

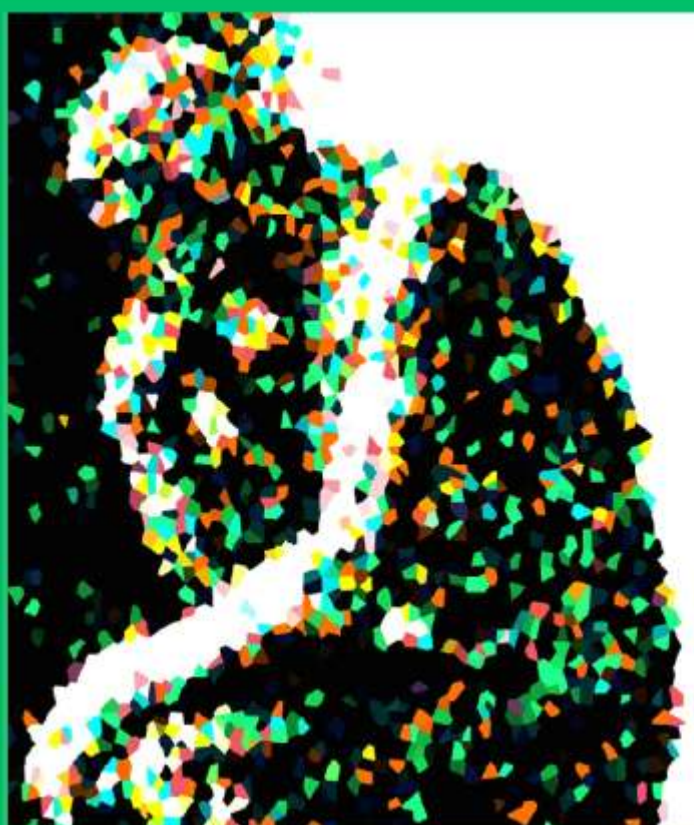
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European *Values* Study

ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS, ECOLOGICAL VALUES THE PORTUGUESE CASE IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

JOÃO GUERRA & LUÍSA SCHMIDT

ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS, ECOLOGICAL VALUES

THE PORTUGUESE CASE IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

João Guerra, Luísa Schmidt

1 – INTRODUCTION

This article presents some of the results of the fourth wave of the European Values Study (EVS), which aims to identify similarities and differences in the values held in different European countries and to examine how trends are changing. The questionnaire was completed by a stratified and representative sample of the resident adult populations of 47 European countries, the interviews being conducted between 2008 and 2010.

Although, as in previous waves, the questionnaire covered a broad and diverse range of subject areas (religious values; family values; socio-political values; economic and labour values; moral values; environmental values), we focus here on the module used exclusively in Portugal relating to environmental issues and values, although we also include other comparisons from the general questionnaire. Thinking and practice in other areas has a direct and indirect influence on how people perceive the environment and their approach to sustainability. This approach is particularly important in Portugal, which, being in the recent past a predominantly rural and peripheral country closed in on itself, was an exception to the general trend in western Europe.

In this context, our aim is to make a comparative analysis of the structural components of the activities, values, attitudes and positioning reported by Portuguese respondents to the ESV survey with those of other Europeans.

We begin by outlining some of the changes that have taken place in Portuguese society, using data from the country's recent history and the results of previous research (*e.g.* Almeida, 2004, Schmidt, Nave and Guerra, 2005) that helps to provide an understanding of Portugal's singularity in the current European context. We analyse what the ESV survey results reveal about citizens' judgements, concerns and opinions regarding the environment. We also analyse levels of confidence, commitment and potential in regard to civic participation and present data on effective civic action in defence of the environment and the common good. Finally, we focus on the results obtained from the application of an abridged version of the

New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) Scale, with the aim of shedding light on the paradigm shift from a worldview fundamentally based on anthropocentric values and human exceptionality to an emerging worldview more focused on “new ecological values” (Dunlap, Kent, Van Liere, Mertig and Jones, 2000).

2 – THE PORTUGUESE CASE

Located on the extreme western tip of Europe, Portugal was historically a country that faced away from Europe and had strong ties with the Atlantic axis and the New World, especially the countries that once formed part of its colonial empire. The prolongation of imperial rule by one of the longest-surviving right-wing authoritarian regimes in Europe (1926-1974) led to further isolation that ended only with the collapse of the dictatorship. This has contributed to the differences that can still be observed in the country’s patterns of development and the way the Portuguese position themselves in relation to the rest of Europe.

In fact, even in the 1960s, Portugal’s economic, social and ecological conditions contrasted with those in the majority of its western European partners. A traditional rural society (with 40% of the active population employed in agriculture) predominated, alongside belated and tentative moves towards industrialization (in which national industries were protected by the state through import controls).

Two other crucial phenomena marked the 1960s in Portugal: a long colonial war from 1961 to 1974, and a migratory exodus of the rural population, with a million people leaving for other European countries and another million moving to the Lisbon region, resulting in chaotic suburbs and a manufacturing explosion that led to uncontrolled and unplanned urban land use.

At the same time, illiteracy levels remained high (26% in 1970), the emergence of a strong middle class was stifled and the dictatorial regime controlled civic participation and censored all media. Censorship even extended to the environmental sector, where debate was repressed, being considered politically troublesome and damaging to Portugal’s image (Schmidt 2003).

This made it difficult for the country to identify with the strategic environmental goals that were being established and debated in most other western countries at that time – even when Portugal, marginalized at the United Nations because of its colonial policies, was invited to

participate in the Stockholm Conference of 1972. It was only following the revolution of April 1974 that environmental policies gained official status: the office of Secretary of State for the Environment was institutionalized for the first time and the fundamental right to environmental protection was enshrined in the 1976 Constitution.

The main undertaking after the revolution was not only to restore civil liberties, but also to improve and upgrade urban conditions, particularly basic sanitation. In the period immediately preceding the revolution, vast slums around the capital city of Lisbon, where there were no water or sewage systems, suffered outbreaks of cholera. Only 18% of the country was covered by waste collection systems, compared with the quasi universality of today, and only half the population was served by mains water supplies (Schmidt, Saraiva and Pato, 2011). Because the main focus during the revolutionary period was on justice, equality, freedom, political rights and decolonization, the environment was relegated to being a minor concern.

Despite the advances made after the revolution, it can be argued that Portugal suffered from a prolonged lack of environmental public policies. Some basic conditions were improved (e.g. water and electricity supplies and some sewage systems), but it was only after the country's accession to the European Union in 1986 that substantial improvements were made, mainly as a result of transposing EU directives into Portuguese law and creating institutional infrastructures. As Weidner put it (2002, p. 1350): "those wishing to accede to the EU are required to attain certain levels of environmental institutionalization" and thus come under pressure from the EU to adopt more demanding environmental standards. This was the case in Portugal.

Together with regulatory and institutional changes, substantial financial support for basic infrastructures was also made available, giving new impetus to environmental improvements. As a result, some of Portugal's most important environmental legislation was drafted at this time: the Basic Law of Environment (*Lei de Bases do Ambiente*) was approved in 1987; others laws were also passed on a variety of environmental issues, including air, water and noise pollution; waste management; coastal protection; and species protection. From 1987 to 1992 more than 70 environmental laws were approved. General reports on the state of the environment also became mandatory from 1987 onwards. This period could be called the "golden age" of Portuguese environmental policy.

Since 1986, financial resources from three Community Support Framework Programmes have helped to foster an important cycle of public and private investment in roads, water supplies, sewage networks, wastewater treatment, sanitary landfills and related areas. European

Directives were also transposed into Portuguese law and the Ministry of the Environment was created in 1990 with a wide remit and substantial powers.

However, in many cases the process of implementing legislation proved ineffective. Despite environmental protection being enshrined in national policy, the level of enforcement was poor. The state only belatedly took on full responsibility for policy enforcement. If, externally, the EU constituted an important spur, encouraging legal and administrative action and providing financial and technical support, domestically, environmental policy was dominated by inertia and faced some resistance (Schmidt, Nave and Guerra, 2005; Schmidt, 2008).

Some explanations can be advanced for this inertia. Firstly, there was what may be called the “political zigzag” factor; that is, environmental policies were not strongly supported by decision-makers and no continuity was established in crucial areas. In addition, public policy changed every time a new top official took office at the ministry. Nor were environmental policies afforded the cross-sector, integrating status they required, remaining instead confined to individual sectors. A lack of political weight, or, rather, of “an intervening state role”, to paraphrase Mol (2000), led to a sort of tacit consent in regard to the infringement of environmental laws.

Secondly, environmental and nature-protection measures were decided on and imposed from the outside and from the top down (i.e. by the EU), with no real endogenous anchor and no effective participation or democratic growth, that is, with no social basis of support (Schmidt 2008). The legacy of this lack of commitment to enforcing environmental policies and legislation is now evident in Portugal’s poor environmental indicators in several areas. Despite a growing administrative apparatus and a sizeable body of legislation, as well as the widespread availability of European funds, the strong external impetus provided by the EU has produced weak domestic results. Environmental policy in Portugal has and continues to amount to a failure.

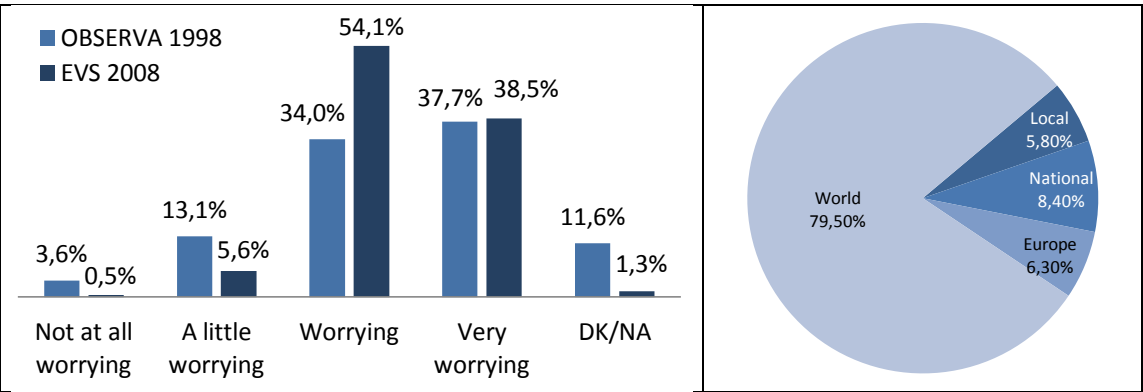
This situation also reflects, and in part results from, a low level of environmental literacy in the weak civil society that Portugal has inherited from its recent past. This has not been countered by state institutions or elected representatives, even in areas where effective public consultation and participation are legally required. In fact, environmental perception and attitude studies show that, apart from a few social groups, a low level of general environmental culture persists throughout the Portuguese population (Almeida, 2000, 2004).

It was in this context that interest in the state of the environment and sustainability developed in Portugal, with membership of the European Economic Community (1986) emerging as a corollary to the process of democratisation, while European Directives became the standard of reference for policies and legislation for protecting environmental resources (Schmidt and Guerra, 2010). This makes the environmental values and practices of the Portuguese in the context of the EU of special interest. After almost four decades of democracy and almost three decades of European integration (a period also marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the enlargement of the EU from 2004 to 2007 to included countries from the former Soviet bloc), it is thought-provoking to examine the extent to which the Portuguese differ from the citizens of other countries that now belong to the EU and to what degree their attitudes converge with the rest of Europe.

3 – ASSESSMENT, OPINIONS AND CONCERNS

Using the data from the EVS-2008 survey, we examine how the Portuguese assess the environment, the situations and problems they consider to be most serious and how they view controversial issues such as climate change and nuclear energy.

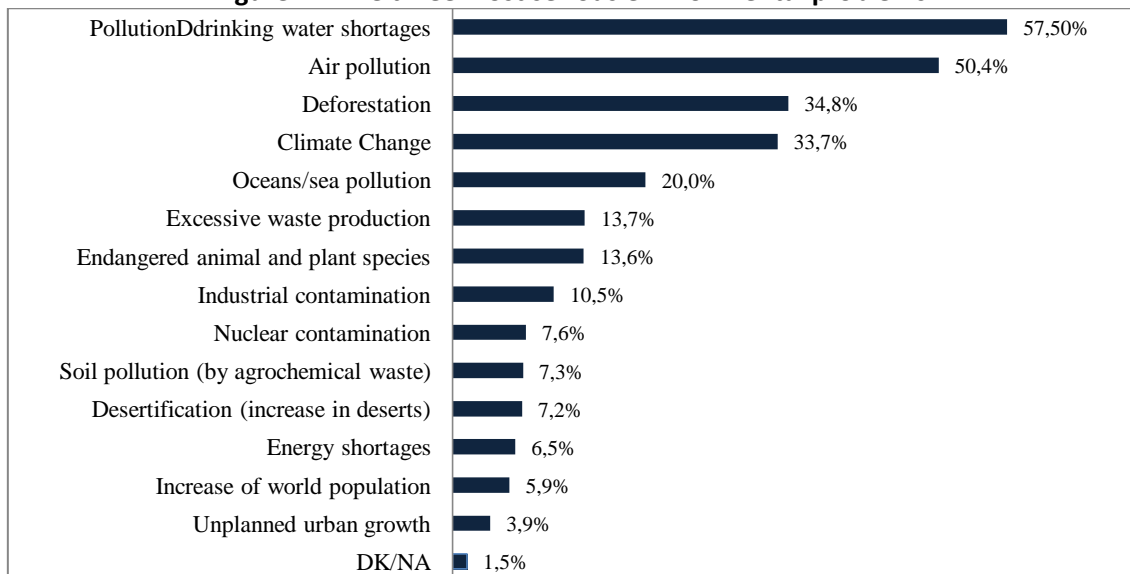
Figure 1 – Assessment of the current state of the environment and where the most serious situations occur



As shown in Figure 1, the state of the environment is a concern shared across Portuguese society, with very few not expressing any concern at all. Moreover, comparing these results with the responses to the same question put in 1998 (Almeida, 2000), the Portuguese not only appear to be more concerned (54.1% expressed concern compared with 34% in 1998), but also more opinionated in regard to the state of the environment. In fact, the number of non-respondents was insignificant in 2008, compared with 11.6% 10 years earlier.

Notwithstanding this change, the Portuguese see the most serious environmental problems to be located at an international level; that is, in places that are distant and unknown to them. They tend to believe that the environment closer to them (my town, my region) suffers from fewer problems and the situation in Portugal is seen as a cause for concern only by 8.4% of respondents. An even lower percentage is concerned about the situation in Europe (6.3%), given the image of credibility the EU enjoys and the fact that, in Portugal, environmental legislation is almost always seen as coming from the EU. The fact that the environmental news items that had most impact on the Portuguese media agenda in 2007 and 2008 were mainly international (e.g. climate change) (Schmidt and Horta, 2010) may also have contributed to the dramatization of distant rather than local environmental problems.

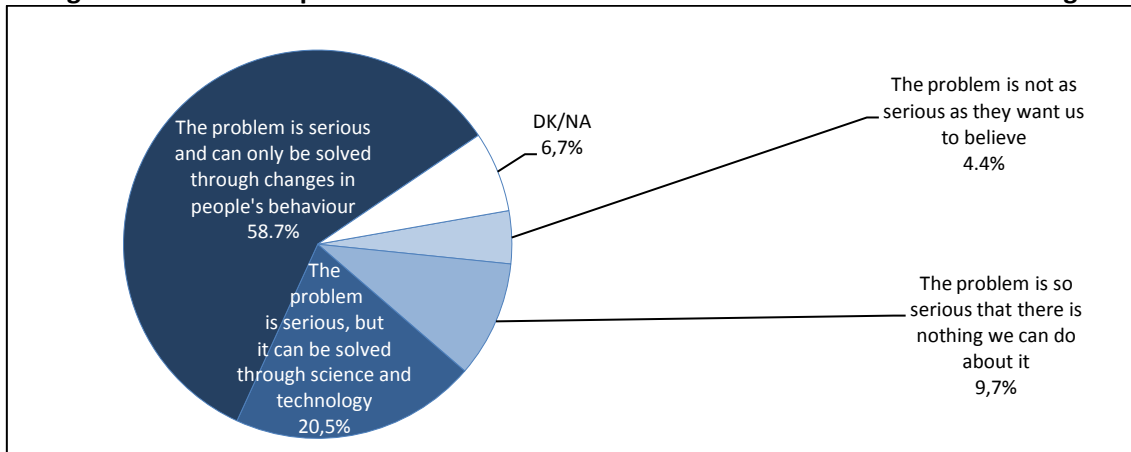
Figure 2 – The three most serious environmental problems



What issues cause the Portuguese most concern? As shown in Figure 3, their biggest concerns are pollution and drinking water shortages (57.5%) and air pollution (50.4%). These are followed by the more global problems of deforestation (34.8%) and climate change (33.7%). These responses seem to imply an implicit relationship between interdependent issues, but also a tendency to ignore serious problems such as population growth (which may be explained by Portugal's unsustainably low birth rates, which are below the level of generational replacement) and important problems specific to Portuguese society, such as urban chaos and energy scarcity.

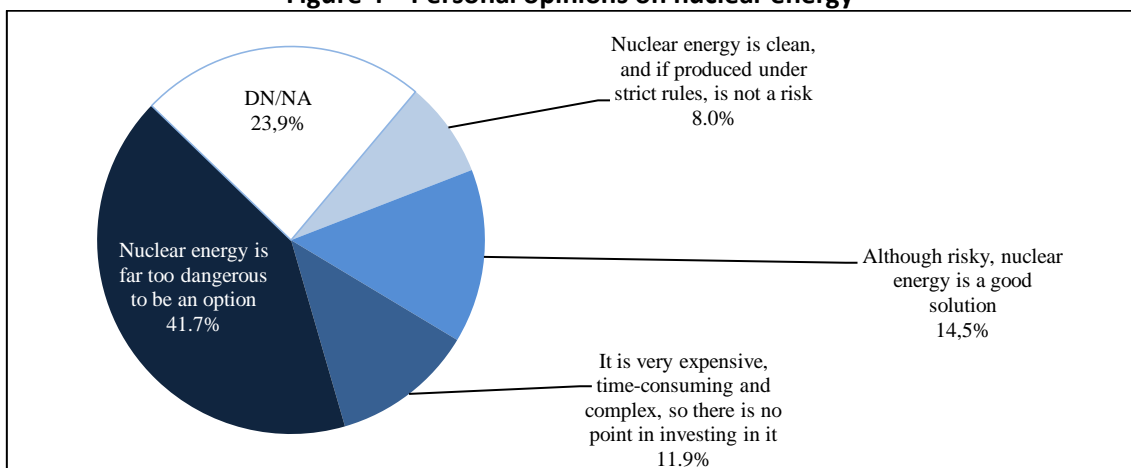
Respondents assessed problems to be more serious than they did when a similar question was posed in 1997, with a worsening in the public perception of climate change, particular among younger and more educated sections of the population.

Figure 3 – Personal opinion of the carbon dioxide emissions that cause climate change



Looking more closely at the issue of CO² emissions as a cause of climate change, we see that an overwhelming majority of the Portuguese see them as a serious problem. Adopting a “pro-sustainability attitude”, 58.7% of respondents see emissions as a serious problem that can only be resolved if they participate in a solution, that is, by changing their behaviour. Just over 20% also express concern, but, adopting what might be called a “promethean attitude”, believe that science and technology will solve the problem. About 10% adopt a “defeatist attitude”, believing that nothing can be done. Finally, the number of “sceptics” in Portugal, as in Europe generally, is relatively insignificant: only 4.4% of respondents attach no importance to climate change, even fewer than those who do not have or do not wish to express an opinion (6.7%).

Figure 4 – Personal opinions on nuclear energy



Energy scarcity, climate change and the emergence of a post-carbon society have led to sporadic debate on the possibility of using nuclear energy, an alternative energy source that is not used in Portugal. As Figure 5 shows, the number of respondents who do not even have or do not wish to express an opinion on this issue is the second highest, representing almost a quarter of the Portuguese population (23.9%). A majority of respondents reject the nuclear

alternative as a positive solution, considering that it is either too dangerous (41.7%) or too expensive (11.9%). Only 22.5% of respondents see it as a viable solution in spite of the risks it implies (14.5%) and if it is strictly regulated (8%).

Overall, a majority have a negative view of the possibility of adopting nuclear energy in Portugal, reflecting a cautious and restrictive national consensus over this energy option. Older age groups (which also have the highest illiteracy rates) dominate among those who gave no reply, while the young and more educated viewed the nuclear option most positively (although it is not supported by a majority, even among these groups), but only under conditions of strict technological safety.

To summarize, the Portuguese appear to be increasingly concerned about the state of the environment, particularly at a global level, where they perceive serious problems that demand rigorous control. This is perhaps why climate change and the global phenomena related to it, (air pollution, drinking water shortages, deforestation) are the problems that cause them the most concern. Respondents appeared to have little inclination for major controversies over climate change or its human causes (CO² emissions). Nuclear energy continues to be firmly rejected and is not seriously considered as a viable alternative.

4 – CONFIDENCE, ENGAGEMENT AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

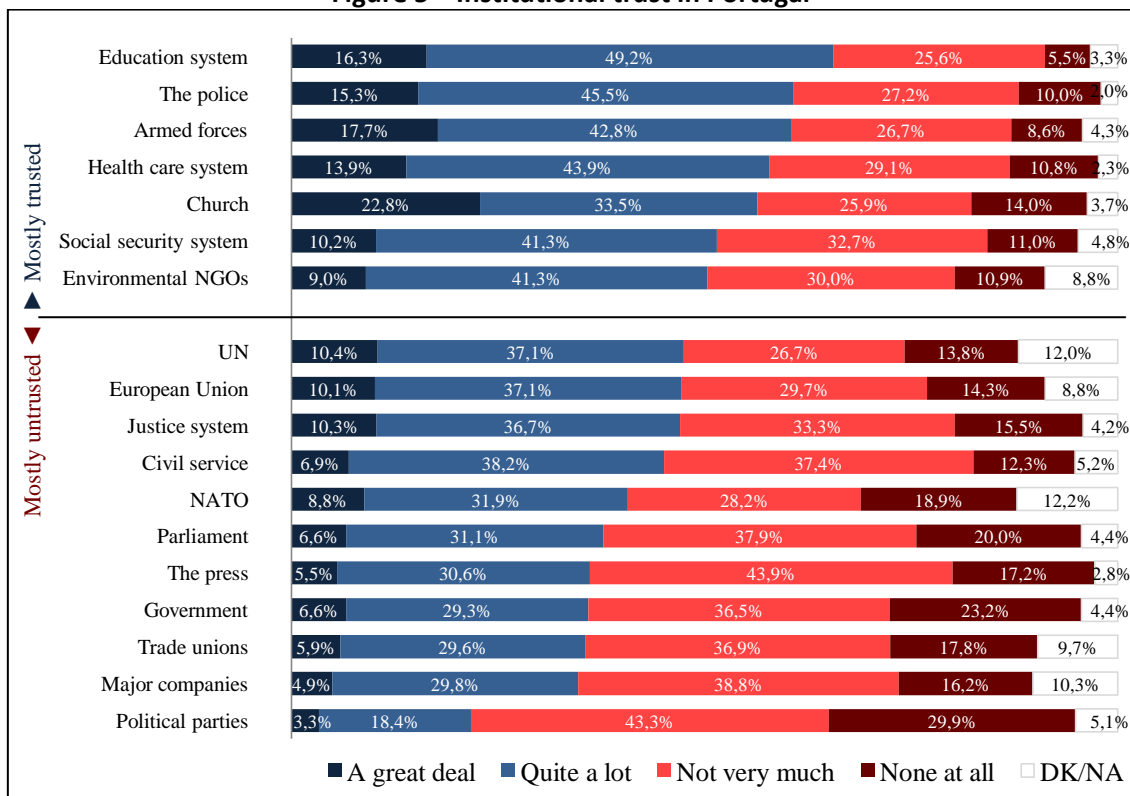
Opinion, proximity and concern, however, are not sufficient to ensure action in favour of the common good, in general, or of the environment, in particular. Greater reliance is needed on public participation and on the institutions that enable citizens to exercise their civic responsibilities. These are, after all, the factors that are conducive to political action. To cite Giddens, “it has become customary to be cynical about politics, but the political field retains its capacity to inspire. The use of political capacity, national and international, will be essential to coping with the dilemmas that confront us” (Giddens, 2009: 228).

Indicators show participative citizenship to be relatively weak or unsatisfactory in Portuguese society (as, indeed, it is in the country’s representative democracy itself) and this cannot be separated from the context and socio-historical conditions referred to above. In spite of the changes that have taken place in recent decades, the existence of a civic and democratic participation deficit is broadly recognised. To this may be added growing levels of distrust and

dissatisfaction among citizens in regard to the performance of Portugal's democracy. (Magalhães, 2009; Cabral, Lobo, Feijó, 2009; Schmidt and Guerra, 2011).

In this context, governance in support of sustainability depends on among citizens sharing a broad ethical sense and on an additional capacity for civic involvement on the part of state institutions as part of a strategy to build stronger levels of institutional trust. The ultimate aim is to ensure that a set of rules, both written (laws, statutes, regulations) and unwritten (standards of conduct, social values, ethical behaviour) connect citizens' interests and wishes with the institutions and established mechanisms of government. That is, it is important to establish and/or maintain a trusted connection between those who govern and those who are governed (Bosselmann, Engel and Taylor, 2008). This is the issue we will examine next.

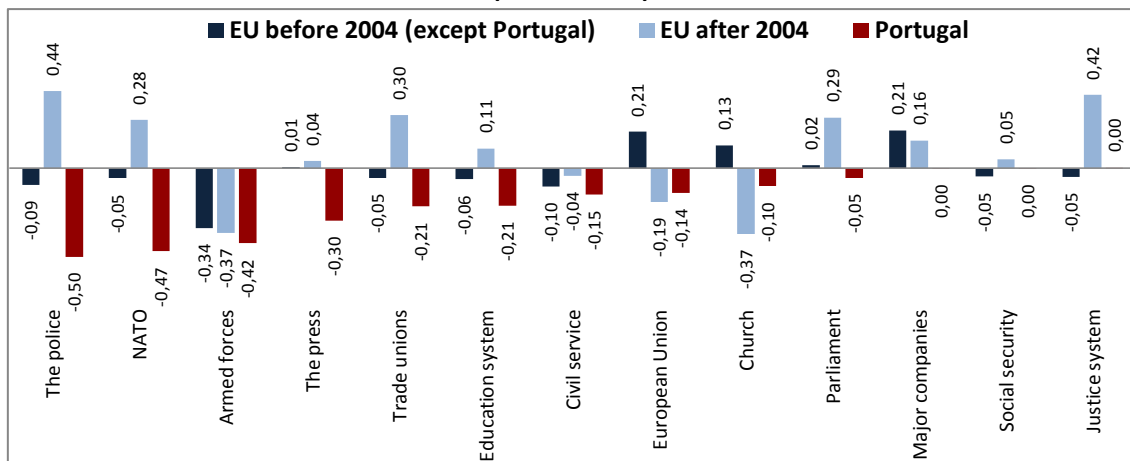
Figure 5 – Institutional trust in Portugal



In spite of declining confidence in recent years, a trend far from being confined to Portugal (Pharr, Putnam and Dalton, 2000, Cabral, 2006), it is the central services of the state (education, health, social security) in which the Portuguese place the most trust, as shown in Figure 6. This confidence partly reflects the strengthening of these services following Portugal's return to democracy and the central role they have acquired. On a par with these central services are the security forces (the police and armed forces) and the Catholic Church (the institution in which the largest number of Portuguese say they have "most trust"),

followed by non-governmental environmental organizations, which have achieved increased credibility in recent decades. All other institutions are more mistrusted than trusted, with those related to governance and power (political parties, government) and associated areas (the media, companies, trade unions) ranking among the least trusted.

Figure 6 – Growth in institutional trust in Europe and Portugal - 1990/1993 and 2008/2009
(source: EVS)



In comparing the growth of confidence in these institutions in different European countries (Figure 7), it becomes clear that the level of trust has fallen most among Portuguese respondents. Their overall response pattern is characterised by a loss of institutional trust, even in regard to some of the institutions that maintain a positive overall rating (see Figure 6): the police and armed forces, but also NATO, the media and trade unions. The disenchantment in Portugal appears to be widespread and increasing, differing from other European countries where there are signs of increased confidence in some institutions — both in the newest EU members (e.g. the police, justice, trade unions, parliament, NATO) and longer-standing EU members (e.g. the EU itself, big companies, the Church).

Is this apparent disillusionment in Portugal (which increases the more directly the institution in question is connected to the sphere of political power) part of a broad and growing process of civic demobilization? According to Robert Putnam, citizens in the United States and other western countries are gradually losing interest in public affairs (2000). The Portuguese survey results appear to confirm this trend, showing it to have increased in recent years, perhaps because the country has always had a weak tradition of civic intervention (Schmidt, Nave, O’Riordan and Guerra, 2011; Schmidt and Guerra, 2011). It is therefore important to examine to what extent Portugal is part of a wider trend, which, according to the data shown in a Figure 8, seems to have taken different directions in different European contexts, with increased

confidence being shown in wealthier countries with more active civic traditions, but indications to the contrary in Portugal.

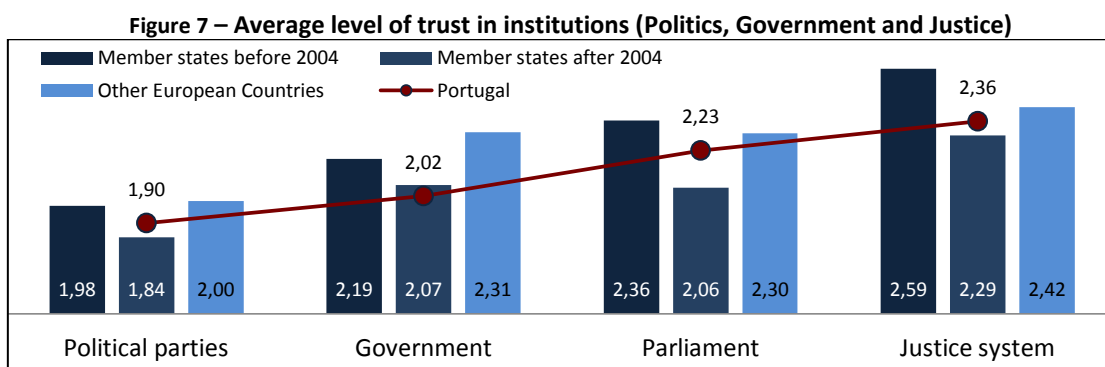


Figure 8 shows clearly that the phenomenon of distrust in political institutions and the judicial system affects most European countries, in spite of some differences in degree, which the statistics confirm: Welsh T-Test, two-sided, $p = 0,000$. In the specific case of Portugal, it is clear that the level of confidence is below the European average and tends to be closer to the levels registered in the new member states that joined the EU after 2004 and in European countries that do not belong to the EU. In fact, this rise in feelings of mistrust in Portugal is not new.

As Pedro Magalhães observed in commenting on a previous study, the overwhelming majority of Portuguese support the democratic regime, but this does not inhibit them from expressing dissatisfaction with the way it operates, lacking interest in political events or distrusting politicians, while they also may often be unable to understand political processes. In short, he believes the Portuguese are becoming increasingly “disaffected from politics, with a large number not only unhappy with the way the country’s democracy has evolved, but also finding themselves unable to understand how politics operates and events unfold. People do not believe that anything will change and, above all, they do not believe they have the power to influence and bring about change, (Magalhães, 2005). As we shall see later, this also applies to the levels of confidence registered for other types of institutions.

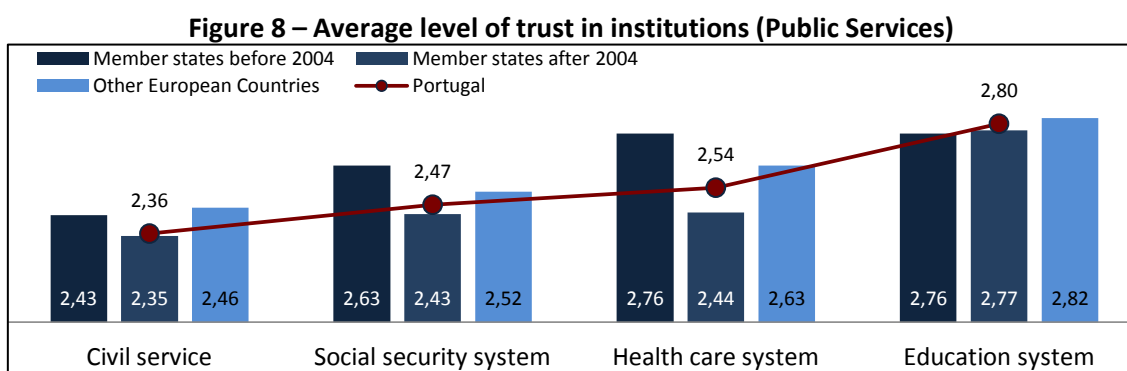
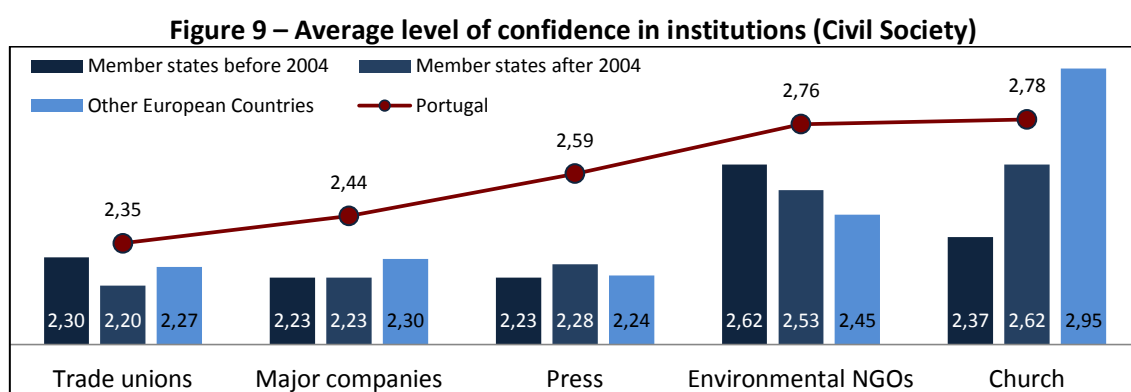


Figure 9 confirms the trend for the Portuguese to express a lower level of trust in public services than the European average. Education is the only exception, with Portugal's differences with the rest of Europe diminishing in 2008. In general, however, Portuguese views appear to be further from those registered in core European countries (longer-standing members of the EU) and closer to those of the former Soviet bloc EU members, which could reflect the fact that these countries share a recent history characterised by authoritarian regimes, leaving a continuing memory of institutional distrust, as has been highlighted by several authors commenting on different studies (*e.g.* Schmidt, Nave and Guerra, 2006; Almeida and Brites, 2008).

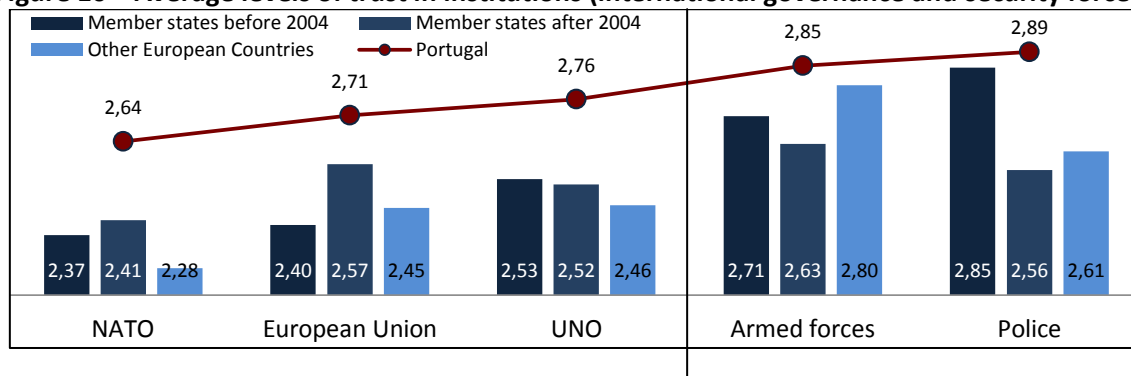


A distinct pattern in which the position of Portuguese respondents is invariably more confident than that of other Europeans emerges in relation to the institutions of civil society shown in Figure 10. This corroborates the hypothesis that we are dealing mainly with a phenomenon of distrust and political disaffection in regard to the main state institutions (Fernandes, 2004), especially political institutions and the judicial system. The Portuguese seem to trust more in institutions the further these bodies are from political power (NGOs and the Church) and — in spite of averages that are relatively higher than those for other Europeans and the indications of decline previously noted — to have less confidence in institutions connected with business, corporative and/or professional interests (trade unions and large companies). In this context, the media has an intermediate position and, despite a falloff in recent years, enjoys a positive level of confidence.

The institutions shown in Figure 11 comprise two large interconnected groups (*i.e.* institutions based on hierarchies of authority and maintaining order, and supra-national and international institutions) that traditionally merit the highest level of institutional trust in Portuguese society (Faria and Magalhães, 2003). In Portugal, increasing distrust in these institutions over the past two decades (see Figure 7) appears to have brought the country's level of confidence in line

with that of the rest of Europe (greater trust in the forces of law and order), although, overall, Portuguese respondents continue to express more confidence in these types of institution than other Europeans.

Figure 10 – Average levels of trust in institutions (international governance and security forces)



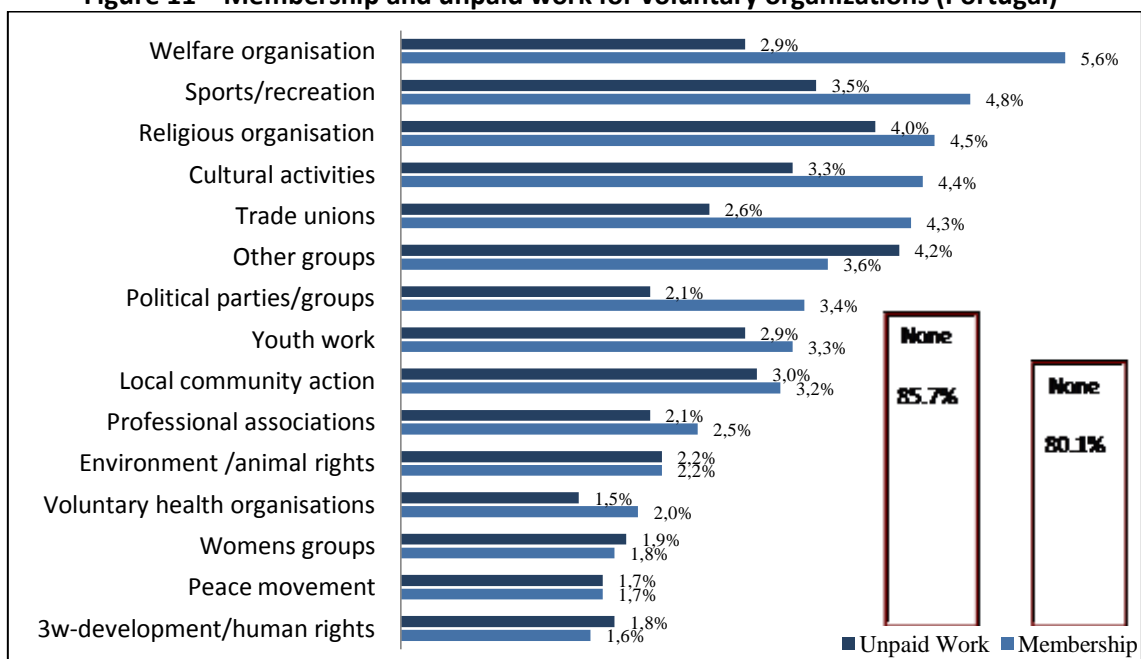
In sum, the phenomenon of institutional distrust seems to be common to most European countries. In Portugal, however, this distrust is stronger in relation to political (government, parties, parliament) or related institutions (mainly the justice system) and tends to be lower in regards to the institutions of civil society and international governance, which, as previously noted in relation to the EU, tend to be seen as democratic references. Above all, developments between 1990 and 2008 (the second and fourth EVS waves) seem to indicate that the downward trend in institutional trust is common to most European societies and to every type of institution, being stronger in Portugal in regard to areas where recent history has generated stronger feelings of trust (i.e. the forces of law and order and institutions of international governance, led by the EU).

Given a common recent history characterised by authoritarianism, levels of institutional trust in Portugal are similar (in spite of the geographic distance) to those registered in the newest members of the EU and other former Soviet bloc countries. Although inconsistent, the obstructive effects of authoritarian regimes on civil society appear to differ little in this respect, with respondents in all of these countries expressing feelings of being distant from and lacking confidence in political power that go beyond institutional issues (Almeida and Brites, 2008).

Maintaining the focus of our attention on the commitment of citizens to the common good, we now turn to voluntary work and membership of civic organizations. The survey results from Portugal confirm the low levels of participation already noted elsewhere (Cabral, 2000; Barreto, 2002, Cabral, Lobo, Feijó, 2009). More than 80% of the Portuguese claim not to

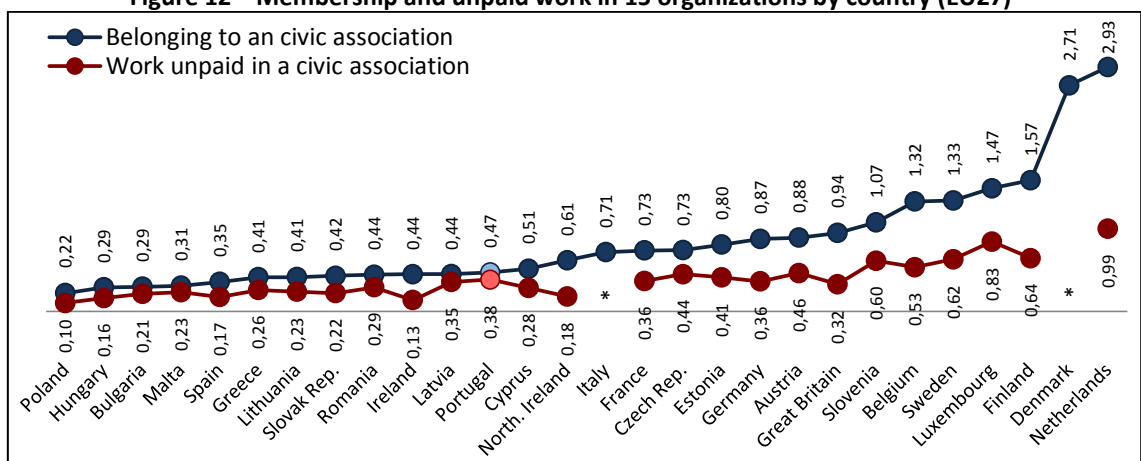
belong to any civic association, a percentage that rises to 85.7% in regard to voluntary work for such organizations (Figure 12).

Figure 11 – Membership and unpaid work for voluntary organizations (Portugal)



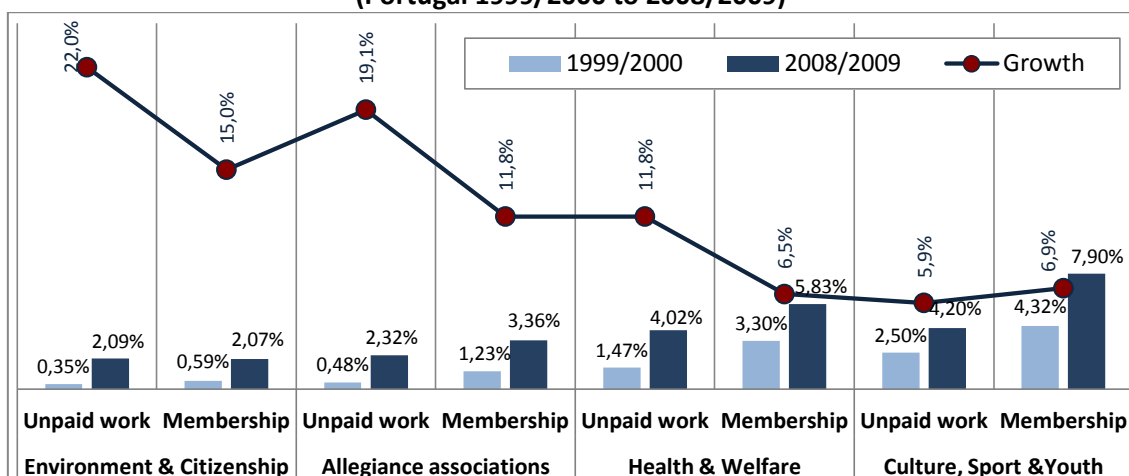
Examining the results for each type of organization, it can be seen that membership, even though low, is found most frequently in the case of welfare organizations (5.6%), sports and recreational associations (4.8%), religious organizations (4.5%), cultural associations (4.4%) and trade unions (4.3%). The pattern changes slightly in regard to voluntary work, where not only does the overall percentage of participation drop substantially, but also the type of organization involved changes: religious associations (4.0%), sports and recreational associations (3.5%) and cultural associations (3.3%).

Figure 12 – Membership and unpaid work in 15 organizations by country (EU27)



In a comparison of European countries (Figure 13), Portugal is midway in the classification, but at a considerable distance from the traditionally more participative countries of northern Europe (e.g. Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium). Showing almost an equal balance between membership and voluntary work, Portuguese respondents report behaviour patterns similar to those of their southern European neighbours, the Irish and, again, the new EU member states of eastern Europe.

**Figure 13 – Membership and unpaid work in civil society organizations
(Portugal 1999/2000 to 2008/2009)**



We will now exam what is revealed by dividing these 15 types of organizations into four large groups: 1- Environment and Citizenship (environmental associations, women's, peace, development and human rights movements and local community action groups); 2 - Health and Welfare (religious, welfare and healthcare organizations); 3 – Allegiance Associations (trade unions, professional associations; political parties and groups), 4 - Culture, Sport and Youth (educational and/or cultural organizations, youth and sports associations).

As shown in Figure 14, growth during the decades in question was universal across the four types of organizations, in terms of both membership and voluntary work. Robust annual average growth rates are observed mainly in regard to voluntary work in the categories “Allegiance Associations” and “Environment and Citizenship”. The latter group is notable for showing practically identical percentages for both membership and voluntary work. In the case of organizations that focus on local problems, action strategies may contribute to the active involvement of their militants, leaving little scope for limited institutional membership.

While showing higher percentages of membership and voluntary work, more traditional types of organization (i.e. culture, sport, youth and, some way behind, welfare) have seen lower growth, possibly indicating a change in the trend of Portuguese participation in associations.

Whether or not this is true, increasing institutional distrust is not reflected in declining militancy or voluntary work on behalf of civil society organizations. On the contrary, a slight increase can be observed in the involvement of citizens in public affairs.

In short, while the Portuguese are generally least mobilized by modern causes (including the environment), it is these causes, however, that show the greatest growth. This is especially true of the more educated and younger sections of society, who also show a greater tendency to join cultural and sports associations. Women are in the majority in regard to membership and voluntary work on behalf of healthcare and welfare associations. In the case of Portugal, another factor of great importance to the relative ineffectiveness of civil society should be noted: high levels of illiteracy, which for many are a legacy of authoritarianism, but which also have older roots (Cabral, 2006). In this context, the so-called massification of education that has occurred in recent decades (post-1974) has not yet produced results among older generations.

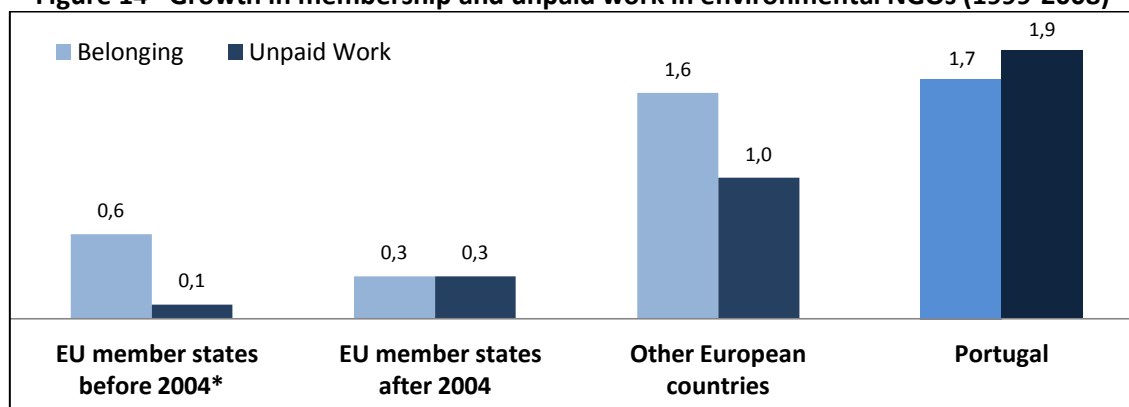
Table 1 – Membership and unpaid work in environmental NGOs

		EU member states before 2004*	EU member states after 2004	Other European Countries	Portugal	χ^2
Membership	1999/2000	8.1%	2.4%	1.3%	0.5%	862.22 - $p = 0.000$
	2008/2009	8.7%	2.7%	2.9%	2.2%	1092.80 - $p = 0.000$
Unpaid work	1999/2000	2.7%	1.6%	0.8%	0.4%	135.06 - $p = 0.000$
	2008/2009	2.8%	1.9%	1.8%	2.3%	57.50 - $p = 0.000$

* Excluding Portugal

An analysis of the results in regard to environmental NGOs shows that levels of membership and voluntary work are significantly lower in Portugal than in both the longest-standing EU member states and other European countries (Table 1).

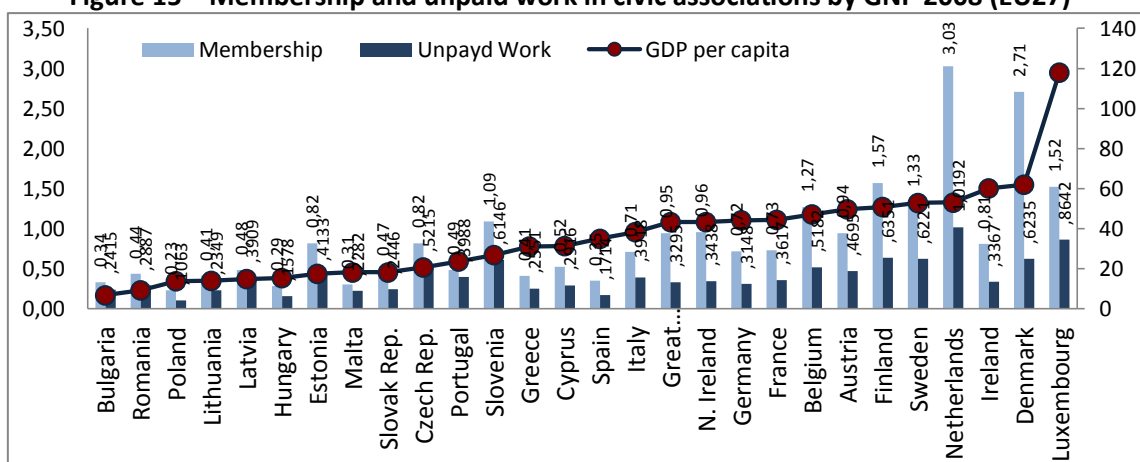
Figure 14 – Growth in membership and unpaid work in environmental NGOs (1999-2008)



* Excluding Portugal

However, the results shown in Figure 15 indicate that environmental activism among the Portuguese (measured in terms of both militancy and voluntary work) is also growing faster than among other Europeans, especially among younger social groups with higher levels of education. The process of change is, of course, complex and depends on multiple factors. Nevertheless, a clear trend towards changing patterns of association is evident in Portugal, involving new causes, new types of participation and new forms of mobilization, as has also been pointed out elsewhere (Putnam, 1995, 2000).

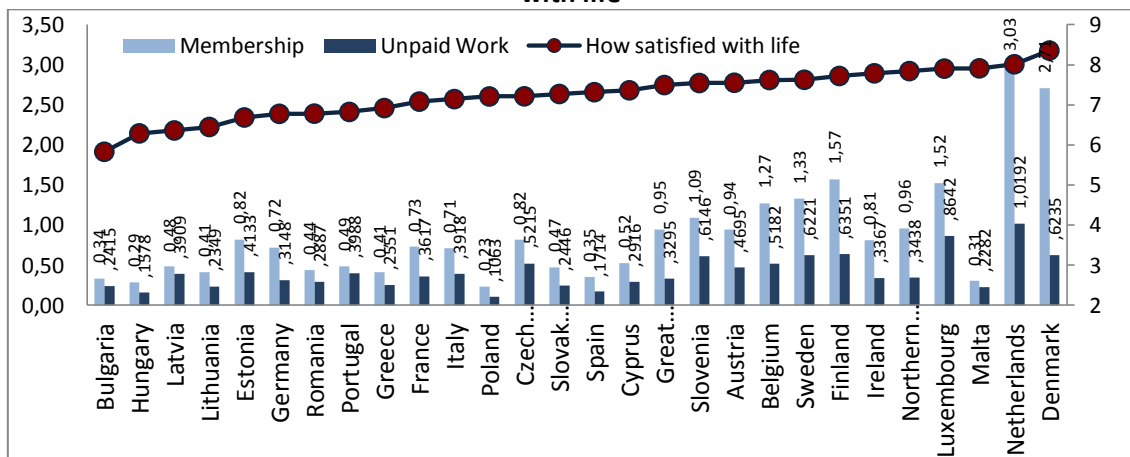
Figure 15 – Membership and unpaid work in civic associations by GNP 2008 (EU27)



Membership: $r = 0,350$; $p < 0,001$ - Unpaid work: $r = 0,174$; $p < 0,001$

Nevertheless, this process of change, as can be concluded from the results shown in Figures 17 and 18, is closely related to objective economic conditions, such as gross domestic product per capita, as well as to more subjective conditions such as the level of life satisfaction that respondents express. The correlated results confirm this interdependence, which is clearly reflected in both charts.

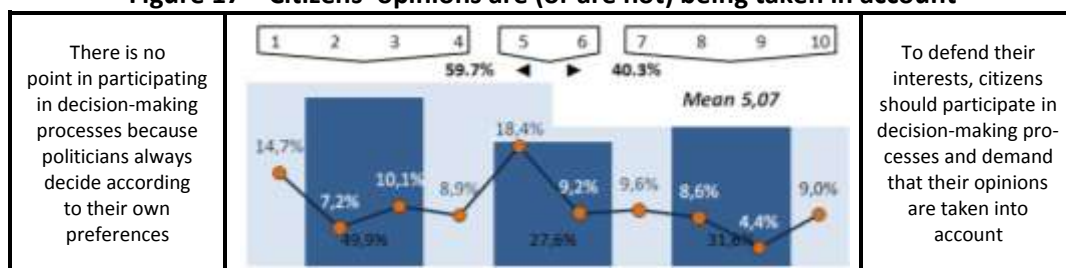
Figure 16 – Membership and unpaid work in civic associations correlated with satisfaction with life



Membership: $r = 0.175$; $p < 0.001$ - Unpaid work: $r = 0.119$; $p < 0.001$

The greater their disposable income and the more satisfied respondents feel with their lives, the more likely they are to belong to or work for a civic association. This raises the question of the effect of the current economic crisis, the worsening of which could eliminate the gains that have been made in encouraging the Portuguese (and other Europeans also under economic pressure) to participate in civic society.

Figure 17 – Citizens’ opinions are (or are not) being taken in account



One reason often given for this low level of civic mobilization is an ingrained belief that participating will not produce any results (Schmidt, Nave and Guerra, 2005; Vasconcelos, 2006). Figure 19 shows the results of an attempt to assess this Portuguese trait and to understand the extent to which respondents believe in effective participation. The results show that few people believe without reservation that “to defend their interests, citizens should participate in decision-making processes and demand that their opinions are taken into account”. However, not many more express complete scepticism. We can perhaps state that, while far from showing an absolute consensus, most respondents describe themselves as being moderately sceptical (59.7% against 40.3%), with the average of 5.07 showing that the benefits of participation are not, after all, completely undervalued.

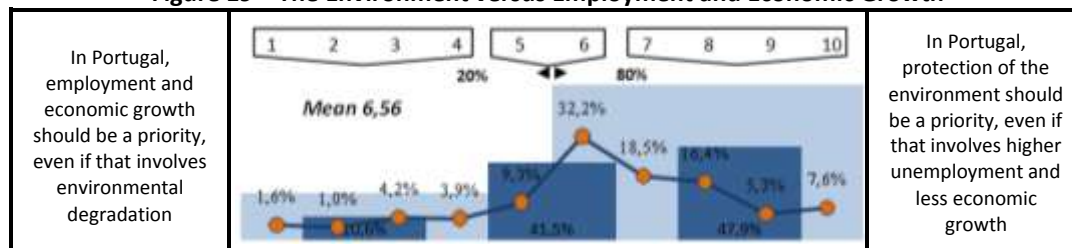
Figure 18 – Expert and technical knowledge versus the active participation of citizens



The position of respondents in relation to the opposing points of view shown in Figure 20 does not differ greatly to their responses to the previous question: 60% adopt a sceptical position (1 to 5), favouring “the contribution of technicians and experts”, while 40% have a more favourable view of the value of participation (6 to 10), based on the idea that “the active participation of citizens is a fundamental”. Nevertheless, intermediary positions have greater weight in relation to this issue, as shown by the higher percentages (27.1% and 12%) recorded

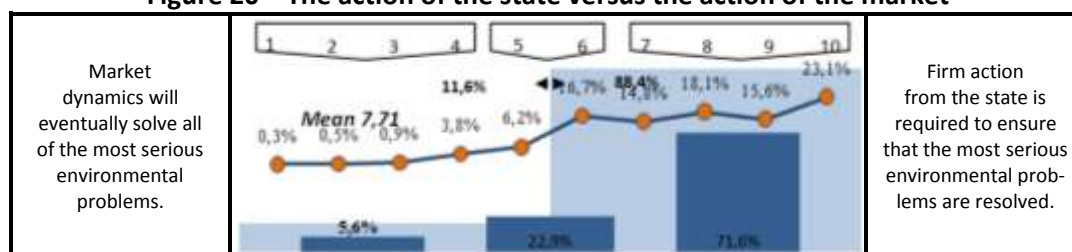
for points 5 and 6, midway on the scale. This perhaps represents a prudent stance that rejects more extreme positions and sees a need to balance expert knowledge with citizens' interests, recognising: *i)* the advantages of experts because on their know-how, and *ii)* the rights of citizens, who are usually the main stakeholders.

Figure 19 – The Environment versus Employment and Economic Growth



The Portuguese also expressed a desire to reconcile different social factors (*i.e.* employment, economic growth, markets and the environment). In spite of emerging signs of an economic and financial crisis and the increased difficulties this implies (although unemployment was then far from reaching its current high level), Portuguese respondents in 2008 adopt a clearly favourable position in regard to environmental protection, while at the same time stressing the importance of economic growth and employment (Figure 20). Adopting an unequivocal stance that contrasts with the previous, more ambiguous results, 80% of respondents agreed that “in Portugal, the protection of the environment should be a priority, even if that involves higher unemployment and less economic growth”, ranking this option between 6 (the most frequently selected position) and 10.

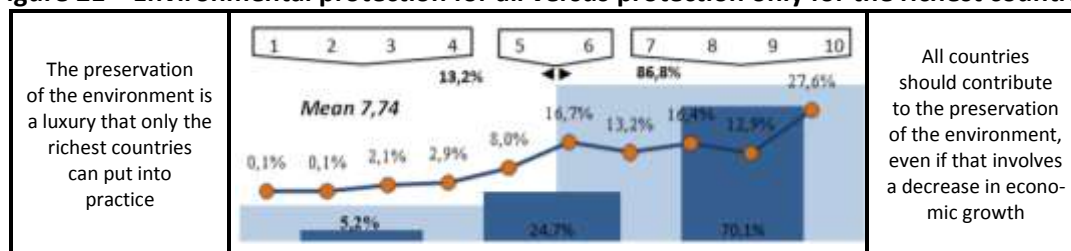
Figure 20 – The action of the state versus the action of the market



When asked what roles the state and the market should (Figure 21) play, the Portuguese place little faith in the latter, although the role of the market was initially supported by theorists of ecological modernisation (Mol and Spaargaren, 2000), perhaps because they feel that the traditionally non-interventionist civil societies - like that of Portugal - would not provide a sufficiently strong counterbalance to the market, a position that the theorists mentioned above also defended. Respondents appeared to align themselves with the more critical positions that see market forces as instruments of environmental domination and destruction

(Foster, 2002; York and Rosa, 2003). More than 90% of respondents opted for positions on the scale that unequivocally represent a firm position in defence of the environment (6 to 10), while only 11.6% trusted market dynamics to resolve current environmental problems (1 to 5).

Figure 21 – Environmental protection for all versus protection only for the richest countries



The results shown in Figure 22 can be seen as a corollary of the previous results. They show that respondents do not trust in the market as an agent for bringing about solutions to environmental problems, but also that they see ecological conditions as a serious issue that effects everyone, regardless of the status or economic power that states may have on a global level. This perhaps reflects the fact that we are facing the emergence of a “cosmopolitan imperative: cooperate or fail” (Beck, 2010). This imperative results from a perception of environmental risks as being partly hierarchical (because they principally affect weaker and less privileged social groups and communities), but mainly as being democratic (because of the difficulties of limiting their effects and consequences). From this perspective, evidence of global environmental degradation combines with the lowering of border controls to create a cosmopolitan imperative that is, in fact, global, encompassing all of humanity.

In short, the Portuguese appear to differentiate themselves from their European peers, through their lower level of institutional trust and their higher degree of scepticism in the effectiveness of civic participation. In spite of the continuous attrition they have undergone, particularly in recent years, public services (education, health, social security) merit the highest levels of trust among Portuguese respondents, together with the security forces and environmental NGOs. Political and judicial power are at the bottom of the table with the lowest trust ratings. This relatively high level of distrust (in a European context) in the institutions of political and closely related powers may partly explain the additional reservations Portuguese respondents express in relation to civic mobilization and democratic participation, as argued by Putnam (1993) and Fukuyama (1999).

At the same time and regardless of this distrust, civic association membership is growing across all sections of Portuguese society and is particularly strong in relation to associations

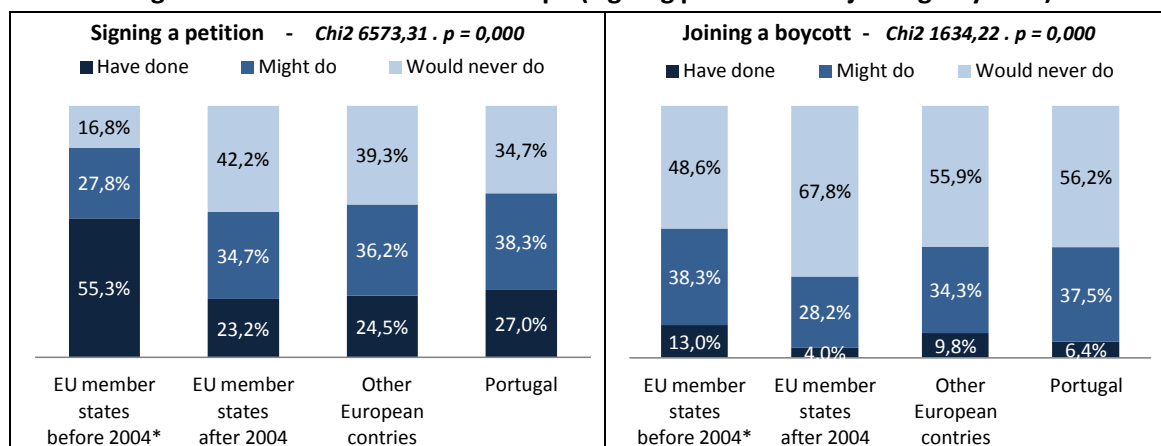
focused on new social issues (e.g. the environment, gender equality, peace, local development) and among younger, more educated social groups. This dichotomy between an increase in institutional distrust (mainly focused on the institutions of political power) and growth in civic mobilization through militancy and voluntary work in associations is perhaps an indication that the Portuguese feel a greater need to agitate and gain influence through associations because they do not trust in the more traditional institutions.

Because this is an embryonic process, however, the position of Portuguese respondents in relation to civic participation, its practical effects and the role that citizens play in policy decision-making, is not without contradictions. It remains to be seen whether the increased economic difficulties the country is experiencing will contribute to widening the gap between politico-economic power and civil society even further, relegating to a secondary position the environmental issues to which in 2008 respondents attributed more importance than economic growth, markets and employment. This is important to bear in mind, considering, as noted in the joint report of the *German Council of Economic Experts* and France's *Conceil d'Analyse Économique* français, that in spite of the progress that has been made in other contexts, "present paths of action, if persistently continued into the future, might well turn out to be unsustainable. In that case, they might require sharp and painful adjustments and perhaps even cause socially costly crises" (GCEE/CAE, 2011:142).

5 – ACTING FOR THE ENVIRONMENT

While Robert Putnam suggests that we have witnessed a decline in the political participation of citizens in recent decades and, consequently, in the quality of democracy (Putnam, 2000), other authors believe there have been changes that mainly serve to strengthen interest in alternative, unconventional forms of participation. (Norris, 2002; Dalton, 2008). In terms of the latter view, which seems to align more closely with the data we have analysed, it is important to examine the means and types of action respondents opt for as a way of acting (or not acting) in favour of the environment: are these actions more collective or more individual, more inclined towards protest or more acquiescent, guided more by ethical principles or personal interests?

Figure 22 – Political action in Europe (signing petitions and joining boycotts)



To analyse the degree to which people were prepared to take political action, we chose two options: signing petitions and boycotting determined products or services. As shown in Figure 24, it is in the countries that joined the EU before 2004 (excepting Portugal, to facilitate the analysis) where these two actions are found to be most frequent, reaching twice the level found in other European countries. The response pattern of Portuguese respondents is again similar to that found among the most recent EU members and the diverse group of European countries that do not belong to the EU. According to these results, civic intervention seems to depend on the social context and the levels of trust that the recent past has produced in society.

Figure 23 – Political action in Europe (signing petitions and joining boycotts)

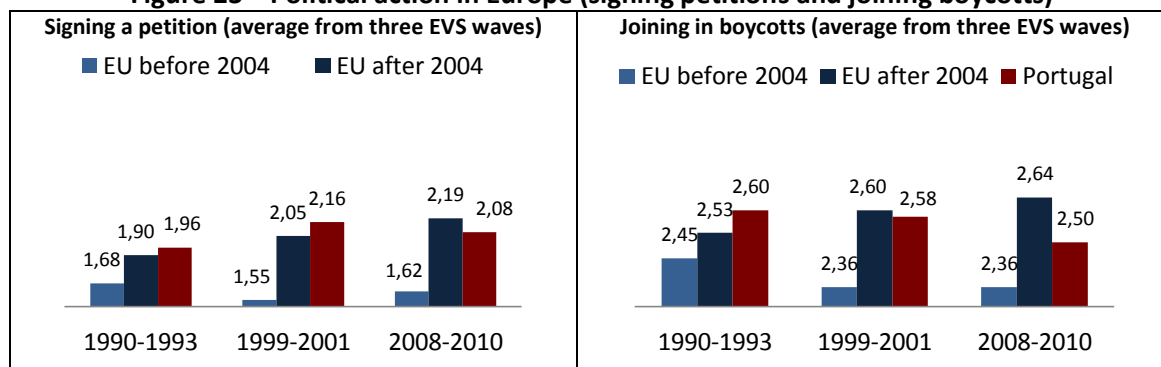
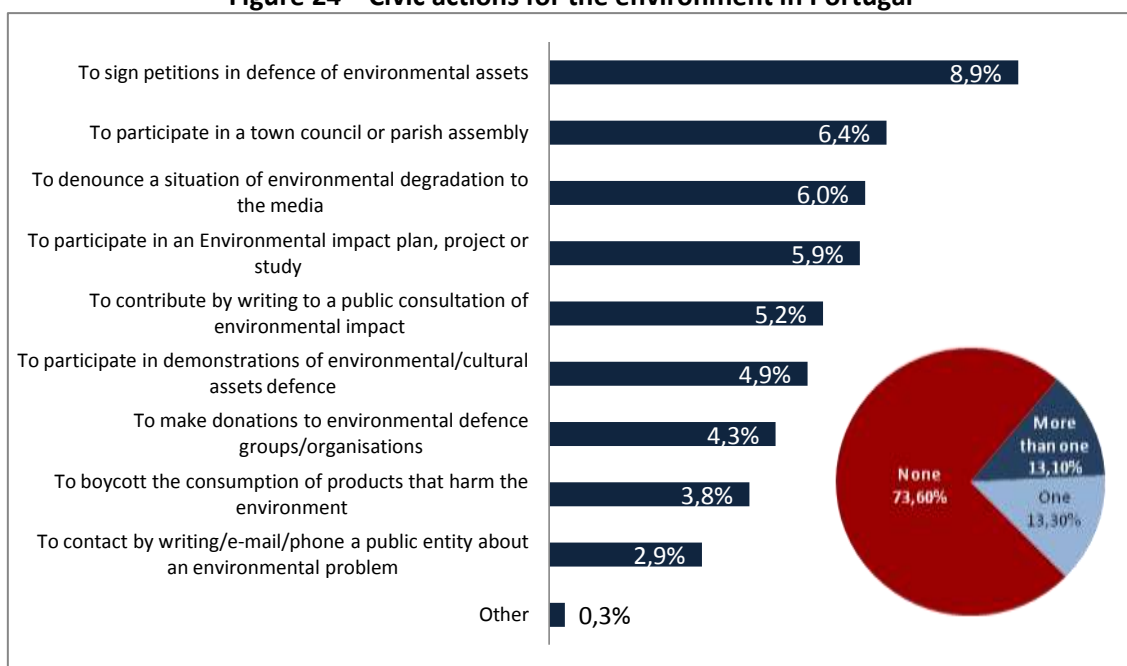


Figure 24 shows a slight increase in this type of participation, especially in regions where democracy is beginning to be established or consolidated (*i.e.* the former Soviet bloc), but there are also signs of regression in core European countries where, as noted previously, other types of more demanding practices requiring greater commitment (e.g. association membership, voluntary work) are found more frequently (see Table 1) and also in Portugal, where the decline is less marked. Confining ourselves to these two variables — where there is little likelihood of any dramatic developments either in Portugal or in other European

countries - the data seem mainly to indicate a degree of stabilisation, as argued by Linssen et al. (2011), with no significant decline in citizens' interest in political action nor a transfer from conventional to unconventional forms of political participation. At the same time, however, the growth of civic activity in Portugal through associations, as previously noted, leads to a different conclusion, confirming the idea of a transfer from conventional to unconventional forms of participation, as argued, for example, by Norris (2002) and Dalton (2008), and above all, to a need to examine the particular circumstances in question.

Figure 24 – Civic actions for the environment in Portugal



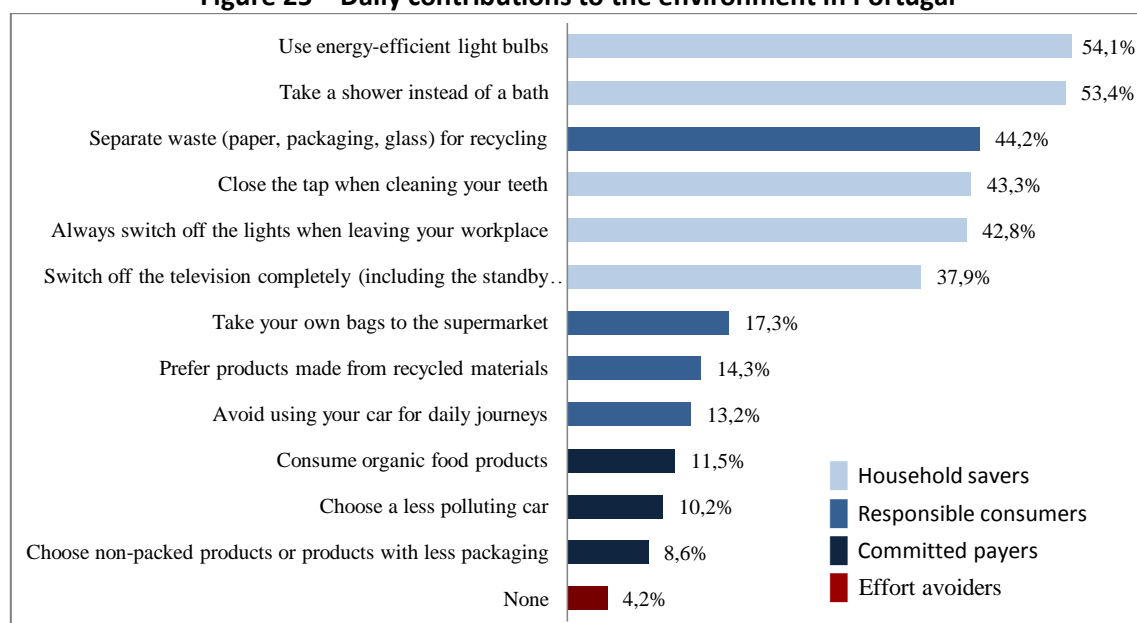
We now look at how Portuguese respondents feel about civic action, specifically in relation to environmental issues. As shown in Figure 25, the dominant tendency is for the Portuguese to refrain from action in this area: 73.6% of respondents said they had not been involved or participated in any of the actions listed; 13.3% said they had participated in only one action and 13.1% in more than one. The action in which most had participated was signing petitions (almost 9%), a result that reflects the possibility for signing petitions online that information technology now makes possible. Only about 6% of respondents had contributed in writing to a public consultation on environmental issues, participated in any assessment of environmental impacts or had been to a public meeting organised by a parish or town council.

In summary, the Portuguese appear to be little inclined to intervene socially, either in general terms, or in favour of the environment in particular, when compared with respondents in core EU countries. Age and, to a lesser extent, education do not appear to have a significant bearing

on the level of participation in different actions, either because of the small number of positive responses or because the lack of participation is common to all sections of Portuguese society. Only three exceptions were recorded with significant χ^2 values. These indicate a greater tendency among more educated respondents “to sign petitions in defence of environmental assets” (35.229, $p < 0,001$); “to participate in an environmental impact plans, projects or studies” (18.022 $p < 0,005$); and “to boycott the consumption of products produced by companies that harm the environment” (19.578, $p < 0,001$).

Do this mean we are witnessing a change towards social practices and behaviours that are more in line with a world that is less dependent on finite natural resources? Considering that that percentage of respondents prepared to take action in favour of the environment is so low, both in Portugal and in Europe as a whole, this is not an easy question to answer. As Giddens puts it: “for most people there is a gulf between the familiar preoccupations of everyday life and an abstract, even if apocalyptic, future of climate chaos (...) The vast majority are doing very little, if anything at all, to alter their daily habits, even though those habits are the source of the dangers that climate change has in store for us (Giddens, 2009: 1).

Figure 25 – Daily contributions to the environment in Portugal



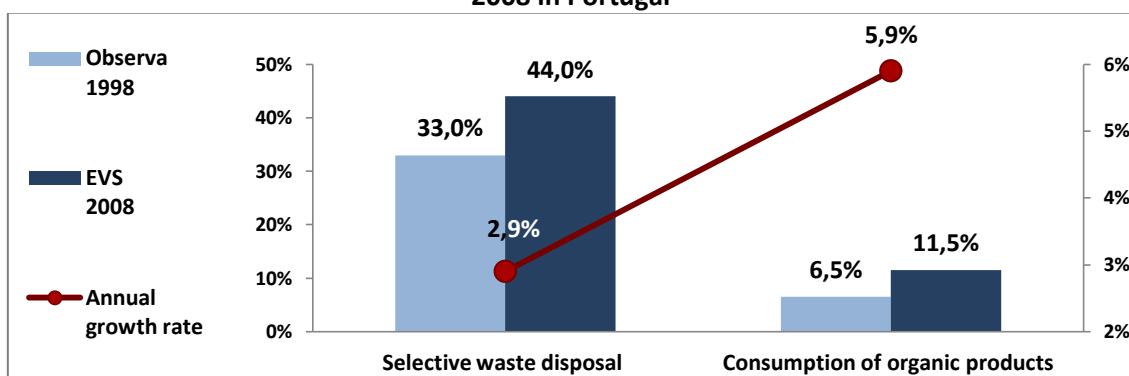
This makes it important to continue our analysis by focusing on other ways of contributing to environmental protection, which may be less consequential, but which are certainly easier to put into practice and can also help to balance household budgets. The response pattern shown in Figure 27 clearly reflects this desire to make savings. Actions requiring less effort, but providing greater savings in terms of domestic economies attract the highest percentages of

positive responses. We describe these respondents as “household savers”. These are people who, for example, use energy-saving light bulbs (54.1%), take showers rather than baths (53.4%), close the tap when cleaning their teeth (43.3%), always switch off the lights when leaving their workplace (42.8%), and do not leave electrical appliances on stand-by (37.9%). Although it is difficult to distinguish ethical from economic motivations (given that what could be called a “win-win” situation will apply in many cases), it is hard not to hypothesize that saving money at a time of economic crisis may be the most decisive factor in behavioural changes and new practices that also happen to be favourable in terms of environmental protection.

However, it also becomes clear from the results shown in Figure 26 that the number of categories and the percentages of positive responses tend to diminish as the amount of effort required increases. The group we describe as “responsible consumers” is mainly composed of people who sort their waste for recycling, which, thanks to a persistent policy led principally by municipal councils (Schmidt, Nave, Guerra, 2010), achieved a positive response rate of 44.2%. The level of positive responses for all the other actions in this category (taking your own bags to the supermarket; preferring products made from recycled materials; not using a car for daily journeys) is below 17.3%. Positive responses for the category of actions requiring the highest level of personal effort (“committed payers”) range between 11.5% and 8.6%. These, the most demanding actions, which offer no benefit other than protecting the environment, appear to be those most resisted by the Portuguese.

Only 4.2% of respondents said they did not practice any of the actions listed. These “effort avoiders” are already a small minority, which again may indicate that the change in attitudes, practices and behaviour implicit in the paradigmatic shift described by Dunlap (see, for example, Dunlap, 2008), may be slow, but seems to be producing results.

Figure 26 – Consumption of organic products and selective waste disposal between 1998 and 2008 in Portugal



It is therefore important to look for signs of evolution. Figure 27, which uses data from the Observa 1998 (Almeida, 2000) survey as well as from EVS 2008, shows clear growth in two environmentally favourable practices: *i*) sorting waste for recycling, which does not offer any supplementary advantage other than environmental protection, and *ii*) the consumption of organic products, with an even higher annual growth rate (5.9%), which requires additional expense as well as greater environmental awareness. It is important to examine whether this alteration is due to a change in values and social representations based on the so-called New Environmental Paradigm (NEP), whether it is the result of other factors with greater influence on certain sections of Portuguese society, or whether it reflects an increased availability of infrastructures and services, growth in markets etc.

6 – NEW ENVIRONMENTAL PARADIGM – A SHORT NEP SCALE

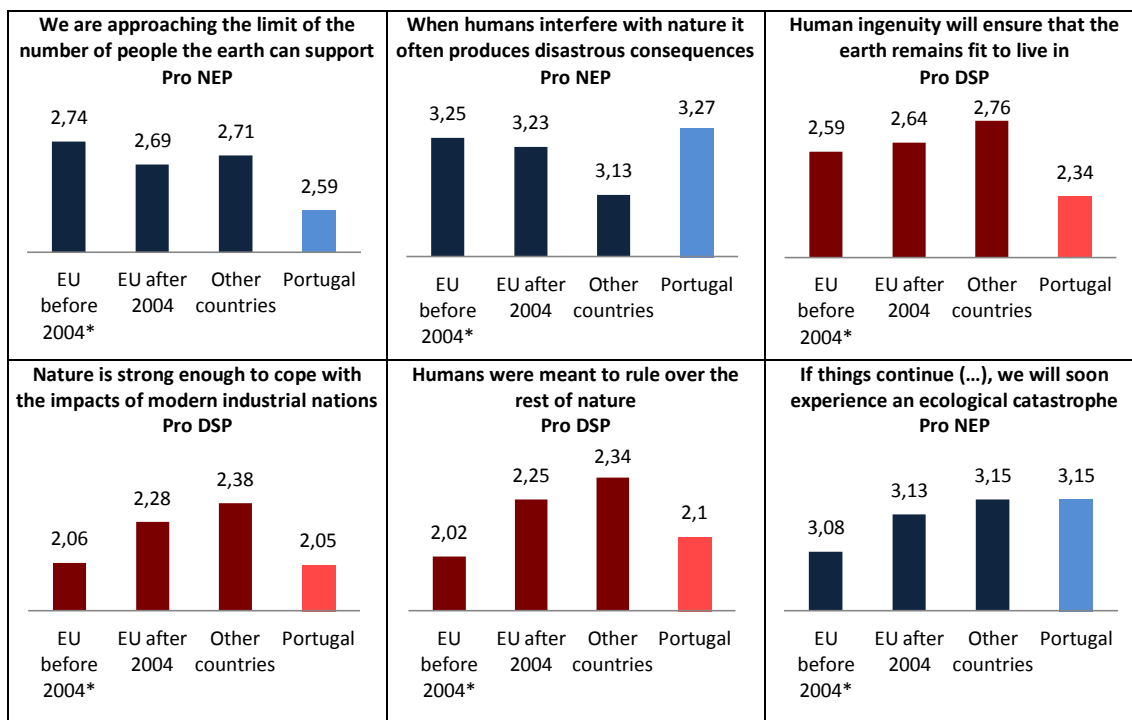
In the last decades of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century, a perception that environmental problems were becoming more global (depletion of the ozone layer; climate change) as well as more localized (water and soil pollution, accumulation of detritus and waste) began to be disseminated by the media, together with the implications for quality of life (Schmidt, 2003; Dunlap and York, 2008). These gradually began to trouble consciences and mobilize action in most societies.

As a result, we are witnessing a gradual replacement of the Dominant Social Paradigm (DSP) – based principally on human values and interests – by the emergence of a New Environmental Paradigm, which includes more global values centred on ecological balance (Catton and Dunlap, 1978, 1980; Dunlap, 1993, 2008; Dunlap and Catton 1979, 1993). In putting forward a scale to measure this evolution, Dunlap and Van Liere argued that “implicit within environmentalism was a challenge to our fundamental views about nature and humans’ relationship to it” (Dunlap, Van Liere, Mertig and Jones, 2000: 427). This implies a complex multidimensionality, which, in their revised version of 2000, the authors sought to cover through five different facets of the NEP: *i*) humanity’s ability to upset the balance of nature; *ii*) the existence of limits to growth; *iii*) humanity’s right to rule over the rest of nature; *iv*) a refusal of human exemptionalism, and *v*) the possibility of an eco crisis (*ibidem*).

This social transition from the DSP to the NEP occurs at different levels and at different speeds, involving contextual influences that determine a plurality of positions resulting from the interaction of social, economic and environmental constraints. It is thus important to look at

the Portuguese results in the context of Europe and to compare different socio-economic realities, given the complexity of a transition that involves reversals and contradictions.

Figure 27 – Average scores for six NEP items – Comparing Portugal with other European contexts

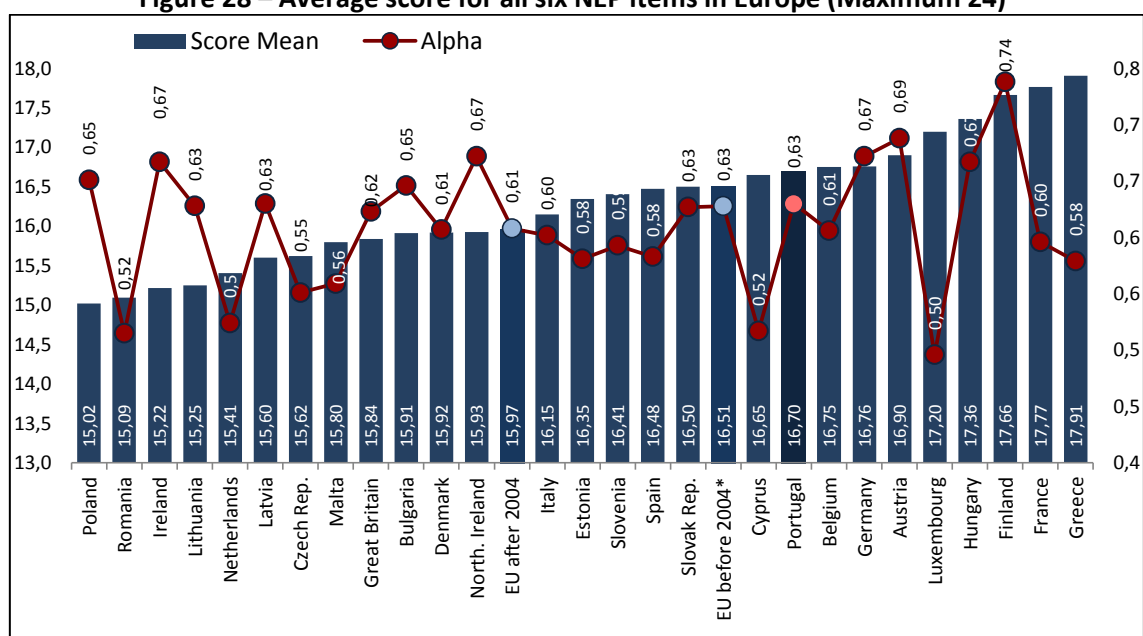


In fact, Figure 28 appears to confirm that the Portuguese share a particular worldview, which differs from that of other European respondents, depending on the degree to which they support pro-environmental positions. On some issues, Portuguese respondents hold contrasting views to those of their European counterparts (overpopulation; human ingenuity), on other questions, they share a similar position to that expressed in core European countries (human interference; the resilience of nature; humans as masters of nature), and, more rarely, their views are on some issues closer to those expressed in the former Soviet bloc (the possibility of an ecological catastrophe). In general, Portuguese respondents tend to agree more with pro-environmental statements and less with statements of a more anthropocentric character. The only exception is to be found in relation to the idea of an overpopulated world, perhaps because Portuguese society has for a long time experienced negative fertility rates (1.56 in 2008) that are well below the European average (1.71) and a long way from the critical rate of 2.1 required to ensure normal population renewal (EUROSTAT/EC, 2010: 32). This makes Portugal's "short-sighted" view of demographic growth understandable, given that it results from the country's poor overall assimilation of the causes and consequences of the environmental crisis.

To compare Portuguese views with those held in the rest of Europe, we examined the position of Portuguese respondents on an abridged scale that includes six points¹ taken from the 15 points used in a more ambitious scale (e.g. Dunlap, Van Liere, Mertig and Jones, 2000). Given the reduced size of the scale used (only six options), Cronbach's Alpha coefficient for all EU countries is not very high, but, nevertheless, reaches 0.620. The average correlation between the six points is 0.214. These two values show a reasonable level of consistency for an indicator composed of six points².

Assuming that this "short scale" of six items is capable of measuring paradigmatic change, it confirms that the Portuguese share a decidedly pro-environmental worldview, thus supporting previous results. The OBSERVA survey of 2000 found that "the relatively recent alterations that have occurred in Portuguese society have led to this change (...). Time and Portugal's increasing integration into the world political and economic system provide the best means for ensuring the coherence of the process" (Lima and Guerra, 2004: 63).

Figure 28 – Average score for all six NEP items in Europe (Maximum 24)



One of the six items was not applied in Sweden, thus this country is excluded from the analysis.

Even when compared with the core EU countries (Figure 30), Portuguese respondents score above average. This positive evolution, together with the level for Portugal of Cronbach's Alpha coefficient, confirms that the country is engaged in a gradual process of paradigmatic

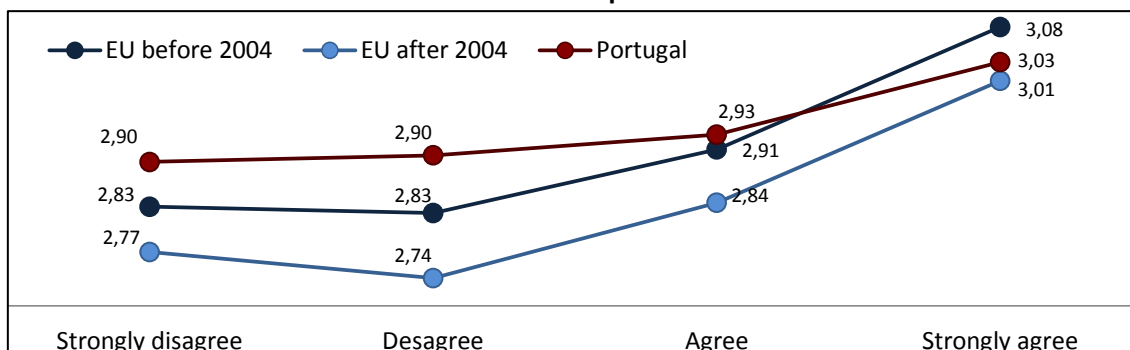
¹The scale was constructed by reclassifying the results from three pro-DSP items (see Figure 34) so that the highest values (4) corresponded to a pro-NEP point of view.

² Replies with at least four valid responses were used, while the country average for the respective point was used in the two instances in which no responses were given.

change. The Portuguese appear to have adopted a sufficiently consistent worldview, recognising the interdependence between human societies and ecosystems and rejecting any exemption of the human species from natural constraints. Taking into account the results of previous surveys and allowing for positive evolutions – for example in association membership - what still appears to be missing is a match between what the Portuguese think and believe they should do and what they actually do.

It was therefore important to ascertain whether the differences between these averages had any statistical significance. This was confirmed using the Welch test: 130,636 (46), $p = 0,000$. Applying Tukey's post hoc test showed that the results for Portuguese respondents (in regard to the NEP) did not differ for their counterparts in the longest-standing EU member states (countries that joined before 2004), but confirmed a statistically significant difference from respondents in the newest EU states (mainly countries from the former Soviet bloc).

Figure 29 – Average NEP score mean by willingness to give part of income to prevent environmental pollution



However, in spite of the consistency of the short scale, as confirmed by Cronbach's alpha, and the evolution that appears to have occurred in Portugal, the paradigm shift process is not without its contradictions. In the dynamic and daily interaction between values, interests, anxieties, needs and opportunities, the Portuguese appear to be limited by scarce economic resources, among other factors. This was already restricting their action in 2008 and will certainly restrict them more as a result of austerity measures stemming from the current sovereign debt crisis (Carmo, 2011).

It is relevant here to provide an analysis that contextualises this process within a broad range of related or potentially explanatory factors. To achieve this, we chose two separate statistical routes capable of complementing each other and helping to explain

the emergence/consolidation of a new worldview that implies rethinking both the place and role of humans in the global ecosystem and the global ecosystem itself:

- 1) **Pearson's Coefficient (r)** – aims to quantify the relationship that might exist between two metric scale variables. The coefficient ranges from -1.0 to +1.0, where -1.0 is a strong inverse relationship and +1.0 is a strong direct relationship.
- 2) **Standardized Coefficient (R^2)** – explains how much of the variability of a factor can be caused or explained by its relationship to another factor. It is computed as a value between 0 (0%) and 1 (100%), where the higher the value, the better the fit.

Table 2 – Correlations and access predictors for the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP)

Pearson Correlation r	Total $R^2 = .255$	Standardized Coefficients Partial R^2 and β
SOCIOGRAPHIC FEATURES		Adj. $R^2 = ,008$
,061*	Level of education	n.s.
-,051*	Age Group	n.s.
n.s.	Gender	n.s.
,067*	Occupational status of respondent	n.s.
-,079**	Size of town where interview was conducted	n.s.
ENVIRONMENT, PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL VIEWS		Adj. $R^2 = ,181$
,112***	Citizens participation - no point/very important	,125***
n.s.	Technical Know-how/Active citizens' participation	n.s.
,259***	Environment/economic growth and employment	,122***
,398***	State Action/Market Action	,299***
,323***	All countries/Only rich countries are pro-environment	,083*
n.s.	Interest in politics	n.s.
n.s.	Left/Right self-positioning	n.s.
CIVIC ASSOCIATION, TRUST AND LIFE EVALUATION		Adj. $R^2 = ,054$
-,125***	Overall membership and unpaid work	n.s.
-,105***	Environment and citizenship	n.s.
-,123***	Allegiance associations	n.s.
-,095***	Health and Welfare	n.s.
-,117***	Culture, Sport and Youth	n.s.
-,187***	Institutional confidence	-,193***
n.s.	Life self-control	n.s.
,083**	Life satisfaction	,127***
OPINION, ATTITUDE AND PRACTICES		Adj. $R^2 = ,094$
,194***	Assessment of the environment today	,141***
,242***	Opinion regarding CO2 emissions	,205***
,057*	Opinions regarding nuclear energy	n.s.
-,126***	Civic Actions for the environment	-,131***
n.s.	Giving part of income for the environment	n.s.
n.s.	Daily contribution for the environment	n.s.

*** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$

Based on previous theoretical work and considering the available indicators, we sought to use those that could, on one hand, reflect a respondent's social characteristics (e.g. schooling, age, gender, professional status, residential habitat) and, on the other, indicators related to sustainability, including: civic participation; the relationship between the state and the economy/market; association membership (militancy and voluntary work); political self-positioning (left/right); opinions regarding environmental problems; willingness to contribute and take effective action in favour of the environment; institutional trust and sense of control over/satisfaction with life.

In the case of Portugal, as can be seen in Table 2, several of the indicators have no predictive capacity (as measured by standardized coefficients), thus drastically limiting the number of indicators with significant R^2 s and β s. According to the results, even variables like political self-positioning, age, professional status, and schooling, which previously showed some consistency in relation to the NEP (Lima and Guerra, 2004; Dunlap, 2008) appear to fall far short of being able to predict the positioning of respondents, as measured by their NEP score.

However, the values of the simple correlations (r) are statistically significant for a large majority of the available indicators, and these, although not very expressive, enable us to conclude that the higher the professional status of respondents, the more educated and younger they are and the smaller their homes (and, tendentially, the further away from large urban centres), the higher their score on the short NEP Scale. This supports the idea put forward in previous studies that higher earning and more educated social groups are more likely to participate actively in civil society, more likely to be active in political parties, and more likely to lead protest movements and business associations as well as clubs, associations and local authorities (Nunes and Carmo, 2011). In professional terms, they are also, tendentially, more likely to be involved in research and development activities, professional training and environmental educational services run by NGOs and other institutions dedicated to the environment and environmental protection, such as botanical gardens, zoos, nature reserves etc. (Prata-Dias, *et. al.*, 2009).

In regard to the indicators grouped under the heading Environment, Participation and Political Views, the results show that Portuguese respondents who are: more demanding of firm action by the state ($r = 0.398$; $\beta = 0.299$); believe more strongly that environmental protection should be universal and concerns everybody ($r = 0.323$; $\beta = 0.083$); believe in the value of the environment as opposed to (or in spite of) economic needs ($r = 0.259$; $\beta = 0.122$); and attach greater importance to civic participation ($r = 0.125$; $\beta = 0.112$) are more likely to register high scores on the NEP Scale and, therefore, to share most of the new ecological values.

The fact that the NEP scores are determined (with guaranteed statistical evidence) neither by an interest in politics, political self-positioning - in spite of other studies that suggest the contrary (Dunlap, 2008; Dunlap and McCright, 2008) - or even by valuing the civic participation of citizens above the know-how of technical experts appears to result from the reduced explanatory capacity of the short NEP Scale. Using the full scale as proposed by its originators (Dunlap, Van Liere, Mertig and Jones, 2000) with these or other indicators scale would almost certainly produce different results.

In regard to the indicators grouped under the heading Civic Association, Trust and Life Evaluation, note should first be made of their weak explanatory capacity, with a variance of little more than 5% ($R^2 = 0.54$), perhaps because these indicators are based on very low participation rates. Only the more universal indicators (not dependant on individual acts) provide statistical evidence that the lower the level of institutional trust among respondents – and thus the greater their critical stance in regard to the functioning of institutions – ($\beta = -0.193$) and the greater their satisfaction with life ($\beta = 0.127$), the greater the probability that they will register a high NEP score.

Half the last group of indicators (Opinion, Willingness and Practices) show statistically significant β values. Firstly, “Civic actions for environment”, a composite variable that covers a range of possible actions, which, it is worth remembering, 73.6% of Portuguese respondents say they have never participated in (Figure 26), produces negative values (the greater the level of participation, the lower the support for NEP values) ($\beta = -0.131$). While acknowledging that this apparent contradiction requires further investigation, this result seems to stem mainly from the low levels of civic

activity found among the Portuguese, a tendency that does not correspond with the environmental values that they have more recently embraced.

This situation, incidentally, is not specific to Portugal, but global, and more apparent than real. In fact, in processes of social change, it is easier to make statements than to carry out actions, and a series of mismatches of this kind are to be expected (Campbell, 1963; Wallace, Paulson, Lord, and Bond, 2005). Questions of opinion in which the survey results correspond more closely with NEP values support the idea that discourse and action change at different speeds. The greater the concern of Portuguese respondents over the quality of the environment ($\beta = 0.141$) and the consequences of Co^2 emissions ($\beta = 0.205$), the closer they are to NEP values.

In short, these advances and retreats, as well as the alignments and inconsistencies between environmental practices and values, are part of a process in which the “ideal” seems to advance at a faster pace than the “real”, in a dynamic in which the distance between social aspirations (individual and collective) and the coercive realities of everyday life proves resistant and enduring (McCraven, 1988, Jackson, 2005). It is thus important to distinguish between public support for environmental movements and ecological values (tendentially broad, but also superficial and vacillating) and active participation in such movements, which in Portugal is considerably weaker than in many other European countries, although becoming more stable and determined (Buttel, 2010 [1997]: 44).

In this context, which, in the case of the Portugal, is becoming more pressurized, the country's diminutive levels of participation (be it in associations, civil society or in daily practices) count for little, and may even lag behind the so-called process of paradigmatic change. Nonetheless, it seems incontrovertible that this process of change is underway in Portugal (especially among younger, better skilled and more educated social groups), even if effective action is proving more difficult to take root. The benefits (and also the disadvantages) of the consumer society arrived in Portugal late and still exercise a strong power of attraction. It is in the light of this complex social context, determined by multiple endogenous and exogenous factors, that the

current relationship of the Portuguese with the new ecological values can be best understood.

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