

The Critiques and Ideologies Shared in the Inauguration Speech of Donald Trump

(A Study of Critical Discourse Analysis)

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### Abstract

This paper investigates the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in studying the inauguration speech of Donald Trump at the Capitol Hill, Washington DC on January 20, 2017. The objective of the study is to uncover the hidden messages regarding ideologies shared and critiques appointed to Obama's presidency. The paper uses the theory of CDA by Norman Fairclough by focusing on the three aspects of research, which are (1) micro or linguistic analysis, (2) Mezzo or discursive analysis, and (3) macro or contextual analysis. The three dimensional model of CDA is aimed to uncover the ideologies shared and critiques appointed to based on linguistic features, socio-political aspect, and discursive practice. Basically, those critiques and ideologies are connected with the myth of American Dream in American Studies. The American Dream is represented in seven issues risen which are (1) US economic condition during Obama's presidency, (2) US political condition during Obama's presidency, (3) US social condition during Obama's presidency, (4) The concept of making America great again, (5) Anti-radical Muslim immigrants, (6) America First, and (7) Nationalism. The result of the study reveals that the speech brought some ideologies or thoughts shared to the audiences and might change the people's perception on Obama's two periods of presidency, which is considered as failure.

*Keywords:* Inauguration Speech, Donald Trump, US presidency, CDA, Discourse, Norman Fairclough, Ideology, Critique, American Dream

## The Critiques and Ideologies Shared in the Inauguration Speech of Donald Trump

### (A Study of Critical Discourse Analysis)

Language is not only a tool of communication, but also a device to share a certain ideology. As a system of belief, ideology lives in language that is used by the people in exchanging ideas through communication. Ghaderinezhad (2015) stated that ideology can be seen as inherent in people's minds and attitudes that are shown within their language. This system of belief belongs to certain people or group that can be a doctrine to the others. In this context, language can generate certain purposes which are to produce particular discourses that distribute some ideologies.

Van Dijk (2006) examined the issue of ideology from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). He states that ideologies are mostly depicted in discourses. In Linguistic Studies, CDA becomes one special approach in studying text that is emerged textually or orally. This approach is used to study languages and discourses in social institutions that might contain social relation, identity, knowledge, power, domination, and many others that are constructed in any text produced. It tries to seek how a certain ideology may be hidden underneath the surface of language, word choice, and sentence organization, within the text. Historically and systematically, CDA is a part of another broad spectrum of critical studies in humanities and the social science like Sociology, Psychology, Communication, Law, Politics, and many others (van Dijk, 1995). CDA is multidisciplinary studies that consider language as an important aspect of organizing the text of such studies.

Moreover, the study of language and ideology is also a part of American Studies. Discourse relates to the existence of Myth to Rhetorics because a discourse might contain more than one literal meaning. The myth might be in a certain language used by the people in their everyday communication. As Evans & Levinson (2009) have contended, language is essentially

cultural-historical objects that must be explained either by shared historical heredity or by evolutionary selective pressures external to the evolving system. Historical heredity refers to the historical context containing certain socio-cultural events. Meanwhile, the selective pressures external refers to the cognitive constraint on the communication system. Moreover, language as the tool to share ideology also affects myth that might be hidden within a language. Myth may consist of a certain ideology that primarily concerns with the way a particular image of the world is conveyed and reinforced through text and practices (Campbell & Kean, 1997).

Language can be in any shape of communication, especially political speech. Political speech is normally used as a way to gain a certain power in governmental stages. The example of the use of language in the political field is the inauguration speech delivered by Donald Trump at Washington, DC on January 20, 2017. This speech contains Trump's critique of the previous presidential era covering some thoughts and ideologies of Donald Trump. Thus, the object of this research is the inauguration speech of Donald Trump which is focused especially to uncover the critiques and the ideologies within the speech.

In accordance with the speech, the use of linguistic features in uncovering the hidden message within the language text as expressed by the speaker is quite meaningful. The speech is not only considered as a public speaking but it is also considered as one of the most substantial triggers in restarting the US government. It is obvious considering Trump's reputation and his vision to make America great again, campaigned as the main program. This slogan is the main issue that he has delivered to the audiences where some critiques and thoughts are hidden within his inauguration speech.

In this research, the text which is analyzed is the transcript of the inauguration speech of Donald Trump. The three levels of analysis from Norman Fairclough style of CDA are employed to examine the text critically. This study seeks to investigate the hidden messages within the speech which are the critique to the previous president, Barack Obama, as well as the ideologies

and thoughts shared with the audiences and how Donald Trump plays with American Dream through figurative languages and word choices.

### **Methods**

This research is a descriptive qualitative research employing Critical Discourse Analysis by Norman Fairclough. The research is drawn upon the multidimensional ways of analyzing discourse developed by Fairclough (1992) which are linguistic and sociocultural models. To analyze the issue, I used two types of data which are the primary and the secondary data. The primary data are linguistic features which are semantic macrostructures, political expression, figure of speech (simile, personification, and dysphemism), metaphor, and repetition. Those data were taken from the inauguration speech of Donald Trump that was delivered on January 20, 2017 in Washington DC. In determining the data, I conducted purposive sampling. To support the primary data, the secondary data used are in the form of historical background and statistical data. Those secondary data were taken from any online articles or journal articles related to the topic from internet.

In doing this research, there are three stages of analysis which are (1) collecting the data, (2) analyzing the data, and (3) interpreting the data. Those stages are parts of descriptive qualitative research.

Basically, the data collection is in linguistic field. The linguistic features researched are semantic macrostructures, political expression, figure of speech, metaphor, and repetition. From the transcript of the speech, purposive sampling is used in order to determine the sample of data. According to Palys (2008) a researcher could consider the sample of the data based on the objectives. Thus, the sample of data is based on the specific topic of this research.

The second step is analyzing the data. The analysis employs the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by Norman Fairclough (1989), serving three levels of analysis which are (1) micro or textual analysis which analyzes the linguistic features of the text, (2) mezzo or

discursive analysis which deals with the production and distribution process of the text, and (3) macro or social context analysis. The three steps are conducted in this research in order to reveal the hidden message within the inauguration speech of Donald Trump.

The third step is interpreting the data. The interpretation is on the mezzo analysis. The data that are linguistic features discovered are interpreted critically. The interpretation focuses on the point of view of Donald Trump as the text producer, US society as the text consumer, and their condition when the speech was delivered as the discursive process. To do this, three steps of analysis conducted are (1) text production analysis, (2) text distribution analysis, and (3) text consumption analysis. After all of the steps had been undergone, the hidden message based on the analysis of micro and macro could be interpreted critically.

### **1. Norman Fairclough Model of CDA**

Discourse is usually used in the field of politics. Chilton (2004) has stated that in the tradition of Western political thought, politics and language are intimately connected to each other at a fundamental level. Political discourse creates an atmosphere where power, power abuse, or domination are reproduced in order to gain superiority. It includes the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance (Dijk, 1998). In governmental area, political discourse is always set up by the authorities in case of controlling the citizens' social condition and managing the political affairs. For instance, politicians make political dialogue to each other or to their people as the mission to set agenda, attempt to control issue, or gain votes to win election. Political discourse is the key to achieve domination. It always happens in the area of political competition, for instance the government and the opposition, the Right and the Left-wing, the Democratic and the Republican Party, and many others.

Norman Fairclough, further, sees that text cannot be separated with the social context. Through his books *Language and Power* (1989) and *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1998),

Fairclough has combined these two factors in analyzing discourse. Moreover, he has also united the three perspectives which are (1) linguistic perspective including Systemic Functional Linguistic by Michael Halliday, (2) micro-sociology analysis including Foucault's theories, and (3) micro-sociological interpretative in the study of Sociology (Jorgenson & Philips, 2002). Fairclough sees that analyzing text by only using linguistic perspective cannot uncover the hidden meaning within the text. Those perspectives are needed to see the socio-cultural condition that causes a text produced.

Besides, Fairclough considers that some text produced might be different in real life. The producer has an ability to change or to rebuild the structure of text in disguising the reality or the hidden real meaning of the text. There must be a specific social setup that might be shared differently which is revealed through the text (Fairclough, 1992). Thus, in analyzing a text in order to reveal its hidden message, Fairclough (1995) establishes three levels of analysis which are micro, mezzo, and macro analysis.

Firstly, microanalysis tends to study the text that is strongly linked to language analysis. The analysis will be in the field of linguistic studies where grammatical features are broken down. In this research, this study uses the political expression, figure of speech, repetition, and metaphor, that focuses on the specific theme based on the perspective of the speaker. The text produced may be different from what is delivered to the audience. Fairclough (1995) has also stated that the perception of a text must be obscured because people may extend it too far. By breaking down the text linguistically and interpreting it critically, the text can be translated clearly.

Secondly, mezzo analysis deals with the social condition of text production and interpretation. Basically, it tends to analyze how a certain text is produced, distributed, and consumed massively. Social factors may contribute to those processes that at the same time would affect the interpretation of the text. This stage is called discursive practice (Fairclough,

1995). It is a part of a social practice where the existence of the text is based on the process of its production, distribution, and consumption.

Thirdly, the macro analysis deals with the social context of the text. It is more likely to involve the study of language and ideology in society (Traynor, 2005). Basically, this level deals with the social condition of the text produced. Ifversen (2003) has stated that macro analysis tends to study the wide-ranging claims about a certain period or condition of a certain society. Basically, the starting point of the macro analysis is concerning on the role of power and knowledge of the society. As mentioned by Fairclough (1989), ideology and power lives in language, so identifying the patterns of language is very useful.

## **2. American Studies: Myth to Rhetoric**

In accordance with American Studies, American myths have been created to secure national unification and to tell what America is about. American literature has created a series of symbols that belongs to collective imagination that is transcendent and becomes culture and later creates myth (Kuklick, 1972). The imagination then turns into certain mythological symbolism having certain meaning then it is believed by the people. Myth is shape-shifting yet marvelously constant story that we find together with challengingly persistent suggestion of more remaining to be experienced than will ever be known or told (Campbel, 2004). In simple words, myth is symbolic narrative containing traditional values that are strongly believed by the people.

However, the development of American Studies had already been shifted from myth to rhetoric. At first, during the 1930s to 1950s myth became so popular among the scholars of American Studies and was attested to the uniqueness of America. However, the study of myth was considered as too simple and satisfying. While the rhetoric came up, it served more plurality within the open questions of culture. Because of the rhetoric, language and image could show their potentials to be part of cultural engagement. However, it does not mean that



myth disappears, but myth is still there inside the American Studies. Since there are so many media that myth might live in, rhetoric needs to translate the hidden meaning of the myth within language. Thus, this research is under American Studies in terms of employing from myth to rhetoric.

In the case of the inauguration speech of Donald Trump, people believed that he brought several breakthroughs for the US and the people. It is well known as make America great again. Through this slogan, Trump wanted to realize the American myth which is the American Dream as the counter to the certain bad condition governed by Obama's presidency. Basically, the American Dream is a kind of fantasy developed by the US people in hoping to get a better life. Historically, since its coinage in 1931, the concept of American Dream has lured tens of millions of immigrants from all concerns of the planet to the United States with promises of prosperity and happiness far beyond anything attainable in their native countries (Murphy, 2010). In one hand, Adam (1941) describes the meaning of American Dream in his novel which is:

“That dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement...A dream of social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable, and be recognized by others for what they are, regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of birth or position”.

In simple words, American Dreams is optimistic to get a better future by living in US territorial.

## **Result**

### **1. Macro-level of Analysis**

The inauguration speech of Donald Trump revolves 42 initial macropositions from 93 sentences that can be inferred from the speech text. However, the whole initial macropositions is

not used in this analysis, only some of them based on the objectives of this research. Those initial macropositions can be summarized into six issues brought by Donald Trump which are (1) US Economy Condition During Obama's Presidency, (2) Politics Towards Middle East Conflict During Obama's Presidency, (3) Social During Obama's Presidency, (4) The Concept of Make America Great Again and America First, (5) Anti-Radical Muslim Immigrant, and (6) Nationalism.

In terms of US Economic condition During Obama's Presidency, Donald Trump explained through his speech that the US declined economically after the Subprime mortgage. Moreover, the condition got worsened because the government was too focused on the overseas conflicts. This condition can be seen from the initial macropositions that are summarized into four Higher-level Macropositions which form semantic macrostructure of this speech as thematically (HM1-HM4).

In terms of political condition, Donald Trump talked more about political foreign policy. Basically, too opened connection with Middle East was considered as a risk and threat for US national security. This condition can be seen from the initial macropositions that are summarized into four Higher-level Macropositions which form semantic macrostructure of this speech as thematically (HM6-HM7).

In terms of US social condition, Donald Trump commented on the condition when the crime rate such as homicide, drug crime, and sexual abuse increased extremely. Such crimes were based on the government failure in managing the law of gun ownership among the people. This condition can be seen from the initial macropositions that are summarized into four Higher-level Macropositions that form semantic macrostructure of this speech as thematically (HM8).

In terms of the concept of Making America Great Again, it refers to the dissatisfaction condition based on Trump's perception to Obama's presidency. He considered that US did not increase its quality and even lose its greatness. Basically, this concept can be seen from the

initial macropositions that are summarized into four Higher-level Macropositions which form semantic macrostructure of this speech as thematically (HM9-HM13).

In terms of the thought of Anti-radical Muslim immigrants, Trump considered Muslim as one of the threats that might harm the lives of US citizens. This idea also came up because the too opened connection with the Middle East that might be threat for the US. This thought can be seen from the initial macropositions that are summarized into four Higher-level Macropositions which form semantic macrostructure of this speech as thematically (HM14-HM15).

In terms of America First, Trump made a promise that every policy during his administration would make America to be the most prioritized consideration among others. This thought can be seen from the initial macropositions that are summarized into four Higher-level Macropositions which form semantic macrostructure of this speech as thematically (HM16-HM18)

In terms of nationalism, Trump showed his loyalty and devotion to the US. He delivered this idea in order to encourage the people to love their nation. This ideology can be seen from the initial macropositions that are summarized into four Higher-level Macropositions which form semantic macrostructure of this speech as thematically (HM19-HM24).

## **2. Micro-level of Analysis**

In terms of the economic condition during Obama's presidency, the linguistic features covered are political expressions, figure of speech (simile and personification), repetition, and metaphor. There are 24 expressions discovered regarding this issue. Those expressions are based on the economic condition during Obama's presidency. For instance, their victories and their triumphs showed that Trump wanted to show that prosperity was given only to those who had power in governmental sectors, not all the Americans.

There are two figures of speech which are simile and personification that are discovered

to explain the economic condition. The simile covered scattered like tombstones. It shows the condition of the US economic condition that led the people to live in poverty very badly.

Meanwhile there are three personifications. For instance, Washington flourished means that the establishment of America grew rapidly. Trump used the word flourished to represent its growth like a flower, beautiful and spreading.

There are two repetitions used to explain this issue. Firstly, Trump used the conjunction “but” three times in explaining the same issue. Secondly he used negative present perfect tense “have not been” in explaining the same issue. This repetition shows that Trump strongly wanted to show the real condition of the US economy to the people that they were in bad condition.

There is one metaphor used to explain this issue. It is: Our country has dissipated over the horizon. The tenor is our country that refers to the United States in which the elite politician governed it. While the vehicle is the horizon that refers to the entire United States from the West to the East and from the South to the North without any exception

In terms of the political condition during Obama’s presidency, the linguistic features discovered are political expressions and figure of speech (personification). Regarding the political expression, there are expressions. Those expressions are based on the political condition during Obama’s presidency. For instance, Other nation’s border refers to the countries that US helped. Because of the help, the countries could strengthen their nations from conflicts happened.

There is only one personification used to explain this issue. His expression of America’s infrastructures have fallen into disrepair and decay shows that Trump has wanted to explain the condition of the infrastructure which has fallen like people who have collapsed. He chooses the words ‘fallen into’ which means collapse or fall down.

In terms of the social condition during Obama’s presidency, the linguistic features discovered are political expressions, figure of speech (personification), and repetition. Regarding

the political expression, there are four expressions. For instance, This American carnage shows that the crime rate in US has been very high. Based on the Merriam Webster Dictionary carnage means the killing of many people.

There are three personifications used to explain this issue. For instance, and the crime, and the gangs, and the drugs that have stolen too many lives shows that Trump has wanted to explain the crime rate in US was very high. Such crimes are represented as people who took precious things from another.

There are two repetitions used to explain this issue. For instance, And the crime, and the gangs, and the drugs shows that Trump wanted to show the people of the US that there are so many crimes happening in the US by using the conjunction and.

In terms of the Concept of making America Great Again, the linguistic features that are discovered are political expressions, figure of speech (personification), repetition, and metaphor. Regarding the political expressions, there are 21 expressions. For instance, To rebuild our country and restore its promise is the goal of Trump's presidency. Its refers to America which is to make America great again.

There are two personifications used to explain the concept. For instance, Your voice your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny shows that the democratic feeling of Donald Trump that he depended on his people's voices. He would not be dictator in leading the US.

There are five repetitions used to explain the making America great again.. One of them is we will determine the course of America, We will face challenges, We will confront hardships, we will get the job done. Trump used the same subject (we), the same tense (will), but different verbs. It shows that Trump gave details about the problem backgrounds faced by the US.

There is one metaphor used to explain the concept. which is the birth of a new

millennium. The tenor is the birth which refers to the starting point of America's new presidency that would maximize the sophisticated technology. Meanwhile the vehicle is a new millennium which refers to the modern era. It represents the program of Trump's presidency to make America great again.

In terms of Anti-Radical Islamic Immigrants, the linguistic features discovered are political expressions, figure of speech (dysphemism), and repetition. There are eight political expressions. For instance, Against radical Islamic terrorism is an obvious expression in which Trump directly appointed a group of people who his administration would fight against with.

There is one dysphemism used to explain this issue. It is: Radical Islamic terrorism. What makes it dysphemism is the word "Islamic" which refers to certain religion and its believers. Basically, in US Muslims are always associated with radical terrorists that are considered as dangerous people.

There is one repetition used to explain this issue. The repetition talks about Trump's program of uniting the world to fight radical Islamic terrorism. They are reinforce, form, and unite that show similar meaning which is a team or alliance.

In terms of America First, the linguistic features discovered are political expressions, figure of speech (personification), repetition, and metaphor. There are 18 political expressions. For instance, From Washington DC and giving it back to the people means the transfer of power was from the government to the whole US people.

There is one personification used to explain this issue which is a nation exists to serve its citizens. What makes it personification is the verb exists and the to-infinitive to serve that explained the act of the subject nation. Through this, Donald Trump wanted to underline that after the official inauguration, the government would totally serve the people without any exception.

There are four repetitions used to explain this issue. The example is the same glorious

freedoms, the same great American flag, the same night sky, the same dreams, the same Almighty Creator. Trump used the adjective same five times to represent that all Americans are the same. They have the same rights and obligations that nobody can disturb. It means that in realizing his promise, Trump would never differentiate one race or ethnic from another.

There are two metaphors used to explain this issue. One of them is this moment is your movement. The tenor is your movement which refers to the people who desired a better condition. Meanwhile the vehicle is this moment which refers the inaugural address.

In terms of nationalism, the linguistic features discovered are political expressions, figure of speech (personification), repetition, and metaphor. There are 16 political expressions used in the speech. For instance, To benefit American workers and American families means that the policies made by Trump's administration would prioritize the Americans' matters.

There are two personifications used to explain this issue. One of them is A new vision will govern our land which means that the programs that would be conducted by Trump's administration would totally serve the citizens. He used this personification rather than direct statement that his administration would govern the land because he apparently criticized the previous administration.

There are six repetitions used to explain this issue. One of them is We will bring back our job, We will bring back our borders, We will bring back our wealth, We will bring back our dreams. Trump used same subject (we), the same tense (will), the same verbs (bring back), and different objects. Donald Trump underlined the main goal that his administration would work hard, which is to regain the US greatness in all sectors.

There is a metaphor to explain this issue. It is *A new vision will govern our land*. The metaphor shows that the tenor is our land which refers to the United States and the vehicle is A new vision which refers to the programs that would be conducted by Trump's presidency. The expression A new vision basically is used to encourage the people that his presidency would

realize the American Dream.

### **3. Mezzo-level of Analysis**

The text production basically is based on several elements that influence the production of the text. Those elements are text producer, the time and place, the US condition, Trump's political party, and the objective of the speech. Those elements determined the content of his inauguration speech that focused on giving critiques and sharing ideas and ideologies.

Next, Donald Trump distributed the speech text directly through the inaugural moment. As the new US president, Trump has an obligation to deliver a presidential speech to the people. In front of the people gathering at the Capitol Hill, Washington DC, Trump conveyed his vision, program, and even critique. At the moment, online media (television, radio, newspaper, magazine, social media and any other media agencies) also gathered to cover the news. It was one of the important moments for US, thus, online media should spread out the news to the entire country. Consequently, the critique towards Obama's presidency and Trump's ideologies and thoughts were also consumed by the people successfully.

Moreover, as one of the political speeches, the inauguration speech of Donald Trump had the target audiences as the text consumers which are the entire US people. At the inauguration, Donald Trump faced the people who had been governed by Obama's administration. They have followed the rules made for two periods or eight years of his presidency. They have already experienced some good and harmful conditions affected by the policies made by the government.

### **Discussion**

The above analysis can bring to the discursive practice in which there is a way to deliver ideology or power from text producers to the text consumers. Fairclough illustrates the idea of discursive of this process as social practice. It indicates that text is a product of interaction process which includes the production, distribution, and consumption of the text which are all decided by the condition of social practice (Xin, 2005). It means that different



conditions will cause the process of the discourse to take place differently. Shifting discourse happened in this process that might lead the text consumers to have different perspectives of a certain issue. Thus, when the people as the text consumers only know about the good side of Obama's presidency, Trump appeared to serve the bad one through his inauguration speech.

When the people considered that Obama's legacy is very precious, Trump wanted to switch this perception and open up the real condition through his inauguration speech. Trump campaigned that he would change and make a better future for the US and the people. Thus, the discourse of making America great again appeared and was delivered to the entire US. This discourse basically referred to the myth of American Dream when the people could live in better conditions. Trump wanted to implement the dream of people who lived in America as the promise land where the people could live in prosperity.

Actually, this idea is aimed to make the people aware of their real condition that Obama failed in bringing the US to be a good nation. Thus, one main content of the speech is about the critique of Obama's presidency. In terms of economic condition, apparently, ARRA (American Recovery and Reinvestment Act) could recover about 85% of the economic growth by the end of June 2011. However, the recession left a bigger hole than the country could cover it up. Even the US could take the stability back, but the people were still hard to access and improve their economic condition. Jobless and no money were the main part of their lives even after the crisis ended. This condition was basically experienced by the low class society who lived in terrible poverty. Similarly, the present global crisis which was hitting America, makes us remember the great depression in 1930s (Madhusudhanan, 2014).

In terms of political condition, Obama surely has made good connections with the Muslim countries. However, Trump saw it differently. In his opinion, the relations might bring more harm than good. Basically, Trump worried about national security. He considered that Obama's administration made a mistake in making the too opened privilege for Islamic

countries. Obama's emphasis on change focused on an array of issues – ending the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars and bringing American troops home; “resisting” and “restarting” American relations with global economic and military issues (McCormick, 2011). Since Obama led the increasing US military invasion in the Middle East, the needs of human resources and finance also increased. Haass (2013) mentioned that the wars with Afghanistan and Iraq involved 2 million servicemen and women, left 6,000 Americans dead and 40,000 wounded, and cost more than USD 1.5 trillion. Unfortunately, those numbers could not bring the US to a great victory. For instance, the US failed to conquer Afghanistan and left a big loss for the government economically and politically.

In terms of the social condition, the violent crime rate during Obama's presidency generally went up and down. According to James (2018) who took the data from the Criminal Justice Statistics of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 2016, since Obama was officially inaugurated as the US president, the violent crime rate declined regularly until 2014. The decline was around 100 per 100,000 people. Unfortunately, the condition of public safety changed extremely in 2014. The violent crime and homicide rate went up from 361.6 per 100,000 people in 2014 to 386.3 per 100,000 in 2016. This increase approximately reached 3% (James, 2018).

Before getting elected as the US president, Donald Trump was famously known as the one who campaigned Make America Great Again. Historically, Trump was not the first to raise the slogan Make America Great Again. In 1980 the 40th President Ronald Reagan had already campaigned the slogan Let's Make America Great Again as the rallying cry during the era when America fell into bad economic distress. Modigliani (1988) examined that at that time inflation hovered around an unprecedented 13% and the unemployment rate was 7.7%. Moreover, the slogan had also ever been used by President Bill Clinton in 1991. At a 1991 campaign, Bill declared “Together, we can make America great again”. Slightly different from the one used by Reagan, Bill's slogan indicated to some minority group which was White

Shoutherners that America was somehow unwelcoming at that time. the conclusion is the concept of Make America Great Again basically refers to the way of reconstructing, rebuilding, and reorganizing. The one who proposes this slogan must have dissatisfaction of a certain condition within US government. Trump as the president-elect saw, based on his perception, that Obama's presidency did not bring US to the greatness. Wolf (2017) claimed that Trump's slogan is a constant illustrated with changing examples of alleged US mistreatment.

In terms of the anti-radical Muslim immigrants, Trump wanted to conduct the Muslim ban program avoiding them to enter the US territory. It is because the condition of Muslims in US got worsened since the terror of 9/11 when Radical Muslim Terrorists attacked the World Trade Center. This tragedy has a strong negative impact towards Islam and Muslim. Muslims started to be suspected as either terrorist or sympathetic to terrorism and terrorist, and were distrusted (Abdullah, 2015). This trauma brought Muslims under discrimination, hate crimes, and profiling. They were viewed as violent, aggressive, and even anti-American. During his political campaign, Donald Trump had already declared the Anti-Radical Muslims. Muslim ban became far more than a central policy proposal, but a core of component of the grand vision for America Trump would preside over (Ayoub & Beydoun, 2017). Trump deployed his political Islamophobia very effectively. "Extreme Vetting" as one of his campaigns would be conducted for all Muslim Immigrants coming into the US (Beydoun, 2016).

In terms of America First, basically, the idea refered to the dissatisfaction towards the Obama's presidency. Through his campaign, Trump promised to renegotiate billateral relationship through trade agreement and to assert America's market power. International trading becomes one of the most important aspects in strenghtening national economy. Stiglitz (2018) stated that Trump would focus on bilateral trade deficit and promise to reduce those and making the national economy stronger. In realizing these visions, Trump proposed to apply the way of less imports and more exports and increasing employment and wages. Such promises would be

conducted as the way of realizing the America First which is giving back the economy stability and making it whealtier.

In terms of Nationalism, this idea is showed to encourage people to love and protect the US. Nationalism is the desire to preserve or enhance a people's national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened, or desire to transform or even create it when it is felt to be inadequate or lacking (Plamenatz, 1973). In the context of Donald Trump elected as the US president, he claimed himself as the US nationalist. Through his 'America First', he wanted to make America come back to the greatness when America can be the most superior country in the world.

Those seven issues risen above are concluded into two fundamental ideas which are the critiques for Obama's presidency and Trump's ideologies shared to the audiences. Such critiques created new discourses relating to the shifting opinion towards Obama's presidency. Regarding the critiques, it was appointed to Obama's presidency whose administration failed to raise the US and Americans to the greatness. It was shown by the way he expressed his feelings and ideas through his inauguration speech. Even if Trump did not directly mention the presidency era or the name of the president, but the analysis confidently determines that Obama's presidency was the target of Trump's critique. In accordance with the ideologies shared with the audiences, Donald Trump was likely to express self-confidence and encourage hope through the program of US reinforcement. The ideologies and thoughts that he shared were basically to counter the downturn condition of the US. The two fundamental ideas of the speech are proven by the three levels of analysis, micro, mezzo, and macro analysis.

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### **Conclusion**

Through his inauguration speech, Donald Trump successfully created a new discourse to shape the perception of the US people. Basically, it aims to criticize Obama's presidency and share his thoughts and ideologies with the people. Donald Trump criticized Obama's presidency

in terms of the economy, politics, and social conditions. Trump considered that those sectors turned into a downturn during the two periods of Obama's presidency. The critiques regarding the downturn of the US condition during Obama's presidency are proven by the macro or socio-political analysis and micro or linguistic analysis.

Moreover, Donald Trump tried to share certain ideologies and thoughts through his inauguration speech which are make America great again, anti-radical Muslim Immigrants, America First, and nationalism. Those ideologies can be recognized critically through the macro or socio-political analysis and micro or linguistic analysis.

Thus, through his inauguration speech, Trump tried to encourage the people to forget the past and start the new hope up. He was the only hope that people had been waiting for so long. Trump believed that under his presidency, US would regain its greatness. Moreover, Trump as the new president of the US would start to realize the making America great again.

However, Donald Trump did not deliver his inauguration speech systematically. It can be seen from the separated macroposition analysis. Macroposition categorizes the issue risen within the text that actually one macroposition with another have a different idea. However, in inauguration speech of Donald Trump, there can be more than one idea or issue within one macroposition.

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