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The Muslim's Poetic Dissent of Citizenship Amendment Act 2019 and Hindu's Sloganic Resentment: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

The passage of Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) of India enacted in December 2019 basically initiated the traditional ethnic discursive tug-of-war between the Muslims and the Hindus, residing in the country. This study in hand conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of poems and slogans raised during the movement against CAA. Van Dijk's Ideological Square was used to examine this two-fold discourse. First, the study examined poetic and sloganic discourse which was used by the Muslims to shape dissent against the CAA. Secondly, it examined the reverse indoctrination of the Hindus' resentment not only shown by the slogans but also by heinous acts and atrocities committed against the Muslims in India. The poems and slogans were analyzed manually, then the sentiments of same poems and slogans were calculated by using NVivo software to apply Van Dijk's Ideological Square. The study reached the conclusion that sloganic resentments of the Hindus were mostly the reverse of the Muslim's discourse accompanied by inhuman actions. The study found that the discourse of Hindus was face-to-face with the Muslim's discourse.

| **KEYWORDS** | CAA, CDA, Hindutva, Ideological Square, Poems, RSS, Slogan |

Introduction

Poems and slogans are powerful tools for communication because they articulate emotions through the lens of ideology and vice versa. In any kind of ideological, or political/ racial discourse (Van Dijk, 2005), emotions are far more prominently used to construct this discourse (Pliskin, Bar-Tal, Sheppes, & Halperin, 2014). But, according to Van Dijk, (2013), it is ideology that works as social-representation, which performs various social functions such as demonstrating assent, dissent, or resentment. Ideology also serves as an interface between social-structure and social cognition (Ogungbemi, 2018). Being carrier of ideologies, the poetic and sloganic discourses are always crafted from the rhythmic-linguistic characteristics along-with social aesthetics. Resultantly, this discourse persuades human cognition (emotions) to make an opinion or judgment (Van Dijk, 1996) by utilizing different strategies like euphemism, derogation, argumentation, or sometimes false syllogism (Hodge & Kress, 1993; Patzig, 1959; Shokouhi & Moazed, 2017; Tupper, 1918). Van Dijk (1996) believes that the structures of discourse are always linked with structures of ideology. Therefore, the poets are always emotionally incited by these ideologies whether they are documenting history or splitting-ink on oppression, injustice, racist laws and prejudiced policies. Poets mostly use the vivid lingual components such as semantics, phonology, syntax and pragmatics etc. But in case of resistance movements, the ideological metaphors and euphemistic approach is preferred to represent the inner feelings (emotions) of underprivileged and marginalized groups, instead of using dis-preferred or derogatory words to "avoid possible loss of face: either one's own face or some third party" (Allan & Burridge, 1991; Shokouhi & Moazed, 2017).

Famous Slogans in History

In ancient civilizations, when oral tradition was the only means of communication, poetic verses were recited in public gatherings of ancient Greek to celebrate heroic deeds of

gods to shape cultural identity (Gomme, 2022). Similarly, the poems and slogans were further utilized for persuasion and manipulation purpose (Vansina, 1985). Public gatherings and courts of medieval Europe resonated with love poetry (Carruthers, 1993; Newman, 2016; **Raby, 1927**). In a similar fashion poems and sonnets of Renaissance period explored the human experience and emotions (Schwab, 2017; Spearing, 1985). The Post-colonial era produced slogans of civil rights to environmental activism whereupon; "Theater" became very popular to address inequality, injustice and racial issues (Walker, 1995). From "I Have a Dream" to "Black Lives Matter", the events in latest decades continues the tradition of protest poetry and slogans like "No Blood for Oil" in Iraq war (Tarrow, 2010), and "Climate Strike" for environmental activism (Anderegg, Prall, Harold, & Schneider, 2010). Similarly, Slogans of Arab spring which became popular in Arab countries, including Tunisia, Syria, and Egypt to express public discontent with their leaders were "Ash-shaab Yrid Isqat Aan-Nizaam" (people want to change regime); "Yaa Ibn ul Diktator" (O son of dictator); "Irrhaal" (Leave) and "Killaaba" (Dictators) (Gerges, 2015; Michel, 2013).

Famous Slogans of India

General elections 2014 gave birth to a slogan "Chowkidaar" (gatekeeper) when Narendra Modi promised his voters to act like a "Chowkidaar" (watchman) against corruption and money laundering if he had been elected. On the contrary, Rahul Ghandhi, the opposition leader chanted "Chowkidaar Chor Hai" (the gatekeeper is a thief) by alleging Mr. Modi of corruption charges (Bhattacharyya, & Pulla, 2019; Panda, & Pal, 2019). In June 2017, India gave birth to the slogan "Not in My Name" when a movement started against Lynching of Muslim and Dalit boys (Desk, 2017). A progressive slogan "Jay Jawan Jay Kisan" (Hail the soldier, Hail the farmer) was given by Prime Minister L. B. Shastri after the War of 1965 to encourage soldiers for fighting and farmers to increase production of the food grains. The same slogan evolved over the time like "Jay Jawaan Jay Kisan Jay Vigiyan" in 1998. The then PM Atal Bihari Vajpaye extended it to "Jay Vigiyan" which means "Hail Science". The latest variant to this slogan is added by PM Modi as "Jay Jawaan, Jay Kisaan, Jay Vigiyan, Jay Anusandhaan", the new part "Jay Anusandhaan" means "Hail the Research" (Adithyan, 2023). Another famous Indian slogan is "Laal Salam" used by Communists. It is used as hello or goodbye. In Urdu "Laal" means red. In Pakistan equivalent phrase is "Surkh Salam". In Arabic Salam means peace but here salaam is a Persian word which mean "solute". This greeting is commonly used by communist parties in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal (Ranjit, n.d., Roy, 2021).

The Rejuvenation of Colonial Slogans in 2019-20

The above literature reveals that the poetic or sloganic discourse is deeply rooted in the culture. Having ability to transcend time and space; such kind of discourse endures for decades or even centuries to become part of the cultural landscapes during the intergroup struggle (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Semin & Fiedler, 1992). The poems or slogans raised at a particular occasion either in favor or against a group or institution have become relevant, even after the lapse of decades or centuries (Jim, 2022). For instance, now-a-days the BJP's "Mythical State of India", marked renaissance of colonial slogans against the aggressive Hindutva rhetoric, which were once considered as "emblem" of resistance (Dharwadker, 1992). In the backdrop of this "Mythical Nationhood", the BJP government passed notorious Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) in December, 2019 to "Other" (exclude) the Muslims from national landscape. This law (CAA) differentiated Muslims by allowing only Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Jains, and Buddhists from the neighboring Muslim Countries of Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan to attain citizenship if they had come into the country before 31 December, 2014 (Ahmad, 2020). At the twilight of 2019; 200 million (Purwanto, 2017) Muslims were chanting poetic discourse, while they were squaring up to the feeling of humiliation, insecurity and a condition of homelessness. Thousands of housewives, mothers & sisters, young & old joined hands with millions of the students, who were demanding citizenship in accordance with the law not by the religion. To register the dissent

against CAA, the demonstrators were using particular dresses, play cards, banners, singing songs, poetry, slogans and political theatre to mobilize rest of the society in favor of their cause (Ahmad, 2020).

Muslim Discourse Persuades Hindus to Violence

The anti-CAA movement resonated with the poetry of Dr. Rahat Indori such as "Kisi k bap ka hindustan thori hai" (India belongs to no one's father); revolutionary poetry of Avtar Singh Sandhu known as Pash (I am grass); anti-hegemonic (Nazir, & Hayat, 2020) revolutionary poetry of Pakistani poets Faiz Ahmad Faiz, i.e. "Hum Dekhengay" (we will see) and similarly, "Dastoor" (constitution) of Habib Jalib "me nahi manta me nahi janta" (I refuse). Moreover, the Poetry of Urdu poet Molana Hasrat Mohani; slogans of Bismil Azeemabadi such as "Inqilab Zindabad" (long live revolution) were resonating in India during this movement (Kapoor, 2019).

However, on 74th day of the movement, Northeast Delhi resonated with the nefarious slogans in reaction to the poetic slogans raised by Muslims and other minorities. Reportedly, guided by Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), dozens of fascist vigilante groups attempted to confront with the Muslims' discourse by using not only "hate-slogans" but also physically attacking the Muslims with the sticks, stones, and metal rods. This resentment of the Hindu right was not discriminating men, women, and even children. These communal riots at Delhi were the consequence Muslim's protest against CAA (Anderson & Longkumer, 2018).

Theoretical and Analytical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was adopted for data analysis by applying Van Dijk's framework of analysis which was based on ideological strategies and sub-strategies (Table 1) (Shokouhi & Moazed, 2017). Shokouhi & Moazed (2017) used this framework in their study for linguistic representation of ideological strategies in print media but the study in hand did not focus on the lingual construction of discourse but only used these ideological strategies as a socio-political tool of persuasion or manipulation during anti-CAA movement. Van Dijk (1993; 1998; 2002; 2003; 2006) "Ideological Square" is utilized for sentiments analysis which not only used to comprehend and analyze discourses, but also to link it with the context or society (Daghigh, et al., 2018; Shokouhi & Moazed, 2017). Based on discourse and its context, Van Dijk's ideological square expounded polarization between social-groups by characterizing majority group as in-group having "US" feeling, whereas, minority groups as out-group bearing "THEM" feeling (Van Dijk, 2006). Van Dijk's ideological square is presented as under:
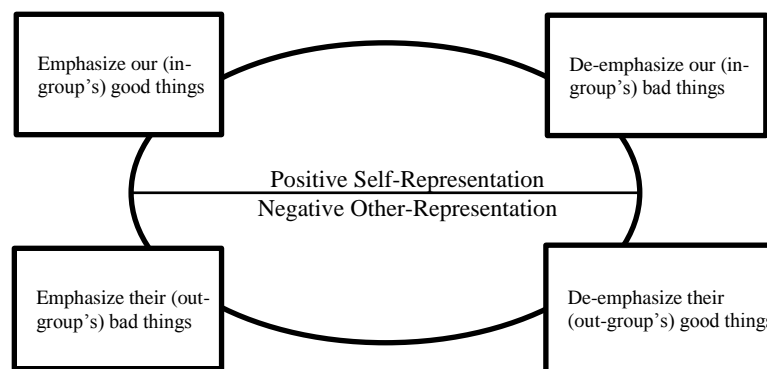

Figure 1: Ideological Square based on Van Dijk (2006)

The basic idea of this model of analysis in present study is based on overall positive representation of the Hindus as an in-group and negative the Muslims representation as an out-group (Figure 1). This process of persuasion to shape or reshape social identity not only involves symbolic interaction such as, text layout, gestures, pictures, face-work, music, sounds at micro level through verbal as well as non-verbal communication but also involves the semantic structures like accusation or defense to de-emphasize negative character of in-group and to emphasize negative things of out-group at Marco level (Van Dijk, 2006a). Similarly, the policy making or law making such as amendment in CAA 2019 was at macro level in this process (Ahmad, 2020). In fact, the discourse itself is not persuasive at all but it is the context or event such as passing of CAA, through both the Hindus and Muslims interpreted the discourse (Van Dijk, 2002).

The corpus of this study was based on the slogans and poems raised during the movement against CAA (December, 2019 to March 2020, the end of the movement against CAA due to Covid-19) in India. The main source of this corpus was English Newspapers and YouTube. The rationale behind this corpus is that the sloganic and poetic discourse not only incites the rightwing Hindus to react against the Muslims through Hindutva discourse but also create resentment in them to take revenge from the Muslims.

The Van Dijk's (1991, 2003, 2006) ideological strategies (Table 1) below used for in-group's positive connotation but it is not a definitive rule. The strategies may be used for negative attributes as well, depending upon the intent of the speaker or writer. For instance, the strategies used for positive self-representation i.e. actor-description, legality and empathy etc. can be used to highlight the strengths, virtues, or desirable qualities of in-group, whereas, the strategies used for negative representation of others like accusation or generalization are used to derogate others. However, it is pertinent to mention here that these strategies may be implied even within in-group. But context, circumstances and specific tone play key role in determining overall meaning and intensions behind the strategies.

Table 1
Van Dijk's Ideological Strategies with Examples Found in Poems and Slogans

Ideological Strategies	Examples
Accusation: a charge of offence of guilt or blame against a person which is punishable.	Desh k Ghadaron ko Goli Maro Salon ko (bullet the traitor of Land) Ghaddar (Traitor)
Positive Lexicalization/a. Act-of-Good Faith: the moral actions which are associated to a group for positive self-representation.	Sa-re Jehaan Se Acha hai Hindustan Hmaara (Our Hindustan is better than the entire world)
Negative Lexicalization/ Act-of-ill Faith: deception, hypocrisy or derogating someone or a group.	Dhool Me Mila do Ludhiana Zilah... (Annihilate the district of Ludhiana) In Mullon ko Maro (kill the Muslims)
Actor Description: negativity of in-group kept hidden but negativity of out-group is emphasizes and vice versa.	Me Shia Hon Ya Suni hon...Me Khoja Hon Ya Bohri Hon... Me Musluman Hon (Either I am shia or sunni. Either I am khoja or bohri, I am a Muslim).
Categorization: in-group is categorized in a positive manner and out-group a in negative way.	In Kaafiron Se Aazadi" (Freedom from the non-believers) Hindu-on Se Aazadi (freedom from the Hindus)
Comparison: in a minorities discourse in-groups compare positive manner whereas out-groups are in negative way.	Tum Zehr Ki Chai Ubalogay ... Hum Pyar Ki Shukar Ghool K US Ko ... Gutt Gutt Gutt Pi Jayengay (You will poison our water, we will add sugar and drink it)

Counter Factual: the alternative ways of modal discourse through which things can be, e.g., what might be true, what isn't true but could have been.	Ayesa Zaroor Hai K Moat Se Humein Khaof Atta Hai…Laikin Khaof Kha K Humm Durr Jaein…Ayesa Zaroori Nahin" (It is a fact that we are afraid of death, but it is not possible we die of fear)
Exaggeration/a Dramatization: It is a way to present any normal situation in a serious, important and exciting manner than it usually is.	Inqalaab Zindabaad (long live revolution) "Modii G Tunn K Rakhoo" (Modi G! teach the lesson)
Objectivity/a. Exemplification: to quote example to make discourse effective in either way.	Muhammad mera Rasool…Allah mera Khudaa… Ambedkar Mera Sikshat (Muhammad is my Prophet, Allah is my Lord…Ambedkar is my hero)
Exaggeration/c. Generalization: It can be a statement about the whole group of items e.g. "all birds have wings".	Mandir Ki Chokhat Meri Hai…Masjid K Qible Mere Hain…Gurdware Ka Darbar Mera…Yushoo K Girjay Mere Hain" (Mosque is mine…temple is mine… gurdwara is mine…church is mine…)
Objectivity/b. Number Game	100 Me Se 14 Hon Laikin (we are 14% out of 100)
Legality: To euphemize the facts, members of in-group are presented as legal and the members of Out-group as illegal.	Desh k Ghaddaron ko Goli Maro Salon Ko… Jay Shri Ram (shoot the traitors…Hail Lord Ram)
Metaphor: a word used instead of some action, feeling, or characteristics.	Sabhi ka Khoon Shamil Hai Yahan ki Matti Me (Everyone has sacrificed for this land)
National-Self-Glorification: positive self-presentation by using various praises for one's own country.	Bharat Maata Ki Jay (Long live India)
Openness: virtuous attributes i.e. truthfulness, straightforwardness, & integrity, along with the absence of cheating, lying, theft, etc.	Tunshah aa Kay Jayengay … Hum Kagaz Nhi Dikhaengay (Dictators will come and go, we will not show you the documents)
Reference to History: situations, Things, or people existed in the past and now theses are considered to be a part of history.	Jang-e-Badar (Battle of Badar)
Trickery: it is used to derogate others by presenting them as carrying out the wicked actor tricking others	Nagrikta Ko Bachao, Desh Ko Bachao Ye-lo-Aazadi (save constitution, save country)
Victimization: in a group conflict, In-groups are considered as victims of immoral or evil acts whereas; the out-groups are automatically derogated and presented negatively.	Hindustan Main Rehna Hoga, to Jay Shri Raam Kehna Hoga (if you want to live in India, say hail Lord Ram)
Warning: the possible threats that may exist or used for out-group.	Bohat Si Sakeenayein Aaj Pakrrii Jayengi" (Muslim ladies will be caught)

Analysis

The discourse has undergone both quantitative and qualitative analysis. After completion of identification process, the quantitative analysis has been done by calculating frequencies of ideological strategies. After that the sentiments were calculated from discourse of both the Muslim and the Hindu protesters. However, this study only included strategies and sentiments extracted from poems or slogans and analyzed their cultural and historical contexts etc. Whereas, the number of hits i.e. how many times these slogans were raised (may be in millions) was not the mandate of this study. The data was further analyzed

qualitatively by taking examples from the poems and slogans raised by both the communities. At first place, the slogans and poems of the Muslims were analyzed because the slogans raised by the Hindus were the reaction against slogans of the Muslims.

To analyze strategies in Table 2 and Table 3 below, first of all the range of the data was determined to create three categories "High", "Moderate" and "Low" by taking the difference between maximum and minimum values of the frequencies. In the case of Table 1, the maximum value is Metaphor strategy which is 77 and minimum value is strategy trickery which is 03:

Therefore, Range = Maximum Value – Minimum Value = 77 - 3 = 74

To create three categories, divide the Range (74) by 3 to find Category Range = 74/3 = 24.66 or rounded to 25

Now, each category is 1/3 (one third of the Range), so we can find categories as:

High: Greater than or equal to Maximum – One Category Range

High: 77-25 = 52 or greater

High: Values will be equal to 52 or greater

Moderate: the minimum value plus one category range to 52 = 3+25 =28

Moderate: values will be between 28 and 52

Low: values equal or less than 28

Under mentioned Table 2 and Table 3 gives a brief introduction of Van Dijk's Ideological strategies which have been calculated from poems and slogans of the Muslims and the Hindus respectively. The definition of each ideological strategy and sub-strategy are given with the most relevant examples from both the corpora at Table 1 above.

Data Outcome of the Muslims' Discourse

Table 2
Poems and Slogans raised by the Muslims N=37, Properties=17

Ideological Strategies	Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Metaphor	(High)	77	24
Act-of-ill Faith	(Moderate)	39	12
Counter Factual	(Moderate)	29	09
Categorization	(Low)	25	08
Generalization	(Low)	22	07
Dramatization	(Low)	22	07
Reference to History	(Low)	17	06
Obj. Exemplification	(Low)	16	05
Act-of-good faith	(Low)	14	04
Obj. Number Game	(Low)	14	04
Comparison	(Low)	12	04
Warning	(Low)	08	03
National-Self-Glorification	(Low)	06	02
Victimization	(Low)	06	02
Legality	(Low)	04	01
Actor Description	(Low)	04	01

Trickery	(Low)	03	01
Total		318	100

Illustration 1

Ideological Strategies Implied by the Muslims

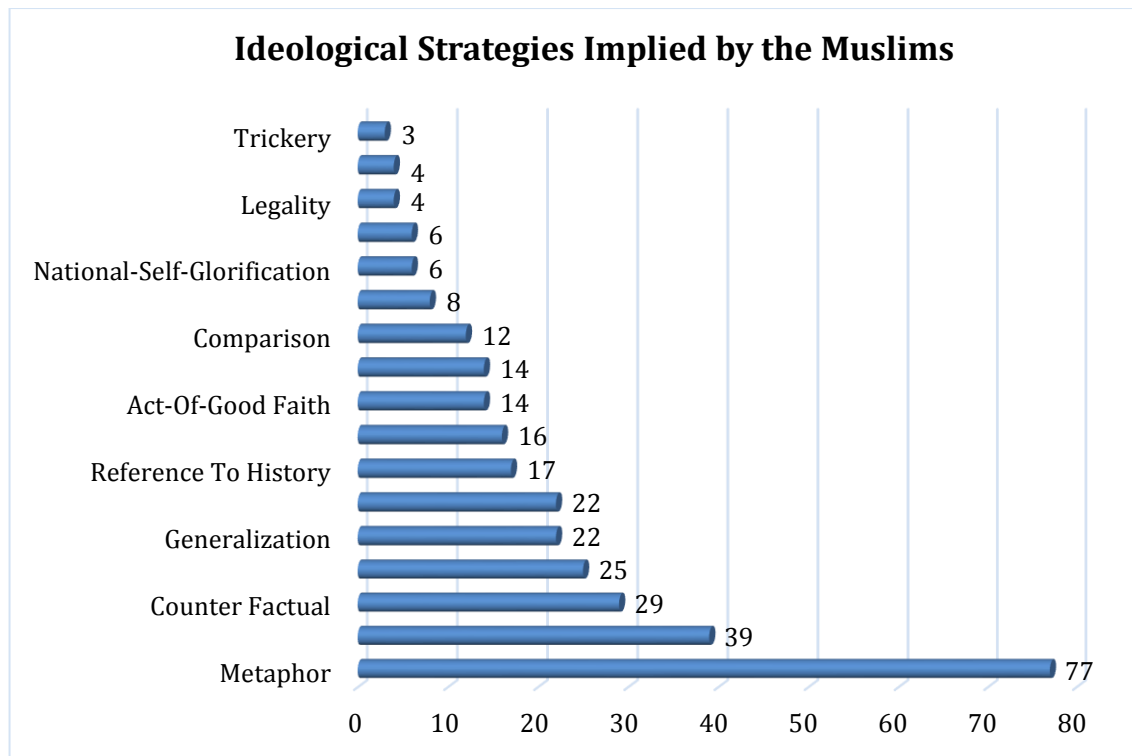**Illustration 2**

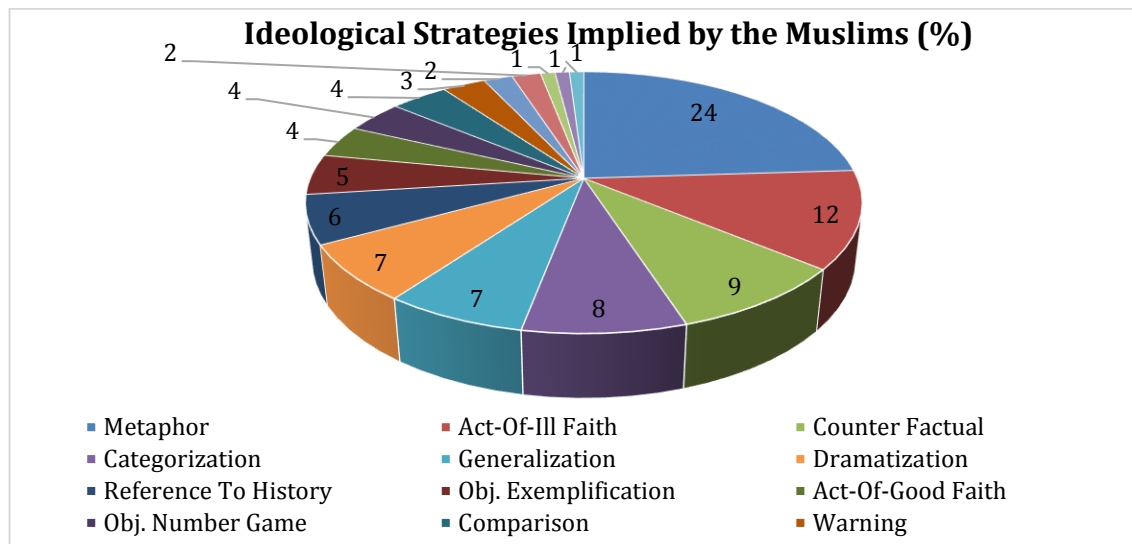**Ideological Strategies Implied by the Muslims (%)**

Table 2, illustration 1 and illustration 2 (above) depict the results of ideological strategies implied by the Muslims through the slogans and the poems while protesting against CAA. This data only represents occurrence of strategies in total 37 poems and slogans, however, these poems and slogans have been repeatedly chanted millions of times. Metaphor 77 (23%) is the only most frequently (high category) which is used as ideological strategy by the Muslims to emphasize their good things and the Hindus' bad things. For instance, "Sabhi ka khoon hai shamil yahaan ki matti mein" (everyone has sacrificed for this land), here the word "Khoon" (blood) is used as metaphor of sacrifice. This metaphor appreciated the sacrifices of everyone in the context of independence struggle of India.

Similarly, in a verse of Fiaz Ahmad Faiz's poem "Jab arz-e-Khuda k Kabeh se … sab but uthwaye jaengay" (every idol from the house of God will be removed) is a religious iconography used as metaphor of assertion against fascism of BJP. Here, idol symbolizes Modi Government.

The Act-of-ill faith 39 (12%) is the sub-strategy of negative lexicalization (Table 1) which is the second largest strategy that comes under moderate category. Referring to the ill acts of BJP, the Bollywood actor M. Zeeshan Ayub read Avtar Singh Sandhu's (known as Pash) poem to enlist a number of ill acts of Hindutva i.e. "Bna do hostel ko malbe ka dhair" (transform the hostels into the heaps of debris). Similarly, Counter-factual 29(09%) is the second strategy which comes under the moderate category. It is also used to emphasize out-group's bad things. For instance, "Tum Muje Mar Sakte ho…Hara Nahi Sakte" (you can kill me but can't defeat). The poet used counter-factual strategy to emphasize their (the Hindus) negative actions. This phrase symbolizes protesters' determination.

The rest of the ideological strategies come under the cut off vale 28. Therefore, all these strategies are at low category. Categorization 25(7.5%) comes under low category. For example, during the protests the Muslims used slogans, "In kaafiron se aazadi (freedom from these non-believers). Here, "Kafir" means non-believer, in Islamic history this word was used for non-believers of that time who worshiped idols. Resembling the Hindus with the barbarous people of that time (non-believers), the Muslims protesters derogate (the Hindus) by using such slogans.

Further, the generalization and dramatization each strategy occurs 22(6.6%) times. These are the sub-strategies of exaggeration or hyperbole. Generalization is used to apply a single fact on whole group whereas, dramatization is a strategy used by protesters to exaggerate things. For example, "Mandir ki Chokhat Meri Hai…Masjid k Qible Mere Hain" (mosque is mine…temple is mine). These verse show generalization as well as dramatization because practically protesters were categorizing each other on ideological basis.

Next, the reference to history occurred 17(5.1%) times. The Muslims used it to glorify their past. For instance, they used "Jang-e-Badar" (Battle of Badar) as reference to history to energize all the Muslims community. The Muslims were chanting this phrase to motivate themselves that in spite having a few Muslims they won against thousands of non-believers at Badar. Then comes, exemplification which is a sub-strategy of objectivity that occurs 16 (4.7%) times in the corpus e.g. "Muhammad Mera Rasool…Allah Mera Khuda" (Muhammad is my Prophet, Allah is my Lord). Then, Act-of-good 14 (4%) is a sub-strategy of positive lexicalization e.g. "Saa-re Jahaan Se Acha hai Hindustan Hmaara" (Our Hindustan is far better than the entire world). The sub-strategy of objectivity i.e. number game has also same frequency e.g. "100 Me Se 14 Hon Laikin (I am 14% out 100 populations). This example shows as the Muslims are 14.2 of total population of India. The next ideological strategy is warning 08 (2.4%), e.g. "Sub Yad Rukha Jayega" (everything will be remembered). In this strategy the protesters warns that they will not forget anything and determined that they will take the revenge. National-self-glorification & victimization have same frequencies 6(1.8%). Similarly, the legality and actor-description also have same 4(1.2%) frequency. The last strategy is also minimum one, which is trickery that occurs only 3(0.3%) times. Table 2 has been plotted in below Illustration 2 to picturize the percentages of ideological strategies used by the Muslims.

Data Outcome of the Hindus' Discourse

To analyze strategies of the Hindus in Table 3 below, first of all the range of the data was determined to create three categories "High", "Moderate" and "Low" similarly as calculated above for Table 2 by taking the difference between maximum and minimum values of the frequencies. The maximum strategy used in this discourse is Negative

Lexicalization. Act-of-ill Faith is sub-strategy of Negative Lexicalization which occurs maximum 33 times whereas, the minimum strategy is Actor Description which is 03:

Range = Maximum Value – Minimum Value = 33 - 3 = 30

To create three categories, divide the Range (30) by 3 to find Category Range = 30/3 = 10

Now, each category is 1/3 (one third of the Range), so we can find categories as:

High: Greater than or equal to Maximum – One Category Range

High: 33-10 = 23 or greater

High: Values will be equal to 23 or greater

Moderate: the minimum value plus one category range to 23 = 3+10 =13

Moderate: values will be between 13 and 23

Low: values equal or less than 13

Table 3
Slogans Raised by the Hindu Vigilante Groups N=20, Properties=13

Ideological Strategies	Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Act-of-ill Faith	(High)	33	22
Metaphor	(High)	30	19
Victimization	(Moderate)	18	11
National-Self-Glorification	(Low)	12	08
Derogation	(Low)	12	08
Categorization	(Low)	09	06
Generalization	(Low)	09	06
Act-of-good faith	(Low)	06	04
Warning	(Low)	06	04
Dramatization	(Low)	06	04
Counter Factual	(Low)	06	04
Number Game	(Low)	03	02
Actor Description	(Low)	03	02
Total		153	100

Table 3 (above), illustration 3 and illustration 4 (below) depict the results of ideological strategies implied by the Hindus against the Muslims. It is interesting to mention here that the slogans raised by the Hindus during Delhi riots were mostly face-to-face with the slogans of the Muslims. The most frequently used strategy by in-group (dominant the Hindu right) here is Act-of-ill-faith i.e. "Aj Bohat Si Sakinaen Pakri Jaengi" that is "today all the Muslim ladies will be caught". The Delhi not only resonated with such discourse from the Hindu fanatics but also witnessed heinous acts against the Muslim women. Similarly, another high rank strategy used in the Hindu slogans was metaphor. For instance, "Ye-lo-aazadi" (take freedom), "In Mullon ko maroo" (kill the Muslims) repeatedly appeared during thrashing and killing of the Muslims. Victimization was again a negative strategy which was used at moderate level at 18(11%). For example, "Hindustaan Main Rehna Hoga, to Jay Shri Raam Kehna Hoga" (if you want to live in India, hail lord Ram). National-Self-Glorification is a strategy which is used by the citizens to glorify their mother land, its token value was 12(8%), and e.g. "Bharat Maata Ki Jay" (Long live India). This slogan was chanted by vigilante Hindus along with other dozens of nefarious slogans. Rest of the strategies fall

under low category. Categorization appears (9. 06%) times in slogans where the Hindus (dominant in-group) categorized themselves as real inhabitants of Hindustan, whereas, the Muslims were considered as "Ghaddar" (Traitors). Generalization also comes under low category having a similar frequency like categorization. Such as, "Hur Hur Modi, Modi G, Kat-doo in Mullaon ko" (Modi G chop these Muslims). It was a general statement of the Hindu fanatics to kill every Muslims. Warning is also low category strategy. The best examples of warning are "Hindustaan Main Rehna Hoga, to Jay Shri Raam Kehna Hoga" (if you want to live in India, hail lord Ram); "Hindustaan Hamaraa Hai, ik Bhi Musalmaan Nahin Rahega Yahan" (India only belong to us. No single Muslim will be allowed to live here). "Shaheen Bag Khail Khatum... Aazadi-De-Raha Hun" (Shaheen Bagh show ended, take freedom) the last example referred to the attacks of women protesters in Shaheen Bagh Delhi. Another low category strategy is dramatization but its impact was huge. For instance "Desh K Ghadaron Ko, Goli-Maro Salon-ko" (kill the traitors) was chanted in a rally led by BJP minister. Counter-Factual is a strategy which implies that what might be true, what is not true but could have been. Like "India only belongs to us no single Muslim will be allowed to live here" is factually not possible but this CAA made this exclusion possible. The actor description strategies of the Hindus were also based on wicked approach that the Muslims were considered as traitors, out-siders, looters or plunderers.
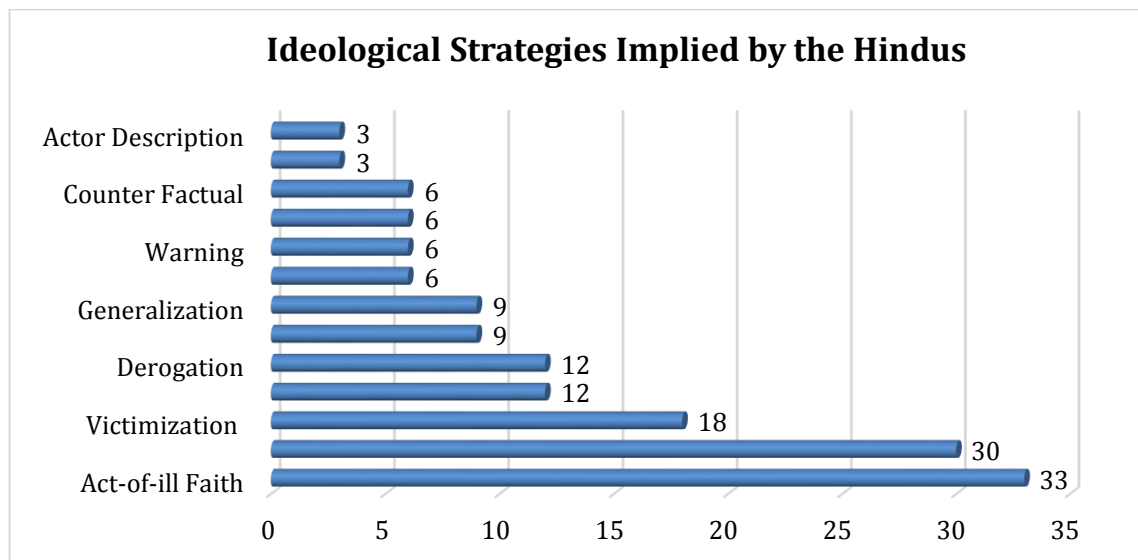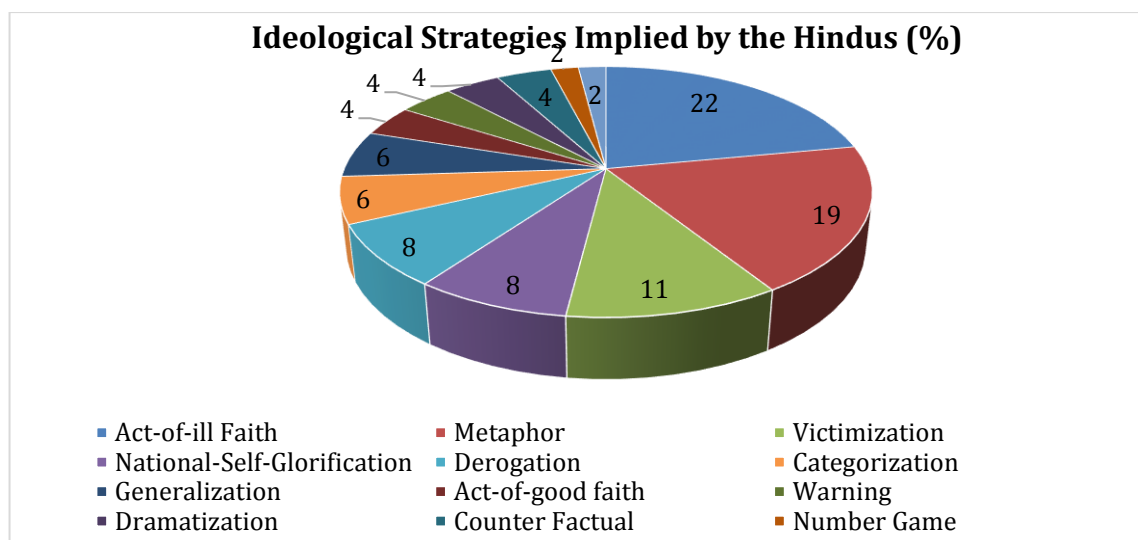
Illustration 3

Illustration 4

Table 4
% Sentiments of Slogans and Poems Raised by both the Muslims and the Hindus

Sentiments	Muslim's (%)	Hindu's (%)
Very Negative	04.29	11.20
Negative	19.75	25.55
Slightly Negative	13.30	07.78
Neutral	31.76	36.40
Slightly Positive	05.15	04.62
Positive	19.31	10.40
Very Positive	06.44	04.05
Total	100	100

Illustration 5

Van Dijk's Ideological Square Sentiments Comaprison (%)

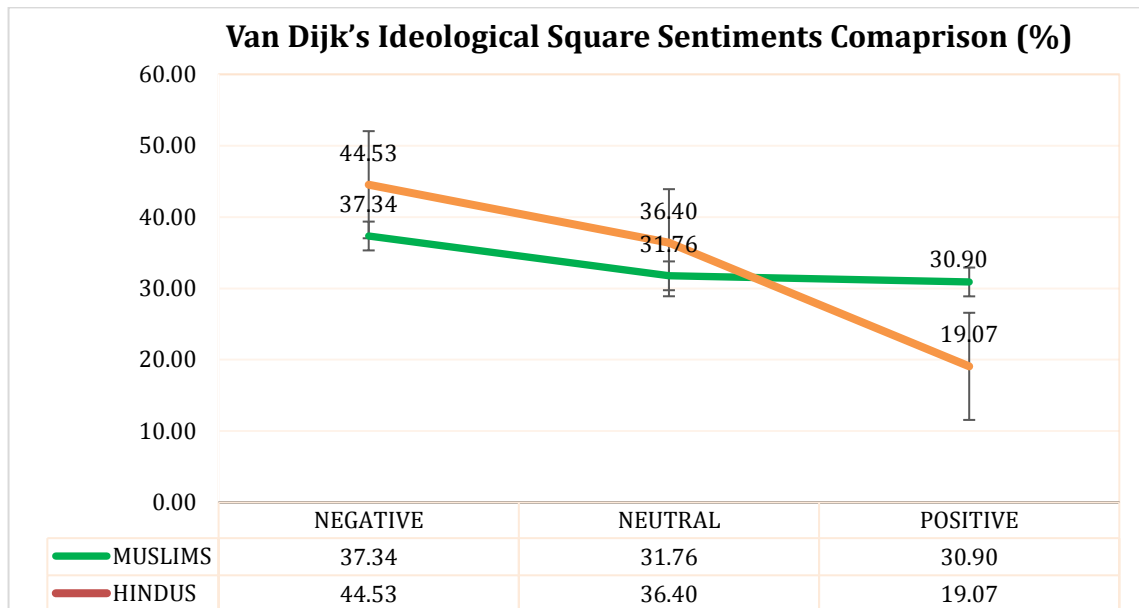|	NEGATIVE	NEUTRAL	POSITIVE
MUSLIMS	37.34	31.76	30.90
HINDUS	44.53	36.40	19.07

Table 4 above clearly shows the outcome sentiments of the Muslims and the Hindus in percentage. However, to figure out the collaborative sentiments, these results have been presented in graphical form in illustration 5 above which shows collaborative figures in three categories i.e. Negative, Neutral and Positive respectively.

All the information from above data tables, illustrations and discussion has been extracted into Illustration 5, to conclude and simplify overall comparison.

Conclusion

- **Bold Green Line** of illustration 5 shows the Muslims' sentiments extracted from the poems and the slogans and Bold Orange Line Shows the Hindus' sentiments extracted from the slogans raised by the Hindus.

- There are **two** possibilities in Van Dijk's Ideological Square to present one-self positively by raising these slogans, as elaborated in Figure 1 (p. 353).

- **Muslim Positive Self-Representation (in-group) & Muslims as Out-group:** By applying Van Dijk's Ideological Square, the Sentiments of the Muslims have been considered as in-group in the first case, the Green-Line of illustration 5 (above) and top part of Figure 2 (below) show overall positive sentiments of the Muslims for Self-Representation as in-group are 30.90% and the Green-Line of illustration 5 (above) and bottom part of Figure 2 (below) show overall negative sentiments by the Muslim

(as in-group) against the Hindus (as out-group) are 37.34%. The overall impact of the Muslims' Positive Self-Representation (as in-group) is 68.24% that is calculated by adding top part and bottom part of Van Dijk's Ideological Square Figure 2 that represents the Muslims' Sentiments as in-group. Muslims' neutral sentiments are 31.76% at border-line which has been excluded from overall impact of Muslim Positive Self-Representation (in-group).

Muslims Positive Self-Representation (in-group) = 30.90%

Muslims Neutral (in-group)

Border-line = 31.76%

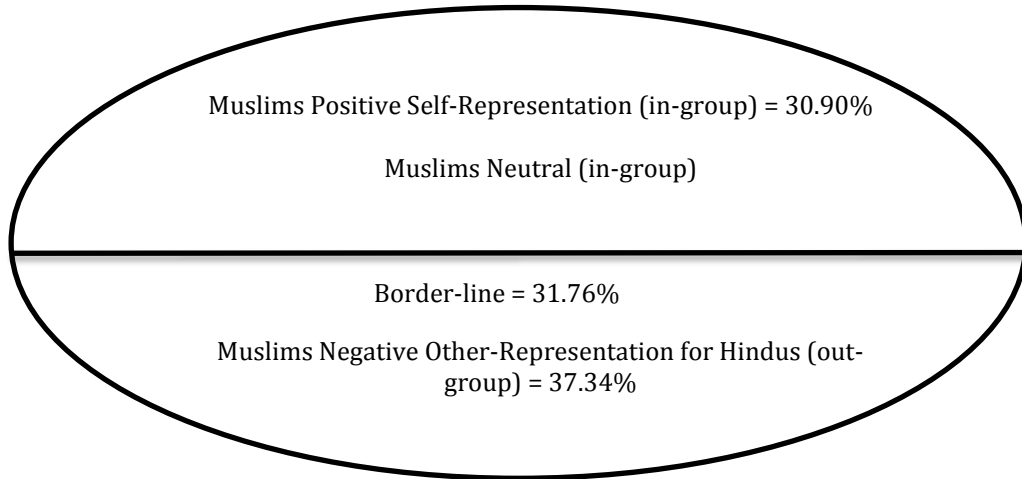Muslims Negative Other-Representation for Hindus (out-group) = 37.34%

Figure 2: Van Dijk's Model, Muslim Positive Self-Representation (as in-group)

- **Hindus Positive Self-Representation (in-group) & Muslims as Out-group:** Similarly, by applying Van Dijk's Ideological Square on the Hindus' sloganic discourse, the Hindus are taken as in-group in the second case, the Orange-Line of Illustration 5 (above) and top part of Figure 3 (below) show overall positive sentiments of the Hindus for Self-Representation as in-group are 19.07% and the Orange-line of Illustration 5 (above) and bottom part of Figure 3 (below) show overall negative sentiments by the Hindus (in-group) for the Muslims (out-group) are 44.53%. The overall impact of the Hindus' Positive Self-Representation (in-group) is 63.60% that is calculated by adding top part and the bottom part of Van Dijk's Ideological Square Figure 3 that represents the Hindus.

- **Sentiments as in-group.** The Hindus neutral sentiments are 36.40% are at border-line which have been excluded from overall impact of the Hindus Positive Self-Representation (in-group).
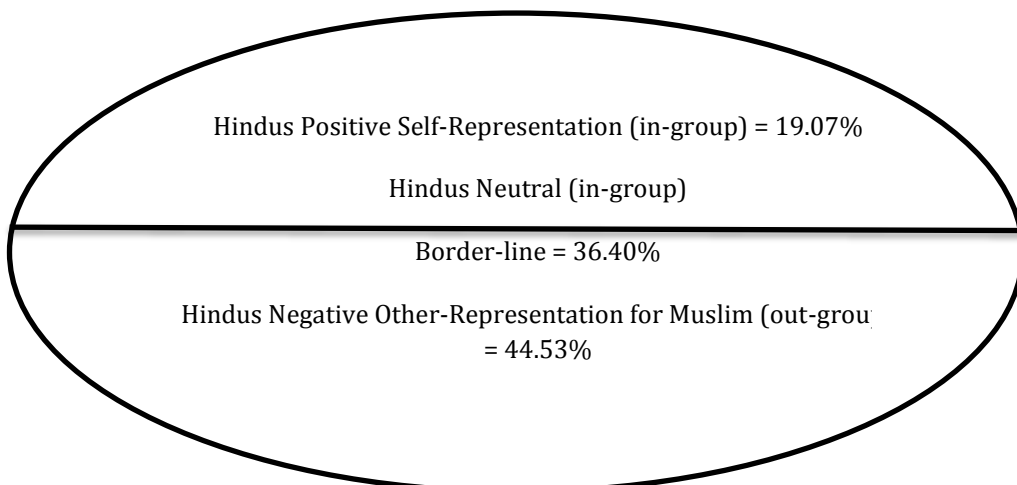

Hindus Positive Self-Representation (in-group) = 19.07%

Hindus Neutral (in-group)

Border-line = 36.40%

Hindus Negative Other-Representation for Muslim (out-grou = 44.53%

Figure 3: Van Dijk's Model, the Hindus' Positive Self-Representation (as in-group)

- **Negative Other-Representation:** If both the Muslims and the Hindus are considered as out-group for each other, the Muslims' Overall Negative Sentiments against the Hindus are 37.34% versus the Hindus' Overall Negative Sentiments against Muslims are 44.53%. The negative sentiments of the Hindus are much higher those of the Muslims. It means most of the slogans raised by the Hindus were strongly dedicated to emphasize the Muslims' bad things and de-emphasize the Muslims' good things and it is vice versa in case of the Muslims against the Hindus. For this purpose, ideological strategies like, negative-lexicalization, victimization, actor-description, metaphor, warning, act-of-ill faith, derogation and euphamization are used in discourse by the these groups.

- **Positive Self-Representation:** The Muslims are out-group with respect to (w.r.t) the Hindus but if we consider both the Hindus and the Muslims as in-group for positive self-representation, the Muslims show much more positive sentiments (30.90%) to emphasize their own good things or to de-emphasize their bad things as compared to the Hindus (19.07%) results. The basic reasoning for this is, both the Muslims and the Hindus used different ideological strategies already discussed in Table 2 and Table 3 i.e. metaphor, actor description, euphemism, national-self-glorification, act-of-good faith and positive-lexicalization etc.

- **Overall Neutral Sentiments Interpretation:** Illustration 5 shows the Muslims' overall neutral sentiments as 31.76% versus the Hindus' neutral sentiments as 36.40%. This figures out about equal amount of neutrality between the Muslims and the Hindus against each other.

The bottom line of conclusion is; in Critical Discourse Analysis the dominant (majority) groups are taken as in-group whereas, the weaker (minority) groups are taken as out-group. In overall scenario, the Hindus are dominant and in majority, so their sentiments are taken as in-group and the Muslims are weaker and in minority, hence, their sentiments are taken as out-group. Above figures and facts reveal that Van Dijk's Ideological Square application to the Hindus as in-group and the Muslims as out-group. Mostly the Muslims have emphasized on their own good things and used strategies for positive self-representation i.e. actor-description, legality and empathy etc. these strategies are used to highlight the strengths, virtues, or desirable qualities of Muslims. Rather, the Muslims less emphasize the Hindus' bad things while the Hindus have mostly emphasized on the Muslims' negative things than to show their own positivity. They mostly used strategies for negative representation of the Muslims like accusation, victimization, Negative Lexicalization, generalization or derogation. However, it is pertinent to mention here that these strategies may be implied even within in-group. But context, circumstances and specific tone play key role in determining the overall meaning and intensions behind the strategies.

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