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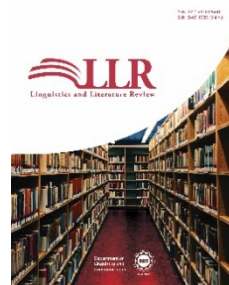|	
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Author (s):	Nighat Khurshid, Fouzia Janjua
Affiliation (s):	International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan
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Beyond the Lines of 'Us' and 'Them': A Positive Discourse Analysis of the Selected Speeches of Nelson Mandela

Nighat Khurshid[*] and Fouzia Janjua

International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan

Abstract

The current study identifies a language as a source of social practice which is capable of bringing socio-political changes in a country. The present study is an endeavor to conduct Positive Discourse Analysis on Nelson Mandela' Speeches, who was an anti-apartheid Leader of South Africa. The researchers have illustrated by taking guidelines from Van Dijk's Ideological Squarethat how recent strategies are contrary to the conventional strategies. These unconventional strategies have been employed in speech by the orator to break the boundaries between 'Us' and 'Them' based on racial discrimination. It is also found that Mandela used the 'merger of dichotomies' in terms of pronouns, positive other's representation, mitigation through passivization, and replacement of positive words with the words having negative connotations.The purpose of his positive speech was to describe the out-group and the malicious state of affairs to promote inter-racial tolerance and solidarity among the divided groups of his country to attain the goal of an inclusive nationhood. The current study concludes that Mandela's strategic and unconventional use of discourse enabled him to play a major role in creating peaceful democratization of South Africa and to become a global icon of peace and humanity.

Keywords: apartheid, ideological square, positive discourse analysis, us-them dichotomy

Introduction

The dialogic transition of South Africa from apartheid regime to a multiracial democratic state under the dynamic leadership of Nelson Mandela is considered one of the remarkable socio-political events of 20th century. Besides, this success was celebrated globally as a victory of justice, democracy, peace, and humanity (Inman & Rubinfeld, 2013). As a matter of fact, the history of the subjugation of South Africa can be traced in the

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[*] Corresponding Author: khurshid.nighat@gmail.com

colonial projects presented by Europeans. Moreover, these colonial projects were intertwined with the civilization mission of Christianity and the pseudo-scientific approaches to proclaim the superiority of the Whites' race on the Non-Whites, particularly, the Black race. Furthermore, the ideology of the White Supremacy or White supremacism uplifted the Europeans/Whites/Christians attitude to the highest stratum at the ladder of humanity.

On the other hand, Blacks because of their skin complexion, hair texture, and shape of their nose became a tag of inferiority in the world. Also, everything pertaining to Africa, that is, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, and others were castigated to the lowest rank in the hierarchal classification of human beings. Whereas, Africa has always been a 'land of treasures' for its colonizers both in terms of natural reserves and human resources for centuries with different waves of resistance. However, the political scenario of South Africa changed rigorously after the World War II because the colonial powers became economically week to keep their control on the colonies. As the havocs of the World War II shook the world, a human rights discourse emerged with the establishment of the United Nations Organization. Consequently, more organized, forceful, and resistance movements gained maximum momentum right after the War occurred which resulted in the decolonization of many Asian and African countries (Clark & Worger, 2011).

As South Africa was tightly gripped by the White Supremacist Ideology of the National Party of Europe (NPE), it appeared to be moving backwards at a frightful rate. This downfall turned their election slogan 'Apartheid' (an Afrikaan word which mean sapartness or separation) into a comprehensive policy of segregation. This transformation further intensified the already existing racial laws and implemented a number of new laws to benefit the White minority who were living in South Africa, on behalf of the basic human rights of other races. For example, 'Europeans Only' and 'Non Europeans Only' were the signs which drew clear boundaries between the rulers and the masses in all spheres of life such as, work places, residential areas, public and private institutes, hospitals, transport areas, recreational places, and graveyards, even were discriminated on the basis of their race and color. The segregationist laws restricted the opportunities of social and economic growth for Non-Whites and Black races. However, Black race

was the most oppressed and victimized community which turned out as the most violent Black armed resistance forces in the reaction.

In order to control the Black's resistance government launched a barbaric program to crush all types of resistance against apartheid policies. Whereas, resistant political parties were banned, and socio-political activists were either exiled or imprisoned. Despite of the great efforts by the government to crush the resistance it continued in different shapes and forms. Later, Black's resistance became more intense in the form of domestic upheavals and global pressures in terms of economic sanctions in 1980s. Since, the Black's resistance and pressure increased in 1990, it compelled the government to repeal many cruel laws. From that point in time, political parties were unbanned and political prisoners were released. Besides, the political leaders in exile were allowed to come back and the government started multi-party negotiations with the leaders of other political parties which culminated in all-race elections in April, 1994. The African National Congress (ANC), as the representative party of the majority of the country, received a clear mandate. Ultimately, Nelson Mandela embraced the position of first ever Black president of the country after the chaos of four years of National Dialogue/Transitional Period (Sparks, 1995).

The National Dialogue/Transition Period (1990-1994) as documented by Brockett (2005) is termed as the bloodiest time in the modern history of South Africa. As the White rulers used different tactics to sustain long in the government by standing hegemonic rule. Furthermore, it included the hidden state sanctioned violence to foster the animosity among different races. In response to this act, the country reached at the verge of a civil war and proved to be highly challenging situation which was required to be handled, carefully. Mandela and Sampson (1995) argued that Mandela, the political luminary and the saga of South Africa, played a leading role in the conflict resolution and continuation of the national dialogue process by mobilizing consent and by promoting intergroup reconciliation, the contribution, for which he shared the Nobel Peace Prize with the last White Prime Minister Frederik Willem de Klerk.

It is opined by Boehmar (2005) that during the imprisonment of Mandela, he himself went through under his personal transformation from a militant freedom fighter to a negotiator, conflict resolver, and a peace maker. This personal transformation enabled him to leave impact on the

country transformation from an oligarchy to a democratic state. However, the argument is endorsed by Ofili ([2019](#)) who states that Mandela spread the message to his multilayered audience that there was a necessity to rethink and re-conceptualize their politics, in terms of ethics of empathy, human values, forgiveness, tolerance, mutual respect, solidarity, and equality across all the multiple races. Thus, he documented a counter history of South Africa through his unique type of verbal discourse.

Statement of Purpose

In the current study, verbal discourse of Mandela has been analyzed. Keeping in view that it is used by dominant groups to produce, reproduce and sustain their hegemony. On the other hand, subjugated groups, develop a counter discourse to challenge and resist the unjust status quo. Colonial/anti-colonial and racist/anti-racist movements are the historical examples of discursive and counter-discursive uses of verbal discourse which entail the divisions of 'Us' and 'Them'. The present study, adopting a different stance, aims to highlight the positive and the cohesive role of discourse as exemplified by the prime example of discourse produced by Mandela in the capacity of the leader of an oppressed group as well as the head of a state that is mainly focused on the following research question:

What prominent constructive/unification strategies are utilized by Nelson Mandela to construct the verbal discourse having a potential to play an important role in bringing a positive socio-political change for the South African society?

Significance of the Study

We are living in a world that is constantly changing where there is no boundary when we come in contact with each other, globally. This is also known as a global village due to the surge of digital facilities; yet, well connectedness does not mean cohesion and harmony and different types of layers and boundaries in divisions are being built at national and global levels mainly due to the manipulative and negative use of discourse. Previously, these divisions were used by dominant groups to manipulate their ideologies but now social media has empowered the masses as well. So, the blame games, religious derogation, hate speech, freedom of expression, and others are the buzzwords in a contemporary divided world. Still, there is a need to spread awareness about the positive/cohesive uses of discourse among people. Furthermore, scholarly discussion under the

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), in Pakistan and abroad with reference to 'positive-us' and 'negative-they' binaries has developed a narrative that discourse is a tool to derogate, cheat, and deceive others. On the other hand, the present study is a significant shift from the ongoing research trends as it aims to highlight the positive, progressive, and cohesive aspects of discourse.

Literature Review

Nelson Mandela (1918-2013) an African tribal boy was an attorney, a militant freedom fighter, most famous political prisoner, and the first democratically elected black president of South Africa. Eventually, he became a saga of humanity and an international icon of hope and peace for people (Sparks, 2005). His political insight, unwavering commitment to his task, and charismatic personality, made him a global celebrity. Also, he became an object of scholarly discussion in different fields of social sciences, including political science, history, psychology, leadership, management studies, peace, conflict resolution studies, and others. Other than the features of his personality as a social and political figure and his power of making appropriate political decisions, his oratory skills has also inspired many researchers under rhetoric, stylistic, and linguistic studies.

Sheckles (2001), for instance, conducted a study on rhetorical strategies employed by Mandela in his inauguration speech. He concluded that Mandela skillfully shifted from one strategy to another to incorporate multiple themes in his verbal discourse. For instance, end of White Supremacy and Beginning of a New Phase in the History of South Africa were the main themes of his discourse. Following the same lines, Dwivedi (2015) set out a study to analyze the use of rhetorical strategies in his speeches and elaborated that Mandela effectively advocated the case of the Black race at both local and international levels by exploiting multiple rhetorical devices that was nuanced and effective enough to dismantle the apartheid racist order, that is, metaphor, repetition, analogy and others. A corpus based study was carried out by Felekidou (2014) on the use of metaphors in Mandela's autobiography 'Long Walk to Freedom'. This particular study explored that the metaphors used by him in his speech could be divided into three broad categories, that is, the metaphors related to war and destruction, religion, and nature/environment. The current study concluded that the metaphors related to first category evolved during his life span. While other two types of metaphors were persistently used by him.

Moreover, the evolution in his ideology about war and destruction depicts a change in his mindset and personality which turned him from an armed freedom fighter to a negotiator. Likewise, a detailed rhetorical analysis was conducted by Ofili (2019) on the autobiography of Mandela which explored that a braided rhetoric strategy (combination of the African and Western rhetorical strategies) was employed by him in his speech. Furthermore, the main reason behind using this strategy was to cater the needs of his all race audiences. It was also used to produce a cohesive discourse within the complex socio-political and cultural context of South Africa. Later, another study from rhetorical stand point was conducted by Williams (2008).

Apart from the rhetorical studies, Systemic Functional Linguistics was also used as a tool by Nur (2015) to investigate the differences among the distribution of interpersonal resources in his inauguration speech which enabled him to communicate more effectively with his multiple audiences. Moreover, a comprehensive study was carried out by Faris (2017) on the selected parts of speeches/discourse to investigate Mandela's persuasive strategies by taking insights from the pragmatic and critical discourse analysis (CDA), frameworks. A pragma-stylistic analysis was set out by Naqeeb (2018) with an aim to analyze the different tropes and speech acts which were exploited by Mandela especially with a purpose to incorporate a variety of themes into his speech to successfully address the diverse audiences of South Africa. Likewise, Alvaez (2014) drew a comparison between the two speeches of Mandela including Defense and Inaugural speeches, regarding the use of discursive and stance taking strategies. In this way, the current study highlighted that a significant change can be noticed in the speeches delivered at different historical points which has proved to be a significant trigger for change in South Africa. More recently, Aldosari (2020) conducted CDA on Mandela's defence speech. The main focus of this study was to know about the textual and pragmatic elements in the speech which concluded that implicit relation of ideology and power was embedded in the speech. Another pragmatic study with a focus on speech acts and felicity conditions fulfilled by Mandela in his inauguration speech was conducted by Eze (2020). Outside the South African context, Ubeid & Ali (2015) examined the linguistic strategies exploited by Mandela in his speech to show sympathy and solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Prior to these studies, Martin (1999) conducted a study on the autobiography of Mandela by employing the Systemic Functional

Linguistics as theoretical framework. This particular framework was more focused on transitivity, mood, tense patterns, grammatical metaphor, lexical relations and others. This study was especially conducted to explore Mandela's conception of freedom. The current study has proved to be a ground breaking research which highlighted that his discourse exhibits a linear progression in his ideology from an urge of personal freedom in the boyhood to an adolescent mature freedom. In addition, it continues to the third stage of desire to attain freedom for the Blacks to the final stage of desire to achieve the sublime role of reconciliation and communal freedom as opined by Yadev (2007).

Furthermore, Martin highlighted that no shade of negativity or resentment can be seen in Mandela's speech and according to Martin's study a message of hope is incorporated in his discourse which makes it different from traditional discourses. Hence, he termed it as positive discourse and suggested it to bring these types of discourses on the research landscape. Since then, no research from the perspective of positive role of discourse has been conducted on Mandela's discourse. The present study is an attempt to look into his discourse from the lens of PDA with a focus to highlight the positive role of his discourse/speech. He was passionate to unify the scattered people and to create the true essence of nationhood through his speech during the transition period from Apartheid to democracy.

Methodology

The current study is descriptive in nature and qualitative research paradigm has been utilized.

Sample

Four speeches have been selected for the present study. Two release speeches are delivered in Cape Town (1990 a) and Durban (1990 b) and two inauguration addresses are delivered in Cape Town (1994 a) and Pretoria (1994 b).The above mentioned speeches are selected by using a purposive sampling technique with the rationale to analyze the strategies used by Mandela as a Leader of Downtrodden Community as well as the Head of the State. So, the data was retrieved from the website "www.mandela.gov.za.speeches".

Theoretical Underpinnings

The current discourse has gained attention of the scholarly discussion under the umbrella of Discourse Studies, particularly, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This is an approach concerned with the analysis of the discourses with reference to power relations in society like Domination and Hegemony (Van Dijk, 2001). According to Fairclough (2013) it specifically works to highlight the implicit and explicit linguistic mechanisms used in institutional and political discourses to uncover the inequalities in social settings. According to Martin (2004), a bulk of literature reveals that discourse serves power elites to produce, reproduce, and legitimize their hegemonic rules with reference to the social constructs of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and others. Van Dijk (2001) is of the same opinion that CDA shows more interest in exploring and highlighting the top-down relations by focusing on dominant discourses. Also, the dominated and resistant voices are focused as a manifestation of bottom-up resistance against power dynamics. Moreover, CDA studies advocate that politicians attain their goals by creating binaries of allies (us) and opposition camp (them) by employing strategies of exclusion and inclusion (Van Dijk, 2001).

Whereas, 'positive-us' and 'negative-they' is the most frequently deployed overarching strategy of the drawing boundaries between in-groups and the out-groups. Similarly, 'victimized-us' and 'oppressors-they' dichotomies are created by the struggling groups with reference to different socio-political domains. However, the research landscape of CDA is overloaded with the terms of power, control, hegemony, discrimination, inequality and others. Which aims to highlight the negative state of affairs, though, critical does not mean negative in this study. This overall negative approach to study the discourse has given birth to a new dimension in CDA that is called a Positive Discourse Analysis (henceforth, PDA).

PDA, according to its pioneer Jim Martin (2004), is a complementary perspective to CDA which aims at identifying modal texts that is having a potential to contribute and bring 'change for the better' rather than focusing on power-structure, inequalities and the resultant ideological divisions of 'Us' and 'Them'. Similarly, Bartlett (2012) states that PDA aims to highlight the progressive social changes, in doing so, it works on such discourses that signify the inspiring discursive practices and strategies to advance collective goals. These goals are including national unity, political reconciliation, social practices, and others. Same idea is endorsed by Martin and Rose (2007) who opine that PDA analyzes the positive and constructive

solutions towards the social problems through a lens of discourse analysis. The present study aims to find out that how different discourses can play a role in the development of harmonious societies to make this world a place of worth-living.

van Dijk's Ideological Square: A Guideline for Analysis

PDA as complementary approach to CDA, shares the theoretical and analytical grounds with CDA with a change in its perspective only. In this case, Bartlett (2012) argues that PDA should be combined with traditional CDA frameworks in order to situate Mandela's discourse in a broader socio-historical context. Furthermore, by following Bartlett's guideline, the present study integrates Van Dijk's ideological Square with PDA to explore the counter strategies employed by Mandela. Besides, this framework is taken as a point of departure due to the reason that it has been wildly used by the researchers within CDA to explore the boundaries of 'Us' and 'Them' across a range of discourses. The discourses are specifically from political and media context with reference to power, hegemony, racism, xenophobia and others. Van Dijk (2009) advocates that discourse is used to generate, process, consume ideological binaries, and to process polarization. This goal is mainly achieved through the creation of 'We-Us' and 'They-Them' polarities. Hence, the process of Polarization, according to him, is an overall strategy which is manifested in discourse through the following interrelated discursive strategies.

1) Emphasize Our Good Things

2) De-Emphasize Our Bad Things

3) Emphasize Their Bad Things

4) De-Emphasize Their Good Things

Van Dijk advocates that a great number of semantic macro-strategies are utilized by power elites to create group binaries. For instance, a frequent discussion on negative topics about the out-group, a tendency to create a hype for the negative features or actions of the other group, and the process of lexicalization which means lexical choices including others, strangers, enemies, outsiders, and others. Also, actor description which means use of stereotypical name, adjectives, rhetorical devices, and others for positive self and negative other representation, nominalization, topicalization, passivization and others are widely used as mechanisms to create otherness.

Analysis and Discussion

Based on the data, the following list of linguistic strategies employed by Mandela to dismantle the boundaries of 'Us' and 'Them' have been identified.

The Case of Usage of Pronouns: 'Us' & 'Them'

There is a growing body of literature which demonstrates that dichotomous categories are created through socio-cognitive schemata of polarization of 'Us' vs. 'Them'. These polarities tend to reflect either a privileged or a dominant group's perception. Riggins (1997) opines that pronouns are the most frequently used expressions to draw boundaries between self and other. Thus, a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion is required to draw such boundaries. However, the present study exhibits an unconventional trend where the orator has used pronouns to merge the centuries old asymmetries for the sake of social cohesion and unification in South African society. The greetings in his release speech as he said "Friends, comrades and fellow South Africans: I greet you all, in the name of peace, democracy, and freedom for all" illustrate the phenomenon. Furthermore, he elaborated the ideology of inclusiveness in the following words:

> I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy, and freedom for all. It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured. We call on our White compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you too. (Release Speech, Cape Town, Mandela, 1990)

The analysis of above pieces of discourse reveals that the orator has exploited a general reference *fellow South Africans* to greet all the people of the country irrespective of racial, ethnical, or political affiliations. The repetition of the expression *all* in both the extracts show that he has utilized the strategy of merger of dichotomies and has created an inclusive, that is, 'we-all' South African identity. In addition, he has used the pronouns; '*we*' and '*our*'. However, their relational counterparts, 'they' and 'them' are not present implicitly or explicitly. Further, It is interesting to note that in his first appearance, in front of audience after 27 years of incarceration and victimization, he restarted his political career but not as a Black Anti-Apartheid leader. As no opposition camp in the form of 'Victimized-us, Oppressors-they' can be found in his discourse, rather, he has employed the

strategy of merger of already existing racial, ethnical, and political hostile camps in his society.

Irrespective of the fact that he was the spokesperson of the Black community (the most victimized race); he reemerged on the South African as well as the global political scenario as a representative of a peaceful, democratic, and non-racial South Africa. Furthermore, he has used pronoun '*you*' to refer to the White people which is a sign of closeness and proximity in contrast to 'them' which is a distance marker. He did not include the White race as a part of his audience only rather he cordially invited the out-groups to join the Anti-Apartheid Campaign. His only aim was to merge the boundaries of the in-groups and the out-groups for the attainment of a cohesive and united society. As he continued: 'We are committed to building a single nation in our country. Our new nation will include Blacks and Whites, Zulus, and Afrikaners, and speakers of every other language'. This piece of discourse reveals that '*we*' is used as a reference to the ANC – the in-group of Mandela, while *'our'* in expressions '*our nation'* and '*our country'* is used to dismantle the boundary between the self and the other.

He has also condemned the culture of division in terms of race, ethnicity, and linguistic orientation, and in this way he has constructed a counter history of South Africa. In fact, he has articulated his concept of unity in diversity. Absence of the opposite group(s) is a remarkable feature of his discourse as he has used the strategy of merger to unify the shattered society of South Africa in the capacity of the leader of ANC which is the leading anti-apartheid party. But, interestingly, the same strategy was used by him in his presidential inauguration speeches as he said: "Today we are entering a new era for our country and its people. Today we celebrate not the victory of a party, but a victory for all the people of South Africa" (Inauguration Speech, Cape Town, Mandela, 1994)

He further revealed his ideology in the same speech in the following words:

> We place our vision of a new constitutional order for South Africa on the table not as conquerors prescribing to the conquered. We speak as fellow citizens to heal the wounds of the past with the intent of constructing a new order based on justice for all. (Inauguration Speech, Pretoria, Mandela, 1994)

The above statements again reflect an extraordinary aspect of Mandela's idea of inclusivity. Customarily, victory speeches serve the declaration of the success of a party. Hence it projects its potentials, capabilities, and achievements. The ANC received a clear mandate in the first all-race elections after a long period of turmoil, tyranny, and state imposed terrorism. The first democratically elected president astonished the world by generously declaring it as the victory of all South **A**fricans**.** Moreover, by exploiting the strategy of inclusion, he has given a clear message to the White race, the rival ethnical, and the political parties of ANC.

In addition, the peaceful conversion from an Apartheid Regime to a Democracy was the real accomplishment worth celebration by all the citizens of South Africa across racial, ethical, and political boundaries. Furthermore, the message of inclusivity is evident in the following chunk of the discourse as well:

> Today we enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans both black and white, will be able to walk tall without any fear in their hearts assured of their inalienable right to human dignity-a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world. (Inauguration speech, Cape Town, Mandela, 1994)

By using the same strategy, the addresser has exploited the pronoun *'we' 'our'* and *'all'* to project the government's ideology of togetherness and nation building. Being aware of the sensitivity of the relationship between the racial hegemonic rulers of the past and democratically elected government of the most victimized racial group, he has specifically made a reference to the two polarities (the Black and the White races) after making on general reference to all the people of the country.

Positive Other-Representation as a Strategy to Merge the Lines of 'Us' and 'Them'

Negative other representation is a frequently used strategy to create, sustain, and strengthen 'Us' and 'Them' polarities. Politicians, in particular, use this tactic to highlight and emphasize their good face to legitimize the intentions or actions of in-groups. Exploitation and victimization of the out-groups is justified by highlighting the bad things about the out-groups. Van Leeuwen (2008) also opines that the strategic representation of social actors serves well as a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion which functions as a part of the development of overall ideological stance. Also, he elaborates

that the good actions or positive aspects of the members of the out-groups are not openly discussed often, and if discussed, different tactics are used to suppress or put down their contribution.

Mandela, however, used a counter-discursive strategy to highlight the positive role of the forces who were already in opposition to dismantle the iron wall of differences regarding emotional, psychological, social, and political division among the two extreme binaries, that is, Black and White races. His generous acknowledgement of the contribution of the White people symbolizes his over-all strategy of inclusiveness to break the walls of self and other. Hence, one can see this unique strategy used by a socio-political activist as exemplified in chunk of the discourse which is given below:

> Whites too, have made a contribution to the struggle in Natal. It began with the lonely voices of Bishop Colenso and his daughters who denounced imperialist injustices against the Zulu people and who campaigned vigorously for the freedom of their leaders. The Natal Liberal Party waged steadfast campaigns against removals and its work has been continued into the present by people like Peter Brown. (Release Speech, Durban, Mandela, 1990)

In the above quoted extract, the addresser has portrayed the out groups in positive terms. A general term *Whites* has been used to make a general reference for the sake of a broader inclusion and some particular references like *Bishop Colenso and his daughters* and *Peter Brown* has also been termed as 'generalization' and 'specification' strategies by van Leeuwen (2008), respectively. Furthermore, he has bountifully projected the significant role played by John William Colenso, the Biblical scholar and the first Bishop of Natal appointed in 1853, and his daughters in the movement against the exploitation and victimization of Africans in Natal and the Zululand. Moreover, Mandela paid a specific tribute to Peter Brown, a prominent White politician who courageously raised his voice against exploitation of non-White races in the country. So, the same strategy is used by him in the inauguration speeches as stated below:

> The struggle for democracy has never been a matter pursued by one race, class, religious community, or gender among South Africans. In honoring those who fought to see this day arrive. We honor the best sons and daughters of all our people. We can count amongst

> them Africans, Coloreds, Whites, Indians, Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Jews- all of them united by a common vision of a better life for the people of this country. (Inauguration speech, Cape Town, Mandela 1994)

> We deeply appreciate the role that masses of our people and their political mass democratic, religious, women, youth, business, traditional, and leaders have played to bring about this conclusion. Not least among them is my deputy President, the honorable, F.W.de. klerk. (Inauguration speech, Pretoria, Mandela, 1994)

However, the above chunks are rich pieces of Mandela's inclusionary discourse as he has made a note of general appreciation for all the races, classes, religious groups, political parties, and business community of the country. In the second extract, after making a general reference to all the races, he has used the strategy of 'specification' to make a particular reference to different races including the Whites. Similarly, his specific reference for different religious groups, that is, *Muslims, Christians, Hindus,* and *Jews* has been used as a strategy to dismantle the religious polarities. Moreover, in both the extracts the orator has appreciated the role of women, often a marginalized group, including anti-apartheid movement. Most significantly, he has used the strategy of 'specification' to pay bounteous tribute to the last White ruler, Frederik Willem de Klerk.

Syntactic Strategies to Merge the Lines of 'Us' and 'Them'

There are a number of covert strategies to create 'Us-Them' dichotomy in political discourse. One such strategy is 'mitigation' which is commonly used to employ exclusionary practices in a cultured, less cruel and soft way. In addition to it, the term disguised othering is also used for it, due to its temperate effects (Riggins, 1997, Simpson, 1993). Van Leeuwen (2008) is of the opinion that mitigation is a mechanism to hide or deemphasize the good actions and intentions of the out-groups and bad actions or intensions of the in-groups. Unconventional to discourse practices, Mandela has exploited this strategy as a tool to heal the wounds of discrimination and victimization in the name of race as shown in the extracts taken from his release speech:

> The destruction caused by apartheid on our sub-continent is incalculable. The fabric of life of millions of my people has been shattered. Millions are homeless and unemployed. Our economy lies

in ruins and our people are embroiled in political strife. (Release speech, Cape Town, Mandela, 1990)

This Constitution recognizes the diversity of our people. Gone will be the days when one language dominated. Gone will be the days when one religion was elevated to a position of privilege over other religions. Gone will be the days when one culture was elevated to a position of superiority and other denigrated and denied. (Inauguration Speech, Pretoria, Mandela, 1994)

A vivid commentary on the religious, cultural, and linguistic superiority of the out-groups and the subsequent denigration of the African/Black race is given by Mandela. In this case, he has covertly presented a sharp contrast between the ideological standpoint of White Supremacy and Democracy by mitigating the agency in the passive constructions as no direct reference is being made to the Christianity, the English language, or the White culture. This chunk of discourse is an excellent illustration of his polished linguistic skills which facilitated him to attain a number of objectives. Firstly, he has indirectly criticized the system of the multilayered division launched by the apartheid rule. Secondly, he has made an attempt to mitigate the ugly reality about the White rulers by hiding the agency. Thirdly, he has foregrounded the Interim Constitution of South Africa (1993), which as per the directions of International Human Rights Conventions recognized the fundamental human rights for all South Africans, that is, freedom, respect, justice, basic health, and education, linguistic and cultural rights and others. Hence, the most significantly, it promised to fulfill the desire of majority of South Africans by announcing the right of vote for the citizens who were above 18 years of age without any discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, or gender, and proved a milestone in the eradication of apartheid rule.

Lexical Strategies as A Mean to Dismantle the Lines of 'Us' and 'Them'

'Words' inherently carry negative or positive connotations, and, thus play a significant role in creating positive and negative polarities. Similarly, political leaders often use derogatory terms and stereotypical references for the out-group(s). However, Mandela used no overt derogatory or humiliating words for the out-groups in his discourse and only positive words have been used for members of the in-groups. Also, he has used positive words to engage the out-groups in his campaign of togetherness.

In his release speech, by leaving the torment and torture of 27 years of imprisonment aside, he restarted his political career in thoroughly a positive way. He has also addressed his multiple audiences with the words such as *friends, comrades, and fellow South Africans*; similarly, he has used the expression *fellow citizens* in his (Release speech, Cape Town, Mandela, 1990) as a lexical strategy to deconstruct all the racial, ethnical, and political otherness.

On the contrary to the common practices of the politicians, he has used all positive words for his opponents, such as, *our white compatriots,* for the honorable, Frederik Willem de Klerk in his (Inauguration speech, Pretoria, Mandela, 1994). Similarly, he has utilized the positive terms, such as, *the best sons and daughters* (Inauguration speech, Cape Town, Mandela, 1994). Other than people, he has described the state of affairs (seriously negative and exploitative) in a highly positive way as can be seen in his very first public appearance.

Also, he has talked about the horrible effects of colonialism and segregationist policies of the White government, the pathetic socio-political condition of the non-White races in South Africa in general, and the Black race in particular without making an explicit reference. In addition, he has talked about the state of affairs in the opposite/positive terms, that is, *peace, democracy, and freedom* (Inauguration speech, Pretoria, Mandela, 1994) rather than illegitimate White government, bloodshed, violation of human rights, and others.

Similarly, the expressions *freedom movement* and *political home* are positive alternate words to the anti-racist struggle, or anti-apartheid movement, and others. In the same way, he has repeated the adjectives such as *'new'* in the expressions *'new South Africa'*, *'our new nation'*, *'our new constitution'* and others. Besides, *'a new era'* which implicitly entails the presence of an out dated system which is totally based on the self-constructed supremacist ideology.

He has also used the expression *'a single nation'*, as a positive word to refer to the divided and segregated nations. Correspondingly, he has used the words, *'justice'* and *'freedom'* to refer to the change that was about to come at the end of the apartheid rule. The expressions including *justice, freedom, work, bread, water,* and *salt for all* denote social and economic stability which were virtually absent in the country as he summed up his

inauguration speech Pretoria in the words: "Let there be justice for all. Let there be freedom for all. Let there be work. Let freedom reign". Despite of the gravity and seriousness of the cause, the use of positive words has made his discourse more positive and his speech is having a potential to contribute in bringing a positive socio-political change.

Conclusion

The present study aimed to conduct PDA on discourse/speeches of Nelson Mandela to explore the positive/constructive role of that particular discourse in anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. The analysis revealed that certain unusual linguistic trends were found in Mandela's discourse. Dominant political discourses conventionally rely on the creation of polarities in terms of 'Us' and 'Them'. Typical positive portrayal of 'us' and negative portrayal of 'them' help the discourse producers to manipulate their ideologies into practice. The political leaders who are leading social/political movements against the illegitimate systems also create a binary of 'Us' and 'Them' in the form of 'victimized-us' and 'oppressors-they' dichotomies. However, Mandela has used his discourse in a novel way to deconstruct the deeply rooted ideology of segregation in South African society, both in the capacity of the member of a victimized group and the democratically elected head of the state. The unconventional use of pronouns, and mitigation of the crude ground realities were attained through the process of passivization. This was also done by the generous positive portrayal of others whose techniques were contrary to basic tenets of Van Dijk's ideological square. The current study concludes that Mandela's discourse has a potential to break the boundaries of superiority and inferiority in South Africa. It also has strength to change the atmosphere of prejudice, hate among people of South Africa and to suppress the feelings of revenge among them as it can be loaded with positive, productive, progressive and cohesive ideologies. It further concludes that there is a need to promote positive aspects of discourse as it has become an everyday practice to marginalize, derogate, and dehumanize others. The discourse of Mandela is a spotlight for all of us in the case that differentiates in terms of physical appearance as well as religious, ethnical, political, cultural, linguistic and ideological standpoints. Whereas, it is an essence of human endeavor, that all we need for a peaceful world, to embrace the diversity, and to promote an atmosphere of mutual respect that can be attained through positive use of Mandela's discourse

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