A POSTSTRUCTURALIST ENQUIRY INTO SOUTH AFRICA'S HUMAN RIGHTS-ORIENTED FOREIGN POLICY

By

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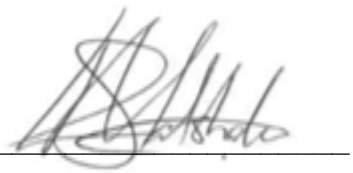
DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Masters in Diplomacy (M-Dip) in the University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before any degree or examination in any other University



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ABSTRACT

Scholars have critiqued the conduct of South Africa's foreign policy in international forums as being inimical to its human rights-oriented identity. They argue that this conduct has assaulted South Africa's respected stature as the champion of human rights in institutions of global governance. Expectedly, these scholars anchor their argument on, among others, the 1993 scholarly article in the *Foreign Affairs* journal penned by the then African National Congress (ANC) to argue for South Africa to return to its human rights identity. A common thread among these scholarly appraisals is the use of what Hansen (2016: 96) calls "the power of language" as a discursive tool to represent South Africa's foreign policy in purely normative and essentialist terms. Of course, this representation is often mobilised or deployed when there is a sense or a perception that the government of the day is veering from or betraying its values that are supposed to be enshrined in its foreign policy.

Twenty-one articles of scholars were sampled and subjected to critical discourse analysis. Using a poststructuralism approach and taking a cue from Dembour's (2010) human rights mapping field, this study unmasked the deployment of the "power of language" (Hansen, 2016: 96). The researcher's complexified Dembour's (2010) mapping field confirmed that most scholars are framing human rights through the lens of the natural school, followed by the deliberative school with the protest school and the discourse school trailing behind. The implications are that readers are often exposed to ideations that are more liberally and transcendentally oriented and less to those that are linguistically and societally oriented. These results show that those who are essentialising South Africa's human right-oriented foreign policy tend to regurgitate words of either leaders of the ANC leaders or government officials and that other aspects of South Africa's foreign policy such as democracy, solidarity, African renaissance, South-South cooperation and the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment are often subordinated.

Keywords: foreign policy, human rights, poststructuralism, essentialist representation, discourse analysis

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To my family and friends who kept encouraging me not to cave in even when I felt saddled by the weight of the research whilst denying them the comfort of my presence.

Last but certainly not least, to the health workers and other essential service employees who continue to put up a fight against the COVID-19 pandemic and to those who sadly lost their loved ones to this ravaging pandemic…This too shall pass.

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my late mother Mrs Jane Manini Matshaba who had made it her life's mission to ensure that I get an education. Her spirit continues to live in my pursuit for academic excellence. Her calmness, love and endurance where my guiding principles in the conclusion of this work during uncertain times brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
COVID-19	Coronavirus
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and background

Since the dawn of democracy in South Africa, which also heralded a new Constitution (Act 108 of 1996), with a new foreign policy ethos and ethics, foreign policy debates have been about the supposed 'rightness' or 'wrongness' of foreign policy decisions. This is so because South Africa's democratic dispensation is the sum total of her liberation struggle of those dispossessed, marginalised and discriminated against by the system of colonialism, segregation and apartheid. Conceptually, its foreign policy principles are derived from its Constitution which promotes political idealism and liberal democracy (see sections 7, 9, 15, 16 and 19 of chapter 2 of the Constitution). These further entail equality before the law, separation of powers as well as territorial integrity. Of course, some of the ideals underpinning South Africa's foreign policy find expression in policy documents of the African National Congress (ANC) such as *Ready to Govern* (1992) and various Conference Resolutions[1]. In the *Ready to Govern* document, emphasis is placed on the achievement of democracy, peace, security, mutually beneficial development among countries on the African continent as well as a Pan-African solidarity (ANC, 1992).

Due to its policy pronouncements which essentially seek to negate those of its predecessor, the conduct of post-Apartheid South Africa's foreign policy is perceived as one of guardianship of global socio-economic justice, a human rights defender, an advocate of development especially on the African continent and in the global South and a champion of a just and equal world where all states enjoy their sovereignty. In characterising South Africa as a "human rights promoter" and "the only potential promoter in Africa" due to "a radical change in leadership, ideology, and the role of civil society", Brysk (2009: 29) suggests a progressive internationalist role for South Africa in global politics. Notwithstanding these accolades, it seems inconceivable for the world to expect South Africa to "continue to provide credible regional leadership

[1] In its 53rd National Conference Resolution on International Relations, the ANC acknowledges that "international relations work is underpinned by a commitment to development, democracy, human rights, peace and security in the world" (p. 38: 2012). The 54th National Conference Resolution also refers to these "founding values" (p. 53: 2017) of international relations.

on human rights" (Virk, 2020: 60) on the continent whilst attempting to reclaim its identity as an African country given the divergent intra-Africa views on human rights (for example, Botswana hold different views on the situation in Zimbabwe, the DRC on the Palestinian question and so is Eswatini on Western Saharawi).

Several scholars have written about South Africa's so-called "human rights-centric foreign policy" (Cooper, 1998; Bischoff, 2003; Black & Wilson, 2004; Geldenhuys, 2006; Jordaan, 2008; Borer & Mills, 2011; Tjemolane, Neethling & Schoeman, 2012). Some of them believe that South Africa has "projected itself to the world as a righteous state" hence "the world expected [it] to make human rights a priority in foreign policy" (Borer & Mills, 2011: 78). However, such a claim is very limited as it is merely based on a particular representation of a post-apartheid South African state. This representation does not appreciate South Africa's difficult foreign policy tasks of seeking to balance the promotion of human rights with the pursuit of a united, prosperous, peaceful Africa in a just and equal world (DIRCO, 2011) with solidarity as a focal point. Arguably, Dembour's (2010) explication of the four schools of thoughts in respect of human rights succinctly captures the manner in which we should understand South Africa's balancing act in the treatment of human rights in her foreign policy. South Africa's treatment of human rights is nuanced and should be regarded as vacillating between seeing human rights "as given", or as "fought for" or as "talked about "or as "agreed upon" (Dembour, 2010: 1).

Notwithstanding the argument supra, Amusan (2014: 3) contends that "issues of the rule of law, human rights and democracy are hardly accommodated in actualising state's national/core interests" resulting in a dichotomy between human rights and national interests. There is a need to locate this kind of argument in Dembour's (2010) human rights mapping field (to be discussed in subsequent sections) to determine its epistemological validity in the context of this study. Amusan's (2014) argument affirms the dictum that "human rights […] [should] occupy a central role only if…a focus on human rights goals advances national interest" (Shestack, 1989: 20). In any way, we are reminded that "states seem to be acting on traditionally defined state interests while also reacting to external expectations" (Borer and Mills, 2011: 80) such as actively protecting human rights. Interpretation of South Africa's foreign policy and its

essentialist representation as a global guardian of human rights constitutes the unit of analysis of this proposed study.

1.2 Problem Statement

Libraries are littered with literature on South Africa's alleged failure to live up to its human rights credentials when executing foreign policy decisions (Black & Wilson, 2004; Alden & Le Pere, 2004; Lipton, 2009; Black & Hornsby, 2016). Scholars such as Lipton (2009) and Black and Horsby (2016) have critiqued the conduct of South Africa's foreign policy in international forums as being inimical to its human rights-centric identity. This, they argue, has assaulted South Africa's respected stature as the champion of human rights in institutions of global governance. Arguably, this, could be considered to be true given the manner in which South Africa's foreign policy behaviour has been linked with the value system espoused by its first post-Apartheid president, Nelson Mandela, although such a representation needs to be nuanced.

Expectedly, these scholars anchor their argument of South Africa having a human rights-based foreign policy on, among others, the 1993 scholarly article in the *Foreign Affairs* journal penned by the then African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela, which expressed a vision for South Africa's foreign policy. Amongst the six pillars Mandela discusses in the article, he also posited that human rights "are central to international relations" (Mandela, 1993: 87). This also include rights in the socio-economic and environmental sphere. Discursively, there are different ways of understanding and presenting a human rights-centric foreign policy and this has implications for analysing state action and behaviour. Dembour's (2010) human rights mapping field (see figure 2.1 in chapter 2) provides a window through which we should theorise human rights.

Curiously, most foreign policy scholars (Van Der Westhuizen, 1998; Barber, 2005; Borer & Mills, 2011; Moore, 2013; Ogunnubi & Amao, 2016) have zeroed in on Mandela's article when appraising South Africa's foreign policy behaviour. Very few

have appreciated the impact of the Mandela-Abacha saga[2] which "led to a much greater emphasis on cautious multilateralism in foreign policy, particularly, though not only, with regard to human rights issues" (Black, 2003: 36) and contributed to softening the 'moral' voice of South Africa or introduced a nuanced inflection in its foreign policy projection. Moore (2013: 559) challenges the "extent the first ANC administration was committed to the enactment of a human rights-based foreign policy" and argues that "[h]igh moral rigor […] was expressed mainly by Mandela personally […] and this only on selected issues". It is for this reason, that relying mainly on the 1993 Mandela article to essentialise human rights in South Africa's foreign policy is insufficient and limited.

A common thread among these scholarly appraisals is the use of what Hansen (2016: 96) calls "the power of language" as a discursive tool to represent South Africa's foreign policy in purely normative and essentialist terms. This representation is often mobilised or deployed when there is a sense or a perception that the government of the day is veering from or betraying "what they characterise as an explicitly value-laden foreign policy" (Alden & Wu, 2016: 222). In fact, Nathan (2005: 364) insists that "a principled commitment to democracy and respect for human rights was the essence if not the totality of President Mandela's foreign policy". Foreign policy behaviour of all subsequent administrations was to be subjected to this representation of statecraft – which is essentialist, foundationalist, structuralist and positivist – which focuses mainly on human rights as a liberal project that is separated from issues of development, social justice and solidarity with the marginalised.

Using a poststructuralism approach and taking a cue from Dembour's (2010) human rights mapping field, this study seeks to unmask the deployment of the "power of language" (Hansen, 2016: 96) inherent in the approach taken by some scholars who treat human rights in South Africa's foreign policy as essences that are fixed and non-contradictory. Arguably Dembour's (2010) model challenges the thesis that human

[2] This entail Mandela's failure to save Ken Saro Wiwa and his 8 comrades (the Ogoni 9) from execution by the Abacha military junta. Mandela, feeling humiliated by Abacha's insensible actions, advocated unilaterally for Nigeria's suspension from the Commonwealth during its meeting in New Zealand. This stance did not earn him friends among most African leaders and therefore led to South Africa being labelled a puppet of the West. This led to South Africa's reconsideration of its treatment of human rights on the African continent and preference for a multilateral approach to such issues, especially under the presidency of Thabo Mbeki.

rights are universal; they can be vernacularized. Although, she has not expressed it directly, she work appears to be in line with the argument of the "cultural relativists" (Le, 2016: 203) who believe in the centrality of context in the conceptualisation, implementation and evaluation of human rights. The work of these scholars will be sampled and be subjected to critical discourse analysis.

1.3 Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to present a poststructuralist interpretation of South Africa's human rights oriented foreign policy by subjecting the sampled corpus of work of scholars to discourse analysis. This approach is inspired by, among others, the observation of the 1998 ANC Working Group which discussed human rights in South Africa's foreign policy. It thus posited that "there was no single definition of human rights: the meaning of the phrase depended on culture, creed and conviction" thus the debate on human rights must nuance these important human and social traits. Dembour's (2010) human rights mapping field (again, see figure 2.1 in chapter 2) provides a framework for situating the South African government's treatment of human rights in South Africa's foreign policy.

1.4 Research Questions

The main research question of this study is: **Can poststructuralism help to explain South Africa's human-rights foreign policy differently?**
A supplementary question: Who is framing South Africa's foreign policy identity as essentially normative and in whose interests?

1.5 Significance of the Study

There is already a rich body of knowledge on South Africa's foreign policy with a slant on the manner in which it has handled cases with human rights implications (Black & Wilson, 2004; Alden & Le Pere, 2004; Lipton, 2009; Black & Hornsby, 2016). However, most of this work has used, as its basis, the 1993 Mandela article, to essentialise human rights in South Africa's foreign policy. This study is significant in that it seeks

to present a poststructuralist interpretation of South Africa's human rights oriented foreign policy decisions. Hopefully, lessons learnt will assist in understanding future foreign policy behaviour of the South Africa government when dealing with cases that have human rights implications.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

The researcher was previously employed at the Office of the Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation. At the time, he was responsible for the coordination of and advising on the implementation of South Africa's foreign policy. Although he has since moved to the Office of the Deputy Minister of Basic Education, there is no doubt that his stint at the previous workplace, would have left him with particular views and perceptions on certain aspects of this Study which might have developed a certain amount of bias against or in favour of particular arguments. The second limitation of the Study stems from the fact that it was conducted through literature review without directly engaging the real sample target (scholars themselves) who would have elaborated on their written text. This means that the findings of this study would not be generalized for application in other studies of a similar nature. The third limitation of this Study is the fact that, despite all attempts to be inclusive, not all authors dealing with the subject at hand have been included due to constraints of time and space.

1.7 Research Design and Method

This study makes of use of Discourse Analysis to enquire into South African human rights oriented foreign policy. It is not uncommon to combine poststructuralism as a interpretative method and discourse analysis as the research method. Jacobs (2018; 2020) treated various subjects using what he calls a poststructuralist discourse theory and proffers that this approach is "aimed at emphasizing structural contingency and openness […] [and] is based on the absence of any determinative principle". Strictly speaking, researchers who use discourse analysis "shy away from prescribing method, for no matter how standardised the process, the analysis of language by different people will seldom yield the same result" (Graham, 2011: 666).

It is for this reason that poststructuralists "typically questioned the idea of transparent or universal truth" because in their world it is "[d]iscourses, rather than truths, [that] shape and allow for certain meanings and subsequent experiences*"* (Ropers-Huilman,1999: 23). In this sense, "the aim of poststructural analysis is not to establish a final 'truth' but to question the intelligibility of truth/s we have come to take for granted" (Graham, 2011: 666). Just like similar studies that have taken this approach, this study rejects "outright the plausibility of discerning the accuracy of claims to knowledge in any absolutely objective ontological or methodological sense" (Trifonas, 2009: 300) hence it prefers a nuanced interpretation of human rights in South Africa's foreign policy aided by Dembour's (2010) mapping field.

Some scholars have argued that "discourse analyses, taken from a poststructuralist viewpoint" assumes that "discourses are historically and contextually constituted" (Jahng & Lee, 2013: 295) and thus need to be analysed taking into account their historical and contextual accounts. Other scholars believe that discourse "is meant to capture the ways in which bodies of knowledge, interpretive schema, conceptual schema and signs define the terrain" (Bacchi, 2000: 48) that is being studied. According to Anderson and Holloway (2020: 190) "[d]iscourse – when defined in its broadest sense – includes talk, text, and action as well as more broadly circulating narratives, sets of beliefs, and ways of seeing the world" which is also the case with human rights as discourse in foreign policy.

Discourse analysis as a method is situated in the qualitative research paradigm that "allows analysts of discourse to include the organisation of knowledge and worldviews on their list of appropriate objects for investigation [by going] beyond…written documents of conversation analysis or textual analysis" (Wickham & Kendall, 2007: 2). Its investigative strength lies in its ability to ask questions such as "which object or area of knowledge is discursively produced; according to what logic is the terminology constructed; who authorized it; and which strategic goals are being pursued in the discourse" (Diaz-Bone, Bührmann, Rodríguez, Schneider, Kendall & Tirado, 2007: 3-4).

The discourse analysis approach essentially seeks to uncover the use of language to convey certain ideas and values. It is concerned with uncovering meaning in texts, whether it be written or spoken as in an interview. In other words, it looks at how language is used to construct meaning (Bezuidenhout & Cronje, 2014). For Anderson and Holloway (2020: 190) discourse should be "treated as a vehicle for making meaning [and] doing things" hence it is "not neutral but is rather motivated by political interests, power relations, ideologies, rhetorical positioning, etc". The researcher sought to examine the nature of "complex power relations" in instances where scholars adopt what seem to be like "a dominant interpretation" (Diaz-Bone *et al*, 2007: 4) of the human rights aspects of South Africa's foreign policy.

In examining these power relations, the researcher will employ critical discourse analysis which "deconstruct a particular phenomenon so as to understand its construct" (Jurema, Correia Pimentel, Cordeiro & Austregésilo Nepomuceno, 2006: 1-2). Deconstruction can take two forms: one known as "literary deconstruction" which "tends to see everything as text" and another known as "social deconstruction" which "emphasize the processes involved in the creation of text" (Bacchi, 2000: 46). This study opted for social deconstruction in that it attempted to go beyond what is written to examine the "worldliness of the text" (Ahluwalia, 2005: 141) to enquire into what lies behind words and phrases used by authors who essentialise human rights in South Africa's foreign policy.

Some scholars regard deconstruction "as a key tool for breaking into the perceived intimate relationship between power and knowledge" (Darkins, 2017: 3) get insight of the object and rationale for essentialising issues including human rights. The same claim can be attributed to the discourse of the treatment of human rights in South Africa's foreign policy. However, some scholars have argued that "deconstruction never embraces the moment of developing an explanation" (Harcourt, 2007: 21) because it "never overcomes the radical moment of ambiguating meaning" (Harcourt, 2007: 22) which might leave readers confused about the import of the exercise itself. But Harcourt's concerns can be addressed through other techniques such as "the double reading" (Darkins, 2017: 3) which belongs in the realm of literary deconstruction and not social deconstruction.

Anderson and Holloway (2020: 193) posit that "[p]ost-structuralist studies often draw on Foucault (e.g. Foucauldian Discourse Analysis) and view meaning as fluid, blurred, and multiple". In fact, this approach "endeavours to avoid the substitution of one 'truth' for another" (Graham, 2011: 665-6) and "looks to statements not so much for what they say but what they *do*" (Graham, 2011: 667) to both the ontological basis and epistemological properties of any given concept. Discourse analysts believe that "language is key and that words and sentences do not reflect or represent any external reality" (Darkins, 2017: 1) but the thoughts process of the author. For the foregoing reason, language is regarded as "the tool through which people communicate ideas […] [and] the *words* we use to describe *things*, is the mechanism through which we define and shape what Foucault often referred to as 'objects of discourse'" (Graham, 2011: 668).

Put differently, a critical discourse analysis is "not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies" (Fairelough, 1992: 12). Engaging with the work of various scholars in this study, the Researcher sought to show "the language that people have access to depends upon their position in the social system" (Fairelough, 1992: 26) and language but as a carrier of power "[…] is realised, first and foremost, as text […] not as isolated words and sentences" (Thornby, 2005: 6). In the final analysis, foreign policy analysts using discourse analysis should be "less interested in understanding how well a policy supposedly works and […] instead [should be] concerned with understanding and/ or critiquing the contextual factors" (Anderson & Holloway, 2020: 190) that influence political behavioural patterns of those charged with policy implementation.

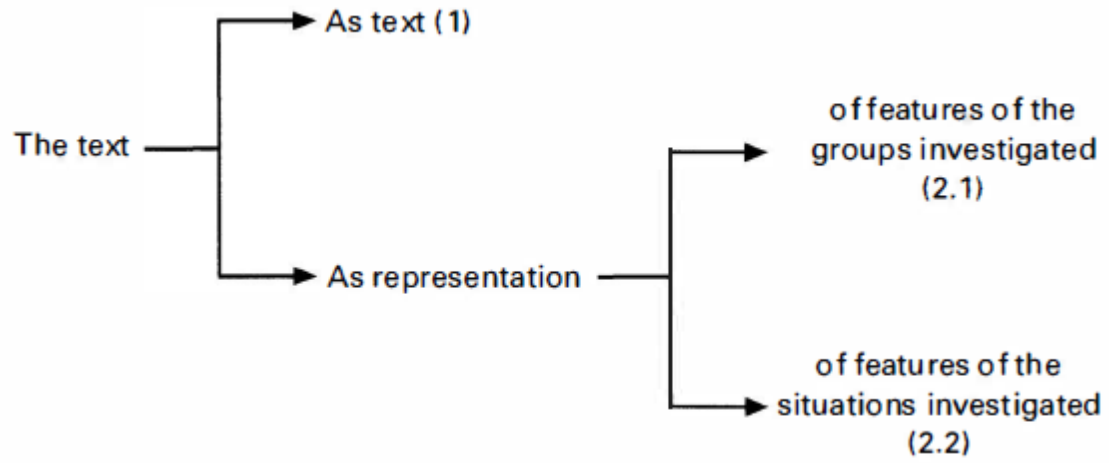
1.8 Sampling

The target population for this study is the work of scholars (journal articles, chapters in books, books etc.) who ply their trade in international relations and foreign policy analysis generally and human rights specifically. Schofield (2006: 28) advises that target populations "can be thought of as consisting of […] collections of elements which do not overlap and which exhaust the entire population" of issues being researched on. Ordinarily, the entire or general populations would consist of text

which, in poststructuralist parlance, include “buildings, bodies, clothing, along-side artefacts, devices […] other aspects of material and technical culture […] interview transcripts, field notes and video-recordings” (Rapley & Rees, 2018: 378). The research question in this study was key in determining the entire population of the study as well as its target population.

This study has selected samples of text from previous and contemporary work of selected scholars from “the universe of texts” (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter, 2002: 33) for examination and critique, the aim being to “obtain consistent and unbiased estimates of the population status” (Schofield, 2006: 26) of scholarly work in foreign policy analysis. In this regard, the sample for this study consisted of text from 21 scholarly articles that discuss South Africa’s foreign policy with a slant in its behaviour in relation to human rights issues. **Figure 1.1** below shows the process of selecting text that a typical discourse analyst would use depending on the nature of their research.

Figure 1.1: Functions of text material



Source: (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter, 2002: 32)

A determination was made whether “the features of the text itself are of interest to the research” or whether it serves “as an index in the analysis of phenomena for which individuals are seen as feature-bearers” or it serves “as a manifest reflection of communication and constitute an aid or an indicator to make it possible to analyse the

communication (or communicative situation) that is documented" (Titscher *et al*, 2002: 32). Clearly, this study did not use text for and of its self and therefore option (1) and (2.2) in figure 1.1 above were eliminated. Rather, the study is interested in analysing text bearing views of scholars in respect of human rights in South Africa's foreign policy (option 2.1 in figure 1.1 above).

When choosing a sample, the researcher took cognisance of "themes, debates, or motifs" which always "play a role in how language is interpreted" (Gee, 2010: 29). In this study, the researcher considered the normative and essentialist representation of human rights in South Africa's foreign policy and decided that sampling some of this work might serve to answer the research question. Although the researcher, as already explained in section 1.6 of this study, hold particular views about the work of the scholars under study given his previous employment, it became crucial "for the researcher to not only name what they represent, but also to hold to an integrity of interpretation informed by the nature of a sample" (Thorne, 2014: 108).

This study has utilised a purposive or judgmental sampling (another type of non-probability sampling), (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999; Neuman, 2011). Purposive or judgmental sampling is used to select a target sample that is "especially informative" (Neuman, 2011, 268) and in instances where "members of the subset [of a larger population] are easily identified, but the enumeration of all of them would be nearly impossible" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 166). This kind of samples was "done by selecting sample data sets that are considered to reflect the general patterns observed in the larger data set, or specific data sets that are relevant to the research question, and […] are able to provide an emic perspective on the phenomenon under investigation" (Tsui, 2012: 386).

1.9 Data Collection

As with all qualitative research studies, the researcher has had to use some form of data collection technique to select "material for analysing and understanding phenomena […] and the related meaning-making processes" (Flick, 2018: 7). The researcher had to choose among "the three general types of data collection:

interviews, observations, and documents" (Gilgun, 2014: 669). The problem Statement of this study directed the Researcher to opt for documentary sources in the form of scholarly articles that discusses South Africa's foreign policy with a human rights focus. As Flick (2018: 7) avers, the aim of data collection is "to arrive at materials that allow for producing generalizable statements by analysing and comparing various exemplars, phenomena or cases" (Flick, 2018: 7). The Researcher used the University of Pretoria journal portal as well as Google Scholar to search for scholarly articles bearing the subject under study.

In collecting these articles and taking a leaf out the book of Rau, Elliker and Coetzee, 2018: 308), the researcher considered "socio-political and historical context" which might have "transport[ed] problematic essentializing notions" of the kind of foreign policy that scholars thought the South African government ought to prosecute. Of course, "it is easy to forget that […] sources do not just arise automatically through some natural process"; whereas the truth is that "[t]hey are produced by human beings acting in particular circumstances and within the constraints of particular social, historical or administrative conditions" (Finnegan, 2006: 144). This fact is mentioned in order promote "transparency in terms of the ethical standards the researchers followed" (Gilgun, 2014: 669) in collecting data used in this Study.

Rapley and Rees (2018: 378-9) proffer that there are two uses in which we can put documents, namely "as an object in its own right, the content of the document as static and immutable" and, secondly, documents as "active agents in organisational and/or every-day life" that are conveying particular socio-political narratives. Poststructuralists would obviously prefer the second use. Viewed in poststructuralist sense documents can enable us to "learn more about the author's circumstances, and (perhaps) about the influences on him or her by other individuals or groups, who may sometimes bear more responsibility than at first appears." (Finnegan, 2006: 144). However, this study did not venture into learning about the authors' bio-psychological traits but their ideational orientations as they relate to South Africa's foreign policy.

Research studies commonly distinguishes between primary and secondary sources with the former entailing "the basic and original material for providing the researcher's raw evidence" and the latter being those source that are "somewhat removed from the

actual [and original] events" (Finnegan, 2006: 142). This study has used secondary sources – scholarly articles – because of the nature of the research problem being studied. What matters is that these secondary sources entailed "both the written elements of texts alongside the extra-textual elements […] that are routinely embedded in documents." (Rapley & Rees, 2018: 378) in line with the problem being researched.

1.10 Data Analysis

Having gathered all the relevant data, the researcher analysed it to make sense of its meaning. The researcher took Merriam's (2002: 14) advice of conducting data analysis simultaneously as conducting data collection whilst making "adjustments along the way, even to the point of redirecting data collection" (Merriam, 2002: 14). In addition, Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999: 139) agree that in a qualitative study "there is no clear point when data collection stops and analysis begins". The researcher followed the technique of "gathering, sorting, and analysing the data continue simultaneously and iteratively" (Bryant, 2014: 120) without compromising the quality of data.

For those following discourse analysis as a research method, "[a]nalysis involves breaking the data into manageable texts, patterns, trends and relationships" (Mouton, 2001: 108) to make sense of such data. For poststructuralist discourse analysts, "the process of analysis is always interpretive, always contingent, always a version or a reading from some theoretical, epistemological or ethical standpoint" (Graham, 2011: 666). Indeed, in poststructuralist sense "[t]he researcher is the conduit through which information is gathered and filtered" in the construction of epistemic repertoires through his "ability to observe and ascertain nuances, with *schema*, [and] a deep understanding or cognitive framework of the phenomena under study" (Trent *&* Cho, 2014: 664).

Moreover, the researcher had to understand that essentialist explanations of South Africa's foreign policy "are not innocent explanations of the world. They are…a way of *worlding*, of appropriating the world through knowledge" (Diaz-Bone *et al*, 2007: 4)

hence the work of scholars had to be analysed with this in mind. In this Study, "[a]nalysis procedures were carried out […] to allow the data to speak for themselves as much as possible, and not to allow preconceptions of the researcher […] to influence the analysis" (Hopwood, 2004: 350). In effect, the researcher had to conduct "detailed analysis of the language and meaning within the document" (Rapley & Rees, 2018: 382) as part of deconstructing text.

Terre Blanche and Kelly (in Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999: 141-4) suggest five steps of data analysis, namely "familiarization and immersion"; "inducing themes"; "coding"; "elaboration"; and "interpretation and checking". Familiarizing or immersing oneself entails reading and re-reads the text. Inducing themes happens when the researcher uses the collected data to develop emergent theories. Coding entails marking or labelling different parts of data to represent particular themes. Elaboration is a step where the researcher identifies nuances in the data whilst interpretation and checking is when the researcher compares results to existing theories to establish if they affirm or falsify these theories. All these steps were followed in compiling this study.

1.11 Reliability and Validity

Just like every scientific research, this study has to stand the test of reliability and validity. Leedy and Ormrod (2005: 97) describe validity as the "accuracy, meaningfulness and credibility of the research project as a whole". But in this poststructuralist study, issues of reliability and validity will remain unsettled because the aim is not to pursue some 'universal truth' but to examine discourse as a vehicle that is used to essentialised certain theories. As Graham (2011: 666) aptly puts it, the aim is to "question the intelligibility of truth/s we have come to take for granted" and therefore the accuracy and meaningful of the research project also remains a discursive matter.

Indeed, these two concepts "are ways of demonstrating and communicating the rigour of research processes and the trustworthiness of research findings" (Roberts & Priest, 2006: 41) so that readers and those who might wish to critique this study should do so

knowing what went into its compilation. Some research scholars aver that enquiry into validity should ask "[w]hether the research question is valid for the desired outcome, the choice of methodology is appropriate for answering the research question, […] the sampling and data analysis is appropriate, and finally the results and conclusions are valid for the sample and context" (Leung, 2015: 325). Others believe that the it should speak to "(a) truth–value (credibility); (b) applicability (transferability); (c) consistency (dependability); and (d) neutrality (confirmability)" (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011: 152) of research findings.

In general, validity of the study refers to "the degree to which the indicators or variables of a research concept are made measurable, accurately represent that concept" (Lub, 2015: 2) whilst reliability refers to "the repeatability of a particular set of research findings", implications being that "different researchers [can] draw the same conclusions from the same set of results" (Boddy, 2005:244). Of course, from a poststructuralist discourse analysis perspective validity and reliability is conceptualised differently. Scholars in research studies counsel that researchers who are wearing poststructuralist lenses should refer "to the way in which the research as process and product insinuates itself into social, cultural and political practice" (Mc Taggart,1998: 218) and that they themselves "should be reflexive and transparent about the kind of knowledge they disclose" (Lub, 2015: 5).

Using guidance provided by Creswell and Miller (2000: 126) in Table 1.1 below, this study used researcher reflexivity and peer debriefing to test the reliability and validity thus confirming that this study falls within the critical paradigm. Creswell and Miller (2000: 124) suggest that "the lens researchers choose to validate their studies and researchers' paradigm assumptions" (Creswell & Miller, 2000: 124) should be the main two guides for researchers. As this study has taken a poststructuralist turn in analysing South Africa's human rights-oriented foreign policy, the role of the researcher himself and the lens through which he is viewing data collected had to be accounted for hence researcher reflexivity and peer debriefing were chosen.

Table 1.1: Validity Procedures within Qualitative Lens and Paradigm Assumptions

Paradigm assumption/Lens	Postpositivist or Systematic Paradigm	Constructivist Paradigm	Critical Paradigm
Lens of the Researcher	Triangulation	Disconfirming evidence	Researcher reflexivity
Lens of Study Participants	Member checking	Prolonged engagement in the field	Collaboration
Lens of People External to the Study (Reviewers, Readers)	The audit trail	Thick, rich description	Peer debriefing

Source: Creswell & Miller (2000: 126)

Researcher reflexivity took the form of the researcher "return[ing] to their data over and over again to see if the constructs, categories, explanations, and interpretations make sense" whilst peer debriefing entailed "individuals external to the study" (Creswell & Miller, 2000: 125) but who are familiar with the subject matter serving as the researcher's sounding board. Two former colleagues who are working for the Department of International Relations and Cooperation were used as peer debriefers. This approach confirmed the view that "[v]alidity thus requires all […] perspectives to be taken into account while accepting that any single perspective has its limitations" (Boesch, Schwaninger, Weber & Scholz, 2013: 234-5)

1.12 Ethical Considerations

No human participants have been involved in this study. However, using the work of various scholars has invariably raised ethical issues in the process. Defined as "the norms and standards that guide choices about behaviour and relationships with others" (Pruzan, 2016:275), scholarly ethics in this study required of the researcher "to be reflexive in terms of […] the methodological difficulties experienced in securing […] meaningful access" (Rowe, 2007: 48) to relevant data. The choice as to which material to include or to exclude, was as much a methodological question as it was an ethical question. Given that it was impossible to secure the consent of these scholars

to use their work, the researcher was well advised to understand that “ethical vigilance should be proportionate to the risks borne by […] [the Researcher]” (Alderson & Morrow, 2006: 408). Relying on ones “inherent capacity for self-reflective choice” (Pruzan, 2016: 277), the researcher took all precautions to ensure that fairness, credibility and objectivity in using data collected, especially in analysing it.

1.13 Outline of Chapters

Chapter 1 has provided a background to the study as well as an outline to the Problem Statement, the Purpose Statement, the Research Questions and the Limitation of the study. This chapter has also addressed the Research Methodology followed in gathering data that was used to arrive at the findings set out in this report. Chapter 2 will present the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study informed by literature that covers aspects of this topic. Specifically, it will present a corpus of work of different authors who analysed and evaluated South Africa’s foreign policy, especially its human rights aspects. Chapter 3 present data collected and subsequently analyses it using discourse analysis through Dembour’s (2010) human rights mapping field. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study and concludes the study with specific recommendations for those who would like to take forward this discussion.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the various theoretical ways of analysing foreign policies and their execution. The first section discusses poststructuralism as a philosophical and epistemological canon in general terms. It is followed by an examination of a poststructuralist turn in the foreign policy discourse. The chapter then discusses the manner in which poststructuralists have challenged and continue to challenge essentialists in the representation of human rights in foreign policies. It is here that the work of Dembour (2010) is introduced. The final section examines South Africa's human rights credentials and their 'embeddedness' in its foreign policy.

2.2 Poststructuralism as a philosophical and epistemological canon

Poststructuralism has over the years developed a philosophical and epistemological canon through which it engages social discourse. In contributing to this discourse, Ahluwalia (2005: 141) wondered why structuralists have not appreciated and examined "[t]he materiality, the locatedness, the worldliness of the text" which has proven to have "a material presence, a cultural and social history, a political and even an economic being" that manifests as knowledge. For this reason, text should not be viewed as something neutral and bias-free but should be read and understood as an embodiment of certain political and social values (including ideology) moulded in a particular worldliness. The locatedness or worldliness of oppression or freedom or ignorance or enlightenment will most likely produce text that embodies such social aspects even if they are not manifestly pronounced.

Poststructuralism pride itself of classical scholars such as "Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan, Jean-François Lyotard" and contemporary thinkers such as "Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe, Jacques Rancière, Étienne Balibar, Judith Butler, William Connolly, Wendy Brown and Slavoj Žižek" (Newman, 2005). This does not suggest that all these scholars had or have

homogenous viewpoints on questions they were or are addressing from time to time. In fact, they differed more than they could agree but what "unites thinkers as diverse as Foucault, Derrida and Lyotard under the label poststructuralism [is] the search for a broader and more complex understanding of modern society" which speaks for "the marginalized, the excluded" (de Goede, 2006: 4).

Helsloot and Hak (2007: 8) expound that "[Jacques] Lacan directed his analysis to the structure and workings of the unconscious; [Jacques] Derrida's work focused on philosophical and literary analysis [whilst] [Michel] Foucault observations [was] on language and discourse [as] part of his historical analysis of the present" thus leading to overlaps and contradictions when comparing and contrasting their scholarly work. Tellingly, some authors have sought to characterise poststructuralists such as "[…] Derrida […] Foucault, Lyotard […] as Franco-Maghrebians who have sought to challenge the very epistemology of French colonialism and its ideas of cultural superiority" (Ahluwalia, 2005: 152) to develop a decolonial epistemology. It can thus be said that some genre of poststructuralism is cradled in lived experiences of scholars with postcolonial disposition, which advocate for the marginalised and excluded.

Deconstruction as a method used in analysing discourse has already been thoroughly discussed in chapter 1, save to mention that it "affirms that any social text […] contains implicit hierarchies, through which an order is imposed on 'reality' exercising a subtle repression" (Springer, 2012: 140) of those who might be ignorant of or ambivalent to the mechanics of language. In Lacanian sense, Thiher (1995: 98) is correct to declare that "the human subject does not or even cannot exist outside of language" and therefore "the science of language has the methodology that explains what it means to be human". Arguably, all rights attributable to humans do not exist outside of the language used to frame them. In fact, they are a social construct created by text that also represent thems in particular hierarchies that confirm power relations in society, hence we have first, second, third and fourth generation rights (Cornescu, 2009)

Poststructuralists are renowned for examining "the complex and intimate relationship between knowledge and power" (Darkins, 2017: 4) and use discourse to show "how knowledge is constructed and gains currency to define disciplinary perspectives and educational belief systems" (Sharma, 2020: 313). Some have styled Foucault's

governmentality phrase as “a toolbox that can be used to disclose power and knowledge systems” (Jahng & Lee, 2013: 298) which conceives of power as a form of “working through systems of knowledge and discursive practices to provide the meanings, norms, values and identities” (Gelot & Welz, 2018: 2336).

Another subject that poststructuralism examines brazenly is the notion of truth. Examining truth “does not mean that there is no truth – it means that truth is always contingent and subject to scrutiny" (Graham, 2011: 666). It is for this reason that poststructuralists seek “not to demonstrate truth but to expose how any story depends on the repression of internal tensions” (Darkins, 2017: 3) of a subject being interrogated. Accordingly, poststructuralists are disinclined to claim that they have “found the truth of the moment” (Ropers-Huilman, 1999: 34) for this will be tantamount to universalizing unique experiences. On the contrary, by “decentering of the subject, of institutions and of the […] word” (Zalewski, 2006: 31) they can demonstrate that “structures of meanings […] do not [always] reflect ontological truths about humans or society” (Harcourt, 2007: 17) and their attended rights.

Poststructuralism also engages the subject of meaning as distilled both from spoken and written text. According to Barreto, (2013: 8) “there are no context-independent or pre-contextual ideas […] [because] the meaning of a word is already determined by its context, which most of the time remains latent or implicit”. Indeed, there are “moment[s] when we impose meaning in a space that is no longer characterized by shared social agreement over the structure of meaning”. (Harcourt, 2007: 2). It is under such circumstances that we should recognise “language not as referential […] but as producing the meaning of categories and ‘things’ […] that are embedded in power relations” (Peterson, 2006: 121). Poststructuralist, after all, are called upon to study the creation of hegemonic discourses, and to analyse their structuring of meaning (Gelot & Welz, 2018: 2338) that we deploy in everyday ordinary subjects.

However, some authors have critiqued poststructuralism for not “seek[ing] to present a specific worldview of its own“ (Darkins, 2017: 1) and for problematizing existing theories of reality without proposing an alternative framing which effectively “leaves them homeless” (Darkins, 2017: 4). Some have pointed to its “delegitimizing possibilities for human agency both because it focuses on the instability of power

relations and because its language and constructs are inaccessible to many" (Ropers-Huilman,1999: 32). Others believe that its flaws lie in its claim that "not only is the idea that we can grasp meaning through language a fiction […] but so also is the idea that we can know (conceptualize) or represent original meaning through scientific inquiry" (Springer, 2012: 134).

2.3 A poststructuralist turn in the foreign policy discourse

Foreign policy analysis can be conducted from different theoretical paradigms or perspectives. Smith, Hadfield and Dunne (2016) sought to distinguish between realism, liberalism, constructivism and poststructuralism. Decidedly, scholars in foreign policy analysis have often taken either of these paradigms when analysing events or phenomena in foreign policy. But most scholars have tended towards what is known as realism, neo-realism, idealism and rationalism (generally known as foundationalism). Without drilling deeply into definitional issues, realism presents the world in terms of interests and power, rationalism portrays the world in terms of interests and rights; whilst idealism presents the world in terms of power and rights (Sharp, 2009:9).

An in-depts discussion of the various paradigms of international relations theory is rendered in the work of Burchill and Linklater (1996). This work discusses liberal internationalism and realism and neo-realism (Burchill, 1996: 28-92), Marxist's approach to international relations (Linklater, 1996: 93-1180) as well as critical theory and postmodernism (Dovetak, 1996: 145-208). Other authors such as George (1992) have also sought to underscore changes in international relations literature which was due to the effects of post-war realities such as new ideologies, alliance, symbols and identities. Shapiro (2005) deals with what he called 'the politics of discursive practices', which were or are necessitated by particular epoch-making events on specific local communities and their effect on the international community. Cox (1981), who is known for his Marxist take on issues, breaks with a realist and neorealist tradition of international relations which treats power as a given but rather uses Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony to question the prevailing global order especially power relations.

What is common about the afore-mentioned theoretical traditions of conceptualising foreign policy and international relations is the idea of power. Tellingly, according to Gelot and Welz (2018: 2336) power need not only be "expressed in materialist terms" but should also "include subtle psychological ties (ideological or cultural control over minds)". This is where poststructuralism comes in. As already mentioned, poststructuralism is concerned with how power and discourses are intertwined (Gelot & Welz, 2018: 2337) and reproduce each other. Poststructuralism underscores the point that "when we say something about the world we also inevitably say something about our conception of the world" (Darkins, 2017: 2). We are 'worlding' (Diaz-Bone *et al*, 2007: 4) the language or concepts or events or phenomena. This means that those who wield the power to name things have the power to shape our understanding of historic, contemporary and future events or phenomena.

Poststructuralism challenges positivist aspirations of structuralism which suggest that "any social element exists only in patterned, structured relations" (Darkins, 2017: 1) and instead it "locate[s] subjects within a power and knowledge nexus […], and deconstruct and demystify stable meanings and values by placing them into elusive anarchy" (Jahng & Lee, 2013: 298). Specifically, Michel Foucault posits that "any examination of knowledge begins with an analysis of the history of concepts foundational to a given discipline that is taken for granted" (Sharma, 2020: 312). Jacques Derrida, on the other hand points out "the presence of binaries and dichotomies" in "the very structure of thought" which lead to "things […] defined largely by what they are not". Both Foucault and Derrida help explain the significance of language and discourse as structuring mechanisms of power.

Poststructuralists are renowned for viewing international relations and politics different from foundationalists who ascribe some form of aboriginal character to the state; they instead "believe that […] states are performatively constituted" (Darkins, 2017: 4). Profoundly, they challenge "basic concepts of sovereignty, universalism and foundationalism, and the ahistorically privileged position granted to them" (O'Loughlin, 2014: 15) by theories such as realism, rationalism and neorealism. In tackling political-economic issues, poststructuralists contribute to the disestablishment of neoliberalism's rationalities, the deconstruction of its strategies, the disassembling of its technologies, and ultimately the destruction of its techniques (Springer, 2012: 144)

by contending that by challenging knowledge systems we are able to challenge power systems.

As regards politics, poststructuralism attempts to reveal how claims to textual coherence or closure are actually linked to social power and inequality (Zalewski, 2006: 31) whilst contesting the notion that "politics is restricted to the interactions of preconstituted, juridically sovereign states" (Coward, 2006: 61). It therefore "make possible a critical analysis of the politics of stabilizations […] by showing that, firstly, it [liberalism] is not what it claims to be, and secondly, it depends upon marginalizations that may breed anger, violence and resistance" (de Goede, 2006: 116) especially among the underclass. Poststructuralism rejects "the presumption of stable, singular identities […] in favour of recognizing identities […] as complex, multiple, and hybrid (not necessarily coherent), and continuously (re)negotiated/created" (Peterson, 2006: 120) identities that take into account the interests of the historically marginalised and excluded.

Poststructuralists understand policy, and foreign policy in particular, as 'discourse' which is continuously "constitutive, or productive" and they advise against "focusing on how people make policy, [rather] the way policy makes people" (Ball cited Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016: 8). Their anti-foundational (Williams, 2005: 75) disposition urges them to "challenge received wisdom and think outside of the conventional policy box" (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016: 7-8) that situate state action in particular policy orientation, namely, realist, neorealist, idealist, rationalist and so on. It is for this reason that poststructuralists call for a more nuanced understanding of and approach to politics (Dillet, MacKenzie, & Porter, Eds., 2013: 6) rather than rely on epistemic dogma presented as epistemology.

From a poststructuralist perspective, the state is "seen as a subject constituted in discourse" (Hansen, 2016: 100) as opposed to a fixed entity that has to strictly adhere to certain natural rules of practice when executing foreign policy. The poststructuralist theorisation refutes the idea of the state as a rational actor (Hansen, 2016: 100) or of an "unchanging types of being who possess a fixed human essence or nature" (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016: 4). This means that statist discursive products such as foreign policy must not be taken as having a fixed, essentialist and immanent form to everyone.

Through this epistemic paradigm, the idea that "policy analysis needs to be rescued from policy analysts" (Shore cited in Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016: 7) makes absolute sense.

Poststructuralism challenges "international relations' as we know […] today" by charging that the conventional way of doing international relations" relied more on "the "intertext between the old world and the new" (Darkins, 2017: 2) which unwittingly sowed marginality in the global South. For this reason, a poststructuralist turn in international relations "seeks to challenge the master discourse of the West, and the […] disavowal of that marginality which puts […] European thought" (Ahluwalia, 2005: 145) at the centre of foreign policy analysis. Some have brazenly claimed that "[i]f the poststructuralist theorists succeed in their task of identifying" epistemic dogma in foundational theories, they will succeed in unmasking "profound implications not only for the theory of IR" (O'Loughlin, 2014: 23) but for its essentialist human rights worlding in foreign policies.

2.4 A Poststructuralist challenge to essentialist representation of human rights in foreign policy

Essentialism in its crudest form treats human rights like "the objects that we encounter in social life [that] have fixed essences" (Howarth, 2010: 311) that do not accommodate flexibility and permutations in their implementation. Arguably, an essentialist framing of human rights presents itself as 'objective' and 'universal', while also assuming "exclusive authority and legitimacy" (Barreto, 2013: 6) by those countries that framed the initial debate. Of course, the claim of universalism has generated much intellectual debate between the universalists and cultural relativists with the former "believ[ing] that same legal enforcement mechanisms of human rights exist everywhere" whilst the latter arguing that "there are diverse ways to interpret and to use or abuse human rights" (Le, 2016: 203). Arguably, universalists are disposed towards structuralism in that they are prone to operate within a structure devised by interests that dominated the development of the various generation of rights while relativists are oriented on poststructuralism which looks at the role of language and power in contained in these structures.

Le (2016) argues that given that a significant portion of of the world's population was not represented in the United Nations (UN) in 1948 and that parts of Africa and some Asian countries remained under colonial rule at the time it is not naysaying to suggest that human rights were framed in conceptions of history that were based almost exclusively on European milestones (Barreto, 2013: 6) rendering them essentially, Eurocentric. Some observe that when membership of the UN Commission of Human Rights was enlarged in 1967 so that many Third World countries that were previously under colonial rule could join, they still only remained "tangential on the agenda" of the Commission (Rajagopal, 2006: 769).

However, some believe that because human rights discourse has also been developed outside of Europe in colonized or Third world states, that they too should regard themselves as part of the prime movers. (Barreto, 2013: 11). In other words, an essentialist and universalist view takes "a view of authenticity" when dealing with human rights in the sense that they "cannot change, cannot recreate themselves […] nor can they be complicated, internally diverse or contradictory" (Smith, 2012: 77) especially when they are to apply in less powerful states. Arguably, only powerful states can give nuanced views on human rights because they have the ideational infrastructure to do so. Some would call this kind of influence hegemony which "applies when people become complicit in reproducing the value systems of dominant groups to the extent that people act – knowingly or unknowingly – in the interest of the powerful" (Rau, *et al*., 2018: 300).

The observation by Li and McKernan (2017: 264) on the universalistic vision of human rights is that "if it ever approached accomplishment [it] would constitute a new dominant hegemony, and not necessarily an entirely benevolent one". Rajagopal (2006: 768) for his part has cautioned the developing world to internalise the uncomfortable fact that human rights discourse is part of the problem of global hegemony and the absence of global justice" (Rajagopal, 2006: 768). In effect, these authors are not too agog with the prospects of human rights, even in their universal applications, serving as a bastion of global justice and an equaliser in a world dominated by former colonial powers.

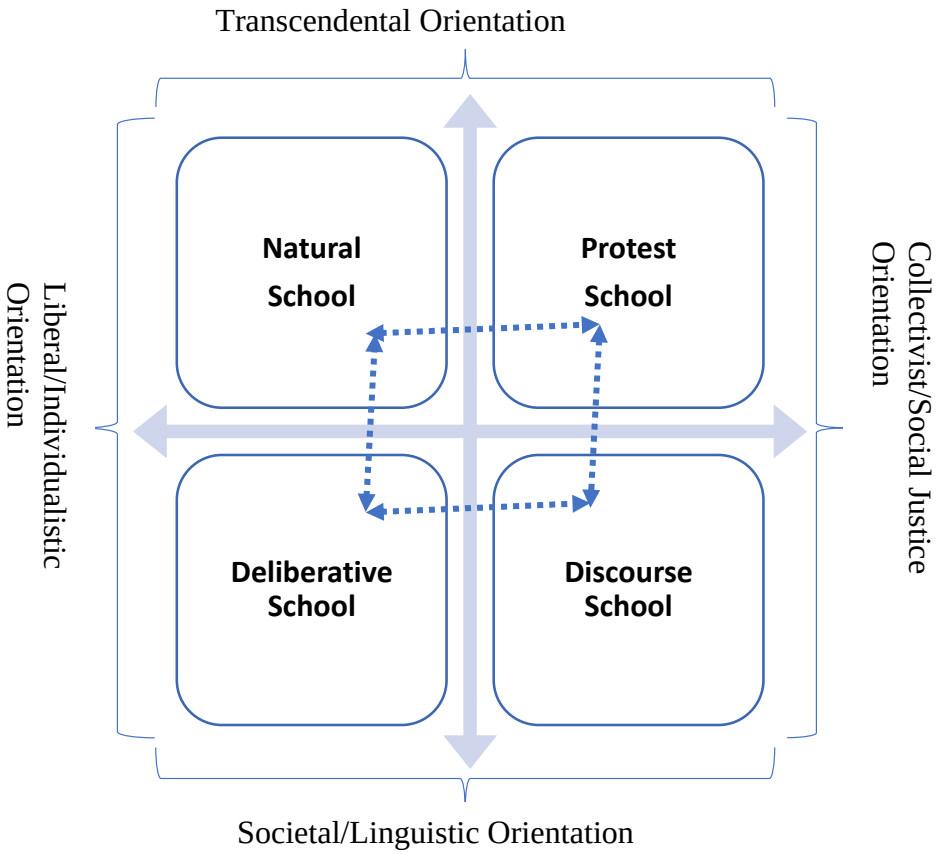
Perhaps, the most epistemically helpful approach is one that understand human rights as enshrined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948 which proves the point that human rights are not "universal, inalienable and indivisible" and are not "shared equally by everyone regardless of sex, race, nationality and economic background" (Ishay, 2004: 359). The fact that they evolve simultaneously with socio-political epochs as generations of rights means that they don't have fixed essences. In fact, many authors (who took a leaf from Kareal Vasak's book) have classified human rights into into three generations – the first generation being civil and political rights, the second being economic, social and cultural rights and the third being the most recent, representing solidarity rights (O'Sulivan, 2000: 34).

Arguably, this essentialist representation of human rights disavows the argument that "identities are constructed discursively through external relations of language" (Newman, 2005: 5) and that "rights are…constituted discursively through the social contract" (Newman, 2005: 97) between states and societies. Barreto's (2013: 8) avowal that "there are no context-independent ideas" fits in very well with an epistemic project of decolonizing human rights theory which aims at "abandoning realist and representational notions of truth" (Barreto, 2013: 7). Arguably, an attempt to decolonise human rights, as the case may be, should be "about interrogating essentialized notions" (Jahng & Lee, 2013: 296) of truth to illustrate that language and linguistic properties used in framing human rights represent a particular way of appropriating the world through knowledge (Diaz-Bone *et al*, 2007: 4).

For this reason, taking a poststructuralist turn in understanding human rights means that "things become open-ended and malleable, creating space for contestation"" *(*Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016: 15) by making human rights experiences that are in a continuous and fluid process of becoming. Taking a poststructuralist turn also means understanding that "identities […] [can be] invoked as the precondition for foreign policy decisions and implementations" (Hansen, 2016: 100) and not necessarily as the innate foundations of foreign policy. In order to lessen "the hold of structure on knowledge" and to rebut "a false representation of reality" (Williams, 2005: 80), poststructuralists challenge "the dogmatic image of thought [as] the precondition for a new way of thinking about" (Dillet, *et al*, 2013: 5) human rights.

In an attempt to aid the discussion on human rights, Dembour (2010) invented the human rights mapping field as seen in **figure 2.1** below which "should be approached as […] ideal-types rather than fixed categories that neatly and perfectly describe single track thought processes" (Dembour, 2010: 4). The double-edged broken arrows that encroach into the four quadrants (*added by the researcher*) shows the ideational axis between the four schools of thoughts. This means that scholars should understand that actions of any state can vacillate between the four schools of thoughts depending on an issue that they are dealing with and actors that might be implicated in the issue been dealt with.

Figure 2.1: The human rights mapping field



Source: Adapted from Dembour (2010: 5).

According to Dembour (2010: 5):

> the top half of the field corresponds to an orientation that tends to ground human rights transcendentally and the bottom half to an orientation that tends to see human rights as a society/language-based reality; the left hand-side of the field corresponds to a liberal and individualistic orientation and the right hand-side to a more collective orientation of social justice.

A transcendental orientation takes human rights as something supernatural or spiritual constructs which contrast with a societal/linguistic orientation that see them as social constructs. The liberal/individualistic orientation, on the other hand, regards human rights as belonging to individuals to be exercised at will and self-centredly whereas the social justice/collectivist orientation values collectives through solidarity advocacy and praxis.

When locating the South Africa's foreign policy behaviour with regard to two key examples in particular, Nigeria in 1995 and Zimbabwe in 2007, it is important for scholars to note that "[t]he government […] adjusted its views with regard to human rights, a process in which the spat with Nigeria played a major part" (Barber, 2005:1087) and then adopted a view that "human rights policy cannot be turned into a routine" (Vincent, 1989: 58) that is simply replicated in every situation. Context became an important policy consideration. The latter position was adopted under the presidency of Mbeki who believed "that we live in an unjust world, in which the western states impose their will on poorer, weaker peoples" and that "the attacks by the West upon Mugabe and his government can be seen as a threat not only to Zimbabwe, but to all Africans" (Barber, 2005: 1095).

2.4 The South African human rights credentials embedded in its foreign policy

As argued in the introduction, academic repositories are full of literature on South Africa's alleged failure to live up to its human rights credentials when executing foreign policy decisions (Black & Wilson, 2004; Alden & Le Pere, 2004; Lipton, 2009; Black & Hornsby, 2016). The epistemological and ontological basis of arguments in such literature is based on the essentialist and positivist interpretation of South Africa's foreign policy especially its slant towards the promotion of human rights. Again, as noted previously, most of these arguments are anchored on, among others, the 1993 scholarly article in the *Foreign Affairs* journal penned by the then African National

Congress (ANC) President Nelson juxtaposed with South Africa's foreign policy behaviour in multilateral and plurilateral bodies (Van Der Westhuizen, 1998; Barber, 2005; Moore, 2013; Borer & Mills, 2011; Ogunnubi & Amao, 2016).

To be sure, the Mandela (1993) article detailed what became known as "the six pillars of South Africa's future foreign policy", which established the contours for South Africa's engagement with other countries and multilateral institutions. He underscored "[t]he centrality of human rights to international relations, embracing economic, social and ecological rights, in addition to political rights; [t]he value of democracy promotion; [t]he centrality of justice and international law in the relations between nations; [i]nternationally agreed, non-violent conflict resolution mechanisms; [t]he centrality of Africa to South Africa's foreign policy concerns, and [t]he dependence of economic development on international cooperation in an interdependent world" (Moore, 2013: 549). These, indeed, remain the pivot around which South Africa's foreign policy is anchored albeit with some permutations from time to time.

However, there are scholars who have sought to privilege the human rights aspect when evaluating South Africa's foreign policy at the expense of other pillars. They have argued that South Africa's promotion of and respect for human rights should constitute a permanent and foundational feature of South Africa's foreign policy both in theory and in practice. Some observe that aspects of South Africa's foreign policy depict "preoccupation with human rights" (Moore, 2013: 559). Other scholars argued that "the saintly presidential presence of Nelson Mandela provided a solid domestic base…to pursue an ambitious, moralistic foreign policy" (Geldenhuys, 2015: 411). Whilst some scholars have asked whether South Africa will "live up to…the world's expectations of putting human rights at the centre of its foreign policy, and thus…act as an exceptional state" (Borer & Mills, 2011: 95). These are but few in a list of those who are insisting on an essentialist human rights-oriented foreign policy for South Africa.

Indeed, South Africa has been struggling to shrug off this constructed identity as it participates in processes of decision-making in multilateral and plurilateral bodies. In particular, South Africa has been accused of "overtly blocking United Nations' actions on behalf of human rights in such places as Burma/Myanmar, Tibet, and East Timor,

[thereby] unwilling or unable to act as a global standard bearer of human rights" (Borer & Mills, 2011: 77). With regard to Zimbabwe case, the purposively-constructed "quiet diplomacy was…criticised as fruitless and counter-productive to Western sanctions" (Adelmann, 2004: 252) and with regard to Sudan, South Africa was deemed "reluctant to support a tough resolution at the UN Human Rights Commission over the Darfur issue" (Spence, 2007: 345). In other words, South Africa is expected to stick out its proverbial neck every time there are allegations or reports of human rights abuses anywhere in the world.

In a somewhat sympathetic way, Spence (2007: 347) counsels that South Africa's commitment to ethical goals in foreign policy should not necessarily open it up to "accusations of inconsistency and double standards" and proposes what he calls "a cautious sceptical realism [that focusses] on concrete and specific national interests". Barber (2005: 1095), quite sensibly, underscores the point that "the gap between principles and practice in foreign policy is certainly not confined to South Africa…because states cannot control the external setting in which they operate". Shestack (1989: 20) contends that "human rights will occupy a central role only if the moulders of foreign policy are persuaded that a focus on human rights goals advances [their] national interest"and this is also true for South Africa.

These scholars seem to introduce the importance of context in the interpretation of the foreign policy behaviour of states. This kind of theorisation endorses a poststructuralist interpretation of policy which treats policy as "a curious and problematic social and cultural construct that needs to be unpacked and contextualised if its meanings are to be understood" (Shore cited in Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016: 7). Therefore, interpreting the context of South Africa's human rights-slanted foreign policy means balancing this responsibility against South Africa's commitment also to the principles of sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states (DIRCO, 2011: 20) – principles that one might argue are often viewed repugnantly by some scholars when discussing human rights issues.

It seems that South Africa's essentialist representation as a global human rights defender emanates from its unfair comparison with countries such as Canada and other Scandinavian states who have self-consciously adopted human rights as a

cornerstone of their foreign policies and are often evaluated by their electorates when there is a sense that their governments seem laxed in enforcing them abroad (Spence, 2007: 343). Needless to mention that Sweden officially declared that "human rights issues must be mainstreamed into all aspects of foreign policy" and that its "commitment to human rights is in its own interests" hence "the focus is shifting from the sovereignty and rights of states and regimes to the security and rights of the individual" (Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003: 4). This is a self-prescribed foreign policy identity against which Sweden will always be judged.

It is not farfetched to surmise that most scholars who appraise South Africa's foreign policy especially its human rights credentials have adopted a normatively essentialist attitude. When South Africa is accused of drifting away from "an explicitly value-laden foreign policy [developed] under Mandela" (Alden & Wu, 2016: 222) or when it is said to be "anointing itself as the leader in…human-rights-based foreign policy" (Borer & Mills (2011: 79), there should be something to be said about this kind of language in meaning-making and identity-making. It should indeed be said that such an essentialist language does not appreciate the fact that "identities are constructed discursively through external relations of language" (Newman, 2005: 5) hence "state's identity, which may change as a result of socialisation in the international realm" (Risse 2002: 599) is discursively constructed. This is the basic argument of poststructuralists.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the philosophical and epistemological basis of poststructuralism by reflecting on the ideational orientation of eminent scholars such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and Jean-François Lyotard etc. It then located poststructuralism in the corpus of international relations theories by showing how the state and foreign policy are treated in poststructuralism. In challenging the essentialist representation of human rights in foreign policy, the discussion landed in the human rights mapping field devised by Dembour (2010) to aid with the theorisation of human rights. Finally, it zeroed in at the South African human rights credentials in its foreign policy illustrating that permutations were introduced in South Africa's foreign policy to

take into account the context (solidarity and sovereignty) which are often ignored by human rights essentialism.

CHAPTER 3

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the selected work of authors who write on South Africa's foreign policy with a human rights slant. It has borrowed this approach from Anderson and Holloway (2020) who used almost the same approach in their study of education policy. They also surveyed a collage of scholarly work to help them to distil particular theories, methods and epistemology to understanding education policy as discourse. This study also benefited from the approach or format taken by these scholars although the style and content is purely that of the researcher.

The chapter also presents the analysis of the data collected. Table 4.1 below has been developed by the researcher as an aid to perform the analytical work of this study. Open coding was used in order aid analysis of text that contain phrases on human rights in South Africa's foreign policy thus landing conceptual focus to the research problem and research questions (Glaser, 2016). The coded phrases were also verified to ensure that no data was unwittingly excluded and, where that happened, relevant lexical symbols are used to indicate such omissions. The coded phrases were then counted to establish the number instances scholars use particular phrases and the school that they belong to. This resulted in the complexified Dembour's (2010: 5) mapping field which is now in **figure 4.1** below.

3.2 A corpus of human rights oriented foreign policy of South Africa

As already mentioned in chapter 2, the data collection method was limited to documentary review because the research problem of this study directed the researcher to do so. Using the University of Pretoria online journal portal as well as Google Scholar, the researcher searched for scholarly journal articles that addressed the subject of South Africa's human rights oriented foreign policy. Twenty-one (21) articles were collected for review. Although there are a dozen more of these articles,

this corpus is considered representative enough to enable the researcher to explore the researcher problem under study.

To paraphrase Rapley and Rees (2018: 378-9), the researcher used the collected articles as media that conveys the lived experiences of the authors that wrote them, although without delving deeper into the bio-psychological traits of these authors. **Table 3.1** below only presents a collage of these articles, the authors and their scope of focus. The criteria used to identify them was the extent to which the titles address themselves to South Africa's foreign policy issues. An attempt was also made to choose one article per author so as to allow fordiversity. The number of articles collected was also dictated to by the need not to overly exceed the required volume of work required by the prescripts of this study.

Table 3.1: A selected list of scholarly work that addresses South Africa's foreign policy

Number	Author(s)	Title of article	Scope of the article
1.	Adelmann, M. 2004	Quiet Diplomacy: The Reasons behind Mbeki's Zimbabwe Policy. *Africa Spectrum, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 249-276*	"This paper explores the underlying reasons for South Africa's policy of quiet diplomacy. It argues, in opposition to the general opinion, that quiet diplomacy is neither exceptional nor based on ideological blood chains, but rather follows the tradition and goals of South African foreign policy. Despite failure to bring about a solution to the crisis, quiet diplomacy is portrayed as South Africa's best option, as it minimises the potential risk of a deeper crisis" (Adelmann, 2004: 249)
2.	Alden, C. & le Pere, G.(2004)	South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy: From Reconciliation to Ambiguity? *Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 31, No. 100, pp. 283-297*	"This article focuses on South Africa's rehabilitation from international pariah status during the apartheid years to its de facto status as leader of the African continent. Its ambitious foreign policy agenda and the pan-African revivalism of Mbeki are discussed in the context of the many constraints (the need to attract foreign investment, limited institutional capacity, ambiguities over the nature of South Africa's identity) that circumscribe its capacity to achieve these goals" (Alden & le Pere, 2004: 283).
3.	Hudson, H. (2010)	Continuity and Change: An Evaluation of The Democracy-Foreign Policy Nexus In Post-Apartheid South Africa. Joernaal/Journal, Vol. 35, No.2, pp. 108-130	"The focus of this article is the democratic deficit of the Mbeki foreign policy (1999-2008), with some reference to the Zuma administration. The way in which foreign policy was personalised under the presidency of Mbeki was instrumental in closing the space for meaningful participation in the foreign policy processes. The article concludes that democratic foreign policy making is impeded by an overall deterioration in the quality of democracy in post-apartheid South Africa" (Hudson, 2010: 108)
4.	Amusan, L. (2014)	Crisis of Decision-Making and Policy Implementation in South Africa's Foreign Policy: Reflection on Two Decades Journey in the Wilderness *Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 49 No. 1, pp. 2-18*	"This paper x-rays relevant theoretical positions in public policy analysis and examines the relevance of each to the South African peculiarity 'based on three principles of "subjectivity", "temporality" and "situatedness". A conclusion is drawn and solutions to incoherent and inconsistent foreign policy decisions and actions are advanced" (Amusan, 2014: 2)
5.	Barber, J. (2005)	The New South Africa's Foreign Policy: Principles and Practice. *International Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 5, pp. 1079-1096*	The paper investigates "how far ANC governments-under Presidents Mandela and Mbeki-have succeeded in implementing the principles" (Barber, 2005: 1079)) and aims enshrined in an article published by Mandela in the Foreign Affairs journal
6.	Black, D. & Wilson, Z. (2004)	Rights, region and identity: exploring the ambiguities of South Africa's regional human rights	This paper highlights the "multi-dimensionality of South Africa's rights-based foreign policy". In particular, it underscores "the government contradictory commitments

		role. *Politikon, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp.27–47*	to both African solidarity and global integration". It illustrates the "interpretive purchase of the complex yet powerful concept of identity for explaining these dynamics" (Black & Wilson, 2004: 27)
7.	Borer, T. A. & Mills, K. 2011	Explaining Post-apartheid South African Human Rights Foreign Policy: Unsettled Identity and Unclear Interests. *Journal of Human Rights, Vol. 10, pp. 76–98*	This article explains the "gaps between its stated commitments to human rights principles and its actions in support of those principles…Delving into the literature on norms-based and interest-based explanations of state behavior, it argues that both approaches help explain South Africa's foreign policy actions" (Borer & Mills, 2011: 76)
8.	Cooper, A. F. (1998)	The Multiple Faces of South African Foreign Policy. *International Journal, Vol. 53, No. 4, pp. 705-732*	This article is meant "to capture the essence of the multiple faces of South African foreign policy" (Cooper, 1998: 706) focusing "on a matrix of state action based on the interconnection and overlap between international and domestic strategies and goals" (Cooper, 1998: 707)
9.	Spence, J.E. (2007)	South Africa: an African exception or just another country?, Conflict, Security & Development, Vol. 7, No.2, pp.341-347, DOI: 10.1080/14678800701333408	This paper discusses "assumption – both locally and abroad – that the new government was exceptionally well equipped to capitalise on its domestic achievement and engage in a variety of 'niche diplomacy' emphasising both its capacity and willingness to play an enlightened, liberal role in world affairs" (Spence, 2007: 342)
10.	Geldenhuys, D. (2006)	South Africa and Myanmar: Beware the politics of perfidy. *South African Journal of International Affairs, Vol.13, No. 2,pp.161-173*	This paper examines how "Mandela and his successor Thabo Mbeki ignored or neglected the plight of Suu Kyi and others campaigning for democracy in Myanmar. Not only has a Nobel peace laureate been left in the lurch but the ANC government has been unfaithful to its own noble foreign policy ideals" (Geldenhuys, 2006: 161).
11.	Habib, A (2009)	South Africa's Foreign Policy: Hegemonic Aspirations, Neoliberal Orientations and Global Transformation. *South African Journal of International Affairs Vol. 16, No. 2, pp.143-159, DOI: 10.1080/10220460903265857*	This article investigate how South Africa seeks to navigate its role in prioritising of Africa in its foreign policy "through a focus on political stability and economic growth, and its desire to reform the global order so as to create an enabling environment for African development" by, among others, using "transnational alliances like India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA)" (Habib,2009: 143) to challenge the hegemony of post-World War II powers in the international system.
12.	Kagwanja, P. (2008)	Cry sovereignty: South Africa and the UN Security Council in a hegemonic world, 2007—2008. *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies Vol. 3, No.), pp.35-58*	This paper "examines South Africa's role in the United Nations Security Council in 2007–2008. This issue is highlighted as a highpoint in post-apartheid South Africa's diplomacy, which developed from its role of peace-making and institution building in Africa, as part of the continent's renewal" and how it uses "its moral power to leverage its own sovereignty and that of weaker states" (Kagwanja, 2008: 35)
13.	Landsberg, C. (2013)	Continuity and change in the foreign policies of South Africa's De Klerk and Mandela	This paper discusses the complex issue of "continuity and change in the foreign policy of South Africa" from De Klerk to Mandela administration and argues that "continuity and change often co-exist as a mixture or as dialectical opposites, making prediction of the

		governments, 1989–1999. *Africa Review, 2013 Vol. 5, No. 1, 61–72, DOI: 10.1080/09744053.2013.832067*	future very uncertain. Continuity is often at play when it is least expected; and change can occur in the most unexpected of contexts" (Landsberg, 2013: 61).
14.	Lipton, M (2009).	Understanding South Africa Foreign Policy: The Perplexing Case of Zimbabwe. *South African Journal of International Affairs, Vol.16, No. 3, pp. 331-346.*	This paper seeks to explain South Africa's foreign policy by transcending the dichotomous offering "between 'realism' (interest-driven analysis) and 'idealism' (beliefs/values-driven analysis)" . It further delves on "the following questions: how well has South Africa's foreign policy been calculated and implemented, and what have been its effects and consequences for South Africa, Zimbabwe, and the 'progressive' international norms to which both South Africa and many of its critics subscribe?" (Lipton, 2009: 331).
15.	Melber, H. (2014)	Engagement matters: South Africa, the United Nations and a rights-based foreign policy. *South African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 21, No.1, pp.131-145, DOI: 10.1080/10220461.2014.895079*	This paper offers a critical examination of "the role of South Africa with special reference to the values embodied in the human rights principles of the UN system and argues for a reemphasis of a rights-based foreign policy guided by a non-alignment loyal only to the normative frameworks established by the UN for global governance" (Melber, 2014: 131)
16.	Nathan, L. (2011)	Interests, Ideas and Ideology: South Africa's Policy On Darfur. *African Affairs, Vol. 110, No. 438, pp. 55-74*	This paper elucidates "Pretoria's foreign policy by explaining its position on Darfur and exploring the relationship between ideas and interests in shaping the policy. It argues that the position on Darfur was not unfathomable or realist, as some observers claimed, but was based on the core ideas of South Africa's foreign policy: the African Renaissance; quiet diplomacy; solidarity with African governments under pressure from the West and an anti-imperialist paradigm that provided the lens through" (Nathan, 2011: 55) which South Africa conceptualized human rights in its foreign policy.
17.	Hamill, J. & Hoffman, J (2009)	'Quiet Diplomacy' or Appeasement? South African Policy towards Zimbabwe, The Round Table, 98:402, 373-384, DOI: 10.1080/00358530902895584	This paper conducts "a critical examination of South Africa's policy of 'quiet diplomacy' towards Zimbabwe since 2000, with the reasons behind it, especially the role of Thabo Mbeki, and considers possible alternatives. It argues that liberal values in Africa are usually prioritised at the abstract level in" regional and continental policy and legal instruments although they hardly translate stated "values into political practice" thus "South African policy towards Zimbabwe since 2000, contend the authors, captures this paradox in stark relief" (Hamill & Hoffman, 2009: 373).
18.	Titus, D (2009)	Human Rights in Foreign Policy and Practice: The South African Case Considered. *South African Institute of International Affairs, Occasional Paper No 52, pp. 1-18*	This paper seeks to explore the necessary balance "between constitutional human rights and international human rights law as a framework within which South Africa should approach the question of human rights in its foreign policy". It argues that, although in South Africa the "focus is very much on constitutional rights, the international regime of human rights is where human rights and foreign policy operate" (Titus, 2009: 8-9)

19.	Tjemolane, T., Neethling, T. & Schoeman, A. (2012)	South Africa's Foreign Policy and Africa: Continental Partner or Hegemon? *Africa Review Vol.4, No. 2, pp. 87–106*	This paper argues for a nuanced role that South Africa could play "(as a democratic leader in the region) in reconstructing the international system, both on the African continent and elsewhere". Whilst avoiding a number of descriptive terms such as "'hegemon', 'behemoth', 'pivot', 'just another kid on the block', and so forth", South Africa, as a continental partner, "could unilaterally set norms, encouraging other African countries to enter into dialogue with relevant actors on issues concerning the enhancement or consolidation of democratic principles, and the safeguarding of human rights" (Tjemolane et al, 2012: 89)
20.	Graham, S. E. (2014)	Advancing African Interests at the UN: South Africa's Voting Behaviour. *Africa insight, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 18-37*	Covering the period 1994 to 2008, this paper discusses "South Africa's first post-apartheid participation in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA)" which also "coincided with the end of South African President Thabo Mbeki's second term in office. It also examines South Africa's first term on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) as a non-permanent member from 2007 to 2008" including how it sought to extricate itself from its erstwhile image of regional destabilisation. Although South Africa "did not want be seen to be 'Africa's policeman" (Graham, 2014: 18-9) on human rights and good governance issues, it was still viewed by its neighbours as harbouring regional hegemonic aspirations.
21.	van Wyk, J-A (2002)	The Saga Continues...The Zimbabwe Issue in South Africa's Foreign Policy. *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 176-231*	"This paper will attempt to analyse South Africa's foreign policy towards Zimbabwe since February 2000. The objective is to gain an understanding of Thabo Mbeki's efforts in defining, addressing and resolving this foreign challenge amidst his efforts to position South Africa in the region, Africa and further abroad" (van Wyk, 2002: 178)

3.3 Discourse analysis of coded phrases

The researcher read all the 21 articles in full to ensure that the content, and not just the titles, reflected discussion on South Africa's foreign policy in relation to pertinent human rights issues that are dealt with in international space/arena for where South Africa might have been involved. Using open coding, the researcher identified text that contain the words 'human rights' so as to "bring [relevant] themes to the surface from inside the data" (Neuman, 2011: 511). Going through these articles individually, the researcher discovered that they confirm the fact that "ideas are the product of lived experiences" (Ahluwalia, 2005: 143) of these authors given the way they fashioned their ideas to describe the treatment of human rights in South Africa's foreign policy.

Harvesting from the work of Anderson and Holloway (2020: 200), the researcher distilled the "main analytic categories for describing and making sense of the entire corpus" especially the extent of references to human rights claims in South Africa's foreign policy. Using Dembour's (2010: 5) mapping field the coded texts was analyse to determine the school of thought it represents, namely, natural or protest or deliberative or discourse school. The objective, as previously mentioned, was to enquire into how these authors use the power of language as a worlding medium of communication. Situating coded text in various schools devised by Dembour (2010: 5) yielded the outcomes presented in **Table 4.1** below.

Table 3.2: Discourse analysis of phrases used by various scholars

Number	Author(s)	Title of article	Phrases with human rights reference in relation to South Africa's foreign policy behaviour	Situating phrases in Dembour's human rights mapping field
1.	Alden, C. & le Pere, G.(2004)	South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy: From Reconciliation to Ambiguity?	"Yet a palpable tension remained between prioritising the country's perceived commercial, trade and political interests and its role as moral crusader in the promotion of human rights and democracy." (p. 286)	With the use of a phrase such as "moral crusader", the author is framing human rights from a natural school perspective as transcendental/divine property. This also means that South Africa should be willing to sacrifice all other foreign policy imperatives in favour of human rights.
			"While human rights was an important canon of policy under Mandela, South Africans had learnt through its human rights fiascos with Nigeria and East Timor and commercially-inspired arms sales to countries with dubious human rights records…" (p. 288)	Etymological, the word "canon" means a rule of model or standard that cannot be changed. With the use of this phrase, the author is framing human rights from a natural school perspective as transcendental/divine property as dogma.
			"It is therefore an irony (and in some circles an indictment) that Mbeki is reticent in taking aggressive positions in matters of bilateral diplomacy where these concern sensitive and delicate matters relating to governance and human rights" (p.292)	With the use of a phrase such as "Mbeki is reticent in taking aggressive positions", the author is framing human rights from a natural school and suggest that Mbeki ought to have been sensitive to "governance and human rights" issues. This school views human rights as something universal
2.	Adelmann, M. 2004	Quiet Diplomacy: The Reasons behind Mbeki's Zimbabwe Policy.	"Mandela period began with the idealist proclamation that 'human rights will be the light that guides our foreign affairs', and with a commitment to the African continent: South Africa cannot escape its African destiny" (p. 264)	With the use of a phrase such as "the light that guides", the author is framing human rights from a natural school perspective as transcendental/divine property
			"At this point realists, who advocate a proactive enforcement of South Africa's position on the continent from an interest-based point of view, meet with idealists, who advocate interference from a human-rights standpoint." (p. 269)	The author illustrates policy conflict between realists and idealists. Idealist's belief in the ethics and rights by foreign policy leaning towards the natural school whilst realists' belief in power and interests in foreign policy which find expression in the deliberative school.
			"In the words of opposition leader Tony Leon (2003), 'the ANC is not really interested in reform in Zimbabwe, or in democracy, or in human rights'. Statements by Mbeki and some of his ministers in support of the controversial land reform are quoted to back up this argument. But the thesis that Mbeki is	The author is quoting Tony Leon's charge to the ANC on its alleged disinterest "in Zimbabwe, or in democracy, or in human rights". But he concedes that likening Mbeki to Mugabe is a "political propaganda. In this sense, he has taken discourse school perspective by unmasking the power of language in Leon's accusation.

			just another Mugabe is obviously just political propaganda" (p. 252)	
3.	Hudson, H. (2010)	Continuity And Change: An Evaluation Of The Democracy-Foreign Policy Nexus In Post-Apartheid South Africa	"Since 1994, South Africa has worked hard to establish itself not only as a continental, but also as a global player […] Such interactions, however, have exposed fault lines in South Africa's foreign policy with respect to the balance between an idealist (human rights-driven) and a realist (interest-driven) approach to global politics" (pp. 108)	The author seeks to demonstrate the conundrum between idealism (natural school) and realism (protest school) in South Africa's foreign policy.
			"Government has an ethical obligation to serve domestic interests first. The foreign policy of South Africa should therefore aim to further the rights of all who live in the country before looking at the human rights of others" (p. 111)	The author advocate for the rights of the inhabitants (protest school) ahead of the rights of all (natural school).
			"Within this context, developing states cannot hide behind globalisation as the reason for policy failure and use it as justification for excluding citizens from decision making in foreign policy. By promoting input on Zimbabwe, the South African government under Mbeki would have been better able to frame and implement a credible stance on the human rights abuse and lack of democracy - and also justify their perceived lack of action more convincingly" (p. 111-2)	The author believes that Mbeki's stance on Zimbabwe would have been enriched had he allowed citizens to make their inputs and this would have resulted in "a credible stance on the human rights abuse and lack of democracy". He is framing human rights in terms of the deliberative school which believes in consensus building.
4.	Amusan, L. (2014)	Crisis of Decision-Making and Policy Implementation in South Africa's Foreign Policy: Reflection on Two Decades Journey in the Wilderness	"This brings into focus the criticism that was levied against hypocritical idealist perspective of South Africa's foreign policy in a relatively realist international system. Issues of the rule of law, human rights and democracy are hardly accommodated in actualising state's national/core interests" (p. 3)	The author concedes that in a realist international system, human rights are hardly accommodated. He is taking a deliberative perspective which believes that rights are not natural but agreed upon among actors whilst taking account of the specific contexts at play.
			"In 1993, Mandela spelt out South Africa's foreign policy of the post-apartheid where he emphasised on human rights and democratisation as the cornerstone of the future international relations of the country" (p. 8)	With the use of a phrase such as "the cornerstone of…", the author is framing human rights from a natural school perspective as something foundational or basic to South Africa's foreign policy. But he lifted this directly from Mandela's 1993 scholarly article to whom it must be attributed
			"This paper also discussed what is described as double standard in the operationalisation of foreign policy. Promotion of human rights in Nigeria on the one hand and the introduction of 'quiet diplomacy' in Zimbabwe on the other, calls for academic	The author is demonstrating what he calls "double standards" in South Africa's foreign policy. He shows how South Africa becomes vocal on the promotion of human rights in one instance but becomes silent on other instances. He is taking a

			investigation. Invasion of Lesotho and diplomatic solution to Cote d'Ivore political logjam is another area of inconsistency" (p. 15)	discourse school slant which argues that the universality of human rights is only pretence since they consist of whatever meaning we assign to them
5.	Barber, J. (2005)	The New South Africa's Foreign Policy: Principles and Practice.	"Mandela and the ANC group stated that their 'core concern' was the pursuit of human rights – broadly interpreted to cover economic, social and environ-mental as well as political rights." (p. 1079)	With the use of a phrase such as "their core concern", the author is framing human rights from a natural school perspective as something foundational or basic South Africa's foreign policy
			"The government also adjusted its views with regard to human rights, a process in which the spat with Nigeria played a major part. The change can be detected in two publications: an ANC paper of 1997, and a report from the DFA in I999" (p. 1087)	In this case, the author treats human rights as something that is not inflexible; meaning that their application can be adjusted according the prevailing situation. This treatment is akin to the discourse school which regard 'language' as powerful discursive tool for understanding human rights
			"Fourth, in defending Zimbabwe Mbeki has, in the eyes of many – inside and outside South Africa – fallen short of the ANC's own principles, by placing loyalty to a common African cause above the pursuit of human rights" (p. 1096)	The author adopt a naturalist/transcendental approach to human rights as he believes that they should take precedence over everything including African solidarity.
6.	Black, D. & Wilson, Z. (2004)	Rights, region and identity: exploring the ambiguities of South Africa's regional human rights role.	"In contrast to these optimistic expectations, however, the South African government has come to adopt a cautious and soft-spoken tone in regional 'rights talk'"(p. 28)	The South Africa government is evaluated from a deliberative perspective which treat human rights as 'agreed upon' in multilateral bodies and such talks are principles-based.
			"Despite this more cautious disposition, however, the promotion of human rights has continued to be presented as a core commitment of the new South Africa." (p. 29)	Here the author insists that the natural school of evaluating South Africa, namely, treating human rights "as core commitment of the new South Africa" continues to trump the deliberative perspective where human rights are agreed upon.
			"On the one hand, Mbeki is genuinely sympathetic to the Commonwealth's concern for the integrity of law and order…On the other, Mbeki is concerned by what he clearly perceives as a disproportionate and polarising response, and seems to agree with Mugabe's government that 'the region should have its own independent reading of what is happening in Zimbabwe' (*Sunday Times*, 2002, p. 15). What emerges, then, is a highly circumscribed approach to regional human rights issues, especially pertaining to civil and political rights, with more than a hint of	The authors reflect on Mbeki's the balancing act that he had to maintain in dealing with the Zimbabwean situation. They underscore the limitation that this poses on Mbeki although he had to sympathise with the Mugabe government as part of espousing African solidarity. In this context they are using the lens of the natural school (human rights as embodied in law and order a per the Commonwealth expectations) and the protest school (human rights as favouring those who suffer – Zimbabwe – from the yoke of colonialist who took their land)

			sympathy for an African regime under attack from western governments" (p. 43)	
7.	Borer, T. A. & Mills, K. 2011	Explaining Post-apartheid South African Human Rights Foreign Policy: Unsettled Identity and Unclear Interests.	"This early optimism, it turns out, was premature. The reality has been somewhat less positive than human right activists had hoped for; South Africa's foreign policy since 1994 might best be described as one of disparity between commitment and action. From its support of President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe […] to its overtly blocking United Nations' actions on behalf of human rights in such places as Burma/Myanmar, Tibet, and East Timor, South Africa has frequently been unwilling or unable to act as a global standard bearer of human rights" (p. 77).	The authors are ascribing a naturalist and transcendental identity to South Africa as a bearer of human rights across the globe. This ascription falls in the natural school which considers human rights as universal and those who are committed to promoting them to be universal/global advocates at all times no matter the circumstances.
			"Mandela summed up his vision of South Africa's role in fostering a more just and humane world by stating: South Africa's future foreign relations will be based on our belief that human rights should be the core concern of international relations, and we are ready to play a role in fostering peace and prosperity in the world we share with the community of nations" (p. 78)	This author's citation of Mandela's belief and commitment to making human rights "the core" of South Africa foreign place, places Mandela's remarks in the natural school which treats human rights as given and universal.
			"As we have seen, post-Apartheid South Africa seemed reborn as a human rights norm entrepreneur, as evidence by its actions in connection with the AU and Nigeria, for example. Yet, more traditional interests, in particular economic ones, as well as a desire to take its place as a global middle power (without threatening its neighbours with perceptions of hegemony) led it to moderate some of its positions and to take other actions, such as those relating to refugees and other migrants. Normative positions, including Afrocentrism and anti-imperialism pointed, in a number of instances, in the same direction as rationalist theories might suggest—that is, away from human rights." (p. 95)	In using a phrase such as "a human rights norm entrepreneur", the authors are framing South Africa's behaviour, immediately after re-entering the international arena, in naturalist or transcendentalist fashion. However, they also recognise that due to its pan-Africanist orientation South Africa had to "moderate some of its positions" accommodate Afrocentric and anti-imperialist posture which finds expression in the protest school.

8.	Cooper, A. F. (1998)	The Multiple Faces of South African Foreign Policy.	"Soon after his release from prison, Nelson Mandela announced that a democratically elected government would 'not be indifferent to the rights of others. Human rights will be the light that guides our foreign policy ... South Africa will ... be at the forefront of global efforts to promote and foster democratic systems of government.' In foreign policy activity, South Africa has applied this message seriously (if sometimes inconsistently)" (p. 709-10)	Here Mandela is cited to have phrased human rights of as "the light that guides" South Africa's foreign policy. This is a natural school perspective which treats human rights as a transcendental/divine property. The author also places South Africa "at the forefront of global efforts" to promote human rights, although this identity might have saddled South Africa with a huge responsibility disproportionate to her capability.
			"The country has been at the centre of the debate over implementing sanctions against Nigeria for human rights abuses. It has also attempted to act an intermediary or 'honest broker' in a number of conflicts -most notably in 1997 to facilitate discussions between the Zairean government of Mobutu Sese Seko and Laurent Kabila's Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo/Zaire. In keeping with this pattern of engagement, the government has also promoted international human rights in selected multilateral forums" (p. 710)	The author is framing South Africa through the lens of the natural school by citing its stance when it called for "sanctions against Nigeria for human rights abuses" and when promoting "international human rights in selected multilateral forums".
			"If one clear signal of South Africa's re-entry as a legitimate and credible member of the international community relates to human rights, good governance, and preventive diplomacy, another revolves around its acceptance of the mainstream rules of the global economic system" (p. 731)	The author frames South Africa's signal to the effect that it will promote human rights in its foreign policy as having earned her legitimacy and credibility. This could be accommodated in the natural school which sees rights as transcendental and moral.
9.	Tjemolane, T, Neethling, T & Albert Schoeman, A. (2012)	South Africa's Foreign Policy and Africa: Continental Partner or Hegemon?	"First, the ruling ANC proclaimed that it would henceforth focus on a wide range of human rights issues and human rights abuses as proscribed by the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights […] The ANC also declared that it acknowledged the 'obligation' of human rights custodianship in its bilateral and multilateral relations" (p. 87)	The ANC's proclamation to the effect that it will "focus on a wide range of human rights issues and human rights abuses" and that "it acknowledged the 'obligation' of human rights custodianship" should be located in the natural school as it identifies its human rights promotion role as transcendental and universal.
			"South Africa's passive reaction towards the indiscretions of its northern neighbour has generated much scepticism about its human rights activism in the eyes of those who initially came to view it as an emerging and powerful force in the international human rights sphere" (p. 91)	This criticism towards South Africa' treatment of Zimbabwe on human rights record has the trappings of the protest school which believes that rights are "fought for" and should benefit "those who suffer" from those who wield power (government)

			"From the perspective of human rights, South Africa has come to be seen as one of the preponderant actors in the promulgation of international human rights law at the UN level. However, some argue that South Africa's position in the field of international human rights has become more and more paradoxical and rhetorical since 1994 — and especially so since 2000. This has resulted in a gap between the principle and the practice of human rights in South Africa's foreign policy. For example, the country often disapproved of the sanctioning of human rights abusers such as Zimbabwe, Myanmar, Iran, Sudan, and Libya" (p. 101)	The authors acknowledge South Africa's role in human rights where it acted "as one of the preponderant actors in the promulgation of international human rights law at the UN level". However, they also bemoan South Africa's position since 2000 which has "become more and more paradoxical and rhetorical" in that it started to show "a gap between the principle and the practice". These authors are framing South Africa's behaviour using the lens of a natural school that views human rights as transcendental and universal.
10.	Geldenhuys, D. (2006)	South Africa and Myanmar: Beware the politics of perfidy.	"South Africa refrains from voting in UN organs on resolutions concerning Myanmar and does not make statements in debates or on the situation in that country. […] This finds expression in 'a position of consistent support for no-action motions where resolutions have been tabled by countries seeking to rectify human rights issues in other countries'. Where such motions have been voted on, South Africa has abstained" (p. 169)	The author expresses dismay at South Africa's foreign policy behaviour in UN organs regarding human rights issues in Myanmar. The "no-action motions" supported by South Africa or her abstention from voting is probably seen as an expression of indifference on part the of South Africa. This appraisal can be placed in the protest school which believes that human rights are "fought for" and should benefit "those who suffer" from those who wield power (government)
			"In 1999, the SACP demanded that South Africa sever all ties with Myanmar until its people had their basic democratic and human rights restored" (p. 170).	The SACP is cited to have demanded government to sever all ties with Myanmar on behalf of human rights. This statement sought to ascribe the protest school credentials to the South Africa government on human rights
			"Pretoria should furthermore take a clear and consistent public stand, generally and in UN bodies, against the flagrant violation of human rights and the denial of democracy in Myanmar. It should demand the release of Suu Kyi and all other political prisoners and actively support efforts to begin multiparty negotiations to restore democracy" (p. 171)	The author, through the lens of the natural school, urges South Africa to take a clear stand "against the flagrant violation of human rights and the denial of democracy in Myanmar". This is born from his frame of analysis that regard human rights as transcendental and universal.
11.	Graham, S. E. (2014)	Advancing African Interests at the UN: South Africa's Voting Behaviour.	"South Africa's Ambassador Kumalo declared his disappointment over yet another Western Sahara resolution that failed to acknowledge human rights violations in Western Sahara" (p. 27)	South Africa's disappointment over the UN's failure to acknowledge human rights violation of the Saharawi people can be situated in the protest school which believes that human rights should benefit "those who suffer" from those who wield power (Morocco)

			"It is interesting that South Africa would consistently refer to human rights and the self-determination principle in reference to Western Sahara at the Security Council, when it had in the same year willingly shifted Myanmar's human rights situation from the UNSC to another UN body, arguing that the UNSC was the wrong place to discuss human rights." (p. 28)	The author exposes South Africa's duplicity in dealing with these two cases (Myanmar and Western Sahara) where, on the one hand, it blocks the UNSC from discussing human rights violations in Myanmar and, on the other hand, it pushes for discussion of human rights violation in Western Sahara. The author's appraisal takes a perspective of the discourse school which regards human rights as something to be "talked about" and power of language as the basis of their being.
			"Similarly, in a draft UNSC resolution on the situation of Myanmar, there was no common 'African position'. South Africa voted 'no', whereas the Congo abstained and Ghana voted in favour expressing the belief that human rights issues were fundamental to international peace and security" (p. 37)	Comparing South Africa with Congo and Ghana who voted in favour of the victims of human rights abuse (protest school who believe that human rights should benefit those who suffer), South Africa voted against the human rights victims which might mean that it regarded human rights as something that required consensus (deliberative school)
12.	Habib, A (2009)	South Africa's Foreign Policy: Hegemonic Aspirations, Neoliberal Orientations and Global Transformation.	"It was a well-received ascension [to the UNSC] with many anticipating that South Africa would play a positive role advocating a human rights agenda, and generally behave in a manner that would befit a responsible and democratic member of the world community […] Human rights activists had become demoralised by South Africa's defence of 'rogue powers' and its refusal to support resolutions in the Security Council condemning and imposing sanctions on Iran, Myanmar, Sudan, and Zimbabwe" (p. 143)	According to the author, South Africa's ascension to the UNSC was well received with the expectation that it would "play a positive role advocating a human rights agenda", but its refusal to support pro-human rights resolution in the UNSC disappointed many. This appraisal can be placed in the protest school which believes that human rights are "fought for" and should benefit "those who suffer" from those who wield power (government)
			"South Africa in its desire to get the United Nations system to function equitably and fairly was in these actions sacrificing the human rights of victims in Myanmar, Zimbabwe and Darfur…Nevertheless, it must also be said that the human rights lobby was being disingenuous by either not recognising or being complacent about South Africa's complaints of the manipulation of the UN system by the 'big five' permanent members of the Security Council." (p. 153)	The author appraises South Africa's desire to reform the UN system whilst "sacrificing the human rights of victims" using the lens of the natural school. He however regards the human rights lobbyists as being "disingenuous by either not recognising or being complacent about South Africa's complaints of the manipulation of the UN system" because they fail to understand that human rights are "talked about" hence their universality will always be contextual (discourse school)

			"But South Africa and the human rights lobby must recognise that the struggle for such rights is indivisible and cannot be engaged on a selective basis. The rights of human rights victims must be advanced simultaneously as must the reform of the multilateral system" (p. 154)	The author locates South Africa's foreign policy position on the UN reform and the lobby for the protection of victims' human rights in the same basket as an "indivisible" enterprise. This approach find expression in the discourse school which regard rights as something to "be talked about" and using the power of language.
13.	Kagwanja, P. (2008)	Cry sovereignty: South Africa and the UN Security Council in a hegemonic world, 2007—2008.	"…South Africa's voting patterns in the council — from Myanmar to Zimbabwe — revealed the palpable tension between the politics of solidarity and sovereignty on the one hand, and human rights on the other hand" (p. 35)	The author juxtaposes South Africa's policy positions on Myanmar and Zimbabwe (solidarity and sovereignty) and protection of those whose rights were violated. The tension that he identifies between these two policy imperative shows the argument of the deliberative school which believe that rights are something to "agree upon" and are based on particular consensual principles.
			"In response, Pretoria's officials were at pains to reiterate that the vote against draft was not a vote against the people of Myanmar, and that they would continue to call for the release of the detained opposition Aung San Suu Kyi and to fight for the restoration of democracy, human rights and freedom in Myanmar. Rather, the vote was based on principle: the sovereignty and integrity of the UN and its organs, and the recognition of regional players" (p. 48)	The author, quoting the South African government's officials explanation of their vote on Myanmar, shows that they (government) believe that their "vote was based on principle: the sovereignty and integrity of the UN and its organs, and the recognition of regional players" hence their universality is by consensus (deliberative school).
			"As in Myanmar, South Africa has pushed for regionalism and global multilateralism as tension between human rights on the one hand, and solidarity and sovereignty on the other" (p. 49)	The author juxtaposes South Africa's policy positions on Myanmar and Zimbabwe (solidarity and sovereignty) and protection of those whose rights were violated. The tension that he identifies between these two policy imperative shows the argument of the deliberative school rights are something to "agree upon" and are based on particular consensual principles.
14.	Landsberg, C. (2013)	Continuity and change in the foreign policies of South Africa's De Klerk and Mandela governments, 1989–1999.	"If anything, in practice it served to complicate South Africa's foreign-policy strategy and execution; for example, arms-sales policy approved deals with countries with poor human rights records, such as Indonesia, Turkey and Algeria, as well as with countries in the grip of civil war" (p. 67)	Here the author is appraising human rights from a point of view of the natural school where human should be embodied in law including arms control regulations.

			"While President Mandela was at pains to stress that South Africa was pursuing an ethical, 'human rights first policy', Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aziz Pahad took a more pragmatic approach when he asserted in 1995 that 'whether we like it or not, foreign policy is driven by economics'" (p. 68)	The author illustrates policy conflict between President Mandela and the Deputy Minister of Foreign affairs over the principles that should underpin South Africa's foreign policy. Mandela's belief in the ethics of foreign policy reveals his leanings towards the natural school whilst Pahad belief in interests in foreign policy find expression in the deliberative school.
			"Mandela did try to embark on a fundamentally new course in foreign policy by articulating a 'good world citizen' policy, based on the tenets of an ethical foreign policy and a cosmopolitan set of values, including adherence to human rights in foreign policy, the promotion of democracy, respect for international law, and the peaceful settlements of disputes" (p. 71)	Mandela is said to have fashioned South Africa's foreign policy on the basis of "a good world citizen' policy, based on the tenets of an ethical foreign policy". This has the flavour of a natural school perspective which treats human rights as a transcendental/divine property
15.	Lipton, M (2009).	Understanding South Africa Foreign Policy: The Perplexing Case of Zimbabwe. *South African*	"These tensions are evident in South Africa's reluctance to criticise, let alone support punitive measures against, governments of the South and the increasing priority it accords to sovereignty and 'South-South' solidarity over human rights" (p. 333)	The author juxtaposes South Africa's policy positions (solidarity and sovereignty) and protection of those whose rights were violated. The tension that he identifies between these two policy imperative affirms the argument of the deliberative school that rights are something to "agree upon" and are based on particular consensual principles
			"South Africa's critics maintain that its record on good governance and human rights issues, particularly in relation to its neighbour Zimbabwe, conflicts with its commitments under the UN and AU charters and the requirements of the African Peer Review Mechanism" (p. 336)	The author reflects on critics of the South African government's foreign policy who believe that it "conflicts with its commitments under the UN and AU charters and the requirements of the African Peer Review Mechanism". This is a natural school critic which believe that human rights "are given"
			"South Africa and other countries of the South believe the West uses the goals of good governance and respect for human rights as a neo-colonial device to advance its own interests and retain global dominance. This belief partly explains South Africa's resistance to attempts to deal with a wide range of human rights issues, including Zimbabwe" (p. 343)	The author believes that South Africa's reluctance and resistance to address human rights issues in countries of the South is an attempt ward off neo-colonial endeavours on these countries. In this instance, the author has revealed the protest school leaning on the part of South Africa which views human rights as something to "agree upon" based on particular consensual principles

16.	Melber, H. (2014)	Engagement matters: South Africa, the United Nations and a rights-based foreign policy.	"Democratic South Africa under the government of Nelson Mandela (1994–1999) had proclaimed and pursued a rights-based foreign policy in support of democracy with a special commitment to strengthening the United Nations (UN) and promoting the values the organisation stands for in terms of human rights and justice" (p. 131)	Mandela is said to have fashioned South Africa's foreign policy on the basis of his proclamation and pursuit of "a rights-based foreign policy in support of democracy". This has the flavour of a natural school perspective which treats human rights as universal and a transcendental/divine property
			"In that case, one must agree that 'A foreign policy favouring sovereignty over human rights underlines the disengagement of South Africa's foreign policy from the human rights values espoused in her constitution" (p. 137)	The author challenges the 'sovereignty' slant in South Africa's foreign policy as opposed to the human rights slant. The tension between these two policy imperatives justifies the argument of the deliberative school that rights are something to "agree upon" and are based on particular consensual principles
			"If one speaks out over the constant violations of fundamental human rights in the Palestine territories and the continued occupation of the Western Sahara, one ought to also speak out on similar matters of concern. A review undertaken at the end of South Africa's first year in the UNSC generously suggests that the country's role in global governance matters was executed 'within an overarching framework of solidarity, social justice and democratic participation; and on the basis of a diplomacy that recognises the importance of rules and principles'" (p. 138)	The author underscores South Africa's stance on human rights during its tenure of a non-permanent member of the UNSC and conclude that it espoused "solidarity, social justice and democratic participation". This suggest that it sought to balance between the various pillars of its foreign policy whilst emphasising human rights for Palestine and Western Sahara. This is in line with the deliberative school that believe that human rights are "agreed upon" and are based on principles.
17.	Hamill, J. & Hoffman, J (2009)	'Quiet Diplomacy' or Appeasement? South African Policy towards Zimbabwe.	"In theory NEPAD and the AU symbolised a commitment to a new Africa premised on democracy, good governance, and a rejection of authoritarian and kleptocratic forms of rule. In reality, however, the voice of each has been at best muted on human rights abuses in Zimbabwe. Mbeki's view is that NEPAD and the African Union (AU) would be jeopardised by open criticisms of Zimbabwe (and other countries with a poor human rights record), and that public grandstanding should be avoided" (p. 376)	The authors' appraisal of NEPAD and the AU is that these two institutions are "muted on human rights abuses in Zimbabwe" and that Mbeki was of the view that they (NEPAD and the AU) "would be jeopardised by open criticisms of Zimbabwe (and other countries with a poor human rights record)". They are viewing this matter through the lens of the natural school which views human rights as "a given" that consist in "entitlement".
			"Solidarity with Zimbabwe fits in with the view that the West in general, and Britain in particular, are seeking to carve out a neo-colonial role in Africa. The rhetoric of human rights is merely a smokescreen to disguise this ambition as well as being part of the general hypocrisy of former colonial powers. Despite the consistent lack of demonstrable results, Mbeki and his lieutenants have been singularly intolerant of criticism	These authors, whilst acknowledging the argument of the "imperialist plot to overthrow Mugabe", they maintain the naturalist idea of human rights as "a universal creed". They even defend the West's "hypocritical and selective […] invocations of the doctrine" of the universality of human rights when these are supposed to apply to

			of 'quiet diplomacy'. He has virtually accused critics of Mugabe's human rights abuses of supporting an imperialist plot to overthrow the Zimbabwe government. […] We would maintain that human rights are a universal creed and the fact that the West is hypocritical and selective in its invocations of the doctrine, does not discredit Western criticisms where they can be sustained by facts" (p. 379)	them. This is a natural school perspective that regards human rights as "a given" and universal.
			"It is revealing that Mbeki and many of the ANC supporters were extremely uncomfortable with charges that the ANC itself had violated human rights when dealing with critics in the camps in exile" (p. 381)	The authors, in this case, is using he lens of a protest school which believes that human rights are "fought for" and should benefit "those who suffer" from those who wield power (government)
18.	Nathan, L. (2011)	Interests, Ideas and Ideology: South Africa's Policy On Darfur.	"Viewed through the anti-imperialist prism, Pretoria regarded the international human rights arena as a site of struggle between the North and the South. According to Dumisani Kumalo, South Africa's permanent representative to the UN between 1999 and 2009, the developed and developing countries are locked in a 'cold war' on the correct approach to human rights because the developed countries sit in judgement of the governance and human rights performance of selected developing countries" (p. 64)	The author's citation of Dumisani Khumalo's remarks which characterises ideational divergence on human rights "as a site of struggle between the North and the South" locates the latter in the protest school. The protest school believes that human rights are "fought for" and should benefit "those who suffer" from those who wield power (government)
			"The dominance of the anti-imperialist paradigm and subordination of human rights were illustrated vividly by Pretoria's rejection of the resolution on rape proposed by the US in the UN General Assembly in November 2007…South Africa objected formally on the grounds that a narrow focus on rape as a weapon of war might imply that other types of rape were less horrible" (p. 65)	The author is giving, as example, South Africa's "rejection of the resolution on rape proposed by the US in the UN General Assembly" as proof that anti-imperialist paradigm dominates human rights in South Africa's foreign policy. This could be located in the protest school which claims that human rights are for "those who suffer"
			"Conversely, the ANC's early foreign policy emphasis on championing human rights becomes diluted over time. In 1994 the party proclaimed that human rights would be canonized in the country's international relations and that issues of principle regarding human rights would not be sacrificed to economic and political expediency" (p. 73)	With the use of a phrases such as "championing human rights" and "human rights will be canonised in the country's international relations", the ANC (as cited by the author) is framing human rights from a natural school perspective as transcendental/divine property

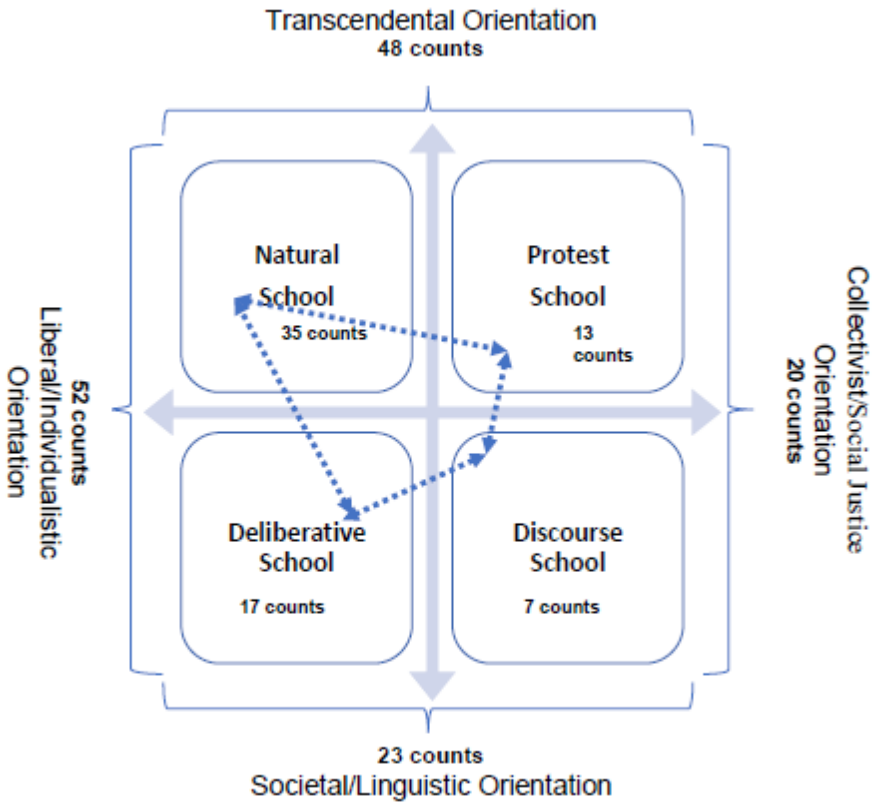
19.	Spence, J.E. (2007)	South Africa: an African exception or just another country?	"It was, therefore, a natural progression for the 'new' South Africa to seek to translate its commitment to domestic transformation to the wider arena of foreign policy. […] Thus, conflict resolver; mediator; standard-bearer for the poor and dispossessed in international society; defender of human rights; regional leader: these were some of the roles deemed essential for the execution of an ethical foreign policy" (p. 342)	The author, by using phrases such as "conflict resolver; mediator; standard-bearer for the poor and dispossessed in international society; defender of human rights; regional leader", has fashioned South Africa in both natural and protest school parlance. These schools regard the source of human rights as both nature/divinity (natural school) and social struggle (protest school)
			"Yet this ethical commitment to conflict resolution faltered badly when, in January 2007, South Africa, a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, voted against a US-sponsored resolution condemning the military government of Burma. The argument deployed by the South African representative stressed that the resolution would compromise the 'good offices of the Security Council in dealing with peace, security and human rights" (p. 344)	The author locates South Africa's voting behaviour in the UNSC as contradicting its human rights ethos that are supposed to be the core of its foreign policy. This approach find expression in the deliberative school which regard rights as something to "agree upon" including "how the polity should be run". For South Africa, there needed to be some consensus on whether or not the UNSC was the right forum to consider human rights issues
			"…South Africa by so firmly tying itself to the pursuit of ethical foreign policy objectives has exposed its government to well merited criticism when principle gives way to self-interest; and why should the latter not prevail?" (p. 345)	The author criticises South Africa's ethics-oriented foreign policy which has attracted criticism, especially "when principle gives way to self-interest". This is a deliberative school perspective which regard human rights as something to "agree upon" and which consist in principle and not expediency.
20.	Titus, D (2009)	Human Rights in Foreign Policy and Practice: The South African Case Considered.	"There is an interplay between constitutional human rights and international human rights law that provides the framework within which South Africa should approach the question of human rights in its foreign policy. In South Africa, the 1996 Constitution provides an enabling framework for constitutional human rights. The international community also bestows upon the country's citizens international human rights that need to be implemented in terms of the international treaties and agreements that South Africa signs and ratifies" (p.8-9)	The author's location of human rights law in South Africa's 1996 Constitution find expression in both the natural and deliberative schools since the former believes that "the law exists in direct continuation with the transcendental existence of human rights" and the latter believes that "there are no human rights beyond human rights law" (Dembour, 2010: 5)

			"These concerns were not limited to those outside government. Towards the beginning of 2009 South Africa declined to issue a visa to the Dalai Lama to participate in a conference. This was sharply condemned by a range of activists and commentators, who argued that South Africa was betraying its commitment to human rights (the Dalai Lama is widely respected in many human rights circles), probably to appease China (a country with a problematic human rights record)." (p. 11)	The author explains that South Africa's refusal "to issue a visa to the Dalai Lama to participate in a conference" was a betrayal of "its commitment to human rights" in order to "appease China (a country with a problematic human rights record)". This explication falls within the realm of the natural school which believes that human rights "are given" and consist in "entitlements".
			"South Africa's reputation became 'debatable because its focus on promoting African solidarity was at odds with promoting respectful adherence to human rights'. Mbeki was accused of cosying up to African dictators, and South Africa's positions at the UN Security Council failed to contribute to promoting human rights worldwide. 'South Africa was therefore seen to undermine the human rights agenda. South Africa under Mbeki who increasingly viewed human rights as an internal matter" (p. 13)	The author challenges the 'sovereignty' slant in South Africa's foreign policy which is seen to be "at odds with promoting respectful adherence human rights" is in line with the natural school. South Africa's treatment of human rights "as an internal matter" could be associated with the discourse school that "simply refrain from making grand pronouncements on ethical issues" (Dembour, 2010: 8) but relies on studying power that us embedded in the language.
21.	van Wyk, J-A (2002)	The Saga Continues...The Zimbabwe Issue in South Africa's Foreign Policy.	"South Africa attempted to promulgate and enforce human rights, democratic and other standards via its participation in monitoring most of Zimbabwe's elections since 2000" (p. 178)	If participation in monitoring elections is tantamount to enforcing human rights then the authors framing of this has taken a deliberative school perspective which believe that human rights "are realized not through possession but through a particular mode of political action [which] is liberal, democratic, and fair" (Dembour, 2010: 8)
			"The promotion of human rights remains high on South Africa's list of priorities in the region. Endeavours in the field of human rights include the monitoring of elections within the region and the rendering of assistance in this regard upon request" (p. 186-7)	If participation in monitoring elections is tantamount to enforcing human rights then the author framing of this has taken a deliberative perspective which believe that human rights "are realized not through possession but through a particular mode of political action [which] is liberal, democratic, and fair" (Dembour, 2010: 8)

			"South Africa's position in the international community since 1994 is characterised by various contradictions. One of these relates to ethical aspects of our foreign policy. Coming from a past dominated by human rights abuses, it was expected that the ANC government would be a strong voice of reason on these issues in the international arena. South Africa's stated objective of the promotion of human rights contradicts not only our arms sales policy but also South Africa's response to the events in Zimbabwe" (p. 203)	The author underscores "contradictions" in that the ANC, as a party "coming from a past dominated by human rights abuses" is expected to be "a strong voice of reason" on matters of human rights. However, this seems to be contradicted by its policy on arms sales and Zimbabwe. The author is appraising human rights from a point of view of the natural school where human should be embodied in law including arms control regulations.

Figure 4.1 below above captures a number of instances that scholars use particular phrases and how this profiles the school that they belong to. This has resulted in the original quadrant (formed by double-edged arrows) changing shape – slanting more towards the natural school and deliberative school. The details of the results are discussed in the next chapter.

Figure 3.1: A complexified human rights mapping field



Source: Adapted from Dembour (2010: 5).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented a selected corpus of authors who wrote on South Africa's foreign policy with a human rights slant. Using the University of Pretoria's journal portal as well as Google Scholar, the Researcher identified twenty-one articles which will be analysed in the next chapter. Harvesting from the work of Anderson and Holloway (2020), the collected articles have been carefully summarised to assist the reader to assess their relevance to the problem under investigation. Any omission or misrepresentation of the scope of articles as it appears in **Table 3.**1 above will be that of the researcher and not the original authors.

The chapter also analysed data (consisting of phrases lifted from the work of various scholars). In some cases, these would be phrases directly cited either from Mandela or the ANC or a government official. In such cases, care has been taken to clarify ownership of such text and ascription of discourse thereof. Interestingly, there were cases in which an author's phrase would fall between two or more schools of thought thus establishing ideational axis between the four schools of thought. The results of the analysis are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study that are a result of the data analysis in the previous chapter. It answers the main question of the study as well as the accompanying supplementary questions. Through the use of Dembour's (2010) mapping field and open coding, the researcher complexified Dembour's (2010) mapping field. The results confirm the relevance and utility of poststructuralism in explaining South Africa's human-rights foreign policy differently. They also answer the question of who is framing South Africa's foreign policy identity as essentially normative and in whose interests. The results also confirmed that, with essentialisation of human rights, other aspects of South Africa's foreign policy such as democracy, solidarity, African renaissance, South-South cooperation and the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment have been subordinated.

4.2. Presenting the discursive power-knowledge nexus

At this stage, it is appropriate to reflect back on the research problem being studied. This study characterised the problem in terms of authors in the international relations and foreign policy analysis domain who tend to critique or view South Africa's foreign policy behaviour as being inimical to its human rights-oriented foreign policy. These scholars, the argument goes, have anchored their argument on, among others, the 1993 scholarly article in the *Foreign Affairs* journal penned by the then African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela, which expressed a vision for South Africa's foreign policy. Using "the power of language" (Hansen, 2016: 96), these authors continue to represent South Africa's human rights-oriented foreign policy in purely normative and essentialist terms especially where there is a sense or a perception that the government of the day is veering from or betraying its norms-based foreign policy.

In order to address the problem enunciated supra, the study asked primarily whether poststructuralism can help to explain South Africa's human-rights foreign policy differently? It further asked the following two supplementary questions: (a) Who is framing South Africa's foreign policy identity as essentially normative and in whose interests and (b) are there other aspects of South Africa's foreign policy such as democracy, solidarity, African renaissance, South-South cooperation and the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment that are subordinated to human rights? The researcher cannot claim that all the foregoing questions have been answered exhaustively. It would not have been possible to get all the answers in such a capsule of scholarly work. If anything, though, this study has teased out some of the issues that have never been studied before. Based on the analysis conducted in chapter 5, this study presents the findings emanating thereof.

Firstly, poststructuralism has succeeded in explaining South Africa's human-rights foreign policy differently. Using Dembour's (2010) mapping field, this study disaggregated the manner in which we ought to conceive of human rights. As Dembour (2010: 2) herself puts it: "This mapping exercise is useful in that it clarifies positions from which various arguments about human rights are made, helping to understand where, why, and to what extent agreements are reached and disagreements persist in the human rights field" (Dembour, 2010: 2). Referring to **table 4.1** in chapter 4, a rough count of the number of times each coded phrases applies to a particular school of thought revealed that the natural school (with 35 counts) is mostly applicable in conceiving of human rights. It is followed by the deliberative school (with 17 counts), the protest school (with 13) and then the discourse school (with 7 counts). Of these counts, there are instances where phrases belonging to two schools would be used in one paragraph (call it hybridity) and these appeared 9 times.

Even without the rigour expected of scholarship, this study has shown the different orientations (see figure 4.1) through which certain arguments are framed by scholars. A liberal/individualistic oriented is more dominant with 52 counts. It is followed by the transcendental orientation with 48 counts, the societal/linguistic orientation with 23 counts and social justice orientation with 20 counts. It would seem, that the prominence of the natural and deliberative schools also dovetails with the manner in

which rights have evolved and classified into the various generations (O'Sulivan, 2000). The liberal and transcendental perspectives fall mainly in the first and second generation of rights, being civil and political rights and socio-economic and cultural rights respectively. The linguistic and social justice orientation dovetails with the third generation which is about solidarity and self-determination rights.

The prominence of the natural school is revealed by phrases that frame South Africa's role "as moral crusader in the promotion of human rights and democracy" (Alden & le Pere, 2004: 286) and that it should "act as a global standard bearer of human rights" (Borer & Mills, 2011: 77). This is one example, among the textual counts in **table 4.1**, that can confirm the essentialisation of human rights in South Africa's foreign policy that underscores the prominence of the natural school, which believes that "human rights are founded in nature" (Dembour, 2010: 6) and the protest school which "ground[s] human rights on a more metaphysical basis" (Dembour, 2010: 7). Both these schools have a transcendental orientation to human rights which present human rights as universal and indivisible.

Secondly, in attempting to answer the supplementary questions – who is framing South Africa's foreign policy identity as essentially normative and in whose interests? – this study looked at phrases used by the various authors. It emerged that their sources are either leaders of the ANC or government officials. Arguably, most scholars are merely regurgitating their words albeit with a bit of adjustment here and there. Quoting directly from Mandela's 1993 scholarly article, scholars remind us of Mandela's affirmation that "human rights will be the light that guides our foreign affairs" (Adelmann, 2004: 264) and that human rights are "the cornerstone of the future international relations of the country" (Amusan, 2014: 8). Arguably, Mandela's essentialist or moralist foreign policy might have been informed by his personal experience of being one of the victims of human rights abuses perpetuated by the Apartheid government.

Landsberg's (2013: 68) rendition of intra-ANC policy chasm where Mandela is said to have insisted that "South Africa was pursuing an ethical, human rights first policy" whilst on the other hand the then Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aziz Pahad, asserted that "foreign policy is driven by economics", would have introduced

unnecessary dichotomy. Had these two leaders understood that both ethics and economics find expression in the Universal Declaration of Rights they would not have to split hairs on this matter. As some scholars have argued, "there is a striking similarity in many of the basic values that today we seek to protect through human rights" hence there is no need to have the right to "the preservation of life, protection from arbitrary rule, the prohibition of inhuman and degrading treatment […] and access to an equitable share of the means of subsistence" (O'Sulivan, 2000: 45) contesting for pride of place in humanity. It can then be surmised that the governing ANC has unwittingly contributed in essentialisation of human rights in South Africa's foreign policy.

Finally, this study has confirmed that, with essentialisation of human rights, other aspects of South Africa's foreign policy such as democracy, solidarity, African renaissance, South-South cooperation and the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment have been subordinated. The fact that very few scholars have been found to be considering a discourse school in framing human rights means that a lot still need to be done in this sphere. In his rendition, Barber (2005: 1087) does concede that the South African government "adjusted its views with regard to human rights, a process in which the spat with Nigeria played a major part" and Graham (2014: 28) also recognises that "South Africa would consistently refer to human rights and the self-determination principle in reference to Western Sahara at the Security Council" although the latter scholar insists that it was in the service of South Africa's national interests to do so.

Admittedly, the two scholars referred to above cannot, strictly speaking, be categorised as discourse scholars. Scholarship asserts discourse scholars are "nihilists" who "believe that human rights law is as good or as bad as any other law" (Dembour, 2010: 6). They then "call for new values to be created through the re-interpretation of old values that have lost their original sense […] [due to] the supremacy of the language of human rights in contemporary political discourse" (Dembour, 2010: 9). Using this school of thought to evaluate human rights in South Africa's foreign policy, would have enabled scholars to understand the nuanced centrality of solidarity considerations (third generation rights) enshrined in South Africa's foreign policy pronouncements alongside her commitment to first generation rights. Habib (2009: 154), in advising that "the rights of human rights victims must be

advanced simultaneously as must the reform of the multilateral system" can be regarded as advancing a discursive turn to human rights in South Africa's foreign policy.

For those questions for which answers could not be found in this study due to limited scope of this research, it is recommended that future studies could focus on them in order to close the knowledge gap. These are:

a. Does South Africa's normative embracing of human rights in its foreign policy, essentially and permanently label it as a global guardian of human rights?
b. What political implications does the representation of South Africa by scholars as a global human rights guardian have for South Africa's foreign policy identity as compared to behaviour?

4.3 Conclusion

There is no doubt that the findings presented in the chapter are a culmination of different elements of the study. The researcher opted for Discourse Analysis as an analytical method in order to examine the power of language inherent in scholarly work on South Africa's human right-oriented foreign policy. In reviewing literature relevant to the study, the Researcher discussed the philosophical and epistemological basis of poststructuralism by reflecting on the ideational orientation of eminent scholars such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and Jean-François Lyotard etc. In challenging the essentialist representation of human rights in foreign policy, the discussion landed in the human rights mapping field devised by Dembour (2010) which aided with the theorisation of human rights as well as the analysis selected corpus of scholarly work.

The Researcher's complexified Dembour's (2010) mapping field which confirmed that most scholars are framing human rights through the lens of the natural school, followed by the deliberative school with the protest school and the discourse school trailing behind. The implications are that readers are exposed to ideational orientations that are more liberal/individualistic and transcendental orientation but less to those that the societal/linguistic and social justice inclined. These results confirm the

relevance and utility of poststructuralism in explaining South Africa's human-rights foreign policy differently.

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