OTHERNESS VS. UBUNTU: A POSITIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SPEECHES OF NELSON MANDELA

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ABSTRACT
Keeping in view that discourse is a tool to construct, reconstruct, challenge and deconstruct the ideologies, and is, thus, capable of bringing socio-political changes, the present study, qualitative and descriptive in nature, intends to conduct Positive Discourse Analysis on the inauguration speeches of Nelson Mandela, the first Black president of South Africa. Taking Van Dijk's Ideological Square as a point of departure, we have explored that Mandela used different strategies i.e. inclusive use of pronouns, positive portrayal of opponents and skillful choice of positive lexical items to challenge the Western ideology of Otherness in the country to incorporate the African philosophy of Ubuntu in his discourse to persuade his multiple layered audience to work in collaboration to attain the goal of social cohesion. The study concludes that Mandela used discourse strategically to bridge the chasm between different races of South Africa and successfully preached the lofty principles of Ubuntu, thus, emerged on the local as well as the global socio-political scene as an icon of humanity, justice and peace.
Key Words: Otherness, Ubuntu, White Supremacy, Apartheid, Positive Discourse Analysis, Ideological Square.

INTRODUCTION
Humans carve up the social world into groups based on the binaries of in-group (self) and out-group (other). This categorization, according to Staszak (2009), yields a dual question-who I am and who you are which underscores the most fundamental human relationship: a bond between a person and his/her in-group which constructs the ideologies who we are and who are they at the broader societal level. Religion, race, ethnicity, gender, caste, linguistic and political affiliations etc. are some fundamental grounds on the basis of which systems of Otherness are generally created. Otherness, as postulated by Mahmud (1999) is inevitable for human existence because self cannot be defined without juxtaposing it with the other. For Sartre (1990) other serves as a mediator for self because other is required to fully portray different dimensions of self. De Beauvoir (1952) also theorizes that through Otherness individual as well as collective identities are constructed and negotiated with reference to the assertion of another's difference or simply by the denial of the other. So, Otherness inherently entails a sense of superiority and inferiority in which self is considered normal and standard while other is juxtaposed as abnormal, substandard, lacking or deviant. Greeks, for instance, used the term 'barbarians' to refer to foreigners or non-Greek speaking people. Similarly, Romans based their system of Otherness on the supremacy of Latin language and considered themselves civilized and advanced as compared to other nations. In addition, Otherness being a power oriented phenomenon, is

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not only a matter of superiority and inferiority, it is essentially a system of dominance and subordination. The urge to acquire and maintain dominance results in exploitation, oppression and victimization of the other group/s. Patriarchy, colonialism and racism etc. are some instances of Otherness as domination.

White Supremacy, a race based ideology of superiority instantiated phenomenon of Otherness which broadly divided the world into two compartments i.e. White and the non-white world. Historically speaking, the white race established, sustained and propagated its superiority by strictly juxtaposing it with the opposite relational construct of Black inferiority. To put briefly, White supremacy is a historical, social, religious, geographical and political construct which uplifted the white race to the highest rank in human stratification, assigned the lowest rank to the Black race and placed other races between the two extreme points. So, the white complexion became a standard and the black complexion, along with other biological features i.e. hair texture and shape of the nose became a tag of inferiority and Africa became a land of racial otherness.

Contrary to the Western ideology of Otherness, African philosophy of Ubuntu believes in togetherness. According to Hailey (2008), it is based on the ideology that'I am because we are'or 'being self because of others'. He further states that Ubuntu refers to the African perspective of humanism and a way of life which can be described in terms of a variety of interrelated notions, such as, compassion, sympathy, benevolence, love, dignity, solidarity, sharing, generosity, affirming, harmony, care, collectivity, interdependence, consensus, humanness, reconciliation and reciprocity etc. and it stands exactly opposite to the attributes of Otherness i.e. vengeance, retaliation, prejudice and hatred etc.

Ubuntuism is based on three tenets. The first tenet espouses that to be human means recognizing others' humanity and to establish relationship with fellow human beings on the basis of mutual respect. The second maxim advocates that the essence of humanity is to give preference to human life over material goals. The third tenet is related to politics and it states that rulers own power and status due to the people they rule so subjects should be given due share in power and prestige. In sum, Ubuntu covers different aspects of human life ranging from individuals to society and institutions and preaches the sublime principles of mutual respect, harmony and connectivity (Samkange and Samkange, 1980). Though Ubuntu is a philosophy of peace and togetherness, it does not mean that conflicts, social evils or issues should not be highlighted. It, in fact, implies that the intension should be to resolve issues for the sake of betterment of humanity and empowerment of communities rather than the exploitation and victimization of the outgroup (s) to perpetuate the system(s) of Otherness.

Otherness being a multidimensional phenomenon has been widely explored under different disciplines of social sciences, including discourse studies due to the reason that the system/s of Otherness are created, legitimized and perpetuated essentially by means of language (Van Dijk, 1997). One such approach which deals with Othering practices is Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter, CDA). A bulk of literature produced in the past four decades shows that discourse serves well to create the boundaries between self and other and a general narrative that discourse is inherently mean and negative has given rise to a new approach in CDA called Positive Discourse Analysis (hereafter, PDA) which, as stated by its pioneer Jim Martin (2004) aims to highlight the positive and productive role of discourse to resolve the real world issues rather than highlighting the manifestation of power dynamics in discourse. Likewise, Bartlett (2012) elaborates that PDA, a complementary approach to CDA, focuses to explore the discourses that signify strategies of unification to advance and achieve collective goals, such as, national cohesion, political reconciliation and promotion of peace etc. It is endorsed by Martin and Rose (2007) as they opine that PDA uses a lens of discourse to investigate the socio-political conflicts and ways to resolve them to promote harmony in the world to make it a worth living place.

PDA being a positive approach complies with the philosophy of Ubuntu exactly in the way CDA and Otherness conform each other. One such example of the use of Ubuntu philosophy to settle the grave issue of racial conflict, hatred, and feelings of revenge can be traced in the discourse of Nelson Mandela, an anti-apartheid South African leader who forcefully advocated the plight of Black South Africans under

White oligarchy, on one hand, and spread the message of peace, racial harmony, reconciliation and social cohesion, on the other.

The Purpose Statement

Otherness being a social and political construct cannot be produced, maintained and sustained without discourse. Positive portrayal of self and negative portrayal of other is used as a mechanism to establish the supremacy of one group over the other. Discourse has also been used to resist against the nasty systems of Otherness, such as, feminist and anti-racist discourses. Both types of discourses, however, entail some sort of division either in the form of 'superior-us, inferior-they' or 'victimized-us, oppressor-they' dichotomies. Taking a turn, the present study aims to conduct PDA on the presidential inauguration speeches of Nelson Mandela, an anti-Apartheid South African leader with an aim to highlight the positive and constructive role of discourse in restoration of justice, peace, democracy and social cohesion within the context of the then Apartheid regime which can best be described as the extreme version of racial Otherness. In order to achieve this objective the study intends to seek answer for the following question:

What types of strategies are used by Mandela to deconstruct Otherness and to incorporate the Ubuntu philosophy in his discourse to bring a true change for the South African society?

Significance of the Study

Despite of the fact that we are living in a multicultural era due to increased connectivity and mobility, the existing boundaries of Otherness are still there and new walls to divide the humanity emerge with every passing day. Due to the surge of social media in the recent past, a culture to denigrate others (individuals as well as groups) has become a fashion and hate speech and freedom of expression are the hot topics in the contemporary discourse studies. The present study is a significant move from the current trend as it aims to portray the positive, productive, and to be precise, the cohesive role of discourse.

REVIEWOF LITERATURE

Nelson Mandela (1918-2013) an African tribal boy was a lawyer by profession, ugly realities of his surroundings turned him into a militant freedom fighter, 27 year of imprisonment made him the world's most famous political prisoner and a peace maker, and after long endurance he was elected as the first Black president of South Africa and eventually became a globally celebrated personality and an icon of justice, democracy, peace, hope and humanity (Spark, 2005). Being a charismatic personality, he has sparked interest in a great number of researchers pertaining to different fields of Social Sciences, such as, History, Sociology, International Relations, Peace and Conflict Studies, Leadership and Management Studies etc. In addition, his oratory skills have also inspired many researchers to conduct research under rhetoric, stylistics and different sub-fields of linguistics. Sheckles (2001), for instance, studied the inaugural speeches of Mandela conducting rhetorical analysis and concluded that Mandela skillfully blended different strategies to knit different themes in his inauguration speeches. Another study from the rhetorical standpoint was conducted by Rania L.Williams (2008). Dwivedi (2015) also analyzed Mandela's discourse from rhetorical perspective and explored that he used the rhetorical devices, such as, metaphor, analogy and repetition to project his anti-apartheid agenda to his local as well as the global audience. Another such study was conducted by Ofili (2019) which explored that Mandela deployed a braided rhetoric i.e. a combination of the African and Western rhetorical strategies to address his multiple audiences and within the complex socio-political and cultural context of South Africa.

Nur (2015) carried out a study using Systemic Functional Linguistics on the inauguration speeches of Mandela. The study explored that the strategic use of interpersonal resources enabled him to communicate his view point to his audience effectively. Faris (2017) conducted a detailed study on the selected speeches of Mandela to investigate the employment of persuasive strategies by taking insight from speech act theory by John Searl, strategies of persuasion by Johnstone, Van Dijk's ideological square and Wodak's discourse historical approach. This blended analysis from pragmatic and CDA perspectives revealed that Mandela used different strategies like actor presentation to advocate the case of his

downtrodden community and used different types of speech acts to persuade his audience to stand firmly against the then apartheid rule.

A Stylistic study was set out by Naqeeb (2018) which aimed to highlight different figures of speech used by Mandela in his release speech. Recently, Aldosari (2020) applied CDA on the Riviona Defence Speech of Mandela with a focus on textual and pragmatic resources in the speech. Another study was conducted by Ubeid & Ali (2015) on a speech delivered by Mandela on the occasion of the international solidarity day with Palestinian people and highlighted significant features of Mandela's discourse as discourse of human rights.

The survey of the available literature shows that so far PDA has not been conducted on Mandela's discourse and the present study aims to fill this gap in the existing stock of knowledge as it aims to highlight the positive and the cohesive role of his discourse to unify the segregated society of South Africa.

METHODOLOGY

As discussed earlier, CDA is more inclined to study the discursive practices of Othering, the present study, descriptive and qualitative in nature, has adopted PDA to examine the counter-discursive strategies utilized by Mandela to deconstruct Otherness. PDA being a complementary approach, shares the basic premises, tools and techniques with CDA with a shift in focus only, Van Dijk's Ideological Square being a corner stone in the study of discourse as a cite of Otherness has been taken as a point of departure to explore the strength of discourse to deconstruct Otherness and to attain social cohesion.

Sample

Two presidential speeches titled Nelson Mandela's address (public) on the occasion of his inauguration as state president, Cape Town (9 May, 1994) and Nelson Mandela's address (official) on the occasion of his inauguration as state president, Pretoria (10 May, 1994) are selected using purposive sampling. Text of the speeches is retrieved from the website www.mandela.gov.za.speeches.

Context of the Speeches

South Africa, like other African countries, had been a victim of Western colonization for almost three centuries. Though exploitation and segregation was employed by the colonial lords from the beginning, however, it swiftly increased after 1948 when National Party rose to power and established the Apartheid state. Apartheid which literally means 'apartness' was a policy of the White lords to socially, politically and economically segregate the black people of the country from the rest of the population. The Apartheid rule came to an end after half a century as a result of local and international resistance movements which forced the White government to enter into the negotiation process. After four years of dialogue process (1990-1994) South Africa became a democracy in 1994. The negotiated transition of South Africa from apartheid regime to a multi-racial democracy was globally celebrated as a victory of peace, justice and democracy (Inman & Rubinfeld, 2013). Among a galaxy of freedom fighters and leaders, Nelson Mandela (the first democratically elected president) played a significant role in initiation and continuation of dialogue process which eventually paved the way to democracy. Moreover, his efforts to attain the goal of social cohesion made him a global icon of forgiveness, solidarity, justice, hope and humanity.

Van Dijk's Ideogical Square: a Guideline for the Analysis

Most of the debate on political and media discourses with reference to White hegemony as a principle example has been directed by Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model which generally deals with intersection of cognitive and social aspects of discourses which implicitly or explicitly strengthen White supremacy and denigrate the black people. Van Dijk (2009: 84) asserts that discourse is a mechanism to create process and perpetuate polarities of self (We-Us) and other (They-Them). He further states that polarization is an overall strategy of Otherness which is manifested in discourse through four interrelated discursive strategies mentioned below:

1) Emphasize our good things
2) De-emphasize our bad things

3) Emphasize their bad things
4) De-emphasize their good things

Van Dijk elaborates that a number of semantic macro-strategies are employed by people to create group ideological binaries. For example, negative topics about the out-group (i.e. criminality or breaching the laws) are more frequently discussed. Similarly, negative actions of the out-group are discussed more frequently and in a great details compare to the in-group. In order to benefit the in-group different strategies, such as, lexicalization, actor description, positive self projection and negative other representation, nominalization, topicalization and passivization etc. are generally employed strategies.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of data revealed that following strategies has been utilized by Mandela to deconstruct the long existing Otherness and to incorporate the ideal of Ubuntuism in his discourse.

The Merger of Boundaries of Self and Other to Deconstruct Otherness

As mentioned earlier, Otherness is at the heart of CDA and a bulk of existing body of knowledge in the field reflects that polar identities in terms of self (us) and other (them) are created in discourse. These binaries, according to Riggins (1997), are usually generated by means of pronouns as a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion. The discourse, under investigation, however, exhibits that Mandela has used pronouns in an untraditional way to merge the multiple boundaries between his in-group and the out-groups. The following chunks of discourse exhibit the phenomenon:

[Excerpt 1]
> 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. (Cape Town Speech)

[Excerpt 2]
> 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.
>
> (Cape Town Speech)

The above quoted extracts reflect an outstanding aspect of Mandela's idea of togetherness and projection of the great principles of the philosophy of Ubuntu. The ANC won the first all race elections with a clear mandate after a long period of victimization. The first Black president, surprisingly, declared it as the success and achievement for all South Africans. By exploiting the strategy of inclusion, he gave a message to the White race and other rival ethnical and political groups of the ANC that the dialogic transition of the country from Apartheid regime to a democratic state was the great accomplishment worth celebration beyond racial, ethical and political identities. In both the extracts the pronoun *'all'* has been exploited as a tool to attain cohesiveness. Similarly, he has used the linguistic choice '*the fellow citizens'* which reflects the Ubuntu notions of generosity, solidarity and sharing. Furthermore, he merged the binaries of winners and losers and the dominant and the subordinate to clarify that the policy of revenge was not on the agenda of the newly elected party, thus, projected the Ubuntu principles of forgiveness and reconciliation. Conventionally, victory speeches contain a discussion on potentials and achievements of the successful party, thus, draw a boundary between 'self' and 'other', Mandela however used pronouns in a unique manner which made his discourse thoroughly positive and capable of community development. He also implanted hope in the hearts of all South Africans as illustrated in the following chunk of discourse.

[Excerpt 3]
> 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.

(Pretoria Speech)

Extract 3 depicts the same approach of Mandela as he has utilized the pronouns '*we' 'our'* and *'all South Africans'* which portray the Ubuntu philosophy of togetherness, harmony and social cohesion and deconstruction of Otherness in terms of centuries' old division of humanity in two polarities i.e. the Black and the White. He generously extended his arms to the White colonial rulers of the past who exploited the material and human resources of his country for almost three years and denied their basic human rights under the Apartheid rule. In addition, the lexical item 'a *rainbow nation'* beautifully captures the Ubuntu ideals of humanness, reciprocity, mutual respect, sharing, tolerance, harmony, reconciliation and mutual growth as rainbow stands for harmony and compatibility in diversity. These attributes stand exactly opposite to the notions of division, meanness, exploitation and victimization of others. Furthermore, he has extended his generosity not to the South African nation only but to the whole world. The following extracts exhibit the same approach:

[Extract 4]

We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom. We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success. We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world.   (Pretoria Speech)

The analysis of extract (4) again reveals that the addresser has used pronouns in a way contrary to the traditional use of pronouns in political discourses. The pronoun *'we'* refers to the self i.e. the ANC government, however, the opposite camp in terms of *'they-them'* is absent. Third statement contains an all-inclusive '*We'* which refers to all South Africans. So the strategic use of pronouns has enabled the orator to embed the Ubuntu values of togetherness, cooperation and social cohesion to persuade his audience to break the walls of Otherness to achieve the cause of nation building. Furthermore, he has projected the idea of universal human rights, thus, attempted to dismantle the ideology of social stratification as demonstrated in the extract given below:

[Extract 5]

Let there be justice for all. Let there be peace for all. Let there be work, salt and bread for all. Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfill themselves. (Pretoria Speech)

The repetitive use of the pronoun *'all'* in the above chunk of discourse again depicts the merger of binaries of self and other to deconstruct Otherness. Furthermore, he has used let constructions to persuade the audience to think beyond the lines of self and other for the sake of nation building and to attain and sustain the supreme Ubuntu goals i.e. prosperity, mutual growth, freedom, justice and peace etc. He has also exploited the pronouns *'each'* twice in the above chunk of discourse to strongly advocate that the availability of opportunities to achieve one's goal is the right of every human being without any discrimination.

Positive Other-presentation as a Strategy to Deconstruct Otherness

Portraying self in positive terms and portraying others in negative terms is the one of the frequent strategy to create and maintain the systems of Otherness. Negative portrayal is used to legitimize overt or covert actions of the in-group against the out-group. The politics of Otherness revolves around this blame game as asserted by Van Leewan (2008) who states that positive actions of the out-group are not openly discussed, and in case of discussion, strategies are used to minimize the effect of the positive actions of the out-group.

Mandela, on the converse, highlighted the positive actions of the out-group to deconstruct Otherness. He has generously acknowledged the contribution of White people as illustrated below:

[Extract 6]

> 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 hourable, F.W.de. klerk.

<div align="right">(Pretoria Speech)</div>

[Extract 7]

> The struggle for democracy has never been a matter pursued by one race, class, religious community or gender among South Africans. In honouring those who fought to see this day arrive. We honour the best sons and daughters of all our people. We can count amongst them Africans, Coloureds, Whites, Indians, Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Jews- all of them united by a common vision of a better life for the people of this country.

<div align="right">(Cape Town Speech)</div>

Extract 6 is loaded with the sublime tenets of Ubuntu as he has paid a bountiful appreciation for different sections of the society. After making a general note of appreciation he has made a great complement to the last White ruler F.W.de. klerk. Similarly, in extract 6, after making a general reference to all the races, he has made specific reference to different races including the oppressor White race group. Similarly, he has made specific reference to different religious groups i.e. *Muslims, Christians, Hindus* and *Jews* and acknowledged the role of women which is an illustration of the ideals of African community system based on the notions of togetherness, mutuality, tolerance and respect for fellow human beings beyond race, religion or gender etc.

Lexicalization as a mean to Deconstruct Otherness

As negative or positive connotations are attached to words, it plays a significant role in creating the systems of otherness. Out-groups are derogated by tagging them with stereotypical notions. Mandela, unlike the customary practices, avoided the derogatory language for the out-group. Instead he replaced positive terms to engage the other in his campaign of social cohesion and nation building. He, for instance, described the end of wicked and cruel apartheid regime with the help of positive terms, such as, *victory, a new order*, *new born liberty, united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist government* etc. Similarly, he has frequently used the positive words i.e. *justice, peace, freedom, human dignity, prosperity* etc. to develop a positive discourse to persuade his audience to diligently work for the sustenance of the newly established system of democracy. It is interesting to note that in both the speeches the orator has not used a single derogatory word for the White people and there is a rare use of the word 'apartheid' rather he has paraphrased it in different ways. Despite of the gravity and seriousness of the cause, the use of positive words has made his discourse positive and having a potential to contribute in bringing positive socio-political change based on the philosophy of Ubuntu.

CONCLUSION

The study was set out to conduct PDA on the inauguration speeches of Nelson Mandela, as first Black president of South Africa, revolving around the objective to highlight the constructive role of discourse to deconstruct the system of racial, social, political and religious Otherness in the then Apartheid South Africa. The analysis of the data has revealed that Mandela employed unconventional discourse trends as political discourses generally rely on formation of opposite camps by positive portrayal of self and negative projection of the out-group to achieve their goals. Mandela, however, used unique strategies which enabled him to deconstruct centuries' old ideology of Otherness in terms of White/Black dichotomy. The merged use of pronouns and projection of the out-group in positive terms and use of words having positive connotations in place of negative words are the employed techniques which are exactly opposite to the basic

set of premises of Van Dijk's ideological square. Mandela's discourse is unconventional because of its basis in African philosophy of Ubuntu rather than the conventional ideology of Otherness.

The analysis of the data has also revealed that no doubt discourse has been used to make divisions and boundaries; it has the potential to dismantle the walls of otherness as well. In the contemporary atmosphere of distrust, hate, prejudice, warfare and vengeance, discourse loaded with positive and cohesive strategies can be used to change the state of affairs. The study concludes that it is the need of the time to promote positive use of discourse as it has become an everyday practice to humiliate, derogate and dehumanize others and to hurt religious or cultural sentiments of people. Mandela's discourse whose community was brutally victimized for centuries due to black complexion and who endured imprisonment in a narrow jail cell for 27 years serves as a spotlight and guides all of us that human endeavor is diverse in terms of physical appearance, religion, political, linguistic and cultural affiliations, all we need is to embrace the diversity and to promote an atmosphere of mutual respect. This great change in the mindset and behavior of people can never be achieved without use of discourse in positive and constructive way.

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