analyses the effects of low visibility of African leaders and representatives of African states on the Security Council of the United Nations in particular for peacekeeping missions in Africa. Per the author, the lack of representation on the Council by African countries is one of the reasons for the adoption of decisions and policies which either ignore the specific needs, characteristics, and preferences of the African countries or take into account the same in a limited way. Baderin argues also that the low level of representation is a clear indication of the continuing presence of racial and political inequalities in the UNSC which are not only the basis for the marginalization of African states in the system of global governance but also the main factors hindering the success of peacekeeping operations.

As Kieh and Dokun(2018), peacebuilding and humanitarian relief efforts in Africa have always been affected by the lack of African countries' participation in the major decision-making mechanisms of the UNSC which has a racial undercurrent. It is highlighted through the studies that one of the most direct consequences of the lack of presence of African representatives at the key table and of the absence of an African voice in the important UNSC debates is that decisions being made are at best inappropriate, and at worst detrimental when compared with the nature of conflict and the level of instability of a particular country on the continent. Kieh and Doku further maintain that such exclusion of Africans from the core UN peace-making and -building processes not only leads to the inefficiency of the international community in dealing with African security challenges but also calls for the immediate expansion of the African representation in the Security Council.

Pape and Gumedze (2019) look into how the African Union (AU) plays in favor of UNSC's

reform. Per the study, African Union seeks to correct the African states' marginalization within the Security Council of the UN and at the same time requests including African countries to the processes, where the decisions are made, the ones that set the trends in international peace and security. The authors, though they acknowledge AU's effort in promoting African countries interests admit However, that one of the major problems hindering African nations from having more say at the Security Council is the deep-rooted racism institutionalized there. The P5 (the five permanent members) are also reluctant to give up the perks of the current system.

Khadiagala and Whiteman (2016) analyze the way in which the official United Nations Security Council (UNSC) procedures combine with the informal diplomats work that excludes the African countries. The researchers claim that although the representatives of African countries succeeded and are still succeeding in gaining the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) a greater involvement, informal diplomatic methods are still used to continue excluding African perspectives from the global security decisions. The authors argue that these informal structures, which often are dominated by powerful states and regional actors, do not only work against African nations but continue to push marginalizing African views in international peace and security.

Bercovitch (2020) investigates that African countries manage to be the least affected even within the racist nature of the Security Council through utilizing different diplomatic avenues like bilateral diplomacy and regional peace initiatives. The article shows how these informal diplomatic methods are also used to bypass the hegemony of the Security Council in handling conflicts related to African countries. Based on Bercovitch, although these different avenues give African countries a certain level of independence, they cannot entirely replace the Security Council's formal decision-making structure,

Thompson (2015) takes another look at African diplomats' role in challenging the exclusion

practices of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), and he asserts that even though African countries have done a lot in highlighting their problems and asking for inclusion, the permanent five members of the Security Council have such strong control at their fingertips that they can limit effectively the participation of the Africa delegates in any meaningful way. Also, Thompson's view is based on Truth is regardless of the diplomatic methods and ideas aimed at addressing the problem of Africa's exclusion from the debates and decisions at UNSC by the permanent five members of the Security Council (P5), Truth is these members maintain a dominant position means that significant changes would not likely happen. African diplomats even when they raise their voices in the matter, they fight a lonely battle against an entrenched system which favors the interest of the P5. As a result African issues are pushed aside or neglected altogether.

Baderin (2017) examines the manner in which African countries have resorted to soft power, public diplomacy to oppose exclusions, a practice still being perpetuated by the UNSC. It focuses on how African countries have utilized diplomatic mechanisms like raising their issues among international organizations lobbying, media campaigns, and making speeches to get the African issues recognized and to be considered more prominently in the UNSC. Baderin admits that such tactics worked well by the time it was why for the visibility of African security issues, but this was still to have any influence on the fundamental features of the UNSC. In other words, no major institutional overhaul had been caused by all these visibility raising activities. Even although the issue of Africa's non-representation or marginalization within the UNSC was highlighted, there is not yet a solution in sight since the existing inequalities, which have been institutionalized at a very deep layer, are the ones stopping the African states from effectively playing a larger strategic role in the UNSC decision-making.

Khadiagala and Adebajo (2020) work is dedicated to tracing the origin and present

ramifications of the exclusion of African representatives at the UNSC. As far as their article is concerned, a lack of the presence of African countries at the highest decision-making level of the United Nations has been a cause of suffering for the continent, most of which manifested through such issues as peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and humanitarian aid. The pair, for instance, recommend that, aside from the benefit that the issue of African marginalization in global governance would be alleviated, the reform of the UNSC with the inclusion of African voices would lead to the enhancement of the overall mechanisms of international peace and security. That's why, a UN Security Council that is a reflection of the diverse peoples around the world and allows African countries to participate in decision making will definitely be more balanced on representation. Such would also result in fairer and better global governance, for example, when considering how a global power that can easily ignore a problem is still expected to work out the best possible ways of helping an African community that is suffering from conflict or a health crisis.

Hamilton and Kieh (2021) But analyze the employment of various regional actors that African states leverage to raise their status on the global power stage and the exclusionary UNSC practices. They focus on how African Regional Economic Communities (e.g. AU) with international fora have mobilized their members and external stakeholders to advocate for better African involvement in the functioning and decision-making of the UN Security Council, as an organ of international organization to which the world should give respect based simply on the numbers of populations and the number of states on the African continent. Regional lobbying efforts have been successful in drawing attention to and amplifying the African voices that call for changes in the composition of the USMC. They Still acknowledge Truth is the resistance to changes that is deep rooted in the structure of the SC still greatly restricts the effectiveness of these regional approaches. The reality is that despite Africa's efforts through the AU and others to present their cases to the rest of humanity and also to the

Security Council to secure African positions and influence, it is really difficult for African states to make decisions when the power structure in the Security Council is such that the five permanent members (P5), with a veto power, are the ones who can make it or break it.

The work of Adebajo (2018) is mainly concerned with the political effects of African exclusion in the UNSC, more Mainly, the lack of Africans who would represent their continent in discussions about peacekeeping and conflict resolution. It was argued that by excluding Africans from participating in such activities, there was a complete disregard for accountability that had been a major concern for many years and In particular where peacekeeping missions are concerned in conflict-ridden African countries. Adebajo argues that without African participation in these key decision-making processes, there is a high possibility that the peacekeeping operations will not fully reflect the needs, interests, and concerns of the affected local African populations. Since the operations' design as well as the execution are not influenced by Africa, it may turn out the peacekeeping efforts are ineffective and there won't be any responsibility held for the outcomes.

The investigation of Adebajo and Whiteman (2021) is focused on how race plays a role in the long-lasting situation of Africa's exclusion from substantive decision-making in the UN Security Council. They point to In reality beyond being a purely political issue, African exclusion is more fundamentally about the racialized structures of power that continue to exist in global governance. Adebajo and Whiteman state that the P5's resistance to African representation in the Security

Council is nothing but continuation of unequal colonial legacy which has shaped and still shapes the international scene today. This study also discusses the role of the race in Africa's marginalization within the UN by highlighting Really the P5's resistance to African representation is more of a reflection of the existing racial and historical power imbalances that are preventing Africa from fully engaging in setting global security policies.

2.3 Summary of Literature Review

A lot has been written and the available literature shows that African representation and institutional racism are important aspects of the UNSC discussions in general. It is not only a question of political representation in the Security Council that African states are seeking, but it is a matter of fairness in how a global organization of such stature can allow itself to exclude one of the largest world regions. From reading various works of literature, I have concluded that African states and Africa itself are being excluded at all levels of UNSC decision-making due to institutional racism. African exclusion limits not only Africa's capacity to exercise its freedom of choice in decision-making but also the capacity to implement peacekeeping in an efficient and effective manner. The study also highlights Truth is while African states are very aware of their marginalization and have put in great efforts of diplomacy like soft power, public diplomacy and even regional organizations like AU to get more seats on the Security Council. Yet, all their efforts seem to be in vain as African views are still not widely shared because of institutional racism within the decision-making of the Council.

The main thing that the papers are agreeing upon is that African exclusion is not only hindering Africa's ability to participate in the making of global decisions that would directly affect the continent, but also, it is an obstacle to the successful execution of peacekeeping missions and other conflict resolution efforts in Africa. Different scholars have been talking about how the exclusion of African states from critical Security Council discussions leads to decisions that do not match the situation of African conflicts and the continent's needs for security. In addition, it has to be recognized that though African issues have gotten more attention of late, the power differentials at international level in the UNSC have not really changed or been reversed.

2.4 Theoretical Review

1. REALISM THEORY

Among many influential schools of thought in international relations discipline, realism Of course stands out as one of the most powerful theories which offers a power-centric analysis of world politics. Based on this theory, the international system is an anarchic setting, it is not possible for a single authority to be superior and to govern the conduct of sovereign states. Given that, states are first and foremost concerned with safeguarding their existence, security and augmenting their strength. To the realist, international politics revolve around competition, conflict, and self-interest strategically played out instead of ideals, morality, or legal systems being central to interactions. Because of this, collaboration between nations is most often short-lived and it is the national interest that is the driver instead of common values or universal justice.

Realistic view of state interactions holds that states, or sovereign governments, are still the most significant decision-makers on international stages, and the rationale behind them would be an advantage-oriented calculation or a self-serving interest. For instance, organizations like the United Nations are seen only as instruments that powerful states wield and whose interests they represent whereas they hardly can be impartial bodies to uphold law on international level or as a forum where states are equally addressed.

Proponents of Realism

Realism has passed through different phases and been modified by various leading thinkers, who have left their imprint as well:

- Although considered the very first realist thinker, the classical Greek historian Thucydides was among those realists who laid the groundwork for this school of thought in his description of the Peloponnesian War. He argued that it is mainly these three aspects, fear, honor and a desire for power, that influence the decision-making process and that, in international politics, the strong will exploit the weak.

- The classical realist, Dr. Hans Morgenthau, gave a more structured and comprehensive exposition of realism in modern international relations. He made a claim and backed it by empirical examples that
 - a) man is basically rational and
 - b) he is also basically a social being and he has his own interest; That means, politics as a discipline which basically deals with these three elements is not the product of the will but, to the contrary, is the object of an irresistible power that determines all the changes in it. In his words, the "state's interest" is defined on "power" and that is "power" and only "power" that is the real motive of a state at any time.
- Neorealism (also known as Structural Realism) was invented/propounded by Kenneth Waltz through a paper that he published at that time. From this point onwards, focus was less on the qualities of human nature or the individual characteristics of states and more on international system structure. Waltz pointed out that capability allocation among states is a significant determinant of international results, emphasizing the role of polarity and power imbalances.

These scholars collectively contributed to making a theory of realism one that focuses power relations and systemic inequality, when it comes to the interpretation of global political events.

Central Assumptions Of Realism

Realism is based on several key premises that clarify the role and nature of states in the international political realm:

- The international system is essentially anarchic since there is no common authority above the nations to make laws and ensure compliance besides sovereign nations.
- States are the leading actors, the ones at the center of global politics, and even

international organizations and non-state actors do not come close to being as important as one.

- A state behaves rationally and calculates the various elements that go into its decision-making like the costs and benefits which lead it to make decisions for survival, security, and power that it is most interested in.
- The competition between states is fundamental since different countries have national interests that can conflict and cause disagreements, if not outright wars.
- The distribution of power is not uniform. Strong states dominate the world's organizations and set the international agenda of decision-making.
- These core concepts underline the reality that inequality between countries or nations is not something that one does out of choice but something that comes about naturally from different kinds of structural causes in the world order altogether. That in turn is very useful because it supports the argument that powerful actors will continue having a larger say over the decisions.

Criticisms of Realism

Realism is the most widely-acknowledged and referenced theoretical structure. But, from other theories, it is far from perfect, and its weaknesses are pointed out:

- It puts too weight on military and political strength without acknowledging cooperation among the international community, interdependence economically, and the global institutions.
- While it sees state as a rational actor that is able to take unified actions, it overlooks In reality political differences within a country, the different styles that heads of states may use, and In reality a country might be divided among its people are among several factors that can make an impact on the country's foreign policy choices.
- It also downplays the extent to which international organizations like the UN influence

world standards through their norm-setting activities and their ability to play a peace mediator role.

- To begin with, it is said that a major shortcoming of realism is that it presents an extremely gloomy interpretation of international relations. Per the theory, competition and strife are the natural and inevitable features of the world relations and So, the possibility for change is really limited and also solidarity as a global principle almost entirely disappears from the picture.
- Besides that, it is quite a challenge for a realist explanation to account for globalization, governance across borders, and the growing influence of non-state actors in global politics.

Relevance to the Study

The realism is a good fit for this study on African portrayal and inequality within the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Besides explaining how international politics really works, the theory clearly illustrates that in fact, power relations in the global arena determine who has how much say in international institutions. For sure about the UNSC the one thing that most reflects the realist view of the world is a situation where only five major powers (China France Russia, the UK, and the USA) have a permanent seat and a veto privilege. So, a realist approach to the problem is very useful when analyzing how the power of nations is the key to the domination, influence, and the way things are decided at the level of international institutions like the Security Council.

From a realist point of view, African states' marginalization is not purely an accident but the direct result of power imbalances at the global level. Permanent Council of Security - a member with a power of veto who controls the decision process - can influence the result only in line with their political interests, disregarding weaker nations' desires. This situation underlines the continuing power states' monopoly in global security governance and

simultaneously reduces the influence over decisions made by African countries.

That's why, realism is a tool that reveals reasons for the resistance to reform the UNSC or for calling African members' increase being the main issue. It also exposes Really institutional settings in global politics frequently reflect the status quo of power rather than the concepts of equity and equality.

1.INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

Definition of Institutional Theory

Institutional Theory is one of the most significant theories within the fields of social and international relations which explains how individuals or organizations make decisions based on the rules, norms, and standards of the institutions. Based on Institutional Theory, the presence of the structures of an institution does not only provide a venue for a political activity but also determines actors' decisions, actions, and preferences. This way, it can be considered as a means by which actors in international relations can be controlled because the theory brings them with the understanding of the acceptable ways of behaviour together at the same time it offers them possibilities for cooperation and coordination.

As far as it comes to international relations, the Institutionalist perspective focuses on international organizations like the United Nations (UN), the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and The World Trade Organization (WTO) as a mechanism not only for the international cooperation but the reduction of conflict.

While the view which sees a constant power struggle for global politics is a common idea of some political scientists, institutionalists emphasize that through a well-built arrangement of international institutions, states can cooperate, follow international norms, reduce uncertainty, and even gain the ability to do things that would be impossible to do alone or jointly for them. But, Institutional Theory also brings to light that institutions can help uphold existing power relations, where the rules of institutions and decision-making processes of them

disproportionately benefit certain individuals or groups. The result of that is different designs and implementation of institutional arrangements could bring either greater inclusiveness or the continuation of inequality.

Proponents of Institutional Theory

There are various researchers who have played notable role in advancing the Institutional Theory.

John W. Meyer is one of the prominent representatives of the sociological institutionalism. Meyer maintained that institutional rules, expectations and standards guide the behaviour of individuals and groups by encouraging or discouraging certain actions of them. He believed a major source of influence on a person's behaviour is a legitimate way of doing a thing rather than the material benefit.

Institutional isomorphism, a concept of institutional change, introduced by Paul DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell further developed the ideas around the role of institution in shaping organisational behaviour. They claimed that organisations that work within similar settings will have a tendency to look similar in the manner they run their affairs, not because one copying another but because they choose similar ways of behaving that gain legitimacy. Their research shows how institutional pressures can result in very similar organisational practices, no matter if the changes are economically rational or not.

Robert O. Keohane is a Neoliberal Institutional international Relations theorist who has written many books on Institutions and cooperation in international system, including his important book called *After Hegemony* published in 1984, in which he put forward the notion that international institutions, even in face of an anarchic situation of international community, are able to bring states together by offering them facilities in their mutual cooperation. Also, he said that the major advantages that institutions bring about are the reduction of transaction costs, information provision, monitoring facilities and the establishment of mechanisms for

the enforcement of the rules by states, which make collaboration possible even with a lack of a single governing body on the world level.

Combinedly, these scholars' work illustrates that institutions are not just static organizations - that have the power to change political behavior, determine how decisions are made and, in addition, contribute to the stability of the international system.

Main Assumption of Institutional Theory

Institutional Theory builds on a number of very simple yet important assumptions about about political and international organizations' functioning.

In the first place, institutions exert major influence over and at the same time set limits to actors' behaviour by laying down formal rules, standards of conduct, and ways of conducting work as well that constitute and limit acceptable behavior. That means, states and organizations will adjust their behavior to conform to institutional requirements.

In a word, international institutionalism is based on such institutions being recognized as legitimate ways of ordering relations between states that they become the norm. When institutional actors come to identify with international institutions as a means for resolving disputes, they tend to follow those procedures in the future also. International relations is So an orderly process.

In addition, cooperation among states is done through international instruments mainly because such bodies decrease the expenses, provide trust and ensure the effectiveness of decisions. So, even among countries sharing different views, institutions may make an overall agreement possible.

Further, the more frequently institutions are used, the larger the authority and legitimacy they get. With time, such entities become harder or even impossible to be challenged or changed.

It has to be mentioned at the same time that the rules of an institution are able either to spread

equality or the maintenance of inequality. The institutions' designs often reflect the ideals of cooperation and justice, but also their organization can advantage the powerful ones, In particular when certain members have different decision rights that the whole membership gets a lot.

Criticisms of Institutional Theory

Institutional Theory, despite its appeal to many, has not escaped from criticism.

Firstly, the main point of a critique is that the theory generally overlooks the possibility of international institutions being influenced by powerful states. In real-life situations, institutions often do serve the interest of the leading countries, which is contrary to their purpose of impartiality or self-direction.

And, one of the major limitations of Institutional Theory is not accounting for Truth is rules and practices that govern the operations of a given organization are the outcomes of past power relationships and political influences that have taken root over time. If institutions continue to be governed in a biased and/or discriminatory manner without reform, even the most progressive ones can fail to achieve their goals.

And, critics claim that the theory fails to account for various failures of institutions and opposition to change. Take, for instance, that there is a large-scale demand for the United Nations Security Council to restructure it in favour of more representative regions; Yet, Institutional Theory has no convincing argumentation yet why it is so difficult to bring about change in such a case, given that there is international consensus.

But, Institutional Theory has also been condemned for underemphasising the role of the non-institutional ways of achieving political purposes like, inter alia, diplomatic negotiations, strategic friendships, legislative pressures and diplomatic coercions. In many international institutions, the outcome of a decision depends both on the established rules and the informal conversations between the main players who are powerful states.

So, some people even argue that Institutional Theory, in a few instances, gives too much importance to collaborative work so much that it fails to recognize that in some cases, the cause of disputes is the inequality in the allocation of power and differing national interests.

Relevance to the Study

In this research, the importance of Institutional Theory is emphasized since it offers a theoretical system to understand how the official rules, procedures, and structures of the UN Security Council shape patterns of representation and policy-making. The Security Council, like all institutions, has its own formal rules and regulations like permanent seats, veto power, voting rules, and criteria for becoming a member, which all play a role in determining how the decisions about world peace and security are made.

The theory also makes sense of why African countries are so underrepresented in the UNSC. It is not just due to the actions of individual states but is a result of the way the Council is structurally set up itself. Assigning permanent seats and a veto to only five countries leads to the imbalance and structural inequality with power which limits the role of African states in major security decisions.

And, Institutional Theory offers reasonings on why reform initiatives have been constantly thwarted. It is natural for a mature institution to become stable and gain respect. So, current members who are getting the most advantage from the old set-up usually reject any changes that might diminish their standing or change how the decisions are being made.

On "The Politics of Exclusion: African Representation and Institutional Racism in the United Nations Security Council," Institutional Theory is Mostly helpful in that it brings to light Really rules of the institutions, methods of governance, procedures of decision-making might reproduce exclusion and unevenness of representation knowingly or inadvertently. Because of this, the theory supports the study showing how the UNSC's arrangement has led to the persistent under representation of Africans.

2. POSTCOLONIAL THEORY

Definition of Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial Theory is a critical lens which is mostly used in studying international relations and the social sciences. Its main idea is that the legacy of colonialism and imperialism continues to affect the present-day geopolitical landscape, international economic relations, cultural identities, and how knowledge is structured. To be more specific, the postcolonial approach points out that even though lots of countries managed to gain political independence after World War II, it was the structures of colonial powers which did not disappear but rather transformed into fresh modes of subordination and dependency in political, economic, and institutional levels, through which ex-colonialists benefit but ex-colonies get sidelined.

The idea of postcolonial scholars is that international institutions, global governance bodies, and the prevailing worldviews and knowledge systems have mostly western roots and are based on western interests. It comes as no wonder then that developing countries, most of which are the former colonies of Europe, are often found in the situation of having a small voice, getting a tiny share, and making only a fraction of their contribution to world politics. Because of this, one of the main objectives of Postcolonial Theory is to reveal and to fight the continuation of imperial-type hierarchical relations in current international structures while at the same time trying to bring to light the stories and struggles of the historically oppressed peoples.

In international relations, Postcolonial Theory is the argument that a lot of the world's inequalities are in fact the result of In reality the colonial world view was not really given up in the modern world. It also says that the international organisations, in the words of a great scholar, like United Nations, were mainly products of a western-dominated world order and, Because of this, reproduce the traditional modes of power hierarchy and exclusion.

Proponents of Postcolonial Theory

Some of the most distinguished minds which gave life to postcolonial theory are Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak who all contributed in very unique ways to the field of postcolonial thought.

The main pioneer in writing postcolonialism and the best known of all these, besides In reality he is the best writer about colonialism, is Edward Said, who through writing *Orientalism* (1978), was able to show all western countries that their portrayal of non-western countries is actually a caricature and not the real picture and that their portrayal made it easier for them to impose the colonial rule on those countries.

One of Homi K. Bhabha's great contributions is his notion of hybridity and of the 'third space', which he calls both a space and a condition. Based on his understanding, these terms refer to situations where two or more worlds/cultures meet in unexpected and productive ways, thereby creating a third or combined culture or space that cannot be understood within the logic of either one of the two worlds which gave rise to it. Because of this, Bhabha's theoretical system shows us ways to resist and fight domination in various global political and cultural contexts from within the cultures that were previously colonized.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's concept of the subaltern, introduced as marginalized groups whose voices are generally excluded from the mainstream political and intellectual discourse, forms another very important contribution to her. Published in 1988, Spivak raises the fundamental question whether the oppressed people can really take part in oppressive systems of power when they are the ones who are being silenced by the system itself. Her thoughts have become pivotal in identifying marginalization and lack of equal representation in world leadership.

These authors together highlight that colonialism did not only involve the physical domination and the seizure of the colonies but also knowledge culture institutions, and political authority, whose colonial effects keep reshaping inter- and post-state relationships.

Central Assumptions of Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial Theory relies upon a few major understandings of global politics and the persistence of the inequalities historically.

1. After colonies were granted freedom, the impacts of the colonial rule in the form of political, economic, and social developments have not ceased.
2. Not only does physical superiority or economic power determine the nature of the control, but also the control of knowledge language culture, international institutions, etc. So, dominant stories are mainly western, whereas the non-western are often excluded.
3. Using their economic wealth and political influence and their privileged positions within international organizations, colonial powers still have substantial global influence.
4. A major portion of the people living in formerly colonized countries or at least some communities in these countries still suffer from marginalization when it comes to being able to participate in the political decisions of the globe even though their lives are being altered on a daily basis by these policies.
5. International organizations frequently reproduce colonial hierarchies while pretending to be neutral and global at the same time. That's why, with institutional arrangements, the historical inequalities will continue as long as there is inequality in the distribution of political power and decision-making influence.

Because of this, research shows clearly that one must recognize the colonialism heritage

Besides the other factors for the understanding of the present-day global governance.

Criticisms Of Postcolonial Theory

While Postcolonial Theory has enriched international relations studies very much through its new perspectives and theoretical contributions, it has also been subject to some criticisms.

Fundamentally, one such criticism is that the theory is largely abstract and conceptual which

makes it difficult to test it empirically and even hardly to apply it as a guide of public policy. A lot of postcolonial concepts have been pointed by critics to be very abstract in nature without having any measurement or indicators of their presence.

In particular, critics have pointed out that Postcolonial Theory gives much more attention to the historical roots of colonialism and hardly acknowledges when it comes to the role of developing countries, the extent of their agency and influence within the contemporary international system. They say that factors like the nature of government, the skills of politicians, and economic development are also the major causes of today's inequalities.

Also, critics also state that the theory falls short of providing concrete steps for dealing with institutional inequalities or even reforming international organizations. Despite diagnosing structural injustice quite thoroughly, it often lacks sufficient practical guidance for bringing about such changes institutionalistically.

Besides that, there is another school of thought that the very concept of Postcolonial Theory has mainly come out of Western academic institutions. This way, it may, in some ways, mirror the intellectual tradition it attempts to critique all the time. This contradiction may have led to discussions about the truthfulness and universality of postcolonial scholarship.

Critically speaking, one line of argument is that the theory occasionally represents developing countries as permanent victims of colonialism, which ignores differences among various postcolonial states. And, the progress made by several ex-colonized countries on the international scene is also completely disregarded by it.

Relevance to the Study

The study will have a very special relationship with Postcolonial Theory since it brings both a historical and a critical basis for explaining why African states, which have contributed a lot to world peace in the post-Second World War era, are still marginalized at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Postcolonial Theory has it that one cannot fully comprehend the

way global governance systems of the day are without also having an awareness of how the colonial history has influenced global political developments.

Security Council, for instance, comprises five permanent members and a voting system that is essentially the privilege of those five members only. This system was established at a time when many African nations were still under colonial rule and were, That means, not in a position to contribute actively to the shape of the global institutions. Because of this, the Security Council's institutional makeup remains biased towards the interests of former colonizers and Africa is given only a marginal role in shaping the international rules and policies that affect peace and security around the world.

In addition, from Postcolonial Theory, Africa's campaign for the acquisition of a permanent seat on the Security Council is much more than a desire for greater representation but, in fact, a plea for an act of historical justice, a demand for equal treatment, and an appeal for the decolonization of governance globally. As this perspective, it is mainly through the mechanism of representation (or a lack thereof), centralization of decision-making (such as the concentration of veto power), and back-channels diplomacy that colonial patterns of exclusions have tended to continue up to the present day.

If we consider the study "The Politics of Exclusion: African Representation and Institutional Racism in the United Nations Security Council, " we may find that, apart from Postcolonial Theory, there is scarcely another theoretical approach able to explain the occurrence as thoroughly or as accurately as it does. The theory not only connects the lack of African representation to the colonial subjugation and institutional discrimination but also reveals the ongoing power dynamics at a global scale. The exclusion of African states by the Security Council is not just the result of an existing system of political power distribution, the theory contends, but in fact a manifestation of a long history of European dominance which continues to determine the working of major international organizations including the UN.

Gap in Literature Review

The literature has yet to fully uncover how closed informal practices like private meetings, controlling drafts, and informal bargaining contribute to the continued exclusion of African countries that have been racialized. Most prior research mainly concentrated on the exclusionary systems of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), leaving limited insight into how informal decision procedures of the UNSC sustain these patterns of exclusion.

Most importantly, literature does not really touch on such informal practices that usually take place in secret meetings and how they are used to marginalize African countries and Because of this prevent them from participating in global decision-making. Also, the study on informal diplomatic practices, Mainly how those mechanisms serve P5 members to keep their hold over the texts and the direction of resolutions, is very limited in its scope on the maintenance of racialized power imbalances.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Theoretical Framework Postcolonial theory

Postcolonial theory became a discipline on its own with the writings of Edward Said (1935-2003) through his book *Orientalism* (1978) which remains a great contribution of the genre. Homi K. Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, and Frantz Fanon are among a number of figures who have been involved in elaboration of this field. While none of them were the ones to single-handedly present the postcolonial theory, their writings together were instrumental in ushering in the period after World War II during which the idea of the postcolonial was gradually becoming dominant. This happened as the colonial rule in many regions came to an end and the newly independent countries of South and East began asserting their identities. In a way, these postcolonial scholars came after colonizations and were themselves part the legacy of European colonialism through the knowledge and culture that was brought to them. The main concern of postcolonial theory is to highlight how the colonial era, with all the ideas of culture knowledge political thought etc. which the colonizing country brought from home, had a tremendous effect which lasted for decades. The theory points out ways in which the colonial powers represented the "colonized" through their literature, historical records and the system of education and public administration which they implanted, and how this knowledge production helped to consolidate colonial control. The idea is basically to get rid of the master narratives imposed by the colonizers to be able to figure out how the colonial histories are playing a role in postcolonial societies. Among the major ideas in postcolonial thinking are:

- Colonial Discourse: Through his *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said demonstrated very

clearly how the image of the East (and As a result that of the colonized territories in general) was constructed and continuously reinforced in the Western academic and literary circles as that of the East. These people had to be civilized because they were primitive. It was not purely a matter of academic debate; the discourse served as a justification for colonizing as well as other related activities by the colonizers.

- Hybridity: Homi Bhabha conceptualized hybridity as a state in which the cultures of two worlds intermingle following the process of colonization. Colonized communities had to find ways of coping and even mixing their traditional cultural elements to the culture of the colonizers as a process of cultural negotiation. Through this process they ended up creating new forms of identity which were But complex and at some levels contradictory.
- Subaltern: As Spivak, subalterns are those who, because of the power structure under which the colonizing system was established, were marginalized and their voice suppressed. Spivak's question that she posed repeatedly as part of her critique, "Can the subaltern speak?", basically points to Really the subaltern's resistance or any other form of action is difficult to express because they have been thoroughly subjugated by colonial structures.
- Post-colonial Neocolonialism: In the post-colonial age scholars dealing with post-colony have also pointed out that imperialism does not disappear automatically but it just takes in other forms or maybe is more subtle. Neocolonialism is the term given for different ways through which the developing world is still being governed and controlled in the economic, political, and cultural areas even after the attainment of independence

3.2 Hypotheses

The study is guided by the following hypotheses

H1: The veto power imbalance in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has

contributed to marginalization of African nations in key decision-making processes within the United Nations.

H2: Informal diplomatic practices within the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) account for the systematic exclusion of African states within the United Nations.

3.3 Research Design

The research is set to make an exclusively qualitative secondary data exploration of the marginalization of African countries within the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) as well as to look into how racism at the institutional level is perpetuated in its functioning.

As one means of achieving these goals, the work has already been planned to examine documents, academic articles, and reports to reveal the political processes that lead to Africa's limited representation. At the same time, the investigation intends to uncover the ways through which these practices sustain the inequities based on race on a worldwide scale at the level of policy-making. Reports and publications of this organizations like the United Nations, the African Union, and various human rights NGOs will also be looked at to evaluate what broader political implications result from Africans' marginalization in the processes of UNSC.

They regularly bring up how UNSC resolutions have affected the African countries, thereby making evident not only outright modes of marginalization but also the subtle ones that may appear as the side effects of decisions made. Limited number of newspaper and television reports which commented on major decisions and discussions in the UNSC have also been included which give an opportunity to study the ways in which the role of African countries has been framed as a security aspect. Such an undertaking is expected to show to what extent and in what form the racialized biases might be embedded at the media representation level of Africa's contribution to international relations peace and conflict.

Thematic analysis shall be utilized Mostly as a tool to identify and categorize ideas and

narratives for the issue of exclusion (of Africans) and racism on a policy (institutional) level of the UNSC through identifying recurring themes and patterns in the data. Also, the study will examine whether the changes in political structure and other major historical events as determinants of how the political actors view African countries in the UNSC.

That means, a study based on data drawn only from qualitative secondary sources will help clarify the way African countries are being deprived systematically as far as the UNSC is concerned. It shall also be able to uncover the racialized aspects of exclusion if at all exist within the working of the UN. The research is going to also demonstrate that such exclusion not only impacts the development of a stable political system in Africa but also affects the functioning of the global order at the topmost level.

3.4 Methods of data collection

The main source used for the collection of data in this study is secondary data. That means, all relevant texts were taken from academic works like textbooks, scholarly articles, peer-reviewed articles, official documents of the United Nations, policy reports, and online articles on African participation, institutional racism, and how the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is structured. Other material came from the reports and analyses of international organizations as well as from papers at conferences and earlier research works on global governance and international relations.

This wealth of material provided the authors with the information needed to fully explore the politics of exclusivity, as well as the challenges faced by African states within the United Nations Security Council, from a broad perspective.

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

Data analysis in this study will make use of thematic analysis as the approach. The qualitative character of the technique allows for pattern recognition and theme drawing through an analysis of secondary data. And, the process of the analysis shall take the two principal

research questions as guiding posts: the focus of each question is different aspects of UNSC (veto power imbalance and informal diplomatic practices), both related to racialized exclusion of African nations.

1. **Veto Power Imbalance and Its Consequences on African Nations:** To answer the first question, the investigation will start with the study of the UNSC meeting transcript, official decisions, and historical documents that show how African nations got affected or excluded because of veto power. In this phase, the main task will be to pinpoint situations where the use of veto power by the five permanent members (P5) made decisions unfavorable towards African nations or led to African countries being sidelined entirely. The collected information will undergo a coding process to pinpoint the situations related to what comes next:
 - **Exclusion caused by veto power:** Concrete episodes in which the blocking or modification of resolutions for the interests of African countries was carried out through a Veto of P5. Minority and majority interests: Cases when African nations' interests have taken the backseat to that of the P5 powers.

To explore how power dynamics influence decisions to exclude African nations in the UNSC as well as to understand why Africans are unable to take active decisions during the UNSC processes, thematic analysis offers an effective way to uncover dominant patterns in the narratives and identify key themes of exclusion and their implications for the role and agency of African members.

2. **Informal Diplomatic Practices and the Racialized Exclusion of African States:** For the second research question, this analysis will Mainly reference scholarly publications, international organization reports, and media stories that explore the use of informal diplomatic methods in the reproduction of the exclusionary, racialized treatment of African nations, Mostly within the UNSC.

3. The main aspects to be investigated using the provided data are:
- Informal exclusion: Situations like secret negotiations, informal pacts, or off-the-record conversations where African countries were either bypassed or kept apart.
 - Racialization discourse: Topics such as the racialized representation or portrayal of African countries in informal diplomatic interactions and UNSC meetings. The analysis using thematic coding will try to determine the repeated informal methods that are most common in perpetuation exclusion and will place emphasis on the racialized dimensions of these interactions. A critical investigation of the interplay between power hierarchies, race, and the exclusion of African states within informal diplomatic settings will follow.

Also in both cases, the research will use coding based on themes of exclusion racism power imbalances, and the effect of the P5's hegemony on the inclusion of African countries. To obtain solid results and understand the full scenario of how these themes are expressed in both official and non-authorized discussions in the Security Council, the researchers will draw upon the triangulation technique which is based on crosschecking the information from various sources. Because of this, the researchers can confirm that they obtained a consistent and reliable set of results. Overall, the way data is dealt with here will give a clear picture of the mechanisms that are in place, which contribute to the continued existence of the racialized discrimination against African countries, highlighting the way the formal veto-power and the unstructured diplomatic actions both determine the political map at the level of UN Security Council.

LOGICAL DATA FRAMEWORK

Research Questions	Hypotheses	Major Variables of The Hypotheses (Independent X and Dependent Y)	Empirical Indicators of Variables	Method of Data Collection	Source of Data	Method of Data Analysis
How has the veto power imbalance accounted for the marginalization of African states in key decision making processes within the United Nations Security Council?	H1. The veto power imbalance in the United Nations Security Council has contributed to marginalization of African nations in key decision-making processes within the United Nations.	Independent Variable (X): Veto power imbalance Dependent Variable (Y): Marginalization of African States in key decision-making within the United Nations Security Council	Frequency of veto usage by permanent members; level of African participation in UNSC decisions; representation of African interests in resolutions; exclusion from key decision-making processes.	Secondary method of data collection.	Textbooks, journal articles, UN reports, official UNSC documents, scholarly publications, internet materials, conference papers, and newspapers.	Qualitative secondary data
How have informal diplomatic practices within the Security Council accounted for the exclusion of African states within the United Nations Security Council?	H2. Informal diplomatic practices within the United Nations Security Council account for the systematic exclusion of African states within the United Nations	Independent Variable (X): Informal diplomatic practices within the UNSC. Dependent Variable (Y): the exclusion of African states within the United Nations Security Council	Informal diplomatic practices among permanent members; restricted access to decision-making forums; level of African influence in negotiations, unequal participation in diplomatic discussions; discriminatory institutional practices.	Secondary method of data collection.	Academic journals, textbooks, UN publications, policy documents, internet sources, official records, and previous research studies.	

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The chapter of the research that has been presented through this article is the outcome of the investigation conducted on The Politics of Exclusion and Its Influence on African Representation in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

The findings of the article have been divided per the research questions which formed the base of the study. The first question of the research has been investigating the extent to which the asymmetry in veto power has been a factor in keeping African states underrepresented in the major decision-making bodies of UNSC while the second was evaluating the influence of informal diplomatic methods in the Security Council on the relegation of African states from its decision-making processes. At the end of this paper it has been possible to evaluate the study's assumptions and discuss the results based on what was learned from answering the research questions.

4.2 Research Question One: To what degree did veto power imbalance result in the

marginalization of African states in the major decision-making processes of the United Nations Security Council?

Table 1: Division of the Permanent Membership and Veto Power in the United Nations Security Council.

Region/State	Permanent Members (P5)	Veto Status	Power Share Percentage Veto Power
North America.	United States.	Yes.	20%
Western Europe.	United Kingdom France	Yes	40%
Eurasia.	Russia	Yes.	20%
East Asia	China	Yes	20%
Africa	None	No	0%
Latin America and Carribean	None	No	0%
Middle East	None	No	0%

Source: United Nations Security Council Structure (UN Charter, Chapter V)

Table 1 reveals very pronounced inequalities of power between the five permanent Security Council members (P5), USA UK France, Russia and China, and the rest of the world in general and Africa in particular. Really, the US UK France, Russia and China together have 10% percent control of the vote in decisions that can be blocked or vetoed whereas, despite having 54 members and representing about a quarter of the whole UN membership, African countries are not even allowed to exercise control over veto decisions.

Truth is most of the Security Council decisions can be blocked by a veto of one of the five members has led to the situation where decisions on matters affecting Africa, like peacekeeping operations sanctions military actions and humanitarian issues, are decided or at least heavily influenced by countries with such exclusive rights. It cannot be denied that the situation is even more complicated for the small developing nations that get elected to the

Security Council as they are powerless when the more powerful veto countries decide something against their interests as far as the security or development of these small developing countries is concerned.

Table 2: Comparison of Africa's Representation in the UN Security Council with the Permanent Members.

Category	African States.	Permanent Five Members(P5)
Number Of UN Member States	54.	5
Permanent Seats.	0	5
Veto Rights	0	5
Ability to Block UNSC resolutions	None	Complete authority
Historical Representation Since 1945.	No representation.	Permanent continuous Representation

The table 2 proves that even though the continent of Africa has the biggest number of member countries in United Nations for regions, they do not have permanent positions in the Security Council. The Security Council was created only a year after the end of the Second World War, and many African countries were still colonies at that time; Because of this, the Council's composition is a reflection of the geopolitical landscape of the aftermath of that war and not a modern-day world. African states, due to their lack of permanent seats, are obliged to rely mainly on bargaining and persuading through diplomacy in the Security Council rather than on institutional strength when handling matters that involve the African continent. This situation can frequently be noticed in the discussions and decisions on conflicts taking place in such countries as Libya Sudan Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo because in most cases it is the five permanent members who actually make the decisions.

To sum up, the permanent membership system is unfair to African states. It is So an irony that

African countries should have to make do only with the power of voting which can be limited to the occasional exercise of a veto. Yet, this is just the way things are for now. In some rare cases African countries could manage to get their resolution passed.

Table 3: Use of Veto Power on Issues Related to African Interests (Selected Cases)

Year.	Issue.	Veto-Using State(s)	Implication for Africa
1976	Apartheid related sanctions debates	United States and allies (Historically)	Delayed stronger international action against apartheid South Africa
2011	Syria conflict resolution affecting African peace diplomacy debates	Russia and China	Demonstrated how veto power can be prevent collective action
2019	Sudan related international response	Russia and China (opposition to some measures)	Limited stronger external pressure mechanisms
2024	Gaza related ceasefire debates with Africa diplomatic concerns	United States	Highlighted continued influence of veto holding states

According to Table 3 research finds that the veto system has resulted in an unequal decision-making setup where five countries have an exclusive right to ratify or reject important Security Council actions whereas African states with their vast numerical strength and being very active in international peace and security issues remain out of the highest level of decision-making power.

This sort of inequality highlights what academic commentators describe as the democratic deficit at the United Nations Security Council. Because of this, marginalization of African states is not just a matter of their limited diplomatic capacity but is embedded in the structure of

the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) itself. And, the lack of African permanent representation and lack of veto rights has decreased the Continent's capability to shape world security policies and to safeguard continent's strategic interests within the international system. There is a direct connection between the veto power imbalance and the marginalization of the African states on one hand and However by a concentration of decision power on global security in the hands of five most permanent members. Without any reform that offers equal representation and effective participation in the use of the veto power, African states will remain under the influence of decisions made by others that directly affect their political stability, peace, and development.

4.2.1 Test of Hypotheses One:

Research Question One: To what extent has the veto power imbalance resulted in the marginalization of African states in key decision making processes within the United Nations Security Council?

Null Hypotheses: The veto power imbalance has not contributed to the marginalization of African states in the main decision-making processes at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

Alternative Hypotheses: The veto power imbalance in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has actually been a contributory factor to the marginalization of African states in the key decision-making processes.

In Table 1 it may also be noted that the five Security Council permanent members have an exclusive veto right while the other 14 Council members do not. This includes the US UK France, Russia, and China, who altogether hold 100 percent of the Council's veto strength Whereas although Africa as a continent, which together with Europe forms nearly half of the members of the world body, has none. This way, the unfair allocation of veto rights and other powers reflects a serious imbalance in the functioning of the United Nations Security Council

(UN) and greatly handicaps African states from exercising any real political influence on the world stage.

A similar pattern arises from Table 2 that shows a clear lack of any permanent representation of Africa in the Security Council. The only possibility of Africa is the non-permanent seat which is obtained through election by the continent. Though, these posts are of limited duration and do not have veto power. So, representatives from Africa in the Council can take part in discussions and negotiations. But they are not allowed to legally stop the vote on those documents or actions which are against the views and interests of their countries and even of their continent. This finding supports that Africa's participation in the Council is of the consultative type rather than a decisive one.

The data in Table 3 is a set of examples that show how the voting rights granted to permanent members have affected Security Council decisions when matters touching upon African interests were discussed. In these situations, permanent members have used their voting power to shape decisions on conflicts, sanctions, humanitarian interventions, and peace-building measures. Rather than being a result of joint African states' preferences, these decisions often reflected the political priorities of permanent members.

That the African state's ability of shaping outcomes on issues affecting their peace and security is curtailed by Security Council's structural set-up that gives disproportionate power to permanent members through their veto power is supported by this trend. From a combined analysis of the three tables, one can see that the distribution of veto power among UN Security Council members has resulted in their inability to reach a decision that is fair and democratic. Despite taking part in United Nations peacekeeping operations, regional security and multilateral diplomatic initiatives very energetically, African states' lack of representation on permanent membership really impairs their influence on major UN decisions. All in all, the study rejects the null hypotheses and embraces the main hypotheses which says that a large

part of the reason the African presence has dwindled on the Security Council can be attributed to the veto power imbalance which is the key feature of the Council's decision-making power.

The result implies that Africa's nonpresence as a voting member in the Security Council is not simply a result of an African lack of diplomacy or lack of African governments' participation. The reason is that the Security Council's institutional arrangement is such that the power of Decision-making remains concentrated in the five permanent members. Until such meaningful reforms that aim at changing the power of veto are done, African states are expected to still be sidelined in international decision-making. Mainly those decisions that affect their own continent.

4.3 Research Question Two: How have informal diplomatic practices within the Security Council accounted for the exclusion of African states within the United Nations Security Council?

Table 4: Distribution of Formal and Informal Decision-Making Influence within the

UN Security Council

Decision Making Actor	Number Members	Access To Consultations	Informal Influence Level (%)
Permanent five members (P5)	5	Full access	80%
Non permanent members	10	Limited access	20%
African elected members (A3)	3	Limited access	10%
African states outside UNSC	51	No access	0%

Source: United Nations Security Council working methods and membership structure.

Table 4 that the informal negotiation space in the Security Council is heavily dominated by the five permanent members. This is quite an extraordinary situation where the P5 (which consists merely of five countries) is capable of steering agenda-setting, informal negotiations, and even the consensus-building process at the expense of a huge majority of UN members. This situation is rather ironic because one might expect, In particular about matters on Africa, that the non-elected African members have a much greater role. Really, African states represented via the elected African members (A3) hardly get to partake in these informal channels. Even worse is the situation of African states, which are not members of Security Council, as they have no avenues whatsoever to influence informal negotiations at this level. Clearly, this goes beyond formal exclusion and reflects the power of the informal diplomatic sphere in the Security Council where decisions can be pre-determined even before an official ballot is cast.

Table 5: Comparative Analysis of Security Council Membership and Informal Influence

Category	P5 Members.	African Non-Permanent
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		Members
Number of States	5	3
Permanent Representation	Yes	No
Veto Authority	Yes	No
Participation in Closed Consultations.	High	Limited
Ability to Influence Draft Resolutions.	High	Moderate
Ability to Block Decisions.	Complete	None

Table 5 shows how clearly formal membership differs from decision-making influence. For one thing, African states can be elected to the Security Council just like anyone else; but they never get privileges that come with permanency.

Permanent members or P5 can exert more influence since they engage in private discussions where major compromises and negotiations are worked out even before resolutions come out in official meetings. African delegates often come into play at stages already fixed and Because of this they lose some of their ability to set the course initially

Table 6: African Participation in Security Council Decision-Making on Selected Issue

Issue	Year	Main Actor	Decision Making Level Of Africa Influence
Libya intervention resolution	2011	P5 members	Low

Sudan/Darfur sanction discussion	2005 - 2024	P5 members and allies	Limited
Somalia security decisions	2006 - 2024	P5 members and regional actors	Moderate
Mali/Sahel security reponses	2012 - 2024	P5 members and European partner	Limited
Democratic Republic of Congo peace processes	2000 - 2024	P5 members and <u>UN</u> <u>officials</u>	Limited

The 6th table presents the data showing that African security issues are often discussed in the Security Council but African countries have limited control over the outcome of those discussions. Many decisions are actually made outside the open meetings - in secret negotiations involving the permanent members of the Security Council.

For instance, though the views of the African regional organizations like African Union may help shape a decision by the Security Council, these recommendations are not binding for the Security Council. This is a sign of the dominance of diplomatic practices outside formal channels, where powerful states have control.

That means African countries are often at a disadvantage for they normally come into the picture after the major negotiating has been concluded among the influential ones.

4.3.1 Test of Hypotheses Two:

Research Question Two: How do informal diplomatic practices within the Security Council explain the marginalization of African states within the United Nations Security Council?

Null Hypotheses: Informal diplomatic interactions within the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) are not responsible for the continual marginalization of African states from decision making at the level of the United Nations. Alternative Hypotheses: The informal diplomatic practices in the UNSC are the main reason that the African states

from the Security Council of the United Nations are continuously excluded of the decision-processes there.

The data in Table 6 illustrate the reality that through informal diplomatic channels, the power to influence is in the hands of the five permanent members (P5) of the Security Council. Although the five make only a small portion of the whole UN membership, the permanent members always have free access to the informal consultations where topics, agendas, and priorities are discussed secretly and where they work out their points of view in most cases to the point of reaching a consensus. Unlike the elected African members of the Council (A3), there are no opportunities for informal discussion for them and most states are not even directly represented in that sphere. This shows that decisions are made mostly behind closed doors, leaving the African governments without enough time to make an impact on the direction of Security Council discussions.

Also, the data in Table 5 are supportive of the previous argument as well as the idea that African members of the Security Council, which are only non-permanent, cannot access the privileges enjoyed by the permanent members as they are only involved in open meetings as non-permanent members have no other option. For example, one of the advantages the P5 enjoy and at the same time have a major influence is to be able to initiate a resolution by being a drafter of it; another advantage is being able to hold closed-door discussions and lastly, building a consensus across Council members. This means that when the Council meetings start, the African countries' representative has nothing more to do, except maybe suggest minor amendments, as the matter in discussion was already settled in secret. It also points out that it is not just being a member in the official way but also getting the right to take part in behind-the-scenes diplomatic activities that determines how much one can influence the decision-making process through the Security Council.

What can be concluded about Table 6 is that when dealing with the major security problems

of Africa like the Libya intervention, the Sudan and Darfur crises, security in Somaliland and in the region of the Sahel, and peace-building efforts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the key decisions have been mainly taken by the five permanent members in company with other major players. While it is true that African nations, through regional organizations like the African Union, have constantly made suggestions and put forward policy initiatives, they have not always had an effect on the outcome that the Security Council finally adopted. So it is still the unofficial negotiations and deals between the strong countries which mostly decide the way Council members act in the matters that First and foremost affect the African continent.

In totality, the evidence that has been presented through Tables 4, 6 suggests that the informal diplomatic approaches have become the method of operation by which African states get excluded from the main Security Council decision-making. To be sure, African delegates have the right to participate directly in Council sessions due to their elected membership. But their lack of access to the process of informal diplomacy has a major effect on their ability to get decisions made in their support. This lack of inclusion is experienced at a level beyond the organizational system of the Security Council, and it has been reinforced by the time-tested informal ways of diplomacy.

Beyond merely presenting a descriptive picture of these facts, the research study refutes the null hypotheses, the hypotheses stating that the exclusionary tendencies of the U.S. China Russia,

U.K. and France are not Mostly due to Really they control most of the unofficial negotiations at the U.N. Security Council. This is to say, the research has found support for the alternative hypotheses per which a good deal of the reason for African states being left out of the main decision-making processes is that the U.N. Security Council has become a body dominated heavily by informal diplomatic means which have long been a favorite of the five permanent

members.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings

This research uncovered that the veto power imbalance within the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has been something important in excluding African countries from the Security Council decision-making. It is only fair to say that Africa as a continent is the largest regional group within the United Nations and has issues that are mostly African that the Security Council is discussing but the continent still remains excluded from permanent membership and lacks veto authority. Because of this, African countries have minimal influence over Security Council resolutions about their peace and safety that are being debated, modified, or enacted. From a post-facto analysis, it is revealed that the five permanent (P5) members repeatedly influence the outcome by exercising or threatening exercise of their veto so that their national and geopolitical interests are reflected in the decisions. A few of the historical conflicts in African territory such as Libya, Darfur, and others where the five permanent members had conflicting views were able to Much delay the Security Council decisions and/or resolutions which were made weak/changed in such a way to serve the interests of big powers and not to meet the expectations or aspirations of the continent. Arguably that the current veto situation is a structural imbalance which not only denies the opportunity to the smaller states but also violates the concept of sovereign equality of states and makes it even more difficult for Africa to participate with its limited capabilities to the global security governance through UN. So, the paper finds that one of the most institutional instruments that continue to deprive African states of their participation in the UN's Security Council decision-making process is the veto-based system.

Besides the official voting procedure, one of the key reasons why African countries are underrepresented in the decisionmaking of the Security Council is through informal

diplomatic practices inside the Council. The report shows that apart from the veto power, very important matters are still discussed between the five permanent members of the Council with informal meetings in a secret manner before formal Council session even gets the ball rolling. This way, African countries, in most instances, are only involved after decisions have already been made through major policy directions being agreed upon. That's why limiting them a lot from influencing major outcomes. It was equally revealed that mechanisms such as the penholder system, informal channels of negotiation and coalition politics serve not only as a way to consolidate the political might of the five members, but most crucially, restrict the ability of Africa to influence the resolutions on African conflicts. It is true that African countries, through the African Union and other regional diplomatic forums, are trying to express and promote their views as a block, yet their strength is mostly outweighed when it gets to political, economical and diplomatic leverage of the P5. Also, the research showed that the five permanent members have the ability to influence international norms and set standards in major policy areas like intervention sovereignty sanctions and peacekeeping which are directly linked to situations in African countries. All in all, the informal diplomatic mechanisms continue to maintain structural injustices inside the Security Council that in effect exclude African countries from the most powerful phases of international peace and security policy formulation.

5.2 Conclusion

The focus of this work was to look at how exclusion plays a game in determining the role of African states and addressing racism in the structure of the UNSC, Mostly in how the veto power and non-formal procedures influence decision-making processes. The paper was developed based on an ex-post facto research design and supplemented with historical documents. The paper That means concludes with one point that is that the current Security Council setup continues to be the reason for the systematic disadvantages faced by African

countries.

To illustrate the United Nation's lack of permanent African representation despite being Africa's second-largest contributor with members and Truth is most of the Security Council's agenda revolves around African peace and security matters, the continent is still not a permanent member of the council and has very little influence on the decision-making process of crucial policies that concern Africa. The study reveals that not only the veto system but also, informal diplomatic practices such as closed-door negotiations, agenda-setting, and political coalitions controlled by the five permanent council members (P5), which in the first place limit the involvement of African countries and also hinder their ability to influence the direction of international peace and security policies. These arrangements of institutions reveal power imbalances that many scholars consider rooted in the colonial past and continue to exist due to structural discrimination in global governance. As a result, researchers argue that if the United Nation Security Council is going to be more representative, transparent, and just, it will require sweeping institutional overhaul, a key thing being the addition more African states to its ranks. Other reforms suggested are a major increase in the transparency of the decision-making process and the examination of how the veto powers can be used. These structural and political changes will, no doubt, greatly enhance the credibility of the Security Council in its work on international peace and security and the promotion of equity and inclusion in global governance.

5.3 Recommendations

Changing the Veto Power of the Security Council and Adding More African Members to the Council

The studies show clearly that why causing the isolation and powerlessness of African states is the imbalance of veto powers among the Security Council member s so they advocate reform the Security Council as a way to correct the balance of the representation. It is recommended

that the international community should endorse, expand, and have permanent African seats, which is in line with the African Union's Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration. If the veto power continues to be part of the Council's machinery, then new permanent African members should hold no less power, privilege, and rights than the existing permanent members of the Council to guarantee fair and equal decision-making. Further, the permanent members would probably need to curb their power of veto, In particular, in cases where, for instance, human rights atrocities or large-scale humanitarian crises hit the African states. Limiting or controlling the power of the veto in such cases can help the Security Council to better react to the breakout conflict situations, it reduces and prevents deadlocks caused on the council by political motives, and overall, the Council's authority is strengthened both politically and morally.

Enhancing Transparency and Inclusiveness of the Security Council

In addition to what I just said, the paper points out that it would be better for the United Nations Security Council to be more transparent and inclusive in their diplomatic procedures in the sense that they would stop heavily relying on clandestine meetings and unofficial agreements among the five permanent members. African elected members need to be part of the discussions, from the initial idea generation, formulation of draft decisions, and policy negotiations at a minimum to be able to express their concerns and contribute expertise to adequately influence the Council. If such methods of functioning of the Council were more open it would lead to more accountability and people having greater faith in the decision processes of the Council, respectively. What's more, the paper suggests that African governments continue making the unity of their position on peace and security issues a top concern in their work with the African Union and with the African Group at the United Nations. In this way through strong diplomatic coalitions, the strengthening of negotiation capacity, and the call for reforms in areas like the penholder system African influence and

African collective voice will be further amplified in the Security Council's formal and informal discussions.

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