



UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

***PERSUASION AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES IN THE DISCOURSE OF
NELSON MANDELA***

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**PERSUASION AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES IN THE DISCOURSE OF
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By

ALI ABDULHAMEED FARIS

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia,
in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

February 2017

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to:

My precious Wife

My darling Sons

My beloved Sisters

My dear Brothers



Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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February 2017

Chairman : Associate Professor Shamala Paramasivam, PhD

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It is worth mentioning that much discourse study has been conducted on the western discourse. Little research has been done on the discourse of non-western culture and non-western leaders. Against such backdrop, it could be said that discourse of non-western leaders has got more cultural and political significance because of its genuine role in shaping the life of millions of people in non-western communities. The rarity of research on non-western leaders has prompted the researcher to highlight the persuasive strategies and political ideologies in the discourse of the African leader Nelson Mandela whose discourse has influenced millions of people inside and outside South Africa. The universality of this African leader stems from his persuasive skills and influential ideologies. However, his biographical background has had its influence on shaping and determining his discourse. His culture and political position have definitely had their effect on his discourse.

Specifically, this study aims to conduct a critical discourse analysis so as to investigate the various strategies and techniques of persuasion that are available to Nelson Mandela and to explore the embedded political ideologies, which shaped the notion of ingroupness and outgroupness in his discourse and contributed to determine, produce, and reproduce his discourse. For this purpose, three speeches were chosen selectively across two critical stages of his political life: before his imprisonment and after his imprisonment. The criteria for speeches collection is based on the critical and historical moments when speeches are likely to have a higher content of persuasive intent.

To identify the persuasive strategies of Mandela, Johnstone's (1989) 'Strategies for Persuasive Discourse' and Searle's (1979) 'Speech Act Theory' were utilized for the purpose of analysis. To uncover the embedded ideologies in Mandela's discourse, Van Dijk's (1998) 'Categories for Ideological Analysis' and Wodak's (2005) 'Discursive Strategies for Positive Self and Negative Other- Presentation' were advocated.

The findings of the analysis showed that the utilization of Johnston's three persuasive strategies- quasilogical, presentational and analogical- was closely related to the context of the three speeches under investigation. Searle's speech acts-assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives- were consistently collaborated with Johnstone's persuasive strategies (quasilogical, presentational and analogical) so as to strengthen the social act of persuasion in the speeches under investigation. Mandela consistently employed various persuasive techniques and speech acts to provide audience not only with information on different socio-political or socio-cultural issues but also to incite them to perform certain actions, namely sustaining unyielding struggle against the principles of apartheid which had brought forth segregation, poverty, and social inequality, and advocating interracial unity as it is the only access to democratized South Africa where all people regardless of their race or ethnicity would live without white or black domination.

With the help of Van Dijk's strategies of actor description, positive self-presentation, and negative other-presentation, and Wodak's strategies of argumentation and perspectivation, the ideological themes of 'non-violence', 'violence' and 'interracial unity' were explored and discussed. The ideological analysis also manifested that Mandela's political ideologies were potential enough to create social identities- Black and White- through his employment of certain linguistic forms, for example, the pronoun "Us" which was used by him to emphasize group membership (self and others) and to reflect a sense of social and political exclusion or inclusion. The findings of the study manifested that Mandela's ideologies had the potential to influence the people of South Africa and the world. His ideologies were not restricted to merely the life of South Africans or the community of South Africa; they were an echo of universal issues, such as freedom, social equality, democracy, desegregation, and human dignity. Although his ideologies developed and changed across his political career, they remained revolving around one basic objective which was the freedom of the dominated in South Africa and the world and the democratization of South African community.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk Ijazah Doktor Falsafah

KEPERCAYAAN DAN IDEOLOGI POLITIK DALAM WACANA MANDELA

oleh

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Adalah penting untuk mengetahui bahawa kajian terhadap penyampaian komunikasi telah banyak dijalankan ke atas komunikasi dari Barat. Terdapat hanya sedikit kajian yang dijalankan terhadap penyampaian komunikasi oleh pemimpin dan budaya bukan Barat. Disebabkan ini, boleh dikatakan penyampaian komunikasi dari pemimpin bukan Barat mempunyai lebih banyak kepentingan budaya dan politikal kerana peranannya di dalam membentuk kehidupan jutaan penduduk di komuniti bukan Barat. Kekurangan kajian terhadap penyampaian komunikasi-komunikasi dari pemimpin-pemimpin bukan Barat telah menyebabkan penyelidik berusaha untuk mengetengahkan strategi mempengaruhi dan ideologi politik seorang pemimpin yang terkenal iaitu Nelson Mandela yang mana penyampaian komunikasi beliau telah mempengaruhi jutaan penduduk di dalam dan di luar Afrika Selatan. Kepelbagaian bidang pemimpin Afrika ini adalah berdasarkan kemahiran dan ideologi beliau yang berpengaruh. Walau bagaimanapun, latarbelakang biografik beliau mempunyai kesan yang besar di dalam membentuk dan menentukan kandungan penyampaian komunikasi beliau. Budaya dan kedudukan politik beliau ternyata mempunyai kesan terhadap penyampaian komunikasi beliau.

Secara khususnya, kajian ini bertujuan untuk melakukan analisis penyampaian komunikasi yang kritikal untuk mengkaji beberapa strategi dan teknik kepengaruhan yang terdapat pada Nelson Mandela and untuk menyiasat ideologi politikan yang terkandung pada beliau yang didapati telah membentuk kesanggupan kumpulan yang berkait dan tidak berkait di dalam penyampaian komunikasi beliau. Untuk tujuan ini, tiga bentuk pengucapan awam beliau telah dipilih pada dua peringkat kritikal di dalam jangka hayat politik beliau iaitu sebelum dan selepas beliau dipenjarakan. Kriteria untuk pengumpulan ucapan ini adalah berdasarkan detik yang kritikal dan bersejarah di mana ucapan-ucapan ini cenderung untuk mempunyai kandungan kepengaruhan yang tinggi.

Untuk mengenalpasti strategi kepengaruhan oleh Mandela, beberapa buah rujukan yang berjudul 'Strategies for Persuasive Discourse' dari Johnstone (1989) and 'Speech Act Theory' dari Searle (1979) akan digunapakai untuk tujuan analisa. Untuk membongkar ideologi yang terselindung di dalam penyampaian komunikasi oleh Mandela, dua buah rujukan telah digunapakai iaitu dari Van Dijk berjudul 'Categories for Ideological Analysis' (1998) dan dari Wodak berjudul 'Discursive Strategies for Positive Self and Negative Other- Presentation' (2005).

Maklumat yang diperolehi dari analisa ini menunjukkan penggunaan tiga strategi kepengaruhan dari Johnstone iaitu quasilogikal, persembahan dan analogikal adalah berkait rapat dengan tiga jenis ucapan yang dikaji. Pelakuan ucapan menurut Searle iaitu keyakinan diri tinggi, pengarah, ugutan, pernyataan perasaan dan pengisytiharan adalah bersangkutan secara konsisten dengan strategi kepengaruhan dari Johnstone (quasilogikal, persembahan dan analogikal) di mana ia memperkukuhkan perlakuan sosial kepengaruhan di dalam ucapan-ucapan yang dikaji. Mandela secara konsisten menggunakan pelbagai teknik dan ucapan yang berpengaruh untuk memberikan penonton bukan sahaja maklumat tentang isu-isu sosio-politik dan sosio-budaya yang berbeza tetapi juga menarik mereka untuk melakukan sesetengah perlakuan seperti usaha yang berterusan untuk meniadakan prinsip apartheid yang telah menyebabkan masalah seperti pengasingan etnik, kemiskinan dan ketidakadilan sosial dan menggalakan perpaduan berbilang kaum kerana ia adalah satu-satunya cara untuk mendemokrasikan Afrika Selatan di mana semua rakyat tidak kira latar belakang dapat hidup bersama di dalam sebuah negara.

Dengan bantuan dari strategi dari Van Dijk yang merangkumi deskripsi actor, persembahan diri yang positif and persembahan lain yang negative dan juga strategi dari Wodak yang merangkumi penghujahan dan perspektif, tema ideologi yang tiada keganasan, keganasan dan perpaduan berbilang kaum telah diterokai dan dibincangkan. Analisa ideologi juga menerangkan bahawa ideologi politik Mandela cukup berpotensi untuk menimbulkan identiti sosial iaitu "Black and White"- melalui penggunaan beberapa bentuk linguistik seperti kata nama "Kita" yang digunakan untuk mengutamakan identity berkumpulan (sendiri dan yang lain) dan menggambarkan sifat tergolong dan tidak tergolong.

Dapatan dari kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa ideologi Mandela mempunyai potensi untuk mempengaruhi rakyat Afrika Selatan dan dunia umumnya. Ideologi beliau tidak terhad kepada semata-mata kehidupan Afrika Selatan atau masyarakat Afrika Selatan; tetapi juga isu-isu sejagat, seperti kebebasan, kesaksamaan sosial, demokrasi, penghapusan perbezaan dan maruah manusia. Walaupun ideologi beliau telah maju dan mengubah seluruh kerjaya politiknya, mereka masih kekal dengan satu matlamat asas iaitu yang merupakan kebebasan yang dikuasai di Afrika Selatan dan dunia dan pendemokrasian masyarakat Afrika Selatan.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

It is worth noting that politics cannot be conducted without language. It is the most global sphere of human life. It has its concrete reflection in language where it appears in vigorous logical and emotive terms. Language is the total device of politicians to provoke the mind and feelings of their audience and thereby they can gain their persuasion (Newmark, 1991). According to Sampson and Mayr (2010), language and politics are interlocked, an issue that has aroused the interest of scholars of different academic traditions to investigate the details and particulars of the use of language in politics. There is a universal consensus that the art of politics cannot exist without strategic use of language since all activities of politics are remarkably constituted in language (Chilton (2004). For example, issuing commands and threats, asking questions, making offers and promises are all made through language. Equally significant, it is through language, for instance, wars are declared, parliaments are dissolved, and taxes are raised or lowered. Hence, language is intimately linked to social and political institutions. Pierre Bourdieu, in his book *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991), discusses the significance of language in exercising power in that language is not only a medium of communication, but it is also a means by which politicians can communicate their messages and pursue their interests.

Chilton (2004) tackles the role of language in producing the effects of authority, legitimacy, and consensus as being intrinsic to the political process. Based on this view, it could be said that persuasion and bargaining are typically involved in the political process because through communication, messages of politicians could have legitimacy, consensus and authority.

Herrick (2005) points out that political realities are constructed and shaped via language. Thus, many linguists have examined the uses of language as an attempt of discovering, challenging or preserving sources of knowledge. According to Laclau and Mouffe, cited in Howarth (2000), discourses and the identities produced through them are inherently political in nature. They are connected with certain issues such as, constructing antagonisms and exercising power. In other words, the construction of antagonisms and the exercising of power arises during the process of discourse formation. During this process there will be political inclusion and political exclusion, that is there will be in-group members or insiders who are involved and included in the system and out-group members or outsiders who are eliminated and excluded from the system.

Politics, the art of governing and controlling, is based on persuasion. It has been claimed that the disagreement of people on different issues is just part of politics. People usually disagree on the ways of living, the distribution of power and fortunes,

and the nature of the political system (Heywood, 2002). Against such backdrop, Miller (1991) assumes that the elements of persuasion are typically involved in politics so as to arrive at a final decision. Politics, according to Miller (1991), is the process whereby people show their interests and produce their opinions on different issues. People, throughout this process, try to reach collective decisions which might be later adopted and enforced as common policies.

In his book "Politics", Aristotle (cited in Larson, 1991) states that man is a political animal by nature. He also believes that Politics, which is described by him as the "master of science", is a social activity whose center is occupied by dialogue. The aim of this dialogue is to find solutions to the issues of disagreement. According to Larson (1991), Aristotle was the first philosopher who considered the power of persuasion. His views are still lively and resounding in our modern life although they were of years ago. Larson (1991) explains that Aristotle's theory of persuasion is composed of three elements; they are Ethos, Pathos, and Logos. Ethos refers to the character that the speaker favors to show. It may also refer to the speaker's charisma and credibility. Part of the persuader's charisma is to manipulate his artistic proofs, reputation, image, physical appearance, and ways of delivering speeches (Larson, 1991).

Crowley and Hawhee (1999) state that the notion of pathos is centered around the mood or the tone of the speech. By pathos, it is meant the appeals that are directed to the passion or the will of the audience. They are psychological appeals that are dependent on the emotions of receivers. The persuader has to make an assessment of the emotional or psychological state of the audience before delivering these appeals. These appeals can be analogized to what might be called in contemporary terms empathy, or emotional intelligence. Examples of pathos that were cited by Aristotle are justice, generosity, courage, gentleness, and wisdom. In regard to logos, Lunsford (1999) expresses that they are arguments that are based on appeals directed to the intellect or reason. The notion of logos is associated with the audience's ability to intellectualize or rationalize information. The persuader has to assess the logical patterns of his audience in order to appeal to their logic. Syllogistic arguments are among the logical appeals wherein persuaders use premises to produce conclusions. Larson (1991) believes that Aristotle's views on persuasion have become a foundation for a great deal of research dealing with the process of persuasion.

As far as political discourse is concerned, Van Dijk (2006b) believes that political discourse is completely ideological. According to him, political ideologies are not only manipulated for producing and understanding political discourses and political practices; rather they are produced, reproduced, shaped, and reshaped by discourses. Throughout discourses, political ideologies and political practices can be observed, expressed, formulated, changed, experienced, and shown. For example, the practices of discrimination are based on political ideologies that belong to sex, race, and gender. Such practices are implicit only through discourse.

Social representations of a group are based on ideologies. The members of a group are characterized by specific social behaviors and attitudes and specific mental models.

They constitute what is called by Fairclough (1995), Van Dijk (1998a, 2004), and Wodak (2005) the in-group which is a prototype of cohesion, coordination and cooperation. The identification of the in-group is syllogistically an identification of the out-group which is, meanwhile, characterized by its own social representations and, henceforth, by its own ideologies. VanDijk (1998a, 2004) and Wodak (2005) believe that any account for ideological discourse should be based on social representations between groups. Based on this conception, Fairclough (1995), Van Dijk (1998a, 2004), and Wodak (2005) look upon political discourse as a form of social activity and social representation. Therefore, it could be recognized that the core of politics in general and political discourse in particular is to implement persuasion which is the pivotal goal of political interaction.

The iconicity of the African leader Nelson Mandela as a global and political figure stems from his persuasive skills. The questions that can arise in this regard is that how is global and political persona manifested in his discourse. In terms of the assumptions of the present study, this question can be answered by delving into his ability of persuading his audience first, and, then, by exploring the ideological dimension of his speeches. His biographical background can be considered as a significant source for his discourse. There are certain factors which have influenced his discourse, namely his upbringing, education, culture, and political career.

1.2 Nelson Mandela

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (born 18 July 1918 and died on 5 December 2013) was a South African anti-apartheid revolutionary, politician and philanthropist. He was an African nationalist and a democratic socialist who served as President of the African National Congress (ANC) from 1991 to 1999, and President of South Africa from 1994 to 1999 (Hain, 2010).

Denenberg (2014) expresses that Nelson Mandela can be looked upon as a global leader whose skills of leadership have affected millions of people around the world. When Mandela was nine years old, his father died. He was sent miles away to continue his schooling. He lived with a powerful chief named Jongitabo from whom he began to learn about South African tribal history, politics and diplomacy. He later, as reported by Denenberg (2014), studied law and joined the African National Congress (ANC), a political organization aimed to fight the discriminatory apartheid laws enforced by the South African government. Hain (2010) states that apartheid laws, passed by the parliament and authorized by the government in 1948, segregated beaches, parks, and public institutions so that Indian, and black Africans were not permitted to enjoy and utilize them. These laws ignited widespread protests and violence.

Mandela traveled the country to organize a resistance campaign to protest the racial system of South Africa; an act that soon led to his arrest and brief imprisonment. Participating in resistance campaigns with the African National Congress and with the South African Communist Party (SACP), who topped its Central Committee, Mandela

was often arrested, banned, and imprisoned (Deneberg, 2014). In the late 1950s, Mandela was accused of treason and put on trial with 156 other men as a result of his involvement with the African National Congress. Later, the trial was dismissed, but he was placed at the top of the government's most wanted list of political agitators. As a result, he secretly left South Africa to visit other African and European countries to gather support for South Africa's resistance movement. When he returned to South Africa in 1962, he was captured, convicted, and sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia Trial for illegally leaving the country and for his involvement in the resistance movement (Joffe, 2007 and Meredith, 2010).

While Mandela was in prison, widespread violence and protests swept over the whole country and an international campaign was lobbied for his release. He continued to fight for justice by communicating with the masses outside the walls of the prison. Moreover, the government of South Africa, spurred by political pressure from other world nations, yearned for new leadership and new political system (Broun, 2012). At long last, after spending twenty seven years behind the bars as political prisoners, Mandela and his comrades were released in early 1990, during a time of escalating civil struggle. He was soon elected President of the African National Congress. Then, he went into negotiations with F. W. de Klerk (the last white President of South Africa) to abolish apartheid and establish multiracial elections in 1994 in which he led the ANC to victory and became the first black President of South Africa in a landslide election (Preeze, 2011).

In 1993, Mandela was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (along with F. W. de Klerk, President of the South Africa) for his leadership for his anti-apartheid activism. Having received the prize, he humbly announced himself as no more than a representative of the millions of people who have firmly and courageously resisted the different forms of oppression, repression, exclusion, and impoverishment (Wyk & Bouma, 2009).

In his first presidential address to South Africa, Mandela, speaking proudly of the heroism of South African nation, stresses the necessity of attaining freedom as an ideal which can only be achieved when people work collectively. Achieving this goal requires national unity and national reconciliation which are the only path to bring the various nations together and to have the birth of new life in South Africa. He intensifies the urgent need for justice and freedom which are seen by him as the conditions which can ensure that all people of South Africa regardless of their gender, race, or colour have the same duties and privileges. He also foresees that South Africa would be a place where oppression and repression would never be existent (Deneberg, 2014).

Mandela served as President of South Africa from 1994 to 1999. He was South Africa's first black chief executive, and the first elected in a fully representative democratic election. The main concern of his government was to dismantle the legacy of apartheid and support racial reconciliation. During his term in the Government of National Unity, he invited other political parties to join the cabinet, and promulgated

a new constitution (Benson, 1994). Having suffered from a prolonged respiratory infection, Mandela died on the 5th of December, 2013 at the age of 95. By the time of his death, Mandela was widely described as the father of the South African nation, the founder of democracy, the rescuer, and the liberator of the nation (Clark and Worger, 2011).

Bill Clinton (the President of the USA from 1993 to 2001) in his forward in Asmal et al. (2003, p. 15), showing a feeling of great respect and admiration for Mandela, states that Mandela has taught people all over the world a great deal of things. The most important lesson that the youth can learn from Mandela is to hold responsibility to respond against any form of cruelty and injustice if they determine to attain their right of freedom. Being impressed by the character of Mandela, Clinton narrates that although Mandela was subjected to different forms of emotional and physical sufferings during his 27 years of imprisonment, he looked upon his solitary confinement as a chance for purifying his spirit and clarifying his vision. For him jail was a source of strength that made him feel freer and more principled. It was that rich experience which motivated him to be part of all people regardless of the boundaries of race, ethnicity, or religion. His call for national reconciliation and national unity after his release in 1990 was a consequence of his feel of freedom that he had gained in the jail. The freedom he cherished incited him to bring those who had oppressed and repressed him into the administration when he became the President of South Africa in 1994. As a President, he exerted great efforts to establish the foundations of non- racial, economic, and political inclusion. He taught people of South Africa and the world as well that the spirit of forgiveness must be spread and the barriers of division must be dismantled.

Kofi Anan (in his forward in Asmal et al. 2003) views that Mandela's political speeches were spoken genuinely and eloquently indicating a sense of integrity and passion. They have had great impact on the minds and hearts of millions of people around the world. The messages of his political discourse have moved many leaders of the world, organized non-violent protests, planned marches to protests, and visualized the future for people who had no hope. Against such backdrop, the current study aims to explore Mandela's strategies of persuasion because it is through persuasion Mandela has been able to leave his mark on history. Against such substantial background on the character of Mandela, the current study tries to highlight the strategies of persuasion he has utilized and the ideologies he has cherished to change the course of history in South Africa.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Discourse is possibly the most powerful weapon in any political campaign; it is the main medium of communication. Political leaders, through persuasion, endeavor to change the public mind. They attempt to persuade their masses to work together to arrive at certain ends. Hence, being persuasive means being able to change minds and make decisions. A leader's persuasive power depends on his ability rather than his position. Successful leaders have the skill to convince people to take action under their direction even without formal authority. People usually have difficulties adapting to

change, but if they have faithfully persuasive leaders, they will not allow themselves to be behind their dreams. Persuasion is a fundamental proficiency for all leaders in that a good leader must possess it in order to establish a common view with the people he leads and to convince them that they are actually the basis of present change and the foundation of a better future. Nelson Mandela, an iconic leader, whose speeches, under investigation, were spoken genuinely and eloquently make it very hard for his audience to forget the messages he gave.

Such a powerful relationship between leadership and persuasion, embedded in the character of Mandela, has aroused the attention of the researcher to go through studies on this character. It has been found that there are quite a number of studies on the leadership of this figure. The major topics of these studies are centered on his early life, revolutionary activities, defiance campaign, congress of the people and the treason trail, lifelong campaign to end apartheid, and presidency of South Africa. However, there is still rarity of research on the persuasive strategies and political ideologies in his political discourse.

Many studies of political discourse have been conducted on western societies. For more validity and reliability, researchers almost tend to go through studies of the discourse of leaders of English communities as they are the native speakers of the English language. Equally significant in this regard, researchers tend to investigate the discourse of the American and British leaders as they are representatives of the first powers of the world. Some of these studies are in-depth studies of speeches of one speaker, others are attempts to compare between the rhetoric of two speakers. In the context of political speeches, a great deal of research has been done on leaders like George W. Bush and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Barack Obama, Ronald Reagan, Tony Blair and George W. Bush. Hicks (2005), for example, draws a comparison between the rhetoric of Franklin D. Roosevelt who served as the 32nd President of the United States of America, and that of George W. Bush, the 43rd President of the United States of America, during the periods of crisis. The study has focused on the initial speeches delivered by the presidents Roosevelt and Bush following the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor and the September 11, 2001 assaults on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. The analysis has established that both presidents employed similar rhetorical constructs to address crisis events that were distinctly different in context. In spite of situational differences, both presidents enact discursive strategies to define the crisis, unify the nation, and, henceforth, enable them to take a command of the situation, and create a vision for the future.

Ribeiro (2013) analyzes Obama's most controversial commencement speeches from 2009 to 2012. This study focuses on Obama's most controversial commencement speeches delivered at Arizona State University, the University of Norte Dame, and Barnard College. Close textual analysis of the three speeches has revealed that the challenge of fulfilling the expectations of a commencement address requires the president to adopt complex rhetorical strategies to persuade his audience.

Stenbakken (2007) attempts to expose some of the linguistic techniques which make Tony Blair, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1997 to 2007, and George W. Bush, the President of the United States of America from 2001 to 2009, persuasive speakers. This study concluded that both leaders are not merely politicians but also men with personal convictions. Differences of cultural and historical background, as well as differences in the interpersonal relationship between the given speakers and their addressees were reflected in the speeches of these two presidents.

Pearce (1992) assesses the rhetorical legacy of Ronald Reagan who served as a President of the United States of America from 1981 to 1989. The study focuses on a variety of domestic and foreign policy controversies. It was also an attempt to identify a broad range of persuasive strategies and devices to reveal how Ronald Reagan both appropriated and formulated American public discourse in the 1980s. Charteris-Black (2005) analyzes the political discourse of Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990, and points out that the aggressive metaphors of conflict were commonly used by Thatcher. Moreover, she used to employ moral and religious metaphors as one device of persuasion. Personifying problems as enemies and imagining politics as a battle was one of the prominent strategies in Thatcher's political discourse.

A great deal of research has been conducted on the western discourse. A view that is also emphasized by Dedaic (2006) who states that little research has been done on the discourse of non-western leaders. Hence, more studies on non-western leaders are still needed. Ghazali (2004) examined the rhetoric of Dr. Mahathir Mohammad (the Prime Minister of Malaysia from 1981 to 2003) using a critical discourse perspective. The findings showed that Dr. Mahathir utilized discourse to form relations of solidarity with the different layers of Malaysian society. Ghazali (2006) did a critical discourse analysis on the keynote address of Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (Prime Minister of Malaysia from 2003 to 2009) at the UMNO General Assembly. The findings revealed that Badawi has succeeded in emanating a feel good social environment after almost a year in office. Ghazali (2014) examined how the current Prime Minister (Najib Razak) and other two previous Prime Ministers of Malaysia have made references to Islam by means of rhetorical devices and the representation of "us" and "them". The findings of the study showed that the utilization of rhetorical devices and the pronouns "us" and "them" by the three actors resulted in the production and/or reproduction of discourse and social action therein. Moreover, the findings exhibited that the discourse of each of the three political actors was ideologically charged as the three political actors made references to Islam for the purpose of garnering support for their political agendas. Alkhirbash (2010) investigated the rhetorical devices for persuasion that were utilized by Dr. Mahathir Mohammad. The findings revealed that Dr. Mahathir merges logical, emotional, and ethical proofs to address his audience's minds and hearts simultaneously. Research on the discourse of non-western societies has accordingly become crucial scholarly and politically since it has played a central role in shaping the life of many non-western communities. Furthermore, it has emerged as a crucial tool to influence all aspects of life, especially politics. Against such background, it could be stated that the need for more research on the discourse of non-western leaders and non-western cultures has sparked the desire of the researcher to examine the persuasive strategies in the political discourse of the African leader

Nelson Mandela whose words have had profound impact on the lives of millions of Africans and non-Africans around the world.

Reviewing a great deal of literature on Nelson Mandela, it is worth noting that although there is much research on this political figure from different perspectives and angles, there is still little on his persuasive discourse and ideologies, namely in the convention of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Stengel (2009), for instance, spotlighting on Mandela's personal attributes, describes him as a man who sees the good in others, knows his enemy, and loves to make a difference. He is confident, attentive, and winning; he is also the smiling symbol of sacrifice and rectitude, revered by millions as a living saint. Nelson (2013) highlights Mandel's determination to change South Africa and he also highlights that his struggles for freedom and equality were for all people regardless of their color or skin. Asmal et al. (2003) discuss the lifelong achievements of Mandela, as man of peace, as a self-effacing hero opening the door for learning, as a voice of integration, reconciliation, freedom, and liberation.

Going through the few studies tackling the discourse of Mandela, it has been noted that none of them is drawn on the convention of CDA. All of the reviewed studies concerning the discourse of Nelson Mandela are rhetorically oriented. For example, Dwivedi (2015) analyzes the rhetorical devices (metaphor, analogies, and repetition) in the speeches of Nelson Mandela. The objective of the given study is to highlight the role of the given rhetorical devices in constructing the persuasive discourse of Mandela. Dwivedi (2015) views that Mandela's utilization of metaphor, analogy, and repetition is not only restricted for providing the masses with news and information, but also for motivating them to resist all forms of tyranny and discrimination. Moreover, Mandela's employment of the given rhetorical devices could help him shape mental images in the minds of his addressees about the inhuman nature of the apartheid. Dwivedi (2015) concludes that Mandela's subtle manipulation of the given rhetorical devices made him one of the most prominent global leaders with a steady stance of human equality and firm belief in social justice.

Sheckels (2001), on his part, investigates the rhetorical strategies manipulated by Mandela in his two speeches: in Cape Town, on the 4th of May, 1994; and in Pretoria, on the 10th of May, 1994. He examines Aristotle's rhetorical modes of persuasion, ethos and pathos in the given speeches. The ethos (credibility) is represented by the repetitive reference that Mandela made to the land, culture, and people of South Africa. Throughout such reference, according to Sheckels (2001), Mandela tried to strengthen the tie between himself and the different nations of South Africa. In addition, Mandela attempted to assert his credibility by repeating the word "today" which was an indication of the end of the age of apartheid and the beginning of the age of democracy and national reconciliation. In regard to pathos appeals (emotion), Sheckels (2001) observes that they are represented by Mandela's reference to the future plans such as the project of political and social reforms, national reconciliation and unity. Sheckels (2001) also notices that Mandela utilized the pronoun "we" to move his audience emotionally and to confirm his inclusion, as president, of the rainbow nation of South Africa.

It could be noted that all of the aforementioned studies have revolved around Mandela's leadership, personal attributes, and political achievements. However, there are few studies which have drawn on the rhetorical perspectives of Mandela's discourse. None of the reviewed studies on this political figure have dedicated to investigate the act of persuasion and ideologies in his political speeches. For this reason, the current work is an endeavor to extend the findings of the previous studies by examining the process of persuasion in the speeches of this particular non-western politician. This study contributes to bridge the gap in the study of language and persuasion in a non-western culture by examining the role of language in persuasion in the political discourse of the African leader Nelson Mandela.

1.4 The Purpose and Scope of the Study

The major purpose of the present study is to investigate, interpret, and explain the persuasive discourse and ideologies of the African leader Nelson Mandela. Specifically, this study aims to conduct a critical discourse analysis so as to reach the following objectives:

1. To investigate the various strategies and techniques of persuasion that are available to Nelson Mandela,
2. To identify the classes of speech acts that are blended with the persuasive strategies for the purpose of heightening the act of persuasion in the political speeches of Nelson Mandela,
3. To explore embedded ideologies in the discourse of Nelson Mandela, and
4. To examine how ideologies have changed across the different stages of Mandela's political career.

The current work is limited to analyzing, interpreting, and explaining the persuasive discourse of Nelson Mandela, basically the persuasive strategies and persuasive techniques utilized by this leader to impress his masses, and exploring the embedded political ideologies which contribute to shape and reshape his political discourse. For this purpose, three speeches are chosen selectively across two stages of his political life: before his imprisonment and after his imprisonment. The criteria for speech collection are based on the critical and historical moments when speeches are likely to have a higher content of persuasive intent.

1.5 Research Questions

The current study aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are the persuasive strategies and persuasive techniques that Mandela employed in his discourse?
2. What are the classes of speech acts that are blended with the persuasive strategies for the purpose of persuasion in the discourse of Nelson Mandela?
3. What are the ideologies that are embedded in the discourse of Nelson Mandela?

4. How have ideologies changed over the different stages of Mandela's political life?

1.6 Theoretical Perspectives

Theoretically the current work is based on CDA. It is based on five theoretical moves. They are: Three-dimensional Approach of Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989), Categories for Ideological analysis (Van Dijk, 2004), Discursive Strategies for Positive Self-and Negative Other Presentation (Wodak, 2005), Linguistic Strategies for Persuasive Discourse (Johnstone, 1989), and Speech Act Theory (Searle, 1979).

Fairclough's (1989) Three-dimensional Approach of Discourse Analysis is adopted as a general theoretical framework for the whole study; Johnstone's (1989) Linguistic Strategies for Persuasive Discourse, and Searle's (1979) Theory of Speech Act are combined to form the theoretical framework for analyzing the act of persuasion. Van Dijk's (2004) Categories for Ideological Analysis, and Wodak's (2005) Discursive Strategies for Positive Self- and Negative Other Presentation are adopted to constitute the theoretical framework of ideological analysis of this study. Against such theoretical background, it could be realized that Johnstone's (1989), Searle's (1979), Van Dijk's (2004), and Wodak's (2005) are accommodated to pose the focal theories of the study. Figure 3.1, in chapter 3, shows the analytical framework of this study.

1.6.1 Fairclough's Approach of Discourse Analysis

Fairclough put forward his considerations on discourse analysis in 1989. His approach of discourse analysis is based on the assumption that there is a genuine relationship between language and social practice. He views that language implies three dimensions: a) language is an internal component of society, b) language is a social process, and c) language as a social process is conditioned by other components of society; it is characterized by its potentiality of producing and reproducing social action and processes. Discourse, according to him, is fraught with ideologies. In more specific words, ideologies, according to Fairclough (1989, 1995), are embedded in the properties of discourse, and discourses cannot be shaped and produced without ideologies. Discourse properties, in turn, are determined and shaped by social conditions, that is by the nature of the relationship among the members of a society. Further, the processes of text production and text interpretation are influenced not only by texts themselves, but also by social conventions and social context. Fairclough (1989) identifies three stages to discourse analysis which are: description, interpretation, and explanation.

For the purpose of this study, Fairclough's views about discourse, as a social practice, are considered. They are the milestone for analyzing the persuasive discourse and ideologies in the speeches of Nelson Mandela. Johnstone's (1989), Searle's (1979), Van Dijk's (2004), and Wodak's (2005) models are imported into Fairclough's CDA as they are helpful to find the interconnections that need to be described, interpreted,

and explained in order to consider the correlation between language, ideology, and persuasion.

1.6.2 Johnstone's Linguistic Persuasive Strategies

Johnstone (1989) sets out three linguistic strategies for persuasion. They are: quasilogical, presentational, and analogical. Being similar to formal and demonstrative logic, quasilogical argumentation, according to Johnstone (1989), appears to be informal and non-demonstrative. Quasilogical persuaders usually attempt to create the impression that their arguments are based on true ideas and facts. Using the power of logic, the goal of quasilogical discourse is to make arguments look logically incontrovertible. One technique of quasilogical argumentation is the informal use of the mathematical notion of transitivity or syllogism. Transitivity, as defined by Johnstone, is a property of certain relationships involving equality and numerical superiority. One example related to this notion is that if Sam is a friend of Jim and Jim is a friend of Max, then Sam and Max are supposed to get along well. Quasilogical arguments involve premise-to-conclusion constructions, such as cause clauses and conditional clauses. They are also characterized by the use of logical connectives like "thus", "hence", and "therefore".

Presentational persuasion could be said to be based on the assumption that being persuaded is being moved, being swept along by a rhythmic flow of words and sounds (Johnstone, 1989). Presentational discourse aims to make the claim of one person present in the mind or consciousness of hearers /readers. Parallel forms, metaphor, simile, images, and rhetorical deixes- like "here", "now", "this"- are all techniques employed in presentational discourse. Johnstone assumes that the basic goal of this strategy is to create engagement in the same manner that good poetry can do.

Analogical persuasion, according to Johnstone (1989), is based on calling to mind a traditional wisdom explicitly or implicitly. Arguers of this mode of discourse try to gain the persuasion of their addressees by teaching them, reminding them of the time-tested values and lessons which are usually introduced in the form of fable-like stories. Analogical arguers attempt to make their addressees respond to their claims by prompting them to make a link and leaps between past incidents and present issues. Johnstone's strategies for persuasive discourse are presented in chapter 3, Table 3.1.

1.6.3 Searle's Speech Act Theory

Speech acts play a pivotal role in the process of persuasion, they can be utilized as vital devices to influence the attitudes and behaviors of hearers/receivers. Whenever there is a process of persuasion going on, there is a simultaneously underlying manipulation of speech acts. The speech act analysis of this study is based on Searle's (1979) Speech Act Theory. Expanding, and refining Austin's (1962) views on illocutionary acts, Searle (1979) suggests that utterances are not introduced for only saying things, but also for performing works, tasks, duties, and/or actions. According to Searle, language is not merely a medium of communication, but it is also a vehicle

for achieving a variety of actions. This view foregrounds the concrete relationship between the speaker, on one hand, and the listener who is supposed to realize the intentions of the speaker so as to perform different acts of communication on the other hand. What is significant in this regard is that speakers are aware of their own intentions which are to be performed through underlying speech acts. Expanding Austin's work on illocutionary acts, Searle (1979) proposed that all acts fall into five main classes: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives. Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary speech acts is presented in chapter 3, Table 3.2.

It is important to realize that persuasion, as a social act, is achievable by means of a sound utilization of quasilogical, presentational, and analogical strategies (proposed by Johnstone) along with the five classes of speech acts (put forward by Searle) which can serve as effective persuasive devices since language is looked upon as a social action.

The present study combines Johnstone's three persuasive strategies and Searle's speech acts theory to form the analytical framework of persuasion for the analysis of the data. Johnstone's persuasive strategies are examined in this study as various devices of persuasion, whereas speech acts are investigated as collaborative means of persuasion working together with persuasive strategies to heighten the sense of persuasion. This study investigates the persuasive strategies and speech acts manipulated by Mandela to influence his audience and move them towards a variety of actions.

1.6.4 Van Dijk's Categories of Discourse Structure

Van Dijk (2004) sets out an explicit theoretical framework where he can provide some illustrations of the categories of the internal structure of discourse. He believes that these categories are significant for CDA studies for their ability to explore a variety of ideologies in political discourse. Van Dijk's view is based on the assumption that discourse is a communicative event that is based on socially shared opinion structures which involve underlying ideologies. The major categories, proposed by Van Dijk, are: actor description, positive self-presentation, and negative other-presentation. As far as the present study is concerned, Van Dijk's theoretical framework is helpful in revealing the embedded ideologies in Mandela's discourse and in pursuing the change of ideologies over the different periods of his political career. Van Dijk's categories for ideological analysis are presented in chapter 3, Table 3.3.

1.6.5 Wodak's Taxonomy of Discursive Strategies

Wodak (2005), being interested in the concept of power and ideology, thinks about a taxonomy of strategies that helps to explain the macro strategy for positive self- and negative other presentation. The term strategy, according to Wodak (2005), refers to the intentional purposes and practices involving discursive practices that the users of language need to reach a certain end whether it is political, social, psychological, and/or linguistic. Wodak identifies five discursive strategies, systematic ways of using language, that are located at different linguistic levels and characterized by their

different organization and complexity. They are: referential nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and intensification/ mitigation. For the purpose of this study, the strategies of argumentation and perspectivation are accommodated to help explore the underlying ideologies in the discourse of Mandela.

This study combines Van Dijk's categories for ideological analysis (actor description, positive self- presentation, and negative other- presentation) with Wodak's discursive strategies of argumentaion and perspectivation to form the analytical framework of ideologies for the analysis of the data. Van Dijk's categories for ideological analysis and Wodak's discursive strategies for positive self- and negative other presentation are presented in chapter 3, Table 3.3.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The theoretical insights involved in this study, as noted earlier, are: Three-dimensional Approach of Discourse Analysis (Fairclough,1989); Speech Act Theory (Searle, 1979), Linguistic Strategies for Persuasive Discourse, (Johnstone, 1989); Categories for Ideological Analysis (Van Dijk, 2004); and Discursive Strategies of Positive Self- and Negative Other Presentation (Wodak, 2005). The five theoretical moves were chosen in this study to help investigate the persuasive acts in Mandela's discourse. They constitute the conceptual framework of the study which is shown in Figure 1.1 below.

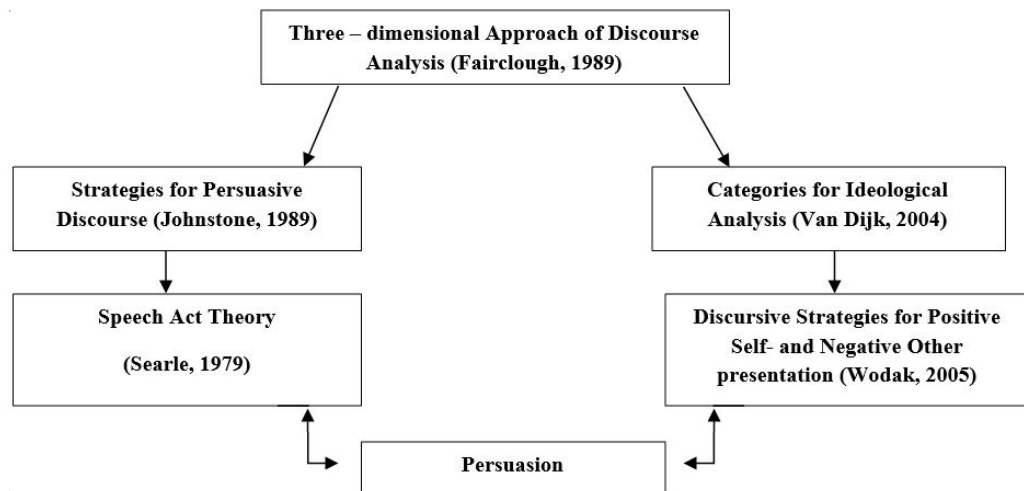


Figure 1.1 : The conceptual framework of the proposed study (Fairclough's, 1989, Johnstone's, 1989, Van Dijk, 2004, and Wodak, 2005).

1.8 Limitation of the Study

The interpretations of the findings are biased to the analyst although the analyst has translated the analysis through theoretical moves (see section 1.6) and methodology (see section 3.8). Against such backdrop, it could be realized that the interpretations

of the findings of this study are a reflection of the analyst's views as long as the study is based on the conventions of Critical Discourse Analysis. According to Wodak (2001), in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis, no research is completely objective.

1.9 The Significance of the Study

Although people, regardless of their age, race, gender, class, professions or beliefs, attempt to persuade each other, they are almost not fully aware of the extraordinary and critical significance of the power of persuasion in today's world. Persuasion is our vehicle to accomplish our values in life and it is our device to change or reform ideals, attitudes, views, and behaviors. Persuasive strategies and techniques, for example, can be used to improve lives, prevent wars, and establish peace. Against such backdrop, it should be realized that any research in persuasion should be supported for the vital influence persuasive strategies and persuasive skills have on the process of social progress and social development.

Conducting a critical discourse analysis on the discourse of the African leader Nelson Mandela, is an attempt to highlight the persuasive strategies and skills that Mandela utilized to persuade his audience of his ideologies and, then, motivate them towards certain social acts. The study contributes to create awareness in regard to how the power of persuasion is used by non-western leaders. According to Fairclough (1995), persuasion, as a social action practiced by the users of language, can be exercised when there is willingness on the part of discourse receivers to accept the ideologies of others.

The significance of this study is owing to certain issues. First, it is an investigation of discourse in an important living aspect of life which is politics. Politics, according to Marty and Moore (2000), lies at the heart of human life. It can elevate people's life but it can be the cause of its destruction and deterioration. Secondly, it is an attempt to examine the linguistic persuasive strategies in the political speeches of a non-western speaker. It highlights the role of language in persuasion in the political discourse of the African leader Nelson Mandela. Identifying persuasive strategies in Mandela's discourse may bring with it knowledge of the ideological, racial, and social features of the African community from which the given leader comes. Thirdly, it is helpful to explore and analyze Mandela's ways of thinking about the world. It tackles an extraordinary man who has embodied a distinct world view on racial segregation which is considered to be as one of the basic challenges that humanity has encountered (Sheckles, 2001). Besides, it helps understand Mandela's set of values and attributes and the issues he is committed to. Fourthly, it is supportive for understanding the history and nature of the struggle between the blacks and the whites in the world in general and in South Africa in particular.

One more value of the present work lies in the fact that persuasive strategies can play an important role in revealing the underlying interpretations of the political speeches of Nelson Mandela and eventually in characterizing and identifying the ideological features of his speeches. In addition to what has been mentioned above, it could be

noted that persuasion in political discourse of non-western leaders is an area which has received little research and is still being debated and refined. Therefore, this study could be a basis for further studies in the future.

The findings of this study may help readers to realize how the mechanisms of persuasion can be used as a mode of social and political change and how they can contribute to reconstruct realities. They are essential, for example, in the process of ending long-term social and political struggles and wars, and also in the process of deconstructing authoritarian and dictatorial political systems and establishing democratic ones. Ross (1994) makes a correlation between the act of persuasion with democracy stating that democracy cannot be fulfilled through policies of force and intimidation but through the process of negotiation or dialogue which is based on persuasion.

By and large, the findings of this study may contribute to forge an overall understanding of the role of persuasive strategies and persuasive techniques in the field of political discourse and how these strategies are seen pivotal in the process of changing realities.

1.10 Definitions of Key Terms

Some essential terms need to be defined so as to avoid any sense of obscurity and misunderstanding. Below are definitions of certain significant terms in this study.

Persuasion

Persuasion as a term is defined variously by different linguists. It is an umbrella term which has powerful influence on all aspects of human life. Generally, it is a process aiming at changing an individual's or a group's attitudes or behavior towards specific issue/issues, ideologies, or objects, by employing written or spoken discourse (Reardon, 1981; Borchers, 2002; Seiter & Gass 2004).

Although there is a wide variety of definitions on the term persuasion, the current study blends the definitions of Cegala (1987), Woodward and Denton (1992), Johnston (1994), and Perloff (2003) to make them the working definition of the present work. The four accounts for persuasion promote change, not merely gaining information, and they look upon the process of persuasion as a social act or event which intends to modify or change attitudes, values, behaviors, and to establish and reconstruct reality.

Speech Acts

Austin (1962), the founder of Speech Act Theory, presented the term speech act which he thought of as an utterance which constitutes a performative function in

communication. Language, according to him, involves performative, in which the utterance of words prompts the performance of an action.

Both Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) looked upon the term 'speech act' as 'illocutionary act'. According to Austin (1962), the idea of illocutionary act asserts that by saying something, something is accomplished. Speech act is, therefore, an act that a speaker performs when he produces an utterance. Utterances, accordingly, are not only to say something but also to do something. In more specific words, utterances do not only carry ideas but they also have the power to accomplish missions. Language, according to Austin, is not used to describe the world but to accomplish a variety of actions. On such basis, he defines speech acts as actions accomplished when saying something (1962, p.99). In his book *Expression and Meaning*, Searle (1979) refines Austin's illocutionary acts when he concluded that all speech acts fall only into five main classes: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, declaratives.

The present work advocates Searle's account on speech acts as actions which are to be performed by the receiver or hearer when the speaker makes an utterance. In the context of this study, it is assumed that persuasion and speech acts are inseparable because the main target of political discourse is persuasion and persuasion can be achieved through sound utilization of speech acts.

Ideology

There is close connection between political ideologies and political discourses in that political ideologies are not only involved in the process of producing or understanding political discourses but they are remarkably determined, shaped, produced, and reproduced by them. In other words, discourse is a vehicle for ideologies, it is only through discourse ideologies can be produced clearly and openly Van Dijk (1998b). Fairclough (1995), being interested in the triple interrelationship between discourse, ideology, and politics, asserts that politics is discursive and ideological. He asserts that through discourse (text and talk) ideologies are determined, produced and reproduced.

Discussing the relationship between language and ideology and how language is invested by ideology in various ways and at various levels, Fairclough, in his book *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995), highlights the close connection between ideology and action emphasizing that ideologies are judged by their social effects since they are closely related to action. In his book *Language and Power* (1989), Fairclough asserts that meanings are determined via interpretations of texts. Therefore, ideologies are understood only by interpreting texts which are open to diverse interpretations. Moreover, ideological processes are related not only to the texts which can be produced, interpreted, and distributed at a moment of social event, but also to discourse as a form of social activity. According to Fairclough (1989, p. 8), the effectiveness of ideology stems from the invisibility of its workings in that it is practiced in discourse inexplicitly leading the producer of the text to "textualize the world in a particular way on one hand, and the interpreter to interpret it in a particular way on the other hand".

What is relevant for the present study is Fairclough's (1989) and Van Dijk's (1998a) account that ideology is a social property which is acquired and practiced only through discourse. And it is through discourse, where ideologies are embedded, the act of persuasion works out. Moreover, as a social property, ideology, is not only restricted to the dominant groups, whose ideologies can be domination, oppression, and injustice, but also to the dominated groups who develop ideologies of resistance and opposition.

1.11 Overview of the Thesis

This study was designed to highlight the role of language in influencing people and moving them toward certain actions. Of special significance in this study is the question that how the African leader Nelson Mandela utilizes discourse in persuasion. This study is basically interested in examining the persuasive strategies and persuasive techniques used by Mandela to influence his receivers and motivate them to perform certain social actions. In addition, what is integrated to the examining of the process of persuasion in this study is the exploration and identification of the underlying ideologies in Mandela's discourse.

Chapter 2 is devoted to presenting relevant review of literature of discourse analysis, persuasion, persuasive strategies, speech acts, and ideology. It puts forward a theoretical background that helps readers to realize how language, as a social act charged with ideologies, can be used as a device for encouraging audience to perform actions. In chapter 3, description of the design and the methodology used to analyze the data is presented. It also gives a detailed account of how the data was collected and the sampling was selected. Chapter 4 is a demonstration of the findings and discussion of the analysis of the data. It discusses the persuasive strategies and persuasive techniques that Mandela utilizes to win the persuasion of his audience. Moreover, it discusses how speech acts are collaborated with persuasive strategies to elevate the act of persuasion. Equally significant, chapter 4 is a manifestation of the underlying ideologies in Mandela's discourse and it is an examination of how Mandela's ideologies have changed across the different stages of his political life. Chapter 5 is an outline of the overall discussion of the findings of the study and a display of the conclusions and implications which are drawn from the findings. Some suggestions for further studies in the area are also made in this chapter.

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