



IMAGE: A MAP OF THE STARS OF THE ORION CONSTELLATION

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# Can They Say Anything?: Specious Justifications for Policy Positions

*Andrew Gooch*  
*Rowan University*

## ABSTRACT

Can messages from leadership affect views of the agencies that carries out policy? I conducted four survey experiments with U.S. samples of about 1,000 likely voters per experiment. Treatments randomized the quality of presidential messages, from reasonable to specious, and I evaluate how perceptions of the policy and the administering agency change from each message. The messages are purposely varied to be specious and ridiculous at times to test how agencies might be penalized by poorly constructed rhetoric. Results show that partisan leaders can increase support for their preferred policy and themselves, but perceptions of administrative agencies show little change. These results suggest that the dynamics of opinion formation for policies and leaders operate differently than opinion formation for the public agencies that might carry out policies.

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# Can They Say Anything?: Specious Justifications for Policy Positions

Andrew Gooch

## ABSTRACT

*Can messages from leadership affect views of the agencies that carries out policy? I conducted four survey experiments with U.S. samples of about 1,000 likely voters per experiment. Treatments randomized the quality of presidential messages, from reasonable to specious, and I evaluate how perceptions of the policy and the administering agency change from each message. The messages are purposely varied to be specious and ridiculous at times to test how agencies might be penalized by poorly constructed rhetoric. Results show that partisan leaders can increase support for their preferred policy and themselves, but perceptions of administrative agencies show little change. These results suggest that the dynamics of opinion formation for policies and leaders operate differently than opinion formation for the public agencies that might carry out policies.*

**Keywords:** policy support, elite communications, partisanship, experiments.

**Author:** Assistant Professor Department of Political Science and Economics Rowan University.

## I. INTRODUCTION

“And then I see the disinfectant, where it knocks it out in a minute,” President Donald Trump said about the possibility of using bleach to treat COVID-19 during a press conference. “One minute,” he exclaimed. “And is there a way we can do something like that, by injection inside or almost a cleaning? [Trump asks of CDC administrators.] Because you see it gets in the lungs and it does a tremendous number on the lungs.” (WSLS 10 Local News 2020). When

presidents make specious justifications like Trump’s bleach idea, how does the public react?

This study explores why elites, and in particular presidential candidates, are seemingly unconstrained by the justifications delivered to the public. This study uses the term “justifications”, which can be described as messages delivered by politicians to the public about policy (Broockman and Butler 2017; redacted). Justifications provide the reasoning for why the public should support or oppose a policy. Examples of political justifications can include slogans that are only a few words, a detailed press release, a letter to constituents, a statement made to the press, or a speech. The term broadly describes communications to the public by officeholders.

Justifications can be thought of as a type of emphasis frame in the sense that a politician can select one consideration (from a number of possible options) to explain their policy position (Tversky and Kahneman 1981; Druckman 2001). Emphasis frames are typically used to describe how the media covers an issue or event, and they are similar to justifications because both provide context. Likewise, justifications and emphasis frames can influence how the public views events, policies, and politicians (Broockman and Butler 2017; Iyengar and Kinder, 2010; Druckman 2001).

The analysis to follow varies the content of the justifications from reasonable, regularly used justifications to specious and uncommon. In other words, does the content of the justification matter? Or do politicians simply have to provide some reasoning for their position regardless of how cogent it is?

Testing specious justifications provides leverage on evaluating the persuasiveness of reasonable justifications. Thinking about justifications as a continuum from reasonable to specious, a study might have different conclusions about persuasion if treatments included justifications that were incoherent or ridiculous compared to reasonable ones. Outside of the experimental setting, most successful politicians rarely make a mistake of justifying a position with a specious justification that is wholly unreasonable or utterly ridiculous because they know it could jeopardize their presidency or candidacy. Most successful politicians use “message tested” justifications that they believe will persuade the public of their worldviews (Druckman and Jacobs 2016). The motivation behind this test of specious justifications is precisely because they are used infrequently. It is difficult to evaluate the persuasiveness of a reasonable justification without a specious comparison. In other words, to understand the power of reasonable justifications from politicians, it might be useful to compare them to specious ones. Therefore, specious justifications are used in this study for causal inference reasons, not because every politician uses them.

Some persuasion research downplays the role of justifications regardless of their content; instead, elites shape public opinion by using cues or heuristics (i.e., Lenz 2009; Achen and Bartels 2017). Moreover, the most efficient political cue that provides a shortcut to opinion formation is party identification (i.e., Zaller 1992). The most striking evidence comes from studies of opinion change over time that show an individual will switch their position on an issue after a public debate or campaign in order to match their representative instead of reconsidering their support for the representative (Broockman and Butler 2017). To that end, the experiments to follow will also measure the effect of partisan cues on support for policies separated from justifications.

This study focuses on views of policy and views of the agency tasked with carrying out the policy. Evaluating how the public views administering agencies is an important aspect of assessing

government performance that has gone somewhat overlooked in the otherwise vast amount of literature on policy representation. The public might not want an agency to execute a policy if the reasoning for that policy is specious. To evaluate views of agencies, I tested 1) whether justifications influenced views of the agencies tasked with administering these policies and 2) whether or not they affect a “thermostatic response” (the public wanting more or less funding for a given policy) (Wlezien 1995).

In the experiments to follow, I also vary the messenger and the policy. I randomly assigned issue positions and justifications to actual politicians while they were in office (e.g., Barack Obama, Joe Biden, and John McCain). Candidates are associated with positions that range from policies that are regularly occurring during campaigns (Social Security or education reform) to policies that are almost never observed during campaigns (colonizing the Moon). This variation is especially important because previous research suggests that a connection between the public and an agency is dependent on the saliency of an issue (Wlezien and Soroka 2012), and the policies used in this study are highly salient (taxes for Social Security), modestly salient (education reform), and not at all salient (colonizing the moon).

Results show that partisan cues and justifications can influence the support for policies, but the effect of specious justifications is not overwhelmingly different from reasonable ones except in the case of Social Security (a highly salient issue). In addition, the views of agencies are not affected by specious or reasonable justifications regardless of the issue. This suggests that views of public administration are somewhat detached from the rhetoric and policy positions of presidents and presidential candidates.

## II. THEORETICAL EXPECTATIONS: JUSTIFICATIONS, CUES, AND THE THERMOSTATIC PUBLIC

Decades of political science research demonstrates that elites can shape public opinion by using partisan cues to generate support for issues (Converse 1964; Zaller 1992; Achen and

Bartels 2017). Voters only need to know the party of the elite in order to cue support or opposition to a policy (Zaller 1992). It could be the case that poorly constructed justifications are secondary to partisan cues. These observations led to the conclusion that voters are “following” elites for various reasons, such as trusting the party, but none of which have to do with the content of policies or justifications (Lenz, 2013). Therefore, elites might have a lot of leeway when making public statements – if the public simply follows along with cueing, then the content of the justification or policy will be irrelevant. As robust as the findings on cues might be, elite discourse tends to contain more than just cues – elites do not just announce their issue positions and party identification in isolation. Elites will give reasons for their positions.

Justifications include different frames meant to persuade the public. Framing effects are characterized as either a semantic difference of the same object or an emphasis of one relevant consideration about an object while ignoring others (Tversky and Kahneman 1981; Druckman 2004; Chong and Druckman 2007). For example, an individual might support a hate rally in her town if a justification for it is framed in terms of free speech, but the same individual might oppose a hate rally if it is framed in terms of public safety (Iyengar 1987; Druckman 2004). Therefore, emphasis frames from elites are justifications that provide individuals with reasons why they should support or oppose an issue by emphasizing “a subset of potentially relevant considerations” about a policy (Druckman and Nelson 2003, 730). These justifications can also be transmitted from peer-to-peer, not just top-down from elites (Druckman and Nelson 2003). And since the knowledge of citizens is limited, a justification can help citizens make a more informed opinion about policy. For example, those at the lower level of the political knowledge spectrum benefit the most from competing arguments about policies (Sniderman and Theriault 2004).

But not all justifications are equal in quality, and some are more effective than others. Justifications can be strong or weak, and the way in which scholars determine their strength is very

straight-forward. Respondents are simply asked to rate the effectiveness of different justifications, from very persuasive to not at all persuasive (Druckman 2004; Chong and Druckman 2007; Druckman 2010). Most of the results on the strength of justifications are intuitively pleasing. Strong justifications can drastically move opinion if it is the only statement presented to an individual, and strong justifications are more persuasive than weak justification (Druckman 2010). However, field experimental evidence shows that minimal and extensive justifications have roughly the same effect on adoption of policy positions from a state representative, suggesting that the strength of justifications might be secondary (Broockman and Butler 2017).

The present study goes a step beyond weak or minimal justification. The experiments to follow randomized justifications and policies that are wholly specious or ridiculous. Aside from Donald Trump, a common occurrence in American politics involves politicians using similar policies and justifications as their co-partisans to promote policies. These positions (and the messages used to justify them) are not randomly determined and are rarely haphazardly decided upon. In fact, elite justifications are usually predictable -- parties tend to coalesce around one policy and only a handful of justifications are used to support that policy. While justifications have become more specious in recent years, including the bleach example, we know comparatively little about how voters evaluate government leaders or agencies who use specious justifications.

Politicians and parties try to limit the policy choices and justifications that are supported publicly. Elites strategically pick issues that can benefit their party (Cox and McCubbins 2005; Sniderman and Bullock 2004). Elites only present the “menu” of policy choices that benefit them, which only gives the public a handful of policies to choose from (Sniderman and Bullock 2004). Moreover, policies that receive roll call votes are strategically decided by parties while undesirable policies are purposely kept off the agenda (Cox and McCubbins 2005). I extend this logic from issue position to include justifications. From this perspective of menu dependence (Sniderman and

Bullock 2004), when voters switch issue positions to match their preferred candidate, they are attempting to maintain consistency given the available menu of issues and justifications. And that menu is usually very limited, sometimes only one policy options with competing justifications. This reality makes it difficult for researchers to evaluate the causal effects of a range of different justifications, most of which might be strategically left off the ‘menu’. The experiments to follow expand the menu of options to include specious policies and justifications as a way of providing a fuller picture of the influence of elite messaging.

This study extends previous research on elite cues and justifications to include views of administrating agencies and their spending priorities. Important studies exist showing a dynamic between the public and agencies. Agencies react to public opinion, and governing institutions can change the public’s preferences for policies by changing spending priorities (Wlezien, 1995; Wlezien and Soroka, 2012). Governing agencies can spend more money on programs to match policy demand from citizens, and as a result, the public becomes less demanding for a given policy. These results are consistent in the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada. This relationship between institutions and the public demonstrates a “thermostatic model” where demand and policy move in opposite directions (Wlezien,1995). The public needs “clarity” on what agency is responsible for which policy, and therefore, the public still must rely on elite cues and communication to evaluate agencies. The experiments that follow evaluate how policy preferences and spending priorities of agencies change from partisan cues and justifications.

### III. EXPERIMENTAL METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Policies Selected

Two outcome measures for each experiment tap into policy or agency support. Respondents are asked about support for colonizing the moon and increasing funding to NASA (experiment one and two), support for lengthening the school day and increasing funding to the Department of

Education (experiment three), and support for increasing taxes to pay for Social Security benefits (experiment four). The reasoning behind picking these policies is explained below.

I varied the policies and agencies in terms of familiarity. By familiarity, I mean the level of exposure to an issue from elite messaging (Zaller, 1992). Unfamiliar issues are not debated regularly by elites, and therefore, most individuals have not been exposed to any messages about unfamiliar issues (Zaller 1992). If the public is less familiar with an issue, they might be less likely to reject a specious justification associated with it. This design provides leverage on the effect of cues and justifications with different baseline levels of familiarity for policies and agencies.

Colonizing the moon is an issue that is not only unaligned with party identification, but it is also an issue that most citizens have never thought about (although space travel has received increase interest in recent years, fielding of this study in 2014 pre-dates those trends). Perhaps as a last-ditched effort to win the Republican presidential primary elections in 2012, Newt Gingrich declared that America “will have the first permanent base on the moon” if elected, but this policy understandably was not taken seriously by other candidates or the media (Sneed, 2012). In fact, colonizing the moon is such an unfamiliar issue that I cannot find any reliable polling data on it before fielding this experiment. But just to reiterate, picking an unfamiliar and possibly specious policy provides leverage on the limits of partisan cues and justifications.

Increasing the length of the school day is a more familiar issue than colonizing the moon. Voters might have heard the debate about lengthening the school day at the state or local level, have children in public school, or simply attended public school themselves, and therefore might be familiar enough with the issue to provide an opinion when asked. Increasing the length of the school day became law in five U.S. states by 2014 (Colorado, Connecticut, New York, Tennessee, and Massachusetts). Former New Jersey Governor Chris Christie argued in his 2014 State of the State address, “I believe we need to take

bigger and broader steps to adjust our approach to K-12 education to address the new competitive world we live in. ... It is time to lengthen both the school day and school year ... student achievement is lagging at the exact moment when we need improvement more than ever in order to compete in the world economy..." (CBS Philadelphia 2014). Public opinion data about increasing the length of the school day indicates that the issue was not aligned by party. A poll conducted by The Times Union and Siena College in New York in June of 2014 found that 36 percent of Republicans and 37 percent of Democrats favor increasing the length of the school day. Moreover, a poll conducted in Virginia in 2008 found that 36 percent of Republicans and 39 percent of Democrats favor increasing the length of the school day.

In my fourth experiment, I tested one very familiar policy proposal, Social Security reform, which elites debate regularly. For example, Social Security was the most salient issue in the 2000 presidential election. George W. Bush also picked Social Security reform as his major policy goal after the 2004 election. In my experiment, I tested a proposal to raise the Social Security contribution rate for high income earners, and my justification for this reform mirrors an argument used by the Obama Administration. Although there is disagreement at the elite level, Democratic and Republican voters agree on the importance of Social Security. For example, Pew Research reports that 74% of American do not want Social Security benefits cut.

### *3.2 Randomized Conditions and Outcome Measures*

The design of all four experiments is similar. Outcome measures asked respondents their support for a policy and support for the agency that administers the policy. The control groups simply asked these questions with no additional information. Each treatment arm builds on the control groups by adding additional information for the respondent to consider. Partisan cue groups added an endorsement of the policy from a well-known partisan. From experiment one to four, my partisan cues are President Barack Obama, Presidential Candidate John McCain,

Vice President Joe Biden, and President Barack Obama. The remaining treatment arms build on the partisan cue groups by adding justifications for why the partisan supports the policy. By including a partisan cue in all treatment groups, I can measure the additional support that is generated by the justification.

Justification treatments include variation on the quality of the message delivered by elites. The text of each can be found in Table 1. Note that the colonizing the moon justification is considered specious because no lifesaving minerals exist on the Moon. Each column summarizes a given experiment and should be read vertically. Each subsequent row starting from the top includes only new information that is added in the treatment. See appendix for full questionnaires. If specious justifications advocated by elites are effective in increasing support for a policy or agency, then the content of the justification is less important, and therefore, voters are simply taking cues from elites.

Table 1: Summary of Each Randomized Treatment Arm

	Social Security Reform	Lengthening the School Day	Colonizing the Moon
<b>Control</b>	Would you favor or oppose a proposal to raise the Social Security contribution rate for high income individuals, or haven't you thought much about this?	Would you favor or oppose increasing the length of the school day by an hour for Kindergarten through 12th grade, or haven't you thought much about this?	Would you favor or oppose colonizing the moon, or haven't you thought much about this?
<b>Partisan cue</b>	Would you favor or oppose a proposal by President Barack Obama...	Would you favor or oppose a proposal by Vice President Joe Biden	Would you favor or oppose a proposal by President Barack Obama (experiment 1) / former presidential candidate John McCain (experiment 2)...
<b>Cue plus reasonable justification</b>	... because all seniors should be able to retire with dignity, not just a privileged few...	... in order to keep American students competitive in the global economy in science and math...	(not applicable)
<b>Cue plus specious justification</b>	... because all seniors should be able to go on more vacations...	... in order to teach vocational skills in areas America is still competitive like cosmetology and automotive repair...	... in order to discover potentially lifesaving minerals not available to doctors on earth...

### 3.3 Sample

This study uses data from four survey experiments administered online in 2014 by the survey research firm Penn, Schoen and Berland (PSB). Total sample size across all experiments is 3,923. PSB recruits respondents for surveys with pre-treatment characteristics to mirror a likely voter sample. They create their samples using marginal distributions by age, gender, and race. These respondents are then sent emails to take the survey. For this study, subjects must have said that they voted in the 2012 presidential election at the beginning of the survey. Those who did not self-identify as a voter were removed from the

survey. This makes my sample more interested in, and knowledgeable about, politics than a general population sample. Lastly, I did not weight the data to match a voting sample. Miratrix, Sekhon, Theodoridis, and Campos (2018) argued that unweighted analysis of experimental data is preferred because weighting does not improve estimates and would require a larger sample size to compensate for the loss in statistical power. I am most interested in differences between treatment and control, and the analysis to follow focuses on these differences. See the online appendix for sample demographics and balance tests demonstrating that the randomization was successful.

### 3.4 Treatment Effect Models

I estimated ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions, although I present the results graphically in the results section:

$$Support_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Cue_i + \beta_2 Justification 1_i + \beta_3 Justification 2_i + \delta Controls + e_i.$$

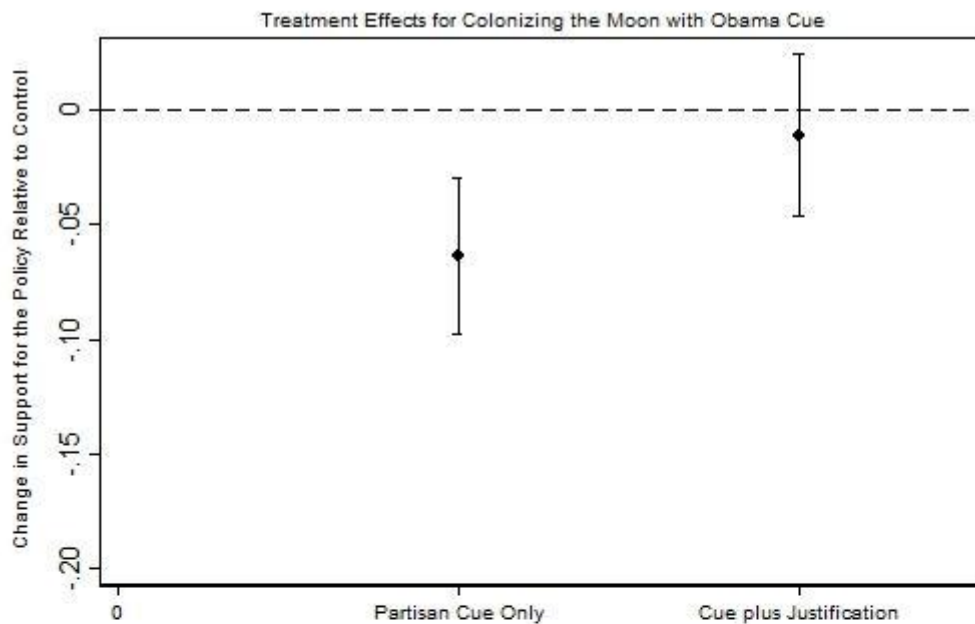
All dependent variables are scaled from zero to one, with higher values indicating more positive evaluations for the policy or agency. All independent variables, including controls, are indicator variables (1=yes, 0=no). The excluded treatment arm is the control group, such that  $\beta_1$ ,  $\beta_2$ , and  $\beta_3$  are all differences from the control and therefore measure treatment effects. I present these results graphically to show differences from the control group. The vector *Controls* included a number of variables meant to account for expected differences in my dependent variables including party identification, age, race, gender, education, and region of the country that the respondent resides. I use controls even though the data comes from random assignment in order to reduce error that arises from sampling variability (Gerber and Green, 2012). Therefore, my treatment results are covariate adjusted. Full regression results appear in the appendix on the author's website. In the appendix, I also run each model stratified by five-point party identification to show heterogeneous effects, and these results are noted in-text when they differ from the main result. Sample size is limited when stratifying by party, so those results are estimated with more error.

## IV. RESULTS

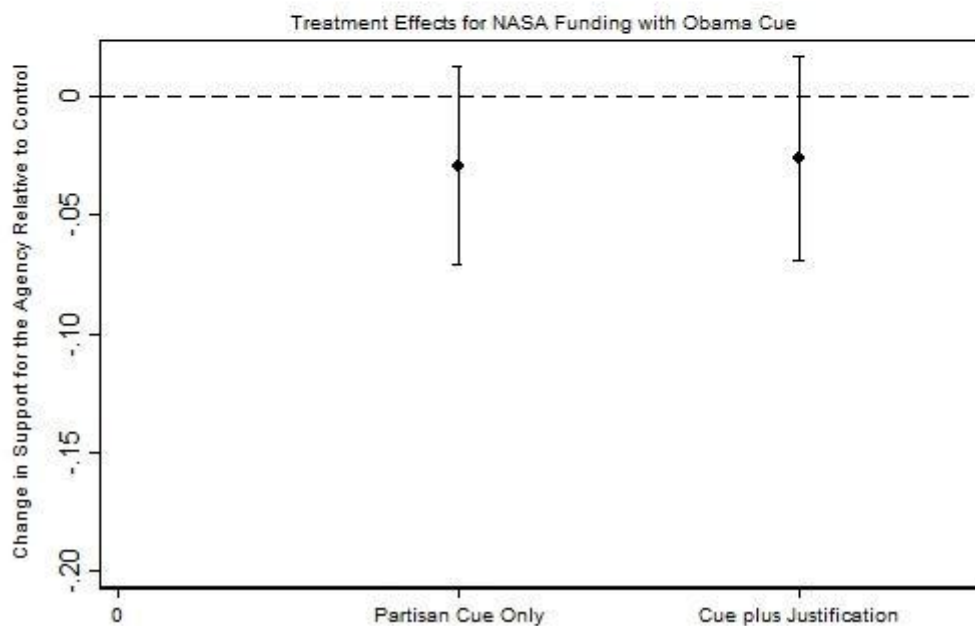
All figures are formatted identically. The dotted lines in each plot represent evaluations in the control group, and each point is the difference from the control with 95 percent confidence intervals. Confidence intervals that cross the dotted line, therefore, indicate no difference compared to the control. The top panel of each plot are policy support and the bottom panel is support for the agency (when applicable). Please note that I report in-text treatment effects with p-values regardless if they reach the traditional threshold of significance – this is done for

completeness so that all results are reported regardless of their significance.

In Figure 1, I start with results from experiment one. I find a 6.4 percentage point drop ( $p < .001$ ) in support for colonizing the Moon when only Barack Obama is associated with the policy. This suggests that a cue alone reduces support for an unfamiliar and potentially specious policy. These results are consistent with past experimental research that shows a partisan cue alone can only serve to reduce (reasonable) policy support (Nicholson, 2012). When looking at these results by party, I find that this reduction is concentrated among Republicans (the out-party relative to the partisan cue) and Independents. The cue plus justification group, however, improves on the cue group but only reaches levels that are indistinguishable from the control group. That is, I find a 1.1 percentage point drop ( $p = .54$ ) in support for colonizing the Moon when Obama justifies the policy with a justification about finding lifesaving minerals on the Moon. These results mask heterogeneous effects. Strong Democrats are significantly more likely to favor the policy with a justification, and strong Republicans are significantly more likely to oppose. In the bottom panel of Figure 1, I display the second outcome measure of funding for NASA. This question considers whether or not the specious policy and justification can influence views of the agency that is known for space exploration. I find no spillover to the governing agency even when I find reduction in support for the policy. I find a 2.9 percentage point drop ( $p = .17$ ) in support for NASA with an Obama cue and a 2.6 percentage point drop ( $p = .24$ ) in support with a cue and justification. Taken together, policy support can change from cues and justifications, but views of the agency remain unmoved even with a specious policy and justification.



n=1,002. Plotted quantities are change in policy support relative to the control group with 95% CI. Lincom estimates from regression with controls. See Appendix for full results.



n=1,002. Plotted quantities are change in agency support relative to the control group with 95% CI. Lincom estimates from regression with controls. See Appendix for full results.

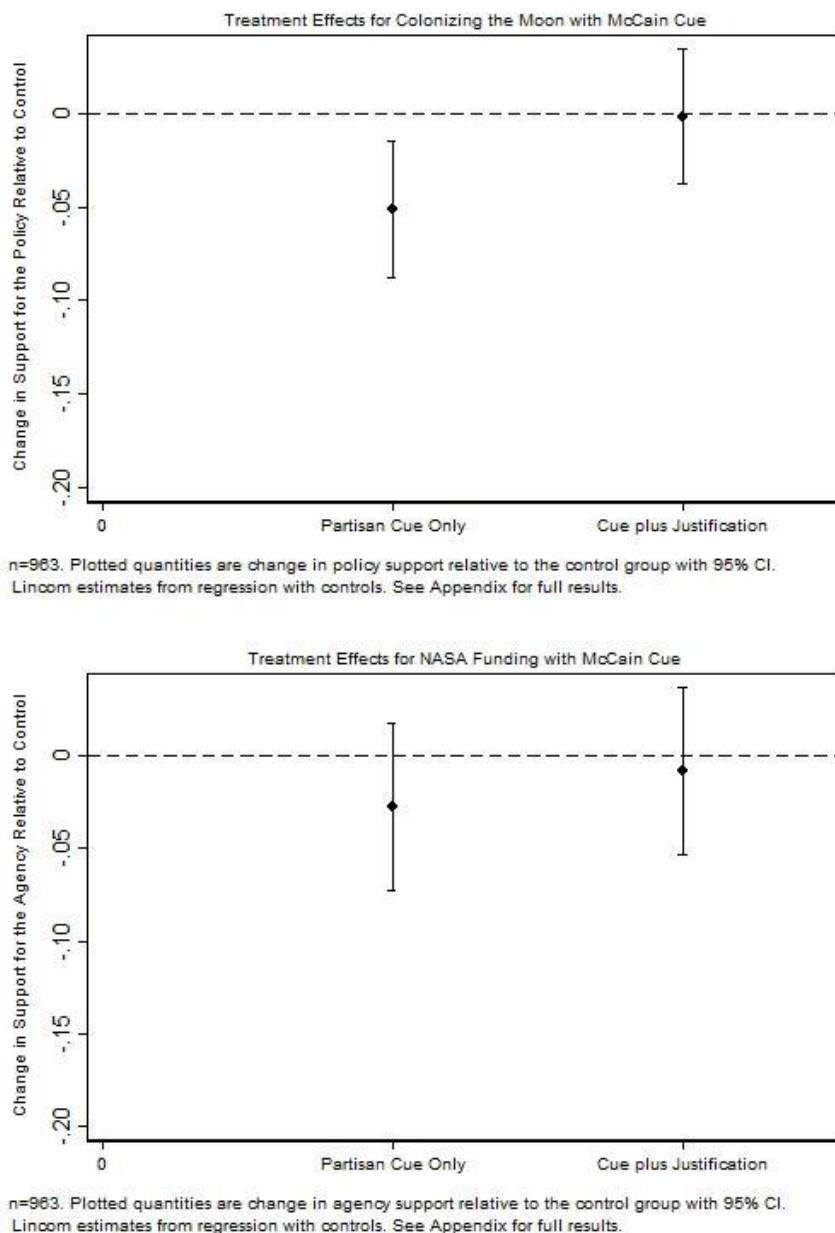
*Figure 1:* Experiment 1, Support for Colonizing the Moon and NASA Funding

Experiment two replicates experiment one but with a Republican partisan cue, former presidential candidate John McCain. The findings in Figure 2 are strikingly similar to experiment one. I found a significant reduction in support for colonizing the Moon with a partisan cue only, and I find no difference between the control and the

cue plus justification group. Like experiment one, the justification seems to compensate for the reduction in support that is found with a partisan cue only. Specifically, I find a 5.2 percentage point drop ( $p = .006$ ) in support for colonizing the Moon with a McCain cue and a 0.2 percentage point drop ( $p = .91$ ) in support with a cue and

justification. Likewise, results for NASA funding mirror my results in experiment one, which show no significant differences between either treatment groups and the control group. I find a 2.7 percentage point drop ( $p = .24$ ) in support for NASA with a McCain cue and a 0.8 percentage point drop ( $p = .73$ ) in support with a cue and justification. Taking experiment one and two

together, my results suggest that public perceptions of NASA are durable when connected to a specious issue, and this result is consistent across partisan cues. In addition, the justification does not improve support for the policy compared to the control group, suggesting that justifications do not move respondents toward a potentially specious policy.



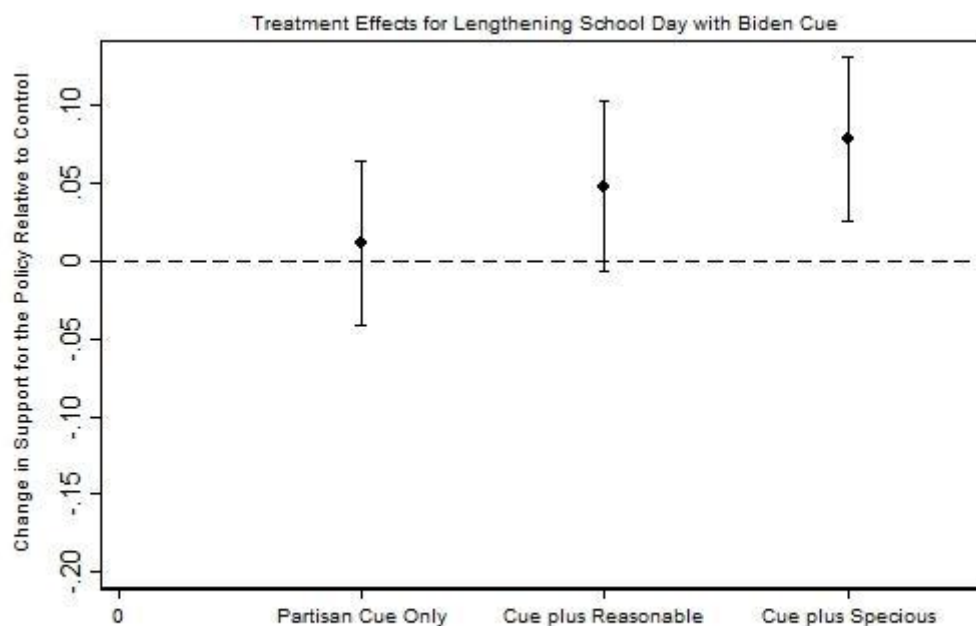
*Figure 2:* Experiment 2, Support for Colonizing the Moon and NASA Funding

What about when the policy is not specious but one of the justification is? Experiment three tests lengthening the school day with a partisan cue, a reasonable justification, and a specious

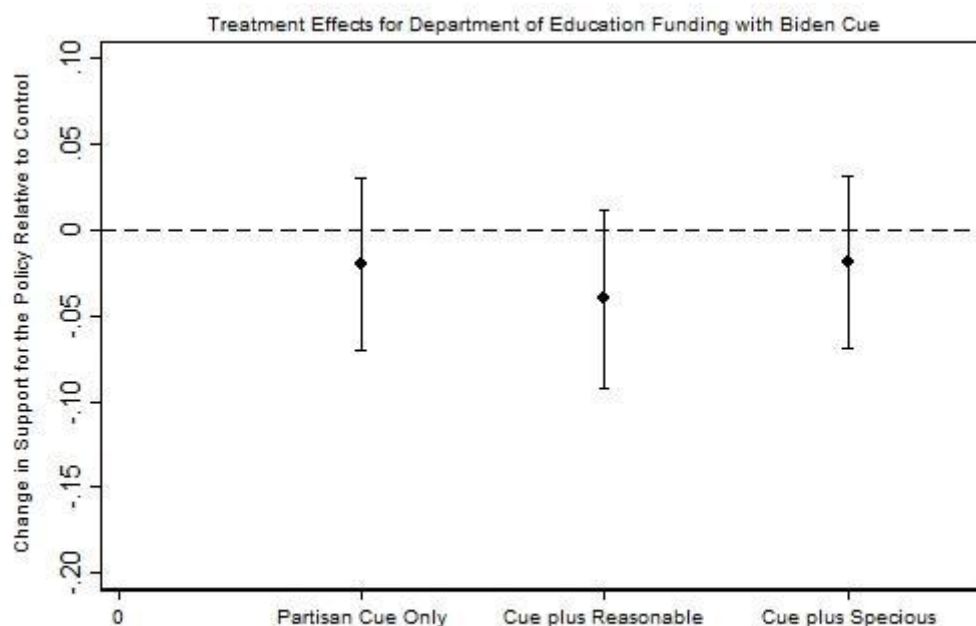
justification. These results can be found in Figure 3. The pattern of policy support is different than colonizing the Moon. Instead, the partisan cue shows almost no difference from the control

group, but cues with justifications increase support relative to the control. I find a 1.1 percentage point increase ( $p = .67$ ) in support for lengthening school with a Biden cue, a 4.8 percentage point increase ( $p = .08$ ) in support with a cue and justification about increasing competitiveness in the global economy, and a 7.8 percentage point increase ( $p = .004$ ) in support with a cue and justification about remaining competitive in more populist industries. Interestingly, the more reasonable justification is less persuasive as the more populist message that contain specious elements. This result might also be consistent with the rise in populist candidates in the U.S. soon after these experiments were run. For example, the specious justification primes working class identities (automotive and cosmetology). It is consistent with populist messages that argue working class people are the in-group and should be represented (Mudd 2004). Moreover, populist messages might be cognitively easier to evaluate.

However, for views of the Department of Education, I find similar non-significant results for all of the treatment conditions. Specifically, I find a 2.0 percentage point drop ( $p = .44$ ) in support for the Department of Education with a Biden cue, a 4.0 percentage point drop ( $p = .13$ ) in support with a cue and justification about increasing competitiveness in the global economy, and a 1.8 percentage point drop ( $p = .46$ ) in support with a cue and justification about remaining competitive in more populist industries. This suggests that party leaders have control over public opinion with regard to policies, but those effects do not extend to administrative agencies.



n=981. Plotted quantities are change in policy support relative to the control group with 95% CI. Lincom estimates from regression with controls. See Appendix for full results.



n=981. Plotted quantities are change in policy support relative to the control group with 95% CI. Lincom estimates from regression with controls. See Appendix for full results.

*Figure 3:* Experiment 3, Support for Lengthening School and Department of Education Funding

Finally, Figure 4 displays results from experiment 4, which evaluates funding for Social Security benefits. As a reminder, Social Security is a very familiar government program that enjoys broad support. My results demonstrate that support can change with cues and justifications. With a cue alone, I find a 4.7 percentage point drop ( $p =$

.053) in support for taxing the rich to fund Social Security. With a justification about retiring with dignity from Obama, I find a 3.3 percentage point increase ( $p = .163$ ). Note that the increase from the cue treatment group to this justification group exceeds 7 percentage points. The biggest treatment effects, however, includes the

justification about retirees going on vacation to the beach. I find a 14.4 percentage point drop ( $p < .001$ ) relative to the control group. These results suggest that a president can slightly improve support for a well-known policy with a reasonable justification, but a seemingly ridiculous justification can make an otherwise popular policy

less popular. But compared to the previous experiments, this pattern is only present for a very salient issue like Social Security. Strong Republicans, who were most critical of Obama's tenure in-office, are not receptive to any treatment condition – all show roughly the same reduction in support relative to the control group.

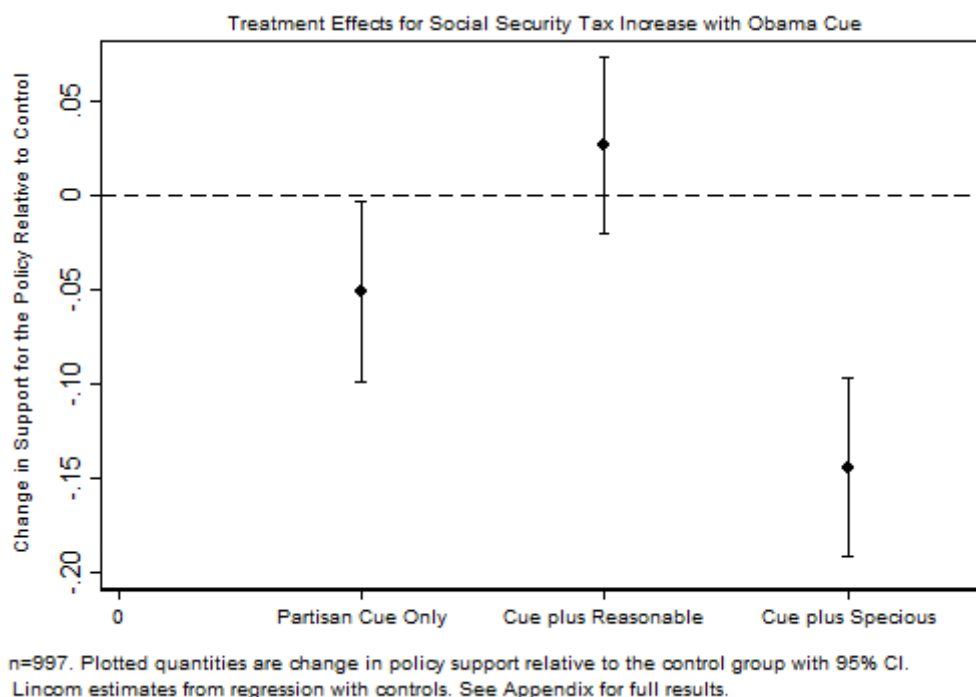


Figure 4: Experiment 4, Support for Social Security Administration

## V. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

These results demonstrate that respondents evaluate policies and agencies differently, where respondents were most sensitive to treatment conditions when evaluating policies. Partisan cues decrease support for policies on average. These results are consistent with past research that shows cues alone reduce support for policies (Nicholson 2012). Justifications are also most effective at changing support for familiar issues, which is consistent with past work that shows familiarity of a policy can change the importance of elite messages (Zaller 1992). For Social Security, a reasonable justification was essential for increasing support, and a specious justification caused backlash, and this might be due to how familiar the issue is to citizens. However, I find null results for all conditions when asking about

agencies, which suggests that views of agencies are somewhat divorced from views of presidents and aspiring presidents who might oversee them.

Aside from Social Security reform (a very familiar policy), specious justifications and issues had modest effects on opinions. These results suggest that presidents have a substantial amount of leeway when discussing their policy objectives. They are not punished when justifying a specious policy (colonizing the moon), and they can actually improve support for a policy (lengthening the school day) from a specious, populist justifications. Albeit the reasonable justifications about global competitiveness was roughly as effective as the populist justifications, but the point is that both justifications were effective regardless of the content.

These results have implications for politics and policy. On one hand, results demonstrate that politicians do not have to be precisely careful about their justifications when discussing policy. Moreover, unfamiliar issues provide even greater opportunity for specious justifications – only the well-known issue of Social Security yielded a large backlash. As a result, when a new issue takes center stage, like the Trump/COVID-19 example from the introduction, specious justifications might be more acceptable to the public compared to long-standing issues like Social Security. This poses a problem for democratic accountability because politicians are less likely to be punished for speciousness in times of uncertainty. On the other hand, specious justifications do not influence perceptions of the agencies responsible for policy implementation. The legitimacy of an agency is needed for effective policymaking, and results show that specious rhetoric from partisan leaders does not undermine an agency's authority. Taken together, these results suggest that specious justifications can modestly influence policy support, but it does not spillover to agency support.

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## APPENDIX

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#### 1. Experimental Questionnaires

The experiments in this study were survey questions added to an "omnibus" poll that was fielded once a month by the survey research firm Penn, Schoen, and Berland. Omnibus polls include questions on a variety of political and non-political topics submitted by a variety of researcher. I was able to submit a limited number of questions about party identification, randomized policy questions, and questions about agency support. I did not have control over which demographic questions were and were not asked before my experiments. For example, I was only able to ask level of education for experiments 3 and 4. Also see regression tables for specific demographics that were included.

#### *Experiment 1*

Which of the following best describes you...

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Strong Democrat
- 2) Not Strong Democrat
- 3) Independent
- 4) Not Strong Republican
- 5) Strong Republican
- 6) Other ##OPEN END##

#ASK IF Q1=C3 OR Q1=C6 # But if you had to choose, which party would you say you are closer to?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Closer to Democrats
- 2) Neither party
- 3) Closer to Republicans

#Here is the one question experiment: respondents are randomized into 1 of 3 Qs

#randomly select one question from Q4, Q5, OR Q6 TO ASK#

3. *Hidden Question, Randomly Select One Choice:*

- 1) Control
- 2) Candidate Cue
- 3) Justification

*#control*

#ASK IF Q3=C1# Now we have a few more questions about issues that may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose colonizing the moon, or haven't you thought much about this?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#candidate cue*

5. #ASK IF Q3=C2# Now we have a few more questions about issues that may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose a proposal by President Barack Obama to colonize the moon, or haven't you thought much about this?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#justification treatment*

6. #ASK IF Q3=C3# Now we have a few more questions about issues that may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose a proposal by President Barack Obama to colonize the moon in order to discover potentially lifesaving minerals not available to doctors on earth, or haven't you thought much about this?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor

- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#everyone sees this question*

7. And what about space travel more generally? Would you favor a proposal to increase the budget of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)?

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*Experiment 2*

*#Find the direction they will follow*

1. Which of the following best describes you...

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) Strong Democrat
- 2) Not Strong Democrat
- 3) Independent
- 4) Not Strong Republican
- 5) Strong Republican
- 6) Other ##OPEN END##

*#ASK IF Q1=C3 OR Q1=C6 # But if you had to choose, which party would you say you are closer to?*

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) Closer to Democrats
- 2) Neither party
- 3) Closer to Republicans

*#Here is the one question experiment: respondents are randomized into 1 of 3 Qs*

*#randomly select one question from Q4, Q5, OR Q6 TO ASK#*

3. Hidden Question, Randomly Select One Choice

- 1) Control
- 2) Candidate Cue
- 3) Argumentation

*#control*

*#ASK IF Q3=C1#* Now we have a few more questions about issues that may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose colonizing the moon, or haven't you thought much about this?

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#candidate cue*

*#ASK IF Q3=C2#* Now we have a few more questions about issues that may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose a proposal by former Presidential candidate John McCain to colonize the moon, or haven't you thought much about this?

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this #do not reverse

*#justification treatment*

6. *#ASK IF Q3=C3#*Now we have a few more questions about issues that may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose a proposal by former Presidential candidate John McCain to colonize the moon in order to discover potentially lifesaving minerals not available to doctors on earth, or haven't you thought much about this?

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#everyone sees this question*

7. And what about space travel more generally? Would you favor a proposal to increase the budget of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

### *Experiment 3*

Which of the following best describes you...

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Strong Democrat
- 2) Not Strong Democrat
- 3) Independent
- 4) Not Strong Republican
- 5) Strong Republican
- 6) Other ##OPEN END##

**#ASK IF Q1=C3 OR Q1=C6 #** But if you had to choose, which party would you say you are closer to?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Closer to Democrats
- 2) Neither party
- 3) Closer to Republicans

### **#Demographic: Education level**

8. What is the highest degree or level of school you have **completed**?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) No high school diploma
- 2) High school graduate
- 3) Some college or 2-year college graduate
- 4) 4-year college graduate
- 5) Post-graduate degree

#Here is the experiment: respondents are randomized into 1 of 4 Qs

#randomly select one question from Q4, Q5, Q6, OR Q7 TO ASK#

### 3. Hidden Question, Randomly Select One Choice

- 1) Control
- 2) Obama Cue
- 3) Reasonable argumentation
- 4) Unreasonable argumentation

*#control*

4. *#ASK IF Q3=C1#* Now we have a few more questions about hypothetical issues that are not on the agenda now but may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose increasing the length of the school day by an hour for Kindergarten through 12<sup>th</sup> grade, or haven't you thought much about this?

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#Biden cue*

5. *#ASK IF Q3=C2#* Now we have a few more questions about hypothetical issues that are not on the agenda now but may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose a proposal by Vice President Joe Biden to increase the length of the school day by an hour for Kindergarten through 12<sup>th</sup> grade, or haven't you thought much about this?

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#Reasonable treatment*

6. *#ASK IF Q3=C3#* Now we have a few more questions about hypothetical issues that are not on the agenda now but may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose a proposal by Vice President Joe Biden to increase the length of the school day by an hour for Kindergarten through 12<sup>th</sup> grade in order to keep American students competitive in the global economy in science and math, or haven't you thought much about this?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#Unreasonable/populist treatment*

7. *#ASK IF Q3=C4#*Now we have a few more questions about hypothetical issues that are not on the agenda now but may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose a proposal by Vice President Joe Biden to increase the length of the school day by an hour for Kindergarten through 12<sup>th</sup> grade in order to teach vocational skills in areas America is still competitive like cosmetology and automotive repair, or haven't you thought much about this?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#Ask all: Favorability, must be asked after Q4/Q5/Q6/Q7*

7. And what about education more generally? Would you favor a proposal to increase the budget of the Department of Education so the United States can provide better education?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Very favorable
- 2) Somewhat favorable
- 3) Neither favorable nor unfavorable
- 4) Somewhat unfavorable
- 5) Very unfavorable
- 6) Haven't heard enough to say#do not reverse

*Experiment 4*

*#Demographic: Education level*

What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) No high school diploma
- 2) High school graduate

- 3) Some college or 2-year college graduate
- 4) 4-year college graduate
- 5) Post-graduate degree

Which of the following best describes you...

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Strong Democrat
- 2) Not Strong Democrat
- 3) Independent
- 4) Not Strong Republican
- 5) Strong Republican
- 6) Other ##OPEN END##

#ASK IF Q1=C3 OR Q1=C6 # But if you had to choose, which party would you say you are closer to?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Closer to Democrats
- 2) Neither party
- 3) Closer to Republicans

#Here is the experiment: respondents are randomized into 1 of 4 Qs

#in other words, randomly select one question from G2, G3, G4, OR G5 TO ASK#

G1 HIDDEN QUESTION, RANDOMLY SELECT ONE CHOICE:

- 1) G2 Control
- 2) G3 Partisan Cue
- 3) G4 Reasonable argumentation
- 4) G5 Specious argumentation

#control

G2. #ASK IF G1=C1# Now we have a few more questions about hypothetical issues that are not on the agenda now but may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose a proposal to raise the Social Security contribution rate for high income individuals, or haven't you thought much about this?

#randomly reverse answer choices#

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#Obama cue*

G3. #ASK IF G1=C2# Now we have a few more questions about hypothetical issues that are not on the agenda now but may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose a proposal by President Barack Obama to raise the Social Security contribution rate for high income individuals, or haven't you thought much about this?

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#Dignity argumentation treatment*

G4. #ASK IF G1=C3#Now we have a few more questions about hypothetical issues that are not on the agenda now but may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose a proposal by President Barack Obama to raise the Social Security contribution rate for high income individuals because all seniors should be able to retire with dignity, not just a privileged few, or haven't you thought much about this?

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

*#Specious argumentation treatment*

G5. #ASK IF G1=C4#Now we have a few more questions about hypothetical issues that are not on the agenda now but may become important in the future. Would you favor or oppose a proposal by President Barack Obama to raise the Social Security contribution rate for high income individuals because all seniors want to go on more vacations by the beach, or haven't you thought much about this?

*#randomly reverse answer choices#*

- 1) Strongly favor
- 2) Favor
- 3) Neither favor nor oppose
- 4) Oppose
- 5) Strongly oppose
- 6) Haven't thought much about this#do not reverse

## Balance Tests Assessing Treatment Assignments

In this section, I present means and standard deviations in parenthesis for each covariate by treatment assignment (balance table). I also use a multinomial logit regression where the dependent variable is treatment assignment to show that demographic covariates do not predict treatment assignment. For each mlogit, I conducted an F-test, which rejects that the covariates jointly predict treatment assignment. F-test results are listed at the bottom of each balance table. These analyses show that covariates are balanced, and therefore, the randomizations were successful. Note that education level was only asked in experiments 3 and 4.

*Table a1:* Balance Table with F-test p-value for Experiment 1

Variable	Control	Cue	Justification
Weak Democrat	0.1889	0.1978	0.1812
	[.392]	[.3711]	[.3858]
Weak Democrat	0.1548	0.1643	0.1469
	[.3623]	[.3989]	[.3545]
Leaning Democrat	0.0774	0.0613	0.0781
	[.2676]	[.2402]	[.2688]
Pure Independents	0.2291	0.2312	0.2594
	[.4209]	[.4222]	[.439]
Leaning Republican	0.0867	0.0724	0.0563
	[.2818]	[.2595]	[.2308]
Weak Republican	0.1053	0.1448	0.1563
	[.3074]	[.3524]	[.3637]
Region: Northwest	0.1734	0.1671	0.1938
	[.3792]	[.3736]	[.3959]
Region: Midwest	0.2477	0.2117	0.2219
	[.4323]	[.4091]	[.4162]
Region: West	0.2198	0.2451	0.2313
	[.4148]	[.4308]	[.4223]
Age: 18 to 24	0.0991	0.0891	0.1094
	[.2992]	[.2853]	[.3126]
Age: 25 to 34	0.2105	0.1588	0.1938
	[.4083]	[.366]	[.3959]
Age: 35 to 49	0.2972	0.3203	0.2844
	[.4577]	[.4673]	[.4518]
Age: 50 to 64	0.2693	0.2758	0.2844
	[.4443]	[.4475]	[.4518]
Gender: Female	0.4954	0.4986	0.5
	[.5008]	[.5007]	[.5008]
African American	0.0743	0.0501	0.05
	[.2627]	[.2185]	[.2183]
Hispanic	0.0805	0.0585	0.0969
	[.2725]	[.235]	[.2963]

Other race	0.0805	0.0641	0.0531
	[.2725]	[.2452]	[.2246]
Observations	323	359	320
F test p value: 0.85			

*Table a2:* Balance Table with F-test p-value for Experiment 2

Variable	Control	Cue	Justification
Weak Democrat	0.2378	0.1774	0.2215
	[.4264]	[.3428]	[.3809]
Weak Democrat	0.1524	0.1355	0.1754
	[.36]	[.3826]	[.4159]
Leaning Democrat	0.0671	0.0903	0.0646
	[.2505]	[.2871]	[.2462]
Pure Independents	0.1677	0.2258	0.2277
	[.3742]	[.4188]	[.42]
Leaning Republican	0.0915	0.1	0.0646
	[.2887]	[.3005]	[.2462]
Weak Republican	0.1189	0.1516	0.12
	[.3242]	[.3592]	[.3255]
Region: Northwest	0.1341	0.1742	0.2092
	[.3413]	[.3799]	[.4074]
Region: Midwest	0.247	0.2387	0.2185
	[.4319]	[.427]	[.4138]
Region: West	0.2195	0.2161	0.2677
	[.4145]	[.4123]	[.4434]
Age: 18 to 24	0.1189	0.0903	0.0985
	[.3242]	[.2871]	[.2984]
Age: 25 to 34	0.1799	0.1677	0.1877
	[.3847]	[.3742]	[.3911]
Age: 35 to 49	0.2835	0.2968	0.28
	[.4514]	[.4576]	[.4497]
Age: 50 to 64	0.2683	0.2871	0.2892
	[.4437]	[.4531]	[.4541]
Gender: Female	0.4665	0.5065	0.4923
	[.4996]	[.5008]	[.5007]
African American	0.0945	0.0613	0.1015
	[.293]	[.2402]	[.3025]
Hispanic	0.1128	0.0774	0.0862
	[.3168]	[.2677]	[.281]
Other race	0.0518	0.0742	0.0462
	[.222]	[.2625]	[.2101]
Observations	328	310	325
F test p value: 0.23			

Table a3: Balance Table with F-test p-value for Experiment 3

Variable	Control	Cue	Reasonable	Specious
Weak Democrat	0.2467	0.1595	0.2127	0.1719
	[.432]	[.3841]	[.4101]	[.378]
Weak Democrat	0.1366	0.179	0.1222	0.1523
	[.3441]	[.3669]	[.3282]	[.3601]
Leaning Democrat	0.0969	0.1051	0.1086	0.1172
	[.2965]	[.3072]	[.3118]	[.3223]
Pure Independents	0.1762	0.1868	0.1855	0.1563
	[.3818]	[.3905]	[.3896]	[.3638]
Leaning Republican	0.0925	0.1012	0.1403	0.1484
	[.2904]	[.3021]	[.3481]	[.3562]
Weak Republican	0.1145	0.1479	0.1357	0.1289
	[.3192]	[.3557]	[.3433]	[.3358]
Region: Northwest	0.1454	0.179	0.1719	0.2344
	[.3533]	[.3841]	[.3782]	[.4244]
Region: Midwest	0.2203	0.2218	0.2262	0.2031
	[.4153]	[.4163]	[.4193]	[.4031]
Region: West	0.2467	0.2062	0.2081	0.2148
	[.432]	[.4054]	[.4069]	[.4115]
Age: 18 to 24	0.1101	0.0778	0.0814	0.1016
	[.3137]	[.2684]	[.2741]	[.3027]
Age: 25 to 34	0.185	0.2101	0.19	0.1563
	[.3892]	[.4082]	[.3932]	[.3638]
Age: 35 to 49	0.2687	0.3074	0.2624	0.2813
	[.4443]	[.4623]	[.441]	[.4505]
Age: 50 to 64	0.304	0.284	0.2896	0.2617
	[.461]	[.4518]	[.4546]	[.4404]
Gender: Female	0.489	0.5136	0.4842	0.5391
	[.501]	[.5008]	[.5009]	[.4994]
High School Diploma	0.2511	0.2296	0.2036	0.2188
	[.4346]	[.4214]	[.4036]	[.4142]
Some College	0.3524	0.358	0.3937	0.3906
	[.4788]	[.4803]	[.4897]	[.4888]
4 year College	0.2819	0.3035	0.2986	0.2734
	[.4509]	[.4607]	[.4587]	[.4466]
Post Graduate	0.0925	0.0973	0.1041	0.1055
	[.2904]	[.2969]	[.306]	[.3078]
African American	0.0881	0.0973	0.095	0.0742
	[.2841]	[.2969]	[.2939]	[.2626]
Hispanic	0.0441	0.0584	0.0814	0.0742
	[.2057]	[.2349]	[.2741]	[.2626]

Other race	0.0661	0.0506	0.0407	0.0586
	[.249]	[.2196]	[.1981]	[.2353]
Observations	227	257	221	256
F test p value: 0.95				

*Table a4:* Balance Table with F-test p-value for Experiment 4

Variable	Control	Cue	Reasonable	Specious
Weak Democrat	0.1297	0.2273	0.1866	0.1653
	[.3367]	[.4199]	[.3606]	[.3722]
Weak Democrat	0.1674	0.1777	0.153	0.1492
	[.3741]	[.383]	[.3903]	[.357]
Leaning Democrat	0.0921	0.0909	0.1045	0.1331
	[.2897]	[.2881]	[.3065]	[.3403]
Pure Independents	0.1506	0.1322	0.153	0.1855
	[.3584]	[.3394]	[.3606]	[.3895]
Leaning Republican	0.113	0.0826	0.0896	0.0927
	[.3172]	[.2759]	[.2861]	[.2907]
Weak Republican	0.2008	0.157	0.1604	0.1331
	[.4015]	[.3646]	[.3677]	[.3403]
Region: Northwest	0.1381	0.2025	0.1866	0.1976
	[.3457]	[.4027]	[.3903]	[.399]
Region: Midwest	0.2301	0.2397	0.2463	0.2218
	[.4218]	[.4278]	[.4316]	[.4163]
Region: West	0.2343	0.1983	0.2127	0.2419
	[.4245]	[.3996]	[.41]	[.4291]
Age: 18 to 24	0.0669	0.0826	0.0858	0.1008
	[.2505]	[.2759]	[.2806]	[.3017]
Age: 25 to 34	0.1883	0.1942	0.1642	0.2137
	[.3918]	[.3964]	[.3711]	[.4108]
Age: 35 to 49	0.2803	0.2603	0.3545	0.2702
	[.4501]	[.4397]	[.4792]	[.4449]
Age: 50 to 64	0.2845	0.2975	0.2649	0.2661
	[.4521]	[.4581]	[.4421]	[.4428]
Gender: Female	0.4812	0.5289	0.5149	0.5282
	[.5007]	[.5002]	[.5007]	[.5002]
High School Diploma	0.2218	0.1529	0.2052	0.2419
	[.4163]	[.3606]	[.4046]	[.4291]
Some College	0.3808	0.3595	0.3769	0.3347
	[.4866]	[.4808]	[.4855]	[.4728]
4 year College	0.2887	0.3512	0.2948	0.2742
	[.4541]	[.4783]	[.4568]	[.447]
Post Graduate	0.1046	0.1116	0.1119	0.125
	[.3067]	[.3155]	[.3159]	[.3314]

African American	0.1088	0.0826	0.0485	0.0806
	[.312]	[.2759]	[.2152]	[.2728]
Hispanic	0.0628	0.0785	0.056	0.0927
	[.243]	[.2695]	[.2303]	[.2907]
Other race	0.0628	0.0537	0.0634	0.0605
	[.243]	[.2259]	[.2442]	[.2389]
Observations	239	242	268	248
F test p value: 0.44				

*Full Regression Results for Main Results*

*Table A5: Experiment 1 OLS Regression Tables for Policy and Agency Support*

VARIABLES	(1) Policy Support	(2) Agency Support
Partisan Cue Treatment	-0.0632***	-0.0279
	[0.0175]	[0.0213]
Justification Treatment	-0.0116	-0.0267
	[0.0180]	[0.0219]
Strong Democrat	0.135***	0.0664**
	[0.0260]	[0.0317]
Weak Democrat	0.102***	0.0245
	[0.0270]	[0.0329]
Leaning Democrat	0.0934***	-0.00814
	[0.0335]	[0.0407]
Pure Independent	0.0857***	-0.0318
	[0.0247]	[0.0300]
Lean Republican	0.0658**	0.0295
	[0.0332]	[0.0405]
Weak Republican	-0.000143	-0.0277
	[0.0277]	[0.0337]
Region: Northwest	-0.0394*	-0.0175
	[0.0210]	[0.0255]
Region: Midwest	-0.0195	-0.0227
	[0.0196]	[0.0238]
Region: West	-0.0284	0.0141
	[0.0192]	[0.0234]
Age: 18 to 24	0.0656**	0.0628*
	[0.0310]	[0.0378]
Age: 25 to 34	0.0759***	0.103***
	[0.0265]	[0.0322]
Age: 35 to 49	0.0876***	0.0402
	[0.0238]	[0.0290]
Age: 50 to 64	0.0385	0.0259

	[0.0239]	[0.0291]
Gender: Female	-0.0396***	-0.108***
	[0.0145]	[0.0176]
Race: African American	-0.00194	-0.000753
	[0.0322]	[0.0392]
Race: Hispanic	0.0332	0.0595*
	[0.0283]	[0.0344]
Race: Other	-0.00382	0.0126
	[0.0301]	[0.0366]
Constant	0.402***	0.573***
	[0.0301]	[0.0366]
Observations	1,002	1,002
R-squared	0.090	0.075
Standard errors in brackets		
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1		

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

*Table a6:* Experiment 2 OLS Regression Tables for Policy and Agency Support

	(1)	(2)
VARIABLES	Policy Support	Agency Support
Partisan Cue Treatment	-0.0521***	-0.0283
	[0.0186]	[0.0232]
Justification Treatment	-0.00138	-0.00802
	[0.0184]	[0.0230]
Strong Democrat	-0.0228	0.0497
	[0.0270]	[0.0336]
Weak Democrat	0.0155	0.0496
	[0.0283]	[0.0352]
Leaning Democrat	-0.0783**	0.00764
	[0.0347]	[0.0432]
Pure Independent	-0.0285	-0.00715
	[0.0267]	[0.0333]
Lean Republican	-0.0241	0.00819
	[0.0332]	[0.0414]
Weak Republican	-0.0441	-0.00700
	[0.0292]	[0.0364]
Region: Northwest	0.00503	-0.0684**
	[0.0223]	[0.0277]
Region: Midwest	-0.0319	-0.0351
	[0.0202]	[0.0252]

Region: West	-0.0219	-0.00619
	[0.0203]	[0.0253]
Age: 18 to 24	0.0441	0.0933**
	[0.0317]	[0.0395]
Age: 25 to 34	0.0903***	0.135***
	[0.0272]	[0.0339]
Age: 35 to 49	0.0417*	0.0827***
	[0.0245]	[0.0306]
Age: 50 to 64	-0.0157	0.0444
	[0.0242]	[0.0302]
Gender: Female	-0.0297**	-0.0690***
	[0.0151]	[0.0188]
Race: African American	-0.0553*	-0.0521
	[0.0288]	[0.0359]
Race: Hispanic	-0.000674	-0.0186
	[0.0275]	[0.0342]
Race: Other	-0.0260	-0.0232
	[0.0336]	[0.0419]
Constant	0.532***	0.562***
	[0.0299]	[0.0372]
Observations	963	963
R-squared	0.058	0.051
Standard errors in brackets		
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1		

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

*Table a7:* Experiment 3 OLS Regression Tables for Policy and Agency Support

	(1)	(2)
VARIABLES	Policy Support	Agency Support
Partisan Cue Treatment	0.0110	-0.0235
	[0.0267]	[0.0250]
Justification Treatment	0.0469*	-0.0468*
	[0.0278]	[0.0261]
Strong Democrat	0.0760***	-0.0257
	[0.0269]	[0.0252]
Weak Democrat	0.0759**	0.517***
	[0.0353]	[0.0332]
Leaning Democrat	0.0637*	0.410***
	[0.0370]	[0.0348]
Pure Independent	0.0205	0.421***

	[0.0398]	[0.0374]
Lean Republican	0.0156	0.156***
	[0.0355]	[0.0334]
Weak Republican	-0.0148	-0.0400
	[0.0386]	[0.0363]
Region: Northwest	-0.0759**	-0.0802**
	[0.0378]	[0.0355]
Region: Midwest	0.00561	0.00866
	[0.0273]	[0.0256]
Region: West	0.0178	0.0296
	[0.0257]	[0.0241]
Age: 18 to 24	0.00441	-0.0120
	[0.0261]	[0.0245]
Age: 25 to 34	-0.161***	0.0340
	[0.0404]	[0.0379]
Age: 35 to 49	-0.123***	-0.00409
	[0.0333]	[0.0313]
Age: 50 to 64	-0.0836***	0.0168
	[0.0302]	[0.0284]
Gender: Female	-0.0173	0.0304
	[0.0300]	[0.0282]
Race: African American	0.0515	0.140***
	[0.0360]	[0.0338]
Race: Hispanic	0.0497	0.144***
	[0.0399]	[0.0374]
Race: Other	0.0969**	0.134***
	[0.0432]	[0.0406]
Education: High School	0.0908	-0.0296
	[0.0912]	[0.0857]
Education: Some College	0.132	-0.0156
	[0.0904]	[0.0850]
Education: 4-year College	0.131	0.00713
	[0.0910]	[0.0855]
Education: Post-graduate	0.149	0.0367
	[0.0943]	[0.0885]
Constant	0.390***	0.160*
	[0.0961]	[0.0903]
Observations	961	961
R-squared	0.082	0.467
Standard errors in brackets		
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1		

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

*Table a8:* Experiment 4 OLS Regression Tables for Policy

	(1)
VARIABLES	Policy Support
Partisan Cue Treatment	-0.0506**
	[0.0243]
Justification Treatment	0.0266
	[0.0237]
Strong Democrat	-0.144***
	[0.0241]
Weak Democrat	0.164***
	[0.0311]
Leaning Democrat	0.0813***
	[0.0309]
Pure Independent	0.158***
	[0.0341]
Lean Republican	0.00451
	[0.0309]
Weak Republican	-0.0548
	[0.0352]
Region: Northwest	-0.116***
	[0.0303]
Region: Midwest	-0.0117
	[0.0244]
Region: West	-0.00359
	[0.0223]
Age: 18 to 24	-0.0344
	[0.0230]
Age: 25 to 34	-0.159***
	[0.0367]
Age: 35 to 49	-0.0284
	[0.0293]
Age: 50 to 64	-0.0676**
	[0.0268]
Gender: Female	0.00892
	[0.0266]
Race: African American	-0.0818**
	[0.0334]
Race: Hispanic	-0.0245
	[0.0335]

Race: Other	-0.00479
	[0.0364]
Education: High School	-0.0643
	[0.0690]
Education: Some College	-0.0153
	[0.0678]
Education: 4-year College	-0.0140
	[0.0683]
Education: Post-graduate	-0.0782
	[0.0712]
Constant	0.704***
	[0.0751]
Observations	997
R-squared	0.193
Standard errors in brackets	
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1	

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

*Treatment Effect Regression Models by Party Identification*

*Table a9:* Experiment 1 OLS Regression Tables for Policy Support by Party

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	Strong Dems	Weak Dems	Ind	Weak Rep	Strong Rep
Partisan Cue Treatment	0.0448	-0.0206	-0.0805***	-0.125**	-0.137***
	[0.0407]	[0.0372]	[0.0296]	[0.0538]	[0.0476]
Justification Treatment	0.109**	0.00261	-0.0222	-0.00218	-0.114**
	[0.0431]	[0.0404]	[0.0298]	[0.0540]	[0.0505]
Region: Northwest	-0.0701	-0.0125	-0.0378	-0.0807	-0.0686
	[0.0521]	[0.0407]	[0.0367]	[0.0636]	[0.0567]
Region: Midwest	-0.0800*	-0.0182	-0.0334	0.0914*	-0.0427
	[0.0456]	[0.0468]	[0.0327]	[0.0534]	[0.0556]
Region: West	-0.0974**	0.0287	-0.0212	-0.102*	0.0404
	[0.0458]	[0.0417]	[0.0322]	[0.0557]	[0.0531]
Age: 18 to 24	0.0650	-0.0600	0.0621	0.153	0.149
	[0.0804]	[0.0676]	[0.0486]	[0.0938]	[0.109]
Age: 25 to 34	0.0941	-0.0855	0.132***	0.0623	0.0803
	[0.0661]	[0.0558]	[0.0438]	[0.0757]	[0.0754]
Age: 35 to 49	0.0726	-0.00221	0.0819**	0.180***	0.100
	[0.0597]	[0.0520]	[0.0399]	[0.0655]	[0.0629]
Age: 50 to 64	0.0359	-0.0123	1.45e-05	0.0940	0.0611

	[0.0593]	[0.0489]	[0.0421]	[0.0666]	[0.0630]
Gender: Female	0.0115	-0.0701**	-0.0670***	-0.0322	-0.0357
	[0.0348]	[0.0309]	[0.0243]	[0.0442]	[0.0406]
Race: African American	-0.0402	0.0343	0.0587	-	-0.116
	[0.0520]	[0.0597]	[0.0589]	-	[0.241]
Race: Hispanic	0.0662	0.00803	0.0524	-0.0480	0.136
	[0.0581]	[0.0504]	[0.0466]	[0.103]	[0.136]
Race: Other	0.0553	0.0270	-0.0182	0.126	-0.184**
	[0.0896]	[0.0583]	[0.0466]	[0.0893]	[0.0880]
Constant	0.473***	0.558***	0.508***	0.359***	0.442***
	[0.0619]	[0.0541]	[0.0427]	[0.0749]	[0.0623]
Observations	190	156	364	136	136
R-squared	0.096	0.071	0.104	0.197	0.158
Standard errors in brackets					
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

*Table A10:* Experiment 1 OLS Regression Tables for Agency Support by Party

VARIABLES	(1) Strong Dems	(2) Weak Dems	(3) Ind	(4) Weak Rep	(5) Strong Rep
Partisan Cue Treatment	0.00137	-0.0360	-0.0187	-0.130*	0.0162
	[0.0490]	[0.0558]	[0.0331]	[0.0667]	[0.0650]
Justification Treatment	0.0511	0.0350	-0.0152	-0.0713	-0.104
	[0.0519]	[0.0606]	[0.0333]	[0.0669]	[0.0689]
Region: Northwest	-0.0297	-0.0315	-0.0249	-0.0415	0.00541
	[0.0627]	[0.0611]	[0.0410]	[0.0789]	[0.0773]
Region: Midwest	-0.0720	-0.116	-0.0138	0.0800	-0.0111
	[0.0549]	[0.0701]	[0.0366]	[0.0662]	[0.0759]
Region: West	0.0268	-0.0509	-0.0151	0.0545	0.0605
	[0.0552]	[0.0625]	[0.0360]	[0.0690]	[0.0725]
Age: 18 to 24	0.0857	0.0408	0.0481	0.0837	0.0703
	[0.0968]	[0.101]	[0.0544]	[0.116]	[0.149]
Age: 25 to 34	0.171**	0.167**	0.0881*	-0.00617	-0.000642
	[0.0796]	[0.0837]	[0.0490]	[0.0939]	[0.103]
Age: 35 to 49	0.0561	0.0535	0.0317	0.0602	-0.00851
	[0.0719]	[0.0779]	[0.0446]	[0.0812]	[0.0859]
Age: 50 to 64	0.124*	-0.00888	-0.00873	0.0245	0.00388
	[0.0714]	[0.0734]	[0.0471]	[0.0825]	[0.0860]
Gender: Female	-0.0997**	-0.0694	-0.148***	-0.0609	-0.0978*

	[0.0419]	[0.0463]	[0.0272]	[0.0549]	[0.0555]
Race: African American	-0.0920	-0.0296	0.0636	-	0.264
	[0.0626]	[0.0896]	[0.0659]	-	[0.328]
Race: Hispanic	0.0901	0.0723	0.0361	0.0105	0.111
	[0.0700]	[0.0756]	[0.0522]	[0.128]	[0.185]
Race: Other	0.0227	0.0741	0.0517	-0.0527	-0.106
	[0.108]	[0.0874]	[0.0521]	[0.111]	[0.120]
Constant	0.570***	0.588***	0.591***	0.561***	0.601***
	[0.0745]	[0.0811]	[0.0478]	[0.0928]	[0.0849]
Observations	190	156	364	136	136
R-squared	0.124	0.127	0.105	0.071	0.076
Standard errors in brackets					
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

*Table a11:* Experiment 2 OLS Regression Tables for Policy Support by Party

VARIABLES	(1) Strong Dems	(2) Weak Dems	(3) Ind	(4) Weak Rep	(5) Strong Rep
Partisan Cue Treatment	-0.103**	-0.0603	-0.0560*	-0.00581	-0.0165
	[0.0433]	[0.0453]	[0.0318]	[0.0517]	[0.0506]
Justification Treatment	0.0335	-0.0218	-0.0253	0.0319	0.0531
	[0.0396]	[0.0422]	[0.0326]	[0.0551]	[0.0529]
Region: Northwest	0.0968*	0.00943	-0.0476	-0.0502	-0.0935
	[0.0523]	[0.0528]	[0.0376]	[0.0660]	[0.0661]
Region: Midwest	0.00403	-0.0190	-0.0353	-0.0430	-0.0997*
	[0.0455]	[0.0489]	[0.0353]	[0.0535]	[0.0536]
Region: West	-0.00533	-0.0363	0.000355	-0.118*	-0.0229
	[0.0475]	[0.0497]	[0.0339]	[0.0626]	[0.0532]
Age: 18 to 24	0.0740	0.0955	-0.00833	0.0548	0.145
	[0.0713]	[0.0765]	[0.0553]	[0.107]	[0.0893]
Age: 25 to 34	0.126**	0.0992	0.102**	0.0675	0.0176
	[0.0625]	[0.0695]	[0.0475]	[0.0755]	[0.0760]
Age: 35 to 49	-0.00638	0.123*	0.0770*	-0.00708	0.0824
	[0.0572]	[0.0628]	[0.0462]	[0.0590]	[0.0566]
Age: 50 to 64	-0.111**	-0.00872	0.0566	-0.0210	0.0391
	[0.0561]	[0.0627]	[0.0463]	[0.0575]	[0.0554]
Gender: Female	-0.0616*	-0.0470	-0.00207	-0.0490	-0.0167
	[0.0340]	[0.0363]	[0.0258]	[0.0425]	[0.0418]
Race: African American	0.00830	-0.0482	-0.160***	0.107	-0.231
	[0.0432]	[0.0625]	[0.0603]	[0.173]	[0.173]

Race: Hispanic	0.0521	0.0186	-0.0332	-0.0593	-0.0177
	[0.0548]	[0.0574]	[0.0477]	[0.104]	[0.0923]
Race: Other	0.0236	-0.00882	-0.0657	0.0251	0.0754
	[0.0968]	[0.0802]	[0.0489]	[0.102]	[0.121]
Constant	0.510***	0.527***	0.482***	0.518***	0.506***
	[0.0594]	[0.0694]	[0.0489]	[0.0615]	[0.0547]
Observations	205	149	338	125	132
R-squared	0.218	0.109	0.059	0.075	0.083
Standard errors in brackets					
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

*Table a12:* Experiment 2 OLS Regression Tables for Agency Support by Party

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	Strong Dems	Weak Dems	Ind	Weak Rep	Strong Rep
Partisan Cue Treatment	-0.0924*	-0.0454	-0.00897	-0.133**	0.0820
	[0.0550]	[0.0596]	[0.0379]	[0.0645]	[0.0689]
Justification Treatment	0.0399	0.000615	-0.0309	-0.0134	0.0110
	[0.0502]	[0.0555]	[0.0389]	[0.0688]	[0.0720]
Region: Northwest	-0.122*	0.0637	-0.0763*	-0.213**	-0.0741
	[0.0664]	[0.0694]	[0.0449]	[0.0823]	[0.0899]
Region: Midwest	-0.0907	-0.00343	0.00804	-0.117*	-0.0444
	[0.0578]	[0.0643]	[0.0421]	[0.0668]	[0.0730]
Region: West	0.0308	0.0128	-0.0164	-0.0843	0.0218
	[0.0603]	[0.0653]	[0.0405]	[0.0781]	[0.0724]
Age: 18 to 24	0.175*	0.250**	0.00625	0.178	0.120
	[0.0906]	[0.101]	[0.0660]	[0.134]	[0.122]
Age: 25 to 34	0.183**	0.272***	0.0705	0.223**	0.0868
	[0.0793]	[0.0913]	[0.0568]	[0.0942]	[0.103]
Age: 35 to 49	0.139*	0.232***	0.0278	0.0671	0.0542
	[0.0727]	[0.0826]	[0.0551]	[0.0736]	[0.0771]
Age: 50 to 64	-0.00678	0.217***	0.0246	0.0480	0.0509
	[0.0713]	[0.0824]	[0.0553]	[0.0717]	[0.0754]
Gender: Female	-0.0923**	-0.0206	-0.0663**	-0.0872	-0.0354
	[0.0432]	[0.0477]	[0.0307]	[0.0530]	[0.0568]
Race: African American	-0.0596	-0.0398	-0.0623	0.243	-0.311
	[0.0549]	[0.0821]	[0.0720]	[0.216]	[0.236]
Race: Hispanic	0.0587	-0.0491	-0.0393	-0.0193	-0.0494
	[0.0696]	[0.0755]	[0.0570]	[0.129]	[0.126]

Race: Other	-0.109	-0.0793	-0.0168	-0.0642	0.0729
	[0.123]	[0.105]	[0.0583]	[0.128]	[0.164]
Constant	0.615***	0.424***	0.602***	0.653***	0.520***
	[0.0755]	[0.0912]	[0.0583]	[0.0768]	[0.0745]
Observations	205	149	338	125	132
R-squared	0.150	0.089	0.038	0.193	0.060
Standard errors in brackets					
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

*Table a13:* Experiment 3 OLS Regression Tables for Policy Support by Party

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	Strong Dems	Weak Dems	Ind	Weak Rep	Strong Rep
Partisan Cue Treatment	0.0993	-0.0329	-0.0272	-0.00171	-0.00394
	[0.0633]	[0.0692]	[0.0431]	[0.0758]	[0.0714]
Justification Treatment	0.136**	0.0194	0.0662	-0.111	0.0735
	[0.0653]	[0.0777]	[0.0439]	[0.0768]	[0.0770]
Region: Northwest	0.203***	-0.00543	0.0789*	-0.0162	0.101
	[0.0662]	[0.0720]	[0.0428]	[0.0748]	[0.0708]
Region: Midwest	0.0115	0.0530	0.00317	0.0176	-0.0198
	[0.0712]	[0.0689]	[0.0417]	[0.0832]	[0.0737]
Region: West	0.0605	0.0505	0.0118	-0.00209	0.0416
	[0.0626]	[0.0727]	[0.0399]	[0.0650]	[0.0689]
Age: 18 to 24	0.0608	0.0820	-0.0194	0.0393	-0.136*
	[0.0644]	[0.0683]	[0.0413]	[0.0789]	[0.0695]
Age: 25 to 34	-0.0675	-0.438***	-0.113*	-0.0225	-0.220*
	[0.107]	[0.112]	[0.0594]	[0.139]	[0.124]
Age: 35 to 49	-0.233***	-0.224**	-0.0493	-0.106	-0.0742
	[0.0802]	[0.109]	[0.0527]	[0.0823]	[0.0916]
Age: 50 to 64	-0.00435	-0.240**	-0.0308	-0.125	-0.184**
	[0.0774]	[0.0937]	[0.0475]	[0.0757]	[0.0778]
Gender: Female	-0.0964	-0.134	0.0218	0.0748	0.0336
	[0.0724]	[0.0898]	[0.0486]	[0.0699]	[0.0827]
Race: African American	0.0220	-0.0160	-0.0507*	0.0375	-0.0562
	[0.0470]	[0.0539]	[0.0302]	[0.0536]	[0.0526]
Race: Hispanic	0.150	0.286	0.0227	-0.0802	
	[0.176]	[0.223]	[0.149]	[0.296]	
Race: Other	0.207	0.350	-0.0301	0.0124	0.226***
	[0.172]	[0.221]	[0.149]	[0.294]	[0.0707]

Education: High School	0.208	0.367	-0.0347	-0.00728	0.239***
	[0.174]	[0.226]	[0.150]	[0.293]	[0.0724]
Education: Some College	0.225	0.314	0.0502	-0.0236	0.322***
	[0.181]	[0.234]	[0.154]	[0.304]	[0.112]
Education: 4-year College	0.0702	0.226	0.0486	-0.0789	0.0236
	[0.0615]	[0.142]	[0.0582]	[0.164]	[0.159]
Education: Post-graduate	-0.00413	0.0802	0.125*	-0.165	0.0929
	[0.0832]	[0.0976]	[0.0646]	[0.154]	[0.129]
Constant	0.111	0.0556	0.0551	0.118	0.324***
	[0.122]	[0.105]	[0.0648]	[0.147]	[0.119]
Observations	193	138	388	127	115
R-squared	0.148	0.202	0.066	0.150	0.324
Standard errors in brackets					
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

*Table a14:* Experiment 3 OLS Regression Tables for Agency Support by Party

VARIABLES	(1) Strong Dems	(2) Weak Dems	(3) Ind	(4) Weak Rep	(5) Strong Rep
Partisan Cue Treatment	-0.0225	-0.0112	-0.0262	0.0167	-0.120*
	[0.0608]	[0.0727]	[0.0469]	[0.0447]	[0.0687]
Justification Treatment	-0.0773	-0.157*	-0.000243	-0.0501	-0.0707
	[0.0626]	[0.0817]	[0.0477]	[0.0453]	[0.0740]
Region: Northwest	0.0789	-0.0818	-0.0297	-0.0361	-0.0341
	[0.0636]	[0.0757]	[0.0465]	[0.0441]	[0.0681]
Region: Midwest	-0.157**	0.0114	0.0919**	0.0287	0.0132
	[0.0683]	[0.0725]	[0.0453]	[0.0491]	[0.0708]
Region: West	-0.0711	0.169**	0.0627	0.0302	0.00858
	[0.0601]	[0.0764]	[0.0433]	[0.0384]	[0.0662]
Age: 18 to 24	-0.0769	0.0240	-0.00866	0.0308	-0.0335
	[0.0618]	[0.0718]	[0.0449]	[0.0466]	[0.0668]
Age: 25 to 34	-0.0754	0.0857	0.138**	0.0882	-0.0948
	[0.103]	[0.117]	[0.0645]	[0.0819]	[0.119]
Age: 35 to 49	-0.0769	-0.0427	0.0192	0.177***	0.0246
	[0.0770]	[0.114]	[0.0572]	[0.0486]	[0.0880]
Age: 50 to 64	-0.00781	0.0280	0.0288	0.0923**	0.0342
	[0.0743]	[0.0986]	[0.0516]	[0.0447]	[0.0748]

Gender: Female	-0.0375	0.0886	0.125**	0.0560	-0.0324
	[0.0694]	[0.0944]	[0.0528]	[0.0412]	[0.0795]
Race: African American	0.0680	-0.122**	0.0588*	-0.0260	-0.0130
	[0.0451]	[0.0567]	[0.0328]	[0.0317]	[0.0505]
Race: Hispanic	0.322*	-0.0933	-0.163	-0.220	-
	[0.169]	[0.235]	[0.162]	[0.175]	-
Race: Other	0.361**	-0.0410	-0.163	-0.266	0.0969
	[0.165]	[0.232]	[0.161]	[0.173]	[0.0680]
Education: High School	0.352**	0.115	-0.166	-0.199	0.0209
	[0.167]	[0.238]	[0.163]	[0.173]	[0.0697]
Education: Some College	0.444**	-0.132	-0.0696	-0.206	0.230**
	[0.174]	[0.246]	[0.168]	[0.179]	[0.108]
Education: 4-year College	-0.0109	0.250*	0.296***	0.479***	0.453***
	[0.0590]	[0.149]	[0.0632]	[0.0967]	[0.153]
Education: Post-graduate	0.181**	0.103	0.106	0.371***	0.0755
	[0.0799]	[0.103]	[0.0702]	[0.0908]	[0.124]
Constant	0.117	0.209*	0.181**	0.171*	0.0787
	[0.117]	[0.110]	[0.0704]	[0.0867]	[0.114]
Observations	193	138	388	127	115
R-squared	0.135	0.231	0.128	0.446	0.189
Standard errors in brackets					
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

*Table A15:* Experiment 4 OLS Regression Tables for Policy Support by Party

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

*Table A16:* Experiment 4 OLS Regression Tables for Messenger Support by Party

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	Strong Dems	Weak Dems	Ind	Weak Rep	Strong Rep
Partisan Cue Treatment	0.0180	0.0732	0.181***	0.186***	-0.0279
	[0.0582]	[0.0598]	[0.0484]	[0.0598]	[0.0712]
Justification Treatment	0.0668	0.0524	0.121***	0.0976*	0.115*
	[0.0590]	[0.0609]	[0.0462]	[0.0563]	[0.0689]
Region: Northwest	0.0544	0.0368	0.0969**	0.0619	-0.0417
	[0.0658]	[0.0609]	[0.0442]	[0.0610]	[0.0700]
Region: Midwest	0.0451	0.00700	0.0230	0.0489	0.0132

	[0.0594]	[0.0670]	[0.0457]	[0.0661]	[0.0704]
Region: West	-0.0326	0.0569	0.0243	0.0270	-0.0210
	[0.0585]	[0.0556]	[0.0425]	[0.0531]	[0.0755]
Age: 18 to 24	0.107**	0.000934	-0.0504	0.00225	0.00843
	[0.0505]	[0.0619]	[0.0454]	[0.0546]	[0.0768]
Age: 25 to 34	-0.0663	0.0751	-0.0382	-0.0724	-0.0695
	[0.0852]	[0.0997]	[0.0697]	[0.112]	[0.142]
Age: 35 to 49	-0.0967	0.0996	0.0347	0.228***	0.0718
	[0.0677]	[0.0848]	[0.0567]	[0.0766]	[0.0843]
Age: 50 to 64	-0.160**	-0.0207	0.0473	-0.00214	0.105
	[0.0617]	[0.0857]	[0.0523]	[0.0587]	[0.0720]
Gender: Female	-0.0995	0.0565	0.0198	0.0235	0.0455
	[0.0616]	[0.0841]	[0.0496]	[0.0638]	[0.0682]
Race: African American	-0.0662*	-0.0371	0.0121	0.0901**	0.0633
	[0.0400]	[0.0428]	[0.0333]	[0.0440]	[0.0543]
Race: Hispanic	-0.0671	-0.0353	0.0540	0.273	0.0208
	[0.121]	[0.0802]	[0.148]	[0.266]	[0.207]
Race: Other	0.0442	0.0243	0.0846	0.212	-0.0685
	[0.114]	[0.0774]	[0.147]	[0.269]	[0.209]
Education: High School	0.0340	0.0775	0.0724	0.266	-0.0719
	[0.115]	[0.0781]	[0.148]	[0.271]	[0.207]
Education: Some College	-0.0305	-	0.00787	0.288	-0.0265
	[0.122]	-	[0.153]	[0.273]	[0.215]
Education: 4-year College	0.0339	0.146*	0.205***	0.665**	0.410*
	[0.0487]	[0.0753]	[0.0759]	[0.257]	[0.210]
Education: Post-graduate	-0.0753	-0.0188	0.182***	-0.0987	-0.230
	[0.0643]	[0.0766]	[0.0625]	[0.0959]	[0.283]
Constant	0.135	-0.0229	0.0810	-0.118	0.341**
	[0.116]	[0.0714]	[0.0625]	[0.152]	[0.170]
Observations	159	140	316	148	123
R-squared	0.165	0.130	0.115	0.260	0.176
Standard errors in brackets					
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

All independent variables are dummy such that 1=yes and 0 = no. Excluded treatment and individual level control categories for both regressions: Control group, strong Republicans, Region: South, Age: 65+, Gender: Male, Race: white.

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# Welcome to the Doll's House Baby: Female Agency in Everyday Organizational Life

*Nour Elhoda .A. E. Sabra*

## ABSTRACT

This article examines the representation of female agency in the workplace. It demonstrates how being biologically part of a particular group 'female' restrain your agency. The article argues that the workplace has hindered female agency by creating a new domesticity within the public sphere, where female employees have been outsourced or exploited by their male superiors. The article explains how workplaces have privatized the domain of female employees, creating a new private sphere in the workplace and reinforcing female employees' structure of power that should constitute their agency. The article illustrates that while feminists have been occupied with diversity on the managerial level and female-intensive involvement in a male-dominated career, they have been distracted from the way female agency has been violated in the workplace.

*Keywords:* female agency, the devil wears prada, new domesticity, doll's house, chick lit, contemporary literature.

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# Welcome to the Doll's House Baby: Female Agency in Everyday Organizational Life

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## ABSTRACT

*This article examines the representation of female agency in the workplace. It demonstrates how being biologically part of a particular group 'female' restrain your agency. The article argues that the workplace has hindered female agency by creating a new domesticity within the public sphere, where female employees have been outsourced or exploited by their male superiors. The article explains how workplaces have privatized the domain of female employees, creating a new private sphere in the workplace and reinforcing female employees' structure of power that should constitute their agency. The article illustrates that while feminists have been occupied with diversity on the managerial level and female-intensive involvement in a male-dominated career, they have been distracted from the way female agency has been violated in the workplace.*

**Keywords:** female agency, the devil wears prada, new domesticity, doll's house, chick lit, contemporary literature.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Linda Hirschman's imperative title 'Get to Work' (2007) expresses one of the most important goals that feminists have worked on achieving. Feminists have introduced the idea of women's emancipation from the home as a sign of gender equality and freedom (Goodman, 2010). They have worked tirelessly to move the role of women from the private sphere to the public sphere and introduce the idea of having a career as a sign of women's ability to accomplish anything, till it becomes a synonym of female power, equality and, agency. Therefore, by the start of the new millennium, post feminists have announced that contemporary women should perceive themselves

as the late modernity winner (Harris, 2004; Ghail& Haywood, 2007), they can venture into any job opportunities, as these opportunities are no longer sexual or gendered oriented. They go further to state that contemporary women are encouraged to forge their identities as "men lose out to women's touch at work" (Ghail& Haywood, 2007). They combined their claims of female agency and gender equality in the workplace, with many examples of successful women. The women who were able to challenge the system and defy serious sex- base hierarchy, and join the managerial ladder and male-oriented jobs, in response to the Millennium Development Goal (MDGs) and its emphasis on equal representation of all gender in the workplace. This optimistic view of full-time career woman's life has encouraged a number of studies to examine the increasing number of female in the workplace or what is generally known as the feminization at the workplace, i.e., Ghail and Haywood's (2007) work in which they argue that social changes and gender equality can be measured by the number of females who participates in the labor market. And another group of scholars, such as Swim, Aikin, Hall, and Hunter (1995), illustrate the impact of sex differences on individual occupational preferences and argue that sex preferences in occupational presences have diminished. However, little attention has been paid to the idea of female agency and to what extent contemporary women are experiencing their agency in the workplace. Therefore, this This article examines the representation of female agency in the workplace. It demonstrates how being biologically part of a particular group 'female' restrain your agency. The article argues that the workplace has hindered female agency by creating a new domesticity within the public sphere, where female employees have been outsourced or exploited by their male superiors.

The article explains how workplaces have privatized the domain of female employees, creating a new private sphere in the workplace and reinforcing female employees' structure of power that should constitute their agency. The article illustrates that while feminists have been occupied with diversity on the managerial level and female-intensive involvement in a male-dominated career, they have been distracted from the way female agency has been violated in the workplace.

### *1.1 The systematic sex bias strategy in workplace*

According to US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, sexual harassment can be identified as any form of "Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature ...conduct explicitly or implicitly...[and affect] individual's work performance, or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment" (Quoted in Cortina & Berdahl, 2008, p. 470). Sexual harassment has been identified as any sort of action, gesture, or verbal utterance that expresses sexual desire. However, this identification does not represent the actual social context of the contemporary workplace in which female sexual nature has not only played the leading role in any organization hiring decision but also has been used by organizations as a method of applying cost-saving strategy, i.e., It is much less expensive to hire a female secretary to do her paid work of secretarial tasks, and involuntarily accommodate her boss's emotional and mood swing at the same time. So while her physical nature guarantees her job, her sacrifice of agency maintains her career. Female employee's physical nature might play a role in having and maintaining her career because the moment she fails to provide the emotional part, she loses her job. Such a decision to hire a female secretary explicitly specifies the sex of the job holder. And this decision is usually built on a prototype that being female entitles you to be attentive to other people's feelings, and willingness to sacrifice your agency to fulfill other people needs. So while organizations apply the Millennium Development Goal (MDGs) recommendations of equal representation of all gender in the workplace, they preserve the

stabilization of the biological sexual hierarchy or what Foucault (1978) calls the system. This sort of what we shall call sex-base harassment expresses the systematic sex bias strategy that exists in the social context of the workplace, in which female agency should be experienced. And while scholars argue that the effect of sex-base harassment on female agency appears to be "a greater problem for women in blue-collar, lower paying occupations than for women in higher paying occupations as well as in situations where women occupy non-traditional jobs" (Barling & Cooper, 2008, p. 664). The article illustrates how female agency on the managerial level and highly skilled women in the male-dominated career has been violated. The article is explaining that when Foucault (1978) argues that agency is achievable through individual resistance, he was developing the concept of agency at a distance from the social hierarchy that bears heavily on female biological nature. He is ignoring that a system which is built on natural sexual scale to preserve its existence, should keep its scale unchanged. In such a system, free agency becomes correspond to this hierarchy. And while a male can experience his agency according to his biological superior position in the scale or the system, a female can experience her agency within the limits of her biological position in this scale, and in a way that preserve the system. Or, as Rousseau (1762) expresses it, if the most important goal of a state is to maintain its existence, it must experience force on its parts and place each one in the way that keeps the shape. Therefore, the female who are challenging male-oriented careers such as managerial positions and non-traditional jobs are more likely to face sex-based harassment because they are trying to change the system or exchange the places of the state's parts. Berdahl (2007) argues that "the primary motive underlying all harassment is a desire to protect one's social status when it seems threatened" (p.641). Indeed, protecting one's social status plays essential role in increasing this sort of harassment in the workplace. However, the way organizations use this sort of harassment to undermine female agency and applying cost-saving strategy ensures us it is more than individual behavior. And it would not be an exaggeration if we say it is a

systematic strategy to undermine female employees' agency, keep them apart from male-oriented careers, and protect what Foucault calls a system.

## II. VIOLATING FEMALE AGENCY IN THE WORKPLACE

In *The Devil Wears Prada* (2003), Weisberger offers two examples of female employees: Miranda Priestly an example of woman in the managerial ladder, and Andrea the highly motivated young woman, who wants to join a male-dominated workplace as a journalist at *The New Yorker*. In the beginning Weisberger introduces Miranda Priestly as an ideal example of these influential women that the society highlights to validate their claims that contemporary women experience their agency. Miranda Priestly is a perfect example of a woman who has it all; she is a wife, a mother, independent, successful, fashionable and powerful woman. She presented an ideal example of a society that believes in gender equality, like our post-feminist society in which equality is *sine quonon* (Essential and undeniable) (Esping-Andersen, 2009). She is "the most important woman at the most profitable magazine" (Weisberger, 2003, p.81). Therefore, Fest (2008) argues that the way Miranda, ambitious self-made woman presented in the novel as a devil, is an attempt by the author to reinforce feminist achievements, and convey a message that it is not suitable for a woman to have a successful and influential career where she is able to experience her agency. And "perform...[as] a new kind of self-made subjectivity" or as "the winners in ...[the] new world" (Harris, 2004, p.6,1). According to Fest, female agency is the sense of I can do it all. What Fest ignores is the way Miranda's agency is trespassed in her workplace, and while Miranda's facade tells us she is in charge of everything in her life, she is unable to dress herself.

I'd walked by the closet just in time to hear Nigel shouting, MIRANDA PRIESTLY! TAKE THAT RAG OFF THIS SECOND. THAT DRESS MAKES YOU LOOK LIKE SLUT! A COMMON WHORE!

I'd stood outside with my ear presses to the door[...] waited for her to upbraid him in that special way of hers, but all I heard was a quiet murmur of agreement and the rustling of the fabric as she removed the dress (Weisberger, 2003, 239).

Miranda has no control over the way her body is dressed and presented Nigel, is the person who is in charge when it comes to her fashion. He is firm, assertive, inconsiderate, and non-emotional. Nigel is a typical male manager in a system that believes that "the mind and reason are coded masculine, whereas the body and emotion are code feminine" ("Feminist Perspectives on The Self, 2015). However, according to Weisberger, Nigel cannot be appointed in Miranda's position because he lacks the female emotional code. He cannot accommodate another male manager. Foucault (1980) argues that power should be exercised rather than possessed. The same idea Weisberger asserts by showing that Nigel's position in the organization is lower than Miranda, but as a male, he is higher than her in the system. Therefore, he exercises power. On the contrary, Miranda possesses a managerial position, but because she is a female she does not exercise power. And despite the fact that Miranda embraces male attitude in dealing with her female employees, her female nature appears in the way she has to rush to accommodate Mr. Irv Ravitz, her male boss. (Weisberger, 2003), fulfill his needs and do whatever makes him satisfied even if she does not like what she is doing

the real action began on the third with the dining room, where so far Miranda had refused to eat among the peons unless she was lunching with Irv Ravitz, Elias's CEO, who liked to eat there (Weisberger, 2003, p. 137).

Such a situation might be familiar in the domestic sphere, where the excellent housewife tries to accommodate her full-time career tired husband and sacrifices her needs for the sake of their harmonious relationship and peaceful home. Weisberger (2003) describes the situation in *Runway* as an example of domesticity "Welcome to the family" (p.115). The relationship between

Miranda and her female employees as an example of the relationship between a mother and her babies, where the children are “tied to Miranda like an umbilical cord” (Weisberger, 2003, p. 94), and the mother should watch over them, be sure that they are well behaved and have control over their actions, while the relationship between Miranda and Mr. Ravitz is like the relationship between a good housewife and a husband, where the wife adjust herself to fulfill her husband’s needs and wishes. In other words, Weisberger tells us that Miranda’s success in her managerial position depends on her ability to endorse male characteristics in controlling her female employees, but maintaining her work depends on her being an excellent female employee able to accommodate her male superior. She follows the undeclared rules that were given to her as she signed the work’s contract. And as the marriage contract gives “the woman certain obligations, including unpaid work” (Witting, 1982, p. 77), the new form of implicit work contract assigns female employees to another form of obligations and unpaid emotional work. McRobbi (2009) argues that contemporary women have to be grateful for the managerial positions opportunities and willing to pay for these opportunities of joining the workforce that has been generously given to them by society. Therefore, Miranda shows her gratitude for her managerial position in the form of accommodating her moody male boss, forcing herself to eat where he likes and dress according to another male’s taste. And despite Miranda’s massive façade as a powerful female employee, she does not experience her agency. Nigle stands behind the way Miranda dresses the way she looks, and tells her about what is suitable and what is not. Mr. Raviyz tells her where she eats, and watches what she eats.

Swim, Aikin, Hall, Hunter (1995) and Powell (2010) state that we should differentiate between old-fashioned and modern sexism in the workplace. It is believed that in the workplaces old-fashioned sexism say a female employee causes problems in the workplace when she does not stick to her proper role, modern sexism in the workplaces say a female employee causes problems when she complains too much.

Therefore, Weisberger asserts that, Miranda cannot complain about her life or the way her agency is violated in the workplace. On the contrary, she should sacrifice. Miranda cannot resist or ask for more, because complaining and asking for more make her look nagging and demanding, as typical female characteristics. Or as McRobbie (2009) puts it “the new female subject is, despite her freedom, called upon to be silent, to withhold critique in order to count as modern sophisticated girl” (p.18). Miranda cannot express her anger towards the way her life and her agency are disregarded in the workplace. Her anger is defined in the way she eats. She eats

four slices of greasy, fatty bacon, two sausage links, and a soft cheese Danish every morning, and washed it down with a tall latte from Starbucks (two raw sugars, remember!)[and her favorite] Vanilla ice cream- not yogurt,[...]not ice milk, and nothing sugar-free or low-fat- with chocolate syrup and real whipped cream. Not canned,...genuine whipped cream (Weisberger, 2003, p. 145& 199).

Weisberger argues that Miranda powerlessly suppresses and transfers her feelings into food and indicates that Miranda might have bulimia or any other sort of eating disorder “As far as I could tell, the office was divided on whether she was permanently on the Atkins diet or just lucky enough to have a superhuman metabolism the result of some pretty fantastic genes” (Weisberger, 2003, p.145). Miranda should sacrifice and abide by Nigale’s way of dress and tolerates Mr. Ravitz swing of mood for the sake of her fake façade of being the most powerful woman who experiences her agency in the workplace and have control over her life. “Tell me, how many CEOs or managing partners or movie directors... [have] to sacrifice a lot to get there... the same [could] be said of super successful people in every industry” (Weisberger, 2003, p.227).

Foucault (1980) visualizes the way an organization might observe its individual as a ‘Panopticon’ in which the Eye of the Power or the central of observation at the center of the

organization, so it has the ability to observe and monitor the actions of the individual. And argues that technology has developed different forms of optical surveillance that allow the easy and effective exercise of power (p.146-150) However, What Foucault does not explain is the effects of such optical surveillance on the expression of individual agency. And to what extent an individual is allowed to experience their agency in the presence of the gaze of the power? Weisberger (2003) addresses the same idea and describes *Runway* magazine as a modernish style of 'Panopticon', where the eye of the power is allowed to notice the workers' behaviors through cameras, access card, and the glass cubicles that leads to another a wide- open space of huge windows and streaming bright light (p.21). She argues that female agency in workplace is restrained by the society's new technology of optical surveillance. In *Runway*, they provide employees with everything. They offer a dining room with different sorts of food, a gym, designer clothes, and even a daycare center. And each employee is equipped with a card to access all these privileges. Organizations can monitor their employee's activities through this card, "[you can use this card] to get food in the dining room ... of course, that's how they can tell what you're eating [...] Do they care what you eat? [...] Um, I'm not sure. Maybe? I just know they can tell" (Weisberger, 2003,p. 63). They can also get designer clothes for free or with a considerable discount, but all the clothes in size Zero or maybe larger like size One. They provide employees with the illusion of having power or the sense of I can do it all. *Runway* provides her female employees with a daycare center, a Gym, and a dining room gives her employees the implications that they can have it all. They can have a great job, a family, friends and even children. Work places are having a daycare centers. Weisberger argues that workplaces i.e., *Runway* provides female employees with the illusion of agency while they are not only limiting their choices but they also control their female employees' bodies as they monitor their food. They should not exceed 800 calories/day. Powell (2010) argues that the effect on sex differences in the workplace can be traced in way people should be inclined and willing to

behave in work setting. Being female entitles you to be attentive to other people's needs, putting your needs in the second position and following the rules. Therefore, *Runway* uses this card to ensure that her female employees are willing to incline to all the rules and follow the orders. *Runway* makes female employees paranoid about their weight.

"I was constantly called on to assure various *Runway* employees that they weren't fat... but I soon come to realize that Hope –along with every other an orexically skinny girl in the office, and most of the guys – was able to accurately evaluate other people's weight. It was just when it came time to look in the mirror that everyone genuinely saw a wildebeest staring back" (Weisberger, 2003, p.188-189).

*Runway's* new optical surveillance or its formula of power- which presents "between the cameras and the cards, they kind of know what everyone's doing[...] I don't think they actually look at the cameras,...but the cards tell everything"(Weisberger, 2003,p.63)-allow the organization not only to monitor female employees' behaviors and performance at work, but they monitor the most intimate object of their female employees, their bodies. *Runway's* employees' access card creates a critical gaze of the self. (Gill, 2021 & Roberti, 2022). The card is a method by which the organization incorporates into one's inner life. *Runway* might look like a family-friendly organization, a working place that offers female employees a daycare center "I'd heard a rumor that there was a daycare center in the basement, but I didn't know anyone who actually had children" (Weisberger, 2003, p.137).They want to convey "the message" (Weisberger, 2003. P.272) that nothing can stop *Runway's* female employees from having successful careers, financial independence, and social life with family and children. However, these skinny girls would not use the daycare center; female employees would not risk their jobs in order to have babies. *Runway* forces her female employees to choose between having careers with privileges or the cellar. Put it precisely, female employees have to choose between these privileges that they society

offers or the cellar which attaches to their biological nature. Moreover, if *Runway* does not tolerate their employee's sick leave (Weisberger, 2003, p. 302), it would be a complete fancy to provide them with maternal leave. *Runway* uses its card as a cost-saving strategy as female employees are not allowed to gain weight, be pregnant, have maternal leave, or any sort of child caregiving responsibility.

In their search for a definition of the ideal worker, who is valued and promoted by employers, Leskinen & Cortina (2013) and Sabra (2016) state that the excellent worker is someone "who works full time and consistently over his or her lifetime and who takes no leaves for pregnancy, child care or other care giving responsibilities" (p.4). Such definition expresses the undeclared conditions and the terms that contemporary female employees accept when they sign their work contracts, in other words, women are considered incompetent workers because of their biological ability to bear children. Grosz (2004) in her exploration of the space between the natural and the cultural, argues that the physical nature of a person does not limit the role that person can play culturally. On the contrary, it offers the person a variety of life. She also affirms that the transformed and the indeterminate nature of biology ensures no boundaries, and limits to social, political and personal life. While the first part of Grosz's argument minimizes the importance of the role that biological nature can play in determining a person's life achievements, her affirmation that nature is transformed and indeterminate provides society with an unclear measure of evaluating women's work. Consequently, "the very terms that confer humanness [and smartness] on some individuals are those that deprive certain other individuals of the possibility of achieving that status" (Butler, 2004, p. 2). Precisely, Grosz (2004) states that she does not focus on the "body but [on] that which [the body] makes it possible and which limits its action" (p.2), by stating that the body has the power to make things possible or impossible we put the ability of female body under a debate, limiting female options and ensuring that the barrier between any female worker and her

successful career is the sacrifices that this female worker is willing to do to conceal the vulnerability of her natural nature. In other words, the biological related bias that society uses in evaluating workers forces contemporary female employees who want to move up in their career ladder to sacrifice and put their life on hold for the sake of career development. Weisberger (2003) emphasizes the same idea as Miranda tells Andrea, "you remind me of myself when I was your age" (p.368), in response to Andrea's declaration that she puts her career before her social life and she will not leave her job for emergency. Andrea does not want to be caught with any sort of desire of caregiving or being emotional as she aspires to join the male-dominated career at *The New Yorker*. She announces that she will trade her social life for a career and equality.

Fest (2008) argues that the way Andrea quit her job "is a cautionary tale that warns young women of the danger of becoming successful, the danger of giving the lure of money and glamour that irrevocably leads to the loss of love [and] happiness" (p.55). Andrea quit her job, when she came to realize that she will not achieve her dream. She decided to experience her agency through resistance and not let the fake example of having it all presented in *Runway* to deceive her. She expresses her agency, refuses to follow the norms, and refuses to be acquainted with Christian Collinsworth, the man who offers to help her to achieve her dream in joining a male-dominated workplace as a journalist at *The New Yorker* while he is telling her "don't worry your pretty little head" (Weisberger, 2003, p. 253). Collinsworth "smelled of masculine ...something old-school like Polo Sport" (Weisberger, 2003, p.351). Weisberger draws a concrete picture of the patriarchy and attached this picture with an alarming light, "at that exact moment, an ambulance roared past me with its siren wailing, lights flashing in a fruitless attempt to speed through the hopelessly gridlocked traffic" (Weisberger, 2003, p.159). She urges her female readers to be cautious about what society offers. The successful career in *Runway* is a part of the society game, or as Weisberger (2003) puts it "It's

*all a part of that world and that world is no place you want to be. It might look like fun from here[...], but you'd be in way over your head"* (p.128). The post-feminist society offers contemporary female employees sweet, wonderful, successful, and prosperous life but according to its sex bias rules.

*The Devil Wears Prada* is a cautionary tale that warns contemporary female employees against what Foucault (1980) calls 'The social body'. Which is the effect "of the materiality of power operating on the very bodies of individuals" (p.55). Or the way the body is used by the power to restrain individuals' behaviors. And in our case here, the power is represented in the organizational implicit rules or the social context of the workplace that uses the body to restrain female employees' agency, keeping them apart from managerial positions and male-dominated careers. And while Foucault(1980) states that once the power produces this effect, there is inevitably resistance emerges in response to this phenomenon. ( p.56). Female employees' resistance to the social body phenomenon in the workplace cost them their job and careers. Weisberger(2003) emphasizes when Andrea was asked about her job and how it would help her to embrace her future career.

I instantly suppressed the urge to start rattling off the myriad things I'd learned: how to find a single store or restaurant review in whole city[....]how to plead with, scream at, persuade, cry to pressure, cajole or charm anyone, from the immigrant food delivery guy to the editor in chief [...]to get exactly what I needed (p. 354)

Andrea knows that she is wasting her time in this job and she will never learn anything that will help her to have a real career in the future, but she knows that her resistance means losing the position that "a million girls would die for"(Weisberger, 2003,p.17). Andrea, by quitting her job at *Runway*, she tries to experience her agency and resist the social body phenomenon or the ace card that allows *Runway* to mentor her body, her food, and her social life. *The Devil Wears Prada* is a cautionary tale that warns young women not to let their dreams of having

careers even if they have to follow the hardest path as Andrea has to start again "it's not *The New Yorker*, but it's an OK first step" (Weisberger, 2003, p.385). Therefore it is not strange that Andrea does not only try to achieve her dream, but she aspires to be a CEO and has her magazine, *The Plunge*. Weisberger asserts that feminism interpretation of women having successful careers was never intended to encourage women to work under subhuman conditions or accept to sacrifice their agency or as Faludi (2006) puts it, "fantasies of fame and world conquest aren't ... [feminism] aspirations" (p.xv). Feminism is about liberating women, removing the limits of their dreams, helping them to experience their agency and create their own future and achieve whatever their goals are. Weisberger argues that working at *Runway* is not the only way for Andrea to have a profound impact or indicate her success. Andrea and contemporary female employees have the power to be whatever they are dream of. Women should not take the safe path. On the contrary, they should stand for themselves.

### III. LANGUAGE IN THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE WORKPLACE

Witting (1980) states that in our world, we have diverse of languages, such as the language of the unconscious, the language of fashion, the language of the exchange of women, etc. All these discourses of languages fit into one another, support one another, interoperate one another , engender one another, and produce "a confusing static for the oppressed, which makes them lose sight of the material cause of their oppression" (p.104). Weisberger addresses the discourse of language that is used in the social context of the workplace and demonstrates the relationship between the languages is used in the workplace and female physical nature. Weisberger emphasizes on how the discourse of language in the workplace is created in a way to restrain female employee's agency. Andrea is welcome at *Runway* by Nigel "WELCOME TO THE DOLLHOUSE, BABY!" (Weisberger, 2003, p.59). And when she has been introduced in a party as Miranda's new assistant Marshall, the male color

guru, addresses her “I’ve heard all about you, little one. Welcome to the family” (Weisberger, 2003,p.115). And when Andrea talks about her dream of joining the male-dominated workplace *The New Yorker*, she is told by Christian, “Darling Andy, don’t worry your pretty little head about it” (Weisberger, 2003,p. 253). Weisberger demonstrates how the language used in the workplace creates a new domesticity in workplace, where female employees are treated as fragile creatures, unable to use their minds. And even when Andrea refuses to go out with Christian he asks her “Do you really have plans, Andrea, or do you think your boyfriend would disapprove of you going out with another man?”(Weisberger,2003, p. 160). The way the question is constructed expresses how society sees a female employee, and implies that she is unable to make a decision by herself. She should seek the approval of her master ‘boyfriend’ before she can socialize with her colleagues or the men she works with. Or as Witting (1989) puts it, “the perennality of the sexes and the perennality of slaves and master proceed from the same belief. And as there are no slaves without masters, there are no women without men” (p.10). It does not matter if you have a career or are financially independent. As a female you still need to consider your male master before making any decision, even if that decision is related to you job. Weisberger (2003) successfully uses the language to demonstrate the relationship between female agency in the workplace and female biological sexual nature, and affirms that the society creates a new domesticity, in the workplace, where female employees find their agency tied up with umbilical cord, not allowing them to grow up or out or away from the source of their suffocation, or their biological sexual nature.

Foucault (1980) in his explanation of *The Order of Things* argues that in any regime, it is not important what kind of external power imposes itself on a system, as of what effects of control circulate within this system, and constitute as form of internal power. Put it clearly, it is not important how many female employees have joined the labor market in response to the Millennium Development Goal (MDGs), and it emphasis on equal representation of all gender in

the workplace, but what kind of power these female employees have played in the social context of the workplace, and if they constitute any form of internal control that allows them to experience their agency. Weisberger argues that “the new brand of competitive individualism, whereby people are expected to create their chances and make the best of their lives” (Harris,2004, 3). Along with postfeminists’ critics and media insisting on the unnecessary female sisterhood have not allowed female employees to constitute any form of power. On the contrary, it restrains their agency and moves female employees’ fight with society to a fight with one another, or as Andrea puts it:

“I realized then for the first time what different year it would have been if Emily and I could’ve be truly been friends, if we could have covered and protected and trusted each other enough ...[and be] as a united front” (Weisberger, 2003, p.300)

Foucault (1980) states that in every relationship, power does exist. And this relationship expresses the “concrete soil in which the sovereign's power is grounded, and the conditions which make it possible for it to function” (Foucault, 1989,p.187).

The workplace can be perceived as the soil in which organizations experience their power over female employees and the competitive individualization that post-feminists have fostered considers the conditions that allow organizations to experience thier power over female employees, reinforcing their agency and prevent them from challenging male-dominated careers. Post-feminists have left contemporary female employees vulnerable; each one has to fight alone against workplace injustice policies. Weisberger asserts that Andrea and Emily both can achieve their dreams and advance their workplace positions if they both stand together, but they cannot trust one another. They have been told by society that every woman should create her chance by herself and never trust anyone. Postfeminist critics have successfully created a fight between women; making them believe that the barrier between any woman and her

advancement in the workplace is not a man but it is another woman.

To conclude, Witting (1984) states that feminists should use text as a literary war machine, this war machine aims at “pulverize the old form and formal conventions”, and even though the device might appear strange, nonconforming, and unassimilable, it will eventually work. The Devil Wears Prada might be considered as an example of Witting’s literary war machine. It is the new Trojan horse by which Weisberger pulverizes the post-feminist form of female agency and illustrates how female agency in the workplace has been practiced within the limits of physical sexual differences between male and female employees. And emphasizes that the physical differences does not only restrain contemporary female employees’ expression of agency but also creates a new domesticity in the workplace where female employees have been assigned to paid and unpaid work.

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# We-Media Facilitating Cultural Transmission: LDA-based Topic Modelling and Sentiment Analysis

Zilong Zhong

Beijing Foreign Studies University

## ABSTRACT

In the current study, comments on the YouTube video series “Chinese festival food” were collected using an open-source web crawler. Sentiment analysis was conducted using the VADER sentiment analysis tool, and the topic distribution of sentiment tendencies was explored based on the LDA model. The study found that: (1) high frequency words and their collocations in the comments of Li Ziqi’s “Chinese festival food” video series indicated that viewers greatly appreciated the content. (2) The comments of Li Ziqi’s “Chinese festival food” video series conveyed a positive sentiment. (3) The positive sentiment of Li Ziqi’s “Chinese festival food” video series mainly focused on topics such as food, video, characters, life, and culture. These findings demonstrate that social media has become an emerging and powerful channel for cultural transmission and transcultural communication. This study aims to provide new research methods and ideas for the study of cultural transmission, and shed light on the transmission of culture across the world.

*Keywords:* we-media; cultural transmission; LDA-based topic modelling; VADER; sentiment analysis.

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**Keywords:** we-media; cultural transmission; LDA-based topic modelling; VADER; sentiment analysis.

**Author:** Research Institute of Foreign Languages, Beijing Foreign Studies University, Beijing, 100089, China.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In today’s world, the rapid growth of the economy and the transmission of cultures across borders have led people to share a diverse range of foods. The emergence of the we-media era has further

diversified the pathways of cultural communication, making it possible for food cultures from different countries to be exposed to a global audience. Li Ziqi, a Chinese food short video creator, has leveraged we-media platforms to share traditional Chinese food culture with her fans worldwide. To gain insights into how viewers respond to cultural transmission via we-media and their willingness to engage in transcultural communication on social media, we collected and analyzed hot comments from Li Ziqi’s “Chinese festival food” video series. Through this analysis, we aim to provide useful insights into the foreign communication of Chinese culture.

As a new technology in the field of text mining, topic mining can automatically annotate and extract representative words, phrases or sentences. This technology has unique advantages in processing large-scale text, quickly and effectively identifying core focuses and valuable information from big data (Kherwa & Bansal, 2019). The Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) model method, based on the DeFinetti theorem, assumes that each document is composed of several topics, and each topic is defined as the distribution of a vocabulary. LDA model can capture the Dirichlet probability distribution within documents, and estimate the final number of topics of the given document via the Gibbs sampling algorithm (Chen, 2017; De Finetti, 2017). Social networks, as a rich source for analyzing perspectives and behaviors of users, is a popular subject of the LDA model. Guimarães et al. built datasets consisting of tweets of politicians and the replies they received. Taking the 2016 US Election and the UK Brexit as examples, they identified keywords in the relative tweets, and analyzed how the political orientation of the

public were influenced by power users (Guimarães et al., 2017). Gao et al. (2022) collected posts on Weibo and Twitter related to public opinions on working from home during the COVID-19 pandemic, and analyzed the major challenges of working from home by classifying topic via LDA topic modelling. The study conducted by Ginossar et al. (2022) identified YouTube videos sharing tweets about COVID-19 vaccine posted before the vaccine rollout. Through the LDA topic modelling analysis, conspiracy theories dominated forming anti-vaccination frames, seriously impeding the uptake of vaccination against infectious diseases. According to aforementioned applications, LDA topic modelling can be a powerful tool for comprehending the responses and dialogues among users in online communities.

Sentiment analysis or opinion mining refers to the study of subjective texts with emotions, mining the sentimental tendencies and differentiating emotional attitudes. This concept was firstly proposed by Nasukawa and Yi in 2003 (Nasukawa & Yi, 2003). The approaches of sentiment analysis can be broadly divided into three categories, machine learning-based methods (e.g., Duan et al., 2020; Li & Liu, 2014), deep learning-based methods (e.g., Ma et al., 2018; Majumder et al., 2019; Sadr et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2016) and lexicon-based methods (e.g., Dang et al., 2010; Dolores Molina-González et al., 2015; Muhammad et al., 2016; Saif et al., 2016). One significant benefit of lexicon-based approaches is that it does not require training data, while the lexicon employed for sentiment analysis must be matched to the topic of interest (Lighthart et al., 2021). Valence Aware Dictionary and sEntiment Reasoner (VADER) algorithm, as one of the lexicon-based approaches, is a rule-based sentiment analysis tool with an open-source lexicon. VADER algorithm traverses a string of text to determine whether any of the words are included in the VADER lexicon (Bonta et al., 2019; Britzolakis et al., 2020). It is built from a valence-based, generalizable, human-curated gold standard lexicon and does not require any training data. Besides, VADER excels in mining the sentiment from social media, movie or book comments, and commodity evaluations. Park and

Seo, for example, collected comments about three artificial intelligence assistants, Siri, Google Assistant, and Cortana, from Twitter, and converted this opinion into sentiment scores via VADER to rank them by statistical analysis (Park & Seo, 2018). Jelodar et al. utilized VADER to analyze user comments of the Oscar-nominated movie trailers on YouTube, and further mine the topics of these comments, assess users' focuses on these movies (Jelodar et al., 2021).

Through an interdisciplinary approach, this study examines the comments left on Li Ziqi's "Chinese festival food" video series using VADER sentiment analysis and LDA topic modelling to investigate the distribution of sentiment and topics among viewers. The aim is to gain insights into the transmission of Chinese culture through foreign communication. This study offers innovative research methods and ideas for exploring cultural transmission and contributes to our understanding of how cultures are shared and transmitted across the globe.

## II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The present study aims to answer the following questions:

- What are the high-frequency words in the comments on Li Ziqi's "Chinese festival food" video series, and what are their collocation characteristics?
- What is the sentiment tendency of the comments on Li Ziqi's "Chinese festival food" video series?
- What are the characteristics of the topic distribution within the comments on Li Ziqi's "Chinese festival food" video series that have a positive sentiment?

The technical route of this study can be generally divided into three steps: data crawling, data processing, and data analysis, as shown in Figure 1. Data processing includes text cleansing and text pre-processing, that is, tokenization and text denoising. Three steps included in data analysis are word frequency statistics, sentiment analysis, and topic mining.

## 2.1 Data Crawling

Web scraper, YouTube API version 3, in Python scripts was applied to extract hot comments of Li Ziqi's "Chinese festival food" video series (Yasmina et al., 2016). The titles of each video were listed in Table 1, and views and the number of hot comments were shown in Figure 2. The collected data was outputted as csv files for further processing. All data was collected at 10:12 on August 12, 2022.

## 2.2 Data Processing

Data processing was divided into two parts: text cleansing and text pre-processing. Comments without text, comments that are not in English, comments that contain emoticons only, comments with obvious typos, and reduplicative comments were removed in text cleansing. The numbers of comments after the data cleansing of each video were shown in Figure 2.

After data cleansing, the data was integrated into one csv file containing 5510 comments in total, which was imported into Text Analytics Toolbox embedded in MATLAB R2021b for tokenization and denoising. Comments were tokenized into arrays consisting of several tokens. Denoising process included the following steps:

- Removing stop words, including articles (e.g., "a", "an" and "the") and prepositions (e.g., "to", "for", and "of").
- Lemmatization, for example, "watching", "watched" or "watches" into "watch".

## 2.3 Data Analysis

### 2.3.1 Word Frequency Statistics

Bag of words (BoW) is one of the frequently used models for natural language processing and text analysis. Different from word embedding model, eigenvectors are transformed from documents rather than single words. The BoW model assumes that a document is merely considered to be a collection of words, with word order, grammar, syntax, and other factors being disregarded. The appearance of each word in the document is independent, not influenced by the appearance of other words (Qader et al., 2019).

The co-occurrence matrix is calculated by multiplying the word-count matrix by its transpose, then the co-occurrence network of a specific word can be segmented from the whole co-occurrence map of the document.

## 2.4 Sentiment Analysis

VADER is a method for text sentiment recognition based on lexicon and grammar rules, firstly published in 2014 (Hutto & Gilbert, 2014). The VADER lexicon consists of more than 7,500 lexical features (including adjectives, nouns, adverbs, etc.) showing the polarity and frequency of sentiment, scored from -4 to +4. Different from other proposed sentiment lexicon, the VADER lexicon considers common abbreviations (e.g., "LOL" and "BTW") and slang (e.g., "bruh" and "giggly") to deal with sentiment discrimination of non-standard sentences in the social network environment such as Twitter. The score judged by the VADER algorithm is influenced by punctuations, capitalization, degree modifiers, conjunctions, and negation. The compound score given by VADER algorithm ranges from -1 to +1, where -1 indicates the most extreme negative, and +1 indicates the most extreme positive. The typical thresholds for classifying comments as positive, neutral, or negative are shown in Figure 3.

## 2.5 Topic mining

The LDA model was then applied to mine the underlying topics of the positive comments for determining the effect of LiZiqi's "Chinese festival food" video series on Chinese food cultural transmission. Based on bag of words of documents, LDA assumes that  $D$  documents consist of  $K$  topics, and the  $k$ -th topic are identified by  $V$  words. The plate notation of the LDA model is shown in Figure 4. In LDA, the topic distributions in all documents share the common Dirichlet prior  $\alpha$ , a  $K$ -dimensional vector, and topics over the  $d$ -th document follow a Dirichlet distribution  $\theta_d$  (Liu et al., 2016),

$$\theta_d = \text{Dirichlet}(\alpha) \quad (1)$$

Similarly, the word distributions of topics share the common Dirichlet prior  $\eta$ , a  $V$ -dimensional vector, and words over the  $k$ -th topic follow another Dirichlet distribution  $\beta_k$ ,

$$\beta_k = \text{Dirichlet}(\eta) \quad (2)$$

For the  $n$ -th word in the  $d$ -th document, its topic number  $z_{d,n}$  can be found in the Dirichlet distribution  $\theta_d$ ,

$$z_{d,n} = \text{multi}(\theta_d) \quad (3)$$

The probability distribution of the  $z_{d,n}$ -th word,  $w_{d,n}$ , can be determined from the Dirichlet distribution  $\beta_{z_{d,n}}$  of the  $z_{d,n}$ -th topic,

$$w_{d,n} = \text{multi}(\beta_{z_{d,n}}) \quad (4)$$

The number of topics was determined by the goodness-of-fit of LDA models, evaluated by the perplexity, and the time elapsed for converging. Besides, the t-distributed stochastic neighbour embedding (t-SNE) algorithm was also applied to plot the document topic mixtures to visualize the clustering of similar documents.

### III. RESULTS

#### 3.1 High-frequency Word Analysis

MATLAB R2021b software was adopted to plot a histogram of the number of video views (Figure 1), the word cloud of the top 100 words with high frequency in video comments and the co-occurrence network of the high-frequency word “video” (Figure 5).

In terms of the number of views on the YouTube platform for the “Chinese festival food” video series, the video “Peanut and melon seeds, dried meat, dried fruit, snowflake cake - snacks for Spring Festival” had the highest number of views as at 10:12 on 12 August 2022, with 115,382,645 views, followed by “Happiness-filled family dinner, fortune-and-wellness-filled year ahead - New Year Dinner”, “Dragon boat zongzi~” and

“Chinese New Year’s decorations, goods and snacks!”, with 18,999,542, 18,212,865 and 16,563,637 views respectively. The total number of views for the series is nearly 200 million (193,663,125), far exceeding the number of views for other videos in the same category on the platform, which reveals that the video series attracts a consistently much attention among similar videos and shows a good dissemination effect.

The size of the word cloud indicates the frequency of the word in the video comments. The words “video”, “love”, “like”, “make” and “beautiful” are the top five most frequent words, with frequencies of 1,503, 1,400, 724, 653, and 646, respectively, among which the words “love”, “like”, and “beautiful” (examples 1-3) obviously show positive attitudes towards the video series, expressing viewers’ much affection and appreciation for the video series.

- (1) Woow it was so beautiful!!! I found an amazing person to follow today. Love it so much. Chinese culture is so aesthetic.
- (2) I’m not Chinese but I really like the way how they beautifully celebrate their new year. I really love the sweet food, decoration, and her garden. I’m speechless. she is very good artist. I love her art so much.
- (3) This is really inspiring, she did everything by her own. Landscape around her is fresh and beautiful. Thank you so much for such a great video.

The lines between high-frequency words and collocations in the collocation network diagram indicate the association between words, and the length of the lines between high-frequency words and collocations demonstrates the strength of the collocation. The high-frequency word “video” includes collocations such as “new”, “watch”, “like”, “love”, “beautiful” and “Chinese” (examples 4-7), which are mainly words expressing positive sentiment, indicating that viewers hold a more positive attitude towards videos.

- (4) I love watching your videos the place is beautiful, God bless you with a talent it's very

sweet to have your grandma in your videos. I am from Belize.

- (5) This is another incredibly good, brilliant, beautiful, and INSPIRING video from Ms. Liziqi (who is also beautiful, hardworking, and brilliant.). We over here in Los Angeles, love your videos so much. The videos are also very therapeutic, soothing, and relaxing. Thank you so much for sharing all your videos, and for all your hard work.
- (6) Ziqi is very busy with all kinds of planting work after the Chinese New Year. Everything is great for her, just she doesn't have time to cut a video yet. Be patient, a new video is coming soon.
- (7) I've learned more about Chinese culture watching Ziqi videos than I ever have in western schools. The more I watch these videos, the more I become inundated with reasons why capitalist culture is death.

Given together, along number of views of Li Ziqi's "Chinese festival food" video series reveals the constant interest of viewers, and the high-frequency words and their collocations in the video comments reflect the much appreciation of viewers for video series.

### 3.2 Sentiment Analysis

VADER was conducted to measure the sentiment scores of video comments in the current study. Since it is a lexicon and algorithm-based sentiment analysis tool designed specifically for social media content, it could ensure reliability and validity when analyzing the video comment data. The tool adopts the vaderSentimentLexicon function to calculate sentiment scores. The closer the score is to one, the more positive the sentiment is. On the contrary, the closer the score is to minus one, the more negative the sentiment is. A score of zero means neutral sentiment. The number of comments with positive, neutral and negative sentiment was calculated to be 4,655, 640, and 219, respectively. The average scores of positive and negative sentiments were 0.6805, and -0.3093 respectively (Figure 6(a)). The results indicate the high acceptance of Li Ziqi's "Chinese festival food" video series among viewers, with positive, neutral, and negative

comments accounting for 84.4%, 11.6%, and 4% respectively (Figure 6(b)).

To further examine the lexical usage characteristics in the positive comments, the word cloud of positive comment was plotted (Figure 7). Among the positive video comments, "love" was the most frequent word, with a frequency of 1,391, uncovering the popularity of the video series among viewers. In addition, words such as "beautiful", "good", "happy", and "amazing" (examples 8-11) stand out of the word cloud, showing a clearly positive sentiment tendency. Hence, it is reasonable to conclude that the video series is highly appreciated by viewers.

- (8) Such a beautiful woman so skilled in traditional ways that people don't know anymore. Beautifully filmed.
- (9) This is another incredibly good, brilliant, beautiful, and INSPIRING video from Ms. Liziqi (who is also beautiful, hardworking, and brilliant.). We over here in Los Angeles, love your videos so much. The videos are also very therapeutic, soothing, and relaxing. Thank you so much for sharing all your videos, and for all your hard work.
- (10) Something about this makes me really happy, but also sad. I live in urban new york and will never be able to experience something like this. I would rather live and work on a farm and do that for my lifetime instead of getting a degree and work my life away in an office.
- (11) I couldn't click fast enough when I received the notification. It's always a joy to watch Ziqi's video, wondering what she's going to cook or make. This lady is beautiful, amazing, yet humble and sincere. An amazing human being.

### 3.3 Topic Mining

To obtain the characteristics of the topic distribution of positive sentiment, the LDA model was built for topic mining. First of all, the optimal number of topics for positive sentiment in video comments was obtained by confusion analysis. The line graph of validation perplexity and time elapsed with the number of topics are shown in Figure 8(a). The number of topics for positive

comments was set to 9 since the validation perplexity was lower while the time elapsed was shorter at this point. Then the fitlda function was adopted to match the model solver with the best fit (Figure 8(b)). The solver “cgs” have the lowest perplexity and shorter time elapsed, so “cgs” was selected as the solver to build the LDA model.

The result of topic mining of positive sentiment is shown in Figure 9. Figure 9(a) shows word clouds of each topic, and Figure 9(b) shows the topic mixtures generated by the t-SNE algorithm.

It is vividly depicted that topic 1 focuses on food, with words such as “good”, “amazing”, and “delicious” expressing the viewers’ praise for the food made in the video. Topic 2 is mainly about video, with words such as “beautiful”, “amazing”, “nice”, and “talented” indicating the viewers’ approval of the videos’ creativity. Topic 3, 4, 7, and 9 concentrate on the main characters, Li Ziqi, grandma, and their puppy, with words “liziqi”, “grandma”, “ziqi” and “puppy”, together with collocations such as “love”, “miss”, and “cute” showing how much viewers love and are impressed by the three main characters in the video series. Topic 5 is about life, with words such as “great”, “beautiful” and “peaceful” reflecting the viewers’ desire for a rural and idyllic life. The video is a microcosm of the life of Li Ziqi and his grandmother in the countryside, where the characters live in nature, away from the hustle and bustle of the city. While documenting the process of making food, the video also presents an amazing picture of man and nature living in harmony to viewers in a bustling city. Topic 6 and 8 focus on culture and festivals. The videos share Chinese culture with viewers around the world in a unique way, from the perspective of traditional Chinese festival food. While enjoying the videos, viewers learn about traditional Chinese festivals and experience Chinese culture at the same time.

Among 4655 positive comments, 633 comments (13.6%) were classified into topic 6 and 8 (examples 12-14), indicating that communication and culture are inseparable. Li Ziqi’s “Chinese festival food” video series take advantage of we-media to promote the cross-cultural communication effectively and efficiently. The

videos originate from her real life, conveying a cultural message that is conducive to viewers’ perception on different cultures and more likely to resonate with viewers in a genuine way. The interactive transmission of information through viewers’ watching, commenting and sharing reduces the sense of oppression generated by cultural conflict. We-media constructs an innovative platform for viewers to interact with heterogeneous cultures.

- (12) It is good if you use nature for such a respect for you and I will visit China at some point to see nature and get to know your culture. Greetings from Germany.
- (13) I know we Indian and Chinese are going through war, but I love that there are still people in only these two countries which has culture that can’t be compared to any one... our both cultures are purest and graceful love from India.
- (14) Watching those videos, I understand how beautiful, ancient and interesting Chinese culture is. Also, as Italian, I confess that Chinese, and eastern chicken in general, is as various as our food! I would like to learn to cook like you!

#### IV. DISCUSSION

In this interdisciplinary study, comments on the YouTube video series “Chinese festival food” were collected using an open-source web crawler. Sentiment analysis was conducted using the VADER sentiment analysis tool, and the topic distribution of sentiment tendencies was explored based on the LDA model. The Analysis of high-frequency words revealed that the most commonly used words in the comments on video series “Chinese festival food” were “video”, “love”, “like”, etc. The collocations of the high-frequency word “video” included “gift”, “wonderful”, “talented”, indicating a high level of appreciation among viewers for the video series. The Sentiment analysis found that there were 4,655 positive sentiment comments on Li Ziqi’s “Chinese festival food” video series, accounting for 84.4% of the comments, with an average score of 0.6805, indicating an overwhelmingly positive sentiment among viewers. Topic mining revealed that the

positive sentiment of Li Ziqi's "Chinese festival food" video series mainly focused on food, video, character, life, and culture.

The topics discussed above reveal that viewers of Li Ziqi's "Chinese festival food" video series are interested not only in the food itself, but also in the characters featured in the videos, their lifestyle, the videos' creativity and talent, and the culture they convey. Several factors contribute to the immense popularity of Li Ziqi's videos worldwide. First, the videos showcase innovative approaches to making Chinese food by using traditional cooking techniques, especially in the context of traditional Chinese festival food. As food is a universal language and an essential part of people's daily lives, it becomes an effective entry point to attract viewers from different countries.

Second, the videos feature an underlying narrative that satisfies the emotional needs of viewers. The slow-paced and narrative style of the videos, which contrasts the quiet countryside with the bustling city, evoke a wide range of emotional responses from viewers. Third, the videos effectively communicate cultural information, making them a vivid and concrete carrier for sharing traditional Chinese culture with overseas viewers, leaving a deep impression in their minds. Finally, the videos portray a new character, Li Ziqi, who is independent, self-reliant, hard-working, and talented, breaking stereotypes in the minds of viewers and triggering contemplation. In conclusion, Li Ziqi's video series have been well-received worldwide because of the high-quality and talented videos she has created. They provide viewers with a visual feast and an aural treat, reflecting the value of harmonious coexistence between human beings and nature, and enabling viewers to appreciate the spiritual value of shared culture at different stages of life. Therefore, cultural transmission needs to find the right perspective, focus on the narrative, and express in a language that is understandable across the world.

The results of the present study underscore the importance of finding the right perspective, focusing on storytelling, and using a universal language for effective cultural transmission. In

addition, the study highlights the crucial role of we-media in facilitating cross-cultural communication and understanding. In the digital age, we-media has significantly reduced the barriers of time and space, bringing people from diverse backgrounds together on a common platform. Platforms such as YouTube have emerged as powerful vehicles for cultural transmission, enabling creators and viewers to connect and share their experiences. Overall, this study presents novel research methods and ideas that can pave the way for a deeper understanding of cultural transmission in the global context.

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Table 1: Titles of videos in Li Ziqi’s “Chinese festival food” video series

Video Number	Titles
Video 1	Chinese New Year’s decorations, goods and snacks!
Video 2	Dragon boat zongzi~
Video 3	As a kid, I used to eat zongzi wrapped in shells of bamboo shoots
Video 4	Happiness-filled family dinner, fortune-and-wellness-filled year ahead - New Year Dinner
Video 5	Peanut and melon seeds, dried meat, dried fruit, snowflake cake - snacks for Spring Festival
Video 6	Winter cuisine with great meaning—flower shaped shrimp
Video 7	Crust crisp, gravy rich flavor, touched the soul of the Su-style meat moon cake

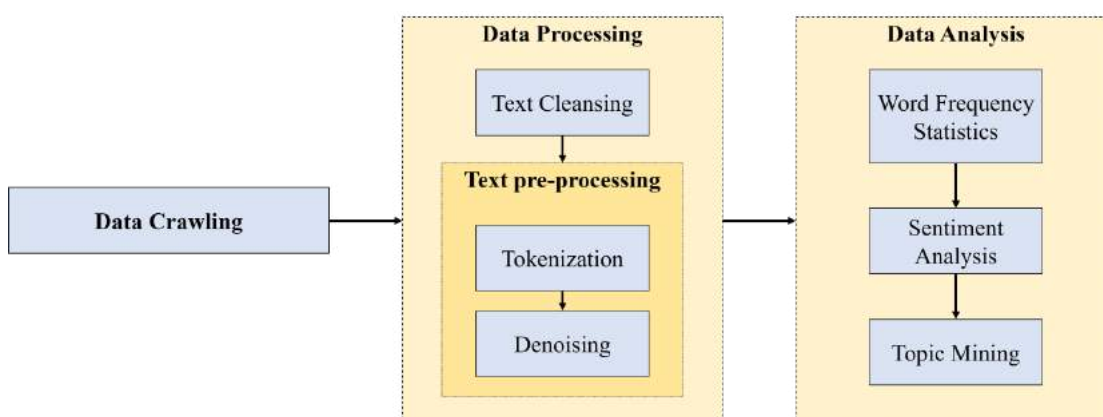


Figure 1: Flow chart of study processes.

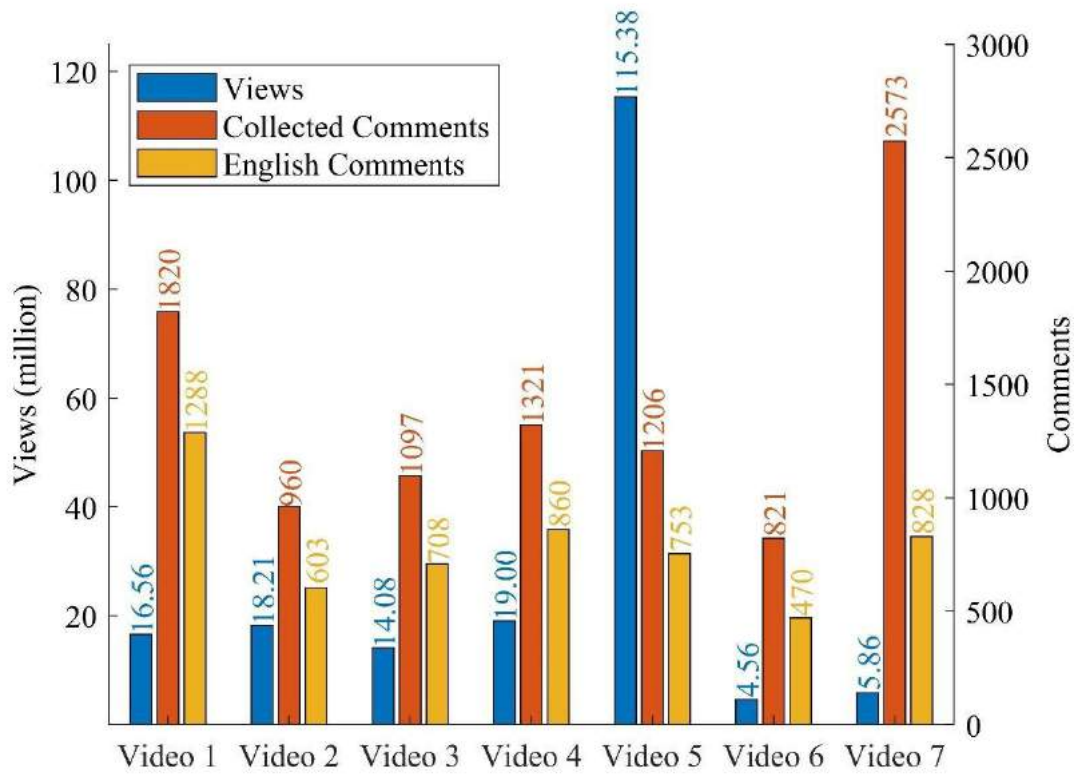


Figure 2: Views, number of collected comments and number of comments after data cleansing.

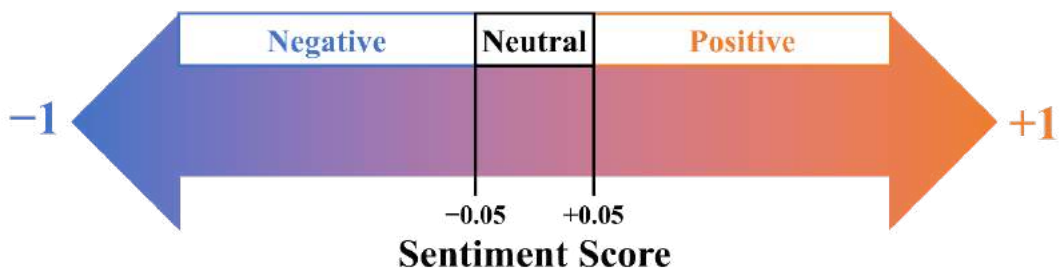


Figure 3: Typical thresholds for classifying comments.

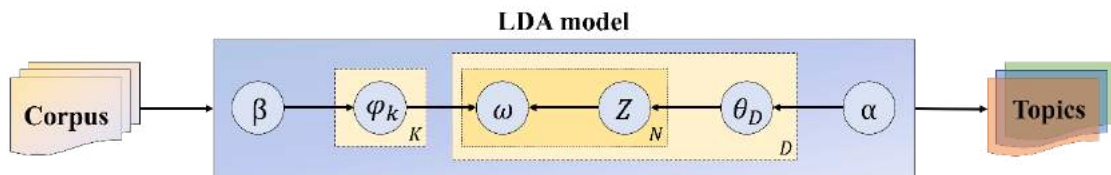


Figure 4: Plate notation of the LDA model.





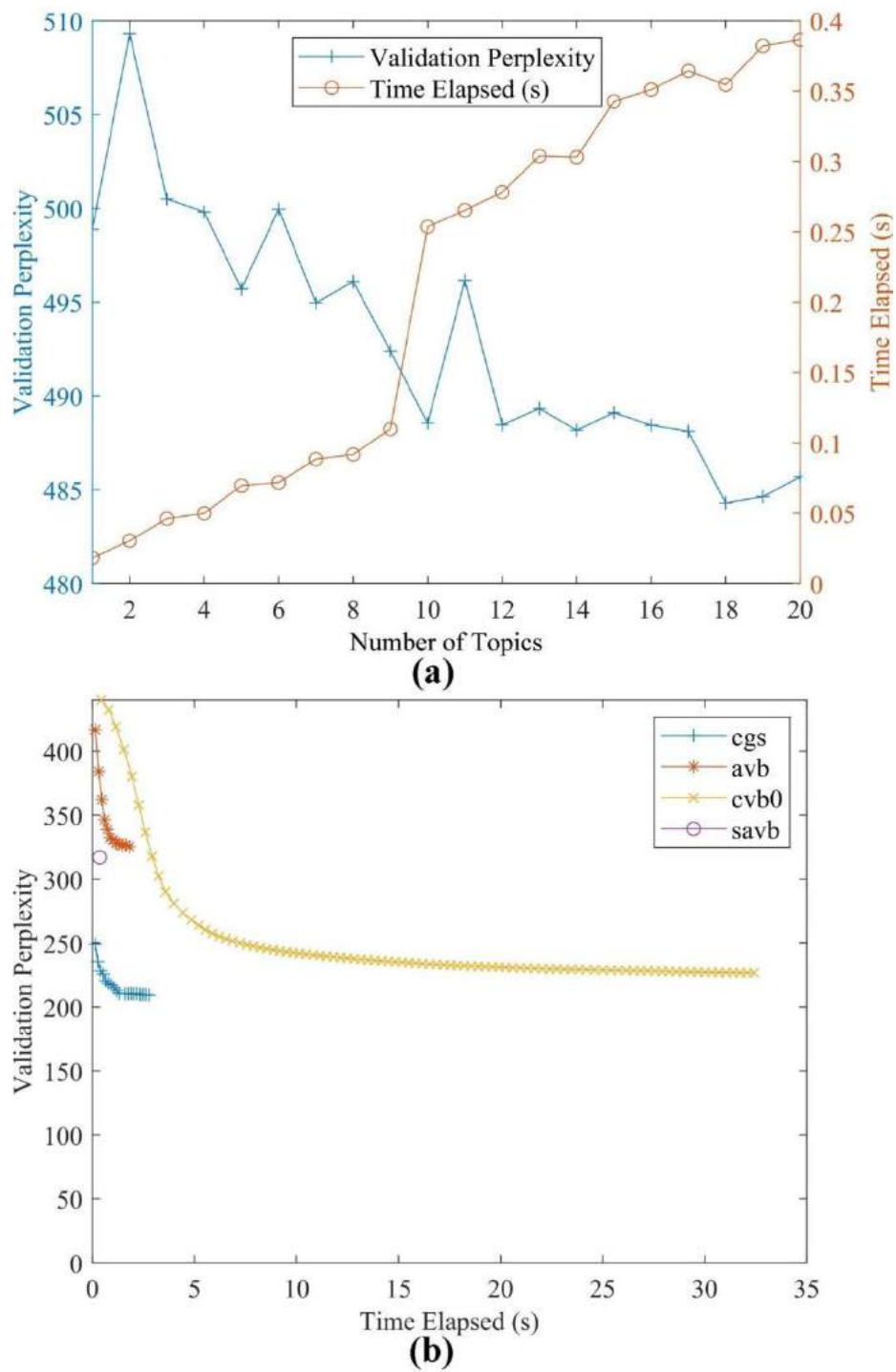


Figure 8: (a) The line graph of validation perplexity and time elapsed with the number of topics. (b) comparison of various solver of LDA.





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# Pastoral Influences on the Relief of Poverty and their Metrics

*B. Michael Fantus*

## ABSTRACT

I am writing this paper from two perspectives, one to argue whether public policy can reduce or end poverty and then to argue why it is appropriate for policy makers to try. I plan to use the conclusions to state avidly, poverty is not a fixed product of civilized life. To even try to believe this, we are taught, is a sin. Yet somehow our targets for eradicating poverty lag. I intend to look at the reasons we do not feel compelled to use our rich amounts of time and resources to reduce the burden of poverty on the poor and create a modern population of more educated, stable, higher incoming earning persons, and how failure to succeed violates the spirit of government.

*Keywords:* NA

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# Pastoral Influences on the Relief of Poverty and their Metrics

B. Michael Fantus

## ABSTRACT

*I am writing this paper from two perspectives, one to argue whether public policy can reduce or end poverty and then to argue why it is appropriate for policy makers to try. I plan to use the conclusions to state avidly, poverty is not a fixed product of civilized life. To even try to believe this, we are taught, is a sin. Yet somehow our targets for eradicating poverty lag. I intend to look at the reasons we do not feel compelled to use our rich amounts of time and resources to reduce the burden of poverty on the poor and create a modern population of more educated, stable, higher incoming earning persons, and how failure to succeed violates the spirit of government.*

*Author:* Independent Researcher in Washington DC.

## I. THE NATION VS. THE PERSON

Sovereigns and governors are told the nation comes first, and in its interests the needs of the people are optional, Loughlin (2013). People come and go, but the nation must endure. The Gospel of Matthew 20:16 says the opposite- it is the person in the most vulnerable position that comes first. We are told this is a matter of Holy Importance.

*"Here it is again, the Great Reversal: many of the first ending up last, and the last first."*

So what must happen so secular legislation requiring the end of poverty can be written and passed and perfect complete obedience to God is accomplished? And how do we measure said policy work and maintain its course?

Of importance is said policy matters can be directly tied to the happiness of the people. Governments exist as collectives of paid philanthropists whose disciplines and dedication

ensure societies work in the interests of the happiness of the people. As with all professions, this work must be budgeted and measured. So what are the works and their measurements?

The key is "Government at a Glance", OECD (2007).

"Why measure government? How government activities are measured matters. The size and economic significance of the public sector make it a major contributor to growth and social welfare.

Beyond economics, measuring government activity is important because of the size of its activities and the consequent need to understand what it is achieving with the very significant expenditures...overall, there is very limited data availability, a troubling concern that is well-recognized in all recent analyses of public management reforms."

First we should define the major areas of reform, determine how they relate to the relief of poverty and tie this to the relief of citizen-subject unhappiness.

The big one is poverty itself, which is not considered by economists to be very well defined at all. Very often this is because of a deliberate point of view regarding the causes and duration of poverty and whether it should be addressed at all, which brings us back to the Gospels which say *this is a must*.

"We have all heard that the poor and minorities need only make better choices – work hard, stay in school, get married, do not have children before they can afford them. If they did all this, they wouldn't be poor.

This is an example of a simplistic view toward the complex social phenomenon. It is minimizing the

impact of a societal issue caused by structure – macro-level labor market and societal conditions – on individuals’ behavior. Such claims also ignore the large body of sociological science. American culture, which overemphasizes individual responsibility...does this to the point that it ignores the effect of root causes shaped by society and beyond the control of the individual.” Assari, S. (2017, June 30).

## II. POVERTY IS JUST A RITUAL

Poverty is a ritual, an ideology made into practice. This means a ritual for the relief of poverty can be brought into existence.

Actions taken against the advancement of poverty, in which one can see oneself as an actor require stock knowledge that goes some way in locating the self within the ideology that is counter to the existence of poverty, Darmanin (2007).

Darmanin also says the actions taken- either way- are the result of questions with predetermined answers, thereby limiting the range of possibilities policy makers will make available to themselves.

The transformation takes place after the state recognizes itself as a direct translation of the economic ambitions of an independent state into one with an educational agenda, one that recognizes the expense is an investment. One that creates a workforce of a sufficient general level that meets the needs of its clientele.

Due to the increased length and sophistication of the educational process that is usually entailed, these must eventually be measured via radical changes to the underlying national economy. Discussions about funding said increases in scope need to take place in terms of the expected changes not in terms of the political needs of the policy makers who have been placed in charge of their priorities.

The “economic ambitions” considered the most directly impactful on the poverty ritual or *poverty trap* focus mostly on early intervention:

“It is clearly of importance to further examine the factors that may potentially help to unveil

underlying reasons for poverty perpetuation. These factors include specific aspects of an individual’s perception of issues, personal experiences, behaviors, and individual abilities, which can either contribute to, or attenuate poverty.

According to Mani et al. (2013), poverty perpetuation is likely the outcome of the interplay of various forms of non-productive behaviors such as inappropriate economic decision-making, or lack of own healthcare. These factors, in particular those related to economic decisions, are often labeled as causes of poverty. In this paper, we suggest that a circular relationship might exist between the causes and consequences of poverty, with the consequences of poverty (e.g., negative affect, stress, or impeded cognitive functions) simultaneously acting as poverty triggers, thus creating a poverty cycle also known as a poverty trap,” Adamkovic, M., & Martončík, M. (2017).

Poverty in America is more problematic and extreme than most are aware, Lee, (2023).

“As of January 2021, 37.9 million Americans lived in poverty, accounting for 11.6% of the total population, according to the latest report from the United States Census Bureau. That’s despite the fact that America ranks first as the richest nation in the world in terms of GDP.

“Poverty and economic insecurity are widely common, very commonly experienced,” said Shailly Gupta Barnes, policy director at the Kairos Center for Religions, Rights, and Social Justice. “They are as much a part of the American story as successes to the American dream.”

But the number reported by the Census Bureau is based on the official poverty measure, which has remained virtually unchanged since the mid-1960s. It’s calculated by comparing pretax income against a threshold set at three\_times the cost of a minimum food diet in 1963.”

## III. POLITICAL ATTITUDES ABOUT POVERTY IN AMERICA

In the section above, I mention the “self in poverty”. What are the most held views about

poverty and how does this affect the practice of the alleviation of poverty? In America, the answer is found within party lines which view society as either capitalistic or socialistic, Ekins, (2019). Neither of these choices provide the government with particularly good approaches to the problems facing the nation's poor and struggling classes. They are attitudes rather than strategies bearing evidence-based fruit to government employees about the efficacy of their policy work.

Even still, most Americans feel much more strongly about capitalism than socialism without bothering to ask how well they are addressing the overarching needs of every citizen in the country, and achieving the fundamental ends of government. The debate then must regard what is going into the lunchboxes of the poor not which opinion about the distribution of wealth is popular at the moment.

For this to work, to outmode the penniless arguments the government and its pundits encourage one needs facts, numeric figures that track the progress of the relief of poverty and speak to the success of the initiatives aligned with them. All the praise can go to the winner of the arguments as to which strategies and policies worked the best. *Opinions be damned.*

Still the opinions exist, for now, and must be understood as they will impact how much traction an objective approach to the relief of poverty will be allowed.

“Overall, most Americans tend to believe that wealthy people gain their wealth through the choices they make, such as working hard and being ambitious. Fewer people tend to emphasize external forces responsible for people's wealth, such as immutable traits like race, intelligence, or luck. Americans are more likely to say external factors cause poverty but believe that personal choices matter too.” Ekins, (2019b).

Reasons include the following, except the government has not ostensibly performed Bayesian analysis on any of them, causing the relief of poverty to flag.

When asked the top three causes of poverty in this country, Americans agree that poor life choices (42%) and abuse of drugs and alcohol (40%) are key. But the public is divided about what the third factor is: about 3 in 10 think lack of job opportunities (29%), breakdown of families (29%), and a lack of work ethic (29%) are some of the most important reasons. After that, about a quarter say that a lack of educational opportunities (27%), discrimination like racism and sexism (25%), and an unfair economic system (22%) are the primary causes. Fewer say that government programs fostering dependency (14%), inadequate government programs (13%), lack of role models (8%), or a lack of delayed gratification (7%) are the most important causes of poverty in the United States. Ekins (ibid).

#### IV. POVERTY IN BRITIAN- VIEWS AND ACTUALS

Poverty in London and areas of the United Kingdom rivals third world countries, the perceptions of the causes rival those of America. “Booth and Rowntree found the greatest cause of poverty was not, as often believed, feckless shirking by the irresponsible lower classes, but low pay for full-time work, or inability to get regular work despite best efforts”, Thane (2019).

Some groups are more likely than others to be in poverty, Devine (2023):

In 2021/22, poverty rates were highest for people in households where the head of the household is from the Pakistani or Bangladeshi ethnic groups and lowest for those from White ethnic groups.

Around 38% of working-age adults in workless families were in relative poverty before housing costs in 2021/22, compared to 10% in families where at least one adult was in work.

43% of social renters and 35% of private renters were in relatively low income after housing costs in 2021/22, compared to 15% of people who owned their home outright and 9% of those who have a mortgage.

The proportion of people in relative low income before housing costs (BHC) was 24% for families where someone is disabled, compared to 14% for people living in families where no one is disabled.

The government has not mounted a successful response to the situation and there are indications there will be increases in morbidity in the future:

“Poverty is deeply rooted in the UK, with a decade of cuts meaning millions of families across the country are struggling through financial hardship. Many more are being pushed below the breadline as the cost-of-living crisis hits low-income households the hardest.

Around 14.4 million people are living in poverty in the UK in 2021/2022, according to the government’s official statistics. That is around one in five people. Around 4.2 million children are affected.

These harrowing figures were captured before the cost-of-living crisis took its toll on the country, driving hundreds of thousands more people into poverty.

Many people are struggling to afford the basics to live and rely on food banks to survive.” McRae, I., Westwater, H., & Glover, E. (2023)\

## V. AROUND THE WORLD

“Global poverty is one of the most pressing problems that the world faces today. The poorest in the world are often undernourished, without access to basic services such as electricity and safe drinking water; they have less access to education, and suffer from much poorer health.” Hasell (2023).

One of the biggest issues with curing poverty internationally is like those confronting it on the domestic level: *no one really knows what it is*.

“There is no single definition of poverty. Our understanding of the extent of poverty and how it is changing depends on which definition we have in mind.

In particular, richer and poorer countries set very different poverty lines in order to measure poverty in a way that is informative and relevant to the level of incomes of their citizens.

For instance, while in the United States a person is counted as being in poverty if they live on less than roughly \$24.55 per day, in Ethiopia the poverty line is set more than 10 times lower – at \$2.04 per day. You can read more about how these comparable national poverty lines are calculated in this footnote.<sup>1</sup>

To measure poverty globally, however, we need to apply a poverty line that is consistent across countries.” Hasell, *ibid*. For starters, this means using the UN Definition of Poverty of living wages an “International Poverty Line” of < \$2.15 per day.

The global poverty headcount ratio at \$2.15 as of the March 2023 revision is up slightly by 0.1 percentage points to 8.5 percent, resulting in a revision in the number of poor people from 648 to 659 million. This revision represents 11 million more people living in extreme poverty, largely driven by South Asia (5 million) and the Middle East and North Africa (4 million).

If poverty estimates are observed at the higher lines of \$3.65 and \$6.85, which are typically used for measuring poverty in lower-middle- and upper-middle-income countries, respectively. At \$3.65, the global poverty headcount ratio increases by 0.1 percentage points to 23.6 percent, representing 28 million more people living in poverty. At \$6.85, the global poverty rate increases by 0.2 percentage points to 46.9 percent, representing 44 million people living in poverty. The upward revision in poverty estimates at the higher lines are largely driven by South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, Koffi Tetteh Baah, S., Andres Castaneda Aguilar, R., Diaz-Bonilla, C., Fujs, T., Lakner, C., Cong Nyugen, M., & Viveros, M. (2023).

Even if we measure poverty by rates of daily sustenance dollars, we lack input in the causes and other ways populations around the world are failing to enjoy first world middle class conditions and privileges. We need more variables and

indices and these need to make sense from a tactical perspective. One cannot index and dashboard how hard someone works versus the impact on their lifestyle. There need to be Boolean counterparts to the variables that differentiate middle class persons and their lower and deeply impoverished lookalikes.

The model would have to necessarily include household and personal data so poverty is rooted out not only at the community level but at a fully customizable level as well. This approach would give policy makers and relief specialists everything that need to aggregate and unbundle resources as fits situations that do not meet par as a result of the Boolean analysis. No one, anywhere in the world must be left behind, their poverty misunderstood or forgotten.

## VI. QUANTIZING POVERTY

What are the real causes of poverty and what are their interactions? Can real poverty, deep human unsuccess and unhappiness be quantified, measured, and then tracked as policy maneuvers swoop in to sustain relief?

This will no doubt require a hearty long-term investment by the Government, so first let us dispel how government spending works in order to combat the myth taxes fund the relief of poverty and all this does is rob Peter to pay Paul.

Any first-year macroeconomics student comes to understand how governments fund themselves. Every government prints money far in advance of the expenses of the taxes it collects. The Government of the United States of America, for example, has a budget of \$6.3 trillion. Its revenues are \$4.9 trillion. Somehow the government provides \$1.4 trillion in benefits to its citizens it does not expect them to pay back. This means everyone in America, 331.9 million heads, gets a \$43,000 paycheck every year in paid government services for free, *The Federal Budget in Fiscal Year 2022*. Still, there is poverty.

In Britain, these figures look very different: the budget in the UK is a fraction of that of the US, around £965 billion but it spends £1,120 billion, *Government revenue and spending in the United*

*Kingdom 2028*. The marginal benefit of overspending to the British public is much smaller, around £2.28 in free benefits. Poverty in the UK is nearly rampant.

The goals of government spending are based on demand inputs and these include budgeting for the usual services, but most especially the relief of poverty. But the relief of poverty is never funded appropriately because of prejudices and ignorance about how macroeconomics and government finance truly work. Poverty is too expensive and it is a hassle, we say. *I don't want the money to come out of my purse pocket and it will take too long and too much work to put an end to it, anyway, so just leave it.* Except this violates both the spirit of government and also the Holy Spirit who says in every religion, we must not abandon the poor or the effort to relieve poverty.

*Job 5:15-16 (NIV)*

“He saves the needy from the sword in their mouth; he saves them from the clutches of the powerful. So the poor have hope, and injustice shuts its mouth.”

*Job 34:17-19 (NIV)*

“Can he who hates justice govern? Will you condemn the just and mighty One? Is he not the One who says to kings, ‘You are worthless,’ and to nobles, ‘You are wicked,’ who shows no partiality to princes and does not favor the rich over the poor, for they are all the work of his hands?”

*Luke 4:17-19 (NIV)*

“[Jesus] stood up to read, and the scroll of the prophet Isaiah was handed to him. Unrolling it, he found the place where it is written: ‘The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to set the oppressed free, to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favor.’”

The Holy Qur'an says, “and when other relations and orphans and the poor are present at the division of the heritage, give them something

therefrom and speak to them words of kindness.”, (Surat AL-Nisa', 8).

First, the question of how expensive government deficit spending on poverty truly is.

A balanced budget is in fact a huge no-no as it dramatically curbs the ability of the government to do what it needs to do, Wallstreet Mojo Team, & Vaidya, D. (2023) .

The relief of poverty is an expectation the Most High established via religious practice early in civilization. Jewish sages mention concerns about it in the Book of Deuteronomy 15:11, around 650 BCE:

*“There will always be poor people in the land. Therefore I command you to be openhanded toward your fellow Israelites who are poor and needy in your land.”*

If this verse and the former are received as commandments and the relief of poverty is an expectation of the economist, why have we allowed poverty to become such an entrenched feature of civilization?

The fact of the matter is we know how to relieve poverty, what it takes and how long, but we don't know how to set our expectations for doing it. The first assumption we have to address is the deficit spending aspect which is a must, and is never going to go away.

If governments do not collect enough taxes to operate as it is, how is debt of any kind financed? And what is the process for financing the complete relief of poverty and how would it differ from current levels of spending? How would this change the appearance of the government's balance sheet and demands placed upon it? And would it even work?

Every government on the planet is in debt, and depending on the structure of its banking situation either borrows money from itself and pays itself back with additional budgeting or must receive a distribution from a central bank.

Every year, the Department of Revenue projects a budget based on previous years. If there is a shortfall projected at any time, legislation needs

to be passed as to how the shortfall will be dealt with. Unlike corporations, government budgets are also legal requirements stated through policy. Missing a budget causes legal problems unless legislation is reviewed for accountability and supplemental legislation is passed to continue financing the government. This process is guaranteed by the US Constitution including the Right To Borrow:

“Under the U.S. Constitution, Congress exercises the “power of the purse.” This power is expressed through the application of several provisions. The power to lay and collect taxes and the power to borrow are among the enumerated powers of Congress under Article I, Section 8. Furthermore, Section 9 of Article I states that funds may be drawn from the Treasury only pursuant to appropriations made by law,” Saturno (2023).

Adding expenses throws off the projection unless the debt is added to the next year's budget. This means the prior year is zeroed out, all debts are paid in the current year and then the process of financing government in a business-as-usual environment continues. And of course it happens again. Every year, the government pays itself back with a check written to itself, right-sizes its budget and off it goes. All we need for this to happen is the right kind of legislation proposed and ratified at the right time.

Contrary to popular belief, the US Government is not selling its debts to a hostile foreign partner, that is absurd. The Federal Reserve, the central bank of the United States of America pulses cash into the government's bank account using treasury bonds to make up for circumstances waits for the next time. There are indicators, there is a process, it is hardly reckless or careless. Except we don't include the relief of poverty as one of the activities we want to finance with debt, a privilege to which we perfectly avail ourselves under other conditions. The Department of the Treasury goes so far as to indicate spending to the required levels, even so far as deficit spending is a requirement of the US Constitution:

“The federal government needs to borrow money to pay its bills when its ongoing spending activities and investments cannot be

funded by federal revenues alone. Decreases in federal revenue are largely due to either a decrease in tax rates or individuals or corporations making less money. The national debt enables the federal government to pay for important programs and services even if it does not have funds immediately available, often due to a decrease in revenue. Decreases in federal revenue coupled with increased government spending further increases the deficit.

Consistent with the purpose of the federal government established by the U.S. Constitution, money is spent on programs and services to ensure the well-being of U.S. residents. The Constitution's preamble states that the purpose of the federal government is "...to establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity." Uninterrupted funding of programs and services is critical to residents' health, welfare, and security," Treasury.gov (n.d.).

In Britain, all laws require what is called Royal Assent. Just as the USA is not in debt to China, the British Crown is not at all a figurehead. This is a myth promulgated in America to demean the power of the King of England which is absolute. According to *the British Constitution*, Loughlin (2013a) the Crown cannot be prosecuted for any reason, no not one and under its Privilege can spend up to any amount, why would the British public need to suffer any of the consequences due to underspending on poverty by the Crown? Why hasn't the King used his money to finance the relief of poverty and then some?

Under the British System, only the Crown can mint money. It has apparently been doing so through the Royal Mint which the Crown wholly owns since 886 AD and performs the role for over 60 countries, Morgan (2023).

The ability to do so provides an endless supply of cash to the Crown and the economy the same way the Federal Reserve would for the United States. Except the Crown is checked in just about the only way it be by what is called the Privy Committee, which consists of Peers who have the legal right to

install or take away Privies. When the privies are suspended due to misconduct by the Crown off goes the money. For everyone but a select few, who do not have the Power of Royal Assent.

Should the Crown misbehave or not feel terribly disposed towards poverty, the poor suffer along with just about every citizen within the British Commonwealth. A risky system but imagine a Crown with a good heart and a steady hand, able to write a cheque or sign any law into process that casts off all doubts about the ability of the government to end poverty for good.

Imagine if the US Government capitalized on its Constitutional Rights and duties to borrow money from itself for the purposes of permanently upgrading the general welfare of the people? Now imagine if we respected the amazing resources we have granted ourselves through the governments we have chosen to live beneath and also respect God's Commandments and were completely committed to doing whatever it takes to end poverty? We could probably do it if this is what we wished.

For this wish to come true we must, in my opinion, *quantize poverty*: witness it, formalize the data that match our observations and then measure our way out of it as one human race, all at once, for everyone.

## VII. THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY INDEX

The Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) is published by the UNDP's Human Development Report Office and tracks deprivation across three dimensions and 10 indicators: health (child mortality, nutrition), education (years of schooling, enrollment), and living standards (water, sanitation, electricity, cooking fuel, floor, assets).

All of these measurements are easily solved with appropriate policy measures, including right-sized budgeting and dedicated, skilled government managers in the following specific areas:

More specifically it would reflect the following deprivations:

1. Adult or child malnourishment
2. Disrupted or curtailed schooling (a minimum of years 1-8)
3. The absence of any household member who has completed 6 years of schooling
4. Child mortality within the household within the last 5 years
5. Lack of access to safe drinking water
6. Lack of access to basic sanitation services
7. Lack of access to clean cooking fuel
8. Lack of basic modern assets (radio, TV, telephone, computer, bike, motorbike, etc.)
9. Lack of access to reliable electricity

Potential additional indicators to reflect the SDGs include work; housing; violence; social protection; quality of schooling; health system functioning; teenage marriage or pregnancy; solid waste disposal; birth registration; internet access as suggested by the MPPN; farm assets and a household's vulnerability to economic shocks and those posed by natural hazards (see [MPAT's dimensions](#)) and/or quality of work; and empowerment or psychological wellbeing, *Multidimensional Poverty Index – Indicators and a Monitoring Framework*. (n.d.).

All of these parameters can be dash boarded and tracked as policy measures are put in place using data that are readily available from public utilities and data aggregators. All an Administrator will need to do is set targets for budget, target, duration, and balance for each and then manage government progress.

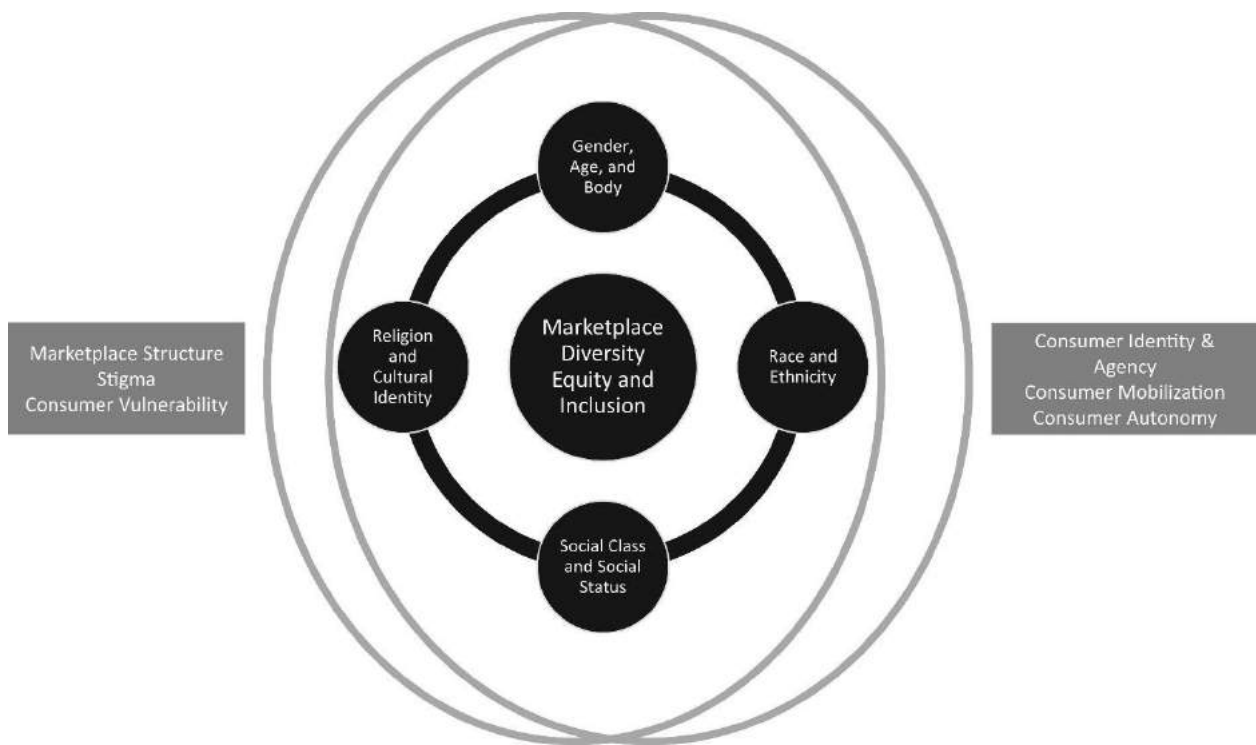
The difficult target will be the element that suggests empowerment and psychological well-being are being addressed and these come from the commitment the state has to DEI, Diversity, Equity and Inclusion. In addition to having equal access to opportunities for wellness and employment in a society, a thriving culture guarantees equal access of impoverished persons to the same self-expression as others whom they live alongside.

## VIII. DEI- DIVERSITY, EQUITY, AND INCLUSION

DEI efforts combat the prejudices that stem from religion and politics that affect the attitudes of government towards the poor and marginalized. Religious and political oppression are deadly in impact and must be curbed with ideas and actions that prevent them from positions of power. For this purpose, DEI was created in order to ensure secular laws and cultures voluntarily allow individuals regardless of their origins to take root in the greater prosperity of the nation and the planet. Dashboarding indicators of poverty will enable governments to erode and eventually end poverty but the real cause of poverty, *prejudice* will require DEI.

“Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) has become ubiquitous in public and academic discourse. This is despite ongoing contests over definitions and the lack of a clear consensus about the relative importance (and even the appropriate order) of each component. For our purposes, diversity refers broadly to real or perceived physical or socio-cultural differences attributed to people and the representation of these differences in research, market spaces, and organizations. Equity refers to fairness in the treatment of people in terms of both opportunity and outcome. Inclusion refers to creating a culture that fosters belonging and incorporation of diverse groups and is usually operationalized as opposition to exclusion or marginalization. Taken together, DEI is typically accompanied by an axiological orientation toward procedural and distributive justice in organizations and institutions.

In this curation, we highlight representative research published in the *Journal of Consumer Research* that directly and indirectly explores DEI issues primarily along the following axes of difference illustrated in [figure 1](#): gender, age, and body; race and ethnicity; social class and social status; and religion and cultural identity. These, in many respects, define the visible contours of everyday life,” Arsel, Z., Crockett, D., & Scott, M. L. (2021).



So, the more we dissolve the superstition around the poor, the more eligible for the marketplace a human being becomes, the more diverse the hub of civilization naturally evolves.

*But does it work? Yes.*

## IX. SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT

*The Commonwealth*, a kind of Economic Imperial Monarchy, *not democracy*, is deemed the most successful way to guarantee the eradication of poverty and an end to human rights issues. Unlike democracies which simply guarantee the people will be represented in the government, *and the people could very well be nuts*, commonwealth guarantees certain aspects of human happiness will be guaranteed:

*From the Declaration of Principles of the Commonwealth of Nations:*

“We believe that international peace and order are essential to the security and prosperity of mankind; we therefore support the United Nations and seek to strengthen its influence for

peace in the world, and its efforts to remove the causes of tension between nations.

We believe in the liberty of the individual, in equal rights for all citizens regardless of race, colour, creed or political belief, and in their inalienable right to participate by means of free and democratic political processes in framing the society in which they live. We therefore strive to promote in each of our countries those representative institutions and guarantees for personal freedom under the law that are our common heritage.

We recognize racial prejudice as a dangerous sickness threatening the healthy development of the human race and racial discrimination as an unmitigated evil of society. Each of us will vigorously combat this evil within our own nation. No country will afford to regimes which practice racial discrimination assistance which in its own judgment directly contributes to the pursuit or consolidation of this evil policy.

We oppose all forms of colonial domination and racial oppression and are committed to the principles of human dignity and equality. We will therefore use all our efforts to foster human equality and dignity everywhere, and to further the principles of self-determination and non-racialism.”

Commonwealths also provide non-military answers to tensions, a solution missing for non-aligned nations, Murphy (2021). They provide interstate employment opportunities, the ability to travel abroad and exchange currency, ideas, traditions, and most importantly the orderly transfer of power from the church and the crown to the private sector.

Disadvantages include the presence of a disorganized or detached Head of State, which can be problematic until Lines of Succession are adjusted to meet the needs of the present state of the Monarchy and the people whose causes it is expected to champion, first and foremost with the generous distributions from the treasury using Royal Privilege.

As stated above, should Privies be revoked due to misconduct, the benefits of Commonwealth become nearly moot, so the presence of Deed to Title must always be accompanied by a conscience or the system, which has the power to work miracles in the relief of poverty and for the sake of the human condition simply fails to operate.

The same could be said about democracies that change their minds about the importance of General Welfare. Without a head of state that deems the needs of the people worthy of his attention and thereby that of the Department of the Treasury, all that foresight written in the US Constitution, for example, was for naught.

## X. CONCLUSION: SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

The elimination of poverty can be accomplished through the sufficient funding of basic necessities across classes and certain attitude adjustments in the government. Governors and monarchs wishing to eradicate poverty, enrich their

economies and witness their cultures flourish need to absolve themselves of the myths about poverty and break through the boundaries caused by bureaucracy, religious extremism, corruption, and prejudice.

Dashboarding the parameters associated with the efforts to relieve poverty are recommended. This paper suggests for instance that high speed internet encourages the relief of poverty. The number of households with and without connection to ISPs should be dash-boarded and monitored till the numbers reach 100%. Policy making should include appropriate levels of funding vs. the number of needed subscriptions to ensure success in this metric. The same logic should be applied to health insurance policies, elementary, middle, and high school enrollments, graduation rates, unemployment rates, and so forth.

Data associated with each would be tied to the balance sheet permitting elegant budgeting and accountability for the debt required to meet a nation or empires total prosperity objectives, absolving the myth money and time are being wasted by the government.

As success becomes measurable, so will the Grace of God be increasingly present in the lives of those who were formerly not considered worthy of a seat at the National Table.

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# Liberal Institutes and the Consolidation of Neoliberal Hegemony in Latin America and Brazil

*Ana Lúcia B. Faria & Vera Chaia*

*Pontifícia Universidade Católica*

## ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyze the connections between the advance of the right-wing neoliberalism in Latin American countries, notably in Brazil, and the networks of liberal institutes. We specifically examine the North American think tank Atlas Network and the partner networks of this organization operating in Latin America and in Brazil. It is a movement deeply articulated by these networks at a global level, grounded on the Hayekian ideological battle of diffusion of the neoliberal rationality in order to legitimize and pave the way for the unbridled escalation of capital, which commodifies society and brutally expropriates workers from rights and social policies, by means of orthodox changes in the political, legal, ideological and social fields.

*Keywords:* think tanks network. liberal institutes. ideological battle. neoliberalism.

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# Liberal Institutes and the Consolidation of Neoliberal Hegemony in Latin America and Brazil

Os Institutos Liberais E a Consolidação da Hegemonia Neoliberal Na América Latina E No Brasil

Ana Lúcia B. Faria & Vera Chaia

## RESUMO

*Este artigo analisa as conexões entre o avanço da direita neoliberal nos países latino-americanos, notadamente no Brasil, e as redes de institutos liberais. Examina-se especificamente o think tanks estadunidense Atlas Network, e as redes parceiras dessa organização que atuam na América Latina e no Brasil. Trata-se de um movimento profundamente articulado por essas redes em âmbito global, da batalha ideológica hayekiana de difusão da racionalidade neoliberal para legitimar e pavimentar o caminho da escalada desmensurada do capital que mercantiliza a sociedade e expropria brutalmente direitos e políticas sociais dos trabalhadores, mediante mudanças ortodoxas nos campos político, jurídico, ideológico e social.*

*Palavras-Chave:* rede de think tanks. institutos liberais. batalha ideológica. neoliberalismo.

## ABSTRACT

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*Author:* Doutora em Ciências Sociais pela Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP). Professora Titular do Departamento de Ciências Sociais e Filosofia do Centro Federal de Educação Tecnológica de Minas Gerais (CEFET-MG).

Livre-docente pela Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP). Professora do Departamento de Política e do Programa de Estudos Pós-Graduados em Ciências Sociais. Pesquisadora do Neamp (Núcleo de Estudos em Arte, Mídia e Política) da PUC-SP, do CNPq e da FAPESP.

## I. OS INSTITUTOS LIBERAIS E A BATALHA DE IDEIAS

O presente artigo tem como objetivo analisar os institutos liberais surgidos no Brasil e na América Latina com o objetivo de defender uma nova ordem na configuração da política econômica e política dos governos latino-americanos: o neoliberalismo. Para tanto, recorreremos à origem dessas propostas, descrevendo o surgimento desses institutos e considerando o poderoso papel desempenhado por essas organizações.

O neoliberalismo, cujo propósito é legitimar ideologicamente o mercado, pode ser compreendido como um projeto econômico-político das elites capitalistas que envolve na realidade econômica periférica da região latino-americana as seguintes diretrizes: desconstruir completamente todos os vestígios das políticas desenvolvimentistas e da soberania

nacional; mercantilizar todas as áreas da vida social; redefinir o papel do Estado concebido como mero agente dos interesses do grande capital; privatizar, globalizar e desregular a economia; reduzir o custo da força de trabalho; expropriar a classe trabalhadora de direitos e políticas sociais; transformar o emprego em trabalho e a sociedade em negócio.

O neoliberalismo só se afirmou gradativamente como projeto hegemônico na década de 1980, a partir da crise do Keynesianismo<sup>1</sup>, mas, para essa ascensão, foi fundamental a longa batalha de ideias iniciada por Hayek<sup>2</sup>. Ele tinha clareza de que um projeto de tamanha dimensão requereria planejamento: a criação de várias associações da

Sociedade Mont Pélerin<sup>3</sup> em escala mundial como aparato formador de opinião pública. Requereria ainda um movimento, uma cruzada que envolvesse o engajamento de acadêmicos, da intelectualidade e daqueles que ele denominava de “vendedores de ideias de segunda mão”, quais sejam: professores, jornalistas e representantes da mídia (HAYEK, 1985, p. 82).

Hayek julgava que a intelectualidade dispunha de capacidade ímpar para persuadir a opinião pública por meio de condicionamentos cognitivos e políticos. Em razão dessa consideração argumentou:

Necessitamos de líderes intelectuais que estejam dispostos a trabalhar por um ideal, por menor que sejam as perspectivas de sua realização em curto prazo. Eles devem ser homens que estejam dispostos a aderir aos princípios e lutar por sua plena realização, todavia, ainda em condições remotas [...] A principal lição que o verdadeiro liberal deve aprender com o sucesso dos socialistas é que foi a sua coragem de ser utópico que lhes valeu o apoio de intelectuais e, conseqüentemente, uma influência sobre a opinião pública que a cada dia torna possível o que parecia recentemente totalmente improvável. (HAYEK, 2012, p. 15)

A iniciativa e a militância de Hayek para estabelecer uma rede internacional de fundações, institutos, centros de pesquisa, jornais e agências de relações públicas – para apoiar e difundir o pensamento neoliberal revelou-se fecunda. A sociedade Mont Pélerin tornou-se uma das mais importantes redes neoliberais e trabalha atualmente com uma rede de 1000 membros e

<sup>1</sup> Keynesianismo – modelo político-econômico, inspirado nas teses do economista inglês John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), que tinha como base a defesa da intervenção estatal na economia, com a finalidade de estabelecer um regime de pleno emprego e, assim, corrigir alguns problemas graves do liberalismo; notadamente, pretendia reduzir os patamares de desigualdade social. A doutrina keynesiana sustenta que nas economias capitalistas desprovidas de regulação econômica, as crises tendem a se alastrar, atingindo diversos setores da economia e podendo atingir uma dimensão de desmoroamento em massa da vida social. A era keynesiana teve o seu apogeu como projeto hegemônico capitalista nas três décadas que sucederam o pós- Segunda Guerra e inicia a sua escalada ao desmonte na década de 1970.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich August von Hayek (1899-1992) – economista, filósofo, austríaco e acadêmico filiado à Escola Austríaca de pensamento econômico. Hayek, mentor intelectual e ativista político obstinado do liberalismo contemporâneo ou neoliberalismo, considerou o mercado como cerne da vida social e o individualismo como traço essencial da ação humana, fatores a serem reabilitados com toda pujança em âmbito global nos dias atuais. Hayek sustentava que o mercado garantiria uma supremacia sobre qualquer forma de planejamento econômico e político e sobre qualquer instituição social, devendo servir de base para o ordenamento das sociedades e das condutas humanas. Defendia ainda que o individualismo e o egoísmo não significariam o despreço pelo outro. Em sua acepção, o egoísmo consistia em uma qualidade humana ligada à própria dimensão da razão. A sociabilidade neoliberal proposta por Hayek abarcaria três elementos fundamentais que deveriam ser fomentados nos procedimentos educativos escolares e não escolares: o individualismo como valor moral radical, o empreendedorismo e a competitividade.

<sup>3</sup> A Sociedade Mont Pélerin foi formada em 1947, quando o economista Friedrich von Hayek convidou 39 pessoas para se encontrarem no Mont Pélerin, na Suíça. O grupo, principalmente formado por economistas sob a liderança de Friedrich Hayek, foi reunido em um evento cujo propósito foi iniciar uma batalha ideológica, um movimento articulado em defesa da legitimação e hegemonia do capitalismo desregulamentado e do combate ao Estado de Bem-Estar Social. A Sociedade Mont Pélerin, criada nessa reunião, tornou-se o polo aglutinador desse movimento.

100 *think tanks*<sup>4</sup>. Os aplicados discípulos de Hayek seguiram rigorosamente as orientações do mestre e permearam o terreno para o florescimento neoliberal, seja como visão de mundo, seja como projeto econômico. Seguramente o triunfo da batalha de ideias se deveu, em larga medida, à atuação dos *think tanks* liberais — entidades ou organizações liberais. Eles deram sequência ao movimento estratégico de luta de ideias iniciado pela Associação Mont Pélerin, construindo redes de entidades fomentadoras de ideias liberais destinadas à obra de construção e perpetuação da hegemonia neoliberal, em âmbito transnacional.

Segundo a organização TheBestSchools.org, o último levantamento realizado nos Estados Unidos revelou que existem naquele país 1.984 *think tanks*, quase um terço do total de entidades de ideias políticas do mundo. A TheBestSchools.org sustenta que essas entidades se dedicam permanentemente à pesquisa de

<sup>4</sup> Gros, ao analisar as organizações políticas sustentadas por empresários na Nova República, uma organização denominada Instituto Liberal “think tank ideológico, que defende interesses de algumas frações da burguesia” e os preceitos do livre mercado, acabou por introduzir genericamente o termo instituto liberal para designar os think tanks que professam a doutrina do livre mercado. Após os estudos de Gros, o termo Instituto Liberal passou a identificar no Brasil de forma mais direta esse arquétipo de organização. Neste trabalho, emprega-se a categoria Institutos liberais para designar esse modelo de organização por considerar a terminologia mais adequada às atividades desempenhadas por essas entidades e por julgá-la mais apropriada à realidade brasileira.

Os *think tanks*, também conhecidos como entidades políticas ou institutos políticos, são organizações que realizam pesquisas e análises relacionadas a políticas, bem como a defesa de uma ampla gama de assuntos domésticos e internacionais. Eles são importantes quando se trata de tomar decisões informadas entre os formuladores de políticas; a maioria deles são organizações sem fins lucrativos. Nos Estados Unidos e no Canadá, eles recebem o *status* de isenção de impostos. Todos os anos, pesquisadores da Universidade da Pensilvânia realizam uma extensa análise de *think tanks* em todo o mundo, publicando um relatório listando e classificando cerca de 6.500 deles. 90,5% dos *think tanks* foram criados depois de 1951 e quase 55% deles estão localizados na Europa e na América do Norte. Em uma base de país a país, os EUA têm mais de 1.984, seguidos por 512 na China e 444 no Reino Unido. Nos EUA, DC tem mais de 397, seguido por Massachusetts com 177 e Califórnia com 169. A pesquisa também classificou *think tanks* globais por influência. Além de ter o máximo de qualquer país, os EUA também abrigam alguns dos *think tanks* mais influentes do mundo. Entre os 10 melhores, cinco são baseados nos EUA com o Instituto Brookings, em primeiro lugar, seguido pelo Instituto Francês de Relações Internacionais.

soluções para uma multiplicidade de “problemas do mundo” dentro dos princípios básicos do sistema capitalista. Para tanto, constroem arcabouços argumentativos que defendem e pressionam para que haja mudanças de políticas nos âmbitos local, estadual, federal e mundial.

Algumas entidades liberais, como o Brookings Institution ou a Heritage Foundation, tornaram-se reconhecidos por sua atuação e forte inserção na grande imprensa. Outras organizações têm uma inserção midiática mais tímida, algumas delas publicam seus próprios artigos e livros para um público específico, mas em proporção considerável. Esses institutos são patrocinados por grandes corporações econômicas para formular teorias, investigar, ficcionar e distorcer a realidade e, assim, assegurar os interesses de seus financiadores ao transmitir e propagar essas formulações. Esses numerosos institutos de ideias liberais operam de forma integrada a extensas redes em escala global, que atuam apoiando política, financeira e intelectualmente diversas organizações.

A Fundação de Pesquisa Econômica Atlas (Atlas Economic Research Foundation), a título de exemplo, é uma rede de institutos de ideias liberais de conexão transnacional, com sede em Washington, EUA, de grande inserção na América Latina. Essa organização foi criada com o propósito de “promover em âmbito mundial a disseminação das ideias liberais, como as ideias de liberdade”.<sup>5</sup> A Atlas foi fundada pelo empresário Anthony Fisher, em 1981, e incorporada ao *think tank* British Institute of Economic Affairs, também fundado por ele em 1955. A partir de então “realmente começou a ser construída a rede da Europa para a América do Norte, da América do Norte para a América do Sul e, até mesmo, para a Ásia e a África”.<sup>6</sup>

A Atlas atuou, durante um longo período, como a principal rede de transferência de fundos e de diversos recursos no âmbito transnacional para fomentar a disseminação das ideias e das políticas

<sup>5</sup> Disponível em: <<https://www.atlasnetwork.org/assets/uploads/misc/a-preface-and-contents-jk-final-4.pdf>>. Acesso em: 14 abr. 2018.

<sup>6</sup> BLUNDEL, John L. *The life and work of Sir Antony Fisher*. Disponível em: <<https://iea.org.uk/blog/the-life-and-work-of-sir-antony-fisher/>>. Acesso em: 14 abr. 2018.

neoliberais. Como o seu principal objetivo é promover, por meio de subsídio, o processo de criação de novos institutos liberais, a Atlas presta apoio financeiro; suporte de infraestrutura; fornece treinamento de líderes; patrocina e distribui prêmios e auxílios.<sup>7</sup>

No momento inicial do processo de constituição de sua rede, a Atlas desempenhou atividades sistemáticas de consultoria e treinamento das novas organizações. Esse instituto forneceu um corpo de profissionais aptos para orientar as tarefas de elaboração de estatutos dos novos institutos; assim como para instruir sobre a formação de conselhos de diretores, de conselhos de curadores, instâncias, muitas vezes, integradas por membros da própria Atlas. Os profissionais da fundação também atuaram preparando as novas organizações para a elaboração do plano de ação e do plano de orçamento e para iniciar projetos de pesquisa e publicação. Fomentou, ainda, a realização de conferências, palestras, seminários,

colóquios e cursos, sobretudo em âmbito regional, com vistas à disseminação do pensamento liberal e expansão da Rede. Essas iniciativas foram fundamentais para a constituição e consolidação da órbita global da Atlas. Devido à sua bem-sucedida expansão, desde 2008, o nome do *site* foi alterado — e AtlasUSA.org para AtlasNetwork.org —, embora mantenha o nome Atlas Economic Research Foundation como registro legal da entidade.

A formação de uma rede global composta por inúmeros Institutos Liberais destinados à fabricação de ardis discursivos e de estratégias cada vez mais sofisticadas de persuasão do pensamento e do programa neoliberal foi o resultado da trajetória de ativismo político obstinado e sistemático da Atlas. O diretório global da fundação atualmente é composto por 481 parceiros em 95 países ao redor do mundo, sendo 82 instituições na América Latina e no Caribe, como mostra a Figura 1.



Fonte: ATLAS, 2018-1.

Figura 1: Diretório Global da Atlas

Os Institutos Liberais ligados à Rede Atlas não são organizações associadas da fundação, mas, sim, organizações parceiras inseridas em uma

vasta rede transfronteiriça, da qual a Atlas é o núcleo. No Brasil, os Institutos Liberais parceiros da Rede Atlas estão apresentados na Figura 2.

<sup>7</sup>Disponível em: <<https://www.atlasnetwork.org/grants-awards/grants>>. Acesso em: 14 abr. 2018.

INSTITUTO LIBERAL DO RIO DE JANEIRO	INSTITUTO LIBERAL DE SÃO PAULO	INSTITUTO LIBERDADE DE PORTO ALEGRE	INSTITUTO LUDWIG VON MISES BRASIL
INSTITUTO MILLENIUM	INSTITUTO DE ESTUDOS EMPRESARIAIS PORTO ALEGRE	INSTITUTO DE FORMAÇÃO DE LÍDERES DE BELO HORIZONTE	INSTITUTO DE FORMAÇÃO DE LÍDERES DE SÃO PAULO
ESTUDANTES PELA LIBERDADE DE BELO HORIZONTE	CENTRO INTERDISCIPLINAR DE ÉTICA E ECONOMIA PERSONALISTA DO RIO DE JANEIRO	INSTITUTO DE LÍDERES DO AMANHÃ EM VITÓRIA	

Fonte: ATLAS, 2018-1.

Figura 2: Parceiros da Rede Atlas no Brasil

A rede Atlas é conectada a diversas redes latino-americanas de Institutos Liberais, dentre as quais se destacam, pelo seu protagonismo político, as redes Centro Hispano-Americano de Pesquisa Econômica (Hacer), a Rede Liberal para a América Latina (Relial) e a Fundação Internacional pela Liberdade (FIL).

Importa fazer uma breve sinopse dessas redes para elucidar os níveis de entrelaçamento e articulação existentes entre elas e a Atlas, na definição e difusão de táticas e estratégias econômicas e sociais, notadamente para a América Latina. O Centro Hispano-Americano de Pesquisa Econômica (Hacer), fundado em 1996, com sede em Washington DC, é uma organização sem fins lucrativos dedicada a promover o estudo de questões pertinentes aos países da América hispânica, bem como de hispano-americanos que vivem nos Estados Unidos, especialmente de como eles se relacionam com os valores de liberdade pessoal e econômica, governo limitado sob o Estado de Direito e responsabilidade individual.

A rede Hacer opera predominantemente nos países da América do Norte e do Sul e é composta de 108 institutos de ideias liberais, entre os quais vários estão associados também à Rede Atlas (Figura 4). O presidente da Atlas, Alejandro

Chafuen<sup>8</sup>, integra o Conselho Curador do Hacer, o que evidencia a estreita aproximação entre as duas entidades. Os relatórios de notícias do Hacer fornecem em fluxo contínuo matérias atualizadas/recentes sobre as políticas governamentais dos países latino-americanos. Essas informações chegam de Institutos Liberais parceiros da América Latina e são veiculadas em inglês e espanhol.

O Hacer criou um blog de notícias cujo foco são as reformas econômicas na América Latina que têm como paradigma o Chile do governo Pinochet, como revelam as informações do próprio *site* do Hacer, com o seguinte teor:

#### *A Transformação Econômica do Chile:*

Neste projeto, desenvolvido pela HACER a pedido da Fundação de Pesquisa Econômica da Atlas e Libertad y Desarrollo do Chile, criamos um blog repleto de notícias com uma grande seleção de artigos em inglês sobre a transformação econômica do Chile, uma referência de sucesso para o resto do mundo em desenvolvimento para aspirar, estudar e, esperamos, imitar. (HACER, 2016)

<sup>8</sup> Alex Chafuen tem desempenhado um papel de proeminência na defesa do projeto neoliberal na América Latina. Ele é o presidente da Atlas Network, presidente fundador do Centro Hispânico para Pesquisa Econômica (HACER) e membro da Mont Pèlerin Society.

Por intermédio da Rede Hacer, a Rede Liberal para a América Latina (RELIAL) está ligada à Rede Atlas. Essa organização, com sede na Cidade do México, é presidida atualmente pelo brasileiro Ricardo Santos Gomes<sup>9</sup>, membro do Conselho Deliberativo do Instituto de Estudos Empresariais. A entidade tem como conselheiro honorífico Mario Vargas Llosa. A RELIAL foi criada em 2004 com o apoio da Fundação Friedrich Naumann para a Liberdade da Alemanha.

A RELIAL é composta por 40 entidades liberais de 18 países da América Central e do Sul (Quadro 1). A estrutura organizacional dessa rede é formada por uma junta diretiva composta pela presidência, vice-presidência e por cinco diretores. Todos os integrantes da junta diretiva ocupam cargos de direção em entidades associadas à RELIAL. A entidade se concebe como promotora do elo “mais representativo das organizações liberais na região” latino-americana.

Na visão de seus integrantes, a RELIAL:

[...] é a união de organizações e partidos liberais mais representativa da região. Através da RELIAL estimulamos um diálogo entre nossos parceiros para cooperar frente aos desafios que se impõem na região latino-americana. A RELIAL tem como objetivo principal consolidar o liberalismo como um eixo sobre o qual se tomam as decisões e as ações políticas na América Latina. A atuação da RELIAL segue os seguintes princípios: Defesa da democracia liberal; Liberdade e responsabilidade

<sup>9</sup> Graduou-se em Direito pela Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS) em 2003. Em 2005, concluiu sua Pós-graduação em Direito Trabalhista, também pela PUCRS. Trabalhou no Gomes & Takeda Advogados Associados desde 1999, tornando-se sócio em 2005. No biênio 2008-2009 trabalhou como advogado associado na Baker & McKenzie, um escritório internacional de advocacia, voltando, ainda em 2009, para o Gomes & Takeda. É membro da Junta Diretora da RELIAL – Rede Liberal da América Latina–, foi presidente do Instituto de Estudos Empresariais (IEE), em 2011-2012, organizando a 25ª edição do Fórum da Liberdade, o maior fórum liberal da América Latina. Também foi vice-presidente (2010-2011) e Diretor de Formação (2009-2010) da mesma instituição. De 2003 a 2014, foi vice-presidente do Instituto Liberdade, um dos primeiros institutos liberais do Brasil. Participou de diversos colóquios, seminários e fóruns das maiores entidades liberais do mundo, como a Atlas Network, a Fundação Friedrich Naumann, o Liberty Fund, Foundation for Economic Education (FEE), sendo palestrante em três eventos da Atlas Network.

individual; Respeito pela propriedade privada; Promoção do governo limitado, impulsionando a economia de mercado; Primazia do Estado de Direito; Defesa da paz. (RELIAL, 2018)

A partir de outubro de 2009, passaram a veicular informações e índices sobre a economia de mercado e sobre o livre comércio na América Latina. Conforme discorre o Relatório de 2018 dessa rede, “todos os especialistas de todas as nossas organizações debatem a situação política, econômica e social da região”. Eles “trocam boas práticas e experiências” as quais são sistematizadas e “replicadas na região”. (RELIAL, 2018)

*Segundo Alejandro Chafuen, presidente da Atlas: A Rede Liberal para a América Latina (RELIAL) com aproximadamente 40 membros e mais de 12 organizações associadas, é uma das redes mais fortes da América Latina. Sua missão é tornar-se uma rede liberal beligerante e eficiente que ajude a converter a América Latina numa região caracterizada por democracias liberais e sociedades prósperas, comprometidas com os princípios da liberdade, da responsabilidade individual, do respeito à propriedade privada, à economia de mercado e do primado do Estado de direito e da paz, a fim de elevar o nível de vida na região. (CHAFUEN, 2014, grifo nosso)*

Neste sentido, a RELIAL assume a postura de guardiã por excelência da economia de mercado na América Latina. A sua pretensão, conforme seu site, é “consolidar o liberalismo como o eixo sobre o qual são tomadas decisões e ações políticas na América Latina”. Ela se incumbem de operar como a organização baluarte da batalha ideológica neoliberal. Para tanto, dedica-se a converter a América Latina em uma região plenamente integrada aos ditames da propriedade privada e da economia de mercado.

<b><u>Argentina</u></b>	<b><u>Ecuador</u></b>
<b><u>Fundación Libertad y Progreso</u></b>	<b><u>Instituto Ecuatoriano de Economía Política</u></b>
<b><u>Fundación Atlas 1853</u></b>	<b><u>Libre Razón</u></b>
<b><u>Fundación Cívico Republicana</u></b>	<b><u>Fundación Ecuador Libre</u></b>
<b><u>Fundación Libertad</u></b>	<b><u>Fundación Ciudadanía y Desarrollo</u></b>
<b><u>Fundación Federalismo y Libertad</u></b>	<b><u>Honduras</u></b>
<b><u>Fundación Bases</u></b>	<b><u>Partido Liberal de Honduras</u></b>
<b><u>Brasil</u></b>	<b><u>Fundación Eleutera</u></b>
<b><u>Instituto de Estudos Empresariais</u></b>	<b><u>Honduras Investiga</u></b>
<b><u>Instituto Liberdade</u></b>	<b><u>México</u></b>
<b><u>Bolivia</u></b>	<b><u>Fundación Caminos de la Libertad</u></b>
<b><u>Fundación Nueva Democracia</u></b>	<b><u>Se Busca Gente Libre</u></b>
<b><u>Chile</u></b>	<b><u>Nicaragua</u></b>
<b><u>Fundación Libertad y Desarrollo</u></b>	<b><u>Fundación Libertad</u></b>
<b><u>Fundación para el Progreso</u></b>	<b><u>Panamá</u></b>
<b><u>Fundación Ciudadano Austral</u></b>	<b><u>Fundación Libertad Panamá</u></b>
<b><u>Colômbia</u></b>	<b><u>Paraguay</u></b>
<b><u>Instituto de Ciencia Política Hernán Echavarría</u></b>	<b><u>Fundación Libertad</u></b>
<b><u>Costa Rica</u></b>	<b><u>Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico</u></b>
<b><u>Asociación de Consumidores Libres</u></b>	<b><u>Perú</u></b>
<b><u>Asociación Nacional de Fomento Económico</u></b>	<b><u>Instituto Político para la Libertad</u></b>
<b><u>Instituto de Desarrollo Empresarial y Acción Social</u></b>	<b><u>Instituto Invertir</u></b>
<b><u>Instituto Desarrollo Ambiente y Libertad</u></b>	<b><u>Instituto de Estudios de la Acción Humana</u></b>
<b><u>Cuba</u></b>	<b><u>República Dominicana</u></b>
<b><u>Unión Liberal Cubana</u></b>	<b><u>Centro de Análisis de Política Públicas</u></b>
	<b><u>Centro Regional de Estrategias Económicas Sostenibles</u></b>
	<b><u>Uruguay</u></b>
	<b><u>Instituto Manuel Oribe</u></b>
	<b><u>Venezuela</u></b>
	<b><u>CEDICE</u></b>
	<b><u>VENTE</u></b>

Fonte: RELIAL, 2018-2.

*Quadro 1:* Lista completa dos *thinks tanks* associados à Rede RELIAL

A rede Fundação Internacional pela Liberdade (FIL) foi fundada em um seminário realizado em 2003, quando líderes de laboratórios de ideias liberais da América Latina e dos EUA se reuniram na Espanha por iniciativa da Fundação Ibero-americana e Europa (FIE). A sua criação foi uma reação ao fenômeno denominado Maré Rosa – termo cunhado por Francisco Panizza, acadêmico uruguaio da London School of Economics, para nominar o ciclo que emerge na América do Sul, nos anos 2000, de sucessivos governantes de trajetória de esquerda, “quebrando” o dogmatismo neoliberal da década anterior. Portanto, a FIL origina-se da ação ofensiva dos institutos de ideias liberais transnacionais, destinada a bloquear a ascensão de governos oriundos de partidos de tradição de esquerda na América do Sul. O escritório da rede FIL está localizado na cidade de Rosário, município da província de Santa Fé, na Argentina. O seu presidente é Mario Vargas Llosa, e o presidente da Rede Atlas, Alejandro Chafuen, integra o Conselho de Administração da fundação. Essa rede tem por finalidade “influenciar a agenda internacional para apoiar os seus institutos e fundações na difusão das ideias e fornecer informações sobre a realidade latino-americana e suas relações com os Estados Unidos, com a Espanha e com a Europa”. Para tanto, atua ativamente divulgando sua opinião em grandes debates de âmbito internacional. Essa é a caracterização da FIL, organização que “adota uma estratégia de combate no campo das ideias aos valores que ameaçam a liberdade, a democracia e a tolerância” (FIL, 2018).

A FIL possui uma estrutura político-administrativa complexa que compreende uma junta diretiva composta por 19 diretores, um conselho acadêmico constituído por 34 conselheiros, um diretório associado integrado por 33 membros, um conselho empresarial formado por 16 conselheiros e um comitê de comunicação constituído por três componentes. Em todas essas instâncias, atuam representantes de organizações latino-americanas, europeias e estadunidenses. Atualmente, existem 37 entidades associadas em 18 países compondo a Rede FIL (Figura 5). Os propósitos da FIL evidenciam, para além da postura política ideológica dessa

organização, a sua veia hayekiana comprometida com a batalha de ideias em âmbito transfronteiriço, articulando institutos de ideias liberais e fechando o cerco para o socialismo, o Estado de Bem-Estar Social e, até mesmo, para os projetos neoliberais menos ortodoxos. A título de elucidação sobre a atuação articulada da rede FIL com as estratégias neoliberais ardilosas nos países latino-americanos, o próximo evento promovido por essa rede será o Seminário Internacional: “Grandes desafios da Ibero-américa”, que se realizará no dia 3 de dezembro de 2018 e que contará com as participações como expositores de Paulo Guedes<sup>10</sup>, Sérgio Moro<sup>11</sup>, além de outros mentores do neoliberalismo na região.

<sup>10</sup> Paulo Roberto Nunes Guedes (Rio de Janeiro, 1949) escolhido como o super-ministro de Jair Bolsonaro, é velho conhecido do mercado. Trata-se do economista PhD pela Universidade de Chicago, berço dos Chicago Boys. Professor universitário e um dos fundadores do IBMEC, do *think tank* Instituto Millenium e do Banco Pactual é também fundador e sócio majoritário do grupo BR. (*El País*, 27 AGO 2018)

<sup>11</sup> Sérgio Moro, juiz-estrela da operação Lava Jato, abandonou 22 anos de magistratura para fazer parte de um Governo. Ele foi o responsável por condenar centenas de políticos, empreiteiros, lobistas e doleiros que desviaram recursos públicos, principalmente da Petrobrás. Foi por conta de uma decisão sua que o ex-presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) foi preso e, após condenação em segunda instância, foi retirado da disputa eleitoral de 2018. O site The Intercept Brasil, editado pelo jornalista Glenn Greewald, publicou desde conversas entre o ex-juiz federal e o então ministro da Justiça e da Segurança Pública do governo Jair Bolsonaro, Sérgio Moro e os promotores da Lava Jato. Os vazamentos em áudio e mensagens foram coletados no aplicativo Telegram desde 2014 até dezembro de 2018. Moro pediu demissão do governo Bolsonaro em 24 de abril de 2020.

[AIL – Asociación de Iberoamericanos por la Libertad - España, www.asociacionail.com](http://www.asociacionail.com)  
[ANFE – Asociación Nacional de Fomento Económico - Costa Rica, www.anfe.cr](http://www.anfe.cr)  
[ATLAS NETWORK – Estados Unidos, www.atlasnetwork.com](http://www.atlasnetwork.com)  
[CAMINOS DE LIBERTAD – México, www.caminosdelibertad.com](http://www.caminosdelibertad.com)  
[CAPP – Centro de Análisis para Políticas Públicas– República Dominicana, www.capp.org.do](http://www.capp.org.do)  
[CATO INSTITUTE - Estados Unidos, www.cato.org](http://www.cato.org)  
[CEDICE – Centro de Divulgación del Conocimiento Económico - Venezuela, www.cedice.org.ve](http://www.cedice.org.ve)  
[CEP – Centro de Estudios Públicos- Chile, www.cepchile.cl](http://www.cepchile.cl)  
[CIEN - Guatemala, www.cien.org.gt](http://www.cien.org.gt)  
[CITEL – Centro de Investigación y Estudios Legales - Perú, www.citel.org](http://www.citel.org)  
[CREES – Centro Regional de Estrategias Económicas Sostenibles - República Dominicana, www.crees.org.do](http://www.crees.org.do)  
[ESEADE - Argentina, www.eseade.edu.ar](http://www.eseade.edu.ar)  
[FAES - Fundación para el Análisis y los Estudios Sociales - España, www.fundacionfaes.org](http://www.fundacionfaes.org)  
[FRASER INSTITUTE - Canada, www.fraserinstitute.org](http://www.fraserinstitute.org)  
[FREEMARKET INTERNACIONAL - España](http://www.fpp.org)  
[FRIEDRICH NAUMANN FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM - Alemania, www.fnst.org](http://www.fnst.org)  
[FRONTEIRAS DO PENSAMENTO - Brasil, www.frenteiras.com](http://www.frenteiras.com)  
[FUNDACION PARA EL PROGRESO - Chile, www.fpp.org](http://www.fpp.org)  
[FUNDACIÓN GLOBAL - Argentina, www.fglobal.org](http://www.fglobal.org)  
[FUNDACIÓN IBEROAMÉRICA EUROPA- España, www.fundacionfie.org](http://www.fundacionfie.org)  
[FUNDACIÓN LIBERTAD - Argentina, www.libertad.org.ar](http://www.libertad.org.ar)  
[FUNDACIÓN LIBERTAD - Panamá, www.fundacionlibertad.org.pa](http://www.fundacionlibertad.org.pa)  
[FUNDACIÓN NUEVA DEMOCRACIA - Bolivia, www.nuevademocracia.org.bo](http://www.nuevademocracia.org.bo)  
[ICP - INSTITUTO DE CIENCIA POLÍTICA - Colombia, www.icpcolombia.org](http://www.icpcolombia.org)  
[IEE - INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS ECONÓMICOS – España, www.ieemadrid.es](http://www.ieemadrid.es)  
[IEEP – Instituto Ecuatoriano de Economía Política - Ecuador, www.iepp.org.ec](http://www.iepp.org.ec)  
[INSTITUTO DE ESTUDOS EMPRESARIAIS - Brasil, www.iee.com.br](http://www.iee.com.br)  
[INSTITUTO JUAN DE MARIANA - España, www.juandemariana.org](http://www.juandemariana.org)  
[INSTITUTO LIBERTAD Y DESARROLLO - Chile, www.lyd.org](http://www.lyd.org)  
[INTERAMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY - Estados Unidos, www.intdemocratic.org](http://www.intdemocratic.org)  
[IPEA - Instituto de Pensamiento Estratégico Ágora - México, www.ipea.institute](http://www.ipea.institute)  
[MANHATTAN INSTITUTE - Estados Unidos, www.manhattan-institute.org](http://www.manhattan-institute.org)  
[MÉXICO BUSINESS FORUM, México, www.mexicobusinessevents.com](http://www.mexicobusinessevents.com)  
[RED LIBERAL DE AMÉRICA LATINA \(RELIAL\), www.reliat.org](http://www.reliat.org) Fonte: FIL, 2018.  
[UNIVERSIDAD FRANCISCO MARROQUIN - Guatemala, www.ufm.edu](http://www.ufm.edu)

Fonte: FIL, 2018-1.

Figura 5: Lista completa dos *thinks tanks* associados à Rede FIL

## II. OS INSTITUTOS DE IDEIAS LIBERAIS QUE ATUAM NO BRASIL

O movimento político-ideológico liberal, estratégico e tático, articulado e planejado pedagogicamente em âmbito mundial para consolidar e preservar a hegemonia do livre mercado teve início no Brasil com as organizações denominadas Institutos Liberais (ILs). Eles atuaram como polo aglutinador de diferentes frações da burguesia, com o objetivo de idealizar,

materializar e sustentar o triunfo neoliberal no Brasil.

O Instituto Liberal foi criado em 1983, no Rio de Janeiro, por um conjunto de empresários e intelectuais adeptos do ideário liberal, com a finalidade de propagar o pensamento liberal no Brasil entre o empresariado e formadores de opinião. Tão logo o Instituto Liberal do Rio de Janeiro (IL-RL) iniciou suas atividades, verificou-se a necessidade de expansão para

outros estados da federação, em razão de as especificidades regionais dificultarem a sua inserção no país<sup>12</sup>.

Nessa perspectiva, buscou-se aumentar o número de mantenedores e ampliou-se a entidade por meio de estrutura seccional de institutos análogos no Distrito Federal e nos seguintes estados: Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo, Paraná, Minas Gerais, Pernambuco, Bahia e Ceará. Essa configuração possibilitou “a constituição de núcleos municipais no interior dos diferentes estados, núcleos esses filiados aos respectivos institutos das capitais estaduais e de acordo com o princípio federativo”<sup>13</sup>.

A atuação dos Institutos Liberais correspondeu, no Brasil, ao que foi o processo de reabilitação do liberalismo desencadeado pela Sociedade Mont Pélerin em 1947. A instituição dedicou-se inicialmente a tradução, edição, publicação de livros e de panfletos, divulgando ideias, pressupostos teóricos e acepções alusivas ao liberalismo. Além da função de transmissão do pensamento neoliberal, os ILs operaram como laboratório de ideias, pesquisas, planejamento e consultoria das concepções da Escola Austríaca, orientada à realidade política e sócio-histórica brasileira. Em consonância com esse ativismo político, os Institutos Liberais traduziram e publicaram obras da Escola Austríaca de Economia, literatura até então pouco conhecida no Brasil, entre elas, *O caminho da servidão e Direito, legislação e liberdade*, de Friedrich Hayek.

Os ILs congregaram inicialmente empresários de diversos estados que se identificaram com o liberalismo, figuras de projeção econômica e política, como: Jorge Gerdau Johannpeter (RS), Jorge Simeira Jacob (SP), Roberto Bornhausen (SP), João Pedro Gouvêa Vieira Filho (RJ) e Sérgio Andrade de Carvalho e Winston Ling (RS). Todavia, a entidade estendeu-se para além de um agrupamento empresarial, uma vez que

arregimentou para seus quadros indivíduos de diversas ocupações, abarcando advogados economistas, estudantes, jornalistas, médicos, professores etc.

As atividades dos ILs foram financiadas, ao longo de sua trajetória, por vários mantenedores, entre os quais se destacam: Aços Villares, Banco Itaú, Coopersucar, Banco de Boston, Dow Química, Gradiente, Nestlé, Philco, Sharp e Votorantim, (primeiros mantenedores), e posteriormente pelas empresas Amil Assistência Médica Internacional, Arno, Banco Bamerindus, Banco Bozano Simonsen, Banco Fenícia, Bombril, Bradesco, Companhia Brasileira de Petróleo Ipiranga, Companhia Antártica Paulista, Citibank, Companhia Nestlé Indústria e Comércio, Construtora Norberto Odebrecht, Eucatex Indústria e Comércio, Indústrias Gradiente, Rhodia, Indústrias Votorantim, White Martins, TV Globo, Unibanco Corretora de Seguros, Varig, Vasp e Xerox do Brasil.

De acordo com informações do IL-RJ, a partir de meados da década de 2000, em decorrência “de problemas administrativos, os ILs foram sendo reincorporados ao IL-RJ e fechando suas filiais<sup>14</sup>”. O Instituto Liberal do Rio Grande do Sul converteu-se em Instituto Liberdade. Também nesse mesmo período foram constituídas várias entidades independentes em defesa do neoliberalismo, como o Instituto Mises Brasil, os Institutos de Formação de Líderes, o Instituto Millenium, o Instituto Liberal do Nordeste, o Instituto Ordem Livre e Estudantes pela Liberdade, todos atuantes em parceria com IL-RJ. (IL-RJ,2018)

Segundo dados divulgados pela 2017 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report<sup>15</sup>, o Brasil tem 93 *Think tanks*, dentre os quais se destaca o Instituto Millenium, pela sua forte inserção política e midiática, característica que confere a essa entidade posição de protagonista na batalha de ideias liberais no país, a partir de sua criação. O

<sup>12</sup> Site do Instituto Liberal do Rio de Janeiro. Disponível em: <https://www.institutoliberal.org.br/>. Acesso em: 21 abr. 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Site do Instituto Liberal do Rio de Janeiro. Disponível em: <https://www.institutoliberal.org.br/>. Acesso em: 21 abr. 2018.

<sup>14</sup> Site do Instituto Liberal do Rio de Janeiro. Disponível em: <https://www.institutoliberal.org.br/>. Acesso em: 21 abr. 2018.

<sup>15</sup>Disponível em: [https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1012&context=think\\_tanks](https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1012&context=think_tanks). Acesso em: 23 nov. 2018.

aporte financeiro assegurado pelas mantenedoras/doadores, a estrutura política administrativa, o corpo de especialistas e convidados aliado a um conjunto incessante de atividades desenvolvidas em âmbito nacional, conferem ao IMIL a condição de polo de ideias liberais intelectualmente mais sofisticado e melhor instrumentalizado para realizar, hoje no país, a sustentação política ideológica liberal. (2017 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report, 2017).

O Imil foi criado formalmente em 2006, durante o Fórum da Liberdade, em Porto Alegre, pelo chicogo-boy Armínio Fraga, para ser um polo irradiador de ideias liberais no Brasil. O instituto é uma organização político-empresarial mantida por líderes de grandes corporações – Gerdau; Globo; Pottencial Seguradora, uma das empresas de Salim Mattar, dono da locadora de veículos Localiza; Abril; Banco Pactual; Bank of America Merrill Lynch; grupo Évora, dos irmãos Ling; grupo Ultra; Hélio Beltrão.

De acordo com informações apresentadas no *site* da organização, o Imil é uma entidade sem fins lucrativos e sem vinculação político-partidária, com sede no Rio de Janeiro. Formado por intelectuais e empresários, “o instituto promove valores e princípios que garantem uma sociedade livre, como liberdade individual, direito de propriedade, economia de mercado, democracia representativa, Estado de Direito e limites institucionais à ação do governo”.

A estrutura político-administrativa do Imil é formada pelas seguintes instâncias: Câmara de Mantenedores, Câmara de Fundadores, Conselho de Governança, Conselho Fiscal e Comitê Gestor. O Millenium realiza regularmente atividades como seminários, palestras e encontros por todo o país que são cobertas pela imprensa e publicadas no portal. Os eventos promovidos pelo Imil contam com o apoio de um corpo de 200 especialistas de diversas áreas do conhecimento. Ademais, a entidade dispõe de uma equipe de convidados composta por notórios defensores do ideário liberal de inserção na grande mídia, dentre os quais: acadêmicos, advogados, juristas, economistas, cineastas, empresários, âncora de

telejornal, jornalistas e analistas políticos (Figura 10).

Adeodato Neto	Ali Kamel	Alvaro Vargas Llosa	Andre Franco Montoro Filho	Anselmo Heidrich
Carlos Alberto Di Franco	Carlos Alberto Montaner	Carlos Alberto Sardenberg	Carlos Magno Xavier	Christopher Sabatini
Claudia Costin	Cora Ronai	Demétrio Magnoli	Denis Rosenfield	Edson Ronaldo Nascimento
Eduardo Zimmer Sampaio	Eugenio Bucci	Eugenio Mussak	Everardo Maciel	Fábio Ostermann
Gaudencio Torquato	Guilherme Fiuza	Guilherme Malzoni Rabello	Gustavo Guida Reis	Helio Gurovitz
Igor Barenboim	Ilan Goldfajn	J.R. Guzzo	Joel Pinheiro da Fonseca	Jorge Gerdau
Jose Andres Lopes da Costa	Jose Eli da Veiga	Jose Piñera	José Marcio Mendonça	José Padilha
Lilian Zieger	Lucas Mendes	Luis Gomez	Luiz Alberto Machado	Luiz Eduardo Vasconcelos
Luiz Leonardo Fração	Mailson Ferreira da Nóbrega	Marcelo Côrtes Neri	Marcos Cintra	Mario Cesar Flores
Mary Anastasia O'Grady	Merval Pereira	Mozart Neves Ramos	Nelson Motta	Oscar Vilhena
Paulo Areas	Paulo Brossard (in memoriam)	Paulo Feldmann	Paulo Kramer	Pedro Malan
Percival Puggina	Renato Lima	Renato Skaf	Ricardo Amorim	Ricardo Galuppo
Rodrigo Mezzomo	Thor Halvorssen	Tom Palmer	Vicente de Paulo Barretto	Wagner Lenhar

Fonte: Instituto Millenium, 2018.

Figura 10: Relação da equipe de convidados do Millenium

O papel estratégico de relevo do Millenium no fomento e na difusão do ideário neoliberal, mais especificamente da economia de mercado no Brasil, deve-se, em larga medida, à atuação de intelectuais orgânicos da economia de mercado (os chicago-boys brasileiros), notadamente Armínio Fraga, Gustavo Franco, Pedro Malan, Paulo Guedes, de empresários brasileiros ligados ao grande capital e de empresários ligados à

grande imprensa, como Ali Kamel, diretor-geral de Jornalismo e Esportes da Rede Globo. O instituto contribui, assim, significativamente, para a disseminação e institucionalização das prescrições neoliberais no Brasil.

O Millenium, assim como os demais institutos que compõem a imensa rede internacional difusora do ideário liberal, rejeita e desqualifica o arcabouço

acadêmico da esquerda e contrapõe-se a ele fabricando e legitimando produções de saberes, como se fossem a própria racionalidade econômica.

Essa rede alinhada à agenda de Washington veicula matérias como do *link* conteúdo/artigo do *site* do IMIL. Vale examinar duas matérias disponíveis no referido *link*, cujos temas são obstinadamente defendidos pelos neoliberais:

- i. Governo Temer e as prescrições para superação da crise econômica;
- ii. Flexibilização da legislação trabalhista.

O tema Governo Temer e as prescrições para superação da crise econômica é tratado em entrevista concedida por Armínio Fraga ao jornal Estado de São Paulo. A pergunta central da enquete era: “O País melhorou depois do impeachment?” e “O governo de Michel Temer segue na direção certa?”. Ele responde: “A mudança foi impressionante. O Brasil, como estava, ia quebrar três vezes mais.” Na sequência da entrevista, ele defende a agenda na linha do “consenso” de 1989:

O ideal seria fazer o ajuste mais rápido, mas está atuando dentro do que é possível no campo político a essa altura do jogo. A agenda é boa. A PEC do teto do gasto (Proposta de Emenda Constitucional 241) é um avanço extraordinário. Ainda assim, exige a reforma da Previdência, se não o teto não fica de pé. Mas eu acho que vai precisar de mais reformas. [...] se aprovar a reforma da Previdência no primeiro trimestre, vai ter tempo para fazer mais e não vejo porque parar. Acho muito boa a ideia de discutir as questões trabalhistas. O Estadão, aliás, publicou uma fantástica matéria sobre isso. (INSTITUTO MILLENIUM, 2018)

A matéria a que Armínio Fraga se refere trata do tema Flexibilização da legislação trabalhista, veiculada também no *Estado de São Paulo*: “Flexibilização da CLT pode ajudar a impulsionar a economia, segundo especialistas”. Nesse texto jornalístico tece-se crítica mordaz ao que se nomeia “rigidez das leis trabalhistas brasileiras”. A estrutura do artigo é intercalada com breves pareceres de vários “especialistas”, todos

obviamente favoráveis à flexibilização da legislação trabalhista. O empresário David Neeleman, fundador da Azul, expressa as suas dificuldades com a legislação trabalhista. Ele explica que pretendia criar um *call center* remoto, no qual os trabalhadores atenderiam as ligações da clientela em suas próprias casas. A proposta permitiria a mulheres com filhos pequenos, além de aposentados e estudantes, organizar a jornada de trabalho de acordo com a sua disponibilidade. Essa proposta tão “avançada” não pôde ser executada em razão do rigor da legislação trabalhista brasileira (INSTITUTO MILLENIUM, 2018).

As matérias veiculadas nos *sites* dos institutos de ideias liberais apresentam os mesmos conteúdos. Com grau maior ou menor de sofisticação argumentativa, essas entidades se aglutinam em torno da agenda neoliberal. À proporção que essas organizações operam, vão inscrevendo ideologicamente pensamentos, opções e convicções. Elas formam padrões de comportamento, pontos de vista, enfoques, pareceres e concepções, reguladas em âmbito nacional e internacional. Essa formação gradativa abarca um conjunto significativo de pessoas, conjunto esse que se eleva rapidamente em dimensão de massa.

Com o propósito de aproximar ainda mais essa organização de importantes grupos formadores de opinião, como os estudantes universitários e os jornalistas, foram desenvolvidos pelo Instituto Millenium, desde 2012, os seguintes projetos:

- i. Imil na Sala de Aula – leva especialistas a universidades de todo o país para debater com os alunos temas de relevância no cenário nacional, sempre atrelados aos valores do instituto.
- ii. Millenium nas Redações – promove encontros com imprensa. O objetivo é contribuir para o fortalecimento da liberdade de expressão, por meio da promoção de uma visão mais crítica e independente.

Além disso, o Instituto Millenium dispõe de um *site* bem constituído que divulga as suas próprias produções e replica matérias jornalísticas de

diversos órgãos de imprensa, sobretudo do jornal *Estado de São Paulo*. Possivelmente, seja esse, diferentemente das demais organizações, o papel por excelência desse instituto. Em verdade, há um forte vínculo de articulação e de complementariedade entre os diversos institutos de ideias liberais, e provavelmente distintas organizações liberais atuam mais em outras frentes dessa mesma batalha; por exemplo, dedicando-se a treinamento de jovens, realizando formação de líderes, organizando fóruns de debates, ofertando cursos de graduação e pós-graduação, produzindo e veiculando informações atualizadas do Brasil para municiar redes internacionais.

### III. ESTUDANTES PELA LIBERDADE E O MOVIMENTO BRASIL LIVRE (MBL)

A Atlas patrocina no Brasil, conjuntamente com outras redes e laboratórios de ideias, estudantes, jovens latino-americanos para se engajarem na batalha ideológica de desgastarem e de apertarem o cerco aos governos considerados de esquerda, empunhando os anacrônicos bordões liberais revestidos de uma nova retórica. Em 2016, o Estudantes pela Liberdade no Brasil – fundador do Movimento Brasil Livre – recebeu da Atlas e da rede Students for Liberty, da qual é associada, aproximadamente, R\$ 300 mil para investir na batalha contra os governos populistas.

Segundo informações contidas no *site* desse laboratório de ideias, a sua criação teve início em 2010, a partir do “blog no qual Juliano Torres e Anthony Ling escreviam conteúdos”. A entidade desenvolveu como primeiro projeto uma revista acadêmica, chamada Estudos pela Liberdade. A essa altura, “dois grupos faziam parte da organização: o Círculo de Estudos Roberto Campos e Círculo Bastiat, um na URGS e outro na Faculdade Pitágoras”. No Seminário de Verão do Instituto Ordem Livre, em 2012 – organizado por Diogo Costa, Magno Karl e Elisa Martins –, Juliano Torres, Anthony Ling e os outros integrantes do grupo criaram “um projeto mais elaborado para mudar a vida dos estudantes nas universidades brasileiras”. Para tanto, deram “início às atividades de uma organização focada na divulgação das ideias de liberdade”. Essa

empreitada foi assumida por Juliano Torres que contou com colaboração de “Anthony Ling, Lino Gill, Pedro Menezes e Mano Ferreira”.

Em entrevista à repórter Mariana Amaral – por ocasião do Fórum pela Liberdade em 2015 – Juliano Torres, o diretor executivo do Estudantes pela Liberdade (EPL), explicita a ligação entre o EPL e o Movimento Brasil Livre (MBL): o Movimento Brasil Livre (MBL) foi uma legenda cunhada pelo EPL para possibilitar a sua atuação nas manifestações do Passe Livre em 2013, resguardando as normas das “organizações americanas que são impedidas de doar recursos para ativistas políticos pela legislação da receita americana (IRS)”. Juliano relata:

Quando teve os protestos em 2013 pelo Passe Livre, vários membros do Estudantes pela Liberdade queriam participar, só que, como a gente recebe recursos de organizações como a Atlas e a Students for Liberty, por uma questão de imposto de renda lá, eles não podem desenvolver atividades políticas. Então a gente falou: “Os membros do EPL podem participar como pessoas físicas, mas não como organização para evitar problemas. Aí a gente resolveu criar uma marca, não era uma organização, era só uma marca para a gente se vender nas manifestações como Movimento Brasil Livre. Então juntou eu, Fábio [Ostermann], juntou o Felipe França, que é de Recife e São Paulo, mais umas quatro, cinco pessoas, criamos o logo, a campanha de Facebook. E aí acabaram as manifestações, acabou o projeto. E a gente estava procurando alguém para assumir, já tinha mais de 10 mil *likes* na página, panfletos. E aí a gente encontrou o Kim [Katagui]”<sup>16</sup> e o Renan [Haas], que afinal deram uma guinada incrível no movimento com as passeatas contra a Dilma e coisas do tipo. Inclusive, o Kim é membro da EPL, então ele foi treinado pela EPL também. E boa parte dos organizadores

<sup>16</sup> Kim Katagui (DEM) Kim Katagui (DEM) foi o quarto candidato mais votado no estado de São Paulo para a 56ª Legislatura (2019-2023) da Câmara dos Deputados Federais. Ele foi eleito com mais de 400 mil votos (cerca de 2,21% do total de votos válidos).

locais são membros do EPL. Eles atuam como integrantes do Movimento Brasil Livre, mas foram treinados pela gente, em cursos de liderança”. (AGÊNCIA PÚBLICA, 2015).

Esse relato evidencia como essas organizações de ideias liberais investiram vigorosamente no desgaste do governo Dilma. Eles não apenas se engajaram nas manifestações de junho de 2013, mas a insuflaram. Infere-se, também, que o movimento de 2013 permeou ideologicamente o caminho para o movimento pró-impeachment, desencadeado em 2015, fomentado pelo Movimento Brasil Livre que aglutinou as forças conservadoras do país e pôs em marcha o golpe, em atuação articulada com seus correligionários, que operam em outras organizações liberais.

No processo eleitoral de 2018, as organizações liberais, nomeadamente o MBL, para tentar evitar a divulgação de notícias falsas pela rede social, atuaram disseminando avalanches de mensagens falsas nas redes sociais com o objetivo de desqualificar os governos petistas e a esquerda e enaltecer a candidatura de Bolsonaro. Segundo o jornal *El País*, esse movimento divulgou em vídeos e postagens publicados na internet, os ativistas tentam desqualificar o trabalho das agências profissionais de checagem de dados, escolhidas como parceiras pelo Facebook e até divulgam perfis pessoais dos jornalistas desses veículos para classificá-los como "militantes da esquerda". A ironia é que dirigentes do MBL como o próprio Santos, Kim Kataguirí e Arthur do Val, mais conhecido pelo apelido de Mamãefalei, e inclusive um deputado federal e um procurador da Justiça do Rio de Janeiro, difundiram dados falsos para criticar o combate aos dados falsos. (EL PAÍS, 19 maio 2018)

O Fórum da Liberdade é um evento realizado sob o auspício do Instituto de Estudos Empresariais (IEE) e, segundo informações do *site*, em “2013, foi reconhecido pela Revista *Forbes* como o maior espaço de debate político, econômico e social da América Latina”. (IEE, 2018).

O Fórum tem o expresso propósito de fomentar alternativas objetivas de explicar e replicar as

ideias de livre mercado ao público jovem universitário. Nessa perspectiva, promovem debates como palestrantes liberais, como Luis Felipe Pondé, Diogo Costa, Demétrio Magnoli, Mário Mesquita, Alejandro Chafuen e Ronaldo Caiado. Dessa forma, oferece uma “contribuição imprescindível, nessa batalha, mediante a cobertura maciça da mídia nacional ao Fórum da Liberdade”.

O evento propiciou, até os dias atuais, a exposição de “300 palestrantes, sendo 103 deles estrangeiros, cinco ganhadores do Prêmio Nobel”, quais sejam: James Buchanan, Gary Becker, James Heckman, Douglass North e Mario Vargas Llosa. Contou também com a presença de “sete chefes de Estado, de 53 lideranças políticas nacionais e internacionais e de 16 ministros de Estado, além de lideranças empresariais, acadêmicos e estudiosos”. O Fórum congrega “anualmente um público médio de 5.000 pessoas e mais de 200.000 acessos no Fórum da Liberdade On-line, sendo que desses, mais de 150.000 são por meio das redes sociais – Facebook, Twitter e YouTube”. O Fórum também é compartilhado “por mais de 25 mil fãs no Facebook, os vídeos do YouTube tiveram mais de 77.000 visualizações, e a transmissão ao vivo atinge mais de 100 mil acessos no mês de realização do evento”.

Cabe destacar o papel emblemático desempenhado pelo 28º Fórum da Liberdade, realizado em 2015, cujo caráter político apoteótico, em razão da conjuntura do país, revela o nível de articulação e o grau de beligerância da batalha ideológica neoliberal. O evento foi realizado nos dias 13 e 14 de abril de 2015, na PUC-RS, em Porto Alegre, num auditório de 2 mil lugares, totalmente repleto. O 28º Fórum contou, inclusive, com a participação de Alejandro Chafuen, presidente da Atlas. Os patrocinadores oficiais do evento foram Souza Cruz, Gerdau, Ipiranga e RBS (afiliada da Rede Globo).

## VI. CONSIDERAÇÕES FINAIS

As redes de organizações liberais exercem uma ação ofensiva e beligerante contra as ideias e os projetos políticos que se opõem à ordem

espontânea do mercado. Essa ofensiva não se processa apenas por meio da grande mídia, mas, sobretudo, mediante as miríades de redes liberais, que se imbricam localmente, regionalmente, globalmente e se complementam, gerando uma dinâmica veloz de fomento à produção de ideias, de táticas e de estratégias que municiam em fluxo contínuo a artilharia da batalha ideológica.

A batalha protagonizada por essas organizações envolve o engajamento não apenas do empresariado, mas de lideranças políticas e religiosas, de discentes de diferentes níveis de ensino, de diversos profissionais que atuam em atividades ligadas à formação de opinião, como acadêmicos, economistas, jornalistas, publicitários, advogados, juristas, docente e artistas. Os materiais publicitários produzidos por essas redes de ideias compreendem: edição de livros, pesquisas de cunho acadêmico, tradução de livros e artigos, periódicos, folhetos, cartilhas. As atividades de divulgação ocorrem por meio de congressos, fóruns, simpósios, seminários, colóquios, conferências e, até mesmo, cimeiras.

Verifica-se, assim, que a força operacional desses institutos consiste em sistematizar, alinhar e padronizar uma visão de mundo sob a qual a função do Estado se restringe a apenas assegurar os meios de reprodução do capital, requeridos pelos setores hegemônicos da burguesia, ou seja, reduzir o Estado à esfera dos interesses do grande capital interno e internacional. Trata-se, em última instância, de formar a convicção nos indivíduos de que o princípio da igualdade é injusto e que a desigualdade encerra em si um caráter de justiça conferido pelo merecimento.

Revela-se falaciosa a ideia defendida por Adam Smith, segundo a qual “a “mão invisível” do mercado livre regula as relações econômicas sociais e produz o bem comum. Revela-se também falaciosa a acepção hayekiana da ordem espontânea do mercado que ressalta a superioridade do mercado sobre a cognição humana. A intervenção concreta, orquestrada, deliberada, das organizações liberais na América Latina, evidencia o oposto da “mão invisível” e da “ordem espontânea”. O dirigismo neoliberal concentra-se nas ofensivas sistemáticas aos

governos eleitos de esquerda e de centro-esquerda, que não aderem ou aderem parcialmente aos ditames desmensurados do livre mercado. A batalha político-ideológica liberal não se restringe ao campo democrático. Ela é travada, a cada momento, de forma mais radicalizada, artilosa e desumana; a estratégia é demonizar, criminalizar, desestabilizar e, por fim, demolir esses governos e os movimentos sociais que se opõem ao projeto liberalizante.

O compromisso real do neoliberalismo é com os interesses do grande capital. Quando os interesses dos agentes do livre mercado estão ameaçados, pela soberania da maioria, pela maioria assalariada, a força bruta, a ditadura, torna-se uma alternativa defendida por seus mentores, a exemplo do golpe no Chile protagonizado pelo general Pinochet que tornou possível a implantação, naquele país, sob a batuta do regime ditatorial, o primeiro experimento neoliberal no mundo. Ao contrário do que apregoam os ideólogos do neoliberalismo, de que há uma correspondência direta entre democracia e liberalismo, liberalismo e democracia são concepções antitéticas, não guardando quaisquer vínculos. A concepção de democracia traz na sua gênese o escopo de garantir a maior participação da coletividade no processo público decisório; já a acepção neoliberal, ocupa-se, tão somente, de resguardar as elites econômicas (grupo minoritário) em face daqueles que somente possuem a sua força de trabalho, para, assim, manter a dinâmica de acumulação e de reprodução do capital.

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# Theoretical Model of Gender-Role Behavior in Positive Psychotherapy

*V. Kochnev & R. Ershova*

*Moscow Stat Regional University*

## ABSTRACT

This article describes the theoretical model of individual's sex-role behavior from the point of view of positive psychotherapy. It reveals theoretical and practical aspects of relevance of the studied problem. In addition, it analyzes theoretical approaches to the problem of sex-role behavior, specifies the concepts of sex-role behavior and the «masculinity-femininity» construct. The article also describes levels and components of the theoretical model of sex-role behavior within the theoretical and methodological background of positive psychotherapy. In conclusion, the authors developed a hypothesis on the possibility of practical use of the proposed model in the process of providing psychological support to the individual clients, couples (sexual partners), who have difficulties in the individual sex-role area, and in the sex-role form of marital maladjustment.

**Keywords:** theoretical model, gender-role behavior, the «masculinity-femininity» construct, sex role, sex-role form of sexual maladjustment, positive psychotherapy, areas of human's life and activities, basic needs, secondary and primary capabilities, model of reactions, role model, life and family concepts, differential analysis of personality.

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# Theoretical Model of Gender-Role Behavior in Positive Psychotherapy

## ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКАЯ МОДЕЛЬ ПОЛОРОЛЕВОГО ПОВЕДЕНИЯ В МЕТОДЕ ПОЗИТИВНОЙ ПСИХОТЕРАПИИ

V. Kochnev<sup>α</sup> & R. Ershova<sup>σ</sup>

### АННОТАЦИЯ.

В статье описывается теоретическая модель полоролевого поведения личности с позиции метода позитивной психотерапии. Раскрываются теоретический и практический аспекты актуальности изучаемой проблематики. Анализируются теоретические подходы к проблеме полоролевого поведения, уточняются понятия «полоролевого поведения», «конструкт маскулинность-фемининность». Описаны уровни и компоненты теоретической модели полоролевого поведения в рамках теоретико-методологических основ позитивной психотерапии. В заключении авторами делается предположение о возможности практического использования предложенной модели в процессе оказания психологической помощи отдельным клиентам, супружеским парам (сексуальным партнерам), имеющим трудности как в индивидуальной полоролевой сфере, так и при полоролевой форме супружеской дезадаптации.

**Ключевые слова:** теоретическая модель, полоролевого поведения, конструкт «маскулинность-фемининность», половая роль, полоролевая форма сексуальной дезадаптации, позитивная психотерапия, сферы жизни и деятельности человека, базовые потребности, вторичные и первичные способности, модель реакций, модель для подражания, жизненные и семейные концепции, дифференциальный анализ личности.

### ABSTRACT

*This article describes the theoretical model of individual's sex-role behavior from the point of view of positive psychotherapy. It reveals theoretical and practical aspects of relevance of the studied problem. In addition, it analyzes theoretical approaches to the problem of sex-role behavior, specifies the concepts of sex-role behavior and the «masculinity-femininity» construct. The article also describes levels and components of the theoretical model of sex-role behavior within the theoretical and methodological background of positive psychotherapy. In conclusion, the authors developed a hypothesis on the possibility of practical use of the proposed model in the process of providing psychological support to the individual clients, couples (sexual partners), who have difficulties in the individual sex-role area, and in the sex-role form of marital maladjustment.*

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**Author α:** Moscow Stat Regional University.

**σ:** State University of Humanities and Social Studies, Kolomna.

## I. ВВЕДЕНИЕ

**Актуальность данной статьи** следует рассматривать с точки зрения, двух аспектов: теоретического и практического.

*Теоретический аспект.* Во-первых, как отмечают Б.Е. Алексеев [2], И.С. Клецина [11], анализ большого количества зарубежной и отечественной литературы, посвященной изучению различных феноменов, касающихся полоролевой сферы жизни и деятельности индивида (в том числе и полоролевого поведения) свидетельствует о смысловых искажениях и методологических проблемах, возникающих при разработке данных феноменов.

*Во-вторых,* такая важная для психологической и сексологической теории и практики категория, как «полоролевого поведение» длительное время рассматривалась как «аморфное образование» [2, с. 5] и поэтому ее разработке не уделялось достаточного внимания [2]. Более того, в настоящее время не существует единого подхода к формулировке определения «полоролевого поведения», который бы отталкивался от этимологии слова «поведение» и сущности такового. Это затрудняет постижение глубины сущности феномена полоролевого поведения.

По нашему мнению, основывающемуся на рассмотрении «... целостного человеческого Я как фундаментального фактора поведения и развития личности» с точки зрения подхода феноменологической, гуманистической психологии (А. Маслоу, К. Роджерс) [3, с. 778], а также – на исследованиях Б.Е. Алексеева (2006, 2010), М.В. Бороденко, М.В. Колясниковой, В.А. Петровского (2001), полоролевого поведение следует рассматривать как многоуровневый феномен [2; 4], включающий три структурных компонента: когнитивный, эмоционально-ценностный и конативный [3].

*Практический аспект.* Во-первых, в научных работах современных отечественных специалистов (С.Т. Агарков, 2004;

В.В. Кришталь, С.Р. Григорян, 2002 и др.) описывается «двухуровневая двухкомпонентная» модель исследования полоролевого поведения, основанная на изучении сочетания биогенного уровня полоролевого поведения и уровня полоролевой Я-концепции [1; 20]. При этом для изучения и прогнозирования полоролевого поведения на уровне полоролевой Я-концепции исследователи чаще всего используют психодиагностические методики (шкалу ACL А.В. Heilbrun, BSRI (опросник С. Бем), «МиФ» Т.Л. Бессоновой (в модификации Н.В. Дворянчикова и др.)), позволяющие определить лишь соотношение двух компонентов – маскулинности/фемининности, оставляя без глубокого изучения когнитивный, эмоционально-ценностный и конативный компоненты. Как подчеркивает Б.Е. Алексеев, предлагающий трехуровневую модель изучения полоролевого поведения, исследование только соотношения маскулинности/фемининности «... оставляет в стороне широкую часть спектра полоролевого поведения, которая может быть значимой для возникновения поведенческих и личностных проблем» [2, с. 5].

*Во-вторых,* как показывают исследования полоролевого поведения [1; 13; 20], по соотношению маскулинности/фемининности исследуемых относят к одному из четырех полоролевых типов (маскулинному, фемининному, андрогинному или недифференцированному). В то время как посредством опросника BSRI и авторского подхода В.А. Кочнева к обработке и интерпретации его результатов можно получить «промежуточные» полоролевые типы (гипер-маскулинный, андрогинно-маскулинный, андрогинно-фемининный, гипер-фемининный и два андрогинных типа – со средним и высоким уровнями андрогинии), что значительно увеличивает глубину и достоверность исследования полоролевых типов [16; 17; 18; 19].

*В-третьих,* как отмечают С.Н. Ениколопов, Н.В. Дворянчиков [8], важным моментом является решение психокоррекционных задач.

Как показывают результаты исследований и психотерапевтической практики, в основе нарушений полоролевой сферы личности, полоролевого поведения и полоролевой формы сексуальной дезадаптации супругов (партнеров) лежит внутренний [1] или полоролевой конфликт [2], для проработки которого (например, при полоролевой форме сексуальной дезадаптации супругов (партнеров)) принято применять в соответствии с заданным алгоритмом систему методов, включающих: ролевой психосексуальный тренинг, библиотерапию, рациональную психотерапию и др. [1; 15; 20]. По мнению авторов, одним из эффективных методов психотерапии и психокоррекции нарушений полоролевой сферы и в частности полоролевого поведения личности можно рассматривать конфликт-центрированный метод позитивной психотерапии, относительно молодой на постсоветском психотерапевтическом пространстве.

Таким образом, актуальность данной научной работы обусловила ее цель, задачи, объект, предмет и гипотезу исследования.

**Объект исследования** – полоролевого поведение. **Предмет** – теоретическая модель полоролевого поведения в методе позитивной психотерапии. **Цель** – на основании краткого анализа теоретических подходов к изучению полоролевого поведения личности и теоретико-методологических основ позитивной психодинамической психотерапии описать теоретическую модель полоролевого поведения в рамках метода позитивной психодинамической психотерапии. **Задачи:** 1) уточнить понятия «полоролевого поведения», «конструкта «маскулинность-фемининность»»; 2) описать теоретическую модель полоролевого поведения в рамках метода позитивной психодинамической психотерапии с целью концептуализации данного метода как средства психокоррекции и психотерапии нарушений полоролевой сферы личности и дезадаптивного полоролевого поведения. **Гипотетически предполагается**, что теоретическая модель полоролевого

поведения в методе позитивной психодинамической психотерапии (ПППТ) представляет собой трехуровневую многокомпонентную систему, базовый уровень которой представлен конструктом «маскулинность-фемининность».

Теоретические основы изучения проблемы полоролевого поведения. В данной работе при уточнении понятий «полоролевого поведения», «конструкта «маскулинность фемининность»» (как базового компонента полоролевого поведения), а также при разработке и описании теоретической модели полоролевого поведения за основу был взят подход, предложенный Б.А. Алексеевым [2].

С точки зрения А. Heilbrun, **полоролевого поведение** является одним из компонентов структуры психологического пола индивида и отражает его поведение в соответствии с социальными стереотипами мужчин или женщин, или корреляты этих стереотипов [6, с. 33].

В своей психологической энциклопедии А. Ауэрбах и Р. Корсини не приводят определение термина «полоролевого поведение», однако косвенно определяют его через термин «половая роль». Более того, эти авторы подчеркивают, что в огромном количестве зарубежных научных монографий и статей, посвященных гендерной и сексологической проблематике, обнаруживается мало сходства в определениях термина «половая роль», что вносит путаницу в его понимание. Основываясь на данном А. Ауэрбахом и Р. Корсини определении половой роли, а также, исходя из вложенного ими в данный термин смысла, **полоролевого поведение** следует рассматривать как процесс реализации индивидом «совокупности образцов поведения и характеристик, широко рассматриваемых как а) типично женские или мужские (полоролевые стереотипы) и б) желательные для женщин или мужчин (полоролевые нормы)» [23, с. 968].

**И.С. Кон отмечает, что полоролевого поведение** следует понимать как поведение,

в котором реализуются **половые роли** (нормативные ожидания, социальные нормы, предписывающие поведение мужчин и женщин в социуме), или поведение, которое ориентировано на эти роли [12].

В.В. Кришталь, С.Р. Григорян, опираясь на системный междисциплинарный подход, рассматривают **полоролевое поведение** как одно из системообразующих качеств сексуального здоровья, подчеркивая тем самым актуальность его изучения [20, с. 9].

М.А. Догадина и Л.О. Пережогин [7] определяют **полоролевое поведение** как поведение, соответствующее идеалам маскулинности и фемининности; а с точки зрения психосексуального развития в онтогенезе полоролевое поведение рассматривается этими авторами как этап психосексуального развития индивида в возрасте 7-13 лет.

М.В. Бороденко, М.В. Колясникова, В.А. Петровский рассматривают пол и как систему, и как «особое системное свойство личности, в которой представлены биологические, психологические и социальные аспекты бытия человека» [4, с. 180]. Следуя данному подходу, **полоролевое поведение личности** необходимо рассматривать как основанное на половой принадлежности индивида поведение (*биологические образующие пола*), в котором находят свое индивидуально-специфическое выражение характеристики половой идентичности индивида, представленные в его самосознании (*психологические образующие пола*), обусловленное общественными предписаниями и нормами, продиктованными половой принадлежностью (*социальные образующие пола*) [4].

По мнению Б.Е. Алексеева, **полоролевое поведение** – это способ бытия человека как представителя пола, реализуемый на основании модели, именуемой половой ролью [2, с. 38]. В свою очередь **половая роль**, как отмечает Б.Е. Алексеев, – это совокупность социо-культуральных атрибутов, которые

служат субъекту для формирования своего поведения как представителя пола, обеспечивающего его адаптацию в социуме [2, с. 38].

По нашему мнению, **полоролевое поведение** – это многоуровневый акт реализации половой роли, основанный на осознании своей половой идентичности и субъективной картине мира.

Модель «Уровневой организации поведения человека как представителя пола», предложенная Б.Е. Алексеевым (1999, 2001, 2002), включает в себя три уровня (в статье не предполагается подробное описание данной модели; подробное ее описание можно найти в источнике, указанном в библиографическом списке согласно концевой сноске – *прим. авторов*). *Уровень 1 – «Базисный уровень»* (М-Ф измерение). Сущность данного уровня, как отмечает Б.Е. Алексеев, заключается в том, что «М-Ф измерение представляет собой функциональную структуру психики, в рамках которой обобщаются динамические и приобретаемые содержательные характеристики врожденных программ поведения человека как представителя пола...» [2, с. 48-49]. Именно на основе Ф-М измерения формируется полоролевое поведение индивида [2]. *Уровень 2 – «Уровень полоролевого поведения»*. Раскрывая сущность этого уровня, Б.Е. Алексеев отмечает, что полоролевое поведение человека есть следствие структурированности сознания индивида и обусловлено врожденными программами поведения. При этом данный уровень полоролевого поведения обусловлен социокультурными стереотипами полоролевого поведения и воспринимается индивидом как естественный и не вступающий в противоречие с его полоролевой идентификацией [2]. *Уровень 3 – «Уровень приспособительного полоролевого поведения»*, сущность которого заключается в представлении полоролевого поведения как результата подстройки (приспособления – *прим. авторов*) индивида к условиям взаимодействия с социальным окружением и

воздействию различных факторов окружающей среды [2].

Анализ «двухурвневой двухкомпонентной» модели исследования полоролевого поведения, основанной на изучении сочетания полоролевого поведения на биогенном уровне и на уровне полоролевой Я-концепции [1; 20] и модели «Уровневой организации поведения человека как представителя пола», предложенной Б.Е. Алексеевым [2], показывает, что базовой характеристикой, на основании изучения которой делается вывод о типе полоролевого поведения индивида, является соотношение в структуре полоролевой Я-концепции двух компонентов – «маскулинности» и «фемининности». Это соотношение, в зависимости от замысла исследователя, в научных работах принимает различные наименования: половое самосознание, половая идентичность, полоролевая или гендерная идентичность.

Чтобы избежать путаницы понятий (что, по всей видимости, и сделал в своих работах Б.Е. Алексеев – прим. авторов) в предложенной нами ниже теоретической модели полоролевого поведения для обозначения соотношения маскулинности и фемининности в структуре полоролевого поведения мы ввели термин «конструкт «маскулинность- фемининность»». Введение нами термина «конструкт» обосновано: а) наличием четкого его трактования в справочных изданиях; б) представленностью «конструкта» как центрального понятия в «Теории личностных конструктов» Дж. Келли. Так, с т.з. *первого основания*, например, в словаре-справочнике «Психология. А-Я» (пер. с англ. К.С. Ткаченко, 2000) термин «конструкт» в наиболее распространенном психологическом смысле обозначает нечто недоступное непосредственному наблюдению, но выведенное логическим путем на основе наблюдаемых признаков (примером может служить понятие интеллекта, существование которого подразумевается при объяснении различий в поведении людей) [25]. Согласно *второму основанию*, во-первых, «Теория

личностных конструктов» Дж. Келли является одной из логично обоснованных теорий личности [24]. Во-вторых, как отмечает Дж. Келли, конструкт представляет собой личностное образование, по которому может осуществляться сравнение объектов между собой. При этом одним из самых устойчивых для понимания личностных конструктов является дихотомия «маскулинность- фемининность» [9].

Описание теоретической модели полоролевого поведения личности в методе ПППТ. Опираясь на теоретический анализ зарубежных и отечественных подходов к изучению проблемы полоролевого поведения и теоретико-методологические основы ПППТ, мы рассматриваем полоролевое поведение как систему, имеющую определенную структуру. С т.з. структурного подхода [5], модель полоролевого поведения (как система) включает следующие компоненты: *три уровня* полоролевого поведения (элементы которых будут описаны ниже); *механизмы интерио- и эктериоризации; процесс полоролевой идентификации*. С т.з. целостного подхода [5], полоролевое поведение как система взаимодействует с системой внешних (в т.ч. – ситуативных) факторов. Каждый уровень полоролевого поведения с т.з. метода ПППТ имеет четырехсферную структуру [21] и реализуется в рамках межличностного взаимодействия с учетом внешних воздействий через когнитивный, эмоциональный и конативный компоненты [3].

**В модели полоролевого поведения (рис. 1) мы определили три уровня: уровень-1 – «базовый уровень» (конструкт «маскулинность- фемининность»); уровень – 2 – «интенционально-образный»; уровень-3 – «адаптивного полоролевого поведения».** Рассмотрим каждый уровень более подробно.

**Уровень-1:** «базовый уровень» (конструкт «маскулинность-фемининность»), включающий биопсихосоциальные образующие пола индивида и две базовые

потребности: познавать (восприятие) и любить (эмоциональная сфера) [21]. Сущность данного уровня заключается в том, что он содержит биогенетические программы, закладывающие основы полоролевой Я-концепции личности, формирующие вектор полоролевой идентификации индивида и характер его последующего полоролевого поведения.

**Уровень–2–«интенционально-образный»;** подкрепляется компонентами уровня-1 и характеризуется личностно и социально обусловленными потребностями и мотивами поведения индивида как представителя пола. Данный уровень как компонент системы включает следующие элементы: 1) четырехфакторную модель формирования, содержащую семейные и жизненные концепции («Я», «Ты», «Мы», «Пра-Мы») [10, с. 89]; 2) стереотипы (социальные, гендерные); 3) установки; 4) первичные актуальные способности (потребности) [21].

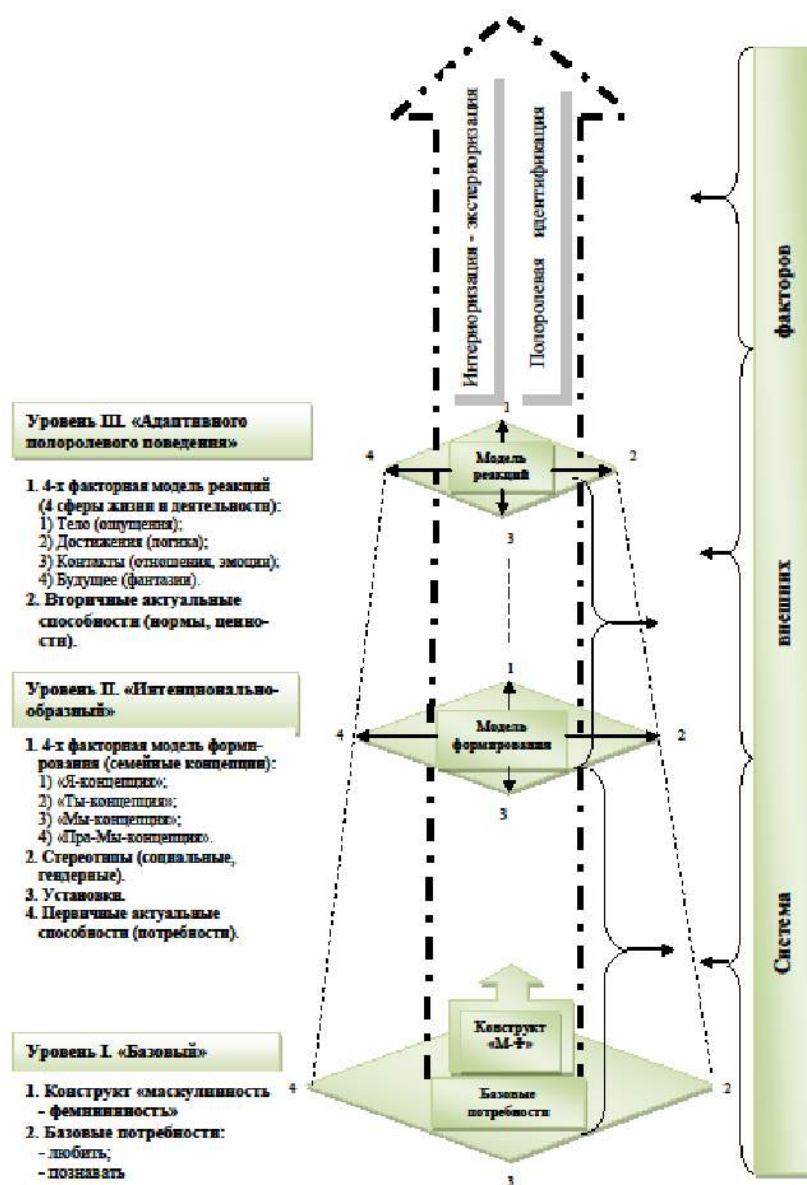


Рис. 1. Модель половеое поведения личности (в методе позитивной психотерапии)

Поясним сущность семейных и жизненных концепций. «Я»-концепция (отношение к личности и способностям индивида значимых окружающих, которая формирует его восприятие себя и своей природы. Эти представления составляют основу базового доверия). «Ты»-концепция (отношения между

родителями (значимыми другими), которые становятся моделью для формирования стиля партнерских отношений. При этом выработка способности к любви – это умение принимать партнера таким как он есть, а способность к познанию – умение устанавливать и поддерживать гибкие личностные границы в

отношениях). «Мы»-концепция (отношения родителей (значимых других) к «другим» которые формируют модель социализации: открытость/изолированность – познание; принятие/непринятие – любовь). «Пра-Мы»-концепция (отношение родителей (значимых других) к будущему, религии, смыслу жизни, которое усваивается как собственное отношение (осмысленность/бессмысленность–познание, надежда/отчаяние-любовь)» [10, с. 89].

К первичным актуальным способностям (потребностям), раскрывающим устремления и мотивации личности, эмоциональные составляющие характера индивида, относятся:



Рис. 2: Модель реакций (четырёх форм переработки конфликта).

Поясняя модель реакций, Н. Пезешкиан отмечает, что для всех людей, несмотря на их уникальность, культуральные и социальные различия, свойственны четыре основные пути (формы, сферы) переработки конфликтов [21, с. 120]: 1) путь ощущений (сфера тела); 2) путь разума (сфера деятельности); 3) путь традиций (сфера контактов); 4) путь интуиции (сфера воображения, фантазий). Как отмечает И.О. Кириллов, модель реакций – это модель реализации индивида в четырех областях жизни (измерениях), составляющих его идентичность: тело/ощущения; достижения/логика; фантазии/будущее [10].

Вторичные актуальные способности представляют собой производные способности к познанию и описывают повседневные навыки и нормы (ценности) поведения (пунктуальность, чистоплотность, аккуратность, послушание, вежливость,

любовь; терпение; время; доверие; надежда; контакты; нежность/сексуальность; религиозность/вера [21, с. 170].

**Уровень-3 – «адаптивного полоролевого поведения»,** подкрепляемый компонентами уровней 1, 2, обуславливает приспособительный характер (адаптивного/ дезадаптивного) полоролевого поведения индивида. Этот уровень как компонент системы включает такие элементы, как: 1) четырехфакторная модель реакций индивида (в ПППТ изображается в виде ромба; рис. 2) [21, с. 121]; 2) вторичные актуальные способности (нормы, ценности).

честность/откровенность, верность, справедливость усердие/деятельность, бережливость, надежность,) [21, с. 170].

По мнению Н. Пезешкиана, базовые способности любить и познавать «принадлежат к сущности каждого человека...» и «...возникают до любого культурного воздействия» [21, с. 92]. В дальнейшем производные от них первичные и вторичные актуальные способности развиваются «во взаимодействии с тремя основными факторами – телом, окружением (средой) и эпохой (духом времени)» [21, с. 92].

Основу вектора полоролевого поведения (рис. 1) составляет процесс полоролевой идентификации, осуществляемый в постоянном взаимодействии с социальным окружением (социальной средой). Ключевая роль в этом процессе принадлежит базовой

динамической составляющей – конструкту «маскулинность-фемининность». Основными психологическими механизмами формирования, развития и реализации полоролевого поведения являются механизмы интериоризации/экстериоризации.

Предложенная авторами теоретическая модель полоролевого поведения, разработана на теоретико-методологических основах метода ПППТ и планируется к практическому применению именно в рамках данного метода. А такой феномен, как полоролевое поведение, бесспорно, требует дальнейшего теоретического и эмпирического изучения.

## ВЫВОДЫ

1. Анализ зарубежных и отечественных подходов к изучению проблемы полоролевого поведения показывает неоднозначность глубины ее понимания и как следствие – трактования самого понятия полоролевого поведения. Основываясь на подходах к полоролевому поведению, как многоуровневому феномену, под полоролевым поведением будем понимать многоуровневый акт реализации половой роли, основанный на осознании своей половой идентичности и субъективной картине мира.
2. Конструкт «маскулинность-фемининность» представляет собой соотношение двух компонентов – маскулинности и фемининности и является базовым компонентом, определяющим характер и вектор полоролевого поведения индивида и процесса его полоролевой идентификации.
3. Представленная в данной работе теоретическая модель полоролевого поведения не претендует на исключительную «правильность» и является концептуальной моделью полоролевого поведения, разработанной на теоретико-методологических основах метода позитивной психотерапии и для специалистов, практикующих данный метод психотерапии.
4. Как направления дальнейших исследований феномена полоролевого

поведения личности, можно определить: 1) необходимость разработки психодиагностического инструментария для изучения полоролевого поведения с учетом многоуровневой структуры данного феномена; 2) расширение доказательной базы предложенной авторами теоретической модели полоролевого поведения посредством количественно-качественного метода дифференциального анализа в рамках психокоррекционных (психотерапевтических) сессий в методе позитивной психодинамической психотерапии; 3) изучение возможностей разработки концептуальной модели оказания психологической помощи супругам (сексуальным партнерам), имеющим нарушения полоролевой сферы (полоролевою форму супружеской (партнерской) дезадаптации) конфликт-центрированным методом позитивной психотерапии.

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