Ideology And Discourse Interface: Legitimizing Ideology Through Constitutional Discourse

Dr. Muhammad Abdullah¹, Dr. Rizwan Aftab², Ms. Ghazal Anwar³

¹Assistant Professor Department of English, NUML, Rawalpindi.
²Lecturer Department of English, International Islamic University, Islamabad.
³Lecturer Department of English, NUML, Rawalpindi.

Published on 12/05/2022

Abstract: The interface between discourse and ideology has been recognized by the social scientists. Both form, reform or influence each other in the society of active and vibrant human beings. The present study was meant to understand the relation between ideology and constitutional discourse. For this purpose, critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the preamble of 1973 constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan was carried out in the perspective of Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach. After detailed analysis of the preamble it was found that ideologies are constituted or legitimized through constitutional discourse in the religious and historical perspective for their preservation from distortion, and promotion of unity and harmony in the society.

Keywords: ideology, discourse, interface, legitimizing, constitution.

1. Introduction
Pakistani ideology is under continuous debate since partition of the Subcontinent into India and Pakistan (now divided into Pakistan and Bangladesh). Ideology always stands for the strength of people of a territory to be united and connected. Pakistan came into being under the pretext that after British rule in the Subcontinent, Muslims and Hindus as two different biggest nations of the land would not be at ease by living together under one regime due to their social and religious conflicts and contradictions at large. Therefore, the Muslims of the Subcontinent achieved a territory by the name of Islamic Republic of Pakistan famous or known as Pakistan through a political struggle under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in accordance with the vision of Allama
Muhammad Iqbal later on known as the national poet of Pakistan and Shaer-e- Mashraq (the poet of the east).

In 1973, when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was leading the country, the Pakistan Constitution was unanimously approved by the then National Assembly. The constitution is equally respected by all segments of the society in Pakistan. The researchers are determined to conduct a study for exploring the ideology in the 1973 constitution of the country which maintains its legitimacy for all the citizens of Pakistan equally through critical discourse analysis (CDA). This research paper stands as a test case in this regard. For the present study, only the Preamble of the 1973 constitution has been critically analyzed. The socio-cognitive model comprising six steps of Van Dijk (2001) as mentioned in the literature review will be applied for the CDA of the preamble.

2. Literature Review

The basis of Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is on the critical understanding that discourse (text and talk) perform predominantly an important role in maintaining and legitimizing discrimination, injustice, and tyranny in society (Leeuwen, 2006, p. 290). CDA is categorized as a discourse analytical type of research that for the most part studies the social imbalance of power (power abuse), hegemony, and disparity (Van Dijk, 2007 p. 108) in terms of their enactment, reproduction, and resistance by discourse in the social and political context, and with such nonconformist research, researchers in the domain of CDA as critical discourse analysts stand with unequivocal pose for understanding, exposing, and eventually resisting social inequality and injustice (Van Dijk, 2001 p. 352). According to Caroline Coffin (2001, p. 99), CDA is an approach which is used for the analysis of a language in the perspective of issues related to language, power and ideology. It is an interdisciplinary (Meyer, 2001, p. 16 & Wodak, 2001, p. 69), multidisciplinary (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 95) and transdisciplinary (Fairclough, 2001, p. 121) approach to discourse analysis and it discards the concept of the study of language as independent phenomenon distinct from social studies, and to a certain extent, it concentrates on language as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1997, p. 258). It also focuses to find and study 1) how discourse is formed by associations of ideology and power and 2) which discourse vigorously performs a role in determining these associations (Wodak, 1997, p. 258).

In the perspective of socio-cognition under systems of ideas, ideologies might be defined as shared representations of social groups, and being more specific as the obvious principles which determine these representations in a society (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 115). The people of a social group in terms of their self-image, governed by their ideologies may be identified through their deeds, endeavors, customs and ethics in the same group as well as in interaction with other social groups. The concept of ideology is different from the concept of socio-cognitive origin of communities having broader or multiple cultures. In these
communities, different groups with different ideologies share basic beliefs (cultural knowledge). Commonly the expression and reproduction of ideologies are experienced through social practices of the members of a society and discourse is used as a medium for acquisition, substantiation, alteration and maintenance of ideologies. Albeit common properties of language and discourse are not marked in the perspective of ideologies; methodical and systematic discourse analysis suggests influential schemes or insight to study the structures and functions of underlying ideologies in the society (Van Dijk, 2006). One of the significant features of the structures of ideologies in a society is split or polarization of groups i.e. in-groups (us) and out-groups (them). The polarization can also be scientifically studied at all levels of discourse or text and talk: it can be analyzed that how member of in-groups characteristically accentuate their own good deeds and bad deeds of the out-group, and diminish or refute their own bad deeds and the good deeds of the external group (Van Dijk, 2001).

Jager (2001) usually talks about social theories in general, whereas Van Dijk (2001) focuses upon socio-psychological perspective of discourse analysis. He observes theory as a structure or framework regulating events of social reality, not as the conventional correlation of causal hypotheses. His central focus forms a triangle between discourse, cognition and society. He defines discourse as a “communicative event” and also includes conversational interaction, written text, associated gestures, face work, typographical layout, images and related significant semiotic dimension. He believes in the support of socio-cognitive theory and takes scientific study of a language (linguistics) in an extensive sense of function based on its structure. He falls out that efficient CDA depends on authentic contextual theory, and the theory of social representations plays a major part. Discourse participants (social actors) primarily depend upon shared frames of awareness known as social representations instead of their exclusive use of personal experiences and approaches. This social system of beliefs based upon shared knowledge or perceptions shapes the connection between society and the individual cognitions in terms of the transformation, regulation and synchronization between external demands and personal experiences (Meyer, 2001). Same postulation can be traced back to Emile Durkheim (1933) who highlighted the importance of shared ideas for better perception and realization of social customs in the societies. In accordance with the point of view of Moscovici (1981) the concept of social representations results into a volume of perceptions, judgments, thoughts, assessments, metaphors and details which emerge from routine activities and are continuously practiced through communication in different form i.e. verbal, oral, semiotic etc. Social representations are shared amongst people of a social group, restricted to particular social groups and do not extend to entire society (Meyer, 2001). Therefore they become a central part of social identity of an individual (Wagner, 1994: 132). Social representations are vibrant entities and meant to eternal alteration. Collectively they result into communal dependency in a vertical order of hierarchy (Duveen and Lloyd, 1990).
Van Dijk (2001) discusses three types of social representations pertinent to the understanding of discourse. The first one is knowledge in its three different forms i.e. personal, group and cultural knowledge. The second one is the representation through attitudes but it is not in accordance with the socio-psychological perception, and third one is social representation in the form of shared belief system (ideologies) through discourse. Discourse in its all different forms takes place in the setup of a society. It can merely be realized and comprehended in the relationship of social structure, social situation, social action and social actor. Therefore, contrary to the concept of Seigfried Jager (2001), Van Dijk perceives the power of social structure through social representations.

2.1 Van Dijk’s Methodology for CDA

Van Dijk (2001) commonly fosters a point of view that there cannot be a complete discourse analysis of a huge body of discourse (text or talk); it is totally impossible (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 99). In case of focusing upon researches which investigate how a number of speakers or writers exercise power through discourse, we usually switch to the study which practically concentrates on those possessions that can differ in terms of their functions in the perspective of social power. Van Dijk therefore suggests that the analysis should focus upon the following linguistic markers:

- stress and intonation
- word order
- lexical style
- coherence
- local semantic moves such as disclaimers
- topic choice
- speech acts
- schematic organization
- rhetorical figures
- syntactic structures
- propositional structures
- turn takings
- repairs
- hesitation

He assumes that the majority of these fall under different shapes of social interaction which are logically supposed to be under the control of the speakers. It is also worth mentioning over here that these are not very much intentionally controlled or controllable by the speakers. There are certain other structures, for instance, form of words and numerous syntactical patterns of sentence which are subject to grammatical and contextual
obligations. Therefore, generally these are not under the control of a speaker or social power structure. Following are the six steps recommended by Van Dijk for analysis:

1). Analysis of semantic macrostructures: topics and macro-propositions.

2). Analysis of local meanings: many forms of implicit or indirect meanings, such as implications, presuppositions, allusions, vagueness, omissions and polarizations are particularly interesting.

3). Analysis of ‘subtle’ formal structures: here most of the linguistic markers mentioned above are analyzed.

4). Analysis of global and local discourse forms or formats.

5). Analysis of specific linguistic realizations, for example, hyperboles and litotes.

6). Analysis of context.

3. Research Methodology

It was a qualitative research. Preamble of the 1973 constitution comprising 43 lines was selected as a typical text for critical discourse analysis. Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive model for CDA consisting of above narrated six steps was applied for analysis of the preamble. It included the analysis of semantic macrostructures, subtle structures, local meaning, global and local forms of discourse, specific linguistic realization and context. Discourse and ideology interface was traced in the perspective of legitimizing ideology through constitution. After detailed analysis, findings were discussed in response to research questions and certain conclusions were made at the end. This main purpose of the study is to explore the phenomenon of ideology and discourse interface in the preamble of 1973 constitution of Pakistan through CDA. In this regard, following research questions has been designed:

3.1 Main Research Question
How the ideologies are constitutionalized through discourse?

3.2 Subsidiary Questions

(i) What is the nature of relationship between discourse and ideology? (ii) How the ideologies are legitimized through constitution? (iii) How do the ideologies and discourse interface with each other? (iv) What is the purpose of legitimizing ideologies through constitution?
(v) How much effectively ideologies are reflected through preamble of the 1973 constitution?
(vi) What is the significance of discourse for the formation, promotion and preservation of ideologies?

3.3 Delimitation
The study has been delimited to the interface of the ideology and discourse in the 1973 constitution of Pakistan.

4. Analysis
This conventional style of writing of the preamble reflects the Islamic ideology: Muslims all over the world believe that they should begin all sorts of activities by reciting Bismillah. The phrase Islamic Republic reflects that the residents of the territory of Pakistan believe in an Islamized democratic system of governance which is further described in the preamble (attached in the appendix).

The recognition of the sovereignty of Allah Almighty is reflected in the very first sentence in accordance with the shared belief of the Muslim community as they believe that Allah is the one and only creator and cherisher of the whole universe. Then the human authority is referred to the limitations imposed by the creator of the universe on the human beings. It reflects the ideology among the Muslim community that supreme and absolute power lies with Allah Almighty and Muslim rulers can exercise powers on behalf of Him as per limitations drawn by Him and not beyond that. If they cross those limits, they will be answerable to the creator for their disobedience. In terms of will of the people of Pakistan for establishing a system of governance that will be carried out through election under a democratic system, where the people of Pakistan with the power of their vote, will elect their representatives, who can formulate the constitution but no law of the constitution should be against the will of the creator because His powers are absolute, eternal and unsurpassable. It stands in contrast with the democratic ideology of the Europe where democracy is defined as the government of the people by the people and for the people. In European and American style of democracy, parliament stands supreme. To address the will of the people the parliament can pass any law with the required majority of the parliamentarians in European and American style of democracy. Whereas this is not possible in the Islamized design of democracy, where will of the people and the parliamentarians is governed by Islamic laws revealed through the Holy Qur’an and Holy Traditions (Sunnah/Ahadith) of Muhammad (Peace be upon him).

Being an Islamized democratic country, principles of democracy will be governed by the rules and regulations of Islam. In a democratic country people enjoy freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice according to the principles, laid down or passed by the
parliament, where as in an Islamic democratic country (Pakistan) people will avail themselves of these social values under the teaching of Islam. The Islamic ideology in terms of freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice will prevail in the Pakistani society. For example, the definition of freedom in different domains (i.e. freedom of expression, faith, thought etc.) may vary with the passage of time according to the will and wish of the people of a democratic country but in an Islamic democratic country, Islamic values stand supreme and power of Allah Almighty is staunchly believed to be supreme and eternal. Therefore, personal or public opinion stands nowhere in comparison to divine intelligence, and limitations drawn by the creator of the universe in different domains of life are eternal, absolute and unchangeable. On the base of this ideology we can trace the similarities in social and religious values among Muslim communities all over the world.

The people (Muslims) of Pakistan under the constitution of 1973 will be assisted in the perspective of providing them favorable environment for practicing religious ceremonies both at an individual and social level. Practice of religious values or performance of deeds in the society and principles laid down for the guidance of the people (both) should be in line with the Qur’an and Sunnah i.e. teachings and values of Islam. Muslims all over the world share common beliefs about Qur’an and Sunnah. Qur’an is the word of Allah Almighty: message of God revealed to the prophet Hazrat Muhammad (Peace be upon him) for the guidance of humanity whereas Sunnah is the pattern of social, cultural, economic, spiritual etc. behavior practiced or recommended by Muhammad (peace be upon him) the last and final messenger of Allah Almighty on the face of Earth. People from the Muslim community of the Subcontinent under the British rule were not comfortable for their rituals to be performed which were mandatory for them being followers of Islam. An independent country was achieved for the Muslims so that they could practice their religion freely without any interference or interruption from Hindus or other religious factions in the Subcontinent. It was now time to facilitate the people of Pakistan especially the Muslim community for practicing religious rituals or ceremonies freely and lines 10~12 of the preamble are the reflection of the same ideology.

In the next paragraph (lines 13~14) commitment is manifested for the minorities in Pakistan for making accurate arrangements and adequate provision for their religious ceremonies so that they can also practice their religion freely under a constitutional shelter. They would be facilitated to acknowledge, own and perform their religion and expand their cultural heredity accordingly. This decision of the state also falls under the teachings of Islam, wherein minorities are permitted to practice their religions freely. Substantially, in an Islamic Republic country Muslims (majority group) as well as non-Muslims (minorities) can practice their religion freely and also develop their cultures. Therefore, people of Pakistan irrespective of their creeds, sects and religions can avail equal rights under the constitution of 1973.
In the paragraph of lines 15~18 the probable structure of the state of Pakistan is defined. People from different ethnic groups were perhaps taken into confidence by professing an idea that all the units (provinces or states) will work under the federation as autonomous bodies with certain limitations imposed by the federation for all on the basis of equality and justice. The powers and authorities of the units will be defined in the parliament through representatives from all over Pakistan. The representation in the parliament will be according to the population of respective units.

In the next paragraph (lines 19~22) details of the fundamental rights is furnished. Basic human rights in terms of the equality of status and opportunities for all will be determined and rationalized through the constitution. Implementation of law will take its directions without any discrimination of class, creed, sect, religion or region. Justice will prevail in the society in terms of equal social rights and economic opportunities for all. Political justice will also prevail throughout the society in the perspective of equality under constitution. The people of Pakistan will enjoy freedom of expression, thought, belief, faith, worship and association under the constitutional provisions as it is compulsory to draw boundaries in these dimensions of freedom to avoid conflict and promote harmony in the society where multi-ethnic groups are populated. Public moralities may differ community to community, society to society, group to group etc. These may be defined as moral values commonly shared by the people of a group, community or society. Moral values of a Muslim community may be different from the moral values of a non-Muslim community. The members of Pakistani society should take care of the public morality while enjoying freedom in its various dimensions. The idea behind this concept of public morality is to promote social tolerance, compensation and adaptation, and in an Islamic democratic country with Muslim majority these should be observed with full enthusiasm as Islam is the torch bearer of these social values.

The case of poor, down trodden and depressed people of the society is also given due consideration as depicted in the paragraph of lines 23~24. These are neglected people in the most of the societies in the world. In the countries like Pakistan (Islamic republic) they must be taken care of. Their rights should be safeguarded and legitimized in the constitution. According to the popular ideology in the world of democracy, majority groups or nations can avail their rights easily as compared to minorities. It is because they have significantly more representation in the parliament which may result into an effective or hearable voice for addressing their issues whereas the minorities stand vice versa. Hence, the case of minority groups is associated with poor and depressed or oppressed people of the society for a special focus in the constitution.

The role of judiciary is significantly crucial for the implementation of the constitution. Without an independent and secured judiciary, free and fair judicial trials and healthy
democracy is not possible. In a true democracy, there is dire need of free judiciary. The law should take its course without being influenced by any powerful segment of government or society. This particular part of the preamble (line-6) supports the ideology that any constitution although very well defined and comprehensive, stands null and void without free and fair trials through an independent and secured judiciary.

In the paragraph consisting of lines 26~28, it is promulgated that all the territories should be an integral part of the federation. It should be like a body of an animate thing: consisting of different parts but spiritually joined or tied with one soul. The problem of one territory or unit, or the problem of one man in any territory should become the problem of the whole nation without any discrimination. The same may be referred to an Islamic ideology where according to one of the traditions of the Holy prophet (peace be upon him) Muslims as a nation all over the world are just like a human body. If any part of the body is in trouble, it is equally felt or realized by the whole body. Hence, the word integrity used here for the territories reflects this ideology for the Muslims of Pakistan so that they stay united and integrated during peace as well as war or conflict. The next part of the paragraph reflects about the protection and safety of the Federation. Its independence is to be secured and its rights in totality in terms of its ownership for land, sea and air are to be safeguarded and protected through legislation.

The next paragraph (lines 29~ 31) precisely conclude that this all (from line 1 to line 28) is to be accomplished under the constitution so that the people of Pakistan may flourish and consequently earn an esteemed and respectable place among the developed and modern countries of the world, they contribute for the universal peace in a gorgeous manner, they become a significant and substantial reason for enhancement of the speed of development and progress in different domains and last but not the least, they make this beautiful world happier for whole of the humanity on the face of Earth. The same may be referred to the Islamic ideology of universal peace. The root word for Islam is the word salam (as it is an Arabic word) which is defined as peace whereas the word Muslim is meant for those human beings who struggle at their level best for the peace of the humanity as a whole. Therefore, the Muslims of Pakistan are meant to be constitutionally trained for contributing international peace at all levels.

In rest of the part of preamble one resolution or determination is articulated. In accordance with this resolution, the people of Pakistan:

a) being aware and mindful of the sacrifices by their predecessors during the struggle of independent Muslim state,

b) being faithful to declaration “Pakistan would be a democratic State based on Islamic principles of social justice” made by the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
c) being dedicated to the democracy in terms of its perpetuation gained through incessant efforts against tyranny and oppression, and
d) being inspired and resolute for the defense of national and political harmony and solidarity gaining through a new order, do hereby adopt, enact and give ourselves, this constitution through our political representatives in the national assembly.

The declaration reflects the ideology of Pakistan. In Pakistan, each Pakistani especially the Muslims should be aware of the fact that they own certain responsibilities and they are answerable for these obligations to their Lord Allah Almighty and people of Pakistan. This notion may be referred to the concept of the rights of Allah Almighty and rights of human beings or other Muslims on an individual Muslim in the Islamic ideology or system of beliefs and a Muslim is answerable to both in the given circumstances. Next is the awareness of a Pakistani about the sacrifices which were made by our ancestors and forefathers to get this homeland, and the main aim was to get a piece of land where Muslims of the Subcontinent could practice their rituals and ceremonies in accordance with the teachings of Islam. Sacrifices are always made for certain aims and remembering the sacrifices is meant for refreshing the cause of Pakistan which needs to be incessantly rejuvenated in the minds of Pakistanis. Third is the faithfulness to a very significant declaration of Muhammad Ali Jinnah which reminds to the Pakistanis that Pakistan is meant to practice the Islamic system of social justice which stands unique and superb in universe. Fourth is the commitment to democratic system in Pakistan. Every Pakistani should be committed to the perpetuation of democratic system of governance in Pakistan. This is one of the most important elements of Pakistani ideology which reflects that there is absolutely no space for martial law or dictatorship in the territory of Pakistan. Finally is the determination to ensure the implementation of this all through the constitution by following and supporting it in the prevalence of free, secured and independent judiciary.

5. Conclusion

The analysis of the preamble of the constitution (1973) of Pakistan determines that there is strong relation between ideology and discourse. It is discourse in different forms through which different ideologies are constituted. In the present analysis it is reflected that people of Pakistan were indirectly united under motivation of collective religious norms and historical legacies. On the basis of one religion and common historical background in terms of the struggle of forefathers or ancestors, religious and social ideologies were incorporated in the constitutional discourse while addressing the issues related to human social, economic, cultural or political values. This is how the ideologies were constituted through discourse. The nature of relationship between discourse and ideology can be determined through the objective of discourse. In the present study it is explored that the objective of
the constitutional discourse was to order and preserve ideologies for the unity of the nation and prepare them as sophisticated or modern social actors for international peace and harmony. Constitution stands for the harmony and unanimity of the nation because, it is formulated through representatives of the people in the parliament from all over the territory, when constitution is passed in the parliament the ideology behind the constitutional discourse is also legitimized. Human interaction is solely based upon communication which mostly takes place through language. The importance of language increases manifold in judicial trials and verdicts of courts. The ideologies are promulgated or negotiated through discourse. Therefore, the interface between ideology and discourse is very critical. They mutually reform, reshape and support each other. The purpose of legitimizing ideologies through constitution is to preserve the ideology from distortion resulting through media especially electronic media and interaction with different nations in the world. It also helps to safeguard the distinct values of a culture. Different basic elements of Pakistani ideology have been reflected quite distinctively in preamble of the 1973 constitution as discussed in the analysis. Finally, it may also be concluded that discourse plays a significant role in the formation, promotion and maintenance of ideologies in a society.

6. References


Appendix

(In the name of Allah, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful.)

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

[12th April, 1973]
Preamble

Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone, and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;

And whereas it is the will of the people of Pakistan to establish an order;

Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;

Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed;

Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Qur’an and Sunnah;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures;

Wherein the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights, including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;
Wherein the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured;

Wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights, including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air, shall be safeguarded;
So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity;

Now, therefore, we, the people of Pakistan;

Conscious of our responsibility before Almighty Allah and men;

Cognizant of the sacrifices made by the people in the cause of Pakistan;

Faithful to the declaration made by the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, that Pakistan would be a democratic State based on Islamic principles of social justice;

Dedicated to the preservation of democracy achieved by the unremitting struggle of the people against oppression and tyranny;

Inspired by the resolve to protect our national and political unity and solidarity by creating an egalitarian society through a new order;

Do hereby, through our representatives in the National Assembly, adopt, enact and give to ourselves, this Constitution.