

Multiple Dimensions of Non-western Rhetoric: A Systematic Review of the Literature

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Abstract


This systematic review explores publication trends and thematic coverage of non-western rhetoric in the last fifty years. Amidst growing interest, non-western rhetoric being underexplored prompts this article to identify research gaps and offer insights for future studies. Articles reviewed in this paper reveal that issues like resistance against western rhetorical dominance and countering orientalist perspectives, alongside translation's role and unique features inherent in the non-west have occupied some space. Unexamined or underexamined areas vis-à-vis non-western rhetoric include environment, indigeneity, power dynamics, cultural context, identity intersections, and socioeconomics. Similarly, other underexplored aspects include modern media, digital communication, oral tradition's adaptation, social justice rhetoric, and religion's impact on the rhetoric of Bharatavarsha.

Keywords: Rhetoric, Non-western rhetoric, Western rhetoric, Chinese rhetoric, Indian rhetoric

Introduction

There are opinions vis-à-vis the existence of western and non-western civilizations. Philosopher Appiah (2016), for example, in an article in *The Guardian* writes “There is no such thing as western civilization.” If he is true, there will not be a debate regarding the term ‘non-west,’ and its derivatives like ‘non-western rhetoric,’ ‘non-western literature,’ ‘non-western civilization’ among others. For him, non-west is not the binary of the west rather it features dynamism and interconnectedness among human histories, cultures, and civilizations. But interestingly, there are some critics, who regard the west as the synonym for “individual identity, political democracy, the rule of law, human rights and cultural freedom” (Schlesinger, 1992), which Schlesinger believes the non-west always lacks, and the recent Indian and Chinese stories of economic successes are unmatched with European cultural and intellectual creativity (Duchesne, 2011). This tendency of misrepresenting the non-west and non-westerns as ‘other’ is always

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misleading. Therefore, Professor Huntington (1996) suggests the west to preserve their unique qualities rather than “to attempt to reshape other civilizations in the image of the West” (p. 45) by unnecessarily supporting the imperialist ideology, for which Kipling (1899) calls “The White Man’s Burden.” Like Huntington, Palestinian-American theorist and cultural critic Said (1979) criticizes orientalist’s tendency of representing the non-westerners with adjectives like barbaric, uncivilized, and uneducated. This discussion suggests the claim of western superiority is a contested issue, however, because of the non-western scholars’ insufficient exploration of the issues unique to them, the non-west still does not occupy a mainstream space in academic discussion.

Non-western rhetoric has long been an understudied, “often marginalized, forgotten, or erased” area of study (Mao, 2014, p. 448) in academia despite the rich tapestry of diverse cultural and linguistic traditions that exist outside the western hemisphere (Oliver, 1971). To look through the historical lens, after Oliver (1971), it was Bennett (1984), who accepted the existence of non-western rhetoric and recommended to understand others’ traditions to “appreciate the uniqueness of their own” and to know how they “[fit] with the larger world” (p. 39).

In recent decades, rhetorical studies, previously a western enterprise, has witnessed a growing interest (Lu, 2020). Different rhetorical perspectives such as Asian (Mao, 2003, 2014; Wang, 2004), African (Adegoju, 2012; Ahluwalia, 2002; Asante, 2014), East Asian (Jensen, 1987a), Arabic (Clark, 2007; Halldén, 2005; Hatim, 1990), Chinese (Liu, 1996; Mao, 2006), Korean (Sung-Gi, 2010), Japanese (Ashby, 2013), and rhetoric of *Bharatavarsha* or of Indian subcontinent (which is sometimes narrowly understood as Indian rhetoric) (Baral, 2024; Lloyd, 2007; Paudel, 2023; Singh, 2014; Stroud, 2016), emphasize their connection to intercultural and international communication; however, they are not receiving the attention they truly deserve. Therefore, this review addresses the following questions:

- a. Who publishes, from where and when, on the non-western rhetoric?
- b. What are the major issues non-western rhetoric has dealt with?
- c. What are the unexplored but rich areas of research vis-à-vis non-western rhetoric?

What is non-western?

The designation ‘non-west’ is a highly contingent and contested in fields like cultural studies, geopolitics, and rhetoric. By this term, Subramony (2008) refers to the “people of non-European origin” and “their diverse heritages of spiritual, intellectual, social, and material culture” (p. 843). Karan (2004), while defining the term in a similar fashion,

indicates to the areas “apart from the Greco-Judaic-Christian tradition of the Western culture” (p. 1). It means non-west includes East-Asia, Southeast-Asia, South Asia, the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa” (p. 1) and the civilizations developed, cultures and histories flourished in and across these territories (pp. 2-3).

When it comes to rhetoric, ‘non-western rhetoric’ refers to a diverse array of persuasive and communicative traditions situated outside the western rhetorical canon. As I used in this review, this category encompasses a broad spectrum of rhetorical practices with unique geographical, cultural, and historical origins, including traditions that maintain distinctive characteristics and philosophical foundations. It acknowledges the rich diversity and interconnectedness of rhetorical traditions beyond western boundaries, highlighting the need for an approach that avoids reinforcing binary oppositions and recognizes the complexities of categorizing rhetoric.

This review offers a comprehensive overview of the existing scholarship, explores the publication trend and issue coverage vis-à-vis non-western rhetoric, and provides insights for future research.

Research Methods

I followed Petticrew and Roberts (2006) guide of systematic review in the social sciences. Their review process recommends the following steps: formulating research questions, defining research terms; selecting databases; conducting the literature search; formulating inclusion criteria, and applying inclusion criteria to select relevant literature.

This paper is a review of the published literature on the issue related to non-western rhetoric over the last five decades (1973-2023). I selected the articles based on a variety of criteria: 1) published in Taylor and Francis journals (most of the rhetoric related journals are published by Taylor and Francis Publishing Group); 2) contain the word ‘non-western rhetoric’ in title or abstract or keywords; 3) focus on the issues of non-western rhetoric covering the subject of communication studies; 4) written in English language; 5) published in between 1973 and 2023 (last 50 years).

In advanced search of Taylor and Francis database, I searched for the term ‘non-western rhetoric’ either in abstract, or in title or in keywords. Then when I filtered with the following command— [Article Type: Article] AND [Language: English] AND [Publication Date: (01/01/1973 to 12/31/2023)]— I found 109 articles in total. With close scrutiny of the content, out of them, I dropped 82 articles because they were beyond the scope of my research objectives. Therefore, the total number of articles for review, for this purpose, was 27(n=27) (as shown in table 1). For their thematic analysis, I coded, categorized, and explored themes at different levels to identify research gap and

to recommend areas for future research. The presentation of the findings follows a narrative approach (Pautasso, 2019), which involves gathering, critiquing, and summarizing the topic included in the review.

Table 1
Number of Articles and Their Home Journals

S.N.	Journal titles	Total number of articles
1	Advances in the History of Rhetoric	2
2	Chinese Journal of Communication	1
3	Communication Monograph	1
4	Communication Quarterly	1
5	International Journal of Strategic Communication	1
6	Javnost- The Public	2
7	Quarterly Journal of Research	1
8	Quarterly Journal of Speech	2
9	Rhetoric Review	6
10	Rhetoric Society Quarterly	6
11	Southern Journal of Communication	1
12	The Review of Communication	1
13	Western Journal of Communication	1
Total		27

Results and Discussion

Quantitative Analysis

Time series. Among the article samples, the first article dealing with non-western rhetoric was published in 1973 (n=1), but before the turn of the century, the publications in this issue were very few, that is, n=6 in 27 years. Figure 1 shows the highest number of publications were in 2013 and 2016 (n=3), followed by 2005, 2007, 2014, 2020 (n=2).

Institutional affiliation of the authors. Among the sampled articles, as figure 2 shows, majority of them, 25 out of 27 (92.6%) were written by scholars belonging to American institutions. Only one article (3.7%) was written by a European researcher affiliated to the University of France and one more (3.71%) was authored by a researcher from Otsuma Women's University, Japan. Interestingly, almost all the researchers (96.29%) were from western universities who studied various aspects of the non-western rhetoric.

Figure 1
Time Series of Sampled Papers

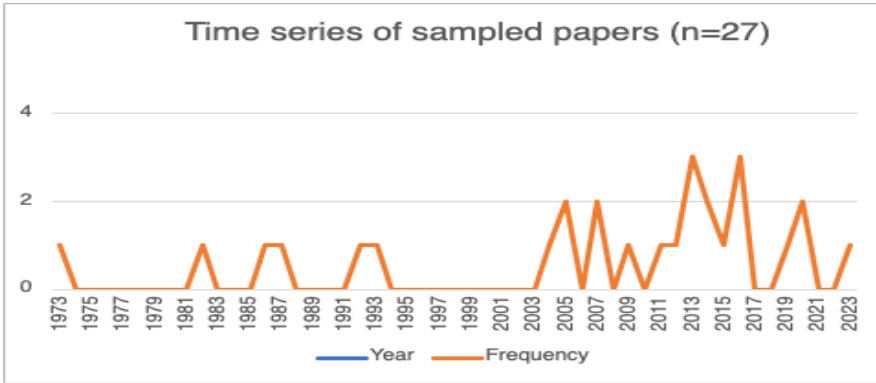


Figure 2
Institutional Affiliation Within Sampled Publications

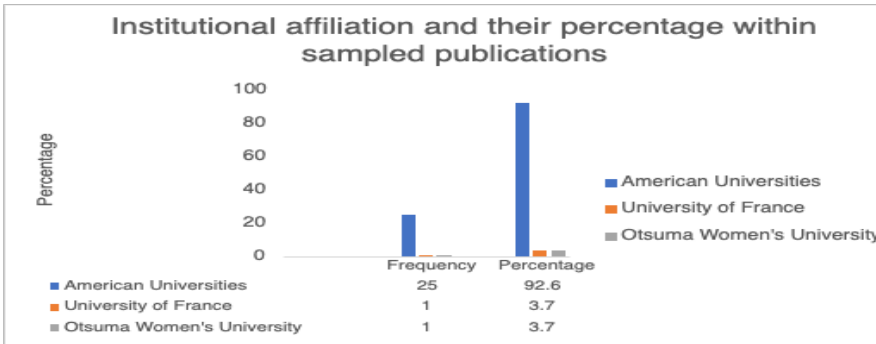
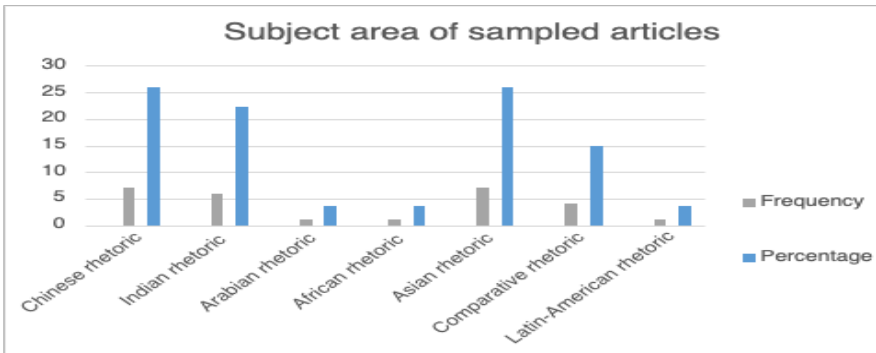


Figure 3
Subject Area of Sampled Articles



Subject-wise category of sampled papers². The data show (as shown in figure 3) that among the sampled articles, articles related to Chinese and Asian rhetoric have the highest number (n=7, 25.9% each) followed by articles on Indian rhetoric (n= 6, 22.2%). Similarly, articles on comparative rhetoric occupied 14.8% (n=4) and articles dealing with Arabian, African and Latin American rhetoric had the smallest share (3.7%, n=1 each).

Qualitative Content Analysis

Countering and collaborating with the West. The review shows that a group of researchers countered the rhetorical history of western dominance whereas some others highlighted the need for east-west collaboration. Gangal and Hosterman (1982), for example, surveyed Indian rhetoric describing its function (pp. 281-283), scope (pp. 283-288), and style (pp. 288-290). They initiated the discussion of how rhetoric, in the past, was synonymous to “Aristotle, Cicero, Augustine, Bacon, and Burke” (p. 277), and by referring to the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* they showed how powerful the ancient Indian literature had been vis-à-vis its rhetoricity. They acknowledged the contribution of Oliver (1971), who began an academic discourse on non-western rhetoric and also included many other examples that Oliver did not include in his article. According to them, Indian society gave high prominence to communication as evident in their worship of *Vach*, the goddess of speech. Also, they spotlighted how Indian society valued speech for Brahmana, who was “thought to be the most skilled in the art of communication” (p. 279) and transmitted knowledge from one generation to the next. Importantly, referring to Jaimini, the founder of the Purva Mimamsa School of Liberation, they cited “every word has an inherent power to convey an external meaning” (p. 280). Discussing different oral traditions like *sruti*, “what was heard,” *smriti*, “what was remembered,” and *sravana*, “listening to words of texts as uttered by the teacher” (p. 280), they concluded that relying on oral tradition, ancient India utilized rhetoric as a crucial tool for preserving and passing down literature, knowledge, beliefs, and rituals. In addition, rhetoric played a role in establishing new knowledge, with a focus on community welfare rather than persuasion (pp. 290-291). For them, rhetoric was interwoven into religion, education, and politics, without separate treatises. Studying Indian rhetoric requires understanding its emphasis on memory, phonetics, and grammar rather than western style and delivery. Despite its unique approach, ancient Indian rhetoric effectively preserved literature and governed society.

² This is not a rigid category; the articles overlap in more than one category.

In the same vein, Lloyd (2013) compared some aspects of Indian rhetorical tradition with that of the west. ‘*Nyāya vada*, ‘“a truth-centered and rhetorically egalitarian method of analogical debate” (p. 285), for him, in Indian argumentative tradition, proved more effective than an Aristotelian model of argumentation. He argued that though analogy was a basic component in western argument, that did not have a “direct corollary to the *Nyāya method*” (p. 297); Toulmin’s claim and reason are almost equivalent to *pratijna and hetu* of Indian rhetoric, but his model has no equivalent to *drsta nta* (p. 297). As his argument unfolded, he concluded *Nyāya* as an “alternative to Western confrontational rhetoric” (p. 285) and provided “fresh perspectives on persuasion for teachers of rhetoric and its traditions” (p. 287). It also interrogated the westerners’ assumption of rhetoric being uniquely Greek in origin and calls for the need for comparative rhetorics (p. 285) to fully understand the power of Indian methods of arguments because Indian debate tradition prevails by “testing propositions, analyzing and applying various perspectives, and convincing others through common experiences” (p. 286).

Similarly, Wang (2004), while tracing the history of Asian rhetoric, like Lloyd, suggested to “challenge the fundamental assumptions about rhetoric embedded in classical Western rhetorical theories to start a conversation between East and West” (p. 171). Mainly, she surveyed five scholars (Vernon Jansen, Mary Garrett, XiaoMing Li, Xing Lu and LuMing Mao), who have been involved in historical, theoretical, and empirical studies in rhetoric and composition, linguistics and communication studies and also contributed to the field of Asian rhetoric. In this survey, she asked questions about different topics of rhetorics (p. 172) and Asian rhetoric in particular (p. 173). The scholars shared their views on the existing state of research in Asian rhetoric, modes of inquiry used in Asian rhetoric research, impact of Asian rhetoric research and the future of Asian rhetoric research. To improve the development of Asian rhetoric, they argued— formation of core group of specialists, more Asian offerings in the department of rhetoric and communication, conference organizations are the possible ways.

There are researchers, who used textbooks to analyze the rhetoricity embedded in non-western rhetoric. Lu (2012) analyzed the book *China is not Happy* by utilizing Kenneth Burke’s rhetorical concepts of identification, terministic screens, and representative anecdotes (p. 194). Written by five Chinese nationalistic writers, this book praised “the post-80s generation for their patriotism,” envisioned China as the “next world superpower” (p. 206) and condemned West (particularly the United States) “for exploiting Chinese labor, corrupting Chinese culture, and inhibiting China’s rise” and blamed China’s liberal elite and overseas returnees for being loyal to the west and misguiding the nation (p. 194). The use of the confrontational rhetoric was for showing how China became “the victim of western powers,” and helped “escalate blind

nationalism, . . . widening the gap between China and the west with respect to intercultural understanding (p. 195).

While analyzing *Bhagavad Gita* from the non-western perspective, Paudel (2023) explored three types of rhetorical strategies used in the text: ontological (*astikya/bhava*), revelatory (*jnapaka*) and axiological, (*tattva/nyaya*), all of which Krishna used to prepare Arjuna for the war. Along with these strategies, *tarka* (logic) and ‘honest debate’ (*vada*) [one of the three types of debate categorized by Gotama (Vidyabhusana & Sinha, 2016), other being *jalpa* (tricky debate) and *vitanda* (destructive debate)] between Krishna and Arjuna helped Arjuna come to *nirnaya* (decision) of fighting against Kauravas

In a research work, Heisey and Trebing (1986) discussed how “contrasting views of authority espoused the Shah and the Ayatollah over a period of 25 years” brought legitimacy crisis in Iran in 1978/79 (p. 295). The Shah and Ayatollah used different rhetoric to address the nature of authority—the Pahlavi dynasty representing State-Authority and the Islamic revolution embodying Traditionalism. The legitimacy crisis continued as the Islamic Republic lost rhetorical acceptance, becoming more institutionalized and accountable mainly to religious extremists than to the common people. Therefore, people expected the emergence of a different rhetoric to address Iran’s need for strength, blending its Persian-Western connections with its Islamic heritage. Or the rhetoric of their comparative perspective ultimately “disclose[d] the dynamic interdependence of these revolutions” (p. 308). Additionally, the authors highlighted western concepts like legitimacy, which could be applied in non-Western contexts with an Iranian character and concluded that Iran’s pursuit of national strength reflected third-world tensions, where religion’s impact on authority perceptions must be considered.

Critiquing western concepts that compartmentalized pathos and emotional appeals within psychology and philosophy, Garrett (1993) redefined them in classical Chinese rhetoric, and instead proposed an “integrated approach” where reason and emotion exist as energies along a continuum (p. 35). Focusing on two audience types, a mass audience, and a one-on-one scenario, she explored persuasion through Legalist, Taoist, and Confucian methods, while addressing rulers’ decision-making underscored the significance of their subjective state, ensuring their preparedness for astute choices. Her work extended to broader implications, highlighting the centrality of emotions, considering rhetorical style and arrangement as emotional facets, and suggesting educational cultivation of emotional capabilities (p. 34). Whereas while mapping the history of modern Chinese writing instruction, You (2005) showed that the introduction of western rhetorical tradition in China (during Late Qing Dynasty) not only became helpful in those early days of reading-writing instructions but they also “revitalize[d] and

retrieve[d] extremely rich Chinese rhetorical tradition in modern Chinese writing instruction” (p. 166).

Similarly, Roy and Hammers (2014) presented Swami Vivekananda, an Indian sage and religious preacher, as an individual who created powerful image of India by creating a dichotomous relation with the west projecting cultural differences based on stereotypes: India spiritually great whereas West materially advanced (p. 548). He countered the western stereotype of Hindu effeminacy and redefined Hindu masculinity. He incorporated western ideals of physical strength and martial qualities but connected them with Hindu spirituality, emphasizing celibacy, dharma, and moksha (p. 558). He believed India could overcome the west through spiritual mastery. Though his rhetoric had patriarchal views of women, it served the purpose of responding to British colonial rule and inspiring young Hindus to serve the nation. Vivekananda aimed to break from western overemphasis on physical strength, prioritizing spiritual strength as integral to Hindu manhood. Though sometimes sounded ambivalent and contradictory, he never favored antagonism rather spoke for collaboration; a symbiotic relationship between the two cultures can be a helpful solution: India could learn from the West in areas like science and politics, while also serving as a spiritual guide to the West.

As a response to representing the non-west through binaries, Swearingen (2013), utilized emic-etic approach and attempted to solve the binaries existing in rhetorical history and theory. By revisiting both eastern and western philosophies of rhetoric (“a double vision”), she believed, “the dangers of creating false universals and new binaries by comparing all rhetorics to euroamerican models” could be resolved (p. 300). She concluded that comparative and cross-cultural studies in rhetoric could mitigate the danger of isolating diverse cultures by identifying shared ground and language, which is particularly significant during “resurgent nationalism” and “polarized identities” (p. 308). In the same way, Wang (2020) proposed “a comparative materialist approach” (p. 241), a framework that combines new materialist perspectives with materialist theories from non-western rhetoric to expand the methodological approach to study transnational cyber-public activist rhetoric. According to this author, this methodological approach combined theories from both non-western and western traditions, utilizing their concepts to analyze how public interactions, emotional connections, and group actions occur in “transnational cyber-public spaces (p. 251).

In a research article, Strandjord (2016) clarified the confusion among scholars vis-à-vis ‘tradition’ because it was understood synonymous to western rhetorical canon. For him, “tradition is not the canon, and vice versa” (p. 283). Redefining tradition would not necessarily free us from the challenges of power and privilege in academia and in the

field of rhetoric rather it would increase our responsibility to carefully navigate its potential for enriching rhetorical theory and practice while being cautious about its potential to reinforce exclusion. In a similar vein, García and Cortez (2020), while discussing about Latinamerican rhetoric, argued that this rhetoric was “galvanized by the need for a politics of difference” (p. 93). According to them, the subject of the rhetoric of decoloniality was “exterior to the West, those negated by the rhetoric of modernity” (p. 93). They concluded that by establishing a foundation that was not rooted in nostalgia, creating a space for an anticipated alterity labelled by “X.”

Countering the Orientalist gaze. Authors have presented the reasons behind why non-western rhetoric was getting less attention. Lloyd (2007), for instance, argued that *Nyāya Sūtra*, seminal Sanskrit writings from India, acknowledged by all six traditional schools of Indian thought and its new version *Navya Nyāya* that is influential even today “in the fields of philosophy, logic, religion, law, general science, computer science, mathematics, and linguistics,” remained unrecognized because rhetorical scholars discounted India and Indian rhetoric labeling it more “mystical than logical” (p. 19). Not only that Roy W. Perrett’s eyes othured India with jaundiced perspective; misrepresenting India as “magisterial,” “exoticist,” “curatorial,” and “interlocutory” (p. 20) that not only limited audience’s knowledge of *Nyāya* as “inferior, unsystematic, and non-syllogistic but also dismissed it from “rhetorical discipline” (p. 35). He concluded if its readers approached it “carefully with sensitivity to its terminologies and epistemology,” it could perform as “a rich expansion upon and alternative to Ancient Greek and current Western notions of argument and rhetoric” (p. 39). In the same vein, Yin (2011), in a case study, argued that *Mulan*, the film appropriated non-western cultural materials (*The Ballad of Mulan*). While doing so, the author found that “Mulan was abstracted from its Chinese cultural context and then injected into Western frame” (p. 54). Or the film produced non-western cultures using the lens of orientalists. For Yin, the movie deliberately discarded and substituted Chinese cultural norms with western ideologies, aiming to mitigate feminist critique while strengthening the racial and cultural hierarchy.

Combining different concepts from “strategic communication, political narratives and Encoding-Decoding model in the cultural studies and communication,” Zhong and Zhang (2016) analyzed the differences how Chinese government talked about Chinese Dream campaign (initiated by President Xi Jinping) and how western news media understood it. Their study revealed that western media mostly disagreed with Chinese government’s intended message. The expressions used to discount the campaign were like “a derivative of the American dream,” (cited in Zhong and Zhang, 2016, p. 61) “vague,” “new attempt to project China’s rising nationalism and its military purpose,” “a

political tool to unify increasingly diverse society,” “communist propaganda,” “hollow slogan” (p. 61-63). Similarly, in a research work, Asante (2019) theorized Afrocentricity as a construction of knowledge from the perspective of African actors and shared his experience of coming to the US from Ghana and showed how textbooks in the US exclude “people of color, non U.S and nonwestern in the origin and intellectual growth in the field” (p. 484).

Reviving the West through translations and reinterpretation. Translations and reinterpretations are the techniques to revive the past. Clark (2007), for example, brought into attention the rise of translation scholars in medieval Baghdad and their noteworthy contributions, notably those of al-Farabi, Avicenna, and Averroes (Ibn Rushd), who wielded lasting influence through their Arabic translations and commentaries on Aristotle’s texts, impacting western rhetorical traditions (370). While these accomplishments are noteworthy, Clark pointed out a significant gap in the field of rhetorical studies, as Arab rhetoric continued to be marginalized within historical and theoretical contexts. Responding to this issue, Clark discussed Averroes’ unique and perceptive commentaries on Aristotle’s writings, underscoring Averroes’ deliberate intent to contextualize Aristotelian concepts within the Arab-Muslim society. In a sense, this essay became a valuable resource for comparative rhetoricians in west as well as in Arab, offering an abundance of textual evidence drawn from Averroes’ commentaries (p. 385). This evidence spotlighted on how the Arabic translations effectively reintroduced Aristotle’s ideas into the Arab-Islamic milieu—an aspect that was minimally explored within rhetorical studies but occupied considerable potential for further comprehensive investigation.

Similarly, Wu (2009) answered why the modern Chinese relate “rhetoric only with writing and not with oratory” (p. 149). Wu’s study approached the Chinese assimilation of Western rhetoric as a social struggle, a process of meaning-building through textbooks and debate. Wu concluded that “Modern Chinese rhetoric is a hybrid conceived in the traditions of ancient China, modern Japan, and the West” (p. 163). History illustrated how modern Chinese skillfully integrated elements from Japanese and Anglo-American rhetorical traditions to cultivate their own valued rhetoric, despite translation challenges.

Exploring the Uniqueness. Rhetoric of nonviolence is a unique rhetorical philosophy propounded by Gautam Buddha, a Nepali prince, and the pioneer of Buddhism, that was later widely practiced by Mahatma Gandhi during anti-British colonizer movement in India and Martin Luther King during Civil Rights Movement in the USA. In an article, Robinett (2015) “broaden[ed] and renew[ed] the tradition of nonviolent rhetorical practice” (p. S227). Basically, he analyzed 1989 Nobel Peace Prize speech by Dalai

Lama, “an exiled intellectual” (p. S229) in Edward Saidian language and found that Lama advocated for nonviolence philosophy based in Buddhist principles. In addition, his lecture, unlike divisive western political rhetoric, not only supported peace but also recognized “common humanity and shared responsibility” (p. S227) backed by the philosophy of “the zone of ahimsa” (peace sanctuary) (p. S240). According to Robinett, Lama’s speech showed “the power and authority of non-western rhetoric and thought in a western context” (p. S242).

As in Dalai Lama’s speech, in Japan, as argued by Ishii (1992), there is an impact of Buddhist preaching in Japanese traditional rhetorical communication, but this tradition did not get proper attention for a long time. In this article, Professor Ishii pointed out two weaknesses in rhetorical communication research: a) instead of approaching rhetoric holistically, Japanese rhetoricians limited it to language centered dimension of rhetoric. They did not regard speeches of political leaders something “worthy of study” (p. 391) and they focused upon western classical rhetorics neglecting traditional Japanese rhetoric (p. 391) and uncritically agreed and accepted the western scholars’ one-sided statements (p. 392). He, in this article, provided reasons why preaching should be treated as a form of rhetorical communication, provided historical background of Buddhist preaching in Japan (pp. 394-395), analyzed preaching principles developed by Agui school in comparison with the five canons of western rhetoric and, in this comparison, he found some shared common features associated with rhetorical speaking (p. 397).

Wang (2013) investigated the methodological practices employed in comparative rhetoric and proposed that the discipline should adopt fresh viewpoints to effectively engage with transnational spaces, hybrid identities, and subjectivities rooted in distinctions related to gender, race, class, and culture (p. 226). She drew insights from postcolonial and transnational feminist studies, suggested adopting geopolitical approach, and emphasized on howness of comparative rhetoric than whatness of it (p. 233). Comparative rhetorists actively generate distinctions while also solidifying colonial power dynamics. For instance, Wang examined her research in historical records pertaining to early Chinese feminisms. She showed how juxtaposing their writings with established historical narratives and authoritative rhetorical figures reframed these expressions of femininity.

Similarly, Jensen (1987) was not satisfied with the exclusion of Asian rhetoric labeling it opposite of the west. For a long time, “Asianism” carried a negative connotation. Unlike “Atticism,” which was considered as the touchstone of plain style, simplicity, decorum, clearness, and focus on substance, “Asianism” was taken bombard, florid, figurative and values form over substance (p. 138), and to come out of this misrepresentation of Asia

and to explore the uniqueness inherent in Asian rhetoric, he suggested to integrate Asian rhetoric by designing and developing courses around the subject. In this article, he mainly concerned with East Asian rhetoric (of Japan, Korea, China, and Southeast Asian countries) and offered reading materials and projects for a 10-week East Asian rhetoric course for junior-senior-graduate level with the objective of making students familiar with “ancient religious and philosophical roots of Asian rhetoric,” to know “traditional Asian values and manifestations of Asian rhetorical emphases” among others (p. 139). While discussing the “broad canvas” (p. 137) associated with East Asian rhetoric, he envisaged the need to explore South Asian rhetoric, but it is still hardly explored.

Though there had been awareness vis-à-vis rhetorical theory and practice across natural and cultural barriers, Okabe (1973) regretted since there were hardly any studies in Japanese rhetoric. In this article, the author appreciated the contribution of Yukichi Fukuzawa for his unwavering support for public speaking “as a tool of educational, social, and political reforms” (p. 195). For Fukuzawa, public speaking was a means to enlighten and modernize Japanese people “during transition from feudalism to civilized nation in the Meiji period” (p. 195). Similarly, Bennington (2023) examined the “short but complex” rhetorical history of *Taekwondo*, a martial art and analyzed how martial art organizations functioned (p. 47). For this purpose, the author showed the interaction between rhetoric and martial arts, traced it as something of “Korean strength and pride” through economic significance to “commonplace argument for Korean unification” (p. 48). Even in political turmoil, *Taekwondo*, combining Confucian values, Daoist’s self-cultivation and tenets of interpersonal/international conduct, survived as an advantageous art for a civilized society. Likewise, Stroud (2016) studied Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, an Indian reformer, and analyzed how pragmatism influenced non-western rhetorical situations. Through “rhetorical reorientation,” this article showed the relationship between persuasion and religious conversion.

Rhetoric on foreign policy and diplomacy. Rhetorically analyzing *Time* magazine coverage (from 1951 to 1962) featuring the first Prime Minister of independent India, Jawaharlal Nehru, Singh (2014) revealed “how *Time* traced the demise of India’s naïve attempts at Civil War neutrality and friendship with Communist China, while vindicating the US government’s opposition to both efforts” (p. 523). She utilized verbal and visual sources to study foreign policy rhetoric to study “India’s interestingly problematic status as a neutral party” and to “develop a rhetorical perspective on Nehru” (p. 524). In the same way, Jullien (2005) through rhetoric of obliquity, interrogated the self-acclaimed valid, natural, and obvious western-framed rhetoric of military diplomacy. Explaining westerners’ confrontational viewpoints and frontal debate the author argued that Chinese

rhetoric of obliquity and military strategy shared “the same economy and contain the same logical justifications (p. 36)— being indirect or avoiding direct frontal attack.

Limitations

While conducting a systematic review, encompassing all pertinent articles was unfeasible. Among the initially located articles, only a limited number met the inclusion criteria and aligned with the review’s objectives. Additionally, potential quality bias in this review was acknowledged and addressed— I took measures to minimize author and publication bias, such as the clear establishment of inclusion criteria during the literature selection phase. Although the stringent criteria might have affected article collection, it is important to recognize that this research approach ensured the inclusion of only high-quality scientific articles.

Despite having these limitations, the present study provides current evidence about the trend and issues related to non-western rhetoric and provides helpful information for future research.

Conclusion and Future Study

The analysis showed that despite gradually growing notice of non-western rhetoric, it has not been receiving the proper inquiry it really deserves. Researchers concentrated on some pertinent issues related to the non-west and its rhetoric but still, there are many other areas that carry tremendous possibilities for research. The articles under review covered a wide range of issues spanning from how the researchers resisted the western hegemony of rhetoric to how they countered the orientalist gaze. Similarly, researchers explored translations and reinterpretation, the uniqueness of the related rhetoric, and issues related to foreign policy and diplomacy through rhetoric in their respective writings. But the non-western issues related to environment and indigeneity, how power dynamics operate within non-western rhetorical contexts, cultural contextualization, how non-western rhetorical practices intersect with other dimensions of identity such as gender, religion, ethnicity, and socio-economic dimensions need comprehensive further study. Similarly, rhetoric and modern media, digital communications (including memes, emojis, online discourse), oral tradition and performance, social justice rhetoric, religion and rhetoric (especially in the rhetoric of *Bharatavarsha* or Indian subcontinent) still remain unexplored, so that future researchers have ample space to focus their research in these unexplored areas.

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