

Marine Le Pen anti-islamism propaganda

¹Gusti Haikal IBRAHIM, ²Myrna LAKSMAN-HUNTLEY

^{1,2} French Department, Universitas Indonesia - Indonesia

Reçu le 25 octobre 2023 | Accepté le 3 décembre 2023

RÉSUMÉ. L'islamisme est une doctrine politique qui poursuit l'application exclusive des valeurs islamiques dans la politique et la société. En tant que question de sécurité de l'État, l'islamisme est également devenu une préoccupation politique pour le gouvernement français, y compris Marine Le Pen, pour le combattre sous forme de propagande. Cette recherche vise à montrer que Marine Le Pen utilise la structure des phrases dans l'une de ses interviews dans l'émission politique en direct Le Grand Jury pour propager publiquement l'anti-islamisme afin qu'il puisse influencer l'opinion publique française. Cette recherche qualitative utilise la théorie syntaxique de Le Querler (1994), la théorie de la propagande politique de Malraux (1928) et les composantes du sens de Leech (1981). Les résultats de la recherche ont révélé que la structure de phrase dominante utilisée par Marine Le Pen est constituée de phrases complexes, de sorte que la présentation de ses idées de propagande devient plus holistique, claire et pleine d'emphase, ne laissant aucune place au public pour réfléchir à nouveau aux raisons pour lesquelles la France devrait commencer à se battre l'idéologie de l'islamisme. Les éléments de peur, de diabolisation et de harcèlement contenus dans les peines sont des outils de propagande politique utilisés pour convaincre. Ainsi, à travers l'explication de la structure de la phrase et l'utilisation d'outils de propagande politique, il est prouvé que ce discours a été utilisé pour propager le mouvement islamiste et a réussi à accroître son éligibilité face aux élections de 2022.

Mots-clés : *Islamisme, Marine Le Pen, Propagande, Structure des phrases*

ABSTRACT. Islamism is a political movement or doctrine that pursues the exclusive application of Islamic values in politics and society. As a state security issue, Islamism has also become a political concern for the French government, including Marine Le Pen, to fight against in the form of propaganda. This research aims to show Marine Le Pen's use of sentence structure in one of her interviews in the live political broadcast Le Grand Jury to publicly propagate anti-Islamism so that it might influence the French public. This qualitative research uses syntactic theory by Le Querler (1994), Malraux's political propaganda theory (1928), and Leech's (1981) components of meaning. The research results found that the dominant sentence structure used by Marine Le Pen involves phrase complexes so that the delivery of her propaganda ideas becomes more holistic, clear, and full of emphasis, leaving no room for the public to question why France should start fighting the ideology of Islamism. The elements of fear, demonization and harassment in sentences are the political propaganda tools used to persuade. Thus, through the explanation of the sentence structure and the use of political propaganda tools, it is proven that this speech was used to propagate the Islamist movement and succeeded in increasing its electability in the 2022 elections.

Keywords: *Islamism, Marine Le Pen, Propaganda, Sentence structure*

✉ auteur correspondant : laksman@ui.ac.id

Pour citer cet article (Style APA) : Ibrahim, G.A. & Laksman-Huntley, M. (2023). Marine Le Pen anti-islamism propaganda. *Francisola: Revue Indonésienne de la langue et la littérature françaises*, 8(2), 72 – 85. doi:<https://doi.org/10.17509/francisola.v8i2.67836>

1. INTRODUCTION

The *Front National (FN)* is a French right-wing party with conservative values and strong nationalism. For this party, French interests are a priority that exceeds everything else (Stockemer, 2010). This is reflected in their political policies which tend to reject everything that could threaten the identity and security of the French state, such as membership of the European Union and the arrival of immigrants in France. For this reason, this party has carried out propaganda on several occasions, both through interviews and in print media, which succeeded in bringing the *Front National (FN)* to success in three aspects, namely legislative membership, public opinion, and in general elections. (Qaniaputri and Miranda, 2017). In 2011, Marine Le Pen became the most powerful female far-right leader in Europe. She took over as the new leader of *Front National* after her father, party founder Jean Marie Le Pen, stepped down citing age and health reasons. Since then, she has transformed *Front National (FN)* into a modern party, throwing away much of the party's historical baggage (Stadelmann, 2014). Apart from that, Marine Le Pen's propaganda also succeeded in making her party gain a place in French society as part of the country's political life (Stockemer, 2017).

One of the rejections of Marine Le Pen and her party is the presence of Islamism which is considered to erase French identity and be the source of terrorist problems because of the very clear differences between the two cultures (Ivaldi, 2012). Islamism itself, according to Grinin (2019), is used to refer to Islamic ideology in very diverse contexts, but still leads to the same pattern, namely doctrines and movements that advocate Islam as an ideology to mobilize Muslims around the social and political environment throughout the world. Larousse's online dictionary provides an a similar concept, namely Islamism being defined "*un courant politique de l'islam faisant de la charia la source unique du droit et du fonctionnement de la société*" (as a political movement in Islam that makes sharia the sole source of law and functioning of society).

Looking at Marine Le Pen's interview statements on the political broadcast *Le Grand Jury* on October 25 2020, BFM TV quoted three statements relating to Marine Le Pen's rejection of the ideology of Islamism from an interview that lasted 58 minutes 23 seconds. Marine Le Pen uses the word ideology as a reference to Islamism, so the concept of Islamism that Marine Le Pen means is also similar, namely Islamism, as a political ideology of the Islamic religion, which can threaten the security and identity of the French nation. For this reason, when France was shaken following the murder incident of a teacher named Samuel Patty by the parents of his Muslim student, Marine Le Pen, as head of the *Front National* party, took advantage of this situation to launch her rejection of Islamism to gather votes in the run-up to the 2022 elections (Yuliana, 2020). Marine Le Pen stated her position firmly and intentionally through a political broadcast called *Le Grand Jury* on October 25 2020, exactly nine days after the murder.

According to Malraux (1928), propaganda refers to a communication or persuasion strategy used by political forces (individuals or groups) to change perceptions of events, society or to shape choices, guide the expectations of public opinion, and change the actions of the people who are targeted. Malraux (1928) also stated that there are 3 main tools in political propaganda which play a major role in the preparation of texts that are useful as a means of persuading the people, namely *la peur* (fear), *la diabolisation* (demonization), and *le harcèlement* (harassment). Fear refers to a psychological phenomenon with an emotional nature that accompanies awareness of real or imagined danger or threat. Political propaganda is based on fear, it fuels uncertainty and creates worry among its audience. Demonization is a process of giving a strong negative connotation to an idea, a group, or a person, so that the mere mention of it causes a reaction of rejection. Harassment and propaganda are closely related. Propaganda does not provide much room for reflection for the society it seeks to reach, but rather it is a force that acts on a person with the aim of making him or her submit at all costs. Thus, Marine Le Pen must show the power of her expression in propagating anti-Islamism. Her opinion regarding Islamism must be initiated to influence the French public to reject the right of existence of Islamism in France during a seriously negative situation of sentiment towards everything related to Islam, as well as referring to her initial goal, to get votes and public support in the 2022 elections.

To achieve success in propagating anti-Islamism, the choice of language style and sentences is an important aspect for Marine Le Pen. The language used by Marine Le Pen must have two main elements, namely persuasion and aestheticism. The language used in conveying political narratives must be persuasive because it aims to persuade, invite, and convince listeners of the things being conveyed. Then, language must also be aesthetic if it is to create interest in the audience by being attractive through use of an appropriate language style, and choices of interesting words and sentences (Dacheux, 2023). Furthermore, as stated in Le Querler (1994) that a sentence consists of a combination of phrases that have a function in the sentence, often referred to as *les constituents de la phrase* or sentence constituents, consist of primary and secondary constituents, namely phrases with a primary or secondary function. Le Querler subdivides primary functions as functions belonging to phrases that are directly related to the pivot (verb), while secondary functions are functions that do not have a direct relationship with the main verb.

Le Querler (1994) also states that sentences in French are divided into two types, namely *les phrases simples* and *les phrases complexes*. These two types of sentences are often used to convey messages so that the information provided can be conveyed better. Apart from that, a *proposition* (clause) also has an important role in forming sentences and ensuring cohesion or clear relationships between ideas or information in a speech. According to Le Querler (1994), there are *proposition principale* or clauses that have a dominant role in a complex sentence, *proposition indépendante* or clauses that can stand alone as grammatically complete sentences, and *proposition subordonnée* or clauses that cannot stand alone as complete sentences. Therefore, it is interesting to pay attention to the syntactic aspects related to how the strength of the sentence structure of Marine Le Pen's propaganda regarding her disagreement with the ideology of Islamism can influence the French public which she expressed through the public political broadcast, Le Grand Jury.

Many studies have been carried out regarding the function of sentence structure, including the function of sentences in the media: Dwiputri & Laksman-Huntley (2020), Sajarwa et al (2021), and Bosworth (2022), found that the function of sentences is used for various purposes, including emphasizing key points, and creating rhythm. Meanwhile, research on the function of sentences in political discourse was also investigated by Tamba & Laksman-Huntley (2018), Anthony & Laksman-Huntley (2021), each studying political discourse in the form of leaflets (tracts) and speeches.

Then, a study of French political propaganda was carried out by Kouassi (2023) who studied a French propagandist, Pierre Garin, and found that propaganda can be positive if the desired goals are noble and intended to help the welfare of society. However, propaganda becomes negative when it is carried out for personal purposes, for selfish satisfaction. A study of Marine Le Pen was carried out by Karawita (2019) who found that behind Marine Le Pen's efforts to win the 2017 election, there was a persuasion strategy which first started with policy reform. The establishment of this policy aims to change the image of Marine Le Pen and the image of the *Front National* to a friendly right-wing party and make the message palatable.

Based on the explanation of previous studies, research on the function of sentence structure in the political realm only takes corpuses in the form of speeches and leaflets (tracts), there is no research that examines political interviews. Then, there is a space in previous research by Karawita (2019) which shows that Marine Le Pen's strategy in influencing the French public was only studied through a communication approach but did not examine the influence of the function of the sentences used by Marine Le Pen. This present research fills the gap by combining Le Querler (1994) syntactic theory which discusses the function of sentences with Malraux's (1928) political propaganda theory to show the sentence structure used by Marine Le Pen in propagating anti-Islamism to the French people. Apart from that, this research takes current modern political discourse and figures as well as issues that are currently emerging in France. The results of this research can be used to show Marine Le Pen's use of sentence structure in one of her interviews in the live political broadcast, Le Grand Jury in 2020, to publicly propagate anti-Islamism so that it can influence the French public.

2. METHOD

This study uses the qualitative methods of Creswell (2014) to analyze statements in the Le Grand Jury political broadcast interview delivered by Marine Le Pen. The data sources used in the research are three statements collected from the BFM TV website, which is accessed from https://www.bfmtv.com/politique/le-pen-veut-declarer-l-islamisme-ennemi-de-la-france-et-interdire-le-voile-dans-l-espace-public_AD-202010250098.html. Data was collected using library research and analysis focusing on the study of the structure and function of French sentences according to Le Querler (1994) and the study of political propaganda according to Malraux (1928) to find the principles and means of propaganda used by Marine Le Pen in Le Grand Jury political interviews on 25 October 2020. Furthermore, to strengthen the implications of the analysis, the component theory of meaning by Leech (1981) was used. Leech suggested that interpreting a word (*mot*), phrase (*syntagme*), or sentence (*phrase*) can be done by analyzing the meaning of the lexeme based on the components that differentiate it. Through this theory of meaning components, Marine Le Pen's choice of words can be seen in forming sentences that seem to strengthen her propaganda discourse.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Processus de l'apprentissage interculturelle

Le Querler (1994) states that sentence structure analysis is carried out by dissecting sentence structure according to word classes, phrases, and the function that syntagme have in a sentence. Based on the processed data attached in the table, Marine Le Pen's statement according to what was quoted on the BFM TV website has 6 sentences divided into: 4 phrases complexes consisting of 1 phrases subordinées (compound sentences), 2 phrases coordonnées (equivalent compound sentences), and 1 phrases juxtaposées (compound sentences), and 2 phrases simples (single sentences). Sentences from Marine Le Pen's interview quoted directly from the BFM TV website will be explained in several subsections.

3.1.1 Declaration of War Against Islamism

In Marine Le Pen's interview statement, the first visible element of anti-Islamism propaganda was an invitation to French society to fight Islamism, which she called an ideology. A declaration of war is one of the dramatic and emotional elements that is often used in propaganda sentence structures. This is an example of sentence function analysis of Marine Le Pen's statement which contains a call to war.

- *Une guerre nous est menée et nous devons mener cette guerre.* is a *phrase complexe coordonnée* because there are two *propositions coordonnées* in it which are connected by the conjunction "et".

Table 1. Sentence function "*Une guerre nous est menée et nous devons mener cette guerre*"

Sujet		Complement d'Objet Direct		Pivot		Sujet		Pivot		Complement d'Objet Direct	
Une	guerre	Nous	est menée	et	nous	devons mener	cette	guerre			
A	war	We	carried out	and	we	must lead	this	war			
<i>article indéf. (f)</i>	<i>nom (f)</i>	<i>COD</i>	<i>verbe transitif</i>	<i>conj.</i>	<i>Pronom</i>	<i>verbe transitif</i>	<i>pronom dém. (f)</i>	<i>nom (f)</i>			
	<i>syntagme nominal</i>		<i>syntagme verbal</i>			<i>syntagme verbal</i>	<i>syntagme pronominal</i>				

Based on the table above, it can be seen that the sentence has two pivots because the type of sentence formed is a *phrase complexe coordonnée* without any subordinates. The word *nous* as *complement d'objet direct* describes the French people as an object which is expressed by *être mené* as the pivot, which is a transitive verb, so it needs an object to complete it so that the sentence is syntactically complete. There is no expansion in this sentence because the conjunction *et* makes the two clauses equivalent and nothing expands it. In other words, each clause has its own information to convey and cannot be omitted.

- *Cette guerre, nous ne la menons pas contre un État, mais contre une idéologie: l'islamisme* is a *phrase complexe coordonnée* because it consists of two propositions connected by the conjunction "mais".

Table 2. Sentence fonction « *Cette guerre, nous ne la menons pas contre un État* »

Complement d'Objet Direct		Sujet	COD		Pivot	CC: L'Opposition			
Cette	guerre	Nous	ne	la	menons	pas	contre	un	État
this	war	We	not	it	conduct	not	against	a	state
<i>pronom dém (f).</i>	<i>nom (f)</i>	<i>Pronom</i>	<i>adv.</i>	<i>art déf. (f)</i>	<i>verbe transitif</i>	<i>adv.</i>	<i>prép.</i>	<i>article indéf. (m)</i>	<i>nom (m)</i>
<i>syntagme pronominal</i>			<i>syntagme verbal</i>			<i>syntagme nominal prépositionnel</i>			

Table 3. Sentence fonction « *mais contre une idéologie: l'islamisme* »

CC: L'Opposition					
Mais	contre	une	Idéologie	:	l'islamisme
but	against	a	Ideology	:	islamism
<i>conj.</i>	<i>prép</i>	<i>article indéf. (f)</i>	<i>nom (f)</i>	<i>:</i>	<i>nom (m)</i>
<i>syntagme nominal prépositionnel</i>					

The repetition of the word *guerre* which can be seen from the use of the pronoun "*nous la menons*" indicates that the word *guerre* has become a significant diction in her propaganda. What is interesting is that the use of the adverb *ne* accompanied by the word *pas* in the verb *mener* in this sentence gives rise to an opposition in the form of two *nominal prépositionnel syntagmes* which are connected by the conjunction *mais* to expand the confirmation of information from the word *guerre* in the sentence. Marine Le Pen wants to emphasize and well explain that this war is not against other countries, like the wars that France has fought in the past or as wars have been perceived so far, but rather is against an ideology, namely Islamism. The use of the *preposition contre* makes the *syntagma* in this sentence *l'opposition*.

- *Si nous sommes en guerre, il faut déclarer cette idéologie ennemie de la France, de cette déclaration doivent découler des décisions* is a *phrase complexe juxtaposée* because the three clauses or propositions are connected by commas.

Table 4. Sentence function « *Si nous sommes en guerre* »

	<i>Sujet</i>	<i>Pivot</i>	<i>CC: La Condition</i>		
Si	nous	Sommes	en	Guerre	
If	we	Are	in	war	
Conj.	<i>pronom</i>	<i>verbe intransitive</i>	<i>prép.</i>	<i>nom (f)</i>	
			<i>syntagme nominal prépositionnel</i>		
	<i>syntagme nominal</i>		<i>syntagme verbal</i>		

From the table above, it can be seen that the first *proposition* is a *proposition subordonnée complétive* because of the use of the word *si* before *sujet* which indicates the existence of a form of *compléments circonstanciels*, namely *la condition*. The placement of this clause at the beginning of the sentence is done to expand the meaning of the sentence information holistically by creating an interrogative impression, as if Marine Le Pen wanted to tell the French people that there was something that had to be done when going to war.

Table 5. Sentence function « *il faut déclarer cette idéologie ennemie de la France* »

<i>Sujet</i>	<i>Pivot</i>	<i>Complement d'Objet Direct</i>					
Il faut	Declarer	cette	idéologie	ennemie	de	La	France,
It must	Declare	this	ideology	enemy			France,
<i>Verbe impersonnel</i>	<i>verbe transitif</i>	<i>pronom dém. (f)</i>	<i>nom (f)</i>	<i>nom (f)</i>	<i>prép</i>	<i>art déf. (f)</i>	<i>nom (f)</i>
	<i>syntagme verbal</i>		<i>syntagme nominal</i>		<i>syntagme nominal prépositionnel</i>		

The second *proposition* is a *proposition principale* because it is the main clause that completes the sentence, in this case answering the question expression in the previous clause. The *déclarer* verb as the *pivot* here does not have its own subject, so it becomes the core of the phrase in the sentence. The one who acts as subject here is *Il faut* which is an impersonnel verb because the subject of this type of verb is unclear and inseparable, so it can be said to be the subject. Perhaps, the use of this verb was done to call for a declaration without needing to specifically refer to whom should call for this to persuade the French people to realize that they should be the ones calling. Then, the phrase "*cette idéologie ennemie de la France*" acts as a *complement d'objet* to explain what must be declared.

Table 6. Sentence function « *de cette déclaration doivent découler des décisions* »

	<i>Sujet</i>		<i>Pivot</i>		<i>Complement d'Objet Direct</i>	
de	cette	déclaration	doivent	découler	Des	décisions
	this	declaration	should	Flow		decisions
<i>prép</i>	<i>pronom dém. (f)</i>	<i>nom</i>		<i>Verbe</i>	<i>Prép</i>	<i>nom</i>
	<i>syntagme nominal prépositionnel</i>			<i>syntagme verbal</i>	<i>syntagme nominal prépositionnel</i>	

The third *proposition* is a *proposition indépendante*, even though it is a subordinate clause because syntactically, this proposition can stand alone. The preposition *de* which is located before the subject indicates that it is a facultative expansion whose role is only to clarify the context of *cette déclaration* as a result of the *déclarer* referred to in the previous clause. The phrase *des décisions* occupies the position of *complément d'objet* because *découler* is an indirect transitive verb, so it needs an object to explain it and also to maintain the syntactic integrity of the sentence.

3.1.2 Prohibition of the Use of Islamic Ornaments in Public Spaces

The principle of secularism is an integral part of the French state (Laxer, 2019). This principle emphasizes the separation between religion and state, and guarantees individual religious freedom, but also requires strict prohibition of religious signs in public spaces (Ferrara, 2023). In line with this principle, the next element of anti-Islamist propaganda that can be seen from Marine Le Pen's statement is the prohibition of the use of things related to Islamic ornaments in public spaces. The propaganda prohibiting the use of Islamic ornaments is represented through Marine Le Pen's statement as follows.

"Le voile est une manière pour les islamistes d'œuvrer à une forme d'appropriation visuelle de l'espace et c'est en cela que c'est une des armes de l'islamisme dans notre pays."

Table 7. Sentence fonction « *Le voile est une manière* »

Sujet		Pivot	Complément d'Objet Direct	
Le	Voile	est	une	manière
	Veil	is	a	way
<i>art def. (m)</i>	<i>nom (m)</i>	<i>verbe intransitif</i>	<i>art indéf. (f)</i>	<i>nom (f)</i>
			<i>syntagme nominal</i>	
<i>syntagme nominal</i>			<i>syntagme verbal</i>	

Table 8. Sentence fonction « *pour les islamistes d'œuvrer* »

Compléments Circonstanciels: Le But				
pour	Les	Islamistes	de	œuvrer
for		Islamist	for	work
<i>prép.</i>	<i>art déf. (pluriel)</i>	<i>adj.</i>	<i>prép.</i>	<i>verbe transitif</i>
<i>syntagme nominal prépositionnel</i>				

Table 9. Sentence fonction « à une forme d'appropriation visuelle de l'espace »

Compléments Circonstanciels: Le But									
à	une	forme	d'	appropriation	visuelle	et	de	l'	espace
to	a	form		appropriation	visual	and			space
prép.	art indéf. (f)	nom (f)	prép.	nom	adj.	conj.	prép.	art déf.	nom (m)
syntagme nominal prépositionnel					syntagme nominal prépositionnel				

Table 10. Sentence fonction « et c'est en cela que »

Sujet	Pivot	Complement d'Objet Direct		
Et	ce	est	en	cela que
And	this	is		why
conj.	pronom dém.	verbe	prép.	pronom relatif indéfini
syntagme nominal			syntagme pronominal	

Table 11. Sentence fonction « c'est une des armes de l'islamisme dans notre pays »

Sujet	Pivot	Complement d'Objet Direct					CC: Le Lieu			
ce	est	une	des	armes	de	l'	islamisme	dans	notre	pays
it	is	a		weapons	of		islamism	in	our	country
pronom dém.	verbe	art indéf.(f)	prép.	nom (f.pluriel)	prép.	art.def	nom	prép	adj posesif.	nom (m)
syntagme nominal					syntagme nominal prépositionnel					

Based on all the tables above, it can be seen that the sentence in this statement is a *phrase complexe subordonnée* which consists of three clauses. The function of *la phrase complexe subordonnée* is to explain the purpose or reason for the use of "le voile" (veil or headscarf) by "les islamistes" (Islamists) in the sentence. The first clause which is an independent proposition is connected by the conjunction *et* with the second clause. The use of the phrase "est une manière" or "is the way" in the first clause is used as confirmation of the view that the use of the headscarf is considered as a method or means to

achieve certain goals, such as a form of visual domination of Islamism in public spaces. The second clause has a subordinate clause (*proposition subordonnée*) which depends on the second clause as the main clause (*proposition principale*). The *proposition subordonnée* in this sentence supports an understanding of how the headscarf is used as a tool or symbol in the context of Islamism in France, which then becomes one of the arguments in the main sentence which claims that the headscarf is *une des armes de l'islamisme dans notre pays* or one of the tools of Islamism in our country.

3.1.3 Islamism as a Dangerous Terrorist Ideology

France has been the target of a series of terrorist attacks carried out by individuals or groups linked to radical Islamism. Famous attacks such as those following the incident involving the satirical weekly magazine Charlie Hebdo are examples of the increasing dominance of terrorist elements who adhere to Islamism. These attacks have caused huge losses, both in terms of casualties and social impact. Seeing the many incidents of terrorism due to radical Islamism, Marine Le Pen shows elements of her propaganda linking Islamism with terrorists in her interview statement as follows.

“Dans beaucoup de cas nous empêche de nous protéger des terroristes. Lorsqu’un terroriste qui a tué sur notre sol sort de prison et qu’on nous interdit de le renvoyer dans son pays d’origine, c’est une mise en danger du peuple français.”

- *Dans beaucoup de cas nous empêche de nous protéger des terroristes.*

Table 12. Sentence function « *Dans beaucoup de cas nous empêche de nous protéger des terroristes* »

CC: La cause				Sujet	Pivot	Complement d'Objet Direct				
Dans	beaucoup	de	cas	nous	Empêche	de	nous	protéger	des	terroristes
in	many		case	we	Prevent		ours	protecting	from	terorist
							elve			
							s			
prép.	adv.	prép.	nom (m)	nom	verbe transitif	prép.	COI	verbe transitif	prép.	nom
syntagme nominal prépositionnel					syntagme verbal			syntagme nominal		

This sentence is a *phrase simple*. The phrase “*Dans beaucoup de cas*”, which is *les compléments circonstanciels* is present as a descriptive function to support the context of the *nous empêche de nous protéger*. Looking at the political background of Marine Le Pen, who is in opposition to the current government of President Emmanuel Macron, this sentence indicates criticism of the government, that there are many things in the French government's policies that make people unable to feel safe in their own country.

- *Lorsqu’un terroriste qui a tué sur notre sol sort de prison et qu’on nous interdit de le renvoyer dans son pays d’origine, c’est une mise en danger du peuple français.*

Table 13. Sentence fonction « *Lorsqu'un terroriste qui a tué sur notre sol sort de prison et* »

CC: La condition	Sujet		Expansion du Nom				Pivot	Complément d'Objet Direct			
Lorsque	un	terrorist e	qui	a tué	sur	notre	sol	sort	de	prison	et
when	a	terrorist	who	has killed	on	our	soil	gets out		prison	and
conj.	art indéf. (m)	nom (m).	conj.	verbe	prép.	adj. posesif.	nom (m).	verbe	prép.	nom (f).	conj.
	syntagme nominal		syntagme verbal		syntagme nominal prépositionnel			syntagme nominal prépositionnel			

Table 14. Sentences fonction « *qu'on nous interdit de le renvoyer dans son pays d'origine* »

	Sujet		Pivot	Complément d'objet Indirect							
que	on	nous	interdit	de	le	renvoyer	dans	Son	pays	d'	origine,
that	we	us	forbid			send back	to	His	country		origin
conj.	nom	nom	verbe	prép.	art déf (m).	verbe transitif.	prép.	adj. posesif.	nom (m).	prép	nom (f).
	syntagme nominal		syntagme verbal		syntagme nominal prépositionnel						

Table 15. Sentence fonction « *c'est une mise en danger du peuple français* »

Sujet	Pivot	Complément d'Objet Direct								
ce	est	une	mise	en	danger	de	Le	peuple	français	
it	is	a		Danger				people	french	
pronom dém.	verbe	article indéf.	nom (f).	prép.	nom (m).	prép.	art déf (m).	nom(m).	adj.	
		syntagme nominal				syntagme prépositionnel				

The second sentence is a *phrase complexe coordonné* because it has two propositions connected by the conjunction "et". The placement of the preposition "lorsque" as a *compléments circonstanciels* before the subject indicates a thing that is presupposed, namely *condition*. The sentence "un terroriste qui a tué sur notre sol" or a terrorist who has killed on our soil as a *syntagme nominal* refers to terrorists who have committed crimes in France, which are related to the issue of Islamism in the country. In this case, the clause used by Marine Le Pen tries to highlight the potential dangers associated with

terrorists which have disturbed French society. Then it continues with the phrase "*sort de prison*" as a *pivot* and *Complément d'Objet Direct* highlighting the prisoner release policy and concerns regarding public security after the release of terrorist prisoners in France itself. Furthermore, the clause "*de le renvoyer dans son pays d'origine*" as *Complément d'Objet Indirect* is used as information confirmation of the verb *interdit* as *pivot* or in other words is used to explain further details about prohibited actions, namely returning terrorists to their country of origin.

Based on the analysis described above, Marine Le Pen uses the most *la phrase complexe* by using the *fonction essentielle*, such as *complément d'objet* in each sentence so that the delivery of her propaganda ideas becomes more holistic, clear, emphatic, firm and broad, without leaving out space for the public to think again about why France should start fighting the ideology of Islamism. She also combined some of her sentence structure again by using the *accessoire fonction*, such as *les compléments circonstanciels* or *expansions* to expand his sentences. Then, through the use of the simple phrase, it can be seen that Marine Le Pen repeated her anti-Islamist statement in the political broadcast Le Grand Jury to show the urgency of the sentence she repeated. Apart from that, Marine Le Pen used the *phrase simple* in her statement as repetition to strengthen the arguments and points she was conveying to her listeners, in this case it is like repeating the word *guerre* which is related to a pattern that shows Marine Le Pen conveying information that this war is not against other countries, like the wars that France generally fought in the past or as wars that have been perceived so far, but against an ideology, namely Islamism.

3.2 Means of Political Propaganda Marine Le Pen

After dissecting the sentence structure by identifying each element based on words and phrases in Marine Le Pen's statement, an analysis of the means of political propaganda applied by Marine Le Pen in her interview will be discussed according to the theory of political propaganda by Malraux (1928). According to Malraux (1928), political propaganda plays a role in persuasion and will be explained further in the following elements.

3.2.1 The Element of Fear (La Peur)

The form of the element of fear that Marine Le Pen emphasized in her interview can be seen in her statement regarding terrorists who endanger French society. The element of fear can be seen as follows.

"Dans beaucoup de cas nous empêche de nous protéger des terroristes. Lorsqu'un terroriste qui a tué sur notre sol sort de prison et qu'on nous interdit de le renvoyer dans son pays d'origine, c'est une mise en danger du peuple français"

"In many cases it prevents us from protecting ourselves from terrorists. When a terrorist who killed on our soil leaves prison and we are forbidden to send him back to his country of origin, this puts the French people in danger."

In this section, the element of fear is found in the words "*empêche*" or prevent and "*nous empêche de nous protéger des terroristes*" or prevent us from protecting ourselves from terrorists. This creates the impression that the actions or policies discussed in the sentence, which prevent individuals or governments from protecting themselves from terrorists, have very dangerous consequences. Apart from that, the element of fear here lies in the words "*mise en danger du peuple français*" or threatening the French people. This sentence creates the image that the action taken (not returning the terrorists to their country of origin) would endanger the security of the French people, which intrinsically creates fear of the consequences of the policy.

Fear is a real means of indoctrination by manifesting itself at the individual level through anxiety (Kouassi, 2023). In Marine Le Pen's statement, fear is built through the use of words that highlight threats to national security and the French people. This is an effective means of propaganda

in stimulating feelings of fear or concern about a particular issue and can influence French society's opinions or views on that issue.

3.2.2 The Element of Demonization (La Diabolisation)

Demonization is often used in political campaigns or public debates as a strategy to create negative perceptions of political opponents or certain groups (Kouassi, 2023). The element of demonization in Marine Le Pen's statement can be seen from the use of words with bad and militant connotations towards the Islamist group itself. The author found that the word *guerre* which was repeatedly mentioned was the key word that influenced Marine Le Pen in the wording of the following sentences. The words she chose tend to have the same meaning relationship as the word *guerre* after looking at the *Larousse* online dictionary. In fact, the word *guerre* appears as the pseudonym of several other words and therefore, *guerre* becomes a field of meaning. Furthermore, five words have been selected, including *guerre*, which are felt to have a meaningful relationship based on intuition and experience after reading and tracing each meaning of the five words selected in the dictionary to see how Islamism is discoursed by Marine Le Pen.

Table 16. Components of the meaning of militant words

Signifiant	Lutter entre des groupes	Ce qui combat dans un camp oppose	Moyen d'attaquer quelqu'un	Créer un climat d'insécurité	Ce qui constitue une menace
Guerre	+	+	+	+	+
Ennemie	+	+	+	+	+
Arme	+	±	+	+	±
Terroriste	±	+	+	+	+
Danger	+	+	±	+	+

Based on the analysis of meaning components using the table above, it was found that Marine Le Pen's choice of words has a semantic relationship that mutually supports the meaning of the words in her sentences. Marine Le Pen uses a demonization strategy by using words with militant and bad meanings to support her propaganda regarding Islamism as an enemy ideology that endangers the French state, an ideology of terrorism, and an ideology that must be fought against.

3.2.3 The Element of Harassment (Le harcèlement)

The form of harassment that Marine Le Pen raised in her interview can be seen in her statement regarding the use of the headscarf or hijab which is considered a weapon of Islamism in France. The elements of harassment can be seen as follows.

La voile est une manière pour les islamistes d'œuvrer à une forme d'appropriation visuelle de l'espace et c'est en cela que c'est une des armes de l'islamisme dans notre pays.

"The headscarf is a way for Islamists to work towards a form of visual appropriation of space and this is why it is one of the weapons of Islamism in our country."

In Marine Le Pen's statement, there are elements that could be considered a form of harassment towards the use of the headscarf (*voile*) in the context of visual appropriation of public space. This element of abuse is especially contained in the *syntagme* "*appropriation visuelle de l'espace*." The word "*appropriation*" in this context means taking over or controlling something. In the context of the sentence, *appropriation visuelle de l'espace* or visual control of the space, it can be interpreted as depicting that the use of the headscarf by Islamists is an attempt to take over or dominate the visuals in a public space. This creates a negative assumption that the use of the hijab is a form of visual appropriation of a public space, which can be seen as degrading or insulting to this clothing practice. The emphasis on the visual aspect in this sentence creates the connotation that physical appearance, especially related to the hijab, is described as something striking and may be considered a visual threat or disturbance in a public space.

In this statement, Marine Le Pen may not have clearly used words or phrases that are directly derogatory or insulting. However, the emphasis on the phrase *appropriation visuelle de l'espace* or visual control of a space can create the impression of harassment or a negative depiction of the use of the hijab in certain contexts. However, it cannot be denied that the interpretation of French society may consider it a form of harassment.

Based on the analysis, the form of political propaganda that dominates Marine Le Pen's anti-Islamism statement is the element of demonization. This representation appears through the many uses of words with militant or bad meaning such as *guerre*, *ennemie*, *danger*, *arme*, and *terroriste* by Marine Le Pen in her sentence ideas. Marine Le Pen's use of elements of demonization is used to help her form a clear and sharp narrative about the threat of Islamism. This can be used to portray Islamism as a serious threat to France's security and national values. On the other hand, Marine Le Pen also uses other means of political propaganda such as the element of fear to create a sense of anxiety in the French public and the element of harassment to emphasize the negative depiction of the Islamist group. With strong political propaganda tools, Marine Le Pen can support her propaganda and convince the public that firm action is needed to counter the threat of the ideology of Islamism.

4. CONCLUSION

This research found that Marine Le Pen as a French political figure intensely carried out propaganda against Islamism which she called ideology. This is reflected in the dominance of the *phrase complexe* found in each of her statements, which allows her to detail, examine and describe Islamism more holistically. Through the structure of sentences and the choice of words that have similar meanings, Marine Le Pen wants to explicitly propagate to the French public that there is an invisible threat faced by France, namely Islamism as an ideology, while at the same time criticizing the French government for not being alert of the threats to France. In delivering her propaganda, Marine Le Pen also uses all the political propaganda tools according to Malraux (1928) such as fear, demonization, and harassment to support the success of her propaganda. The use of words that have militant and bad meanings supports her propaganda aiming to reject Islamism. The function of this propaganda succeeded in increasing her electability in the run-up to the 2022 election.

Thus, this research supports previous research by Anthony and Laksman Huntley (2021) which stated that the sentences in the political narrative of a figure who wants to persuade the public or carry out propaganda must be straightforward and complete by maximizing the use of the functions contained in the sentence. This is intended so that with appropriate sentence structure, additional information that aids emphasis, and confirmation providing broader information. This research also supports research by Karawita (2019) that Marine Le Pen's consistency in reflecting the phenomenon of global radicalization of European society which highlights feelings of discomfort among society can make the *Front National* (FN) headed by Marine Le Pen grow stronger ahead of the 2022 election.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to express their gratitude to the study participants for their involvement and valuable insights, essential to the outcomes of this research endeavour.

REFERENCES

- Anthony, K. K., & Laksman-Huntley, M. (2021). Persuasi Dalam Struktur Kalimat l' Appel du 18 juin 1940. *INUSHARTS (International Young Scholars Symposium)*, 475.
- Bosworth, Y. (2022). The "bad" French of Justin Trudeau: When language, ideology, and politics collide. In *Scholars, Missionaries, and Counter-Imperialists* (pp. 198-216). Routledge.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *A concise introduction to mixed methods research*. SAGE Publications.
- Dacheux, E. (2023). Alexandre Eyries, La Communication politique 3.0 ? La politique à l'épreuve du numérique. *Questions de Communication*, 42(2), 595–596.
- Dwiputri, F., & Laksman-Huntley, M. (2020). Media Framing on Online News Headlines in Regards To the Gilets Jaunes Phenomenon. *Jurnal Ilmu Budaya*, 8 (2).
- Ferrara, C. (2023). Secularism in Comparative Perspective. In: Laurence, J. (eds) *Secularism in Comparative Perspective, Philosophy and Politics-Critical Explorations* (vol. 23). Springer, Cham.
- Grinin, L. (2019). Islamism and globalization. *Journal of Globalization Studies*, 10(2), 21-36.
- Ivaldi, G. (2012). The Successful Welfare-Chauvinist Party? The Front National in the 2012 elections in France. *HAL*
- Karawita, A. K. (2019). The Persuasiveness of France's Far-right Movement: The Case of Marine Le Pen. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 8(1).
- Kouassi, E. (2023). Les Conquérants d'André Malraux Ou La Propagande Politique De Garine. *Revue de l'Acaref*
- Laxer, E. (2019). Unveiling the nation: The politics of secularism in France and Quebec. *McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP*.
- Lci, L. R. (2020). *Marine Le Pen veut déclarer l'islamisme "ennemi de la France."* LCI. <https://www.lci.fr/politique/replay-grand-jury-rtl-le-figaro-marine-le-pen-veut-decla>.
- Le Querler, Nicole. (1994). *Précis de syntaxe français*. Presses Universitaire de Caen.
- Leech, G. N. (1981). *Semantics: The study of Meaning*. Penguin Books.
- Malraux, A (1928). *The Conquerors*. Chicago Press
- Qaniaputri, A., & Miranda, A. (2017). Les Propagandes Anti-Immigrés du Front National en France de 2011 à 2017. In *Actes De La Conférence Internationale Sur Le Français*.
- Sajarwa., Cendekiaputri, A, N., Firmonasari, A. (2021) Pleasure of Speech in The Language Style of The French Youtuber Cyprien. *Profetik Jurnal Komunikasi*. <https://doi.org/10.14421/pjk.v14i2.1989>
- Stadelmann, M. (2014). The Marinisation of France Marine Le Pen and the French National Front. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 4 (10).
- Stockemer, D. (2017). *The Front National in France*. Springer.
- Tamba, N. S., & Laksman-Huntley, M. (2018). Les structures des phrases dans les tracts . *Jurnal Ilmu Budaya*, 8(1), 1-14.
- V., S. (2020, October 25). *Le Pen veut déclarer l'islamisme "ennemi de la France" et interdire le voile dans l'espace public*. BFMTV. https://www.bfmtv.com/politique/le-pen-veut-declarer-l-islamisme-ennemi-de-la-france-et-interdire-le-voile-dans-l-espace-public_AD-202010250098.html.
- Yuliana. (2020). *Standar Ganda Barat dalam Kebebasan Berekspresi*. Observer.co.id. <https://observer.co.id/standar-ganda-barat-dalam-kebebasan-berekspresi/>.