# Which Amazon Problem? Problem-constructions and Transnationalism in Brazilian Presidential Discourse since 1985 - Article codes, models, and figures for replication

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17 February 2023

#### Abstract

The Amazon is a complex object of policy that comprises environmental, economic, social, and sovereignty concerns. Despite this complexity, governments are often portrayed as having a single understanding of the region as a political problem. In this article, we investigate how the Amazon has been constructed as a problem in Brazilian presidential speeches since 1985. To do so, we develop a framework that accounts for how important transnational actors, as presidents, construct policy objects as particular problems depending on where and when they participate in politics. We find that presidents often construct the Amazon as an environmental problem when speaking far away from the region, whereas they usually construct it as problems of economic integration or social development when in the Amazon. Furthermore, presidents are increasingly mixing problem-constructions and constructing the Amazon as a complex and multifaceted object of policy.

### Article code, models, and figures

This file makes publicly available all the codes, models, and figures used in the article titled "Which Amazon Problem? Problem-constructions and Transnationalism in Brazilian Presidential Discourse since 1985" by Livio Silva-Muller and Henrique Sposito. The article has been published open source on Environmental Politics, please check it out! Both authors contributed equally to the article. Livio is a PhD Candidate in Sociology and affiliated to the Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy. Henrique is a PhD Candidate in International Relations and Political Sciences and affiliated to the Centre for International Environmental Studies. If you are using this data, codes, or figures, please cite:

Silva-Muller, Livio, and Henrique Sposito. "Which Amazon Problem? Problem-constructions and Transnationalism in Brazilian Presidential Discourse since 1985." *Environmental Politics* (2023): 1-24.

	Dependent variable:						
	Amazon Speech	Environmental Conservation	n Economic Integration	Social Development	National Sovereignty		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		
Amazonian Countries	$-0.167^{***}$	0.012	0.091**	$-0.097^{***}$	-0.004		
	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.039)	(0.028)	(0.022)		
Non Amazonian States	$-0.403^{***}$	0.079***	$-0.039^*$	-0.013	0.028**		
	(0.025)	(0.018)	(0.022)	(0.016)	(0.012)		
Non Amazonian Countries	$-0.430^{***}$	0.202***	-0.056	-0.057**	-0.004		
	(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.037)	(0.027)	(0.021)		
Deforestation	$-0.075^{***}$	-0.098**	0.303***	-0.045	-0.030		
	(0.025)	(0.047)	(0.056)	(0.041)	(0.031)		
Inflation	0.232***	0.164**	-0.291***	0.072	0.102**		
	(0.049)	(0.071)	(0.086)	(0.063)	(0.048)		
Election Year	-0.010	$0.041^{*}$	0.011	0.008	-0.016		
	(0.012)	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.014)		
Observations	6,167	1,924	1,924	1,924	1,924		
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.066	0.035	0.031	0.010	0.007		
Adjusted $R^2$	0.064	0.028	0.025	0.004	0.0001		
F Statistic	$72.132^{***} (df = 6; 6153)$	$11.499^{***} (df = 6; 1910)$	$10.249^{***} (df = 6; 1910)$	$3.320^{***} (df = 6; 1910)$	$(2.197^{**} (df = 6; 1910))$		

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 1: Log odds for fixed-effects logistic regressions indexed by president

Figure 1: Amazonian speeches in time

#### Share of speeches that mention the Amazon per year

Sample composed by all 6240 speeches since 1985

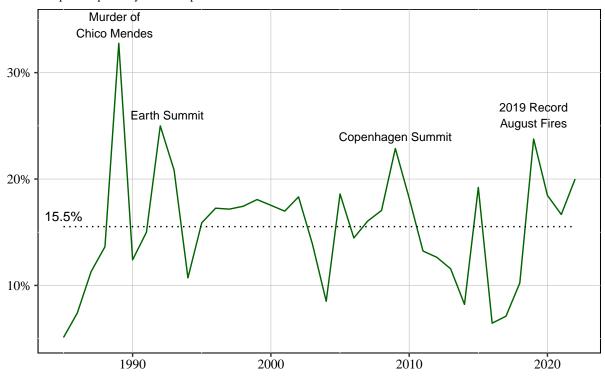
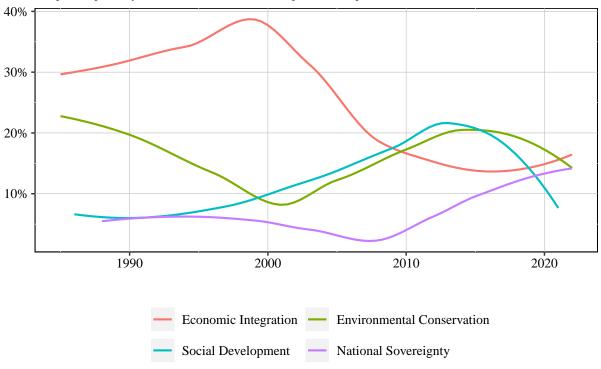


Figure 2: Pure-types constructions in time

#### Share of pure-types problem-constructions by year

Sample composed by 1924 Amazonian statements in presidential speeches since 1985

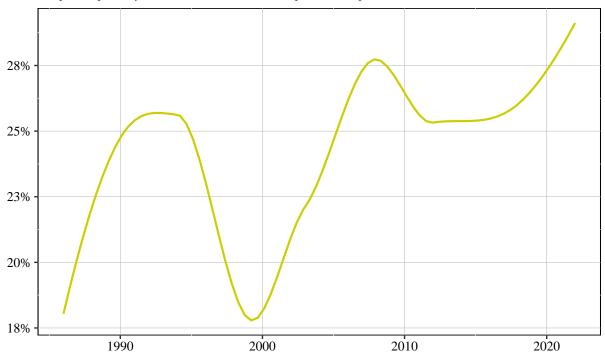


Curves in the plot were smoothed using loess method.

Figure 3: Mixed-types problem-constructions in time

#### Share of mixed-types problem-constructions by year

Sample composed by 1924 Amazonian statements in presidential speeches since 1985

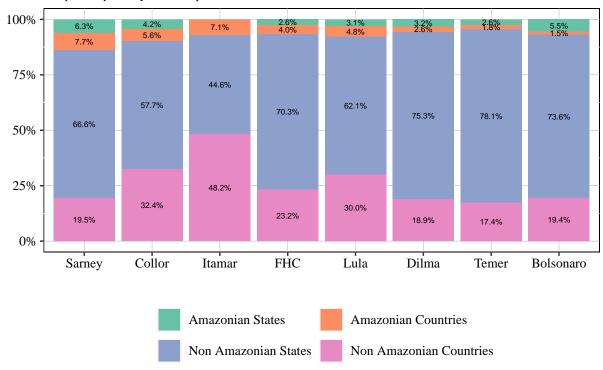


Curves in the plot were smoothed using loess method.

## Appendix code, models, and figures

#### Share of speeches in each setting by president

Sample composed by all 6240 speeches since 1985



_	$Dependent\ variable:$							
	Amazon SpeechEnvironmental ConservationEconomic IntegrationSocial DevelopmentNational Sovereignt							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)			
Amazonian Countries	-0.169***	0.016	0.089**	-0.113***	-0.006			
	(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.040)	(0.029)	(0.022)			
Non Amazonian States	-0.411***	0.075***	-0.054**	-0.006	0.034***			
	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.023)	(0.017)	(0.013)			
Non Amazonian Countries	$-0.441^{***}$	0.196***	-0.077**	$-0.051^*$	0.002			
	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.039)	(0.029)	(0.021)			
President's party left-right scale (VDEM)	0.006	-0.009	0.019	-0.028***	0.022***			
,	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.017)	(0.008)	(0.005)			
Constant	0.551***	0.075***	0.292***	0.127***	0.042***			
	(0.026)	(0.018)	(0.032)	(0.017)	(0.012)			
Observations	5,745	1,791	1,791	1,791	1,791			
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.062	0.025	0.015	0.021	0.014			
Adjusted $R^2$	0.062	0.023	0.013	0.019	0.012			
F Statistic	379.688***	45.542***	20.222***	31.247***	28.703***			

Table 2: Random-effects logistic regressions for setting and presidents' party ideology indexed by year

Figure 4: Lag analysis for problem-constructions and for year

