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## Declaration

I, Therese Arnesen, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

## **Abstract**

This study examines the emergence of green values in Brazil through a case study of the Partido Verde in the 2010 elections. With Inglehart's thesis on postmaterial values as a point of departure, I set out to demonstrate that his theorization on the emergence of green and postmaterial values based on industrial growth and economic security is not satisfying as an explanation in the Brazilian case. Through the presentation of the Brazilian environmental movement and a description of the Partido Verdes emergence, I am aiming to give an account of the factors contributing to the development of green values in Brazil. The Partido Verde emerges at the end of the military regime with the return of exiled intellectuals inspired by Western ideas combined with an environmental movement largely based on grassroots organizations. The composition of the PV's electorate in the 2010 elections – appearing as a combination of postmaterialists, environmentalists, evangelists and protest-voters, further contributes to the illustration of Inglehart's thesis as only partially applicable to the Brazilian case.

Keywords: postmaterialism, green values, Partido Verde, Brazil, 2010 Brazilian elections, voting behaviour, electorate.



Para todas as pessoas que trabalham com o meio-ambiente no Brasil porque vocês são “mais verdes do Partido Verde mesmo” (Ana Paula).

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## List of Abbreviations

AGAPAN	Rio Grande do Sul Association for the Protection of Nature
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India, China
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
ESEB	Estudio Eleitoral Brasileiro
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
ISA	Instituto Socioambiental
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PPS	Partido Popular Socialista
PSDB	Partido Social Democrático Brasileiro
PT	Partido dos Trabalhadores
PV	Partido Verde
SEMA	Special Secretariat of the Environment
UN	United Nations
UMB	Norwegian University of Life Sciences
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
WVS	World Values Survey

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# 1

## Introduction

*“The larger the environmental problems, the larger the environmental movement – at this pace the movement will be at its largest when there is absolutely nothing left to save.”*

Márcio Santili

This thesis aims to contribute to the institutionalization of both new and constituted knowledge on an issue which became salient during the first round of the 2010 Brazilian Presidential Elections<sup>1</sup>. Earlier theorizations (e.g. Inglehart 1977; 1990; 1997) have tended to classify green values as part of a postmaterialist value-stance connected to a society’s postindustrial level of development. As the Green Party’s (*Partido Verde*) presidential candidate Marina Silva gained 19.3% of the votes, corresponding to 19.6 million electors (TSE), green values demonstrated not to be a phenomena limited to advanced industrialized societies. Brazil’s economy, in 2010 estimated growing at 7.5% (CIA) is among the world’s fastest growing and has been reckoned an emerging economy since its inclusion in the 2001 Goldman Sachs-report coining the term BRIC<sup>2</sup> (e.g. Malamud 2011). Ranking as the world’s 13<sup>th</sup> most unequal country with 26% of the population still living below the poverty line (CIA), the Brazilian society still is far from classifying as entirely postindustrial.

Inglehart’s thesis on the development of postmaterialist values (e.g. Inglehart 1977; 1990; 1997) has constituted a focal point for the last 30 years of research on value-change and modernization (Tranter and Western 2009). In his studies of the societies emerging within Western Europe after WWII, he finds that a change in peoples’ value-priorities occur as a

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<sup>1</sup> This thesis is using Arnesen 2010 as a point of departure.

<sup>2</sup> Of which Brazil constitutes the “B” (Malamud 2011).

society's level of economic development passes from industrial to postindustrial. At a given level of economic and material well-being, people gain a sense of economic and physical security which leads them to put less emphasis on materialist values such as economic growth and give more importance to what Inglehart defines as postmaterialist values. Considering the conditions of a person's first living years crucial to the development of her or his value-stance, Inglehart finds that an intergenerational value-change is taking place between the pre- and the postwar generations. While the older generations tend to focus on materialist values due to their upbringing in conditions marked by economic and physical insecurity, the younger cohorts tend to shift their emphasis towards values connected to freedom of speech and self-expression, gender equality, gay rights, and a clean environment (e.g. Inglehart 1977; 1990; 1997). The fact that these values according to Inglehart's predictions should emerge at a level of industrial and economic development coinciding with the postindustrial society does not correspond to the case of Brazil. As illustrated by the results in the 2010 Presidential Elections and the economic indicators mentioned above, the country has a much more consistent occurrence of green values than its level of economic development would suggest.

In a later elaboration of Inglehart's thesis, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) state that the more recent findings from the World Values Surveys<sup>3</sup> (WVS) are indicating that a process of value-change is taking place also within the richer strata of the population in developing countries. These findings are supported by Simões' (2001) statement on how the medium and upper classes within the Brazilian society, especially in the urban areas of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo are enjoying a standard of living similar to the material well-being of Western societies. Inglehart's thesis has hence provided a sufficient explanation for the adherences of these classes to a green or postmaterial value-stance. What his thesis fails to explain is how the Partido Verde managed to gain 19.3% of the votes in the 2010 elections, embracing a much larger part of the electorate than just the urban, middle-class components of the Southern and South-eastern Brazil as the findings from my interviews indicate.

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<sup>3</sup> The World Values Survey is a world-wide study measuring the values and attitudes of the citizens in 97 countries on which Inglehart bases most of his research and of which he is president (WVS 2008 p. 2).

## **1.1 Problem Statement and Research Objective**

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the applicability of Inglehart's thesis to the development of postmaterial values outside the setting of postwar Western Europe. Considering the results achieved by the Brazilian Green Party in the first round of the 2010 Presidential elections, the development of green values in Brazil was targeted as the object of investigation through a case study of the Brazilian Green Party's origins and electorate.

This thesis constitutes an elaboration of Inglehart's theory on the development of postmaterial values. It is attempting to do so firstly through an analysis of the Brazilian green movement and the factors contributing to the constitution of the Partido Verde in 1986. This will help answering the first of my two research-questions which is:

*Is the Partido Verde illustrative of Inglehart's thesis on postmaterial values?*

By considering the vote in the Brazilian Green Party as an expression of the green values held by the electorate, my research on the Brazilian electorate voting for the Partido Verde in the 2010 Presidential Elections has been guided by the second research-question:

*Is Inglehart's thesis on postmaterialist values applicable to the Partido Verde's electorate?*

Attempting to answer the two research-questions, this thesis consists in a presentation of the findings from my fieldwork which was undertaken at Instituto Socioambiental in Brasilia, Brazil from September to December 2010, in addition to a larger research-process stretching from June 2009 to December 2011.

## **1.2 Thesis Structure**

The thesis has the following structure: this first introductory chapter intends to provide an explanation and justification for the choice of field and topic in addition to presenting the two research-questions constituting the point of departure for my research. It also provides an overview of the argumentation which will be presented in the following chapters, including

an introduction to Inglehart's theory of value change and the case of Brazil and the Partido Verde.

A chapter on the theoretical foundations of my thesis follows; this includes a more elaborated explosion of Inglehart's theory as well as a presentation of some of the critique which has been posed against it. The chapter also contains a further justification for my research in addition to an introduction to the research done on postmaterialism in the Latin-American and Brazilian context.

Chapter three covers the methodology which has been applied in the gathering of data before, during and after my fieldwork in Brasilia, Brazil. It provides a justification for the methodological and epistemological choices I have done such as why the form of a case-study was chosen in the combination with qualitative interviews.

The fourth chapter presents the findings from my research as well as the data analysis, which constitutes the attempt to answer my two research questions and hence the objective of this research. Its first part is treating the emergence of the Brazilian environmental movement and the Partido Verde, in an attempt to answer the first research question on whether the Partido Verde is illustrative of Inglehart's theory on how green values emerge in developing countries. This is accompanied by an overview of the criticism uttered against Inglehart's thesis. The second part of the chapter covers the characterization of the PV's electorate in the 2010 Presidential Elections emerging from my findings, with the aim of answering the second research question regarding whether Inglehart's theory on postmaterial values is applicable to the Partido Verde's electorate.

The fifth and last chapter consist of the conclusion which is drawn on the basis of the findings of this research. The interview-guide is collocated as an appendix after the last chapter together with a political-environmental profile of my respondents.



### 1.3 Thesis Delimitations

Throughout the writing-process of this thesis, I have been communicating with several scientists and environmentalists working on this subject, and have enjoyed their valid comments and inputs to this project. Considering the already existing amount of literature on the Brazilian democratization process and the emergence of Brazilian grassroots movements, particularly connected to the PT<sup>4</sup> (e.g. Padua 1987; Houtzager 2001), the choice was made not to incorporate those arguments into this thesis. The focus was instead kept on the more recent and less treated matter of the Brazilian environmental movement at the time of the fall of the military regime and the emergence of the Partido Verde. I found this issue practically inexistent within European research, and even in within Brazilian or Latin American academia the recent issue of the Partido Verde's success in the 2010 elections still awaits further theorization and analysis.

Certain spatial and temporal constraints are imposed by the fact that this research only amounts to a 30 credits Master thesis. A larger number of qualitative interviews in addition to a quantitative analysis like the ones carried out by Carreirão (2007)<sup>5</sup> and Nicolau (2007)<sup>6</sup> on the 2002 Brazilian Presidential Elections, of which my analysis doubtlessly would have benefited, will have to be left to a possible future research.

Although necessarily representing an outsider's point of view, I nevertheless hope that this research presents a valid contribution to the institutionalization of the competency and knowledge which is present in this field, among environmentalists in particular as well as scientists in general. Through the study of the Brazilian society and language, from abroad – as well as from within during my fieldwork undertaken in Brasilia from July to December 2010, I have attempted to grasp as much as possible of a reality as wide and diverse as the Brazilian.

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<sup>4</sup> *Partido dos Trabalhadores*, the Brazilian labour party.

<sup>5</sup> Carreirão, Y. S. (2007). Relevant Factors for the Voting Decision in the 2002 Presidential Elections: An Analysis of the ESEB (Brazilian Electoral Study) Data. *Brazilian Political Science Review* 1(1): 70-101 pp.

<sup>6</sup> Nicolau, J. (2007). An Analysis of the 2002 Presidential Elections Using Logistic Regression. *Brazilian Political Science Review* 1 (1): 125-135 pp.

# 2

## **Theoretical Background: Inglehart's Thesis on Postmaterialist Values**

This chapter constitutes an overview of the theory providing the point of departure for this thesis, which is Ronald Inglehart's theorization on postmaterialist values. The theory attributes the origins of postmaterial values, of which green values is one of the components, to the level of economic development emerging within the societies of post-WWII Western Europe. After introducing Inglehart's thesis, an elaboration of the political implications of the emergence of these new value-patterns such as the constituency of a New Left and the ecologist parties is provided. The chapter is concluded by a few considerations regarding ethnocentricity.

### **2.1 Postindustrial Society and Postmaterialist Values**

According to Inglehart and Welzel (2005 p. 31), postindustrial society is characterized by a declining economic scarcity which contributes to an increased sense of existential security in people. With the material basis of their existence secured, peoples' value prioritisations start shifting from physical concerns of economic security to new, immaterial values. Whilst the pre-WWII generations grew up valorising economic development considering it an insurance of material and physical security, the younger generations started prioritizing new values – by Inglehart defined postmaterial. A general replacement of value-prioritizations hence occurred between the pre- and the post-war generations, with the materialist focus of the older cohorts being replaced by the postmaterialist concern of the younger (Inglehart 1997 p. 4). The postmaterialist concerns embrace individual freedoms and rights (predominantly gay rights),

female empowerment, protection of the environment and attitudes against war and pro nuclear disarmament (e.g. Inglehart 1977; 1990; 1997). The postmaterial society is further characterized by decreasing social constraints due to an increasing destandardization of social life and economic activities. This sense of existential security translates into a sense of increased human autonomy and the spread of self-expression values enhances the favouring of self-expression values over secular-rational ones (Inglehart and Welzel 2005 p. 31).

New Politics proponents claim that with the consolidation of economic growth that has taken place within advanced industrial societies since the end of the Second World War, the new generations which, in comparison to the older, have grown up in a relatively safe physical and economic environment tend to develop a postmaterialist value orientation. This political polarization pattern is according to Knutsen (1995 chap. 4) becoming increasingly important within advanced industrial society and is indicative of a certain degree of generation-based change. The postmaterialist value orientation enhances life-quality, freedom and self-expression, rather than the materialist concerns of economic and physical security (Abramson and Inglehart 1995). More specifically, Knutsen (1995 pp. 39-40) describes postmaterialism as a green orientation related to the protection of nature and against nuclear power, the incorporation of libertarian values such as direct democracy and decentralisation, disarmament and anti-militarism, permissiveness of new lifestyles and different forms of (political) participation. The New Politics theory inevitably links postmaterialism to economic growth and the better educated new middle-class of the post-war generations in advanced industrial (and democratic) societies (Knutsen 1995 p. 2). It also presumes that the value orientation is of increasing importance to peoples' voting behaviour, which implies a decline in the decisiveness of social and structural variables such as religion, geography, economy, family and tradition (Inglehart 1990 p. 271).

Postmaterialists give low priority to economic growth, are suspicious of big government and big business and are disproportionately engaged in the antiwar movement. They also constitute the core of the opposition against nuclear power. Potential electorates of ecologists, socialists, communists and the extreme left are relatively favourable of liberalizing abortion, a reduction of the defense budget and of social change in general (Inglehart 1990 pp. 268, 275). Europeans choosing postmaterialist values are more likely active in conventional politics and approving of or engaged in unconventional political protest. Postmaterialists are more likely than others to be concerned with the environment, to support the peace movement and the

women's movement and to deemphasize economic growth. Even if postmaterialists are likely to have a higher socioeconomic status than materialists, the prior are disproportionately likely to be supportive of left-wing parties (Abramson and Inglehart 1995 p. 10).

By using the World Values Survey to carry out analyses of cross-level linkages, Inglehart (1997 p. 4) demonstrates how a relationship exists between societal-level variables, such as the emergence of environmental movements and people's underlying values and attitudes. According to Inglehart, the life experiences of the mass publics of recent decades, profoundly diverse from that of the earlier generations, changes their world view and enables postmodern ideas to find an audience; the same world view which almost certainly would have been rejected a generation earlier (*ibid.* p. 20). Knutsen finds the materialist/post-materialist orientations in most countries to have larger effects among the postwar than the pre-war generations and sees this as an indicator that it might have an even stronger effect in the future with a generational replacement (1995 p. 58).

The theory on value-change assumes that the goal orientations of the mass public are gradually changed by the economic security which has been created by advanced industrial societies. In this process the initial emphasis on aspects such as economic security gradually fades and become latent while universal needs like esteem, belonging and realization of individual intellectual potential are becoming increasingly prominent. Individuals increasingly emphasize their need for freedom and self-expression as well as an improvement of their life-quality, valuing their economic and physical security in a decreasing manner. People growing up in periods of scarcity still tend to emphasize materialist values and hence value change as a phenomenon becomes both a gradual and fluctuant phenomena (Abramson and Inglehart 1995 p. 9).

Inglehart advances two hypotheses which account for the variation in materialist and postmaterialist values; a scarcity hypothesis which is stating that the socioeconomic environment in which an individual lives will reflect its priorities, and a socialization hypothesis stating that an individual's basic values are reflective of the conditions that were prevailing during her or his preadult years (Abramson and Inglehart 1995 pp. 3-4). The first hypothesis implies periodic effects; short-time changes will occur with periods of prosperity leading to increased postmaterialism and with periods of scarcity leading to materialism. The latter hypothesis implies the existence of long-term cohort effects; (long-term) differences

between birth-cohorts may occur simultaneously with substantial but short-term effects (*ibid.* p. 25).

Short-time fluctuations in values are resulting from changes in economic conditions and can lead to decreases or increases in postmaterialism, but long-term trends are more important because these changes are continuously contributing to higher levels of postmaterialism. This results from the fact that long-term change is a product of generational replacement. Abramson and Inglehart demonstrate that “young Europeans are consistently more likely to be Postmaterialists than their elders” and that this tendency results from variations in their formative socialization (Abramson and Inglehart 1995 pp. 4-5). Duch and Taylor (1993) on the other hand argue that the postmaterialist values of these younger generations are reflecting their higher level of formal education. The respondents’ answers to Inglehart’s surveys are to a much higher degree influenced by their current economic condition than the conditions prevailing in their earlier living-years. Duch and Taylor’s first argument is supportive of Inglehart’s theory, seen that “education is a powerful indirect indicator of the level of security that respondents experienced during their formative years” as stated by Abramson and Inglehart (1995 p. 5).

Sawyer (2010) criticizes the postmaterialist theory on a general basis of history being cumulative rather than linear and hence the term “post-industrial” is in itself contrafactual, being based on a consumption which is still on the rise. Ribeiro (2007 p. 379) supports this view in highlighting that the term postmaterialism does not imply that people are becoming non-materialist or even less, anti-materialist, but rather the opposite. By proposing “super-industrial” as a more descriptive term of these new levels of societal development, Sawyer illustrates how the new generations’ epic is based on the fact that a certain set of material conditions are being in place – what Inglehart (1990 p. 271) refers to as the paradox of postmaterialism. The service sector strengthens the industry just like industry strengthened the agricultural production and these layers are based one on another rather than replacing each other. The European version of postmaterialism is more contingent to the *supermaterialist* definition deriving from Sawyers’ line of reasoning. He rather proposes the term *prematerialistic* when referring to the indigenous peoples of Brazil with their preservation culture, not having yet gone through the prosperity of the “modern world” (Sawyer 2010). Sawyer’s reference to indigenous peoples as alternative bringers of green values is a relevant objection in the Brazilian case where, as will be further illustrated in

Chapter 4, the green movement is emerging based on several other factors in addition to a postmaterialist level of development.

Kroh on his side criticizes Inglehart for disregarding the intergenerational transmission of postmaterialism; that is the transmission from one generation to another of values and attitudes such as for instance the parental political views. This effect of “intergenerational persistence” plays a significant role in young peoples’ acquisition of value preferences. The offspring generation’s support for postmaterialist values depends not only on the economic climate in which they grew up but also on the degree to which these are supported by their parents. The younger generations will be more or less inclined towards postmaterialist values in respect to the same positive economic climate depending on whether their parental generation is more or less supportive of these values. Hence, in a postmaterial society the “intergenerational stability in postmaterialism” increases the speed of value-change whilst it will contribute to decrease it in a materialist society (Kroh 2009 pp. 598-614). Accordingly, other factors than the economic environment of one’s preadult years are influencing a person’s value-stance and in this sense Sawyer and Kroh’s argumentations are contingent in their criticism of Inglehart.

## **2.2 Postmaterialism and the New Left**

Postmaterialist values have been given the prominence of having contributed to the emergence of the new social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the decline of social-class voting and in particular to the emergence of green parties and movements in the West (e.g. Inglehart 1990; 1997). Abramson and Inglehart also connect certain postmaterialist values to the spread of democracy, referring to the last decades’ wave of democratization taking place in Western Europe, Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and Latin-America. One of the key components of this trend is thought to be a public sentiment favouring a more widespread popular influence of the political decision-making process (Abramson and Inglehart 1995 pp. 1-2).

Inglehart identifies the value shift in advanced industrial society as originating from “the diminishing marginal utility of economic determinism”: while economic factors tend to play a decisive role in conditions of economic scarcity, other factors to an increasing degree start to

shape society as scarcity diminishes. Together with class-based political conflict, the economic factors' influence diminishes as advanced industrial society emerges (Inglehart 1990 p. 248). Postmaterialists give top priority to goals such as the non-material quality of life and a sense of community, while living in societies which traditionally have emphasized economic gains above all. They tend to be relatively in favour of social change. Though being recruited from higher-income groups which traditionally have been in support of the parties of the Right, postmaterialists now tend to be shifting toward the more left-side political parties. Middle-class sources now constitute the social basis of the new support for the policies and parties of the Left (Inglehart 1990 p. 259).

According to Inglehart, Western publics' political orientations are today shaped by two main components: political party loyalties which have been mostly inherited from the past and an issue-polarization dimension which primarily is reflective of new, noneconomic issues. The concepts of Left and Right are used to subsume both. The issues that for Western publics today define Left and Right are not as much those of a class-conflict as a reflection of the polarization between the goals which are being emphasized by the postmaterialists, and the materialists' traditional social and religious values. In this view, the concept of a Left-Right dimension of political polarization in use today is useful but oversimplified. The dimension subsumes the two distinct components of a traditional Left-Right polarization, and the New Politics dimension (Inglehart 1990 pp. 273-275).

### **2.2.1 The Ecologist Parties**

The axis of the New Politics is not congruent with the established party alignments; the traditional parties on the Left take positions which are unsatisfactory to postmaterialists in a number of important issues regarding matters such as the peace movement and nuclear power. In Western Europe this has led to a pressure for change within these parties and to the establishment of the ecologist parties. The younger voters tend to gravitate toward New Politics parties, and above all the ecologist ones. These New Politics gains are according to Inglehart reflecting two countervailing trends: a decline or stagnation of the 1960s and 1970s Marxist New Left parties and a spectacular growth of the ecology parties (Inglehart 1990 pp. 262-282). Whilst the environmental movement in Europe became increasingly involved in the

critique of the traditional – and especially towards the Marxist left, in Brazil the situation was rather the opposite. Emerged in the transition from military to civilian rule, the Brazilian environmental movement arose simultaneously with the left's return to the political stage and these two forces frequently intertwined (Hochstetler and Keck 2007 p. 110).

Until a few decades ago, economic growth was considered to be inherently good; “the pro-growth consensus” embraced both capitalists and communists although diverging on the allocation of its benefits. This assumption was called into question in the 1980s when the environmental movement started claiming that economic growth could not always justify its impact on the environment. Certain segments of the movement argued that economic growth in itself was becoming undesirable and even impossible due to a scarcity of natural resources. In this questioning of economic growth versus environmental quality, the environmentalists confront the materialist priorities against postmaterialist ones (Inglehart 1990 p. 267). The postmaterialists' value orientation pushes them toward the ecologists, despite of their middle-class background, the linkage with values prevailing over the linkage with social class (*ibid.* pp. 279-280). Inglehart and Welzel find that major changes in an individual's cultural values are reflected through changes at a societal level. They judge it unlikely that the environmentalist movements or the green parties could have emerged without the occurrence of an intergenerational cultural change like the one which gave rise to the postindustrial worldview reflective of the increased awareness of ecological risks (Inglehart and Welzel 2005 pp. 39-40).

### **2.3 The Diffusion of Postmaterialism**

During the 1990s signs started emerging that the value change from materialist to postmaterialist values was not a uniquely Western phenomenon. Although the polarization between the two value-stances is less distinct within some societies, this distinction cannot be reduced to a difference between non-Western and Western cultures. It occurs within societies of the most different traditions and institutions and is closely linked with prosperity, appearing at a level of economic growth permitting the younger birth cohorts to experience a significant improvement in economic security compared to the older cohorts. Preindustrial societies contain few postmaterialists and small differences in the value-stances of young and



old cohorts and these intergenerational differences are reflective of a society's level of economic growth (Abramson and Inglehart 1995 pp. 111, 136). The value-change thesis is implying that a shift from materialist to postmaterialist value priorities is a potentially universal process which should occur in any country moving from the conditions of economic insecurity to those of a relative security. It is hence more likely for citizens of wealthy societies to have a postmaterialist value-orientation than those in poorer countries (*ibid.* p. 6).

Even though the materialist/postmaterialist concept was originally developed to the study of advanced industrial societies, Abramson and Inglehart (1995 p. 11) later found evidence of postmaterialist values developing also among the new generations of former state-socialist and developing countries. Inglehart's thesis suggests that the forces which contribute to the emergence of postmaterialist values can be found within all societies in which the younger cohorts experience a substantially higher level of security in their formative years than the older cohorts. Following, one does not expect postmaterialist values to construct a major force within preindustrial societies but rather among the younger birth cohorts within societies with rapidly growing economies. Data limitations have made the testing of this thesis difficult, since it until the recently has proven hard to obtain relevant surveys from developing countries. The fact that some developing countries still face widespread illiteracy further complicates survey efforts (Abramson and Inglehart 1995 pp. 97-100).

Accordingly, the World Values Surveys provide evidence that a shift towards postmaterialist values is enhanced by economic security (Abramson and Inglehart 1995 p. 97). The survey which has been undertaken since 1981 has measured materialist/postmaterialist values in 97 societies accounting for 88 percent of the total population of the world. It measures a broad range of political and economical values including people's attitudes to environmental protection (WVS 2008). Already in the 1990-1991 survey there was found evidence that most societies had a value-structure similar to Western Europe as well as a moderate number of postmaterialists. The same basic structures applied in three of the four Latin American countries. The exception was Brazil, where economic growth marginally loaded as an item of postmaterialism (Abramson and Inglehart 1995 pp. 97-110).

The value-change thesis implies that at country's level of postmaterialism should be reflective of its level of economic development (as indicated by its GNP per capita). Following should countries with relatively high economic growth-rates reveal correspondingly large differences

between the value-stances of older and younger cohorts. Even if rich countries still have a higher proportion of postmaterialists, the data collected by Abramson and Inglehart illustrate how the intergenerational differences goes increasing between the various birth-cohorts in poorer countries where there has been a rapid increase in the living standards during the last decades (Abramson and Inglehart 1995 p. 130).

According to Viola, the environmental question became a matter of importance before the income per capita started rising to a level that could be defined as postmaterialist within many societies, one of which was Brazil. Green politics became a salient issue within Brazilian politics while the income per capita was still very low, which can be seen as a reminder that the postmaterialist values emerge on the basis of a high life-quality and a satisfied population. The historical epoch in which Inglehart conveyed his theory lacked a consideration which was later brought on by the new global environmental problems when their most severe effects started being felt within the poorer societies. Seen that the postmaterialist values today are collocated within the dynamics of globalization, these can now be found within a society much earlier than its income pro capita would have presupposed. The combination of these two factors is, according to Viola, the reason for the premature surge of postmaterialist values in Brazil, when confronted with Inglehart's previsions<sup>7</sup>. Viola's argumentation contributes to enlighten my first research question regarding the applicability of Inglehart's thesis on the emergence of postmaterialist values to the Brazilian case as illustrated by the Partido Verde. His claim of the postindustrial development, which by Inglehart is defined as a decisive factor for the development of postindustrial values, not being in place in Brazil when green politics started to gain importance within Brazilian politics is supported by the data on Brazil's economic development earlier provided. His description of environmental concern as partially induced by globalization is providing an alternative explanation to the emergence of green values in Brazil, which will be further treated in the discussion provided in Chapter 4.

Three theoretical conceptualizations of environmentalism are presented by Viola (1992 pp. 138-151), first of all as an interest group within a given political system which derives from a demand of protection from the pollution arriving from industrialization, and hence an elitist movement. A second way of defining environmentalism is as a new social movement, limited

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<sup>7</sup> Interview, Eduardo Viola, Professor at the Institute of International Relations at the University of Brasilia, Brasilia, Brazil, December 9<sup>th</sup> 2010.

to the ecological movements and the emergence of Green parties, which emphasizes life quality and decentralization and questions the capitalist system. The third conceptualization sees environmentalism as a historical movement based on the belief that today's society is unsustainable and that the world is socio-politically divided between conservators and reformists aiming for an ecologically sustainable society. This last concept is foreseeing a surge of post-materialist values, in the Inglehartian tradition, within the highest educated strata of the society demanding an increase in life-quality after all their basic material needs have been fulfilled. According to Viola, Brazilian environmentalism consists of four branches: environmentalists in the strict sense of the term; the socio-environmentalists consisting in a merger of environmentalism into various social movements such as e.g. the indigenous' movements; scientific groups and institutions doing research on environmental problems; and a small group of entrepreneurs starting to adapt their process of production to the criterion of environmental sustainability. The situation depicted by Viola illustrates that there is a series of factors influencing the emergence and constitution of the Brazilian environmental movement, of which economic development as represented by the intellectual middle-class is only one.

## **2.4 Eurocentrism**

Delanty (2006 p. 267) defines Eurocentrism as “certain assumptions of western social and political thought” which in the most straightforward and literal sense of the term refers to “the assumption that Europe or the West constitutes the centre of the world”. He does not hesitate in comparing Eurocentrism to imperialism. Responding to the criticism of modernization theories, Inglehart refers to some of the early modernization literature as equalizing modernization with becoming morally superior and like the West. Today this is no longer the case since also other parts of the world are emerging and increasingly fronting modernization. He nevertheless finds it probable that the same patterns might repeat, claiming that there is nothing ethnocentric in stating that social change tend to take coherent and broadly predictable trajectories. In a given technological and economic environment, certain trajectories are in fact more probable than others. Just like agriculture replaced hunting and gathering societies due to their functional advantages which led to increased population, resistance to diseases, and work specialization developing arms, armies and political

organization, today almost all the worlds' societies are on their way to industrialization (Inglehart 1997 pp. 17-18). Hence, asserting that hunting and gathering societies have given way to agricultural societies (and agricultural in its turn to mercantile and industrial societies) is neither ethnocentric nor teleological, but a simple historical fact. This view is contradicted by Simões's (2001) argumentation on how developing countries today are increasingly incorporated in the international economy. This fact should prevent them from repeating the same developmental stages which have been undergone by the countries today classifying as advanced industrial societies. The findings from my research presented in Chapter 4 are indicating that in the Brazilian case Inglehart's rather deterministic predictions may be only partially fulfilled.

This thesis constitutes an attempt of institutionalizing already existing knowledge on the emergence of green values within the developing world through a case-study of the Partido Verde in Brazil. The research undertaken on this subject has been preceded by an on-field study of Brazilian politics and society with the aim of providing an in-depth knowledge of the Brazilian reality which Inglehart's thesis fails to provide. Aiming to evaluate the applicability of the postmaterialist thesis and to contribute to its further elaboration, recent criticisms to the thesis will be analyzed in combination with first-hand data resulting from in-field interviews in Brasilia, Brazil. The analysis will be integrated with qualitative data from the World Values Survey and the Brazilian electoral survey ESEB 2010. Due to the limited amount of research available in this field, the lack of qualitative data is attempted mediated through the provision of qualitative data from my fieldwork, providing a restricted but ambitious contribution to the theorization on the emergence of green values in Brazil. This thesis hence aims to test Inglehart's thesis on postmaterial values and through this give a valid contribution to the already existing literature available on the emergence of the Brazilian environmental movement (e.g. Hochstetler and Keck 2007; Viola 1992).

# 3

## **Methodology: A Case-Study Approach**

This chapter contains an overview of the methods employed during my fieldwork which was conducted in Brasilia, Brazil. It starts out with a description of the deductive approach which is followed by a paragraph on the research design that was applied. Then the data collection method is presented, with a special reference to the qualitative interview as a research method. A paragraph on the data analysis follows, before the one containing the discussion on research validity. The chapter is concluded with a comment on the ethical considerations involved in this research as well as its limitations.

### **3.1 The Deductive Approach**

The theoretical approach which has been used in this paper is that of a deductive approach; my research has been carried out in order to answer the questions which have been posed by the theoretical considerations lying at its basis. My data-collection as well as the data-analysis has been influenced by this theory. Based on Inglehart's thesis I have – through the incorporation of current criticism of his theory and based on the findings of my own research in Brazil, contradicted and elaborated his theory regarding the emergence of green values. My research questions have been deduced from the theoretical considerations regarding Inglehart's thesis on postmaterialist values. In accordance with the approach illustrated by Bryman (2008 p. 9), I then set out to test the hypothesis empirically through this research.

Bryman (2008 p. 55) states that whenever the research strategy of a case study research is considered to be qualitative, the approach concerning the relationship between theory and research is tendentiously of an inductive character. Later however, he states that “there is no reason why qualitative research cannot be employed in order to test theories that are specified in advance of data collection” (*ibid.* p. 373). The latter statement confirms that even in qualitative research one is free to follow a deductive approach, despite the fact that the inductive approach is the most commonly applied (*ibid.* p. 10), and this is what I have chosen to conform to in this research. Flyvbjerg claims that the vision of case studies as a less valid method for hypothesis testing and theory building derives from a misunderstanding that individual cases cannot be used as a basis for generalizations. He concludes that “the case study is useful for both generating and testing of hypotheses”, although certainly not being limited to those research activities alone (2006 p. 229). I adhere to these views as supportive and legitimizing of the aim of this research, which is to test Inglehart’s theory regarding the postmaterial value-orientation by applying it to the Brazilian context and the case of the Partido Verde’s electoral support in the 2010 Presidential Elections.

### **3.2 Research Design**

My research has taken on the design of a case study, being as it is dedicated to an intensive and detailed analysis of the single case of the Partido Verde in the Brazilian Presidential Elections of 2010. The research method was chosen due to the characteristics of my research, which is focused on the particular nature and the characteristics – in accordance with Stake (1995), in this case of the party and its value-stance related to the green and postmaterial values. My research was undertaken on the basis of Gerring’s definition of a case study as “an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units” (2004 p. 342). This has been applied in the sense that the emergence of green values in Brazil, studied through my research on the PV and its electorate represents the single unit while the larger class of units could be represented by other developing countries, especially in Latin America. The generalization of knowledge from case studies has been widely debated (e.g. Bryman 2008; Yin 2003; Flyvbjerg 2006; Gerring 2004) but this thesis limits itself to an attempt of providing an account of the case of the Partido Verde, leaving it up to

further research in the field of green and postmaterialist values to determine whether these findings can be generalized.

The case of the Partido Verde has in this research been “in the focus in its own right”, and in that way corresponds to Bryman’s (2008 p. 52-53) description of a case study. I find Yin’s reference to a case study as “an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (2003 p. 13) particularly useful for the case that I chose. The focus of my research consists exactly in an investigation of the Partido Verde’s composition and role in the 2010 Brazilian Presidential Elections in addition to its origins within a context where the boundaries between the party and its constituting factors were everything but evident. The undertaking of the research in exact contemporaneity to the unfolding of the 2010 elections, on-site in Brasilia which as Brazil’s capital was the natural centre of events could hardly be more contemporary or “real-life” as a context.

The case of the Partido Verde in Brazil and its electorate was chosen on the grounds that I think this can provide an improved comprehension of the circumstances in which Inglehart's hypothesis will hold or not (e.g. Yin 2003). The choice fell upon Brazil as a valid case for illustrating Inglehart’s hypothesis on the emergence of postmaterial values outside of Western Europe due to the country’s global importance. This qualification derives partially from its size and geographical allocation, partially because of its economical characteristics as an emerging economy in addition to its distinguished post as Latin-America’s largest electorate (e.g. Malamud 2011).

Another reason for choosing the Partido Verde as my case study was the explosive increase in its electoral support in the first round of the 2010 Presidential elections, gaining a 19.3% of the total votes, which constitutes 19.6 millions of the Brazilian electorate (TSE). These factors together make the case of the 2010 Presidential elections in Brazil a valid setting for testing out Inglehart’s hypothesis. In addition to that, there has been undertaken little research on the issue, which I find of fundamental importance due to the prominence given to Inglehart’s research in the West and his role as the father of Postmodernist theory. A theory of that caliber should not permit itself neither to be inaccurate in its evaluations nor to be exposed of possible accusations of Euro- or ethnocentrism.

### **3.3 Data Collection Method**

The electoral support for the Partido Verde was chosen as the measurement of an expression of postmaterialist values and the party's value-stance carefully investigated through the interviews undertaken during my fieldwork. This analysis is combined with quantitative data from the World Values Survey aiming to provide a thicker description of the emergence of postmaterialist values in Brazil. My research takes the form of a case study, and is based on semi-structured qualitative interviews with individuals familiar with the Partido Verde's value-platform. The respondents were selected due to their particular knowledge of Brazilian politics and/or their involvement as constitutive parts of the Brazilian environmental movement (for further elaborations see Appendix II). This approach was chosen as the most adequate way of providing qualitative data on the party and its electorate due to its possibility of gaining in-depth descriptions of specific issues on which there is still a little amount of institutionalized knowledge available. The data so provided is intended to contribute to the analysis which aims at establishing whether postmaterial values emerge on a different basis in Brazil than in the West, parting from Inglehart's theorizations.

In order to respond to my research questions and to this paper's problem statement, I needed to provide data from individual sources that were familiar with the Partido Verde's political trajectory and agenda. I therefore decided to undertake qualitative, semi-structured interviews with Brazilian environmentalists, politicians, journalists and professors in order to provide data which were not yet available elsewhere. The respondents were individuated partially through my research on the Brazilian environmental movement and partially by the indications given by my co-supervisor at Instituto Socioambiental in Brasilia. Partly due to their subtle nature, partly due to the contemporaneous character of these questions, there is still a small amount of research on postmaterialism in Latin America. The major part of the research undertaken so far dealing with postmaterialism related it to other issues than to voting behavior, with a few, valid exceptions such as Carrirão's (2007) and Nicolau's (2007) quantitative analyses of electoral data from the 2002 Brazilian Presidential Elections. The World Values Survey has been conducted for a period of time which is too short to alone be used as a basis for analysis which can make valid presumptions about long-time developments such as value-change (e.g. Inglehart 1997). It is therefore in the hope of



contributing to the institutionalization of this knowledge that I provide this first-hand data, originating partially from within and partially from outside of the Partido Verde. My research strategy has been limited to an entirely qualitative character due to the time constraints posed by the format of a Master Thesis.

### **3.3.1 Qualitative Interviews**

In this research I have conducted semi-structured interviews with eleven persons considered related to and/or particularly knowledgeable about the Partido Verde in Brazil either through their party affiliation or through their work as political analysts. These respondents can be broadly divided into four groups; environmentalists, scientists, journalists and professional politicians. This subdivision was planned in order to obtain as least biased information as possible. Most of the respondents invoke various roles such as the several environmentalists who have been or still are involved in politics and the scientists with a strong environmental engagement. A total of eleven respondents finally consented to be interviewed, whereas seven of these were undertaken in Brasilia, one in Oslo, one via Skype and two questionnaires were answered via e-mail. The challenge posed by the limited number of interviewees available has been remediated by the particular relevance of these objects, all of these being contributing parts to Brazil's environmental history either in making or in writing. The limited amount of firsthand data available has also been attempted compensated by the inclusion of second-hand sources of literature and research already being undertaken on Brazilian environmentalism.

The interview-objects were first individually selected based on my process of information-gathering on the Brazilian environmental movement in general and the Partido Verde in particular, influenced by the advices given by my co-supervisor in Brasilia. A second selection was done through a process which I would refer to as auto-selection where the targeted interview-objects themselves chose whether or not they wished to respond to my inquiry. In approaching particularly prominent respondents my inquiry was facilitated by an introduction by my co-supervisor, or at times by other interviewees as in the case with Sarney Filho. Some of the persons contacted via e-mail did not respond at all, other responded at first positively but without a concrete answer ever substantiating. This may result from several factors, amongst which an insufficiently convincing introduction from my part, or a cultural

difference regarding the perception of how much insistence that would have been requested or accepted from my part. There was also another factor which in my opinion determined the lacking responses, which was the targeted respondents' time constraints. My fieldwork coincided with the 2010 Presidential Elections taking place in October and hence many of the designated interview-objects were emerged in the Elections either as candidates, campaigners or political analysts. Another coinciding event was the 2010 UN climate change meeting in Cancún, Mexico in November where many of the targeted interview-objects were equally involved. The fact that my respondents are all personally and professionally involved in Brazilian environmentalism and politics makes them possessors of a consistent amount of knowledge of high relevance for my research. Not only are they familiar with the Brazilian Green movement and the Partido Verde, but they themselves are constituent parts of a green history which to a large degree is still to be written.

The form of semi-structured interviews was chosen because this allowed for the interview process to be more flexible than what it would have been in a structured interviewing. I felt this was a necessity here due to the different backgrounds of my interview-objects as well as the nature of the data provided. This form of interviews was also chosen due to the emphasis which it allows to be put on how the interviewee understands and frames certain issues as described by Bryman (2008 p. 438). I decided that this would be the best format for an interview in allowing for the freest possible expression of the interviewee which again provided the most accurate answers to my questions.

The questions in these interviews took on the form of an interview schedule, but their sequence varied with the various respondents due to their relation to the PV and to their field of specialization. Where especially significant replies were given, further and more specific questions were asked in order to gain as much relevant data as possible, in accordance with Bryman 2008 p. 196. The interviews were undertaken in Portuguese and with no one else present but the interviewee and me as the interviewer, in order to allow my interviewees the greatest possible freedom of expression. This choice was made based on the possibility that the presence of a third party might constrain the respondents to answer differently than what they would have done without this presence. The fact that we were speaking in Portuguese allowed them to express themselves more freely than they would have done in English. Some of my respondents, like Márcio Santili, did in fact not speak English at all. By not having to rely on a translator's interpretation I avoided the risk of any findings getting lost during

translation, considering however the chance of my Portuguese not being fluent enough to catch all the nuances of the answers. In the same way I did not risk losing any information by having the interviews transcribed by someone else.

The interview-schedule was pre-tested on two interviewees, one in oral form and one via e-mail, before it was converted into its final format. This was done in order to sort out the strengths as well as the weaknesses of the questions in addition to the order in which they were presented. The pre-testing was also undertaken to experience how well the semi-structured interviews would function with regards to the following in-depth questions. These were implied if and when particularly relevant data occurred which needed a further elaboration. The interview-schedule from the pre-testing phase resulted quite satisfactory and I decided to keep the current format, although eliminating a few questions which I realized were not directly contributing to answer my research questions. It became clear that I otherwise would have risked to remain with an overload of irrelevant data which would be very time-consuming both to transcribe and then to process in order to distinguish relevant from irrelevant data.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

The empirical data gathered through my research was registered on tape and the majority of the data was transcribed and analyzed after the fieldwork had ended. The notes taken during the interviews constructed an initiative analysis through the associations that the various responses brought into mind. I also discussed some of the statements made by earlier interviewees with the later interview-objects in order to gain a more nuanced view of the situation. A field diary helped me keep track of the data and sort out relevant from irrelevant information along the way. The data analysis then continued during the transcription of the data collected in the field where the continuously inserted comments, thoughts and links to the theory were revisited during the transcription-process. The last part of the analytical process took place with the grouping of my findings and its transformation into a text, then forming a more holistic picture when related to the first and second-hand data gathered before, during and after the conclusion of my fieldwork. The prior data also included the electoral statistics provided by Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (Brazil's Supreme Electoral Court)

and the Brazilian Electoral Survey ESEB 2010, in addition to the data deriving from the World Values Survey. Second-hand data was provided from written communications in the form of e-mail exchanges with prominent researchers on the subject such as Professor Timothy Power at the University of Oxford and Donald Sawyer and Eduardo Viola at the University of Brasilia. Another useful source of information was the various candidates' and political analysts' web-pages and blogs. On-site in Brazil the electoral debate was followed closely via media, accompanied by my daily conversations with the staff at Instituto Socioambiental, a combination which strongly enhanced my comprehension of the role of the Green values within the Brazilian society.

### **3.5 Research Validity**

The interviews that were undertaken during my field work construct a valid input to the debate on the Partido Verde's value stance due to the fact that all interviewees were people particularly knowledgeable about the party; either due to their past or present party-affiliation, their involvement in the environmental movement or their research on the subject. In the majority of the cases these conditions were either overlapping or contingent in the sense that the interviewees often had passed from one condition to another, or were combining several of these. Only at the end of my research did I fully realize the potential of the people I had been interviewing and discusses my findings with first face-to-face in Brasilia and later via mail; these eleven characters have been and are all constituent parts of Brazilian environmentalism and politics today.

One critique that can be made is the obvious fact that the larger part of the interview-objects, perhaps with the exception of Sarney Filho, shares a view on the Partido Verde as a rather divided party ruled by a substantially undemocratic elite. Trough declining to participate in my research, those party-affiliated who could potentially represent a diverging view were not able to make their voice heard and hence this thesis risks being representative of a somewhat biased view of the party and its electorate. This is attempted remediated by the use of electoral data in addition to the data on Brazil emerging from the World Values Survey.

The selection of interview-objects, individuated by me and my co-supervisor at the Instituto Socioambiental in Brasilia may have contributed to the biased selection of interview-objects. Her network of contacts to which I was introduced necessarily depended on a certain degree of like-mindedness as a basis for their interaction. This may have impeded approaching certain segment of the environmentalists and/or politicians to whom an introduction by her would not have been an advantage. Likewise can the possibility that I have asked leading questions not be ruled out, despite the fact that I tried to pay attention to a possible doubt or disagreement expressed in the answers of my questions, which were predominantly open-ended. The fact that many of the interviewees did provide the same information could also be an indicator that the actual situation is identical to the image emerging from the interviews and the information provided by the secondary sources. Consequently that is how my findings are presented.

### **3.6 Ethical Considerations**

Regarding the ethical considerations a researcher has to make in conducting her work, Diener and Crandall (cited in Bryman 2008 p. 118) refer to the four main areas of considerations depicted; whether there has occurred any harm to the participants, if there is a lack of informed consent from their part, whether an invasion of the research object's privacy has taken place and whether the researcher has been involved in deception. In my research the interview-objects were encountered principally as professional individuals, my interest in them lying consistently in their professional trajectory and not in their personal life or characteristics. The interviews have take time mainly away from their working-hours and we have met in our professional, rather than our private roles which should have contributed to avoiding any possible invasion of their privacy. In taking up the respondent's time at work, I also hope to have avoided inflicting any harm on the participants in taking up their personal time. I do not however see this aspect as a possible explanation of the lacking response from many of the interviewees contacted. As most of these were convinced environmentalists and/or politicians, I was rather left with the impression that they saw the interview as an opportunity to talk about their work and commitment and hence a golden opportunity to "spread the Green message". The larger part of the interviewees even provided me with additional material such as booklets, newspaper articles and books in addition to suggestions for further readings and contact information to other possible interview-objects.

The interviewees have been duly informed on the purpose of the research, as well as their role in this as contributors to the data base on which I base my thesis. An eventual anonymisation of all the interview-objects could have undermined the value of my research as the respondent's role within, or knowledge about the Partido Verde is the characteristic which qualifies them for taking part in this research. For that reason I have only made anonymous the interviewee who specifically requested me to do so. Consequently, there is a low risk of deception related to my research; if I had not provided the interviewees with a complete account of what the research consisted in I would have risked obtaining insufficient answers to my questions. Providing the most accurate account of my research project was hence also acting to my own advantage.

One additional comment needs to be made regarding the choice of undertaking the interviews alone and leaving the interviewee the possibility of being anonymous. These choices proved to be very accurate for another reason which I had not foreseen: the militant origins of modern Brazilian party politics. One of the contacted interview-objects declined to be interviewed, on the basis that it was not desirable to be associated with militarism. This provided me with an impression that being associated with politics in Brazil is still not considered completely free of risk, bearing in mind that during the 1964-1985 military regime even Brazil's current President Dilma Rousseff was jailed and tortured for her political activity (The Telegraph). By having the "quality-stamp" from my co-supervisor at Instituto Socioambiental and being able to undertake the interviews alone and without an interpreter, I believe to have obtained data which otherwise might not have been accessible. I am not left with the impression that my respondents today were running a physical risk by revealing information which it is not in everyone's interest to publicize. Some of these did however feel the implications of being involved in politics up until 30 years ago, such as those of the Partido Verde's founders which had been forced into a period in exile during the military dictatorship (e.g. Carnevale 2006).

# 4

## **Partido Verde and the Emergence of Green Values in Brazil: Empirical Analysis and Findings**

*“Despite the fact that the party still has a clear postmaterialist component, the PV of 1986 was much more postmaterialist than the party of today. Only in this way did the party succeed to become a mass-phenomenon as it did in the 2010 elections”*

Eduardo Viola.

This chapter consists in a presentation of the findings of my research. It starts out with a brief account of the origins of the Green movement in Brazil followed by an overview of some of the criticisms uttered against Inglehart’s postmaterial thesis, with particular regards to the emergence of green values in Brazil as well as in the developing world more in general. An overview of the factors contributing to the construction of the Partido Verde in 1986 is then presented before a brief discussion regarding the findings so far presented is provided. The first section of the chapter is aiming to answer the first of my two research questions;

*Is the Partido Verde illustrative of Inglehart’s thesis on postmaterial values?*

Successively, the second research question will be attempted answered through the analysis of the findings from my field-work regarding the Partido Verde’s electorate in the 2010 Presidential Elections;

*Is Inglehart's thesis on postmaterialist values applicable to the Partido Verde's electorate?*

These findings predominantly consists in the data emerging from the interviews undertaken on-field in Brasilia, which is being integrated with data from the ESEB 2010 electoral survey in addition to statistics from the Tribunal Superior Eleitoral.

#### **4.1 Is the Partido Verde Illustrative of Inglehart's Postmaterial Thesis?**

Through an analysis of the factors contributing to the Brazilian environmental movement and the Partido Verde's emergence, this section is aiming to answer my first research question regarding whether the party can be seen as illustrative of Inglehart's thesis on the emergence of postmaterialist values.

##### **4.1.1 The Brazilian Environmental Movement**

The first Brazilian nature-conservation organizations date back to the 1950s; the 1950s and 1960s environmentalism was marked by a "developmentalist nationalism" which gave birth to Brazil's scientific research institutions. The 1970s brought the "new environmentalism" to Brazil, at the same time as it arrived in the industrialized North while the political liberalization of the 1970s and 80s gave rise to the activist organizations pressing for a democratic political process and improved social conditions. A last period lasting up to today has been characterized by increased foreign contact, economic crisis and democratic restoration. Brazilian environmentalism was developed in a context of democratic transition from the military to a civilian rule with a strong impact of federalism and Brazil's continuous interplay of the informal and the formal. The country's environmental politics today still bear traces of the slow transition to a civilian government that the military regime protracted from 1974 to 1989; especially in its political opportunist structure (Hochstetler and Keck 2007 pp. 7-14). Brazilian environmentalism seems to have emerged amongst a combination of scientific preservationists, democratic activists and foreign influence. Rather than emerging in a context of economic well-being, green values developed before and during the military regime, passing a phase of transition to democracy and even an economic crisis. These basic



conditions appear to be quite diverging from the economic and material security depicted by Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis, which indicates that his theory may not be applicable to the Brazilian case. The basis on which the environmental movement emerges is relevant for the emergence of the Partido Verde because, as will be further illustrated throughout this subsection, the party emerges partially from within this movement. With the Brazilian environmental movement emerging based on other factors than economic development, this may imply that the Partido Verde is not illustrative of Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis.

Viola distinguishes between semi-professional and professional environmental movements; the latter ones represent an innovation in the Brazilian context, focusing on constructing a sustainable alternative rather than the denunciation-practice characteristic of the movement's foundational phase (1992 p. 145). The "professional environmentalists" brought on by the Brazilian scientific research institutions were frequently used as expert consultants also under the 1964-1985 military regime. This has created a strong tie between the government and the environmental leaders. The regime's inclusion of these "environmental experts" was made possible by their very nature as experts who in the eyes of these political leaders left them less threatening than the voluntary environmentalists more prone to civil disobedience and anti-institutional protests (Christen et al. 1998 pp. 81-82). A division between environmental activists from civil society and professional environmentalists emerges here, the latter of which is seemingly of a more postmaterialist tradition. This recalls of Inglehart's description of how the development of green values is enhanced by economic development.

Environmental protection was to a certain degree initiated by the military regime; the creation in 1973 of the Special Secretariat of the Environment (SEMA) as well as the foundation of AGAPAN (the Rio Grande do Sul Association for the Protection of Nature) in 1971 are two important hallmarks in Brazilian environmental history. The creation of SEMA was a direct consequence and attempt of remediation after the 1972 Stockholm conference where the Brazilian government stated that economic development could not be subject to environmental concerns. It was not clear whether its creation resulted from external, international pressure or a popular outcry against the industrial pollution in Brazilian cities. In an era in which Brazil had not yet joined the emerging economies, the remaining government efforts were largely focused on economic growth, even after finalizing the transition to democracy (Ferreira and Tavolaro 2008 pp. 165-166). In this sense environmental concern in

Brazil emerges as more related to the industrial than a postindustrial society, contrary to Inglehart's predictions of the rise of green values.

In the mid-1970s Brazil, industrialization and urbanization merged together creating an intellectual middle-class sensitive to the questions of individual rights and freedom. Contemporarily, the military regime started losing its legitimacy and new social movements began intervening and transforming Brazilian politics. AGAPAN made the way for these and the 1970s political liberalization saw ecological organizations popping up in Southern and Southeastern Brazil's largest cities (Ferreira and Tavolaro 2008 p. 168). Brazil has a vivid civil society; the combination of a growing inclusion of civil society organizations into public policies and an increase of its participative institutions has been characteristic of the post-dictatorial, democratic Brazil (Avritzer 2007 p. 443). A picture emerges from these accounts of a civil society protesting against the environmental policies of a falling regime, facilitated by the institutional environmentalism. The prior is driven by popular protest, the latter emerging from intellectual, middle-class components. This constitutes an illustration of Brazilian environmentalism as based on both the popular masses and a more privileged, postmaterial component demonstrating that the postmaterialist thesis is not sufficient as an explanation to the emergence of green values in Brazil.

The political opening after the fall of the regime in 1984 brought a change in the environmentalism dialectics which during the last 30 years have become a largely diffused and common preoccupation in Brazil<sup>8</sup>. The Brazilian environmental movement started its first systematic lobbying towards parliamentarians during the Constituent Congress in 1987-1988. The movement's first elected Federal Deputy was Fábio Feldmann who made a substantial contribution to the 1988 Brazilian Constitutions chapter on the environment (Carvalho 2004 p. 8). This chapter permitted a significant leap ahead in the Brazilian institutionalization of environmental issues, supporting the initiatives of both state and local administrations and changing the country's power-relations (Ferreira and Tavolaro 2008 p. 168). The cycle of public, cross-sectoral protests beginning with the anti-military demonstrations in the 1970s and 1980s was replaced by the preparations for the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro. Although the conference ended

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<sup>8</sup> Interview, Márcio Santili, Coordinator of the Socio-environmental Politics and Rights Program at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, October 21<sup>st</sup> 2010.

up partially exhausting the organizations' energy and resources, it remediated the damages through the ties that it created between environmental organizations worldwide: Brazilian NGOs started benefiting from international funding. These findings support a view of Brazilian environmentalism as fundamentally being home-grown but not without external influences (Christen et al. 1998). This new information provided a more nuanced account of the Brazilian green movement: whilst originating from public protest, both middle-class and state constituents helped advancing the case in a situation facilitated by the decline of the military regime and a democratic opening bringing in international influences. These findings are implying that Inglehart's thesis on postmaterialist values is not applicable to the Brazilian environmental movement and hence neither to the Partido Verde, which implies that the PV is not illustrative of Inglehart's thesis.

The stronghold of the Partido Verde's political elite as well as their electorate<sup>9</sup> is located in São Paulo, which is also where the larger part of Brazil's environmental NGO's is located (Viola 1992 pp. 143-144). Simões (2001) confirms this that "the proportion of people holding pro-environmental values is higher in the South-Southwest", the same area where Brazil's higher levels of development are found (Hochstetler and Keck 2007 p. 14). This contributes to reinforce Inglehart's theory of economic development as a basic for the emergence of green values. His thesis is however not sufficient as an explanation in the Brazilian case where several other factors contribute to this emergence, as will be demonstrated throughout this chapter. While the Brazilian environmental movement in the South and South-East kept a "Western" profile, the Amazonian environmentalism is characterized by the combination of organizations made up by the people of the region<sup>10</sup> cooperating with Southern Brazilian organizations receiving support from international organizations. With environmental degradation entering the public sphere in the mid-1980s, environmentalism went from being a movement confined to Southern Brazil and the Amazonia to becoming multi-sectored (Viola 1992 pp. 146-148). The activists range from Amazonian rubber tappers and indigenous peoples to the scientific and cosmopolite environmentalists in the South. UNCED served as a focal point for these group in Brazil as well as worldwide; in addition to marking the peak of an international environmental concern escalating in the 1980s (Christen et al. 1998). The

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<sup>9</sup> Interview, Adriana Ramos, Vice Executive Secretary at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, October 22<sup>nd</sup> 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps most famously represented by the Rubber Tappers' Union and Chico Mendes, winner of the UN's Global Award in 1987 (Viola 1992 p. 148).

existence of a green constituent outside of the “postmaterialist sphere” of Southeastern Brazil implies that green values in Brazil do not emerge solely based on economic development.

The factors depicted until now illustrate that the emergence of the environmental movement in Brazil, here considered a representative for the green values, is related to several factors and conditions lying at the base for its institutionalization. The green movement emerged in a Brazil which had not yet enjoyed the economic development of a postindustrial society, and based on this Inglehart’s explanation of green values emerging as a product of a postindustrial level of economic development does not hold. The environmental NGOs originating from grassroots-movements as mentioned by Christensen et al. (1998) – similar to the environmentalists of the new social movements depicted by Viola further illustrates this. A more nuanced picture is provided by the description of how the environmental movement originated within and still holds the largest part of its supporters in the most developed regions of Brazil. This is utterly confirmed by the group of professional environmentalists depicted by Hochstetler and Keck 2007, similar to the elitist interest groups described by Viola which contributes to indicate how Inglehart’s theory may at least be of partial applicability to the Brazilian case. The fact that the Brazilian environment emerges partially based on elitist interest groups implies that the answer to my first research question; *Is the Partido Verde illustrative of Inglehart’s thesis on postmaterial values?* is partially positive. The Partido Verde emerged within the strata of the Brazilian population which appears to be postmaterialist.

Inglehart and Welzel (2005 pp. 39-40) sustains that green activists in most societies are postmaterialists and that “it seems unlikely that Green parties or environmentalist movements would have emerged without the intergenerational cultural changes that gave rise to a postindustrial worldview that reflects an increased awareness of ecological risks.” In the case of Brazil however, Leira claims that the Brazilian society has always been characterized by a particular sensibility towards the environment, deriving in part from being the home of the Amazon. Brazil has never lived a radical separation between preindustrial and industrial society but is rather distinguished by the combination of the two<sup>11</sup>. Souto Maior characterizes Green values as having been “lost with industrialization” but now being taken back in order to

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<sup>11</sup> Interview, Torkjell Leira, Programme Coordinator of the Amazon department at the Norwegian Rainforest Foundation, Oslo, Norway, January 10<sup>th</sup> 2011.

enhance survival. Having moved too far away from nature, we are now – according to needs, coming back more radically. The preservation of nature is nothing new in the Brazilian context, but a tradition dating back at least into the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. Even today's economic development in Brazil has an edge of environmentalism to it<sup>12</sup>, combined with the conscience that climate change is induced by humans – the developmental politics of the Brazilian state having largely contributed to this<sup>13</sup>. The situations depicted by Leira and Prochnow are somehow diverging; while the prior claims that green values have always been a part of Brazilian society, the latter describes a consolidated industrialized society transgressing into a postindustrial phase. The overall image emerging is of a two-speed society, which contributes to enlighten the difficulty demonstrated in applying Inglehart's thesis of postmaterial values to the Brazilian environmental movement and hence also to the Partido Verde.

As part of the new social movements, environmentalism is perceived as a correctional movement answering to the decay imposed by industrial society (Ferreira and Tavolaro 2008 pp. 163-164). Environmental problems have become a major issue also within developing societies and by the means of international organization and opinion (especially middle class activists) postmodern concerns are introduced to countries still in the phase of modernizing. Brazil in this sense finds itself with one foot in the developing and one foot in the developed world. While early surveys measuring environmental concern showed that this was largely limited to younger people with higher education and income, more recent studies indicate that these concerns start transcending social, demographic and geographic borders. Environmental concern is now found among the most diverse social strata and educational levels, among the people of developing as well as the developed nations (Simõe 2001). Brechin and Kempton (1999 p. 266) argue that the conventional wisdom supported by Inglehart's thesis has been contradicted by findings from more recent cross-national opinion surveys and the emergence of grassroots environmental organizations in the developing world. They see environmentalism in the developing world as based on grassroots level resistance, people's own direct perception of environmental problems combined with the spread of scientific findings, a diffusion of environmental values through mass-media in a globalized process creating a new perception of environmentalism serving as an essential

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<sup>12</sup> Interview, Ana Paula Souto Maior, Juridical Adviser at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, December 6<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>13</sup> Interview, Torkjell Leira, Programme Coordinator of the Amazon department at the Norwegian Rainforest Foundation, Oslo, Norway, January 10<sup>th</sup> 2011.

prerequisite for a sound, economic base for development. This fits with the picture emerging so far of Brazilian green values being held at various societal levels and contributes to contradicting the postmaterialist thesis of green values as restricted to the most economically developed segments of society.

The prior paragraph further highlights the particular characteristics of Brazilian environmentalism: green values seem to emerge partially as a reaction to the environmental decay brought by industrial development. In this way environmentalism spreads from a postmaterialist, Inglehartian audience towards all strata of the population. These findings find resonance among contemporary literature on postmaterialism and environmentalism within developing countries (e.g. Simões 2001; Schultz 2001; Jacobs 2002). Abramson and Welzel (2005) conclude that value-change is not a Western phenomenon but that it may occur within any society in which the level of economic development reaches a point permitting sufficient well-being and security. This is contrasting with these last findings emerging from the account of Brazilian environmentalism; rather than economic well-being it is a situation of environmental decay brought on by industrial development which contributes to the emergence of green values as a protest. If this is the case, the implications for the first research question regarding the applicability of Inglehart's thesis to the Partido Verde is that it does not constitute a sufficient explanation. In the Brazilian case, green values emerge also emerges on the basis of an economic and environmental marginalization brought on to certain strata of the population as a result of the pollution caused by the industrial society.

Comparing several surveys undertaken in Brazil during the 1990s<sup>14</sup>, Simões (2001) found that already in the 1990s, more than half of the interviewed Brazilians classified environmental issues as "very important". The closer one moves the issue to the local level however, the more the environmental problems are perceived as a central issue. This corresponds to Schultz's theory of how environmental concern stems from people's view of themselves as a part of the natural environment and depends on a person's feeling of interconnectedness with its surroundings (2001). Rather than economic development, Simões (2001) finds education to be a key factor of environmental concern, in addition to what he defines "a combination of

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<sup>14</sup> Simões is referring to data from the following surveys: Health of the Planet 1992; World Values Surveys 1991 and 1995; the Global Environmental Survey 1997; USAID Survey 1991; What Brazilians Think about Ecology 1992; What Brazilians Think about the Environment, Development and Sustainability Survey 1997 and the Rio das Velhas Basin Survey of 1997.

a significant environmental awareness linked to a religious respect in regard to nature". These arguments provide alternative explanations to the emergence of green values in the developing as well as in the developed world, which in combination with the descriptions provided in the following sections of this chapter will contribute to a re-elaboration of Inglehart's thesis into the Brazilian setting.

The many social movements emerging in the 1970s Brazil started demanding a more equal distribution – which eventually became claims of a new citizenship, in which the environmentalists fully emerged. Socio-environmentalism, this merger of a request for social participation, equity and environmental protection (Hochstetler and Keck 2007 p. 63) is not only characteristic of the developing world but of Latin-American environmentalism in general (Bebbington and Bebbington 2009 p. 121). Brazilian socio-environmentalism is more politicized and collocated further to the left of the political spectra than anywhere else (Hochstetler and Keck 2007 p. 63). The linking of the social struggles of the less privileged with environmental preservation results in a greening of the political discourse transforming their demands into terms of environmental protection (Jacobs 2002 p. 65). This description of environmentalism supports the view of green values originating in a context of social protest against environmental and social marginalization. The image is rather contrastive with Inglehart's thesis of green values as originating from the materially satisfied strata of society's higher classes.

The grassroots organizations' claims for a just society also embrace environmental protection, in an attempt to prevent that environmental inequality leave the society's poor in an intolerable environmental condition. Within Brazil and other Latin American countries having recently ended authoritarian governments, environmental action is considered part of a broader civil-society phenomenon of reengaging the political arena and reinforcing democracy. In Jacob's view, environmental activism is used as a form of community participation aiming to achieve democratic accountability after decades of authoritarian rule (2002 pp. 59-64). The fact that much environmental activism is taking place in the lower-income metropolitan areas of Brazil is challenging Inglehart's theory (e.g. 1990), which predicts these attitudes to take place first of all within those strata in society with a higher socio-economic status. Jacobs finds the classification of environmental issues as a postmaterial concern insufficient, in leaving out the Brazilian peripheral residents' concern for the environment which they combine in a struggle for citizenship and material well-being

(2002 p. 64). The parallels drawn to Latin-American societies at large contribute to situate Brazil within the world-context and illustrate the non-uniqueness of its case. In this sense the emergence of green values finds further support as being part of a larger context in which economic security is not the sole constituent factor of the development of these values.

Ferreira (1999) depicts the Brazilian environmentalism's emergence as a social movement, originating within a strata of society much similar to the postmaterialists described by Inglehart; an urban, intellectual middle-class. The movement later entered into dialogue with other segments of society, developing into a form of collective mobilization. Its double role as a social actor and a political agent derives from the inspiration by the early 1990s academic debate transforming the movement first into sustainer of cultural projects, then getting lost in a multiplicity of NGOs. The fact that environmental organizations in Brazil originated within a multi-organizational field of social movements has clearly shaped the following waves of Brazilian environmentalism (Hochstetler and Keck 2007). This is characterized by the relatively broad social base of appeal that they were seeking in order to influence the new, democratic decision-making process. Viola (1992 p. 140) traces the surge of these post-materialist values to the increased awareness regarding the global environmental problems which in the mid-1980s added to the demand for a better quality of life. The emergence of green values in Brazil does so far seem linked as much to the social protest of society's more marginalized sectors as to its more privileged strata. The public's awareness of environmental problems further appears enhanced by globalization which completes the spread of the green value-stance to all strata of society. This implicates that the Partido Verde, seen as part of the institutionalization of the Brazilian environmental movement, is only partially emerging on the basis of economic development and the first research question regarding whether the PV is illustrative of Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis remains only partially affirmed.

#### **4.1.2 Criticizing Inglehart**

The Brazilian green party was established contemporarily with the major part of its sister parties in Europe (e.g. Burchell 2002) at a point in time where the Brazilian society was still not considered an emerging economy (e.g. Malamud 2011). Brazil anno 1986 was not a postindustrial society, as it was still not at the time of the 2010 Presidential Elections. Although today constituting the world's eighth largest economy as well as the region's



leading power, Brazil is still characterized by a low GDP per capita, a highly unequal income distribution<sup>15</sup> and high crime rates (CIA). These characteristics are poorly corresponding with Inglehart's (e.g. 1997) description of economic and material security as two basic requisites for the development of postmaterial values. Considering the 19.3% of the votes obtained by the Partido Verde in the first round of the 2010 Presidential Elections (TSE) an expression of green values, a postindustrial level of development proves insufficient as an explanation to the emergence of Green values in the Brazilian case exemplified by the Partido Verde.

The body of criticism directed towards Inglehart's predictions during the thirty years which have passed since his first publication (e.g. Inglehart 1977) has by now become substantial. While early critics were directed towards the parameters used in the measurement of postmaterial values of the World Values Survey as well as the actual measurability of postmaterial values (e.g. Davis and Davenport 1999), later critique has focused on these values being democratic rather than postmaterialist (e.g. Fuertes 2009). In his analysis of the data from the two World Values Surveys undertaken in Brazil in 1991 and in 1997, Ribeiro (2007) does not find support for the accusations of fragility in Inglehart's index. He rather interprets the inconsistency demonstrated by some of the respondents' answers regarding participation-values and the freedom of expression as a sign of the lacking consolidation of democracy in Brazil. Schultz (2000) argues that environmental concern stems from peoples' view of themselves as a part of the natural environment, and hence depends on a person's feeling of interconnectedness with its surroundings. The underlying values that environmental concern is based on are how one values the self, other people and the biosphere. Stern, Dietz and Kalof (2001) support this view, adding that women normally have stronger beliefs than men regarding the consequences of environmental conditions. Rossteutscher (2004 p. 788) criticizes Inglehart's parameter of materialist and postmaterialist values for being oversimplified and incapable of capturing the range of modern values influencing our political choices today. He does however recognize the empirical utility of the postmaterialism index within the sphere of new politics, as in the case of the vote for green parties. This argument will be further treated in the last segment of this chapter, where my analysis shows that Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis is applicable to one segment of the green electorate in the 2010 Brazilian Presidential Elections.

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<sup>15</sup> Brazil's GDP per capita was estimated 10, 800 USD in 2010, ranking as the worlds' 102 highest. The country is ranked as the 12<sup>th</sup> most unequal in the world, based on the Gini-index (CIA).

Parts of the criticisms exposed from within the developing world itself (e.g. Viola 1992; Sawyer 2010) are debating whether it is the postindustrial society to produce green values at all. As will be demonstrated throughout this chapter, green values have – at least in the case of Brazil, proven to surge at least partially based on other conditions than that of an economic and material well-being. The Indigenous peoples of Brazil constitute an example of this with their traditional, preindustrial societies; few people can be said to have a greener attitude than these peoples living in an approximately perfect harmony with nature. Sawyer (2010) in that respect finds the term “postmaterialism” completely out of place. Rather than replacing materialism, postmaterialism is basing upon it – like one layer on top of another. Being based on an industrial and consumerist society, postmaterialism indeed has very little green to it. Leira is supportive of Sawyer’s argumentation in stating that the traditional Green Brazilians, e.g. the Indigenous peoples have little to do with postmaterialism. Their relationship with nature is based on the fact that they have grown up in the forest – “there is nothing post- to that”<sup>16</sup>. This relates to Inglehart’s specification of how it is peoples’ *perception* of economic and material security that is important in the constitution of a green value-stance and how peoples’ perception of this level of security is a relative feature (e.g. Inglehart 1997). These findings implicate a negative answer to the research question; *Is the Partido Verde illustrative of Inglehart’s thesis on postmaterial values?* It is not an actual economic well-being which results essential for the development of green values but peoples’ perception of this. The PV hence results originating based on green values emerging from peoples’ perception of nature and not based on their level of economic well-being.

Inglehart and Welzel (2005 chap. 1) are referring to the development of Green parties as an “institutional manifestation” of a cultural change. The authors however still see the modernization process, driven by economic growth and the development of a knowledge-society in addition to a relatively peaceful and stable existence, as the basis for value-change. Human development combined with the process of democratization constructs a favorable climate for the development of modern and self-expressionist values. I argue that Inglehart’s thesis has two weak points; first of all in his interpretation of the findings from the World Values Survey which are conveyed into epistemic proof confirming his theory. My second

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<sup>16</sup> Interview, Torkjell Leira, Programme Coordinator, Amazon department, Norwegian Rainforest Foundation, Oslo, Norway, January 10<sup>th</sup> 2011.

objection is that when predicting that the rest of the world will follow into a path laid out by the West, Inglehart (1997 pp. 17-18) runs a risk of Eurocentrism, in failing to consider the diversity of such a large and complex society as Brazil.

According to Inglehart, postmaterial values emerge on the basis of a state of economic and physical well-being reached at a certain point of industrial and economic development which coincides with the postindustrial society. He finds the support for this theory in the data deriving from the World Values Survey, which in his opinion provides evidence that value-change is taking place within an increasing number of societies. This change is largely connected to economic development and hence supportive of the theory that most societies follow in the tracks of Western Europe, with the emergence of green values deriving from a standard of living based on industrial development (Inglehart and Welzel 2005). In the WVS Brazil, like the rest of Latin America, scores high on traditional values whilst it at the same time shows a preference for self-expression over survival values. The latter characteristic, according to the World Values Survey (2008), is not only typical of activist political orientations but is also crucial for democracy. As stated by Simões (2001), the correlation between environmental protection and post-materialism in the case of Brazil and other lower income countries has been demonstrated rather weak by Inglehart's data. The results of Brazil in the World Values Survey are at least partially contradictory of Inglehart's hypothesis on value change: with a score of respectively – 0.95 in the 1990 survey, – 1.29 in 1995 and – 0.98 in 2006 (WVS), the traditional values of the Brazilian population have proven rather fluctuating. This fits well with Inglehart and Welzel's (2005) description of value-change as a fluctuant and non-linear process but the overall trend of the score is not indicative of a decrease taking place within the populations' proportion of traditional values. In addition, value-change has been defined a long-term process and hence a period of data collection running from 1990 to 2006 can difficultly be considered a sufficient period of time for the verification of its manifestation. The use of the data collected by the WVS as a proof that an intergenerational value-change is taking place within Brazil result rather weakly supported and this contributes to a further impairment of Inglehart's theory.

### 4.1.3 The Emergence of the Partido Verde

Originating in Rio de Janeiro in 1986, the Partido Verde emerged from a long debate within the PT<sup>17</sup> – the traditional party of reference for Brazilian environmentalists (Hochstetler and Keck 2007 p. 110) – and the environmental movement regarding whether it was finally the case to create an ad hoc party for their movement (Partido Verde a). As Brazilian politics traditionally has been characterized by each parliamentarian seat fighting for a specific cause, this was also the how the environmental cause had been promoted<sup>18</sup>. This might explain some of the reasons for the initial reluctance of the environmentalists towards the creation of a Green Party in Brazil, which posed a challenge to their ways of working (Viola 1992 pp. 146-147) forcing them to reinvent, if not themselves, then at least their methods. Brazilian environmentalists continued to vacillate between the two parties way into the early 1990s (Hochstetler and Keck 2007 pp. 110-111). Based on this first encounter, the PV appears to have emerged from a home-grown model, based on a coalition between politicians and environmentalists of a professional tradition. The particularity of the emergence of the Green party in the Brazilian case is its emergence contemporaneously with the (e.g. Burchell 2002) European Green parties but without the same postindustrial level of economic development being in place (e.g. Malamud 2011). This implies that the first research question; *Is the Partido Verde illustrative of Inglehart's thesis on postmaterial values?* will remain disproved seen that the party emerged based on a variety of factors rather than simply a postindustrial level of development.

Most of the contributors to the PV's birth were activists, artists, intellectuals, ecologists and writers principally belonging to the antinuclear movement which returned from their exile in Europe in the years after the 1979 amnesty (Carnevale 2006). These were also common characteristics of the founding fathers of the PV, in particular Fernando Gabeira, Carlos Minc and Alfredo Sirkis (Carvalho 2004). Influenced by the alternative ecological movements in Europe, especially the greens of West Germany, their ideas melted together with the wave of scientific ecology already present in Brazil as the end of the military regime left an open space for the emergence of a new party (Partido Verde a). The consolidation of the PV came

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<sup>17</sup> Interview, Adriana Ramos, Vice Executive Secretary at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, October 22<sup>nd</sup> 2010.

<sup>18</sup> Interview, Márcio Santili, Coordinator of the Socio-environmental Politics and Rights Program at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, October 21<sup>st</sup> 2010.

with the candidacy of Fernando Gabeira as Governor of Rio de Janeiro in 1986 (Carnevale 2006 p. 20), in cooperation with the PT. The alternative political discourse brought by this campaign had a large resonance among the intellectuals of Rio de Janeiro's middle class, appearing as the first electoral group within which the new party found its support. These findings imply that postmaterialism could be a constituent factor in the development of green values and that the PV in this sense is partially illustrative of Inglehart's thesis.

Characterized by a predominantly purist and super-postmaterialist party-vision in its foundational phase from 1986 to the early 1990s, the PV emerged much tied to the German Greens and its ideas of a more international statute<sup>19</sup>. Santili described the party as inspired by a North-American matrix in its conception but at the same time having many things in common with environmental groups of Southern Brazil such as in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, although not necessarily with the rest of the Environmental Movement in Brazil<sup>20</sup>. As the one most in favour of the creation of a Green Party, the Rio fraction of the environmentalists constructed the PV without much interest from the rest of the movement and the leadership kept the Party restricted to their nucleus in Rio de Janeiro with weak ties to the other states (Partido Verde a; c). These observations suggest that the Partido Verde was conceived largely from an elitist movement rather than as a new social-movement of grassroots origins but not without the latter's influence. The fact that the Southern regions of Brazil are the country's most industrially developed contributes to a vision of the emergence of green values in Brazil as at least partially connected to economic development.

The PV emerged almost contemporary to the Green parties in the West; their only likes present at the time being in Germany, New Zealand, British Columbia and California. The party emerged strongly connected to environmentalism, the feminist movement, the anti-nuclear (concentrated in Rio de Janeiro) and the peace movement – as well as various minority groups, mostly consisting of gays and lesbians (Viola 1992). Carvalho highlights an important distinction between the European and the Brazilian ecological movements; the prior consisting in a well-articulated conjunction of a wide range of alternative, minority countercultures. These new social movements originated from different social classes,

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<sup>19</sup> Interview, Eduardo Viola, Professor at the Institute of International Relations at the University of Brasilia, Brasilia, Brazil, December 9<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>20</sup> Interview, Márcio Santili, Coordinator of the Socio-environmental Politics and Rights Program at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, October 21<sup>st</sup> 2010.

fighting for a set of new rights and emancipation compared to the traditional class-based conflict and finding resonance within and across various social classes. The Brazilian variant of this new movement, or the new Left, emerged from the urban and rural social movements of the 1970s and 80s and the popular movements of the *Igreja da Libertação* and the Ecclesiastic Communities, both connected to popular education. Many of the ecologists emerged from traditional politics, having participated in the revolutionary movements of the 1970s. Their political trajectory spun from a formation in a catholic-libertarian environment to the experiences of exile, illegality and democratic centralism (Carvalho 2004 pp. 9-10). This paragraph has illustrated how Brazilian green values emerge from within a variety of social classes. The implications for the first research question regarding whether the Partido Verde is illustrative of Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis is that the party can only be considered partially illustrative of the thesis.

A picture of a Partido Verde with a rather diversified base is now starting to emerge; the fall of the military regime and the transition to democracy constitutes two important components of this development. With the party's founders influenced by European ideas, the PV did however emerge as a part of the Brazilian environment movement, apparently predominantly from its most postmaterialist constituents. A most curious contributor to the emergence of the Brazilian environmental movement was the religious organizations represented by the Libertarian and Evangelist movement. Their support for the urban and rural popular movements' demands for social and economical rights through their educational work played, as shown by Carvalho (2004), a significant role in the emergence of the grassroots environmental organizations. This fits well with Leira's description of the Brazilian society as a combination of preindustrial and industrial society<sup>21</sup>. According to Inglehart and Welzel (2005 p. 20), the non-linearity of cultural change is illustrated by a shift from traditional to secular-rational values accompanying industrialization, which then is substituted by the shift from survival to self-expression values brought on by the postindustrial society. Brazil stands with one foot in each camp of industrialization and postmodernism. Its economic indicators and traditional values belong to the prior; the support for the environmental cause of the grassroots environmentalist movements and the Partido Verde's supporters defines its affinity to the latter. The constitution of the PV appears determined by several factors in addition to

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<sup>21</sup> Interview, Torkjell Leira, Programme Coordinator, Amazon department, Norwegian Rainforest Foundation, Oslo, Norway, January 10<sup>th</sup> 2011.

the industrial development identified by Inglehart as the main cause for the emergence of green values.

The PV has always had a progressive party program promoting the deregulation of drugs (particularly marijuana), the fight for decriminalization of abortion and the acknowledgment of gay rights (Partido Verde b). Feldmann described Marina's entrance to the PV as a step back for the party<sup>22</sup>. While there was no doubt that she was the main reason for the party's 2010 electoral success, more doubt was attributed to whether the values attracting her electorate were conform with the postmaterialist values of the PV<sup>23</sup>. Her entrance induced the return of many environmentalists who had earlier been discouraged by the "professionalization" of the party's second phase<sup>24</sup> whilst the gay- and lesbian organizations resigned from the party the announcement of her candidacy in 2009<sup>25</sup>. Rather than developing toward a more postmaterialist value-stance with the growth of the country's economy and in accordance with Inglehart's predictions, the PV became more modernist. From being a marginal party<sup>26</sup>, the PV achieved a substantial rise in its support with her candidacy. In this respect the party's development was following the economic development of Brazil (e.g. Malamud 2011), although the leap ahead performed by the PV in the 2010 elections appears most of all an effect of Marina Silva's candidacy<sup>27</sup>. This argument will be further elaborated in section 4.4.

This last phase of the Partido Verde running from Marina's entrance to her exit in July 2011 is dominated by the modernist, or even traditional value-stance of her and her followers, a distinction recalling of Viola (1992) sub-division of the PV's history. The PV has lived a constitutional phase influenced by the ideological environmentalist and a second phase of the "professional" and less environmentally concerned politicians entering the party due to its challenges with the Brazilian political system's 5% barrier clause. The 2010 Presidential

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<sup>22</sup> Interview, Fábio Feldmann, Environmental Consultant, via Skype, January 21<sup>st</sup> 2011.

<sup>23</sup> Interview, X1, December 17<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>24</sup> Interview, José Sarney Filho, Current PV Congressman for Maranhão, Brasília, Brazil, December 16<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>25</sup> Interview, Eduardo Viola, Professor at the Institute of International Relations at the University of Brasilia, Brasilia, Brazil, December 9<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>26</sup> Email received from Professor Timothy Power, Director at the Latin American Centre and Brazilian Studies Programme at the University of Oxford, on September 17<sup>th</sup> 2011.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

Electoral campaign and its aftermath seems to be illustrative of a final phase of a continuous move away from the party's original, postmaterialist value-stance in sharp contrast to the development predicted by Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis. The findings presented in this last section is illustrating a PV of a varying and not solely postmaterialist value-stance; if the PV is becoming more populist and less postmodernist along with Brazil's improved economic performance then the party cannot be seen as illustrative of Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis.

#### **4.1.4 The Partido Verde Illustrating the Emergence of Green Values in Brazil**

In the light of the findings presented so far in this chapter, I have attempted to bring clarity to the question regarding whether the Partido Verde in Brazil is illustrative of Inglehart's theory on the development of postmaterialist values. The development of green values in Brazil does not converge with Inglehart's definition of postmaterial values as emerging from a postindustrial level of development as at the time of the PV's creation such a development had not yet consolidated within Brazil. It was therefore necessarily to investigate further which other factors contributed to the emergence of Brazilian environmentalism.

Considering Partido Verde's origin as a part of the Brazilian environmental movement's trajectory, the party seems to emerge partially as a product of the Brazilian democratization process. The downscaling of the military regime permitted exiled intellectuals to repatriate bringing with them the new ideas of green development and party politics which fit in well with the ideas of the environmental movement already in place in Brazil. In this sense the Partido Verde emerges as a combination of a home-grown grassroots environmental movement and imported postmaterial ideas which suited the urban intellectuals of Southern and Southeastern Brazil. The emerging picture is a reality far more complex than the one depicted by Inglehart, as the PV is only partially being modelled on postmaterialist ideas within an otherwise rather heterogeneous environmental movement. This implies that the first research question; *Is the Partido Verde illustrative of Inglehart's thesis on postmaterial values?* remains only partially confirmed.



## 4.2 Is Inglehart's Thesis on Postmaterialist Values Applicable to the Partido Verde's Electorate?

*“The 2010 presidential elections most of all demonstrates that if green values are postmaterialist, these are not limited to the postindustrial society”*

Torkjell Leira.

The 1970s Brazil was the era in which Brazilian environmentalism emerged side by side with the Brazilian government's push into the Amazon in search of profits. Nothing illustrates these two different views on development better than the three main candidates of the 2010 Presidential Campaign: Dilma Rousseff and José Serra in the forefront for economic development and Marina Silva as head of the sustainable development-discourse (Alonso and Cléménçon 2010). Still, as my research has shown, constructing an identikit of the Green voter is a complex task. Most of all because the people voting for the PV in the 2010 Presidential elections are not necessarily Green in the postmaterialist, Inglehartian sense of the term<sup>28</sup>. Second of all, as the previous paragraphs have shown, it is not even given that the PV itself is as Green as it should, or at least could be<sup>29</sup>. Based on the findings from my research, this chapter provides a classification of the Partido Verde's electorate in the 2010 Presidential Elections with the aim of answering the second research question of whether Inglehart's thesis on postmaterial values is applicable to the Partido Verde's electorate.

One necessary specification has to be made; as already stressed by Power<sup>30</sup>, a large part of the votes obtained by the PV in these elections were largely in Marina Silva and it can therefore be disputed to what degree the electoral results are representative of the PV's *de facto*

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<sup>28</sup> Interview, Torkjell Leira, Programme Coordinator, Amazon department, Norwegian Rainforest Foundation, Oslo, Norway, January 10<sup>th</sup> 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Interview, Ana Paula Souto Maior, Juridical Adviser at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, December 6<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>30</sup> Email received from Professor Timothy Power, Director at the Latin American Centre and Brazilian Studies Programme at the University of Oxford, on September 17<sup>th</sup> 2011.

support. The findings illustrated here below can hence be considered characteristics of the electorate attracted by the PV's in the 2010 Presidential elections only.

#### **4.2.1 A Divided Electorate**

The first and most striking finding which spurs from a closer examination of the PV's 2010 electorate is the division between the votes expressed in the party itself and the more personal votes for the Presidential Candidacy of Marina Silva<sup>31</sup>. The second observation is that the electorate appears even further divided, as proposed by Leira (2010b) between young people concerned with the environment, older voters from the Evangelic Church, protest-voters against the long-ruling parties PT and PSDB and last but not least a group of urban, well-educated, middle-class voters. The prior and particularly the latter of these four groups are, as we will later discuss, illustrative of Inglehart's theory on postmaterialist value-change. The second group represents an explicit vote in Marina as mentioned by Power and the third group of voters is most of all a call for ethics in politics<sup>32</sup>. With such a diverse electoral base, Inglehart's thesis on postmaterialist values can difficultly be applied to the PV's electorate in its whole but as will be demonstrated throughout this last part of the chapter, it results applicable to at least one of its fragments.

Sawyer characterizes the increase in the PV's support during the 2010 Presidential Elections as a combination of Marina Silva's charisma and outstanding performance in the electoral debate (particularly on TV); a growing and diffused concern with the environment in the electorate; religious factors (including both fundamentalist Catholics and Evangelical Protestants); as well as a vague desire for change in the political system, especially among the younger generations. He describes Marina's role as fundamental for the increase in the PV's electoral support that year and tends to agree with the classification of the Green electorate as partially composed by a young, well-educated middle-class, underlining however the necessity of distinguishing between the voters in Marina Silva and the PV<sup>33</sup>. With an

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Interview, Eduardo Viola, Professor at the Institute of International Relations at the University of Brasilia, Brasilia, Brazil, December 9<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>33</sup> Interview, Donald Sawyer, Professor at the Center for Sustainable Development at the University of Brasilia, Questionnaire via mail, January 3<sup>rd</sup> 2011.

electorate composed of such diverging segments, the Partido Verde can difficultly be seen as only emerging on the basis of economic development.

#### **4.2.2 The Postmaterialists Confirming Inglehart's Thesis**

When asked to construct an identikit of the PV's voters in the 2010 elections, most of my interviewees had a surprisingly clear idea of its subdivision; the electorate was largely divided into three to four main groups. The first group consisted of the traditional PV electorate similar to Inglehart's postmodernists depicted as well-educated, middle-class inhabitants of Brazil's larger cities Belo Horizonte, Brasília, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo<sup>34</sup>. Sawyer confirms that the Green voters probably are "young, educated and middle-class electors"<sup>35</sup>; an electoral segment characterized by their higher education and income, in accordance with Abramson and Inglehart's (1995 p. 10) predictions regarding the postmaterialist electorate<sup>36</sup>. Santili characterized urban public opinion as fundamental for Brazilian politics, in serving as an important counterweight to the powerful, traditionalist rural bench in the Congress<sup>37</sup>. His observation appears confirmative of the description of green values as an urban phenomenon in Brazil. Arnt defines this part of the green electorate as composed by middle-class students and professionals<sup>38</sup>, while Feldmann and Prochnow refer to the same fragment of the electorate as "people who are familiarizing with its themes"<sup>39</sup> and "discussing this at home, work or school"<sup>40</sup>. Young have been described as particularly prone to support the PV as Marina Silva's electoral campaign majorly focused on education, youth and environment<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> Interview, Torkjell Leira, Programme Coordinator, Amazon department, Norwegian Rainforest Foundation, Oslo, Norway, January 10<sup>th</sup> 2011.

<sup>35</sup> Interview, Donald Sawyer, Professor at the Center for Sustainable Development at the University of Brasília, Questionnaire via mail, January 3<sup>rd</sup> 2011.

<sup>36</sup> Interview, Eduardo Viola, Professor at the Institute of International Relations at the University of Brasilia, Brasilia, Brazil, December 9<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>37</sup> Interview, Márcio Santili, Coordinator of the Socio-environmental Politics and Rights Program at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, October 21<sup>st</sup> 2010.

<sup>38</sup> Interview, Ricardo Arnt, Journalist, Questionnaire via mail, December 22<sup>nd</sup> 2010.

<sup>39</sup> Interview, Fábio Feldmann, Environmental Consultant, via Skype, January 21<sup>st</sup> 2011.

<sup>40</sup> Interview, Miriam Prochnow, Executive Secretary of Diálogos Florestais, Brasilia, Brazil, December 10<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>41</sup> Interview, Torkjell Leira, Programme Coordinator, Amazon department, Norwegian Rainforest Foundation, Oslo, Norway, January 10<sup>th</sup> 2011.

This segment of the electorate indicates that the second research question; *Is Inglehart's thesis on postmaterialist values applicable to the Partido Verde's electorate?* may be partially positively answered. Inglehart's thesis is applicable to that segment of the Partido Verde's electorate which is constituted by the postmaterialist voters, emerging from the well-educated middle-class of Brazil's larger cities.

#### **4.2.3 It's the Environment, Stupid**

My interviewees provided rather diverging evaluations of the role of the environment in the 2010 Elections; Prochnow found the elections demonstrative of how the questions of environmentalism and sustainable development were still limited to a certain group of electors. The group is characterized by having a certain access to information as well as the fact that these issues are topics of discussion at their workplace, at school or at home and are pertinent to all groups of age. In her opinion, the environmental discourse is embraced and iterated in people only when transformed into something which is perceived as close to them, exactly what environmental organizations are working to do<sup>42</sup>. Her reasoning recalls of Schultz's (2000) argumentation of how concern for the environment is connected to one's sense of belonging to this as well the importance given by Simões (2001) on the role of education in providing an environmental consciousness. This rationale is also in line with Inglehart's (1990) depiction of how the discourse of postmaterial values finds resonance within a population only at given stage of development, in his case coinciding with a post-industrialized phase of a society. It is however not given that one's sense of proximity to the environment is deriving from economic development. This has already been exemplified by Sawyer and Leira in section 4.1.2. The following segment will further elaborate the role of the green values in the 2010 Presidential Elections in order to provide an answer to the question of whether Inglehart's thesis is applicable to the PV's electorate.

Souto Maior describes the Green values as already being a part of the electorate; "only waiting for somewhere to apply them through its votes"<sup>43</sup>. That somewhere occurred in the fusion Marina Silva-PV, which provided her with a party of at least a theoretical match to her

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<sup>42</sup> Interview, Miriam Prochnow, Executive Secretary of Diálogos Florestais, Brasilia, Brazil, December 10<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>43</sup> Interview, Ana Paula Souto Maior, Juridical Adviser at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, December 6<sup>th</sup> 2010.

green value-stance, and at the same time providing the PV with a credible representative. According to Souto Maior, Marina Silva's presidential candidacy for the PV in 2010 has given the environmental cause a visibility which can only be matched by the assassination of the rubber-tapper and environmental activist Chico Mendes in 1988<sup>44</sup>. She highlights the importance of society's role in contributing to exert pressure on politicians in order to influence the setting of the political agenda. At the same time she depicts the figure of Marina Silva as a holder of those specific conditions able to influence the electorate and society at large with the very same discourse and her agenda<sup>45</sup>. This situation of mutual influence is in accordance with Tranter and Western's theory (2009), according to which the selection of parties available to the voters is decisive not only for the expression of their values through voting behaviour but also for the development of these. Following Prochnow and Tranter and Western's line of reasoning, the Partido Verde in itself is a major driving force behind the development of green values in people. This implies that Inglehart's thesis on how postmaterialist values emerge mainly dependent on economic development is not applicable to the PV's electorate as green values appear enhanced also by the existence of a green party.

Prochnow described the environmental question as an orphan in the 2010 presidential campaign concerning the agenda of the other parties apart from the Partido Verde. According to her, the environmental question still is short of catching the general interest, as clearly spelled out by the electoral results; "people are still bound by the voting in a person, in a figure, and not as much to the issues which they bring with them or the values that they defend, neither for a general fact, nor when it comes to a party"<sup>46</sup>. Marina Silva's candidacy has been defined as "the first credible temptation of bringing the environmental issues into the electoral debate." With her entrance into the 2010 electoral campaign, these values were broadcasted to the country at large. Santili adopts the high sensitivity towards climate change within the Brazilian society as an explanation for the major voter-turnout for the PV in the

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<sup>44</sup> Chico Mendes was an Amazonian rubber tapper and rural labour rights activist in the state of Acre. His death occurred as the environmental debate was already overheating in Brazil and changed the vision of the rubber tapper's fight from a land and labour struggle to include the environment (Hochstetler and Keck 2007 p. 111).

<sup>45</sup> Interview, Ana Paula Souto Maior, Juridical Adviser at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, December 6<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>46</sup> Interview, Miriam Prochnow, Executive Secretary of Diálogos Florestais, Brasilia, Brazil, December 10<sup>th</sup> 2010.

2010 elections<sup>47</sup>. Sarney Filho credits Marina for “giving the environmental cause a name”, stating that the sustainability discourse by now has a fairly large audience within society<sup>48</sup>. The challenge of a Green party in a country as vast and diverse as Brazil is spelled out by Souto Maior: whilst the Indigenous peoples and many environmentalists’ main concern is the preservation of the Amazon, inhabitants of the big cities such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are voting on the issues which are perceived as much closer to them, such as the problems related to smog, pollution and waste management among others. The challenge of a Green Party consists in embracing all these issues in a credible manner. She describes the entrance of Marina Silva in the PV as “the return of people who are seriously concerned with environmental issues” and sustains that the Green issues have been given an increased importance as part of an ongoing global process<sup>49</sup>. This section gives an overall impression of the green issues as playing an important role in the 2010 Presidential Elections. Considering the PV’s vast and diverse electorate stretching from Brazil’s Indigenous peoples to the inhabitants of its largest cities, Inglehart’s theory of postmaterialism as based on economic development appear insufficient to cover the width of the PV’s electorate.

#### **4.2.4 Green or Postmaterial Values**

As already stated, the votes for the PV in the 2010 Presidential Elections were more than anything else a vote in Marina Silva. The PV would not have gained anything near the 19.6 million votes accounting for 19.3% of the total voting in the first round of these elections (TSE) without her. Power estimates the PV’s potential support without Marina Silva to be as low as 2%<sup>50</sup>. Normally having posed their Presidential candidate in cooperation with other parties, the PV’s political trajectory does not provide much basis for comparison. Their only prior autonomous Presidential candidate was Alfredo Sirkis which in 1998 received 213.000 votes. Their electoral trajectory otherwise, considering the votes gathered by their City

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<sup>47</sup> Interview, Márcio Santili, Coordinator of the Socio-environmental Politics and Rights Program at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, October 21<sup>st</sup> 2010.

<sup>48</sup> Interview, José Sarney Filho, Current PV Congressman for Maranhão, Brasilia, Brazil, December 16<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>49</sup> Interview, Ana Paula Souto Maior, Juridical Adviser at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, December 6<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>50</sup> Email received from Professor Timothy Power, Director at the Latin American Centre and Brazilian Studies Programme at the University of Oxford, on September 17<sup>th</sup> 2011.

councilors and Congressmen, has shown a slow but steady increase from a 0.17% of the votes in 1990 towards 3.89% in 2008 (Turtelli 2009). Marina Silva's support at the national level did not trickle down on the rest of the PV's candidates on State and Municipal-levels. The party's 13 Parliamentarians from the last legislature were reconfirmed (Câmara dos Deputados), mostly in the larger (and richer) states of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais<sup>51</sup>. None of the PV's candidates were close to gaining the amount of support of Marina Silva: in Distrito Federal, Marina obtained 42% of the votes while the PV's candidate for Congressman André Lima ended on a devastating 0.5% (TSE). This lacking transfer of votes from the national to the local level has been interpreted as an indication that the vote in Marina Silva was largely personal. Marina Silva is believed to have attracted voters as an expression for green values and ethics in politics but as will be further demonstrated throughout this paragraph, the PV's electorate of 2010 is not only constituted by postmaterialists. Based on these findings, Inglehart's postmaterial thesis appears difficultly applicable to the PV's electorate.

Brazil's largest Electoral Survey, the Estudo Eleitoral Brasileiro (ESEB) 2010 measures the values, attitudes and voting intentions of the Brazilian Population based on a survey undertaken on 2,000 citizens. While the PV was listed by 9.4% of the respondents as the party which best represents their way of thinking, 19.1% listed Marina Silva as the Presidential candidate which best represented their point of view. Considering that 17.6% of the respondents replied that they had voted on Marina Silva in the first round of the elections (ESEB 2010), the study appear representative seen that Marina received 19.3% of the votes in the elections (TSE). The findings of this study illustrate the gap between the votes received by the PV and Marina Silva, and how the votes received by the party in these elections probably were based more on her person than on the party. Marina Silva's candidacy illustrates the importance of the political person within Brazilian politics<sup>52</sup> and her way of doing "clean" politics represented a rupture with the traditional Brazilian political system. Due to her modest origins and impressive political trajectory (Leira 2010a), Marina holds a sort of legitimacy similar to the leadership of Lula<sup>53</sup>. The recipe for the electoral success in the 2010

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<sup>51</sup> Interview, Eduardo Viola, Professor at the Institute of International Relations at the University of Brasilia, Brasilia, Brazil, December 9<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>52</sup> Interview, X1, December 17<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>53</sup> Interview, Torkjell Leira, Programme Coordinator, Amazon department, Norwegian Rainforest Foundation, Oslo, Norway, January 10<sup>th</sup> 2011.

presidential elections was largely made up by these aspects, the cleverness of the PV consisting merely in having invited her into the party<sup>54</sup>. The segments of the electorate voting for Marina due to religious aspects and her symbolic character constitutes segments of the PV's electorate which cannot be considered postmaterialist. Inglehart's thesis can accordingly not be applied to this fragment of the electorate.

The PV's electorate consists of one small, but devoted part ideologically coherent with its Green values which mainly enters within the category of postmaterialists (the fragment described in section 4.2.2). A second part is the new electorate which the party has earned with Marina Silva's candidacy; one part of this is constituted by the followers of the Evangelist church voting explicitly in Marina. The other group consists of the so-called protest-voters, tired of the traditional polarization of political power in Brazil between the PT and the PSDB<sup>55</sup>. Both groups, whether voting in Marina Silva or against the PT-PSDB constellation can, as will be illustrated by the following paragraph, be considered an expression of a vote for ethics in politics<sup>56</sup>. Although oriented towards a low-carbon politics and sustainable development, the affiliated of the Evangelic church is not in its other components anywhere near Inglehart's definition of postmaterialist. This part of the electorate, if constituting a consistent part of the PV's 2010 electorate as sustained<sup>57</sup>, is contradictive of Inglehart's thesis on postmaterial values, according to which traditional values should decline with economic development. This recalls the objections made by Sawyer as to whether green values are actually postmaterialist, which constitutes an even larger challenge to Inglehart's thesis.

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<sup>54</sup> Interview, Ana Paula Souto Maior, Juridical Adviser at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, December 6<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>55</sup> Interview, Ricardo Arnt, Journalist, Questionnaire via mail, December 22<sup>nd</sup> 2010.

<sup>56</sup> Interview, Eduardo Viola, Professor at the Institute of International Relations at the University of Brasilia, Brasilia, Brazil, December 9<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>57</sup> Carreirão (2007 p. 90) sustains that due to the growth in the evangelical voters weight within the Brazilian electorate (Evangelists now constitutes 20.2% (CPS) of the Brazilian population), having the support of these leaders effectively enhances a candidate's chances within Brazilian politics.



#### **4.2.5 Inglehart and the Partido Verde's Electorate in the 2010 Presidential Elections**

The data emerging from my research on the Partido Verde's electorate in the 2010 Presidential Elections has been presented in this last section in an attempt to analyze the electorate's composition. The resulting analysis aimed at investigating whether and to what degree Inglehart's theory on the development of postmaterial values was applicable to the party's electorate. The picture emerging from my findings is first of all of an electorate divided between the traditional postmaterialist PV followers and the followers of Marina Silva. As several of my interviewees pointed out, her candidacy attracted an electorate which difficultly could be classified as postmaterialist. Partially evangelic followers, partially protest-voters against the PT-PSBD constellation in Brazilian politics, this second part of the electorate were representative of a request for ethics in politics but did not consent with other, more progressive issues in the PV's value-stance.

Most of my interviewees agreed on the enhanced role of the environment in the 2010 elections compared to earlier elections and this has to a certain degree been reflected by an increase in PV's electorate. A part from the typical well-educated, middle-class postmaterialist voter, other fragments of the party's electorate is also believed to be holder of green values although not qualifying as postmaterialist. Despite that their voting was principally in Marina Silva and less for the PV, their vote is still believed to be an expression of environmental concern. This fits badly in with Inglehart's thesis on postmaterialist values considering the other values held by this part of the electorate; with their origins mainly in the Evangelist movement this fragment can hardly be seen as representative of a postmaterialist value-stance.

Inglehart's theory results only partially applicable to the PV's electorate in the 2010 Presidential Elections and it seems to be ethics in politics rather than green values which is the winner of the 2010 Presidential Elections regarding the PV's major point of vote-attraction. The partial incompatibility of Inglehart's theory in the Brazilian case derives from the characteristics of the PV's electorate which only partially demonstrates to be postmaterial – the valorization of ethics in politics in itself is however not contrasting with a postmaterial value-stance. The picture emerging from this thesis seems to be illustrating not only the questionability of Inglehart's thesis on the origins of postmaterialist values in the case of Brazil and the PV but also whether Green values in themselves are qualifying as

postmaterialist. It is also providing the answer. In the Brazilian case, embracing citizens and electors from the Indigenous' peoples of the Amazon to the well-educated, middle-class inhabitants of a megalopolis like São Paulo, Green values are comprehensive of much more. A theory based on economic and industrial development is not sufficient as an explanation of how Green values arise neither in the case of the Partido Verde's emergence, nor within its electorate.

# 5

## Conclusions

As the result of my research on the origins of green values in Brazil, this thesis constitutes an attempt to elaborate Inglehart's theory on value change and to test its adaptability to the Brazilian case. By using the votes achieved by the Partido Verde as a measurement of expression for green values, I have attempted to answer the question of whether the Partido Verde in Brazil is illustrative of Inglehart's thesis regarding how green values arise on the same basis, which is on economic development, in developing countries as in industrialized countries. The second question which has been treated in this paper is whether Inglehart's thesis on postmaterialist values is applicable to the Partido Verde's electorate in the 2010 Brazil Presidential Elections.

By first providing an account for the emergence of the green values in Brazil through presenting the history of the environmental movement and then, of the PV, I attempt to answer the question as to whether the PV is illustrative of Inglehart's thesis regarding how green values emerge. When having a closer look at the factors contributing to the constitution of the Partido Verde, several factors of influence are noted: the end of the military regime created a political opening where the combination of exiled intellectuals returning from abroad with imported green or postmaterialist ideas mingle with environmentalists from the Brazilian grassroots movements were two of the factors indirectly contributing to the creation of the party. More directly involved were politicians in the PT and the brand of the environmental movement situated in Southeastern Brazil taking the final decision leading to the party's creation in 1986.

The curious factor represented by Brazil is the lack of a level of economic development corresponding to what Inglehart defines as postindustrial at the time of the PV's origin. Today Brazil is being characterized as an emerging economy not yet providing a generalized level of welfare allowing for the younger generations to develop postmaterial values in the Inglehartian sense. Considering that the PV in Brazil was created largely at the same time as the green parties of the post-industrialized western nations – on whose basis Inglehart developed his theories, the answer to my first research question is a partial no. There were several factors contributing to the party's emergence apart from the level of economic security which might have been experienced by parts of its founders and electorate. The fragments of the Brazilian environmental movement consisting of grassroots- citizens organization is the best illustration of this complexity.

My findings indicated that green values have, at least partially, arisen on a different basis in Brazil than in the developed countries constituting the early basis of Inglehart's research-objects. I further argue that the results provided in the World Values Survey are representative of such a short period of time and are so oscillating that they cannot be considered sufficient neither to prove nor to disprove his theory. Second of all, if these data were to be considered, they are indicating the opposite of Inglehart's predictions; that the Brazilian society rather than becoming more postmaterialist, is actually moving partially towards a more materialistic and traditional value-stance. This is another factor which contributes to the discredit of the assumption according to which green values emerge on the basis of economic development.

In addition, the findings indicate that the origins of the PV from a merger of various environments such as environmentalists from the grassroots movements, intellectuals inspired by Western ideas and politicians from the workers' party has highly influenced the party's value-stance. My interviewees largely converged in describing the PV as a severely divided party, a division illustrated by the number of environmentalists who had left the party in protest of its undemocratic workings only to come back with Marina Silva. Her entrance, on the other hand, resulted in a loss of postmaterialism and the return to a more materialist, or even traditional value-stance for the party except for the case of the green values. This further contributes to the weakening of Inglehart's thesis in the Brazilian case and further questions whether green values can rightfully be defined postmaterialist.

The second research question, regarding whether Inglehart's theories on postmaterialist values and generational replacement are applicable to the Partido Verde's electorate, is attempted answered through an analysis of the PV's electorate in the 2010 elections. The analysis show that whilst only a small part of the PV's electorate is constituted by postmaterialists in the Inglehartian sense, a large part of the electorate (consisting in a combination of environmentalists, evangelists and protest-voters) in these elections was merely followers of Marina Silva. This was demonstrated by the abyss between the votes received by the PV's in earlier elections and in 2010, the difference in votes received by Marina Silva at the national level and the PV at state and federal levels and the electoral survey demonstrating that voter's support for Marina to a higher degree than the PV. As Torkjell Leira eloquently stated during the interview<sup>58</sup>, the 2010 Brazilian elections demonstrated that if green values can be defined as postmaterialist, they are however not limited to the postindustrial societies. This findings presented in this thesis illustrate that green values are not even necessarily postmaterialist.

Consequently, Inglehart's theory proves only partially applicable also to the PV's electorate due to the fact that only one part of this electorate is constituted by postmaterialist voters. The other fragments are, apart from their green values, holders of a more materialist than postmaterialist value-stance. The composition of the PV's electorate has hence demonstrated how the specific case of Brazil is much more complicated than predicted by Inglehart's thesis.

A further study of the recently publicized data from the electoral survey ESEB 2010, similar to Carreirão's (2007) analysis of the data from the ESEB 2002, would be needed in order to verify the composition of the PV's electorate. This qualitative study, although combined with statistical data from the Tribunal Superior Eleitoral and ESEB 2010 can in that sense only be considered a mere introduction to the question.

The discussion regarding the applicability of Inglehart's thesis on postmaterialist values to the Brazilian case has provided me with some new knowledge: first of all the difficulty in constructing a general theory of cross-cultural applicability. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) have stated that cultural change is path-dependent. Further knowledge acquainted during this

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<sup>58</sup> Interview, Torkjell Leira, Programme Coordinator, Amazon department, Norwegian Rainforest Foundation, Oslo, Norway, January 10<sup>th</sup> 2011.

research was the role of the ecclesiastic movement in the enhancement of the more marginalized sectors of society's request for environmental equality, as well as the evangelic electorate's role in the promotion of the green values. This does however support my initial objection against Inglehart's thesis; that a mere consideration of Brazil's Indigenous population is sufficient to raise doubts about Inglehart's definition of green values as postmaterialist. His theory regarding how economic development poses the basis for the development of postmaterialist and green values is only confirmed regarding the already industrialized strata of a population but not with regards to the poorer and more marginalized ones.

## List of Interviews

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## Appendix I: A Political-Environmental Profile of my Respondents

Eleven people were interviewed for this study. They all had one thing in common which made them interesting as interview-objects in this research; a first hand and in-depth knowledge about Brazilian environmentalism, green politics and the Partido Verde.

The first person I interviewed was Márcio Santili (b. 1955), Coordinator of the Socio-environmental Politics and Rights Program at Instituto Socioambiental and one of the organization's founders. In 1982 he was elected Brazil's second youngest ever Congressman (Time) and from 1995 to 1996 he served as President of Funai, Brazil's National Indian Foundation (ISA). He was elected one of Time Magazine's "Heroes of the Environment 2009" for his idea on compensated reduction of greenhouse gas emissions (Time).

My second interview-object was Adriana Ramos, Vice Executive Secretary at Instituto Socioambiental. She is the Civil Society's Representative at the board of the Amazon-fund and coordinates the Brazilian NGO Forum working group on forests, *SOS Florestas* (World Resources Report). Between 2002 and 2006 she was the NGOs representative in Brazil's National Environmental Council and has been part of the Partido Verde's National Committee<sup>59</sup>. As one of the leaders of Marina Silva's Movement, she resigned from the PV together with the group of environmentalists supporting Marina Silva in June 2011 (Marina Silva).

My third interviewee was Ana Paula Souto Maior (b. 1965), Lawyer and Juridical Adviser at Instituto Socioambiental. She candidate for Governor with the PV in the state of Horaíma in 1994, before resigning from politics in order to come back campaigning for Marina Silva's 2009 Presidential Campaign<sup>60</sup>.

The fourth interview was undertaken with Eduardo Viola (b. 1949), Professor at the Institute of International Relations at the University of Brasilia and Senior Researcher of the Brazilian Council of Research since 1986. He is the current Chair of the Brazilian Research Network on

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<sup>59</sup> Interview, X1, December 17<sup>th</sup> 2010.

<sup>60</sup> Interview, Ana Paula Souto Maior, Juridical Adviser at Instituto Socioambiental, Brasilia, Brazil, December 6<sup>th</sup> 2010.

International Relations and is the author of four books and over sixty articles on issues including Environmental Policy and Southern American Democratization. He taught several years at the Rio Branco Institute<sup>61</sup> and is frequently used as a point of reference by Brazilian media on International Relations and Climate Change (Earth System Governance).

The fifth interviewee was Miriam Prochnow (b. 1964), environmental activist working with sustainable development, environmental legislation and public policies. Founder of the environmental NGO Apremavi<sup>62</sup>, she has been working on various rainforest-protection initiatives from the *Lei da Mata Atlântica* to the *Código Florestal*. She has been Representing Councillor in the National Environmental Council and is currently serving as the Executive Secretary of *Diálogos Florestais*, a union of forestry companies and NGOs (Olhar pra frente). Prochnow contributed to the founding of the PV in Santa Catarina in 1986-87 and was the party's candidate to Federal Deputy in the same state in 1988 and 2010<sup>63</sup>.

José Sarney Filho (b. 1957) was the next person to be interviewed. Leader of the Parliamentary block consisting of the PV and the PPS (*Partido Popular Socialista*), he was elected Federal Deputy for State of Maranhão the first time at the age of 21. He has been a PV member since 2002, is PV's Congressman for the state of Maranhão 2011-2015 and served as the Brazilian Minister of the Environment from 1999-2002. He has worked in numerous commissions and on environmental legislations, such as the *Lei da Mata Atlântica*. In 1997 he created the *Frente Parlamentar Ambientalista*, uniting over 300 federal deputies and senators with civil society representatives in the work for a sustainable development (Sarney Filho).

The seventh interview was undertaken with a person with the same knowledge and involvement of the environment and politics as the other ten but who requested to be kept anonymous due to the character of the information revealed.

Ricardo Arnt was the next interview-object. Working as a journalist since 1971 he has received several awards for his writing. He has been the editor of various magazines and journals, including *Folha de S. Paulo* and is the author of ten books on economy, environment

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<sup>61</sup> The Brazilian School for Diplomatic Training (Earth System Governance).

<sup>62</sup> Associação de Preservação do Meio Ambiente e da Vida.

<sup>63</sup> Interview, Miriam Prochnow, Executive Secretary of Diálogos Florestais, Brasília, Brazil, December 10<sup>th</sup> 2010.



and globalization (Editora 34). Arnt has been following the PV since its foundation in Rio de Janeiro in 1985-86<sup>64</sup>.

Interviewee number nine, Donald Sawyer, is a Professor at the Center for Sustainable Development at the University of Brasília and Associate Researcher at the Institute for Society, Population and Nature in Brasilia. He has been National Coordinator for Brazil of the Global Environmental Facility's Small Grants Program since 1992 (NorLARNet). Socioenvironmentalist, close to many Green politicians and occasional PV sympathizer, he has been following the party since 1992-1993<sup>65</sup>.

The tenth interview was undertaken with Torkjell Leira (b. 1972), a Norwegian human geographer and writer working as a Program Coordinator of the Amazon department in the Norwegian Rainforest Foundation. He has been studying, working and travelling in Brazil since 1990 (Leira 2010a), is the author of the blog *BrasiLeira* and is currently writing a book on Brazil.

Fábio Feldmann (b. 1955), my last interview-object, is a Brazilian lawyer, politician and environmentalist. He was Brazil's first environmentalist parliamentarian to be elected in 1986, and had an important role in the writing of the chapter on the environment in the new Constitution. As a Federal Deputy from 1986 to 1998, he created a Green bench in Parliament (*Frente Verde Parlamentar*) and has been involved as a councilor and writer of various environmental initiatives and legislation (Fabio Feldmann). More recently he was the PV's candidate to Governor in the state of São Paulo in the 2010 elections.

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<sup>64</sup> Interview, Ricardo Arnt, Journalist, Questionnaire via mail, December 22<sup>nd</sup> 2010.

<sup>65</sup> Interview, Donald Sawyer, Professor at the Center for Sustainable Development at the University of Brasília, Questionnaire via mail, January 3<sup>rd</sup> 2011.

## **Appendix II: Interview-guide**

### **Introduction**

Presenting myself and my research as well as the interviewee's possibility of being anonymous.

### **The Interviewee's Relationship with the Partido Verde**

- a) What is your relation with the Partido Verde?
- b) How long have you been following the Partido Verde?

### **1. Green Values**

- a) How would you describe the Partido Verde's value-orientation?
- b) What would you consider to be the most prominent values within the party?
- c) Is there a general consensus within the party regarding which values to front?
- d) Is the party coherent in its value-stance?
- e) Where do you think this (in)coherence derives from?

## **2. The 2010 Elections**

- a) Based on Marina Silva's personal stance against abortion (in the 2010 elections), it could seem like there is a value-division within the party; what is your opinion on this?
- b) What do you think the recent growth in the electorate's support for the PV is due to?
- c) How important has the figure of Marina Silva been for the party's increased support (in the 2010 Presidential elections)?

## **3. The Green Electorate**

- a) Who are the Green Voters? (Gender/Class/Education)

## **Conclusion/Additional information**

- a) Could you indicate anyone else which you think I should talk to about this topic?
- b) Could you indicate any literature or websites I should look into?

**Thank you so much for your participation, it is of great value for my research!**