



# **A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNICATION STYLE OF NELSON MANDELA**

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the

Valenti School of Communication

University of Houston

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In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the

Master of Arts Degree in Communication

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By

Mandy R. Thayer

December, 2014

# A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNICATION STYLE OF NELSON MANDELA

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## **ABSTRACT**

Nelson Mandela was an internationally known leader, who transitioned from a tribal childhood, a freedom fighter, an attorney, and prisoner for more than twenty-seven years to the presidency of South Africa. His interpersonal communication style and impression management strategies were studied to help determine how he was able to promote his image and achieve his lifelong goal of defeating the apartheid government with the purpose of South Africa being a democratic nation. This paper drew upon Erving Goffman's (1959) Impression Management, face impressions and Burke's Dramatistic Pentad to analyze selected speeches of Mandela and his interpersonal communication style. Key communications experiences throughout his life were also researched in the literature to determine impacts that these had on his character and relationship development. The study showed that Mandela was successful in maintaining his image, integrity, and goals with his experiences, interpersonal skills and strategies. This study helped to illuminate the skills that Mandela was able to develop in his communication style and interpersonal relationships that also helped him manage conflict. His success enabled him to speak to varied audiences and successfully relate to them. Mandela developed a style of relationship centered leadership.

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# **A Critical Analysis of the Communication Style of Nelson Mandela**

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **Focus of the Study:**

By the time of his death at the age of ninety-five, December 5, 2013, Nelson Mandela was an internationally known political and social leader. Millions of people mourned his death and celebrated his life (Dutta, 2013). The goal of this thesis is to identify those communication elements which characterized his relationships with his audience and to identify key communication factors that contributed to these outcomes.

### **Introduction:**

Upon initial observation of the speech given by Nelson Mandela on the dock during the opening of the defense case in the Rivonia Trial, the conclusion might be drawn that he was not an effective communicator because he was incarcerated. This conclusion would not reflect upon his influence, as Mandela was a very effective communicator. He developed a relational communication style that brought him to the pinnacle of achieving astonishing goals for his country, and making an astounding impact on the lives of many throughout the world. Nelson Mandela's legacy not only influenced his own country; he influenced the world. A statue of Nelson Mandela was placed in Westminster Square in 2007, and a statement was made in his honor regarding him as the "President of the World" (Koepp, S. (Ed.) & D'Angelo, R. (Ed.), 2013). Mandela's ability in developing a successful relational communication style with a diverse population makes a rhetorical study of his style extremely important.



Although Mandela's political style influenced his success, his early life and childhood upbringing also played an integral role in his political and public speaking endeavors. Nelson Mandela was born July 18, 1918. Mandela was raised in the African countryside. He was from a family of prominence in the Transkei, located east of Cape Town, and south of Johannesburg. His father was a chief in the Thembu tribe. He learned the legacy of his proud tribe; a legacy of self-reliance and resistance. After the death of his father in 1927, Nelson Mandela was placed in the care of a guardian by his mother to be further educated and to develop his ideals and aspirations (Stengel, 2009).

Mandela's life experiences helped to shape his abilities in relationship building and communication. Mandela's tribal name was Rolihlahla which meant pulling the branch of a tree. From the time of his father's death, his guardian insisted on an education for Mandela. One of his teachers at school gave him the name Nelson. Nelson attended the only university that was available for black men in Africa called Fort Hare (Stengel, 2009). After studying law at Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, Mandela started the first black law firm in South Africa in 1952. This pioneer black attorney was also prominent because he was on the U.S. Terror Watch until the age of 89 (Karmini & Ahmed, 2013). He had been placed on this notorious list due to his activity in the African National Congress, a militant fighting group (Karimi & Ahmed, 2013). The African National Congress's main focus was to battle the apartheid laws and harsh life that had become common to black Africans. Mandela was a man who went from an imprisoned militant to the leader of South Africa, with a successful communication style deserving investigation.

## **Research Questions:**

**RQ 1:** How does Impression Management enhance Mandela's ability to build community and personal relationships?

**RQ 2:** How does Impression Management manifest in Mandela's speeches to enhance or hinder his motive to defeat the apartheid in South Africa?

## **Method**

The literature review will provide information regarding Mandela's relational growth, redefinition, or lack thereof. Through a literature review of authorized bibliographies, his autobiography, media releases, collections of his personal notes, writings, and speeches, an analysis will be conducted to discover his relational communication style and developmental elements of relationships in his life. The literature review will provide an overview of the apartheid in South Africa. The literature review will also give insight about the family, culture, and educational background of Nelson Mandela. The review will include insights regarding the culture and climate during which key speeches were given by Mandela.

As a framework for analyzing the speeches, Burke's Dramatistic Pentad will be used as a methodological tool. The analysis will use the five concepts of the pentad as a framework for this speech analysis. These aspects include scene, act, agent, agency, and purpose (Burke, 1945). The framework for Impression Management will be used to examine strategies for managing a current social image or working towards a desired social image. This will include motivations to maintain face and image within the settings over time. This will also include looking for evidence of constructing

communications to maintain a desired self-image and an image for the future state of South Africa. Interactions and communications listed will be explored for use of facework strategies that will include poise, defensive maneuvers, protective maneuvers, courtesies, self-confidence, or evidence of losing face.

### **Purpose**

This study will contribute to the body of knowledge in impression management. This will be accomplished through examining life experiences and by gaining knowledge regarding how an individual's experiences, personal growth, behavior, interpersonal skills, relational skills, and ability to relay personal hopes and dreams can be used to defeat social injustice, bring social classes, and a nation together while in the spotlight of the world. In completing the analysis, greater knowledge of Mandela's ability to connect with his audience through impression management strategies will be ascertained. In focusing on the information gained in this study, the rhetor can become more effective in communicating to build relationships as well as to possess a better understanding and discernment of the critical listening process.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **History of the Apartheid:**

The European navigation of ships around the Cape of Good Hope, at the southern tip of Africa was the beginning of the European settlements in South Africa. The Dutch were the first to establish a base for their ships in 1652. The Dutch settlement started with an effort to grow a vegetable garden to combat the ravages of scurvy that claimed the lives of many of the men on the ship who had stopped at the Cape. As the settlement grew, more white women came to live, and many slaves were imported. The settlement at the Cape of Good Hope had great value to expansionists because the Cape was a gateway to secure access to the east. Over the course of the history of the settlement, there were numerous occupations and governing eras (Sampson, 1999).

In 1806, the Cape was vulnerable to invasion due to Napoleon's European advances. Britain took advantage of that opportunity. The first British governor, the Earl of Caledon, was charged with an autocratic governing style that was stricter than the original local control of the area. In 1815, Netherlands officially transferred the colony to Britain. Britain began to promote expansion of settlements (Davenport & Saunders, 2000). In the 1830's British commanders started moving eastward into the lands of the Xhosas, and after nine wars over the time span of one hundred years, Harry Smith, a British commander began to impose the British system upon the Xhosa chiefs. By 1855, the British forces had overtaken the southern Xhosa chiefs in the Transkei region. Many of these chiefs were imprisoned on Robben Island, a notorious prison for cruelty and poor treatment (Sampson, 1999).

By the 1940's the Afrikaners National Party gained dominance. This National Party developed the apartheid. The objective of this initiative was social control and economic control. Built into the system was the goal of white domination and racial separation. This new government passed such laws as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949. This was followed by the Population Registration Act of 1950. This act required the people to register into one of three categories: White, Black (African) or colored which included mixed race, Indian, or Asian subcategories (Sampson, 1999).

This backdrop of events sparked the defiance within the colored, African, and Indian groups of people. Their lives, heritage, and personal interests were stripped from them. Davenport and Saunders (2000) described the apartheid work at the end of the 1950's as "the Afrikaner National dream state - an independent white-dominated republic, surrounded by a cluster of economically dependent and therefore politically impotent black client states" (Davenport & Saunders, 2001, p. 398).

### **Influences on Mandela's Relational and Interpersonal Skills**

Nelson Mandela's childhood relationship building, communication styles and behaviors were noted in numerous references and in literature that discussed the impact of his upbringing on his adult life. In his autobiography, Mandela himself gave insight on numerous incidents that influenced his treatment and relationships with others. Nelson Mandela (1994) made a statement that like his father, he was groomed as a child to be a counselor to the Thembu tribe. His ancestors were not part of the ruling class, but rather were the counselors of the rulers. Mandela recalled from his childhood how his

father would be in attendance with the rulers of his tribe when they met with other government officials because of his respected counseling abilities. Mandela spoke of inheriting his father's "proud rebelliousness and stubborn sense of fairness". He claimed also that "nurture, rather than nature is the primary molder of personality" (Mandela, 1994, p. 6).

Mandela reflected on this life stating he always felt a sense of a shared life in the village huts amongst cousins and friends. Some of his friends included Reverend Tennyson Makiwane, an educated community leader, whose children became members of the ANC (Sampson, 1999).

Mandela described early relationships with young boys in his village. Mandela loved open spaces and the basics of nature from his childhood in the villages. In the village, moral lessons were taught by old stories passed on through generations. The Xhosas people imparted customs, rituals, and what was right and wrong within the children (Hoobler, D. & Hoobler, T., 1992).

His tribe had a great sense of being a group with unity. He learned much about the tribe listening to elders tell stories. Of particular interest to Mandela were stories of how the white settlers came to their lands and the tribe defended their property and lifestyle. Nelson heard of stories of his ancestors signing papers for the white intruders that gave up the rights to the land. Nelson, at a very young age, wanted to help his tribe regain their heritage back from the Whites who had gained authority over their lands (Hoobler, D. & Hoobler, T., 1992).

Mandela's father died when he was nine years old. His father's friend, the Regent of the Timbu people, raised Nelson as his own (Sampson, 1999). Most of the young men of the tribe ended up mining gold for the white man and were not literate. The Regent had plans for Mandela to be a counselor for the tribe and that position required an education. Mandela entered Clarkebury Boarding Institute (Mandela, 1994).

Mandela continued his education, moving at nineteen to Fort Beaufort, now a white settlement, but previously farmed land area of the Xhosa tribe. At Fort Beaufort, Mandela started identifying with Africans, not just his own tribe (Mandela, 1994).

Mandela's education continued at Fort Hare, a university for African scholars. He knew several people upon arrival whom he had met at Clarkebury and Healdtown. In this institution, Mandela befriended Paul Mahabane, whose father was president-general of the African National Congress. Finishing his B.A. degree, Mandela had remained friends with Gaur Radebe, attending meetings of the ANC and the Township Advisory Board. Gaur felt these organizations could help make a difference in the goal of Africans having full citizenship, and dissolving racism. Mandela marched in his first protest in August of 1943 with Gaur protesting. Mandela felt inspired marching and participating, not just observing (Mandela, 1994).

Gaur was also instrumental in getting Mandela moved up in the law firm in order to pursue a law degree. Mandela gradually became consumed with a desire to stop the system that was leaving the black people in poverty and without rights in South Africa. In meetings, Mandela met Lembede, an African lawyer and legal partner of Dr. Pixley ka Seme, one of the founders of the ANC. Lembede spoke of young Africans uniting as

African, not be divided as tribes, and also of militant African Nationalism (Mandela, 1994). Mandela had several bans placed on him (Mandela, 1996).

While Mandela was fighting for freedom in the country, his freedom to have a personal life with a family and love was hampered. He did not have the freedom to be with his family while he was ramping up the fight of a nation for freedom (Mandela, 1996). In the literature review regarding Mandela's personal family relationships, it was noted that the very essence of the apartheid was the separation of the worker and their families. Mandela once responded to his oldest son who asked him why he could not spend the night at home with them saying that millions of children in South Africa also needed him. Mandela recounted that he painfully made this sacrifice (Stengel, 2009).

Mandela was arrested in July of 1963 along with other leaders of the ANC at the farm in Rivonia. His speech to the court was one of his first to be given to a diverse audience. The Palace of Justice where the trial was held had many visiting dignitaries. This trial, however, was the end of his freedom for over two decades. He spent twenty-seven years in the notorious Robben Island prison (Mandela, 1996).

In 1982, Mandela was transferred from Robben's Island to Pollsmoor maximum security prison. This transfer gave Mandela less outdoor access; however, Mandela had more access to knowledge of current events. Here, Mandela was visited by statesmen as well as Botha, who offered a release with conditions (Sampson, 1999). This release was publically offered to Mandela January 31, 1985. Mandela wrote a response back to Botha that rejected the terms of his release. This rejection was read by Mandela's daughter Zindzi on February 10, 1985 at the rally in Soweto (Mandela, 1966). In 1987,



the government started arranging full meetings with Mandela that resulted in 1989 with Mandela giving his points directly in a letter to Mr. Botha. Glad and Blanton (1997) noted that Mandela had developed self-discipline and deeper commitments to a free South Africa in prison which helped him develop poise in dealing with the leaders of the apartheid.

### **Impression Management:**

Impression management was discussed by Seiler and Beal (2011) stating that first impressions are vital, and that people want to make good impressions on others. The study listed two parts of the self-concept: the perceived self and the presenting self. The study noted an individual will keep some aspects of themselves private. Our public presentation, according to Seiler and Beal was our presenting self. This self was stated to be what the individual considered to be acceptable in the eyes of others. Face work referred to strategies taken to maintain one's personal image in public. This was first described by Goffman (Seiler and Beal, 2011). Goffman's works provided key theoretical foundations for the study of impression management and "face".

Erving Goffman (1959) discussed two parties being involved in impression management: an individual who is tailoring his interactions to those of the other people present, who are also his audience. Goffman described that a person will define a situation being discussed that will include a self-conception or "presentation of self". Goffman's self-presentation was the attempt by a person to be able to influence the perceptions or reactions to one's self, and influence relationships in the process (Goffman, 1959).

Goffman's *Interaction Ritual: Essays on face to face behavior* of 1967 gave the definition of face as "a positive social value a person effectively claims for himself" (Goffman, 1967, p. 5) which referred to the communicator wanting to be viewed with their desired self-image. Goffman also included the positive social value of "face" stating:

...the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes-albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself. (Goffman, 1967, p.5)

Within these essays on face-to-face behaviors, Goffman described that when a person experiences feeling good about a particular contact with others, the person experiences a response to be energized to maintain the projected face image others perceive. These types of positive experiences were noted to elicit commitment to continue having the interpersonal contacts. Goffman stated that maintaining this image occurs when the person is consistent in the image of themselves (Goffman, 1967).

In relation to a person having confidence, Goffman stated that when a person is presenting a positive self-concept, the person will feel confident and assured of his image. Goffman stated this confidence will bring freedom to his expression of himself to others. Goffman further discussed that a person can consistently demonstrate known attributes that will help sustain the positive face image. However, someone may be seen to be giving a false impression of his/her own image if these positive socially acceptable

attributes have not been demonstrated in the past (Goffman, 1967). In order to maintain face in the present situation, Goffman's essay noted:

While concern for face focuses the attention of the person on the current activity, he must, to maintain face in this activity, take into consideration his place in the social world beyond it. A person who can maintain face in the current situation is someone who abstained from certain actions in the past that would have been difficult to face up to later (Goffman, 1967, p. 7).

In our society today, someone is said to lose face if a person's reputation or image is damaged with an encounter. This usually occurs with embarrassment or feeling threatened. Within interpersonal encounters, whether a group or individual, a person tends to have an expectation of emotional attachment to their self-image. When this is challenged, Goffman called this wrong face and wrote:

A person may be said to be in the wrong face when information is brought forth in some way about his social worth which cannot be integrated, even with effort into the line that is being sustained for him (Goffman, 1967, p. 5).

The individual who loses face has to depend on strategies to use to save face. In social encounters, Goffman noted people are expected to live up to the impressions created of themselves. When this does not happen, the person may lose integrity and trust.

Goffman noted, when the person does live up to the self-concept created and expected by their audience, this person will be supported. Goffman stated that if a person maintains their image for themselves, pride results; but when done for larger social units support

results. Attributes that assist with this support were listed as self-respect and consideration of others (Goffman, 1967).

Goffman noted another aspect of face saving occurs when a person protects someone's image because they care about someone and "have an emotional attachment to an image of them" (Goffman, 1967, p. 13). This is often portrayed as the right thing to do in society. Not doing the right thing could also backfire causing the person to personally lose face for not demonstrating compassion and protection (Goffman, 1967).

Goffman's essay concluded with face-work. Face-work was described as someone taking specific actions in a situation to maintain consistent face. Goffman listed types of actions to include poise, tact, or diplomacy. In order to use face-work effectively, a person must have the ability to be perceptive of the image others are viewing from the relational encounter. The exercise of tact and social skills were noted as important strategy in face work (Goffman, 1967).

Goffman also discussed the use of aggressive face-work. He noted that some people use strategies to gain face by deliberately creating situations that will give expected results. An example of aggressive face-work listed was someone is fishing for a compliment, or by making someone feel guilty by saying your feelings are hurt. Another method occurred when a speaker had divulged favorable facts about themselves and unfavorable facts about others. Even if the speaker loses the conflict, face may be gained if that person was perceived as handling the situation with integrity and poise. Goffman suggested that even a symbolic handshake can be an aggressive form of facework. When the two parties involved find it inappropriate to be that cordial to one another, and one

aggressively puts a hand out for a handshake, the other participant is then in the awkward position of having to accept the handshake (Goffman, 1967).

Finally, Goffman discussed ritual roles of self that identify the person being a player in a game. Goffman discussed times when this player may need to have a double standard of play such as honorable and dishonorable depending on the context. A person's own ritual code will determine their limits of participation without injury to face. These limits included forgiveness of others and also determining the rights of participation in a certain situation. Goffman iterated that if the encounter is a mediated type of interaction, usually the guidelines were already written. Goffman noted that if the encounter is a one-to-one personal encounter, the face became very important. During these times, signs and symbols such as tone changes in speaking, certain glances, or body language were likely to be used. Initiating a conversation and the topics was noted to be guided by gestures and unspoken guidelines. People have ritual interactions automatically knowing how to appeal to face. These rituals help to guide behaviors, as noted in the study. (Goffman, 1967).

Stella Ting-Toomey and Atsuko Kurogi (1998) discussed facework competence in intercultural conflict. These researchers described "face" as: "...a claimed sense of favorable social self-worth that a person wants others to have of her or him. It is a vulnerable identity-based resource because it can be enhanced or threatened in any uncertain social situation" (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998, p. 187).

The study further discussed that three situations that require the use of facework include conflict management, business, and diplomatic negotiations. In facework, behaviors are

used to maintain social dignity and either support or challenge another person's social dignity (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998). The study stated; "Face is, fundamentally, a 'social self' construction issue. Social self is tied closely with the conceptualization of 'personal self' phenomenon in different cultures" (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998, p. 188).

The article describes people as belonging to either an individualist or collective culture. The authors noted:

We believe that for individualist cultures, because of their 'I-identity' priority, individualistic members would tend to use more self-face defending strategies (e.g. justifications and situational excuses), retroactively, to restore perceived face loss than collectivists. Collectivists, on the other hand coming from face-salient cultures, would tend to use more self-effacing strategies proactively to ward off potential face threats more than individualists. (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998, p. 192)

Lewin and Reeves (2011) used the impression management theory in a study regarding interpersonal communication practices in the hospital wards and noted there were two forms of communication. The authors interpreted the two styles of communication as non-verbal gestures and verbal communication. The study discussed the front stage performances as occurring in front of patients or families. Back stage performances were described as the interactions between team members in a private setting away from the patients. This article noted that there are different "performances" when not in front of others and a "front stage performance" when activities were in

public or in important private settings where support was needed (Lewin & Reeves, 2011). These ideas of performance or presentations of self were part of facework in Goffman's theory.

Goffman's impression management essay referred to face encounters. This was noted to occur in both verbal and nonverbal situations. Goffman noted that the interactions during these face-to-face encounters would lead to presentations by each party to present a view of "self" that was important for the participants. Impression management was about self presentation (Goffman, 1967).

Face-saving is part of impression management. Folger and Poole and Stutman (2008) discussed face-saving as having two dimensions that include a positive and a negative face. Folger et al. (2008) further discussed that conflict may cause face threatening. Face threat was greatest when there is a large gap between social parties. If the listener had a higher position or more power than the speaker, there was also more threat to the speaker to maintain their desired image, as noted in the study. The authors noted, sometimes conflict becomes necessary to save face with the person who feels they are losing ground, taking an all or nothing approach (Folger et al., 2008). Goffman, 1967, also described three face concerns: (1) self-face that is concern for the perception of others about that person, (2) other face regarding the concern for others, and (3) mutual face that involves interrelationship concerns about self and others.

Haun and Williamson (2009) discussed face saving in meetings. Face-loss can occur when someone is anxious and has difficulty continuing in conversation. Haun and Williamson stated, "In losing face, a person loses a sense of control and competence"

(Haun & Williamson, 2009, p. 30). In organizations the public face is important for reputation, profitability and survival. In formal meetings, even a display of bias can be inappropriate. The article also noted that sometimes there may be organizational and individual face issues combined in the same scenario (Haun & Williamson, 2009).

Leary and Kowalski (1990) discussed reducing the components of Impression Management to a smaller, more workable set of meaningful factors for research. This model reduced the Impression Management theory into a two-component model. The first was impression motivation and the second was impression construction. Under the component of impression motivation was listed: goal-relevance of impressions, value of desired goals, and discrepancy between desired and current image. This study described goal relevance of impressions as being a motivator for managing one's self-impression. These goals can include self esteem, developing one's identity, or even social changes or outcomes. How much the individual values these goals will determine their motivation for presenting themselves in a manner to move the audience towards acceptance of the goals. Since public perceptions of behaviors are relevant to the attainment of goals, a person in public view is more likely to possibly behave differently than in private. Leary and Kowalski also pointed out that if one's goals are dependent on the actions of others, the person will have a higher motivation to project a positive trustworthy image. Depending on the value of the goal to the individual, the motivation to attain the goal would prompt impression management. Along with the goal motivations, the third factor involved how much of a gap there is between the person's desired image and the image that their target has on them. This can be interpersonal images for relationship building as well as target audience perceptions of the individual (Leary & Kowalski, 1990).



The second component of the model by Leary and Kowalski, 1990 was Impression Construction which includes “self-concept, desired and undesired identity images, role constraints, target’s values, and current or potential social image” (Leary & Kowalski, 1990, p. 36). The self-concept was described by Leary and Kowalski, 1990, as someone who tries to portray to others what they value or feel are their best attributes. In doing so, the likelihood of a more successful image was stronger when someone projects his/her best attributes. Impression Management strategies are used to promote the image desired and reduce the undesired image. Leary and Kowalski also described how role constraints such as social hierarchy or the role of a clergyman may dictate how someone should behave, and to project the right social image, a person might manage behaviors to conform to the expectations (Leary & Kowalski, 1990).

Leary and Kowalski (1990) also discussed targeting values. This process involved impression management to create the desired image to the perceived values of others. An example given was someone trying to project the same modesty values as the audience. The study also discussed how projecting inconsistent values from significant others may cause relational strains. For example, if Mary dislikes Bob’s frequent drug use, she may avoid him. The last concept in the two-component model of impression management in this study was how a person is regarded in their current state and what their potential social image might be in the future. “People are reluctant to present themselves in ways that are inconsistent with the information others have about themselves” (Leary & Kowalski, 1990, 42). The two-component model gave insights on how relationship building or growth could be studied using the listed concepts for impression management (Leary & Kowalski, 1990).

Speeches across decades have been studied using the framework of impression management. Nancy Miller and William Stiles (1986) researched American presidential nomination acceptance speeches and inaugural addresses choosing impression management theory for their study. The researchers noted in political communication that “major speeches by American presidents are extreme examples of the premeditated use of language for self-presentation by proven masters of impression management” (Miller & Stiles, 1986, p. 72). The researchers noted that due to the importance of nomination acceptance speeches, candidates’ speeches include a careful composition of the speaker’s views, and also a deliberate construction of the speaker’s public face. The study showed that from 1920 to 1981, presidents have increased familiarity in their speeches consistent with impression management strategies. Impression has conveyed their status and intimacy with their audiences (Miller & Stiles, 1985).

In a study by Brian Dille (2000), the researcher was examining the differences in leaders who were involved in writing their speeches as opposed to those who just had ghost writers preparing the entire speech. The hypothesis was that “psychological scores derived from spontaneous remarks will be significantly different from scores derived from prepared remarks given by the same speaker” (Dille, 2000, p. 874). The researcher noted that impression management may have been a bigger issue with the scores than the authorship of the speeches when assessing the leaders. Dille stated, “This allowed us to test an additional criticism of at-distance-measurements, impression management, which charges that speech acts are directed to the needs of a specific audience or context” (Dille, 2000, p. 579). The study showed that both impression management and authorship were valid indicators of the leader’s audience effects (Dille, 2000).

A study was conducted supporting the prediction that “modern day presidents use more statements that make them appear likeable (ingratiation) and stronger (intimidation) than did their traditional counterparts” (Smith, Whitehead III, Melo, Correa, & Inch, 2013, p. 14). This study examined the inaugural speeches of thirty-seven presidents and forty-two state-of-the union addresses. The study systematically scanned the speeches for strategies of strength and likeability, projections of integrity and social moral worth, as well as intimidation which was described as a demonstration of strength (Smith et al, 2013).

The study by Smith, et al., 2013, pointed out that those earlier traditional presidents did not give an oral presentation of the state-of-the-union to the nation through the media. If presented, the traditional presidents’ audience was Congress; otherwise, a written document was presented to Congress. The researchers stated as the presidency evolved from traditional to modern, the change was demonstrated by more visibility and bureaucracy. This has led to an increased use of self-presentational strategies. The article noted that with the media stretching around the globe, American presidents must have a face of strength and appear more likeable or charismatic than historical counterparts. The study demonstrated the use of impression management with self-presentation strategies of self-promotion, strength, and moral worthiness (Smith et al., 2013).

Impression management has been used in organizational studies, speech studies, and interpersonal communication investigations. One organizational study discussed impression management within organizations in which members formed and maintained

desired impressions. William Gardner and Mark Martinko (1988) stated that impression management involves the behaviors that a person directs towards others in trying to create and maintain positive perceptions from the audience. The authors also stressed that impression management plays an important role in generating support for a leader. The study discussed Goffman's dramaturgical perspective of social interactions (1959). This study noted that the terms used by Goffman (1959) were that of the act, the actor, the environmental setting for the scene, and the performance to a target audience. The study pointed out that the act and scene may be interpreted differently, but there will usually be a common perspective between the actor and the audience. The study noted that the actors behave in the manner they believe will bring the most desired impression. If the audience was negative, then the actor may take the opportunity to reset the stage or situation by redefinition or alteration of his performance (Gardner and Martinko, 1998). In this study by Gardner and Martinko, the same roots of the dramaturgical pentad developed by Kenneth Burke, are in Goffman's impression management information from 1959.

More recent use of Goffman's impression management theory has been in the strategies of online presentation of self. A study by Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2012) used Goffman's impression management as a foundation to analyze the presentation of self in the online world. The study used the method of exploring the blogs of ten individuals. The bloggers were interviewed to get a basic profile of each individual. The research findings concluded that all of the bloggers were very intent on their personal presentation and wanted to be introduced online with particular attention to their image. The study showed that even though most of the bloggers protected their identity, the

importance of their face or mask was demonstrated. The bloggers were noted to use specifics for presentations of femininity, intelligence, competence, creativity, and humor. Even though embellishment of their personification occurred with exaggerations of ability, and at times, old pictures that portrayed a younger image, the bloggers did not to deviate from their personal values or demonstrate significant deviations from their offline selves. The researchers stated, “Although participants are not donning a mask, they are emphasizing some parts of self and censoring others” (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2012, p. 8).

Kenneth Burke stated in his book, *A Grammar of Motives*, in 1945 that he sought to understand basic forms of thought that assist in human motives within human relationships. He developed a methodological tool using five terms associated with investigating the purpose behind behaviors. These five terms are act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose. Burke described the act as what was taking place; the scene as the background or situation behind the act that might include time and place of the act; the agent as who performed the act; the agency as what was used to perform the act such as television, newspaper, or face-to-face; and the purpose which included why this was done (Burke, 1945).

Haun described the pentad as a methodological tool developed by Kenneth Burke useful for research analysis of speeches. Haun noted that the pentad may be used for any speech with the analysis considering: 1) the historical scene, 2) the key agents/speakers, 3) agency/channels (media, face-to-face, etc.), 4) act/what was done, and 5) the communicator purposes (Haun, 2010).

In Shearer's article, Burke's Pentad is discussed as an "approach to capture the logic of future sections" (Shearer, 2004, p. 830). Shearer described the basic components as similar to a news reporters strategies of who, what, where, when, why, and how. This article discussed how the pentad was used to create scenarios. "Given the act and purpose as a starting point, the scenarioist might be able to consider who would do it" (Shearer, 2004, p. 832). Following the five concepts of the pentad, the scenario writer developed the act and purpose, and then proceeded to develop the agent, agency, and scene. Shearer described the use of the pentad for scenario development as a tool that would show how individual actions could lead to identifying change. This helped with the development of a scenario. The study noted when using the pentad to analyze a story that is complete, the pentad can show connections between actions and show logic behind subsequent events (Shearer, 2004).

A study by Birdsell using Burke's pentad noted that the pentad helps "isolate persuasive resources in the speech" (Birdsell, 2014, p.268). The study was divided into sections that analyzed the speeches of Ronald Reagan after the suicide bombing on an American Marine compound in Lebanon and the incident a few hours later of the capture of the Caribbean Island of Grenada by American troops. Reagan addressed the situations on a nationally televised speech on foreign policy. The researcher listed what the dominant scene was, the agent, the act as a coordinating term because Reagan linked the two foreign incidents together. "Relationships between the particular terms will not always be the same in a speech, but some relationships will occur more frequently" (Birdsell, 2014, p. 275). Collectively looking at the pentad terms helped to generate a dominant pentad (root), which in this study of Reagan were persuasive devices under the

“act” aspect of the pentad. Identifying and knowing what the term for each of the five elements of the pentad “will help the critic to make consistent conclusions” (Birdsell, 2014, p. 278).

### Chapter 3: Methodology

Using Burke's Dramatistic Pentad, the selected speeches of Nelson Mandela were examined to identify the scene or the setting, using historical information, including when and where the speeches occurred. The agent indicates what person, or type of person performed the act. The agency or by what means the speeches were communicated were examined. The act included the speech itself, the event, and any acts of impression management. The purpose and content of the speech were examined for examples of removing the apartheid and building a positive impression. Selected speeches by Mandela were analyzed using this methodological tool. These five concepts were identified in each speech and were explored collectively to see how the historical scenes may have changed, if the communicator's purpose changed, what agency was available during delivery, what the act was or event, and who the agent was which can be the rhetor or another person.

The speeches selected for the study included: *An Ideal for Which I am Prepared to Die* on April 20, 1964; *Release from Prison* speech on February 11, 1990; *Address to the People of Cape Town Grand Parade* following the swearing in of Mandela as President of South Africa on May 9, 1994; *Inaugural Speech at the Union Building* on May 10, 1994, the *100 Days Speech* at on August 18, 1994; and *Don't Call Me* on June 1, 2004. The speeches were selected from books that included important speeches in history (Hawkins-Dady, Ed., 2005). A search for his speeches the general public thought important was also done. The lists were examined for momentous moments in his life, and the speeches selected.



These speeches were chosen according to three main principles. The first is importance of the moment in which the speech was given during Mandela's life. The second was whether or not the speech has been listed by experts or viewed as important, even if those determining the importance are from a scholarly background or not. Finally, the speeches were chosen according to live or mediated presentations.

Using Impression Management, Mandela's communication and relationships with family, friends, prisoners, prison guards, members of the apartheid government, and his target speech audiences will be examined. As Goffman (1959) observed when someone is conversing with others, there will be motives behind the impression the speaker is portraying and a need to target these feelings positively toward the situation and the speaker. Others will be weighing his self-concept, assessing whether he can be trusted, and the person's attitude toward the target audience (Goffman, 1959). Goffman's 1959 theory defined two separate areas of presentation of one's self: formal performances and private. The model by Leary and Kowalski (1990) listed constructs regarding motivation and construction of impression management.

The model consisted of two components: 1) Impression motivation 2) Impression construction. This model was used to examine Mandela's strategies for image, self-concept, goals, role restraints and potential social image in management of issues and conflict (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). The autobiography by Mandela along with selected speeches and writings collected in historical documents and videos were examined for strategies that helped Mandela manage his image, his relationship style, and

communication style. This study examined how Mandela created a new group identity for South Africa.

MARK R. LEARY AND ROBIN M. KOWALSKI (1990)

<b>GOALS INFLUENCING IMPRESSION MOTIVATION</b>
• How relevant the impressions are to the goal
• Value of the goal
• Differences between desired image and present image
<b>IMPRESSION CONSTRUCTION</b>
• Concept of one's self
• Desired and undesired identity images
• Constraints of position or role
• Target values
• Current social image or movement towards potential social image

*Note:* Description note: Reprinted and Adapted from “Impression Management: A Literature Review and Two-Component Model” by Leary, M. & Kowalski, R., 1990, *Psychology Bulletin*, 107 (1), p. 35.

Impression Management theory was used to analyze changes in relational interactions during Mandela's experiences and if these interactions redefined his communication style. Evaluation of the setting of the interactions occurred to see if this had any effect on his relational behaviors. Impression Management Theory provided a framework to evaluate whether Mandela treated the formal public differently from his

personal off stage relationships by examining interpersonal communications found in this study.

An analysis of selected speeches and interpersonal communications with family, friends, prisoners, prison guards, and the apartheid leadership was conducted to determine if Mandela was subject to face threatening. Communications and speeches were examined for evidence of any face-saving techniques for impression management found in Mandela's communications or speeches.

Faceworks was examined in the interpersonal communications of Mandela found in historical documents and his autobiography. The concepts of faceworks were examined to see if Nelson Mandela takes particular actions in order to preserve face, or his self-concept that he wishes others to perceive. The interactions were explored for tact, pride, emotional attachment to a certain image to maintain, poise in difficult situations, defensive orientation or protective orientation.

## Chapter 4: Results

### Burke's Dramatistic Pentad Results

When examining the speeches for the pentad the five concepts of the framework were applied:

#### *Agent:*

The Agent of all the speeches was Nelson Mandela. He was the communicator. Mandela's role changed during the time frames of the different speeches.

In the speech, *An Ideal for Which I Am Prepared to Die* (April 20, 1964), Mandela was under arrest and beginning a trial that potentially had the death penalty if convicted. The second speech is the *Release from Prison* (February 11, 1990), given on the day that Mandela became a free man after twenty-seven years of incarceration. The speech *Address to the People of Cape Town Grand Parade* (May 9, 1994) Mandela had been elected president of South Africa. A second speech, *Inaugural Speech at the Union Building* (May 10, 1994), was also as newly elected president. The next speech was the *100 days speech* (August 18, 1994), as the President of South Africa. The last speech is Mandela's speech, *Don't Call Me* (June 1, 2004) occurring late in his presidency.

#### *The Act:*

After analyzing the content of the speeches the recurring act in all the speeches was impression management. In looking at the speeches critiqued in this study, each

speech demonstrated the use of impression management, not only for his personal credibility and integrity, but also for his political image.

In his public defense speech at the Rivonia trial: *An Ideal For Which I Am Prepared to Die*, Mandela stated, "...hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle" (The History Place, para. 3). He is portraying himself as being true to his values, and demonstrating humanitarian values. He also stated, "I have done whatever I did, both as an individual and as a leader of my people" (The History Place, para. 2) demonstrating an image of support by the African people as their leader. This image given in his speech portrays his position of designated leader to both the judicial audience and the Africans in attendance.

During his speech, *Release from Prison*, Mandela also created an impression managed persona. He demonstrated that he had world-wide support with his statement of thanks to "the millions of my compatriots and those in every corner of the globe who have campaigned tirelessly for my release" (Copeland, Lamm, & McKenna, eds., 1999, p. 883). He further thanked the world communities for their anti-apartheid efforts. Mandela uses this public forum to "Salute the ANC, the President of the ANC, the rank and file members, the combatants of the Umkhonto we Sizwe, the South African Communist Party etc." (Copeland, et al., eds., 1999, p. 883). He further stated:

I extend my greetings to the working class. I pay tribute to the many religious communities, I greet the traditional leaders of our country. I pay tribute to the endless heroism of youth, you, the young lions. I pay tribute to the mothers and

wives and sisters of our nation. You are the rock hard foundation. (Copeland, et al., Eds., 1999, pp. 883-884)

Mandela was demonstrating loyalty to his ANC party, and acknowledging leadership demonstrating diplomacy, poise and tact. Mandela further used this platform to advance his selfless political agenda in order to further the cause of freedom. Mandela stated, “Today the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognize the apartheid has no future” (Copeland, et al., Eds., 1999, p. 884). Mandela was speaking to the current condition in the country.

He further stated, “The need to unite the people of our country is as important a task now as it always has been” (Copeland, et al., Eds., 1999, p. 884). Mandela was abstaining from behaviors that would further divide the country and maintaining his values of freedom and justice for all. His message of unity demonstrated his consistency in values and image maintained throughout his battle with the apartheid.

After being elected as the president of South Africa, Mandela gave his *Address to the People of Cape Town Grand Parade*. This speech contained a background about historical freedom fighters as well as the current journey lasting decades for freedom from the apartheid. Mandela, while giving renditions of the past, spoke of hope and unity. He stated, “All of them united by a common vision of a better life for the people of this country” (Black Past. org., p. 3). He also gave insight into what he considered the target values for the nation to those giving hope for a nation “in which they can live and work with dignity, with a sense of self-esteem and confidence in the future” (Black Past.

org., p. 3). He demonstrated commitment and steadfastness in this speech portraying a leader who is confident and poised. Mandela stated:

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 wound of the past with the intent of constructing a new order based on justice for all. (Black Past. org., p. 5)

In this passage, Mandela developed a new face for the government, a relationship-centered leadership style, reaching out to all the audience members. He created an image of equality for all, demonstrating integrity in his new leadership role to continue with his value of justice for all. Mandela continued to maintain his “face” with qualities of integrity and courage as he pursues the challenges ahead.

In his Inaugural speech at the Union building, he voiced his love for the homeland country and recognized and acknowledged that everyone living there is intimately attached to the country. He created a picture of the beauty country of South Africa and spoke about a time of change for the country previously ravaged with racism and oppression. Mandela stated:

To my companions, I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and mimosa trees of the bushveld. Each time one of us touches the soil of this land, we feel a sense of personal renewal. The national mood changes as the seasons change. We are moved by a sense of joy and exhilaration when the grass turns green and the flowers bloom. (African National Congress, para. 5)

In this section of the speech, Mandela referred to changing seasons, and the joy of spring, relating this metaphor to the changing time for the nation. His imagery of the beauty that will come from these changes is a form of impression management. He is moving the people to see the possibilities for the country. Mandela is creating a new and positive face for the new South Africa.

He recognized the job that the South African people gave him to do, and also speaks with confidence in the image of a leader. He created an image of the desired state of the country realizing his dream as he stated:

We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people. 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. (African National Congress, para. 5)

These are all impression management strategies that have been woven into his encounters with others during his life. Mandela used facework to create his image as a poised, confident and capable leader. He maintained his face of dignity, and the values that he has fought for in this life work against the apartheid. Mandela demonstrated character with his endeavors to include the very people that oppressed the blacks, to create a united nation of diverse backgrounds.

During his *100 Day Speech*, Mandela, marking his first one hundred days in office as the president of South Africa stated:



To present a façade of unity on each and every issue would be artificial, undemocratic and patently pretentious. The more these issues are aired and opened up for public debate, the better for the kind of democracy we seek to build. Handled within the bounds dictated by the interests of coherent and effective governance. (University of Pennsylvania African Studies Center, p. 2)

Mandela was claiming it would not be honest to say everything was going well. He was giving the current status of several issues in this speech and stating that the process of the public debates was the democratic way for solution. Mandela continued to be a man of integrity giving the current state of affairs, even if some issues were not currently resolved. He was using proactive methods to avoid face-threatening statements about unresolved issues. Mandela was giving a vision of how the democratic process works, rather than focusing on what problems had not yet reached a collaborative solution. These were examples of impression management strategies.

The final speech, "*Don't Call Me,*" was a speech filled with humor and relational leadership. Mandela was thanking people at the start of the speech for "taking time out of your very busy schedules to come and listen to me this morning" (The Nelson Mandela Foundation, p. 1). Mandela's persona was humble and very personable in this speech. He was also wearing the symbolic tribal dress to connect with the audience. Mandela discussed his age and desire to retire and enjoy the rest of his years with his family:

I am turning eighty-six in a few weeks time and that is a longer life than most people are granted. I have the added blessing of being in very good health, at

least according to my doctors. I am confident that nobody present here today will accuse me of selfishness if I ask to spend time, while I am still in good health, with my family, my friends, and also with myself. (The Nelson Mandela Foundation, p. 2)

Mandela used his “face” that the people knew, one of integrity, consistency, hard work, steadfastness, and a selfless nature to appeal to their acceptance of his plan to retire.

Further in the speech, Mandela spoke to the fact that he has three Mandela legacy organizations in place to make sure that the work continues. He stated:

This does, however, not mean that the work that we have been involved in, supported, and promoted comes to an end. It has been our practice to establish organizations to do certain work and then leave it to those organizations to get on with the job. (The Nelson Mandela Foundation, p. 3)

Mandela, consistent with his character, remained loyal in his commitment to the future of South Africa. He showed that he had been proactive in structuring organizations to continue the focus of his work. His “face” to the public was his continued perseverance, leaving a legacy of continued work.

*Agency:*

All of Mandela’s speeches used arguments as a means of persuading and informing the audience. Mandela presented the argument in *An Ideal for Which I Am Prepared to Die* that his actions and that of other freedom fighters were a result of the apartheid in South Africa and the lack of collaboration to change the racism and injustices. Throughout the speech he argued that the actions of the ANC were directly

related to the injustices, inequalities and lack of freedom in the apartheid government for the Blacks. Mandela stated, “The complaint of Africans, however, is not only that they are poor and the Whites are rich, but that the laws which are made by the Whites are designed to preserve this situation” (The History Place, para. 82).

This was also the argument in his speech, *Release from Prison*, where he promoted continuing the journey for freedom; however, this speech was tempered with a message of equality and unity for all in the country: “Our struggle has reached a decisive moment. We call on our people to seize this moment so that the process towards democracy is rapid and uninterrupted. We have waited too long for our freedom” (Copeland et al., 1999, p. 885).

The speech, *Address to the People of Cape Town Grand Parade*, focused on the persuasive argument for continuing the quest for democracy, as the defeat of the apartheid had been realized, but the devastation and ruin had not been resolved. Mandela continued his argumentative theme for establishment of equality and unity stating: “They project a democracy in which the government, whomever that government may be, will be bound by a higher set of rules, embodied in a constitution, and will not be able to govern the country as it pleases” (Black Past. org., p. 3).

In Mandela’s, *Inaugural Speech at the Union Building*, Mandela was focused on rebuilding a nation and liberating all people:

The time for the healing of wounds has come. The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come. The time to build is upon us. We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from

the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender, and other discriminations. (African National Congress, para. 13)

The *100 Day Speech* continued the same style of communication, with the theme of unity and equality. He stated, “Let us harness the nation’s energies to more rapidly develop and reconstruct our country. In this way, our society will experience meaningful and lasting reconciliation” (University of Pennsylvania African Studies Center, p. 2).

The final speech, *Don’t Call Me*, Mandela spoke of the progress of work that has been done, and how the mechanisms were in place to be sure that the work for rebuilding the country and for equality among the people is realized. He states, “I shall not totally forget you. When I notice a worthy cause that needs your support, I shall certainly call you” (The Nelson Mandela Foundation, p. 2).

Collectively, these speeches had one argument that the freedom and equality for all is worth fighting to obtain and maintain. Throughout his speeches Mandela created a “face” of unity for the country.

*Scene:*

The scenes varied among the speeches, but all the speeches occurred in South Africa. The speech, *An Ideal for Which I Am prepared to Die* (April 20, 1964), was given in the Rivonia trial in Pretoria. Nelson Mandela was defending himself in court. He used this speech not only as defense for himself, but as a platform to defend the ANC. He used this moment to speak of the hardships made on the people by the apartheid.

The next speech was his *Release from Prison* (February 11, 1990). This scene was twenty-seven years later at Mandela’s release from prison in Cape Town. The

country was still under the apartheid rule and the scene had worsened with more violence occurring during the last twenty-seven years that Mandela was in prison.

When Mandela gave his next two speeches, *Address to the People of Cape Town Grand Parade* (May 9, 1994) and *Inaugural Speech* (May 10, 1994), the scenes were very similar. The country had moved from being under the apartheid rule to a democratic government providing equality for all. Mandela spoke to the general public after his inauguration in Cape Town. The next day in the Union building, he spoke to an audience that included many dignitaries.

Although the physical locations were different, the overall scene of the country was the same. For the first time in South African history, there was a president who was voted in by the people. Mandela's *100 Days Speech* was his presidential speech that included the programs in progress to help with the poverty and inequities among a large number of the people which included some budget decisions and program issues. The scene had changed in the 100 days of his presidency. The government was addressing poverty issues and education issues with the budgeted funds available. The apartheid had been defeated, but Mandela pointed out issues from that era that still needed to be fixed including working together towards unity. Mandela's *Don't Call Me* scene was totally different. Mandela was retiring from politics and had led the country towards his vision of equality and freedom. Mandela was leaving the country, in what he describes, as being capable of continuing forward. The country was not in perfect condition, but the apartheid had been defeated. His concern for continuing the efforts of freedom and equal opportunities was noted in his structure of the organizations to perpetuate his work.

*Purpose:*

The purpose that runs as a theme throughout Mandela's speeches was the establishment of a democratic society with freedom and equality for all, with the apartheid being the barrier to democracy in South Africa. Even after the democratic elections, he recognized the victory of defeating the apartheid as a portion of the journey for the reality of democracy in South Africa.

**Impression Management Results**

In reading about interactions, conflict, goals, and image building, numerous interactions were found in Mandela's life that demonstrated his strategies of impression management. The interaction between Mandela and Dr. Kerr, the principal of the University College of Fort Hare, was an early demonstration of image-building and positive self-concept found in impression management. Mandela's motivation for this situation was a moral issue and a conflict situation where he had to choose between making a stand for what he believed was the right thing to do, or accept the demands of Dr. Kerr and go against Mandela's preferred image. In making a stand Mandela risked expulsion from the school (Mandela, 1996).

However, if Mandela had not adhered to his moral values for which he joined other students to take a stand against the governing body of the school, he risked being viewed as a fraud in the eyes of his peers and friends. Mandela spoke to Dr Kerr and stated that he could not, in good conscience, continue to serve on the student representative council. Even though he might be forfeiting his opportunity for an education, he wanted an image of integrity even in the face of conflict. His dedication to

moral principles, his strategies for face-saving, and managing the impression of others are noted throughout this encounter with the principal (Mandela, 1996). Facework strategies were used by Mandela to maintain his personal image in the eyes of his peers. As Goffman stated, consistently demonstrating known attributes, such as integrity and courage, helps sustain positive “face” image (Goffman, 1967).

Another interaction was examined for evidence of impression management strategies. The setting was a prison cell the night that Mandela had been captured by Pietermaritzburg police with an arrest warrant. Mandela realized on the first night that he was not prepared for the confinement of a jail cell and his loss of freedom. However, he found some consolation in that fact that he could rest because he was not running from police and hiding. In the morning, Mandela was to appear before the magistrate. This was someone he knew, and he had been in the magistrate’s court on a professional basis as a lawyer, but now he was the criminal, accused and awaiting the court decision. Because he was greeted as a professional attorney, Mandela felt uplifted as he entered the court. Mandela decided to represent himself, even though fellow attorney friends were there to offer legal advice. He decided this approach would create a symbolic image of his role in this court. His goal was to have his trial illuminate the ANC’s moral stand against the apartheid racism in South Africa (Mandela, 1996). Mandela entered the courtroom, in handcuffs. This was the same court he had entered many times as an attorney. Mandela writes:

I appeared before the magistrate on numerous occasions in my professional capacity and we had grown to respect one another. There I was No. 1 on the

state's Most Wanted list, a handcuffed outlaw. They knew me as Nelson Mandela, attorney at law, not Nelson Mandela, outlaw (Mandela, 1996, p. 103).

Mandela realized, after being greeted by fellow attorneys, he had maintained “face” in spite of the charges against him due to the relationships he had developed in the court. Mandela demonstrated poise and an aura of being in control of his court hearing. He used this advantage to be able to showcase the cause of the ANC against the apartheid.

Mandela was using impression management strategies of saving face and goal relevance to not only enhance his own image, but also that of the cause of the ANC against the evils of the racism controlling South Africa. Mandela's image in the courtroom, when attorneys treated him as a peer, maintained his image of poise, self-confidence, and control. Mandela was escorted from the courthouse there were hundreds of people gathered cheering, “Power, the power is ours,” in the tribal language, which was an ANC rally call (Mandela, 1996). Mandela's desired public image of integrity, moral standards against racism, and ability to be a leader was beginning to develop as his actions in the hearing were facilitating a group identity of the supporters with his intent to pursue the ANC platform in the courthouse.

Because of the popularity Mandela was gaining with the people, a huge rally by a Free Mandela Committee was scheduled by his supporters for his trial date. When the government officials heard about this, the trial was moved to Pretoria. Mandela was able to transmit the new location information to his supporters through a friendly sympathetic guard in the jail. Mandela's concept of his desired public image as a man of integrity, honesty, and trust was developing through his social interactions and relationship



building. An example of this trusting relationship building was the jailer who got word out to Mandela supporters about the location change. This was evidence of his ability to have an image of respect and integrity maintained even in the jail. Being kind to the jailer helped develop the relationship.

Mandela had the initial court hearing following his arrest for “inciting African workers to strike and leaving the country without valid travel documents” (Mandela, 1996, pl 101) scheduled for October 15, 1962 by the magistrate. For this hearing, Mandela did not wear the suit and tie that he would normally wear to court; instead he chose to wear the *kaross*, a tribal Xhosa leopard skin garment. This choice of image evoked the supportive shouts of power and great enthusiasm for Mandela from the gathered crowd that had shouted for him his last trip to the court. Winnie, his wife, supported him with her own attire of the Xhosa long skirts and beaded headdress. Mandela was granted a postponement for a week (Mandela, 1996). Mandela established identity with his people wearing the symbolic tribal clothing on this occasion.

During his trip back to the jail, wearing his tribal attire, one of the jailers informed Mandela that the commander Colonel Jacobs was demanding that Mandela relinquish his *kaross*. Mandela refused and the Colonel confronted Mandela himself. The colonel seemed to make light of the significance of the tribal wear by asking Mandela to hand over his “blanket.” Mandela projected values of pride in his heritage, justice and courage at that point, values very different from the Colonel. Mandela even threatened the Colonel with pleas to the Supreme Court if necessary. In this confrontation, Mandela, though his role was that of a prisoner, was able to project an image of self-esteem,

identity, and power (Mandela, 1996). Mandela was showing great courage under duress, a quality of trustworthy character. He was maintaining his “face” and did not lose face, even when his role as a prisoner dictated that he had no rights.

Nelson Mandela, in an interview with Oprah Winfrey, stated that even in prison a prisoner still has to demand dignity and respect. Mandela had this mindset as he entered prison. When the group of prisoners arrived at Robben Island, they were met by two very brutal warders, the Kleynhans brothers, who often carried out assaults on political prisoners. On arrival, one brother shouted, “Here, I am your boss!” (Mandela, 1996, p.108) and demanded that the three prisoners jog and not walk to their cells. Mandela deliberately went to the front of the line and walked slowly to prevent this demand from occurring. While this was happening, the brothers yelled, “Here you will die” (Mandela, 1996, p. 108).

After reaching the cells, another officer shouted at a prisoner about the length of his hair. Mandela interfered with the berating of the prisoner stating, “Look here, the length of our hair is determined by the regulations” (Mandela, 1994, p. 342). When one officer motioned as if he were going to hit Mandela, Mandela responded, “If you so much as lay a hand on me, I will take you to the highest court in the land. And when I finish with you, you will be as poor as a church mouse” (Mandela, 1994, p. 342). The officers continued with threats, but Mandela perceived that they were afraid. One of these men was actually the head of the prison, but he left the cell without incidence of brutality. This type of interaction earned Mandela respect (Mandela, 1994).

Christo Brand, one of the prison guards, befriended Mandela. Brand stated he was a guard working in the prison when first meeting Mandela in the prison. Brand was nineteen at the time. He observed that Mandela was very dignified and quiet in nature. Once when he accompanied Mandela to the visitor center, Mandela initiated a conversation to inquire about Christo's life, his family, his parents, siblings, and where he grew up as a child. Brand stated that Mandela acknowledged appreciation for the conversation (Brand, 2014).

On other occasions, Brand stated that he would just listen to what Mandela had to say. The more Brand heard him speak, the more respect he gained for Mandela. Brand respected him and was drawn to Mandela, whom the jailer could see, was a powerful influence inside the jail. Not only did Mandela have fatherly type conversations with Brand, such as asking about his brothers and sisters and where he was raised; Brand also witnessed Mandela speaking to other ANC imprisoned leaders writing demands to the prison officials. Mandela was using facework showing dignity, power, and presence. Brand respected his strength, courage, and fatherly mannerisms. Brand noted that even though Mandela had a dismal future in isolation and was facing hard labor, Mandela did not display any anger or bitterness. Brand noted Mandela's self-discipline in his continued school pursuits and his exercise regimen every morning in his cell. These observations and interactions impressed the young warder (Brand, 2014).

On one visitation, when Mandela's wife Winnie arrived, Brand saw a baby hidden in a blanket. He told her that she had to leave the baby with others in the waiting room. The baby was Mandela's grandchild, the daughter of Zindzi. The couple had their visit

through the glass. Winnie told Mandela that she had brought the four-month-old grandchild. Mandela asked Brand to let him see the baby. Brand replied that he could not and could lose his job over such an issue. When the visit ended, and Brand knew nothing was being recorded, he went to the side where Winnie was going back to the waiting room. Winnie offered him a bribe to let Mandela see the baby. Brand refused and asked if he could hold the baby. He then took the baby back to the booth where Mandela was sitting and he let Mandela hold the baby. Tears were in Mandela's eyes. After everyone was gone, Mandela thanked Brand and acknowledged the risk he had taken. He made a pact that this would be their secret (Brand, 2014).

After Mandela's death, Brand stated, "It's like a father I lost. It means a big loss for the country and we will really miss him. I miss him myself personally, and always I will have him in my mind" (Brand, 2013, p. 1). Mandela kept the secret of Brand bringing the baby into him until the time Mandela became South Africa's president (Brand, 2013). This interaction with the guard demonstrated Mandela putting a positive image of himself to the public jailer, as well as making a positive impression of his identity to the jailer. Both of these strategies were examples of impression management. Mandela was definitely skilled at managing peoples' perceptions of him, and projecting the image that he desired, even though his position as a prisoner would normally limit that ability.

Mandela was so happy to see his daughter Zindzi at the age of fifteen as a visitor to the prison after twelve years without seeing her. To make her comfortable and connect with her, he reminisced about time they spent together on the farm. He told stories of

different adventures they had together and times that he held her on his lap. His desired image as a father was portrayed to her and he could see tears in her eyes. Mandela asked her about friends, school, and about her life. He was painting an image of himself as a caring father, whose dream of freedom was for his children, but was difficult due to the path he had chosen. His current image was transformed to a desired image in the eyes of his daughter (Mandela, 1996). This was a great example of impression management on a personal level.

From letters written in prison, Mandela's writings demonstrated his ability to use concepts and strategies to demonstrate his motivations for his goals, the relevance of the goals, how much these goals were valued, and the gap between the current state and the desired state. His own self-concept and image perpetuated the image that he created for others reading the documents. In a letter written to the State President of South Africa, P. W. Botha, Mandela responded to the president's conditions for Mandela's release. These conditions included a rejection of violence as a political weapon. Mandela's daughter read his response to a mass audience in Jabulani Stadium, Soweto on February 10, 1985.

In this response to Botha, Mandela made statements that he was not a violent man. His efforts in 1952 to have round table discussions regarding the issues in the country and possible resolutions fell on deaf ears. Mandela enumerated two other efforts to have discussions and conferences to resolve the issues and sufferings. Mandela further stated in the letter that "all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us...[thus] we turned to armed struggles" (Mandela, 1990, 330). Mandela is minimizing the

freedom fighters violent actions by putting the blame on the government who refused to negotiate and talk. Mandela was presenting himself as a diplomat who tried to negotiate, and was using faceworks to preserve the reputation of the freedom fighters.

In Mandela's response to Botha, written from his prison cell, he described how he cherished freedom, but placed more value on the freedom of the people (Mandela, 1990). He then spoke of the impositions on the people by the apartheid that restricted freedom, and was asking what freedom he would have if he abandoned the organization. He discussed the lack of respect and citizenship of the Blacks in the country. He connected with the people through the statement, "I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return" (Mandela, 1990, 331).

Mandela was demonstrating control in this letter and making sure his voice was heard. Mandela was separated by the prison from his people, but not separated in his spirit from the people. He was consistent with his future vision for the country where all people were free from the restrictive laws and treated respectfully. His letter targeted the president depicting the ills of society in the current state. Impression motivations and impression constructs were noted within this letter to the public as Mandela was reiterating that he was a peaceful man who wanted diplomatic negotiations. Mandela voiced his commitment to the ANC, his consistent value regarding freedom, his goal to continue the path to freedom, and his power to refuse the terms of release. Mandela was motivated to remain constant to the cause of dismantling the apartheid. Mandela was demonstrating self-sacrifice by stating he was not willing to be freed at the expense of the

fight against the apartheid. The image he portrayed was that of consistency. He demonstrated poise, tact and diplomacy, a face that his people know and trust. His image as a leader was upheld.

One letter that was smuggled out of the prison was addressed to the ANC after the Soweta uprising in 1980. After taking two years to reach the ANC from the time of the writing, it was still considered current. The letter was a call for unity and to continue the struggle for freedom. The letter stated:

Racists rule by the gun, the gun plays an important part in our history. The resistance of the black man to white colonial intrusion was crushed by the gun. Our struggle to liberate ourselves from white domination is held in check by force of arms. (Mandela 1990, p. 321)

The scene that Mandela depicted was that of racism, dominating by force, which was the reason for the revolt of the Black youth. This led to the conclusion that the revolts would not be needed if the leaders responsible for the apartheid rule were fair and just. With this scene, Mandela was creating an image of the Black youth as being justified and provoked. Mandela further wrote:

In the midst of our present crisis, while our people count the dead and nurse the injured, they ask themselves what lies ahead. From the rulers we can expect nothing...nothing demonstrates the utter bankruptcy of apartheid as the revolt of our youth (Mandela, 1990, p. 322).

Having presented these justifications, Mandela was calling for unity among the ANC supporters. Even from prison he was demonstrating his knowledge of events and ability to lead. He further stated:

Our march to freedom is long and difficult. But both within and beyond our borders the prospects of victory grow bright...our struggle is growing sharper. This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity. At all levels and in every walk of life, we must close ranks. (Mandela, 1990, p. 323)

He demonstrated strength and persistence for the cause that has cost him freedom. He was unwavering, a very noble demonstration of character and face.

We who are confined within the grey walls of the Pretoria regime's prisons reach out to our people. We salute all of you! We face the future with confidence... Those who live by the gun will perish by the gun. (Mandela, 1990, p. 324)

This letter envisions a path to victory by unity. Mandela was also careful to be inclusive as he continued to use the inclusive pronouns of "we" and "our". He showed himself to be confident and steadfast, even in the midst of prison and persecution. His concept of the future was portrayed. The social image of justice prevailing was given to depict the value of the target goal and the reason to continue to close the gap between their struggles and freedom.

At the time when Mandela decided to meet with Botha for negotiations, Mandela made this decision from prison without any consultation from other ANC leaders. He had decided that the previous strategy of the ANC to not negotiate until there was equality, had not advanced any changes. With several maneuvers, Mandela finally was



able to get secret negotiations started. He knew that, as a leader, one cannot leave your followers behind, so he got permission to speak to his comrades in prison about the meetings. Walter, one of the leaders imprisoned, responded to the news of negotiations with, “Well, I am not in principle against negotiations, but I would have wished for them to start by them, not by us” (Stengel, 2009, p. 68). Mandela replied, “If you are not against negotiations in principle, then it doesn’t matter who starts. I have started” (Stengel, 2009, p. 68). Some felt Mandela had sold out, and he explained to them, “Comrade O.R., I am discussing with the government, one thing, one thing only, a meeting between the ANC and the government. That is all” (Stengel, 2009, pp. 68-69). Stengel noted this was a transformation in his leadership. This was a transformation from leading the charge to taking the lead and being accountable for any negotiations that he initiated. Mandela replied to Stengel, “It is absolutely necessary at times for the leader to take on independent action without consulting anybody and to present what he has done” (Stengel, 2009, p. 69). Mandela noted at that time, the only consideration the organization needed to decide was if he was acting in the best interests of the cause (Stengel, 2009). Mandela knew the organization would judge his motives and decide if he was to be trusted. Because he had demonstrated trust and integrity in the past, the organization accepted his decision and his ability to lead. Mandela began “leading from the front” (Stengel, 2009, p. 70). He moved from confrontation to conflict resolution, an important leadership behavior.

The interactions discussed around the negotiations were demonstrative of Mandela’s self-concept of confidence, poise, tact and diplomacy. Mandela’s motivation for the secret meetings was a free democratic nation in his lifetime. He valued the goal

over the possibility of knowing that his comrades might reject him and be dissatisfied with his actions. His self-confidence and statement to Stengel about being the leader showed his positive self-concept and the identity image that he had for himself. His willingness to divulge the secret meetings to his comrades was because he knew that one cannot lead and be too far ahead of the followers to which he had always been loyal and truthful (Stengel, 2009). These characteristics were part of his “face”.

Even before Mandela knew he was meeting Botha for the first time, he studied about Botha to learn about him and his life. For weeks he began to practice what he would say such as knowing details about the Anglo-Boer War, until he was comfortable with the role of negotiator that he was about to play. He knew that the meeting could lead to peace or bloodshed. He also knew that he could lose his political ANC backing if this meeting failed.

As they met and shook hands, Mandela engaged in conversation while sipping tea. He was sharing his knowledge about the Anglo-Boer War, even knowing generals names from battles. Mandela was entertaining the president with his knowledge. Managing to create a comfortable light atmosphere, Mandela embarked on one of his goals for the meeting; Mandela remarked that the battles between the Afrikaner rebellion and Britain were similar. Mandela reminded Botha that the government political prisoners of that war were released within six months; while ANC’s political prisoners had been held over twenty years. Mandela asked for the release of Sisulu (Botha had made a public statement that he would never release him). After the conversation, Botha agreed to release him (Stengel, 2009).

This conversation was intentional on the part of Mandela, so he could manipulate the outcome and potential image created by comparing the release of prisoners in a war that Botha had been involved with previously to the release of prisoners that he was responsible for holding now. In being interested in the life of Botha, he also showed how their values (such as political prisoners being held) were really not so different. Mandela used the scene of a previous war to make comparisons with Botha and persuade him to release prisoners just as had been done in the Anglo-Boer War. This was a demonstration of the use of Goffman's dramatisic impression management. He was using argument by analogy to further effect Botha's favorable impression of Mandela.

After many interactions, a change in president from Botha's resignation to the new President de Klerk, Mandela was freed. Oddly enough he negotiated the circumstances of his release, even wanting to wait a week when he was told he would be released on February 11, 1990. The government wanted to release him and fly him to Johannesburg. Mandela wanted to give his family and people time to gather to celebrate as he walked out of prison. Mandela wrote a statement for his release date. The crowd was able to gather for the celebration of his release (Mandela, 1996).

When speaking to the crowd the next day at the First National Bank stadium in Soweta for a press conference, he told the people that he was just an "ordinary man who had become a leader because of extraordinary circumstances" (Mandela, 1996, p. 179). He thanked the people for their support and campaign for his freedom. He urged the crowd to continue their campaign actions that the apartheid "had no future in South Africa" and they "would walk the last mile together" (Mandela, 1996, p. 180).

Mandela also told the press that his negotiations and also support of the armed struggle did not contradict each other. However, the armed threat brought negotiations to the table. In the press conference, Mandela admonished Blacks involved in crime in the name of freedom fighters, stating there was no place for these actions in civil society. Mandela further commented that the ANC would cease in violent campaigns when the government showed peace to them. He also stated that anyone who abandoned the apartheid would be welcome into the movement toward equality and one vote for one person. Mandela also spoke about not being bitter or angry, and that the goal was a non-racial Africa. His hope was to persuade Whites that Africa would be a better place for everyone if there could be peace and respect (Mandela, 1996).

In this press conference in February of 1990, Mandela demonstrated his self-confidence and his abilities to bring the country together and gives the perception of those things that are the desired image of the country when he stated, “No man or woman who has abandoned apartheid will be excluded from our movement towards a non-racial, united democratic society South Africa based on one person one voter’s roll” (Mandela, 1996, p. 191). He spoke of the gap narrowing between the desired goals and present state, and the hope of values and a potential society, painted as equality and peace. Mandela was motivated to create the image for the people to forge a unified South Africa. He projected values that were currently different from the reality, but showed a pathway to lead to the vision. Mandela used tactics for impressing the crowd including motivation, values, potential success of the nation, and showing that the reality was within grasp. He was careful to show that his desired goals were also the shared goals of his audience. He was guiding the reactions and was also solidifying his identity as their

leader. Mandela was also creating a group identity for the entire nation when he referred to, “our movement towards a non-racial united democratic society” (Mandela, 1996, p. 191).

In historical writings by Michael Dingake, who was an inmate at Robben Island for fifteen years, the image of Mandela was evident. This resulted from Mandela’s behavior and impression management. One statement made by Dingake:

Whenever I have watched Madiba (name for Mandela) present his own or general complaints to the prison authorities, stressing every word and every syllable of every word he uttered, I would be reminded of Chief Lutuli’s favorite precept, let your courage rise with danger. He was one prisoner whom officers could not ignore, not only because of his status, but because he would not let them do it. (Dingake, 1986, p. 436)

Dingake described Mandela as being popular and being the representative for the prisoners. “Comrade Mandela is articulate, confident, factual, assertive, and persuasive. His representations did not always yield immediate results but they were never without lasting impact” (Dingake, 1986, p. 441). “Comrade Mandela was also a shrewd tactician in dealing with prison administration” (Dingake, 1986, p. 442). “A true revolutionary leader must be one of the people. Thus in gaol [jail] Nelson sought no personal privileges and participated fully in all common duties in the section” (Dingake, 1986, p. 451).

Through the perception of Dingake, there was an obvious attempt by Mandela to be a man of integrity adhering to his values even in prison with his companion political

prisoners. Mandela portrayed leadership skills, integrity, and determination. This was observed by prisoners like Dingake. Mandela was noted for demonstrating his values, even if his values were not equivalent to the values of the jailers (Dingake, 1986).

Mandela's values and integrity remained consistent and were recounted by a former prisoner tour guide at Robben Island recalled Mandela's message one day to prisoners:

When we were here, Nelson Mandela told us that we were not to hate the guards, that where there is racism, there are only victims. He told this to the guards and warden as well, that one day we would be free and get along. He said there is only one race, the human race. What we can do together is more than we can do alone (LiPuma & Koelble, 2011, p. 17).

Mandela impressed upon this prisoner the importance of unity among the races, and the goal of democracy that all would be free. Mandela created the image of democracy for the country by making it known displaying hate for the guards was counterproductive to unity. His image of democracy included the guards so that no one was victimized or exploited in the vision of the new government.

## **Chapter 5: Conclusion**

From the literature review, the persona of Nelson Mandela came to life. He had a sense of responsibility to others that was developed from childhood. He was from a background where a cooperative tribal culture depended on relationship building, which was essential for the success of the collaborative tribal culture. Mandela built his sense of community from this background. He also demonstrated integrity and pride. Mandela learned from Dr. Wellington in his youth that a Black man does not have to submit to the whims of the White man, and he had a sense of vision for equality in his country. Throughout his life he practiced the strategies of image creativity, goal setting, seeing the future as he wished it could be, and purposing his actions to attain all of these things.

Mandela, through relationships and impression management was able to be seen in the public image as a man of immense fortitude, strong moral and social values, integrity, and commitment. Although many of his personal relationships suffered from his commitment to humanity and his country, he was viewed by the world as a great humanitarian. Mandela was greatly respected among the guards of the prison, the prisoners, his fellow freedom fighters, his adversaries, and the world at large. He used impression management techniques to relay his personal self-concept, to establish a respected image of leadership, and to create a vision for the future of South Africa. The image he was able to impress upon others eventually reached unity and common purpose within a new social environment in South Africa.

Mandela's many encounters, not just with the guards, but with the prisoners, spread his image as a leader. His personal contacts with inmates left a legacy that

penetrated from the walls of the prison to the public arena. His ability to persuade others ran the gamut from obtaining long pants in the prison to uniting with the former head of the apartheid, F.W de Klerk, to form an organization representative of the people. Mandela was aware in relationship building to develop his image, with such values as patience, forgiveness, integrity, steadfastness, listening, and loyalty. Throughout the literature review, there was evidence that his relationships in childhood also had an effect on his character and desired self-image.

His quotation: “I learned that to humiliate another person is to make him suffer an unnecessarily cruel fate. Even as a boy, I defeated my opponents without dishonoring them” (Mandela, 1994, p. 10). This was demonstrated in his treatment of the apartheid leaders. He showed no bitterness towards them, and encouraged others to try to collaborate for a unified country. When he had defeated the government and won the election as president, he introduced F. W. de Klerk as “my second Deputy President, the Honorable F.W. de Klerk” (African National Congress, para. 15). The values that he learned at a young age had a definite influence on how he treated others in order to pursue his goals.

Mandela developed a sense of community and unity within his tribal village experiences. He experienced village life to be a democratic society without social classes. Mandela’s tribal culture was one where relationship building was essential for the success of the collaborative culture. He also learned the value of listening to the tribal elders, and heard at a young age about tribal lands being signed over to the Whites. From the Regent, who helped raise him when his father died, Mandela observed that a



real leader was one who could get people with different opinions to live in harmony. Mandela's school experiences observing Reverend Mokitimi taught him that a Black man can hold his ground to the dictates of a White man. This lesson seemed to resurface even in the prison by Mandela, an example being when he refused to wear short pants, and finally obtained long pants for all the prisoners. Dress was important to Mandela. Mandela used his appearance as a statement, such as the time that he wore the *kaross*, a tribal Xhosa garment to court. This was a demonstration of pride in his heritage and increased the supportive response from the people. The influence of tribal pride and culture, further emphasized in his life by such encounters as the poet at Healdtown, rooted a sense of loss for his heritage culture and lands.

Mandela was careful to maintain the consistency of his personal self-concept and values with behavioral manifestations of each. Whether he was in school, willing to give up graduation for a principle cause, or whether he was in jail in a position of no authority, he made his moral stand and values be known. He built trust and integrity in the eyes of those with whom he interacted. He developed patience, and at the same time exercised rights within the prison walls even gaining the respect of jailers. Mandela knew the value of negotiations and was a man known for action. In the eyes of his people and those of the opposing government, it was clear he was a leader in the country.

Leaders throughout history have been shown to have a cause, some civil rights, some liberties, but Nelson Mandela's cause was to eliminate the apartheid. This word in the African language means "apartness." This study showed the significance of relationships and the ability to manage a personal image that brought this man from the

darkness of prison, unforgotten by the people, respected by authorities to the status of the first black president of South Africa. This study also gave insight as to how a person, locked away for twenty-seven years, can maintain his personal image and develop an image for the future of South Africa that could move a nation. The literature and Burke's pentad demonstrated that Mandela's dual motive was aimed at defeating apartheid and establishing an equal and free democratic society in South Africa. This purpose was seen in his speeches and personal communications before the defeat of the apartheid, and demonstrated by Mandela's continued push to reverse the ravages of the apartheid and replace that government with a democratic society, reminiscent of his childhood tribal democratic culture.

#### Directions for Future Study

An area of future study could include relational communications styles that occurred privately between parties of the apartheid, the ANC, and other parties during the formation of the new South Africa in the meetings that ensued just before, and after Mandela's presidency. A Neo-Aristotelian analysis could identify relative use of inductive and/or deductive reasoning, dominant choices of appeals to ethos (credibility), pathos (emotional appeals), and logos (logical appeals), and types of arrangement patterns used in Mandela's speeches. Mandela's leadership style could be examined for trends in organizational communication to distinguish between transformational and transitional leadership. A public perception of Mandela's leadership style might be also conducted.

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