

**THE USE OF PERSUASIVE TECHNIQUE BY BARACK OBAMA
IN HIS POLITICAL SPEECHES
IN THE 2008 USA PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES**

THESIS

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**ENGLISH LETTERS AND LANGUAGE DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND CULTURE
THE STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MALANG**

2008

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THESIS

Presented to
The State Islamic University of Malang
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for Degree of *Sarjana Sastra (S.S)*

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2008

APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that the Sarjana's thesis of Fakhruddin Abbas entitled *The Use of Persuasive Technique by Barack Obama in His Political Speeches in the 2008 USA Presidential Primaries* has been approved by the thesis advisor for further approval by the board of examiners.

Malang, June 25, 2008

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MOTTO

وَعَسَىٰ أَنْ تَكْرَهُوا شَيْئًا وَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ وَعَسَىٰ أَنْ تُحِبُّوا شَيْئًا وَهُوَ شَرٌّ لَّكُمْ
وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٢١٦﴾

"... And it may be that you dislike a thing, which is good for you and that you like a thing, which is bad for you. Allah knows but you do not know." (QS. 02: 216)

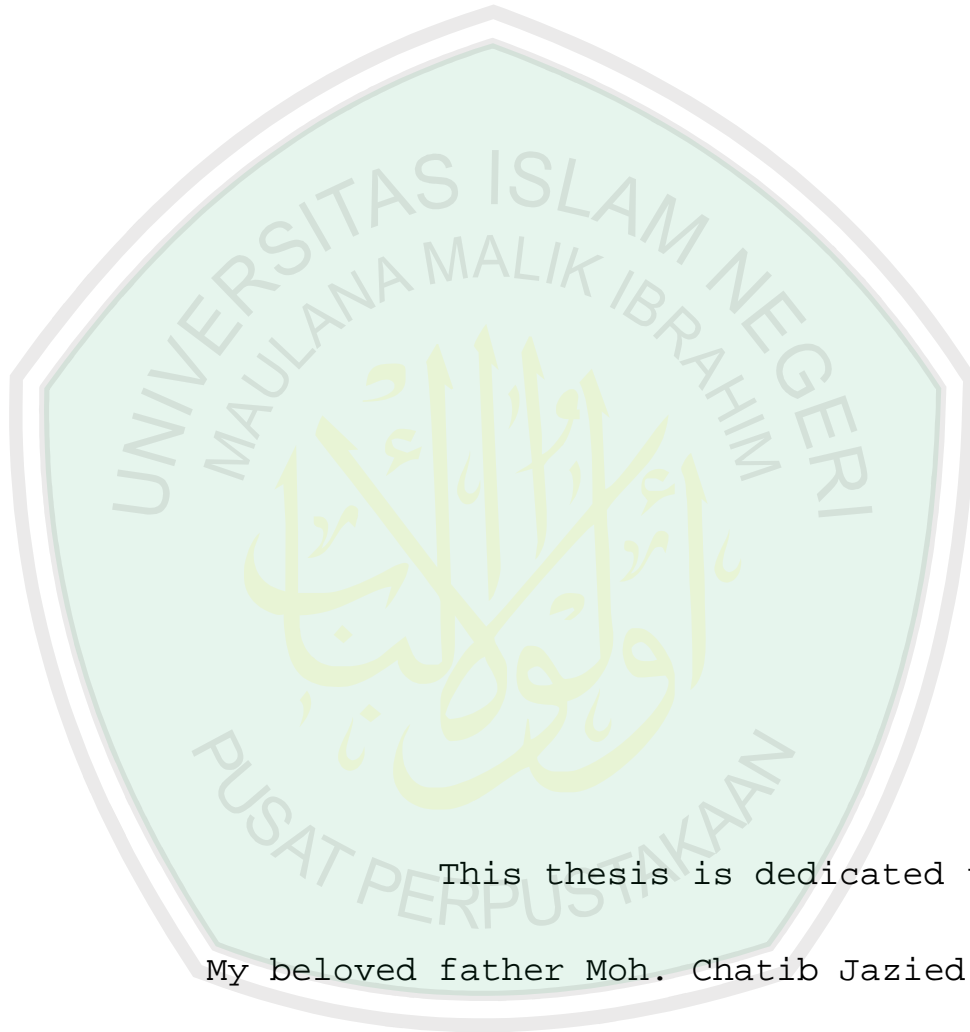
We cannot be wise because of other person's wisdom.
Nevertheless, we know everything because of other
person's knowledge.

(Michel De Montaigne)

لكل يوم زيادة من العلم واسبح في بحور الفوائد

"...every day increase the science and
swim in the sea of worthwhile"

DEDICATION



This thesis is dedicated to:

My beloved father Moh. Chatib Jazied MH

and mother Liliek Indriyati for their endless
love and prays

My old sisters Titin, my brother in-law Eric,
my young sister Lilis, and my young brothers,
Hanif and Idrus,

I miss you so much

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Finishing this thesis is not easy and simple and I have spent much time. It, however, has given invaluable experience. This thesis actually would never finish without support, motivation, and contribution from many people. Therefore, the researcher should express the deepest gratitude to his advisor Dra. Hj. Syafiyah, M.A. for her guidance, time, and suggestions. Besides, the researcher also wants to thank:

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Finally, the researcher hopes this thesis will be useful for anyone. Amin

Malang, June 25th, 2008

Fakhrudin Abbas

ABSTRACT

Abbas, Fakhruddin. 2008. *The Use of Persuasive Technique by Barack Obama in His Political Speeches in the 2008 USA Presidential Primaries*. Thesis. English Language and Letters Department. Faculty of Humanities and Culture. the State Islamic University of Malang. Advisor: Dra. Hj. Syafiyah, M.A.

Key Words : persuasion, technique of persuasion, speech.

Persuasion is an important aspect of communication in our daily lives. We are urged to buy products, to maintain social relationship, to support reforms and to vote political candidates. The main purpose of persuasion is to convince other people to change their belief, attitude and behaviour. Here, the researcher wanted to find out the techniques of persuasion used by Barack Obama in his political speeches in the 2008 USA presidential primaries.

This research was designed by using descriptive qualitative method because the data of this research were in the form of utterances and words, which were not statistically analyzed. In this case, the researcher also used discourse analysis because the researcher tried to study and understand the functional use of language, that was, persuasion which was used by people in their conversation to influence other's attitude, belief and behavior. The data were Barack Obama's utterances containing persuasion which were observed from his speeches within USA Presidential Primaries of Democrat party that delivered from 5th 2008 up to 24th February 2008. The data had represented all data of Barack Obama' speeches. The data were analyzed inductively through the observation done by the researcher himself. In addition, the approach for analyzing the technique of persuasion was based on the Gorys Keraf's theory of persuasion.

It was found that Barack Obama used several techniques of persuasion to get support from the audience or public and invest his idea in delivering his speeches. These techniques are: rationalization techniques, identification techniques, suggestion (hypnotic) techniques, conformities techniques, compensation techniques, displacement techniques and projection techniques. Furthermore, in the use of persuasion technique, Barack Obama used several ways to persuade the audience. Such as giving the reasons for his statements, putting the foundations and ideas in the heart of audience, obscuring the conflict situation and identifying his behavior, making agreements and influencing the audience without applying the reasonable basic faithful, adapting himself with the audience and bringing positive influence to advancement, looking for substitute for unacceptable situation when it became frustration, accusing certain person of cause the problem, shifting an intention or something trouble with another purpose which replaces emotion, and making the subject become the object as well as disfigured another person in order that audiences recognize him as the best figure.

This study can lead further researchers to conduct research on persuasion in other fields, theories, and not limited on the political speech. It was also hoped that the study on persuasion involving other languages, not just in English, therefore it can broaden the knowledge in applying linguistic aspects in various languages.



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents background of the study, problem of the study, objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation the study and definition of the key terms.

1.1. Background of the study

Language is often as a vehicle of thought, a system of expression that mediates the transfer of thought from one person to another (Edward, 2004: 9). Language is also used by people to transfer their ideas, when we talk, we try to convey the listener about we are talking, how informative the topic delivered, well founded, relevant, and perspicuous these mesagges.

Additionally, Finochiaro (1974) as quoted by Oktavianus (2006: 3) states that language involves a system of arbitrary vocal symbols that people from certain culture or other people who has already learnt its system of culture, to communicate and enable to interact each other. Language also exists together with the needs of human to communicate.

According to Hovland and friends as quoted by Arni (1992: 2) communication is the process by which an individual transmits stimuli (usually verbal) to modify the behavior of other individuals. Furthermore, Persuasion is an important aspect of communication in our daily lives. We are urged to buy products to maintain social relationship, to support reforms

and to vote political candidates, since the main purpose of persuasion is to convince us, as the hearer, to change our particular belief, attitude and behaviour (Adler, 1985: 351).

In addition, Palapah in Sunarjo (1983: 31) states that the word “persuasion” is from Latin “*persuasio*”, means “to persuade”. Keraf (1989: 118) defines persuasion as an art of verbal with the intention to assure someone to do something appropriate with the speaker’s purpose for this moment or the present time. It means that the purpose of the persuasion is that the speaker tries to persuade the listener to act something with no violence and coercion. So that, in persuasion the speaker needs the efforts for stimulating the addressee in taking decision.

Persuasion also tends to change someone’s thought, it will try to make someone accept and conduct what the speaker said. Sunarjo (1983: 30) said that communicative persuasion tries not to hurt human’s proud feeling, because it is tended to an effort to motivate everyone to change their behavior, conviction and their attitude without violence or an encouragement from other. Bermann (1981: 239) states that a powerful in persuasion is the rhetorical utterances. Rhetoric in Plato’s view is the art of winning the soul by discourse. Discourse is the use of language in speech and writing in order to produce meaning.

In persuasion, the most primary thing is a skill to reach an agreement of a listener and speaker. It is a process which aimed to convince other people what the speaker desires, it starts from the conviction of people to

whom the speaker or the writer talks or writes. In persuasion, reasoning and credibility that the speaker uttered are never being separated things for the audience (Hart, 1989: 117). Furthermore, Aristoteles in Keraf (1989: 121) stated that there are three basics of persuasion. The first, the speaker's character and credibility, communications will take place as speaker expectation, if the audience have recognized him or her as the one who has a good character. The second, the skill of the speaker in holding the audience's emotional. It means that, the speaker has performance in debasing or extinguishes the audience's sentiment and emotion. The third, the evidences and facts entailed to prove the truth.

Hogan (1996: 4) argues that persuasion is to provide induction of belief and values into someone self by means of influence their thought and measure through positive strategy. In political oration or campaign, the speaker will convey his or her ideas through verbal utterance. Moreover, in delivering his or her speech, some techniques may be used in supporting his or her ideas; persuading the audience's belief in order that the audience approves the speaker's intention. In this case, the speaker may also attempt to change the prospective voter's view. Generally, the main purpose of a campaign or political oration is to provide voters with the information they need to make a wise choice at the polls. Campaign or political oration can help arousing the public interest as well as to educate the voters about the issues.

Dramatizing language in political discourse, especially in political speeches is an art. This is intended to influence people, but sometimes it is not spoken honestly or completely sincerely though the speech gives some terminologies that are reflection of the reality. It likes any kind of art; a political discourse reflects the social relations, identity, knowledge, and unequal power between the speaker and the listener. Unequal power occurs as the speaker have a high position in the society to control and constrain the contribution of non powerful the listener become the speaker intends to make the listener do what they want through their arguments in their political speeches.

Presidential primary or primary election is executed in the USA; it begins from 3rd of January 2008 until 7th of June 2008

(www.barackobama.com/primarydates.php. Last updated at 7:20 pm.

Saturday, March 08th, 2008). As we know that Elections in the USA are held at every level in the federal system, federal states and local. First of these, usually called presidential primary or primary elections. The purpose of having this election is to nominate candidates. The voters choose a few candidates, usually from a larger field of candidates to run in the second / general elections (Mackenzie, 1986: 59). It is common that the remaining candidates to precede in general elections only a couple, or few candidates represented the two major parties: the Republic and Democrat parties. After the candidates have been chosen, they would start to campaign their visions.

In this study, the researcher analyzes the speeches of Barack Obama using Keraf's theory of persuasion. Furthermore, what the researcher's interest to research is that Obama or Barack 'Husein' Obama, as the junior U.S. Senator from Illinois - sworn in January 4, 2005 - and a Democratic candidate for president in 2008, it is very amazing achievement that he clutches great vote for delegations from several states of USA. With his slogan "Change we can believe in", he achieves 1.411 votes or delegations over Hillary Clinton, who claims her self well-grounded than Obama, achieves 1.250 votes or delegations (www.barackobama.com/result.php. *Last updated at 7:20 pm. Saturday, March 08th, 2008*). Moreover, speech has a power to change the speaker himself and other people (Anjali, 2006: 16). In this study, the researcher chooses the speeches of Barack Obama because it contains persuasion and persuasive techniques that apply for influencing his audience or prospective voters during 2008 USA Presidential Primary. In his speech, Barack Obama also attempts to persuade the audience through the ability of language used.

This study has relation to the previous research on the same fields. Sukirno (2003) focused his study in persuasive words/phrases as used in the Jakarta Post Advertisements. He concluded that the advertisement headlines found in the Jakarta Post's advertisements tend to employ the variations among phrases and words, the meaning used also vary between denotative and connotative meanings, and the last is that the Jakarta Post

advertisements show two different patterns in presenting the headlines, the illustrations and the product promote.

Nurul (2007) studied on the discourse analysis on the education's advertisement on the street banner. In this case she focused on the diction and persuasive technique. She found that education's advertisement on the street banner used highly varied dictions appropriate with the requirement that have purpose to make the reader easier in understanding the messages of the advertisement.

Furthermore, Evy (2007) focused her study on a discourse analysis of bush's speeches on democracy issue through illocutionary act theory. In this case she found that the assertive/representative, expressive, and declarative illocutionary act that used was performed directly. Since the researcher did not find any figurative expression, ambiguous words, and connotative words which possibly led to indirect meaning, so it means that the speaker delivered messages through his speech explicitly.

Considered on the explanation above, this research focuses on the analysis of the Barack Obama's text speeches during 2008 USA Presidential Primaries of Democrat party by using Keraf's theory of persuasion since there is no one researches on this object by using Keraf's theory of persuasion.

1.2. Problem of study

Based on the above background of the study, this research is intended to discuss the following problems, those are:

- 1.2.1. What are the persuasive techniques used by Barack Obama in his political speeches in the 2008 USA Presidential Primaries?
- 1.2.2. How are persuasive techniques used by Barack Obama in his political speeches in the 2008 USA Presidential Primaries?

1.3. Objective of the Study

In line with the previous statement of the problem, the study mainly intended to know the persuasive techniques are used by Barack Obama in his political speeches in the 2008 USA Presidential Primaries and to describe how the persuasive techniques are used by Barack Obama in his political speeches in the 2008 USA Presidential Primaries.

1.4. Scope and Limitation

The study is focused on investigating Barack Obama Speeches during Presidential Primaries of Democrat party that delivered from 5th 2008 up to 24th February 2008. In this study the researcher analyzes the utterances which contain persuasive technique used by Barack Obama based on Gorys Keraf's theory of persuasion which classifies into seven categories. Those are: rationalization, Identification, suggestion (hypnotic), conformities, compensation, displacement and projection.

The limitation of this study is the use of persuasive technique used by Barack Obama in his political speeches in the 2008 USA Presidential Primaries. Furthermore, sometimes there is same situation that reflect same technique. So, the repetition may occur in the findings of the study, although the researcher has striven to avoid it.

1.5. Significance of the Study

The findings of this research were supposed to give valuable contributions theoretically and practically. Theoretically, the findings of this study were expected to be one of the sources in discourse studies particularly on how person persuades another through language.

Practically, this study can help linguistics researchers especially and social political reviewers generally in reviewing certain linguistic characteristic of such social figures as well as it may also become a model of persuasive analysis for discourse studies learners. Furthermore, this study is also expected to give an important direction for others who are interested in doing similar research in field in the future.

1.6. Definition of the Study

To avoid misunderstanding of this study, the definition of the terms as state as follows:

1. Discourse Analysis: The study how human use language to communicate and in particular, how addresses work on the linguistic. And it is an analysis of the form and function of language.
2. Persuasive discourse: type of discourse that is focused primarily on the decoder that is the other person involved in the process / the receiver of the message.
3. Persuasion: an art of verbal with the intention to assure someone to do something appropriate with the speaker's purpose for this moment or the present time.
4. Persuasive technique: techniques used by Barack Obama to persuade the audiences in his political speeches.
5. Persuasive speech: the speech to persuade and influence an audience attitude, belief and behavior.
6. Speech is a talk given to an audience
7. Presidential Primary: the election to nominate candidates for president of United States before running in the second / general elections.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the underlying theories of the study. Those are Discourse and Discourse Analysis, Persuasion, The Principles of Persuasion, The Persuasive Approach, The Persuasive Process, The Technique of Persuasion, Speech and Previous Studies.

2.1 Discourse and Discourse Analysis

Discourse is used for communication: People use utterances to convey information and to lead each other toward an interpretation of meanings and intentions. According to Renkema (1993:1) discourse studies the discipline devoted to the investigation of the relationship between form and function in verbal communication. It defines that the investigation of the relationship between forms of communication are statement, question etc, and the function of communication such as invitation, refusal, complaint etc.

Discourse analysis is committed to an investigation of what and how that language is used for (Brown and Yule, 1983:1). It means that discourse analysis is concerned with the language used for communication and how addressee work on linguistic message in order to interpret them. Trudgill (1992: 97) states that discourse analysis is a branch of linguistic units at levels above the sentence, i.e. texts and conversation. Those branches of discourse analysis which come under the heading of language and society presuppose

that language is being used in social interaction and thus deal with conversation.

In addition, Cook (1989:1) explains that discourse analysis examines how stretches of language considered in their full contextual, social, and psychological context become meaningful and unified for their users. It means how the language user employs texts to convey their intended meaning if related with the social and psychological interaction. Stubbs (1983:1) states that discourse analysis is defined as (i) concerned with language use beyond the boundaries of a sentence or utterance, (ii) concerned with the interrelationships between language and society and (iii) concerned with the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication.

The term discourse is also used in the field of politics, sociology, linguistics, literature, psychology, and communication (Rahardjo. 2007: 66-67). In detail, sociology views discourse as the relationship of social context in language usage. Linguistics replaces discourse as continuous inseparable units of language. Thus, discourse analysis focuses on the use of language, since language becomes the centre of subject illustration.

In addition, Kinneavy (1971: 61) groups discourse into four main types, namely:

1. *Expressive discourse*. It is a type of discourse in which language is used as a simple vehicle of expression of some aspect of personality of the encoder (the person who encodes the message).

2. *Referential discourse*. This is a type of discourse in which the use of language stresses the ability of language to designate or reproduce reality, in a manner of speaking. The referential discourse is categorized into three types, those are:

a. An informative use of language.

Referential is said to function as informative use of language if the reality is conceived as known and the facts about it are simply relayed on the decoder.

b. A scientific use of language

Referential is said to function as scientific use of language if the information is systematized and accompanied by demonstrative proof of its validity.

c. An exploratory of language

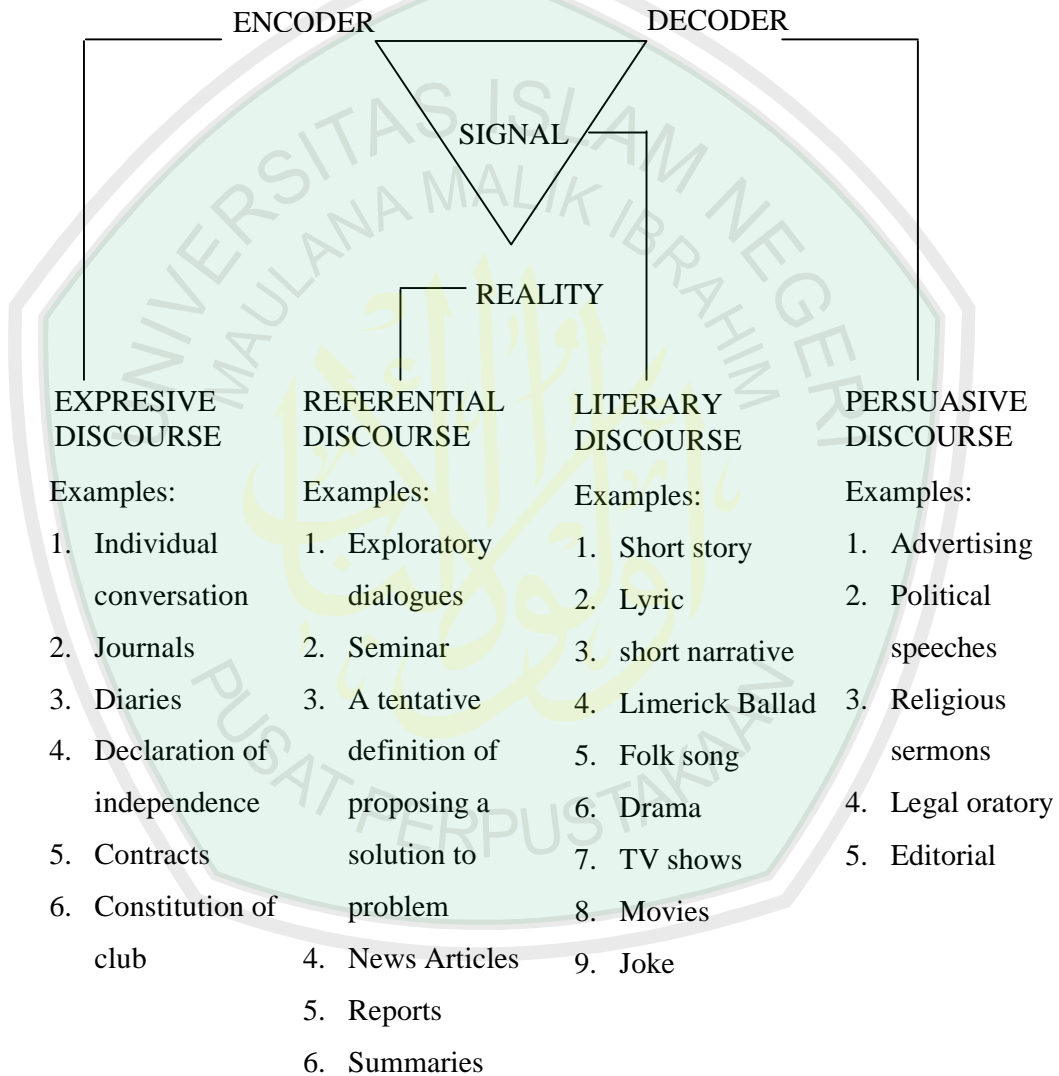
Referential is said to function as exploratory language if the reality is not known but being sought.

3. *Literary discourse*. It is a type of discourse in which the text or the product or the work it self is the focus of the process as worthy of being appreciated in its own right.

4. *Persuasive discourse*. This type of discourse is focused primarily on the decoder that is the other person involved in the process / the receiver of the message. In this type, what essential is the encoder, reality, and language it self all become instrument of the achievement of some practical effects in the decoder.

The 'discourse typology and the examples' in figure 2.1. Show that political speeches are the examples persuasive discourse. Kinneavy (1971: 61) gives the figure of discourse typology and the examples as shown below:

Figure 2.1 Discourse Typology and the Examples According to Kinneavy.



From the figure and the example above, it is known that political speech is an example of persuasive discourse. Furthermore, persuasive or persuasion is the verbal act, which aims to convince people to take action that

is desired by a speaker or writer at present or future (Keraf, 1989: 118). In similar idea, Renkema (1993: 129) states that the most important thing in persuasion is the 'appeal' function of language. Here, a writer or a speaker tries to 'sell' something to convince people to change their behavior and attitude. There are four main factors which are essential in a persuasion process, such as: the source of communication, message, channel, a channel, and a receiver. However, in discourse studies, the second major factor, the message, is the focus attention.

2.2 Persuasion

Persuasion, and attempts at persuasion, goes on around us all the time. Other people try to persuade us, and we try to persuade them. We have been using persuasion technique since we are born and we will keep it till we die. Palapah in Sunarjo (1983: 31) states that the word "persuasion" is from Latin "*persuasio*", means "to persuade", "persuasive" (*adj*). Keraf (1989: 118) defines persuasion as an art of verbal with the intention to assure someone to do something appropriate with the speaker's purpose for this moment or the present time. It means that the purpose of the persuasion is that the speaker tries to persuade the listener to act something with no violence and coercion. So that, in persuasion the speaker needs the efforts for stimulating the addressee in taking decision.

In addition, persuasion is difference from coercion, even though both of them have same purpose that is changing someone's attitude, behavior.

Generally, coercion applies threat and certain reward. Persuasion also purposes to change someone's thought, it will try to make someone accept and conduct what the speaker said. Sunarjo (1983: 30) said that persuasive communication try not to hurt human's proud feeling, because it tends to an effort to motivate everyone to change their behavior, conviction and their attitude without violence or an encouragement from other. So that, an effort of persuasion must be able to emerge human's ego, where no other person considers that he is persuaded.

Persuasion is largely a matter of making others want to believe (William, 1955: 115). In the speeches, Hart (1983: 274) stated that persuasion or persuasive (*adj*) deal with strengthening or changing attitudes or beliefs or influencing behavior. Attitude means to think of a tendency to behave in a certain way. For example; if you have a favorable attitude toward chemistry, you would be more apt to elect chemistry courses, to read about chemistry, and to conduct chemistry experiments. But, if you have an unfavorable attitude toward chemistry, you would avoid it. Then, a belief is a conviction in the existence or reality of someone phenomenon or in truth of some statement. The last is behavior, in persuasion, refers to overt, observable action. Behavior is the way somebody behaves especially toward other people; one's attitude and manner (Oxford Advance Learner s Dictionary, 1995: 96).

In addition, Bermann (1981: 239) stated that one powerful means of persuasion is the rhetorical utterances. Rhetoric in Plato's view is the art of winning the soul by discourse. Discourse is the use of language in speech and

writing in order to produce meaning. Persuasion, in the aspect of communication process, Malik and Iriantara (1994: 99) uttered that persuasion is an effort to convey the information with any certain way which able to erase the past-memories from someone's brain and substitute with a new memory, so change his or her attitude. In the other word, persuasion is used for changing the attitude or behavior by means of change someone's view.

Persuasion, in psychological aspect, is a technique to influence people by means of psychological and sociological evidence of communicant as the object of persuasion (Susanto, 1977: 17). Persuasion purely is information used about psychological, sociological and cultural situation of communicant, to influence them and reach the realization of what message's wished. Without knowing the situation, the message and communication activity may get success or sublimely failed.

Persuasion may be unethical, if it is a work of high-pressure hucksters. For instance; unscrupulous politicians who take advantage of beleaguered taxpayers, salespeople with their feet stuck in the door, and so on. But, it can be ethical. Since it conforms to accepted standard. Ethical persuasion is communication that does not depend on false or misleading information to induce attitude change in an audience (Adler, 1985: 351).

So, from several opinion above, we enable to conclude that persuasion is an effort to convey information by means of analyze and understand the public or audience accurately, as well as psychological, sociological and cultural. Then, the purpose is to influence or persuade the attitude, view or

behavior of audience, in order that what speaker's aimed run well by audience's awareness without violence or an encouragement from other, at the moment or at the present time.

Moreover, persuasion is distinguished with coercion, even though both of them have same purpose that is changing someone's attitude, faithful and behavior. Generally, coercion applies threat and certain reward. Therefore, it needs particular efforts to stimulate them to make decision related to persuader's wish.

2.2.1 The Principles of Persuasion

Joseph A. (1983: 274) assumed that to get success in strengthening or changing attitudes or beliefs and in motivating listeners will depend on your use of principles of persuasion. There are five major principles of persuasion; the first, the credibility principle. The speaker will be more persuasive if listeners see him or her as credible, competent or knowledgeable, good character and absolutely charismatic or dynamic. So that, as the result the speaker will be more effective in changing the listeners or the audience's attitudes or in moving them to do something.

The second is the audience participation principle. We know that persuasion is greatest when the audience participates actively in the speaker's presentation. The implication here is that persuasion is a transactional process involving both speaker and the audience. The speaker

will be more effective if he or she can encourage the audience to participate actively in the persuasive experience.

The third is the inoculation principle. The situation in persuasion is similar to the biological process. If the speaker is addressing an inoculated audience, take into consideration the fact that they have ready arsenal counterarguments to fight his or her persuasive assaults. Next, if the speaker trying to persuade an un-inoculated audience, his or her task is often much simpler since the speaker do not have to penetrate a fully developed immunization shield. Finally, if the speaker attempt to strengthen an audience's belief, give them the antibodies they will end if ever under attack. Raising counterarguments to this belief and then refuting them enable the listeners to immunize themselves against future attacks on these values and beliefs.

The fourth is the motivational principle. The speaker will be persuasive if he or she relate the attitudes and behaviors he or she wish the audience to exhibit with motivates such as status, financial, affection, love, friendship, sex, attraction and soon. The last is the magnitude of changing principle. Strive for small changes in short speeches or when advocating particularly important changes.

Furthermore, Malik and Iriantara (1994: 151) stated there are five principles of persuasive. The first, consistency persuades. The publics enable to regulate their behavior if the change proposed as their belief, attitude and value. The second, small changes persuade. The publics enable to change

their behavior if the alteration wished-for small change and it is not a big change for their behavior and attitude.

The third, benefits persuade. The publics or audiences probably change their behavior if the change suggested is provided the advantages them. The fourth, fulfilling needs persuades. The publics or audiences perhaps alter their behavior if the change projected related to their requirements. The last, gradual approach persuades. The effective persuasion is that if the persuader begins with the common fundamental and compares the orientation by means of presenting his or her compatibility with the audience inside their ideas and background.

Additionally, in delivering the principles of persuasive Aristoteles in Keraf (1989: 121) stated that there are three basics of persuasion. The first, the speaker's character and credibility, communications will take place as speaker expectation, if the audience has recognized him or her as the one who has a good character. The second, the skill of the speaker in holding the audience's emotional. Means that, the speaker has performance in debasing or extinguish the audience's sentiment and emotion. The emotion may not be inspired extremely, so that the audience does not have a chance to think or appreciating the problem. The third, the evidences and facts entailed to prove the truth.

2.2.2 The Persuasive Approach

Adler (1985: 353) revealed that there are two types of approach employed by the speaker which is called as directness approach; these are direct persuasion and indirect persuasion.

Direct persuasion, is the best strategy to use with a friendly audience, especially when you are asking for response that the audience is reasonable likely to give you. In a speech that uses a direct persuasive strategy, you announce the desired audience response right away in introduction of the speech. Then that response can act as the focus of the speech.

For example: The speaker said “have you ever wished the students had more right and power? They can, if they organize effectively. I’m here today to show you how to do just that...”

Indirect persuasion disguises or deemphasizes the desire audience response in some way. Indirect persuasion is not necessary unethical. Sometimes, in fact, it is necessary to gain acceptance of a completely legitimate message. Additionally, when your audience is hostile to either your topic, you might want to ease into your speech slowly. You might want to take some time to make your audience feel good about you or social action you are advocating.

Hart (1983: 245) supposed that in order to use an approach effectively, the persuader obviously must know which underlying attitudes are holding the target belief in place. Sometimes, such knowledge is difficult to obtain. In fact, at times, listener themselves are unaware of the feelings

that anchor a given target belief. In such situation, by simply pointing out these anchoring beliefs and arguing against them, a persuader has relatively little trouble in subsequently cutting loose the target belief. Still in Hart, he performed the detachment approach, which operates a bit more directly by dealing immediately with the attitudinal forces that threaten to withhold acceptance of the speaker's proposal. In this case, the speaker attempts to 'detach' certain of listeners' belief that anchor another belief that the persuader wants to alter.

2.2.3 The Persuasive Process

In order to be successful, persuasion has to fulfill the requirements of the persuasion process. Renkema (1993: 128) views that there are four main factors in persuasion process:

1. The source

The credibility of the sender is crucial. The demands made on the source have to do with the credibility and the feelings (sympathy/antipathy, like/dislike) the source evokes. Who says what? Mike Tyson would be a trustworthy person to tell people how to be strong. They would be easily influenced by his comment or persuasion. Would people believe him suppose sickly person is telling the how to be strong?

2. The message

The organization of the message is also very crucial. Which arguments should one choose? Should one refute the con argument or leave them

out? In which order should one present the argument? The strong one first, in the middle or last? Which style would be most effective?

3. The channel

The channel is something to do with the media (newspaper, radio, television, etc.) which are used. The choice is determined by the type of the message, the target (the receiver), the fund available, etc.

4. The receiver

It is something to do with the target of message. In other words, it refers to the readers or the audiences who are expected to change their behavior. If the persuader sends a persuasive message, he has to know the audience. Are they school children, young, adults, or business people? How large is the audience? What about their levels education, their present attitude, their religious background, their political attachment, etc? Without knowing the information mentioned above, his message would not be effective.

2.3 The Technique of Persuasion

Hovlan as quoted by Sunarjo (1983: 30) argue that a major effect of persuasive communication lies in stimulating the individual to think both of his initial opinion and of the new opinion recommended in the communication. So, in order to achieve the best result the speaker needs to technique. There are two methods based on threat appeals. The first, appeals positive. Through motivation and reward approach. The second, appeals

negative. That is the threat approach for the communicant (Siahaan, 1990: 130).

Still in Siahaan (1990: 130) Aristoteles and Demonstrens stated three ways of persuasive. The first, the ethical mode of persuasion. Means that communicator act determines a successful communication. The second, the pathetic of emotional mode of persuasion. The communicator give priority in audience's feeling than mind. So that, the communicator or the speaker should analyze the level of communicant's intelligent. The third, logical mode of persuasion. It concerns with opinion, idea, attitude and values proposed to the communicant.

Some persuasive techniques mentioned above are too general. In particular, persuasion can be divided into context, argumentation, and psychological used. From the context, we may notice who will be the communicant or the audience, what the purpose is, and also how the audience's situation as the object of persuasion. Sunarjo (1983: 35-39) stated that some technique can be used, these are:

1. Cognitive dissonance

This technique is adopted from Leon Festinger theory. He supposed that human' behavior does not appropriate to his or her opinion, attitude and what human commit frequently opposed with human's inner or belief.

That is why, persuasion here as an act as if justify communicant's behavior, even though his or her belief does not.

2. Pay of idea and fear arousing technique

An effort to persuade personality or people by provide the reward and fear arousing (influence someone by frightening).

3. Empathy

The speaker ability places his or her self as other's situation. This technique is very important which the speaker or communicator recognize audience.

4. Packing

Communication presented interestingly and impressively.

5. Red hearing

Technique deflects argumentation from weak parts which are parried step by step in the dominated part of communicator.

6. Association technique

Association technique is also called as "build-in technique", that in delivering idea by sticks or merge with the actual and interesting object.

Keraf (2004: 124) also mention six arguments to persuade. These are definition or genus, cause and effect, the situation, similarity or comparison, the opposite or conflict, testimony and authority. Whereas, Gary Cronkhite (in Curtis, 2004: 274) proposed five kind of argument include persuasive technique that the speaker can use for relating the motivation and persuasive object. These are; the first, contingent (probability) which use cause and effect argument. The second is categorization. The third is comparison using the analogy argument. The fourth, approval (reason based on testimony).the last, unintentional event (sense of relationship coming from common context) that

is by presenting the persuasive object and motivational messages in similar context.

Besides explanation above, technique of persuasion can be notice from psychological aspect. Hogan (1997: 91) as supported by Susanto (1977: 17) that persuasion is a technique to influence people by means of using psychological and sociological evidence of communicant as the object of persuasion. Based on psychological aspect, the speaker is able to use expert question. Means that, in the process of persuasion, the question used for explaining the statement establish the values, draw out the objection, and direct conversation. Next, strong words used, time pressure technique, credibility technique, secret, determine future step, hypnotic language pattern.

Furthermore, in psychological aspect, Keraf (2004: 124) divided persuasion technique into seven criteria. These are: rationalization, identification, suggestion (hypnotic), conformities, compensation, displacement and projection.

1. Rationalization

Rationalization is also called as pseudo-argumentation that is an authentication process concerns with the truth in the approximately weak form. As the technique of persuasion, rationalization is a process of employing the mind to provide a principal of social justification to the problem which that principal or reason is not direct cause of the problem. In persuasion the meaning of truth is not absolute, but its function is to put the principal and in order that the desirability, attitude, belief, decision or

act planned smooth out well. So, it means that, people can use rationalization to deceive their selves or other selves in order that the other justifies what people act.

The tendency to deceive one's self is psychological symptom of human being. No one will admit his or her privation ungrudgingly. So that, usually every human being will cover his or her privation with much in reason logically. For instance, if we passed the examination well, we would rightfully proud for our success. But if we got failure in examination, we would not approve the reality and then convey much reason to cover it.

Substantively, rationalization shows something which apparently acceptable for common sense or logic. But both rationalizations and logic have difference in motivation appeared. So that, rationalization in persuasion will be running well if the speaker or the writer know what the audience's need is, and how their attitude and belief are. Moreover, in persuasion everything is rational to the behavior at the time of behavior (Hart, 1989: 119). Means that, people always have "good reason" for doing what they do. Even if these reasons will often not meet the critic's personal standards of goodness, this proposition proposes that any message that becomes popular will have a powerful logic to do it.

2. Identification

Identification is the attitude to compare the speaker self with the audience. Means that, persuasion is an effort to avoid the conflict situation

and doubt. Therefore, the speaker has to analyze the audience and all of situation faced accurately. So that, the speaker can identifies his or her self with the audience. For example; the candidate of representative will identify his or her self as one of “smaller variant” in his or her campaign, so that he honestly notices self-interest of people. Because he him self sees and feels what is needed by environment that he faces. So, he will fight for the requirement that it also becomes his need. And absolutely, it will be able to be reached if the audiences provide their votes to him or his group.

Therefore, to make identification able to run well, the same common foundation must be created among the speaker and the audiences, because is the key of the speaker's success. In addition, if there is conflict between the speaker and the audiences, so the speaker has to attempt to blur out that situation; and the aggressive attitude must be deflected, so that the same common foundation is able to be reached. Moreover, the speaker has to recognize and learn who the audience is. The audience is not always man and woman, but there will be young, old people, etc. with their background of knowledge, occupation, characteristics and attitude.

3. Suggestion (hypnotic)

Suggestion or hypnotic is an effort for persuading or influencing other people so that they accept a certain idea or convictions without applying the reasonable basic faithful. It can be through by using interesting and reasonable utterances along with powerful voice, that the speaker may influence the audiences easily. Generally, someone who has

well-rhetorical speech can influence other people easily and hard to be controlled. Based on research, it is known that someone's suggestive is developed since child - at the age of fourth, and it will expand rapidly at the age of seventh and eighth.

Furthermore, someone can also apply parental power to possess desirable outcome by utilizing all possibilities in persuading people. For example: the doctor who attempts to assure his patient for operating as one way to get better. And the speaker should show a figure that able to replace the position of audiences' parent, by appearing his authority, which is loved and loving his audiences with full of affections. The speaker should show that he or she is an authority figure, and prove to the public that he or she respects to the has-been or the well-known figures who the public loved too. Moreover, the speaker shows that he or she has the same belief and convictions as their hero in order to get their empathy.

Suggestion or hypnotic power is often as liberation of a pattern that exist in someone self in order to be able to create a new pattern. Because of authentic stimulus which begins in the relationship with someone' parent, so that prestige is one of factor that is able to influence other person. And someone may tend to believe that the statements of person who has high position, good reputation and another high level is something that must be followed.

4. Conformities

Conformities is a desirability or an act to make the speaker self similar with other. Conformities are a mental mechanism to adapt our self or compare with the desirable situation. It can be the speaker's attitude in adjusting his or her self with the situation in order not to appear any suspense.

Conformities are usually regarded as an act which will bring the positive influence unto advancement. In the other hand, it is not true if all of advancement can only be reached if people take conformity attitude. There are many examples that people are able to get success without conformity attitude. For instance; Indonesia reaches independence without conformity attitude of the warriors. But, there are several countries get their liberty by acquiring conformity attitude with colonizer. Besides, conformities may cause danger and disaster for our selves or it may be a country, it because of we receive the conformities without assessment and adjustment need.

In performing persuasion, the speaker who applies this technique will adapt his or her self with people as the object of persuasive. For example: politician will declare that he is a smaller variant and strengthened through if people consume the corn, he will so. For him it is not goods new that contains high-quality nutrient than other food.

Apparently, this technique is similar to identification technique. But, in identification technique the speaker presents several cases as regard

his self with the audience. Whereas, in conformities the speaker shows that he his self enable to act as the audience.

5. Compensation

Compensation is an act or the result of effort to find substitute for unacceptable thing, or an attitude or un-maintainable situation. It occurs when an action or pure situation being frustration. The substitute which is looked for must be un-implicated or un-entailed thing in the original situation. For examples, someone who gets depression or frustration in the social field, perhaps he will work hard until he gets absolute power in political field.

Moreover, the speaker enables to support the audience to accomplish another action or speaker's desire by means of performing doubtlessly that they have the ability to do something. The speaker may not worry about what is not reached by the audiences, that because of the impossible situation. But, this world does not only depend on the effort sector, it means that we can do many things that if we work seriously as well as appropriate with the audiences' skills, so the speaker will get what he wants, and it may raise their name and their occupation.

6. Displacement

Displacement is a process to replace an intention or something trouble with another purpose which replace emotion. It can be an original abhorrence or an original affection.

We may know about this technique in our society that is called by *scapegoat*. In this case, an object which becomes an animosity target or anger is shifted or replaced with another object which should not receive it. So that, the target will awry. Then, the object of displacement is selected apparently, in which it is a weak object that disable to fight back. For example, the mistreatment toward the Jewish by Nazi, that it occurred because of Jerry's shellacking in several front of war. So, the Jewish was being the object of displacement.

Furthermore, in persuading the audience the speaker must convince them to throwing out the object or purpose to another one. This technique resembles with compensation.

7. Projection.

Resemble with compensation and displacement, but projection is technique to make subject become the object. In this case, the man will assert his character and attitude to other people. He may describe the other people has bad attitude if he unlike that people. Someone will not admit his attitude or characteristic, but he will throw it to other people. And when he is asked to describe another person, he will try to give good explanation about him, and bad explanation for his unlikely person, and the wrongness that he was done will be accused to other person.

For instance, we can see in our international community, it can be conflict among the countries. The first country accuses that the second country has been attacking the first country. What the first country does is

to publish that its country is getting terrible. So people' attention of problem in their country will be projected to other country. Next, people' solidarity will be tended to abroad, and they will forget the problem of their country.

Referring the explanation above, this study will intensively be led to see the persuasive techniques that occur in certain speech delivered by Barack Obama in influencing the prospective voter's in his political speech during Presidential Primary 2008. The researcher is applying for persuasive techniques in psychological aspect by Keraf in analyzing the speeches.

2.4 Speech

Speech is that communication is which, trough ideas, language, voice, bodily expression, and speaker's personality, informs one or more other people or influences their attitudes and behavior in harmony with the speaker' purposes (Craig and Franklin, 1957: 9). Still, speech differs some other types of communication in that is an outgoing type of behavior and operates with listeners in a time sequence and an immediate social situation.

Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionary (2000: 1292) literary defines the term speech as way of speaking, act of speaking, or formal talk given to an audience. From this definition, speech physically can be many kinds such as; preach, lecture, paper presentation, or inaugural speech. Anjali (2006: 20) explicitly explained speech as a part of communication, so that all these kinds must carry messages or ideas.

Still, according to Anjali (2006: 16), speech has a power to change the speaker himself and other people. By speaking, an individual can enliven or control the life. Let us say, when someone has a brilliant idea about reprocessing the garbage, while he does not speak anything about that, as the result there will be no solution of the problem of garbage because of no body knows his ideas. This is a simple illustration of the importance of speech. This assumption possibly leads us to an understanding that speech is the manifestation of language which takes a very significant role in everyday life.

In investigating a speech, the researcher lists some types of speech in order to be able to analyze the object of study. According to Rakhmat (2006: 17-19), based on the way the speech is delivered, speech is classified into impromptu, manuscript, memorizer, and extemporary. The speech is considered to be impromptu if there is no preparation before delivering speech. Let us say, when someone is in the party and asked to deliver speech directly. Manuscript refers to the speech with the complete text. In other word, it refers to reading a text of speech. Memorizer is a kind of speech in which the speaker memorizes the content of speech. Extemporary is considered as the best type of speech because the speaker develops what will be delivered by himself based on his outline.

By referring to the objective of the speaker, Rakhmat (2006: 89-125) classifies speech into;

1. *Informative speech.*

It is oriented to deliver or share information to enable the listener to know, understand, and receive what is informed. Ehninger, Monroe, and Bronbeck figured out 3 types of informative speech; oral report (annual report, project report, governmental report), oral instruction (speech containing instruction from teacher to student, leader to official, director to secretary), and informative lecture (lecture, preach, paper presentation).

2. *Persuasive speech.*

It is oriented to convince, control, or attract listener's attention. Campaign speech and preach are two of examples of persuasive speech. Joseph A. (1938: 205) stated that the vast of majority of speeches are designed to persuade the listener. The speeches of politicians, advertiser, and religious leaders are perhaps the clearest examples of persuasive speeches.

Furthermore, persuasive speech aims to influence an audience attitude toward something can be described as favorable, undecided or unfavorable (Bryant and Wallace, 1947: 371). Then, Paul and friends (1965: 265) said that the speech to persuade is often based on the speech to inform, it is usually necessary to give information as well as argument and to use persuasive devices. It means that when the speaker's purpose is to influence the doing, the thinking, or the feeling of his audiences, he must go beyond to give information.

3. *Re-creative speech.*

It is not oriented to inform something or influence listeners but to attract, enliven, and give an interlude. Discussing speech also means the organization of message, since speech becomes a part of delivering message or idea. Still, Rakhmat (2006: 35-36) described briefly the 6 forms in organizing message; deductive (the turn of the main idea to facts or supporting idea), inductive (the turn of facts or supporting idea to the main idea), chronological (based on time sequence), logical (based on the order of cause to effect or from effect to cause), spatial (based on the order of place), and topical (the order of specific topic).

2.5 Previous Studies

This study has relation to the previous research on the same fields.

Sukirno (2003) focused his study in persuasive words/phrases as used in the Jakarta Post Advertisements. He concluded that the advertisement headlines found in the Jakarta Post's advertisements tend to employ the variations among phrases and words, the meaning used also vary between denotative and connotative meanings, and the last is that the Jakarta Post advertisements show two different patterns in presenting the headlines, the illustrations and the product promote. The study is qualitative in nature, using a case study requiring a single site, i.e. the Jakarta Post headlines. Moreover, content analysis was used to analyze the data.

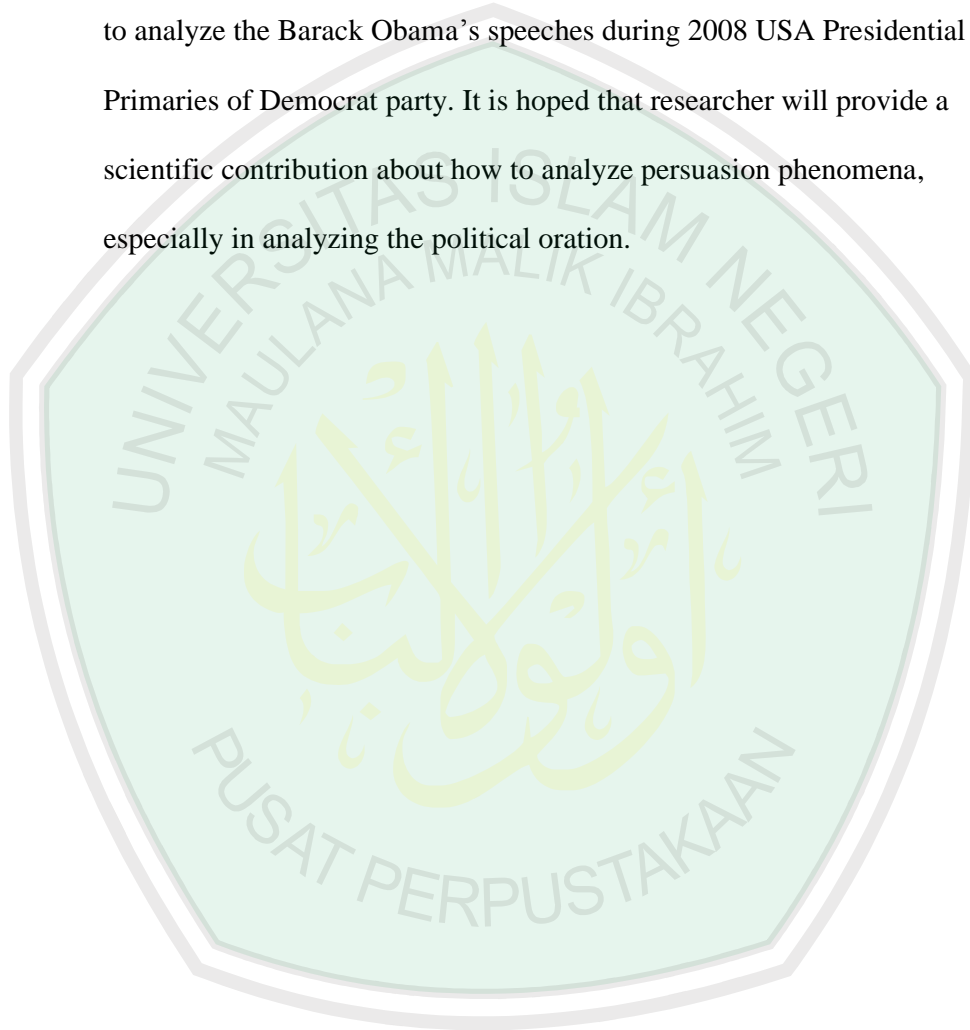
Nurul (2007) studied on the discourse analysis on the education's advertisement on the street banner. In this case she focused on the diction and persuasive technique. She found that education's advertisement on the street banner used highly varied dictions appropriate with the requirement that have purpose to make the reader easier in understanding the messages of the advertisement. Moreover, discourse analysis was used to approach in her research.

Furthermore, Evy (2007) focused her study on a discourse analysis of bush's speeches on democracy issue through illocutionary act theory. In this case she found that the assertive/representative, expressive, and declarative illocutionary act that used was performed directly. Since the researcher did not find any figurative expression, ambiguous words, and connotative words which possibly led to indirect meaning, so it means that the speaker delivered messages through his speech explicitly.

The differences between the researcher and the previous researchers are the object of the research and the theory used. The first researchers take the data which are collected from the Newspaper that is Jakarta Post. Moreover, he combined Jan Renkema's concept of persuasion and W. A. Gaw's theory of advertisement. In his research content analysis was used to analyze the data. Then, the second researcher researched on the advertisement on the street banner; in this case, she combined among Sunarjo's theory of persuasion and Moeliono's theory of diction. Moreover, discourse analysis was used to approach in her research. Besides, the third

researcher researched on speeches' text through illocutionary act theory, which the data are collected from internet.

Meanwhile, the present researcher uses Keraf's theory of persuasion to analyze the Barack Obama's speeches during 2008 USA Presidential Primaries of Democrat party. It is hoped that researcher will provide a scientific contribution about how to analyze persuasion phenomena, especially in analyzing the political oration.



CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter presents research design, data and data source, research instrument, data collection technique, and data analysis used throughout this thesis.

3.1 Research Design

This research is classified as a descriptive qualitative method because the data of this research are in the form of utterances and words, which are not statistically analyzed. In this case, the researcher also uses discourse analysis since the researcher tries to study and understand the functional use of language, that is, persuasion which is used by people in their conversation to influence other's attitude, belief and behavior. This study examines the speeches by using Gorys Keraf's theory of persuasion.

3.2 Data and Data Source

The data of this study is Barack Obama's utterances containing persuasion which are observed from his speeches within USA Presidential Primaries of Democrat party that delivered from 5th 2008 up to 24th February 2008. Additionally, there is only a single data source of this research that is an official website of Barack Obama; <http://www.barackobama.com>, where the transcript of Barack Obama's speeches is available.

3.3 Research Instrument

Since this study is a qualitative research, the main instrument used was the researcher himself, that also known as human instrument. In this case, he spent great deals of time reading and understanding Barack Obama' text speeches, identifying, classifying as well as analyzing the data in accordance with Keraf's theory of persuasion. Another additional instrument used was a checklist, which was used in identifying and classifying data. It was needed to make easy in collecting the data.

3.4 Data Collection Technique

This section describes how data about the persuasion were collected through several steps.

1. The researcher collected the data which is in the form of speeches' text (transcript) by accessing the official website of Barack Obama; <http://www.barackobama.com>. Then, the researcher read as well as investigated the utterances used by Barack Obama whether contained persuasion and persuasive technique or not in the text of speeches.
2. The researcher selected each utterance used by Barack Obama based on Keraf theory of the persuasion and persuasive technique that divided into seven categories, those are; rationalization, Identification, suggestion (hypnotic), conformities, compensation, displacement and projection.
3. The all data obtained were reread to see whether they had reflected the target of the persuasive technique or not. Besides, it was done to make

sure that would not be repetition from the same pattern of the persuasive technique.

3.5 Data Analysis

Milles and Huberman (1994) in Rahardjo (2002: 57) state that technique of analyzing the data in qualitative research can be divided into three steps, these are: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing / verification data.

3.5.1 Data Reduction

Identifying and classifying the data related to the problem of the study, by reading and understanding the text of Barack Obama's speeches (transcript). Additionally, the researcher refers to the chapter two that Gorys Keraf divided technique of persuasive into seven categories, those are; rationalization, Identification, suggestion (hypnotic), conformities, compensation, displacement and projection. Furthermore, in the process of reduction the researcher considers to: if the researcher finds two or more similar data in the same text, he only takes one of them.

3.5.2 Data Display

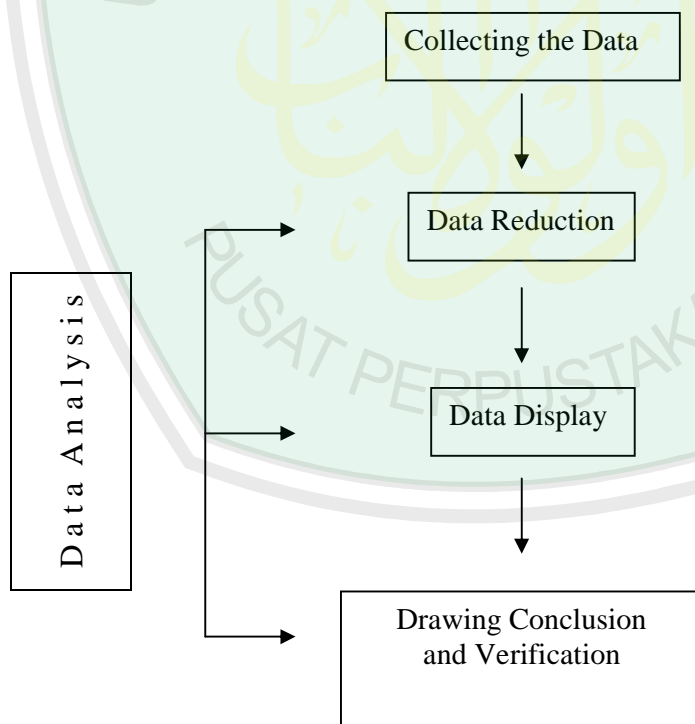
Data display is presenting the data to be analyzed and interpreted. The data is technique of persuasion in the texts of Barack Obama speeches that has been selected by the researcher. The researcher analyzes per

speech. Then, he describes the data in accordance with Gorys Keraf's theory of persuasion.

3.5.3 Verification

Verification or drawing conclusion is interpreting and discussing data to get the finding. After that, the researcher concludes the result of data analysis. The conclusion is based on the problem and the objective of the study.

Figure 3.1: Model analysis in this study (adapted from .



CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the results of data analysis that cover the description of the persuasion phenomena in the political speeches of Barack Obama in the 2008 USA presidential primary. All results of analysis are discussed in the section below.

4.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

1. Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Super Tuesday

Chicago, IL. February 05, 2008

Data 1.1

“This time can be different because this campaign for the presidency is different. It's different not because of me, but because of you. *Because you are tired of being disappointed and tired of being let down. You're tired of hearing promises made and plans proposed in the heat of a campaign only to have nothing change when everyone goes back to Washington*”

In this case, Barack Obama tried to convince the audience that this presidential election was different from the previous election. What made the election different, because in the previous election American people were only given so many promises by the candidates of president, but it did not appropriate with the reality when the candidate become the president, and nothing changed in America.

Analysis:

The words “*Because you are tired of being disappointed and*” is kind of rationalization technique. It is used by the speaker to put the foundations and idea in the heart of audience and smooth out the way in order that his desire and decision that he will take can be justified. In this case Barack Obama emphasized that this campaign is different with previous which the politicians only provided many promises in order that the audience felt that they were the candidate should be chosen. Implicitly, he attempted to influence the audience that he would be the president who brought the change for America and for American people by providing the reason that he would not become as what previous politicians did.

Data 1.2

“*Because the lobbyists just write another check. Or because politicians start worrying about how they'll win the next election instead of why they should. Or because they focus on who's up and who's down instead of who matters*”

In a country, the Lobbyists usually have a power to influence the policy's maker in order that provide the advantage for them. In this case, Barack Obama uttered that the government indicated to follow what the lobbyists wanted, when American people hoped the change in their country the government did another policies that influenced by the lobbyists. Moreover, the politicians were only busy with their occupation. They worried about how they will win the next election instead of why they should.

Analysis:

The word “*Lobbyist*” intended to person who tries to influence the policies maker. This word is used by the speaker to disfigure another person. This is called as projection technique. In this case, Barack Obama wanted to show that the policies that were made by the government was intervened by another person who had an interest especially on the business, because they thought that the policies would influence their way. Then, the word “*politicians*” is also projection technique that used by Barack Obama to disfigure another person. It is the name of person who joins on the politics. He pointed out that the politicians did not pay attention to the American people anymore; they were busy with their occupation. They also worried about how they will win the next election; it means that they forgot their work as the representative.

Data 1.3

“Now, this isn't about me and it's not about Senator Clinton. As I've said before, *she was a friend before this campaign and she'll be a friend after it's over. I respect her as a colleague*, and I congratulate her on her victories tonight.”

Hillary Rodham Clinton, as a senator of Texas, was one of the competitors that grab ticket of presidential candidate of Democrat party. Barack Obama asserted that Senator Clinton was his friend, not opponent from other party. They had only different vision and opinion for America. He also congratulated to the ex-first lady for her victories on Super Tuesday.

Analysis:

The utterance “*she was a friend before this campaign and she’ll be a friend after it’s over*” shows Identification technique. This technique is used by the speaker to avoid the conflict situation and doubt in the audience perception. Obama, as the candidate of Democrat party, attempted to assuage his endorser by asserting that Senator Clinton was not opponent from other party but they had different vision and opinion for America only. In the next sentence, he stated “*I respect her as a colleague*”. This sentence implied that he wanted to avoid the conflict with all of Democrat party participants and kept the unitary of party.

Data 1.4

“*And if I am your nominee, my opponent will not be able to say that I voted for the war in Iraq; or that I gave George Bush the benefit of the doubt on Iran; or that I support the Bush-Cheney policy of not talking to leaders we don't like. And he will not be able to say that I wavered on something as fundamental as whether or not it's ok for America to use torture - because it is never ok. That is the choice in this election.*”

These statements indicated to Bush and Cheney that if Barack Obama was a nominee of Democrat party, he would not vote for Iraq or released Bush’s prejudgment of Iran. He also stressed that he would not continue Bush’s policies that only damaged the relationship between America and international communities. Another choice was that Barack Obama did not agree with torture.

Analysis:

In the sentence, *“if I am your nominee, my opponent will not be able to say that I voted for the war in Iraq; or that I gave ...”* The speaker tried to persuade the audience by providing the suggestion technique. That is the speaker’s way to persuade or influence other people so that they accept a certain idea or convictions without applying the reasonable basic faithful. Barack Obama showed that he disliked with Bush’s style in leading America, and about Bush’s policies weather in politics, economic, and others. In this case, he hoped the audience had the same opinion about Bush’s character, and hoped the audience believed him to be their nominee of Democrat party.

Data 1.5

“I was a young organizer then, intent on fighting joblessness and poverty on the South Side, and I still remember one of the very first meetings I put together. We had worked on it for days, but no one showed up. Our volunteers felt so defeated, they wanted to quit. And to be honest, so did I.”

Barack Obama told that he joined in organizer that intent on fighting joblessness and poverty on the South Side. He told that at that time he faced a problem that the volunteers felt defeated and wanted to quit and so did he. But, finally they can solved it.

Analysis:

The utterances *“I was a young organizer then, intent on fighting joblessness and poverty on the South Side, and I still remember one of the very first meetings I put together”* indicated that Obama attempted to become similar

with the audience, this is called Conformities technique. By telling that he was a young organizer that intent on fighting joblessness and poverty, he wanted to show that he was also care with human interest, and if he became the president, he would do the same as when he was young. It means that if he became the president he would pay attention to the American people, whether in political aspect, economics aspect, health or another aspects and policies.

Data 1.6

“You see, the challenges we face will not be solved with one meeting in one night. Change will not come if we wait for some other person or some other time. *We are the ones we've been waiting for. We are the change that we seek.*”

Barack Obama stated that American people were faced the challenges that it needed many times and power to solve. He also stressed that problem can not solve by one person only, but together. American people would reach the change in their country if they waited for other person and other time. It means that he remained to the American people that they should not neglect their time.

Analysis:

The utterances “*We are the ones we've been waiting for. We are the change that we seek*” intended to the Compensation technique. It is used by the speaker to support the audiences to do what the speaker wants, by convincing their belief and ability to change. Barack Obama asserted to the audience about the challenges that was faced by American people that would not be solved with very limited time and power. He also remained that everyone should unite in one

power to face the problem. By using this technique, he hoped the audience to be aware with their belief to change the condition happened. Implicitly, he wanted to show that if the audiences voted him as a president, the challenges can be solved.

Data 1.7

“We are the hope of the future; the answer to *the cynics* who tell us our house must stand divided; that we cannot come together; that we cannot remake this world as it should be”

In the last speech, the speaker re-asserted that all people were the hope for the future of America. Barack Obama hoped that it can be the answer to the cynics who told that they can not be together, and the change would not be remarked in America.

Analysis:

The word “*the cynics*” becomes an animosity object. This is called Displacement Technique. The speaker tries to replace an intention with another object which should not receive it. In this case, the speaker attempted to shift the audience’s attention to the object which can obstruct the change in America. It is indicated in order not to be insusceptible with Cynics statement and constant with their belief to support speaker’s idea about the change in every aspect and system in their country, for instance; in political aspect, economy aspect, health aspect, education aspect, etc. Besides, to show that what the cynics said was not completely true, people can do many things for beneficence in their country, absolutely by mobilizing their power and capability.

2. Rebuilding Trust with New Orleans: Remarks of Senator Barack Obama

New Orleans, LA | February 07, 2008

Data 2.1

“It's good to be back in New Orleans. I'm just sorry that I'm a few days late for Mardi Gras. New Orleans is a city that has always shown America what is possible when we have the imagination to see the unseen and the determination to work for it.”

In the beginning of his speech in New Orleans, Barack Obama stated of being glad by commending this city. He also commended to people of their work on the determination further.

Analysis:

The utterances *“It's good to be back in New Orleans”* is kind of identification technique. This technique is used by the speaker to avoid the conflict situation and doubt in the audience perception. In the beginning of his speech, Barack Obama tried to make friends with New Orleans community. This utterance showed that he, as Senator Illinois, did not strange anymore with this place. Furthermore, the next utterance *“New Orleans is a city that has always shown America what is possible when”* It is indicated wanted to avoid the conflict situation by analyzing his self with the audience, and he attempted to influence the audience belief by commending them in order to hold the situation.

Data 2.2

“To many Americans, the words "New Orleans" call up images of broken levees; water rushing through the streets; mothers holding babies up to avoid the flood. And worse - the memory of a moment when *America's government* failed its citizens.”

Obama reminded when the flood happened in New Orleans. It happened because the levees was broken, the water rushed through the street. Then, when people of New Orleans needed help, help was not there, America's government did not care with their citizens.

Analysis:

The words “*America's government*” become an animosity object. This is called Displacement Technique. The speaker tries to replace an intention with another object which should not receive it. The speaker tried to shift audience's attention to their government which did not notice when their citizens got disaster. By using this technique, Barack Obama attempted to show that the government did not do their duty to protect people's safety and prosperity, they were busy with their business. Here, the words “*America's government*” were indicated to President Bush who just cared about the war and terrorism but the safety of citizens was ignored.

Data 2.3

“..... about a *President who only saw the people from the window of an airplane*. We can talk about a trust that was broken - the promise that our government will be prepared, will protect us, and will respond in a catastrophe.”

Again, Obama talked about what happened in America in 2005, about the government who can not hold their citizens when the flood knocked down them; about FEMA that seemed not just incompetence; and about the President who just looked for popularity by providing the promises in protecting people's safety.

Analysis:

Here, the speaker tried disfigure another person by mentioning the word "*a President*". This is called as projection technique. From the sentence "*a President who only saw the people from the window of an airplane*" indicated to show that a president made a mistake by seeing it from the window of airplane, and when the disaster knocked out people, actually the president should be responsible with all of events. Implicitly, Barack Obama tried to projecting his hatred to the president, so it was hoped that the audience had the same hatred to the president and forgot another crucial problems.

Data 2.4

- When I am President, *I will start by restoring that most basic trust – that your government will do what it takes to keep you safe.*
- That is why the second thing *we need to do is to make sure that reconstruction is making a real difference in peoples' lives.*
- That is why the third part of our *effort to rebuild trust must be providing a world-class education.*

Barack Obama attempted to offer some actions if the audience voted him as the next president, that were: he would start by restoring that most basic trust and keep the audience safe. The second is by making sure that reconstruction was

making a real difference in peoples' lives. The third was effort to rebuild trust must be providing a world-class education.

Analysis:

The utterances *“I will start by restoring that most basic trust – that your government will do what it takes to keep you safe”*, *“we need to do is to make sure that reconstruction is making a real difference in peoples' lives”* and *“effort to rebuild trust must be providing a world-class education”* are indicated to the Compensation technique. It is used by the speaker to support the audiences to do what the speaker wants, by convincing their belief and ability to change because the situation is being frustration. In this case, Barack Obama attempted to look for substitute from several problems that happened around the audience as the citizens of America. He also explained that the audience can do what he had offered, and of course if they voted him as president of America.

Data 2.5

“...But I will also ask the people of this city to do your part. Because together, we can do more than rebuild a city; we can create a model for America - for how we prepare for disasters; for how we fight poverty; for how we put our kids on a pathway to success.”

Obama convinced the audience by promising if he is voted as president, he will keep up the audience's trust, and make clear administration. But, he also spurred them to do it together, because the change can not be realized it alone, but together.

Analysis:

The utterances “.....*we can do more than rebuild a city; we can create a model for*” are kind of Conformities technique. The speaker is used this technique to adjust his self with the audience, and convince their belief in order that there is no suspense occur among them. Moreover, the speaker regards conformities as an act which can bring the positive influence unto advancement. From this sentence, Barack Obama wanted to show that in realizing the change in America, it needed togetherness between the president and the citizens.

Data 2.6

“...I hope that many of you will choose to stay here in New Orleans, and to make this work your own. *Because you are the change that this city seeks.* You can be this city's tomorrow. You can help close those divisions. And by doing so, you can help to heal this nation.”

After disaster damaged New Orleans and its citizens, Obama asserted that people still had ability to repair their city, and he convinced that they can do it.

Analysis:

This words “*Because you are the change that this city seeks*” is used by the speaker to persuade the audience by providing the suggestion technique. That is the speaker's way to persuade or influence other people so that they accept a certain idea or convictions without applying the reasonable basic faithful. In this case, Barack Obama emphasized that the change would be realized if people of this city believed that they had desire to do it, but if they given up it would be realized, because they were actually the doer not other person from the other city.

Data 2.7

“What better place to begin this work than New Orleans? Here, in the city that gave us jazz, we know that even the most painful note can be followed by joy. Here, in this city, *if we look hard enough, we can imagine the unseen - homes filled with families; businesses putting folks to work; schools extending opportunity; the next verse in the American song. That is what is possible if we can trust each other; and if we have the imagination to see the unseen, and the determination to work for it.*”

In the last speech, Barack Obama said that if people look hard we look hard enough, they may see the unseen; businesses will put folks to work; schools extending opportunity, and they can build their city again, of course by believing each other.

Analysis:

The sentence “*if we look hard enough, we can imagine the unseen - homes filled.....*” is rationalization technique which is used by the speaker to put the foundations and idea in the heart of audience and smooth out the way in order that his desire and decision that he will take can be justified. In this case, Barack Obama tried to convince the audience’s belief and asked the audience to think about the future of their city that if they work hard and believe each other, they can bring the change in reality.

3. Remarks of Senator Barack Obama Virginia Jefferson-Jackson Dinner

Richmond, Virginia, February 9th, 2008

Data 3.1

“We are tired of being disappointed by our politics. We are tired of being let down. We're tired of hearing promises made and ten-point plans proposed in the heat of a campaign only to have nothing change when *everyone* goes back to Washington. Because *the lobbyists* just write another check. Or because politicians start worrying about how they'll win the next election instead of why they should....”

In Virginia, Barack Obama repeated that the Lobbyists have a power to influence the policy's maker in order that provide the advantage for them. In this case, he added that that the government indicated to follow what the lobbyists wanted, when American people hoped the change in their country the government did another policies that influenced by the lobbyists. Moreover, the politicians were only busy with their occupation. They worried about how they will win the next election instead of why they should.

Analysis:

The word “*Lobbyist*” intended to person who tries to influence the policies maker. This word is used by the speaker to disfigure another person. This is called as projection technique. In this case, Barack Obama wanted to show that the policies that were made by the government was intervened by another person who had an interest especially on the business, because they thought that the policies would influence their way. Then, the word “*politicians*” is also projection technique that used by Obama to disfigure another person.

Data 3.2

“But I am running for President because I believe that to actually make change happen - to make this time different than all the rest - *we need a leader who can finally move beyond the divisive politics of Washington and bring Democrats, Independents, and Republicans together to get things done.* That's how we'll win this election, and that's how we'll change this country when I am President of the United States.”

To the Virginia people, Barack Obama said that he ran for president because he believed that he could change the system in America that was damaged by Bush. He added that this country needed the leader who could bring all components to make the change reality, if the audience voted him as president of America.

Analysis:

The words “*we need a leader who can finally move beyond the divisive politics of Washington and bring Democrats, Independents, and Republicans together to get things done.*” Indicated that the speaker attempted to become similar with the audience, this is called Conformities technique. Barack Obama was used this technique to adjust his self with the audience, and convince their belief in order that there is no suspense occur among them. Moreover, he regards conformities as an act which can bring the positive influence unto advancement. From this sentence, Barack Obama wanted to unite all components to make the change in this country, of course if the audience voted him as president of America.

Data 3.3

“This week we found out that the presumptive nominee of the Republican Party is *Senator John McCain*. Now, John McCain is a good man, an American hero, and we honor his half century of service to this nation. But in this campaign, he has made the decision to embrace the failed policies *George Bush's Washington*.”

Barack Obama praised to Senator John McCain as the nominee of the Republican Party, he also honored with McCain's service to this nation. But, Obama regretted to McCain's decision to embrace the failed policies of Bush.

Analysis:

The words “*Senator John McCain*” become the animosity object. This is called Displacement Technique. The speaker tries to replace an intention with another object which should not receive it. In this case, Barack Obama attempted to shift the audience's attention to the object which can obstruct the change in America. It indicated that Barack Obama wanted the audience to hate McCain as how they hated to Bush because McCain's decision to continue Bush's policies as like, continue to send armies on Iraq, etc.

Data 3.4

“There is a reason why the last six polls in a row have shown that I'm the strongest candidate against John McCain. *It's because we've done better with Independents in almost every single contest we've had. It's because we've won in more Red States and swing states that the next Democratic nominee needs to win in November.*”

Barack Obama revealed concerning to his victories in the last six polls, he declared that he was the strongest candidate to knock down McCain in fighting

the president position in next November. Then, he explained that the cause of his victories was that good coalition between his team and Independents, and is victories in Red States and Swing States.

Analysis:

The words *“It's because we've done better with Independents in almost every single contest we've had. It's because we've won in more Red States and swing states.....”* is kind of rationalization technique. It is used by the speaker to put the foundations and idea in the heart of audience and smooth out the way in order that his desire and decision that he will take can be justified. Here, Barack Obama emphasize that the cause of his victories was that good coalition between his team and Independents, and his victories in Red States and Swing States. It showed that he was not only supported by the participant of Democrat party, but Independents and other participants also had expectation to him to be a President.

Data 3.5

“We are here to make clear that this election is not between regions or religions or genders. It's not about rich versus poor; young versus old; and it is not about black versus white.”

In the sentence above, we know that Barack Obama tried to avoid conflict among the audience and other participants, as like racism conflict, religions conflict, and others.

Analysis:

The utterance “*We are here to make clear that this election is not between regions or religions or genders. It's not about rich versus poor....*” shows Identification technique. This technique is used by the speaker to avoid the conflict situation and doubt in the audience perception. Here, Barack Obama who included into black, attempted to avoid conflict among the participants. It showed that the speaker wanted to obscure the conflict situation in order that he can influence the audience’s attitude and belief, and then invest his idea easily.

Data 3.6

“*This is our moment. This is our time for change. Our party - the Democratic Party - has always been at its best when we've led not by polls, but by principle; not by calculation, but by conviction; when we've called all Americans to a common purpose - a higher purpose.*”

Barack Obama revealed that this was the time for change, then he motivated to the audience as participants of Democrat party that their party would be its best if it was led by principle and conviction not by poll and calculation.

Analysis:

The utterances “*this is our moment. This is our time for change. Our party - the Democratic Party - has always been at its best when we've led not by polls,..*” The speaker tried to persuade the audience by providing the suggestion technique. That is the speaker’s way to persuade or influence other people so that they accept a certain idea or convictions without applying the reasonable basic faithful. It indicated that Barack Obama tried to implant the belief in the heart of

the audiences to aware that they can bring the change in America, and of course with principle and conviction as Democrat.

Data 3.7

“This is our moment. This is our message - the same message we had when we were up, and when we were down. The same message that we will carry all the way to the convention. And *in seven months time we can realize this promise; we can claim this legacy; we can choose new leadership for America*. Because there is nothing we cannot do if the American people decide it is time”

Before closing his speech, Barack Obama reminded that this is our opportunity to make the change in America, and with united they can realize the promises and claim the legacy.

Analysis:

The utterances “*in seven months time we can realize this promise; we can claim this legacy; we can choose new leadership for America*” intended to the Compensation technique. It is used by the speaker to support the audiences to do what the speaker wants, by convincing their belief and ability to change. Before closing his speech, Barack Obama revealed to the audience about the expectation on the America future. By using this technique, indirectly he invited the audience to bring the promise into reality together by voting him for a president.

4. Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Potomac Primary Night

Madison, WI | February 12, 2008

Data 4.1

“...and brought folks back to the polls who want to believe again. *And we are bringing together Democrats and Independents and Republicans; blacks and whites; Latinos and Asians; small states and big states; Red States and Blue States into a United States of America.*”

When was in Madison, Barack Obama said that had won east and west, north and south, and across the heartland of this country we love. He had also given young people a reason to believe, and brought folks back to the polls who want to believe again. Besides he was bringing together Democrats and Independents and Republicans; blacks and whites; Latinos and Asians; small states and big states; Red States and Blue States into a United States of America.

Analysis:

The words “*And we are bringing together Democrats and Independents and Republicans; blacks and whites; Latinos and Asians; small states and big states; Red States and Blue States into a United States of America.*” shows Identification technique. This technique is used by the speaker to avoid the conflict situation and doubt in the audience perception. To avoid the conflict situation Barack Obama identified his self and the audience, and influenced the audience to believe that he could create unitary in this country by bring together Democrats and Independents and Republicans; blacks and whites; Latinos and

Asians; small states and big states; Red States and Blue States into a United States of America.

Data 4.2

“Because at a time when so many people are struggling to keep up with soaring costs in a sluggish economy, we know that *the status quo in Washington* just won't do. Not this time. Not this year. We can't keep playing the same Washington game with the same Washington players and expect a different result – because it's a game that ordinary Americans are losing.”

Here, Obama stated that Washington did not care again about people who had difficulties in their life because of soaring costs in a sluggish economy. In the other hand, they could not balance Washington as the policies maker in every aspect, especially in economics.

Analysis:

The word “*the status quo in Washington*” becomes an animosity object. This is called Displacement Technique, which the speaker tries to replace an intention with another object which should not receive it. In this case, Barack Obama as the speaker attempted to shift the audience's attention to the object which can obstruct the change in America. He wanted to show that the government as the status quo did not pay attention anymore to the public interest; it was proven by government's policies in economic aspect that did not provide an advantage to the citizens.

Data 4.3

“That's what happens when the American worker doesn't have a voice at the negotiating table, when leaders change their positions on trade with the politics of the moment, and that's why we need a President who will listen to Main Street – not just Wall Street; a President who will stand with workers not just when it's easy, but when it's hard.”

When trade deals like NAFTA ship jobs overseas, it forced people to compete to work for minimum wage. Barack Obama said that it was caused when the American worker did not have a voice at the negotiating table and their leaders who advanced their business without noticing the worker's suffering. He added that America needed president who noticed people's interest, not just when it was easy but when it was hard.

Analysis:

The words *“That's what happens when the American worker doesn't have a voice at the negotiating table, when leaders change their positions on trade with the politics of the moment.....”* indicated that the speaker used rationalization technique, it used to put the foundations and idea in the heart of audience and smooth out the way in order that his desire and decision that he will take can be justified. In this case, what Obama's desire was to persuade the audience in order that they vote him for the next president of America that will bring the change and realize his promise to keep the people's prosperity.

Data 4.4

“John McCain is an American hero. We honor his service to our nation. But his priorities don't address the real problems of the American people, because they are bound to the failed policies of the past.”

Again, Barack Obama praised to John McCain's service to the nation. But, he also regretted with his priorities that did not address the real problems of the American people, because he was bound to the failed policies of the past.

Analysis:

The speaker tried disfigure another person by mentioning *“John McCain is an American hero”*. This is called as projection technique. Then, from the next sentence *“his priorities don't address the real problems of the American people, because they are bound to the failed policies of the past”*, Barack Obama indicated to show that McCain did not address the real problems of the American people, because he was bound to the failed policies of the past that was what Bush had done. It showed that Obama tried to projecting his hatred to McCain as nominee of Republic party, and he hoped that the audience had the same hatred to McCain, so the audience would forgot with Obama's attitude and behavior.

Data 4.5

“That is our calling in this campaign. To reaffirm that fundamental belief – I am my brother's keeper; I am my sister's keeper – that makes us one people, and one nation. It's time to stand up and reach for what's possible, because together, people who love their country can change it.”

In order that the audience believed with his vision, Obama asserted that we needed fundamental belief that made us one people, and one nation to realize the

change in our country, and it was the time to stand up and reach for what's possible.

Analysis:

The utterances “*To reaffirm that fundamental belief – I am my brother's keeper...*” and “*It's time to stand up and reach for what's possible...*” are indicated the Compensation technique. It is used by the speaker to support the audiences to do what the speaker wants, by convincing their belief and ability to change. By using this technique, Barack Obama hoped the audience aware their belief to change the condition happened. Implicitly, he wanted to show that if the audiences voted him as a president, he and people who loved their country could realize the change in their country.

Data 4.6

”I know how hard it will be to make these changes. I know this because I fought on the streets of Chicago as a community organizer to bring jobs to the jobless in the shadow of a shuttered steel plant. I've fought in the courts as a civil rights lawyer to make sure people weren't denied their rights because of what they looked like or where they came from. I've fought in the legislature to take power away from lobbyists. I've won some of those fights, but I've lost some of them too. I've seen good legislation die because good intentions weren't backed by a mandate for change.”

To make the changes in the country, Barack Obama said that it was hard. He fought as a community organizer to bring jobs to the jobless in Chicago, and he had fought in the courts as a civil rights lawyer to make sure people weren't denied their rights because of what they looked like or where they came from. He

had also fought in the legislature to take power away from lobbyists. He won some of those fights, but lost some of them too, because good legislation died.

Analysis:

The utterances *“I know this because I fought on the streets of Chicago as a community organizer to bring jobs to the jobless in the shadow of a shuttered steel plant. I’ve fought in the courts as a civil rights lawyer”* indicated that the speaker used Conformities technique. By telling that he was a young organizer that intent on fighting joblessness, poverty and others, Barack Obama wanted to show that he was also care with human interest. If he becomes the president, he would make the changes in hi country. It means that he would regard more to the America people, whether in political aspect, economics aspect, health or other aspects and make good policies for their poverty.

Data 4.7

“...that out of many, we are one; that our destiny will not be written for us, but by us; and that we can cast off our doubts and fears and cynicism because our dream will not be deferred; our future will not be denied; and our time for change has come.”

In the last of his speech, Obama said that the American people had carried us a great distance on this improbable journey, but they had much further to go. He added that they were one; that their destiny would not be written for them, but by them; and that they could cast off their doubts and fears and cynicism because their dream would not be deferred, and this was their time for change had come.

Analysis:

The sentence “*we are one; that our destiny will not be written for us, but by us....*” and “*...our dream will not be deferred; our future will not be denied; and our time for change has come.*” indicated that the speaker attempted to persuade the audience using suggestion technique. That is the speaker’s way to persuade or influence other people so that they accept a certain idea or convictions without applying the reasonable basic faithful. Obama attempted to convince the audience that they still have the time to improve their condition, and to make sure that if they work hard and believe each other, they can bring the change into their country.

5. Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Keeping America's Promise

Janesville, WI | February 13, 2008

Data 5.1

“It's a Washington where *George Bush* hands out billions in tax cuts year after year to the biggest corporations and the wealthiest few who don't need them and don't ask for them - tax breaks that are mortgaging our children's future on a mountain of debt; tax breaks that could've gone into the pockets of the working families who needed them most..”

Obama attacked Bush’s policy about tax breaks that it just provided many advantages for the biggest corporations and the wealthiest, and it was mortgaging children's future on a mountain of debt because tax breaks was never given to people who needed them most.

Analysis:

The words “*George Bush*” become an animosity object. This is called Displacement Technique. The speaker tries to replace an intention with another object which should not receive it. The speaker tried to shift audience’s attention to George Bush as the government who had provided advantages for the biggest corporations and the wealthiest with his policy on tax, while those never went to people who needed most. By using this technique, Obama attempted to show that the government did not do their duty to protect people’s safety and prosperity, because they were busy with their business.

Data 5.2

“I realize that *politicians come before you* every election saying that they'll change all this. They lay out big plans and hold events with workers just like this one, because it's popular to do and it's easy to make promises in the heat of a campaign.”

In every election, there were so many politicians made promises to get the popularity. They applied the condition that occurred in their country, and then they offered some solutions and promised to commit their promise if people chosen them as their president. But, nothing change came to people.

Analysis:

The utterance “*politicians come before you...*” is projection technique that used by the speaker to disfigure another person. The word “*politicians*” is the name of person who joins on the politics. By using this technique, it was hoped that audience’s attention could be projected to the politicians who made promises

in the heat of a campaign, but nothing change after being voted. Whereas, Barack Obama wanted to show that he would not do the same as those politicians did in order that the audience believed that he had good character to be their president.

Data 5.3

“I didn't spend my career in the halls of Washington, I began it in the shadow of a closed steel mill on the South Side of Chicago. We organized churches and community leaders; African-Americans, whites, and...”

Barack Obama asserted that his career was starting his career organized brought every social community to lift neighborhoods out of poverty; provide job training to the jobless; and others

Analysis:

The utterance *“I didn't spend my career in the halls of Washington, I began it in the shadow of a closed steel mill on the South Side of Chicago”* indicates Identification technique. This technique is used by the speaker to avoid the conflict situation and doubt in the audience perception. Here, Obama identified his self to the audience that he came from small community that starting his career organized brought every social community to lift neighborhoods out of poverty; provide job training to the jobless; and others. Then, he can influence the audience's attitude and belief, and then invest his idea easily.

Data 5.4

“Those are the voices I carried with me to the Illinois state Senate, where I brought Democrats and Republicans together to expand health insurance

to 150,000 children and parents; where I led the fight to provide \$100 million in tax relief for working families and the working poor.”

When Barack Obama was Illinois State Senate, he brought Democrats and Republicans together to expand health insurance children and parents; where he led the fight to provide \$100 million in tax relief for working families and the working poor.

Analysis:

The utterance *“I brought Democrats and Republicans together to expand health insurance to 150,000 children and parents; where I led the fight....”* indicates Conformities technique. Obama was used this technique to adjust his self with the audience, and convince their belief in order that there is no suspense occur among them. Moreover, he regarded conformities as an act which can bring the positive influence unto advancement. From this sentence, he wanted to show that in realizing the change, people can not do alone, but it needed togetherness among all elements.

Data 5.5

“So when I talk about real change that will make a real difference in the lives of working families - change that will restore balance in our economy and put us on a path to prosperity - it's not just the poll-tested rhetoric of a political campaign. It's the cause of my life. And you can be sure that it will be the cause of my presidency from the very first day I take office.”

Barack Obama stated that the change which was promised was not only promise. But, the real change that would make a real difference in life, change that would restore balance in economy and put us on a path to prosperity.

Analysis:

The words “...change that will restore balance in our economy and put us on a path to prosperity - it's not just the poll-tested rhetoric of a political campaign.” is kind of rationalization technique. It is used by the speaker to put the foundations and idea in the heart of audience and smooth out the way in order that his desire and decision that he will take can be justified. In this case Obama emphasized that this campaign is different with previous which the politicians only provided many promises in order that the audiences felt that they were the candidate should be chosen. Implicitly, he attempted to influence the audience that he will be the president who will bring the change for America and for American people by providing the reason that it is not just the poll-tested rhetoric of a political campaign.

Data 5.6

“...And that is why I've paid for every element of this economic agenda - by ending a war that's costing us billions, closing tax loopholes for corporations, putting a price on carbon pollution, and ending George Bush's tax cuts for the wealthiest 2% of Americans.”

Barack Obama tried to offer solution in economic matter by ending a war that's costing us billions, closing tax loopholes for corporations, putting a price on carbon pollution, and ending George Bush's tax cuts for the wealthiest 2% of Americans.

Analysis:

The utterances *“that is why I've paid for every element of this economic agenda - by ending a war that's costing us billions, closing tax loopholes for corporations, putting a price on carbon pollution, and ending George Bush's tax cuts for the wealthiest 2% of Americans”* are indicated to the Compensation technique. It is used by the speaker to support the audiences to do what the speaker wants, by convincing their belief and ability to change because the situation is being frustration. In this case, Obama attempted to look for substitute from several problems that happened around the audience as the citizens of America. Furthermore, he also offered some solutions for them.

Data 5.7

“It's a promise that's been passed down through the ages; one that each generation of Americans is called to keep - that we can raise our children in a land of boundless opportunity, broad prosperity, and unyielding possibility. That is the promise we must keep in our time, and I look forward to working and fighting to make it real as President of the United States.”

In the last of his speech, Obama promised that when he was a president, the promises planned would be realized.

Analysis:

In the sentence, *“That is the promise we must keep in our time, and I look forward to working and fighting to make it real as President of the United States.”*

The speaker tried to persuade the audience by providing the suggestion technique.

That is the speaker's way to persuade or influence other people so that they

rechieved a certain idea or convictions without applying the reasonable basic faithful. In this case, Obama tried to influence the audience by providing a promise that it would be realized if the audience voted him as the next president of America.

6. Remarks for Senator Barack Obama: National Gypsum in Lorain, Ohio

Lorain, OH | February 24, 2008

Data 6.1

“..But what I refuse to accept is that we have to stand idly by while workers watch their jobs get shipped overseas. We need a president who's working as hard for you as you're working for your families. And that's the kind of President I intend to be”

Barack Obama uttered that they needed a president who was working as hard for them as they were working for their family, because globalization in its tracks can not stop and that some of these jobs which get shipped overseas were not coming back.

Analysis:

The utterance *“...I refuse to accept is that we have to stand idly by while workers watch their jobs get shipped overseas”* indicates Identification technique. This technique is used by the speaker to create the same common foundation and to avoid the conflict situation and doubt in the audience perception. Here, Obama identified his self to the audience as person who had the same feeling, and same

purpose. After that, he would attempt to influence the audience's attitude and belief, and then invest his idea easily.

Data 6.2

"...she said, "I think, on balance, NAFTA has been good for New York and America." One million jobs have been lost because of *NAFTA*, including nearly 50,000 jobs here in Ohio. And yet, ten years after NAFTA passed, *Senator Clinton* said it was good for America. Well, I don't think NAFTA has been good for America - and I never have"

Barack Obama said that one million jobs had been lost because of NAFTA, including nearly 50,000 jobs here in Ohio. But, Senator Clinton said it was good for America.

Analysis:

The word "*NAFTA*" and "*Senator Clinton*" becomes an animosity object. This is called Displacement Technique. The speaker tries to replace an intention with another object which should not receive it. In this case, Obama attempted to shift the audience's attention to the object which can obstruct their purpose for their country. It indicated that he wanted the audience to hate NAFTA because of the jobs have been lost and Senator Clinton who has agreed with NAFTA.

Data 6.3

"I didn't just start criticizing unfair trade deals like NAFTA because I started running for office - I'm doing it because I've seen what happens to a community when the factory closes down and the jobs move overseas. *I began my career as a community organizer on the South Side of Chicago, fighting joblessness and poverty in neighborhoods that were devastated when the local steel plant closed.*"

Barack Obama fought as a community organizer to bring jobs to the jobless in Chicago, he also asserted that his career was starting his career organized brought every social community to lift neighborhoods out of poverty; provide job training to the jobless; and others

Analysis:

The utterances “*I began my career as a community organizer on the South Side of Chicago, fighting joblessness and poverty in neighborhoods that were devastated when the local steel plant closed*” indicated that the speaker attempted to become similar with the audience, this is called Conformities technique. By telling that he was a young organizer that intent on fighting joblessness, poverty and others, Obama showed that he was also care with human interest and to adjust his self with the audience.

Data 6.4

“*It's also time to let our unions do what they do best - organize our workers. If a majority of workers want a union, they should get a union. It's that simple. We need to stand up to the business lobby, and pass the Employee Free Choice Act. That's why I've been fighting for it in the Senate, and that's why I'll make it the law of the land when I'm President of the United States.*”

Obama tried to persuade the audience that many of them were workers in order not to give up in fighting for their destiny. And he would help them if they voted Obama as president.

Analysis:

The utterances “*It's also time to let our unions do what they do best...* ” and “*We need to stand up to the business lobby...* ” indicated to the Compensation technique. It is an effort to find substitute for unacceptable thing, because of pure situation is getting frustration. It is also used by the speaker to support the audiences to do what the speaker wants, by convincing their belief and ability to change. By using this technique, Obama hoped the audience aware their belief to change the condition happened. Implicitly, he wanted to show that if the audiences voted him as a president, justice will come to American worker.

Data 6.5

“We know that all of this must be done in a responsible way, without adding to the already obscene debt that has grown by four trillion dollars under *George Bush*.”

Barack Obama urged to the audience that they had to be responsible with their purpose to make change in their country, and repaired the system that was damaged by Bush.

Analysis:

The word “*George Bush*” is projection technique that used by the speaker to to make the subject become the object besides to disfigure another person. By using this technique, it was hoped that audience’s attention could be projected to *George Bush*’s attitude and behavior that had been destruct the government system.

Data 6.6

“We cannot build our future on a credit card issued by the bank of China. *And that is why I'll pay for every part of this job-creation agenda* - by ending this war in Iraq that's costing us billions, closing tax loopholes for corporations, putting a price on carbon pollution, and ending George Bush's tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans.”

Barack Obama offered some agendas if he was selected as president of America to build their future by ending the war in Iraq that was costing billions, closing tax loopholes for corporations, putting a price on carbon pollution, and ending George Bush's tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans, because to realize these agendas they can not rely on a credit card issued by the bank of China.

Analysis:

The words “*And that is why I'll pay for every part of this job-creation agenda....*” is kind of rationalization technique. It is used by the speaker to put the foundations and idea in the heart of audience and smooth out the way in order that his desire and decision that he will take can be justified. In this case, Obama emphasized that to build the future of America especially to build economics aspect, they can not rely on a credit card issued by the bank of China, but by an effort from their self. It was the way of the speaker in order the audience accepted his statements by offering some agendas to support his reason.

Data 6.7

“....., *enacting this agenda won't just require an investment. It will require a new spirit of cooperation, innovation, and shared sacrifice. We'll have to remind ourselves that we rise and fall as one nation; that a country in which only a few prosper is antithetical to our ideals and our*

democracy; and that those of us who have benefited greatly from the blessings of this country have a solemn obligation to open the doors of opportunity, *not just for our children, but to all of America's children.*”

Once more, Obama reminded that it would not just require an investment; it also required a new spirit of cooperation, innovation, and shared sacrifice whether people had to be allied to enact the agenda for all Americans.

Analysis:

From the sentence “*enacting this agenda won't just require an investment. It will require a new spirit of cooperation, innovation, and shared sacrifice. We'll have to remind ourselves that we raise and fall as one nation*” that is used by the speaker to persuade the audience by providing the suggestion technique. That is the speaker’s way to persuade or influence other people so that they accept a certain idea or convictions without applying the reasonable basic faithful. In realizing his visions, Obama attempted to convince the audience to vote him in order that the change would come in their country, and to make sure that if they work hard to bring the change in reality.

4.2 Finding and Discussion

Persuasion is the speaker’s effort to influence another person in order to do something with no violence and coercion from the speaker. In persuasion the speaker needs the efforts for stimulating the listener to take decision. In addition, persuasion is difference from coercion, even though both of them have same

purpose that is changing someone's attitude, behavior. Generally, coercion applies threat and certain reward.

Persuasion phenomena appear in our social life. It cannot be avoided from our daily conversation. It is quite needed by person to influence another person, especially in political speech. The speaker often attempts to influence the audiences by providing promises and convincing their belief and attitude. We can study persuasion phenomena not only in real society, but also we can study from media, for example speeches' text. Speeches' text contains a lot utterance and it is supported by social context in it, there is no doubt that persuasion phenomena can be studied through the speeches' text.

To analyze the persuasion phenomena from speeches' text, the researcher used the text of Barack Obama's speeches and used Gorys Keraf's theory of persuasion. According this theory, persuasion divided into seven criteria, these are: rationalization, identification, suggestion (hypnotic), conformities, compensation, displacement and projection. In this case, the researcher found these techniques in the Barack Obama speeches' text. The followings are persuasion phenomena which were found by the researcher in the Barack Obama's speeches' text.

4.2.1 The Use of Rationalization Technique used by Barack Obama

Rationalization technique is technique used by the speaker to put the foundations and idea in the heart of audience and smooth out the way in order that his desire and decision that he will take can be justified. The rationalization

technique which is used by Barack Obama in his political speech is to give reason for his statement as well as strengthen it.

The utterances (1.1), (3.4), (4.3), (5.5) and (6.6) showed that Barack Obama used this technique to strengthen his position as the candidate of president that really appropriate with people's expectation that he will bring the change in their country. Then, in the utterance (2.6) showed that Barack Obama used this technique to convince the audience's self that the desirability would be realized if they wanted it to be and did it together.

4.2.2 The Use of Identification Technique used by Barack Obama

Identification technique is technique used by the speaker to avoid the conflict situation and doubt in the audience perception, and to identify the speaker's behavior to the audience. Barack Obama used this technique to recognize his self and to avoid the conflict situation.

The utterances (1.3), (5.3) and (6.1) showed the use of identification technique which is used by Barack Obama to identify his self to the audience as well as to be familiar with them and to avoid the conflict situation in order to control it. Then, in the utterance (2.1) showed that Barack Obama used this technique to control the situation and influence the audience by admiring the city and its citizens.

Further, the utterance (3.5) showed that Barack Obama used this technique to obscure the conflict situation in order that he can influence the audience's attitude and belief, and then invest his idea easily. Then, identification technique

was used by Barack Obama in the utterance (4.1) showed that he wanted to avoid the conflict situation by proving that he loved peace and unity.

4.2.3 The Use of Suggestion Technique used by Barack Obama

Suggestion technique is technique used by the speaker to persuade or influence other people so that they accept a certain idea or convictions without applying the reasonable basic faithful. It can be through reasonable and interesting utterances along with powerful voice, so the speaker may influence the audiences easily. In his speech, Barack Obama used this technique to persuade his audience to be the same opinion.

The utterances (1.4) and (5.7) showed that Barack Obama used this technique to persuade the audience in order to agree with his idea as well as persuade the audience to vote him as nominee. The utterances (2.7) and (6.7) showed that Barack Obama used this technique to influence the audience to vote him as president who would bring the change in their country and convince them to believe each other. Moreover, the utterance (3.6) and (4.7) showed that identification technique is used to persuade the audience by implanting the belief in their perception to aware that they can bring the change in their country.

4.2.4 The Use of Conformities Technique used by Barack Obama

Conformities technique is used to make the speaker self similar with other selves. Conformities are a mental mechanism to adapt our self or compare with the desirable situation. It can be the speaker's attitude in adjusting his or her self with the situation in order not to appear any suspense. Conformities are usually regarded as an act which will bring the positive influence unto advancement.

Considering to his speeches, Barack Obama used this technique to adapt his self with the audience and prove that he loved them as well as show that he pay attention to their affair as in the utterances (1.5), (6.3) and (4.6). Furthermore, in the utterances (2.5), (3.2) and (5.4) indicated that Barack Obama used this technique by bringing positive influence unto advancement. That is showed in his inviting the audience and all elements to realize the change in their country together.

4.2.5 The Use of Compensation Technique used by Barack Obama

Compensation technique is used to find substitute for unacceptable thing, or un-maintainable situation. It occurs when an action or pure situation being frustration. Moreover, the speaker enables to support the audience to accomplish another action or speaker's desire by means of performing doubtlessly that they have the ability to do something.

The utterances (1.6), (2.4), (4.5) and (6.7) showed that Barack Obama used this technique to influence the audience to believe that they can change the condition that happened in their country and convinced them to do what the speaker wanted. Furthermore, Barack Obama also and offered some substitute for several problems they faced around as in the utterances (3.7) and (5.6).

4.2.6 The Use of Displacement Technique used by Barack Obama

Displacement technique is used by the speaker to replace an intention or something trouble with another purpose which replace emotion. It can be an original abhorrence or an original affection. We may know about this technique in our society that is called by scapegoat. In this case, an object which becomes an

animosity target or anger is shifted or replaced with another object which should not receive it.

Considering his speeches, Barack Obama used the displacement technique to accuse certain person and object that were regarded as the cause factor of the problem as in the utterance (1.7) (2.2) (3.3), (4.2), (5.1) and (6.2). In this case, Obama tried to shift the audience's attention to the person and the object that could obstruct the change in America.

4.2.7 The Use of Projection Technique used by Barack Obama

Projection technique is a technique that is used by the speaker to make the subject become the object. This technique is used by the speaker to disfigure another person. So, the audience just recognizes the speaker as the figure who has good attitude and character.

Considering Barack Obama's speeches, he used projection to make the subject become the object as well as to disfigure another person. It is indicated in the utterances (1.2), (2.3), (3.1), (4.4), (5.2) and (6.5). In this case, Barack Obama hoped the audience would regard him as the figure that has good attitude and character to be president of America.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter provides the conclusion of the findings and suggestions for further study.

5.1 Conclusion

Here are some conclusions based on the research findings:

1. In delivering his speeches Barack Obama used several techniques of persuasion to reach the support from the audience or public and invest his idea. These techniques are: rationalization, identification, suggestion (hypnotic), conformities, compensation, displacement and projection.
2. In the use of persuasion technique, it was found that Barack Obama used several techniques of persuasion to get support from the audience or public and invest his idea in delivering his speeches. These techniques are: rationalization, identification, suggestion (hypnotic), conformities, compensation, displacement and projection. Furthermore, in the use of persuasion technique, Barack Obama used several ways to persuade the audience. Such as giving the reasons for his statements, putting the foundations and ideas in the heart of audience, obscuring the conflict situation and identifying his behavior, making agreements and influencing the audience without applying the reasonable basic faithful, adapting him self with the audience and bringing positive influence unto advancement, looking for substitute for unacceptable situation when it became frustration, accusing

certain person of cause the problem, shifting an intention or something trouble with another purpose which replaces emotion, and made the subject become the object as well as disfigured another person in order that audience recognize him as the best figure.

5.2. Suggestion

The results of this study give some useful suggestion for further researchers and the readers.

5.2.1 For Further Researchers

According to the findings of this research, it is suggested that the findings will be come additional references in the field of discourse. It is also recommended that the next researchers can use Gorys Keraf's theory of persuasion to conduct the research on the other areas.

Furthermore, this study does not cover all persuasion technique, because persuasion can be divided into context, argumentation, and psychological used. Other studies may study in other aspect of persuasion. In addition, it is also suggested to the next researcher use other persuasion theories to investigate different topics in the same area of the research.

5.2.3 For the Readers

The researcher also expects that this study is not only useful for further and the linguistic students, but also useful for anybody who want to know and understand the persuasion phenomena.

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APPENDIX

Appendix

Speeches Data

No.	Speeches Data and Place	Date
1.	Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Super Tuesday in Chicago, IL.	February 05, 2008
2.	Rebuilding Trust with New Orleans: Remarks of Senator Barack Obama in New Orleans, LA	February 07, 2008
3.	Remarks of Senator Barack Obama Virginia Jefferson - Jackson Dinner in Richmond, Virginia	February 9th, 2008
4.	Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Potomac Primary Night in Madison, WI	February 12, 2008
5.	Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Keeping America's Promise in Janesville, WI	February 13, 2008
6.	Remarks for Senator Barack Obama: National Opium in Lorain, Ohio	February 24, 2008

Data of Persuasion Technique

1. Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Super Tuesday Chicago, IL. February 05, 2008

No	Speeches Data	Kind of persuasive technique
1.we will put an end to a politis that uses 9/11 as a way to scare up votes, and start seeing it as a challenge that should unite America and the world against the common threats of the twenty-first century: terrorism and nuclear weapons; climate change and poverty; genocide and disease. We can do this. <i>It will not be easy. It will require struggle and sacrifice. There will be setbacks and we will make mistakes. And that is why we need all the help we can get</i>	Rationalization
2.	Because <i>the lobbyists</i> just write another check. Or because <i>politicians</i> start worrying about how they'll win the next election instead of why they should win because they focus on who's up and who's down instead of who matters	Projection
3.	Now, this isn't about me and it's not about Senator Clinton. As I've said before, <i>she was a friend before this campaign and she'll be a friend after it's over. I respect her as a colleague</i> , and I congratulate her on her victories tonight.	Identification
4.	<i>And if I am your nominee, my opponent will not be able to say that I voted for the war in Iraq; or that I gave George Bush the benefit of the doubt on Iran; or that I support the Bush-Cheney policy of not talking to leaders we don't like. And he will not be able to say that I wavered on something as fundamental</i>	Suggestion

5.	<i>I was a young organizer then, intent on fighting joblessness and poverty on the South Side, and I still remember one of the very first meetings I put together. We had worked on it for days, but no one showed up. Our volunteers felt so defeated, they wanted to quit. And to be honest, so did I.</i>	Conformity
6.	<i>You see, the challenges we face will not be solved with one meeting in one night. Change will not come if we wait for some other person or some other time. We are the ones we've been waiting for. We are the change that we seek.</i>	Compensation
7.	<i>We are the hope of the future; the answer to the cynics who tell us our house must stand divided; that we cannot come together; that we cannot remake this world as it should be</i>	Displacement

2. Rebuilding Trust with New Orleans: Remarks of Senator Barack Obama New Orleans, LA | February 07, 2008

No	Speeches Data	Kind of persuasive technique
1.	<i>It's good to be back in New Orleans. I'm just sorry that I'm a few days late for Mardi Gras. New Orleans is a city that has always shown America what is possible when we have the imagination to see the unseen and the determination to work for it.</i>	Identification
2.	<i>To many Americans, the words "New Orleans" call up images of broken levees; water rushing through the streets; mothers holding babies up to avoid the flood. And worse - the memory of a moment when America's government failed its citizens.</i>	Displacement
3.	<i>..... about a President who only saw the people from the window of an airplane. We can talk about a trust that was broken - the promise that our government will be prepared, will protect us, and will respond in a catastrophe.</i>	Projection
4.	<i>- When I am President, I will start by restoring that most basic trust - that your government will do what it takes to keep you safe. - That is why the second thing we need to do is to make sure that reconstruction is making a real difference in people's lives. - That is why the third part of our effort to rebuild trust must be providing a world-class education.</i>	Compensation
5.	<i>...But I will also ask the people of this city to do your part. Because together, we can do more than rebuild a city; we can create a model for America - for how we prepare for disasters; for how we fight poverty; for how we put our kids on a pathway to success.</i>	Conformity
6.	<i>...I hope that many of you will choose to stay here in New Orleans, and to make this work your own. Because you are the change that this city seeks. You can be this city's</i>	Suggestion

	tomorrow. You can help close those divisions. And by doing so, you can help to heal this nation.	
7.	Here, in the city that gave us jazz, we know that even the most painful note can be followed by joy. Here, in this city, <i>if we look hard enough, we can imagine the unseen - homes filled with families; businesses putting folks to work; schools extending opportunity; the next verse in the American song. That is what is possible if we can trust each other; and if we have the imagination to see the unseen, and the determination to work for it.</i>	Rationalization

3. Remarks of Senator Barack Obama Virginia Jefferson-Jackson Dinner Richmond, Virginia, February 9th, 2008

No	Speeches Data	Kind of persuasive technique
1.	We are tired of being disappointed by our politicians. We are tired of being let down. We're tired of hearing promises made and ten-point plans proposed in the heat of a campaign only to have nothing change when <i>everyone</i> goes back to Washington. Because <i>the lobbyists</i> just write another check. Or because politicians start worrying about how they'll win the next election instead of <i>why they should...</i>	Projection
2.	But I am running for President because I believe that to actually make change happen - to make this <i>time</i> different than all the rest - <i>we need a leader who can fearlessly move beyond the divisive politics of Washington and bring Democrats, Independents, and Republicans together to get things done.</i> That's how we'll win this election, and that's how we'll change this country when I am President of the United States.	Conformity
3.	This week we found out that the presumptive nominee of the Republican Party is <i>Senator John McCain</i> . Now, John McCain is a good man, an American hero, and we honor his half century of service to this nation. <i>But in this campaign, he has made the decision to embrace the failed policies George Bush's Washington.</i>	Displacement
4.	There is a reason why the last six polls in a row have shown that I'm the strongest candidate against John McCain. <i>It's because we've done better with Independents in almost every single contest we've had. It's because we've won in more Red States and swing states that the next Democratic nominee needs to win in November.</i>	Rationalization
5.	<i>We are here to make clear that this election is not left versus right, not about regions or religions or genders. It's not about rich versus poor; young versus old; and it is not about black versus white.</i>	Identification
6.	<i>This is our moment. This is our time for change. Our party -</i>	Suggestion

	<i>the Democratic Party - has always been at its best when we've led not by polls, but by principle; not by calculation, but by conviction</i> ; when we've called all Americans to a common purpose - a higher purpose.	
7.	This is our moment. This is our message - the same message we had when we were up, and when we were down. The same message that we will carry all the way to the convention. <i>And in seven months time we can realize this promise; we can claim this legacy; we can choose new leadership for America.</i> Because there is nothing we cannot do if the American people decide it is time	Compensation

**4. Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Potomac Primary Night
Madison, WI | February 12, 2008**

No	Speeches Data	Kind of persuasive technique
1.	...and brought folks back to the polls who want to believe again. <i>And we are bringing together Democrats and Independents and Republicans; blacks and whites; Latinos and Asians; small states and big states; Red States and Blue States into a United States of America.</i>	Identification
2.	Because at a time when so many people are struggling to keep up with soaring costs in a sluggish economy, we know that <i>the status quo in Washington</i> just won't do. Not this time. Not this year. We can't keep playing the same Washington game with the same Washington players and expect a different result - because it's a game that ordinary Americans are losing.	Displacement
3.	<i>That's what happens when the American worker doesn't have a voice at the negotiating table, when leaders change their positions on trade with the politics of the moment</i> , and that's why we need a President who will listen to Main Street - not just Wall Street; a President who will stand with workers not just when it's easy, but when it's hard.	Rationalization
4.	<i>John McCain is an American hero.</i> We honor his service to our nation. <i>But his priorities don't address the real problems of the American people, because they are bound to the failed policies of the past.</i>	Projection
5.	That is our calling in this campaign. <i>To reaffirm that fundamental belief - I am my brother's keeper; I am my sister's keeper - that makes us one people, and one nation.</i> <i>It's time to stand up and reach for what's possible</i> , because together, people who love their country can change it.	Compensation
6.	I know how hard it will be to make these changes. <i>I know this because I fought on the streets of Chicago as a community organizer to bring jobs to the jobless in the shadow of a shuttered steel plant. I've fought in the courts as a civil rights</i>	Conformity

	<i>lawyer to make sure people weren't denied their rights because of what they looked like or where they came from. I've fought in the legislature to take power away from lobbyists. I've won some of those fights, but I've lost some of them too. I've seen good legislation die because good intentions weren't backed by a mandate for change.</i>	
7.	<i>...that out of many, we are one; that our destiny will not be written for us, but by us; and that we can cast off our doubts and fears and cynicism because our dream will not be deferred; our future will not be denied; and our time for change has come.</i>	suggestion

**5. Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Keeping America's Promise
Janesville, WI | February 13, 2008**

No	Speeches Data	Kind of persuasive technique
1.	<i>It's a Washington where George Bush hands out billions in tax cuts year after year to the biggest corporations and the wealthiest few who don't need them and don't ask for them - tax breaks that are mortgaging our children's future on a mountain of debt; tax breaks that could've gone into the pockets of the working families who needed them most..</i>	Displacement
2.	<i>I realize that politicians come before you every election saying that they'll change all this. They lay out big plans and hold events with workers just like this one, because it's popular to do and it's easy to make promises in the heat of a campaign.</i>	projection
3.	<i>I didn't spend my career in the halls of Washington, I began it in the shadow of a closed steel mill on the South Side of Chicago. We organized churches and community leaders; African-Americans, whites, and...</i>	Identification
4.	<i>Those are the voices I carried with me to the Illinois state Senate, where I brought Democrats and Republicans together to expand health insurance to 150,000 children and parents; where I led the fight to provide \$100 million in tax relief for working families and the working poor.</i>	Conformities
5.	<i>So when I talk about real change that will make a real difference in the lives of working families - change that will restore balance in our economy and put us on a path to prosperity - it's not just the poll-tested rhetoric of a political campaign. It's the cause of my life. And you can be sure that it will be the cause of my presidency from the very first day I take office</i>	Rationalization
6.	<i>...And that is why I've paid for every element of this economic agenda - by ending a war that's costing us billions, closing tax loopholes for corporations, putting a price on carbon</i>	Compensation

	<i>pollution, and ending George Bush's tax cuts for the wealthiest 2% of Americans.</i>	
7.	It's a promise that's been passed down through the ages; one that each generation of Americans is called to keep - that we can raise our children in a land of boundless opportunity, broad prosperity, and unyielding possibility. <i>That is the promise we must keep in our time, and I look forward to working and fighting to make it real as President of the United States.</i>	suggestion

**6. Remarks for Senator Barack Obama: National Gypsum in Lorain, Ohio
Lorain, OH | February 24, 2008**

No	Speeches Data	Kind of persuasive technique
1.	<i>..But what I refuse to accept is that we have to stand idly by while workers watch their jobs get shipped overseas. We need a president who's working as hard for you as you're working for your families. And that's the kind of President I intend to be</i>	Identification
2.	<i>...she said, "I think, on balance, NAFTA has been good for New York and America." One million jobs have been lost because of NAFTA, including nearly 50,000 jobs here in Ohio. And yet, ten years after NAFTA passed, Senator Clinton said it was good for America. Well, I don't think NAFTA has been good for America - and I never have</i>	Displacement
3.	<i>I didn't just start criticizing unfair trade deals like NAFTA because I started running for office - I'm doing it because I've seen what happens to a community when the factory closes down and the jobs move overseas. I began my career as a community organizer on the South Side of Chicago, fighting joblessness and poverty in neighborhoods that were devastated when the local steel plant closed.</i>	Conformity
4.	<i>It's also time to let our unions do what they do best - organize our workers. If a majority of workers want a union, they should get a union. It's that simple. We need to stand up to the business lobby, and pass the Employee Free Choice Act. That's why I've been fighting for it in the Senate, and that's why I'll make it the law of the land when I'm President of the United States.</i>	Compensation
5.	<i>We know that all of this must be done in a responsible way, without adding to the already obscene debt that has grown by four trillion dollars under George Bush.</i>	projection
6.	<i>We cannot build our future on a credit card issued by the bank of China. And that is why I'll pay for every part of this job-creation agenda - by ending this war in Iraq that's costing us billions, closing tax loopholes for corporations, putting a price on carbon pollution, and ending George Bush's tax cuts</i>	Rationalization

	for the wealthiest Americans.	
7.	<p>....., enacting this agenda won't just require an investment. It will require a new spirit of cooperation, innovation and shared sacrifice. We'll have to remind ourselves that we rise and fall as one nation; that a country in which only a few prosper is antithetical to our ideals and our democracy; and that those of us who have benefited greatly from the blessings of this country have a solemn obligation to open the doors of opportunity, not just for our children, but to all of America's children.</p>	suggestion



Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Super Tuesday

Chicago, IL | February 05, 2008

Before I begin, I just want to send my condolences to the victims of the storms that hit Tennessee and Arkansas. They are in our thoughts and in our prayers.

Well, the polls are just closing in California and the votes are still being counted in cities and towns across the country. But there is one thing on this February night that we do not need the final results to know - our time has



come, our movement is real, and change is coming to America.

Only a few hundred miles from here, almost one year ago to the day, we stood on the steps of the Old State Capitol to reaffirm a truth that was spoken there so many generations ago - that a house divided cannot stand; that we are more than a collection of Red States and Blue States; we are, and always will be, the United States of America.

What began as a whisper in Springfield soon carried across the corn fields of Iowa, where farmers and factory workers; students and seniors stood up in numbers we've never seen. They stood up to say that maybe this year, we don't have to settle for a politics where scoring points is more important than solving problems. This time we can finally do something about health care we can't afford or mortgages we can't pay. This time can be different.

Their voices echoed from the hills of New Hampshire to the deserts of Nevada, where teachers and cooks and kitchen workers stood up to say that maybe Washington doesn't have to be run by lobbyists anymore. They reached the coast of South Carolina when people said that maybe we don't have to be divided by race and region and gender; that crumbling schools are stealing the future of black children and white children; that we can come together and build an America that gives every child, everywhere the opportunity to live their dreams. This time can be different.

And today, on this Tuesday in February, in states North and South, East and West, what began as a whisper in Springfield has swelled to a chorus of millions calling for change. A chorus that cannot be ignored. That cannot be deterred. This time can be different because this campaign for the presidency is different.

It's different not because of me, but because of you. Because you are tired of being disappointed and tired of being let down. You're tired of hearing promises made and plans proposed in the heat of a campaign only to have nothing change when everyone goes back to Washington. Because the lobbyists just write another check. Or because politicians start worrying about how they'll win the next election instead of why they should. Or because they focus on who's up and who's down instead of who matters.

And while Washington is consumed with the same drama and division and

distraction, another family puts up a For Sale sign in the front yard. Another factory shuts its doors. Another soldier waves goodbye as he leaves on another tour of duty in a war that should've never been authorized and never been waged. It goes on and on and on.

But in this election - at this moment - you are standing up all across this country to say, not this time. Not this year. The stakes are too high and the challenges too great to play the same Washington game with the same Washington players and expect a different result. This time must be different.

Now, this isn't about me and it's not about Senator Clinton. As I've said before, she was a friend before this campaign and she'll be a friend after it's over. I respect her as a colleague, and I congratulate her on her victories tonight.

But this fall we owe the American people a real choice. It's change versus more of the same. It's the future versus the past.

It's a choice between going into this election with Republicans and Independents already united against us, or going against their nominee with a campaign that has united Americans of all parties around a common purpose.

It's a choice between having a debate with the other party about who has the most experience in Washington, or having one about who's most likely to change Washington. Because that's a debate we can win.

It's a choice between a candidate who's taken more money from Washington lobbyists than either Republican in this race, and a campaign that hasn't taken a dime of their money because we've been funded by you.

And if I am your nominee, my opponent will not be able to say that I voted for the war in Iraq; or that I gave George Bush the benefit of the doubt on Iran; or that I support the Bush-Cheney policy of not talking to leaders we don't like. And he will not be able to say that I wavered on something as fundamental as whether or not it's ok for America to use torture - because it is never ok. That is the choice in this election.

The Republicans running for President have already tied themselves to the past. They speak of a hundred year war in Iraq and billions more on tax breaks for the wealthiest few who don't need them and didn't ask for them - tax breaks that mortgage our children's future on a mountain of debt at a time when there are families who can't pay their medical bills and students who can't pay their tuition. They are running on the politics of yesterday, and that is why our party must be the party of tomorrow. And that is the party I will lead as President.

I'll be the President who ends the tax breaks to companies that ship our jobs overseas and start putting them in the pockets of working Americans who deserve it. And struggling homeowners. And seniors who should retire with dignity and respect.

I'll be the President who finally brings Democrats and Republicans together to make health care affordable and available for every single American. We will put a college education within reach of anyone who wants to go, and instead of just talking about how great our teachers are, we will reward them for their greatness, with more pay and better support. And we will harnesses the ingenuity of farmers and scientists and entrepreneurs to free this nation from the tyranny of oil once

and for all.

And when I am President, we will put an end to a politics that uses 9/11 as a way to scare up votes, and start seeing it as a challenge that should unite America and the world against the common threats of the twenty-first century: terrorism and nuclear weapons; climate change and poverty; genocide and disease.

We can do this. It will not be easy. It will require struggle and sacrifice. There will be setbacks and we will make mistakes. And that is why we need all the help we can get. So tonight I want to speak directly to all those Americans who have yet to join this movement but still hunger for change - we need you. We need you to stand with us, and work with us, and help us prove that together, ordinary people can still do extraordinary things.

I am blessed to be standing in the city where my own extraordinary journey began. A few miles from here, in the shadow of a shuttered steel plant, is where I learned what it takes to make change happen. I was a young organizer then, intent on fighting joblessness and poverty on the South Side, and I still remember one of the very first meetings I put together. We had worked on it for days, but no one showed up. Our volunteers felt so defeated, they wanted to quit. And to be honest, so did I. But at that moment, I looked outside and saw some young boys tossing stones at a boarded-up apartment building across the street. They were like boys in so many cities across the country - boys without prospects, without guidance, without hope. And I turned to the volunteers, and I asked them, "Before you quit, I want you to answer one question. What will happen to those boys?" And the volunteers looked out that window, and they decided that night to keep going - to keep organizing, keep fighting for better schools, and better jobs, and better health care. And so did I. And slowly, but surely, in the weeks and months to come, the community began to change.

You see, the challenges we face will not be solved with one meeting in one night. Change will not come if we wait for some other person or some other time.

We are the ones we've been waiting for. We are the change that we seek. We are the hope of those boys who have little; who've been told that they cannot have what they dream; that they cannot be what they imagine.

Yes they can.

We are the hope of the father who goes to work before dawn and lies awake with doubts that tell him he cannot give his children the same opportunities that someone gave him.

Yes he can.

We are the hope of the woman who hears that her city will not be rebuilt; that she cannot reclaim the life that was swept away in a terrible storm.

Yes she can.

We are the hope of the future; the answer to the cynics who tell us our house must stand divided; that we cannot come together; that we cannot remake this world as it should be. Because we know what we have seen and what we believe - that what began as a whisper has now swelled to a chorus that cannot be ignored; that will not be deterred; that will ring out across this land as a hymn that will heal this nation, repair this world, and make this time different than all the rest - Yes. We. Can.

Rebuilding Trust with New Orleans: Remarks of Senator Barack Obama

New Orleans, LA | February 07, 2008

Sen. Barack Obama's prepared remarks to be delivered to a rally at Fogleman Arena:

It's good to be back in New Orleans. I'm just sorry that I'm a few days late for Mardi Gras.

New Orleans is a city that has always shown America what is possible when we have the imagination to see the unseen, and the determination to work for it. It's a city where slaves met in Congo Square to raise their voices in improbable joy; and a young man named Louis from "back of town" played his first tunes. It's a city where Jackson turned back the British; and a great port connected America's heartland to the Gulf.

It's a city where races and religions and languages all mixed together to form something new; something different; and something special - an imperfect place made more perfect through its promise of forgiveness.

Now, in the wake of this quintessentially American city's greatest test, we see the stirrings of a new day. This great university is well into another academic year.

The St. Charles streetcar is rattling downtown. The Endymion {en-dim'-ee-uhn} parade again winds through the streets of Mid-City. A son of New Orleans - Eli Manning - even won an improbable Super Bowl victory.

Most importantly, with each passing day, with each student who goes to school; with each business that opens its doors; with each worker who puts in a shift; New Orleanians are reclaiming their future, and showing America just what can be done in this country when citizens lift up their communities.

But there is another side to this story. Because we know that this city - a city that has always stood for what can be done in this country - has also become a symbol for what we could not do.

To many Americans, the words "New Orleans" call up images of broken levees; water rushing through the streets; mothers holding babies up to avoid the flood. And worse - the memory of a moment when America's government failed its citizens. Because when the people of New Orleans and the Gulf Coast extended their hand for help, help wasn't there. When people looked up from the rooftops, for too long they saw empty sky. When the winds blew and the floodwaters came, we learned that for all of our wealth and power, something wasn't right with America.

We can talk about what happened for a few days in 2005. And we should. We can talk about levees that couldn't hold; about a FEMA that seemed not just incompetent, but paralyzed and powerless; about a President who only saw the people from the window of an airplane. We can talk about a trust that was broken - the promise that our government will be prepared, will protect us, and will respond in a catastrophe.

But we also know the broken promises did not start when a storm hit, and they did not end there.

When President Bush came down to Jackson Square two weeks after the storm, the setting was spectacular and his promises soaring: "We will do what it takes," he said. "We will stay as long as it takes, to help citizens rebuild their communities and their lives." But over two years later, those words have been caught in a tangle of half-measures, half-hearted leadership, and red tape.

Yes, parts of New Orleans are coming back to life. But we also know that over 25,000 families are still living in small trailers; that thousands of homes sit empty and condemned; and that schools and hospitals and firehouses are shuttered. We know that even though the street cars run, there are fewer passengers; that even though the parades sound their joyful noise, there is too much violence in the shadows.

To confront these challenges we have to understand that Katrina may have battered these shores - but it also exposed silent storms that have ravaged parts of this city and our country for far too long. The storms of poverty and joblessness; inequality and injustice.

When I was down in Houston visiting evacuees a few days after Katrina, I met a woman in the Reliant Center who had long known these storms in her life. She told me, "We had nothing before the hurricane. Now we got less than nothing."

We had nothing before the hurricane. Now we got less than nothing. I think about her sometimes. I think about how America left her behind. And I wonder where she is today.

America failed that woman long before that failure showed up on our television screens. We failed her again during Katrina. And - tragically - we are failing her for a third time. That needs to change. It's time for us to restore our trust with her; it's time for America to rebuild trust with the people of New Orleans and the Gulf Coast.

When I am President, I will start by restoring that most basic trust - that your government will do what it takes to keep you safe.

The words "never again" - spoken so often in those weeks after Katrina - must not fade to a whisper. The Army Corps of Engineers has rebuilt levees that were most damaged by the storm, but funding has sometimes stalled, and New Orleans remains unprotected.

We can't gamble every hurricane season. When I am President, we will finish building a system of levees that can withstand a 100-year storm by 2011, with the goal of expanding that protection to defend against a Category 5 storm. We also have to restore nature's barriers - the wetlands, marshes and barrier islands that can take the first blows and protect the people of the Gulf Coast.

If catastrophe comes, the American people must be able to call on a competent government. When I am President, the days of dysfunction and cronyism in Washington will be over. The director of FEMA will report to me. He or she will have the highest qualifications in emergency management. And I won't just tell you that I'll insulate that office from politics - I'll guarantee it, by giving my FEMA director a fixed term like the director of the Federal Reserve. I don't want FEMA to be thinking for one minute about the politics of a crisis. I want FEMA to

do its job, which is protecting the American people - not protecting a President's politics.

And as soon as we take office, my FEMA director will work with emergency management officials in all fifty states to create a National Response Plan.

Because we need to know - before disaster comes - who will be in charge; and how the federal, state and local governments will work together to respond.

But putting up defenses is not sufficient. Because renewing trust with the people of New Orleans is not just about stronger levees and pumping systems - it's about people.

So many of us live a life that is ordered, with comforts we can count on.

Somewhere, we know, there are people who don't have a house with a sturdy roof; who have nowhere to go when they can't make rent; who don't have a car to drive to another city when a storm is coming; who can't get care when they're sick, or get the education that would give them a chance at their dreams.

But too often, we lose our sense of common destiny; that understanding that we are all tied together; that when a woman has less than nothing in this country, that makes us all poorer.

That is why the second thing we need to do is to make sure that reconstruction is making a real difference in peoples' lives.

Across this city, we see the evidence that George Bush's promises were empty. It's not acceptable that federal money is not reaching communities that need it, or that Louisiana officials have filled out millions of forms to get reconstruction funds.

When I am President, the federal rebuilding coordinator will report directly to me, and we will ensure that resources show results. It's time to cut the red tape, so that the federal government is a partner - not an opponent - in getting things done.

Instead of giving no-bid contracts to companies headed by the President's former campaign manager, we will make sure that rebuilding benefits the local economy.

I have worked across the aisle in the Senate to crack down on no-bid contracts, and to make sure that emergency contracting is only done immediately after an emergency. When I am President, if there is a job that can be done by a New Orleans resident, the contract will go to a resident of New Orleans. And we'll provide tax incentives to businesses that choose to set up shop in the hardest hit areas.

Instead of letting families languish in trailers, we will ensure that every displaced resident can return to a home. Today, tens of thousands of homeowners could end up without assistance because of funding shortfalls. That is unacceptable. We must work with Louisiana to make the Road Home program more efficient. We should set a goal to approve every application for Road Home assistance within two months. And we need to increase rental property, so that we can bring down the cost of renting a home.

Instead of shuttered hospitals and provider shortages, we will help the Gulf region rebuild a health care system that serves all its residents. We'll provide incentives like loan forgiveness to bring more doctors and nurses to New Orleans, and we'll build new hospitals - including a new Medical Center downtown, and a state-of-the-art Veteran's hospital.

And instead of unsafe streets and shocking crimes, we will help New Orleans rebuild its criminal justice system. We'll start a new COPS for Katrina program to put more resources into community policing, so that heroic officers - men and women like Nicola Cotton, who gave her life serving the city she loved - have more support. And we'll launch a regional effort that brings together federal, state and local resources to combat crime and drug gangs across the Gulf Coast. The children of New Orleans are America's children. We cannot stand by while they see a future filled with violence, or poverty, or hopelessness. Our true measure of success must be ensuring that the children of New Orleans and the Gulf Coast can dream the same dreams as every child in America. That is why the third part of our effort to rebuild trust must be providing a world-class education.

Over two years after Katrina, too many schools are still closed. Kids are still going to class in makeshift buildings and trailers. Class sizes run as large as forty children for each teacher. This is not acceptable. It's time for FEMA to speed up payment of the \$58 million that Congress recently allocated for school repairs. And it's time to invest in education, so that New Orleans has the first-class school system that it has needed for so long.

That starts with the person standing in front of the classroom. Many heroic, high-quality teachers have returned to New Orleans - but we need more. That is why I have called for \$250 million to bring quality teachers back to the Gulf region. Any teacher or principal who commits to come here for three years should receive an annual bonus; and those who teach in subject areas where we face shortages - such as math and science - should receive an additional bonus.

In New Orleans - and across this country - we need to stop talking about how great our teachers are; we need to reward them for their greatness with more pay and more support. We need to recruit new teachers by helping them pay for a college education. We need to expand mentor programs to pair experienced teachers with new recruits. And we need to help them move up the career ladder and gain new skills.

We can't accept an education policy where we pass a law called No Child Left Behind and leave the money behind. And we can't just have our teachers teaching to a test - we need to encourage science and innovation; music and the arts. If there is any city in the world that shows us the value of culture and creativity, it is New Orleans.

And our commitment to education can't stop with a high school diploma. I have fought in the Senate for post-Katrina support for Xavier, Southern and Dillard. And I put forward a loan forgiveness program, to make it easier for students to come back to Tulane and colleges and universities across the Gulf region.

It's time to make a college education affordable - not just in New Orleans - but for all Americans. That's why I'll give students who need a hand an annual \$4,000 tax credit if you're willing to do your part by serving your community.

And we need to tap the tremendous resource of community colleges. When I am President, we'll reward schools that graduate more students. And we'll help our schools determine what skills are needed to help local industry, so that graduates are well-prepared to lift up the economy, and to rebuild their communities.

Because the trust we seek is not a one-way street. It's going to take folks working together and doing their part. The government cannot rebuild the Gulf Coast for the people of the Gulf Coast; the government can only rebuild the Gulf Coast with the people of this region.

All of this will cost money. The federal government has already promised the resources, but they need to be spent more efficiently and more wisely. When I am President, we will target funds to programs that make a difference, and make sure that resources meet the needs of the people - and that means working closely with state and local officials, and asking that they keep up their end of the bargain.

I promise you that when I'm in the White House I will commit myself every day to keeping up Washington's end of this trust. This will be a priority of my presidency. And I will make it clear to members of my Administration that their responsibilities don't end in places like the 9th ward - they begin there.

But I will also ask the people of this city to do your part. Because together, we can do more than rebuild a city; we can create a model for America - for how we prepare for disasters; for how we fight poverty; for how we put our kids on a pathway to success.

If we do this, then we can once again make New Orleans the city that stands for what we can do in America, not a symbol for what we can't do.

If we do this, then we can begin to turn the page on the invisible barriers - the silent storms - that have ravaged this city and this country: the old divisions of black and white; of rich and poor. It's time to leave that to yesterday. It's time to choose tomorrow.

Here at Tulane, your degree will open up many doors. I hope that many of you will choose to stay here in New Orleans, and to make this work your own.

Because you are the change that this city seeks. You can be this city's tomorrow. You can help close those divisions. And by doing so, you can help to heal this nation.

What better place to begin this work than New Orleans?

Here, in the city that gave us jazz, we know that even the most painful note can be followed by joy. Here, in this city, if we look hard enough, we can imagine the unseen - homes filled with families; businesses putting folks to work; schools extending opportunity; the next verse in the American song. That is what is possible if we can trust each other; and if we have the imagination to see the unseen, and the determination to work for it.

**Remarks of Senator Barack Obama Virginia Jefferson-Jackson
Dinner
Saturday, February 9th, 2008
Richmond, Virginia**

It has now been one year since we began this campaign for the presidency on the steps of the Old State Capitol in Springfield, Illinois - just me and 15,000 of my closest friends.

At the time, there weren't too many who imagined we'd be standing where we are today. I knew I wouldn't be Washington's favorite candidate. I knew we wouldn't get all the big donors or endorsements right off the bat. I knew I'd be the underdog in every contest from January to June. I knew it wouldn't be easy.

But then something started happening. As we met people in their living rooms and on their farms; in churches and town hall meetings, they all started telling a similar story about the state of our politics today. Whether they're young or old; black or white; Latino or Asian; Democrat, Independent or even Republican, the message is the same:

We are tired of being disappointed by our politics. We are tired of being let down. We're tired of hearing promises made and ten-point plans proposed in the heat of a campaign only to have nothing change when everyone goes back to Washington. Because the lobbyists just write another check. Or because politicians start worrying about how they'll win the next election instead of why they should. Or because they focus on who's up and who's down instead of who matters. And while Washington is consumed with the same drama and division and distraction, another family puts up a For Sale sign in the front yard. Another factory shuts its doors forever. Another mother declares bankruptcy because she cannot pay her child's medical bills.

And another soldier waves goodbye as he leaves on another tour of duty in a war that should've never been authorized and never been waged. It goes on and on and on, year after year after year.

But in this election - at this moment - Americans are standing up all across the country to say, not this time. Not this year. The stakes are too high and the challenges too great to play the same Washington game with the same Washington players and expect a different result. And today, voters from the West Coast to the Gulf Coast to the heart of America stood up to say that it is time to turn the page. We won Louisiana, and Nebraska, and the state of Washington, and I believe that we can win in Virginia on Tuesday if you're ready to stand for change.



Each of us running for the Democratic nomination agrees on one thing that the other party does not - the next President must end the disastrous policies of George W. Bush. And both Senator Clinton and I have put forth detailed plans and good ideas that would do just that.

But I am running for President because I believe that to actually make change happen - to make this time different than all the rest - we need a leader who can finally move beyond the divisive politics of Washington and bring Democrats, Independents, and Republicans together to get things done. That's how we'll win this election, and that's how we'll change this country when I am President of the United States.

This week we found out that the presumptive nominee of the Republican Party is Senator John McCain. Now, John McCain is a good man, an American hero, and we honor his half century of service to this nation. But in this campaign, he has made the decision to embrace the failed policies George Bush's Washington. He speaks of a hundred year war in Iraq and sees another on the horizon with Iran. He once opposed George Bush's tax cuts for the wealthiest few who don't need them and didn't ask for them. He said they were too expensive and unwise. And he was absolutely right.

But somewhere along the line, the wheels came off the Straight Talk Express because he now he supports the very same tax cuts he voted against. This is what happens when you spend too long in Washington. Politicians don't say what they mean and they don't mean what they say. And that is why in this election, our party cannot stand for business-as-usual in Washington. The Democratic Party must stand for change.

This fall, we owe the American people a real choice.

It's a choice between debating John McCain about who has the most experience in Washington, or debating him about who's most likely to change Washington.

Because that's a debate we can win.

It's a choice between debating John McCain about lobbying reform with a nominee who's taken more money from lobbyists than he has, or doing it with a campaign that hasn't taken a dime of their money because we've been funded by you - the American people.

And it's a choice between taking on John McCain with Republicans and Independents already united against us, or running against him with a campaign that's united Americans of all parties around a common purpose.

There is a reason why the last six polls in a row have shown that I'm the strongest candidate against John McCain. It's because we've done better with Independents in almost every single contest we've had. It's because we've won in more Red States and swing states that the next Democratic nominee needs to win in November.

Virginia Democrats know how important this is. That's how Mark Warner won in this state. That's how Tim Kaine won in this state. That's how Jim Webb won in this state. And if I am your nominee, this is one Democrat who plans to campaign in Virginia and win in Virginia this fall.

We are here to make clear that this election is not between regions or religions or genders. It's not about rich versus poor; young versus old; and it is not about black versus white.

It is about the past versus the future. The Republicans in Washington are already running on the politics of yesterday, which is why our party must be the party of tomorrow. And that is the party I will lead as President of the United States.

I know what it takes to pass health care reform because I've done it -- not by demonizing anyone who disagrees with me, but by bringing Democrats and Republicans together to provide health insurance to 150,000 children and parents in Illinois.

And when I am President, we'll pass universal health care not in twenty years, not in ten years, but by the end of my first term in office. But you don't have to take my word for it. Senator Ted Kennedy recently said that he wouldn't have endorsed me if he didn't believe passionately that I will fight for universal health care as President. And if there's someone who knows something about health care, it's Ted Kennedy.

My plan would bring down premiums for the typical family by \$2500 a year. We'd ban insurance companies from denying you coverage because of a pre-existing condition. We'd allow every American to get the same kind of health care that members of Congress get for themselves. And the one difference between my plan and Senator Clinton's plan is that she said she'd 'go after' your wages if you don't buy health care. Well I believe the reason people don't have health care isn't because no one's forced them to buy it, it's because no one's made it affordable - and that's why we bring down the cost of health care more than any other plan in this race.

It's also time to bring the cost of living down for working families who are struggling in this economy like never before. They're facing rising costs and falling wages, and we owe it to them to end the Bush-McCain tax cuts for the wealthiest 2% and put a tax cut into the pockets of the families who need it. That's what I did in Illinois when I brought Democrats and Republicans together to provide \$100 million in tax relief to working families and the working poor, and that's the kind of tax relief I'll provide as President.

I will end the tax breaks for companies who ship our jobs overseas and give a middle-class tax break to 95% of working Americans. And homeowners who are struggling. And seniors who deserve to retire with dignity and respect. And I won't wait another ten years to raise the minimum wage in this country - I will raise it to keep pace with inflation every single year.

It's also time to give every child, everywhere, a world-class education, from the day they're born to the day they graduate college. I am only here today because somebody, somewhere, gave my father a ticket to come study in America. Because my mother got the opportunity to put herself through graduate school. Because even though we didn't have much growing up, I got scholarships to go to some of the best schools in the country. That's the chance I believe every child should have.

When I am President, we will give our children the best possible start by investing in early childhood education. We'll stop talking about how great our teachers are,

and start rewarding them for their greatness, with better pay and more support. And we will provide every American with a \$4,000 a year tax credit that will finally help make a college education affordable and available for all.

And when I am President, this party will be the party that finally makes sure our sons and daughters don't grow up in a century where our economy is weighed down by our addiction to oil; our foreign policy is held hostage to the whims of dictators; and our planet passes a moment of no return.

When I called for higher fuel efficiency standards, I didn't do it in front of an environmental group in California - I did it in front of the automakers in Detroit. Now it was pretty quiet - I didn't get a lot of applause. But we need leadership that tells the American people not just what they want to hear, but what we need to know. That's why I will set the goal of an 80% reduction in carbon emissions by 2050, and we will meet it - with higher fuel standards and new investments in renewable fuels that will create millions of new jobs and entire new industries right here in America.

Finally, it is time to turn the page on eight years of a foreign policy that has made us less safe and less respected in the world. If I am the nominee of this party, John McCain will not be able to say that I agreed with him on voting for the war in Iraq; agreed with him on giving George Bush the benefit of the doubt on Iran; and agree with him in embracing the Bush-Cheney policy of not talking to leaders we don't like. Because that doesn't make us look strong, it makes us look arrogant. John F. Kennedy said that you should never negotiate out of fear, but you should never fear to negotiate. And that's what I will do as President. I don't just want to end this war in Iraq, I want to end the mindset that got us into war. It is time to turn the page.

This is our moment. This is our time for change. Our party - the Democratic Party - has always been at its best when we've led not by polls, but by principle; not by calculation, but by conviction; when we've called all Americans to a common purpose - a higher purpose. We are the party of Jefferson, who wrote the words that we are still trying to heed - that all of us are created equal - that all of us deserve the chance to pursue our happiness.

We're the party of Jackson, who took back the White House for the people of this country. We're the party of a man who overcame his own disability to tell us that the only thing we had to fear was fear itself; who faced down fascism and liberated a continent from tyranny. And we're the party of a young President who asked what we could do for our country, and the challenged us to do it.

That is who we are. That is the Party that we need to be, and can be, if we cast off our doubts, and leave behind our fears, and choose the America that we know is possible. Because there is a moment in the life of every generation, if it is to make its mark on history, when its spirit has to come through, when it must choose the future over the past, when it must make its own change from the bottom up.

This is our moment. This is our message - the same message we had when we were up, and when we were down. The same message that we will carry all the way to the convention. And in seven months time we can realize this promise; we can claim this legacy; we can choose new leadership for America. Because there is nothing we cannot do if the American people decide it is time.

Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Potomac Primary Night

Madison, WI | February 12, 2008

Today, the change we seek swept through the Chesapeake and over the Potomac.

We won the state of Maryland.

We won the Commonwealth of Virginia. And though we won in Washington D.C., this movement won't stop until there's change in Washington. And tonight, we're on our way.

But we know how much farther we have to go.

We know it takes more than one night – or even one election – to overcome decades of money and the influence; bitter partisanship and petty bickering that's shut you out, let you down and told you to settle.

We know our road will not be easy.

But we also know that at this moment the cynics can no longer say our hope is false.

We have now won east and west, north and south, and across the heartland of this country we love. We have given young people a reason to believe, and brought folks back to the polls who want to believe again. And we are bringing together Democrats and Independents and Republicans; blacks and whites; Latinos and Asians; small states and big states; Red States and Blue States into a United States of America.

This is the new American majority. This is what change looks like when it happens from the bottom up. And in this election, your voices will be heard. Because at a time when so many people are struggling to keep up with soaring costs in a sluggish economy, we know that the status quo in Washington just won't do. Not this time. Not this year. We can't keep playing the same Washington game with the same Washington players and expect a different result – because it's a game that ordinary Americans are losing.

It's a game where lobbyists write check after check and Exxon turns record profits, while you pay the price at the pump, and our planet is put at risk. That's what happens when lobbyists set the agenda, and that's why they won't drown out your voices anymore when I am President of the United States of America

It's a game where trade deals like NAFTA ship jobs overseas and force parents to compete with their teenagers to work for minimum wage at Wal-Mart. That's what happens when the American worker doesn't have a voice at the negotiating table, when leaders change their positions on trade with the politics of the moment, and that's why we need a President who will listen to Main Street – not just Wall Street; a President who will stand with workers not just when it's easy, but when it's hard.



It's a game where Democrats and Republicans fail to come together year after year after year, while another mother goes without health care for her sick child. That's why we have to put an end to the division and distraction in Washington, so that we can unite this nation around a common purpose, a higher purpose.

It's a game where the only way for Democrats to look tough on national security is by talking, and acting and voting like Bush-McCain Republicans, while our troops are sent to fight tour after tour of duty in a war that should've never been authorized and should've never been waged. That's what happens when we use 9/11 to scare up votes, and that's why we need to do more than end a war – we need to end the mindset that got us into war.

That's the choice in this primary. It's about whether we choose to play the game, or whether we choose to end it; it's change that polls well, or change we can believe in; it's the past versus the future. And when I'm the Democratic nominee for President – that will be the choice in November.

John McCain is an American hero. We honor his service to our nation. But his priorities don't address the real problems of the American people, because they are bound to the failed policies of the past.

George Bush won't be on the ballot this November, but his war and his tax cuts for the wealthy will.

When I am the nominee, I will offer a clear choice. John McCain won't be able to say that I ever supported this war in Iraq, because I opposed it from the beginning. Senator McCain said the other day that we might be mired for a hundred years in Iraq, which is reason enough to not give him four years in the White House.

If we had chosen a different path, the right path, we could have finished the job in Afghanistan, and put more resources into the fight against bin Laden; and instead of spending hundreds of billions of dollars in Baghdad, we could have put that money into our schools and hospitals, our road and bridges – and that's what the American people need us to do right now.

And I admired Senator McCain when he stood up and said that it offended his "conscience" to support the Bush tax cuts for the wealthy in a time of war; that he couldn't support a tax cut where "so many of the benefits go to the most fortunate." But somewhere along the road to the Republican nomination, the Straight Talk Express lost its wheels, because now he's all for them.

Well I'm not. We can't keep spending money that we don't have in a war that we shouldn't have fought. We can't keep mortgaging our children's future on a mountain of debt. We can't keep driving a wider and wider gap between the few who are rich and the rest who struggle to keep pace. It's time to turn the page. We need a new direction in this country. Everywhere I go, I meet Americans who can't wait another day for change. They're not just showing up to hear a speech – they need to know that politics can make a difference in their lives, that it's not too late to reclaim the American Dream. It's a dream shared in big cities and small towns; across races, regions and religions – that if you work hard, you can support a family; that if you get sick, there will be health care you can afford; that you can retire with the dignity and security and respect that you have earned; that your kids can get a good education, and young people can go to college even if they're not rich. That is our common hope. That is the American Dream.

It's the dream of the father who goes to work before dawn and lies awake at night wondering how he's going to pay the bills. He needs us to restore fairness to our economy by putting a tax cut into the pockets of working people, and seniors, and struggling homeowners.

It's the dream of the woman who told me she works the night shift after a full day of college and still can't afford health care for a sister who's ill. She needs us to finally come together to make health care affordable and available for every American.

It's the dream of the senior I met who lost his pension when the company he gave his life to went bankrupt. He doesn't need bankruptcy laws that protect banks and big lenders. He needs us to protect pensions, not CEO bonuses; and to do what it takes to make sure that the American people can count on Social Security today, tomorrow and forever.

It's the dream of the teacher who works at Dunkin Donuts after school just to make ends meet. She needs better pay, and more support, and the freedom to do more than just teach to the test. And if her students want to go on to college, they shouldn't fear decades of debt. That's why I'll make college affordable with an annual \$4,000 tax credit if you're willing to do community service, or national service. We will invest in you, but we'll ask you to invest in your country. That is our calling in this campaign. To reaffirm that fundamental belief – I am my brother's keeper, I am my sister's keeper – that makes us one people, and one nation. It's time to stand up and reach for what's possible, because together, people who love their country can change it.

Now when I start talking like this, some folks tell me that I've got my head in the clouds. That I need a reality check. That we're still offering false hope. But my own story tells me that in the United States of America, there has never been anything false about hope.

I should not be here today. I was not born into money or status. I was born to a teenage mom in Hawaii, and my dad left us when I was two. But my family gave me love, they gave me education, and most of all they gave me hope – hope that in America, no dream is beyond our grasp if we reach for it, and fight for it, and work for it.

Because hope is not blind optimism. I know how hard it will be to make these changes. I know this because I fought on the streets of Chicago as a community organizer to bring jobs to the jobless in the shadow of a shuttered steel plant. I've fought in the courts as a civil rights lawyer to make sure people weren't denied their rights because of what they looked like or where they came from. I've fought in the legislature to take power away from lobbyists. I've won some of those fights, but I've lost some of them too. I've seen good legislation die because good intentions weren't backed by a mandate for change.

The politics of hope does not mean hoping things come easy. Because nothing worthwhile in this country has ever happened unless somebody, somewhere stood up when it was hard; stood up when they were told – no you can't, and said yes we can.

And where better to affirm our ideals than here in Wisconsin, where a century ago the progressive movement was born. It was rooted in the principle that the voices

of the people can speak louder than special interests; that citizens can be connected to their government and to one another; and that all of us share a common destiny, an American Dream. Yes we can reclaim that dream. Yes we can heal this nation. The voices of the American people have carried us a great distance on this improbable journey, but we have much further to go. Now we carry our message to farms and factories across this state, and to the cities and small towns of Ohio, to the open plains deep in the heart of Texas, and all the way to Democratic National Convention in Denver; it's the same message we had when we were up, and when we were down; that out of many, we are one; that our destiny will not be written for us, but by us; and that we can cast off our doubts and fears and cynicism because our dream will not be deferred; our future will not be denied; and our time for change has come.



Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Keeping America's Promise Janesville, WI | February 13, 2008

Published February 13, 2008

Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama gave this speech at the General Motors plant in Janesville, Wisconsin on February 13, 2008.

"It was nearly a century ago that the first tractor rolled off the assembly line at this plant. The achievement didn't just create a product to sell or profits for General Motors. It led to a shared prosperity enjoyed by all of Janesville. Homes and businesses began to sprout up along Milwaukee and Main Streets. Jobs were plentiful, with wages that could raise a family and benefits you could count on.



Prosperity hasn't always come easily. The plant shut down for a period during the height of the Depression, and major shifts in production have been required to meet the changing times. Tractors became automobiles. Automobiles became artillery shells. SUVs are becoming hybrids as we speak, and the cost of transition has always been greatest for the workers and their families.

But through hard times and good, great challenge and great change, the promise of Janesville has been the promise of America – that our prosperity can and must be the tide that lifts every boat; that we rise or fall as one nation; that our economy is strongest when our middle-class grows and opportunity is spread as widely as possible. And when it's not – when opportunity is uneven or unequal – it is our responsibility to restore balance, and fairness, and keep that promise alive for the next generation. That is the responsibility we face right now, and that is the responsibility I intend to meet as President of the United States.

We are not standing on the brink of recession due to forces beyond our control. The fallout from the housing crisis that's cost jobs and wiped out savings was not an inevitable part of the business cycle. It was a failure of leadership and imagination in Washington – the culmination of decades of decisions that were made or put off without regard to the realities of a global economy and the growing inequality it's produced.

It's a Washington where George Bush hands out billions in tax cuts year after year to the biggest corporations and the wealthiest few who don't need them and don't ask for them – tax breaks that are mortgaging our children's future on a mountain of debt; tax breaks that could've gone into the pockets of the working families who needed them most.

It's a Washington where decades of trade deals like NAFTA and China have been signed with plenty of protections for corporations and their profits, but none for our environment or our workers who've seen factories shut their doors and

millions of jobs disappear; workers whose right to organize and unionize has been under assault for the last eight years.

It's a Washington where politicians like John McCain and Hillary Clinton voted for a war in Iraq that should've never been authorized and never been waged – a war that is costing us thousands of precious lives and billions of dollars a week that could've been used to rebuild crumbling schools and bridges; roads and buildings; that could've been invested in job training and child care; in making health care affordable or putting college within reach.

And it's a Washington that has thrown open its doors to lobbyists and special interests who've riddled our tax code with loopholes that let corporations avoid paying their taxes while you're paying more. They've been allowed to write an energy policy that's keeping us addicted to oil when there are families choosing between gas and groceries. They've used money and influence to kill health care reform at a time when half of all bankruptcies are caused by medical bills, and then they've rigged our bankruptcy laws to make it harder to climb out of debt. They don't represent ordinary Americans, they don't fund my campaign, and they won't drown out the voices of working families when I am President.

This is what's been happening in Washington at a time when we have greater income disparity in this country than we've seen since the first year of the Great Depression. At a time when some CEOs are making more in a day than the average workers makes in a year. When the typical family income has dropped by \$1,000 over the last seven years. When wages are flat, jobs are moving overseas, and we've never paid more for health care, or energy, or college. It's a time when we've never saved less – barely \$400 for the average family last year – and never owed more – an average of \$8,000 per family. And it's a time when one in eight Americans now lives in abject poverty right here in the richest nation on Earth.

At a time like this, it's no wonder that the mortgage crisis was the straw that broke the camel's back. The equity that people own in their homes is often their largest source of savings, and as millions upon millions have seen those savings and their home equity decline or disappear altogether, so have their dreams for a better future.

I realize that politicians come before you every election saying that they'll change all this. They lay out big plans and hold events with workers just like this one, because it's popular to do and it's easy to make promises in the heat of a campaign.

But how many times have you been disappointed when everyone goes back to Washington and nothing changes? Because the lobbyists just write another check. Or because politicians start worrying about how they'll win the next election instead of why they should. Because they're focused on who's up and who's down instead of who matters – the worker who just lost his pension; the family that just put up the For Sale sign; the young woman who gets three hours of sleep a night because she works the late shift after a full day of college and still can't afford her sister's medicine.

These are the Americans who need real change – the kind of change that's about more than switching the party in the White House. They need a change in our politics – a leader who can end the division in Washington so we can stop talking

about our challenges and start solving them; who doesn't defend lobbyists as part of the system, but sees them as part of the problem; who will carry your voices and your hopes into the White House every single day for the next four years. And that is the kind of President I want to be.

I didn't spend my career in the halls of Washington, I began it in the shadow of a closed steel mill on the South Side of Chicago. We organized churches and community leaders; African-Americans, whites, and Hispanics to lift neighborhoods out of poverty; provide job training to the jobless; and set up after school programs so that kids had a safe place to go while their parents worked.

Those are the voices I carried with me to the Illinois state Senate, where I brought Democrats and Republicans together to expand health insurance to 150,000 children and parents; where I led the fight to provide \$100 million in tax relief for working families and the working poor.

They're the voices I carried with me to Washington, where the first bill I introduced was to make college more affordable; where I fought against a bankruptcy bill that made it harder for families to climb out of debt; and where I passed the most sweeping lobbying reform in a generation – reform that forced lobbyists to tell the American people who they're raising money from and who in Congress they're funneling it to.

So when I talk about real change that will make a real difference in the lives of working families – change that will restore balance in our economy and put us on a path to prosperity – it's not just the poll-tested rhetoric of a political campaign. It's the cause of my life. And you can be sure that it will be the cause of my presidency from the very first day I take office.

Now we know that we cannot put up walls around our economy. We know that we cannot reverse the tide of technology that's allowed businesses to send jobs wherever there's an internet connection. We know that government cannot solve all our problems, and we don't expect it to.

But that doesn't mean we have to accept an America of lost opportunity and diminished dreams. Not when we still have the most productive, highly-educated, best-skilled workers in the world. Not when we still stand on the cutting edge of innovation, and science, and discovery. Not when we have the resources and the will of a decent, generous people who are ready to share in the burdens and benefits of a global economy. I am certain that we can keep America's promise – for this generation and the next.

So today, I'm laying out a comprehensive agenda to reclaim our dream and restore our prosperity. It's an agenda that focuses on three broad economic challenges that the next President must address – the current housing crisis; the cost crisis facing the middle-class and those struggling to join it; and the need to create millions of good jobs right here in America– jobs that can't be outsourced and won't disappear.

The first challenge is to stem the fallout from the housing crisis and put in place rules of the road to prevent it from happening again.

A few weeks ago I offered an economic stimulus package based on a simple principle – we should get immediate relief into the hands of people who need it the most and will spend it the quickest. I proposed sending each working family a

\$500 tax cut and each senior a \$250 supplement to their Social Security check. And if the economy gets worse, we should double those amounts.

Neither George Bush nor Hillary Clinton had that kind of immediate, broad-based relief in their original stimulus proposals, but I'm glad that the stimulus package that was recently passed by Congress does. We still need to go further, though, and make unemployment insurance available for a longer period of time and for more Americans who find themselves out of work. We should also provide assistance to state and local governments so that they don't slash critical services like health care or education.

For those Americans who are facing the brunt of the housing crisis, I've proposed a fund that would provide direct relief to victims of mortgage fraud. We'd also help those who are facing closure refinance their mortgages so they can stay in their homes. And I'd provide struggling homeowners relief by offering a tax credit to low- and middle-income Americans that would cover ten percent of their mortgage interest payment every year.

To make sure that folks aren't tricked into purchasing loans they can't afford, I've proposed tough new penalties for those who commit mortgage fraud, and a Home Score system that would allow consumers to compare various mortgage products so that they can find out whether or not they'll be able to afford the payments ahead of time.

The second major economic challenge we have to address is the cost crisis facing the middle-class and the working poor. As the housing crisis spills over into other parts of the economy, we've seen people's entire life savings wiped out in an instant. It's the result of skyrocketing costs, stagnant wages, and disappearing benefits that are pushing more and more Americans towards a debt spiral from which they can't escape. We have to give them a way out by cutting costs, putting more money in their pockets, and rebuilding a safety net that's become badly frayed over the last decades.

One of the principles that John Edwards has passionately advanced is that this country should be rewarding work, not wealth. That starts with our tax code, which has been rigged by lobbyists with page after page of loopholes that benefit big corporations and the wealthiest few. For example, we should not be giving tax breaks to corporations that make their profits in some other country with some other workers. Before she started running for President, Senator Clinton actually voted for this loophole.

I'll change our tax code so that it's simple, fair, and advances opportunity, not the agenda of some lobbyist. I am the only candidate in this race who's proposed a genuine middle-class tax cut that will provide relief to 95% of working Americans. This is a tax cut –paid for in part by closing corporate loopholes and shutting down tax havens – that will offset the payroll tax that working Americans are already paying, and it'll be worth up to \$1000 for a working family. We'll also eliminate income taxes for any retiree making less than \$50,000 per year, because our seniors are struggling enough with rising costs, and should be able to retire in dignity and respect. Since the Earned Income Tax Credit lifts nearly 5 million Americans out of poverty each year, I'll double the number of workers who receive it and triple the benefit for minimum wage workers. And I won't

wait another ten years to raise the minimum wage – I'll guarantee that it keeps pace with inflation every single year so that it's not just a minimum wage, but a living wage. Because that's the change that working Americans need.

My universal health care plan brings down the cost of health care more than any other candidate in this race, and will save the typical family up to \$2500 a year on their premiums. Every American would be able to get the same kind of health care that members of Congress get for themselves, and we'd ban insurance companies from denying you coverage because of a pre-existing condition. And the main difference between my plan and Senator Clinton's plan is that she'd require the government to force you to buy health insurance and she said she'd 'go after' your wages if you don't. Well I believe the reason people don't have health care isn't because no one's forced them to buy it, it's because no one's made it affordable – and that's what we'll do when I am President.

If we want to train our workforce for a knowledge economy, it's also time that we brought down the cost of a college education and put it within reach of every American. I know how expensive this is. At the beginning of our marriage, Michelle and I were spending more to payoff our college loans than we were on our mortgage. So I'll create a new and fully refundable tax credit worth \$4,000 for tuition and fees every year, a benefit that students will get in exchange for community or national service, which will cover two-thirds of the tuition at the average public college or university. And I'll also simplify the financial aid application process so that we don't have a million students who aren't applying for aid because it's too difficult.

With so many mothers and fathers juggling work and parenting, the next cost we have to bring down is the cost of living in a two-income family. I'll expand the child care tax credit for people earning less than \$50,000 a year, and I'll double spending on quality afterschool programs. We'll also expand the Family Medical Leave Act to include more businesses and millions more workers; and we'll change a system that's stacked against working women by requiring every employer to provide seven paid sick days a year, so that you can be home with your child if they're sick.

In addition to cutting costs for working families, we also need to help them save more – especially for retirement. That's why we'll require employers to enroll every worker in a direct deposit retirement account that places a small percentage of each paycheck into savings. You can keep this account even if you change jobs, and the federal government will match the savings for lower-income, working families.

Finally, we need to help families who find themselves in a debt spiral climb out. Since so many who are struggling to keep up with their mortgages are now shifting their debt to credit cards, we have to make sure that credit cards don't become the next stage in the housing crisis. To make sure that Americans know what they're signing up for, I'll institute a five-star rating system to inform consumers about the level of risk involved in every credit card. And we'll establish a Credit Card Bill of Rights that will ban unilateral changes to a credit card agreement; ban rate changes to debt that's already incurred; and ban interest

on late fees. Americans need to pay what they owe, but they should pay what's fair, not what fattens profits for some credit card company.

The same principle should apply to our bankruptcy laws. When I first arrived in the Senate, I opposed the credit card industry's bankruptcy bill that made it harder for working families to climb out of debt. Five years earlier, Senator Clinton had supported a nearly identical bill. And during a debate a few weeks back, she said that even though she voted for it, she was glad it didn't pass. Now, I know those kind of antics might make sense in Washington, but they don't make much sense anywhere else, and they certainly don't make sense for working families who are struggling under the weight of their debt.

When I'm President, we'll reform our bankruptcy laws so that we give Americans who find themselves in debt a second chance. I'll close the loophole that allows investors with multiple homes to renegotiate their mortgage in bankruptcy court, but not victims of predatory lending. We'll make sure that if you can demonstrate that you went bankrupt because of medical expenses, then you can relieve that debt and get back on your feet. And I'll make sure that CEOs can't dump your pension with one hand while they collect a bonus with the other. That's an outrage, and it's time we had a President who knows it's an outrage.

Those are the steps we can take to ease the cost crisis facing working families. But we still need to make sure that families are working. We need to maintain our competitive edge in a global by ensuring that plants like this one stay open for another hundred years, and shuttered factories re-open as new industries that promise new jobs. And we need to put more Americans to work doing jobs that need to be done right here in America.

For years, we have stood by while our national infrastructure has crumbled and decayed. In 2005, the American Society of Civil Engineers gave it a D, citing problems with our airports, dams, schools, highways, and waterways. One out of three urban bridges were classified as structurally deficient, and we all saw the tragic results of what that could mean in Minnesota last year. Right here in Wisconsin, we know that \$500 million of freight will come through this state by 2020, and if we do not have the infrastructure to handle it, we will not get the business. For our economy, our safety, and our workers, we have to rebuild America. I'm proposing a National Infrastructure Reinvestment Bank that will invest \$60 billion over ten years. This investment will multiply into almost half a trillion dollars of additional infrastructure spending and generate nearly two million new jobs – many of them in the construction industry that's been hard hit by this housing crisis. The repairs will be determined not by politics, but by what will maximize our safety and homeland security; what will keep our environment clean and our economy strong. And we'll fund this bank by ending this war in Iraq. It's time to stop spending billions of dollars a week trying to put Iraq back together and start spending the money on putting America back together instead.

It's also time to look to the future and figure out how to make trade work for American workers. I won't stand here and tell you that we can – or should – stop free trade. We can't stop every job from going overseas. But I also won't stand here and accept an America where we do nothing to help American workers who have lost jobs and opportunities because of these trade agreements. And that's a

position of mine that doesn't change based on who I'm talking to or the election I'm running in. You know, in the years after her husband signed NAFTA, Senator Clinton would go around talking about how great it was and how many benefits it would bring. Now that she's running for President, she says we need a time-out on trade. No one knows when this time-out will end. Maybe after the election. I don't know about a time-out, but I do know this – when I am President, I will not sign another trade agreement unless it has protections for our environment and protections for American workers. And I'll pass the Patriot Employer Act that I've been fighting for ever since I ran for the Senate – we will end the tax breaks for companies who ship our jobs overseas, and we will give those breaks to companies who create good jobs with decent wages right here in America.

I believe that we can create millions of those jobs around a clean, renewable energy future. A few hours northeast of here is the city of Manitowoc [MAN-a-ta-WOC]. For over a century, it was the home of Mirro manufacturing – a company that provided thousands of jobs and plenty of business. In 2003, Mirro closed its doors for good after losing thousands of jobs to Mexico.

But in the last few years, something extraordinary has happened. Thanks to the leadership of Governor Doyle and Mayor Kevin Crawford, Manitowoc has re-trained its workers and attracted new businesses and new jobs. Orion Energy Systems works with companies to reduce their electricity use and carbon emissions. And Tower Tech is now making wind turbines that are being sold all over the world. Hundreds of people have found new work, and unemployment has been cut in half.

This can be America's future. I know that General Motors received some bad news yesterday, and I know how hard your Governor has fought to keep jobs in this plant. But I also know how much progress you've made – how many hybrids and fuel-efficient vehicles you're churning out. And I believe that if our government is there to support you, and give you the assistance you need to re-tool and make this transition, that this plant will be here for another hundred years. The question is not whether a clean energy economy is in our future, it's where it will thrive. I want it to thrive right here in the United States of America; right here in Wisconsin; and that's the future I'll fight for as your President.

My energy plan will invest \$150 billion over ten years to establish a green energy sector that will create up to 5 million new jobs over the next two decades – jobs that pay well and can't be outsourced. We'll also provide funding to help manufacturers convert to green technology and help workers learn the skills they need for these jobs.

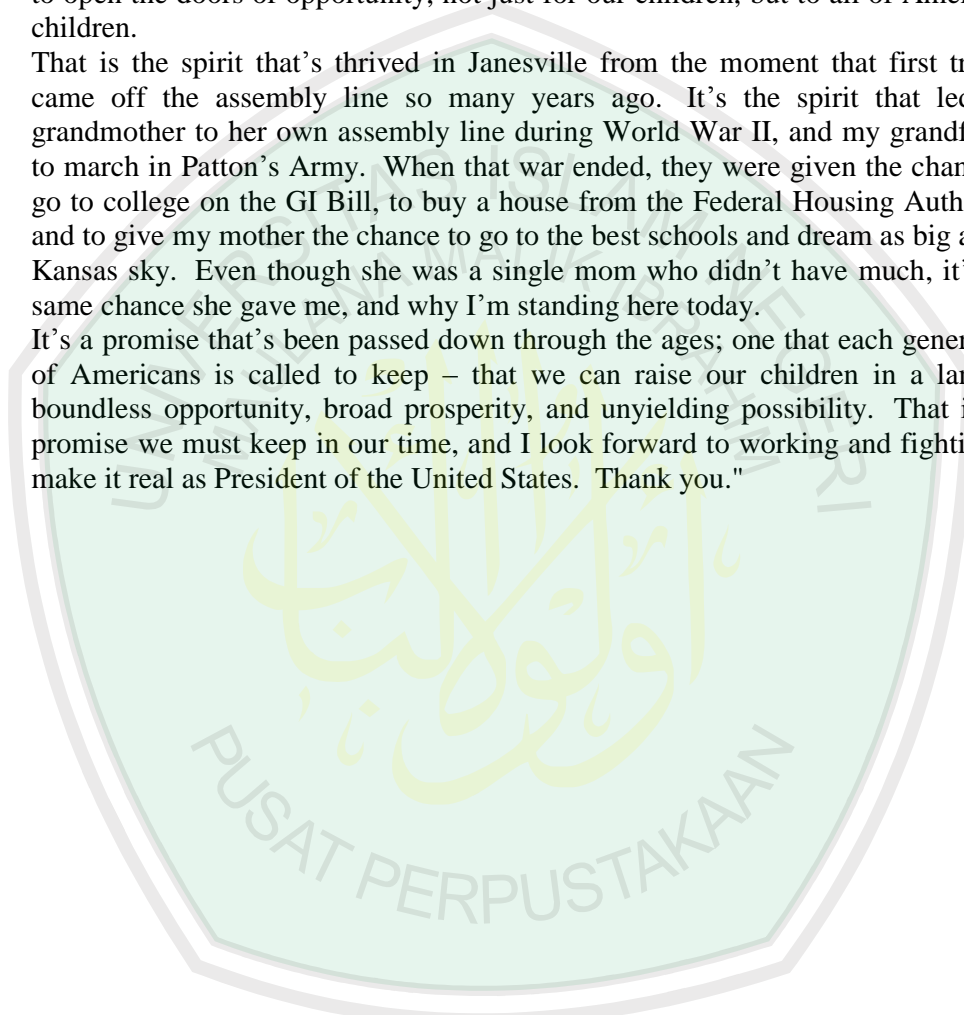
We know that all of this must be done in a responsible way, without adding to the already obscene debt that has grown by four trillion dollars under George Bush. We know that we cannot build our future on a credit card issued by the bank of China. And that is why I've paid for every element of this economic agenda – by ending a war that's costing us billions, closing tax loopholes for corporations, putting a price on carbon pollution, and ending George Bush's tax cuts for the wealthiest 2% of Americans.

In the end, this economic agenda won't just require new money. It will require a new spirit of cooperation and innovation on behalf of the American people. We

will have to learn more, and study more, and work harder. We'll be called upon to take part in shared sacrifice and shared prosperity. And we'll have to remind ourselves that we rise and fall as one nation; that a country in which only a few prosper is antithetical to our ideals and our democracy; and that those of us who have benefited greatly from the blessings of this country have a solemn obligation to open the doors of opportunity, not just for our children, but to all of America's children.

That is the spirit that's thrived in Janesville from the moment that first tractor came off the assembly line so many years ago. It's the spirit that led my grandmother to her own assembly line during World War II, and my grandfather to march in Patton's Army. When that war ended, they were given the chance to go to college on the GI Bill, to buy a house from the Federal Housing Authority, and to give my mother the chance to go to the best schools and dream as big as the Kansas sky. Even though she was a single mom who didn't have much, it's the same chance she gave me, and why I'm standing here today.

It's a promise that's been passed down through the ages; one that each generation of Americans is called to keep – that we can raise our children in a land of boundless opportunity, broad prosperity, and unyielding possibility. That is the promise we must keep in our time, and I look forward to working and fighting to make it real as President of the United States. Thank you."



**Remarks for Senator Barack Obama: National Gypsum in Lorain, Ohio
Lorain, OH | February 24, 2008**

Our economy has been struggling for some time now. And as I've traveled across Ohio, I've seen the face of this economy - a mother who told me she can't afford health care for her sick child; a father who's worried he won't be able to send his children to college; and seniors who've seen their pensions disappear because the companies they gave their lives to went bankrupt.

I don't have to tell you about this. Folks around here have been directly impacted by the changes in our economy - whether it was the loss of steel jobs over the past few decades, or the closing of the Ford plant that was here for so long. And folks in this area are still worried about whether they're going to lose their jobs and how they're going to make ends meet if that happens.

Now, if we're honest with ourselves, we'll acknowledge that we can't stop globalization in its tracks and that some of these jobs aren't coming back. But what I refuse to accept is that we have to stand idly by while workers watch their jobs get shipped overseas. We need a president who's working as hard for you as you're working for your families. And that's the kind of President I intend to be. I've proposed a job-creation agenda that starts with making sure trade works for American workers. We can't keep passing unfair trade deals like NAFTA that put special interests over workers' interests.

Now, Senator Clinton has been going to great lengths on the campaign trail to distance herself from NAFTA. Yesterday, she said NAFTA was "negotiated" by the first President Bush, not by her husband. But let's be clear: it was her husband who got NAFTA passed. In her own book, Senator Clinton called NAFTA one of "Bill's successes" and "legislative victories."

And yesterday, Senator Clinton also said I'm wrong to point out that she once supported NAFTA. But the fact is, she was saying great things about NAFTA until she started running for President. A couple years after it passed, she said NAFTA was a "free and fair trade agreement" and that it was "proving its worth." And in 2004, she said, "I think, on balance, NAFTA has been good for New York and America." One million jobs have been lost because of NAFTA, including nearly 50,000 jobs here in Ohio. And yet, ten years after NAFTA passed, Senator Clinton said it was good for America. Well, I don't think NAFTA has been good for America - and I never have.

I didn't just start criticizing unfair trade deals like NAFTA because I started running for office - I'm doing it because I've seen what happens to a community when the factory closes down and the jobs move overseas. I began my career as a community organizer on the South Side of Chicago, fighting joblessness and poverty in neighborhoods that were devastated when the local steel plant closed. And it's because of this longstanding commitment to working families that I will not sign any trade agreement as President that does not have protections for our environment and protections for American workers. And I'll pass the Patriot Employer Act that I've been fighting for ever since I ran for the Senate so we can end tax breaks for companies that ship our jobs overseas, and give those breaks to companies that create good jobs with decent wages here in America.

It's also time to let our unions do what they do best - organize our workers. If a majority of workers want a union, they should get a union. It's that simple. We need to stand up to the business lobby, and pass the Employee Free Choice Act. That's why I've been fighting for it in the Senate, and that's why I'll make it the law of the land when I'm President of the United States.

We can also invest in American jobs by investing in America, and rebuilding our roads and bridges. I've proposed a National Infrastructure Reinvestment Bank that will invest \$60 billion over ten years. This will multiply into almost half a trillion dollars of additional infrastructure spending and generate nearly two million new jobs - many of them in the construction industry that's been hard hit by the housing crisis we're facing.

In addition, we've also got to do more to create the green jobs that are jobs of the future. My energy plan will put \$150 billion over ten years into establishing a green energy sector that will create up to 5 million new jobs over the next two decades - including jobs right here in Ohio that pay well and can't be outsourced. We'll also provide funding to help manufacturers convert to green technology and help workers learn the skills they need for these jobs.

We know that all of this must be done in a responsible way, without adding to the already obscene debt that has grown by four trillion dollars under George Bush. We cannot build our future on a credit card issued by the bank of China. And that is why I'll pay for every part of this job-creation agenda - by ending this war in Iraq that's costing us billions, closing tax loopholes for corporations, putting a price on carbon pollution, and ending George Bush's tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans.

But in the end, enacting this agenda won't just require an investment. It will require a new spirit of cooperation, innovation, and shared sacrifice. We'll have to remind ourselves that we rise and fall as one nation; that a country in which only a few prosper is antithetical to our ideals and our democracy; and that those of us who have benefited greatly from the blessings of this country have a solemn obligation to open the doors of opportunity, not just for our children, but to all of America's children. That's the kind of vision I have for this country, and that's the kind of vision I hope to make real as President of the United States.

Appendix

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Hereby, certify that the thesis I wrote to fulfill the requirement for Sarjana entitled *The Use of Persuasive Technique by Barack Obama in His Political Speeches in the 2008 USA Presidential Primaries* is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by another person, except those indicated in quotations and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

Malang, June 2008

Fakhruddin Abbas

Apendix

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BUKTI KONSULTASI SKRIPSI

No	Tanggal	Materi Konsultasi	Tanda Tangan
1	2 April 2007	Konsultasi Proposal	
2	14 April 2007	Seminar Proposal	
3	10 Maret 2008	Konsultasi Bab I, II, dan III	
4	19 Maret 2008	Revisi Bab I, II, dan III	
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8	24 April 2008	Revisi Bab I, II, dan III	
9	10 April 2008	Revisi Bab I, II, dan III	
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11	25 June 2008	Revisi Bab IV dan V	
12		ACC Keseluruhan	

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Apendix

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