

How has the Brazilian Amazon been constructed as a problem? Presidential speeches and transnational politics since 1985

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Abstract

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1. Introduction

“[...] I will fight against the NGOs on this issue of associating the increase in deforestation to our agricultural expansion. First of all, these NGOs should go plant trees in their own countries [...]” (President Lula, Cuiaba - MT, 2007).

2 Theory: problem-constructions, transnational settings, and presidential speeches

2.1 Presidential speeches, policymaking, and problem-constructions

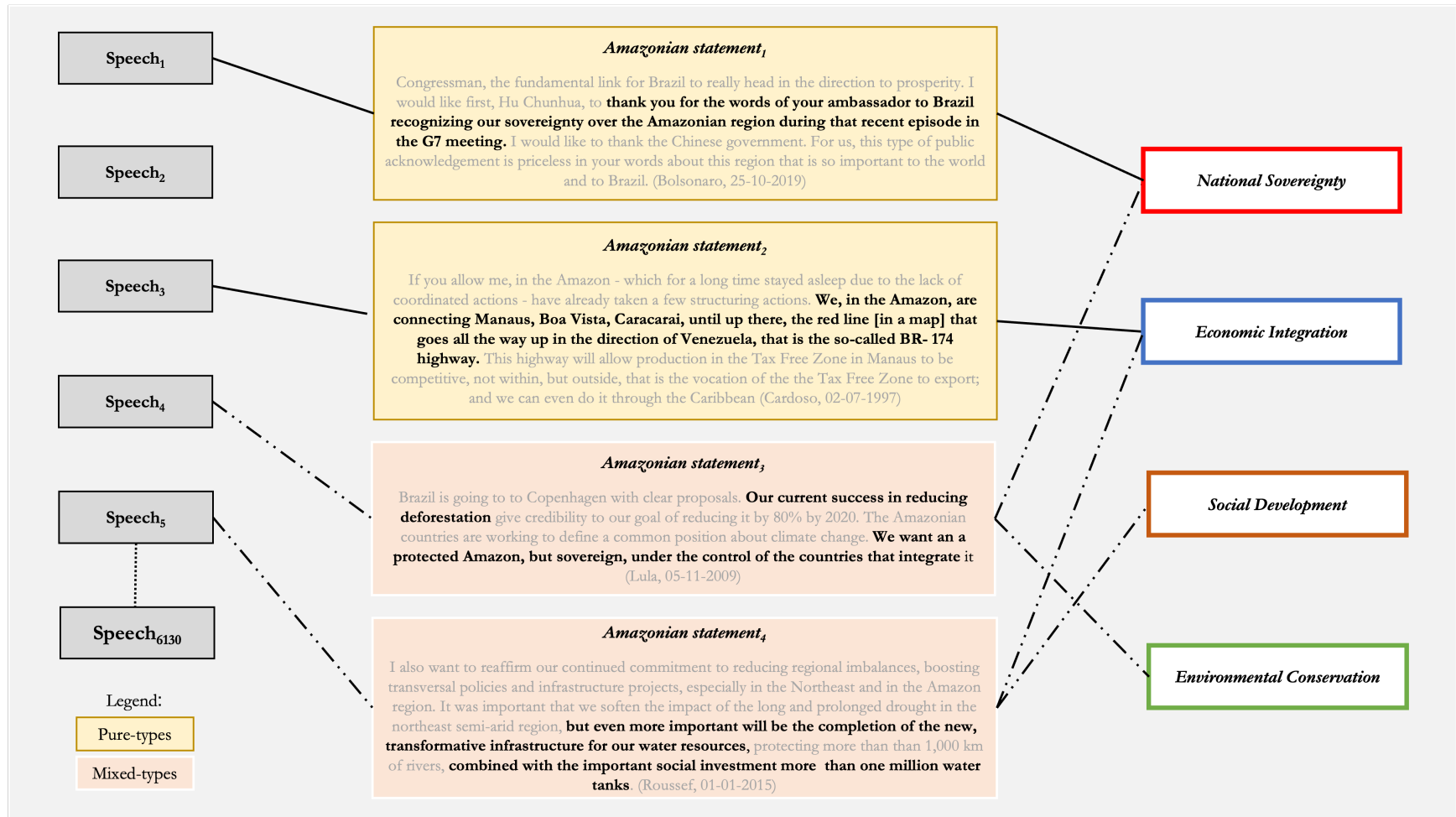
2.2 Transnational settings and the variation in problem-constructions

3. Research Design

3.1 Data

3.2 Operationalizing Amazonian problem-constructions

Figure 1: Operationalization of problem-constructions



3.3 Operationalizing Settings and Pressingness

3.4 Inferential and Descriptive Analysis

4. Analysis: How has the Brazilian Amazon been constructed as a problem?

4.1 The Amazon as a transnational problem

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	Amazon Speech	Environmental Conservation	Economic Integration	Social Development	National Sovereignty
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Amazonian Countries	−0.167*** (0.033)	0.012 (0.032)	0.091** (0.039)	−0.096*** (0.028)	−0.002 (0.021)
Non Amazonian States	−0.403*** (0.025)	0.078*** (0.019)	−0.039* (0.022)	−0.012 (0.016)	0.030** (0.012)
Non Amazonian Countries	−0.430*** (0.026)	0.202*** (0.031)	−0.056 (0.037)	−0.057** (0.027)	−0.004 (0.021)
Deforestation	−0.075*** (0.025)	−0.105** (0.048)	0.300*** (0.058)	−0.034 (0.042)	0.002 (0.032)
Inflation	0.232*** (0.049)	0.186** (0.081)	−0.280*** (0.098)	0.035 (0.072)	−0.010 (0.054)
Election Year	−0.010 (0.012)	0.040* (0.022)	0.011 (0.026)	0.011 (0.019)	−0.008 (0.014)
Peak years		−0.015 (0.027)	−0.008 (0.033)	0.026 (0.024)	0.077*** (0.018)
Observations	6,167	1,924	1,924	1,924	1,924
R ²	0.066	0.035	0.031	0.011	0.016
Adjusted R ²	0.064	0.028	0.024	0.004	0.009
F Statistic	72.132*** (df = 6; 6153)	9.897*** (df = 7; 1909)	8.789*** (df = 7; 1909)	3.006*** (df = 7; 1909)	4.410*** (df = 7; 1909)

Note:

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

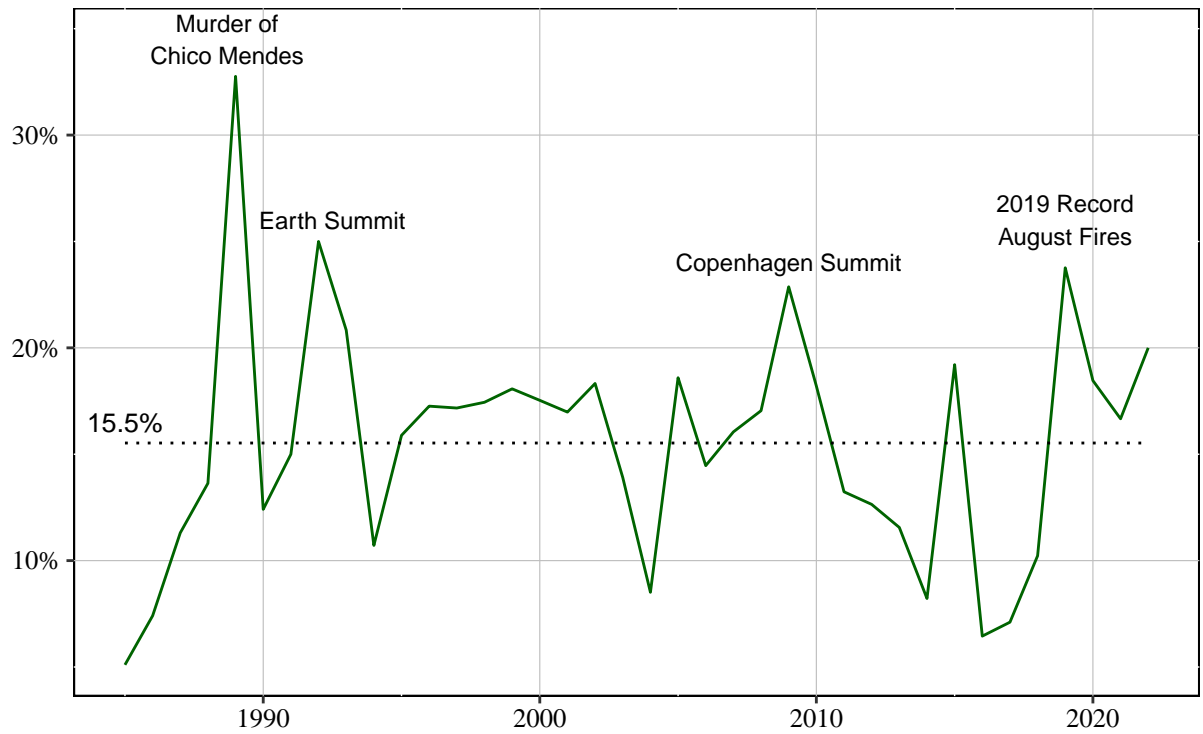
Table 1: Log odds for fixed-effects logistic regressions indexed by president

4.2 Amazonian speeches in time

Figure 2: Amazonian speeches in time

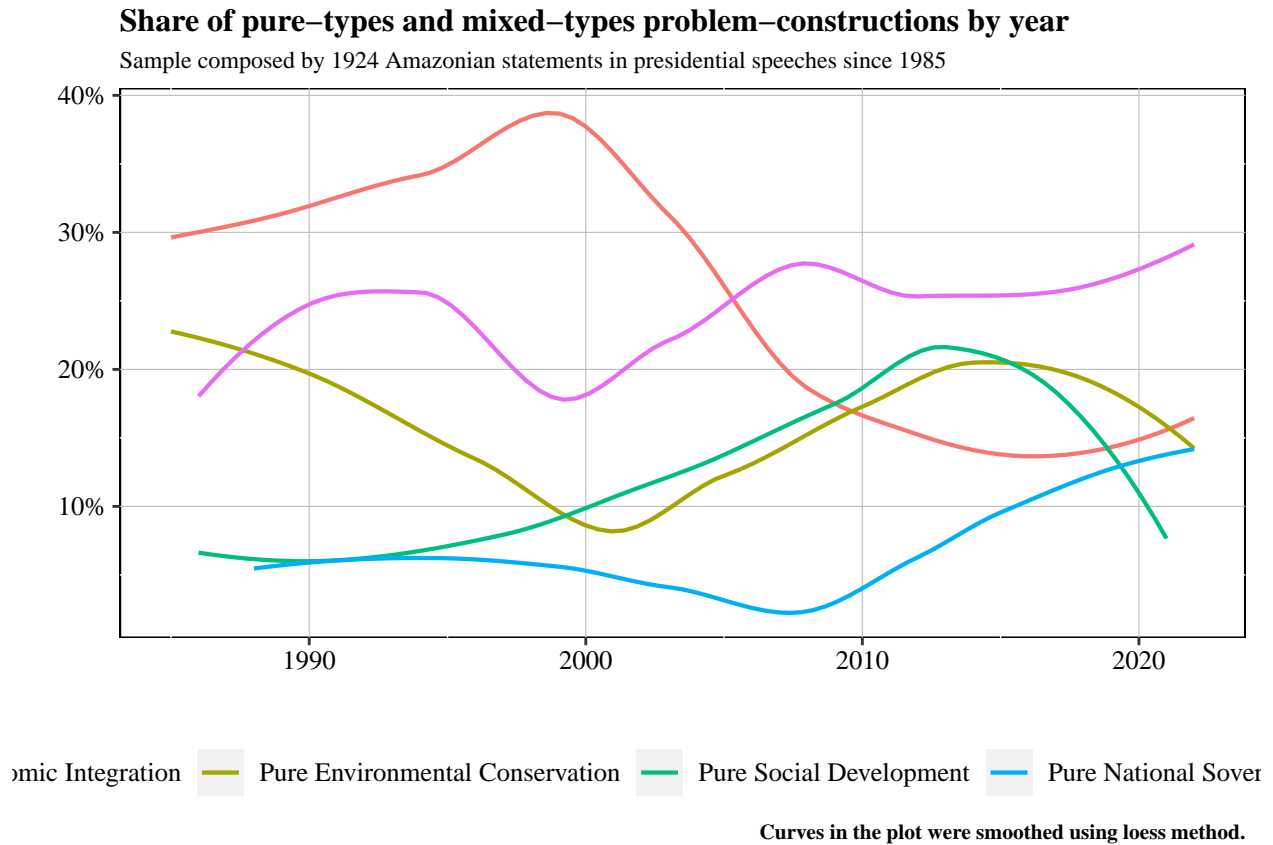
Share of speeches that mention the Amazon per year

Sample composed by all 6240 speeches since 1985



4.3 Amazonian problem-constructions in time

Figure 3: Pure-types and mixed-types in time



5. Conclusion

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Disclosure Statement

The authors report that there are no competing interests to declare.

References

Appendix

problem-construction	Description	Example
National Sovereignty	This code constructs the Amazon region and/or forest as an issue of national sovereignty. We understand claims of sovereignty as a particular problem-construction that touches on imaginaries of external threats to territory. Relatedly, we also understand sovereignty as raising concerns about wrong perspectives and criticism from foreign and non-state actors about government action related to the Brazilian Amazon. In all, it advances the view that the Amazon is Brazilian, foreign, and non-state presence in the region needs to be monitored closely.	Congressman, the fundamental link for Brazil to really head in the direction to prosperity. I would like first, Hu Chunhua, to thank you for the words of your ambassador to Brazil recognizing our sovereignty over the Amazonian region during that recent episode in the G7 meeting. I would like to thank the Chinese government. For us, this type of public acknowledgement is priceless in your words about this region that is so important to the world and to Brazil. (Bolsonaro 25/10/2019)
Economic Integration	This code constructs the Amazon region and/or forest as an issue of economic integration. It advances the view that the Amazon needs to be developed and connected to the national economy. This includes expanding the agricultural frontier through incentives, creating a diverse set of infrastructure (roads, dams, internet, radio, energy), fostering differing industries (tourism, mining, cattle, agriculture and so on) through tax-free zones, as well as facilitating the exploitation of natural resources for developmental purposes.	If you allow me, in the Amazon - which for a long time stayed asleep due to the lack of coordinated actions - have already taken a few structuring actions. We, in the Amazon, are connecting Manuas, Boa Vista, Caracarai, until up there, the red line [in a map] that goes all the way up in the direction of Venezuela, that is the so-called BR-174 highway. This highway will allow production in the Tax Free Zone in Manaus to be competitive, not within, but outside, that is the vocation of the the Tax Free Zone to export; and we can even do it through the Caribbean (Cardoso 02/07/1997)
Social Development	This code constructs the Amazon region and/or forest as an issue of social development. It advances the view that Amazon is full of citizens who should have their rights guaranteed. This refers to the construction of schools and universities (right to education), of hospitals (right to health), and of housing (right to house). This also includes guarantees of a dignified life with decent employment, access to water and sanitation, as well as access to electricity, internet, radio, and light. Finally, this includes referrals to culture and the right to vote.	The state does not work for profits, the state needs to guarantee dignity, we find that a citizen who lives in the riverside of the Amazon river, 600 kilometers from Manaus, has the right to have the electricity in their house, to owe a fridge, to owe a television where to watch the soap operas. We have invested over 14 billion reais in this program, in three and a half years. Do you know how many electrical lines we have already built? One million kilometers of lines. (Lula 20/11/2009)
Environmental Conservation	This code constructs the Amazon region and/or forest as an issue of conservation. This problem-construction focuses on the value of a standing forest and of the preserved ecosystem in the region. The conservationist narrative advances the view that Amazon should be preserved, deforestation should be halted, and the practices of indigenous and traditional populations should be maintained and fostered. It advances the view that the emission of greenhouse gasses should be halted, that renewable energy should be supported, and that protected areas should be created.	I have put in place emergency measures, I have suspended the exports of wood logs, I have suspended the fiscal incentives and credits to projects that could damage the environment in the amazon and I have made a license mandatory to gold mining that prohibits utilizing mercury in the process. This began the restructuring of the governmental system of control and preservation of the environment, I have created the Brazilian Institute for the Environment and Natural Resources [IBAMA], which will be headed by Dr. Mesquita (Sarney 20/07/1989)

Table 2: Amazonian Problem-Construction Codebook

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	Amazon Speech	Environmental Conservation	Economic Integration	Social Development	National Sovereignty
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Amazonian Countries	0.846*** (0.793, 0.902)	1.012 (0.950, 1.078)	1.096** (1.016, 1.182)	0.908*** (0.859, 0.960)	0.998 (0.957, 1.041)
Non Amazonian States	0.668*** (0.637, 0.701)	1.081*** (1.043, 1.121)	0.962* (0.921, 1.005)	0.988 (0.957, 1.020)	1.030** (1.006, 1.056)
Non Amazonian Countries	0.650*** (0.618, 0.684)	1.224*** (1.152, 1.300)	0.945 (0.879, 1.017)	0.945** (0.895, 0.996)	0.996 (0.957, 1.037)
Deforestation	0.928*** (0.883, 0.975)	0.901** (0.820, 0.990)	1.349*** (1.204, 1.511)	0.966 (0.889, 1.050)	1.002 (0.941, 1.067)
Inflation	1.261*** (1.146, 1.387)	1.204** (1.026, 1.412)	0.756*** (0.624, 0.916)	1.035 (0.899, 1.192)	0.991 (0.890, 1.102)
Election Year	0.990 (0.967, 1.014)	1.041* (0.997, 1.086)	1.011 (0.960, 1.064)	1.011 (0.973, 1.049)	0.992 (0.964, 1.020)
Peak years		0.985 (0.933, 1.039)	0.992 (0.930, 1.059)	1.026 (0.978, 1.076)	1.080*** (1.042, 1.119)
Observations	6,167	1,924	1,924	1,924	1,924
R ²	0.066	0.035	0.031	0.011	0.016
Adjusted R ²	0.064	0.028	0.024	0.004	0.009
F Statistic	72.132*** (df = 6; 6153)	9.897*** (df = 7; 1909)	8.789*** (df = 7; 1909)	3.006*** (df = 7; 1909)	4.410*** (df = 7; 1909)

Note:

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

Table 3: Odds-ratio for fixed-effects logistic regressions indexed by president