CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

'A world that's safer, and more prosperous, and more secure, and more free than the one that we inherited' Barack Obama, in December 2015, stated that he had seen the effects of climate change in Alaska, the world's most northern state, where the sea is already engulfing villages and eroding shorelines, where glaciers are melting at a rate unheard of in modern times, where permafrost is thawing, and where the tundra is burning. In his mind, it was a glimpse of one potential future, the fate of the children if the pace of climate change continues to outpace our attempts to address it. He declared that the United States of America had ratified the Paris Climate Agreement, a comprehensive international action strategy to combat climate change, along with almost 200 other nations (The White House, 2015).

However, less than two years after it had been adopted in a significant part of the USA, President Trump announced the USA's withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accord in June 2017 (McGrath, 2020). When running for president in 2016, Donald Trump expressed skepticism or outright denial about climate change and pledged to leave the Paris Agreement if elected. Trump modified his stance on climate change after winning the election, declaring that he had 'an open mind.' He delayed deciding about the Paris Agreement, showing that he was fully aware that the choice to leave would be met with harsh criticism domestically and

internationally. Trump initially wavered but ultimately withdrew from the pact (Zhang et al., 2017).

That abrupt transition followed the change in White House occupancy. The Paris Accord's withdrawal makes for an intriguing subject of investigation. As stated in Article 28 of the accord, there is the practical aspect of the withdrawal process, not to mention the effects of the US's absence from the discussion of global climate concerns (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, n.d.). The G8 and G20 aren't the only international groups concerned with climate change. The United States' negotiating position and duties under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) from its entry into force to the present are analyzed in this article. These obligations include the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, the provision of financial assistance, and the submission of periodic reports (Chestnoy & Gershinkova, 2017).

Politics has as one of its goals the use of power to manipulate the behaviour of others. A speech may be a very effective instrument. Delivering speech is one type of communication skill that can get transfer information and messages to the public to the public (Amin Aminuddin, 2022). Every speech, especially those designed to influence others, must be rhetorical. She also makes the case that political persuasion language is designed to influence listeners' views, orientations, or actions. For instance, to maintain, modify and create opinions about a political issue or motivate them to act (Lafta et al., 2020). In support of this assertion, Beard Adrian emphasizes the significance of speeches in politics and the necessity of a politician having extraordinary speaking abilities since language serves as a tool for communication and for presenting and

forming arguments (Beard, 2000). Because they stem from one's views, political debates are perceived as being ideological (van Dijk, 1995). Van Dijk contends that the primary goal of political speech is to manipulate or control the public's thoughts in some other way. One of the objects of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which seeks to understand how language, ideology, and power interact, is speech (van Dijk, 2006).

The fact that Industrialised nations have signed several international accords relating to maintaining climatic balance demonstrates how dire the issue has become in recent years. None of the agreements, however, do much to alleviate the suffering caused by climate change's negative impacts. Current binding legislation focuses mostly on enforcing a deal to cut greenhouse gas emissions, the main driver of ozone depletion and, by extension, global warming (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2022). Most hard laws (refers to legally binding and enforceable rules and regulations that are explicitly outlined in statutes, treaties, constitutions, or other formal legal instruments) (Abbott & Snidal, 2000) entirely disregard the rights of those impacted by a disaster before, during, and after disaster since there is no agreement that acknowledges their wellbeing, as was the case with the people of Bangladesh. As a result, we believe that soft law (refers to non-binding and non-enforceable instruments, principles, or guidelines that lack the formal legal force of traditional, hard law instruments such as statutes or treaties. While soft law does not create legally binding obligations, it often carries moral or political weight and serves as a framework for cooperation, coordination, and the development of common standards) (Olivier, 2002) may genuinely fill in the gaps and address the issues faced by people in Bangladesh, the most affected countries by climate change.

It's been known for a while that the environment has a role in people's decisions to migrate from one place to another for a variety of reasons, but until recently, this fact was mostly ignored in discussions on international and intrastate migration. However, now that the subject is front and centre in policy talks concerning the implications of climate change, more study is being done on the correlation between climate change and migration. Although migration and environmental conditions have always been intrinsically linked, the nature of this connection has been hotly debated. Population shifts may also be influenced by slow environmental change and major environmental catastrophes (Walsham, 2015). Human-induced climate change and the associated forced displacement of people seriously endanger international cross-border stability and long-term safety. By 2050, the World Bank predicts around 143 million climate migrants will live in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Latin America. Myers and Kent, in a similarly dire assessment, predict 200 million climate migrants worldwide by 2050. The next several decades may see the biggest refugee catastrophe in human history, according to some (Ahmed, 2021).

Severe environmental events typically result in the rapid relocation of large numbers of people, but their eventual return to their original communities is not impossible. Volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, and earthquakes are all examples of the geophysical hazards that might accompany these calamities. More individuals are predicted to move because of deteriorating environmental conditions, even if mass migration is more probable in the wake of catastrophic environmental catastrophes (Walsham, 2015). Extreme weather events are becoming a common occurrence in many places, making it clear that climate change already has far-reaching and complicated consequences. For instance, in

July 2020, floods inundated over one-fifth of Bangladesh, affecting 2.4 million people, forcing 56,000 people to relocate, and destroying approximately 500,000 dwellings (Ahmed, 2021).

It's worth noting that processes like desertification may have irreversible impacts, and that the population impacted by migration may grow over time. Owing to the intricate connections between the environment, migration, and other problems, including poverty, population increase, human security, conflict, and governance. Even though the environment is the primary motivator of migration, social, economic, political, and other factors are generally added since migration is a multi-causal event. The choice to move or stay is also tough and is influenced by the available social networks and resources and the perceived alternatives to migration (Czaika & Reinprecht, 2022). These, in turn, are influenced by a number of factors, including women's, children's, the elderly's, people with disabilities', and the poor's relative inability to adapt to new circumstances. The environment is therefore just one of many elements that affect migration, and migration is only one of many responses to environmental change (Walsham, 2015).

Protecting those who have been displaced because of climate change is complicated by the need to agree on a definition of the term "climate refugee," which must take into account both the Refugee Convention and earlier efforts to designate "environmental refugees." There may be more and more climate refugees in the future, but the international community does not recognize them as a distinct population. The term "climate refugee" is not well defined in everyday use. Rights and judicial certainty are at question. When a person's rights are not protected under the law, the international community cannot step in to

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help. When compared to other traditional causes of refugee status, such as persecution for one's political beliefs, membership in a particular social group, one's religion, one's ethnicity, or one's country, climate change-related human displacement is a novel idea (Apap, 2017). The international community has always understood the precarious position of persons who have been uprooted from their homes. Those who have been forcibly evacuated either at home or abroad owing to environmental reasons are not specifically addressed by existing international legislation or legal frameworks.

Although recognition of persons who have been displaced due to environmental factors is still evolving under international law, the phrase "environmental or climate refugee" has originated and thrived mostly in academic and research activity. Gradually, scientists and politicians began using the terms "environmental refugee" and "climate refugee" to describe those who were forced to relocate because of environmental concerns. However, the international community has failed to give a coordinated response and basic safeguards to persons displaced due to environmental or climate concerns, other than a few brief comments at climate summit talks and sessions. Current international efforts to safeguard 'environmental refugees' are called for in paragraph 1(f) of the Cancun Agreement (Naser, 2013).

Even though numerous studies have looked at Trump's discourses, the current study particularly examines how Trump has utilized his political influence to support his ideological ideas concerning crucial global concerns. This study attempted to better understand an ideology from both Donald Trump's speech by using Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method. Language, power, and ideology can be understood by

seeing how it is used concerning the social issue that is present at the moment and the social power that is trying to influence the community's ideology in the speaker's favour. Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis Model has been used as a method for this study to conduct micro analysis on Donald Trump speech. This study's primary goal is to determine how Trump portrays the Unites States' national interest through rhetoric and spread his ideology to influence the audience.

We also intended to determine how much the existing protection gaps may be filled by soft law without the need for new, obligatory legislation. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) will all be discussed in terms of their definitions of soft law and their resolutions, recommendations, and policies regarding climate migrants. This research will also assess the effectiveness of soft laws in protecting climate refugees.

1.2   Problem Statement

There is awareness of the problem of climate change, which is anticipated to worsen over the next 10 years, as evidenced by the fact that numerous wealthy nations have signed the Paris Agreement. All nations that sign this agreement consent to reduce their GHG emissions at the rate specified in this law. However, Donald Trump's administration took action to withdraw the US from the Paris Agreement on the grounds that the US suffered because it had to provide a set amount of funding to underdeveloped nations. We may understand Trump's underlying mindset behind his remarks about the Paris Agreement pullout by applying Van Dijk's Model.

Since the United States is one of the industrialised nations that contributes to releasing GHG into the atmosphere, it follows that most nations have criticised Trump's decision. Without the United States participating in the agreement, it will be more difficult to achieve the agreement's goals. Most of the hard laws that have been created in recent years aim to lessen climate change's negative consequences on the planet. In developing nations like Bangladesh, there are, however, relatively very few hard laws that actually focus on preserving the welfare of the society. One of the nations that contributes the least to greenhouse gas emissions is Bangladesh. They are, nevertheless, the ones who are most adversely affected by climate change.

Most existing hard laws fail to protect the human rights of Bangladeshis before, during and after natural disasters. Not only that, the definition of 'climate refugee' has not yet been fully clarified in human rights law. Because of this, these climate refugees are not entitled to receive the help and protection they deserve from certain parties. We believe that the void that exists in the effort to provide protection to the people of Bangladesh can be filled with soft law. Soft law is also capable of increasing the roles of NGOs in overcoming issues in the international arena.

In an effort to address the issue of the effects of climate change faced by the people of Bangladesh, it can be seen that soft law has more strength than hard law. Although soft law is an agreement that does not bind any party, it is able to help and provide protection and fulfil rights such as rights to health to the people of Bangladesh.

1.3 Research Questions

a) How does Critical Discourse Analysis explain Trump's ideology in his speech on the US withdrawal from Paris Agreement?

b) How does the soft laws framework work in assisting climate migrants in Bangladesh?

1.4 Research Objectives

a) To analyse Trump's ideology in his speech on the US withdrawal from Paris Agreement by utilising Critical Discourse Analysis

b) To explain the soft laws framework work in assisting climate migrants in Bangladesh

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 An Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis

The conditions, elements, and effects of power abuse by dominant groups and institutions are the focus of critical discourse analysis (CDA). The CDA evaluates language and its social purposes, particularly those connected to inequality, and looks at how they are repeated and occasionally given legitimacy (Abdelaal et al., 2015). CDA focuses on the abuse of social power, dominance, and inequality that emerge from speech and text in social and political settings. Many academics have expressed their opinions on CDA, including, who claims that the term's application extends beyond language usage (Hidalgo, 2011).

The fact that CDA has captured the interest of academics from diverse fields and various activists lends credence to this idea. Additionally, CDA aims to break down obstacles caused by articulating

presumptive views that have been justified via discourse to promote communication and well-being and reveal the manipulative nature of discursive practices. CDA possesses the essential elements of a critical approach, and an interdisciplinary approach is required. Various models and methodologies created to analyse discourse in specific ways are sometimes referred to as CDA. However, CDA has a crucial component that reveals how discourse is utilized to further political goals and how it may be used to validate the prevailing narrative (Billig, 2003).

CDA reveals the ideologies behind political statements. Consequently, CDA explains how dominant players may influence the public discourse to further their political or economic objectives, even if it does not investigate causality. As a methodological tool, it creates a link between the text being studied, the discursive practices that went into its construction, and the more extensive social settings that surrounded its creation and the discursive practices. To analyse how power structures are created and evaluated, CDA investigates the social context to examine the sociopolitical circumstances that influence speech. The social life mirrored in speech may be described, interpreted, considered, and critiqued using CDA. In addition to broader social and cultural structures, interactions, and processes, CDA examines the connections between discursive texts, events, and practices (Fairclough, 2001).

1.5.2   Climate Migrants and Soft Law

There has been substantial debate in recent years regarding potential relocations in the case of climate-related natural disasters. Experts and social scientists often arrive at conflicting conclusions, while the most powerful politicians often ignore the issue. Few studies, however, have looked at climate migrants and lax regulations. Mostafa Mahmud Naser

(2013) argues that creating "soft guidelines" will create an international framework for tracking climate refugees and ensuring their safety. In addition, it would provide the level of detail desired by governments and communities by closing any loopholes in the law. Despite not being parties to international refugee law, states in Southeast Asia have adopted a number of resolutions and guidelines pertaining to refugee protection, as pointed out by the research of Hassan Al Imran (2022). The writers are mostly in agreement that soft legislation may help climate refugees. Cary Coglianese presents a new way of looking at the situation. Soft law governance may have great theoretical appeal, but its practical implementation may be severely limited, according to Coglianese (2020). Only until the advantages and disadvantages of soft law governance are fully understood may decision-makers depend on it. He also said that the eventual success of soft law government might depend on the implicit threat of hard law.

States have adopted the appropriate human rights treaties, and broad standards have been created. All that is required for these recommendations to become a reality is for international organizations to come to an official agreement on how to use these instruments to meet the needs of vulnerable migrants. The international community's work on "soft rules" to safeguard IDPs and climate migrants offers a potential case study. Long-standing normative and institutional problems in the international community's policy for protecting climate migrants have been recognized. Migrants due to climate change were subject to the same protections guaranteed by human rights and international humanitarian law as vulnerable migrants (Apap, 2017). However, more explicit guidelines were needed on applying them, and no agreement

existed on how the United Nations system should divide organizational responsibilities.

1.6   Hypothesis

The purpose of this research is to determine whether or not the United States' decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement was motivated by economic considerations. Secondly, the increasing number of internally displaced persons in Bangladesh is affected by the climate change.

1.7   Research Method

This study uses qualitative methods which includes the uses of secondary data from research articles. We also gather information by using primary data from NGO's official websites.

The current effort is a linguistic analysis of President Trump's 2017 statement about the Paris Climate Accord. The information is retrieved from https://www.cries.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/013-Documento.pdf. The data is considered in the study of Trump's political speech to determine how he employed language to project an attitude of 'we against them' on the heart of the audiences towards the American economy. The information is used in political speeches to grab the audience's attention and convince them to take urgent action regarding the topics discussed.

Language is used to present one's own group's members positively and the members of other groups negatively, as shown by the discourse analysis model devised by famous linguist Van Dijk. Ideology is a central idea in Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) (van Dijk, 1994) due to its complexity as a phenomenon including moral, religious, cultural, and political dimensions. Ideologies, in general, have a polarized structure

that puts an emphasis on competition, comparisons between group members, and the identification of in- and out-groups. According to Van Dijk, the text may be broken down into two levels: the macro level and the micro level (Ye, 2022).

He offers four fundamental discursive strategies for macro analysis that focus on delegitimizing the 'other' in discourse and legitimizing the 'self.' The four main discursive strategies are to emphasize the good in "us," to emphasize the bad in "them," to downplay the bad in "us," and to downplay the good in "them." Van Dijk compiled a list of 25 different types of rhetorical discourse methods for use in microanalysis (Ye, 2022). These include "actor description, authority, burden (topos), categorization, comparison, consensus, counterfactuals, disclaimer, euphemism, evidentiality, illustration or example, generalizations, hyperbole, implication, irony, lexicalization, metaphor, national self-glorification, norm expression, number game, polarization, populism, presupposition, vagueness, and victimization".

This study uses qualitative methods because they may be used to analyse the 'what, where, when, why, and how' of an issue and to provide data pertinent to a particular case study. A descriptive-analytic research methodology based on Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis Model was used to conduct the micro-analysis in the current study. These models are the most suitable ones for this research. This theory is supported by the fact that this model is beneficial when a researcher needs to ascertain what the addresser is trying to communicate to the addressee through a text. The tool that was used to capture all data is NVIVO 12 PLUS software. Using that software, we can find the word frequency and word tree analysis in Trump's speech. Trump's Speech on Paris Climate agreement withdrawal

which lasted 24 minutes and 35 seconds, had 2893 words that were carefully analysed. The gist and the specific rhetorical strategies were examined according to the data that was made public.

This issue was investigated by the writers. The data was uncovered by careful examination of relevant ideas, literature, and previous studies. Using both direct and secondary sources, this study examines the usefulness of soft legislation in aiding climate migrants. Information was collected from reputable sources such as books, journals, archives, and the internet. Articles, news stories, and working papers are utilized as supplementary materials to better grasp the concept of "soft law" and to highlight relevant resolutions, recommendations, and policies pertaining to climate migration. The author uses a critical reading approach to analyze the data. One kind of analysis based on postcolonial theory is critical reading. Instead of attempting to explain the meaning of a book, critical reading seeks to transform it into something new.

1.8   Theory/Concept

One of the older ideas that serves as the cornerstone of foreign policy is the concept of national interest. National interest has traditionally dominated discussions of state and international affairs, dating back to George Washington and Hans Morgenthau (Edmunds et al., 2014: 4). Scholars who adhere to power theories or realists, like Morgenthau, do not distinguish between power and national interest. For instance, Morgenthau (2012) argues that politicians should think and act in a way that advances the national interest, which he defines as power. National interest, according to Frederick H. Hartmann, is "what states could or do seek to protect or achieve in relation to other states." According to Waltz, maximizing power is in the nation's interest (Ota & Ecoma, 2022).

Interests comprise everything that helps a person attain their goals or improves their overall quality of life. The position of Thomas Hobbes, on the other hand, is grounded in a materialist explanation of human nature and connects self-preservation with interest. This point of view holds that all human behaviour toward others is motivated by the basic need to protect oneself. Statesmen and thinkers have used the term 'national interest' to describe the goals and objectives of sovereign entities in the international sphere ever since nation-states were founded (Jude & Sunday Onyekwuma, 2021).

James N. Rosenau (1968) thinks that national interest may be looked at in two ways: analytically and as a political instrument. Political actors have found the notion useful for thinking about their aims and organizing support for them, but analysts have found it value-laden and hence difficult to use as a rigorous investigative tool. In other words, Rosenau argues that despite the fact that the idea of national interest is useful to politicians, it lacks analytical structure and significance.

The concept of national interest is the bedrock upon which foreign policy is based. The term refers to a state's overarching strategy for conducting its international relations. There are many levels of national interests, from the most broad to the most specific. Core or vital national interests as those a state is often prepared to battle right now or until the very end. States typically reject its alternative without giving it considerable consideration, which is indicative of matters of vital concern (Metea, 2020). For instance, in his speech, Trump successfully aroused in his audience's mind that the Paris Accord indeed disadvantaged the welfare of Americans.

Law, like other forms of governance, is a normative claim or social control at the global level. Fundamental rules of conduct, however, are also based on morality, etiquette, and social custom that embody society's values. There are repercussions for not adhering to these norms of social speech. However, legal control has been the typical reaction to social concerns over the previous century. Laws are reflective of contemporary social needs and aims. The law is seen as a necessary but frequently inadequate foundation for regulating social conduct. Despite inevitable uncertainties and gaps, written language, and the language of legislation in particular, most efficiently transmits expectations and fosters compliance (Dinah, 2008).

Despite its obscurity, the phrase "soft law" is often used to refer to any non-treaty international arrangement that includes guiding principles, expectations for action, and other claims in writing. Unlike hard law, which mandates a given course of action by a state, soft law just expresses a preference for that course of action (Dinah, 2008). Soft law has the potential to provide several advantages over traditional hard law. Their less formal character actually increases the influence of other parties, such NGOs. Second, it has benefits in sectors where reduced expenses, expanded institutional choices, and simpler compromise pose direct threats to national sovereignty. Thus, it may function even in the absence of a formal agreement based on the rule of law. Third, it may facilitate faster action when governments are deadlocked. Furthermore, it may confirm or clarify previously recognized broad or hazy norms in either legally binding or non-binding agreements (Orchard, 2020).

Soft law-making is advantageous since it encourages participation in global governance from non-traditional groups and non-state actors.

Soft laws, also known as consensus laws, may be created more readily by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), social movements, the business community, and ordinary individuals than treaties, which can only be party to by governments. However, there are significant difficulties associated with using soft law methods to increase participation in international rule-making and governance. This method of codifying standards has the potential to weaken the cohesion of the global system. By formalizing standards in this manner, countries would be able to avoid fulfilling their legal responsibilities in important areas. As long as they do not contradict or weaken existing hard law, such as treaty obligations, soft law solutions do not have to compete with the present hard law system, according to research from the Chatham House Inclusive Governance Initiative (Guruparan & Zerk, 2021).

It has become customary for industrialized and developing countries to respond to the inadequacies and limits of a hard law approach to environmental governance by turning to "soft law," or non-binding rules and standards that encourage environmental and natural resource conservation. In cases when no obvious solution presents itself, soft law approaches may be favoured. Nonetheless, others have claimed that soft law may more widely disseminate these norms across sectors and entrench high environmental responsibility requirements into business activity, hence possibly having a more long-lasting effect on the environment. Regardless of the reasons for adopting soft law, it is crucial to be aware of the many different types and origins of environmental soft law. Not all organizations that establish norms are affiliated with governments. Government agencies are only one more source that encourages regulated enterprises to go above and beyond the present regulatory standards by creating optional programs or non-binding

guideline materials. The ultimate purpose of both environmental hard law and environmental soft law is the same: to alter business or human behaviour in order to lessen negative environmental repercussions (Coglianese, 2020).

Structure of Thesis

Chapter I

The first chapter serves as an introduction to the study and provides a larger view of the overall project. This chapter is important because it allows readers to consider what the researcher is implying about the research in detail. This chapter includes the background of the study, research questions, the method of research, theory, hypotheses, and literature reviews.

Chapter II

Chapter two discusses an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The CDA model examines the connections among language, ideology, and power. Moreover, Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis Model was used in critical discourse analysis to examine President Trump's speech. NVivo 12 was further utilized to gather and evaluate the data.

Chapter III

Chapter three will discuss the weakness of hard law in protecting the rights of climate refugees. Moreover, the value of the 'soft law' framework in safeguarding climate migrants and Bangladeshi displaced people inside the country.

Chapter IV

Chapter four summarizes the study's findings and suggests additional recommendations and areas that may be improved to allow further better analysis in this field. Other than that, it also discusses research objectives and research questions.