

Normative South Africa?

A study of the norms that the EU aspires to extend to South Africa

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All great things are simple, and many can be expressed in single words: freedom, justice, honour, duty, mercy, hope

Winston Churchill

Abstract

The EU has a legacy of being a normative power. They also have a history of cooperating with developing countries trying to promote these normative ideals. This cooperation is for example guided by the promotion of human rights, democracy and the rule of law to mention a few. The study aims to investigate this characteristic concerning the EU's relations with South Africa. South Africa is a quite recent partner to the EU. When leaving behind the legacy of apartheid and becoming a democratic state cooperation between the two became a possibility. But the story did not end there. South Africa's potential for growth has made them a regional power on the African continent. Today South Africa is the EU's main trading partner of the African states. The aim of this study is to investigate if the normative role of the EU and the growing importance of South Africa thus investigating if the normative aspirations put forward by the EU have changed between 1994-1997 and 2006-2009. By using press releases and speeches the aspiration is to detect changes in the normative agenda.

Key words: EU, South Africa, Norm-diffusion, Associative Human Rights, Social Freedom, Good Governance, Supranational Rule of Law, Social Solidarity, Consensual Democracy, Trade, Sustainable Development, Inclusive Equality, Sustainable Peace

Words: 11 535

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1 Introduction

In 1948, the nationalist party came into power in South Africa. They began a programme of racial segregation and apartheid. The African National Congress (ANC) and its leader Nelson Mandela became leading in the struggle against apartheid. During the 1960's the international opinion turned against the apartheid system and towards the end of the 1980's the president F.W. de Klerk began negotiating with Mandela and the ANC in order to put an end to the apartheid politics and to enforce majority rule. Mandela was elected as the countries new president in 1994, thus marking South Africa's transition into becoming a democracy. The EU-South African relations have flourished ever since (<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/2574/a/75575>).

Today South Africa is the EU's most important trading partner on African continent. It is the strongest economy of the sub-Saharan economies and has a Free Trade Agreement with the EU. South Africa's exports to the EU are growing and becoming more diverse, moving from mainly commodity-based products to a more diversified export profile that includes manufactured products. South Africa has changed and so have the treaties and declarations signed, as the country has become a regional power. (<http://ec.europa.eu/trade/creating-opportunities/bilateral-relations/countries/south-africa>)

The EU's work with South Africa is guided by norms such as freedom, anti-discrimination, acceptance, social solidarity, democracy, equality, good governance and human rights but also other liberal values such as market economy and free trade. The values should serve as a base and they should set the tone for any new agenda put forward by the different branches of the Union (http://europa.eu/scadulus/constitution/objectives_sv.htm). With South Africa's economic progress one wonder if the norms has changed over time?

1.1 Statement of purpose and question

Francis Fukuyama considers it to be advisable to distinguish between the scope of a state's activities and the strength of state's power. The first one indicates different function and goals taken by government while the latter indicates the ability of states to plan and execute policies and enforce laws (Fukuyama, 2005: s 9). The focus in this study will be on the EU as a normative power and not as a normative actor, in the sense that the focus will not be on the actions but on the aspirations. The focus of normative power is useful since it aspires to give a better understanding of what principles the EU promotes, how it acts, and what impact it has (Manners, 2008: s 65).

I ask myself if the norms the EU aspires to extend to South Africa have changed since they have become a regional superpower and aspiring global player. The intention is to compare the values extended to South Africa between the years 1994 - 1997 and 2006-2009. The periods of time were selected to create some space between that of South Africa's transition to democracy until now. The method of research is to review press releases and speeches produced by the EU Commission and EU Council of Ministers concerning the policies and norms promoted to South Africa, thus maintaining a Eurocentric approach.

In this text the author will use the 9 normative principles supplied by Ian Manners¹; 1) Social Solidarity, 2) Inclusive Equality, 3) Sustainable Development, 4) Sustainable Peace, 5) Social Freedoms, 6) Good Governance, 7) Consensual Democracy, 8) Associative Human Rights, 9) Supranational Rule of Law and an additional section called 10) trade related norms. This does however not imply that there are more norms promoted by the EU that doesn't fall under the following categories (Manners, 2008: 67-68).

The research questions consequently becomes as follows:

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1) Have the norms that the EU aspires to extend to South Africa changed from, 1994 -1997 to 2006-2009 and if so 2) how have they changed?

2 Method

I intend to make an epistemological assumption by using systematic observations within the time frames. This will make it possible to attain a well-established knowledge about reality (Esaiasson *et al*, 2005; p 17). By doing empirical research the aims to understand possible change in the EU normative aspirations towards South Africa.

With the South Africa's transition to a regional player it can be considered to be significant to investigate whether or not there had been changes in the EU-South Africa norms. The idea of using Manners' norms is to see whether or not certain norms stand out, are more frequent or have changed meaning over time (Esaiasson *et al.*, 2005: p 160). Change can be measured by analysing the rate by which certain ideas are expressed within certain time intervals. By deciding upon specific words or phrases falling under the chosen normcategories, and measuring the frequency and the usage of them, the attempt is to find possible shifts in the EUs normative agenda. Norms are expressed in words, for example "freedom" or "rights", and investigating the use of them will bring an understanding of possible changes has occurred between 1994-1997 and 2006-2009.

The aim is to do a content analysis in order to create an overview of the selected press releases and speeches and through this generate wide-ranging information that will assist the survey (Bergström-Boréus, 2005: p 84). The content analysis can use quantitative measurements to reflect the attention given to certain words, thus generating a picture of the importance of it. I have selected this approach since it better mirrors the content of the press releases and speeches (Esaiasson *et al*, 2005; p 224) and since it is a practical when detecting resemblances and differences between timeperiods (Bergström-Boréus, 2005: p 47). Although the content analysis is useful it has flaws. To provide a more complete survey I have chosen to do a combination between a manual study and a computer led study (Bergström-Boréus, 2005: p 44-46). I will use a qualitative method as a supplement since it better reflects the actual substance of the material (Esaiasson *et al*, 2005; p 224). A qualitative text analysis is practical when researching whether or not the use of the word is a change in context and/or content. It also can provide a deeper understanding of the process. The aspiration is to keep an open mind and letting the speeches and press releases provide me with possible answers of how the norms have changed, if that is the case (Ibid s 247). The focus in my research will be on the norms and not who is expressing them.

By using the program Word Smith Tools, the process to find words becomes easier and provides more secure data about appearances and the context. The aim is not to make a definition of the words selected under the norm-categories. Instead the purpose is to observe if and how the context and frequency changed with the help of the Word Smith, thus making a conclusion about the EU's normative ambition toward South Africa

2.1 Operationalization of the norms

Norms may be considered to be of ontological importance since they can affect the reality one experiences. A norm for a value-theorist is the equivalent of the reality for an empirist. Norms can be of different character, they can for example be political, religious and moral. They can be of both a general (equality) and a particular character (participation). They are often connected to different kinds of human actions, for example that one shall obey the law. It also answers the question of how something should be (Badersten, 2006: p 21-22). The normative framework is vast and therefore specification is needed. By operationalizing the norms, the aim is to research particular words falling under these categories thus detecting shifts in for example the content or the context.

2.1.1 Sustainable Peace

The EU emphasises development aid, trade, interregional cooperation, and political dialogue as an approach to whole-heartedly prevent conflicts in South Africa. To quote Manners:

”The prime EU normative principle of sustainable peace addresses the roots or causes of conflict, mirroring the European experience of ensuring that war becomes merely unthinkable (Manners,2008, p 68)”

The Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community has as a provision that the Union shall preserve peace and strengthen international security (The Reform Treaty, Article 11). Manners also states that peace can be promoted through better relations with neighbouring countries and also through joint disarmament, humanitarian tasks and peace-keeping tasks (Manners,2008, p 68).

The words selected for further investigation is “peace” and “cooperation”. Peace because it is a crucial part of normative agenda put forward by Manners and cooperation was chosen since a way to prevent conflicts is to promote relations between EU and South Africa and the neighbouring countries. The economic losses as such would make war unthinkable. It’s also a way to banish poverty and promote political dialogue

2.1.2 Consensual Democracy

“The Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law, principles which are common to the Member States” (The Reform Treaty, Article 6)

The trinity of democracy, human rights and rule of law is to be consolidated in EU's external actions. Democratic principles are to be considered essential in policy making. Manner separates them as internally democracy, solidarity clause and through enlargement. The first one emphasises equality, participation and national parliaments. The second one is in case of terrorist attacks, and the third one is democracy through enlargement, accession and neighbourhood development policies.

“Consensual democracy is the operating principle within the majority of EU member states and includes proportional representation, electoral systems, coalition governments and power-sharing among parties” (Manners, 2008: p 70).

The promotion of democracy is one of the guiding principles of EU cooperation and by investigating the concept one the author intended to investigate whether or not South Africa was considered to have made the transition and if there had been any changes in the usage. Democracy is a very broad concept and because of this, parts of concept fall under the other categories, thus limiting this research. By searching for versions of “democracy” for example democratic and democratization the aim is to map the use of the concept.

2.1.3 Associative Human Rights

Associative Human Rights has been on the EU agenda for a long time. In 1986 there was the Declaration of Foreign Ministers of the Community on Human Rights and in 1991 there was the Resolution of the Council on Human Rights, Democracy and Development to mention a few. These documents state the universality of these rights (Manners, 2008: p 70-71). Everyone has a right to a life and to integrity (Charter of Fundamental Rights Article 1-2). Associative human rights underline the interdependence between different sets of rights, for example, individual rights and group rights.

Human rights can be promoted in several different ways; trade, aid and humanitarian and migration issues. The words selected are for further investigation is: “human right” and “aid”.

2.1.4 Supranational Rule of Law

Manner considers the EU principle of the rule of law is supranational in three senses: communitarian, international and cosmopolitan. It supports multilateral solutions to common problems, by a pooling of resources and encourages participation by the EU and its member states. According to Manner, the rule of law implies “... *‘effective multilateralism’ involving ‘well functioning international institutions and a rule-based international order* (Manners, 2008 p 72)’

Rule of law is reflected through freedoms, dignity, citizens’ rights and justice in the Charter of fundamental rights (Manners, 2008: p 71-72). By selecting the word ”law”, the aim is to see whether or not this correlates more or less with any area.

2.1.5 Inclusive Equality

“Everyone is equal before the law”

(Charter of fundamental rights, Article 20)

Inclusive equality aims to promote a more open and uninhibited understanding of communities and individuals. The 2000 Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU includes prohibition of discrimination including for example, race, religion and gender. It furthermore emphasises the rights of children (Manners, 2008, p 72).

The words selected are versions of “equal”, “race” and “discrimination”.

2.1.6 Social Solidarity

Social Solidarity is a broad concept. One that covers notions such as “balanced economic growth”, “social market economy”, “full employment”, “social justice and protection” and “combating social exclusion”. The principle of social solidarity doesn’t only apply within the EU but also shapes the EU development and trade policies (Manners, 2008 p 73).

By researching the concepts “regional integration”, versions of employment and labour and economic growth. Regional integration was selected since the EU recognizes access to general economic interests is important in order to promote the social and territorial cohesion of the Union (Charter of Fundamental Rights, Article 36). Regional policy is a tool to create economic growth and financial policy. It gives benefits to those that are worse off. Cohesion underlines the principle that we all benefit from narrowing the gaps of income and wealth between regions

The principle of solidarity is often used in the context of social protection, thus emphasizing the need to create employment, thus making the selection of words such as ”employment” and ”labour” fitting.

2.1.7 Sustainable Development

Sustainable development emphasises the problem of balance and integration. To quote Manner; *“The EU principle of sustainable development is intended to provide a balance between uninhibited economic growth and biocentric ecological crisis.”*(Manners, 2008 p 74) The principle also involves integration of the norm into policies and activities brought forward by the Union. Furthermore, the Union aspires to promote sustainable development through enlargement, trade, environment and foreign policies.

By choosing to examine the concepts “sustainable development” and “climate change” the aim is to investigate the possible change of the norm.

2.1.8 Good Governance

The norm, good governance, brings forward concepts such as “representation”, “participation” and “social partnership”. There are two distinctive elements: participation of civil society and strengthening multilateral cooperation. Good Governance is a combination of rule of law, human rights, democratic values. When performing a more thoroughly research of the concept the words selected for further investigation was: versions of “participants”, “transparency” and “representation”, thus keeping a quite high level of abstraction (Manners, 2008: p 74-75).

2.1.9 Social Freedom

The Charter of Fundamental Rights states that everyone has the right to liberty and furthermore, everyone has the right to respect for his or her private sphere (Charter of Fundamental Rights, Article 6). Freedom in the EU operates within a distinctive socio-legal context. Freedom is one of several rights (for example, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, freedom to choose occupation, freedom of property), thus not implying that one can take advantage of this by anti-social behaviour, for ex, hate crimes and inflammatory speech. Manners mentions divides these freedoms into three categories. One of goods, services, persons, capital and establishment, one of free trade, market access, trade and liberalisation agreements and one of fundamental freedoms such as freedom of thought, expression, assembly and association (Manners, 2008: 69-70). The intention is to do a more thoroughly research the concepts that can be connected to trade, such as e.g. free trade and market liberalisation in section 4.10, thus focusing purely on the latter explanation of the concept freedom provided by Manner. By researching “freedom” the study intended to see in what context the word appeared and if that context had changed.

2.1.10 Trade-related norms

To do a more accurate investigation of the development concerning trade and the market the author has chosen to create a specific last section adding to Manners nine principles.

The European Union is interested in promoting “managed globalization” so as to ensure that the political benefits and the promotion of norms are shared across societies. “Managed globalization” was a broad doctrine that subordinated trade policy to a variety of trade and non-trade objectives, such as sustainable development and social justice. Sophie Meuniger² and Rawi Abdelal³ states that in 2006 there was a doctrine shift to a

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more trade-centered and mercantilist objectives, called “Global Europe”. The central point was benefit from the increasing globalization and the shift in policy was perceived as a return to the roots of trade (Abdelal-Meuiner, 2010, p 353).

The study aims to investigate this process by looking at the usage of words such as “trade”, “FTA” (free trade agreement), “EPA” (economic partnership agreement), “TDCA” (trade and development cooperation), “market”, “free” and liberalization”, thus researching the possibility that the EU’s norms might have become more trade centered. The word has been chosen, taking account the history and the recent development of the cooperation.

2.2 Research design

The intention with doing this study is to provide a basic understanding of how these plausible changes are manifested in the normative framework. I further believe that this study will contribute to the debate of the EU’s changing normative character.

By using Manners nine normative principles and adding a tenth more trade-related norm I have selected certain words falling under each category. By using the WordList Tool I have produced the frequency and the percentage of the selected words. I have done so in order to provide the reader with an insight of how many times the word appears in the texts and if the percentage of the words change when comparing the timeperiods, thus exploring if a word is used more or less in one period of time. To investigate if there have been any internal changes made to the usage of the word I have chosen to use the Concord-function, which enables me to see in what context the word is used and if it clusters with any expression in particular. By selecting certain quotes I find representative, I attempt to demonstrate the context, hence giving the reader the opportunity to create an understanding of the word and plausible changes.

³ Professor of Buisness Administration at Harvard Buisness School

2.3 Material

By contacting different platforms such as EU-upplysningen, the Commission's Swedish office and Europe Direct, the author obtained 45 speeches and press releases from 1994-1997 and 96 press releases from 2006-2009. These texts contain a large diversity: political, social, and economic which makes them, in my opinion, interesting and relevant to use when researching the normative aspirations of the EU. The ambition with the material is to get a better picture of the changing political landscape. By using both Rapid Search and the EU's official webpage to South Africa to collect data from my selected areas of time.

2.4 Limitations

One limit in conducting a content analysis is that there is not enough focus on the context in which the words are expressed. This can create problems with the validity. Content analysis has a tendency to put reliability ahead of validity. One has to separate how many times a word is expressed and how it is expressed. Words may change in meaning with the passing of time, they can furthermore imply many different things, and one has to be thorough when researching them. It can as such be difficult to truly answer a question by using quantitative measurements since it is easy to develop a blind spot for those phrases and words that are not selected. The content analysis can control both the reader's and researcher's attention. There is no ruling out that there could be other norm categories with a different set of words. There may also be an internal meaning implied in the press releases and speeches that are not stated explicitly. This may also indicate that it is unimportant and therefore not stated. It is also important to point out that a strive towards easy conclusions may tempt the researcher to disregard the importance of context, thus potentially compromising the validity of the study (Bergström-Boréus, 2005: p 76-82).

Another limitation is size of the study, which restricts the amount of words presented. The analysis starts by dissecting the norms to clarify possible shifts. There are many words that can be used to explain shifts in the EU's normative aspirations apart from those chosen. The normative framework incorporates many areas and can be considered to more or less complex. Norms are abstract and they deliver big ideas. They affect many different areas in many different ways. The internal meaning of them is for example affected by the researchers pre-understanding. The selection of words is thus of

value for the intersubjectivity of the study and the knowledge that is produced. Those words that are chosen may be considered to be representative for potential shifts in the normative framework but so can several other words also be.

There are as well limits with the qualitative approach. It can for example be considered to be difficult to define what is researched (Esaiasson *et al*, 2005; p 224). One can question the reliability of the answers found. There is also a question of the importance of the language used in the press releases and speeches since it only provides one reality. It can be considered to be a question of how to interpret the material selected. Research on policy issues concerning norms in particular is regarded with some skepticism by representatives of the social sciences. There may be two main-reasons for this development. First, that the normative research has not had the same development in regards to method as the empirical research. It is said that the normative approach has problems concerning systematic, formalization, coherence and accuracy. It is also criticized for having problems facing the demands of intersubjectivity put forward by positivists and therefore accused of being unscientific. These are all valid arguments. Without a clear statement of method there is no saying when one states a personal opinion and when one is performing an analysis of the norms (Badersten,2006: p 9-10).

3 Theory

South Africa has not been a democracy for a long time and its cooperation with the EU is quite recent, thus making it interesting to examine whether or not the transition to regional power has produced changes in the EU's normative agenda. The EU's strives to develop contacts and build partnerships with a third part and international-, regional and global organisations that share their values (http://europa.eu/pol/comm/index_sv.htm). They should support multilateral solutions for common problems within the framework set up by the UN (Manners: 2008 p 67).

The basic idea is to review the selected norms the EU seeks to export to South Africa, thus researching if there has been any development. By using the time-periods, 1994-1997 and 2007-2009, the study seeks to explore changes in the norms promoted by the EU to South Africa with the latter's transition to a regional player.

3.1 The European Union as an agent and leader of normative change

The EU functions as an opinion leader and a change agent. They have the power to interfere at both the macro and micro level. Opinion leadership is the degree to which an individual actor, in this case the EU, is able to influence others attitudes or modify behaviour in a desired way (Rogers, 2003, s 27). Ian Manners considers the EU to be a normative power since it changes norm standards and recommendations away from the expectations of state-centricity (Manners, 2002: 239). An institution like the EU holds power since it governs the entry of norms into the policy-making process and encourages exchange of norms. It seldom happens that new norms thrive in the modern world outside of the institutional network. There needs to be an arena for expression and support for the norm at hand, which is what the EU can provide (Björkdahl, 2006: 215-216).

The most striking difference put forward by Everett Rogers⁴, is the leaders position in the communication network. When the EU is compared with South Africa one can derive two differences. Firstly, they have to some extent a higher socio-economic status and, secondly, they are more innovative (this may also depend on the system's norms). The ethics of normative power are located in the ability to normalize a more just and cosmopolitan world. It is about empowering people in their actual conditions of their lives (Rogers, 2003: 26-27).

Rogers finds that a EU has several different roles in the adoption process, where it helps South Africa to adjust to and implement changes. First and foremost, the EU itself develops a need for change. It provides an alternative road that South Africa can try. Secondly, the EU needs to establish a relationship of information. One example of this is the founding of a troika to help the dialogue between the two parts. Thirdly, the EU needs to diagnose the problems at hand, thus finding out why alternative paths wouldn't work. Fourth, the EU needs to create the need for change, for example through aid or preferential treatment for South African goods. Fifth, the EU needs to translate intent into action, for example, by working with opinion leaders in South Africa to attempt to provoke change. Sixth, the EU needs to institutionalize these norms to stabilize the system. Meaning that the norms, once implemented, will stay in the centre of South African-policy making. Finally, South Africa has to become self-reliant. The EU cannot always be there as a buffer (Ibid p 369-370).

Dr. Annika Björkdahl sees the concept of normative power as relating on the concepts of "civilian power", "soft power" and the "ideational power". It is often associated with actors who have limited traditional resources, for example military capabilities (Björkdahl, 2008, p 136).

"Normative power is conceptualized... as a norm-generating and norm-spreading capability exercised in order to change

⁴ Communication scholar and sociologist

normative convictions and to set normative standards through a process of norm advocacy” (Ibid p 136)

The notion of a normative power Europe is located in the EU’s international identity. Manners argues that normative power in general is sustainable only if perceived as legitimate by those who practice and experience it. The main argument is that the EU has many goals on its agenda which coincide with UN goals. Manners focal point is in what way the EU promotes these principles, through the virtue of the principles “living by example”, by duty of its actions in “being reasonable”, or by the consequence of its impact in “doing least harm” (Manners, 2008, p 66).

3.2 The basic norms of the EU

Manners identifies nine core norms within the vast body of Union laws and policies that can be put into a historical context. *Peace* and *freedom* played an important part in west-European politics in the post-war period. Norms of *democracy*, *rule of law* and *human rights* became important when separating the democratic west of Europe from the communistic Eastern Europe. *Social solidarity* became an important countermeasure to the drive for liberalization in the Single European Act and monetary Union. *Anti-discrimination* measures also arose from progressive social legislation and the difficulties concerning racism and persecution of minorities in the early 1990’s. *Sustainable development* became important after the Rio Earth Summit when it was included in the treaty of Amsterdam. Finally, the norm of *good governance* became important after the acknowledgment of the Commission in 1999, the concern for double standards in the quest for democratic reforms in the Central and Eastern European countries, and the recognition of the role of governance in successful dealing with aid (Manners, 2002: p 242-244).

In the quest towards complete, fair and ground research there has been an addition of liberal norms connected to “trade”, such as free trade, market economy and liberalization of trade. With South Africa’s economic growth it might be valuable to see if the concepts have changed. Although, these norms are a part of Manner’s freedom concept they are not exclusively expressed.

The reinforcement and expansion of the norms identified here allows the EU to present and legitimize itself as being more than a sum of its parts (Manners, 2002: p 244).

3.3 Norm-diffusion (between the EU and South Africa)

The Diffusion theory put in place by Rogers creates an understanding of the adoption and process of spreading ideas, which in this study will be translated into norms since this theory is selected to create an understanding of how the EU aspires to extend its norms to South Africa. Rogers uses the concept of **diffusion** to explain the process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a particular social system. Diffusion implies a kind of social change, defined as the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system (Rogers, 2003: p 5-6). When norms are invented, diffused, adopted or rejected, it leads to certain consequences, which leads to social change. He considers it to be a special type of communication since the message is concerned with *new* norms and values. A systems norm can be a barrier to change. It can have several different dimensions, for example, cognitive (envisions), emotional (feelings) and moral (values) (Johnson, 2005; p 25-27). The norms that the EU promotes might not be new to South Africa as such, but perhaps be used in a new way. According to Rogers it matters little whether or not an idea is “objectively” new. “Newness” of norm may be expressed in terms of knowledge and persuasion (s 15). **Communication**, on the other hand, is a process in which the participants create and share information with others in order to reach mutual understanding. The essence of the diffusion process is the information exchanged through which one communicates a new idea to one or several others. At its most elementary form, the process involves the norm, one unit that has experienced the norm, another unit that has not yet experienced the norm, and a *communication channel* (Rogers, 2003: s 11).

Ian Manners defines a couple of possible communication channels through which the EU diffuses norms to South Africa. There is *contagion*, which is the spontaneous diffusion of ideas from the EU to other political actors. An example of this is the foremost example that the EU sets when dealing with the exportation of its regional integration. Such regional replications can be seen all over, for example African Union. Secondly, *Procedural diffusion*, which involves the institutionalization of a

relationship between the EU and a third party. For example an inter-regional co-operation agreement like between the South African Development Community and the EU. He also mentions Third, *transference*, which takes place when the EU exchanges goods, trade, aid or technical assistance with a third party. Such diffusion can be considered a result of exportation of community norms and standard or the “carrot and stick” of for example economic sanctions. Fourth, he talks about, *over diffusion*, which occurs as a result of the presence of the EU in third states and international organisations. Fifth, is *the cultural filter*, which affects the impact of the international norms and political learning in countries and organizations and the leading, adaptation and rejection of norms. It is defined as the construction of knowledge and the creation of social and political identity (Manners, 2002: s 244-245).

4 The normative agenda

The speeches and press releases selected expose different dimensions of the cooperation: political, economic and social. The principles, which have inspired its own creation, should be present on the international scene. In its relations with the wider world the EU should strive to uphold its interests and protect its citizens. It should also make every effort to uphold peace, sustainable development, solidarity, free and fair trade, protection of human rights. Furthermore, the EU should respect the principles put forward by the UN Charter (Manners, 2008: p 67-68).

4.1 Sustainable Peace

	1994-1997		2006-2009	
	freq.	%	freq.	%
peaceful	13	0,04	15	0,02
peacefully	7	0,02	2	...
peace	23	0,06	126	0,15
cooperation	99	0,27	219	0,27

“Peace” occurs 23 times between 1994-1997 and 126 times during 2006-2009. The percentage is more than twice as high during the second timeperiod, which might indicate a growing importance of the word. When exploring the context of the word more carefully, one can see that it is correlated with “security”. An example of this is a speech made by Prof. Pinhero on the 19th of October 1995, during a conference on investment and trade in Southern Africa:

“Peace and security are essential, but they are in themselves not sufficient to create a prosperous society and ensure a long term stability; the region needs economic growth in order to raise living standards and to secure what has been achieved to date.”

“Peaceful” on the other hand is not used as many times during the second timeperiod as it was during the first one. When used it is often linked to words such as “change” and

“transition” and is often used to explain the EU’s support for South Africa’s peaceful transition to a functioning democracy.

During the second timeperiod “peace” is still used connected to “security” in the majority of the cases but it is also connected to phrases such as “process”, “agreement” and “development”. An example of the usage comes from a speech made Karel De Gucht, EU Commissioner for Development and humanitarian aid, concerning progress, challenges and prospects for the EU-South Africa Partnership at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology in South-Africa, 10th September 2009

South Africa is leaving no stone unturned to establish peace and security in Africa. It is a major player in virtually all mediation and peace keeping efforts: in the Great Lakes, in West Africa, Sudan, the Horn and obviously in Southern Africa.

“Peaceful” is during this period of time connected to solutions. It is not used sense of transition.

During the second timeperiod “peace” has taken on new dimensions and is used more, not always in reference to South Africa. During the first timeperiod South Africa has changed government, which can cause instability, showing that South Africa is a country in transition. Conflict has to become unthinkable in order for South Africa to grow. The strive to promote sustainable peace can be derived from the EU’s own experience. During the latter time period the South Africa is not the main target for the norm-diffusion. They are instead asked to use their influence and authority in the region to help guide the way for neighbouring countries.

“Cooperation” is common during both periods of time. The frequency is higher during the latter part of the timeperiod but the percentage stays the same, which indicates that relatively to amount has not gone up. If exploring the context in more detail, one can see that in 1994-1997 it is often teamed with “development”, “trade”, “economic”, “agreement”, EU” and “regional”. In 2006-2009 it appears as a part of a name, for example “Joint Cooperation Council” but also when mentioning “development”, “trade”, “energy” or “security”.

Taking an example from the Accession of South Africa to the Lome Convention, on the 24th of April 1997:

“In fact, financial cooperation between the Union and South Africa is developing in a bilateral framework. On 22 November 1996 the Council of the EU adopted a regulation on development cooperation with South Africa which provided for a financial reference amount of ECU 500 million for the period 1996 to the end of 1999.”

An example of how it is used during the second time-period, is the Second South Africa- European Union Summit, 11th of September 2009:

“We agreed to increase our joint efforts and shoulder our responsibilities to address the multiple challenges facing the world. Only through the involvement of both developed and developing countries in a partnership of cooperation and mutual respect can we successfully tackle the global economic and financial crisis, climate change, food insecurity and energy scarcity”

Between the first time-period one can conclude that the accession of South Africa to the Lome Convention had to be separately since the strength of South Africa could affect the other members negatively. There are disparities in terms of population, area, size, income, the domestic market and thus causing gaps both socially and politically. Even if South Africa is the regional power it has social, spatial and ethnic problems to deal with. During the latter time period the cooperation has taken a new for where it concerns itself with mutual problems, such as climate change and financial crisis, affects both EU and South Africa. This may be because of South Africa’s growing role or the fact that the world is more globalized and what happens in one part of the world affects the other. There has also been an establishment of a Joint Cooperation Council, which indicates that further steps have been taken in the cooperation (Hänggi-Roloff-Ruland: p 192-193).

4.2 Consensual Democracy

	1994-1997		2006-2009	
	freq.	%	freq.	%
democracy	20	0,06	19	0,02
democratic	44	0,12	35	0,04
democratization	7	0,02	2	...

The frequency is higher during the first timeperiod for all of these words, especially the words “democratic” and “democracy”. It is however a matter of opinion whether or not one thinks the overall occurrences of the words are high compared to the whole material. By searching for versions of democracy the intention was to understand how the concept was used. To be expected these different versions were used in both texts to emphasise a desired processes or state. An example is the Press Release from 1994 concerning the EU-South Africa Cooperation: ” *The aim of EU aid is to help in the peaceful transition of South Africa towards a stable, democratic and prosperous society.* ”

During the second timeperiod the words “democratic” and “democracy” is still more common forms of usage. “Democratic” is often linked to “Democratic Republic of Congo”. If researching the word “democracy” on the other hand, there is a quote from the development and humanitarian aid commissioner in a press release stated on the 28th of July 2008

“As both a regional power and an emerging global player, South Africa is entitled to play an increased role and assume more responsibilities in promoting peace, democracy and sustainable development in Africa. Our strategic partnership with South Africa has a huge potential to deliver concrete results for our citizens”

South Africa is perceived as a country in transition. They made the transition to democracy thus enabling the EU to cooperate with them. 17 years has passed since then, although the process is not yet complete it is fairly advanced. The shift in focus and the decline in the use of the words related to democracy during the latter time period can thus be considered to be a result of this.

4.3 Associative Human Rights

	1994-1997		2006-2009	
	freq.	%	freq.	%
aid	21	0,06	71	0,09
human	21	0,06	15	0,04
rigths	65	0,08	81	0,10

During the first timeperiod “human” is used more, during the latter timeperiod “rights” are used more. If exploring the press releases and speeches more thoroughly one can see that “human” mainly correlates with “rights” during the first time-period and vice versa. Versions of the phrase “human rights” appears in both texts. During 1994-1997 it’s mainly used when addressing a desirable future state for South Africa and the EU-South Africa Cooperation. An example is a press release from 1995, concerning the European Commission’s adoption of a proposal from Prof. Pinheiro about a new framework for relations between the EU and South Africa.

“The bilateral Agreement will include a clause stating that relations between the Community and South Africa, as well as the Agreement itself, shall be based on respect of human rights and democratic principles...”

During 2006-2009, human and rights mainly correlates with each other. Human does however also occur with trafficking and rights with women, children, civil and cultural rights. It also correlates with occasion such as “the International Human Rights Day”. Even so the use has not changed since it is primarily used together with desirable states for the cooperation. One example is a press release from the Second South Africa- European Union Summon on the 11th of September 2009:

“We, the leaders of South Africa (SA) and the European Union (EU), meeting today in Kleinmond, reaffirm our commitment to our strategic partnership based on shared values and interests, including the promotion of peace and security, human rights, democracy...”

Even if the use of human rights more or less is the same there has been a categorization of them. Especially the right of women and children appears more frequently. These are the ones who in many cases fall victim of injustice, through for

human trafficking, domestic violence and child labour to mention a few. With increasing globalization, one may assume that there has also been an increasing awareness of these issues forcing authorities to take a stand.

“Aid” occurs in both time periods but it had increased in usage during the latter part of the timeperiod. This does however need further investigation, in an address made by Jacques Santer on the 13th of May 1996, at the Information Society and development conference, he states:

“I believe, the information society can trigger a new vision of humanity, a new spirit of reconciliation and common interests between the industrialized world and the developing countries. The European Union is already contributing to this process, with the largest aid and assistance programmes in the world.”

During the second timeperiod “aid” is more varied. It is used together with “development”, “humanitarian” and “trade”. It mainly correlates with “humanitarian aid”. To some extent the increase due to the portfolio of “European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid” but it also occurs with the programme “Aid for Trade” as well as “the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness”. Louis Michel, European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid, speech made 2007: *“Aid is not an end in itself, it should be an investment that fosters the economic growth necessary to tackle poverty”*

The aim of the aid stays the same, that is to foster prosperity for South Africa but there has been a large institutionalization of the aid-giving process. This can have something to do with the increasing importance of aid and the need to overlook the process as to make sure that there will not occur any corruption. Aid also seems to have become more diversified, it can be given to areas such as technology and education.

4.4 Supranational Rule of Law

	1994-1997		2006-2009	
	freq.	%	freq.	%
law	10	0,03	25	0,03

“Law” is used the same percentage of times during both timeperiods, it occurs but not to any greater extent. If researching the concept of “rule of law” to get a better picture of how it is used one finds that the phrase occurs 8 times together during the first timeperiod. It correlates with good governance and emphasizes South Africa’s need to commit to it. During the second timeperiod it is used nine times, often in the same way but the context has changed. The concept is mentioned when referring to what is desirable for other countries, for example Iraq, the Gaza-strip and Somalia. During the latter time period there is also the introduction of terrorism as a common threat.

This concept was demanding to research since it can’t be associated with one clear word. By searching for the use of “Rule of Law”, one could at least establish that the trend has remained the same. South Africa is no longer in focus to the same extent as before. Instead the concept appears in press releases concerning progress in Iraq, Gaza and Somalia. It can be discussed if the changing context may indicate that South Africa has become stronger and is not in need of the same kind of surveillance anymore. That is to say that the frequency of the use “the Rule of Law” in the press releases and speeches is because it is less vital.

4.5 Inclusive Equality

	1994-1997		2006-2009	
	freq.	%	freq.	%
equal	2	...	13	0,02
equality	2	...	17	0,02
racism	...		6	...
racial	13	0,04	8	...
discrimination	5	0,01	16	0,02

Versions of the word “equal” is used more during the second timeperiod but when looking at the figures one can conclude that it is not used to any higher extension. If exploring how it is used one can see that it is different from time to time thus making it difficult to state anything explicit about it. During 2006-2009 versions of equal occurs more frequently. It appears in sentences both concerning “gender-equality”, which is in the majority of the sentences, and “equality of partnership”. Many times it occurs because together with an occasion, such as “Human Rights day” or “National Women’s Day”. “Equal partnership” primarily correlates with press releases concerning “the South Africa-EU strategic partnership”.

There has been an increase of the institutionalisation of the concept equal with specific days dedicated to the subject, such as International Human Rights day and National Women’s day. Equality is seemingly still in the focus of the EU-agenda and a road still left untraveled for South Africa, especially when concerning the role of women.

“Racism” or versions of it is not used often during either time period, thus indicating that it might also not be a key-concept. By searching for ”race” 14 different versions occurred between 1994-1997. Often used as “non-racial system” or “non-racial South Africa”. During 2006-2009 racism occurs six times. Often when referring to human rights, as a part of creating equality and as guiding principle for policies.

During the first time-period there is an emphasis of the end of apartheid, which is to be expected. During the later time-period racism is used when mentioning human rights in general. There are as such not many links to South Africa’s history.

A similar trend can be seen when researching versions of “discrimination”. Mainly when referring to South Africa’s history. During the second time period it occurs more but it is none the less not a frequent word. In many cases it is used as something

South Africa and Africa as a whole wants and should achieve, but it is some cases used to refer to the EPA-negotiations between South Africa and EU. This might be because apartheid is not considered to be an active part of the South Africa’s present agenda even if it is important.

4.6 Social Solidarity

	1994-1997		2006-2009	
	freq.	%	freq.	%
employment	6	0,02	17	0,02
labour	6	0,02	2	...
regional	56	0,15	137	0,17
integration	42	0,12	57	0,07

“Regional” seems to be a word that is used in many of the press releases and speeches and has done so throughout the both timeperiods. It seems to be a key-concept in many ways. If investigating the word “regional” more thoroughly one sees that it does not only correlate with “integration” but mainly does so. While the use for “regional” has gone up while the use of “integration” has gone down. During both parts of the time-period “regional” clusters with concepts such as the South African Region and SADC. If looking at the concept “regional integration” one can see that during the first part it’s used as a more obvious tool for economic growth and development. The creation of a stable and prosperous region can be achieved through an establishment of a common market. It makes conflicts more difficult. During the latter part the EPA appears. There’s a shift to a more trade-centered approach. South Africa is still considered to be a key driver for economic growth but there is also an introduction of concepts of negotiations with regions. This stays the same for “regional integration” to quote a press release from 1995 where Prof Pinheiro states:

The Commission's twin-track approach takes into consideration the specific economic, social and political conditions in South Africa and its regional integration as well as the wishes expressed by the South African government. South Africa has asked to open negotiations "with a view to establishing the closest possible

relationship with the Lome Convention" as well as an agreement with the European Union "on specific elements that might more appropriately be accommodated outside the Lome Convention, to the benefit of the existing Lome members and South Africa itself".

If taking an example from the second time period there is a press release from the 28th of February, 2008, there's a quote from Commissioner Mandelson. He states

"The interim Economic Partnership Agreement signed between the EU and Southern African countries in 2007 is amongst the first of a new generation of trade and development agreements. The Economic Partnership Agreements put our relationship with Africa on a strong new economic footing, and strengthen regional integration in Africa. In both the Economic Partnership agreements and the Doha Round, the EU's goal in Africa remains using trade to promote economic development, build regional markets and help lift people out of poverty".

Regional progress and regional integration continues to be an important part of the EU's agenda in their fight against poverty and other sorts of injustice and trade continues to be a key-concept when promoting regional integration. Through monitored economic growth and development the aim is to achieve a better society. In the first timeperiod the focus is to help South Africa achieve economic growth, during the latter timeperiod South Africa has to some extent achieved this. The gains from the EPA are still considered to be for the greater good of the country and the region, but the presentation is far more detailed and trade-related.

When one examines words such as "employment" and "labour" between the first time-period, "employment" occurs 6 times, often together with the launching of an "Employment Pact" which is not specifically addressed to development of South Africa but the future of the Union, an example of this is the address made by Jacques Santer at the Euro Chamber, 13th of May 1996: *But we must also reduce our high levels of unemployment as a matter of priority- that is why we have launched an Employment Pact for confidence*". "Labour" also occurs 6 times and in all but one case when referring to "the shortage of skilled labour". During the later time-period versions of "employment"

occurs 17 times, usually in the context for a need to “develop employment” but also as a part of the “ Economic support and Employment Programme”. “Labour” only occurs twice and in different context, thus making it difficult to make any assumption of the usage.

Employment can be considered to be a key to establish economic growth, one may however argue whether or not it is a key concept. The Employment Pact and Economic support and Employment Programme are confirmation of this. It’s a question of educating and creating jobs in the region. The lack of skilled labour is more apparent during the first time-period. Making it a vicious circle since creating work also comes with the need to create education. This need does however seem less apparent during the latter time-period thus not implying that the problem is cured.

4.7 Sustainable Development

	1994-1997		2006-2009	
	freq.	%	freq.	%
sustainable	8	0,02	46	0,02
development	161	0,02	382	0,46
climate	3	...	96	0,12
change	5	0,01	99	0,12

The use of the word “sustainable” is basically the same during both timeperiods. The use for the word “development” has gone up during the latter part, which might not be surprising seeing how “development” is desirable for every area, economic, political and social. If exploring the phrase ‘sustainable development’ and how it is used, one can see that it occurs together twice during 1996-1994 but it is not explicitly used in an environmental aspect. To quote The European Union Special Programme on South Africa from 1994:

“The broad aim of an cooperation in this sector is to contribute to the establishment of an non-racial, accessible, integrated and appropriate health service for the country, as an essential element in sustainable development.”

During 2006-2009 “Sustainable development” occurs 16 times, which can be considered to be a significant increase. If exploring the context one can see that in some cases it occurs because of the establishment of a “Sustainable Development Forum”. It is here used both to refer to the growth of South Africa. Sometimes it is hard to tell the exact meaning, for example in The South Africa-European Union Partnership from 15 May 2007, they refer to sustainable development as:

“Both parties welcome the inclusion of South Africa in the SADC EPA negotiations. Both parties are firmly committed to the development objectives of the EPA and that regional integration will foster sustainable development in the whole region.”

The concept can though be more explicitly linked to environmentally friendly growth. One can for example look at the Second South Africa-European Union Summit:

“We agree that moving beyond delay to a low-carbon economy including a clean energy access perspective, it is a necessity, but also an opportunity to promote continued economic green growth and sustainable development.”

Sustainable development is a broad concept and its appearance in speeches and press releases is difficult to decipher. “Climate” and “Change” occurs during the first timeperiod but during the second time period there is an increase. “Climate Change” was not found together during 1994-1997 but appears 83 times during 2006-2009. It becomes a frequently used word. The meaning of climate change is quite straightforward in all the press releases and speeches. It collocates with “environment”, “global” and “Copenhagen”. One can conclude that with rising environmental awareness the concept of “climate change” has been created and with the meeting in Copenhagen is has gained popularity.

4.8 Good Governance

	freq.	%	freq.	%
participation	10	0,03	13	0,02
represent	4	0,01	1	...
representative	4	0,01	11	0,01
participants	...		15	0,02
transparency	...		3	...

Good Governance is something desirable that should work as a guiding principle for the cooperation. None of the words selected are used frequent however when looking more thoroughly at the material one can see that there were a case that stood out in context. During the first timeperiod the use of “representation” is neutral and little can be said about any distinct pattern. During the later period versions of “representation” was often linked to people’s position, such as EU, Troika and South Africa. “Transparency” was used 13 times, often linked to “dialogue”.

Norms such as “transparency”, “participation” and “representation” are thus incorporated to some extent in the later time-period, implying that there is a need for it. “Transparency” was for example not used during the first timeperiod. Good Governance is a never-ending goal for any state, European and African.

4.9 Social Freedom

	1994-1997		2006-2009	
	freq.	%	freq.	%
freedom	3	...	4	...

“Freedom” wasn’t used frequently during either time period. During the 1994-1997 it was used three times and during 2006-2009 it was used six times. It clusters with democracy although there’s some variation during the second time period. There’s an introduction of farmer’s freedoms and Zimbabwe. This shows that the use of freedom is not used that often, if at all. Many times it’s been replaced by human rights or equality.

4.10 Trade-related norms

	1994-1997		2006-2009	
	freq.	%	freq.	%
FTA	22	0,06	2	...
EPA	...	...	109	0,13
trade	169	0,47	364	0,44
market	30	0,08	88	0,11
liberalisation	9	0,02	9	0,01
SADC	34	0,09	90	0,11
TDCA	...	...	56	0,07
EPAS	...	...	45	0,05
free	50	0,14	39	0,05

The percentage of “trade” is quite high during both timeperiods, it is a key concept. If one researches it more explicitly one can see that it goes hand in hand with “free” but also occurs with “General Trade Agreements” or “Lomé trade preferences”. During the second time period the frequency is lower. It collocates with “the Trade Development and Co-operation Agreement” (TDCA), “industry”, “commissioner of trade”, “minister of trade and finance”, “minister of trade and industry”, “Doha round of trade” and so forth. “Trade” is also used as a promoter for “regional integration”, “aid” and “liberalization”.

Trade can be assumed used more during the first time period because of the FTA, while it during the latter part of the time period became the EPA. There is a greater variation of the use of trade during the later timeperiod, which may indicate that the cooperation concerning trade between South Africa and the EU has become more diversified. There has also been an institutionalization, with the creation of authorities supervising the collaboration.

When researching usage of programmes such as “FTA” and “EPA(S)” one sees that versions of the EPA is used more than the FTA, it is more frequent. When exploring how it’s used, one can see that the FTA is often used as something South Africa needs and wants. An example is from a press release from 21 of March, 1997: *The FTA will assist South Africa to integrate itself into the world economy through increased growth and competitiveness, the liberalization of trade and the simulation of investment.* During the second time period it appears twice and it is referred to as a part of history. EPA’s does

not occur during the first time period, which was to be expected. It clusters in word-formations such as “The SADC-EPA” or the “SADC-EPA negotiations”. An example is from the Joint Communiqué from the Ministerial Troika Meeting on the 16th of February, 2009: *Ministers reiterated the objectives that the SADC-EU EPA negotiations support regional integration and development in Southern Africa.*

The aim to create economic growth through asymmetric trade is present in both timeperiods. The aim of the FTA was to gradually increase the amount of duty-free agricultural and industrial products to each market. The EPA aims to create a free trade area. It stands for reciprocity and a non-discriminatory nature. They are open to all developing countries and not only ACP countries. The developing countries are encouraged to enter into the EPAs in regional groupings, an example of this is SADC (www.sadc.int/tifi/browse/page/316).

“Market” is used more during the second timeperiod than it does during the first one. It occurs in a context of “accessing the Community’s market” and “improving access” during the first timeperiod. When appearing during the later one it collocates with “access”, “secure” and “carbon”. It’s both a case of establishing a carbon market for monitoring emissions and a case of the EPAs and creating market access to the EU. Market does not correlate exclusively with the concept of liberalization. If examining “liberalization” one sees how it’s used as to demonstrate the need for South Africa to adapt, ex trade liberalisation. During the latter part of the time-periods the word appears the same amount of times and the meaning stays the same. It’s used when referring to the strategic partnership agreement or the EPAS as one of the points that are desirable in order to increase cooperation. The meaning as such has not changed, merely the circumstances. South Africa and the EU are much further into their collaboration and trade liberalization is still a goal.

Versions of “free” were used far more during the first timeperiod when comparing to the latter one. Exploring more thoroughly one can see that it was mainly connected to trade, for example FTA. Free(d) also came up as “freed from apartheid”. During the second timeperiod it appears with “quota”, “duty”, “access”, “trade” and “market”, producing words such as “duty free quota”, “quota free access”, “free market access” and “free trade area”. Thus giving some distinction from 1994-1997. “Free” is thus closely correlated with trade in both cases although it refers to different parts of the trade process. The prior refers to the FTA while the latter refers to the EPA.

5 Conclusion

The doubling of the speeches and the press releases during the second timeperiod is an indicator that the cooperation between South Africa and the EU has increased and become more intense, especially during 2008 and 2009. There were more than 60 press releases and speeches located during these two years alone. One might assume that there is a higher diffusion in general or that there are more norms to be diffused.

Manners' norms are a combination of primarily the political and social spheres, however it does touch on the economic sphere. For example the system could be applied to the area of trade to examine the process of lifting South Africa out of poverty. During the course of the study, there have been four distinctive shifts in the normative agenda. Using the theoretical framework four main changes can be seen. Change in 1) context 2) content, 3) usage and 4) structure.

1) Change in *context* is when the surroundings of the norm changes. Examples of this are the norms sustainable peace and consensual democracy. Previously, the focal point was on South Africa as a country in transition. In the case of Sustainable Peace, during the later timeperiod examined, there has been a creation of South Africa as normative agenda as an opinion leader and possible change-agent in the region, this also becomes clear in the case of consensual democracy. South Africa is no longer the country under going a democratic transition; it is rather addressed as an equal partner. A similar development can also be seen concerning the rule of law.

Cooperation also lies under the normative agenda of Sustainable Peace and is also an example of change in context. There has been a shift in this area from a more general agenda of cooperation to a context where South Africa is seen as an equal partner. It has gained in status.

2) Change in *content* is when a norm expands or takes on a new dimension. This can for example be noted concerning the norms of good governance and sustainable development. Concerning the first norm it may be noted that "transparency" surfaced. A word that has not been used before. There not a high frequency, but the implementation of the concept may indicate future development. The same might be said for the concept of climate change that was introduced under the norm of Sustainable Development. The words occurred separately during the first time period but began clustering during the

latter, thus perhaps indicating awareness. The latter may be an example of the communication channel contagion since the EU promotes climate awareness.

3) Change in *usage* is when a norm is used in a new way, but the where the context remains the same, for example Social Solidarity, Inclusive Equality and Associative Human Rights. Concerning the norm of Social Solidarity, the development of a more trade-centered approach of “regional integration” may be seen. This may be because there is the establishment of the EPA. During the first time period, it would fall under the category of the communication channel known as the cultural filter, but during the latter time period it shifted to transference. The shift towards trade is also visible in the usage of the word discrimination, which falls under the norm Inclusive Equality. During the second period of time the concept is used when referring to trade and tariffs instead of to South African history. The same might be said concerning Aid, which lies under the normative agenda of Associative Human Rights. The economic shift and specialization of aid can be seen in the example of “aid for trade”. This can also be considered to be a case of using transference.

If examining Inclusive equality further one can see that there has been changes made to the discourse of race. Non-racial, which is used during the first time period, is a reference to the fall of apartheid. During the second period of time there is a notably use of racism that often correlates with the use of human rights. The norm of Associative Human Rights has been a subject to similar change. Human and Rights mainly correlate with each other during both timeperiods but during the second period one may note a shift in rights being used when referring to gender, cultural or social rights as such there has been an individualization of specific categories of rights. During the second time period human is also used in referral to human trafficking.

4) Change in *Structure* is the process of fining declarations, treaties, constructing authorities and implementing the normative agenda into the structural framework of cooperation, which is a combination of informal diffusion and policy diffusion. Again examples of this are Social Solidarity, Inclusive Equality and Associative Human Rights. For instance under the norm of social solidarity there was the Employment Pact and the Economic Support and Employment Programme. This type of institutionalization can be considered to be overt diffusion. It may furthermore be seen as a way of permanently putting the issue on the agenda.

When investigating the usage of equal, which that falls under the norm of inclusive equality, one can see that it surfaces when there has been a speech in relations to women's rights, which means reoccurrence. The same might be said for Associative Human Rights and Human Rights Day. These dedicated days can be seen as ways of keeping the issue

When researching "aid" reference is often made to the European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid. References are also made to the Paris Declaration of Aid Effectiveness. Aid is thus given more attention during the later time period and the EU marks its presence by overt diffusion.

The use of trade related norms is added to Manners system of norms in order to highlight the presence of the economic sphere and examine if there has been an intensification of trade. If discussing the frequency of "trade" it is often used together with "free" and "trade" which may however be linked to the Free Trade Agreement.

If comparing the frequency of the FTA and the frequency of the EPA(S), the latter is much higher. One may also note an increase, which might indicate a strife for interregional cooperation in order to make the transition to and EPA easier. This may furthermore be a sign of procedural diffusion, because of the emphasis put on regionalization in order to try and improve the cooperation. "Market" and "liberalization" does not necessary indicate trade related development.

During the later timeperiod focus is on the EPA-negotiations. On a concluding note one can thus claim that trade has been intensified. There is still a strong presence of the belief that implementing the EPA is for the greater good. Trade is an important tool to help countries get out of poverty. Even if so is the case, the EPA can be perceived as more trade centred than the FTA when mentioned in the press releases and speeches. It uses more facts and figures than social and political reasons for adopting it. This may be because of the presence of the WTO and the complexity of changing systems. One can say that during the second period of time it is no longer a case of clear transference.

To reconnect with the introductory quote by Winston Churchill, all great things are not simple. On the contrary great things may be quite complex since the meaning vary with time. This may also be said for the EU's normative aspirations towards South Africa.

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www.sadc.int/tifi/browse/page/316

The Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community
(The Reform Treaty)

<http://eur->

[lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2006:321E:0001:0331:EN:PDF](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2006:321E:0001:0331:EN:PDF)

6.1 The Speeches and the Press releases used for research

2009

1) Joint statement of the EU presidency and the European Commission on the state of play of the climate change negotiations in Copenhagen (December 2009)

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Climate%20concern.pdf>

2) Statement on the death of Dr ME Tshabalala-Msimang

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Condolences.pdf>

3) Commission approves 230 Euro to cushion the economic crisis in 13 African and Caribbean Countries (December 2009)

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Economic%20Crisis.pdf>

4) Copenhagen conference must produce global, ambitious and comprehensive agreement (December 2009)

[http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Copenhagen%20\(final\).pdf](http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Copenhagen%20(final).pdf)

5) European Union Delegation to South Africa comes into existence on 1 December 2009 (December 2009)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EU_Delegation_to_SA_December_2009.pdf

6) World Aids Day 2009: European Commission tops 1 billion Euro invested in the fight against the global Aids epidemic (1 December 2009)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/World_Aids_Day_2009.pdf

7) EU-UNODC Joint Press Release: Recognising the 20th anniversary of the adaption of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (November 2009)

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/20th%20Anniversary%20of%20UN%20Convention%20of%20the%20Rights%20of%20the%20Child.pdf>

8) Commission approves 137 m Euro for education and youth employment in SA (October 2009)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Commission_approves_137m_euro_for_education_and_youth_in_SA.pdf

9) World Food Day 2009: EU leading the global fight against hunger (October 2009)

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/World%20Food%20Day.pdf>

10) Joint Employment Creation Facility-Joint Press Release (September 2009)

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Joint%20Employment%20Creation%20facility%20press%20release.pdf>

11) EU commitment to SA women - National Womens Day (Augusti 2009)

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/National%20Women's%20Day%202009%20final.pdf>

12) EU-SA Joint Co-operation Council (Brussels July 2009)

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/National%20Women's%20Day%202009%20final.pdf>

13) European Commission pledges 115m euro for trade project in Eastern and Southern Africa (April 2009)

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/National%20Women's%20Day%202009%20final.pdf>

14) EC provides HIV prevention support to Southern Africa (March 2009)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EC_provides_HIV_prevention_support_to_Southern_Africa_March_2009.pdf

15) Women's Day: Europe keeps women's empowerment high on its global agenda (March 2009)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/International_Womens_Day_March_2009.pdf

16) EU provides training in fight against illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing (March 2009)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EU_training_in_fight_against_illegal_fishing_March_2009.pdf

17) EU Trade Commissioner Ashton visits Southern Africa (February 2009)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EU_Trade_Commissioner_visits_Southern_Africa_Feb_2009.pdf

18) EU Commissioner Michel meets SA President Motlanthe (January 2009)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Comm_Michel_meets_Motlanthe_Jan_2009.pdf

19) Speech by Ambassador Lodjewijk Briet at the University of Pretoria on the occasion of International Human Rights Day

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Human_Rights_Day_speech_December_2009.pdf

20) Speech by Mr Gerry McGovern, EC Delegation Minister Counsellor, on the occasion of the EUNIC symposium, on “Economic and Power Relations between the North and South: The Impact of Cultural Exchange and Cooperation” preceding the World Summit for Arts and Culture

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Cult-Dev%20Speech%2022%20Sept.pdf>

21) Karel De Gucht, EU Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid: “Progress, Challenges and Prospects for the EU-SA Partnership”, Cape Peninsula University of Technology SA

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/09/381&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

22) Speech by Gerhard Pienaar, Science and Technology Project Officer, to SA Technology Network Annual Conference

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/ST%20Speech%20-%2016%20July%2009%20final.pdf>

23) Speech by Ambassador Lodewijk Briet, Speakers’ Forum Induction Meeting

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/09%2007%2007%20%20LB%20%200Speech%20at%20the%20SF%20Induction%20Seminar%20-%20Final%20Version.pdf>

24) Speech by Ambassador Lodewijk Briet, Conference on Human Trafficking in Africa

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/People%20Trafficking%20Conference%20-%202013%20July%2009.pdf>

25) Speech by Ambassador Lodjewijk Briet on the occasion of Europe Day

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Europe%20Day%20Speech%20May%202009.pdf>

26) Speech by Ambassador Lodjewijk Briet on the occasion of the launch of the Project to Support Pro-Poor Policy Development

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Project_to_support_Pro-Poor_Policy_Development_speech_May_2009.pdf

27) Global crises to top discussions between EU and South Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/09/53&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

28) European Investment Bank funds for renewable energy and energy efficiency projects across South Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=BEI/09/239&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

29) Second EU-South Africa Summit to Tackle Climate Change and International Financial Crisis

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/09/1302&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

30) Catherine Ashton in Southern Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/09/229&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

31) EU-SA Trade

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/09/55&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

32) EU Commissioner Michel meets South African President Motlanthe

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/09/59&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

33) IDC Concludes EUR 60M loan with European Investment Bank

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=BEI/09/77&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

34) Catherine Ashton ,EU Trade Commissioner, Trade Facilitation and Africa – A European Perspective

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/09/186&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

2008

1) International Human Rights Day (10 December 2008)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/human_rights_day_10_December_2008.pdf

2) SA & EU launch R260 milion Access to Justice Programme in Orange Farm on International Human Rights Day

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/justice_prog_launch_10_December_2008.pdf

3) Contamination incident by dioxins and PCBs in pork and meat from Ireland. The commission follows closely the contamination incident to ensure public helth protection (8 December 2008)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Irish_Pork_8_December_2008.p

df

4) European Commission response to cholera epidemic in Zimbabwe (December 2008)

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/08/1808&type=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

5) Universal Children Day- Focus on fight against child labour (20 November 2008)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/universal_children's_day_20_November_2008.pdf

6) “BSE training in SA forms part of EU’s Safer Food Initiative”- European Commission training workshop on EU legislation for Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE) (November 2008)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EU_BSE_Workshop_November_2008.pdf

7) European Development Days 2008-closing ceremony

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/European%20Development%20Days%202008.pdf>

8) Trade Commissioner’s statement on the collapse of the WTO Doha trade talks (2008)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Mandelson_Doha_Statement_July_2008.pdf

9) ESPON delivers evidence for global positioning of Europe (July 2008)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/ESPOON_Global_Positioning_of_Europe_July_2008.pdf

10) First EU- South African Summits heralds strengthened partnership (July)

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/Reviews&ReleasesSubMenu/PressRelease.htm>

11) EU-South African Summit: More than 40 bn euro of goods traded with South Africa in 2007

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/First_EU_South_Africa_announcement_july_2008.pdf

12) EU-SA Ministerial Troika Meeting, Slovenia (June 2008)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/First_EU_South_Africa_announcement_july_2008.pdf

13) 7th meeting of the SA-EU Joint Science and Technology Co-operation Committee (May)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/JSTCC_meeting_May_2008.pdf

14) Declaration by the Presidency on behalf of the EU on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (March)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/International_Day_against_Racism_March_2008.pdf

15) Official launch of the EU support package for Department of Water Affairs & Forestry's Masibambane III Programme (March)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Masibambane_III_launch_March_2008.pdf

16) EU seeks to improve its support to South Africa in the fight against HIV and Aids (March)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EC_Delegations_meeting_on_Aids_funding_March_2008.pdf

17) Trade Commissioner Peter Mandelson in Southern Africa to deepen trade and development ties (2008)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Mandelson_Southern_Africa_visit_Feb_2008.pdf

18) SA-European Parliament Joint Parliamentary meeting (February)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/SA_EP_Joint_meeting_Feb_2008.pdf

19) Speech made by Ambassador Lodjewijk Briet on the occasion of the launch of the Access to justice and promotion of Constitutional Rights Programme-Orange Farm

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/launch_of_DOJ_Programme_speech_10_december_2008.pdf

20) Speech made by Ambassador Lodjewijk Briet on the eThekweni Municipality

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Briet_speech_eThekweni_Municipality_Nov_2008.pdf

21) Speech made by the President of the European Parliament Hans-Gert Pöttering Opening 10th Ordinary Session of the Pan-African Parliament

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/EP_President_speech_to_PAP_October_2008.pdf

21) Speech made by Ambassador Lodjewijk Briet on the ceremonial Handover of the Schools' Infrastructure Support Programme at Sefato Primary School

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Speech_SISP_Ceremonial_Handover_October_2008.pdf

22) Speech at Conference on "Access to Development Funding for local Government in Africa

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Speech_Local_govt_Funding_Sept_2008.pdf

23) “Building a stable framework for the meat sector” - speec at the World Meat Congress, Cape Town, by Agriculture and Rusral Development Commissioner Mariann Fischer Boel.

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Agriculture_Commissioner_meat_sector_speech_Sept_2008.pdf

24) “ Keeping our maps up to date: trade and trade rules in a changing world” - speech at the University of Stellenbodch by Agriculture and Rural Development Commissioner Mariann Fischer Boel

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Agriculture_Commissioner_trade_speech_Sept_2008.pdf

25) Speech on the occasion of the sod-turning ceremony at the Aviation Supplier Park, funded under the SWEEEP

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/CAV_speech_August_2008.pdf

26) Speech made by Ambassador Lodjewijk Briet on the occasion of Europe Day

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Europe_Day_speech_May_2008.pdf

27) Speech made by Ambassador Lodjewijk Briet on the National Water Summit

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Briet_National_Water_Summit_March_2008.pdf

28) “Why do the poorest need a Doha deal”- speech by Trade Commissioner Peter Mandelson at the Least Developed Countries Ministerial, Lesotho

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Briet_National_Water_Summit_March_2008.pdf

29) EU- South Africa Summit, More than 40 bn euro of goods traded with SA in 2007

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=STAT/08/107&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

30) First EU - South Africa summits heralds strengthened partnership

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/08/1208&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

31) Mariann Fischer Boel, member of the European Commission responsible for Agriculture and Rural Development, Building a stable framework for the meat sector, World Meat Congress

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/08/412&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

32) Mandelson in Southern Africa to deepen trade and development ties

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/08/350&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

2007

1) Development and Humanitarian Aid Commissioner Michel: “Europe-Africa-a new era” (December)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Michel_Europe_Africa_a_new_era_Dec_2007.pdf

2) European Union and United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Joint Press release on assistance to SA Department of Social Development in helping victims of crime (December)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Michel_Europe_Africa_a_new_era_Dec_2007.pdf

4) European Commission launches 2nd European Development Days with focus on climate change (November)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Launch_of_2nd_Development_Days_Nov_2007.pdf

5) “Nobody is pushing free trade on Africa”-article by Commissioners Madelson and Michel (October)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Mandelson_Michel_trade_article_October_2007.pdf

6) Commissioner Mandelson urges final push in Economic Partnership Agreement talks (September)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Mandelson_urges_EPAs_final_push_Sept_2007.pdf

7) EU SADC EPA Negotiations: the myths and truth (September)

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EU-SADC%20EPA%20Negotiations%20Factsheet%20Sept%202007.pdf>

8) Message of European Commissioner for External Relations and Neighbourhood Policy on the occasion of the International Day of the World’s Indigenous People (August)

<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Indigenous%20Peoples%20%20Day%20August%202007.pdf>

9) European Parliament talks Strategic Partnership with SA counterparts (2007)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EP_visit_to_SA_February_2007.pdf

10) EU welcomes SA in the SADC EPA negotiations (2007)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Manservisi_EPA_speaking_points_Nov_2007.pdf

11) Speaking points by Stefano Manservisi, Director General of DG Development,

European Commission All-ACP Meeting on the Economic Partnership Agreements
<http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EPA%20press%20release.pdf>

12) Speaking points by David O'Sullivan, Director General of DG Trade, European Commission All-ACP Meeting on the Economic Partnership Agreements,
http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/O'Sullivan_EPA_speaking_points_Nov_2007.pdf

13) Speech on the occasion of the launch of the EU Film Weeks 2007 on National Women's Day
http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/Speeches/Film_Festival_speech_August_2007.pdf

14) EU offers full market access to Africa, Caribbean and Pacific regions in EPAs negotiations

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/07/476&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

15) European Science and Research Commissioner in Cape Town for Global Earth Observation Summit

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/07/1807&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

16) Ethical standards in increasingly global research

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/07/189&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

2006

1) SA-EU Joint Co-operation Council: seventh meeting held in Brussels (2006)

http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/er/91750.pdf

2) EU-SA Annual Consultations: EU & SA step up co-operation

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EU-SA_Annual_Consultations_October_2006.pdf

3) Message of Commissioner Benito Ferrero-Waldner on the occasion of the International Day of the World's Indigenous People (August)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Indigenous%20_People_Day_August_2006.pdf

4) "Doha's momentum must not be lost" (July)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Doha_talks_suspended_July_2006.pdf

5) "What's the purpose of the G-8?" (July)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Barroso_G-8_purpose_2006.pdf

7) "Why do we need another European operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo?" (July)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Solana_DRC_transition_2006.pdf

8) European Commission launches EU-Africa partnership to develop trans-African connections (July)

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EU_Africa_infrastructure.pdf

9) European Commission proposal to upgrade EU-SA relations to Strategic Partnership

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/EU-SA_Strategic_Partnership_2006_proposal.pdf

10) European Union recognition of the terms CAPE “Ruby”, “Tawny” and “Vintage” to describe SA wine products

http://www.eusa.org.za/en/PDFdownload/PressReleases/Wines_terminology_March_2006.pdf

11) An EU27 trade deficit of 35 bn euro in 2006 with Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=STAT/07/170&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

12) Commission proposes to upgrade EU’s relations with South Africa to a Strategic Partnership

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/06/869&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

13) Peter Mandelson EU Trade Commissioner

EU-Africa: Trade and Development

SAIIA/BUSA

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/06/81&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

14) President Mbeki and EU Commissioner Louis Michel discuss strengthening the EU-South Africa partnership

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/06/249&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

1994

1)The Republic of South Africa and the EU

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/95/61&format=HTML>

[&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en](#)

2) Commission proposes agreement on further relations with South Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/94/867&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

3) Commission purposes new measurements to be submitted to government in South Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=P/94/26&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

4) Declaration on European Union on South Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PESC/94/46&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

5) Declaration of the Presidency on behalf of the EU on SA

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PESC/94/53&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

6) Opening address by Mr Manuel Marin at the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the European Union and of the member states of the Southern African Development Community (SADC)

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/94/84&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

7) The European Union's special programme on South Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/94/22&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

8) Commission proposes to include SA in the General System of Preferences

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/94/634&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

9) European Union establishes election in SA

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/94/36&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

10) Communique of the presidency on behalf of the EU on SA

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PESC/94/19&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

11) Address by the vice-president Manuel Martin at the opening sessions of the ACP/ EU Council of Ministers

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/94/418&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

1995

1) The Republic of South Africa and the EU

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/95/95&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

2) Commission launches a new framework for a EU/ SA framework

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/95/309&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

3) Declaration of Prof. Pinheiro on the occasion of the commemoration of Freedom Day in South Africa.

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/95/422&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

4)EU and South Africa starts negotiations on a long-term framework for cooperation

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/95/695&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

5)Commission proposes legal bases for South African development cooperation in South Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/95/454&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

6)The of South Africa and the European Union

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/95/15&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

7)Visit to the Commission by South Africa's Deputy President Thabo Mbeki

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/95/20&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

8)South Africa: The Commission favors a twin-track approach

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=CES/95/165&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

9)Declaration of the Presidency on behalf of the EU on the Abolition of the Death Penalty in South Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PESC/95/60&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

10)European Union fact finding mission to SA

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/95/289&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

11) Enlarged tariff preferences for agricultural products

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/95/707&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

12) Speech by Prof. Pinheiro - The Role of European Companies and Institutions

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/95/213&format=HTML&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

1996

1) The Republic of South Africa and the EU

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/96/111&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

2) Visit of South Africa's deputy-President Thabo Mbeki to the Commission

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/96/1030&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

3) Prof. Pinheiro welcomes mandate to negotiate a Free Trade Agreement with South Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/96/258&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

4) Reconstruction and development in South Africa: ECU 750 000 to send 50 young volunteer doctors from Europe

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/96/1206&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

5) Agreement on scientific and technological cooperation between the European Community and the Republic of South Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PRES/96/364&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

6) Address to Jacques Santer at the Euro -Chamber

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/96/123&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

7) Commission to send young European doctors to SA

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/96/417&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

9) Address by Jacques Santer at the information society and development conference

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/96/124&format=HTML&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

10) Speech by Prof Pinheiro EU/ SADC Ministerial Conference

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/96/247&format=HTML&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

11) Africa Connection Conference

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/96/105&format=HTML&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

1997

1) European Union / South Africa : proposals for long term co-operation

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/97/30&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

2) Accession of South Africa to the Lomé

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PRES/97/122&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

3) Joint EU/ South African Press Statement on bilateral negotiations

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/97/137&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

4) Commission endorses South Africa's qualified membership of the Lomé Convention

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/97/219&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

5) European Commission and South Africa agree on priorities for development co-operation

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/97/407&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

6) European Commission and South Africa pursue technical discussions on future bilateral agreement

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/97/550&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

7) European Union and South Africa negotiators focus on future bilateral co-operation

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/97/441&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

8) João de Deus Pinheiro welcomes South Africa's accession to the Lomé Convention: an historical event

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/97/349&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

9) EU and South Africa make progress in the negotiations for a bilateral agreement

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/97/226&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

10) A new round of negotiations with South Africa

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/97/59&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

11) Prof. João de Deus Pinheiro European Commissioner for Development and ACP Countries The give and take of development European perspective London School of Economics London

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/97/139&format=HTML&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

Appendix 1.

Word Smith Tools 5.0 ® is published by Lexical Analysis Software, is useful when aiming to look for the ways in which words behave in texts. One can use it to investigate in one own texts or in others. It's used by many different people, both teachers and students, when researching and investigating patterns.

The Word List is useful when one wants to see a list of all the words that are used or clusters of words. This function lists all the words based on the texts selected. This will be set out in both alphabetical and frequency order.

The Concord creates the possibility for the researcher to see words and phrases in a context. One uses a specific pre-decided search word which the Concord will seek out in all the chosen text files. It will then present the result on a concordance-display. By dubbel-clicking on the words one gains access to information about the collocates related to the chosen word.

Appendix 2.

The following words had not changed in context or content or they could not be directly applied to EU's relations to South Africa. Some of them do however indicate the growing areas of cooperation between Africa and the EU.

	1994-1997		2006-2009	
	freq.	%	freq.	%
Participating	2	...	3	...
SACU	...	...	9	0,01
Terroism	...	...	3	...
Migration	1	...	40	0,05
Tariff	9	0,02	21	0,03
Aids	...	...	37	0,05
Health	19	0,05	42	0,05
Represent	4	0,01	1	...
Education	...	...	25	0,03
Conflict	8	0,02	25	0,03
good	18	0,05	32	0,04
governance	10	0,03	29	0,04

