

# PERSUASION THROUGH POLITICAL SPEECHES: SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BIHAR ELECTION, 2015

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**Abstract:** Electoral politics plays an important role in a democratic society. Elections provide a platform for common man to participate in the political discourse and decision making about their political options. A world where we see newspapers and even broadcast news organisations almost dying, the present study proposes that political communication can flourish through political speeches that are very primitive, popular and persuasive form of communication. Political speeches are the direct and most effective medium to connect with the audience. The election of Bihar, 2015 is remembered for its remarkable speeches, bitter remarks and catchy phrases/slogans. The present research focuses on the persuasion strategies applied by political leaders in their speeches to lure their voters in the state election of Bihar, 2015.

**Keywords:** Election, Persuasion, political communication, politics, discourse analysis.

## Introduction:

Bihar is one of the least developed states of India. The last decade under the leadership of Nitish Kumar, Bihar had seen a ray of development projecting in the state. People in Bihar have seen the days of abduction and extortion, but today they are interested not to revive the days of “jungle raaj” rather want to follow the path of development. It is interesting to find out the persuasive strategies used by the political actors in Bihar in their face to face communication with their voters, especially when their audience had a history of voting pattern on the basis of caste factor.

“Biharis”, according to many observers such as Sardeshai (2014, pp-147) “love their politics. In no state is the political discourse as animated as it can be in Bihar. Involvement in politics is almost a cottage industry for many Biharis.” The Biharis gather and participate in the election rally and listen to the speeches of their political leaders. It is seen that despite of heavy print, electronic and social media exposure, usage and coverage in this election, the rallies were overly crowded and flooded with listeners. The political speeches provided a vision of the political parties. It is a direct communication between political actors and voters. Thus the content of the speeches become the major factor of discourse in the public sphere of mostly poor, rural and illiterate community. The speeches also become the headlines and breaking news of the print and broadcast industry. In Bihar election it was seen that more priority was given on the rallies and speeches to directly connect with the people. The top leaders of the political parties conducted rallies in almost all the possible places to link with the people. The Biharis who lived and worked in other states were also closely watching the election and listening to speeches through internet, youtube or news channels. Thus it is proposed through the present study that even after the demise of the current news industry, the political communication can survive and flourish through the political speeches as these speeches have the power of involving everyone-the public or the politicians in a common discussion.

## Theoretical Framework:

A speech is “a talk” written for reading aloud to specific audience. It conveys a certain message to the audience. It also expresses or reveals to the audience about the speaker’s feelings and opinions. The language used for speeches depends on the occasion and the background of the audience, such as their educational levels, their interests, and their occupations. Speeches are of different types like informative speech, persuasive speech, policy speech and professional speech. Persuasive speeches involves changing

persons' mental states, usually as precursors to behavioural change. Persuasion can be defined as a symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviour regarding an issue through the transmission of a message, in an atmosphere of free choice.

The discourse analysis will be applied to understand the persuasive strategies in the political speeches. According to Dijk "Critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context". Dijk further clarifies that social power is based on privileged access to socially valued resources such as wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge. Power involves control on one group over other groups. Such control may pertain to action and cognition: that is, powerful group may limit the freedom of action of others, but also influence their minds. The concept of hegemony, consensus, acceptance and the management of the mind can also be understood through discourse analysis. Dijk analyses that a strategy of the reproduction of dominance is that of denial. There is no dominance, all people in our society are equal, and have equal access to social resources. The justification of inequality involves two complementary strategies, namely the positive representation of the own group, and the negative representation of the others.

### **Aim of the Study:**

The study aims to find the **persuasive strategies** in the speeches of political actors in the process of the formation of public opinion.

### **Objectives of the Study:**

- The study analyses the popular issues raised in the speeches of political leaders in an election of a developing state.
- The study also tries to find whether development issues were the centre of these speeches.
- The study analyses the role of hate speeches in the political discourse.
- The study also analyses the slogan and catchy phrases used in the speeches to attract the voters.
- The study also analyses the speech delivery mechanism of political actors and their influence on the listening audience.

### **Methodology:**

The content of the speeches of two political leaders namely Mr. Narendra Modi and Mr. Nitish Kumar from two major political parties in the Bihar election will be analysed. The political speeches will be downloaded through YouTube. The time frame of the speeches will be September-October, 2015 before first phase of election. The discourse analysis will be applied to understand the persuasive strategies in the political speeches.

### **Data Analysis:**

#### **1. Popular issues in Bihar Election:**

##### **1.1 DNA barb:**

Setting the tone for the assembly elections Prime minister addressed the Muzaffarpur rally July, 25 announcing a special package and some schemes for Bihar. But soon he accused Nitish Kumar of practicing "political untouchability". Modi recalled how the Chief Minister had cancelled a dinner for BJP leaders in 2010 because of him. "I also drank the poison the day my plate was snatched....Have you seen such level of hatred in politics? He did not want me to campaign in Bihar...Now; he has complained that I am visiting Bihar after 14 months." Modi continued his speech "I can understand that you may not like one person, you may not like his face. There can be political rivalry. But if you were so much against me, you could have slapped me or strangulated me in a room.... But, just for one person you strangulated the progress of Bihar. Is this how democracy functions? I am pained, not because of what he did to me, but for what you did for the people of Bihar". Seeking to play the Dalit card, he said Nitish Kumar had practiced "political untouchability" not only against him but also with a "mahadalit" – former chief minister Jitan Ram Manjhi. He said even George Fernandes and former Deputy chief minister Sushil Kumar Modi were not treated well

by him. Prime Minister Narendra Modi made an infamous remark “There seems to be some problem in his DNA because the DNA of democracy is not like that. In democracy you respect even your political rivals”.

Nitish kumar held a press conference on the same day to issue point by point rebuttal of charges. According to Nitish Kumar, there was no clarity on the prime minister’s special package for Bihar. Though Bihar was being given an increased amount by latest Finance Commission, it had not got percentage wise increase in its share. Earlier Bihar had got Rs 1.5 lakh crore out of total Finance Commission budget of Rs 14.55 lakh crore. We are now getting Rs 3.75 lakh crore out of Rs 38.48 lakh crore total funds.

The chief minister attacked Modi for telling the crowd in Muzaffarpur to “give me a chance”, he asked whether Modi was willing to “take additional charge of Bihar chief minister”. Nitish also responded to Modi’s comment on him of not “treating well” a leader like George Fernandes. “First it does not seem good for a prime minister to engage in such talks, second how about BJP ill- treating its big leaders LK Advani and MM Joshi, who are hale and healthy unlike George Fernandes”.

The chief minister also clarified that “I had only talked about improving power situation and not taking power to every home. We have fully electrified nearly 26,000 villages while the rest 9,000 villages are partially electrified.

In response to the DNA remarks of Modi, Nitish started “Shabd Wapasi” (take back your words) campaign in his following speeches. Nitish Kumar extrapolated the slur to proclaim it applies to all the people from Bihar and demanded an apology. Nitish wrote an open letter to Modi saying it was deemed as “an insult by a large section of the people of the state and beyond” and asked him to withdraw it. He announced that around 50 lakh DNA samples (nails and hair) of people from Bihar were collected and dispatched to Prime Minister Modi.

### 1.2 Package for Bihar:

The election started with big promises of development. In the Ara rally Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced the package for Bihar. Modi unleashed a scathing attack on Chief Minister Nitish Kumar saying he lowered the prestige of Bihar by pleading with the previous UPA governments for a package of mere Rs 12,000 crore. Modi also remarked on the reaction of Nitish Kumar over Bihar’s “*bimaru*” (laggard) tag. But the high point of his speech was the announcement of the economic package, “I am here today to honour my promise. I have said Rs 50,000 crore....how much do you want?”

But before announcing the package the Prime Minister showed his hegemony and power factor in his speech-

50 hazaar karu ki jyada karu (shall I announce 50 thousand or more)

70 hazaar karu ki jyada karu (shall I announce 70 thousand or more)

75 hazaar karu ki jyada karu (shall I announce 75 thousand or more)

80 hazaar karu ki jyada karu (shall I announce 80 thousand or more)

90 hazaar karu ki jyada karu (shall I announce 90 thousand or more)

“*Bihar ka bhagya badalane ke lie dilli sarkar 1.25 lakh crore de rha hai*” (To change the fate of Bihar Delhi government provides package of 1.25 lakh crore)

Modi said, “The chief minister was very angry when I promised that BJP will bring Bihar out of its *bimaru* (laggard) state. He said Bihar is no longer a *bimaru* state. If it is true, then I will be the happiest person. But if somebody is healthy will he go to a doctor. If somebody’s stomach is full, will he go outside for food? I am surprised that on the one hand he says Bihar is not a *bimaru* state and on the other he keeps asking for something or the other.

Modi attacked Nitish for returning a cheque of Rs 5 crore sent by the Gujarat government for the Kosi flood victims when he was the Chief Minister. “The arrogance of some leaders has been in seventh heaven. Over Rs 10 lakh in the Rs 5 crore help from Gujarat came from people of Bihar who have made Gujarat their workplace. Shouldn’t such an arrogant leader be out of power?”. Invoking Jaya Prakash Narayan, Modi slammed Nitish for striking an alliance with the congress. “I want to know who sent JP to jail during Emergency. JP was taken and died soon after he came out of jail. Who is responsible for JP death? Nitish Kumar has gone with congress that sent JP to jail. Shouldn’t such politician be uprooted?”

In the press conference on the same day Nitish kumar unveiled an Rs 2.70 lakh crore development plan in the next five years for Bihar. He also tried to prove that the announcement for Bihar package was a repackaging of earlier sanctioned budget for the state. Nitish Kumar said "How many times will you slaughter a chicken. He has repackaged old projects". He said, "He talks about cooperative federalism but does exactly the opposite. He will humiliate the state government, call it incompetent... What kind of cooperative federalism is this?" Nitish kumar also counter attacked on the way the package was announced by Modi as if he was doing an auction. "Fifty thousand crore...sixty thousand crore...it looked like as if Bihar was being auctioned. Auctioning Bihar by way of a special package is similar to his earlier promise of depositing Rs 15-20 lakh in the accounts of every citizen from the black money that would come to the country from abroad," he said.

Nitish Kumar replied on the remarks of Modi that he (Nitish Kumar) had pleaded with the UPA government for a Rs 12,000 crore package and also Modi's "arrogant" barb against him, by saying, "He calls me a '*yachak*' (supplicant) and an arrogant man at the same time. This is contradictory."

Nitish Kumar trashed Modi's *bimaru* remark by describing the developments that had taken place in the last decade in Bihar. "Bihar government has built 66,500 km roads, over 5000 bridges, brought down school dropout rate to 1.5 per cent from 12.5 per cent and footfall at primary health centres has gone up to 11,000 every month from mere 39 in 2005,". Nitish Kumar replied on his criticism by the Prime Minister for returning the donation received from Gujarat for rehabilitation of Kosi flood victims, "While giving Rs 5 crore the then Gujarat Chief Minister publicised it in newspapers that Gujarat was the biggest donor. Many states had made bigger donations but nobody spoke about it....Besides, when I returned Rs 5 crore he lost no time to get it encashed...while he talks of my returning the donation, he does not speak about getting it encashed without losing any time," Kumar said sarcastically. "Even after this episode why BJP fought the 2010 Bihar election under my leadership? What is the rationale of raising the issue now?" he questioned.

### 1.3 Reservation:

The statement by Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) chief Mohan Bhagawat on reservation came at a wrong time and did play a major role in marring the prospects of the BJP led NDA. Mohan Bhagwat demanded for constitution of a committee with representatives from the civil society to review the reservation policy. "We believe, form a committee of people genuinely concerned for the internet of the whole nation and committed for social equality, including some representatives from the society, they should decide which categories require reservation and for how long."

RJD chief Lalu Prasad was quick to utilise the Bhagwat's statement in his election rallies and played the Mandal card to perfection. "These kamandal people (saffron brigade) want to take up your right (to reservation)," Lalu kept repeating his opinion on reservation and Nitish Kumar joined the chorus later on.

Prime minister Modi kept initial silence on the issue in his rally speeches that gave way to Nitish led Mahagathbandhan. The Bihar chief minister utilised the Modi's silence in suggesting to people that Union government was in sync with the RSS chief on the issue, evoking a fear of end of reservation. Narendra Modi did not mention his caste or used words like *ati-pichhda* in his 12 rallies across Bihar between July, 25 and mid October, 2015. But the Bhagwat's caste quota remarks on September, 21 changed the wave of election talks. But in later rallies Narendra Modi couldn't ignore the issue of reservation policy and it became the dominant theme of his speeches.

In the Patna rally on October, 25 Modi said "I often think that if Babasaheb Ambedkar had not been there, what would have happened to me? *Ek ati-pichhdi maa ki kokh se paida hua, chai bechkar bada hua, ladka aaj yahan kaise pauncha* (Born of the womb of an extremely backward mother, grown up selling tea, how did this boy reach so far) ?" He again invoked his "*ati-pichhda*" origin in his Nalanda rally on the same day "The son of a *chaiwallah* became the Prime Minister." At Marhaura (Chhapra) hours later, Modi talked about his childhood experience of "selling tea on trains". "When I sold tea in my childhood, sometimes such a babu would come... he would thrash us, throw us out of the train. I remember (it)."

Modi brought in religion into his speeches for the first time in his Buxar rally October, 26. He tried to fill the damage over Bhagwat's remarks by explaining to crowd that Nitish Kumar and Lalu Prasad had earlier demanded religion-based reservation. "A ghost of reservation is being erected," he said. He accused Nitish, Lalu and Sonia Gandhi of "framing a sinister plan", "conspiring to snatch five per cent reservation each from *Dalits, Mahadalits, pichhdon* and *ati-pichhdon* and give it to (members of) other religion".

### 1.4 Beef Campaign:

The discussion on beef also became a heated issue in the election of Bihar. A 50 year old muslim man was killed over alleged rumours of consuming beef in Uttar Pradesh's Dadri. Modi launched an attack in Banka rally on RJD chief Lalu Prasad Yadav's remark on Hindus eating beef, saying, "*Lalu Prasad Yadav has insulted the Yadav community by commenting on what they eat.*" Saying that Yadavs had given India the white revolution, he said that those questioning the community are 'insulting Bihar. Modi repeated in Munger rally that Laloo Prasad yadav has insulted the people of Bihar and particularly Lalu's own community, the Yaduvanshis who had brought him to power.

### 2. Focus of discourse: Development Issues or Hate speech

The rally speeches somewhat turned around the development issues but never stucked to it. Narendra Modi announced the development package for Bihar but soon was criticised for the way and timing of announcement. Some of the other issues raised in the speeches in the rallies are as follows:

Modi kept repeating the questions in almost all his speeches "*Bijli aai—nahi aai*". Criticising the lack of infrastructure in the state, Modi said, "*The government had promised to deliver electricity to all in 2010. However, it could not even spend the money that was allocated for this purpose.*" Modi tried to prove his Nepal and Bhutan visit as his attempt to bring electricity for Bihar and promised 24 hour electricity in the state.

Modi also raised the issue of lawlessness in the state, saying that were 4,000 instances of kidnappings in Bihar between January and July this year, going by official numbers.

Modi also took a dig at caste politics ahead of elections in the state, saying, "*Politicians who spread the venom of casteism cannot lead Bihar to progress.*" He also repeated his exhortation to the people to choose between Jungle Raj and Vikaas Raj.

Modi said that the alliance is like the house of Bigg Boss. "They don't trust each other. They cannot stand each other. But they still want to form a government together. Before you vote, ask yourself- what has the *maha-swaarth-bandhan* done for you in the past 60 years?" He repeated in his speeches that Lalu joined forces with Nitish "out of compulsion in his bid to settle his children". Lalu and Nitish should sit together to decide who is the snake and who is the poison. Why is Lalu forcing Yaduvanshis to drink poison?"

Modi repeatedly did some negative campaigning in his rallies. He called RJD as *Rojana Jungle raj ka Darr* and JDU as *Janata ka Daman aur Utpidan*.

Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar in his Vaishali election rally accused Prime Minister Narendra Modi of "lowering" the dignity of his post by using words like 'shaitan' (devil) and 'ahankari' (arrogant) for political rivals and questioning their DNA. "*A Prime Minister can campaign for his party. But in Bihar elections, the PM has no control over language and is using words like shaitan and ahankari for rivals and questioned their DNA. Does speaking in such a language behove a person sitting on the responsible post of a PM?*"

In his speeches Nitish kumar kept repeating that Modi never recalled Bihar in past 14 months but now in times of election he is here. He reminded people about Modi's promise of providing share of black money (15-20 lakhs) to each citizen of the country. Nitish Kumar questioned the BJP slogan of "*parivartan*" (change). "*By parivartan do you mean to send back girls home from school where they are going today on bicycles?*"

Nitish said in his speeches, "I will find something to do, but it is the people of the state who will have to suffer if they don't vote for me. Do you wish to vote for someone who has worked tirelessly for you or vote for someone who only makes tall promises?" Nitish Kumar made reference to Modi and Amit Shah in most of his speeches saying "*tarah tarah ke log aajkal hamare Bihar mein ghoom rahe hain. Inke jhaanse mein na ayiye*" (many types of people are roaming in our Bihar these days. Don't fall for their lures).

Nitish's speech covered mainly his request for another term to complete the work he has begun. Half of his speeches were dedicated to the women in the audience and the measures he had taken to empower them. He used to finish off with another request aimed at the womenfolk: "Tell your husband too to vote for me. Tell them no meals for the day if they don't."

### 3. Campaign- Slogans and catchy phrases

Bihar election saw a number of interesting slogan and catchy phrases from both the side. A smiling Modi with folded hands and the text on the hoarding read, "*Bihar ke vikas mein ab nahi baadha, Modiji ne diya*

vaade se zyada." (There's no roadblock in Bihar's development any longer. Modi has given Bihar a special package that is bigger than what was promised to the state). In other rallies there were hoardings of a stern looking Nitish Kumar waving a finger with the text saying, "Jhanse mein nahi ayenge, Nitishji ko jitayenge." (We will not be fooled, we will make Nitish win). The other phrases like "Bihar mei bahaar ho Nitishe kumar ho" (Flourish Bihar Again Nitish Kumar) and "Badalie Bihar Badalie Sarkaar" (Change Bihar Change Government). The state was flooded with posters of only Modi and Shah just like Vajpayee-Advani posters of the 90's. This gave Nitish a new slogan: *Bihari Vs Bahari* (Bihari Vs Outsider) referring to two Gujaratis trying to win over a heartland Hindi electorate. The Nitish camp tried to direct the election on the issue of "Bihari Vs Bahari" and the results of the poll proved it to be right while Modi camp tried to pinch the swabhimaan of Biharis by calling Bihar as "Bimaaru rajya". Towards the end of Phase 2 a new round of posters started appearing that featured the state BJP's prominent faces besides allies Ram Vilas Paswan, Upendra Kushwaha and Jitan Ram Manjhi.

Nitish Kumar's campaign rallies were quite different from Narendra Modi's. His rally took place in empty paddy fields- quite different from stadium like spaces of Modi's rallies. His rallies were kept simple and casual and few hours before the rally, it was hard to understand whether a political rally was to happen. Unlike Modi's rally there were no beeline of cars with party flags, Boleros, Scorpios and motorcycles, rather a long line of bicycles were seen in Nitish Kumar's rallies. The crowds were basically local people from nearby villages who came briskly walking to the venue to listen to their leader.

#### 4. Delivery Mechanism and Influence on audience:

It can be widely accepted that Prime Minister Narendra Modi is a good orator. The Prime Minister weaves a spell on a person that is a rare quality among the new generation of politicians. His rallies were flooded with listeners. Prime Minister addressed almost 30 rallies in the Bihar election 2015. Even though the turnout at all his rallies was massive, none of that translated into votes. This proved that the listeners today are smart enough and "talking" is not enough.

Narendra Modi kept mocking the other camp about their not speaking on development rather doing Modi-Modi "Modi-Modi kar rhe hain". He was overconfident in saying that due to their party's announcement of Bihar package, the other camp also had to bring before the people their (Mahagathbandhan) development vision about Bihar. Thus he is responsible in giving a correct direction to the election "chunav sahi disha mei aaya ki nahi".

On the other hand Nitish Kumar also had his presence felt among his listeners. He took all his speeches as opportunity to counter attack each and every negative statement of Modi. He addressed to the women folk in the crowd and gave them the command to control the voting behaviour of their family members. It was readily accepted and applauded by the women voters who heavily voted for Nitish Kumar in the election.

#### 5. Persuasive Strategies:

##### 5.1 Appeal:

Prime Minister Narendra Modi tried to gain sympathy of the audience by reminding the audience about the incidence of the year 2010 when his plate was snatched. He even sympathised with the mahadalit Jitan Ram Manjhi for his ill treatment by Nitish Kumar. But soon Nitish Kumar turned the table by gaining the sympathies of Biharis on the famous DNA remarks of Prime Minister Modi. He applied the remark to all the people of Bihar. Prime Minister Modi then tried to fit himself in the undeveloped society of Bihar by calling himself child of an extremely backward mother but Nitish Kumar repeatedly reminded people of not coming in the lures "jhanse" of outsiders "Bahari" who were seen in Bihar only during election time.

##### 5.2 Attack:

Prime Minister Modi repeatedly attacked Nitish Kumar to be an arrogant person who returned the cheque of Rs. 5 crore by the Gujarat government for the Kosi flood victims. Nitish Kumar counterattacked Modi by saying "he calls me a *yachak*" and a arrogant man at the same time.

##### 5.3 Inclusive and Exclusive Language:

Chief Minister Nitish Kumar was more successful in establishing inclusiveness with the audience. "tarah tarah ke log aajkal *hamare* Bihar mean ghoom rahe hain" Nitish kumar repeatedly reminded people that the opposition is an outsider and tried to direct the election on the issue "Bihari Vs Bahari". In DNA remark

episode also, Nitish Kumar proclaimed the insult to be applied on the people of the state. He announced that it is the insult to DNA of all the Biharis.

#### 5.4 Repetition:

Prime Minister kept repeating few issues in almost all his speeches “*bijli aai—nahi aai*”. He tried to rote the audience with the abbreviation of RJD as *Rojana Jungle raj ka Darr* and JDU as *Janata ka Daman our Utpidan*. In the process of announcing the package of Bihar Prime Minister Modi repeated few words like *50 hajar karu ki jyada karu; 70 hajar karu ki jyada karu.....90 hajar karu ki jyada karu*”. Nitish kumar counterattacked Modi on his way of announcing the package as if he doing an auction of Bihar.

#### 5.5 Alliteration:

The campaign saw a lot of stylistic literary devices as slogans and catchy phrases to attract the attention of people. The phrases like “Bihar mei bahaar ho, Nitishe kumar ho”, “Badalie Bihar Badalie Sarkar” or “Bihari Vs Bahari” are some examples of alliteration used in the election that became very popular with the public.

#### Conclusion:

The election of Bihar, 2015 will be remembered as the most bitterly fought election of recent times. This election was based on divisive politics of communal hate and religious intolerance. The importance of Bihar election can be understood by it being an assembly poll that saw dozens of central ministers campaigning and the prime minister addressed 30 odd rallies. Party president stayed in Bihar for over eight months to devise strategies to win the election. No other prime minister had ever canvassed in assembly elections as Modi did in Bihar. It was as if he was in competition to become the state’s chief minister. The political speeches in Bihar election rallies have generated a lot of discussion on the media platforms as well as in public discourses. The speeches and discussions started from a vision of developing Bihar to caste and reservation politics and subsequently focusing on the issues of religious sentiments like cow slaughter etc. The word-war and hate speeches like (*Bhujang Prasad and Chandan Kumar*) were the central factor in the political discourse. The election results proved that beef was not a big issue for Bihari voters rather they were more worried about other issues like price rise, employment and development of the state overall. The election speeches were full of positive self representation and hyperbolic enhancement of “their” negative actions (e.g. *Bijli aai- nahi aai, par wo aaye* while the ground reality was, there had been good development in the last ten years). “Our” positive actions (e.g. Nepal and Bhutan visit of PM was for Bihar electricity) were glorified. Modi repeated in his speeches about the power situation in Bihar. It was an important highlight in his speeches but he himself was unable to provide a concrete plan to provide electricity in the state. In the last ten years of Nitish government, the power situation in Bihar has improved and thus has revolutionised the social dynamics of rural Bihar. Therefore, for a Prime Minister to totally dismiss the merits of development in the past decade, in his speeches, were not appreciated by the voters of Bihar. The confidence of Prime Minister Modi was quite visible in his campaigns (posters and hoardings showing only Modi and Shah) and speeches (“*50 hazaar karu ki jyada karu...*”/“*Modi-Modi kar rhe hain*”). He took things to be granted by offering a big economic package to a *bimaru rajya*. Chief Minister Nitish Kumar kept a persuasive technique in his speeches by argumentation and clarification of hyperbolic statements (like proving economic package as repackaging) of Prime Minister Modi. He kept counter attacking his opposition and clarifying his people and taking advantage of slur and intolerant language used by the opposition to gain the support of people of Bihar.

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