Religio-Political Rhetoric: An Ideo-Stylistic Analysis of Qadri’s Speeches

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Abstract

The depiction of heterotopic identities in the polarized trauma narrative is a significant concern of this research. Identity as a fluid term finds multiple references and representations in setting its permanent position within the designed space. This research focuses on locating the heterotopic identities embedded in emerging speculative fiction. It is essential to understand the function of the heterotopic space in the formation and recognition of identity. Many post-structuralists and postmodern theorists have adopted the idea of heterotopic space as governance to locate differences at the ethnic, political, social-cultural, linguistic, and racial levels. Likewise, the binary oppositions such as good vs. evil, son vs. daughter, and old style vs. contemporary have provided a scheme for analyzing the mirroring complexities of stereotypical diversities. And to locate these diversities, this study will identify the heterotopic space through the canon of queerness. The queer theory will serve as a transcending framework for the present research. To explore the queer futurity of heterotopias, the significant work of Margret Atwood's \textit{The Handmaid's Tale} is selected. This research will explore the practicality of Foucault’s (1989) concept of \textit{Worlds within a world} that will assist in generating a wholesome gender role reversal through the mirror technique. Moreover, this present research identifies the heterotopic practices of the picaresque tradition for exploring multiple identities.

Keywords

Ideology, Rhetoric, Religious Speeches, Genre, Stylistic Analysis
Introduction:
Political rhetoric is the art and science of persuading others. To control the mindset of the masses different moves are used by the politicians at various national and international platforms. These persuasive moves include various discursive moves for positive self and negative others' representation. This is done to win the consent of the masses. Carefully coined political rhetoric is used through speech acts for positive self and negative other representation. Different politicians at national and international level use various stylistic devices and peculiar styles to propagate their ideology comprehensively. Van Dijk (1995, 2006) argues that politicized discourses are used to win consent of an ideological group. It is because throughout the history the use of rhetorical devices has been common among the political leaders.

The study in hand has critically analysed the speeches of the mentioned speaker to lay bare ideological message embedded in the speeches. For this purpose, Dijk’s (2004) model of CDA has been used to analyse data at various levels. One of reasons behind using the mentioned model is that it comprises analytical categories present in the selected data. It highlights how politics is done through persuasive in the name of religion.

Literature Review:
Critical discourse analysis of political discourses has been of vital interest in the domain of interdisciplinary research. In order to analyse the politically groomed language used in the speeches one needs to have knowledge of language and context that surrounds it. In the section that follows some of the relevant researches have been critically reviewed to justify the gap for the present study.

Lackoff (2003) conducted a research to explore underlying ideology embedded in the speeches of American presidents. The research focused on the process of metaphorization and various concepts allied to it. Darmon’s (1990) research on the speeches of American presidents highlight that political discourses are never neutral. In this regard, several linguistic moves are used by the speakers to propagate their ideology and to win consent of the masses. It contends that the use of persuasive devices is time, person and context specific. Paul’s (2010) research highlighted how negative agenda is propagated through the political discourse of Reagan. Wodak (2001) conducted a research about using competing discourses for otherisation. In this regard, the research illustrated that war of words is a significant feature of political discourses. It is deliberately done to represent the out-group negatively.

Through Nogaar’s (2011) research the art of linguistic spin has been located from Benazir Bhutto’s speeches employing Halliday’s Transitivity Model. This shows that politicians very tactfully employ the insidious weapon of language to control the mindset of the audience and to make their ideology as common sense. The mentioned speaker to sell her party’s ideology and to represent herself positively.
Sampson’s (1990) research on the CDA of Quaid’s speeches by employing Van Dijk’s socio cognitive model (2002) highlights that the speaker conveyed his desired ideology to the target audience by using various linguistic spins. It takes into consideration the ideological aspects without taking into account the stylistic aspects of the speech. Similarly, the present research critically analyses the speeches of Mr. Tahir-ul-Qadri (a politician and religious scholar) to explore various religio-political ideologies embedded in them.

**Speech as a Genre:**

There are various orders of discourse and speech is one of them. Speech as genre is used to persuade the listeners and to make them behave accordingly. It is a public discourse and has special characteristic features of its own. The speakers at public forum very tactfully use the persuasive techniques to disseminate underlying ideology to the audience to win their consent. Mostly speech is a kind of monologue. It is a tool to gain domination and control and hence, the speakers very much conscious while delivering speeches. Their linguistic choices must be carefully selected and performed. Ellece (2002) opines that mostly politics is done through language by the powerful group. A desired version of reality is constructed and propagated in or through language to represent in-group’s ideology positively. It is observed that through political discourses different socio-political ideologies are constructed and propagated to the masses to produce consumers qualitatively and quantitatively.

**Political Rhetoric:**

Rhetoric is an art of winning soul through language use. In this regard (Van Dijk 1995, 2006) believes that Political rhetoric is focused on hegemoning the minds and to manipulate the people who belong to certain group. It is a kind of linguistic hegemony and imperialism used to impose an ideology initially coercively and later on discursively. It is a deliberate attempt by the speakers to control the minds of the people trough conscious selection of highly ideological lexis. It is a technique of investing power through visual and verbal practices. Religio-political discourses have rhetoric of their own and are used to exploit the masses accordingly. As a linguistic device, it works better to win general consent. The deployment of rhetorical devices has ever been there in the history of human beings. This art of using visual and verbal practices is time and context specific. Beard (2000) observes that political and religious speeches are one of the strongest means of establishing link among politicians and audience. In this way, an attempt is made to have a certain idea accepted. Van Dijk (1998) opines that through the process of persuasion opinion of the target audience is shaped in a particular way. It is an attempt to influence people’s subsequent activities and participation in society (Van Dijk 2003). The style of employing rhetoric in politics varies from politician to politician.

**Political Discourse and Construction of Reality:**

Dunant (1994) argues that language is one of the strongest means of creating commonsense among the users and a socially constructed version of reality is constructed and disseminated through it. What is perceived as reality is not reality rather, it is recapitulation of reality. Rehman (2004) asserts that language is an important means of ideological investment in the domains of power, politics and religion. According to him, language is highly polarized and shows intensity of feelings of the users. Kaplan (1990) argues that in order to elicit a
particular meaning (semantics) various linguistic spins are used. An individual’s mind can be shaped either positively or negatively by employing the weapon of language carefully. It is believed that discursive power is more long lasting as compared to coercive power and victory gained through coercive power is short lived. Therefore, political discourse always loaded and very tactfully employed. This study answers the following research questions:

1. How does Mr. Qadri make use of different linguistic moves in his speeches?
2. How is religious ideology disseminated discursively through the religious speeches of the speaker?

Methodology Used:

The study has employed Dijk’s (2004) Ideological Square model to analyse data that has been collected from the official archive of MinhajUl Quran, the institution run under the supervision of the said speaker. To explore the embedded ideology analysis of the selected chunks of language has been done at word, clause, sentence and discourse levels. The data has also been theme wise categorized for systematic analysis and to locate the implied message for immediate and implied audience. Though the research is qualitative in nature as it deals with the ways of words and indepth analysis of the language used.

Table 1: All the ten speeches are codified as under: (here ‘S’ stands for speech)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Code for Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Terrorism and Suicide Bombings</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>06.09.2012</td>
<td>S1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Renouncing Terror, Regaining Peace</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>30.07.2003</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-Does Islam Teach Terrorism</td>
<td></td>
<td>30.03.2003</td>
<td>S3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Jehad, Perception and Reality</td>
<td></td>
<td>24.10.2010</td>
<td>S4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-Islam; Peace for Humanity</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.09.2011</td>
<td>S5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-Fatwa on Suicide Bombings</td>
<td></td>
<td>02.03.2010</td>
<td>S6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-Global Peace and Unity</td>
<td></td>
<td>24.11.2013</td>
<td>S7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-Struggle for Peace in Afghanistan</td>
<td></td>
<td>02.12.2011</td>
<td>S8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-Political and Religious Radicalism</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.09.2012</td>
<td>S9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-Concept of State &amp; Political System in Islam, Pakistan</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.02.1997</td>
<td>S10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Analysis and Discussion:
After going through the data critically the researchers selected the sentences from the speeches to analyse by using the devised model of Dijk (2004). Here, it is pertinent to mention that “S” stands for speech and numbers (1,2,3,4....) for sentence number. In the following section the data related to the representation of Islam and Muslims has been analysed qualitatively.

1-S2.27: “We the Muslims, we are the founders of peace...” 01.58

S2.28: “...we are the propagators of peace in this world and founders of human rights in this world” 01.58

S2.29: “...we are the founders of democracy in this world.” 01.58

(It is a long sentence so it is divided into three smaller parts for analysis)

The analytical categories used by the speaker include othering, metaphorization, use of lexical items, binary opposition, polarization etc. The in-depth analysis is as under:

The title of the speech is “Renouncing Terror, Regaining Peace”. It was delivered in UK on 30.07.2003 after 9/11 incident. At that time, the non-Muslim west was targeting Islam and Muslims. According to their perception, violent ideology of Islam urged the Muslims to do so. The speaker presents the counter argument without being defensive. He says that “we” (The Muslims) laid the foundations of “peace”, “human rights” and “democracy” in the “world”. “We” the Muslims are the founder of peace and democracy in the world. It is a kind of gross overgeneralization to associate terror with Islam and Muslims. The speaker supports his stance by citing references from history and religion that Islam and Muslims are alleged for these attacks. The speaker at all levels denounces western stance in this regard.

It is asserted in language studies that no use of language is neutral. Similarly, the use of pronoun “we” for (The Muslims) is ideological. It shows solidarity with the Muslims. They have been represented positively at the cost of non-Muslims. The concept of solidarity has been implicitly discussed with the Muslims the world over. The speaker wants to answer the western allegations against the Muslims being terrorists and violent. Then the pronoun ‘We’ has been deliberately replaced by ‘Muslims’. It implies that the speaker wants to make it clear to the international audience the people being discussed positively are none else than Muslims. The use of adjectives of positive social connotations such as ‘founders and progators’ of good deeds have always been the Muslims. The speaker cites historical references to support his stance. According to the speaker all good and peace giving steps were taken by the Muslims. The west incorrectly claims that it stands for civilization and peace for the world. Another important concept that has been discussed is that peace, democracy and human rights were introduced to the world by Muslims. Then three positive attributes are metaphorically presented such as “peace”, “human rights” and “democracy”. The sentence under analysis ends with the expression “in this world”. It implies that the efforts of the Muslims will be rewarded in the world, hereafter as well. It suggests that the Muslims have been founders of good things and democracy and hence, will be successful in both the worlds. In this way by employing different discursive technique the speaker has represent the in- group positively.
Qualitative Analysis:

Dijk (2003) contends that lexicalization is one of the persuasive moves for positive self and negative other representation. It shows solidarity with and distance from a particular group. Similarly, the use of word “Islam” by the speaker carries numerous interpretations. It has been used in plural sense denoting all the Muslims of the world. Islam does not mean in this context that the Islam followed in the East or in the West, rather the world over. The speaker very deftly gives credit to Islam and its teachings for making the Muslims peaceful and founders of god thins. The west usually claims that Islamic ideology is violent and so are its followers. This thing has been countered by the speaker. He cites references from the history of human beings that Islam has always been kind to all human beings whether Muslims or not. Here, Islamic ideology has been used metaphorically capable of deriving the Muslims. The speaker is of the view that ideology has many faces and perceived and represented by different people differently. This has been the case with Islamic ideology as well. Another, linguistic move which has been made by the speaker is the use of fore-grounding and back-grounding techniques. He has deliberately put the Muslims in the foreground because of their good deeds and has backgrounded the western allegations against Islam and Muslims. The speech is meant for immediate and implied audience and therefore, the speaker has propagated message for them accordingly. In this way by employing various linguistic spins Islam and Muslims have been represented positively.

3- S3.24 “Islam has taught peace to the whole world, Islam has taught democracy to the whole world...” 07.57
S4.25 “…Islam has taught the lesson of rule of law to the whole world, Islam has taught the lesson of liberty to the whole world...” 07.57
S4.26: “Islam has taught the dignity of mankind, Islam has taught the lesson of equality of mankind to the whole world.” 07.57

Qualitative Analysis:

The linguistic chunk taken from the speech to analyse represents metaphorically Islam as living being (teacher). He argues that peace and democracy are not western concept rather they were given by Islam. Later on, they were adopted by the west and other civilizations. The fault may lie with the followers but not religion (Islam). Very tactfully, allegations against Islam and Muslims have been defended. The ideological exclusion of the west has been done to avoid direct confrontation. The persuasive use of different linguistic devices makes speakers’ stance more forceful about positive representation of in-group (Muslims). This use of discursive moves highlights the relationship among different ideological groups.

Qualitative Analysis of S3.25 and S3.26:

Dijk(2003) opines that discourses are loaded with multiple meanings and can be decoded differently by different readers it has been prominent feature of various speakers to exploit the insidious weapon of language to propagate the desire ideology to the target audience. Similarly the linguistic chunks from the speeches of the mentioned speakers illustrate that he has disseminated his ideology to the immediate and implied audience very tactfully the speakers believes that Islam has always imparted lesson of liberty, rule of law and respect for human beings. These are the salient features of Islamic ideology.Islam never urges its
followers to be violent against the human beings whether they are Christians and Jews the concept of social morality and equality are the important characteristic features of Islamic teaching. Islam lays stress on being practical to its followers. Islam is nothing if not practical it maintains social peace and justice at any cost according to the speaker all human beings irrespective of their religion are equal before a Muslim ruler the implied message of the speaker is that western perception of violence and extremism is wrong about Islam and Muslim the linguistic moves used by the speaker to convey his ideology include ideologically loaded vocabulary and appropriate use of simile and metaphor in this way, the unsaid meaning of positive representation of Islam and Muslim has been propagated in the speech.

4- S1.128 “And I personally found the same teachings in all the other books of the religions of the world” 00.57.11

Qualitative Analysis:
This speech deals with the concept of “Terrorism and Suicide bombing this has been a significant topic among Western and other people the time span of data collection for the present study correlates with the subject mentioned above at that time West strongly believed that the Muslims are responsible for terrorist activities in the world. This speech offers a kind of defence against western allegations on Islam and Muslims. The speaker has made use of firstperson pronoun I, to make his stance more authentic. It is a technique expressing certainty and individuality to the things being discussed similarly the speaker has made use of this linguistic move to show degree of certainty and individuality to prove his arguments in this way he has attempted to highlight the that he is more than certain about the peaceful nature of Islam and Muslim. According to him Islam has nothing to do with terrorism and suicide bombing these are Westernized concept to misrepresent Islam and Muslim. The use of expressions such as “same and all” is ideological here these terms have been used as absolute terms which implies that Islamic ideology is same and peaceful for all the human beings of the world It has clearly negated Western perception about Islam and Muslim the speaker has very deftly used this political strategy for self defence. Another linguistic device which has been used in this speech is the use of analytical device “authority. It has been represented in the form of “Islamic books this has been done to prove peaceful and innocent nature of Islam and Muslim the analysis of speech implies that the writer imparted a message to immediate and implied audience.

5- S7.3 “and we have lost our link of following the role model of the most perfect being of the universe and that is Holy Prophet PBUH” 03.25

Qualitative Analysis:
The speech was delivered on 24-11-2013 in UK and has been analysed as under:

The very title of speech under analysis is “global peace and unity”. In the very outset of the speech the speaker makes it clear that teaching of Islam are based on peace and unity. This is not restricted to any particular region or race rather the peaceful message of Islam is for all human beings. The very title of speech is inclusive in nature. It illustrates universality in Islam. The use of first person pronoun “we” is highly ideological. It embodies solidarity and power in it. Here, it refers to the Muslims all over the world. The underline ideology being
propagated is that the Muslims everywhere in the world are desirous of maintaining global peace and unity. It expresses consensusness. It highlights the glorious past of the Muslims. Moreover the use of adjective “lost” connotes that in the past Islamic civilization was dominant but because of the carelessness of the Muslims they have lost there past glory. It could be regained provided the Muslims should mend there ways. The use of linguistic move” Alliteration” in the form of “lost” and “link” is persuasive in nature. Similarly the use of absolute term in the form of “most perfect” is the ideological. It represents the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) positively. The underlying message of the speeches is to reconnect with the teachings of Islam and Prophet (PBUH). In this way the Muslims can regain their lost glory. The speaker has presented his arguments by using stylistic devices such as an anaphora, parallelism and repetition to convey his stance comprehensively.

**Research Findings:**

The present research was initiated to analyse the speeches of Mr. Qadri Ideo-stylistically by using the mentioned research model. The analysis of the selected data reveal that rhetoric is one of the most impressive techniques of speech genre. It is used differently by different speakers. The most frequently used analytical categories by the speaker in this research to propagate his religio-political ideologies include

‘actorSdescription’, ‘authority’, ‘categorization’, ‘consensus’, ‘evidentiality’, ‘Rhetorical Question’, ‘lexicalization’, ‘metaphor’, ‘number game’, ‘point of view’, ‘polarization’ and ‘repetition’. The other analytical categories employed by the speaker are ‘absolute terms’, alliteration, ‘metonymy’, ‘parallelism’, ‘passivization’ and ‘personification’. These devices were not the part of original model of Dijk (2004). This justifies the rationale behind using amended research model in the present study. The study contends that both immediate and implied audience have been communicated through these speeches. The speaker has supported his stance that western perception and representation of Islam and Muslims is their own construction. The speaker proves that Islam is a religion of peace and has nothing to do with terrorism and extremism. Therefore has used his rhetoric accordingly.

**References:**


