

A Growing Economy or a Green Economy?

A Discourse Analysis of President Ronald Reagan and President
Donald Trump's Stance on Environmentalism



Jelke Gulpen
S4574958
American Studies
Supervisor: Mano Delea
Second Reader: Nancy Mykoff
Spring Semester 2020
LET-ETCAMB300
03-07-2020

ENGELSE TAAL EN CULTUUR

Teacher who will receive this document: Mano Delea

Title of document: Delea_Gulpen_BAthesis

Name of course: BA Werkstuk Amerikanistiek

Date of submission: 3 July, 2020

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Signed

Name of student: Jelke Gulpen

Student number: s4574958

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This thesis contains a discourse analysis of speeches and statements on environmentalism by President Ronald Reagan and President Donald Trump, between 1981-1989 and 2015-2020. The theory on 'Environmental Worldviews' by Jennifer Clapp and Peter Dauvergne was used to analyze their speeches and political views on environmentalism during their administrations. First, environmentalism during both the Reagan and Trump administrations will be explained in more detail. Subsequently, statements and speeches by Ronald Reagan and Donald Trump will be analyzed, to find out to which 'Environmental Worldview' their politics belong. My analysis indicates that President Ronald Reagan fits the category of the 'Market Liberals'. Despite the fact that Donald Trump's politics are somewhat more difficult to put into a category, he shows most indicators for Market Liberals.

Keywords: Environmental movement, Environmentalism, United States, Reagan, Trump, Environmental Worldviews, Market Liberals, Institutionalists.

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Introduction

“One of the paradoxes of American society is that while our economic standard of living has become the envy of the world, our environmental standard has steadily declined.”¹
Stewart Udell

Context

The 60s, 70s and 80s of the 20th century are seen as the heyday of the environmental movement, seeing a growth in environmental organizations and environmental legislation.² Rachel Carson’s book *Silent Spring*, was published at the start of these decades. The book alerted the world to the man-made poisons used in the environment and marked the beginning of the environmental movement and the concern for the environment that came with it.³ Carson wrote mostly about the increased use and negative effects of pesticides, in a world of postwar technology and a society with a growing awareness for consumerism.⁴ This book is considered to be one of the most important books regarding environmentalism from the 20th century. Environmental writer Kirkpatrick Sale claims that there was no real environmental movement before the publication of *Silent Spring*, with there being a focus on wilderness and conservation in the decades prior.⁵ Therefore, while there was a focus on nature before the 60s, there was no real environmental movement, but it came to exist mainly due to the publication of Carson’s *Silent Spring*. The book activated people during a time that was not highly focused on the environment: “it galvanized a constituency no one had realized was there, energizing the somewhat sluggish traditional conservation groups as well as many who had never given a thought to the natural world before.”⁶ The environmental movement’s concerns nowadays are much broader than merely the use of pesticides, but *Silent Spring* changed people’s mindset when it came to the environment. After this, the environmental movement grew only bigger.

This change in people’s mindset when it came to environmentalism cannot only be observed in the growing number of environmental organizations, but it can also be perceived in political legislation. The second half of the 20th century saw the first legislation regarding

¹ Peninah Neimark and Peter Rhoades Mott, *The Environmental Debate: A Documentary History* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), 191.

² Neimark and Mott, *The Environmental Debate*, 179.

³ Neimark and Mott, 189.

⁴ Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Green Revolution: the American Environmental Movement 1962-1992* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 4-5.

⁵ Sale, *The Green Revolution*, 4.

⁶ Sale, 4.

the environment. The ‘Air Pollution Control Act of 1955’ was the first federal legislation involving the environment, after which more and more laws regarding the environment were signed.⁷ An example of this is the ‘Scenic Hudson Preservation Conference v. Federal Power Commission’ of 1965. This case is seen by many as the start of modern environmental law, considering it was the first case that saw environmental factors as equal to economic factors and it allowed environmental groups to sue based on environmental concerns, instead of economic concerns.⁸

Although this heightened focus on the environment can be identified in people’s mindset and in political legislation, there are two presidents in the United States that do not seem to match this continuing growth of environmental concern. These two main actors are President Ronald Reagan and President Donald Trump. These two Presidents were chosen, due to the fact that they were presidents during environmental heydays, namely the 60s-80s, and the 00s-10s. However, despite the fact that they were presidents during these times, they are not recognized or perceived as presidents that fought for the environment.⁹ This can be argued, based on their lack of response to environmental issues and climate change. It is therefore interesting to find out what their stance on the environment was, by analyzing their speeches and presidential messages regarding the environment and environmentalism. Did they handle environmental issues, and if so, how?

For President Trump, the effects of his actions are somewhat more difficult to analyze since while I write this, his administration has not yet ended. The focus will thus lie on his administration until the spring of 2020. Reagan’s analysis will include both his Presidential terms, from 1981 until 1989. To find out what Reagan and Trump’s political behavior towards the environment is, this thesis shall include a discourse analysis of some of their speeches. To analyze these speeches, the theory on environmental worldviews by Jennifer Clapp and Peter Dauvergne will be used. Using previous literature and secondary sources, this thesis will attempt to answer the following research question: Under which Environmental Worldview do Ronald Reagan and Donald Trump’s administrations fall, and how can this be seen in their politics?

⁷ Sale, xi-xx.

⁸ Neimark and Mott, *The Environmental Debate*, 193.

⁹ Jessica Hejny, “The Trump Administration and Environmental Policy: Reagan Redux?” *Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences* 8, no. 1 (January 27, 2018): 199, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13412-018-0470-0>.

Theoretical Framework

Political economist Jennifer Clapp and environmental activist Peter Dauvergne wrote the book *“Paths to a Green World”*, which offers a theory on the political economy of (global) environmentalism. Their theory focuses on different worldviews one can have when it comes to environmentalism. This theory is uniquely valuable for this thesis because it offers a combination of politics and environmentalism. Even though this theory is primarily focused on environmentalists, it is the combination of politics and environmentalism that can be used to analyze American presidents and their role in environmental politics.

The four environmental worldviews (EWV's) Clapp and Dauvergne focus on are 'Market Liberals', 'Institutionalists', 'Bio-environmentalists', and 'Social Greens'. It should be stated that these four worldviews are ideal categories, in theory. In practice, the differences are more difficult to see. The lines are not as clear cut, meaning that some people might be put in not just one, but two different environmental worldviews. There also exists agreement between the worldviews on some or more ideas and opinions. The main point to keep in mind, is that the theory is not going to be as clear in practice as it is on paper. Clapp and Dauvergne use a few pillars to differentiate between the four EWV's, namely whether a group agrees if there is a global crisis; the causes of the environmental problems; whether the impact of globalization is positive or negative; and the way forward.¹⁰

First of all, Market Liberals argue that there is no global environmental crisis, but that there are only some inevitable environmental problems, which can be solved with modern technology, international cooperation, and money.¹¹ Simply said, their focus lies on the economy and how money can improve the environment. Market liberals believe that lack of economic growth and market failures causes environmental issues, which can be addressed by promoting economic growth, modern science, and globalization, which in turn will positively affect the economy.¹² All these aspects are why the concept 'ecological modernization' can be linked to Market Liberals. Ecological modernization can be described as innovation-oriented and technology-based approach to environmental policy.¹³ It is a concept that tries to combine economy and ecology, through technological processes. In the words of politics professor Martin Jänicke, “The task is therefore to change the direction of technological progress and to

¹⁰ Jennifer Clapp and Peter Dauvergne, *Paths to a Green World: The Political Economy of the Global Environment* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2005), 3, Apple Books.

¹¹ Clapp and Dauvergne, *Paths to a Green World*, 4-7.

¹² Clapp and Dauvergne, 4-7.

¹³ Martin Jänicke, “Ecological Modernisation: Mew Perspectives,” *Journal of Cleaner Production* 16, no. 2 (April 2007): 557, <https://doi:10.1016/j.jclepro.2007.02.011>.

put the compulsion for innovation at the service of the environment. The emphasis of this approach lies on the possibility ecological-economic “win-win” solutions that can be achieved, above all, through cost reduction and competition for innovation.”¹⁴ This belief that a growing economy is a positive aspect, which can be used to solve environmental problems, fits perfectly under Market Liberals, because the focus for both the Environmental Worldview and ecological modernization rests on the economy. Market Liberals also believe in the concept of ‘sustainable development’. Sustainable development can be defined as development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the needs of future generations.¹⁵ Simply stated, one should limit development if its affects compromise future generations. This term is frequently used by Market Liberals, and in the theory of Ecological Modernization.

The second group, the Institutionalists, could be paired with Market Liberals, in the sense that they also agree that there is no global environmental crisis. Although Institutionalists do see the potential for a crisis, which can be prevented with the right measures.¹⁶ Moreover, they see the causes for environmental problems in weak institutions and inadequate global cooperation, which can be solved with stronger global institutions and thus – together with Market Liberals - also view globalization as having a positive effect on environmentalism.¹⁷ As mentioned before, Market Liberals and Institutionalists agree on some aspects, however, they do disagree about important aspects as well. Institutionalists believe that the way we have organized political and economic life on our planet should not be rejected, and that global cooperation – e.g. international environmental agreements - can be the solution to environmental problems, while Market Liberals do reject the way we have organized the world.¹⁸ So, while Market Liberals and Institutionalists both believe that the economy is the solution for environmental problems, the biggest difference between these two is that Market Liberals focus on the free market, while Institutionalists focus on international and global cooperation. As Clapp and Dauvergne state, “Market Liberals stress more the benefits and dynamic solutions of free markets and technology; Institutionalists emphasize the need for stronger global institutions and norms as well as sufficient state and local capacity to constrain and direct the global political economy.”¹⁹ Important to note are their views on (bio-

¹⁴ Jänicke, “Ecological Modernisation”, 558.

¹⁵ Clapp and Dauvergne, *Paths to a Green World*, 4.

¹⁶ Clapp and Dauvergne, 7-9.

¹⁷ Clapp and Dauvergne, 7-9.

¹⁸ Clapp and Dauvergne, 7-8.

¹⁹ Clapp and Dauvergne, 7.

technology, which they both view as something positive, as it could, e.g., have the potential to improve global food supplies.²⁰ However, while Market Liberals agree that this should be spread via the free market, Institutionalists view that it should be spread via institutions.²¹

These first two worldviews differ greatly from Bio-environmentalists and Social Greens, since they do agree that there is a global environmental crisis. According to the Bio-environmentalists, earth is close to its carrying capacity, which is mainly caused by overpopulation, overconsumption and economic growth.²² Whereas economic growth is seen as the solution for environmental issues by Market Liberals and Institutionalists, Bio-environmentalists see it as the cause of the global environmental crisis. The solution for Bio-environmentalists is sought in creating a new global economy, with a limits to growth, to limit population growth and thereby overconsumption.²³ Social Greens agree with Bio-environmentalists about there being a global environmental crisis, however, according to the former, the cause of the crisis lies in industrialism and capitalism, which should both be rejected to save the environment.²⁴ Bio-environmentalists and Social Greens oppose economic globalization, which they perceive as reinforcing inequality, which in turn can be prevented by restoring the local autonomy and dismantling the current global structures and institutions.²⁵

The main aspect to take from this is that there is an opposition between these four environmental worldviews. There are two Environmental Worldviews that perceive globalization and a free economy as a positive aspect whereas the other two view it as being the cause of all environmental issues. More details of these four worldviews will be addressed in the chapters when necessary. My hypothesis is that President Ronald Reagan's administration will fall under Market Liberals, while President Donald Trump's administration will have characteristics of both Market Liberals and Institutionalists. Both because of their focus on a growing economy and lack of response towards the environment and climate change.

²⁰ Clapp and Dauvergne, 6.

²¹ Clapp and Dauvergne, 6-7.

²² Clapp and Dauvergne, 9-11.

²³ Clapp and Dauvergne, 9-11.

²⁴ Clapp and Dauvergne, 11-13.

²⁵ Clapp and Dauvergne, 11-13.

Methodology

This thesis shall include a discourse analysis of presidential speeches, addresses and messages to research under which Environmental Worldview(s) President Ronald Reagan and President Donald Trump fall. The choice to use and analyze primary sources was made to provide a direct access to Reagan and Trump's political thoughts. The program 'Atlas.ti' was used to code the speeches, after which they were analyzed using the previously established discourse and the discourse explained in chapter 1, and Clapp and Dauvergne's theory on Environmental Worldviews. The speeches and messages used for this analysis were chosen very carefully, by focusing on Reagan and Trump's administrations as a whole, and their speeches about specific environmental problems. The inauguration speeches of both Presidents were chosen as base line, since inauguration speeches include a President's intentions and the goals for their administration. For this same reason, the yearly State of the Union speeches were analyzed. The inauguration speeches and State of the Union speeches were also chosen so that they could be compared with one another. If there were goals relating to the environment, were they actually realized and talked about in the State of the Union? Apart from these two general speeches, I chose to focus on messages and speeches related to the environment and nature, such as messages on Arbor Day, Earth Day, and Environmental Day. On earth day - first celebrated in 1970 - Americans celebrate clean water, air and land.²⁶ The first celebration of Earth Day signaled a new understanding of what environmentalism really means, namely "a recognition that the earth's resources were finite and must be both conserved and protected."²⁷

Since the two Presidents served decades apart, some of these speeches will come from different sources and will focus on different environmental issues. This means that for President Reagan, his yearly statement for 'the Council on Environmental Wuality' was analyzed. Moreover, his public messages on Earth Day and radio addresses about the environment were used.

For President Donald Trump his- short- remarks on 'Earth Day' and 'Ocean Month' were used to see if the message that he does convey about nature, is consistent. Moreover, his speech after his decision to step out of the Paris Accord was analyzed, as was his speech on the 50th anniversary of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). The NEPA falls under the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), which will be explained in more detail in

²⁶ "Earth Day," United States Environmental Protection Agency, EPA, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://www.epa.gov/earthday>.

²⁷Mary Beth Norton et al., *A People and a Nation* (Canada: CENGAGE Learning, 2015), 813.

Chapter 1. It should be noted beforehand that President Trump's speeches are somewhat more difficult to analyze, mainly due to the fact that he does not address environmentalism and environmental issues often.

Overview of chapters

This thesis will be divided into three chapters. Chapter 1 will provide the necessary background information on environmentalism during the two Presidents' administrations. First a short historical overview on environmentalism during Ronald Reagan's administration will be given, as well as the administration's response towards the environment and environmentalism. This will be followed by a short overview of environmentalism during the Trump administration, as well as the administration's response towards the environment and environmentalism.

Some definitions of concepts used in this chapter will now be explained in more detail. The Global 2000 Report is talked about in Chapter 1 due to its neglect during the Reagan administration. The Report included population and environmental trends, stating that the US would have to change current policies, or the earth would reach environmental problems on a global level.²⁸ Furthermore, the Kyoto Protocol is briefly talked about in Chapter 1. This protocol is an international treaty that set strict emission targets for all signing countries.²⁹ The treaty is part of the United Nations, created with the goal to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.³⁰

Chapter 2 will focus solely on President Ronald Reagan and will include a more detailed analysis of his presidential speeches and messages, most of which regarding the environment. The concept 'limits to growth' is used in this chapter to explain Reagan's stance on the environment. It is mainly Bio-environmentalists that are concerned with 'limits to growth', since they believe that population growth and all environmental issues related to that, are the main source of the stress put on the earth's limits.³¹ Both Bio-environmentalists and Social Greens believe that the earth has already reached its limits, while Market Liberals and Institutionalists do not share this believe.³²

²⁸ "The Global 2000 Report," Encyclopdia.com, Cengage, last modified June 2, 2020, accessed June 28, 2020, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/environment/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/global-2000-report>.

²⁹ Norton et al., *A People and a Nation*, 861.

³⁰ Norton et al., *A People and a Nation*, 861.

³¹ Clapp and Dauvergne, *Paths to a Green World*, 10.

³² Clapp and Dauvergne, 4-14.

Chapter 3 will focus on President Donald Trump and will include an analysis of his presidential messages and speeches. A concept used in this chapter is ‘Arbor Day’. This day is celebrated on the last Friday in April each year. On Arbor Day trees are planted around the world, wherever they are needed, for which the non-profit Arbor Day foundation is responsible.³³

³³ “Our Work,” Arbor Day, Arbor Day Foundation, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://www.arborday.org/programs/>.

Chapter 1: Environmentalism during the presidencies

Historical background

By the late 60s and 70s, movements for social justice and equality had grown and become stronger than in the decades prior.³⁴ It is important to state that this activism from the 70s did not merely include the environmental movement, but also African American Nationalism, Mexican American activism, Native American activism, the Women's movement, the Chicano Movement and many more.³⁵ It was a time of cultural transformation and activism, partly as a response towards the hard times the 70s saw.³⁶ The Vietnam War, which had cost 58,000 American, and 1.5 to 2 million Vietnamese lives, came to an end, and had fueled friction with allied countries.³⁷ The nation also suffered an economic and oil crisis in this decade. A stagnant economy with rising unemployment and inflation characterized the 70s.³⁸ Apart from this, environmental issues in the 60s and 70s drove public activism. An oil spill took place in 1969, a nuclear accident at a power plant happened in 1979, and President Carter declared a federal emergency after people suffered from chromosome damage due to a chemical manufacturer.³⁹ The 70s thus saw major environmental crises, but it was these crises that drove people and the environmental movement to protest, and demand change. "Public activism produced major environmental initiatives, from the Environment Protection Agency (EPA), created (under strong public pressure) in 1970 by the Nixon administration, to eighteen major environmental laws enacted in Congress during the decade."⁴⁰

Ronald Reagan era

In 1980, *The Global 2000 Report to the President* – written by the Council on Environmental Quality - was established, which included the statement that the world would face global issues of threatening proportions by the year 2000.⁴¹ The report fit the discourse of that time; the environmental movement was growing and, as previously stated, people's mindset about the environment was changing. However, when Ronald Reagan was elected President in 1981, the Global 2000 report was forgotten, as described by Environmental writer Sale. "Just as the magnitude of the environmental peril was beginning to be understood

³⁴ Norton et al., *A People and a Nation*, 792.

³⁵ Norton et al., 792-795.

³⁶ Norton et al., 813.

³⁷ Norton et al., 801.

³⁸ Norton et al., 809.

³⁹ Norton et al., 813.

⁴⁰ Norton et al., 813.

⁴¹ Sale, *The Green Revolution*, 47.

and the need for serious remediation appreciated, the forces of the American Establishment chose to deny the evidence, ignore the warning, and coalesce behind a champion of business-as-usual – or bigger-than-usual.”⁴² As stated here, a change in environmental concern was taking place, but this change was not yet acknowledged in the political sphere. Environmental writer Kirkpatrick Sale calls Reagan’s administration and his response to the environment the ‘Reagan Reaction’, meaning the backlash against the environmental progress that was made in the 1970s.⁴³ Part of this progress was the aforementioned Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The EPA was established to “consolidate in one agency a variety of federal research, monitoring, standard-setting and enforcement activities to ensure environmental protection.”⁴⁴ Part of the EPA is the Council for Environmental Quality (CEQ), which oversees the implementation of the EPA.

Reagan’s presidency was focused on economic growth and development, and the environment was low on his list of priorities. The CEQ’s budget was cut in half, the EPA saw budget cuts as well, innovative programs were stopped, and environmental restrictions for industries – e.g. the mining industry – were to be ignored.⁴⁵ These regulations and budget cuts make it clear that Reagan’s presidency did not seem to care for the environment, and was focused solely on the economy. This can, however, be explained by his goal to get the US out of the economic crisis, for which other issues had to be adjourned.

Moreover, apart from a few local policies and acts, there was relatively minimal new environmental legislation. The Nuclear Waste Policy Act in 1982 was one of the only significant new laws regarding the environment between 1981-1986, but it was influenced by pro-industry regulations.⁴⁶ These were all triggers for the environmental movement, which continued to grow despite all the backlash. The number of environmental lobbyists in the US grew, and the bigger environmental organizations, such as Greenpeace, began to institutionalize.⁴⁷ This process – also called ‘Washingtonization’ – enhanced the movements’ influence on e.g. legislators, but also changed their tactics from confrontation to compromise.⁴⁸ These processes of Washingtonization and institutionalization were driven by the success among power brokers in Washington and the changing leadership, which now

⁴² Sale, 48-49.

⁴³ Sale, 49.

⁴⁴ “EPA History,” United States Environmental Protection Agency, EPA, accessed May 8, 2020, <https://www.epa.gov/history>.

⁴⁵ Sale, *The Green Revolution*, 50.

⁴⁶ Sale, 51.

⁴⁷ Sale, 54.

⁴⁸ Sale, 55-56.

included lawyers, executives and bureaucrats.⁴⁹ It were these people who put a new focus on management environmental organizations, such as Greenpeace.⁵⁰ The environmental movement managed to grow during two presidential terms that put environmentalism on the back burner and focused on economic growth instead.

As explained in more detail above, the 60s and 70s of the 20th century saw big wins when it came to environmental policies and laws, and membership rolls and the number of environmental organizations have grown since then.⁵¹ While environmentalism has grown, it has also seen setbacks in the decades since then. An example of this is the beforementioned weakening of environmental law during the Reagan era.⁵² The growing environmental concern could also be noticed internationally. In 1982, the United Nations adopted a document saying that nature was to be respected, which was signed by every nation part of the UN, except, however, by the United States.⁵³ On top of that, the United States have renounced other international environmental agreements. The 1997 Kyoto protocol that focused on controlling global warming, was renounced by the White House, showing that while environmentalism has grown, US legislation does not reflect this growth.⁵⁴ It should be noted that international protocols like the one in 1997 are never completely mandatory, and more symbolic in nature. The United Nations Treaty Collection states that it trust nations to act in favor of the environment when it comes to these international treaties, meaning that it is a nation's own responsibility to act accordingly and that treaties like the Kyoto Protocol are not mandatory.⁵⁵ In 2015, the United States Senate also approved a resolution that claimed climate change is real but denied a resolution that said that climate change is caused by humans.⁵⁶ It is claims like these and the possibility to not abide by international treaties that show the progress that still can be made.

⁴⁹ Sale, 54.

⁵⁰ Sale, 54.

⁵¹ Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus, "The Death of Environmentalism," *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations* 1, no. 1 (2009): 125-128, https://s3.us-east-2.amazonaws.com/uploads.thebreakthrough.org/legacy/images/Death_of_Environmentalism.pdf.

⁵² Sale, *The Green Revolution*, 49.

⁵³ Sale, 51.

⁵⁴ Norton et al., *A People and a Nation*, 861.

⁵⁵ "Glossary," United Nations Treaty Collection, United Nations, accessed June 16, 2020, https://treaties.un.org/Pages/Overview.aspx?path=overview/glossary/page1_en.xml.

⁵⁶ Nicole Seymour, Introduction. In *Bad Environmentalism: Irony and Irreverence in the Ecological Age*, 1-38, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018), 1, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctv65sz3q.3>.

Donald Trump era

While the Reagan administration was colored with an economic crisis, the 21st century's focus lies on climate change. The environmental movement grew during the last decades of the 20th century and is now bigger than ever. Climate change and the natural disasters linked to it are all over the news. While Trump claims to love the environment, his actions towards climate change show otherwise.⁵⁷ The main example for this is the withdrawal from the Paris agreement, which he announced in June 2017. The Paris Agreement, also called 'the Paris Climate Accord', was issued in November 2016, to fight climate change with all nations.⁵⁸ The main goal of the Paris agreement is maintaining the global temperature rise below 2 degrees Celsius, while using technology and money to support the developing countries of the agreement.⁵⁹ The main reason provided by Trump for withdrawing from the Paris agreement, was to protect America and its citizens from the negative economic effects and financial burdens of said agreement.⁶⁰ The statement he gave that year will be further analyzed in chapter 3, but important to note is the opposition his decision received. Hundreds of businesses in the US signed an open letter, stating that they would continue to participate in the Paris agreement, to help the long-term goal of keeping the global temperature rise below 2 degrees Celsius.⁶¹ This can be seen as a first sign of Trump not fitting the discourse of his time. Despite the fact that he portrays his decision as one made for the people, he decides against an international environmental agreement.

According to a survey, 17 percent of Americans in 1996, and 26 percent of Americans in 2000 are willing to accept higher levels of pollution to preserve people's jobs.⁶² So, while the environmental movement is growing, there are also people in the United States who are willing to deal with short term and long term environmental issues, by not treating the environment as a priority.

⁵⁷ Donald J. Trump, "Remarks by President Trump on Proposed National Environmental Policy Act Regulations," White House, January 9, 2020, accessed May 26, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-proposed-national-environmental-policy-act-regulations/>.

⁵⁸ "The Paris Agreement," United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, United Nations, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/the-paris-agreement>.

⁵⁹ "The Paris Agreement," United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

⁶⁰ Donald J. Trump, "Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord," White House, June 1, 2017, accessed May 14, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-trump-paris-climate-accord/>.

⁶¹ Daniel A. Farber, "U.S. Climate Policy: Obama, Trump, and Beyond," *Revista de Estudos Constitucionais, Hermenêutica e Teoria do Direito* 10, no. 2 (May-August 2018): 97, doi: 10.4013/rechtd.2018.102.01.

⁶² Shellenberger and Nordhaus, "The Death of Environmentalism," 11.

Furthermore, the Trump administration has not only pulled out of international climate accords, but has also rolled back environmental legislation.⁶³ Some of these actions include dismantling climate policies, weakened rules regarding the protection of wildlife, reducing poisonous pesticides, limiting water, land, and air pollution, reducing carbon emissions, but also lower budget when it comes to funding climate related research.⁶⁴ So, Trump is not only removing policies and laws that should protect the environment, he is also taking away a chance to fight climate change using modern technology and science. Moreover, his goals for the fossil fuel industry are interesting to note. Trump wants to make fossil fuels ‘great again’, by reversing energy policies from the Obama era.⁶⁵ When it comes to the fossil fuel industry, there is an old and a new narrative. The latter puts coal, gas, and oil in a negative light, due to their negative effects on climate change, while the former regards these three as something positive.⁶⁶ As will be shown in more detail in chapter 3, Donald Trump follows the old narrative. His goal is to make these industries grow, and prosper, in order to create more job opportunities.⁶⁷

As previously mentioned, President Trump tried to undo many of Obama’s environmental regulations.⁶⁸ Furthermore, his cabinet nominees are closely connected to the fossil-fuel industry, and almost all of them have a history of denying climate change.⁶⁹ These actions, in combination with the withdrawal from the Paris agreement, his goal to increase the United States production of coal, gas, and oil, and of course his skepticism towards climate change, show that he is predominantly focused on growing the US economy, instead of the environment.

⁶³ Elizabeth Bomberg, “US Environmental Politics under Trump: Domestic and Global Implications,” *Political Insight* 11, no. 1 (February 24, 2020): 48, <https://doi-org.ru.idm.oclc.org/10.1177/2041905820911749>.

⁶⁴ Bomberg, “US Environmental Politics under Trump,” 48.

⁶⁵ Lukas Hermwille and Lisa Sanderink, “Make Fossil Fuels Great Again? The Paris Agreement, Trump, and the US Fossil Fuel Industry,” *Global Environmental Politics* 19, no. 4 (2019): 46, https://doi.org/10.1162/glep_a_00526.

⁶⁶ Hermwille and Sanderink, “Make Fossil Fuels Great Again,” 46.

⁶⁷ Donald J. Trump, “President Donald J. Trump’s State of the Union Address,” White House, February 5, 2019, accessed May 25, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumps-state-union-address-2/>.

⁶⁸ Farber, “U.S. Climate Policy: Obama, Trump, and Beyond,” 100-101.

⁶⁹ Daniel A. Farber, “The Conservative as Environmentalist: From Goldwater and the Early Reagan to the 21st Century,” *Arizona Law Review* 59, no. 4 (February 2017): 1041, <https://arizonalawreview.org/the-conservative-as-environmentalist-from-goldwater-and-the-early-reagan-to-the-21st-century/>.

Chapter 2: President Ronald Reagan and Environmentalism

*"...we will create a healthful environment in a healthy economy."*⁷⁰ - Ronald Reagan

This chapter includes a detailed analysis of President Ronald Reagan's presidential speeches and messages. As previously mentioned, this will include his inauguration speeches, his annual State of the Union, his speeches on 'Earth Day' and 'World Environmental day', two radio addresses he gave about the environment, and the statements he gave each year for the Council on Environmental Quality.

As previously mentioned, the environmental movement grew stronger prior to and during Reagan's administration. There were, however, also a lot of environmental issues. President Reagan did recognize the growth of the environmental movement, and how it has helped and protected the nation, as can be seen in his speeches. He was, however, focused more on a growing economy than the environment. The energy and oil crisis from the 70s could explain this focus. For example, his weekly (radio) addresses during his administration were almost never about the environment. The following paragraphs will provide a detailed analysis of Ronald Reagan's speeches about the environment to find out under which Environmental Worldview his politics fall.

Ronald Reagan as a Market Liberal

When analyzing Reagan's Inauguration speeches, it becomes apparent very quickly that the environment or environmentalism does not seem to be on his list of priorities. His inauguration speech of 1981 focuses mainly on the economic hardships the United States had to suffer through, and how he wants the economy to grow and prosper.⁷¹ As established before, this economic focus had to do with the oil and energy crisis from the 70s and his goal to get America out of this economic crisis.

Interesting to see is his take on limits to growth: "It is time for us to realize that we're too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We're not [...] doomed to an inevitable decline."⁷² This view about limits to growth fits the Market Liberal standpoint of a positive

⁷⁰ Ronald Reagan, "Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality," Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, July 21, 1982, accessed May 20, 2020, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/72182a>.

⁷¹ Ronald Reagan, "Inaugural Address," Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, January 20, 1981, accessed May 18, 2020, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/inaugural-address-january-20-1981>.

⁷² Reagan, "Inaugural Address," January 20, 1981.

future and that there are no limits to growth. Market Liberals and Institutionalists both view globalization as something positive, which Reagan tries to achieve by strengthening ties with US allies.⁷³ His inaugural address in 1985 does not differ much his other inaugural address. The focus is again on the economic hardship from the past years, and he mentions that there are no limits to growth: “There are no limits to growth and human progress when men and women are free to follow their dreams.”⁷⁴ Reagan does not mention the environment or any environmental issues in his inaugural speeches, apart from a statement that ‘we’ need to leave this earth a better place.⁷⁵

His yearly ‘State of the Unions’ bring about the same message. The focus always lies on economic growth, expanding trade, and the use of science and technology to spur that growth. “Where others fear trade and economic growth, we see opportunities for creating new wealth and undreamed-of opportunities [...] Where others seek to throw up barriers we seek to bring them down.”⁷⁶ Even though he does not speak of the environment directly here, it is clear that he is focused on economic growth and its positive effects. The environment or any related issues are almost never mentioned, except for agriculture and the Clean Air Act. “We look forward to the enactment of a responsible clean air act to increase jobs while continuing to improve the quality of our air.”⁷⁷ His goal is not just cleaner air, but increasing jobs, which clearly shows his focus on economic growth instead of bettering the environment.

Reagan’s State of the Union in 1984 is the only time that any of his State of the Union’s include details about the environment, environmental issues, and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). “[...] let us remember our responsibility to preserve our older resources here on Earth. Preservation of our environment is not a liberal or conservative challenge, it's common sense.”⁷⁸ This State of the Union is a very clear example of why Reagan fits into the category of Market Liberals. He talks about specific environmental issues, such as acid rain and cleaning up bay areas, and how they are going to be solved by

⁷³ Reagan, “Inaugural Address,” January 20, 1981.

⁷⁴ Ronald Reagan, “Inaugural Address,” Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, January 21, 1985, accessed May 18, 2020, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/12185a>.

⁷⁵ Reagan, “Inaugural Address,” January 21, 1985.

⁷⁶ Ronald Reagan, “Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union,” Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, January 25, 1988, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/12488d>.

⁷⁷ Ronald Reagan, “Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress Reporting on the State of the Union,” Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, January 26, 1982, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/12682c>.

⁷⁸ Ronald Reagan, “Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union,” Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, January 25, 1984, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/12584e>.

increasing the budget, and using technological research programs.⁷⁹ Environment is part of one of the main goals that year, but his actions towards the environment fit the concept of ‘ecological modernization’. “The Department of the Interior will encourage careful, selective exploration and production on our vital resources [...] but with strict adherence to environmental laws and with fuller State and public participation.”⁸⁰ The main goal is economic growth and exploiting environmental resources, while the environment itself comes second.

His yearly statements for the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) are interesting to compare to his State of the Union and inaugural addresses. While the inaugural addresses were analyzed to see what his general stance on the environment was, the CEQ are specifically about the environment. The main aspect to take from his messages is that he always links the environment to the economy. “The American people insist on a quality environment. We also strive for economic progress and the promise of a better life. A clean healthy environment is a fundamental part of that promise.”⁸¹ He speaks about the environment as something that can be managed through new regulations and money. This too fits the concept of ecological modernization, since his goal is a win-win situation for both the environment and the economy: “Regulations should complement, not stifle market forces in determining the most cost-effective methods of proper environmental management.”⁸²

Reagan is also clear about leaving the world a better place for future generations, claiming that all generations should be protected from health effect and thus sustainable development, but again links this to economic growth. “As we strive for economic progress and the promise of a better life, we recognize that a clean and healthy environment is a vital part of that promise.”⁸³ Moreover, he focuses on using modern technology to prevent environmental degradation and solve environmental issues.⁸⁴ This comes back in almost all of his messages for the CEQ as solutions for environmental problems.

⁷⁹ Reagan, “Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union,” January 24, 1984.

⁸⁰ Reagan, “Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union,” January 24, 1984.

⁸¹ Ronald Reagan, “Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality,” Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, July 21, 1982, accessed May 20, 2020, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/72182a>.

⁸² Reagan, “Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality,” July 21, 1982.

⁸³ Ronald Reagan, “Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality,” Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, June 27, 1983, accessed May 20, 2020, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/62783b>.

⁸⁴ Reagan, “Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality,” June 27, 1983.

Reagan's confidence in solving environmental issues with policies and money comes back in the radio address about environmental resources he gave in 1983. "Our environmental programs also are the strongest in the world. Last year, expenditures by business and government to comply with environmental laws and regulations were estimated at over \$55 billion, or \$245 per man, woman, and child in the United States."⁸⁵ He makes a clear link between the environment and the economy, which fits the category of Market Liberals.

Ronald Reagan and the other Environmental Worldviews

While Reagan does recognize the demands the growing population and economic expansion will have on the natural resources, he is confident that new technology will prevent negative aspects.⁸⁶ Where Bio-environmentalists and Social Greens see overpopulation as the cause of environmental problems, Reagan states that even though the economy and population has grown, the water quality in the US has remained the same.⁸⁷ Most importantly, he puts the economy first and the environment second. "We must and will be responsible to future generations, but at the same time let us remember that quality of life means more than protection and preservation."⁸⁸ Reagan's beforementioned take on limits to growth is also why he does not fit the categories of Social Greens and Bio-environmentalists. These two categories claim that the earth has reached its limit, while President Reagan claims that the nation does not have to limit itself.

Reagan also does not fit the category of Institutionalists, due to his confidence in the free market helping the environment and the economy, something Institutionalists do not believe in. "Working together, we can make the necessary changes to reach our environmental goals, and at the same time use our resources wisely with the help of the free market."⁸⁹ This, and his overall opinion that there is no environmental crisis, together with his

⁸⁵ Ronald Reagan, "Radio Address to the Nation on Environmental and Natural Resources Management," Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, June 11, 1983, accessed May 19, 2020, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/61183a>.

⁸⁶ Ronald Reagan, "Remarks on Signing the Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality," Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, July 11, 1984, accessed May 23, 2020, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/71184a>.

⁸⁷ Ronald Reagan, "Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality," Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, July 11, 1984, accessed May 20, 2020, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/71184b>.

⁸⁸ Reagan, "Remarks on Signing the Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality," July 11, 1984.

⁸⁹ Reagan, "Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality," July 21, 1982.

focus on using a growing economy to better the environment, is why he fits the category of Market Liberals best.

Conclusion

The analysis of President Ronald Reagan's speeches and messages show that he can be put into the category of Market Liberals. Due to his focus on economic growth, the use of technology and globalization he could also fit the category of Institutionalists, but it is his focus on the free market and ecological modernization why he can be considered a Market Liberal. Reagan's solutions for environmental issues are renewing environmental policies and expanding the budget. As previously established, Market Liberals argue that there is no environmental crisis, but that there are only some inevitable environmental problems, which can be solved with modern technology, science, cooperation, governmental policies and most importantly, economic growth.⁹⁰ Moreover, his actions fit the concept 'ecological modernization', which was previously defined as using technology and science to better the environment, whilst trying to reduce the cost for all of this.⁹¹ It is clear that Reagan does not see an environmental crisis in the future, and that the environmental issues that are present, can be solved with new policies and funds. The environment almost never comes back in his inauguration speeches and the State of the Union, and when he does talk about it in specific environmental speeches, the goal is to solve environmental issues with money. He always puts the economy before the environment, with a focus on environmental issues that are harmful to humans. The environmental issues he does tackle, with money and policies, are solved only because they have negative effects on humans.

⁹⁰ Clapp and Dauvergne, *Paths to a Green World*, 3.

⁹¹ Jänicke, "Ecological Modernisation," 558.

Chapter 3: President Donald Trump and Environmentalism

*“A healthy environment and a strong economy go hand in hand.”*⁹² - Donald Trump

This chapter will include a detailed analysis of President Donald Trump’s presidential speeches and messages on environmentalism. As mentioned in the introduction, this will include his inauguration speech; the annual State of the Union; his statements on ‘Earth Day in 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020; his statements on ‘National Ocean Month’ in 2017, 2018, and 2019; his messages on ‘Arbor Day’, and on the 50th anniversary of NEPA; and lastly, his statement after deciding to step out of the Paris Accord.

Donald Trump’s overall focus in his speeches, whether they are related to the environment or not, is on the economy. According to him, America is thriving like never before, which is why he wants to create a new standard of living for the American people, which includes an ‘amazing quality of life’.⁹³ Curiously enough, this does not seem to include the environment, which could have enormous effects on people’s standard of living.⁹⁴

Donald Trump as a Market Liberal?

Overall, Donald Trump has the same main goal as Ronald Reagan, namely economic growth, while acknowledging the economic hardships of the past. Trump focusses on “harnessing the energies, industries and technologies of tomorrow.”⁹⁵ This is why he could be put in the category of Market Liberals. Donald Trump never speaks about the environment in his annual State of the Union. His main goal here too, is economic growth by tax cuts, and creating more jobs for the American people. It is on Earth Day that he speaks about the environment the most and fits the Market Liberal category best. He literally states that “economic growth enhances environmental protection” and that the environment can be protected, but that this should not harm American citizens.⁹⁶ He even puts these words into action, by “reducing unnecessary burdens on American workers and American companies.”⁹⁷

⁹² Donald J. Trump, “Presidential Message on Earth Day, 2018,” White House, April 22, 2018, accessed May 26, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/presidential-message-earth-day-2018/>.

⁹³ Trump, “President Donald J. Trump’s State of the Union Address,” February 5, 2019.

⁹⁴ Hejny, “The Trump Administration and Environmental Policy: Reagan Redux?” 208.

⁹⁵ Donald J. Trump, “The Inaugural Address,” White House, January 20, 2017, accessed May 25, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/the-inaugural-address/>.

⁹⁶ Donald J. Trump, “Statement from President Donald J. Trump on Earth Day,” White House, April 22, 2017, accessed May 26, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-donald-j-trump-earth-day/>.

⁹⁷ Trump, “Statement from President Donald J. Trump on Earth Day,” April 22, 2017.

So even though he wants to use the economy to protect the environment, he puts the American people's wealth first. He also fits the theory of ecological modernization, and thus Market Liberals, with his statement about combining ecology and economy. "Rigorous science is critical to my Administration's efforts to achieve the twin goals of economic growth and environmental protection. My Administration is committed to advancing scientific research that leads to a better understanding of our environment and of environmental risks."⁹⁸ It is due to his statement about science in this quote that he could also fit into the category of Institutionalists, since both categories focus on using science and technology to better the environment. Why he fits Market Liberals better than Institutionalists will be explained in more detail later in this chapter.

His focus on using the environment to the advantage of the economy comes back in his statements during Ocean Month each year. He mainly talks about protecting the ocean, while making sure that new technologies and economic innovations are unleashed, so that the ocean economy can be explored.⁹⁹ However, he wants to use these new technologies to "reinforce our economic competitiveness, strengthen our national security, protect our environment and preserve our continued prosperity."¹⁰⁰ The environment is only a small part of his goal to exploit the ocean, while a strong economy is high on his list of priorities once again.

Interesting to note as well, is that Trump wants to grow the auto industry to create more jobs, without acknowledging the negative environmental effects that will have.¹⁰¹ This behavior can also be seen in his joy for the achieved goal of America being one of the biggest oil and natural gas producers in the world.¹⁰² It is not just his focus on the fossil fuel industry that is interesting, but also his take on renewable resources. According to Trump, renewable energy is not only too risky, but will halt businesses.¹⁰³ His focus on the growth of the fossil fuel industry and the exploitation of the oceans rather than renewable energy and the

⁹⁸ Trump, "Statement from President Donald J. Trump on Earth Day," April 22, 2017.

⁹⁹ Donald J. Trump, "President Donald J. Trump Proclaims June 2017 as National Ocean Month," White House, May 31, 2017, accessed May 29, 2020 <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/president-donald-j-trump-proclaims-june-2017-national-ocean-month/>.

¹⁰⁰ Donald J. Trump, "Proclamation on National Ocean Month, 2019," White House, May 31, 2019, accessed May 29, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/proclamation-national-ocean-month-2019/>.

¹⁰¹ Donald J. Trump, "President Donald J. Trump's State of the Union Address," White House, January 30, 2018, accessed May 25, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumps-state-union-address/>.

¹⁰² Trump, "President Donald J. Trump's State of the Union Address," February 5, 2019.

¹⁰³ Trump, "Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord," June 1, 2017.

environment, show that he considers a growing economy more important than the environment.

Interesting to see are President Trump's remarks on the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) regulations. "...we take the opportunity to reflect upon NEPA's goals of protecting our Nation's natural resources and recommit to ensuring a safe, healthy, and productive environment."¹⁰⁴ The keywords here are 'natural resources' and 'productive'. His goal is to protect the environment so it can then be used and exploited. Trump also wants to change specific 'job-killing regulations', making his first goal creating jobs and money, and thus not helping the environment, for which NEPA was created.¹⁰⁵ He views NEPA and thus the Environmental Protection Agency, as an organization that is holding back a growing economy, which he wants to turn back by changing the regulations.

President Trump does once state that climate change is not a joke, and that he cares for the environment, but he does not say how he is going to put that into practice.¹⁰⁶ Most importantly, his focus lies on protecting natural resources so that they can be used and exploited, and on not being held back by the environment in creating more jobs.¹⁰⁷ Even though he says that he cares for the environment, his actions show something entirely different. Trump, even more than Reagan, remains focused on a growing economy and creating jobs, while the environment is not even acknowledged in most of his speeches and statements. "My Administration remains committed to improving the environmental review and permitting process while ensuring environmental protection. This will benefit our economy and environment while also enhancing the quality of life for current and future generations of Americans."¹⁰⁸

Donald Trump and the other Environmental Worldviews

Due to Trump's focus on using science and technology to the advantage of the environment, he could fit the category of Institutionalists as well. However, it is his focus on

¹⁰⁴ Donald J. Trump, "Presidential Message on the 50th Anniversary of the National Environmental Policy Act," White House, January 1, 2020, accessed May 27, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/presidential-message-50th-anniversary-national-environmental-policy-act/>.

¹⁰⁵ Trump, "Remarks by President Trump on Proposed National Environmental Policy Act Regulations," January 9, 2020.

¹⁰⁶ Trump, "Remarks by President Trump on Proposed National Environmental Policy Act Regulations," January 9, 2020.

¹⁰⁷ Trump, "Remarks by President Trump on Proposed National Environmental Policy Act Regulations," January 9, 2020.

¹⁰⁸ Trump, "Presidential Message on the 50th Anniversary of the National Environmental Policy Act," January 1, 2020.

sustainable development and the use of the free market that excludes him from being an Institutional. “As a Nation, it is our duty to recognize the importance of these life-sustaining gifts, and it is our responsibility to protect them for our own benefit and that of generations to come.”¹⁰⁹ He states that America is already making progress, and that there is thus proof for his statement that the economy and environment go hand in hand. It is also his stance on the global economy that excludes him from the Institutional category. He is not focused on a global economy, but only on a growing *American* economy. He states multiple times that other countries have taken advantage of America’s trade system and its taxes.

Trump also claims that there is an abundance of natural resources, which makes it clear that Trump is not a Bio-environmentalist or Social Green, since they agree on the fact that the earth has reached its limits.¹¹⁰ Most importantly, he states that a strong market economy is vital to protection the environment.¹¹¹ He proves this with the example that the American economy is booming and that air and water quality is at its best.¹¹²

Trump’s decision to step out the Paris Climate Accord ultimately shows his stance on the environment. He is focused on a growing American economy; on the negative economic effects the decrease of natural gas and oil will have, and states that America has abundant energy resources which need to be used in America’s advantage.¹¹³ This last statement once again proves why he does not fit the categories of ‘Social Greens’ and ‘Bio environmentalists’, because they agree that the earth has reached its spending limits.

Conclusion

Where Ronald Reagan clearly fits a specific category, Trump is not as easily categorized. First of all, his speeches and messages are somewhat less specific. Most importantly, there are simply less statements by Trump when it comes to the environment, environmentalism, and climate change. Donald Trump fits the category of Market Liberals best, but only because of his main goal to grow the American economy and the free market. His other statements are too vague to put into one or more categories. On top of that, there is his positive attitude towards the fossil fuel industry, instead of focusing on renewable energy. President Donald Trump has shown in his presidential speeches and messages that his main

¹⁰⁹ Trump, “Presidential Message on Earth Day, 2018,” April 22, 2018.

¹¹⁰ Trump, “Presidential Message on Earth Day, 2019,” White House, April 22, 2019, accessed May 27, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/presidential-message-earth-day-2019/>.

¹¹¹ Trump, “Presidential Message on Earth Day, 2019,” April 22, 2019.

¹¹² Trump, “Presidential Message on Earth Day, 2019,” April 22, 2019.

¹¹³ Trump, “Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord,” June 1, 2017.

focus lies on growing the American economy and the fossil fuel industry, no matter the consequences for the environment. Even though he claims to care for the environment, he never puts those words into action, as previously explained. When he does speak about the environment, it is America's nature and beauty that he mentions. However, he sees nature as something that can be used and exploited: "Americans embrace the idea of enjoying nature in a responsible fashion, while preserving the blessing of the land for future generations."¹¹⁴ It is clear that President Donald Trump prioritizes the American economy, making him a Market Liberal. His actions towards the environment and climate change show that the environment is not high on his list of priorities.

¹¹⁴ Trump, "Presidential Message on Earth Day, 2018," April 22, 2018.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to discover under which Environmental Worldview President Ronald Reagan and President Donald Trump's administrations fit best and how this can be seen in their politics. This was accomplished by analyzing their speeches and messages, using the theory on "Environmental Worldviews", by Jennifer Clapp and Peter Dauvergne. This theory was used because it provides a clear combination of both politics and the environment. This combination is what made this theory so useful to use on Presidents who addressed the environment during their administrations.

The four environmental worldviews (EWV's) provide a clear overview of how politics can react and respond to climate change and the environment. The most interesting findings from these EWV's is that they are so contradictory: Bio-environmentalists see a growing economy as the cause of many environmental issues and climate change, while Market Liberals and Institutionalists view this as the best solution. This was also addressed in chapter 2, where Reagan acknowledges overpopulation, but never sees this as a cause for environmental problems. All environmental worldviews see and acknowledge environmental problems, albeit on different scale, but they all have varying solutions. Furthermore, the link to technology and science is important, since Market Liberals and Institutionalists see these as something positive for the environment. It can be used to find renewable energy etc., while Social Greens and Bio-environmentalists do not see possibilities in this.

The historical overview made it clear that the United States Government has a long way to go when it comes to reaction towards climate change and environmentalism. As stated before, the Senate has approved a resolution stating that climate change is real, but that it is not caused by humans. This too can be seen in the reaction of President Ronald Reagan and President Donald Trump. Both of these Presidents focus mainly on economic growth of the US, while the environment and climate change are not high on their list of priorities. My hypothesis was that Ronald Reagan would fit the category of Market Liberals best, which turned out to be true. Because of his focus on the economy and the free market. Reagan focuses on the economy in all his speeches, and always keeps linking the economy and the environment whenever he speaks of the environment. Reagan's focus on the economy can be seen in his politics as well, e.g. in his decision to change environmental regulations, because those should never stifle the market or the economy. On top of that, the environment and environmentalism never came back in his inauguration speeches or his State of the Union. This is what makes him a Market Liberal.

My hypothesis for President Trump was that he would fit best with both Market Liberals and Institutionalists. The research showed that Donald Trump fits the category of Market Liberals best, though not as clearly as Reagan. He also focusses on using the economy to better the environment, but his actions show otherwise. The fact that there aren't a lot of speeches to be found for Trump when it comes to the environment is also important to note, since this says something about his stance on the environment. He states that he cares for the environment but during his administration environmental budget cuts happened regularly. On top of that come his decisions to turn back environmental laws and the decision to step out of the Paris Accord.

The main difference between President Ronald Reagan and President Donald Trump is their actions towards the environment. Reagan does acknowledge specific environmental issues, and how he is going to solve them using the economy. Even though Reagan is mostly focused on the economy, he does use it to better the environment, clearly fitting the theory of ecological modernization, thereby making him a Market Liberal. Trump states that the economy and the environment go hand in hand – which is clearly Market Liberal – but he does not act upon it, focusing purely on the American economy, the fossil fuel industry, whilst cutting environmental budgets and turning back environmental law. He almost never mentions specific environmental issues. It can be concluded that President Reagan is focused on using a growing economy to better the environment, where Trump is focused only on a growing economy. The two both fit the category of Market Liberals best, though both in their own way.

Further research on this topic can be done by analyzing even more the Presidents' speeches and by going deeper into the context during their administrations. It would be interesting for example to compare their informal statements to formal speeches, that might even have been written by staff. For Donald Trump it is even more interesting to compare his social media, and thus his informal statements on the environment, to his formal presidential messages.

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