# Online supplementary materials

Which Amazon Problem? Problem-constructions and Transnationalism in Brazilian Presidential Discourse since 1985

# Appendix 1

![Chart, bar chart

Description automatically generated]()Figure 5: Share of speeches in each setting by president.

**Appendix 2**

![A picture containing calendar

Description automatically generated]()Figure 6: Lag analysis for problem-constructions and for year

**Appendix 3**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 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: Codebook for Amazonian Problem-constructions

**Appendix 4**

*Dependent variable:*

Amazon Speech Environmental Conservation Economic Integration Social Development National Sovereignty

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (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 |
| R2 | 0.062 | 0.025 | 0.015 | 0.021 | 0.014 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.062 | 0.023 | 0.013 | 0.019 | 0.012 |
| F Statistic | 379.688*∗∗∗* | 45.542*∗∗∗* | 20.222*∗∗∗* | 31.247*∗∗∗* | 28.703*∗∗∗* |

*Note: ∗*p*<*0.1; *∗∗*p*<*0.05; *∗∗∗*p*<*0.01

Table 3: Random-effects logistic regressions for setting and presidents’ party ideology indexed by year