

“PRO-WHOM?”: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP’S IMMIGRATION POLICY SPEECHES

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Abstract

Immigration has been an integral part of American history, drawing everyone’s attention to the country’s presidents, including the incumbent Donald J. Trump. President Trump is known to have been quite "frank" in conveying his views of immigrants and immigration, as well as his perspectives regarding their positive and negative aspects. This qualitative descriptive study is aimed at analyzing the view about immigrants and immigration conveyed through President Trump’s speeches on immigration policy. Using Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework for its analysis, the study finds that President Trump’s ideology is reflected in several textual aspects of his speeches, including their transitivity, mood, modality, and thematic structure. These practices highlight the involvement of other actors in drafting these speeches, which offer a discourse on immigrants and immigration that marginalizes previous policies.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, immigrants & immigration, ideology, President Trump, policy

“PRO SIAPA?”: ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS PIDATO-PIDATO KEBIJAKAN IMIGRASI PRESIDEN TRUMP

Abstrak

Imigrasi adalah isu yang sangat lekat sepanjang sejarah Amerika. Setiap presiden Amerika selalu memberikan perhatian khusus dalam isu ini, termasuk Presiden Trump. Presiden Trump dikenal sebagai presiden yang cenderung untuk berbicara cukup “frontal” dalam membahas topik atau mengemukakan pendapat terhadap imigrasi dan imigran. Pro dan kontra menjadi hal yang tak terhindarkan di masa kepemimpinannya. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Penelitian ini berupaya untuk mengungkap ideologi yang dianut oleh presiden Trump berkaitan dengan pandangannya terhadap imigrasi dan imigran dalam tiga pidato kebijakan imigrasi yang disampaikannya. Penelitian ini menggunakan kerangka analisis tiga dimensi dari Fairclough. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa aspek tekstual berupa transitivitas, modus dan modalitas, serta pengembangan tematik mengindikasikan ideologi Trump terhadap imigrasi dan imigran. Melalui pembahasan praktik wacana, diketahui jika ada keterlibatan pihak lain dalam penyusunan pidato. Konsep-konsep ideologi yang ditemukan melalui analisis praktik sosial cenderung untuk memihak Amerika dan memarjinalisasi kebijakan imigrasi lama serta imigran.

Kata kunci: analisis wacana kritis, imigran & imigrasi, ideologi, Presiden Trump, kebijakan

INTRODUCTION

Discussion of immigration and immigrants has been unending in the United States, having colored the country's politics ever since its founding (Hollifield, 2016). It has drawn the attention of every one of the country's presidents, especially during campaign periods. This includes incumbent president Donald J. President Trump, who has frequently discussed these matters in his campaign and presidential speeches.

President Trump is known for his 'unusual' opinions about immigration and immigrants, which have been delivered through formal and informal channels as well as through traditional and new media (speeches, interviews, Twitter, etc.) (Gessen, 2018). These views have often been criticized, as President Trump's criticism of immigration and immigrants has had significant impact; without a doubt, this can be attributed to his power in the American government as well as his position as a representative of the American people.

In describing immigration and immigrants, President Trump has tended to marginalize previous government policies as well as the experiences of immigrants themselves. The statement regarding that often occurred in some of his speeches and tweets (Scott, 2019). Owing to President Trump's significant influence, this, too, has been controversial, as his speeches have conveyed an anti-immigrant ideology. The ideology identified by the use of some linguistics aspect as well as non-linguistics aspects which used by him that tend to differentiate the immigrants position or even labeling them in an unusual way.

Ideology, a significant influence on discourse production, is itself shaped by extralinguistic (i.e. social) elements. Discourses are thus inexorably linked to their social contexts, existing within a dialectical relationship (Fairclough, 2013: 94). It is these discourses and social contexts that are the focus of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Dealing with the correlation between language and such social contexts as power, inequality, hegemony, racism, and even researcher alignment (Fairclough, 2013: 4; Van Dijk, 1993: 249; Wodak, 1989: xiv; Wodak, 2001: 2), CDA offers an appropriate theory for understanding discourses within their particular social contexts. Owing to the breadth of social and linguistic analysis, CDA studies produce diverse results. As a result, there have emerged multiple schools of CDA, each with its own approach. The three most prominent are the socio-cognitive, historical (socio-philosophical), and socio-cultural approaches, each of which varies in its analytical techniques and focuses (Ammoussou & Ayodele, 2018: 14–15).

This research aims to reveal the ideology of immigration in speeches delivered by Trump about Immigration. Conducting this research will help others to understand more on how discourse, especially immigration discourse, works in the society. Instead of that, in more practical this research will give more understanding about how Trump's stance towards immigration issues in America.

To analyze immigration discourses within their specific contexts, a multitude of studies have employed CDA. Al Fajri (2017) uses a corpus-based CDA to explore the discourses surrounding the

word ‘immigrant’, while (Quinonez, 2018), as well as Schubert & Christoph (2017), explore the rhetoric aspects of immigration discourse. Ahuactzin Martinez & Torres Rodríguez (2019) and Gil-Bonilla (2020) both explore issues of representation and ideological structures using multimodal discourse. Several studies have focused specifically on the ideology espoused by President Trump, mostly focusing on his rhetoric rather than textual aspects such as transitivity, mood, modality, and thematic structure. Following Eggins’ statement that “Systems of lexical choice are not the only kind of systems we find in language” (2004: 18), it may be concluded that many other language systems are worth analysis. This

article, thus, attempts to explore 1) President Trump’s ideological stance on immigration and immigrants, as manifested textually, 2) the production of ideological immigration discourses, 3) the sociocultural practices of President Trump’s text and ideological concepts.

Fairclough’s three-dimensional model, a socio-cultural approach to CDA, can be used to reveal the ideological background of President Trump’s stance on immigration and immigrants. As such, this study will not focus solely on the discursive texts themselves, but also correlate the texts with the surrounding social contexts. The core concepts of Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework are presented in Figure 1.

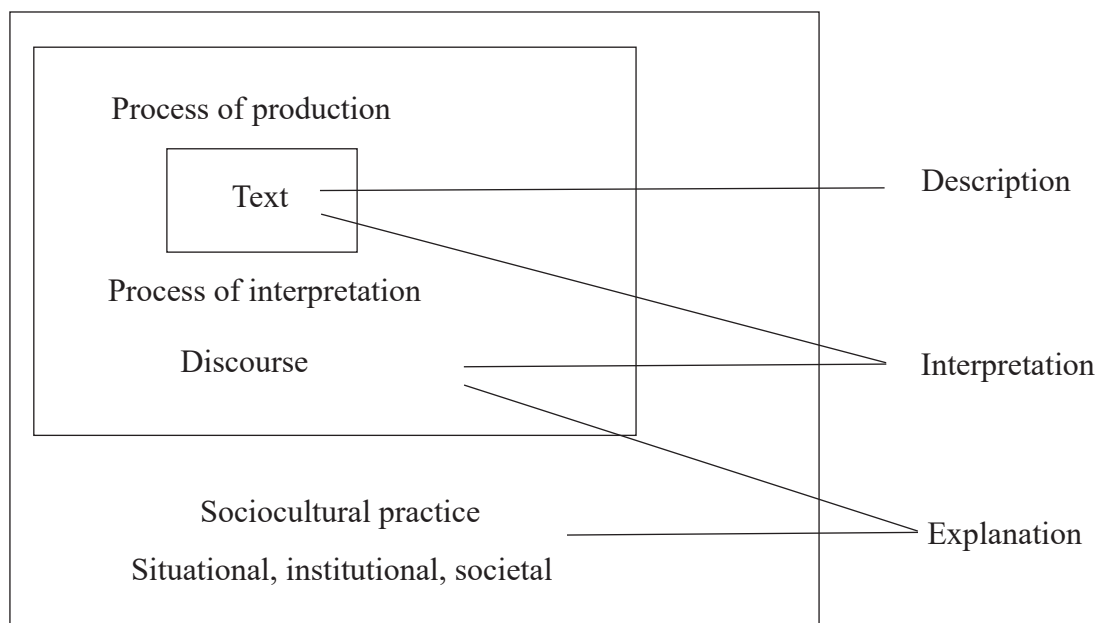


Figure 1. Three-dimensional framework (Fairclough, 2013: 133)

The Figure 1 shows that texts are far from the singular focus of CDA, which also includes the processes happening behind the text. The Fairclough model emphasizes the importance of social contexts, which it explores through three dimensions: description (textual analysis), interpretation (discourse practice), and explanation (social practice) (Amoussou & Ayodele, 2018: 14; Fairclough, 1989: 26; Fairclough 2013: 94–95).

The textual analysis of this article is supported by the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) theory offered by Halliday & Matthiessen (2004). It is divided into three different metafunctions: the ideational metafunction, which mainly discusses the transitivity system; the interpersonal metafunction, which describes the mood and modality of immigration discourse; and the textual metafunction, which explain the use of thematic structures (Egins, 2004: 21; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 61–63; Haratyan, 2011: 20–21).

METHOD

This is qualitative descriptive research, as it emphasizes words over quantitative data in its data collection and analysis (see Bryman, 2012: 380) and provides a detailed description of the social contexts of the examined texts. Nonetheless, this research does employ simple quantification; as stated by Maxwell (2010: 477), this is permitted in qualitative studies, so long as quantification is used for process study (also known as case study)—i.e., so long as quantification is used to answer the questions of “how” and “why” (Maxwell, 2010: 477).

Data for this research is collected from three speeches on immigration policy delivered by President Donald Trump between November 2018 - May 2019, which were collected from <https://www.whitehouse.gov>. Various data were collected, including verbs, modalities, clauses, and sentences, all of which were dialectically related to their social context. Data were collected through several steps. First, the researchers opened the website <https://www.whitehouse.gov> and went to the “immigration” section. Second, the researchers copied the speeches from <https://www.whitehouse.gov>. Third, the researchers broke down the speeches into clauses and sentences, producing a total of 746 clauses.

Data were subsequently analyzed by applying Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model. Analysis was conducted in three stages: textual analysis, discourse practice analysis, and social practice analysis. In its textual analysis, this research was also supported by the SFL theory of Halliday & Matthiessen (2004). Although each stage had its own focus, all three shared the goal of revealing President Trump’s view of immigration and immigrants. Based on these findings, the researchers were able to explore the conceptual basis of President Trump’s ideology.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Three speeches of President Trump regarding immigration issue were analyzed. The first speech discusses about Immigration Crisis and Border Security in America, President Trump delivered the speech in Roosevelt room and have a discussion session. The second one talks about Im-

migration Crisis at the Border, Trump speaks to All American from the Oval office. The third speech is about modernizing immigration system in the United States which delivered from Rose garden. In that occasion, Trump reveals his new immigration plans for American. Analysis found that President Trump's ideology is indicated through the dominant textual aspects of his speeches, including the transitivity processes, modalities, and thematic structures ("Us vs. Them"). Table 1 highlights the textual aspects of the immigration policy of three immigration speeches delivered by President Trump.

In terms of dominance, it is noted that several textual aspects have a central role in conveying President Trump's view of immigration and immigrants.

"America is a welcoming country. And under my leadership, it's a welcoming country. We lead the world in humanitarian protection and assistance, by far. There's nobody even close. We have the largest and most expansive immigration programs anywhere on the planet." (Speech 1 *Remarks by President Trump on the Illegal Immigration Crisis and Border Security*)

From the textual aspects, the underlined words were the aspect being analyzed. Those aspects will represent different result on Trump's perspective towards illegal immigrants and immigration in the United States. Those will be explained further on the discussion section.

In the transitivity system, there are four dominant processes: material, relational, mental, and verbal. The material process emphasizes the actors and processes of doing, which in this case is used to distinguish between "good" and "bad" actors; in President Trump's speeches, the former are understood as President Trump, his administration, and Americans, while the latter are understood as President Trump's opponents, illegal migrants, and immigrants. This is reinforced by relational processes, through which President Trump categorizes and describes his supporters and his opponents. Through mental processes, which emphasize feeling and thought, President Trump tries to share his strong feelings and even fears. Meanwhile, through verbal processes, President Trump emphasizes the content of his speech. These results reflect the findings made by Yuliana, Manda, & Kamsinah (2018) in their

Table 1. The occurrence of textual aspects

Textual Dimension							
Transitivity		Mood		Modality		Thematic	
Type	Total	Type	Total	Type	Total	Type	Total
Material	385	Declarative	727	Probability	42	Unmarked	644
Relational	231	Imperative	12	Inclination	41	Marked	102
Mental	88	Interrogative	6	Obligation	28		
Verbal	33	Declarative-Interrogative	1	Usuality	3		
Existential	9						
Behavioral	0						
	746		746		114		746

study of transitivity and ideology in President Trump’s speeches.

The most dominant mood used by President Trump is declarative, which indicates that the texts are aimed predominantly to provide information to audiences. Through his use of declarative, President Trump is free to communicate his toughness and his opposition to illegal and legal immigration in the United States. Meanwhile, the imperative mood—through which President Trump asks his supporters to do—highlights Trump’s power as the president. This is supported by Zheng (2014), who examined the use of textual aspects in financial discourses

The most commonly used modalities in President Trump’s immigration policy speeches are probability and inclination. Probability is used to predict something that may happen in the future; in his immigration policy speeches, President Trump uses probability to provide dire predictions about the future of the United States, including rampant drug abuse and crime, if immigration is allowed to continue without clear regulations or merit bases. Inclination, meanwhile, is used to prove President Trump’s strong desire to make the best immigration plan and to minimize the effects of illegal migration and immigrants in the United States. Such results correspond with the findings of Pionery & Isti’anah (2016).

Unmarked themes are the most dominant in the thematic structure of Trump’s speeches. Unmarked themes are used to indicate that the subject is the main focus of a sentence, to reveal the context, or to hint at a specific place or time. Ultimately, in speech, it is common to use more unmarked themes than marked ones.

Discourse practice analysis found that President Trump’s immigration policy speeches use concepts that had appeared in previous texts. These findings are indicative of the people and parties for whom President Trump stands. This intertextuality also gives clear evidence of how some ideological concepts have become attached to President Trump.

Based on social practice analysis, President Trump’s ideology can be identified as consisting of two main components: prioritizing the United States/Americans and marginalizing illegal immigrants (often through racism). Those concepts are correlated with the previous findings.

Discussion

This section will talk about how Trump might be marginalized the immigrant or the previous immigration system. It is quite clear that Trump have a sentiment about immigrant who came to America. It had been seen from his early candidacy period to be a president of United States. His speech showed how his stand towards immigrants.

Table 2. Intertextuality in President Trump’s Immigration Policy Speeches

President Trump’s Speeches	Other Texts
It will help all of our people, including millions of devoted immigrants, to achieve <u>the American Dream</u> .	<i>The Epic of America</i> , novel
Some people call it an “ <u>invasion</u> .”	<i>The San Francisco Chronicle</i> , 1873 newspaper

Ideology in the Textual Dimension

Texts provide evidence of President Trump's ideology as it relates to illegal immigration and immigrants in the United States, especially those who enter the country through its Southern border. This ideology is identified based on the textual components recognized by the SFL theory proposed by Halliday & Matthiessen (2004).

Transitivity System

Five processes are found in the transitivity system: material, relational, mental, verbal, and existential. These processes are discussed here based on their prominence in the discourse texts, from the most to the least prominent. Each process offers a different understanding of how President Trump rejected previous immigration policy and expressed his opposition to and racism towards illegal migrants and immigrants.

In the transitivity system, material process become the most dominant process. This process is commonly used as the main verb in a sentence, especially English. Moreover, the use of material processes are related to action that has been done by the subject. In order to give a distinct judgement toward his group and immigrants, Trumps uses some kinds of material process in his speeches to establish two different valuation. It is clear that in some occasions, Trump tend to show his sentiment to certain groups. By expressing his thought about what he didn't like about immigration, he got many supported from those who were on the same perspective as him (Doherty, 2016). In fact he needs a lot of support, to realize his plans in immigration since there were many pros and cons.

Material processes have two main components: the actors and the processes of doing. The combination of these factors reveals speakers' stances, both positive and negative, regarding particular topics.

- 1) We will defend our borders.
- 2) America proudly welcomes millions of lawful immigrants.
- 3) My administration has presented Congress with a detailed proposal to secure the border and stop the criminal gangs, drug smugglers, and human traffickers.
- 4) They've injured, they've attacked, and the Mexican police and military has actually suffered.
- 5) They have violently overrun the Mexican border.

In the above examples, the underlined words are material processes. Data 1–3 refer to positive things done by President Trump, his people, and the United States, and in this manner convey that President Trump is always prioritizing his country and its lawful inhabitants. Conversely, Data 4–5 convey President Trump's negative view of his opponents and of illegal immigration/immigrants. By identifying the actor using the third person pronoun "they", President Trump indicates that he does not believe that they belong to the same category as "us". This creates a clear distinction between "us" (Americans) and "them" (immigrants).

After material processes, relational processes—usually used for identification and categorization purposes—are most dominant. In the immigration policy speeches delivered by President Trump, relational processes are used to

describe particular persons and things.

- 6) America is a welcoming country.
- 7) We have the largest and most expansive immigration programs anywhere on the planet.
- 8) We right now have the hottest economy anywhere in the world.
- 9) This is the big, beautiful, bold plan.
- 10) It's not that they're old; they're just bad.

The above data show that President Trump tends to use relational processes to highlight the positive aspects of the United States and his administration. In Data 6–9, President Trump tries to attribute and identify the superiority of the United States and his immigration plans. Meanwhile, in Data 10, President Trump is describing illegal immigrants and migrants, again emphasizing their negative qualities through the word “bad”. In doing so, he generalizes all people who have entered the United States illegally. Although his statement is not necessarily incorrect in all cases, it ignores that some illegal immigrants have travelled to the United States in search of safety and security.

Mental processes are also relatively prominent in President Trump's speeches. These processes are characterized by the use of main verbs that describe certain feelings or thoughts, thereby explaining mental activities rather than physical ones.

- 11) We need people to help us
- 12) But they don't want to stay; they want to come into the United States.
- 13) I will fulfill my sacred obligation
- 14) You think back 200 years, 500 years
- 15) They don't care

Many data show President Trump's use of mental processes to express his strong feelings of want/need. This can be seen in Data 11 and 12, which are unique in that they seemingly imply a lack of seriousness, despite President Trump's strong desire to implement a merit-based system. In Data 13, mental processes are used as a means of showing President Trump's strong feeling and commitment. Meanwhile, in Data 14, President Trump asks his audience to reflect upon events 200 or even 500 years previously. Finally, Data 15 describes the perceived mindset of illegal immigrants, whom President Trump assumes to have no concern for the laws of the United States.

Verbal processes, i.e. processes that are related to verbal activities (talk, say, etc.) are also used quite often by President Trump. Such processes are used to emphasize President Trump's statements.

- 16) Some people call it an “invasion.”
- 17) All told, there are approximately 1 million aliens who have received final orders of removal.
- 18) And we call it “caravan number two”
- 19) And as I said, much of it comes from the southern border.

In Data 16, 17, 18 and 19, verbal processes are used to emphasize President Trump's beliefs regarding illegal immigration and immigrants. It is used as a supportive argument, as it is related not to President Trump himself, but to others. In Data 19, President Trump uses verbal processes to emphasize particular characteristics of illegal immigrants along the southern border.

Existential and behavioral processes are less or not commonly used in President Trump's speeches on immigration policy. This is normal, as existential processes are mostly used in narrative texts and behavioral processes are related to habitual activities (which might be less common in texts dealing with immigration).

Mood and Modality

Mood and modality are explained in this sub-section. This study finds that the declarative mood is the most common in the analyzed texts. This is normal, as the declarative mood is best suited to these speeches' goal of conveying information, stating opinions, and exploring issues.

- 20) I would like to provide an update to the American people regarding the crisis on our southern border — and crisis it is
- 21) We're here on this very beautiful spring day in the Rose Garden to unveil our plan to create a fair, modern, and lawful system of immigration for the United States.
- 22) because there is a growing humanitarian and security crisis at our southern border.

In the case of illegal immigrants and immigration issues, Trump tries to clarify and explain the immigration problems in the United States and also try to convince the United States' citizens to support his new immigration plans. Another type of mood, imperative, is also found in President Trump's immigration policy speeches. This mood is used to indicate that President Trump is asserting his power.

- 23) Think of it.
- 24) To every member of Congress: Pass a bill that ends this crisis.
- 25) To every citizen: Call Congress and tell them to finally, after all of these decades, secure our border.

Even though these clauses do not conclude with exclamation marks, they are nonetheless considered imperative as they urge listeners to act in certain ways. In Data 23, President Trump asks his audience to do something, while in Data 24 and 25 he implicitly asserts that he has many supporters who will support his ideas.

- 26) Then why do wealthy politicians build walls, fences, and gates around their homes?
- 27) But wouldn't it be nice to do it sooner than that?

Those two clauses categorized as interrogative. By using this kind of mood, Trump wants to get validation from the audiences about his thought. He wants to deliver his intention by inviting the audiences to think throughly.

- 28) And if you can get it done, that would be fantastic. Okay?

In the mood section, it is found that there is a combination between declarative & interrogative mood. It is actually can be separated because the first clause is ended by full stop mark. When the second clause "okay?" is explained as different clause, it will lose its meaning. The interrogative clause is used to make the speech more communicative.

Four types of modality are found in President Trump's speeches on immigra-

tion policy: probability, inclination, obligation, and usuality. Probability is the most dominant. It becomes the dominant because Trump gives some predictions about illegal immigration and previous “broken” immigration system in a bad opinion to make him easier to apply his new plan. At that time, Trump tries to get many supports to convince the Congress to give a good respond.

- 29) And the overall number could be 10 million people; it could be 12 million people; it could be 20 million people.
- 30) More Americans will die from drugs this year than were killed in the entire Vietnam War.
- 31) Thousands more lives will be lost if we don’t act right now.

In the above data, President Trump uses probability to predict something that could happened if the issues of immigration and immigrants are not resolved. He uses probability to predict that illegal immigration will have negative consequences for the United States; at the same time, however, this modality indicates President Trump’s negative view of illegal immigration.

Inclination is the second most dominant modality in President Trump’s speeches on immigration policy. Inclination shows the president’s strong determination to solve the “problem” of immigration through reform.

- 32) The wall will also be paid for, indirectly, by the great new trade deal we have made with Mexico.
- 33) If adopted, our plan will transform America’s immigration system into the pride of our nation and the envy of the modern world.

- 34) It will help all of our people, including millions of devoted immigrants, to achieve the American Dream.

These data explicitly show President Trump’s optimism about his planned immigration policies. In Data 34, President Trump also asserts his willingness to help “devoted” immigrants (i.e. loyal, legal, immigrants who contribute to the United States) achieve the American Dream. This indicates that President Trump is only willing to help such “loyal” immigrants.

Another modality evident in President Trump’s speeches on immigration policy is obligation, which is used to ask audiences to comply with his instructions. Obligation is used to underscore power relations.

- 35) We also must finish the job that we started by being strong at the border.
- 36) Now, we must implement an immigration system.
- 37) We should have close to 400 miles built by the end of next year.

Through this modality, President Trump explains the importance of himself and others, as represented by the use of the pronoun “we”, reforming immigration policy and building the border wall. He shows his power in order to convince others to support his goal.

Usuality is rarely used in President Trump’s speeches. As these speeches are intended primarily to convey President Trump’s willingness to reform immigration policy and solve the “problem” of immigration, usuality—which indicates habitual action—is not used significantly.

Thematic Structure

Unmarked themes are most dominant in the immigration policy speeches delivered by President Trump. Unmarked themes focus on the subject as the main theme. Through the use of unmarked themes, it can be seen who and what subjects are mentioned in the text and the significance of these subjects vis-à-vis President Trump's view of immigration policy, illegal immigration, and illegal migrants.

- 38) Illegal immigration affects the lives of all Americans.
- 39) These policies lead to the release of illegal aliens into our communities.
- 40) Human trafficking is now at the highest level in the world.
- 41) We need them to come in.
- 42) We want them to come into our country very much.

In President Trump's speeches, subjects used to represent "others" include *illegal immigration*, *human trafficking*, *they*, *drugs*, and *Democrats*. These subject imply negative interpretations of immigration and immigrants. Conversely, the self is represented through such subjects as *we*, *America*, *the United States*, *I*, and *my administration*. Such subjects are always used positively, without any negative implications. As president, Trump should position himself in the middle, using more balanced means of representing himself and describing others. It would be best if he could recognize the good in others, rather than paint them in entirely negative terms.

Marked themes are also evident in President Trump's immigration speeches. Unlike in unmarked themes, in

marked themes there is another element (an adjunct or complement) preceding the subject. In President Trump's immigration policy speeches, marked themes have a role in developing sentences' contexts. These themes provide detail about conditions and times, offer emphasis, or provide complements that enrich the sentence.

- 43) At some point, they're going to come in.
- 44) Right now, we have more workers than any time in the history of our country.
- 45) Greatest military anywhere in the world, and it's going to be, and is now, in great shape.
- 46) Most of these people we have no idea
- 47) Under this plan, the illegal aliens will no longer get a free pass into our country by lodging meritless claims in seeking asylum.

Context is applied in Data 47, which give a deeper understanding of the information conveyed within these sentences. Complements are evident in Data 45 and 46. Finally, Data 43 and 44 use adjuncts in the form of adverb, specifically to mark specific times. The explanation about extralingual aspect of the speeches will be explored more in discourse practice and social practice sections.

Discourse Practice Analysis

The processes through which speeches regarding immigration policy are produced are explained in this sub-section. Analysis is divided into two, dealing with the intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Those will mostly discuss about how the

correlation of the three immigration policy speeches with other texts and something that might be influenced the speeches production process.

Intertextuality

Based on the above results, it may be seen that President Trump's immigration policy speeches are correlated with extant texts. Such correlation is evident in President Trump's description of illegal immigration, illegal immigrants, and his stances.

- 48) It will help all of our people, including millions of devoted immigrants, to achieve the American Dream.
- 49) Some people call it an "invasion."

Data 48 shows that President Trump is using the popular American ethos "the American Dream", which was first introduced by James Truslow Adam in his 1931 novel *The Epic of America* (Amadeo & Somer, 2020). Although the specific meaning of "the American Dream" has varied throughout history, it has commonly been understood as meaning better life for all Americans. It is clear that, by referencing this ethos, President Trump is trying to convince his audiences about his loyalty to the United States. At the same time, it is highlighting President Trump's emphasis of the United States (America) over all other countries, as also evident in his immigration.

In Data 49, President Trump uses the uncommon word "invasion" to marginalize illegal immigration. Nonetheless, this word is correlated with previous texts, being used in the *San Francisco Chronicle* as early as 1873 (Zimmer, 2019) as well as by Republican politician Dan

Patrick in a 2014 interview with Bloomberg TV (Selby, W, 2014). Through this correlation, it can be seen for whom President Trump stands. President Trump, as a member of the Republican Party, is attempting to promote his party's ideology and realize its goals.

Interdiscursivity

Interdiscursivity mainly deals with genre and style (tenor, mode, and rhetorical mode) (Fairclough, 2006: 127). President Trump's immigration policy discourse falls into the genre of 'speech', with the tenor of 'formal', as it is delivered on formal occasions to audiences who have a professional relationship with the president. In mode, President Trump's speeches are best categorized as "written-to-be-spoken"; Presidents usually have private advisors who shape the discourses they deliver to their publics, and this holds true for President Trump (whose private advisor Stephen Miller significantly shapes his discourses) (Kranz, M. et al., 2020). President Trump's speeches employ the argumentative rhetorical mode.

Social Practice Analysis

The sub-section explores the context in which President Trump's speeches on immigration policy were produced. It explores contexts at three different levels (situational, institutional, and societal), then uses social practice analysis to draw out President Trump's ideological conceptualization of immigration and immigrants.

Three levels of Social Practice

At the situational level, President Trump's speeches assume that there is an

ongoing crisis along the southern border of the United States, one that increases the practice of human trafficking and drug smuggling. He also suggests that the United States is experiencing rising crime rates as a result of illegal immigration.

At the institutional level, President Trump's speeches are related to the United States Congress and Democrat Party's rejection of his administrations' plan to build a border wall. In order to achieve his political goal and receive public support, President Trump highlights the importance of immigration.

At the societal level, these texts are produced as a result of social inequality. As the president of the United States, President Trump has significant power, with which he can express his views of the "right" and "wrong" immigration policies. This power also enables him to outline an immigration system that advantages himself, his political allies, and his supporters, without considering the needs of illegal immigrants who truly require support and assistance.

Ideological Concepts of President Trump regarding Immigration and Immigrants

President Trump's ideological view of immigration and immigrants can be inferred from his texts as well as the processes through which they are produced. Based on previous discussion, it may be concluded that the following ideological concepts underpin President Trump's immigration discourses.

- 1) Immigration in the US is bad.
- 2) Legal immigrants are welcome.
- 3) We are nice, you are tough.
- 4) Illegal migrants/immigrants are the enemy.

CONCLUSION

In analyzing President Trump's ideological stance regarding immigration and immigrants, this article has found that his immigration speeches offer him a significant means of conveying his perspective (including both personal and collective opinions). These texts are the main vehicles through which President Trump can influence his audiences and present his "rational" ideology. Through intertextuality and interdiscursivity, President Trump clarifies his position, his stance, and his allies. These are shaped by the contexts, power relations, and social practices involved. These speeches assert that President Trump will never accept illegal immigrants, but will offer paths to legal immigrants with sufficient competencies and merits. He also draws upon his grand scheme, which he describes as the best immigration policy to have ever been implemented in the United States, and which he contrasts with previous administrations' "broken" immigration policies. At the same time, however, he continues to highlight the dangers of illegal immigration and migrants. Yet, this analysis is not deeply analyzed the word choices and detail aspects of discourse & social practices that might be reveal more contrast view of Trump's ideology regarding immigrants and immigration in the United States.

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