CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Political Science

Climate Change and Immigration: Dominant Discourses in America's Two-Party System

Bachelor's Thesis

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Year of the defense:	**2022**

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree with my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on the 2nd of August 2022 Anna Ogan

REFERENCE

Ogan, A. (2022). Climate Change and Immigration: Dominant Discourses in America's Two-Party System [Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University]. Charles University Digital Repository.

Length of the thesis: 204,800 characters with spaces

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the bipartisan divide in the United States. Specifically, how each party represents climate change and immigration in political speeches between the two political parties. This thesis emphasizes the dire and immediate need to devote more time in discovering the true intentions behind America's bipartisanship. By using critical discourse analysis, this revealed different conclusions regarding possible future courses for climate change and immigration. There is more variance in the streamlines of thought for the Republican party due to their discrepancies regarding their belief in climate change. However, the Democrats remain rather united with their values. This thesis reveals different possible discourses from each political parties understanding of immigration and cliamte change.

Keywords:

Immigration, Climate Change, Climate Migrants, US-Mexico Border, Republican, Democrat, Bipartisan, Critical Discourse Analysis

"In political and social analysis,
we still have not cut off the head of the king."
- Michel Foucault

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Jakub Tesar, who reassured my passion for environmental politics during his course on Global Environment. I would not have been able to complete this Thesis without his guidance and help throughout this process, so I sincerely thank you. I would also like to take the time to thank Dr. Jansuz Salamon for his dedication and hard work in establishing this program and sparking my desire in philosophy. If not for him, I would never have had the opportunity to study at Charles University. Lastly, I would like to thank all the professors I have had the honor to learn from during my time at Charles.

My time at Charles has allowed me to experience, for the first time, what it is like to be an immigrant myself. Living far from home and my family, I have been forced to adjust to a new culture. My time as a white American immigrant in the Czech Republic is very different from most other immigrants around the world as they do not have the same privileges that I do. If nothing else, I hope this thesis can bring light to the political discourses that perpetrate a negative conception of immigrants.

I hope that all those seeking refuge from war, climate change, or other unmanageable hardships can safely relocate and receive the adequate support they need.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AG	Attorney General
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CAP	Center for American Progress
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DA	Discourse Analysis
DACA	Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals
DSHS	Department of Homeland Security
GOP	Grand Old Party
I.CE..	United State Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
MLK	Martin Luther King Jr.
UN	United Nations
UK	United Kingdom
U.S.	United States of America
VP	Vice President
WMO	World Meteorological Organization

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1. INTRODUCTION

There is a common consensus in the scientific community that immigration will rise in the future and be exacerbated by climate change (Wallace-Wells, 2019). The number of migrants, to put it blatantly, will be overwhelming. Different studies have produced various estimates (based on different greenhouse gas emission rate predictions) for the number of environmental refugees predicted for 2050. The estimates range from 25 million to 1 billion people to be displaced from their territory on a global scale ("MRS No. 31 - Migration and Climate Change," 2015; Rigaud et al., 2018).

The US is one of the leading contributors to the anthropogenic release of greenhouse gasses into the atmosphere (*Historical GHG Emissions*, n.d.; Kolmannskog, 2008) and has done a poor job in reversing its role. Bayes Ahmed 2017 calculated that the USA's climate debt (i.e., the debt the U.S. owes to the world for its contribution to climate change) holds 10% responsibility for the world's climate refugees. This finding, therefore, highlights the U.S.'s obligation to climate migrants, at least to some extent. Before it is possible to create effective policy for environmentally displaced persons, Oliver-Smith (2012) argues that it first necessary to develop a detailed understanding of climate change, human-environmental relations, and migration, as well as the linkages that connect them. This paper intends to contribute to this by formulating an articulation of how America's two political parties understand these linkages.

In the words of Hajer and Versteeg (2005), "it is not an environmental phenomenon in itself that is important, but the way in which society makes sense of this phenomenon" (p. 177). Climate-induced immigration is an inevitable and dire consequence of climate change that will affect millions of lives worldwide. However, since the world has failed to prioritize the necessary solutions to reduce climate change collectively, it must prepare for the consequences. Therefore, it is no longer as essential to research and understand the phenomena of climate-induced immigration. If something is to be done about climate migration - or anything else - then what truly needs to be studied is an evaluation of how society understands the phenomena. That is, assuming the society is a democratic country with a (relatively) strong effect on its political system.

In Kyle M. Schoonover's thesis titled, *Foucauldian Micropolitics and the Evolution of Party Polarization: Diverging Discourses in America's Two-Party System* (Schoonover, 2020b), found that politicians do not represent the issues of the public, but rather politicians tell the electorate which issues are important through their rhetoric and repetition of certain issues. This means that politicians determine which issues are discussed and choose which to ignore. Their contribution or lack thereof on particular matters significantly influences the societal discussion of political matters. Therefore, shifting the direction of this thesis from society to political leaders. This paper aims to describe the current state of the U.S. political leaders' understanding of the near problem of climate migration.

American political leaders tend to follow the dominant discourse that correlates to their political party. The two dominant discourses in American politics - i.e., the Democrat and Republican parties - each having its own corresponding values and ideologies, which produce two distinct definitions of what American democracy means. When individuals accept the definition of either party, they begin to identify with that party. With either party's acceptance of the parties a definition by the Republican and Democrat parties control American politics and shape future decisions on important issues. This thesis uses critical discourse analysis to understand how political party leaders understand the issue relationship between 'climate change' and 'immigration.'

To do so, this thesis will be evaluating political discourses, specifically speeches given by the politicians. Speeches are often choreographed and rehearsed beforehand in order to get their desired message across. The message that they are really sending to the American Electorate is often deeper and filled with subtle, hidden objectives that most people do not notice (Fairclough, 2010; Woods, 2006). This thesis will attempt to discover these intentions in relation to climate migrants. Correspondingly, Kothari (2014) showed how the government's true intentions can be hidden by environmental policies. Similarly, this paper attempts to understand the future of U.S.'s policies on climate migrants by investigating the current party's understanding of the crisis.

In order to find out how the political party leaders represent climate migrants in speeches and their true intentions in doing so, this thesis will utilize a discourse approach, precisely the critical discourse analysis approach with Focualdian elements. The critical discourse approach was discovered by Michel Foucault and his work involving power and power

dynamics that are hidden behind discourse. In other words, the true intentions behind why something is done. Therefore, his findings will be used in order to understand this relationship.

This paper will analyze five party leaders' political discourse from both sides on their representation of climate change and immigration in their speeches. The party leaders for the Democrat side are Barack Obama, Bernie Sanders, Joe Biden, Elizabeth Warren, and Kamala Harris. The party leaders chosen to represent the Republican side are Donald Trump, Mitt Romney, Marco Rubio, Dan Crenshaw, and Ted Cruz. By doing so, I can infer a conclusion about their view on climate migrants. I will be able to see their understanding of the issue and if it would be of concern to them. Furthermore, I will see the dominant discourses and the attitudes between these relationships and if any further distinction arises. This leads me to discussing the research questions that projected this thesis.

It is more urgent than ever to analyze political discourse in relation to climate change immigration due to the climate migration crisis and the lack of existing discourses on climate migration. The research question that projected this thesis is:

How is the relationship between migration and climate change represented in discourses between America's two political parties?

This thesis will also answer a similar question that is related with the main research question that will also be addressed in this thesis is:

What messages or narratives (about climate change and migration) are the party leaders sending to its members through these discourses?

This question seeks to expose the Foucladian power dynamics that are hidden in the discourses. When answering these questions, this thesis showed the dominant strings of thought (the Democrat and Republican parties') remain when discussing climate change and immigration. However, this thesis did reveal a possible discrepancy and streamline of thought regarding the Republican party as Trump and Cruz continue to deny climate change, while Rubio, Romney, and Crenshaw acknowledge it.

1.1. THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis proceeds as follows. It will begin by explaining climate migrants and then proceed to provide a literature review of the relevant information relating to discourses in politics regarding climate change and immigration and how politicians frame narratives. Then it will provide background information about America's political parties in the U.S. and the composition of the electorate. Afterwards, the thesis will lay out the theoretical framework that will be used in the analytical process of this thesis. It will go through vital elements such as language, the discourse approach, critical discourse analysis, and Michel Foucalts work on power. Later, the thesis will provide a methodological section where I outline the research design that was used to find the results. This includes how the information was gathered and the Focualdian's three dimensional model. It also includes a discussion of the analytical tools for speeches that were described by Woods (2006). Next, the thesis will discuss the results from the research. Lastly, the thesis will end with closing remarks, which includes a summary, future research possibilities, and a brief summary of the main findings from this thesis.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will perform a literature review of similar discourses related to this thesis's central feature, i.e., its party-specific orientation covering discourses on climate change and immigration. Then, this chapter will review the current information that contributes to the party-specific narratives in general on 'climate change and 'migration.' Lastly, this section will discuss who the electorate is- or in Foucault's terms, the lower tier of the dynamic power relationship. However, before continuing any further, this paper will clarify the terminology regarding 'climate migrants.'

2.1. WHAT IS CLIMATE MIGRATION?

Before proceeding to the literature review concerning the material most relevant to this thesis, I find it necessary to clarify the terminology that I will be using throughout this paper, i.e., when I refer to 'climate migrants' rather than the relationship between 'climate change' and 'immigration.' The academic discussion covering climate-induced migration presents an inconsistency when describing these persons. That is, they often use the terms 'climate migrant' and 'climate refugee' interchangeably in scholarly journals. The remainder of this section clarifies why I use the term 'climate migrants' instead of 'climate refugees' throughout my thesis.

In order to understand the term 'climate refugee,' I will begin by defining the term 'refugee.' The definition used in international law remains unchanged since it was formed at the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Here 'refugee' was defined in article one subsection two as a person

> owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (*Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, 1951)

This rather old definition, underscores the 'fear of persecution' attribute, which cannot be applied to the circumstances that environmentally displaced persons face (Leal-Arcas, 2012). Notably, it is widely debated in the international academic community to extend the definition of refugees to include climate-displaced persons (Berchin et al., 2017; Tiedemann,

2021). Regardless, the term ‘refugee’ cannot be used in legal discourse when referring to environmentally displaced persons because they are not legally recognized as a refugee per the 1951 Convention. Consequently, climate migrants have few rights in the asylum process at the U.S.-Mexico border and it will likely be difficult for them to enter the country legally. As a result, if they feel their circumstances are dire enough, they may try to seek entry into the U.S. illegally. This explains why the perceptions on illegal immigrants will be widely discussed in the following section (2.2.-2.4).

Another obstacle in defining climate migrants is that “one cannot completely isolate climate change as a cause” (Kolmannskog, 2008, p. 4). This is due to the complexity of climate-induced migration when factors can make a bad scenario worse. “For instance, droughts may lead to food and income insecurity after failed crops, which in turn foster migration together,” or a bad political situation in a country combined with worsening climate change may trigger immigrants to move (Leah Kwie Ien Philippo, 2021, p. 12). As a result, it is almost impossible to decipher the primary reasons migrants flee in environmental-induced situations on an individual basis, not to mention a group of people. This complex nature concerning climate displaced persons could either complicate - in the sense that anything may be claimed as a climate disaster lift- or help the legal recognition of climate refugees - by possibly allowing for them to be included in the definition of a refugee. In the meantime, the current definition of ‘climate migrants’ accounts for their internationally and legally recognized status as well as this complex set of possibilities for immigrating. Climate Migrants is defined by the International Organisation for Migration as

> *“[t]he movement of a person or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment due to climate change, are obliged to leave their habitual place of residence, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, within a State or across an international border*.” (2019, p. 31)

Due to the lack of international legal recognition for environmental refugees, which is continually being debated about, and climate-induced migration being too complex to specify a single reason for a group of people, I opted to use a more neutral term for this thesis i.e., climate migrants. This term will be used for the remainder of the paper except for when actually researching, as it could help trigger useful speeches for analysis.

2.2. DISCOURSE OF CLIMATE MIGRATION - SIMILAR RESEARCH

The field of climate migration is significantly understudied by political scientists (Javeline, 2014). This goes beyond a U.S. context to an international scale. Marthin and Budiman (2020), and Parsons (2021). Marthin and Budiman (2020) revealed the lack of preparation in the framework of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries' policies concerning climate migration. Similarly, Parsons (2021) examines how the climate migration crisis is framed in the United Kingdom's (UK) politics and finds a widening disjuncture between academic work on climate migration, and UK policy and media discourse" (p.4). The lack of academic studies on climate migrants is likely why (Myers, 2002) goes so far to argue that there is a "lack of recognition ... that there is an environmental refugee problem at all" (p. 610).

The discussion of climate migration will need to be discussed by academics sooner rather than later before policies are actually implemented. Kothari (2014) journal showed how political and economic imperatives are hidden in environmental discourse. She investigated the discourse used by the Maldivian government in their climate migrant relocation plan, which resembled a previous unpopular stance the Maldives government tried to implement, i.e., to relocate its population onto one island, so the government could be more economically efficient in distributing resources to its population. She found that the government did not take the consideration of its citizens who were actually being affected by the environmental actions, and the government implemented the policy for its own benefit rather than in the interest of those affected the most. She warns that future environmental policies should be evaluated deeper to find their true intentions (Kothari, 2014). The Maldives is currently experiencing more consequences of climate change than the U.S. as a whole; however, the U.S. future policy implementations will have a profound impact on the well-being of millions of lives from Central and Latin America as well as be a model for the rest of the world.

The American electorate does not determine the outcome of policies or even the current discussions of American politics. Rather, the politicians determine which issues to be discussed by the American electorate through subtle ways, i.e., by their rhetoric and/or repetition of certain issues (Schoonover, 2020b). In other words, political elites "have the power to produce frames that persuade" (Tan, 2014, p. 8). The issues that politicians choose

to discuss are normally determined by the matter of 'urgency' they entail rather than of future importance (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 177). The lack of urgency associated with climate change and the issues surrounding it may explain the lack of political discourse on the topic of climate migration. Arnall and Kothari (2015) found that non-elite perceptions of climate change and migration in the Maldives do not see a future climate-related crisis as they focus on daily issues (Arnall & Kothari, 2015). This trend follows in the News as Philippo (2021) found limited news stories concerning climate migration from three major U.S. news platforms (Fox News, CNN, and CBS News) for the years ranging from 2015 to 2020.

Moreover, she discovered two main ways climate migrants are framed - "as tragic but powerful victims or distant and abstract numbers," (Leah Kwie Ien Philippo, 2021, p. 69). Since climate migrants are ultimately immigrants, this thesis will turn to the available research describing immigration. When politicians describe immigrants, they do so through framing. According to Nisbet (2009), "[f]rames are interpretive storylines that set a specific train of thought in motion, communicating why an issue might be a problem, who or what might be responsible for it, and what should be done about it" (p. 15). In public affairs, framing is "an unavoidable reality of the communication process" (Nisbet, 2009, p. 15). All information is framed; no information exists without being framed (Nisbet, 2009). Trained professionals become experts at speech writing and carefully prepare frames to ensure the appropriate message is delivered (Brown & Sovacool, 2017; Nisbet, 2009; Woods, 2006). This occurs in political discourse, especially in speeches delivered by politicians (Woods, 2006). "The speakers variably invoked these metanarratives [framing] to gel their coalitions and trigger identity-protective responses on the basis of these conceptualizations" (Tan, 2014, p. 32).

In frames where immigrants were vilified, social boundaries were delineated in terms of 'us versus them,' whereas inclusive frames embraced a 'we are them' narrative. (Tan, 2014, p. 32). Politicians frame immigrants either as heroes or victims in order to "create coalitions that would support their policy options" (Tan, 2014, p. 32). When determining how immigrants are perceived - identity, especially national identity, becomes an important determining factor. Nida Bikmen (2015) found that when using the famous phrase "nation of immigrants" in a similarity-focused way (i.e., using the phrase to evoke similarities between older and younger generations of immigrants) was able to reduce the perceived threat of Mexican immigrants while not affecting the already low-risk perception of Russian immigrants.

Pratto and Lemieux (2001) sought to see how framing a policy regarding immigration had on the California electorate, i.e., whether they accepted or rejected the policy. When the policy was framed so it would maintain dominance over immigrants, they found that those high in social dominance orientation (ie., believe that some groups are superior to others) favored it. On the other side, the low in social dominance orientation (i.e., belief that treating people equally would create less problems in society) appealed more to the policy that was framed to increase quality between immigrants and members of the receiving society.

Tan's (2014) dissertation shows "that solving the 'immigration problem' is unanimously seen as necessary to preserve the national identity" but two different perceptions emerge - one viewing migrants as a threat to national identity and the other as a threat (p. 2). Smeeks, Verkuyten, and Poppe (2012) revealed that emphasizing a historical tradition of religious tolerance in the context of the Dutch national identity was more likely to increase the acceptance of Muslim immigrants among those who identified strongly with the Dutch identity. Both Bikmen (2015) and Smeeks, Verkuyten, and Poppe's (2012) study revealed that having a national history that stresses tolerance causes those citizens, especially those who are strongly connected with their nation, to be more likely to accept immigrants. Furthermore, Careja (2016) found that this works in a reverse way as well; positively oriented persons (i.e., persons who possess nationalistic ideas) become more so when exposed to anti-immigration tones. Interestingly, Craeja (2016) found that friendships with immigrants have an insignificant effect on deterring natives from the idea of deporting unemployed immigrants. In other words, the nationalistic discourse has a stronger effect on persons than friendships (Careja, 2016). These studies demonstrate how much narratives and, even more so - national identity - have on citizens (Bikmen, 2015; Careja, 2016; Smeekes et al., 2012). In other words, the discourses people are exposed to have a significant influence on the perception of immigrants.

It is possible that politicians are aware of this narrative and implement it into their speeches (Mols and Jetten 2014). Mols and Jetten (2014) examined the speeches by right-wing leaders in France, the Netherlands, and Belgium and found that all of the right-wing leaders they analyzed used speech rhetoric to install collective angst against the immigrants in the population. They contrasted their nation's glorious past with the bleak future and blamed the immigrants as the reason for the fall, painting them as the enemy. This, they argue, justifies

the harsh treatment of both migrants and minorities. Politicians likely frame immigrants as 'us versus them' because "[p]eople are more likely to support restrictionist immigration policies when they feel that the future of their nation and culture is at risk" (Bikmen, 2015, p. 285). Painting immigrants in a negative light allows for politicians to deter the blame of the economic situation and other failures in the country bad away from them and onto a group of people.

2.3. PARTY DIFFERENCES

While there is numerous data available on climate change and immigration undergoing part differences, there is not much on the two combined, i.e., 'climate migrants.' The two topics were thus researched separately in order to perform a literature review of the previous understandings within party lines. This section begins with the general overview of the two parties' beliefs and their corresponding ideologies and later talks more specifically about their viewpoints on 'climate change' and 'immigration.'

The differences between parties are due to their ideological roots. The Republican party or the 'Grand Old Party' (GOP), holds conservative ideological ideals, while Democrats hold liberal. The American conservatives represent "ideals of individual freedom, private property rights, limited government, and the promotion of free market," while the American liberals emphasize "collective rights, view market regulation as crucial for protecting citizens and public goods, seek to increase the quantity and quality of government's social service provision, and support government intervention to extend to previously unprotected groups" (McCright & Dunlap, 2011, p. 160). The conservative stance tends to justify that the existing order comes from its roots in traditionalism. Furthermore, Conservatives have a strong connection to faith (McCright & Dunlap, 2011) and stress market liberalism's characteristic of "unfettered capitalism" (Antonio & Brulle, 2011, p. 195). In contrast, liberals tend to critique the established order.

As a result of their ideological foundation, Democrats and Republicans tend to side one way or the other on certain issues. Republicans tend to favor less government intervention, pro-guns, lower taxes, and take the pro-life abortion argument, while Democrats tend to prefer the opposite. That is, Democrats tend to vote in favor of increased social services, a proportional tax rate, gun control, and pro-choice abortion access. Even in daily things, Republicans and

Democrats are different. Interestingly, Carney et al. (2008) found that Republicans tend to be more orderly, better organized, and conventional and Democrats tend to be more open-minded, curious, and creative.

Overall, the Republican and Democratic parties have become increasingly more divided in recent years; American politics today is characterized by its polarization (Abramowitz & Saunders, 2008; Antonio & Brulle, 2011; Brown & Sovacool, 2017; Dunlap et al., 2016; Saldaña et al., 2018). Although some scholars argue about the extent of polarization in American politics, there is a general consensus that the media reinforces the idea of a deeply divided America. As a result, the American public believes the nation is divided. A public opinion poll released before the 2020 presidential election confirmed this view finding that "85% of registered voters described Americans as being greatly divided in their values" (Peoples & Fingerhut, 2020).

The importance of polarization is that party identification is becoming a part of an individual's 'social identity,' meaning how an individual views themselves (Lilliana Mason as cited in Dunlap et al., 2016). Social identity is directly tied with national identity and the findings mentioned in the previous section. This enables politicians ability to influence or manipulate their supporters. This makes their choice of discourse ever so important. A recent example of discourse having strong influence due to polarization is the 'can do no wrong' rhetoric when Trump famously said, "I could stand in the middle of fifth avenue and shoot somebody and not lose any voters" (CNN, 2016, 0:05).

The ideology that constitutes the two political parties, their corresponding viewpoints, and the widening polarization creates a similar trend concerning their views on climate change and immigration. That is, views on climate change in the U.S. are widely divided along ideological party lines, between the Republican party on the one hand and the Democratic party on the other (Dunlap & McCright, 2008; Nisbet, 2009; Pew Research Center, 2017). There is a consistent trend among party lines in which harsh restrictions on immigration policy and skepticism towards climate change are linked to the Republican side, while immigration reform to increase legal immigration and the acceptance of climate change science is associated with the Democrat side (Dunlap & McCright, 2008; Nisbet, 2009; Pew Research Center, 2017). The divide on these issues was unprecedentedly large during the

Obama administration and has only been widening during the Trump presidency (Pew Research Center, 2017).

However, this was not always the case. The U.S. immigration policy on undocumented immigrants hardened only in 1996 (Vox, 2021). This shift is represented by the opinion polls over time:

> "[A]ccording to a 1993 national poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion, when U.S. residents were asked whether immigration was a "good thing" or a "bad thing" for the country in the past, 59% said that it was a "good thing." When asked whether immigration was a "good thing" for the country today, only 29% of the same participants answered "a good thing," and 60% said that it was "a bad thing" (Bikmen, 2015, p. 284).

The result of this trend is more relevant for this thesis than the trend itself. However, it is telling of the actual commonalities that the parties share, even though they are characterized by their differences.

Views on immigration policy along partisan lines. Nicholls (2014) found that most of the politicians involved (from both parties) view illegal immigration as a threat. However, the discourses of each party on illegal immigration differed on the policy solutions. The hardline conservatives from the Republican party see *all* illegal immigration as a threat and, therefore, seeks to remove *all* illegal immigrants to protect the nation. In contrast, the liberal democrats seek a strategy of 'risk management' as the solution, which assigns higher priority to the areas associated with higher risk and targets the removal of illegals who are 'truly threatening,' i.e., criminals, delinquents, homeless, etc.. This divide is reflected in a 2019 survey that asked the American electorate if illegal immigration was a major problem in the U.S. today, 79% of Republican voters believed it was a very big problem compared with 19% of Democratic voters (Gramlich, 2019). This data directly correlates with Barder's assumption that Republicans are more fearful than Democrats (Brader et al., 2008).

The Republican rationale for such an outcome could result from anxiety and fear. Individuals are more likely to take political action when they experience motivational impulses such as anxiety (Brader 2005, 2006 as cited in Brader et al., 2008). The group that is viewed to be dangerous often triggers political behavior, which is mediated by anxiety (Brader et al., 2008). Brader et al., (2008) found that "[n]ews about immigration increases anxiety and

provokes greater opposition among white Americans when it highlights low-skilled Latino migrants and emphasizes the negative consequences of immigration" (p. 973, 975). When negative consequences regarding immigration are paired with already stigmatized groups, (Brader et al., 2008) found that Americans experience substantially greater anxiety. In order "[t]o understand the impact of elites on mass opinion, one must attend to the power of feeling, not just seeing threats," (Brader et al., 2008, p. 276). This is because "[p]erceived harm strongly correlates with opinions and actions," (Brader et al., 2008, p. 969). The Republican ideology and the recent evolution of immigration views has perpetrated the fear narrative (Brader et al., 2008).

A shift occurred in the environmental field when climate change was becoming more prevalent. In a historical sense, environmental protection in the U.S. was relatively nonpartisan, remaining relatively modest until the 1980s. "For example, from the early 1970s until the mid-1990s, support for increased spending on environmental protection by self-identified Democrats was typically only around 10 percent higher than for self-identified Republicans," (Dunlap & McCright, 2008, p. 27). The shift occurred when Regan's administration began to view environmental regulations as a "burden on the economy" and, thus, tried to weaken and reduce their effect (Dunlap & McCright, 2008, p. 26). The anti-environmental orientation of the Republican party was greatly amplified during George W. Bush's administration (Dunlap & McCright, 2008). In 1997, when the U.S. signed - but did not ratify - the Kyoto Protocol (i.e., an international agreement set forth to reduce carbon emissions), the Republican party not only critiqued the carbon emissions aspect but began to reject climate change in its entirely (Dunlap & McCright, 2008; McCright & Dunlap, 2011). They did this by using the uncertainty and distant future concern of climate change and tying in elements from the Republican ideology to reassert the claim. As a result, the conservative members mobilized to challenge the climate change discourse. This influenced the Republican discourse and became a long-lasting characteristic of the party - climate skepticism. This can be confirmed by Dunlap and McCright (2018)'s study, where they used results from the Gallup polls to show that party sorting of global warming beliefs ``has not only endured but increased since 1997" (Dunlap & McCright, 2008, p. 31). A later study in 2016 confirmed that this chasm "is clearly substantial and shows no signs of diminishing" (Dunlap et al. p.15).

Environmental protection typically challenges conservative values because of government intervention and the restriction of property rights. On the other hand, environmental protection measures tend to align with liberal ideals of the government's role in protecting society's welfare (McCright & Dunlap, 2011). McCright and Dunlap (2011) study confirmed this association. They found that liberals/Democrats are more likely than conservatives/Republicans to report beliefs consistent with scientific evidence. This was accredited partly to the lack of desire for change among Republicans in disliking challenging the current social order. Additionally, they also found that liberals/Democrats were more likely to express personal concern than conservatives/Republicans. The findings align with their ideology. Notably, as Tesler (2018) pointed out, the United States is the only nation where the interest of those in political power can ultimately predict both liberals' belief in climate change and conservatives' skepticism towards it. This is confirmed by a study in 2020, that found that "94% of Democrats believe global warming has been happening, as do 67% of Republicans" and "94% of Democrats and 69% of Republicans believe that if warming has been happening, human actions have been responsible for causing it" (MacInnis & Krosnick, 2020, p. 24). A 2016 study found that "[s]even-in-ten liberal Democrats (70%) trust climate scientists a lot to give full and accurate information about the causes of climate change, compared with just 15% of conservative Republicans" (Pew Research Center, 2016), para. 5). There is hope for agreement between bipartisan lines, as Oliver (2012) revealed opportunities for bipartisan agreement in climate action plans.

Unsurprisingly, this trend continues for the members of parliament. Center for American Progress (CAP)'s 2021 report revealed parliament members' position on climate change for the 116th (2019 to 2021) and 117th U.S. Congress (2021 to 2023). Denial in this case means, that the politicians either called climate change a hoax or said it was not real, said that it has always existed and its natural, said that the climate change dispute is unresolved, or claimed that humans are not the main contributors to the warming climate (Drennen & Hardin, 2021). They found that no Democratic or independent elected officials have explicitly denied climate change (Drennen & Hardin, 2021). The number of climate deniers in congress has shrunk by 11 (from 150 to 139) members from the 116th Congress to the 117th Congress. One member who switched was Senator Dan Crenshaw, who will be evaluated. In the 117th Congress, 109 representatives and 30 senators refused to acknowledge the scientific evidence of human-caused climate change" (Drennen & Hardin, 2021, para. 1).

The influence that elites have on the public continues here. As Tesler (2018) found that if more Republican Congress members were less skeptical about global warming, then the citizens who identify as Republicans would be less skeptical of it. This signifies how important it is to understand each party's understanding of issues as a whole and the messages they send to its supporters.

Both parties are divided, and this thesis will investigate their understanding of climate migration. Considering the deep divisions in views on global warming and immigration, it can be argued that significant differences are likely to continue for the issue of climate migration as well (Leah Kwie Ien Philippo, 2021).

2.4. THE ELECTORATE COMPOSITION

This section first defines what 'electorate' means before describing the composition of the electorate. The electorate can be defined as American citizens that are eligible to vote. However, this does not mean that they will vote, but rather that they have the ability to contribute to elections.

This section will use Gramlich (2020)'s Pew Research data from 2019 to express the electorate's composition. This is because the electorate remains in a "slow but constant state of flux," meaning there are changes to its composition, but it takes time to really notice them (Gramlich, 2020, para.1). The electorate's composition can change for a few reasons - a new generation reaching voting age, i.e., 18, green card holders obtaining citizenship, or shifts in racial or ethnic makeup, etc. (Gramlich, 2020). The narrow timespan, i.e., 2015-2021, encompasses a relatively consonant electorate body; the year 2019 should allow for an accurate representation of the timespan being evaluated.

The electorate is aging. "The median age among all registered voters increased from 44 in 1996 to 50 in 2019" (Gramlich, 2020, para.12). In 2019, 50% of the electorate was over the age of 50 (Gramlich, 2020). The trend continues among partisan lines. In 1996, 39% of voters were over the age of 50, compared to 56% in 2019 (Gramlich, 2020). This was similar - but to a lesser extent - in the Democratic party; in 1996, 41% of voters were over 50, compared to 52% in 2020 (Gramlich, 2020). Moreover, Generation Z is entering the electorate's

composition in 2020, making up one-in-ten eligible voters, compared to just 4% in 2016 (Gramlich, 2020).

The electorate, for a majority, i.e., 65%, do not possess a college degree (Gramlich, 2020). In 2019, those who identify as Democratic voters are more likely to hold a college degree than Republicans - 41% compared with 30% (Gramlich, 2020).

A majority of the electorate are Christians, i.e., 64%, which has recently declined from 79% in 2008. Interestingly, those who identify as being unaffiliated with any religion have "nearly doubled during that same time span, from 15% to 28%" (Gramlich, 2020, para. 16). The 2019 data reveals that the Republican party is more religious, especially in terms of Christianity compared with the democratic party. The Republican party consists of 79% Christians, 15% unaffiliated, and 5% of other faiths, in contrast with the Democratic party, which is composed of 52% Christians, 38% unaffiliated, and 9% of other faiths (Gramlich, 2020).

The overall racial composition of the electorate is becoming more diverse. In 2019, whites makeup 69%, Blacks 11%, Hispanics 11%, and others 8%, compared with 1996 data where whites make up 85%, blacks 9%, latinos less than 5%and others less than 2% (Gramlich, 2020). The Republican party lacks diversity compared with the Democratic party. In 2019, Republicans consisted of 81% white, 7% Latinos, 7% other, and less than 4% blacks, while the Democratic party consisted of 59% white, 19% blacks, 13% Latinos, and 8% other (Gramlich, 2020).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework in this thesis can be described as a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This chapter aims to break down the elements that make up CDA - language and discourse analysis (DA). Furthermore, this section includes Woods's (2006) understanding of 'political discourse' in order to outline tools used for speech analysis. Moreover, to understand the power dynamics presented in a normalized fashion by the political parties, this thesis incorporated some elements of Michele Foucalt to further elaborate on CDA.

3.1. LANGUAGE

Language is the driving force of this thesis. This section aims to give an overall understanding and appreciation for language as it will be a central theme in the discourse discussion.

Language is a unique and essential feature of human existence. Language's sole purpose is to enable us to communicate with each other, making it an inherently social practice. As social beings, we use our minds to give meaning to things and make sense of the world around us. This meaning is then repeated throughout time in social practices. Meanings change over time and are reflective of the societies they are in. In the words of Woods (2006), it "is through our social and linguistic relationships with the rest of the world" that we construct meaning (Woods, 2006, p.ix). The meaning we give to things is pivotal as Hajer and Versteeg (2005) explain, because "the meaning affects the outcomes" (p. 177). Therefore, it is not a stretch to say that language is a powerful tool that shapes the way we think and how we view the world that we live in (Woods, 2006). Language and the narratives that society tells influence us to behave and act in certain ways. This comprehension of language lays an important foundation that will help improve our understanding of discourse, CDA, and Foucaladian theory.

3.2. DISCOURSE APPROACH

To put discourse simply, language matters. And discourse reflects the social quality of language (discussed in 3.1). The implications of this social foundation creating and defining the world we live in through the construction of words display a constructivist stance. This means that no universal truth or reality exists, rather, meanings are constantly contested, and

knowledge is impartial because it is “composed of the endless interaction and engagement of social actors” (Leah Kwie Ien Philippo, 2021, p. 15).

This complex multidimensional nature of discourse starts with its definition. The definition of discourse is widely contested by scholars (Dryzek, 2005; Fairclough, 2010; Hamilton et al., 2015; Leah Kwie Ien Philippo, 2021; Woods, 2006). Dryzek (2005) argues that discourse is a “shared way of apprehending the world” (p. 8). Similarly, Fairclough (1995) believes “‘discourse’ is the use of language seen as a form of social practice” (p. 7). Woods (2006) describes discourse to be “language plus context” (Woods, 2006, p.x). By 'context', Woods means “the context that we bring with us when we use language” (Woods, 2006, p.x). Hajer and Versteeg (2005) defined ‘discourse’ as “an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices” (p. 175). Dryzek's (2005), Fairclough’s (1995), Woods’s (2006), and Hajer and Versteef’s (2005)’s definitions all confirm discourses’ linguistic and social properties.

The purpose of discourse analysis (DA) is to examine the “language used beyond the sentence” itself in order to understand its function within a social context. This corresponds with Fairclough's (1995) definition of discourse analysis, which he describes as an “analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice” (p. 7). Similarly, but with fewer words, Hajer and Versteeg describe DA to be “the study of language-in-use” (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 176).

Woods, Hamilton, Tanner, and Schiffrin (2015) warn that if you stop the analysis at the sentence level or micro level, then too much will be missed as it is necessary to study the full context of the discourse. In other words, a discourse analyst cannot isolate one sentence from the rest of the context, whether it be for grammar or other purposes because it limits the actual understanding of the discourse as a whole. According to Woods (2006) “discourse analysist are as concerned (if not more so) to examine the way in which meaning is constructed throughout the text, as with the way this is achieved at any one point in the text” (p.x). Both of these understandings of discourse analysis emphasize using a macro over a micro tactic while analyzing. Additionally, Foucault also emphasizes a need for a macro rather than a micro study of discourse in order to examine trends over time when dissecting a ‘power discourse’ dynamics (this will be discussed more in 3.4). This macro tactic will be

incorporated into this thesis's analysis as it will better help contribute to an overall comprehensive guide of the party's conception of the relationship between 'climate change' and 'immigration.'

The basic assumption of discourse analysis, according to Hajer and Versteeg (2005), "is that language profoundly shapes one's view of the world and reality" (p. 176). In other words, language creates a subjective reality that allows us to perceive and understand our world (Foucalt as cited in Gibbs, 2015). Through discourse, societies define different concepts and objects, which bring about a certain understanding of reality. People within a society locate themselves on this conceptual map. By doing so, a person adopts these positions and acts in a way that is expected (this concept of behaving in a certain way based on the discourse a person accepts will be dissected further in Foucault's understanding of power in 3.4). In other words, adopting these subject positions creates a reality that simultaneously shapes our identity. Foucault summarized this idea very well by saying, "these discourses are actually creating the very subjective experience of ourselves" (as cited in Gibbs, 2015). This means that the way issues are "perceived and interpreted is determined by what knowledge is communicated and how" (Leah Kwie Ien Philippo, 2021, p. 15). For example, 'politics' was never something that simply existed on its own, but rather something invented and reinvented by culture. A strength of discourse analysis "is its capacity to illuminate the central role of language in politics," (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 177).

The differing opinions that exist in politics are a result of the discourses that different people were exposed to. This is why "the different sides seem to interpret the issues at hand in different ways," (Dryzek, 2005, p. 7). "Essentially, there are two dominant discourses in American politics: The Republican and Democratic discourses" (Schoonover, 2020b, p. 36). Each party has corresponding discourses that are synonymous with each party's platform. Thus, simultaneously creating "two separate truths" among citizens in defining what American democracy means (Schoonover, 2020b, p.36). This has allowed for the political elites, political leaders, and political entrepreneurs to organize their discursive 'truths' in respect of the voter's demands.

According to Hajer and Versteeg (2005), overall, "the study of discourse allows one to uncover how social actors uphold different frames of the social world and thereby construct their own 'truths,'" (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 15). In relation to this thesis, this would

mean that discourse analysis enables us to decode and detangle the presumed ‘truths’ within political parties. The way issues are perceived and understood is largely based on the political party leaders' discourses regarding them. This understanding of issues influences voters as political leaders largely dictate the issues being discussed (Schoonover, 2020b). When solving, “the way the issue is dealt with largely (though not completely) depends on the balance of these competing perspectives” (Dryzek, 2005, p. 7). This is why it is critical to understand how both political parties understand different issues - to know how they may be solved. For this thesis, we are trying to understand how the two political parties understand the relationship between climate change and migration.

Miller (1990) mentions a need to distinguish between the terms ‘meaning’ and truth.’ Albeit it is obvious that discourses hold meaning, this does not mean that discourses are true (Miller, 1990). This explanation will help clarify the already established understanding that “discourse will be objectively true if the world is as the discourse says it is; conversely, it will be objectively false where the world is not as it says it is” (Miller, 1990, p. 119). The distinction between truth and meaning, Miller says, is “just as the notion of truth brings with it the notion of an objectively existing world, so the notion of meaning brings with it the notion of a subject” (p. 119). In summary, truth is inherently objective, while meaning is subjective; therefore, discourse possesses meaning, not truth (Miller, 1990). Finding the meaning of a political party’s discourse is the central theme of this thesis. Instead of using the term ‘true’ or ‘truth’ to describe what people believe to be ‘true,’ this paper will use the term ‘belief’ instead. Saldaña et al. (2018)define ‘beliefs’ to be “statements that people assume to be true, and they have been often attached to a relatively stable group or social values (p. 791). However, throughout this thesis, if something is considered to be ‘true’ for a person or instance, but the world belief is not used, the word, true, will be in quotes like follows - ‘truth.’

Although discourse also includes visual imagery, this thesis will focus on evaluating the text in the speeches. However, if it is a video speech, then I may include brief comments about the manner they are presenting themselves, and the gestures they are giving.

Since this thesis will be using speech acts, the type of discourse that will be used is referred to as ‘political discourse.’ To analyze political discourse, this thesis will later turn to the analytical tools given by Woods (2006) in (4.5.). When evaluating political discourse, Woods

(2006) believed that the critical discourse approach is the most suitable candidate. The next section will discuss what critical discourse analysis is and

3.3. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This thesis will be using one distinctive discourse approach that builds upon DA. That is, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This section will explain CDA and its central attributes that will be featured and incorporated throughout this thesis.

DA and CDA are alike in how they investigate the way that language is used to produce and moderate social and psychological phenomena; however, CDA is more specific than DA. Language is not only seen as a social construction of reality (like in DA) but also as an "instrument of power and control" (Fernadez Martinez as cited in Leah Kwie Ien Philippo, 2021, p. 16). Similarly, Mullet (2018) said that "CDA emphasize[s] the role of language as a power resource" (p. 116). This explains why Michel Foucault views CDA to be a 'discourse of power' and seeks to unmask the relationships of power that are hidden in discourse. In other words, CDA aims to uncover the power dynamics that are hidden in the text and goes unnoticed by the normal eye. Foucault's contribution to CDA, specifically his understanding of power and power dynamics, is critical in this thesis and thus will be discussed further in the next section.

The distinctive feature of CDA lies in taking a critical lens toward the real world's pressing social issues of inequality and (the reproduction of) power relations (Leah Kwie Ien Philippo, 2021; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 1999). According to Van Dijk (1993), the primary focus of CDA should be on the "dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it" while using DA to understand them better (van Dijk, 1993, p. 252). There is a consensus among scholars using CDA that the social issues chosen for evaluation should be 'real' and impose a serious threat on the lives or well-being of many. An example of this is the future climate-induced migration to the U.S. Therefore, when selecting discourse for CDA, they should be centered around inquiries "that sustain and reproduce unequal power relations" (Leah Kwie Ien Philippo, 2021, p. 16). Their analysis should be from the perspective of those being dominated and suffering from inequality, or in the words of Van Dijk (1993), they should stand "in solidarity with those who need it most" (p. 252). Therefore, the critical targets of analysis should be "the power elites that enact, sustain,

legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice" (252). The political leaders act as elites installing their narratives into the public's minds.

Wodak (1999) argues that 'critical' means "distinguishing complexity and denying easy, dichotomous explanations" (p. 186). In other words, it is about clearly communicating complex issues to engage in critical and elaborate explanations. Moreover, Wodak (1999) emphasizes Habermaus' point that researchers struggle to remove their own viewpoints and biases throughout their work. The researcher, according to Wodak (1999), should strive to allow the data "to speak for themselves" and remain "abductive" by explicitly stating what the researcher is doing (Wodak, 1999, p. 186). However, this research will portray the Foucauldian sense rather than Habermas. Therefore, it may include the researcher's own biases if they are relevant and bring value to the discussion and to the particular discourse being evaluated. Having grown up in Johns Creek, GA, USA, I have heard numerous narratives relating to 'climate change' and 'immigration,' however, I will not insert my opinion or cultural references without directly acknowledging that I am doing so.

The significance of CDA is that its aim is to challenge the social orders that we consider to be so common or natural that we have stopped questioning them (Woods, 2006). CDA wants to shed light on the accepted social order embedded and hidden in language. This is also why the next section will discuss Focault's work. This thesis focuses on the elites within a political party and their discursive strategies for maintaining inequality and perpetuation of power over others to maintain control. Analyzing their discourses will discover the messages perpetuating inequalities for climate change and migration.

3.4. MICHEL FOUCAULT

Critical discourse analysis was born from Michel Foucault's early work on power. Foucault was an influential post-structuralist thinker born in Poitiers, France, in 1926. He is famous for his theoretical discussion of power and his contribution to viewing power dynamics between the subject and ruler or between a lower-power entity and a high-power entity (Schoonover, 2020a). In this thesis, that dynamic will be between the electorate and the party leader (two-party system). In this instance, the party leader has significantly more power than an average American voter. Therefore, the Focualian concepts outlined in this section will be useful in

understanding the mobilizing capacity of political discourse. This section will discuss Foucault's understanding of knowledge and power and the two types of power in order to better evaluate the true intentions of the party leaders.

3.4.1. MICHEL FOUCALT: KNOWLEDGE AND POWER

In order to understand Foucalt's conception of power, it is first necessary to understand knowledge, power, and subjectivity. For Foucault, knowledge, and power are always somehow intimately connected. He believes that knowledge, power, and history, alongside our perspective or subjectivity, determine the world around us. Foucault's thought was inspired by Nietzsche's idea at the end of the 19th century, where he challenged the idea that there was no good or evil; rather, our understanding is determined by power - specifically, who is in power (Then & Now, 2019). For both Foucault and Nietzsche, power is seen as an influence.

For Foucault, *knowledge,* especially the authoritative force of knowledge, provides legitimization for power and, in this sense, generates power. On the other hand, *power* depends on knowledge and simultaneously produces knowledge. The forms of knowledge that constitute this authoritative force of knowledge keeps changing throughout history in a given society. Therefore, what is considered 'true knowledge' changes over time. The way that knowledge is collected, ordered and interpreted – changes who we are. Foucault says "In a society, different bodies of learning philosophical ideas, everyday opinions, but also institutions, commercial practices, and policies activities, more – all refer to a certain implicit knowledge special to this society" (as cited in Then & Now, 2019, 2:16). These bodies are "what makes possible, at a given moment, the appearance of a theory, an opinion, a practice," (Foucalt as cited in Then & Now, 2019, 2:30). The most authoritative form of knowledge today is natural science. For Foucault, discourse is where power and knowledge meet.

Furthermore, for Foucault, subjectivity is also related to power and knowledge. This is because, as individuals, we are shaped by the society we live in and the discourses that arise that determine the expectations society sets for individuals. This can be different from one society to another. Through discourses, society defines what it means to be a rational, autonomous individual. In Foucault's sense, we are shaped by this force of power and

knowledge. In summary, discourses perpetuate power and contain knowledge however, whether they are true depends on the subjective individual. This description of knowledge, power, and subjectivity makes it possible to better understand Foucault's understanding of power.

3.4.2. MICHEL FOCUALT: TWO TYPES OF POWER

Foucalt's works concern power to some extent and can be explained by how the power-knowledge duality previously described, changes over time. Foucault describes the existence of two types of power. This section will discuss both in order to differentiate between them. However, the actual analysis will only use the second type of power. Outside of this section, when power is referred to on its own without specification, it refers to that second time of power, i.e., 'biopower' or 'disciplinary power.'

The power that emerged first is described as 'repressive power' or 'sovereign judicial power.' This power is in the hands of the sovereign decision maker or sovereign institution (which is dependent on the time and place). This could be the parliament, the president, or the constitutional institutions. It operates as a one-way street, where the sovereign enforces the law or, in other words, the sovereign controls their subjects. In the 17th century, this form of power was expressed by brutal means on the masses to maintain control. Foucault famously described the power used here as "a right of seizure: of things, time, bodies, and ultimately life itself; it culminated in the privilege to seize hold of life in order to suppress it" (Foucalt, 1978, p.259).

Foucault noticed a shift when the sovereign began to "take care of life" rather than destroy it (Foucalt, 1978, p. 259). It emerged through enlightenment as humanity was able to improve the quality of life and make medical and scientific advances. As humanity evolved, the sovereign's goals did as well. This ultimately led to the other form of power, which Foucault terms 'disciplinary power' or 'biopower.' The purpose of biopower was to use the masses to benefit the government, whether for economic, military, or other purposes. In the words of Schoonover (2020), "the government became responsible for the optimization, growth, and sustainment of life, and their successes and failures in so doing generate or detract from their legitimacy" (p. 28). Therefore, biopower is dispersed through various institutions like schools, prisons, hospitals, factories, and other social institutions. Miller uses the term

‘impersonal social power’ to describe the power exercised not by individuals but by institutions, social groups, etc. (Miller, 1990). This is why for Foucalt, For Foucalt “[p]ower is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere” (Foucault via Miller, 1990, p.122). Power in this sense is not held by one individual or one thing, but rather it is relational between people and institutions. In the words of Foucault, “[p]ower is not . . . one individual's domination over others or that of one group or class over others. Rather power must be analyzed as something which circulates . . . which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never in anybody's hand” (as cited in Miller, 1990, p. 122).

Sovereign power still exists, but to a lesser extent than before, as the existence of discipline changed the need for the brutal active intervention that was used in the past. This shift was described by Schoonover (2020) as a shift from subtractive power to produce power. Sovereign power acts subtractive or negatively, meaning it takes something away from the individual in question when they rebel against the sovereign. This could be life or money. This is different from disciplinary power, which is positive, meaning it tries to shape members of its population as such in order to maximize its potential. This aligns with the emergence of the commercial capitalist economy. An example of this could be the desire to increase personal income wealth, which simultaneously benefits the state's economy.

Sovereign judicial power is used to control through the language of the law. “Law always refers to the sword” (Foucalt, 1978, p. 266). On the other hand, disciplinary power is conditioned through the language of normalcy. Normalization, according to Foucault, is “the process where the individual is not just categorized, but also controlled and even constructed by the power vested in institutions and antecedent social practices” (as cited in Miller, 1990, p. 21). Certain behaviors are considered to be the standard or ‘norm’ of a society. This often is told to them by scientists and realized in the form of discourses. People then act according to these discourses and, for the most part, do what is expected of them for that society. In the context of this thesis, the norms of current society also shape the narratives presented and reinforced throughout discourses. The power of these norms enters the political sphere.

Sovereign power is a hierarchical pyramid that reinforces control, while disciplinary power is a network of power relations that operates in a mutual relationship. This network does not mean that the relationship is symmetrical, as teachers have control over students and bosses

have control over their employees. It does mean that both parties play a role, and there is a mutual understanding and a benefit gained by that interaction.

This thesis utilizes the ‘top-down’ relations to dominance rather than the ‘bottom-up.’ This denotes that in many situations, “power and even power abuse may seem ‘jointly produced’" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 250). This combines the previously mentioned topics; it means that the dominance of those in power is considered legitimate and ‘natural.’

The power of the people is an illusion installed into American democracy when in reality, it's centered in the hands of the politicians. These politicians have normalized their power and have influenced the discussions on issues in American politics. The *real* power they hold is subtle and not obvious to the average person. They do so through discrete and well-thought-out methods - like what will be described in the section titled ‘political discourse.’ The discourses used by the party leaders have an intended purpose to use their power to manipulate the masses. For these reasons, this paper will explore Foucalt’s disciplinary power or biopower in relation to discourses concerning climate migrants.

4. METHODOLOGY

This chapter will address the methodology used in this thesis; by this, I mean I will describe how the research was carried out. The purpose of this is to explain the procedure that was involved during the discourse selection as well as the analytical process of this thesis. This is to ensure I provide a thorough explanation of how and why I selected the speech acts that I did and elaborate on the framework that was used to construct the analysis. The research is qualitative as it is built on the language used in political speeches.

Before continuing to the actual methodology of the chapter, I will briefly remind the reader of the research question that projected this thesis. It is:

How is the relationship between migration and climate change represented in discourses between America's two political parties?

This question aims to articulate how the two parties understand the climate-induced immigration issue. This question will be analyzed at a basic level to dissect the overall articulation of the issue. To answer this, I will use a qualitative research method, critical discourse analysis, alongside the analytical tools Woods (2006) outlines for political discourse. The speeches will come from political leaders on both sides from 2015 to 2021. In doing this, I will be able to understand and formulate a solid overarching discourse for each party's general understanding of the issue.

The other research question that corresponds with the main one, which will also be addressed in this thesis, is:

What messages or narratives (about climate change and migration) are the party leaders sending to its members through these discourses?

This question is looking to uncover the power relations hidden in the discourses. That is the message and the intentions that political leaders are *really* trying to convey to the electorate. To do so, I will utilize Foucaldian power elements and the critical discourse approach.

The research design of this chapter is divided into two main sections - gathering information and then Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Method, which describes the analytical process. I will be performing research for two different parties and want to display any difference that may have resulted. The sections within this chapter continue as follows the 1) Delimations, 2)

Logic Flow 3) Gathering Information, 4) Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Method , and 5) Methodological Reflections.

4.1. DELIMATIONS

The timespan of the years 2015-2021 was chosen for a few reasons. The first reason is that the aim was to understand the recent discourses concerning climate migrants. Moreover, due to the limited corpus found (especially in the Republican party) on issues concerning 'climate change' and 'immigration,' or 'climate migrants,' this timespan was needed to cover a span of a few years rather than a single or a small range of years in order to access the available data. Notably, this timespan covers three different presidential administrations in the U.S. - two Democrats (Obama and Biden) and one Republican (Trump). This may provide a wider scope of insight than without it.

Additionally, the timespan reflects an extreme low of migrants at the US-Mexico border and an all time high. The year 2017 saw an extreme low at around 300,000 migrant encounters; the years 2015, 2016, and 2020 were also low (Gramlich & Scheller, 2021, p. 3). The years 2019 and 2021 saw some of the highest number of immigrants arriving at the U.S.-Mexico border ever reported (Gramlich & Scheller, 2021). According to Gramlich and Scheller (2021), the year 2021 encountered the highest number of migrants on record at 1,659,209. Similarly, the year 2019 reported 1,643,679 migrants (Gramlich, 2021, p. 1). However, the following year (2020) experienced a sharp decline. Moreover, the border in 2021 experienced uncommon migrant encounters from countries such as Ecuador, Brazil, Venezuela, Haiti, and Cuba - Ecuador's encounters increased over eightfold (Gramlich & Scheller, 2021).

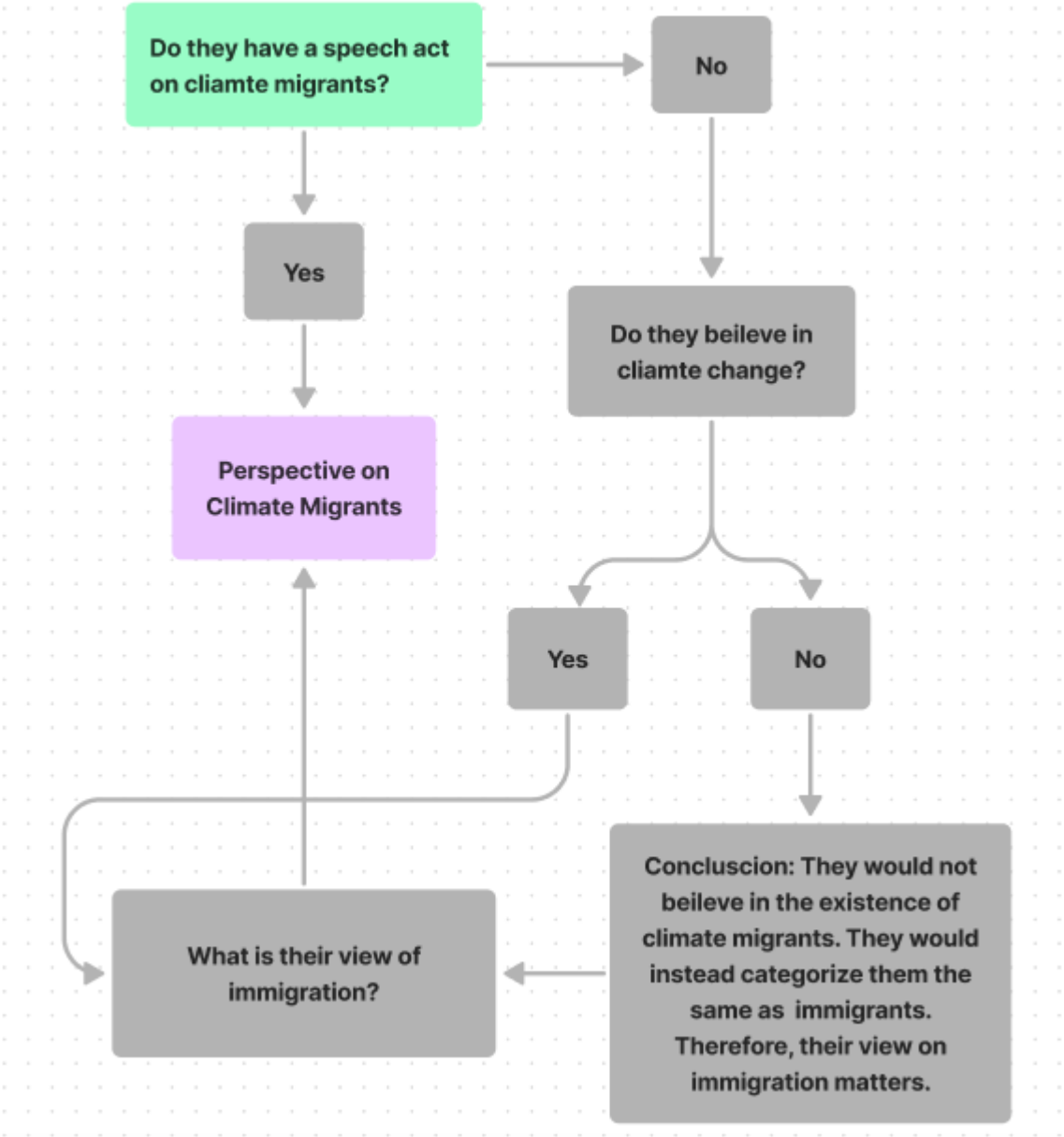
Lastly, the world is getting warmer, and climate change is becoming more of a noticeable threat to life. According to the World Meteorological Organization (2022), the years 2016, 2019, and 2020 were the top three warmest years on earth. The year 2019 was in the top seven the la Nina of 2020-2022, which temporarily cooled the global temperatures (World Meteorological Organization (WMO), 2022, p. 1). All these aspects considered, make the chosen timespan suitable for answering the proposed research question.

4.2. THE LOGIC FLOW

Based on the various numbers of speech acts that were found, I had to use a flow of logic in order to find my results. This section will briefly address the logic flow that was used to find my results.

There is a dispute over whether climate change is a real phenomena in the United States. If politicians believe that climate change is occurring, then they would believe in the existence of climate migrants. However, if they do not believe that climate change is occurring then they will not acknowledge the presence of climate migrants. Instead, they will represent them to be immigrants. Or in better words, they will frame their discourses to describe them as immigrants. Since climate migrants are not yet recognized in international law, they will likely not refer to climate migrants as ‘refugees’ or ‘asylum seekers’ either. Therefore, this analysis looks at their perspective of immigrants to try to determine how they would deem climate migrants as a whole. To increase understanding of the logic that was described here, I created a visual representation using a flow diagram. It can be found here or in **Figure 1**. The start of the flow is in light green, while the end is in light purple.

Figure 1: Logic Flow



4.3. GATHERING INFORMATION

This section will explain how I gathered the information for my CDA. When sampling discourse material for this thesis, I chose "a non-probability form of sampling" known as 'purposive sampling' (Bryman, 2012, p. 418). The goal of purposive sampling is to select samples in a strategic way "so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed," (Bryman, 2012, p. 418). In other words, the sample that I selected corresponded to my research question.

Due to the two main discourses of analysis - the democrat and republican - there was a higher possibility for confusion. In order to eliminate any possible confusion and provide a coherent guide to my research framework, I created **Table 1** to present a visual representation of the flow I used when gathering information.

Table 1: Gathering Information

GATHERING INFORMATION		
STAGE 1	Political Leaders	Find important political figures within the party
STAGE 2	**Table 2**	Create a table from information found in stage one
STAGE 3	Climate Change Beliefs	Determine beliefs on climate change.
STAGE 4	**Table 3**	Put corresponding climate change beliefs in **Table 3.** If they did not believe, put the climate change speech act in Table 3 or 4 and then proceed to stage seven.
STAGE 5	Climate Migrant Speeches	Using **Table 2** and Google, assess the available speeches associated with 'climate migrants,'or the combination of 'climate change' and 'immigration.'
STAGE 6	Fill gaps with YouTube	With the remaining gaps, I repeated stage five using YouTube and lengthy speech acts
STAGE 7	Immigration Speeches	Using the same politicians as stage three, repeat stage two and find speeches that correlates with with 'immigration'
STAGE 8	**Table 4** and **5**	Gather the relevant materials in **Table 4** and **5**

In stage one and two, I researched and created a list of five relevant party leaders for the Republican party during the time span of 2015 to 2021. I repeated this again with the Democratic party. When conducting this research I started by using my own knowledge of the main contributors to each political party (e.g. Donald Trump, Joe Biden, and Kamala Harris). Then, I looked at the main faces during historic events such as the two presidential elections that occurred during this timespan i.e., 2016 and 2020. The presidential candidates represented a wide array of perspectives from inside their corresponding party and had influence in shaping the parties thoughts on issues, therefore, I included some candidates for analysis (e.g. Elizabeth Warren, Bernie Sanders, Marco Rubio, and Ted Cruz) Moreover, I also included politicians who were well known and were highly active and contributing to

discussions (e.g. Mitt Romney, Dan Crenshaw). I chose them because they are the most likely to give speeches that will also be received by most of the public, thus, making their discourses more important. The last reason I chose these candidates is because I wanted to ensure that the ideologies they represented were widespread. I therefore, used the political compass and their available data to ensure that the chosen politicians are a good representation of the parties constituents. The political compass for the Democratic party can be seen in **Figure 2** and the Republicans political compass in **Figure 3**. It is to be noted that some of these party leaders do not serve in politics during the timespan or (e.g., Barack Obama); however, this does not matter as the timespan only refers to the speeches that were given during this time, not if they were active politicians. This is because party leaders are simply supposed to represent their parties views. The resulting list can be seen in **Table 2**, they are listed in no particular order.

Table 2: List of Party Leaders

#	Republican Party Leaders	Democrat Party Leaders
1	Former President Donald Trump	Former Barack Obama (Was president in 2015)
2	Senator Mitt Romney from Utah	Senator Bernie Sanders from Vermont
3	Senator Marco Rubio from Florida	President Joe Biden (from 2021 to currently)
4	Congressman Dan Crenshaw from Texas	Senator Elizabeth Warren from Massachusetts
5	Senator Ted Cruz from Texas	Vice President Kamala Harris since 2021

Figure 2: Political Compass for the Democratic Party

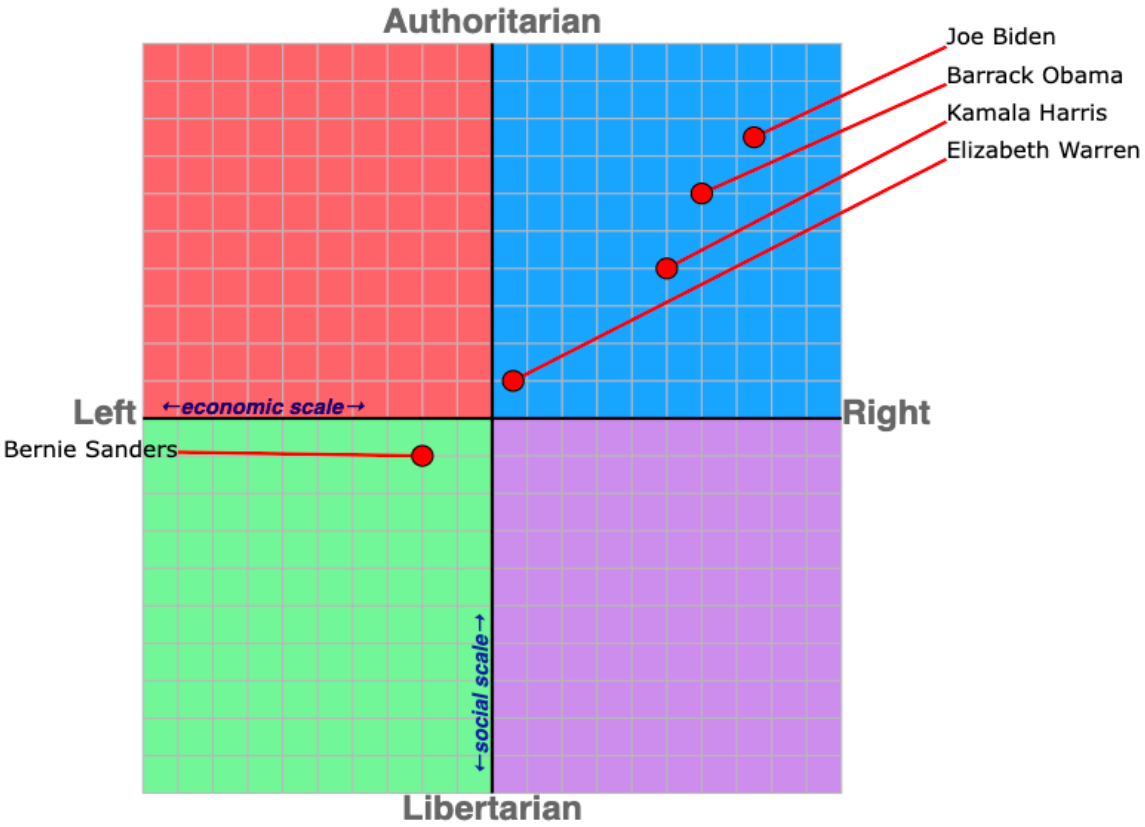
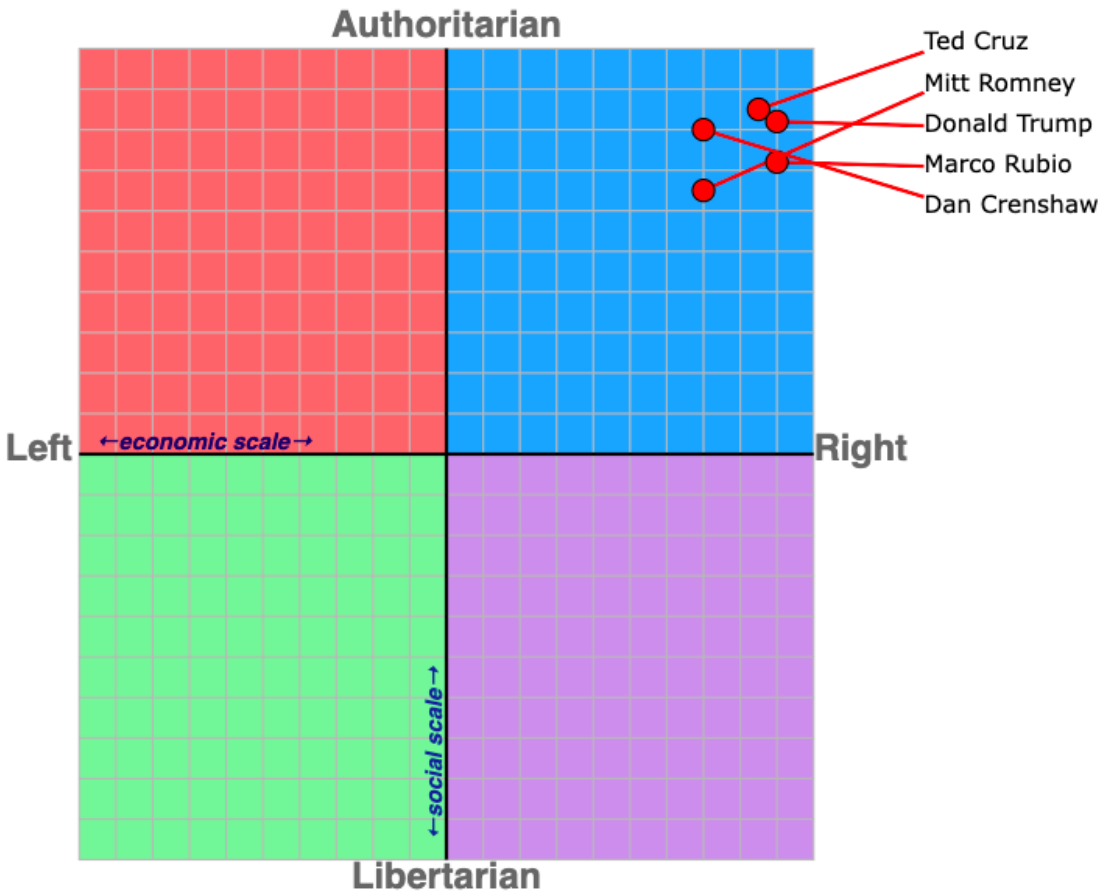


Figure 3: Political Compass for the Republican Party



In stage three, I research whether or not the party leaders in **Table 2** believed in climate change. I did so by using the data found in the Center for American Progress (CAP)'s 2021 report that revealed the parliament members position on climate change. Moreover, I found specific speech acts that could support this finding and analyzed them as well. How I found them will be discussed more in stage four. It is notable that some sources are better than others, but this just emphasizes the lack of information found on the subject. In stage four, I put the summary of the results in **Table 3**. I also included an explanation for this finding in the analysis. The source that reveals this data is in the next section.

Table 3: Climate Change Beliefs

Republican Party Leader	**Believe, Denial, or Economy Centric**	**Democratic Party Leader**	**Believe, Denial, or Economy Centric**
Former President Donald Trump	Denial	Former Barack Obama	Believe
Senator Mitt Romney from Utah	Believe	Senator Bernie Sanders from Vermont	Believe
Senator Marco Rubio from Florida	Denial	President Joe Biden	Believe
Congressman Dan Crenshaw from Texas	2018- Skepticism 2021-Believe	Senator Elizabeth Warren from Massachusetts	Believe
Senator Ted Cruz from Texas	Denial	Vice President Kamala Harris since 2021	Believe

Before continuing I will briefly clarify what I mean by 'speech acts.' For this thesis, 'speech acts' refers to an individual material that is more formal and has an adequate amount of speech. The speech acts could be interviews, conversations, debates, campaign speeches, transcripts, etc.. This does not include short forms of speech such as Tweets, or Instagram posts, mentionings of speech from a politician in a news article, etc..

After having a decent selection of party leaders to choose from, I moved to stage five. This is where I began to actually research speech acts. I started by researching politicians, on both sides, who were well-known (e.g. Donald Trump) as I assumed there would be a higher

chance of finding relevant speech acts. Later, I researched the politicians who would likely be representative of ‘climate migrants’ or ‘climate change’ and ‘immigration’ to see if there were any speeches available. Lastly, I researched the remaining politicians from the list to look for any speeches where they talked about both ‘climate change’ and ‘immigration.’

To do so, I used the google search engine, and in stage six I used YouTube. For a majority, I looked under the google search engine tab titled ‘all,’ however, if there were no results to add to the corpus, then I clicked the tab ‘videos’ as speeches are often recorded rather than transcripted.

When searching, I put quotation marks over each keyword or phrase. I did this because google is designed to find results that contain the exact words used inside the quotations. An example of a search would be as follows: "speech" "name" "climate migrants" [then press enter]. When searching for the relationship between climate change and immigration, I used the terms ‘climate migrants,’ ‘climate refugees,’ ‘climate-induced migration’ ‘environmental migrants,’ ‘environmental refugees,’ ‘global warming migrants,’ ‘global warming refugees,’ ‘climate change and immigration,’ ‘global warming and immigration.’ Moreover, instead of ‘speech’ I also used ‘speeches,’ ‘talk,’ ‘said,’ ‘interview,’ ‘conversation,’ ‘spoke,’ ‘said,’ ‘campaign,’ and ‘transcript.’ It is to be taken into account that unless stated otherwise, I also had the time span selected so that it would only show me results from 2015 to 2021.

After this, I searched the terms so they were quoted separately, but on the same line. An example of this search would be: "speech" "name" "climate change” “immigrntion" [then press enter]. If there was nothing found with the initial search I would swap out ‘climate change’ with ‘global warming.’ If nothing came up then, I would try ‘environment.’ These speech acts were ideal candidates for analysis. If I found these, then I left the other columns in the tables empty i.e., ‘speeches on climate change’ and ‘speeches on immigration.’ On the other hand, if nothing was found, the columns were left blank. The same source was repeated if it answered both questions – **Tables 4** and **5**.

Due to the limited number of speech acts found in the previous stages, I turned to stage six where I made one attempt to fill in the gaps by listening to lengthy speech acts on the topic and waiting for them to address climate change and immigration. If one source was lacking in one department, I add another source that would confirm or add to the analysis. I did so by

using YouTube and searching their name and speech. The benefit of this approach was that I could see which speeches were the most popular. If there were multiple occasions where the topics were mentioned to an adequate extent that I found would be useful for analysis then, I determined when speech to use by the number of views it had. I did this because that means the speech had more of an influence. This time when searching, I removed the word 'speech,' as a video already incorporates verbose speech. I also omitted the quotations because the results were more limiting with them than without at times. It should be noted that YouTube does not allow you to filter results to a particular time period, so I had to do this manually. As a result, some possible sources may have been left out due to user error. I had succeeded in doing this and was able to fill in the gap more, however, still not completely.

In stage eight, I provide a summary of the results that will be used in the analytical section of this thesis, divided by party, in **Table 4** and **Table 5**. I also included a transcript version if I could find one, however, I analyzed them using the video's timestamps. The tables include the sources that will be used in the chapter section. The politicians who were not included in tables three and four were left out because there was not enough information found on them. By this I mean, there could have been sufficient material for 'climate change' but not for 'immigration' or vice versa.

Table 4: Democrats Speech Acts

	Democrats			
#	**Party Leader**	**Speech on Climate Migrants**	**Speech on Climate Change**	**Speech on Immigration**
1	Former President Barack Obama	Transcript: (Sanford, 2021b) Video: (Sanford, 2021b)		
2	Senator Bernie Sanders from Vermont	Video: (Bernie Sanders, 2019)		
3	President Joe Biden	Video: (CNBC Television, 2022) Transcript: ("Full Transcript of Biden's State of the Union Address," 2022)	(ABC News, 2020)	Video: (CNBC Television, 2022) Transcript: ("Full Transcript of Biden's State of the Union Address," 2022)
4	Senator Elizabeth Warren from Massachusetts	Video: (Young, 2019) Transcript: (C-SPAN, 2019)		
5	Vice President Kamala Harris since 2021	Transcript: (Sanford, 2021a) Video: (The White House, 2021)		

Table 5: Republican Speech Acts

Republicans				
#	**Party Leader**	**Speech on Climate Migrants**	**Speech on Climate Change**	**Speech on Immigration**
1	Former President Donald Trump	Video: (CNN, 2016b) Transcript: ("Transcript of Donald Trump's Immigration Speech," 2016)	Video: (ABC News, 2020)	Video: (CNN, 2016b) Transcript: ("Transcript of Donald Trump's Immigration Speech," 2016)
2	Senator Mitt Romney from Utah		Source one: (Superior Transcriptions LLC, 2020) Source two: (Bolton, 2019)	Transcript: ("Transcript of Mitt Romney's Speech on Donald Trump," 2016)
3	Senator Marco Rubio from Florida		(Mooney & Viebeck, 2018)	Video: (Marco Rubio, 2015) Transcript: (Beckwith, 2015)
4	Congressman Dan Crenshaw from Texas	Video: (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021)	Facebook Post skepticism: (Crenshaw, 2018) Climate views clarification: (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021)	Video: (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021)
5	Senator Ted Cruz from Texas		Video and Transcript: (*Ted Cruz Stands with ExxonMobil on Climate Denial*, 2016) - 2017	(ABC News, 2015)

4.3.1. RESEARCH CHALLENGES

As previously mentioned, there were a few research challenges that prevented a smooth gathering of speech acts. The first I found was limited full length speeches as the media likes to gather sound bites in order to attract information (Woods, 2006). When looking for the full length speech, this was at times very difficult to find. The source they listed was from my knowledge did not exist any longer and Most of the times it did not exist at all as far as I know. For example, trying to reach this link from (Camia, 2015) As a result, I had to stick with the clip or find another, however, there were not many other options to choose from.

Another time where I ran into trouble was when websites like the New York Times, the Washington Post, etc., restricted the amount of times you could visit without asking for you to pay a monthly fee. For example, when performring the first stage of searches for Pete Butitgeig, I found this possible source (hyperlined here). However, since this thesis is not funded, I did have the financial means to acquire its sources. As a result, some potential resources may have been lost.

Lastly, there were times with accessing materials because my research location was based in Prague, Czechia rather than the U.S. and I did not have access to a VPN to get the material. For example, this possible source (hyperlinked here) mentioned 'John Corbyn,' 'Ted Cruz,' and 'climate migration,' however, it would not let me view the material outside of the U.S.

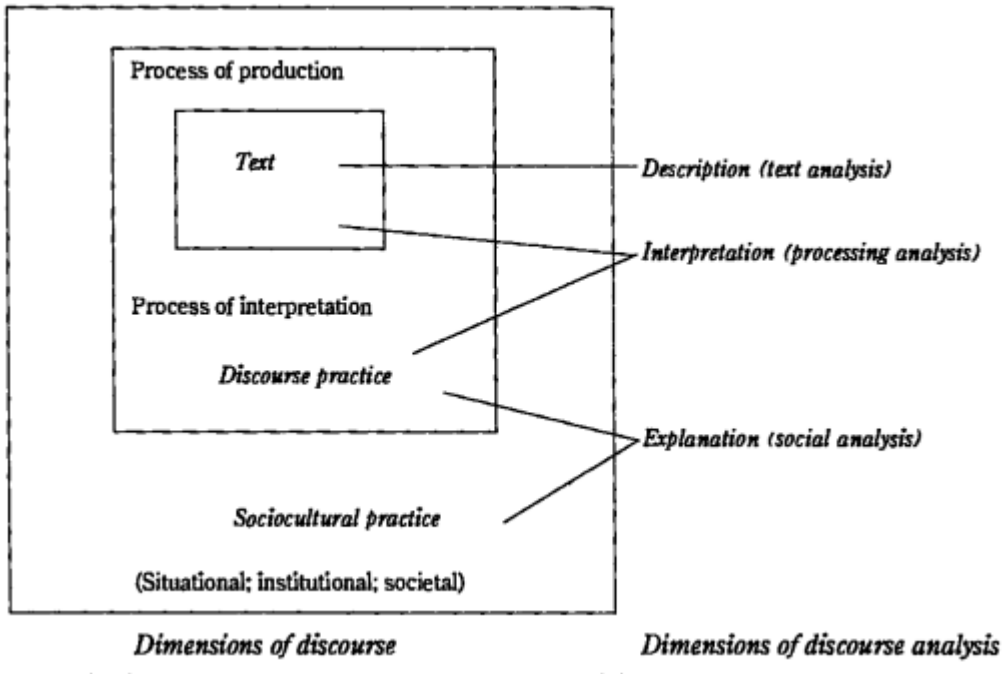
4.4. FAIRCLOUGH'S THREE-DIMENSIONAL METHOD

After acquiring the corpus, I was ready to begin the critical discourse analysis. This section will begin by reflecting on the salient principles mentioned in chapter three as they are the theoretical groundings this analysis was founded on. Then, this paper will describe the analytical guide provided by Fairclough (1995). From here the first dimension will be dissected more carefully using the analytical tools from Woods (2006) political discourse.

As I already mentioned, I will be using Foucalt to help guide the analytical section of this thesis. The strength of the Foucaldian approach is its ability to underpin the "discursive power struggles underlying environmental politics" (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 181). This discourse analysis will not only uncover true meanings but also unveil where discourses were exaggerated and ignored. However, Michel Foucalt "did not want to offer any rules to judge

the deliberative quality of discourse" because he sought to "trace the development of social discuss[ion] during the modern era" (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 181). This choice is useful for others to expand on his work by utilizing their own thinking. However, I will utilize Norman Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional method of discourse analysis for overall guidance. This is because, like Foucalt, Fairclough's method assumes that language creates our world and, therefore, can change it and be used to change the behavior of others. In other words, language is a power tool. The dimensions in Fairclough's three-dimensional model are (I) language text, (II) discursive practice, and (III) sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 2010). See **Figure 4** for a visual representation of this model.

Figure 4: Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Method



Discourse and Sociocultural Change (Fairclough, 2010, p. 98)

The first dimension (I) describes "the language of the text" (Fairclough, 2010, p.97). This involves analyzing the text at the word level and seeking to uncover the literal meaning of it, i.e., if it contains idealist or realist elements. Since this thesis will be evaluating speech acts, I will reflect on Woods (2006) analytical tools for political discourse in the next section i.e., (4.4.1.).

The second dimension (II) interprets the "relationship between the text and the discursive processes" (Fairclough, 2010, p.97). This is where the analysis actually takes place. Here I

will use what I found from dimension (I) and analyze those findings in relation to the conditions that produced the text and its consumption in society. Fairclough (2010) stresses looking for intertextuality here, meaning the relationship between texts. Therefore, I will also inspect the form of the speech and whether the speaker borrowed passages from other speeches. Here is where I will find the answer to the first research question.

The third dimension (III) explains the relationship between the text, the discursive process, and the sociocultural process. This dimension tries to see the message that is being conveyed (i.e., what is revealed in dimension 2) in "a wider sociocultural practice within which it occurs," whether it be the institution or ideological stance (Fairclough, 2010, p. 100). In other words, this means understanding the text from the perspective of those who would listen to it, that is, the relational dynamic explained by Fouclalt e.g. doctor-patient, teacher-student, university-professor. For this thesis, the wider socio-cultural practice that will be explored will be the relationship dynamic between the electorate and the party leaders. If needed, this will also expand into the political, environmental, or immigration sphere, to better understand the occurrence in society at the time the speech was given. Political speech does "not only pay attention deeply to the language itself but also make it suitable in the context and consider the rising power" (Rachman et al., 2017, p. 9). Here is where I will attempt to answer the second research question of this thesis.

4.4.1. POLITICAL DISCOURSE

This thesis is focused on the language used within the political sphere as it will be analyzing party leaders' speeches. Although (3.2.) touched on politics in discourse, the next section will discuss 'political discourse.' This section will reveal what Woods (2006) considers to be valuable analytical tools for analyzing speeches in political discourse. This is what I will be looking for in dimension (I) of Fairclough's three dimensional model. By doing so, I will be able to better analyze the corpus.

The association of language in politics goes back to Aristotle, who saw humans as 'political animals' who use language to pursue their desired political ends. In the current age, we have access to substantial amounts of political information and leaders. This has created a higher expectation for politicians to always behave, act, and speak in a certain way. For example, at the elite level, the pressure to conform to what it supposedly "means to be a Republican or

Democrat is immense" (Schoonover, 2020b, p. 25). As a result, more and more time is being dedicated to the presentation of politicians and the speeches they give rather than to the actual policies themselves (Woods, 2006). When we witness politicians, they are often filtered and carefully managed, so they will never let us know what is truly going on behind closed doors. What we see is often what Woods (2006) refers to as 'stage managed' (p. 46). By this, Woods means that the public statements we see are often carefully articulated and constructed, and well-rehearsed before we see it. Therefore, Woods (2006) emphasizes that we must be 'vigilant' when looking at discourses that may exhibit qualities of being stage-managed (p.47).

The aim of political discourse is designed to direct its audience toward the "direction of particular thoughts, beliefs, and ultimately actions," (Woods, 2006, p. 53). (Interestingly, Woods reveals that this is the same practice that occurs in the discourse of advertising). In other words, politicians are using their discourse to send a message, which they hope will gain their support in return. This was discussed in (3.3. and 3.4.). The following paragraphs will briefly describe the critical features Woods (2006) found when undergoing political discourses, especially speeches. They are claptraps, persuasion features, sounds, vocabulary, and sentence structure.

The first important feature Woods (2006) mentioned is called the 'claptrap.' This is when there are breaks designed within the speeches for the audience to break into a 'spontaneous' applause. This facet gives an indicator that the audience is not only in agreement with the speaker, but also is being persuaded by them (Woods, 2006).

She also notes other features of persuasion will are used in the language of politics linguistic technicians, "whether it be the exploitation of alliteration, … or even rhyme (particularly in the press) as a form of sound-play …, the use of hyperbole and metaphor at the word and phrase level, … [or] political slogan" (p. 48). One example of a successful slogan is Donald Trump's famous "Make America Great Again," which helped contribute to his successful political campaign in 2015 as "more than 40% of GOP voters embraced his campaign slogan" (Huffington Post Pollster 2016, as cited in Saldaña et al., 2018, p. 786).

The sounds used when speaking is also important as some politicians will use slightly different accents "to suit the audience they are speaking to" (Woods, 2006, p. 56). This will

likely be harder to notice as it is more of a subtle difference and may be impossible to notice in some written speeches and because there are not numerous speeches being evaluated by one person, but rather, multiple speeches being evaluated by different people. Moreover, the American accent is more uniformed compared to her reference to a United Kingdom case. Furthermore, she mentions that the sound used extends further to the use of linguistic devices, such as "repetition, rhythm, and alliteration, to ensure that their messages are as potent and memorable as possible" (Woods, 2006, p. 56). Importantly, as previously mentioned, rhetoric and repetition of certain issues by politicians tell the electorate which issues are important and should be discussed (Schoonover, 2020b). According to Rachman et al. (2017), "every speech must be in a rhetorical way because the purpose of rhetoric is to persuade others through argument by appealing to their emotions, in order to sway their thinking" (p. 9). Thus speech often appeal to Aristotelian Triad, which is Ethos (i.e. the character of the speaker), pathos (i.e. he emotions evoked in the audience), and logos (i.e. the logic of the argument) (Rachman et al., 2017). If applicable, these elements will be mentioned in the analysis.

The influence of the vocabulary used by politicians, according to Woods (2006), is that it "is designed to lead us to a particular view of political reality, and to act in a way that is consistent with this view - by voting for a particular party, for example" (50). The consequences of word choice in politics is immense and can have far-reaching and devastating consequences, like in war, which is a political construct after all. As Woods (2009) points out, the words or vocabulary that are used are quite important because a single word can make a significant difference.

Woods (2006) mentions the importance of sentence structure in speeches as nowadays, viewers have limited time or interest to listen to the whole duration of speeches. Therefore, it is important to include what Woods (2006) calls 'sound bites,' that is, "concise, snappy messages that are clear and memorable" and can be clipped to be used in media or news (Woods, 2006, p. 67). If possible, these will be focused on in the analysis as they are the most likely part of the speech to influence the electorate. All of these elements that were mentioned will be utilized or incorporated in the analysis when it is appropriate.

4.5. METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

I acknowledge that as a researcher, I must be aware of my personal biases and how these are shaping my viewpoints throughout my research (Bryman, 2012; Woods, 2006). However, as previously mentioned, Foucalt does not believe it is possible to remove biases from research and become completely objective. I have been influenced by the discourses I have been exposed to and my own personal relations with American politics will. I can only make my own associations obvious to the reader and acknowledge areas where I notice my own biases in my work rather than assume that I can separate myself from them. In this way, I take the post-positivist stance toward my research.

5. FINDINGS OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This section will perform the critical discourse analysis using Fairclough's model and the analytical tools I have previously discussed. Although the purpose of my research is to answer the proposed research questions, I will never explicitly answer them, rather, I will use them as a guide and intertwine the answers into my analysis.

5.1. DEMOCRAT

This section will discuss the findings from the speech acts analyzed. Before it analyzes the findings as a whole, it will be further divided to explain the individual findings from each speech. The section analyzes Barack Obama, Joe Bide, Kamala Harris, Bernie Sanders, and Elizabeth Warren.

5.1.1. BARACK OBAMA

Former President Barack Obama spoke at the 2021 UN Climate Change Conference (COP26), in Glasgow, United Kingdom. Here he directly mentions the term 'climate migration.' This is especially notable as he is the only politician where I was able to find any material on this subject.

Barack Obama is an expert speaker as he engages his audience with his tone, words, and gestures. His words are well chosen and executed better. He is earnest at times and humorous at others. He speaks with a constant slow rhythm throughout his speech giving a feeling of comfort, stability, confidence, and intelligence to the audience. This aids to his credibility by making him seem confident and believable, which aids to the audience's ethos. He pauses at times to emphasize the point he said or to direct the audience to clap - i.e., claptrap. When pausing for emphasis, he stills himself and his movements, not even moving his eyes much. The pauses last for about one to four seconds and are preceded again by hand gestures, where he sometimes points his finger or moves his hands. Nonetheless, all his movements are controlled. The structure of the speech starts off on a happy note talking about the positives in terms of climate change and then proceeds to the negative.

Obama begins his speech by describing climate change in a personal and important way. He says the following: "And when the issue at hand is the health of our planet [pause] and the world our children and our grandchildren will inherit, then you will have a hard time keeping

me away" (UN Climate Change, 2021, 10:20). He made the issue personal by describing the earth as "our planet." In other words, he is saying that we need to do this for *all* of us. Furthermore, he describes the problem using the term 'health,' which is normally used to refer to the well-being of humans not to things. By using the word 'health,' he is directly associating the planet as living being; He gives the planet life. He then proceeds to talk about how this will affect "our " children and grandkids, adding to the pathos of the audience by painting a picture of a family related crisis. The use of these personal pronouns gives emotion to climate change and feeds into the effect of a connected community fighting together.

When describing the failure to decrease the threat of climate change he makes it personal and urgent when says:

> "What is also true is that collectively and individually we are still falling short. We have not done nearly enough to address this crisis. We are going to have to do more. Whether that happens or not to a large degree is going to depend on you. Not just those of you in this room, but anybody who's watching or reading a transcript of what I say here today." (UN Climate Change, 2021, 11:35).

By saying both 'collectively and individually we are falling short,' he is saying that no one is doing enough. No one has made a real difference yet, and he says so in a subtle way. He talks directly to the audience in order to evoke emotion and anxiety by saying that the outcome is, 'go depend on you.' This makes it direct and personal. He is trying to talk to every individual person in the audience, not everyone as a collective front.

There was only one time where Obama mentioned a combination of climate change and migration. Obama says:

> Last month, a study found that 85% of the global population has experienced weather events that were more severe because of climate change, stronger storms, longer heat waves, more intense flooding, and crippling droughts. Parts of the world are becoming more dangerous to live in, triggering new migration patterns and worsening conflict around the globe. It's one of the reasons why the US Pentagon and other agencies have said that climate change poses a national security threat for the US and for everyone else. [pause] (UN Climate Change, 2021, 20:30).

The 'new migration' that he refers to here is a result from climate change. Therefore, he is directly speaking on climate migrants in this paragraph. In the next sentence he says that the new migration patterns and the worsening conflict has caused 'agencies' to label climate

migration as a security threat ‘for the US and for everyone else.’ Here, in a subtle way, he describes climate migrants as a security threat. Whether or not it relates to the worsening conflict is irrelevant as he identifies them as a whole as a threat. He is likely saying this to convey and express the risks that are involved and inspire people to take action. However, by repeating this fact in the speech, likely makes President Obama a believer of it as well. This would mean that he views climate migrants as a security threat to the nation.

The last paragraph that will be analyzed is when he actually discusses ‘climate migration. Although briefly, it was a nonce to come across. Here is the paragraph:

> You've [the younger generation] grown up watching many of the adults who are in positions to do something about it either act like the problem doesn’t exist or refuse to make the hard decisions necessary to address it. And that’s a source of real anxiety and real anger at older people. And some of you, no doubt, wonder if you’ll be able to be safe in the community where you’ve grown up, whether you’ll have to raise your own kids in a world ravaged by extreme weather and climate migration and conflict. (UN Climate Change, 2021, 24:55)

Obama is directly speaking to the younger generations here. He is trying to reason with them and call on them directly to get involved. I found this to be surprising because for a majority, young people support climate change actions. The problem is not with the young generation, but with the older generation as they are less inclined to believe or care for climate change. However, he is incentivizing young people to fight harder before it is too late. At the end of the day, young people are the ones who will experience the world in the future. Furthermore, his usage of the term ‘you,’ throughout this paragraph makes it direct and personal. His whole speech reinforces this as his aim seems to be directly calling people to act.

Notably he predicts a world that will be ‘ravaged by extreme weather and climate migration and conflict.’ That is, the world will be devastated, ruined, and destroyed as a result of three different factors. One of those factors he believes to be climate migrants. Although climate migrants are not causing the problem, Obama seems to describe them like they are. They may cause a future problem in the U.S. But first, they are affected by the problem. By categorizing climate migrants with extreme weather and conflict, it paints a grim picture of the migrants themselves. Another possible reason is that he was explaining how chaotic the world would be as a result of their presence.

The findings from this is that Obama views climate change as an urgent threat that needs to be acted upon immediately and by everyone before we run out of time. As Obama pointed out, Climate change will create new immigration patterns, which he likely perceives as a threat to the U.S. Knowing his background in immigration policies, he was one of the harshest enforcers of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. and deported many. Notably, a majority of those who were deported were actual criminal immigrants. As a result, I believe that the stream of thought (or discourse) that Obama's displays here regarding climate migrants would maintain enforcement of rules regarding the immigration system. Whether or not that Obama would go so far to extend them privileges to enter the country is uncertain.

5.1.2. BERNIE SANDERS

Bernie Sanders came in second, falling to Joe Biden in the 2016 presidential primaries. Sanders was a more progressive candidate than the rest and also supported by the younger Democrat generations of the American electorate.

When speaking Bernie remains stern and speaks with emotion. He uses gestures when he speaks, but mainly at the end of his sentences to emphasize certain points. He sometimes speaks one line fast with a brief pause followed by the next when stressing a factor. Interestingly, Sanders had a few papers in front of him that he occasionally glanced at or touched during his speech. However, he was never reading from his papers. He constantly remained active and engaging with his audience. This analysis will first briefly discuss climate change used in his speech before discussing the immigration part of the speech.

Bernie Sanders mentions climate change in his speech and says:

> My dream is to get those countries together, stop spending huge amounts of money on weapons of destruction, and come together to fight our common enemy which is climate change. This is a profound moral issue and we have an absolute responsibility to make certain that the planet we leave our kids and our grandchildren is one that is healthy' (Bernie Sanders, 2019, 50:24).

Sanders' dream is global peace and moving towards a sustainable future. Sanders' perspective here is rather idealistic, by this I mean, extremely unrealistic. He describes what his ideal world would look like – a world with peace, unity, and a healthy planet. A goal that many people share around the world and the electorate can relate to, although it is an impossible

goal to achieve. By saying this, he expresses his values and how he will continue to fight until he achieves this goal. Interestingly, by encompassing the term 'my dream,' he may be trying to draw a subtle parallel himself to Martin Luther King Jrs. (MLK) famous speech "I had a dream.…" Sanders may be trying to portray himself in a similar positive life as MLK, that is, as a social activist fighting for everyone. Another possible reason for this subtle usage of word choice may be him trying to emphasize the historical weight of our actions and unite a familiar feeling of action in the electorate.

He describes climate change as a 'common enemy' and a 'moral issue.' Our relationship to climate change, according to Sanders, is a moral one. The use of morals here means that if we do not do anything about climate change, then we are acting immorally. By using these terms he is also showing that we are fighting against our morals by going on this path of destruction. His repetition of the word 'together' emphasizes the collective action needed to solve climate change. Additionally, it also subtly implants and reinforces the theme that Sanders will act as a uniting force for the nation.

Similarly, later in the speech, Bernie says that he wants a 'humane' border policy. By describing his policy as humane gives an undertone that he is righteous and has good values. He uses this to show that he is a man of the people, not just American people, but all people. He is caring for all. The use of these terms like 'humane,' 'moral,' 'responsibility,' adds to the perception of Sanders' character. These terms make Sanders out to be a righteous person who seeks to do the *good* thing for all.

The other time Sanders referred to climate change in his speech on immigration was while referring to Donald Trump. This was not the only time Bernie mentioned Trump in his speech. At the time of this speech, the Democratic party was united against their disliking for their President Donald Trump. Therefore, it was not surprising to see Sanders use Trump as a scapegoat throughout. Notably, he shares his strong distaste for Trump, but does so without being particularly vulgar towards him. Sanders said:

> Donald Trump embarrasses us every day, but the one area where he not only embarrasses us but where his policies are enormously dangerous is in his belief that climate change is a hoax. So today, we say to Donald Trump and the fossil fuel industry, climate change is not a hoax. [applause] Climate change is caused by human

> activity. It is real and it is already causing massive harm in our country and around the world.
>
> Now, some of you are aware of, that a couple of months ago, the scientists who study this issue the most told us that we have all of 12 years in order to change our enemy energy system or else there will be irreparable harm to the planet, [pause] irreparable harm to the planet (Bernie Sanders, 2019, 48:37).

Here, he describes Trump as 'embarrassing.' Sanders describes a feeling of shame here. The dynamic is not chosen by Sanders, but occurred to him as a result of his position – he must be governed by Trump. Sanders feels humiliated in the relationship and believes other countries are making a mockery of the U.S. Furthermore, Sanders describes climate change here as 'real,' 'not a hoax,' 'caused by humans,' and 'is causing massive harm.' He talks about climate change as a dire circumstance that needs immediate attention.

Sanders begins his campaign speech on immigration by saying "this country is a nation of immigrants, other than the native people of the Americas, every one of our families came here from somewhere else" (Bernie Sanders, 2019, 22:30). The narrative he tells here through the 'nation of immigrants' narrative is telling for a few reasons. The first, is that he immediately lets the audience know his stance on immigration. He does so by defining America as a nation of immigrants in a similarity-focused way (Bikmen, 2015; Tan, 2014). In other words, he says "we are immigrants." By saying we all come from a different place, shows that we are all inherently immigrants. This allows for the American electorate to relate to the immigrants from a shared historical heritage perspective. It also acts as a uniting front and patriotic values by using this uniquely American phrase to start his speech.

He reveals his own personal heritage by discussing his father's past. He said:

> My father, like millions of other people in this country, built a life for himself and my mother, and my brother, and me through hard work and determination. [applause] That is the story of my family and it is the story of many of your families. [applause]... It's not just my story or your story, that is the story of America. and a story we are proud of when we look at our border today (Bernie Sanders, 2019, 25:48).

Here we can see Sanders discussing a personal story. By doing so, he shows his vulnerability and vulnerability often breeds trust. By being vulnerable, he is likely hoping that it will gain the electorate's trust. Moreover, since the story is generic and broad, that is, there are not

many personal details at all, it allows for the electorate to relate or connect with Sanders' story if they are immigrants or descendents of immigrants themselves. This speaks on identity, particularly, national identity. People who identify as an immigrant or a child of immigrant parents will likely have an inkling to like Sanders as they share commonalities. Moreover, reflecting on his own heritage further emphasizes the "we are immigrants" narrative. In the words of Sanders, "we all stand with the immigrants [applause]" (Bernie Sanders, 2019, 36:02).

When discussing undocumented immigrants in the U.S. he never refers to them as 'illegals,' 'aliens,' or 'criminals,' rather as undocumented immigrants or simply, immigrants. By doing so, he maintains his commitment to his "we are immigrants narrative" and consistently frames them in a positive light. He does not mention the negatives of immigrants, but rather deeper problems within the immigration system. He does not blame the immigrants himself. The limited discussion on undocumented immigrants likely reflects the value that the Democratic electorate does not consider undocumented immigration to be a significant threat (Gramlich, 2019).

Sanders' speech gives the audience feelings of righteousness and unity. He emphasizes that the electorate and beyond are all of equal value and importance to our society. He stresses what he believes to be important and tries to gain the audience's support through his speaking of commonalities and mutual disliking for Donald Trump. We see him display a similarity-focused narrative to the 'nation of immigrants' phrase. He emphasizes a common background and recites that 'we are immigrants,' multiple times in his speech.

Sanders ideals align with the democratic party's views on climate change and immigration reform. He is strongly invested in fixing climate change and views it as a threat to the U.S. and to humanity. Therefore, he will acknowledge the existence of climate migrants. Moreover, his perspective on immigration views immigrants as part of Americans. He makes no difference to separate one from the other as he emphasizes the notion of the U.S. being a nation of immigrants in a similarity-focused way. He identifies Americans as immigrants and uses repetitive terminology to reflect his ideal of unity. His strong values on climate change alongside his representation of undocumented immigrants and asylum seekers in particular show strong inclinations for him to have a similar view towards climate migrants. That is, he would likely enact policies that allow for their immigration to the U.S..

5.1.3. JOE BIDEN

Joe Biden currently serves as the President of the United States and has since 2021. In a 2020 presidential debate between Donald Trump and Joe Biden, Biden responded to a question asking how he would combat climate change by saying that "global warming is an existential crisis to humanity. We have a moral obligation to deal with it" (ABC News, 2020, 2:20). It is obvious that Biden describes climate change to be a threat to not just America, but to humanity.

In President Joe Biden State of Union Address in March of 2022 he spoke at rather the same speed throughout his speech. He emphasized important topics by changing his tone of voice to reflect a certain mood. For example when referring to increasing the economic productive capacity of the U.S. economy, he said "I call it building a better America," (CNBC Television, 2022, 43:40). He did this with pride and emotion and intensity that caused the audience to react in applause. Throughout the speech, his movements were minimal as he seemed to be more concerned with what he was saying. The speech discussed a wide range of topics. Some of them consist of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the economy - economic policy, new jobs, infrastructure, manufacturing, his future plans such as cutting costs of things like prescription drugs and childcare, etc.. He did not mention the topic of 'climate migrants,' however, he did mention 'climate change' and 'immigration.'

When he spoke of climate change he said the following. "We'll create good jobs for millions of Americans, modernizing roads, airports, ports, waterways all across America. And we'll do it all to withstand the devastating effects of climate change and promote environmental justice," (CNBC Television, 2022, 35:05). He says a lot of good things, meaning he mentions things that everyone wants to accomplish. Creating jobs, modernizing roads, airpots, etc. all these things appeals to the entirety of the American electorate regardless of their political affiliation. He is trying to assume his place as president by being optimistic and creating excitement amongst all people. Here he refers to the 'devastating effects of climate change,' in a rather nonchalant way. He does not elaborate afterwards which shows that he was likely saying this to try to appeal to the electorate as a whole.

On immigration and immigration reform Biden said:

> "Folks, if we are to advance liberty and justice, we need to secure our border and fix the immigration system. [Applause] And as you might guess, I think we can do both. At our border, we've installed new technology like cutting-edge scanners to better detect drug smuggling. We've set up joint patrols with Mexico and Guatemala to catch more human traffickers. We're putting in place dedicated immigration judges in a significantly larger number so families fleeing persecution and violence can have their cases heard faster and those who don't legitimately here can be sent back. [Applause] We're screening, we're securing commitments and supporting partners in South and Central America to host more refugees and secure their own borders.

This shows that a priority for Biden is immigration. He wants to 'secure our border,' by this he likely is inferring that he wants to make America safer. This eludes to that the presence of undocumented people thus make it unsafe. In order to secure the border they are looking to stop drug smuggling and catch human traffickers – this is something that can be celebrated by all. Regarding 'fix the immigration system,' by this he means reform it. He describes that he wants to allow more people the ability to enter the U.S. This will benefit climate migrants by allowing more people who need help to enter the US and may eventually evolve to include those without a home. This seems to be perhaps the most positive outlook for climate migrants as Biden seems to acknowledge their existence as well as taking a step in moving towards allowing more people into the country that need asylum. Referring to both South and Central America directly also helps relate to climate migrants as there will be a significant amount coming from these areas.

Here we see Biden speaks directly about both climate change and immigration. He acknowledges climate change and is seeking to provide more entries for asylum seekers at the U.S. Mexico border. His maintenance of a restrictive stance towards open crossings will likely have an impact on climate migrants. However, he says that their priority is to look for the drug smugglers and human traffickers. Biden reveals a positive direction for moving in the direction of recognizing and including climate migrants.

5.1.4. ELIZABETH WARREN

Elizabeth Warren was a candidate for the 2020 presidential election. She placed third in the primaries. She currently serves as a senator from Massachusetts. Warren does not have a specific campaign rally dedicated to discussing immigration. Therefore, this analysis will discuss her popular presidential campaign announcement in February of 2019 where she covers both topics of immigration and climate change. Her campaign centers around an anti-corruption message, which will be seen throughout the analysis.

In her speech she talks with enthusiasm. She is excited and puts emotion behind her words to try to ignite the audience. She starts her speech off with a story where she immediately mentions 'immigration.' She says, "[a] little over 100 years ago, textile mills in Lawrence like the ones behind us today employed tens of thousands of people, and immigrants flocked here from more than 50 countries for a chance to work at the looms" (C-SPAN, 2019, 2:34). She, without ever saying the phrase, installs the electorate with a similarity-focused notion that the U.S. is a nation of immigrants. She brings a historical reference to the town where she is giving the speech. She increases this connection to the past by referring to the textile mills the audience is familiar with. By doing so, she adds to pathos as people who live here feel an emotional connection with the city's past. Here we see her embrace the history of the U.S.

Furthermore, she also incorporates the differences and the features that brought people together when she said:

> "Nevertheless… they [the people of Lawrence] persisted! They organized. They embraced common goals. They translated the minutes of their meetings into 25 different languages so that the English and Irish workers who had been here for years and the Slavic and Syrian workers new to America could stand together." (C-SPAN, 2019, 4:17).

This passage reveals two things. First, is her objective to increase the audience's connection with the story by describing the success they had in making a difference in the U.S. The second is regarding how she describes the various types of immigrants who came to Lawrence. She talks about these immigrants in a positive light, reflecting their incredible strength to overcome their differences and unite against a common cause. They did so all while not being able to communicate. She displays her consistency with the Democratic party

through these subtle ways. Tolerance and acceptance of everyone. This also reveals how she continues to use the similarity-focused framing of the immigration narrative.

Furthermore, Warren discusses climate change and then soon after brings up the topic of immigration. This shows a possible connection between the two issues and the problems that are associated with them. She says:

> When it comes to climate change, our very existence is at stake. But Washington refuses to lift a finger without permission from the fossil fuel companies. That's dangerous, and it's wrong. And it isn't just climate change. Look at any other major issue in America. Gun violence. Student loan debt. The crushing cost of healthcare. Mistreatment of our veterans. A broken criminal justice system. An immigration system that lacks common sense, and under this administration—lacks a conscience. Overwhelming majorities of Americans want action (C-SPAN, 2019, 19:09).

This paragraph reveals a few important things. First, Warren makes climate change personal by saying it threatens 'our,' existence. She also emphasizes her theme of collectivity, and togetherness, that is present throughout the entirety of the speech. Another time it appears is when she says, "It's a story about power—our power—when we fight together." (C-SPAN, 2019, 7:03). She frames the electorate, her audience, to be strong and powerful and tries to ignite people together to be excited about her campaign and against corruption. This anti-corruption message is very visible here, and she directly blames Washington for climate change. She later tells Washington to "Stop stalling on spending money—real money—on infrastructure and clean energy and a Green New Deal" (C-SPAN, 2019, 26:59). This alludes to a feeling of urgency and readiness within the electorate.

The other thing I want to draw attention to is how she describes the immigration system under the current administration. She says it 'lacks common sense' and that it 'lacks a conscience.' When she says the former, she is entailing that the (Trump) administration's behavior is incoherent and not smart in a logical perspective. She adds to this feeling by saying that they lack a conscience, meaning they lack morals, values, principles, or ethics. They are misdirected and act in a negligent way. She refers to Trump throughout her speech by emphasizing his role in corruption, "We all know the Trump Administration is the most corrupt in living memory." (C-SPAN, 2019, 21:43). Here we see Trump being used as an example for corruption and uses him as a source of blame for the current situation. Blame in

political discourse seems to be a repetitive feature.

Warren's speech displays a serious attitude toward the issues of climate change and immigration. However, her emphasis on corruption comes before anything else. Therefore, her concern with climate change is there, but perhaps not as intense as politicians such as Sanders. Regardless, her belief in climate change concludes that she would likely acknowledge the existence of climate migrants. Moreover, Warren's incorporation of America's history of immigration and its differences alongside her continual themes of unity and togetherness throughout her speech reflects pro-immigration values. Therefore, this analysis concludes that Warren demonstrates a streamlining of thought that would likely incorporate climate migrants.

5.1.5. KAMALA HARRIS

Kamala Harris has served as the Vice President (VP) of the United States since 2021. Before becoming VP, she served as Attorney General (AG) for the state of California from 2014 to 2017. Later, she served as the junior U.S. Senator in California from 2017 to 2021.

The speech that is used in this analysis is the Washington Conference on the Americas, where she describes the U.S.'s relationship with the Americas.

In her speech, she is speaking to a camera, not an audience. From my perspective as a viewer, she came across as stiff and choreographed. Towards the end of the speech, she seemed to become more relaxed. Harris was smiling throughout the speech, sometimes, it seemed to be at the wrong times. By this, I mean it did not seem as though she should be smiling due to the severity of the matter she was addressing.

She starts off her speech by saying, "... America is back. We have rejoined the Paris Agreement…" (The White House, 2021, 0:38). When she says 'America is back,' she is subtly referring to the removal of the Trump administration from office and reagreeing to the policies that he dismissed such as the Paris Accord. It also inserts a tone of trying to rebuild the credibility of the U.S. and its image amongst other nations. Furthermore, by mentioning the Paris Agreement, she promptly orients the audience's minds in the direction of climate change. Her proud dictation of rejoining the Paris Agreement dictates a sense of pride.

Harris accentuates the togetherness narrative by trying to form a common ground between the U.S. and the rest of the Western hemisphere when she says the following. “The strength of the United States of America depends on the strength of all of the Western Hemisphere. In so many ways, our fates are intertwined” (The White House, 2020, 6:20). This conveys a message of reliance on and a need for each other. It adds to her previously established notion of togetherness.

This message of reliance and need is stressed again when she says:

> The work from combating corruption to combating climate change will not be easy, and it is not new, and it could not be more important, and it will take all of us, all of us. The United States cannot do it alone. With all of us gathered here today, I’m very hopeful about what we can accomplish together (The White House, 2021, 8:51).

When she says ‘combating climate change,’ it does not seem as dire as some other politicians, but somewhat more automatic and robotic. This could be due to the environment she was giving the speech. Moreover, she proceeds with a similar tone in the rest of this paragraph. Importantly, she stresses how the U.S. needs help in this.

Perhaps the most notable aspect of Harris’s speech was that she spoke directly about climate migrants and climate migration, but without ever actually using the terms 'climate migration,’ ‘climate migrants,’ or even ‘climate refugees.’ This I found intriguing. The speech was likely pre-written and well-rehearsed due to her somewhat awkward behavior on stage. This means, they likely intentionally left out these terms. This could be for a number of reasons. Given the fact that this was addressed to the Americas, Harris and her surrounding politicians likely did not want to incentivise any possible chance of increasing immigration to the U.S. by recognizing them at a large conference. This could be due to the unprecedentedly large numbers of immigrants on the U.S.-Mexico border in 2021 (Gramlich & Scheller, 2021).

Harris describes climate migrants without referring to them by name in the following.

> We are all well aware of the immediate situation. The citizens of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras are leaving their homes at alarming rates, but there’s a fundamental truth behind that headline. People in the region do not want to leave their homes. They do not want to leave the communities they have known their entire lives; the church they go to every Sunday, the park they take their children to, their friends, their family, their community. I do believe they leave only when they feel they must. I’m thinking about people whose homes have been washed away by hurricanes,

> people who are parents who have sons who have been threatened by drug cartels, people who have daughters who have been targeted by human traffickers, people who do not have enough to eat, people who are out of work, people who have lost hope. That's why they leave home and come to the United States. They are suffering. They are in pain. Many are experiencing unimaginable anguish. (The White House, 2021, 3:21).

In describing, she notes a key factor concerning climate migrants that leave their homes 'they do not want to leave.' This is a notable fact that gets misconceived in the media. By bringing attention to this she is trying to shed light on the narrative. Here she also mentions a hurricane, something that will be exaggerated by climate change in the future and result in climate migration. Here she says, 'I've been thinking about people whose homes have been washed away by hurricanes.' By saying 'I've been thinking, she shows concern in their well-being. This sentence is also a direct reference to climate migrants. In this paragraph, she explains the push-factors for why people try to come to the U.S. She adds emotion or pathos when she says 'I've been thinking,' 'they are suffering,' they are in pain,' and 'anguish.'

In order to fight the challenges that climate migrants are facing, Harris describes two essential ways to go about it. She describes it as follows

> We want to help people find hope at home, and so we are focused on addressing both the acute factors and the root causes of migration. I believe this is an important distinction. We must focus on both. First, the acute factors, the catastrophes that are causing people to leave right now; the hurricanes, the pandemic, the drought, and extreme food insecurity. Then there are the long standing issues, the root causes. I'm thinking of corruption, violence and poverty, the lack of economic opportunity, the lack of climate adaptation and climate resilience, the lack of good governance. (The White House, 2021, 4:51).

This directly shows a willingness to help those coming from Latin America whatever the reason may be. She shows the ways that they understand the problem, rather than actually explaining Washington's plan to help them. She notices climate as a reason for migration, which shows she directly acknowledges their existence. This shows an outcome that would benefit everyone if they are to be fixed.

Lastly, Harris ends her speech by saying:

> It is in that spirit that the United States will continue this work, knowing that we are neighbors, knowing that our strength depends on one another, and that our hope grows together. Thank you, and may God bless you. Thank you. (The White House, 2021, 13:13)

This message once again reinforces her theme of unity. Harris describes a need to fight with each other in order to accomplish our shared desired goals. She refers to them by 'neighbors,' which represents not only a close proximity, but also a friendship and communal bond.

Kamala Harris' discussion on climate change and the resulting problems that result from it in relation to the Western hemisphere reassures the main thought of the democratic party. Moreover, she mentions these concerns in a way that the U.S. will help fight these challenges together with Latin America. It is obvious by her description of the situations that produce climate migrants that she would acknowledge their existence. She does mention a brief way that she hopes to contribute to in reducing the effects of climate change. However, Harris's negligence to specifically say 'climate migrants,' is telling and could be a result of the current border situation.

5.2. REPUBLICANS

I first want to begin this analysis with the obvious challenges presented during the research process of this thesis. The main challenge was concerning the limited speech acts available combining 'climate change' and 'immigration' for the republican party. Even when I divided the two terms separately, there were few results. There were only two politicians that talked about the combination of climate change and immigration in their speech acts - Donald Trump and Dan Crenshaw. As a result, the author was forced to use critical discourse analysis regarding the topics of 'climate change' and 'immigration' in order to infer a conclusion regarding their opinion on the matter. The fact alone that the Republican party leaders did not mention the issue of climate migrants while the democrats did is telling in itself. This is because the Republican party does not see climate migration to be a problem or a significant one because they tend to ignore the existence of climate change. Even though climate change has the potential to be a security threat to the U.S., the distant nature of the problem allows for them to ignore it. While immigrants, especially illegal immigrants, are seen as a huge concern and security threat for the Republicans. Therefore, this section will focus more on how the Republican party leaders represent immigration in the news.

5.2.1. DONALD TRUMP

Donald Trump does not often speak about climate change or global warming in the public sphere; rather, he tends to ignore the issue as a whole. In a 2020 presidential debate between Donald Trump and Joe Biden, they were asked the question, “How would you combat climate change and support growth at the same time?” (ABC News, 2020, 0:30)
Trump responded by saying:

> We have the trillion trees program, we have so many different programs. I do love the environment but what I want is the cleanest crystal clear water, the cleanest air. We have the best, lowest number in climate emissions … And we have the best carbon emissions numbers that we've had in 35 years under this administration ... look at China, look at how filthy it is, look at Russia, look at India, it's filthy, the air is filthy…. The Paris Accord … would have destroyed our businesses'” (ABC News, n.d., 1:00).

When responding to a question about climate change, he never actually said the phrase ‘climate change,’ or ‘global warming.’ He ignores the issue. However, he does talk about the environment and refers to perhaps the single environmental policy his administration implemented, i.e., the trillion trees program. He compares the U.S. to other countries saying that *they* are filthy and *we* are clean. This creates separation and highlights an ‘us versus them’ narrative that assumes national ideals in the American electorate (Mcclay, 2017). He uses words like ‘cleanest,’ ‘best,’ ‘lowest,’ to make him seem as though he is ‘winning’ or accomplishing things better than anyone else.

There were no speeches found where Trump mentioned “climate migrants.’ However, in a 2016 campaign speech (or rally) in Phoenix, Arizona, Donald Trump laid out his immigration plan, where he mentioned ‘global warming.’ This is what Trump said:

> Only the out-of-touch media elites think the biggest problems facing America — you know this, this is what they talk about, facing American society today is that there are 11 million illegal immigrants who don’t have legal status. And, they also think the biggest thing, and you know this, it’s not nuclear, and it’s not ISIS, it’s not Russia, it’s not China, it’s global warming. [loud boos]

> To all the politicians, donors, and special interests, hear these words from me and all of you today. There is only one core issue in the immigration debate, and that issue is the well being of the American people. [cheers] (CNN, 2016b, 13:50)

In reference to how global warming was mentioned in this speech, Trump undermines the security threat that it will produce to the nation by making climate change seem insignificant, a waste of time, and even laughable. He does not view climate change as a security threat or as a reason for concern. Instead, he expresses concern for 'illegal' immigrants and continually paints immigrants as an unforgettable menace in society that is harming the American people. He makes it seem as the existence of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. takes away from the American electorate. He begins to discuss "illegal immigration" as the "one of the greatest challenges facing our country today," (CNN, 2016b, 1:10).

At his rally, there were substantially more interactions from the audience than any other speech as there were more cheers, boos, and yelling from the audience. What perhaps made this audience unique from the others was the "boos" that uproared from the audience, especially when mentioning Hillary Clinton. This made it feel as if Trump was a performer rather than a politician. Trump's vocabulary was simple and often repeated words or phrases throughout. He speaks loudly throughout the entirety of his speech. When emphasizing a point, he repeats something and says it even louder. For example he says, "we have to listen to the concerns of working people, our forgotten working people" (CNN, 2016b, 5:45). Throughout his speech he uses lots of hand gestures and facial expressions to stress certain issues. His face remains stern for a majority of the speech to convey the seriousness of the issue.

In this speech, Trump painted a picture of undocumented immigrants as be bad people. He used the term 'illegal,' 44 times in his speech and never used the term 'undocumented.' This is significant due to the stigma surrounding illegality. Things that are illegal are viewed as bad and sometimes immoral. The law should be followed and those who break the law are bad. Avoiding the term 'undocumented' shows an intentional deliberation to describe these persons. Other way he referred to undocumented persons in the U.S. are 'illegal aliens,' 'illegal immigrants,' 'aliens,' and 'criminal aliens.' Trump uses these words to describe undocumented immigrants in order to subtly feed in to the 'them' narrative. By using these words he dehumanizes undocumented immigrants, making them seem as someone else.

Moreover, Trump described five specific casses where 'illegal' immigrants murdered American citizens. At the end of his speech, he brought the victims familes onto stage to say a brief word about their loved ones murder and their support for Trump. This uses pathos by creating fear and inciting emotion in the audience while also adding to the image that *all* illegal immigrants are bad people. The choice of terminology to describe undocumented immigrants and the use of specific cases where he villanizes these immigrants. He describes them as a parasite taking from the nation and causing problems.

Furthermore, Trump rhythmically put blames on something else throughout his speech. For example, he blamed the death of those five civilians on the Obama-Clinton "weak policies, weak and foolish policies" (CNN, 2016b, 8:30). Trump mentioned Clinton 23 times and Obama 12 times throughout his speech. Talking about how they left America insecure. For example he says: "President Obama and Hillary Clinton have engaged in gross dereliction of duty by surrendering the safety of the American people to open borders" (CNN, 2016b) (16:40).

Moreover, Trump would frame immigrantsAlthough Trump's main agenda was to stress the bad parts of *them*, Trump also showed his love for *us*. Throughout his speech he repeatedly mentioned his love for American people and for the U.S. This contributes to nationalistic identity and helps add to his narrative of "us," making it seem as though he is doing this for *us* to better the nation. For example, when he said: "There is only one core issue in the immigration debate, and that issue is the well being of the American people. [loud cheering]" (CNN, 2016b, 37:10).

Trump's vigorous climate denial and neglect in discussing a topic reveals that Trump would likely not acknowledge the existence of climate migrants. Furthermore, Trump portrays immigrants in a negative light, more specifically as 'us versus them,' He does this by emphasizing the differences between us. He frames illegal immigrants as villains, taking away from the American people. He emphasizes the differences between us by contrasting illegal immigrants with hard-working American citizens. He discusses illegal immigrants frequently accrediting them with the blame of society's conditions. Trump stresses his love for the U.S. and American people. By doing so he creates a patriotic atmosphere. When combined with his anti-immigration rhetoric, this can cause the audience to view immigrants

in a worse light. As a result of his stance on immigration, especially documented immigrants, I highly doubt that Donald Trump's hard line conservative stance would increase its leniency towards climate migrants.

5.2.2. MITT ROMNEY

Mitt Romney is a Senator from Utah. He also ran in the 2012 Presidential elections against Barack Obama. This section will talk about Romney's views on climate change and then on immigration.

There was no available speech where Mitt Romney talked on both the issues of climate change and immigration. This sets the stage for a distant relationship between the two. However, many sources have revealed that Romney is a climate change believer. In 2019, Romeny said "[t]here's no question that we're experiencing climate change and that humans are a significant contributor to that," (Bolton, 2019, para. 5). His thoughts here are not conventional in the Republican party. His stance on climate change is clear and explicit and said simply. Romney does not doubt climate change's existence nor does he doubt humans' contribution to it. This reveals a different stream of thought emerging from the Republican party.

Another time he confirms his belief in human caused science is in a 2020 interview. He says the following.

> I think climate change is another one we're going to have to deal with – and that if they want to go down in history as someone who was asleep at the switch, then they can do nothing about those things. I do believe that individuals of good faith who are concerned about their own personal legacy may be able to be convinced – we'll see – (laughs) – to take the kind of action necessary to preserve the liberal democracies that the world has long known (Superior Transcriptions LLC, 2020, p. 6).

Before he brought up climate change he was speaking up about what we are going to do with China. Then he brings up the topic of climate change, unpromptedly. This alone shows that climate change is a vital concern in his eyes. Furthermore, he does not want to be seen as someone 'who was asleep at the switch,' in other words, he does not want to be remembered as someone who ignored the issue and did nothing about it unlike some of his fellow politicians. Interestingly, he believes that if these politicians want to be remembered for the

goodness they contributed to the world then they may act. However, himself even seems amused at his own idea, which shows the unlikelihood of compromise occurring in the U.S.

The remaining part of this section will discuss an NBC News segment from April of 2019 where Romney discusses immigration. When discussing the overwhelming amounts of families coming to the border for asylum in a rather mocking way, he says, "all they have to do is say the magic word - 'I'm seeking asylum,'" (NBC News, 2019, 1:40). The tone of voice that he used here was very uncharismatic. He showed no sympathy for what these people may actually be going through. Rather, he proceeded to look at the border situation as a problem that needed to be solved. He suggested that Donald Trump sit down with legislators to discuss the legislative options "to ensure that we are not creating this extraordinary asylum magnet that is bringing people into this country," (NBC News, 2019, 3:05). By using the term 'extraordinary asylum magnet,' he is suggesting that there is something inside America that is pulling people towards it. He is blaming the policy for people coming to America. By doing so, he is neglecting the factors that 'push' people to move. Push factors are economic hardships, climate disruption, etcAnything that causes someone to migrate, while pull factors attract people to migrate. Here is simplifying a rather complex issue and blaming the current policies for the circumstances without looking for additional sources of causality. By doing so he is projecting his

The next segment from Romney's news article that I will analyze concerns his perspective of border security. He says,

> In my opinion, the Democrats are making a huge error by making border security an issue, and saying that it's a partisan issue. Look, this is an American issue. We can't have millions upon millions of people flooding into our country without a border that's secure, without I.C.E [U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement] making sure people here illegally are sent back (NBC News, 2019, 3:20).

Here, Romney is saying that there should not be a dispute regarding border security. He suggests that securing borders is beneficial for every American when he says 'this is an American issue.' By describing it as a 'security' issue you are describing it as a threat, a danger. This is a rather Hobessian stance as he seems fearful of the world. Moreover, he is also saying here that the democrats have no rational argument to not secure our borders. This makes it seem as though there is no possible way to dispute anything. While Socrates taught the world to dispute and question everything, Romney sends a rather straightforward message

to his viewers that there is only one option – one solution. In other words, he is demonstrating an either/or solution and not a both/and compromise.

The last sentence in the paragraph suggests that he is opposed to any illegal person in the country. This adds to the narrative that Trump used that all illegals are bad and all Americans are good. This is yet another example of Republicans using the 'them versus us' narrative,' alongside the civilization of illegal immigrants.

Romney expressed acknowledgment of climate change and therefore, would likely acknowledge the existence of climate migrants as a result of it. However, if he would recognize them in terms of asylum law, I highly doubt that. This analysis reveals Romney's hardline views of immigration. He stands strongly against all forms of illegal immigration and even has hesitations on allowing in asylum seekers. Intersenglty, he even stood against the DACA Act originally, which Republicans tend to accept. Moreover, he simplifies the whole issue by deeming secure borders an American issue. As a result, it seems unlikely that he would be willing to help or make changes that would affect climate migrants in a positive way.

5.2.3. MARCO RUBIO

Marco Rubio is a Senator from Florida. Rubio does not believe in the existence of climate change. It was almost impossible to find any information with him in regards to this subject.

In 2018, the Washington Post released a clip of Rubio discussing climate change. "My view is, climate, sea-level rise, these are miserable things. You can measure that, so it's not even a scientific debate. At some point, it's just a reality debate. You can measure whether sea levels are higher than they used to be, warmer than they used to be and alike," (Mooney & Viebeck, 2018, 0:15). Here he shows a blatant disregard for the scientific evidence or years of disputes on climate change and responds by suggesting that 'we can just measure these things.' Rubio seems to be missing the whole point that in the debate concerning climate change, that if there is a measurable difference then it will be too late to reverse it. This shows a blatant disregard for scientific evidence and a lack of openness to dispute this topic with the Democratic party or anyone in this regard.

Later he emphasizes that if something is going to be passed to make sure that it "does not destroy your economy" (Mooney & Viebeck, 2018, 0:41). This statement reflects Rubio's view of himself to be an 'economy first,' type of Republican. This economy first policy will be repeatedly demonstrated throughout the analysis of his immigration speech.

The rest of this section will analyze Rubio's announcement speech for President of the U.S. Notably, nowhere in the speech did Rubio mention global warming or climate change. This is likely because he does not see it as a main concern or a problem; rather he tends to ignore it altogether.

He began his speech like other politicians, referring to a similar story setting of America as a nation of immigrants. However, Rubio referred to Cuba, which he shares close ancestry with as his parents immigrated here in 1956. Similar to Warren, they picked their location so they could relate and connect with it in their speech. The location Rubio chose was related to his Cuban ancestry. Rubio says:

> In this very room five decades ago, tens of thousands of Cuban exiles began their new lives in America. Their story is part of the larger story of the American miracle. How, united by a common faith in their God given right to go as far as their talent and work would take them, a collection of immigrants and exiles, former slaves and refugees, became one people, and together built the freest and most prosperous nation ever (Marco Rubio, 2015, 0:40).

Like Warren does, Marco Rubio connects the audience to the place that he is in, this makes his speech memorable. He then relates this to 'the American miracle,' which suggests nationalistic sentiments. Moreover, he is showing pride in America's past. When he says 'a common faith in there God given right to' he demonstrated his religious beliefs. He emphasizes his religious and patriotic sentiments by ending his speech with, "[t]hank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America," (Marco Rubio, 2015, 17:45).

Furthermore, in the paragraph above, he described a right that cannot be taken away as it is 'god given.' This is an attractive sentence for the Republican electorate as rights, freedom, and God is a known mantra that they claim to support. Moreover, the immigration element is preseent here by mentioning immigrants, slaves, and refugees coming togeher to build the 'most prosperous nation ever.' By mentioning this he emphasizes America's glorious past of overcoming and uniting together.

He repeats his notion of the American dream throughout his speech saying “In this country, you will achieve all the things we never could,” (Marco Rubio, 2015, 13:03). The American dream is a proud and patriotic notion. Therefore, by repeatedly mentioning it he is trying to attract nationalistic voters. This with the emphasis on the nation's glorious past suggests that he is likely to oppose immigration reform. He continues this throughout his speech like when he refers to America as an “exceptional country,” where anyone can achieve their dreams (Marco Rubio, 2015, 11:01).

Not surprisingly, Rubio continues the introduction of his speech by describing his parents' story, i.e., coming to America as an immigrant in search of a better life. He tells a story about their lives in Cuba being poor and migrating to America in the 1950s. In summary of the story Rubio says,

> Two immigrants with little money or education found stable jobs, owned a home, retired with security and gave all four of their children a life far better than their own. My parents achieved what came to be known as the American Dream. But now, too many Americans are starting to doubt whether achieving that dream is still possible (Marco Rubio, 2015, 1:54).

Here he defines what the American dream means to him – opportunity. He also suggests that the problem in America today is that opportunity has diminished and Americans cannot do the same as his parents did. He continues to touch on the problem in America by suggesting that it is a lack of opportunities for those living here. As a result of this conclusion, he would likely be more restrictive in allowing people into the country that would ‘take jobs away’ from the American citizens living here.

The themes in Rubio’s speech are religion, family, and a better life through the American dream. All of these values portray to conservative Republican ideals. The lack of mentioning climate change in his speech shows his dis-concern for the problem. Moreover, has found evidence that Rubio does not believe in climate change. As a result, it is valid to conclude that he would also not acknowledge the existence of climate migrants. Despite his personal family's background as being an immigrant themselves, Rubio believes in the same traditional conservative values of securing borders and granting access to legal immigrants. His conservative values alongside the rhetoric he uses and emphasize being an American

demonstrate this view. His connection with his past may reveal a sensitivity to immigration that may have the potential to have a positive effect on immigration. Although, that is unlikely. In conclusion, Rubio is likely to value his traditional role in taking on climate migrants.

5.2.4. DEN CRENSHAW

Congressman Den Crenshaw is a Republican from Texas. Interestingly, he grew up outside of the U.S. and attended High school in Colombia. This would likely influence his views on immigration.

On the 25th of June 2018, Crenshaw released a facebook live where he discussed his view on climate change. The video is recorded on his phone and is about ten minutes long of him talking freely into the camera. In the video, Crenshaw says that we should care about protecting our environment, the forest, the air, the water, and the natural wonders in our country. However, on climate change he said "[w]e need to have a well-reasoned discussion and debate about what is causing climate change …. We can't start off the conversation saying the climate is settled. The right way to have these conversations is to actually listen to what the science says on both sides" (Crenshaw, 2018). This says a few things. First, when he says "we need to have a well-rounded discussion," here he demonstrates he shows that he is open to conversation, dispute, and arguments. a characteristic of being open minded and skeptical towards accepting information. By saying that you cannot begin talking by the "climate is settled," he is referring to the democrats consensus that climate change is real and human caused. He may be saying this because it causes problems in actual conversation regarding climate change or because he himself is skeptical. He ends by saying both sides should have a voice in the opinion, which reveals possible skepticism in accepting that climate change exists and is human caused.

Lastly from the Facebook video I want to discuss is the following sentence. "I am always going to be reluctant to put undue economic burdens on our people," (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021, 4:03). This phrase appeals greatly to the Republican electorate's value of 'unfettered capitalism.' Therefore, he is likely saying this to appeal to the Republican audience. This economy first, Republican value will be a common theme throughout the interview as he discusses his other views.

The rest of the paper will analyze a segment in *The Daily Show with Trevor Noah* where Treveor Noah interviews Dan Crenshaw. The interview covers Crenshaw's background and his views on immigration, critical race, and climate change. This is unlike the other speech acts that were analyzed as it is a talk show, however, I do believe it provides a well rounded insight in Crenshaw's opinion.

Interestingly, in the talk show interview, Trevor brought up this facebook post and his somewhat skeptical position towards climate change. He responded to this, with a laughing expression and pointing his finger, saying "I don't think I ever said any of those things in a video," (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021, 19:40. Treveor responded, obviously shocked, "On facebook?" Crenshaw responded back, smiling, saying "no, I would never have claimed that," (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021, 19:41). He either forgot he had made that Facebook livestream or he was acting in this way to diffuse that previous conception in the video. Regardless, if the electorate knew this video exists, then his unacknowledgement discredits his ethos. Or if they did not know the video existed his lack of acknowledgement might make them question Treveor's ethos. It is to be noted that before watching this talk show I was not aware that the Facebook video I had previously mentioned was brought up.

"This has always been my position." Crenshaw says, "Look, climate change is real, there's obviously a human element to that, and we need to take it seriously," (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021, 19:51). Here he directly clarifies his belief by acknowledging the existence of climate change and that it is human caused. He even suggests that 'we need to take it seriously,' which brings an element of severity to the table that is uncommon in some members of the Republican party. However, later he removes it when he says, "It [climate change] is a problem. There's going to be a cost associated with the problem. It isn't quite what the alarmists say and we can be quibble with that," (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021, 20:39). He speaks in what seems to be an economic matter to an audience when he says 'there's going to be a cost associated with the problem,' he likely is intentionally trying to come across as educated in the economics sphere to increase his appeal to the Republican electorate. In other words, increase his logos by making him seem knowledgeable. It also reveals his economic oriented mind. Lastly, when he said 'it isn't quite what the alarmists say,' by 'alarmist,' he is likely referring to Democrats or scientists or a commonly used

phrase in the Republican media i.e., 'radical liberals.' By using the word 'alarmist,' he gives the illusion that the whole ordeal has been – at least slightly - exaggerated.

"There's ways to not destroy our economy while also reducing our emissions. And that's why I'm going to COP26 to promulgate that view" (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021, 24:13). Here he says that he is going to bring his economic priority to climate change solutions at the COP26, a climate conference. He believes that you can be a Republican conservative while still trying to fix the environment. He will likely take this stance into his perception of climate migrants and form his outcome based on what is most economically sustainable, that is by however he perceives to be the best economic pathway.

He starts off by having an interesting perspective towards the immigration debate that I do not often hear from the Republican side anymore. He says, "You can become an American because the whole point of being an American is we sort of share this set of ideals, this set of history, this creed, if you will, of Americanism, of western values that makes us an American. And I think that's a very cool thing" (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021, 1:49). This is likely due to his background outside of the U.S. and perhaps his own feeling of becoming America again after returning. Regardless, he seems proud of the diversity that America holds and the ability that anyone can embrace these characteristics and become American too. Instead of using the 'we are immigrants' narrative here, he opts to suggest that the sharing of common values is what makes us American. This is a slightly different approach than what has been revealed by the other Republicans. Moreover, it shows the electorate that he is open and willing to welcome people from other countries – as long as they do so legally.

When asked what he thought the problem was with immigration Crensahaw responded by saying:

> Well, look, I view the problem as illegal immigration. I'm not sure we have a problem with legal immigration. Depends on who you ask. I personally don't have a problem with legal immigration. My step-mom is a legal immigrant, migrated from Peru. I think most Americans are not anti-immigration, I don't think we should paint them that way, but I think the vast majority of Americans want our border secured and that's the crux of the debate going on now. We have to differentiate in the queering's between legal immigration and illegal immigration (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021, 3:05).

Interestingly, he uses the term ‘illegal,’ immigration here to refer to undocumented migrants. He opts to use the stigmatized term throughout the interview and never uses the more neutral one i.e., undocumented. This seems to be a common theme for Republicans. Moreover, he differentiates that the problem with America’s immigration system is ‘illegal immigrants, not legal immigrants' and brings up a personal relation with immigration himself concerning his step-mother. Notably, he never brings up the fact that he himself was an immigrant when he spent his childhood growing up in Peru. This, subtly, creates a separation between American immigrants and other immigrants and reveals his ‘us versus them’ dynamic in a more subtle way.

The next paragraph that will be analyzed describes the policies that Crenshaw is sympathetic towards. Crenshaw says:

> I’m very sympathetic to someone who doesn’t even speak Spanish, who was brought here as a child and gives them legal security. I am very sympathetic to that. When it comes to broader immigration reforms, what do you do with the millions of people here? … First, you have to stop the inflow, stop the illegal crossings. I hope we can get to the point in America where we have zero tolerance for illegal immigration. Primarily, because it cuts in front of the line. And I’m from Huston and we talk to legal immigrants and they’re frustrated. They feel like people are cutting in the line and an injustice is occurring against them and I think they’re right. Because there’s a long line, doesn’t mean you will get to cut it and for this country there will always be a massive line. Next year, there will still be a massive line (The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, 2021, 7:54).

This section was telling how he would perceive climate immigrants. He is sympathetic towards a certain type of illegal, i.e., those under DACA, a program established under Obama for kids to eventually grant legal status to kids brought to the U.S. as a child and stayed. However, he is not willing to allow ‘illegal’ immigrants to come through the border. He stands stern with this. He believes that it harms the people to do so legally. He seems to reflect the opinion of the legal immigrants around him when he says this. As mentioned before, climate migrants will likely enter the U.S. as undocumented because they do not have any legal rights under asylum law and cannot claim this law.

Moreover, it seems that Crenshaw lacks the knowledge concerning the grave potential for

mass immigration to the U.S. in the future, not because it is a great land, but because climate migrants will not have another choice. His suggestion is to remove all illegal immigrants. However, he seems to be unaware of the reality of the situation. He views the solution to remove all immigrants. He will enforce a similar line of thought regarding climate migrants.

Although Crenshaw may recognize the existence of climate migrants, it seems unlikely that he would support their entry into the U.S. His openness to dispute allows to see the potential for an understanding. This would mostly occur if Crenshaw found an economic benefit in doing so. However, he does not currently seem to be aware of the benefits of immigration.

5.2.5. TED CRUZ

Ted Cruz is a Senator from Texas. In a brief interview, or sound bite, a reporter, Sinclair-Wingate, asked Cruz if he would continue to support Exxon (an elite oil company) although recent evidence came out that they knew about climate change since the 1970s (*Ted Cruz Stands with ExxonMobil on Climate Denial*, 2016). Cruz responded by saying: "I think that public policy should follow the science, and with regard to global warming, there are an awful lot of of politicians in Washington that want to see more government power on the economy in your and my lives, and they're disregarding the science" (*Ted Cruz Stands with ExxonMobil on Climate Denial*, 2016, 0:20). The reporter went to respond, but Cruz interrupted him, "For example, the science shows the satellites that are measuring the temperatures. The last 18 years there's been no significant reported warming whatsoever. Those are the facts',' (*Ted Cruz Stands with ExxonMobil on Climate Denial*, 2016, 0:44). By using the phrase 'no significant,' he shows blatant skepticism towards the warming earth. This shows that he does not believe in climate change and he expresses his view by saying that 'these are the facts,' as if his mind is made up and the issue is no longer disputable for him.

The reporter responded "But the last two years have been the hottest years on record." and Cruz responded back by saying, "Look, we've had 18 years of no significant warming whatsoever. Those are the facts." (*Ted Cruz Stands with ExxonMobil on Climate Denial*, 2016, 1:15). Here Cruz makes no attempt to acknowledge what the reporter said. He dismisses him by repeating his previous point. This demonstrates intention and deliberation; he wanted to send this message to the American electorate that global warming was a hoax.

Ted Cruz does not believe in climate change. And therefore, will not acknowledge the existence of climate migrants.

The speech chosen to analyze for Ted Cruz' was his announcement speech for his presidential campaign in November of 2015 at Liberty University, a large Christian University in Virginia. The location alone of these announcements reflects on the hardline conservative values that he uses when speaking to this younger christian audience. The Christian theme of this speech is continuous. His speech always seemed to turn back to the core principles of traditional American Chrisitanity. It is likely that his appeal here is due to his values as well as the audience that he is speaking to since it is a Christain University. Moreover, the tone of the speech he was giving sounded similar to a preacher at church. This could be a subtle sound device that Woods (2006) mentions speakers use to appeal to the audience whom they are taking to. Throughout his speech Cruz walks around the stage, to be engaging and interactive with his audience.

Ted Cruz's speech begins by describing in great detail about how his mom and then his dad came to America. I would like to draw your attention to his dad's story.

> This boy [his dad] at age 17 finds himself thrown in prison, finds himself tortured, beaten. And then at age 18, he flees Cuba, he comes to America. Imagine for a second the hope that was in his heart as he rode that ferry boat across to Key West, and got on a Greyhound bus to head to Austin, Texas to begin working, washing dishes, making 50 cents an hour, coming to the one land on earth that has welcomed so many millions. When my dad came to America in 1957… (ABC News, 2015, 3:17).

Here he describes the notion of 'America is a nation of immigrants' in a very personal way. Unlike other politicians, he gave great details on how his dad came to America. The details make the story feel personal and gives the audience the feeling that Cruz is an open book. Being vulnerable gives the audience the perception of him being trustworthy.

He gets very personal about his life story and his relationship with his father. He says "When I was three, my father decided to leave my mother and me." (ABC News, 2015, 4:17) Then he proceeds to say how his dad found Christianity and came back. Cruz says,

> … my father gave his life to Jesus Christ. And God transformed his heart. And he drove to the airport, he bought a plane ticket, and he flew back to be with my mother and me. There are people who wonder if faith is real. I can tell you, in my family

> there’s not a second of doubt, because were it not for the transformative love of Jesus Christ, I would have been saved and I would have been raised by a single mom without my father in the household. (ABC News, 2015, 5:20)

Here, he shows how Chrisitianity changed his life. The electorate undoubtedly agrees that Cruz represents American christian values after saying this. A tough story that overcame because of religion.

He also spends time discussing significant historical events that differentiate America. For instance, after naming and describing a few historical significant events, he says the following. “Over and over again, when we faced impossible odds, the American people rose to the challenge,” (ABC News, 2015) 2015, 35:31). This frames a narrative of America's glorious past in which he continually emphasizes throughout the speech. This will likely later perpetrate his immigration platform as well, meaning that he will contrast the glorious past with the bleak future if we continue on this past/current events (Mols & Jetten, 2014). Moreover, mentioning the nation's glorious past subtly installs notions of nationalism into the electorate that affect people's identities. It makes them proud to be American.

Additionally, he also ties in the religious elements of identity with the historical elements of identity by making the audience related to its ancestors identity - hard working, American christian people. An example of this is when he says: “That would have seemed unimaginable, and yet with the grace of God, that’s exactly what happened… The power of the American people when we rise up and stand for liberty knows no bounds” (ABC News, 2015, 25:41). By using the phrase ‘by the grace of God,’ demonstrates that he is a man of christian values that feels indebted to and grateful for God. Here he also emphasizes the collective American identity by viewing the united front as a source of power and strength that allows us to fight.

He spends a lot of time on his speech discussing christian values, which appeals to the audience he is speaking to and represents what he believes to be the core of Americans. He emphasizes this when he says “What is the promise of America? The idea that — the revolutionary idea that this country was founded upon, which is that our rights don’t come from man. They come from God Almighty,” (ABC News, 2015) 2015, 10:17) Here, he forms Chistianity as part of the American identity.

Moreover, he spends time saying “imagine this … instead of that” to invoke cheers from the audience. When he entails that he will give them a better future than they currently have. An example of this is when he did it for immigration. He said “Instead of the lawlessness and the president’s unconstitutional executive amnesty, imagine a president that finally, finally, finally secures the borders. And imagine a legal immigration system that welcomes and celebrates those who come to achieve the American dream. [cheers]” (ABC News, 2015, 17:31). His original view on immigration is much different then the one he describes now. By using the term ‘secure,’ he is inferring that they are currently insecure, at a risk, unsafe. The repetition of the ‘finally,’ also shows an already founded opposition to some types of immigration.

Ted Cruz identifies as a traditional American Chrsitain Republican man with conservative values. He reflects and mentions this point throughout his speech in order to relate with the people in the room who share a similar identity. It would be interesting to see if he does not emphasize these points as much. Regardless, Cruz’s views represent hardline christian conservative values that tend to favor strict immigration policies. His disbelief in climate change, leads me to conclude that he would not recognize the existence of climate migrants, but rather consider them immigrants, likely as ‘illegals’. Although he paints the historical immigrants as a glorious feature in America's past, he emphasizes himself as an American that was an immigrant. Moreover, his mention of ‘finally,’ securing our borders shows a likelihood that restricting immigration would be a priority.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This section concludes the thesis with a summary of the findings from the analysis. In doing so it connects the thesis in a wider context by mentioning previous theories. Moreover, it includes recommendations for future research.

The most telling thing about this paper was what it did not find. There was not much discourse analysis concerning climate change or immigration in the political realm (Javeline, 2014). Moreover, there were limited speech acts found by popular politicians on the subject. It was difficult and rare to find a speech act that combined the two. This shows the lack of connection between the two issues as well as a disconcern. This is likely due to the lack of urgency in political discourse (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005) as people feel it is not a threat. Finding nothing or limited information is quite telling. The Republican party had an all around lack of prioritization for climate changes matters, while the Democrats seemed to make it their top priority. Whether they will attempt to resolve the issue is a matter of discretion and has the likelihood to produce different discourses on the issue of climate migrants or rather solving the root causes of climate migrants and asylum seekers as mentioned in Harris' speech.

I had been pondering on a thought for a reason for why this might occur and I decided to include it here. If the Republican party leaders leave out the issue of climate change in discussion because it is not a matter of concern for low income folks. Since non-elites do not see a concern for climate change in their daily life (Arnall & Kothari, 2015), this may result in a hidden reason why some Republicans choose to ignore climate change – because it doesn't appeal to their audience. This would be an interesting phenomena to consider for future research.

Moreover, a finding that I noticed from this analytical process was the rather consistent structure in the campaign speeches. They all had a similar rhythm with a similar story. They all used similar narratives i.e., nation of immigrants, but yet framed it for their audience on their parties' side, i.e., similarity-focused or difference-focused (Bikmen, 2015). The stories were different but yet they were all the same. Similarly, all campaigns tended to incorporate the usage of personal pronouns that were used throughout the speech to gain a sense of connectedness and a call to action.

Undoubtedly, the American electorate reflects the views of the dominant discourses in the political sphere. It seems to say that there is a high correlation. The party leaders are all professional and successful communicators. They manipulate the findings of psychology to get people to not only believe, but to act on their words. They do so not in an obvious way, but rather in a rhythmically planned way. All of the political campaign announcements that were analyzed demonstrate this. They all proceeded and claimed they were different but they all used the same notion - America as a nation of immigrants. A belief that everyone has. However, they were able to manipulate this phase to fit the frame they want to create. That is, if they oppose immigration to the U.S. they frame immigrants in a bad light (e.g. Trump) and then separated them further by emphasizing us, the Americans, against them the illegal immigrants.

The findings from this analysis reveal clear partisan distinctions. I will discuss the findings in a summarized way. It's a defining characteristic of the Democratic party to believe that climate change is anthropogenically caused. This thesis has shown that this is true for the American voters, the democratic members of parliament, and the five democratic party leaders selected for this study. However, it is only true for Crenshaw and Romney, while Trump, Rubio, and Cruz remain skeptical or in denial. This reveals two streams of thought in the possible discussion of climate migrants as Crenshaw and Romney would acknowledge their existence, while Trump, Rubio, and Cruz would not.

The democratic party leaders all emphasized unity and togetherness in order to fight a common cause. Biden and Harris perhaps to a lesser extent than Obama, Sanders, and Warren. Moreover, there was a consistent usage of a similarly- focused narrative i.e., 'we are them' when regarding immigration. The mentioning of the topic of immigration was a lot less frequent in their speech as they did not view it as much of a security threat as the Republicans did. However, unlike the Republicans, they did view climate change to be a security threat. Sanders and Obama are the most vocal about the direct need to bring attention to climate change related issues and prioritized it as a massive concern for them compared to the other democrats. Obama, Sanders, and Warren emphasized coming together in collective action in order to fight against a common enemy – that enemy was often specifically mentioned to be climate change. Democrats emphasized togetherness, collective unity.

However, Republicans tended to focus on their collective identity i.e., being American. Rubio's speech especially emphasized the American dream. By doing so they emphasize nationalistic tendencies and the significance of being American. This relation to identity also helps frame who they are. These Republicans tended to describe America as unique, different, and the best. Loving America is a Republican quality.

Similarly, God is a Republican quality. Religion first alongside family is emphasized. This was especially the case for Rubio who even spoke at a Christian University and repeatedly mentioned references to God in order to emphasize his godly character. Crenshaw probably mentioned God the least, while Trump seems to give off the illusion he is religious in order to fit the dominant narrative in the Republican party, but rather he is not.

Climate migrants or immigrants were viewed as a security threat by President Obama, Romney, Rubo, Crneshaw, Cruz, and Trump – although Obama was to a much less certain extent. It is not certain either as I could be wrong by my analysis, however, it is a possibility. Obama was the only party leader to use the term climate migrants. Therefore, it would be incorrect to say that he viewed it as a threat to the same extent as the Republicans mentioned. The Republicans tended to view undocumented immigrants as a security threat in the Hobesian sense – being fearful of everyone, even your neighbors.

Crenshaw was more open minded to dispute then Cruz, Romney, Trump, and Rubio. Crenshaw was open to discussion allowing more immigrants as long as it benefited the country. However, Trump, Cruz, Romney, and Rubio all had hardline conservative notions against immigration, especially illegal immigration. Cruz was arguably the most against illegal immigrants and was fighting against the DACA program.

Importantly, republicans emphasize the economy first when solving problems in the world. They are scared undocumented workers that will steal hard-working Ameicans jobs. The form of agreement that Crenshaw emphasized is if there was a way to sell the feature of immigration to the Republican party. By this I mean make it seem like climate migrants are economically beneficial to society. Which they can be when society finds a way.

It’s a defining character of the Republican party to prioritize economic policies over climate change plans or environmental policies. Climate change skepticism or denial represents a significant amount of the members of parliament. This skepticism is also reflected in the Republican public as they remain skeptical on climate change. There is also an increasing acceptance of the existence of climate change in parliament.

The party leaders analyzed in this study show the different Republican threads that emerge on climate change. While Trump and Cruz deny the existence of climate change, a majority of the Republican electorate do believe that climate change exists and that it is human caused.

This study found that there are differences among each party regarding climate change and immigration that will have an impact on their view of climate migrants. The Republicans party leaders had more variation in their belief of climate change, specifically whether humans were causing it and if it was worth sacrificing the environment in order to solve it. In regarding immigration both parties views undocumented immigrants as a threat, however, the Republican party spoke more often about the threat of ‘illegals’ and seems to perpetrate a frame and blame narrative throughout their discourses.

The Republicans' view on immigration and border security seem to have a Hobbesian outlook towards the world. By this I mean, that they lock their doors at night despite being friends with their neighbors. They are always fearful of the other. Republicans are fearful of illegal persons for being criminals (as Donald Trump described them out to be), for taking their jobs (Romney, Furthermore, this relates to the ‘us versus them’ dynamic and the vilification of climate migrants. There is still a general uncertainty over the existence of climate migrants from the Republican public, the members of parliament, and some of the selected party members.

The choice of vocabulary was also very telling in revealing their true intentions. The sharp divides between the two parties are blanket in how they describe undocumented persons. Democrats tend to use the more neutral term of – undocumented when referring to these persons. While Republicans tend to refer to them with terms such as ‘illegal immigrants,’ or ‘illegal aliens.’ in order to underscore their distance from other Americans. Donald Trump was the extreme here. The use of different terminology when referring to undocumented immigrants is telling in its own.

Simailly, Democrats did not seem as concerned with the issue of immigration, as undocumented immigrants or immigrants were mentioned seldomly in campaign speeches regarding immigration. Sanders and Warren tended to focus on immigration reform and potential solutions, rather than the problems that immigrants caused on people like Trump, Rubio, Romney, Crenshaw, and did. Moreover, the Republicans agree with the 'them versus us,' narrative as well as all emphasizing patriotic values to reinforce the ideal of nationalism.

Moreover there was a common consistency among the Republican discourses concerning climate migrants will likely be a consensus to ignore them and then blame the issue on something else. This was especially the case in Trump's thought as he rhythmically performed a blame narrative throughout his campaign speech.

Harris recognized this in her speech and the specific reasons why people leave their homes to seek refuge. Probably the most important factor being that they don't want to.

In terms of future research, there should be significantly more conversation on climate migrants as there seems to be a substantial neglect in this regard. Since this is a rising problem of concern, it makes it even more worrisome knowing there is little political discourse on the issue. Furthermore, I believe it may be useful and interesting to see how these findings contribute to the polarization that is experienced in American politics.

Regardless of the differences in opinion on immigration policy, Republicans and Democrats want the same thing – more legal immigration and less illegal immigration. However, the flaws in the U.S.'s legal system make it almost impossible for those fleeing unimaginable hardships. Instead of decreasing immigration, the difficult legal system deters people from immigrating legally. But first, they must turn to understanding each other.

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