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THE ANALYSIS OF IDEOLOGIES IN DONALD TRUMP'S POLITICAL SPEECHES ON NATIONAL SECURITY : A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Although there were many studies of Political Discourse had been done in CDA approach, but still few studies concern withrelation of ideology and language in the discourse. This study aims to, 1) find the ideological discourse structures which are used to enhance ideology in political speeches delivered by Donald Trump and 2) reveal the ideologies found in the speeches of Donald Trump about National Security. The analysis in this study is based on Fairclough's (1992) framework of Critical Discourse Analysis which consists of three levels of analysis; textual, discursive practice and socio-cultural practice. Then, for textual analysis, the writer used one analytical tool that is the theory of Ideological Discourse Structure of the discourse by Van Dijk (2000). The results showed that Donald Trump used language tactfully to achieve his goal on politics. The conclusion obtained is that Donald Trump enhances fascist ideology in his speeches which can be seen through the ideological structure of discourse which is found in his political speech on National Security.

Key words: Critical discourse analysis, Ideologies, Donald Trump's speeches, National Security.

A. INTRODUCTION

Politics has become the crucial part of human life which is highly influenced by language. All of the political moves are prepared, played and influenced by language. Indriani&Fitrawati (2018) state that political language is important to studied because it can show us how language is used to express ideas, argument and gains power. So, language use in political process is worth to be analysed in the area of linguistics studies. One of the example of the language use in political situation is speech which delivered by politicians in campaign, inaugural celebration, or in the other events. These speeches often contain ideology of its speaker since the use of language never free of ideological perspective of its speaker because the way people communicate each other can be



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affected by the cultural values and social aspects (Syarif,2016: 5). Thus, the study of language use in the area of critical discourse approach is worth to be done. Critical discourse analysis is the study of language use which strives to explore how relationships between discourse and society as a factor of securing power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1992: 9).

Many researchers have done the study related to the topic about political discourse and ideology in approach of CDA. For example Ahmed (2014), He explores the hiddenn ideologies behind words which are used in the speech of Pakistan Prime Minister on Harmful Aerial Vehicles (Drones). Then, Abdullah and Darweesh (2013) also have done research about ideology and political discourse. His research discussed Donald Trump's Sexist Ideology in Trump's opinions concerning women in different occasions. Last example is Hussein (2016), he explores the key intended ideologies and the critical linguistic aspects in the political speech delivered by the Egyptian President, Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, at the New Suez Canal inauguration ceremony on 6thAugust, 2015.

Therefore, same with the studies above, the writer also interested in doing the research about ideology and political discourse in approach of CDA on Donald Trump's political speech. However there are still differences between themes. In this research, the writer used Donald Trump's speech as the subject of the study. The writer interested in finding the ideology which embedded in his speeches because Donald Trump is one of the famous politicians in the world since became the president candidates of a superpower country, the United States of America. His speeches are often controversial and catch the interest of people all around the world. He majorly anchored his campaign on issues such: unemployment, illegal immigration, Islamic Terrorism, National Security and Obamacare. Additionally, his campaign advocated for the reduction of corporate tax by 15% as well as the replacement of Affordable Care Act (Obamacare) with another free-market plan. To push through his agenda, he built his campaign around the slogan, "Make America Great Again" which resonated well with many Americans, particularly, the young single middle class white Americans without a college education.

So, the ideology which had been analysed in this study is the ideology which is related to Donald Trump's agenda on the National Security of the USA. Specifically, the writer wants to see how Donald Trump embedded ideology in his speeches on National Security. Then, in conducting the research, the writer used the CDA Framework of Fairclough (1989) and the theory of ideological discourse structure by Van Dijk (2000) to analyse the data.

B. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is descriptive qualitative research. This research design is chosen due to the fact that the form of the data was not number and there is no formula which is used to draw the conclusion in this research. Data of this research are utterances, sentence, phrases and words in the four scripts of Donald Trump's political speeches on National Security of the United State of America which delivered from 2016 until 2018. The data were analysed to find out theideological structure in political speech and ideology which is enhanced by

using this structure in these four speeches. The sources of the data were the collection of clauses which were gotten from the script of selected videos.

Therewerethreestepsdone in order tocollect the data of this research. Firstly, the researcher downloaded four videos of Donald Trump's Speech on National Security delivered in 2016 until 2018 from *youtube.com*. Secondly, the writer searched and saved the script of the videos in the English news website and the website of USA government. The writer didn't trancribe the script by herself to avoid the typography in transcribing the speech since the writer is not the native speaker of English. Lastly, the writer checked the script of the speeches in order to make sure that the script of the speech was the real form of the speech which was delivered by speaker and there were no missing statement in the script. After collected the data, the researcher analyzed the data based on three steps. First, the researcher The researcher classified and identified topics, implication, presupposition, synonymy or paraphrase, contrast meaning, description or detail, example or illustration and disclaimers in the speeches. Second, the researcher explained the process of production, distribution and consumption of the speeches. Last, the researcheridentified social and historical context of the speeches.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Research Finding

a. Textual Analysis (Ideological Discourse Structures)

After analyzing the data, there are several finding acquired. For the first research question related to ideological discourse structure, the researcher found that the structure of meaning of Donald Trump's speech is ideological. It is shown through the properties of the discourse in the level of meaning that shows ideological variations in these speeches. Specifically, the researcher totally found seven ideological properties of discourse structure in the level of meaning. Those are topics, implication, presuppositions, synonymy or paraphrase, contrast, example and illustrations, disclaimers and description or detail. Table 4.2 presents all of the sub-categories of Ideological Discourse Structure of The Speeches in the level of meaning.

Table 1. The Ideological Discourse Structure of the Speeches

Category	Sub-Category	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4
	Topics	13	12	16	6
	Implications	2	3	3	1
Meaning	Presuppositions	6	2	5	3
	Synonymy/Paraphrase	6	3	7	1
	Contrast	6	2	0	2

242

Examples and illustrations	6	7	2	2
Disclaimers	1	1	0	0
Description and detail	3	32	6	4

Based on the analysis of the data, it is found that often each of the category of the ideological discourse structure cannot be find only in one clause. Like in the case of illustration and example, it is impossible to us to catch the meaning of the illustration when it is only one clause is analyzed. In addition, from all of the categories, disclaimer is the least used in the speeches. It is only used twotime in the speech that is in the first speech and second speech.

Then, in the categories of topics, it is found that the topics of first speech and second speech are tend to be personal and individualized to some extent since the context of the speech is in the situation of campaign. Meanwhile the third speech and the fourth speech are more ideological because the speaker face the situation which more free of individual concern. He is already become the President of the USA and his job is highly concern about the country as a whole. In other word, this speech was delivered on the governmental situation. In the first speech and second speech, Donald Trump centred his topics on his plan for National Security of the USA and comparison of Hillary and Obama's moves but he never spoke about his political parties whether its principles, theory or anything else.

Moreover, in the third speech he enhanced the topics his speech on the report of his work on National Security, what he has done for USA and what are the campaign promises that have been paid. Also, in the third speech he tried to recalling his next plan for the future of National Security of the USA. Then, while reporting his speech, he was highly provides National Self- Glorification of the American people. So, this speech can be seen more ideological than the first speech.

In addition, the topics of the last speech talked about the current problem on the National Security of the USA that have been faced, that is about the Immigration law, immigrant and migrant camp. In the speech, it is found that the speaker clearly talked about his opinion on the immigration law of the USA, what is his view on immigrant, and what is his opinion on making USA become a migrant camp. Thus, this speech is as ideological as the third speech. Total of the topics found in each of the speeches are presented below:

Table 2. Total of Topics in the Speeches

Sub-Category	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4
Topics	13	12	19	6

The bad of other	9	8	1	4
The good of us	4	4	18	2

Next, for the implication in the speeches, it is found that there are ten implications showed by clauses in the speeches. From all of the implication, only one is used to describe the positive representation of "us", himself. Then, Four implications are used to represent the negative thing about Hillary Clinton. One implications showed the negative representation about the previous leader. Three implication showed the negative representation about Immigrant. It is presented on the table below:

Table 3.Implication in the Speeches

No	Types	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4
	"Good" of us	0	1	1 0	0
1	-Himself	0	1		0
	-American	0	0	0	0
	-Our government	0	0	0	0
	"Bad" of other	2	3	2	1
2	-Hillary	2	2	0	0
_	-Immigrant	0	1	1	1
	-Previous leader	0	0	1	0

Then, on the finding in the presupposition, there are sixteen presuppositions that is found in the clauses of the speeches. Two presuppositions describe the bad attitudes of Hillary Clinton and move of Obama. Ten of the presupposition explains the bad of the previous leader in the various way. Five presuppositions describe through condition of Military of the USA. One describes through the relation of terrorism and USA country. Three of them describe through the enemy of the USA. One Presupposition describes through the bad moves of Democrat. After that there are also three presuppositions which represent Immigrant badly. The table of the finding of the presuppositions in the speeches will be presented below:

Table 4. Presupposition in the Speeches

No	Types	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4
	"Good" of us	0	0	1	0
1	-Himself	0	0	1	0
	-American	0	0	0	0
	-USA government	0	0	0	0
	"Bad" of other	6	2	4	3
2	-Hillary	2	0	0	0
2	-Immigrant	0	1	0	2
	-Previous leader	4	1	4	7

Furthermore, for description in the all of speeches, the researcher found two types of description in the speeches. Those are bad and good description. First, It is found bad description of Hillary through the Middle East situation and the bad condition of Military of USA; what she has done as the secretary of the USA. Second, the researcher also found two good descriptions for authority or the government of USA. Third, it is found four good descriptions of American people. Fourth, the speaker also describes the good side of his plan in the National Security of the USA thirteen times in the speeches. Fifth, it is found seventeen bad descriptions of American previous leaders. Sixth, It is also found two good descriptions of American rivals like Russia and China. Then, Donald Trump also describes a bad nation in his views seventime in the speeches. The last description that is found in the speeches are nine bad description of Immigrant and immigration of the USA country. As it is presented in the table below:

Table 5.Description in the speeches

No	Types	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4
	"Good" description of us	1	14	6	0
1	-Himself	0	13	0	0
	-American	0	1	3	0
	-USA government	1	0	1	0

	Rival of America	0	0	2	0
	Immigration	0	1	0	0
	"Bad" description of other	3	17	20	4
	-Hillary	3	7	0	0
2	-Immigrant	0	6	0	1
	-Immigration system of USA	0	1	0	2
	-Previous leader	OFG	3	14	0
	-Nation	0	0	6	1

Then, related to the synonymy and paraphrase, it is found sixteen synonymy and paraphrase in the speeches. Those are used to describe several objects. The first describes American future. The second, the third and fourth describes the good thing of himself. The fifth and sixth describe a bad attitude of Hillary and Hillary's move. The seventh describes America's rivals. The eight and the ninth describe American people's action in the election. The tenth describes his reaction toward the Immigration issue in the USA. The eleventh describes the terrorist. The twelfth and thirteenth describe a whole American. The fourteenth describe American people after Donald trump become the president of the USA. The fifteenth and sixteenth describe the National security of the USA related to Immigration and immigrant. As it is presented in the table below:

Table 6. Synonymy and paraphrase

No	Types	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4
	"Good" of us	3	0	5	1
	-Himself	2	0	0	1
1	-The Future of America	1	0	0	0
	-American	0	0	5	0
	-Our government	0	0	0	0
	Rival of America	1	0	0	0
2	"Bad" of other	2	3	2	0

-Hillary	2	0	0	0
-Immigrant	0	2	0	0
-Previous leader	0	1	1	0
Terrorism/ISIS	0	0	1	0

Furthermore, on the example and illustration in the speech, Donald Trump's highly provides example and Illustration of Hillary's failures as secretary of the USA. From sixteen examples and illustrations, ten of them illustrate the failures of Hillary, two of them illustrate the greatness of American people in all around the world, three of them illustrate the bad of immigrant and one describes the bad of American. As it is presented in the table below:

Table 7.Example and illustration in the speeches

No	Types	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4
	"Good" of us	0	0	2	0
1	-Himself	0	0	0	0
	-American	0	0	2	0
	-Our government	0	0	0	0
	"Bad" of other	5	7	0	2
2	-Hillary	5	5	0	0
	-Immigrant	0	Z	0	2
	-Previous leader	0	0	0	0
	American	0	1	0	0

Then, for contrast meaning in the speech, it is found that Donald trump used contrast meaning to compares his plan and action on National Security of the USA with his rivals' action and plans. From nine contrast meaning, seven of them show comparison of his plans with Obama and Hillary. Two of them show the comparison between his party actions with Democrat party. Then, all of these comparisons express the good side on him and bad side of others. As it is presented in the table below:

Table 8. Contrast Meaning in the Speeches

No	Types	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4
	"Good" of us	6	1	0	0
1	-Himself	6	1	0	0
	-American	0	0	0	0
	-Our government	0	0	0	0
	"Bad" of other	6	1	0	2
	Democrat	0	0	0	2
2	-Hillary	6	1	0	0
	-Immigrant	0	0	0	0
	-Previous leader	0	0	0	0

For the last categories of the ideological discourse structure; Disclaimer, it is found only two declaimers that is on the first speech and second speech. Donald Trump used it to represent the condition of America's National Security related to Military as the result of Hillary and Obama's leadership.

Table 9. Disclaimer of the Speeches

No	Types	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4
1	"Good" of us	0	0	0	0
	-Himself	0	0	0	0
	-American	0	0	0	0
	-Our government	0	0	0	0
2	"Bad" of other	1	1	0	0
	-Hillary	1	1	0	0
	-Immigrant	0	0	0	0
	-Previous leader	0	0	0	0

In Summary, on the finding of the ideological discourse structures in the speech of Donald Trump about National Security delivered in 2016 until 2018,

Donald Trump highly use the strategy to emphasize the bad of others. in all of the speech he always emphasize the bad of other than his good. In the first speech 72.4 % of the ideological discourse structure means emphasize the bad of other, in the second speech 66.7 %, in the third speech 46.8%, while in the fourth speech 85 %. Then, in the third speech Donald Trump more emphasizes his good than in the other speeches. The table of this finding is presented below:

Table 10. Total Meaning of Ideological Discourse Structure

No	Meaning of ideological Discourse Structure	Frequency in the Speeches					Total				
		1	%	2	%	3	0/0	4	0/0	F	%
1	Emphasize "Good" of us	13	27.6 %	21	33.3	33	53.2	3	15 %	70	36 .5 %
2	Emphasize "Bad" of other	34	72 .4 %	42	66.7	29	46.8	17	85 %	122	63 .5 %
	Total	47	100 %	63	100 %	62	100 %	20	100 %	192	100 %

b. Discursive Practice Analysis

In the discursive practice analysis, it is found that Donald Trump is tend to deliver his speech on the formal occasion and he likes to use this opportunities to interact with American citizens and give respond to some issues in the USA. Then, in the process of spreading the information which delivered in the speech, media take a big role. In addition, in the use of Language, Donald Trump chooses the common language in his speech since his audience is not only limited to direct audience but also people all around the world since the media can deliver his speech through broadcasting to all countries.

c. Social practices analysis

The analysis in the socio-cultural practice surrounding the speech of Donald Trump on National Security showed that Donald Trump's focuses his plans on fixing the mistakes of the past leader on National Security of the USA. Then, related to this fact, there are several conditions which become the reason why he focuses his plans on fixing the mistakes of the past leader on National Security of the USA.

The first is the condition of the conflict in the Middle East since this condition becomes the big concern all around the world and gives the big impact to the country's safety related to the refugee. Second is the current condition of Military of the USA which doesn't get enough attention of the past leaders. As it will be the main pillar of USA Foreign and Homeland security. The third is the

condition of the rivals country of the USA like Russia, China and North Korea on the big growth of technology and Industry sector.

2. Discussion

The finding of the analysis on four speeches of Donald Trump about National Security showed that ideological discourse structure which is used in the speeches was various since all of eight categories of ideological discourse structure in the discourse are found in the speeches. Then, the meaning of these ideological discourse structure showed that Donald Trump used his word and expression to emphasize his good and the bad of others. Moreover, Donald Trump's speech about National Security showed that the speech is not only ideological but also individual. In the first and second speech, Donald Trump focuses his speech on his plan and tries to catch the empathy of American citizen since the context of the speech is on campaign. He uses his speech to persuade the audience to vote him in the election and never talk about his party as it will show his ideology. Then, in the third and fourth speech, he uses a lot of positive description on American people and negative description of Immigrant since the context of the speech is not in the competition like campaign. Donald Trump stands as the President of the USA which has the duty to unify the citizen of the country and take care of them.

In addition, the analysis of the socio cultural practice which surrounding the issue showed the reasons why Donald Trump highly enhance the failure of the past leader in his speech. Those reason are because one of the context of the speech is on the campaign and unfortunately his opponent in the election, Hillary Clinton was already become the secretary of the USA. So, he can review the work of Hillary and define it as the weaknesses of Hillary and he uses it to emphasize the bad thing of hers. Thus, the analysis of socio cultural practice is used to explain "whyness" of the text interpretation and explanation. (Fairclough, 1989: 26).

Meanwhile, the analysis of the discursive practice showed how Donald Trump delivered his speech as it will explain the effect of the speech to his audience. From the analysis, it known that the style of Donald Trump in delivering his speech is formal and structural. He always wears suit and deliver his speech on the podium directly in front of the audience and the journalist of media. So, the way he delivers his speech was highly influenced his image and represent his power to the audience. so it support the statement of Hamzah&Ningsih (2015) which say that power is the key of the each human relation and it is also the various strategy which can influence the attitude of others productively.

To sum up, the analysis of ideology of Donald Trump in his speech about National Security through the theory of ideological discourse structure showed that Donald Trump believes that his plan and agenda are better than the previous leader's plan and agenda, including Hillary. From the his language, it is shown that he also believe that the leader who love its country and its citizen will bring the United State of America become the best in the world, not like all the past

250

leaders of the USA. If it is related to the ideology, according to Mann, (2004:7) Frenchman Valois wrote that "nationalism + socialism = fascism," and the Englishman Oswald Mosley said, "If you love our country, you are national, and if you love our people you are socialist.". So, it can be understood that Donald Trump uses his language the way he does is because he is a fascist. Then, he believes that he is the one who struggles for better future of the USA as it is also suitable with the fascist which also believe that they are a "Crusader" (Mann, 2004:7). Donald Trump fascist ideology also portrayed through immigrant attitude. Donald Trump avoids the immigrant to come to the USA because these people will burden the country and threat the safety of country. He thinks that the program, the plan, the security of the country is not enough to take care of these people. He defines immigrant as the out-group members of the American. In addition, these people are also possible to be criminal and terrorist. As Van Dijk, (2002: 27) explains that most of the cognitive representations derived from such an ideology describe "Us" in positive terms, and "Them" in negative terms. One way of doing this is to represent the others in terms of a Problem - for- Us at all social levels: jobs, housing, welfare, crime, attitudes, and so on. Moreover, Fascism is a form of nationalism that describes 'its' nation as decadent and in need of rebirth through a nationalist revolution. Fascism then is ultra- or revolutionary-nationalism (Renton, 1999:22), this is also portrayed by Donald Trump when he always close his speech with the statement that he will make America great again, make America rich again and safe again.

D. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

According to the result of the analysis of four Donald Trump's speeches on National Security in this research, it can be summarized that the structure of the meaning of Donald Trump's speech is ideological. He used various strategies in delivering his goals in the speeches as it is shown through the categories of ideological discourse structure which was found in the speeches. Then, the analysis of the discursive practice of the speeches explained that Donald Trump's style is serious, formal and total in delivering his speech. This style represents his power and high dedication on the future of the United State of America. He used his appearance and the way he delivered his speech as the tools to increase his aura and catch the sympathy of his audience. The atmosphere he creates in the situation when he delivered his speech was optimistic and encouragement atmosphere. Moreover, the socio-cultural practices analysis explained some aspects that surrounding the topics of the speech. Firstly, the analysis on the situation of the USA in the end of the leadership of Obama and Hillary showed that Obama and Hillary's failure in the past was used by Donald Trump to increase his good image on the audiences, the citizen of the USA, and the authorities. Secondly, the analysis on the situation of the USA under Donald Trump leadership showed that Donald Trump tries to pay his promises in the election even though the result is not same as what is expected by the citizen. Furthermore, related to ideology, It can be understood that Donald Trump enhance fascist ideology in his speech on National Security. It is shown through the

polarization of US-THEM in the speeches. Donald Trump defined "US" in his speech are the people who love the country and love the people of the country. He think that the past leader fault is the mark of the unloved to country and they are defined as the out-group members of the USA country. He claims these past leader are not belonging to us. Then, he believes that he is the one who struggles for better future of the USA. Thus, it can be concluded that Donald Trump uses his language the way he does is because he is a fascist. Therefore, the results of this study align with the previous researches about ideology in the discourse. The result of the study showed that various strategy can be used in the language to delivered the purpose of the speaker indirectly.

Then, this research which primarily studied four speeches of Donald Trump on National Security still has number of weaknesses. There has been limitations in this research in terms of the amount of the speeches and the topics of the speeches. Then, this research also limited the analysis on the ideological discourse structures only in the level of meaning. Thus, for the future researchers, it is suggested to do the research on the difference topics, difference amount of the speech, difference speaker and difference level of the ideological discourse structures for getting the more comprehensive study result related to ideology in the discourse.

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