PROPAGANDA ON DONALD J. TRUMP INAUGURAL SPEECH (A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS)

A GRADUATING PAPER

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for Gaining
Bachelor Degree in English Literature

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**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF ADAB AND CULTURAL SCIENCES
STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY SUNAN KALIJAGA
YOGYAKARTA
2018**

A FINAL PROJECT STATEMENT

I declare that this thesis is my own work and I am completely responsible for the contain of this thesis. All the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledge by means of complete references.

Yogyakarta, 07 May 2018

The Researcher

Ahmad Syamwiel

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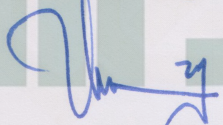**PROPAGANDA ON DONALD J. TRUMP INAUGURAL SPEECH (A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS)**

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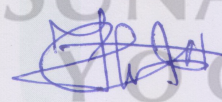|		
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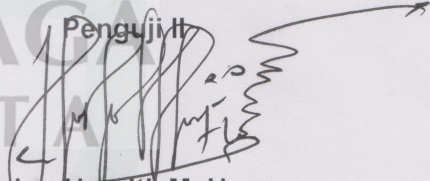
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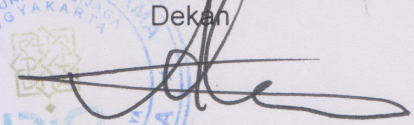NIP 198104162009011006

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PROPAGANDA ON DONALD J. TRUMP INAUGURAL SPEECH

(A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS)

By: Ahmad Syamwiel

Abstract

This research aims to discover the building of discursive practice of propaganda used by Donald Trump on his speech as an ideological dissemination from the politic figure, in this case, as the elected President of The United States of America 2017-2020, Trump used his power to spread his ideological view to the audience via his Inaugural speech text. This accusation will be proved by using van Dijk's Critical discourse analysis of ideology. This research is categorized as qualitative research with objective-descriptive approach as the method of analysis and close reading as the data collection technique. The result of this research shows that the build of discursive practice of propaganda is by organizing the word order to persuade the audience to believe and support Trump's ideological view. Furthermore, Trump builds the discursive practice by using politeness as his interaction strategy, minimalizes the use of pronoun "I" and increases the use of pronoun "we" as a strategy to prepossess the audience. Trump also use comparison between the depravity of the former government versus the bright future of Trump's governance. Finally, the researcher concludes that Trump uses the principle; "emphasizing their bad things and emphasizing our good" and "de-emphasizing their good things and de-emphasizing our bad things".

Keywords: *Speech, Donald J. Trump, CDA, Ideology, Propaganda.*

PROPAGANDA ON DONALD J. TRUMP INAUGURAL SPEECH

(A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS)

By: Ahmad Syamwiel

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui pembangunan praktik wacana propaganda yang digunakan dalam pidato sebagai diseminasi ideologis dari tokoh politik, dalam hal ini adalah Donald J. Trump. Sebagai Presiden terpilih Amerika Serikat 2017-2020, Trump menggunakan kekuatannya untuk menyebarkan pandangan ideologisnya kepada hadirin melalui teks pidato pengukuhannya. Tuduhan ini akan dibuktikan dengan analisis wacana kritis van Dijk tentang ideologi. Penelitian ini dikategorikan sebagai penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan deskriptif objektif sebagai metode analisis dan pembacaan mendalam sebagai teknik pengumpulan data. Hasil penelitian ini mengemukakan bahwa pengembangan wacana praktik propaganda adalah dengan mengorganisasi kata agar dapat menarik simpati para hadirin untuk percaya dan mendukung pandangan ideologis Trump. Selanjutnya, Trump membangun praktik wacana dengan menggunakan kesopanan sebagai strategi interaksinya, meminimalkan penggunaan kata ganti "saya" dan meningkatkan penggunaan kata ganti "kita" sebagai strategi untuk menarik simpati khalayak. Trump juga menggunakan perbandingan antara kebobrokan pemerintahan sebelumnya versus masa depan pemerintahan Trump yang cerah. Akhirnya dapat disimpulkan bahwa Trump menggunakan kaidah: "menekankan hal-hal buruk mereka dan menekankan kebaikan kita" dan "tidak menekankan hal-hal baik mereka dan tidak menekankan hal-hal buruk kita".

Kata Kunci: *Pidato, Donald J. Trump, CDA, Ideologi, Propaganda.*

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MOTTO

KESADARAN ADALAH MATAHARI

KESABARAN ADALAH BUMI

KEBERANIAN MENJADI CAKRAWALA

DAN PERJUANGAN ADALAH PELAKSANAAN KATA-KATA.

W.S. Rendra

DEDICATION

I am totally dedicated my graduating paper to knowledge and science

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السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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Lastly, thank for all the readers who read this graduating paper. Hopefully, this graduating paper is useful for everyone.

Wallahul muwaffiq ila aqwamit-tharieq,

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

Yogyakarta, 10 May 2018
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Speech is an expression of or the ability to express thoughts and feelings by articulating sounds (Hornby, 2009:1142) and also an external physical expression of an inner psychical process that can be as a method of coordinating the activities of men. Speech is the way to spread idea to other either for religious, political, or ideological purpose and so on.

By the fact that the speech will be accepted or rejected by the audiences, usually the audiences prefer who the speaker is, or what the idea of the speech is about. It is common that the audiences choose to hear what they believe, or hear someone they know to believe as speeches from their religious leader, head of their communities, or their presidents who are considered by the audience have the same ideology. The problem is what if the speech contains a lie or propaganda? Lie cannot be identified by the text or spoken speech itself. It needs to be proven and facts that could be found on external source.

What are lie and propaganda? According to Oxford dictionary, lie is an untrue or deceptive statement deliberately used to mislead (Hornby, 2009:679). It is not much different with the meaning of propaganda. According to Oxford dictionary, propaganda is to assist or damage the cause of a government, movement, and so on (Hornby, 2009:929). Speech can contain propaganda although Hornby only mention political cause, but the researcher believes that

propaganda is used to promote another cause, for example: religious, ideological, or faithful cause. As interpreted from Jowett:

> "we have seen how propaganda is a form of communication and how it uses both informative and persuasive communication concepts to promote its own objectives by controlling the flow of information, managing public opinion, and manipulating behavioral patterns. Propaganda is a subset of both information and persuasion. Sharing techniques with information and persuasion but going beyond their aims, propaganda does not seek mutual understanding or mutual fulfillment of needs. Propaganda deliberately and systematically seeks to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist" (2012:49)

It is common sense that public figures speech will be more acceptable than someone unknown's. Although the method of the speech is same, the spreading of the idea of the speech is more acceptable if the speaker is someone they know. For example: recently, the elected president of the United States of America (USA) Donald J. Trump has delivered his inaugural state speech on January 20th 2017 held in US Capitol, Washington, DC. The inaugural speech itself of the president lasted about 15 minutes. On his inaugural speech, Trump has spoken many agendas that he and his parliament will do on the next four years of his government. The inaugural ceremony was broadcasted live by various TV channels, radios, and social medias around the globe. By the end of the speech, many people agreed with the president's speech, even not all the audiences agree. It is because the speaker (the President) assumed that Mexicans are not the finest men from their country, then it is inappropriate to audience that an immigrant from Mexico. This is an example of discourse analysis that will be discussed.

President of the super power nation is interesting to be discussed, everyone can discuss and argue about president and everyone can interpret the speech on

their own, based on their knowledge and experiences. However, the discussion of president has not stopped on the dining table or as an intermezzo on coffee break. It is also the interesting object to be studied because he is the well-known man that will shape the face of the government of USA and maybe the world, and it is the man heard by almost people around the world.

What well-known nation like America can do, or what well-known man like the president of USA can do, is a question that occurs following the issue of a nation and their president and the power they have. The answer is unbelievably terrifying, they can do almost everything, as Chomsky stated:

> "The US had been by far the leading industrial nation in the world as it had been since the turn of the century. Now, however, we had literally 50% of the world's wealth and controlled both sides of both oceans. There'd never been a time in history when one power had such overwhelming control of the world, or such overwhelming security" (Chomsky: 2011)

It is also the fact that USA could shape another part of the world by spreading propaganda as they did in Iraq, Libya, and another country by interfering into the country. As the former president Obama said on his state speech on March 28th 2011 that USA will "save the people of Libya" by conjoining the Military force of NATO to stop the leader of Libya that Obama called him "A Tyrant". Whether it is true or not, the leader of Libya is 'A Tyrant', the audiences who received the speech that did not know about Libya will agree whatsoever the president said as the speech become the knowledge-base of the audiences. It is the same as the elected President of the USA Donald J. Trump, on his inaugural speech. Trump's presidential state speech has fallen into discussion around the globe, which reaped agreement and disagreement of the people. It

starts from controversy of the president Trump's statements. For example, the President Trump said that immigrant is not the finest man from their country, and he will unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism. As both speeches stated by the President of USA, both contain ulterior meaning that have to be revealed by studying scientifically.

The Researcher suspects that the speech delivered by Trump or other leader has ulterior motives that lead the public opinion towards an understanding that something is conveyed by them is really important and very urgent to be understood. This kind of act is called Propaganda and it is correlate to Jowett, the purpose of propaganda may be to influence people to adopt beliefs and attitudes that correspond to those of the propagandist or to engage in certain patterns of behavior (Jowett, 2012:291). Based on the explanation above, the Researcher hypothesized that the speeches of the parliament contain propaganda, because such speeches that they deliver are to gain support in specific point of view.

By the background above, the researcher wants to go further to understand the Trump's inaugural speech using critical discourse analysis (CDA) Teun van Dijk's as the main theory to prove the researcher's suspicion. As the CDA theory by van Dijk has a lot of different ways to each object, the researcher will focus on CDA theory that is used on ideology analysis because propaganda cannot be separated with ideological interference that influences the propagandist. It correlate with van Dijk that states:

> "Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse

analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social equality" (van Dijk, 1985:27).

Critical discourse analysis also displays how the abuse of social power and inequality are enacted in the political or social environments (van Dijk, 1998).

The researcher tries to analyze the Trump's inaugural speech by the theoretical above and look forward to the conclusion that in accordance with the hypothesis.

1.2 Problem Statement

Based on background of study above, the research question is "how does Donald J. Trump build discursive practice of propaganda in the inaugural speech text?"

1.3 Objective of Study

According to the research question above, the objective of study of this research is "to map the discursive practice of propaganda in the inaugural speech text"

1.4 Significances of Study

The reason of this study is that there is not much attention has been given by English department student of State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga to the language-oriented or text-centered approach in analyzing and understanding a text speech using critical discourse analysis (CDA). Thus, the researcher intends to apply a CDA approach in analyzing and comprehending the selected speech from Trump. In this regard, the significances of research are divided into two parts,

theoretical and practical parts. Theoretically, this research can give the contribution to interrelated fields, linguistics and literature. It can be used as the reference to the study of Pragmatic and/or Critical discourse analysis (CDA) Practically.

This research can help people, especially English department students of State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga, who concern on the study of critical discourse analysis (CDA). For these reasons, the research may stimulate some researchers to conduct their researches on study of semiotics in a text. In addition, towards this study, it can be the guidance for us to understand speech as a way to spread idea and point of view. So that our life does not swept away by the flow.

1.5 Literature Reviews

The researcher has tried to search some researches that have the same idea and theories in this research. The researcher finds some prior researches that are relevant to this research. The first research is a paper that has same theory yet different on the object, the paper is published on *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* on May 2010 by Academy Publisher Finland. The paper is entitled "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's Speeches" This paper, based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory and Systematic Functional Linguistics, it concerned to analyze Barack Obama's presidential speeches mainly from the point of transitivity and modality, in which we can learn the language how to serve the ideology and power. The paper was written by Junling Wang from School of Foreign Languages, Northwest Normal University, China.

The second is a Paper from journal *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, Iran. The paper entitled "Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches: A Case Study of Obama's and Rouhani's Speeches at UN" discussed about Obama and Rouhani's speeches at united nation to reveal which is the easier to be accepted by audiences by applying Halliday's systematic Functional Linguistics theory combined with CDA by Fairclough. The paper also aimed to represent how two presidents' language could incorporate both ideology and power in their political speeches.

The third research is also a paper came from *Iranian EFL Journal* published on April 2013 Researched by Nejad et al, entitled "The Representation of a Presidential Speech: A Critical Discourse Analysis" this research paper is aimed to analyze Palestinian and Israelis representation in George W. Bush's political discourse. The present study employed the analytical framework developed by van Leeuwen (1996) in order to investigate the passive and active representations of these two communities. This result of research paper suggested that the discourse reflected the Palestinians as harshly invading victimizers and incapable (of setting up their state) actors, whereas the same discourse represented Israeli actors as the hopeless victimized and as important allies for the Palestinians, who help them improve the political and economic stability of their state.

The last research that the researcher finds is a dissertation written by Ubaidillah from Doctoral program of post-graduate Islamic studies State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga on 2015 which is analyzing Prophet Mohammad's

(Pbuh) letter for kings. He used van Dijk's CDA. The dissertation entitled *"Surat-Surat Nabi Muhammad SAW. Kepada Para Raja (Analisis Wacana Model Van Dijk)"* which is translated to English: *"Prophet Mohammad's Letters to the Kings (Discourse Analysis van Dijk)".* This dissertation aimed to map the context production of Prophet Mohammad's (Pbuh) letters, mapping the shape of the letter text, lingual meaning, forms of the discourse components, and acts in use of the Prophet Mohammad's (Pbuh) letters. Finally, this dissertation concluded that the context production of Prophet Mohammad's (Pbuh) letter is fit to be written on the letter based on his ideology yet doesn't completely fit on interlocutor. That makes some receiver except the ideological distribution. This research also concludes that CDA needs the philosophical study if the object of the study is a historical text to prove the object whether it is original or not.

Researches above are the prior researches that the researcher find in accordance to this work. By the result, Researcher finds that the object has not been studied by another researcher. In other word, A Critical Discourse Analysis "Propaganda on Donald J. Trump's Inaugural Speech" is available to study and important to be studied to contribute to interrelated fields.

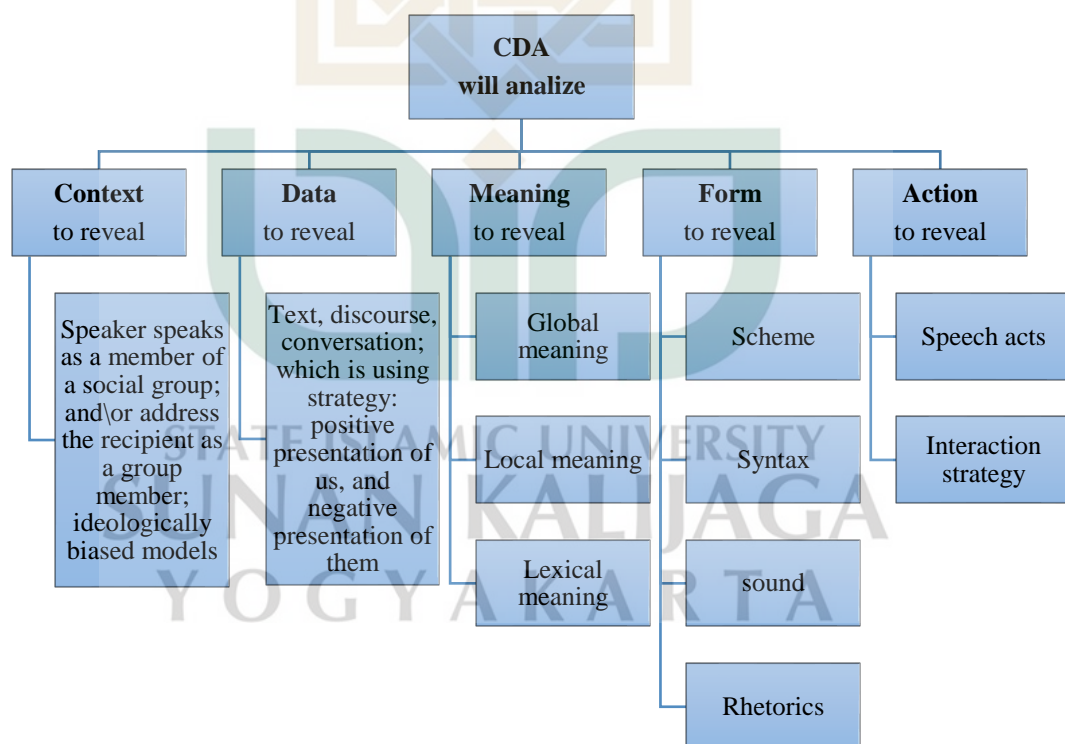**1.6 Theoretical Approach**

On the background of study above, the Researcher have mentioned that this research will adopt a single theory. The theory mentioned above is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that is rigorously developed by van Dijk which actually first developed by Lancaster school of linguists which Fairclough. Besides, Wodak also contributes various developments. In psychological versions

of CDA developed by van Dijk and Wodak, there is assumed to be a socio-cognitive interface between social structures and discourse structures (van Dijk, 1998). In general, CDA is used to examine ideologies and power relations involved in discourse. Language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being both a site of, and a stake in, struggles for power (Fairclough: 1995)

van Dijk theory can be seen below:

Figure 1

		CDA will analize		
Context to reveal	Data to reveal	Meaning to reveal	Form to reveal	Action to reveal
Speaker speaks as a member of a social group; and\or address the recipient as a group member; ideologically biased models	Text, discourse, conversation; which is using strategy: positive presentation of us, and negative presentation of them	Global meaning	Scheme	Speech acts
		Local meaning	Syntax	Interaction strategy
		Lexical meaning	sound	
			Rhetorics	

Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis

(van Dijk, 2006:125-126)

1.7 Method of Research

1.7.1 Type of Research

This research uses qualitative method and using library research based on fact that the object of this research is a text. This research also interprets and analyzes word, clause, and paragraph and text itself. Based on understanding that qualitative research base is constructivism which assumes that reality is plural dimension, interactive, and an exchange of social experience that interpreted by each individual. (Sukmadinata, 2005)

1.7.2 Data Resources

This research's main data is Tran-scripted text of the Donald J. Trump's Inaugural speech and supporting data which are required to support the research. That is to analyze this research by conducting some papers and articles that related to this research.

1.7.3 Data Collection Technique

The researcher uses close reading to collect the data. By reading the speech text several times to understand the main data, later, marks some important information which will used in this research is the first step. Secondly, the researcher will fand so onh the marked important information with the references related to this research. Finally, the Researcher uses those references to analyze the main data and conclude this research based on findings from the analysis.

1.7.4 Data Analysis Technique

Technique that the researcher uses to collect data is gathering the data from the data source (Transcript of Donald J. Trump's inaugural speech) and

arranges the word, clause, sentence, and paragraph and then trying to analyze the data using van Dijk's CDA theory that is outlined: analyzing context, data, meaning, form and action of the speech. After that, the researcher will draw the conclusion based from the analysis of this research.

1.8 . Paper organization

This research provides four chapters, each of which is divided into different discussions. The first chapter presents the introduction which describes the general information of the research including background of study, research questions, objectives of study, significance of study, literature review, theoretical approach, method of study, and paper organization. The second chapter presents introduction of Donald J. Trump and theoretical framework. The third chapter is the discussions. The last chapter is conclusion and suggestion of the research.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

4.1. Findings

Based on the data and discussion that has been done, the researcher found that the build of discursive practice of propaganda in the Donald J. Trump's inaugural speech text can be seen below:

1. The context that contains with setting/scenes, participants, ends, act of sequence, key, instrumentality, norm of interaction and genre prove that the speech text that uttered on the inaugural speech was built to emphasize good things about us (Trump). In other hand, as seen on the Table 2, the norm of interaction that Trump use on the speech was mostly dominated with pronoun "we" which is polite and persuasively acceptable to the audience.

2. Meaning on the speech was divided into three subs: there is global, local, and lexical meaning. Based on the research, the discursive practice of propaganda on the speech was found here. It is because the global meaning was dominated with promises and comparisons of the past government and the government. On the local meaning we can see the different between the thorough their bad things and broad our good things. The modality that reveal the impose understanding of the speaker to the audience, evidentiality which gave evidence that Trump used no evidence, and disclaimer which reveal that Trump Deny any Bad things about him. Finally, the lexical meaning reveals that Trump try to stereotyping things that makes the past government looks bad and Trump's future government is better.

3. The form that constructed by scheme, sounds, syntax and rhetoric reveal that the speech that uttered by Trump was built to persuade the audience to support the Government in this matter so that Trump can rule the country and achieve his ideological goal.

4. The action consisted with speech act and interaction strategy. It reveals that the speech was well-formed as well as the presentation Trump made. It formed to pursue the audience to participate in support the government.

By the findings mentioned above, the build of discursive practice of propaganda in the inaugural speech text mostly found on the local and lexical meaning. It is based on the fact that the local and lexical meaning is pointing positive/negative meanings for us/them and Select Positive/Negative terms for Us/Them. However, the whole speech text that has been researched also contain discourse that leads to support an idea that the speaker believes in, but the findings that most visible evidence in plain view is found on local and lexical meaning.

The researcher found that Trump is trying to emphasize the good things about his new government and emphasizes the bad thing about the past government and also de-emphasizes the good things about the past government and de-emphasizes the bad thing about his new government to gain the public trust. The research proved that Trump was promoting his new government by doing the discursive practice of propaganda, based from the fact that Trump has

not been on power (being president) and his need of public support to achieve his new government goal.

4.2.   Suggestions

Finally, at the end of this research, the researcher realizes that there is a lot of deficiency on this research. Yet this research is aimed to provide significant contribution to the development of critical discourse analysis especially van Dijk's CDA and the development of linguistics in general. Therefore, the researcher hopes there are other researcher that can examine more deeply this object or the theory in use on this research.

It is because the researcher believes that every word that uttered by human especially political figure are contain discourse which is supposed to be revealed by people who think and understand the signs. It is correlate with the Quran,

إِنَّ فِى خَلْقِ ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَٱلْأَرْضِ وَٱخْتِلَٰفِ ٱلَّيْلِ وَٱلنَّهَارِ لَءَايَٰتٍ لِّأُو۟لِى ٱلْأَلْبَٰبِ ﴿١٩٠﴾

Indeed, in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of the night and the day are signs for those of understanding. (Quran, 3:190)

That will give the understanding about human behavior and could educate the one who understand what the discourse is about and if so, he will understand how the discourse of ideology role the human behavior.

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