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CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN DONALD TRUMP
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN TO WIN AMERICAN'S HEART

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ABSTRACT

Politik is always related to activities that influence the action and policies in government or society. This activity will gain or keep power on it. This research aimed to analyze Donald Trump's utterances in his presidential campaign at November 16th, 2015 in Knoxville Convention Center. There are four objectives of the research that were; 1) The utterances that illustrated political discourse in Donald Trump Speech; 2) The way he delivered his political discourse; 3) The aim of the utterances; 4) Effect of the utterance to people. Descriptive qualitative was applied as the method of the research and the data of the research were the utterances that illustrated Donald Trump's political discourse. The utterances were being analyzed using CDA's Van Dijk thematic theory. The result showed his way to deliver his ideology in gaining power where in power; there is an ability to control people which in line with his purpose to win American's heart. Trump's political strategies succeeded to gain many supports that made him elected as the presidential candidate from the Republic party.

Keyword: CDA; Discourse; Ideology; Political Discourse; Power.

Politik is always relates to activities that makes influence actions and policies in government or society. One of the aim of politics is involves the use of power to another by affecting their behavior. In politics, people needs political strategy and the method to do it is varies depend on the purpose. Political strategy deals with many perspective strategies where the basic strategy is the way of the purpose invented and used to obtain the objective (Keyes, 2008: 9). Political strategy is crucial tools for campaign and election. Political strategy proposes a pathway to success when the society understands the background of candidates and reasons for them to vote for. Basic way to do it is use speech campaign because society will knows personality of candidates by sharing their thought. By using speech, society feels that the candidate stand beside them and have the same thought. This strategy can gain society sympathy. When they are able to obtain sympathy, the succession in gaining power soon come through. (Van Dijk, 2008).

Regarding the important of speech in politik, the politician should have the ability to speak since language is a means of communication, a means of presenting and shaping argument and political argument is ideological, in that it comes from a series of beliefs Beard (2000:18). It

means that every speech must be in rhetorical way because the purpose of rhetoric is to persuade others through argument by appealing to their emotions, in order to sway their thinking. Aristotle employ three of rhetoric, also called the Aristotelian Triad: *ethos* which refers to the character or presence of the speaker, *pathos* which refers to the role of an audience in a rhetorical situation, and *logos* which refers to the logic of the argument itself (Murthy, 2014). The more rhetorical the more sympathetic arose and they gaining power. Regarding the three elements of the rhetoric, political speech do not only pay attention deeply on the language itself but also make it suitable in the context and consider in the arising power. Thus, it is appropriated in analysing the speech by using critical discourse analysis since Donald Trump has unique characteristic as politician and also the phenomena is current American political event.

Donald Trump becomes popular among US citizen in 2016 election. According to the polling that held by USA today, in February 23rd the result for national amount Trump get 33,6% voters. This nominal is much bigger than Ted Cruz that get 20,4% voters. His charismatic and powerful message in every rally had been the formula for political success. Sometimes he is wrong, but the matters that he uses always sound right. Furthermore, Becoming candidate of President makes someone must have great speech in every rally to attract as much as possible volunteers. This technique will smoothen their way to become elected. In speech, there are many interesting things which become political strategies. Therefore, Trump with all of his controversy makes his speech adorable to analyze. Although makes many mistakes in his thought, in fact, he is the most popular President candidate today. He criticized many Obama's policy, immigrant, and many more things that can be categorized into political discourse. Therefore, this research will analyze trump's speech that related to the political discourse in order to find his aims in doing it.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis deals with studying and analyzing written or spoken text to reveal the existence of power, dominance and inequality. It examines how the existence maintenance and reproduced in social, political and historical context. Furthermore, CDA is aimed to make clear connection between discourse, social practices and social structure which is not clear for several people (Fowler, 1991). CDA explores social context to embrace the socio-political conditions that shape discourse in order to analyze how power structures are constructed and analyzed. It means that it also can be uses for describes, interprets, analyzes, and critiques social life that is reflected in speech. CDA explores relationships between discursive practices, texts, and events and also wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes (Fairclough, 1992). Within this framework, analyse a text in terms of its topics or frames is appropriated in this research. Therefore, this research used Van Dijk's theory. Themes and topics are structure characterized as the most important because it contains underlying the ideology in the sequence of sentence (Van Dijk, 2008).

METHOD

This research used qualitative approaches because qualitative approach does not only investigate about what, where, and when, but also why and how the problem appeared but also the method produces information are only in the particular cases studies, and the general conclusions are only informed assertion. It also can be used to seek empirical support for such research hypotheses (Lincoln, 2005). The source of the data is Donald Trump campaign speech. Then, analyze the data by using To examine the problem, researcher was used assumption, worldview, and the possible use of theoretical lens as well as studied the research problem. The data was analyzed by using Van Dijk's thematic theory. It describes the themes and the detail with used of speaker background based on theoretical lens to find out the ideology that is underlying behind the text.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings

The finding is based on the Donald Trump's utterance that illustrated political discourse where it classified into four indicators, 1) becoming public interest; 2) illustrating central issue of the speech; 3) persuading the audiences about political views; 4) affecting people's perception of themselves and Critical Discourse Analysis used to interpret it. The research question will be answered in every sub-chapter because the answer connects each other. The utterances found in Trump's speech based on indicator are:

1. Central Issue

Utterances within the context of political discourse operate within historical frameworks and are frequently associated with other related issues. When the utterances are elaborated within context that follows in situation it delivers, the utterances always becomes central attention or central issue on speech. There is one topic found concerning with central issue:

1.1. Making America Great Again

The utterance is:

"...I want to do something special with you, with everybody because everybody wants to make America great again. We have so many problem, we gonna make it so great and when I say that, I really mean and I really believe we have that potential because people is so incredible. When I say that, better than ever before, I really think we have that potential we gonna make it better than ever before. But we have to be smart and we have to be cunning and we can have a trade in balance 450 billion dollars a year with China, we can have trade in balance of 75 billion dollars a year with Japan and we can have trade in balance of 45 billion dollars a year with Mexico. " (19'48")

2. Public interest

Political discourse deals with public interest and political issues when people deliver his text or speech about something concerned by public and becomes political issue, the speech is struggle with power and contains rhetorical strategies. There are some topics found in Trump's speech concerning with public interest:

2.1. Radical Islamic Terrorism

"...but listen, radical Islamic terrorism let's talk about it. We have no choice, this is a real problem. You know normally I come out to talk about trade, and how China is killing us and they are. And I talk about how Japan and how Mexico and how everybody is just absolutely eating our lunch, and today I'm gonna talking about something else is like survival. And you know they announce, ISIS announce they gonna attacks us in Washington, it means they gonna attacks someplace else. "(03"07")

2.2. American Border

"...so we gonna have border, we gonna have the wall, we gonna get rid of people that we have in this country who here illegally. Some of whom are excellent great people but they have to come back legally, they have to, they have to come back legally, they have to. There is nothing we could do, we either have our country or we don't, they have to come back legally. And then again we have some people who are really bad dudes. (44"13")

3. Persuading the Audiences Political Views

Political discourse aimed to persuade their audience to believe of the validity of views through delicate and careful use of elegant and persuasive language. Many ways is used by politician to deliver their views, one of it is by using negative campaign. Negative campaign focuses on criticizing another politician views or opinion rather than emphasizing own positive thought (Rosenshaft, 2012). This kind of way is seen in Donald Trump utterances where he criticizes president Obama as his effort to persuade the audience to agree his political views:

3.1. Obama's Policy about Releasing Five Prisoners

"...so what happen, and you know when I see and watch little while ago when five people are released from gitmo, think of it! On the same day as the shooting. You say, is this right? Is this possible? Is somebody trying could just like torments, everybody hear and everybody..they release five people, sent in a private plane back to where they can going fight. You know they all go back to fight." (12"06")

3.2. Healthy Policy for Veterans

"...now I put it in the plan, a policy plan. You know the press wants policy, the people just want result, but the press wants policy. I put it in the veteran plans. And among other things covers a lots of territory, and this got a fantastic refuse but

look..we have doctor, they leaving their profession because of ObamaCare. Because they need more accounts and they need nurses.....so we gonna take our veterans, and if they have a way which they always do, we gonna let them go to a private doctor, or private hospital, or private public hospital, whatever it is. We gonna pay the bill, and you wanna know something? That's gonna cost us. Number one it's gonna be great for them, they love it, it's gonna great for them.....but they gonna see a doctor, they gonna see public hospital, private hospital, they gonna taking care quickly, beautifully, nobody is gonna dying, they shouldn't be dying, and everybody loves that plans, how do you feel about that? Okay?!" (50"51')

4. Affecting People's Perception of Themselves

People have ability to notice and understand things that are not obvious to other people (Cambridge Dictionary) to make perception and politics is always connected with perception (Schmitt, 2015). People sometimes have a bad perception about someone that is considered controversial, like Donald Trump so that is why he wants to change public perception by reversing reality because sometimes perception does not meet reality (Huhtanen, 2013). There is one topic found concerning affecting people's perception of themselves.

4.1. Funding Campaign by Himself

"...by the way, I don't think this shit gonna happen, but you know I'm self-funding my campaign, which I think it's not gonna a big deals, which I think..other than the little things where women and people said small I send the money that I have to. What I'm gonna do? Send them back? Somebody said "well his not really suffer because people" it's peanut folks, believe me it's peanut. "(14"02')

Discussion

From the finding above, it can be interpreted that the ideology that is used by Trump is gaining power. Power is a vital element of human survival and it has signs and manifestations in every aspect of social life, from interpersonal relations through economic transactions, to spiritual and political disagreements. Power is usually associated with politics, authority, and wealth, also the idea of power is the ability to influence the actions or decisions of another.

In order to reach his purpose to become U.S president, Trump uses many ways to show his ideology. Power to control is the first kind that used as in 'making America great again' discussion; he uses his idea to gain power to make America becomes superpower so that they can control many aspects in the world. The data from the world economic ranking that put America out of biggest ten becomes strong reason for Trump to deliver his utterance. Also, Trump's background as chairman of The Trump Organization that span a wide variety of industries including media with New York television as one of the operation make him easier to direct people towards his idea and ideology. By reassuring the audience that the people of the nation have potential and very incredible, the economic position of America that is in critical

position, and ¹ his capability in doing business, he persuades the citizen and gains enough power to mobilize the action to support his idea.

The 'radical Islamic terrorism' discussion also shows how Trump wants ¹ to control the development of Moslem religion that is rising year by year in America. The way Trump plans to control Muslim by banning them to enter U.S raises much controversy but surprisingly the idea was supported by half of American's voters that makes him as a candidate of U.S President from Republic party (DailyNews, March 29/2016) . This idea is in line with his idea in 'American border' views that also shows how Trump wants to control the immigrant outflow. By limiting presence of immigrant he shows his concern that ¹ American people must have controlled their own country. By controlling immigrant outflow, Trump wants to filter the amount of Muslim that come to America because he often relates to violence happen in America mostly because of immigrant and many of them are Muslims. Besides, the tendency of Mexican immigrants that causes many problems such as gangster and drugs problem becomes his consideration to follow up this idea. So by controlling the immigrant, he can also minimize the growth of Islamic religion where it also minimizes the possibility of threat that might endanger the safety of every American citizen. Moreover, the existence of Jewish in American politics raises sentiment towards it which is in line with Trump's idea to detain Islamic growth (Khachtarian and Kraychik, 2016). Since those two problems-Muslim and immigrant- becoming public concern, the emotional appeals of the audience for the tragedy that happened in the past, the amount of immigrant that continued to arrive and the anti-Islam sentiment that exhaled by some politician make the audience become more openly to Trump's idea. Besides, the status of immigrant-both legal and illegal-not quite strong rather than local U.S citizen and the ability of Donald Trump to gain power as the candidate of U.S President makes him have more opportunity to realize the idea.

Power has various forms and characteristics, and Trump use one of the forms that called soft power. Soft power is the ability to create a center of attention of people to one side without compulsion and it has the capacity to persuade others to do what one wants (Nye, 1990). Trump used it by showing his displeasure to the government in order to lead public opinion that the government policy is wrong as he stated "...so what happen, and you know when I see and watch little while ago when five people are released from gitmo, think of it!...You say, is this right? Is this possible?..." and also he criticize the government policy and claims that his idea is better as he said "...they gonna taking care quickly, beautifully, nobody is gonna dying, they shouldn't be dying, and everybody loves that plans, how do you feel about that? Okay?!" those two ways-criticize and show displeasure-becomes his way to persuade American citizen his political views. The simultaneous effects of his contrary with someone who have bigger power, the concerns of American people about the government policies that are not pro-people and the claims of Trump's idea that will be better than the policies makes him get more attention from public and public will more easily to agree about his political views where it is affect his willing in gaining power.

Trump also affects people perception when he shows that he is willing to sacrifice his wealth in campaign race as part of his State activities that becomes crucial things to enhance

soft power. The central aspect of soft power is legitimacy and when a people or a nation believes objectives to be legitimate, the leaders are more likely to succeed in persuade them to follow his idea. The tendency of American people that wants their next president is independent and success in economics strengthen Trump's position in the eye of American people. Trump's background as media owner smoothing his step where media sometimes used to twist the fact so that something bad can be a good thing and vice versa, it also facilitate his way to gather many voters. Moreover, Trump uses his Charismatic legitimacy like promises to build wall as border and make Mexico pay for it that can be thought as his bravery, replacing 'Obamacare' with something 'terrific' as his efficiency, and any other in his campaign is part of personal magnetism of the leader where he used authoritative persona charms and psychologically to dominate the people of the society in way to obtain an agreement of his political views (Rieschrod, 1999).

A speech can be powerful tool for many reasons and every speech especially that have purpose to persuade must be rhetoric (Nguyen, 2016). The common goal in persuasive speech as in Donald Trump speech is to influence the audience's view on his idea so it comes with a reasonable claim and offering a proof in support of the statement. He used various strategies in gaining power and the way he delivers his ideology is part of his desire to become U.S President where the idea to makes America great again is the central topic of his speech. To fulfill the rhetoric way and the way he deliver his idea, Donald Trump used Ethos, Pathos and Logos which can be explained that Ethos connected with the character or credibility of him. A successful businessman, owned the media and donated many funds to veterans organization becomes powerful tools for Trump to reassuring the audience about his credibility. Pathos is connected with appealing to the audience by arousing their emotions. With the help of Pathos Donald Trump can get connected emotionally with his audience where the condition of American people that unpleased with the government policy and the figure of Donald Trump which is appropriate with many American citizens want to become their next president proof that he is been able to link the emotion of audience with his idea. Logos connected to a statement or idea that attempts to persuade the audiences as Donald Trump used many words that show his concern to America and show that the audience and every American is part of his idea where it becomes a reasonable claim and offering a proof in support of the statement. Even though every argument depends more on Ethos (Character of the speaker) and Pathos (Emotions of the audience) but Critical Discourse Analysis rely only on Logos because The argument that is constructed on the basis of the Logos would bring long lasting impact on the memories of the audience as the result of using language that logically accepted by the audience. Rhetorical appeal as Donald Trump used in his speech is effective not only in public speaking but also in every field where language is widely used to persuade people towards the truth. Moreover, the fact that Donald Trump was successfully elected as President Candidate from Republic Party is the proof of his high capability in using rhetorical appeal in speech. Yet, unfortunately, the effect appeared lately was not in his side in which the support for him decreased. Since the presidential candidates were left in only two names—Trump from Republic and Hillary from Democrats—public thus seemed to prefer to support Hillary. The polling from New York Times (August 22,

2016) showed that support for Trump is plunging from 41% in July becoming 38% in August 2016. This fact shows that his popularity and image rating among American voters has declined. It means that if Trump misses his chance to win nomination in Republican bound delegates, it will be more difficult for him to persuade unbound delegates to put him in front of Hillary due to his ratings that becomes not favourable among all voters (French, 2016). However, although the result of the polling did not reach what he had estimated, Trump is still confident that he could win the election. Even he suggests that he will be ready to challenge the presidential election result if in case, he loses in the election. This is due to his statement as in Kurtzleben (2016) which he said, "I'm telling you, Nov.8, we'd better be careful, because that election is going to be rigged. And I hope the republican are watching closely or it's going to be taken away from us." This statement might actually be a dangerous one since it means that he doubted the voting process and Trump was threatening American democracy itself. It can also make him more not favourable in the eyes of American citizen (ibid). Trump's idea to make America great again contradicts with the fact that Hillary comes from the same Party with Obama and her campaign rally idea was similar with Obama's (Bacon Jr., 2016). So, it can be assumed that Trump thought America would not change if the next president comes from the same party with the former one, because they have similarities in political ideology. And this may also the only reason why Trump is still optimistic of his opportunity in winning American's heart. But still, Trump is a reliable media people who can easily twist the fact. So it is not impossible if he change his strategy in order to regain people sympathy that makes him possible to reverse the situation and win the presidential election.

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

Four indicators that are used to classify six selected excerpts that contain utterance from Donald Trump's presidential campaign rally represent the explanation from objective of this study that must be answered where Van Dijk's CDA used to interpret it. 1) The six selected excerpts that divided into four indicators certainly illustrate Trump's political discourse in his presidential campaign rally. The utterances in it represent the way and the aims he delivers his political discourse. 2) The way Donald Trump deliver political discourse can be seen from word that represents a national unit of nation and Informal language is often used to show that he wants the audience feels close and intimate with him and he also wants to embrace the audience for being part of his plan. Trump is being more persuasive in delivering his idea in order to make the audience respond are more willing to joint his demands and dramatic effect that used in persuasive speech which it can be a powerful and effective way to make a point also it can be a part of Trump's way to deliver his utterance. All of those ways support his ideology to gain power where President of U.S will have the biggest power to control policy, law and society behavior. It can be seen in selected excerpts where he wants to control immigrant entrance, control Moslem population by banning them to enter America and control trade balance in the world.

3) Every utterances delivered by Trump have aims, and his aims is to attract people to support him and becomes loyal voters for him in Presidential election. 4) The effects that follows the utterances is make people more willing to accept his idea and increase significant amount of his loyal voters that smoothen his way as potential President Candidate from the Republic. Many reactions appear by the consequence of the utterance delivered by Donald Trump. Not only from the American themselves, but also from around the world. Many people support him more but much of them does not support him, even the worse is condemned his idea. The hardest reaction is comes when he delivers the idea about banning Moslem to enter America. His political opponent used it to attack Trump on their campaign, other politician and famous people from other countries also condemned his idea. Even he corrected his statement lately but the rejection of the idea continues. Despite of many bad comments and perception addressed to him, Trump still believe that he can achieve his purpose to becomes president of U.S because he knows he cannot satisfied all people. This matter is strengthened by fact that he is elected as the presidential candidate from the Republic party recently. This can concluded that Trump's political strategy by using his campaign to deliver idea succeed to gain many supports that in line with his ideology to gain power in order to win American's heart.

Suggestion

It will be significant value especially for other researchers and the readers that generally try to conduct or examine other research based on Critical Discourse Analysis Theory. They are able to use other sources of the data or other political figures which are almost never analyzed. Something that can be underlined is it will be better if the data is fresh and up to date because researcher will easily follows the development news that gives significant support for the research. By studying and understanding the meaning behind the discourse through CDA, readers and researcher can be fully and specifically understand wider intended meaning of language related to CDA's notions as power, dominance, hegemony, ideology, class, gender, race, discrimination, interests, reproduction, institutions, social structure, and social order where it will always reflect people's lives.

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