



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

The Rhetoric of Obama

An Analysis of Rhetoric and Genre Characteristics of President Barack Obama's 2013 Inaugural Address

Naeem Iqbal

Master of Science (Communication) Thesis

Report No. 2013:089

ISSN: 1651-4769

Table of Contents:

Chapter 1-	Introduction	4
	1.1 Aim	5
	1.2 Research questions	5
	1.3 Methodology	5
	1.4 Limitation	6
	1.5 Thesis Structure	6
	1.6 Significance of the Research	6
Chapter 2-	Background	8
	2.1 Obama to the President Obama	8
	2.2 Inaugural Address of the American President	9
	2.3 Previous Research	10
	2.3.1. Rhetoric	10
	2.3.2. Rhetoric Situation	11
	2.3.3. Types of Rhetorical Speeches	11
	2.3.4. Genres of Rhetorical Discourse	11
	2.3.5. Genres of Presidential Inaugural Address	12
	2.3.6. Classical Canons (Divisions) of Rhetoric	12
	2.3.7. Arguments or Proofs	14
	2.4. Current Research	15
Chapter 3-	Analysis	18
	3.1. Rhetorical Situation	18
	3.2. Genre Characteristics of Obama's Inaugural Address	18
	3.3. Arrangement of the Inaugural Address	22
	3.3.1 Exordium	22
	3.3.2 Narratio (Statement of the Case) and Partitio	22
	3.3.3 Confirmatio	23
	3.3.4 Peroration (Conclusion)	23
	3.4 Style	24
	3.5 Arguments or Proofs	26
	3.5.1. Ethos	26
	3.5.2. Logos	27
	3.5.3. Pathos	28
Chapter 4-	Discussion and Conclusion	30
	Bibliography	31
	Appendix 1	34

ABSTRACT. The project examines political language rhetoric used by American President Barack Hussein Obama as a powerful persuasive tool to present his vision of America and to set forth the goals for the nation. The study focus on President Obama's 2013 inaugural speech delivered on January 21st, 2013, that touches some of most controversial issues: gays' rights, climate change and women equal rights along with the rationale for his new administration and his socio-political ideologies. Selected theories of the Aristotle's rhetoric along with the genre theory of Campbell and Jamieson are accounted to analyze the rhetoric strategies and genre characteristics of inaugural address.

Chapter 1- Introduction

On January 21st, 2013, Barack Obama addressed the audience as the re-elected President of America in an inaugural ceremony on the West front of Capitol. The speech was ceremonial and was written by Jonathan Favreau. In an inaugural address, Obama touched upon several important issues: immigration, women equal rights, gender equality, same sex rights, and economic reforms with message of hope that we all are in together¹.

Like his predecessors, Obama utilized rhetorical tools to alleviate concerns while touching some controversial issues and assuring the American people that they were together in harsh period of American history and they would get over the challenges together. The rhetoric devices and genre characteristics used in the speech are focus of the research. It is a qualitative research and will concentrate on the textual analysis only.

The selected theories of Classical Rhetoric of Aristotle and the genre theory of Campbell and Jamieson will be applied in the project. The study will unfold the sophisticated linguistic composition of various techniques lying in the fields of rhetoric, employed by Obama and argue that if the coherent use of them produces the desired effect in the delivery of the message.

This is the first and foremost analysis of Obama's 2013 inaugural address using selected theories of rhetoric. The content of Obama's address and his oratory skills are basis behind the selection of topic of the project. I am fascinated to analyze the use of rhetoric strategies in Obama's speech to convince the audience on issues which his predecessors were reluctant to do so.

¹ Appendix 1- Obama's 2013 inaugural address transcript

1.1. Aim

The aim of the thesis is to analyze rhetorical devices and genre characteristics used by the President Barack Obama in his inaugural address², which he delivered on January 21st, 2013.

1.2. Research Questions

The project will search answers to the following questions below:

- 1 Given that there are different rhetorical strategies, how does President Obama use these strategies to evoke inspiration among the American people?**
- 2 Examine to what extent President Barack Obama uses typical characteristics of the genre in his inaugural address?**

1.3. Methodology

The project will focus on President Obama's 2013 inaugural address to determine if it is characterized by the traditional genre of inaugural address and how the President used rhetorical strategies to deliver his message and to evoke inspirations. The thesis will concentrate on textual analysis and will not include visual analysis of the speaker's performance. The full text of an inaugural address that is used for the analysis is derived from the White House Blog³.

The study will account the selected theories of rhetoric and genre. The theories of Classical Rhetoric of Aristotle will be applied to analyze the rhetorical strategies and techniques given below, used in Obama's inaugural address;

- Rhetorical situation accounts several elements: the topic of discussion, the audience, the relationship among topic, audience, and rhetor. The reputation of the rhetor and spatial arrangements in which rhetor addresses the issue with the audience. (Crowley & Hawhee 2004:27)
- Arguments or proofs- three kinds of arguments or proofs i.e. logos, ethos and pathos, applied by the rhetor to convince the audience. (Rapp 2013)
- Classical Canons of Rhetoric (Division of Rhetoric): Invention, Arrangement, Style (Composition and Ornament), Memory, and Delivery. (Crowley and Hawhee 2004: 36)

The research will further analyze the genre characteristics of Obama's inaugural address to determine if the traditional genre elements are applied. For the purpose, first comprehensive study of genre conducted by Campbell and

² Appendix 1 - Obama's 2013 inaugural address transcript

³ White house Blog (2013): <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/inaugural-address>, (Accessed on: 16 Feb, 2013)

Jamieson (1990) will be applied in which the authors discussed the four elements that characterize the inaugural address and differentiate it from other types of discourses. The four characteristics of an inaugural address are:

- Unify and reconstitute the audience;
- Rehearse the national values by venerating the past;
- Put forth the political agenda and principles that will be followed by the administration;
- Acknowledgment and appreciation of mandate given by the people, constitutional responsibilities and limitations;

(Campbell & Jamieson 1990: 14-15)

1.4. Limitation

The study is textual analysis of a script of the Obama's inaugural speech and does not include the video or audio analysis. Two out of five classical canons of rhetoric will be examined in the study. The arrangement and style are two classical canons which relate to the text of speech therefore will be analyzed. Invention, memory, and delivery of speech cannot be analyzed from the script of speech. Because the script of speech does not indicate how Obama invented, memorized, and delivered the address.

The inaugural address of Obama is arranged into three parts: exordium, confirmatio, and conclusion. Therefore, the analysis will not include the narratio and partitio.

1.5. Thesis Structure

The thesis is organized into four chapters and bibliography. The first chapter gives a brief introduction of the thesis, includes: the aim of the analysis, research questions to be answered, the research methodology, limitations of the research and significance of the study.

In second chapter, a brief biography of Obama and a history of American presidential inaugural address are discussed along with previous research and current research on rhetoric and genre of rhetorical discourses to give basic understanding of the thesis.

The chapter three gives the analysis of rhetorical strategies and genres elements of Obama's inaugural address and the thesis is concluded in chapter four.

1.6. Significance of the Research

Obama utilized different rhetorical strategies in his second inaugural to convey his message to the audience as his predecessors did. Kennedy (2007: X) wrote that American head of states have utilized the logical, ethical, and emotional appeals of rhetoric to organize the public opinion since the independence.

Achenbach (2013) described the Obama as an exceptional speaker, who could be comparing with John F. Kennedy and Reagan. The study of rhetorical strategies and appeals used by an exceptional speaker to convince and organize public opinion on the issues and priorities of his second term makes the study significant.

This is the first and foremost study on Obama's 2013 inaugural address by using the selected theories of rhetoric and genre. The claim is supported by a search carried on the topics⁴ by using the search databases⁵ on February 18th, 2013. The search resulted with no study on the given topics.

Re-elected president did not need to unite and reconstitute the people urgently. The people had understanding about the political philosophy of the president. President might use the subsequent inaugural to rehearse the trials and successes of his last term. The research will examine the use of traditional genres of inaugural address under the varying circumstances which is another significant aspect of the project.

President addressed some of most controversial issues of the American society such as equal rights, same sex rights, and immigration. People had emotional sentiments involved with these issues. President acknowledged the sacrifice made the American soldiers in Afghanistan. The war in Afghanistan was still underway. American soldiers had laid their lives in the war. The address was a typical Aristotelian epideictic discourse or the elements of other presidential discourses were constellated, will also be analyzed.

⁴ **Search Topics:** "Rhetoric Analysis of Obama's 2013 inaugural address", "Rhetoric and genre analysis of Obama's 2013 inaugural address", "Rhetorical strategies used by Obama in 2013 inaugural speech", and "An analysis of rhetoric of President Obama's 2013 inaugural address."

⁵ **Search Databases:** "<http://www.ub.gu.se/>", "<http://www.worldcat.org/>", "<http://www.essays.se/>" "<http://www.lib.chalmers.se/en/search/list-of-databases/>", "<http://scholar.google.se/>", "<http://scholar.google.co.uk/>", and "<http://www.dissertations.se/>"

Chapter 2- Background

2.1. Obama to the President Obama

Barack Hussein Obama⁶ was born on August 04th, 1961, in Hawaii. His mother, *Ann Dunham*, was a white American, grew up in Wichita, Kansas, and father, *Barack Obama Sr.*, was born in Kenya. Obama was only two years of age in 1964 when his parents divorced. Obama enrolled in Punahou academy and graduated with academic honors in 1979. He graduated with a degree in political science in 1983 from Columbia University. He moved to Chicago in 1985 and worked as a community organizer for low-income residents. After graduating in 1991 from Harvard Law School, Obama practiced as a civil rights lawyer in Chicago. He taught- first as lecturer and then as a professor- at the University of Chicago Law School from 1992 - 2004. In 1992, he participated to organize voters registration drives during Bill Clinton's presidential campaign. He and Michelle married in 1992, moved to Kenwood, and welcomed two daughters several years later: Malia and Sasha.

Obama ran as a Democrat, and won election in 1996 as the Illinois State Senator. As a Senator, he worked with Democrats and Republicans to draft legislations on ethics, health care, education and income tax credit for a low working class. He chaired the Illinois Senate's Health and Human Services Committee. In 2000, Obama was unsuccessful for US. House of Representatives seat against Bobby Rush. Following the 9/11 attacks in 2001, Obama opposed the President Bush to go for Iraq war. In November 2004 general election, Obama gained the largest electoral victory in Illinois history and became the third African-American elected U.S. Senator since the Reconstruction. In February 2007, he announced his candidacy for 2008 democratic presidential nomination. After a tight battle with Hillary Clinton, he became the nominee for the Democratic Party on June 3rd, 2008. On November 4th, 2008, Barack Obama made the history by becoming the first African-American President of the United States. Obama gave an inaugural address as the 44th President of the United States on January 20th, 2009 in which he used the rhetorical devices and appeals to summarize the situation, i.e. the global economic recession, two ongoing wars and an ambitious agenda of financial reform, alternative energy, education and health care - all while bringing down the national debt. He warned the American people that the challenges were real and serious. They would not be easily met in a short span of time but they would overcome the challenges.

In 2012, after four years of tough challenges, Obama started the 2012 re-election campaign by focusing on grassroots initiatives. Obama was aided by celebrities like Anna Wintour and Sarah Jessica Parker for the election campaign. Obama

⁶ Barack Obama Biography, 2013, <http://www.biography.com/people/barack-obama-12782369> [Acc: 02 May, 2013]

faced Republican opponent Mitt Romney in 2012 election. On the evening of November 6th, 2012, Obama was re-elected for second four-year term as the President. He gained more than 270 electoral votes- the number of votes required to win the American presidential election. Barack Obama officially began his second term on January 21st, 2013 by taking presidential oath of office, conducted by U.S Supreme Court Chief John Roberts.

President Barack Obama ceremonially opened his second term with an inaugural address that offered a robust articulation of modern liberalism in America and touched some of the controversial issues including immigration, gender equality, and same sex rights. He used the speech to rebut some of the objections by the Republicans and challenged them to step back from opposing agenda. He gave optimism and encouraged the nation to work together to overcome the challenges. According to Baker 2013, when re-entered the Capitol after concluding the inauguration ceremony, Obama stopped to look back towards the cheering crowds on the National Mall. It was Obama's second inauguration ceremony and he would not experience such energized crowd again as the President of the United States of America.

2.2. Inaugural Address of the American President

American president addresses the nation after taking the formal oath of Chief Executive Officer of the administration in a formal state inauguration ceremony⁷. The purpose of the presidential inaugural address is to appreciate and acknowledge the mandate of the people, to unite and reconstitute the nation, to rehearse the common traditional values which make the American, "*the Greatest Nation*", to inform the audience about his/her constitutional responsibilities and limitations towards the American people, to put forth the agenda/policies of the new - administration, to persuade the people that the newly elected-President is a right choice for the highest office of the America and to work together to overcome the challenges and hardships if any.

President uses the political rhetoric discourse as a powerful persuasive tool to present his vision of America and to set forth the goals for the nation. Denton and Hahn (1986:10) described the presidency as a rhetorical and persuasive institution that 'constitutes social action, provides a context for collective action, and contributes to the oral history and definition of the nation.'

The inaugural address of the American President is not a constitutional or legal requirement but it's a tradition, started from the very first Inauguration of George Washington in 1789. Most Presidents since Washington, with the rare exceptions of J. Tyler, M. Fillmore, A. Johnson, and C. Arthur, have delivered an inaugural

⁷ The 57th Presidential Inauguration, 2013, <http://www.inaugural.senate.gov/> [Accessed: 02 May, 2013]

address. The inauguration ceremony is celebrated and witnessed by millions of people beyond the border of the America.

2.3. Previous Research:

The history of the American head of states' discourses indicates that they organized public opinion on historical movements or on administration policies by using the logical, ethical, and emotional appeals of rhetoric (Kennedy 2007: X). Obama followed the American forefathers and used the rhetorical appeals and strategies in his inaugural address, which will be analyzed in this project. The rhetoric analysis is a detailed examination of any aspect of life that has an effect on the behavior or emotion of a person or a group of people (Williams 2008:18). A rhetorical analysis has great significance in academic and social contexts. Before analyzing the Obama's speech, it is important to get some historical background, and understanding of rhetoric, its theories, and genres of the presidential inaugural address.

2.3.1. Rhetoric:

The study of rhetoric began from the small Greek city of Athens during the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries. Democratic government called *demokratia* was formed by the citizens of Athens who were given rights to participate in decisions making and to speak on the decisions in the Assembly. In the fifth century, the term *rhetor* was introduced for a member of assembly who had sufficient knowledge and skills to address the issues in the Assembly, but by the fourth century, the term *rhetor* meant for someone who was considered to be "an expert on politics" (Crowley and Hawhee 2004:7-8). Aristotle defined rhetoric as the power of finding the available arguments suited to a given situation (Crowley and Hawhee, 2004:01). Rhetoric is the art of persuasion as practiced by orators and described by the theorists and teachers of speech (Kennedy 1972:3). Rhetoric is an ability to see the available means of persuasion (Kennedy 2007:37). Rhetoric refers to powerful and effective use of language to persuade, convince, stimulate, or defend in any given situation. Aristotle's rhetoric theory is a set of tools that guides a rhetor to become effective rhetorician.

Classical rhetoric of Aristotle is accounted to analyze the rhetorical strategies of Obama's inaugural address in this project. Let us discuss the Aristotle's contribution to the classical rhetorical theories by considering various studies. First complete rhetoric theory was developed by Aristotle who wrote: Rhetoric is an antistrophe to dialectic; for both are concerned with such things as are, to a certain extent, within the knowledge of all people and belong to no separately defined science. A result is that all people, in some way, share in both; for all, to some extent try both test and maintain an argument (as in dialectic) and to defend themselves and attack (others, as in rhetoric). Now among the general public, some do these things randomly and others through an ability acquired by habit, but since both ways are possible, it is clear that it would also be possible to do the

same by (following) a path; for it is possible to observe the cause why some succeed by habit and others accidentally, and all would at once agree that such observation is the activity of an art (tekhne). *On Rhetoric*, I i 1354a, translated by Kennedy, 2007:30

2.3.2. Rhetoric Situation:

The rhetor makes a better choice of arguments if understand and aware of rhetorical context, facts, background while composing a rhetorical discourse. The background, the facts, or the contexts in which a rhetoric discourse takes place is called the rhetorical situation. Bitzer (1995:61) explained the rhetorical situation as a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action so as to bring about significant modification of the exigence. The rhetors become effective rhetoricians if they understand/aware of the topic of discourse, the audience in the given situation and their relationship to the topic as well as the rhetors, their reputation, and their relation to the topic. Other artifacts like time, place, and surroundings in which discourse take place are to be considered.

2.3.3. Types of Rhetorical Speeches:

Kennedy (1972:9) described three forms of oratory: judicial, deliberative, and epideictic. Crowley and Hawhee (2004:245) stated as “Aristotle divided rhetoric into three species: deliberative, epideictic, and judicial.” Kennedy (2007:20) further argued that in Aristotle’s rhetoric theory, the concept of epideictic form of speech is most problematic because the speeches which cannot be specified as deliberative or judicial are considered as epideictic discourses. The classification of oratory is based on three elements: circumstances in which the discourse takes place, the audience, and the rhetors. Rapp (2013) discussed further that epideictic oratory is formal and ceremonial in which rhetor either phrases or blames the individuals or the institutions for their actions or policies. The rhetor is concern with the present, often recalls the past and guesses for the future. In this case, the audience observes the skillful delivery of message by the orator. In judicial oratory, a speaker either accuse or defends somebody in the court of law by referring to the events occurred in the past. The audience, judge or jury, makes judgement on the basis of precedents from the past. Deliberative oratory is concern with the legislation in the Assembly. It focuses the future and proposes the course of actions for the future. The audience in this case is the other members of Assembly who make judgement if the proposed legislation is good or bad.

2.3.4. Genres of Rhetorical Discourse:

Kennedy (2007:32) argued that Aristotle was one of first scholars to give the distinction of three species/genres of rhetoric, i.e. judicial, deliberative and

epideictic. Harold Zyskind (1950) analyzed the Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and presented his analysis as an example of generic criticism. He concluded that a classical genre was the combination of elements from the discourse situation, the topic, the arguments, and the audience. Campbell and Jamieson (1978:21) noted that a genre was formed by the number of elements which come together due to their likeness to each other. The elements of similar forms could appear in different genres without posing any critical problem. They contended that Aristotle's generic schema was weak only if the elements of epideictic genre could not be distinguished by the critic from the other genres of Aristotle. Campbell and Jamieson (1985:395) described the presidential inaugurals as the ceremonial speeches therefore called epideictic. The fusion of general epideictic feature with the nature of formal inauguration ceremony generates a constellation of five interrelated elements which differentiate the Presidential inaugural address from the other types of epideictic rhetoric. The aim of presidential inaugural is to unify and reconstitute the audience, to rehearse national values, to put forth the agenda and policies of new administration, to appreciate the mandate of the people, to acknowledge the responsibilities and limitations of executive under the constitution (1985:396).

2.3.5. Genre of Presidential Inaugural Address

Campbell and Jamieson (1990:14-15) contended that the American presidential discourses are divided into eight categories on basis of difference in their genre characteristic. The difference in the genre characteristics in the presidential discourses is due to three factors: rhetorical situation, the audience, and objective. The elements of similar types may appear in different genre without posing any threats. An inaugural address is ceremonial speech so contains all the feature of epideictic speech. The epideictic speech genres constellate with formal nature of inaugural ceremony to generate five distinguished genre characteristics of an inaugural address. The aim of presidential inaugural address:

- to unite and reconstitute the audience who witness and ratify the events;
- to rehearse the national values;
- to put forth the political agenda and policies guideline for new administration;
- to acknowledge and appreciate the responsibilities and limitations of executive given in the constitution;
- the address of the president should be epideictic;

2.3.6. Classical Canons (Divisions) of Rhetoric:

According to Crowley and Hawhee (2004:36), the art of rhetoric is divided into five canons (divisions): invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. Invention is the first and most lavish canon of the classical rhetoric. Aristotle defined "invention" as the process of examining positions held by others to be able to find and display the available arguments on any issue. In an invention

phase, the rhetor understands the rhetorical situation, the audience, and makes a choice of suitable arguments appropriate in given situation (Crowley and Hawhee, 2004:7). Rapp (2013) discussed the arrangement as the second canon of classical rhetoric that primarily concerns with selecting of suitable arguments and arranging them in an order that makes the oratory clear and persuasive to the audience in any given situation. Ancient rhetoricians agreed upon the division of arrangement into five parts - *exordium* (introduction); a *narratio* (statement of the issue); a *partitio* (division of the issue into its constituent parts); *confirmatio* (*main part of the speech*); and a *peroratio* (conclusion).

Crowley and Hawhee (2004:278) explained that the third canon *style* (known as *lexis* in Greek and *elocutio* in Latin) of the ancient rhetoric is devoted to art of study of unusual uses or arrangement of words. The style can be defined as persuasive or extraordinary use of language. Aristotle argued that rhetorical language should be clear and persuasive to make appeal to the emotions. He drew up the rule of language use to make it more persuasive to excite the emotions and to represent clearly.

The first rule *correctness* guides the rhetor to use the current words in accordance with the grammatical rules of given language. The second rule of language use is *clarity* that referred in Greek as *sapheneia* and in Latin as *perspicere*. The clarity rule guide the rhetor to use the ordinary words unless compels to do otherwise. The rhetor should use the language that is common among the audience. The third rule of use of language is *appropriateness* that derived from Greek word *prepon*, meant to say or to do that fit at any given situation. An appropriate style means that a style suits rhetor, situation, and audience.

Ancient rhetoricians distinguished three general style levels: grand, middle, and low. In grand style, there is a great deal of use of ornament and figurative language. The middle style deals with ordinary everyday language, loose sentence composition, and fewer ornaments. The low style is stripped of ornaments, with basic everyday speech just like conversation. The ceremonial events like funerals, weddings, and inaugurations are the examples of grand style. The low style is most appropriate when clarity is required, while the middle style is used for most publications (2004:285).

Ornament is a last rule of language use that makes a language adorn and attractive. There are three sorts of ornament: tropes, figures of speech, and figures of thought. In figures of language, the repetition or juxtaposition of words gives the extraordinary pattern to language. Figures of thought account artful changes in concepts, and ideas. A trope is a replacement of word or phrase with another. In rhetoric, a trope transfers the meaning of a word or phrase to another. Rhetors use the tropes and figures to enhance their linguistic skills and use them when appropriate to situation, subject, and audience (2004:286).

Crowley and Hawhee (2004:316) discussed the fourth division of an art of rhetoric *memory* that deals with memorizing of an oratory. In rhetorical theory, memory holds a central place and is distinguishing between natural and artificial memory. In artificial memory, a rhetor trains to remember things. Different techniques can be adopted to enhance artificial memory. Rhetors can memorize things by focusing on things. Things can be remembered by repeating them many times. Rhetors can memorize things by associating them with familiar arrangement or order. Familiar geographical layout that contain memorable features, can be use to memorize things.

The fifth canon of classical rhetoric is delivery that concerns with the presentation of the speech. A rhetor cannot be effective and persuasive by only choosing the arguments appropriate to rhetoric situation and audience until delivered with careful attention. The presentation of rhetoric is related to voice, gestures and facial expressions of rhetor. The expressions of emotion can be altered by variations in volume, rhythm, and pitch of voice. The physical gestures go along with the tone of the speech. The gestures should be used according to the rhetorical situation (2004:335).

2.3.7. Arguments or Proofs:

An oratory becomes effective and persuasive if supported by appropriate arguments or proofs. The statements that are used by the rhetor to persuade are known as arguments or proofs. Classical rhetoric canons and arguments or proofs in any discourse are important pillars. They are interdependent among each other. Rhetors may use three types of proofs: logos, ethos, and pathos. Kennedy (1972:114) stated as, “Aristotle techniques were divided into proofs based on logical argument, on ethos, and on pathos. These proofs are found in three kinds of oratory: deliberative, epideictic, judicial.” Crowley and Hawhee (2004:133) stated as “Aristotle taught that three kinds of arguments or proofs are convincing in rhetoric: arguments found in the issue itself, arguments based on the rhetoric’s character and reputation, and arguments that appeal to the emotions (Rhetoric I 2).”

The argument that is rational, factual and supported by examples or real events is known as logical argument. There are two types of logical arguments: deduction and induction. Both the arguments begin with assumed or proposed statement called premises. The word premise derived from Latin word means “to lead down”. These statements can be self-evident or can combine with other statements to lead to a conclusion. In Inductive arguments, the particular statements lead to a general conclusion. Rhetors use examples or instances as premises in inductive arguments. These rhetorical examples are specific and well-known instances from the past that the audience memorizes. In rhetoric, deductive argument is known as enthymemes. The word *enthymemes* derives from Greek word *thymos* means *the capacity of people to think and feel* (Crowley

& Hawhee, 2004:142). In enthymematic arguments, rhetors apply some widely accepted belief to a particular case to achieve the interested conclusion.

The Greek word *ethos* refers to *character* of rhetor and his/her reputation among the audience. The arguments of the well-reputed and credible rhetor are considered true or acceptable among by the audience. Rhetors establish a character by demonstrating that they have understanding of an issue. They use the language and arguments appropriate to the audience. They may cite the reference of approval of their character by different respected authorities. Rhetors can achieve the good will of audience by supplying information that audience may not have but avoid repeating information that they already have. The physical and social distance between the rhetors and the audience affect the creation of character of the rhetors. Rhetors manage the physical and social distance by using the right grammatical person, verb tense, word size, and qualifier in a discourse in any given situation (Crowley & Hawhee, 2004:163-176).

Pathos is a third means of persuasion that appeals to human emotion. To make an effective use of emotional appeal, rhetors need to know the emotional state of mind of the audience. They also need to know the reason that caused people in emotional state. Rhetors make appropriate choice of arguments according to the emotional state of audience to persuade in given rhetorical situation. Rhetors often use the emotional appeals in the introduction and conclusion of a discourse (Rapp 2013).

Above discussion gives us a detailed understanding of rhetoric, rhetorical strategies, genres, canons, and arguments that Obama might have used to make his oratory more persuasive and effective. There have been several studies on rhetorical and genres characteristics of various American presidents in different contexts and some of them are given below.

2.4. Current Research:

Elvin T. Lim from the Nuffield College, University of Oxford wrote an article (2002) titled, Five Trends in Presidential Rhetoric: An Analysis of Rhetoric from George Washington to Bill Clinton. Lim looks specifically at the changes of rhetoric techniques in the inaugural addresses and annual messages delivered between 1789 and 2000 by applying computer-assisted content analysis. The study revealed that a significant transformation of presidential rhetoric occurred.

Mikael Assmundson from Dalarna University, School of Language and Media Studies wrote an essay (2008) title, Persuading the Public: A Linguistic Analysis of Barack Obama's 2008 Super Tuesday Address. The essay aims to analyze how Senator Obama utilized language to convince and persuade the audience from the Aristotle viewpoint. It was concluded that Senator Obama was persuasive and he used the Aristotle appeals of arguments, and personal pronouns.

David T. Tarvin from the Caudill College of Humanities, Morehead State University wrote a thesis (2008) titled Vicente Fox's inaugural address: A Comparative analysis between the generic characteristics of the United States and Mexico. In this thesis, Tarvin evaluated the inaugural address of Mexican President Vicente Fox and compared it with the American presidential inaugural address genre by utilizing the genre theory of Campbell and Jamieson. The study concluded that American presidential inaugural genre could be applied outside the United States.

Julian Menz from the Division of Media and Communication, Uppsala University wrote a Master's thesis (2008) with title, Obama In His Own Words: The Candidate And The President. The thesis is to analyze the rhetorical changes in the discourses from being a Presidential candidate to being the President. The thesis concluded that the rhetoric used by the Obama did change due to change in the identity of speaker, artifacts, rhetorical situations and the audience.

Lilija Batluk from the school of Humanities, Halmstad University wrote an essay (2011) title, Rhythm and Rhetoric: A Linguistic Analysis of Barack Obama's inaugural address. This is an analysis of Obama's 2009 inaugural address from the perspectives of composition of speech and persuasive techniques used in the address. She concluded that the speech was skilful oratory with the application of various linguistic and rhetorical devices effectively.

Ola Eriksson from Department of Arts, Communication and Learning, Lulea University of Technology wrote an essay (2011) titled, Presidential and Prime Ministerial Rhetoric: A Comparison between American and British Political Rhetoric. This study examines the discourses with regards to the use of metaphors, hyperboles, litotes and religious devices. The essay suggested that some metaphors were common but some were unique. Also hyperboles found common in British rhetoric compared to American. Litotes used carefully by both rhetorics. The American rhetors found using a common Christian belief while the British rhetors used more personal belief.

Cassandra C. Bird from the Department of Communication and Dramatic Arts, Central Michigan University wrote a thesis (2011) titled, The Discourse of American Tragedy: An analysis of President Clinton's rhetoric as it functions to construct reality, shape community, and display Presidential eloquence. The objective of the research is to analyze the use of rhetoric in an epideictic discourse by the President Clinton to address the American people in moments of crises and the national eulogy. The analysis concluded that President expanded the ceremonial discourse (epideictic rhetoric) to encapsulate the sub-genre of national eulogy and crisis rhetoric. President used five rhetorical tactics to construct and shape communal bond and understanding after a tragedy.

Lynn Nakaggwe from the Institute of Language and Literature, Linnaeus University has written a thesis (2012) titled The persuasive power of personal

pronouns in Barack Obama's rhetoric. The aim of her study is to investigate how the personal pronouns I, you, we and they are used in Obama's speeches. She used the co-text and the broader social context to analyze the personal pronouns. The analysis concluded that I, you and we were used both to delegitimize the opposition and legitimize the rhetor, while they was used as a delegitimizing device because it often refers to the 'other'.

Above discussion indicates that American presidents make use of rhetoric as a powerful tool and strategy in their addresses to convey their messages. Though with the changing times, presidential rhetorics have transformed (Lim, 2002), but classical theories of rhetorics are still as effective as before. The discussion revealed that use of rhetorical strategies and arguments depends upon the rhetoric circumstances, audiences, and rhetor. So, it will be significant to analyze if/what changes Obama made in his strategies and arguments because of him being second term President. Rhetor may borrow the generic elements of other discourses depending on the circumstance as Bird (2011) found in Clinton's speech. The time when Obama addressed the nation as re-elected president, Americans were struggling with economic crisis, American soldiers were still fighting in Afghanistan, and nation was facing some serious domestic problems. Let us examine if Obama borrowed elements of other discourses to make his message appealing to the audience.

Chapter 3- Analysis

3.1. Rhetorical Situation

On Tuesday, November 06th, 2012, the people of the United States of America voted to elect the 57th president. Barack Hussein Obama and Mitt Romney were the presidential candidates. Most of media outlets, analysts, and bookmakers found the race too close to predict a winner in advance before the election. On November 07th, 2012, Mitt Romney conceded the election to Barack Obama.

On Monday, January 21st, 2013, Barack Hussein Obama attended the inauguration ceremony following the tradition of his predecessors. After taking his oath of office, President Barack Obama made an inaugural address which is the most significant part of the inaugural ceremony. The inaugural address was the first contact of re-elected president with his people in which he presented his vision and set forth the goals of the next administration. Unlike 2009 inaugural address, his address gave less hope, but more opportunity.

3.2. Genre Characteristics of Obama's Inaugural Address

In this section, the five typical genre characteristics used in Obama's inaugural address are discussed;

To Unite and Reconstitute the Nation:

Understanding the tradition of an inaugural address and importance of inauguration ceremony, the focus of Obama's speech was to unite and reconstitute the nation. He began his address by calling the people "*my fellow citizens*"⁸. During the speech, he addressed the people "*We, the people*" five times and "*My fellow Americans*" one time. The address was unified by repeating "*gather*", "*together*" and metaphor "*journey*". He used the unifiers "*we*" sixty nine times, "*our*" sixty six times, and "*us*" twenty one times, throughout the address to give collective identity to the audience and himself. By doing so, Obama reminded the people that he belonged to them and he was one of them. The purpose was to bring the nation together in challenging time of the American history.

He reconstituted the people by quoting a phrase from the constitution that bounded the nation together: "*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*" (5). Obama addressed some of the most controversial issues of

⁸ Numbers and *Italic styled phrases* in Analysis indicate the phrases and parts quoted from Obama's address- (Appendix 1)

societies: gender equality, gay rights, and immigration and made the people understand that their journey was not complete until every citizen got equal rights.

America fought two wars on terror in alliance with other nations. He stressed upon the importance of unity among the nations beyond boundaries by saying: “For the America people can no more meet the demands of today’s world by acting alone...” (19). He showed his satisfaction on the American alliance with other nations by saying: “*American will remain the anchor of strong alliances in every corner of the globe*” (60). He reminded the people that the importance of international unity is in interest of American people by saying: “*...no one has a greater stake in a peaceful world than its most powerful nation*” (61).

To Rehearse the National Values:

The emphasis of the speech was to unite the people and work together as a nation. Obama rehearsed the national values drawn from the past to achieve the national unity among the people. He referred to the constitution and reminded the people that the nation was not together on basis of colour, faith, or name but on the basis of equality and liberty which the founding fathers articulated in the constitution as “*...that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*” (5).

He praised the Americans values by saying: “*..... for we possess all the qualities that this world without boundaries demands: youth and drive; diversity and openness; an endless capacity for risk and a gift for reinvention*” (25). The speech further noted that Americans required collective action by preserving their individual freedoms. They showed resilience in the crises: two wars and shrinking economy that resulted in ending of decade long war and improvement in economy. Furthermore, the country freedom and happiness were not only for few lucky one. American traditions taught the people the values: tolerance and opportunity, human dignity and justice, to secure peace among the societies.

Obama reiterated that his generation would carry on the mission of their forefathers to provide equality, liberty, tolerance, dignity and justice to every citizen regardless of race, sex, gender, colour, and faith. He called the people to join the journey which could not complete “until our wives, our mothers, and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts” (66). Their journey was not complete “until our gay brothers and sisters are treated like anyone.....” (67). He further stressed upon the equal voting rights of all citizens and to find way to welcome the striving, hard working and hopeful immigrants. Obama carefully combined the traditional values: equality, liberty, dignity, tolerance, and opportunities, with his message of unity among the Americans. He reminded the people that those were the traditional values and the American society could not thrive best if every American enjoys those traditional values.

To Put Forth the Political Agenda of New Administration:

Obama addressed the nation as the re-elected president. The people were familiar with administration philosophy and style. Instead of giving brief account on the philosophy and agenda of his administration, he went into some specific priorities of his administration to achieve in next four years tenure. Obama gave a brief account of social development policies, an economic agenda, a foreign policy direction, and the important areas of social welfare reforms.

The administration stance on the social issues: liberty and equality, he stated that *“Through blood drawn by lash and blood drawn by sword, we learned that no union founded on the principles of liberty and equality could survive half-slave and half free”* (11). He vowed to work together by saying: *“We made ourselves anew, and vowed to move forward together”* (12). The administration would work on legislation to give gay equal rights, to give female rights to earn equal to their efforts, and to find ways to welcome the immigrants who wanted to migrate for better opportunities.

Giving a brief account of economic agenda, Obama showed the determination to revive economy, to discover a free market, to create new jobs, to reduce the health cost and to control the size of deficit. Obama acknowledged that to respond to the climate change was an obligation to the American people and could not be denied further. America could not resist finding the sustainable energy resources. He wished that America must lead the nations in the renewable technology which would bring new jobs and new industry.

On foreign policy account, he reiterated that the American people believed in peace but would stay vigilant and would defend the American people and their values. He appreciated the strong alliance with the nations around the globe and supported the democratic governments. Obama pledged to remake the government, to revamp the tax system, to reform the schools system, and to empower the citizens. He defended the reforms of his last administration in Medicare, Medicaid, and social security.

To Acknowledge and Appreciate the Responsibilities and Limitations of Executive Under the Constitution:

Obama acknowledged the responsibilities of his administration by taking an oath to God and country. He stated, *“And we must faithfully execute that pledge during the duration of our services”* (80). He informed the people that his administration could not cure the ills of society alone by saying: *“Through it all, we have never relinquished our skepticism of central authority, nor have we succumbed to the fiction that all society’s ills can be cured through government alone”* (16). Obama did not explicitly mentioned the limitation of executive under the constitution but he informed the people that they all must work together to make the social reforms, to make economy grow, and to strengthen the institutions. He

indirectly addressed the republicans to support the administration in better governance and to bring much needed reforms. Obama made it clear to the people and republicans that their support was imminent for the collective gains of the nation.

An Epideictic Discourse:

Obama utilized all the characteristics of epideictic discourse in his address. His main focus was to unite the nation and guide the people to work together to seize the opportunities. He rehearsed the national values of equality, liberty, tolerance, dignity, and opportunities for all. The discourse gave an agenda of new administration that would be accomplished in four years tenure. Obama didn't need to make people understand the philosophy and style of his new administration because he was re-elected for the second term so the people were already familiar with his governance attitude.

Obama made several references to the declaration of independence to remind the people of their national pride, to reconstitute their identity, and about their values. He addressed the republicans explicitly by referring to the founding documents (the declaration of independence) as: "*Being true to our founding documents does not require us to agree on every contour of life*" (72). He continued: "*It does not mean we all define liberty in exactly the same way or follow the same precise path to happiness*" (73).

Obama made references to the God several times. He reminded the people by saying: "*...that while freedom is a gift from God, it must be secured by His people here on Earth*" (7). His purpose was to unite the people on basis of their belief in God and to remind them about the responsibilities towards other country fellows as bestowed upon them by the God. He ended his address by thanking people and asked God for His blessing: "*God bless you, and may He forever bless these United States of America*" (89). Like his predecessors, Obama referred to God, the declaration of independence, and the history to make his discourse more credible, persuasive and convincing.

Obama's address has all the features of epideictic discourse but it does contain some features of deliberative discourse. A typical epideictic discourse does not give specific agenda or policy guideline for new administration, Obama gave specific agenda of his new administration. This may be due to the fact that he was re-elected president for second term. The American people were aware of his way of governance so instead of introducing his political philosophy, he gained the opportunity to alleviate the concerns of the people by specifying the issues that he pledged during his re-election campaign.

He showed his disapproval towards the delaying attitude of republicans. During the 2nd half of the last tenure, his administration struggled to make the reforms and to pass the budget due to tough resistance from the republicans. The

republicans had great concerns over Obama's Medicare, Medicaid, and Social security reforms. Obama rebutted their concerns of mentioned reforms bills by saying: "*They do not make us a nation of takers; they free us to take the risks that make this country great*" (43). Obama indirect criticism of republican is not a typical feature of epideictic discourse but more of a feature of deliberative discourse.

The analysis of genre characteristics indicates that Obama successfully used the genre characteristics of epideictic discourse, but borrowed some elements of deliberative discourse. Therefore, his inaugural address is not a typical epideictic discourse.

3.3. Arrangement of the Inaugural Address

According to the ancient rhetoricians, the arrangement is the second part of rhetorical discourse that is concern with two processes: selecting the suitable arguments and arranging them to make discourse clear and persuasive in any given rhetorical situation. In general term, the rhetoricians are agreed upon the division of arrangement into five parts - *exordium, narratio, partitio, confirmatio and conclusion*.

3.3.1. The Exordium:

The main purpose of the exordium is to make clear what to achieve at the end of the discourse. In other words, the function of the exordium is to make the audience well disposed toward the orator and the topic and to gain their attention.

Obama began his address to gain the attention of audience by calling them "*fellow citizens*" (1) and to make them well-disposed and receptive to the issue; he acknowledged the importance of their attendance by saying: "*Each time we gather to inaugurate a President we bear witness to the enduring strength of our Constitution*" (2). In this way, Obama managed to gain the sympathy and attention of the audience at very beginning of his address. His statement gave the people understanding that they were gathered for a purpose and that purpose was very significant in which they witnessed the president inaugurating.

The exordium of the speech was confined due to the fact that Obama made an inaugural speech as the re-elected president. He did not need to give a detailed introduction to gain attention and sympathy. He did not need to acknowledge the services of the former president.

3.3.2. The Narratio & the Partitio:

Obama's speech was inaugural address in which he did not discuss any specific case or issue. Therefore neither he used the statement of the case nor did he need partition to name the case and to list the argument addressing the case.

3.3.3. Confirmatio:

In classical rhetoric, the *confirmatio* is the main part of a discourse in which rhetor uses arguments to elaborate his/her case. In order to make his message persuasive and convincing, Obama's address consists of different parts.

In part one (2 - 5), Obama began his address by giving the Constitutional reference to strengthen his argument in order to remind the people that the American nation was together on basis of equality, but not on the basis of colour, race, or faith. In part two (6 - 12), the historical analogy was utilized to rehearse the traditional values and struggle for freedom, equality, and liberty of the patriots; Obama reiterated that the nation would continue the journey together until the cause of the founding fathers was accomplished.

Obama addressed his economic, social, and foreign policy agenda to the nation in part three (13 - 30). He stressed upon the fact that the administration could only achieve its goals if the nation strive for it together. He called the people for collective action that was required with changing times. In part four (31 - 43), Obama gave his understanding on the programs of his first tenure administration as inadequate, and stressed for further social reforms. He defended the Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security programs while alleviating the concerns of his opponents and critics. Obama made the nation aware about his concerns on climate change and sustainable energy in part five (46 - 52). He stressed for some serious efforts on climate change and sustainable energy as both had lasting effects on the generations to come.

In part six (53 - 63), Obama shared the foreign policy statement and paid tribute to the citizens who sacrificed for the nation; he stated that the American people believed in peace, kept right to defend themselves, and appreciated the alliance with other nations. Obama voiced for women's equality, racial justice, and same sex rights in part seven (64 - 70) of the address. The eight part (71 - 78) of the address called the nation to act together for the equal rights, liberty, and happiness of every citizen.

The analysis of the arrangement of Obama's address showed that the address was arrangement according to the genre characteristics of an inaugural address. Obama primary focus was to unite the people as a nation, to stress on equal rights, reforms, and to act together to achieve the better future of every citizen of the America. Obama's address follows the classical rhetoric confirmatio in which he presented his main points with strong arguments.

3.3.4. Conclusion:

The last part of the speech in classical rhetoric is the conclusion of the address. Obama ended his address with traditional classical conclusion in which he made

an emotional appeal by calling the audience “*my fellow Americans*” (79). He summarized his message of equality and need of working together. This is a typical conclusion to an inaugural address, where president appreciates the strength of the people, calls for unity, reminds their traditional values, and gives a hope to achieve better future with collective efforts.

3.4. Style

The term *Style* is a classical rhetoric canon that deals with the study of use or arrangement of language and words. The rhetoric discourse is effective and persuasive if the arrangements of words is clear and touch the emotions of the audience. In this part of thesis, *the arrangement of words* in Obama’s inaugural address is examined;

The language used in Obama’s inaugural address was appropriate to the subject, audience, and occasion. The address was composed following the standards and rules laid down by the rhetorical situation. Obama followed the grand style language with great deal of figurativeness and formality, but with choice of simple words. He expressed himself in grand style language because the event was ceremonial and formal. He made a choice of simple words to convey his message to the common people. The speech was meant to unite, to gain sympathy and trust of the people, therefore the president appealed to the audience with formal but most simplistic language.

Obama used personal pronoun “*we*” from beginning of the address to establish intimacy with the audience. Perhaps, he wanted to give feeling to the audience that he was one of them and they all were equal. In last part of Obama’s address, he relied on “*you and I*” relation to indicate that he was close enough to the audience and he was having direct conversation to them. Though the address was ceremonial and formal, but the use of personal pronouns gave feeling of informality.

Obama utilized some classical rhetorical devices to provide insights of his thinking and positioning. The most noticeable ones will be analyzed in this project.

The rhetorical device anaphora is found in several parts of the address. In some sentences, anaphora is used in tricolon form, for example: “.....*we bear witness..... (2) We affirm..... (3) We recall.....*” (4). Anaphora is found along parallelism by using tricolon in some sentences, for example: “*Together, we determined..... (13) Together, we discovered..... (14) Together, we resolved.....*” (15). and “.....*she is an American; she is free, and she is equal*” (30). The use of anaphora and tricolon in these refrains, make them more approachable and appealing to the ears. The rhetor has made a successful utilization of these rhetorical devices in given refrains to communicate the message of equality and togetherness.

Beside anaphora and tricolon, another main device used in the address is allusions, for example: “*We hold these truthsthe pursuit of Happiness*” (5). By doing so, the president made an attempt to evoke a sense of patriotism and support for restoring the national values. Another example of allusions is reference of Martin Luther King in this address: “... *King proclaims thatfreedom of every soul on Earth*” (64).

Obama utilized sententia in the address to support his arguments. He quoted sententia from the declaration of independence to make his appeal of equality among the people more convincing: “*We hold these truthsthe pursuit of happiness*” (5). There are alliterations found in the address, for example: “..... *Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall; ... a King proclaims thatthe freedom of every soul on Earth*” (64). This is an excellent example of the classical alliteration by using a tricolon. Obama effectively symbolized these historical events to strengthen his argument on women’s equality, racial justice, and same sex rights. Perhaps, the purpose of use of alliterations was to make the address melodious to attract the attention of the audience.

The study noticed the use of tricolon and asyndeton in the address, for example: “...*work harder, learn more, reach higher*” (32). Polysyndeton is found in the address by using tricolon, for example: “..... *a job loss, or a sudden illness, or a home swept away....*” (41). Antithesis is used to establish a relationship between two ideas throughout the thesis, for example: “..... *that enduring security and lasting peace perpetual war*” (53). Here, Obama tried to establish a relationship between security, peace, and war by using antithesis rhetoric device.

The analysis found the climax in combination with polysyndeton by using a tricolon in the address, for example: “...*four years and 40 years and 400 years*” (78). Obama utilized the climax to give emphasis on acting together, without any further delays. He also tried to establish the relationship between today’s actions and their impacts on years to come.

We also find some of the most famous metaphors of American politics in Obama’s address. Let us analyze some examples from the address: “...*a never ending journey....*” (6) represents the continue political system. “.....*the star that guides* (64) represents the founding creed of the America. “*For our journey is not complete* (66) deals with change and continuity. The use of metaphors in a discourse is to make it more attractive to the ears. Some time metaphors are use to explain an event in one word or phrase and some time, it is rhetorical situation that compels the rhetor to use the metaphor to be more appealing and convincing. Obama successfully applied the metaphors to give a sense of shared responsibility, change, and continuity of political struggle until every citizen enjoys the equal opportunities, liberty, and happiness.

At last, this analysis concludes that Obama used the pronouns, anaphora, tricolon, parallelism, allusions, alliterations, and other rhetorical devices in the address to support his arguments effectively. The rhetorical devices made the address more appealing and persuasive to the audience.

3.5. Arguments or Proofs - Ethos, Logos, Pathos

In this part of the thesis, the use of arguments or proof *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* by Barack Obama are analyzed;

3.5.1. Ethos

The main purpose of an inaugural address was to unite the nation under the leadership of newly-elected president. President could only unite the nation and convinced them on the agenda of new administration if the audience perceived the president as credible. Ethos is one of three persuasive tools that Obama used to establish his character and credibility to the audience. Throughout the address, Obama used ethos to appeal to the audience.

In order to establish the good moral character, Obama addressed the audience with formality, without using any unfair discursive tactic. He avoided giving any faulty reasoning or evidence, threats, or untrue statements. Obama demonstrated his goodwill towards the audience by carefully addressing the controversial issues of the American society, for example: “*We will respond to the threat of climate change, knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children and future generations*” (45). In this phrase, Obama is showing his concern and responsibility towards the people and coming generations. By doing so, Obama tried to gain the credibility that he cared the nation and was aware what needed to be done for the betterment of the American nation.

Obama attempted to create his character by showing his knowledge and understanding of the American history. Obama referred to Martin Luther King in the address because the inaugural ceremony was on Martin Luther King Day. By doing so, Obama attributed to MLK’s struggle for equality, liberty, and freedom. This also strengthens Obama’s arguments that they would continue their journey until every citizen enjoyed the equal rights including gays, women, and immigrants.

To diminish the unequal social relations between the president and the audience, the president used the first person plural pronoun “*we*” from the very beginning of the address. In general, people assume that the president does not belong to their social level; therefore, the president does not have understanding about the issues of the general public. By using “*we*” in the address, the president made an appeal to the people that he was one of them and he belonged to them. He understood their feelings, their problems, their needs, their issues, and their desires for the better future. Another gain of using “*we*” to make the people feel

that the agenda presented by the president was actually for the whole nation including him and they all were responsible to implement the agenda of new administration for the betterment of the nation as whole.

In last part of the address, the first person “I” and second person “you” are used to make the audience feel that the president was addressing them directly and personally. This technique was used to convince the people that the power to set the country back on its course rested with the citizens. He was the citizen of the American as they were the citizens. By taking oath as the president did not make him any different from the rest of the American citizens. Obama attempted to convince the audience to work together by stating: “*You and I, as citizens, have the obligation to shape the debates of our time...*” (85).

The analysis ends with findings that Obama successfully established his credibility and character by utilizing several techniques of ethos. The address was formal, with moral and intellectual appeals to the audience. Obama managed to establish that he belonged to the people and to be the president did not make him any different than the rest of the citizens. Obama successfully persuaded the people that he was aware of their issues, problems, and future needs. He convinced the people that they all should work together to overcome all issues and for the betterment of future generation.

3.5.2. Logos

Throughout the address, Obama used arguments to persuade and convince the audience with logical reasoning. This study will consider few examples to examine how the president Obama supported his arguments with logical reasoning?

In example 1, Obama rehearsed the basis of the American national unity and supported his arguments by quoting the phrases from the declaration of independence. The declaration of independence was a commonly accepted document among the American people therefore the audience found his arguments logical and acceptable.

Example 1:

“We recall that what bind the nation together are not the colors of our skin or the tenets of our faith or the origins of our names (4). What makes us exceptional -- what makes us American -- is our allegiance to an idea articulated in a declaration made than two centuries ago: “*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*” (5)

In example 2, the historical analogy was utilized to support the arguments in which Obama stated that every citizen was created equal as they learnt from their forefathers who were guided by the historical movements of women equality, racial justice, and same sex rights. These historical events were well known and therefore could not be denied by the audience.

Example 2:

“We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths - that all of us are created equal - is the star that guides us still; just as it guided our forebears through Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall; just as it guided all those men and women, sung and unsung, who left footprints among this great Mall,”(64).

Obama gave biblical reasoning to appeal the audience in third example. He urged to take the threat of climate change with responsibility and to give careful attention to the sustainable energy. Beside social and economic benefits, it was a religious obligation to preserve the planet.

Example 3:

“The path towards sustainable energy sources will be long and sometimes difficult. (47) But America cannot resist this transition, we must lead it. (48) We cannot cede to other nations the technology that will power new jobs and new industries; we must claim its promise. (49) That’s how we will maintain our economic vitality and our national treasure -- our forests and waterways, our crops lands and snow-capped peaks. (50) That is how we will preserve our planet, commanded to our care by God.” (51)

Obama successfully supported his arguments with authentic, historical, and biblical reasoning to convince the audience. He utilized the established and recognized logical reasoning therefore could not be denied or rejected by the audience.

3.5.3. Pathos

Pathos is one of the three persuasive tools that is use to persuade the audience emotionally. Generally, the emotional appeals are made in the introduction and conclusion of a discourse. This part gives an analysis of how the president used the pathos in the inaugural address.

Interestingly, Obama used the repetition of words and phrases to reinforce his message and to appeal the audience emotionally, for example: *“We, the people”* 4 times, *“Together, we”* 3 times, *“You and I”* 2 times, and *“Our journey is not yet complete”* 5 times. If we analyze the words and phrases, we get sense of

togetherness and they appeal the emotions and that is exactly what Obama wanted to achieve by applying these techniques.

Obama quoted from the American Declaration of Independence: “*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness*” (5). By doing so, Obama managed to evoke emotional sense of nationalism among the American.

Furthermore, Obama referred to the historic social movements of women rights, racial justice, and gay rights to appeal the audience emotionally. By doing so, Obama gained the sympathy of the people that were oppressed from their rights. They found Obama caring to their causes and felt a hope that their due rights would be given to them.

Obama referred the God several times, for example: “*...freedom is a gift from God...*” (7). and “*...we will preserve our planet, commanded to our care by God*” (51). By doing so, Obama attempted to make an emotional appeal to the believers of God who felt a sense of duty to act as God commanded.

Obama expressed his humbleness by accepting that their work would not be perfect but that would be continued by the subsequent future generations. In last part of the speech, he reiterated a sense of equality by saying that his oath of office was similar to the oath of soldier and to the oath of immigrant. Therefore, he did not become any different from a common American citizen after taking oath of office. Obama followed the standard practice of American presidential speech at the end, when he prayed God to bless the audience and the United States of America.

Chapter 4- Discussion and Conclusion

The study examined the rhetorical strategies and genre characteristics followed by the Barack Obama in his second inaugural address that was delivered on January 21st, 2013. The selected classical theories of Aristotle's rhetoric were accounted to examine the rhetorical strategies of the address. The genre characteristics of the address were examined by utilizing the Campbell and Jamieson theory of genre.

Rhetorical situation is one of the most important elements that are considered while composing a discourse. The study concluded that Obama gave a great consideration to the circumstances, context, the audience, and the objective under which he was supposed to deliver his speech. The contents of the speech focused the event and the audience witnessing the speech.

Presidential inaugural address has its own genre characteristics that are combination of the epideictic genres and the features of inauguration ceremony. The analysis of genre characteristics of Obama's address concluded that the address utilized the traditional genres of inaugural address but there were some elements of deliberative discourse. The address gave specific policies or agenda of the new administration which is the feature of legislative discourse. Obama defended his previous administration programs of Medicare, Medicaid, and Social security and implicitly rebutted the notion of the republicans that such reforms could make the American nation of takers. This shows another element of deliberative discourse where the policies are beginning defended.

The study analyzed two canons: arrangement and style, out of five classical canons of rhetoric. The three canons: invention, memory, and delivery of the address could not be analyzed from the script of the address. The study noted that the address was composed of three parts: exordium, confirmation, and conclusion. Therefore, the address did not follow the classical rhetoric arrangement because the narratio and the partitio were left out from the arrangement of the address.

The analysis of linguistic techniques concluded that the address was composed with high style language with formality. Though the address was formal but the language was appropriate to the audience, event, and the tradition of American inaugural address. The use of personal pronoun "we" was a successful technique to appeal the audience emotionally and to establish the credibility among the audience. Another purpose of using words and phrases "*Together, we can*", and "*we, the people*" was to gain the sympathy and to bring the people together as one nation.

Obama made an impressive use of the rhetorical strategies throughout the address. The rhetorical devices that the study found prominent in the address are: tricolon, anaphora, parallelism, allusions, sententia, alliterations, asyndeton,

polysyndeton, climax, and metaphors. He used single device as well as combination of two or more devices to create the emphasis on important points. The combination of two or more devices gave rhythm to the phrases that made them attractive to the ears.

In last part of the thesis, the study analyzed three persuasive tools: ethos, pathos, and logos, utilized by the Obama to establish his credibility, and to persuade the audience ethically and emotionally. To make all three appeals, Obama utilized different rhetorical and linguistic techniques to make his arguments persuasive and convincing. Obama made selection of his arguments very effectively and wisely. In some parts, he made all three appeals to the audience by using one argument supported by the right rhetorical devices, for example: “*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*” (5). By using this sententia from the Declaration of Independence, Obama made an emotional appeal by evoking the patriotism. Obama used historical analogy to gain intellectual credibility from the audience. And finally, he supported his argument by sententia from the Declaration of Independence to make his argument logical and therefore acceptable by the audience.

There is a further scope of research to analyze the visual and audio of the speech to examine if Obama successfully managed his bodily movements, gestures, facial expressions, tone of voice and rhythm in delivering his speech.

Bibliography:

- 1 Crowley, Sharon & Hawhee, Debra (2004). *Ancient rhetorics for contemporary students*. 3. ed. New York: Pearson/Longman
- 2 Kennedy, A. G. (1972). *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World, 300 B.C.-A.D. 300* (A History of Rhetoric, vol. ii.) pp.xvi+658. London: Oxford University Press.
- 3 Aristotle, *On Rhetoric* (2007): A Theory of Civic Discourse. trans. George A. Kennedy, Oxford University Press. New York.
- 4 Rapp, C. (2013). "Aristotle's Rhetoric". *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2010/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/> [Accessed: 24 April 2013]
- 5 Aristotle (2005). *Aristotle on Rhetoric*. <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/aristotleonrhetoric.htm> [Accessed: 16 April 2013]
- 6 Zyskind, H. (1950), "A Rhetorical Analysis of the Gettysburg Address," *Journal of General Education*, Pp. 202-212.
- 7 Bitzer, L. F., (1995), *The Rhetorical Situation*," *Readings in rhetorical critical ed*, Carl Burgchardt: Strata Publishing, Pp: 58-67.
- 8 Campbell, K. K., & Jamieson, K. H. (1978). "Form and Genre in Rhetorical Criticism: An Introduction," *Form and genre: Shaping rhetorical action*, Falls Church, Va.: Speech Rhetorical Communication Association, pp. 9-32.
- 9 Campbell, K. K., & Jamieson, K. H. (1985). *Inaugurating the presidency*. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 394-411
- 10 Campbell, K. K., & Jamieson, K. H. (1990). *Deeds done in words: Presidential rhetoric and the genres of governance*. University of Chicago Press.
- 11 Lim, E. T. (2002). *Five trends in presidential rhetoric: An analysis of rhetoric from George Washington to Bill Clinton*. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 32(2), 328-348
- 12 Assmundson, M. (2008). *Persuading the Public: A Linguistic Analysis of Barack Obama's Speech on "Super Tuesday" 2008*. (Student paper). Högskolan Dalarna Falun.
- 13 Menz, J. (2008). *Obama in his own words: The Candidate and the President*. (Student paper). Uppsala universitet.
- 14 Williams, L. R. (2008). *The English Language, South Africa and Nelson Mandela: A Case for Rhetorical Urgency and a Strategy for Rhetorical Success*. (Student Paper). University of Florida.
- 15 Tarvin, D. (2008). *Vicente Fox's Inaugural Address: A comparative analysis between the generic characteristics of the United States and Mexico*. (Student paper). Morehead State University.
- 16 Batluk, L. (2011). *Rhythm and Rhetoric: A Linguistic Analysis of Barack Obama's Inaugural Address*. (Student paper). Högskolan i Halmstad.

- 17 Eriksson, O. (2011). Presidential and Prime Ministerial Rhetoric: A Comparison between American and British Political Rhetoric. (Student paper). Lulea University.
- 18 Bird, C. C. (2011). The Discourse of American Tragedy: An Analysis of President Clinton's Rhetoric as it functions to construct reality, shape community, and display residential eloquence. (Student paper). Central Michigan University.
- 19 Nakaggwe, L. (2012). The persuasive power of personal pronouns in Barack Obama's rhetoric. (Student paper). Linnéuniversitetet.
- 20 Denton Jr., Robert E., Hahn, Dan F., 1986. Presidential Communication. Praeger, New York.
- 21 Asante, M. K. (1969). Rhetoric of Black revolution, 60-69, 103.
- 22 Cooper, L. (1960). The rhetoric of Aristotle pp. 1, 21.
- 23 Nelson, J. (1985). Jesse Jackson now. Essence, 16(4), 26.
- 24 Obama, B. (2004, Jul 14). Out of many, one. Democratic National Convention, Boston, Massachusetts.
- 25 Obama, B. (2006). The audacity of hope: Thoughts on reclaiming the American dream. New York: Crown.
- 26 Benson, Thomas W.; Prosser, Michael H. 2013, Readings in Classical Rhetoric, e-book, accessed 12 April 2013, <<http://gu.ebilib.com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1111712>>.
- 27 Burkett, J.W., 2011. Aristotle, "Rhetoric" III: A commentary, Texas Christian University. http://www.whitehousehistory.org/whha_exhibits/presidential_inaugurations/presidential_inaugurations-02.html
- 28 Barack Obama Biography, 2013, The Biography Channel website, viewed May, 02, 2013, <http://www.biography.com/people/barack-obama-12782369> [Accessed 02 May, 2013]
- 29 The 57th Presidential Inauguration, 2013, <http://www.inaugural.senate.gov/>, [Acc: 02 May, 2013]
- 30 Wikipedia: The free encyclopedia, 2013, February 14. Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., FL. Retrieved February 14, 2013, from <http://www.wikipedia.org>.
- 31 Cheng, Maria, 2006. Constructing a new political spectacle: tactics of Chen Shui-bian's 2000 and 2004 inaugural speeches. Discourse and Society 17 (5), 580--608.
- 32 Baker, P, 2013, Obama Offers Liberal Vision: 'We Must Act'. Available from: <<http://www.nytimes.com>> (25 April, 2013).
- 33 Achenbach, J. (2013). Obama's oratory: A gifted speaker has unfinished business for inaugural address. The Washington Post. January 20, 2013. Available from <<http://www.washingtonpost.com>>. (29/04/2013)

Appendix 1:

White house Blog (2013): <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/inaugural-address>, (Accessed on: 16 Feb, 2013)

The White House

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 21, 2013

Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama

United States Capitol

11:55 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Vice President Biden, Mr. Chief Justice, members of the United States Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens: (1)

Each time we gather to inaugurate a President we bear witness to the enduring strength of our Constitution. (2)

We affirm the promise of our democracy. (3) We recall that what bind this nation together are not the colors of our skin or the tenets of our faith or the origins of our names. (4) What makes us exceptional -- what makes us American -- is our allegiance to an idea articulated in a declaration made more than two centuries ago:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” (5)

Today we continue a never-ending journey to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time. (6) For history tells us that while these truths may be self-evident, they’ve never been self-executing; that while freedom is a gift from God, it must be secured by His people here on Earth. (7) (Applause) the patriots of 1776 did not fight to replace the tyranny of a king with the privileges of a few or the rule of a mob. (8) They gave to us a republic, a government of, and by, and for the people, entrusting each generation to keep safe our founding creed. (9) And for more than two hundred years, we have. (10)

Through blood drawn by lash and blood drawn by sword, we learned that no union founded on the principles of liberty and equality could survive half-slave and half-free. (11) We made ourselves anew, and vowed to move forward together. (12)

Together, we determined that a modern economy requires railroads and highways to speed travel and commerce, schools and colleges to train our workers. (13)

Together, we discovered that a free market only thrives when there are rules to ensure competition and fair play. (14)

Together, we resolved that a great nation must care for the vulnerable, and protect its people from life's worst hazards and misfortune. (15)

Through it all, we have never relinquished our skepticism of central authority, nor have we succumbed to the fiction that all society's ills can be cured through government alone. (16) Our celebration of initiative and enterprise, our insistence on hard work and personal responsibility, these are constants in our character. (17)

But we have always understood that when times change, so must we; that fidelity to our founding principles requires new responses to new challenges; that preserving our individual freedoms ultimately requires collective action. (18) For the American people can no more meet the demands of today's world by acting alone than American soldiers could have met the forces of fascism or communism with muskets and militias? (19) No single person can train all the math and science teachers we'll need to equip our children for the future, or build the roads and networks and research labs that will bring new jobs and businesses to our shores. (20) Now, more than ever, we must do these things together, as one nation and one people. (21) (Applause.)

This generation of Americans has been tested by crises that steeled our resolve and proved our resilience. (22) A decade of war is now ending. (23) (Applause) An economic recovery has begun. (24) (Applause) America's possibilities are limitless, for we possess all the qualities that this world without boundaries demands: youth and drive; diversity and openness; an endless capacity for risk and a gift for reinvention. (25) My fellow Americans, we are made for this moment, and we will seize it -- so long as we seize it together. (26) (Applause.)

For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when a shrinking few do very well and a growing many barely make it. (27) We believe that America's prosperity must rest upon the broad shoulders of a rising middle class. (28) We know that America thrives when every person can find independence and pride in their work; when the wages of honest labor liberate families from the brink of hardship. (29) We are true to our creed when a little girl born into the bleakest poverty knows that she has the same chance to succeed as anybody else, because she is an American; she is free, and she is equal, not just in the eyes of God but also in our own. (30) (Applause)

We understand that outworn programs are inadequate to the needs of our time. (31) So we must harness new ideas and technology to remake our government, revamp our tax code, reform our schools, and empower our citizens with the skills they need to work harder, learn more, reach higher. (32) But while the means will change, our purpose endures: a nation that rewards the effort and determination of every single American.

(33) That is what this moment requires. (34) That is what will give real meaning to our creed. (35)

We, the people, still believe that every citizen deserves a basic measure of security and dignity. (36) We must make the hard choices to reduce the cost of health care and the size of our deficit. (37) But we reject the belief that America must choose between caring for the generation that built this country and investing in the generation that will build its future. (38) (Applause.) For we remember the lessons of our past, when twilight years were spent in poverty and parents of a child with a disability had nowhere to turn. (39)

We do not believe that in this country freedom is reserved for the lucky, or happiness for the few. (40) We recognize that no matter how responsibly we live our lives, any one of us at any time may face a job loss, or a sudden illness, or a home swept away in a terrible storm. (41) The commitments we make to each other through Medicare and Medicaid and Social Security, these things do not sap our initiative, they strengthen us. (42) (Applause.) They do not make us a nation of takers; they free us to take the risks that make this country great. (43) (Applause.)

We, the people, still believe that our obligations as Americans are not just to ourselves, but to all posterity. (44) We will respond to the threat of climate change, knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children and future generations. (45) (Applause.) Some may still deny the overwhelming judgment of science, but none can avoid the devastating impact of raging fires and crippling drought and more powerful storms. (46)

The path towards sustainable energy sources will be long and sometimes difficult. (47) But America cannot resist this transition, we must lead it. (48) We cannot cede to other nations the technology that will power new jobs and new industries; we must claim its promise. (49) That's how we will maintain our economic vitality and our national treasure -- our forests and waterways, our croplands and snow-capped peaks. (50) that is how we will preserve our planet, commanded to our care by God. (51) That's what will lend meaning to the creed our fathers once declared. (52)

We, the people, still believe that enduring security and lasting peace do not require perpetual war. (53) (Applause.) Our brave men and women in uniform, tempered by the flames of battle, are unmatched in skill and courage. (54) (Applause.) Our citizens, seared by the memory of those we have lost, know too well the price that is paid for liberty. (55) The knowledge of their sacrifice will keep us forever vigilant against those who would do us harm. (56) But we are also heirs to those who won the peace and not just the war; who turned sworn enemies into the surest of friends -- and we must carry those lessons into this time as well. (57)

We will defend our people and uphold our values through strength of arms and rule of law. (58) We will show the courage to try and resolve our differences with other nations peacefully -- not because we are naïve about the dangers we face, but because engagement can more durably lift suspicion and fear. (59) (Applause.)

America will remain the anchor of strong alliances in every corner of the globe. (60) And we will renew those institutions that extend our capacity to manage crisis abroad, for no one has a greater stake in a peaceful world than its most powerful nation. (61) We will support democracy from Asia to Africa, from the Americas to the Middle East, because our interests and our conscience compel us to act on behalf of those who long for freedom. (62) And we must be a source of hope to the poor, the sick, the marginalized, the victims of prejudice -- not out of mere charity, but because peace in our time requires the constant advance of those principles that our common creed describes: tolerance and opportunity, human dignity and justice. (63)

We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths -- that all of us are created equal -- is the star that guides us still; just as it guided our forebears through Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall; just as it guided all those men and women, sung and unsung, who left footprints along this great Mall, to hear a preacher say that we cannot walk alone; to hear a King proclaim that our individual freedom is inextricably bound to the freedom of every soul on Earth. (64) (Applause.)

It is now our generation's task to carry on what those pioneers began. (65) For our journey is not complete until our wives, our mothers and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts. (66) (Applause) Our journey is not complete until our gay brothers and sisters are treated like anyone else under the law -- (applause) -- for if we are truly created equal, then surely the love we commit to one another must be equal as well. (67) (Applause) Our journey is not complete until no citizen is forced to wait for hours to exercise the right to vote. (68) (Applause) Our journey is not complete until we find a better way to welcome the striving, hopeful immigrants who still see America as a land of opportunity -- (applause) -- until bright young students and engineers are enlisted in our workforce rather than expelled from our country. (69) (Applause) Our journey is not complete until all our children, from the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm. (70)

That is our generation's task -- to make these words, these rights, these values of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness real for every American. (71) Being true to our founding documents does not require us to agree on every contour of life. (72) It does not mean we all define liberty in exactly the same way or follow the same precise path to happiness. (73) Progress does not compel us to settle centuries-long debates about the role of government for all time, but it does require us to act in our time. (74) (Applause.)

For now decisions are upon us and we cannot afford delay. (75) We cannot mistake absolutism for principle, or substitute spectacle for politics, or treat name-calling as reasoned debate. (76) (Applause) We must act, knowing that our work will be imperfect. (77) We must act, knowing that today's victories will be only partial and that it will be up to those who stand here in four years and 40 years and 400 years hence to advance the timeless spirit once conferred to us in a spare Philadelphia hall. (78)

My fellow Americans, the oath I have sworn before you today, like the one recited by others who serve in this Capitol, was an oath to God and country, not party or faction. (79) And we must faithfully execute that pledge during the duration of our service. (80) But the words I spoke today are not so different from the oath that is taken each time a soldier signs up for duty or an immigrant realizes her dream. (81) My oath is not so different from the pledge we all make to the flag that waves above and that fills our hearts with pride. (82)

They are the words of citizens and they represent our greatest hope. (83) You and I, as citizens, have the power to set this country's course. (84) You and I, as citizens, have the obligation to shape the debates of our time -- not only with the votes we cast, but with the voices we lift in defense of our most ancient values and enduring ideals. (85) (Applause.)

Let us, each of us, now embrace with solemn duty and awesome joy what is our lasting birthright. (86) With common effort and common purpose, with passion and dedication, let us answer the call of history and carry into an uncertain future that precious light of freedom. (87)

Thank you. (88) God bless you, and may He forever bless these United States of America. (89) (Applause)