CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF AN EPISODE OF ALL INDIA RADIO PROGRAM “MANN KI BAAT” BY INDIAN PRIME MINISTER MR. NARENDRA MODI

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ABSTRACT

The motivation to study this episode of Mann ki Baat is its timing. It was just one month into the New Year, a year which is full with speculations and hope as the yearlong battle against COVID is still on. Last year humans faced the most dreadful days of present generation due to the deadly virus. The sudden outbreak of Corona, lockdowns, quarantines, deaths, travel restriction and it was almost life coming to a standstill as everything became virtual. So as we ushered into 2021 people in every part of world were looking forward to 'normalcy' as it used to be before the pandemic hit. But the pandemic have affected everything in a way that its effect is going to be there on almost everything say food, lifestyle, education, commerce, governments or the way people look to the policymakers. Like any other place Indians were also full of expectations in this year. In India as the rollout of vaccination was already in place by the time Prime minister delivered Mann ki Baat (MkB). There were good and bad talks regarding the indigenous COVID vaccine everywhere. Also there was the farmer's protest going on which not only has turned into the ugliest battles of our times on social media but has become a headache for the government as well. The stir even faced the heaviest use of force and check by government. All were speculating and rather waiting for the prime minister to intervene. Then the budget was coming, election rallies in Bengal and Tamil Nadu are going on all of which made the general public as to what the PM has to say. So the situation was ripe for Nation's most powerful representative to address the citizens and thus this MkB deserved coverage and Discourse analysis.

KEYWORDS: COVID, All India Radio Program, Political Leaders

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1. INTRODUCTION

Communication is the basic need of human beings. And nowadays communication has become the essence of everything from school teaching to building brand values, from business to politics, from social media to conventions. In order to sell or share our ideas, programs or views one has to use effective communication strategy. Communication is thus very important in every field but it's the life line of governance. The products, services or policies of the governing bodies cannot be substantiated instantly and thus rely upon successful communication and interactions with the general populations timely. For this the governing bodies, political leaders or speakers must use appropriate language. The choice of appropriate language may depend on many factors including demographic and social distance between participants (Troik, 1982). Since language is a means of communication, a means of presenting and shaping argument. When it comes to political argument, it is known to be ideological, in that it comes from a series of beliefs (Beard, 2000, 18). Mostly political discourses are based on use of rhetoric because the

purpose of rhetoric is to persuade the audience by appealing to their emotions, in order to influence their thinking.

Discourse Analysis

In Indian like situations Government is of the people, for the people and by the people and thus the way people think, interact and act is of utter importance. And thus any public deliverance by Government becomes very important as reflects the ideology and action plan of any government. Also it clearly indicates the priorities of the government. We can say that these speeches or any interaction is the best choice with any political dignitary to connect with citizens, to take them into confidence, to shun away their fears and myths, to assure them, to lead them or in short the best means to shape their opinions. This also is very important in deciding their future vote banks too. So equally important is to study any such deliverance at macro and micro level.

Regarding the important of speech in politics, “the politician should have the ability to speak since language is a means of communication, a means of presenting and shaping argument and political argument is ideological, in that it comes from a series of beliefs Beard” (2000:18). So while speaking its very necessary for the speaker to have an appeal for emotions and apt content for concerns. This is achieved by use of Rhetoric in public discourse. Rhetoric is used to inform, influence or motivate audiences.

“Aristotle employ three of rhetoric, also called the Aristotelian Triad: ethos which refers to the character or presence of the speaker, pathos which refers to the role of an audience in a rhetorical situation, and logos which refers to the logic of the argument itself” (Murthy, 2014). Beside these three elements kairos and telos were used by Aristotle to explain how rhetoric functions. Kairos refers to timeliness of an argument or message. The term is derived from ancient Greek word meaning ‘right time’ or ‘opportunity’. Rhetoric guarantees sympathy towards the speaker and thus indirectly helps in gaining power over them. So it becomes very apt to study the rhetoric in PM Shri Narendra Modi’s speech as he interacts with public very emotionally and with affinity.

Critical discourse analysis deals with studying and analyzing written or spoken text to reveal the existence of power, dominance and inequality. It examines how the existence maintenance and reproduced in social, political and historical context. Furthermore, CDA is aimed to make clear connection between discourse, social practices and social structure which is not clear for several people (Fowler, 1991).

CDA explores relationships between discursive practices, texts, and events and also wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes (Fairclough, 1992).

Hence, it is appropriated in analysing the discourse by using critical discourse analysis since Mr. Narendra Modi, Prime Minister of India has unique, strong and charismatic personality as a politician and also known as the best orator of India (the wire 2019).

His charismatic and powerful message in every rally had been the formula for political success. He is an exceptional speaker who delivers intriguing, engaging and mesmerizing speeches (Kataria, 2019). On 3rd October 2014 prime minister of India started a programme called “Mann ki Baat” on All India Radio to address the people of nation once a month. The radio programme is one of the efforts being made by Modi to connect with the people. Therefore, this study will analyse Mr. Modi’s talk that are related to the public discourse in order to find his objectives in doing it.

The main focus of CDA is public speech, such as political speeches, advertisement, newspaper, official documents and so on. CDA's aim is to examine the relationship between the language, ideology, and power; Furthermore, its aim is to find out the assessment and exploitation of language dominance through text.

CDA of the selected discourse highlights the relationship between language and power. It points out how Narendra Modi creates a personal relationship with the audience. The swaying nature of the speech is disclosed through CDA.

1.1 Research objectives

The research objectives are:

- To explore the public discourse of prime minister Mr. Narendra Modi as social practice
- To investigate the ideology of discourse through Critical Discourse Analysis
- To investigate the language and context of the text used in the discourse of AIR program “Man Ki Baat” by PM Narendra Modi

1.2 Research Question

The research questions are given as follows:

- How do the different elements of rhetoric shape the relationship of political and social interactions?
- How does the use of language -words and phrases guarantee rhetoric in speech?
- Which type of ideology is used in public discourse of PM Narendra Modi?

The research questions can be adequately studied as basically needs to study the use of language as a tool to address, engage, impress, assure, and convince people and to win their support too. It wants to study how the power deals with the people. It wanted to study the Prime minister's view and approach towards the relevant and burning issues in India presently. To understand best our leader it's the simplest and most helpful to perform CDA of his words.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section of the project, researcher has cited references related to the main topic and different variables involved in the research questions. Researcher has tried to knit a strong kind of theoretical basis in this portion to make further grounds clear. Works of different theorists in the broad interdisciplinary field CDA have been elaborated vividly.

Van Dijk's (1977) conception of discourse is to see it as text in context. According to Van Dijk, CDA deals with analysis of any written and spoken discourse from the perspective of power relation inequality and hidden relations of meanings with social practices. Halliday's view (1978) holds the concept that language is a social act and people communicate in social setup.

Brown and Yule (1985) assert that language not only deals with description but also with what people do in the social contexts. Discourse is a wider term than text. Gee (1990) puts an argument that discourse interprets the texts with different approaches by keeping in mind socio-political relations contexts.

Critical discourse gives different angles for the analysis of a text as it functions as a theoretical framework (theory) and method (how to use data for the analysis).

Vandijk (1998a) is of the view that CDA is particularly concerned with the analysis of any discourse whether written or spoken from the perspective of discursive practices in a society like hegemony, domination, inequality of basic rights and racial discrimination. Its focus is to examine the exertion of these practices with reference to socio-economic and political perspective.

Fairclough (1993) says that CDA is a kind of analysis of discourse which brings forth odd relationships among different social and ethnic groups. He focuses text and sequential events and then relates them with broader socio-cultural perspective of the discourse of people which reveals uneven and ideology shaped power relations. He explores how power is exercised in a society through hegemonic attitude and ideological text of the elite.

According to Fairclough (1995b), linguistic analysis of discourse practice in socio-cultural background is known inter textual analysis. Here the linguistic analysis is the analysis of the text at lexical, syntactic, grammatical and vocabulary level. Cohesion, coherence and organization of the text are also included in this analysis. This analysis focuses on the text by keeping in view all discourse practices.

Fairclough (1992) defines intertextuality as the characteristic of any text in which the text carries the chunks of other texts which become a part of that text. He divides intertextuality into two types which are 'manifest intertextuality' and 'constitutive intertextuality'. The first type refers to the use of quotations in the texts in order to validate and authenticate the argument. Certain quotes are included in the inverted comas while writing any essay or speech. This type of inclusion of other text is considered as manifest intertextuality. The other is related to discourse structures which lead to novel text production. Fairclough says that this kind of text can be analyzed by doing its linguistic analysis.

Wodak and Fairclough (1995a, 1996) are of the view that language as a practice of creating hegemony, power and dominance is being used in a society. It seems to be a complete reflection of social practices like a mirror. The types of language used would reveal speaker's hegemonic attitude.

Corson (1995) says that critical discourse analysis applies certain techniques like textual and stylistic features to find out the social relations, identities from the linguistic perspective. Discourses whether they reveal the social issues like dominance, hegemony are reflected through text or it is the discourses related to educational systems like schools, official documents are dealt by the analysis of the text.

Ruth Wodak (2001) and Meyer (2001) interpret the term 'Critical' in CDA as the analysis and understanding of the language embedded in social, political and economic perspective. They are of the view that CDA not only traces out the power relations in social practices but it also provides opportunities to challenge and criticize it.

Carroll (2004) is of the view that Critical discourse provides us several dimensions for the analysis of a text or speech as it functions as a theoretical framework (theory) and method (how to use data for the analysis). CDA analyses the abuse of power and hegemonic attitude by focusing through the lens of language. The later analyses the context and dimensions of discourse.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which combines the qualitative and quantitative approach (Tashakkori& Teddlie, 1998) to study the language of the text and the attributes hidden within the text. CDA using Aristotelian rhetoric has been supported by several prominent methodologists in the social sciences. Aristotle said rhetoric

is used best to persuade the audiences by using Ethos, Pathos and Logos (Kairos and Telos) and for the speaker need to be the master of this art of using language to gain motives. PM Modi is since an excellent orator and has always spellbound the audiences with his words and style, so it would be interesting to study the rhetoric factor in his Mkb. This research will give best outcome if the discourse is studied qualitatively as “qualitative research is interdisciplinary, interpretive, political and theoretical in nature. Using language to understand concepts based on people's experience, it attempts to create a sense of the larger realm of human relationships” (Babbie 2010) whereas, Brennen (2017).

In this study the discourse will be analyzed by analyzing repetition of words and use of phrases and based on same the text analysis and social analysis will be done.

Text analysis deals with the descriptive explanation of the text and process analysis includes the interpretation that connects the various parts of the text and context and develops a relationship between these two. The social analysis explains the socio-cultural context of the written or spoken text.

3.1 Data Collection

The written text of 20th episode from the AIR's program “Mann ki Baat 2.0” delivered on 26 Jan 2021 has been collected from the official site www.pmindia.gov.in for the critical discourse analysis. This is the series of public speech by Indian Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi to interact with the nation on monthly basis.

3.2 Research Tool

Antconc-The entire corpora was analysed as per the defined objectives of the study. Various corpus tools have been used like collocates, keywords, Key Word in Context (KWIC), type and token ratio, lexical density, concordance, prominent words generation and positive and negative words.

3.3 Procedures - A corpus of text from the script of the episode of the program was created from the official site of www.pmindia.gov.in . For the sake of creating a corpus, every word from the script was copied and pasted into a notepad file.

3.4 Unit of analysis – Every individual word from the text has been used as the unit of analysis.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

4.1. Word count of the script:

Word	Frequency
I	31
My	14
India	24
Country	22
You	22
Day	21
Ji	20
Friend/s	15
We	20
Countrymen	12
Our	19

Interpretations of Repeated Words:

I: I which is used to depict identity when used by PM Narendra Modi inherently carries authority, constitutional power vested in him due to his position, credibility, responsibility as he address the people who elected him as their representative.

Further when he says “I am present amongst you as a member of your family”. He clearly wants to convey that he is one amongst the 136 billion which instils a sense of belongingness in the audiences towards him. Further when he used “Do you think the way I”, He wants to show commonness with the common man in terms of vision, concerns and approaches. Also when I used in context of festivities, achievements and other instances quoted by him throughout the discourse, it means he shares common feelings and aspirations.

Will: which is used to denote some action in future is used by PM repeatedly in different contexts to emphasise his strong will power to make things better with the support of the citizens. He depicts that he is strongly committed to the people, to development and to the Nation.

India (/ country): India is used by PM to refer to common identity, motherland, unity in ideas, combined belief (against corona, anti socials etc., In some places it was used for reiteration of programs introduced by his government (Make in India); to boast confidence and reliance (Aatmnirbhar Bharat Campaign); for emphasis on that we as a nation are progressing, capable and deserve celebration (Amrit mahotsava); positive reinforcement of trust and ideas; pride (Indian Air Force created new history); Incredible India Getaway- depicts progressive ideas, tourism, progress, adoption of creative and innovative ideas etc; Chile and India (India as inspiration and friendly country); Road safety in India (emphasis on responsibility and rules by governance) etc.

You: used in direct communication, commonality (I am a member of your family) which implies that the concerns, pains, achievements, joys and challenges are common and thus seek support and trust.

Almost mentioning ‘you’ in every point or feeling confirms that the audience matter most and ensures that the audiences are not lost or feel alienated anywhere in the speech.

‘you’ maintains association and continuity

‘your thoughts and messages inspires – giving recognition, respect and value to ‘you’

Think of ‘you’ as a role model

Depicts that speaker is generous and humble as seeks guidance from ‘you (common man)’.

Ji: Almost a notable address in his every speech though sounds simple but repeated use fills the audiences with the feeling of being considered, respected, valued and taken care of. He uses it in a way to send a message that the audiences are achievers and play a very important role by acting as role models (different examples quoted in text).

It depicts that he respects and gives importance to everyone whereas mostly the common population feels avoided and rejected except the times of elections. That’s a main reason why people love him; listen to him because he interacts to them very cordially via these platforms.

By ‘ji’ he reiterates all are equal for him and worthy.

Ji used in our culture to address so brings homely feel for the audiences.

We (/our): is used by him to reflect commonality, unity, Nationhood, family system, brotherhood who works for common cause with faith, trust and support. ‘We’ share same joys, achievements, foes and fear.

By using ‘we’ in different stories he tried to prove that he shares undivided viewpoint on people, policies and politics with his voters.

We/our usage mean that growth, success, development is meant for everyone.

Friend/s: It’s also a very important part of his discourses so far and has definitely helped him a lot in building a rapport with his audiences worldwide especially youth. He sounds very amicable, frank and progressive.

When the PM from such a popular medium ‘invites young friends’ or says ‘my dear friends’ he appeals to all especially youth and gives them hopes that they play a crucial role in his governance. He means that the youth are his guides as friends and future leaders.

Irrespective of caste, colour, creed, age, region, profession, economic status- all are important full of potential, are cared for, valued, loved as friends and must believe he is available; his party is working for them.

All audiences are made to believe that they can be happy and prosperous from this beautiful bond which the PM shares with them.

Countrymen: shows an ideology where the country, its people are foremost important and the speaker is ready to lead them from front. Only a responsible and able person does so. He refers to his ‘countrymen’ in different ideas as wants to convey that he is working for their better and will keep doing so, he wants to learn about their problems, concerns and ideas. That’s why mentions that he takes regular follow ups through apps like NAMO and MKB which means he wants to be in touch. He assures them that he wants to take them along on the path of development.

4.2. Use of Phrases and their Analysis based on Aristotelian Elements:

Ethos:

1. When I express Mann Ki Baat, it feels like I am present amongst you as a member of your family. Little matters exchanged that teach one another; bitter- sweet life experiences that become an inspiration for living a wholesome life...and this is just what Mann Ki Baat is!

Analysis: here I is used by PM to set an identity (shared identity), an identity though which has power and authority but is related to and equal to the common man. ‘Present amongst you’ has been metaphorically used to show a connection, bond, relation which itself implies simplicity, sense of belongingness and concern for common man and overall a sense of ‘one’ with millions. In this the rhetoric of ethos and pathos has been imbibed. The format of the programme “MkB” itself establishes credibility and authority over a single person as the power and opportunity to speak has been conferred upon a single seat in the form of honourable PM. And when such a powerful figure opens his speech with “**My dear countrymen**”, he is conferring power and identity to all the audiences as well. And this is the tested technique in ‘persuasion’, to give importance to the audiences, so that they listen to what comes next, feel important throughout the lecture and assume that every aspect of the deliverance holds ‘something’ for them. Basically it arouses interest in the discourse.

Similar examples are:

2. “These days, I too receive similar messages for India from Presidents and Prime Ministers of different countries of the world. You must also have seen recently how the President of Brazil, in a tweet thanked India – every Indian was gladdened at that.”

A: here again PM is proving credibility and sense of achievements by highlighting true references which is building identity, authority and power (to him directly which he is sharing with the population indirectly).

3.” Amidst all this, the country was saddened by the insult to the Tricolour on the 26th of January in Delhi.”

A: Almost the whole nation was waiting for the PM to respond to the ongoing Farmers protest. Without saying a single word on the reasons, developments and the legitimacy of the fears of farmers involved, he straightaway summed up the whole stir from beginning to the quoted incident as one that is anti-tricolour which means anti nation. This sentence was embedded in between “winning by our team” and “We have to infuse times to come with new hope and novelty. Last year, we displayed exemplary patience and courage.”

This fulfilled the KAIROS element of rhetoric as well because before the mention of the ‘sadden’ he talked of united, winning and happy India. After mentioning the incident again he said of returning to ‘hope and novelty’ which indirectly implies those involved in the incident (without citing the protesting farmers, if they are assumed to be the role players in the incident) are against development and nationalism.

In this his words and style is more of like ‘magic bullet’ or ‘propaganda’ both are used to influence the knowledge, attitude and response of people.

4. in the present chapter as well as in earlier it has been noticed that he talks about importance of reviving culture, education, agriculture, employment, industry, women empowerment, sports, swachhbharat etc.

In this speech also without any concrete facts or figures supporting any big developments in most of these fields he kept celebrating achievements using ethos, logos, pathos.

For e.g.

‘Local vegetable market in Boinpalli of Hyderabad is’ ‘generating electricity from vegetable waste’. (Scientific aptitude)

‘Badaut village Panchayat of Panchkula in Haryana’ ‘started filtering the dirty water’ ‘thereby, liberating them from pollution, filth and disease and irrigating the fields too.’ (Technology)

‘Environment can open avenues of income was seen in Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh’ (reviving old enterprise)

‘Think, how great Rajappanji’s thought is! Taking inspiration from Rajappan ji, we too should, wherever possible, make our contribution to cleanliness’ (cleanliness)

“Four women pilots from India took command of a non-stop flight from San Francisco, America to Bangalore.” (women empowerment)

‘In Chichgaon, Jabalpur, some tribal women’, ‘under the aegis of Ajivika mission in the form of a loan from the bank’, sisters bought the same rice mill in which they once worked! (Entrepreneurship)

“‘Strawberry Festival’ began in Jhansi. Everyone is surprised – Strawberry and Bundelkhand!’ (Experiments in agriculture)

‘That video was of Sarmuddin, a painter from Naya Pingla village in West Midnapore, West Bengal. He was expressing happiness that his painting based on Ramayana had sold for two lakh rupees.’ (Religious harmony through art)

‘The International Day of Yoga is also celebrated with great fervour in Chile.’ (Health and reviving Indian philosophies)

‘Be Mr. Late than Late Mr.’ and ‘fasttag’ (road safety and advancement)

‘Look at Bhagyashree Sahu of Rourkela, Odisha. Although she is a student of Engineering, in the past few months, she started learning the art of Pattchitra’ (talent harnessing and multi skill developments)

‘Friends, the government is committed to modernizing agriculture and is also taking many steps in that direction.’ (Agriculture welfare)

A; Through all above and other examples he reflected an ideology which is rooted in Indian ancient art, culture but is focussed on progressing scientific education and developments too. And the use of rhetoric made everyone miss the fact that no doubt the intentions of our PM are focussed on welfare in all above fields but till date they don’t have any considerable figures to boast of. Without blinking an eye or having a second thought everyone is made to believe that more than enough has been done and there’s still plenty to hope for.

Logos

1. On NamomApp, Bhai Himanshu Yadav from UP has written that the Made in India vaccine has generated a new self confidence within.

A: it shows step by step usefulness of NamomApp, capability to make vaccine and its authenticity as people are positive, confident and thankful towards it.

2. “Foreign friends are messaging her thanking India.”

A: it also emphasises upon the credibility of the promising invention as the logic has been cited that foreigners also have full confidence in our vaccine and are welcoming it and eagerly waiting to use it.

3. “One gets to know about your thoughts through your messages on Namom App and MyGov and phone calls.”

A: It shows relevance and continuous importance of steps and initiatives of government

Pathos

1. It just doesn’t feel that the entire month of January has passed by! This is what is termed as the speed of time. It feels like just a matter of a few days ago when we were exchanging good wishes with each other! Then we celebrated Lohri, Makar Sankranti, Pongal and Bihu. It was festival time in different parts of the country. We celebrated the 23rd of January, the birth anniversary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose as PARAKRAM DIWAS and also watched the grand Republic Day Parade on the 26th of January.

A: Indians are fond of celebrations and festivities. In one statement PM aroused feeling of pride, celebration, togetherness with all by citing wishes on New Year, religious and national festivals. The aim is to establish that he is with all in all these special moments. It also acted as a diversion though because so much is happening in India right now which needs attention and solution to be worked out. But when a person from the highest seat shows coolness, positivity, fun and

frollic in words, tone and attitude the audience automatically are swayed along.

2. This month, there has been very good news from the cricket pitch too. Our cricket team, after initial setbacks made a grand comeback, winning the series in Australia.

A: Cricket in India is next to God and so by using 'good news', 'our', 'win' again he aroused the feeling of oneness, happiness and all good in the audiences. They irrespective of few directly related issues being neglected at the occasion feel contented as take immense pride and belongingness in Indian team' win.

3. During the moment of crisis, India is able to serve the world today, since she is capable, self-reliant in the field of medicines, vaccines. The same thought underpins the Atmanirbhar Bharat Campaign.

They may get confused initially whether everything is truly normal but repeated use of diverting material by the PM in forms of festivities, cricket, achievements and other things in a very positive, relaxed and happy tone makes them believe that there are no boiling issues to be handled. This has been a striking feature of his deliverances and so may work out this time as well.

4. "I appeal to all countrymen, especially the young friends to write about freedom fighters, incidents associated with freedom. Write books about the saga of valour during the period of freedom struggle in your area."

A: Use of simple language, small sentences and laymen's dialect at places he displays emotions and arouses same.

- 'We will meet again next month.'
- Dear countrymen
- My dear friends
- Want to share
- I am happy to know
- I read a lot of your letters and ideas

5. CONCLUSIONS

It can be concluded that the main aim of the study was to see how the use of language and rhetoric is used by the speaker in connecting to the people. And PM Modi is one of the best orators of the time and he is able to build a rapport with his audiences always. He uses simple language, small words, familiar phrases and thus keeps the discourse very cordial, understandable, direct and fruitful. By referring to the audiences again and again and that too by addressing them as friends he never loses his audiences even ones throughout the discourse. Though the discourse is one sided but by quoting examples, phrases and instances where he shows his efforts to keep in touch with the general public he really makes everyone believe that this interaction is two way. He mention how he reads letters addressed to him, follows people on apps and gives an impression that he is always available for them. Also he did not leaves any important topic untouched in the speech which shows his ideology that he is working throughout for all round development which will be meant for all. And yet very clearly he avoided speaking on any disputed topic in detail and successfully summed up the 'stirs' negative and anti national by simple use of language. So it can be concluded that his speech is based a lot on rhetoric and it works well in people being glued to his ideology. This discourse analysis is important for two reasons: first it will help in understanding the use of language in defining the context and ideology of our representatives which is of utmost

importance.

Secondly, it can be helpful for theory of critical discourse analysis by future researchers in the field.

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