

# THE SOCIAL IDENTITY DYNAMICS OF GRAMSCIAN HEGEMONY CONSTRUCTION: BUILDING PUBLIC GOODS THROUGH NATION STATE CREATION, COMMERCIALIZATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF STATUS STEREOTYPES

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## ABSTRACT

*The creation of public goods is a concomitant with constructing a primary, terminal self-identity community whose authorities in the form of the government the modal citizenry grants legitimacy. Those authorities have the rhetorical and persuasive leadership capacity to create authoritative institutions and policies. The recognition of those goods as public signifies that the modal member of the public functionally views the authoritative output of the policy making process as morally acceptable. Such an observer functionally views the policy's utilitarian distribution of resources within polity and society as representing the public interest. By being functionally perceived as serving the public interest, the authorities' distribution of goods is functionally accepted as public goods. The policies are functionally or actively perceived as reinforcing the common welfare, the public interest. Public health is one of these public goods. The characterization of the political regime typifies the control relationship between the authorities and the public. Generating public goods is uniquely problematic for each polity due to their respective dynamic constellation of values, attitudes and norms that are systemically interrelated. Effective legitimation public performance requirements by state authority figures vary across polities. Acknowledgment of effective control maintenance over and mobilization of societal resources constitutes effective leadership.*

**JEL:** A13, A14, D73, E42, F5, H41

**KEYWORDS:** Corruption, Hegemony, Nationalism, Public Goods, Rule of Law, Social Identity Theory

## INTRODUCTION

This paper outlines the socio-political psychological processes that constitute the operative development of institutionalization of state authority. It focuses on the Weberian ideal-typical nation state to create so-called legitimate government control power. Coercion as control authority relies on the belief by the target in the impending overwhelming likelihood of experiencing costly punishment for failure to conform. Rather than relying primarily on coercion, legitimate authority has its basis in public acknowledgement that the ruling elites occupy their position in accordance with moral and ethical propriety. This prevailing view among public attitudes functionally holds that the government represents the nation state's so-called common welfare in providing so-called public goods. Disobeying the government is likely to be costly, but more importantly, obeying the government is morally obligatory, i.e., the target functionally grants legitimacy to the government. In sum, the target functionally perceives the government apparatus representing the state as having the moral and ethical right to speak in the imperative voice to the domestic target. The provision of public goods is closely tied to the concept of hegemony in the literature, highlighting the intersection between global and national capitalist political economic evolution (Foot, 2020, Kochi, 2017, Skerritt, 2020). "Poststructural hegemony theory [...] is rooted in the Gramscian notion

that hegemony rests on the ability to universalize the particular interests of a group as a socioeconomic and political structure (Gramsci, 1971, p. 181)” [sic] (Wullweber, 2019, 150). This paper postulates that a hegemon is perceived as providing public goods that functionally serve to gain and support legitimacy for its dominance. This hegemonic power domestically in the ideal-typical case is the sovereign state. Internationally the regional or global hegemon provides public goods. This paper’s thesis is that international hegemony is benign if it meets the necessary (if not sufficient) requirement that it is perceived as affirming national self-determination. Benign international hegemony contributes to a supranational liberal political and economic community, e.g., the European Union. The EU’s supranational institutions constitute its political representation, with the EU not being perceived by the modal EU citizenry as a cloak for German neocolonialism (DeDominicis, 2020).

International hegemony is benign if the public goods it is functionally viewed as providing allow for social creativity strategies among the nation state member components to maintain status equality. In sum, in this ideal-typical model, the national components are different in their features and contributions but perceived as equal in status. National status hierarchy rankings are not perceived as immutable and unidimensional. National community exploitation of these social creativity opportunities permits individual social mobility into the supranational European identity of liberal cosmopolitan political and economic values. Public health is a public good and the Covid-19 pandemic illuminates the necessity of global institutional infrastructure to provide it as a global public good.

Cosmopolitan shame would stem from being perceived as a hypocrite. In sum, state leadership receives condemnation for masking one’s nationalistic, particularistic goals and aims of international preeminence maintenance in broadly appealing universal terms. These terms historically include religious or ideological symbols, i.e., human rights. Cosmopolitan hypocrisy generates disgrace, i.e., the actor’s reputational status is undermined. Shame also serves as a normative habitual and active control function. Treason is shameful just as crime is shameful. Shame is institutionalized as self-loathing by the marginalized as Fanon (1966) noted in his *Wretched of the Earth*. Social justice movements as sustained contentious politics aim to transform institutionalized attitudes. They challenge state-institutionalized perceptions of the marginalized as weak and invisible and contemptible. –Creating this ideal global public health infrastructure requires dialogue among the national and cosmopolitan constituencies constituting the international community. The existing institutional infrastructure around which confronting the pandemic coalesces provide these constituencies with utilitarian economic and participation opportunities. For example, in highlighting the challenges in developing a vaccine against the Ebola virus ravaging poorer world regions, Torres (2015, 19) quotes Surowiecki (2014, para. 7): “Economists on both the left and the right see them [economic prize awards for targeted scientific and engineering technological breakthroughs] as a useful way to spark innovation. They’re cost-effective, since you have to pay only if the product works. They’re well suited to encouraging investment in *public goods-like antibiotics and vaccines-where the benefits of an innovation aren’t reaped only by those who use it. (My family is safer if yours is vaccinated.)* They rely on existing infrastructure. And, in economic jargon, they harness market forces by “pulling” research into neglected areas” [sic] [emphasis added].

These constituencies thereby utilize state responsibility obligations and capacities to engage in social creativity. State authorities may promote coordination of national and global policies to respond to the emergencies due to global pandemics and Anthropocene climate change. The institutionalization of this transnational coordination may support the emergence and creation of utilitarian opportunity structures for engaging in national group social creativity and individual social mobility (DeDominicis, 2021c). Cottam and Cottam (2001) apply social identity theory from social psychology to analyze the political psychology driving collective group social psychology and behavior. They note that individual social actors seek to maintain a positive self-image while engaging in social comparison while concurrently forming self-identity ingroups. This paper’s additional argument is that polarization of national politics is a form of social categorization and comparison. Its strength reflects the intensity and salience of conflicting

proprietary claims to the substantive policy significance and meaning of national sovereignty within the international community. The intensity of internal political polarization correlates negatively with predisposition to accept mandates from the authorities as functional public goods, e.g., security. These public goods include Covid-19 pandemic public health protection mandates (see Tables 1, 2 and 3 below).

Social identity theory's foundational motivational principles are that 1) an innate drive of the individual is to maintain a positive self-image, 2) individuals form ingroups versus outgroups, 3) individuals comparatively evaluate the social status of their ingroups with salient outgroups, 4) individuals tend to equate the comparative status of their ingroup with their self-image. If and when individuals comparatively evaluate themselves negatively within their societal contexts, then they will respond psychologically and socially, individually and collectively. Individuals have varying intensities of self-identification with a multitude of ingroups, but self-identification with a national ingroup is prevalent among homo sapiens and social competition can lead to violence. Upon comparing one's ingroup with another and perceiving one's own status as inferior and therefore one's self-image as negative, the perceiver can respond with three psycho-behavioral strategies. One strategy is social mobility, i.e., attempt individually to join the perceived superior status group, if feasible. A second strategy is social creativity, i.e., the perceiver compensates by changing the evaluation criteria, selecting those on which the perceiver views their ingroup as superior over the outgroup. A third strategy is open intergroup conflict, i.e., social competition, in which the ingroup perceiver views the relationship with the outgroup as zero-sum. Any gain by the outgroup is perceived as coming at the cost to the ingroup. National self-determination movements, by definition, seek to break and reset the relationship upon the foundation of status equality through secession to form their own sovereign community (Cottam and Cottam, 2001).

Positively all stereotypes allow for social creativity to justify internally and externally strategies and behaviors against the shared common enemy (Cottam and Cottam, 2001). The instability of international hegemony from reliance on scapegoating a common foe makes institutionalization of a supranational community identity less likely. A gap exists between rhetorical commitment to universal human rights ethical obligations, such as providing global public health, and actual behavior. Overcoming this gap requires conceptualization of the substance and process of ethical change. This "theory of moral change" aims to illustrate key features of "change in our political and social institutions," without which such a theory would be "pointless" (Brenkert, 2019, 918, quoting Rorty, (2006)). This paper outlines the conceptualization of the development of so-called developed nation state authority. It highlights the neo-corporatist functional state authority utilization of market mechanisms to shape preferences through institutionalizing status ideal standards that the authorities appear to represent.

The first section below critiques the concept of public goods and its evolution and development from the theoretical perspective of state authority. The next section describes essential dynamics of hegemony construction in relation to commodification, consumption and control. It introduces a social psychological framework for analyzing the dynamic process of state development as a control system within the global political environment. The following section analyzes the internal social psychological dynamics driving this dialectical process of stereotyping, institutionalization and commodification in relation to political control. The data and methodology section highlights that given the community control function analyzed here, the public record of the political activity of social justice movements and state responses is most useful. The following section highlights the findings from a focus on contemporary political developments amidst the Covid-19 global pandemic, Anthropocene climate change, and global trend responses. It highlights the substance and meaning of liberal hegemony as necessary if not sufficient precondition for effective responses. The next section highlights the construction material in the form of the authority of the nation state in providing the building blocks for creating liberal global hegemony. Corruption as subjectively perceived and defined is a major challenge to this tactical objective. The final two sections explore the implications for national intermestic policy.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Regime Authority and Political Economy

Political economy includes the application of state capabilities to generate and regulate social competition, social mobility and social creativity capacities and opportunities within a community (DeDominicis, 2021a). The public determines the legitimacy of the authorities. This determination is dynamic in terms of the evolving prevailing views among the modal citizenry of the obligations of state authorities towards the citizenry. It is dependent on the extent that the citizenry perceives the authorities as providing adequate societal opportunity structures for engaging in salient ingroup social creativity and individual social mobility. The public’s collective perception of the relative effectiveness of the authorities in providing these opportunity structures equates with regime stabilization and authority maintenance by the ruling elite. Current US media discourse in effect labels neo-corporatist intervention to create adequate social mobility and creativity opportunities in the form of human and physical infrastructure investment (DeDominicis, 2021a). Liberal theorists acknowledged and advocated the necessity of the state authority providing infrastructure as in effect a public good (Schouten and Miklian, 2020) (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: Traditional, National Conceptualization of Public Goods versus Non-Public Goods

	Excludable	Non-excludable
<b>Rivalrous</b>	<b>Private Goods</b> Food, clothes, cars and other consumer goods	<b>Common Goods</b> Fish, timber, coal
<b>Non- Rivalrous</b>	<b>Club Goods</b> Cinemas, private parks, satellite TV	<b>Public Goods</b> air, national defense

*Source: Boyce, 2021. Table 1 is an example of a common conceptualization of public goods on a national state level. Providing for the common defense is a good that the entire public benefits from in this ideal-typical model, i.e., national citizens cannot be excluded from the benefit while market functions alone cannot provide it. Government authority intervenes to provide the good. The cost for the good varies among the different societal actors providing material resources and behavior modifications, e.g., mandatory military service. The cost of the burden is subjectively perceived. Its acceptability depends on various factors including the perceived legitimacy of the authority of the government. In polities with legitimate authorities, the politically prevailing view perceives/assumes the public good to be essential and its costs for provision legitimately allocated.*

John Locke articulated demands of the emerging British bourgeoisie. These demands functionally advocated the utilization of British sovereignty for state reform. This state authority was to defend and expand social opportunity structures in Great Britain for social mobility and creativity for the emerging middle class. “This radical transformation [i.e., commodification of societal resources] was not solely the product of economic forces but was accomplished in unison with the judiciary and intellectuals (e.g., John Locke)” [sic] (Ilc, 2021, 348). Locke’s program required nation state intervention to create public goods, e.g., the rule of law via contract enforcement to protect property rights. They functionally served to expand societal opportunity structures to empower the rising bourgeoisie. They aimed to engage dialectically in effective group national social creativity providing substantive benefits and thereby, individual social mobility vis-à-vis the traditional aristocracy (Cottam and Cottam, 2001). Table 2 (below) expands the typical conceptualization of public goods provision to include international regional and global public goods in the pre-Covid-19 global pandemic era.

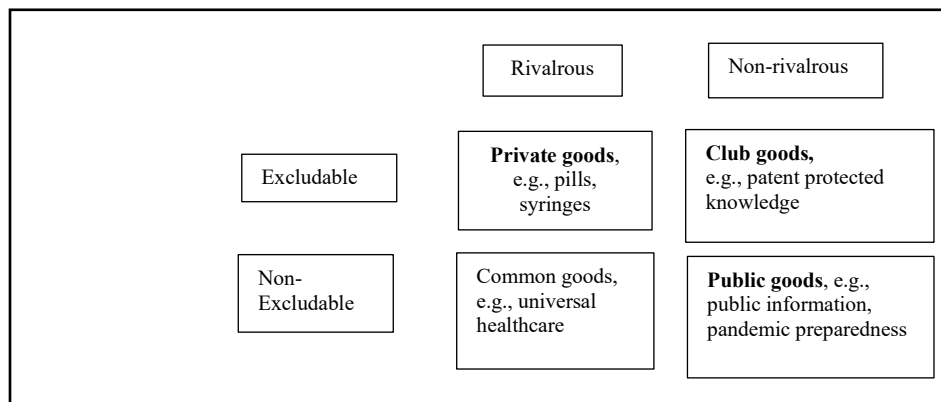
Table 2: “The Scale and Impact of Public Goods”

Local Public Goods:	National Public Goods:	Regional Public Goods:	Global Public Goods:
Street signs or Street safety	National electoral system	Early warning systems for tsunamis	Global warming
Law and order	National health system	The management of river basins	Peace and security

Source: Ersoy, 2011 Table 2 references provision of national health care as a public good as critical. It was not originally perceived as such when providing for the common defense was highlighted in the formulation of US constitution. Increasing awareness of interdependency among individual, group, national and global actors incentivizes access to health care services to become a public good. Great variation exists regarding degrees of ease of access to and quality of a critical good. The awareness of ineluctable interdependency and the need to address global warming on a global level makes climate change mitigation a critical global public good. The nuclear setting makes global peace a critical global good. Effective international cooperation, collaboration and coordination among national governments is necessary to provide these public goods.

Table 3 (below) highlights the conceptualization of pandemic preparedness as a critical public good. Effective international collaboration, coordination and cooperate requires global opportunity structures that protect nationally sovereign self-determination. It thereby requires effective global leadership via collaboration, cooperation and coordination to provide global opportunity structures. In this ideal-typical model, the respective prevailing political worldviews within these national polities is that these structures for engaging in national social creativity are substantive.

Table 3: “Categorization of Global Public Goods [Kaul, Grunberg and Stern, 1999; Moon, Röttingen and Frenk, 2017; Stein and Sridhar, 2017].”



Source: Thomas et al. 2020, 6 Pandemic control is a public good that critically incentivizes cooperation at a global level due to the salient, innate interdependency among national collective well-being and effectiveness for global containment of the pandemic. The Covid-19 pandemic illustrates that the virulence and infectiousness of the virus increases the perceived salience and intensity of the need for global cooperation to provide this national good. It requires an authoritative international level of policy making to provide the necessary international coordination to manage the pandemic to mitigate its perceived individual and national societal direct and indirect costs. The global economy clearly undergoes disruptions from the Covid-19 pandemic that generate significant national political costs, e.g., national price inflation, due to production chain disruptions.

Within this political economy, the authorities can utilize price signals as a means by which to manage societal resources through utilitarian incentives. Government agencies within capitalist market economies orient their guidance of society within this prevailing system of price signals. The need to avoid excessive commodification emerges when this excessive commodification produces perceived so-called market failures. A market failure is a subjective judgment reflecting societal receptivity to ethical rhetorical appeals. For example, lack of US universal health insurance coverage amidst the Covid-19 pandemic due to the excessive commodification of healthcare is a collective, subjective normative political judgment. Perceived market failures can threaten regime stability to the extent they functionally characterize the prevailing political view within the polity. The authorities’ functional response can be to intervene to modify societal opportunities structures. The functional aim is to limit the intensification of perception of intra-societal relations in zero-sum terms. In the latter scenario, intense polarization leads intensifying social competition both on an individual and on an intergroup level.

This paper is about “how the public good is defined and manifested” (Hazelkorn and Gibson, 2018, 268). Economists typically conceptualize public good in terms of “economic utilitarianism” (Hazelkorn and Gibson, 2018, 261). This paper outlines the dynamic construction of prevailing societal ethical norms in terms of status assignment determining what is more desirable to strive to own, to consume and to be as a citizen. The public grants legitimacy to the authorities to the extent that the authorities succeed in presiding over a societal consensus that they provide roughly equal status acquisition opportunities to the citizenry. The authorities fail or succeed through public policy. In this context, the politically prevailing view is that status shortcomings are due to responsible individual failures and inadequacies. The authorities are hegemonic. In this Weberian ideal-typical model, legitimate government authority is itself concomitantly a public good. In sum, the so-called rule of law is actively believed or habitually assumed to prevail in the community. To rephrase, the prevailing societal view is that the authorities and their laws are just. Societal change dynamics accelerate in the midst of a crisis. Examples include the perceived disproportionate racial and class impact of the Covid-19 global pandemic, generating heightened societal political polarization trends. These polarization trends impact on the subjective perception of the efficacy and morality of public policy among different polarizing national sub-group constituencies.

The functional legitimation efforts of the state authorities include normative active rhetorical/ethical appeals with a foundation upon affirmation of ingroup shared self-identification via collective action. Effective liberal polity leadership succeeds in regulating these national sub-group polarization intensification trends. These domestic control strategies can include promoting social creativity engagement opportunities by associating nationalism with pro-change values in response to progressive social movements. They require liberal state public policy societal intervention. Social creativity and mobility opportunity structure expansion includes adoption and implementation of effective political and socio-economic desegregation/social justice/welfare state programs (DeDominicis, 2021c). Coercion to repress change demands risks reinforcing social competition. Totalitarian coercion by the state authorities can disintegrate sub-group opposition into anomic individuals and small patron-client groups, i.e., focused on survival and security needs. Those individuals seeking utilitarian benefits may follow social mobility routes via cooptation into ruling state apparatuses (DeDominicis, 2022). State authorities that rely upon coercion for public control beyond a tertiary level are less effective in mobilizing all polity resources, *ceteris paribus* (Cottam and Gallucci, 1978). They display a relative weakness in generating effective external diplomatic bargaining leverage instruments because of opprobrium among international human rights constituencies. This negative appeal is desirable to avoid it if an actor has pretensions to assuming a comparatively more stable hegemonic role in international relations.

Competitive political discourse in Washington currently includes struggle over the definition of infrastructure as a public good (Brandus, 2021). The more parochial WASP conservative populist-nationalist core sees a threat from broadening the definition of infrastructure in accordance with growing recognition of international interdependency. It will support trends that function to pluralize the state in terms of authority norms. This resistance on the eve of what became the US Civil War obstructed national infrastructure development and immigration plans due to intensifying political polarization around the issue of slavery (Calomiris and Pritchett, 2016). The Biden administration repetitively refers to the need to compete with China requiring in effect the better development of America’s power potential base. These rhetorical appeals focus on integrating the polarized components because polarization undermines the mobilization base of the public within the polity. Hence, the US authorities are predisposed to continue to reference the China challenge via directing public attention towards a perceived, commonly shared challenge to mitigate domestic polarization. The so-called ally stereotype is thereby more likely to characterize national sub-group relations.

International Interdependency and Social Status

The transcension of ascription by achievement for societal status acquisition requires creation of larger salient and intense imagined self-identity ethical communities of fate (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 2012, Cottam and Cottam, 2001). The ethical and legal judgment of parochial ascriptive marginalization as a crime requires ethical criteria defining membership in a superordinate community. International human rights obligations override national ascriptive systemic discrimination enshrined in law, e.g., Jim Crow laws, not to mention national custom. Globalization's interdependency generates incentives to respond favorably by those who benefit personally from the utilitarian economic and participatory status and material opportunities of globalization. The creation of greater opportunity structures can be encouraged by strategy so that efforts and incentives for social creativity are reinforced. It requires that transnational epistemic communities acquire supranational institutions, e.g., the World Health Organization, to represent supranational identities. Ascriptive national status conservative reaction must be circumvented with allies. These allies are multinational for-profit and non-profit actors. International institutions constitute a trellis around which international civil society non-governmental organizations can evolve and develop. Coordinated, collaborative state leadership can guide, coordinate and focus action by a multitude of actors.

The commodification of healthcare serves further to reinforce normative habitual ascriptive differentiation by exploiting and thereby reinforcing assumptional biases. The creation of a national political community consists of organized, "selective remembering" and "selective forgetting," to create a common past (Rigney, 2012, 611). Congruently, then, the state may also be understood or rephrased to be organized, i.e., institutionalized, selective stereotyping/archetyping. The stereotyping process is activated or intensified in the process of mobilization of state actor resources, so it is a dynamic process as well. It characterizes normative active control. From another perspective, human nature includes a collective process of organized simplification, i.e., of forgetting, in order to create and mobilize ingroups versus outgroups. -Role models amidst modernity are living symbols of higher status through achievement. Once they are institutionalized, however, they become ascriptive tools for stereotyping individuals, both self and other, in terms of how those individuals conform to the role model as perceived by others. Social creativity through progressive social movements involves mobilizing the control capacity of the state to change these archetypes and stereotypes of the ideal American man, woman etc.

Successful leadership within a social justice movement is itself a form of achievement. That leadership role can also be institutionalized so that Blacks now are under suspicion among right-wing authoritarians as being radicals, socialists, i.e., un-American. They become positive role models for others, e.g., Thurgood Marshall. Liberal role models will be undermined to the extent they are seen as utilizing their liberalism to threaten the sovereignty of the nation. The functional creation of societal Gramscian hegemonic acknowledgment of the authorities' provision of a public good is the concomitant consensus identification of an existing negative externality. The public good counteracts this perceived negative externality. Government environmental protection regulations counteract the now-perceived intolerable levels of negative externalities from unbridled private sector economic activity. The intensity of perceived challenge from national pollution emissions derives from self-identification with the perceived existence of a global community. The perception of a global community is a concomitant of the perceived ineluctably interdependent national components. Negative externalities have a subjective ontological component insofar as they assume awareness by the subject that his or her wellbeing is interdependent with the wellbeing of the community. For such an awareness to exist, the observer must recognize his or her membership within the imagined community whose collective wellbeing ultimately affects his or her own, individual wellbeing. Interdependency is ineluctable; what is changing is growing awareness of this interdependency. Awareness of interdependency is a diplomatic bargaining lever (Cottam and Gallucci, 1978). The salience of this awareness exists and changes concomitantly with self-identification with various ingroups by the subject. -Alongside family ingroup awareness exists self-identification with other various ingroup self-identifications of varying degrees of intensity and salience. Among the most intense and salient

are national ingroups, ranging from as small as Iceland to as large as China. Homo sapiens demonstrates a predisposition to associate the wellbeing of these ingroups with his or her own well-being (Cottam and Cottam, 2001). This well-being is broadly construed here to include dignity and other emotional psychological needs as well as material and security needs. The larger the ingroup with which the individual subject self-identifies indicates a predisposition to be sensitive to interdependency. It correlates with awareness of the reality of social change through human action. This sensitivity may generate hostile as well as accommodative responses, depending upon the actor. Militant supporters of Donald Trump react with greater resistance to interdependency than do global sustainable economic development activists who may rather highlight and extol it (DeDominicis, 2022). The salience and intensity of so-called negative externalities in relation to their perception and comprehension is subjective. It depends upon the salience and intensity of the subject's self-identify ingroup identifications. Comprehension and concern with them, is congruent with the salience and intensity of an individual subject's self-identification with these various so-called imagined communities.

At the international level, multinational corporations serve a function to institutionalize existing global hierarchical status relations in the products they produce and market for consumption. The more value-added production processes involved, the more complex the organizational collective perception of the international milieu. The "commodity curse" (Deaton, 1999, 34) holds that "if productivity gains are exclusively concentrated in the sector of tradable goods, then resource boom has detrimental effect on the traded sector and slows down productivity growth" [*sic*] (Iacono, 2018, 63, referencing Alberola and Benigno, 2017). Development incentivizes a shift in the direction of a globalization and self-identification with a global polity by human resources vesting their career identities functionally into global interdependency. Bureaucratic vested interests emerge around existing state foreign policies. These interests cooperate in a corporatist arrangement with for-profit sector actors to generate value along these institutionalization forms.

### Commodification, Organization and Mobilization

Capitalist advertising marketing campaigns reinforce typically unspoken assumptions of ingroup community identity. These community identity markers include implicit or explicit shared assumptions about aesthetic ideals/stereotypes. They facilitate mass marketing for consumption, including sizeism, ableism, racism, sexism and ageism. They establish evaluation markers for status acquisition in terms of actor approximation in achieving these institutionalized consensual stereotypes/archetypes. Marketing campaigns exploit and reinforce these ideal archetypes/stereotypes. These commodification stereotypes include national mythologies, e.g., the taming of the Wild West as part of Americans so-called manifest destiny. It functions as part of leisure travel services that appeal to national identity, particularly in nation states. Those marginalized communities functionally targeted for exploitation and assimilation become part of the romantic nation building mythology. Their stereotyping is systemically reinforced through profitable purveyance of these romantic stereotypes, e.g., "some travel venues have gained a legendary place in American nostalgia, despite perpetuating incorrect stereotypes. There were seven Wigwam Village Motels built between 1933 and 1950, and all three that survive are on the National Register of Historic Places. The one in Arizona has twice received grants from the National Park Service Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program" (Schwartz, 2021, para. 17). These commodified, institutionalized stereotypes can be effectively challenged by social justice movements. Their components can include "revelatory strategy of commodity activism" that unmask the obscured social justices underpinning "commodity fetishism" (Duncombe, 2012, 361). The individual may believe in his or her own autonomy while their unconsciously institutionalized stereotypical aesthetic assumptions undergo exploitation by marketers. Consumers avoid experiencing stimulation of perceptions of threat of polarizing external control because of these unspoken, internalized habitual assumptions of aesthetic propriety and desirability. Authority centers typically utilize and exploit these assumptions. Thereby, the typical consumer assumes their consumption choices stem from



their individual autonomy. Defending this belief in individual autonomy is an essential characteristic of neoliberalism (Hake, 2020, Brunkhorst, 2014, Manning, 2010).

In sum, capitalist advertising marketing campaigns also reinforce unspoken assumptions of ingroup community identity. These community identity markers include implicit or explicit shared assumptions about aesthetic ideals/stereotypes unless effectively challenged by social justice movements. Otherwise, they are the essence of normative habitual control, focusing on utilitarian economic and participation needs and satisfactions to reinforce the primary normative habitual obedience. It is most feasible in nation states, i.e., in a state with its community foundation being a national ingroup. A national ingroup collectively functionally perceives itself as sharing a common ethical system of values and norms as it displays through its citizens' collective behavioral allegiance to this ingroup (Cottam and Cottam, 2001, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 2012, DeDominicis, 2021d). During times of crisis, normative active control may be activated, i.e., appeal to the defense of the national community organized as a state. The latter is an institutionalized and idealized shared cultural community delineated by territorial boundaries. Corporations function within this milieu. As David Brooks (2021) commented, somewhat cynically, regarding the 1960s' New Left social movements: "In the 1960s, left-wing radicals wanted to overthrow capitalism. We ended up with Whole Foods" (para. 3).

Commodification involves the utilization of institutionalized stereotypes. They include stigmatizations and mythologizations, to appeal to and stimulate consumption behavior in return for monetary exchange. Positive responses to these commodified stereotype appeals reinforce the institutionalization of the stereotypes. The individual's belief in their own autonomy while their unconsciously institutionalized stereotypical aesthetic assumptions undergo exploitation by marketers. Conformity with the prevailing standards for evaluating achievement to gain status is therefore useful but so also is social creativity in terms of creating a dynamic economy. Critiquing Adam Smith's political economic theoretical framework, Harris (2020, 158) emphasized that Smith's liberal reformism required effective state regulatory accommodation to a dynamically evolving status quo: "The laws required for the proper functioning of the economy, and the protection of wealth that it generated, needed simply to be imposed on most people, with the help [...] of natural habits of deference and respect." Observers highlight the importance of the rule of law in creating effective, efficient markets, i.e., effective, efficient development and allocation of potential power base resources. The most efficient capitalist economics does not emerge without a strong state, i.e., comparatively strongly institutionalized norms of norms of behavior, as articulated through law (Bugarcic, 2015). These norms are ascriptively assumed to be proper, especially legally inscribed norms.

Changing them to accommodate changing societal values that change because of social creativity is regulated through the policy making process. This process includes the legitimation outcome by which the authorities persuade the public to grant legitimacy to these policies and therefore to the authorities overseeing the process. In so-called advanced, industrialized, developed countries, development of the power potential base of the state requires greater social creativity. Expanding group social creativity opportunities serves as a dialectical vehicle for individual social mobility amidst economic social competition. Human resource motivation requires employer's provision of self-realization opportunities, i.e., social creativity opportunities that the company provides. Loyalty to the enterprise is thereby reinforced (Gross 11/2021). A prerequisite for social competition success by globalizing economic enterprises is to incorporate and mainstream gender and ethno-racial diversity throughout their institutional structures. A functional aim of this diversity is to increase the capacity of the enterprise and the globalizing national economy in general is to identify niche markets and exploit them. American elite business schools reflect these globalizing interdependency cooperative attitudes. Their evolving MBA curricula displays more emphasis on "diversity, equity and inclusion" and "environmental, social and governance" topics (Gross 8/2021, paras. 24, 6). The functional essence of a liberal political regime is one which regulates social competition effectively to reduce coercion as characterizing social relations. It maximizes opportunity structures for dialectical engagement in ingroup social creativity and individual mobility strategies.

Thereby, resort to coercion by both state agents and civil society actors is tertiary. Neo-corporatism, which encompasses Keynesianism, functionally serves to develop, regulate and stabilize these opportunity structures (DeDominicis, 2021a). Welfare state policies functionally convert citizens into commodities, i.e., human resources. This commodification occurs if only to gather aggregate statistics for comparative analysis. One prominent legal scholar advocates founding US Supreme Court judicial interpretation on the principle of “the common good.” The commentator cites aggregate indicators that US government policy is comparatively increasingly dysfunctional: “Americans’ life expectancy is now roughly five years below that of people in comparable countries” (Vermeule, 2022, para. 10). Consumers are themselves commodified, as they always have been, in selling email lists and other leads. The commodification of citizens as consumers facilitates their control and deployment by institutions. The latter are ultimately part of the polity even if the control function is outsourced to them via neoliberal ideology.

Innovation incorporates inclusion, i.e., satisfying others’ needs for social mobility and social creativity via for-profit or not-for-profit entrepreneurialism. Inclusion becomes increasingly desirable in the globalization environment. Innovation is about finding or creating niche markets. Liberal state leaderships seek to integrate the heretofore ascriptively marginalized, e.g., overcoming the legacy of segregation. The active accommodation of diversification and inclusion becomes an intensifying imperative. The utilitarian benefits that come from it must be emphasized. “Research has found organizational racial diversity to be positively associated with sales revenue, market share, and profitability (Herring, 2009)” (Williams, 2020, 52). Those who exploit those opportunities aim to include within the collective consciousness a broader, supranational conception of the identity components of the community. These cosmopolitan values include universal human rights. It includes challenging normative habitual obeisance by so-called broadening horizons. To rephrase, it emphasizes acquisition and positive evaluation of identities that extend beyond the parochial and traditional which are the foundation of utilitarian satisfaction. Global human rights treaties encourage this broadening of horizons. Commodification of culture intersects with niche market creation and exploitation. Commodification is necessary to monetize experience so that it can be more readily controlled and regulated by the community through its institutionalization and standardization. It thereby becomes part of the regime control mechanism within society. Acceptance of this process, i.e., unconsciously assuming that it is normal, associates with normative habitual control (Cottam and Cottam, 2001). Normative active control involves the romantic collective political mobilization around romantic stereotypes of the national community’s moral and ethical systems. The traditional nation state founding culture is portrayed functionally as distinct and contested with respect to the perceived challenging Other, e.g., American exceptionalism (Kitch, 2018, Ridley, 2018). Perceived challenges to it are viewed stereotypically, whether the challenge be perceived as threat (enemy) or as opportunity (degenerate) (Cottam and Cottam, 2001).

## **DATA AND METHODOLOGY**

As part of this building of national and global public goods in response to the perceived intensifying challenge of ineluctable global interdependency, this study relies upon the public record for its data. Civil society groups contribute to global media discourse dynamics advocating common human rights protection evaluation standards. They facilitate monitoring, implementation and development of these standards in collaboration with social justice movements and international organizations to promote human rights norm diffusion. To the extent that they are not perceived as dependent on or controlled by state actors to pursue ulterior political motives, the more they seem to have political credibility as evaluators. In prescribing more effective international human rights advocacy vis-à-vis North Korea, Goedde (2018, 198) concludes, “if engagement openings are to be pursued, human rights discourse must concurrently be reframed in more localized and relatable narratives for the North Korean people and government by neutral parties other than entities based in the US and South Korea.” Their public opinion pressure campaigns accordingly influence the behavior of financial and corporate for-profit actors. News media reports highlight, for example, the prominent role of nonprofit organizations in identifying forested areas in developing countries as

opportunities for multinational corporations to purchase for carbon offsets. One such NGO, Verra, certifies forested areas in Indonesia as carbon sinks that for-profit brokers then market to corporations like Microsoft to purchase and protect from deforestation (“Emission: Impossible,” 2021). Questions have been raised as to whether this corporate activity is effective. The offsets may be futile in preventing regional deforestation or carbon emissions overall as it, at best, simply shifts the same deleterious behavior elsewhere. It requires the implementation will and capacity of the state authorities to implement forest preservation policies, which is evidently quite lacking in Brazil’s Bolsonaro administration (Andreoni, 2021).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Commodification and Self-Identity

Commodification of existing norms and values which appeal to stereotypes of self and other can reinforce marginalization. The marginalization can break down with new commodifications that ultimately reflect social movement impacts. Community normative active ingroup mobilization activates the intense self-identification with the community imagined as sharing these norms and values, thereby reinforcing them. It can include norms and values founded upon institutions that have historically employed marginalization for exploitation. Commodification and stereotyping are closely interrelated because they involve categorization and simplification that is institutionalized. Its internalization is encouraged through the individual consumer’s focus on parochial utilitarian gratification of participation and economic needs. Those orientations will contribute to assimilatory tendencies that are more pronounced among those subjectively self-perceived as culturally closest to the state’s core culture (DeDominicis, 2022). Marginalized groups may be drawn to international orientations insofar as their political participation domestic demands are more likely to be resisted. Parochiality institutionalizes to constitute the worldview of the individual into which the actor vests her affective orientation to respond to stimuli. Should those stimuli manifest a significant challenge to the parochial worldview, i.e., the Covid-19 pandemic, responses can include reaffirmation of these institutionalized parochial orientations. Cases include vaccine hesitancy and Covid-19 denial. The same tendencies explain climate change denial. It reflects the projection of the parochial self into the imagined national community.

The most intensive attitudes of parochiality that emerge from commodification involves labor provision through enslavement. It centers on the legal transformation of an entire human being in its totality into a commodity. Modern commodification approaches the control function by utilizing psychological mechanisms of status anxiety. It relies upon individual relative status perceptions regarding the evaluation of self as a totality in relation to society. In social media targeted advertising via user viewing histories, the consumer him or herself is commodified. When marketed products are offered to consumers at no charge, e.g., digital media accounts, then the offer implies that the consumer’s personal information is itself the commodity. Facebook more effectively utilizes consumers as commodities through surveillance capitalism as a “new logic of accumulation” that gathers individual data interacting with algorithms (Zuboff, 2015, 75). It reinforces parochiality via the integration of status markers with immediate consumption demands and ingroup self-affirmation satisfaction.

These social media algorithms intensify perceived ingroup versus outgroup polarization through their stereotype-based viewer attention magnification positive feedback functions. These social media algorithms heighten the vulnerability of normative habitual parochial obeisance to heretofore prevailing hegemonic attitudinal institutionalized assumptions of Self and Other. These habitual beliefs fragment concomitantly with the intensifying ingroup perceived challenge to the propriety of the polity’s foreign and domestic policy process outputs. These outputs become increasingly vulnerable to contestation as overly influenced by the participation by the stereotyped, outgroup sources of confrontation to romantically stereotyped ingroup values. In sum, the functional prevailing assumption that the national authorities provide public goods also come under question due to intensifying perceptions of perceived challenge, i.e.,

so-called corruption. “Public information” and “pandemic preparedness” from establishment authority regarding the Covid-19 pandemic becomes increasingly suspect and politicized. It undermines the functional existence of these “public goods” in Table 3 (above). To rephrase, authority hegemony is weakened. It portends a “dystopian future” for liberal democracy (Zuboff, 2021, para. 44). Corrective policy is necessary to protect individual data privacy by legally forbidding unlimited personal data generation and aggregation by social media companies for sale to advertisers.

In the case of American evangelical resistance to public health public goods, it reflects white grievance and white nationalist politics. It reflects the parochial institutionalization of white supremacy into normative habitual status that is projected onto the external environment as a worldview. This worldview can correlate with varying degrees of political attentiveness. A relatively high saliency and intensity of political motivation and hence awareness can correlate with authoritarianism, right or left (DeDominicis, 2022). The affective intensity with which such a worldview is held varies, manifested in the varying degrees of vaccine and mask hesitancy. American right-wing authoritarians will tend to be more resistant to vaccination and mask wearing. Others displaying less intense motivation to affirm this worldview can be prodded to be vaccinated by vaccine mandates. One news media report quoted “an expert on vaccine hesitancy:” “We still have a lot of people who just haven't gotten around to it or don't have huge objections, but no one's told them they have to [get vaccinated] [...] Mandates simplify things for people” (Lafraniere and Weiland, 2021, para. 22–23). “[...] [M]any [evangelical] conservatives [...] believe they must use any means to keep America from being destroyed by liberals” (Smith, 2021, para. 33).

In the case of marginalized people of color, vaccine hesitancy reflects more the habitual parochial institutionalization of avoidance of white hegemonic mandates for body commodification (Choi, 2021, reviewing Vats, 2020). The Black body has traditionally been commodified and exploited for profit. The functionally perceived threat is from systemic white racism, while for the white evangelicals the perceived threat is from transnational epistemic communities. In both cases, the institutionalization of parochiality disincentivizes the pursuit of and processing of information from scientific authorities in favor of parochial sources. They will appear disengaged and less attentive to the scientific findings mediated by news sources channeling these findings. Social media has facilitated this fragmentation. Shared myths become affective ingroup signifiers, e.g., the vaccine dose contains a tracking microchip. In communities in which institutionalized religion is disproportionately representative of forms of civil society activity, evangelical Christian nationalist parochiality will be stronger (Hoffman and Schaff, 2021).

The institutionalization of parochiality undercuts incentives for public political attentiveness to contribute to a normative habitual obedience relationship to the societal authorities. It can be utilized for political mass mobilization through activation of the heretofore latent but intense equation of the system of authority norms with the national community, i.e., normative active control. It typically includes manipulation of stereotypical-archetypical symbolic images of national self vs. other whose institutionalization provided the framework for normative habitual control. State leadership mobilizes this symbol set to defend and expand the influence of the imagined community perceived as sharing these ethical norms for evaluation of behavior. These romanticized norms include rhetorical and functional loyalty to it, generating nationalistic behavior. Defense and expansion of national sovereignty is equated with loyalty. An industrialized polity is most collectively effective in mobilizing its resources if normative habitual control prevails. Such a regime includes implicitly assuming that hierarchical status relations are normal and typical. Such an ideal-typical society is one within which normative habitual obedience to authority is the primary functional regime mechanism by which the political elite maintains its control. Inferentially, prevailing consensual beliefs include a comparatively high level of implicitly shared expectational beliefs regarding interactive societal outcomes. To rephrase, it implies a relatively high degree of societal trust.

Strong institutionalization pervasive throughout the polity will not likely occur if the authorities rely at a primary intensity level upon fear to maintain their dominance of government institutions. Authoritarian

regime authorities will tend to make themselves believe that they do not rule primarily through fear and that they are supported by the modal citizenry. Those serving authoritarian leaders are prone to process the ruling ingroup's self-identity mythologies that their superiors represent, resulting in increasingly dysfunctional policies for generating international influence.

Societies undergoing revolutionary change, e.g., interwar Germany and the USSR, and post-1989 eastern Europe, display societal dissensus on ethical behavioral attitudes and values. By definition, normative habitual obedience tends not to be a primary control mechanism; little consensus exists on the ethically proper and improper rules and roles of behavior. In conditions of privation and insecurity, ingroup loyalty versus perceived challenging outgroups would intensify. Intra-societal polarization would undermine obeisance to authority and government figures perceived as representing these challenging outgroups. The prevalence of belief in the rule of law would decline. Overall levels of societal trust would be relatively less in such societies. In a survey of the literature on societal trust, a quote from Stalin illustrates the paranoia prevailing in such societies: "I do not trust anyone; I do not even believe myself" (Davydenko, Romashkina, Andrianova and Lazutina, 2018, 139, referencing Hosking, 2014, 15).

As indicated in the Davydenko et al. (2018) societal trust typology, societies undergoing revolutionary change, while also intensely polarized, will also display trust among and between regime enthusiasts. It is conceptualized here as charismatic authority of leaders. Authoritarian populist regimes as in interwar Germany, Italy and Japan relied on enthusiastic supporters to suppressively coerce hostile, terrified dissenting minorities (Cottam and Cottam, 2001). Those enthusiastic supporters trusted their leaders who articulated appeals utilizing romanticized/stereotypical national affirmative ideal symbols of self. These symbols include those characterized as ingroup self, versus the despised outgroup other(s), both internal and external. For the majority of the public that with varying degrees of enthusiasm respond positively to these rhetorical appeals, the control relationship may be characterized as normative active. It stands in contrast to normative habitual obeisance and control. The rhetorical call to affirm loyalty to the nation and its state as represented by its governing leadership generates an affirmative response of heightened affective intensity. The overall comparative mobilizational weaknesses of such regimes lies in the coerced submission of a large component of the public unwilling to devote its full capacities to support the system. They tend to despise the authorities in this intensely polarized polity characterized also by primarily reliance upon terror for control, i.e., authoritarian populism (Cottam and Gallucci, 1978, DeDominicis, 2019).

Comparatively high levels of societal trust overall correlates with general public normative habitual acceptance of regime authority. Public opinion surveys and interviews indicate prevailing perceptions of societal relations between self and other. They reveal indicators at the individual actor level of social analysis. Aggregation of those individual worldviews into collective attitudinal behavior patterns vis-à-vis regime authorities reflects behavior at another, collective, state-level of behavioral analysis (DeDominicis, 2021d). Societies manifesting prevailing views of comparatively high levels of societal trust would also more likely demonstrate acceptance of regime authority as legitimate. In this ideal typical model, the output of the state's policy making process would be functionally perceived as providing necessarily public goods, e.g., safety, security, infrastructure and public health. So-called establishment or mainstream public intellectuals, such as economists, would articulate the provision of these public goods as such. In sum, perceived effectiveness of the state authorities in providing public goods correlates with the perceived legitimacy of those state authorities. Comparatively stable nation states may not experience revolutionary change. The governing authorities of these normative habitual obeisance-based regimes may display, during crises, the capacity to mobilize the public. This effective manipulation of symbols that generates an intensely affirmative response from the attentive public has been called the rally around the flag effect. This affirmation of support for the chief executive derives from the collective attitudinal belief that the chief executive represents the nation. Alternatively, the functional equation of the nation with the executive makes acceptance of blatant major diminution of the government's foreign influence politically difficult for the executive despite overextension (Cottam and Cottam, 2001). The political difficulty of US

administrations to extract the US military from Afghanistan illustrates this threat of negative domestic public opinion reaction to threats to American national prestige.

### Creating Public Goods

Creation of public goods includes establishing and promoting the emergence of prevailing views and attitudinal beliefs. From this cognitive perspective, societal provision of universal access to identified resources in the form of government policy is part of essential national infrastructure, e.g., access to childcare services. Elite commentary on the Warren and Sanders US presidential campaigns on the eve of the Covid-19 pandemic crisis noted that the FDR administration established a national network of childcare centers. Utilizing funds from “wartime infrastructure” legislation, it encouraged women to enter the wartime crisis labor force (Covert, 2020, para. 5). The Truman administration shut down the program after the Japanese surrender, but the concept continued to circulate leading to the Congress passing national legislation that the Nixon administration vetoed in 1971. Prominent US Congress members advocating the institutionalization of a national US childcare program point to the US military’s childcare provision system for its uniformed personnel as a “model” (Gupta, 2021, para. 8).

This cognitive perspective reflects the essential nature of institutions as consisting of evolving actor roles and behavioral rules. They exist in the social perceptions and attitudinal beliefs and expectations held among societal actors. Public goods are institutional infrastructure that societal actors utilize to seek social mobility and to engage in social creativity. Social justice and equity issues focus on human rights implementation, which includes creation, provision and promotion of public goods as institutional infrastructure. This approach to public goods utilizing the social identity dynamics of nationalism amidst complex global interdependency reflects the cognitive revolution in international relations theory. Neo-corporatist state leadership for accommodating and exploiting global interdependency emphasizes the recognition of identity in dynamically shaping the contours of bounded rationality in policy making processes (Herrmann, 1988, Hafner-Burton, Hughes and Victor, 2013). This perspective points to development of the concept of public goods in relation to nationalism’s political psychological impacts regarding the institutional evolution of a particular state. It may contribute to the elaboration of the nature of the “sociotropic preferences” that shape political behavior that the “cognitive revolution” in international relations theory has highlighted (Hafner-Burton, Haggard, Lake and Victor, 2017, S21).

The creation, provision and expansion of public goods as institutional infrastructure features the role of social justice movements. They reflect and accelerate the disintegration of prevailing formal and informal institutionalized stereotypes of self and other. These stereotypes justify hierarchical relations which determine differential access to resources, e.g., the stereotype of the male breadwinner and the female housewife/homemaker performing unpaid labor. They also include segregation and marginalization of people of color, which people of color and women had often internalized and accepted. They also include that ascriptive assumption that achievement is material, i.e., money. Thus, those individuals who are wealthy, even if they inherited the money, are higher status, even genetically superior. By bringing so-called private societal relations into the public domain, social justice movements push the state authorities to adopt and reform policies that enforce behavioral change. Changes in behavioral patterns reinforce changes in behavioral attitudes and perceptual stereotypes to expand opportunity structures for dialectical engagement in group social creativity and social mobility.

Commodification is congruent with institutionalization. Commodification is the utilization of utilitarian participation and economic incentives to control, organize and direct individuals formed into ingroups called organizations. Production of desirable commodities to generate organizational and therefore individual benefits in a socially competitive environment can lead to searches for externally appealing social creativity options. They include creation and occupation of new market niches. Success generates social mobility. Market research and marketing are in part also about expanding dynamic opportunity

structures in the market for social creativity engagement by consumers. To create these new market niches requires elaboration of the institutional structure of organizations. Organizations develop and evolve institutionally to facilitate the utilization of the most effective resources that each individual within them can potentially apply. The development of educational institutions facilitates the development of the human resources available upon which to draw by all organizations, at least at a base level. The organizations themselves also offer internships and in-house training building upon this base, e.g., literacy, numeracy, multilingual capacities. At a fundamental level, a resource, including labor, has to be commodified in order to utilize utilitarian economic and political control incentives.

Culture is defined here as norms of behavior including communication as well as preferences which are passed down to a younger generation through early socialization. These include food and other sensory preferences. Culture is shaped by the economic activity of the family which helps constitute the socio-economic environment of the family and the individuals within it. Offspring acquire their preferences from their socialization and state-wide economic structures emerge. They functionally serve to harmonize these preferences as part of economic and business activity in terms of prevailing societal attitudes. At the international level, the collective self-perception of the national ingroup as functioning as a benign hegemon providing international public goods is likely to be self-serving. It is a form of nationalistic universalism. For the national groups seeking alliance with the purported benign hegemon against the formers' perceived adversaries, their socially deviant activities may be perceived as a form of social creativity. Positive ally stereotypes allow for social creativity to justify internally and externally strategies and behaviors against the shared common enemy (Cottam and Cottam, 2001).

The European Union functionally aims to create EU-wide institutions for conflict resolution in the pursuit of status individually and collectively, i.e., the latter focusing on national status. To rephrase, national citizens pursue status in Italy according to Italian institutions. In pursuing higher status both within Italy and outside of Italy, the EU institutions play a functional role building upon the national building blocks. The standardization of institutions occurs in the sense of a shared legal or at least moral obligation of how to pursue interests that starts from the assumption of actor legal equality. This rule of law assumption is foundational in creating, for example, a market, which involves regulated social competition between firm competitors as well as individual social mobility. It is an elite phenomenon, however. A regime has to have institutions as a necessary condition to become a belief in a state's existence. The EU has made a major step in this direction with NextGenerationEU as its response to the Covid-19 global pandemic (Arnold, 2021, Pronczuk, 2021, Peltier and Pronczuk, 2021).

Effectiveness in accommodating these trends is significantly reflected in trends in comparative fiat currency valuations, i.e., trends in prices for goods and services. The provision of a currency is in effect a provision of a public good in the form of a national medium of exchange universally accepted. The provision of this universally fungible public good sets a critical parametric resource for commodification, organization and mobilization. It facilitates the regulation of societal interaction in terms of the dialectical relationships among social competition, social creativity and social mobility. Institutionalization via commodification for organized consumption and therefore value creation is the essence of normative habitual control through the habituation to ascribed status. It organizes and integrates the component actors in the polity. Relative collective effectiveness is reflected in currency value and inflation. It relies upon the institutionalization of stereotypes so that they become norms including explicit or implicit symbolic rhetorical ideals. In nation states, normative active appeals can associate with economics and consumption in terms of the power capabilities of the nation, including the wellbeing of its people. In all types of states, multiethnic, multinational and national, the coercive control apparatus may become an identity community, as in the old Soviet Union. They may become nationalistically mobilized around developing the state's capacities, but the mass public may not support them.

Insofar as a fiat currency is based on the belief of the existence of a sovereign state, the success of the EU in selling Eurobonds on financial markets is a significant development. It indicates that the belief prevails in the substantive existence of Europe. In 2021, “[n]early a year after European leaders decided to launch a massive, jointly-financed recovery program to deal with the consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic, the European Union on Tuesday finally issued the first bond of what will amount to a total EUR800 billion (\$970 billion) borrowing spree over the next five years.” Equally significant was the market demand level low price yield for the Eurobonds, indicating strong confidence in the substantive credibility of the EU as an actor: “The result didn't disappoint: Demand for the 10-year, EUR20 billion bond reached EUR142 billion, according to bankers, and it was priced at a yield of 0.086% -- compare this to the minus 0.23% yield on German bunds of the same maturity” [sic] (Briançon, 2021, para. 1-2).

The European Union's move to issue Eurobonds to stimulate the EU economies is significant. It means that EU is functionally challenging the ascription of the nation state constituting the building blocks of the international community. It utilizes these elements to construct a new belief-entity, the European Union. The cornerstone of this construction is the German nation state, while concomitantly incentivizing dialectical social creativity and mobility amidst regulated social competition to construct Europe. The results of the first Eurobonds auction sale indicates that the international financial community currently believes in the existence of Europe as an actor. Emphasizing the importance of supranational institutions in creating public goods, Montani argues that “the European experience [...] consisted mainly of building supranational institutions and supranational public goods, like the Common Market and the European Monetary Union” [sic] (Montani, 2011, 2). These supranational institutions provide the infrastructure around which supranational political participation may organize global civil society and orient its strategic direction. These initiatives are substantive social creativity-based respond to the challenge of intensifying potential for social competition amidst the heightened insecurity amidst the global Covid-19 extended crisis. Sovereign governments may run national fiscal budget deficits which contribute to national GDP. They also may attempt to avoid accelerating macroeconomic imbalances that the global finance community may indicate declining regime power capacities to meet these debt obligations in the future. The collective confidence of the global financial community in this sovereign debtor's capacity may change. This increase or decrease manifests itself in the changing interest rate on offer for the sale of its sovereign debt bonds.

### Corruption vs. Hegemony

Creation of hegemony and the de facto functional, habitual belief in the provision of public goods associates with community membership acceptance. The community exists, including its system of authority norms. According to Scholl and Schermuly:

*“The evidence in the social sciences speaks for persistent mutual influences between mental and material aspects of perceived and enacted reality. Like any other facts and formal arrangements, the functioning of institutions is shaped by cultural interpretations and vice versa (Alesina and Guiliano 2015; Berger and Luckmann 1966; MacKinnon and Heise 2010). The old wisdom of the so-called Thomas-theorem should be taken seriously: “If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences” (Thomas and Thomas 1928, p. 572), which suggests that institutional schemes, perse, do not affect behavior, but rather an experienced institutional reality shaped by ideas and interpretations” [sic] (Scholl and Schermuly, 2020, 185-86).*

If the representatives of this system of institutionalized authority norms appear corrupt, then the situation is more or less a perceived threat by the modal citizenry. The intensity of perceived threat correlates with the intensity level of self-identification with the community. Institutions subjectively identified define this community. In this ideal-typical model, a corrupt leadership or administrator is by definition exercising authority control to which the modal citizenry does not grant legitimacy. The power and “control” exercised is therefore viewed as “restrictive” and unjust, i.e., corrupt (Scholl and Schermuly, 2020, 186). This



authority is subjectively viewed as exercised for particularistic, corrupt ends, i.e., ends that serve private gain at the expense of the public good. For Kant's categorical imperative to operate, the modal citizenry must grant legitimacy to the authorities. In sum, they must view the authorities as representing their primary intensity self-identity community, according to this Weberian ideal-typical model.

“This differentiation of promotive and restrictive control as theoretical concepts also has ethical relevance. Respecting the autonomy of the other with promotive control is in line with Kant's categorical imperative: “Act in such a way that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, never merely as a means to an end, but always at the same time as an end” (Kant, 1993, 364). Restrictive control violates the autonomy of the other and is therefore incompatible with the categorical imperative. “Restrictive control” gives a more precise meaning to “Abuse of power” in Transparency International's corruption definition: as a theoretical concept, the main application here, as well as an ethical judgement, taken up in the “Limitations” section” (Scholl and Schermuly, 2020, 173).

Chiweshe and Mahiya (2021, 74) identify a gap in the literature regarding “problematizing” the conceptualization of the term, corruption. The field tends to accept the view that corruption's definition is essentially uncontested and can be understood unidirectionally by reference to a single dimension. “One popular definition of corruption—that it is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain (Transparency International, n.d.)—is rapidly becoming a de facto standard definition.” They seek to address the topic of corruption by focusing on its contextually dependent aspects in terms of its ontology. A standard introductory textbook on administrative ethics does not provide a single statement definition of corruption, but rather equates corruption with an organizational administrator acting unethically (Cooper, 2012). Hence, the emphasis in this textbook is upon explicit statements of ethical professional codes of conduct. In morally and ethnically comparatively homogenous societies, everyday acts of bending the rules, i.e., corruption, become part of the statewide set of formal and informal institutions regulating the behavior. “Kilko Ko, Sue Yeon Cho, and Jihye Lee (2012) describe such activities in the Korean context as gray corruption, conceptualized as everyday contextual actions that can be constructed as a normal way of acting within certain spaces but carrying an element of illicit exchange, such as holiday gifts (*ttokkap*), gratitude gifts (*chonji*), wedding gifts (*chukkigeum*), asking a favor from relatives for job recruitment or promotion, and rebates. Such gifts can be understood in the context of Korean society, but they are the basis for various forms of nepotism” (Chiweshe and Mahiya, 2021, 79).

Corruption is here defined as activity perceived by the modal citizenry within a polity as in effect undermining the state's provision of public goods. In phenomenological reality, it is illegitimate, i.e., immoral and unethical, self-dealing. This view of course is subjective. It may become the politically prevailing view for due to a combination of factors, e.g., vulnerability to being suspect because the authorities were imposed by foreign intervention. Normative dissonance amidst transition to a prevailing consensual emergence on an idealized set of moral and ethical behavioral norms will make perceptions of corruption pervasive. Hegemony will be vulnerable, and public goods and community self-identity consensus will be comparatively weak. “More recently, we have come to regard society as an arena within which people and groups are entitled—within limits—to make choices reflecting their own needs and desires, rather than as an organic whole with any sort of collective moral standing, with corruption seen as an individual or group transgression of some set of standards taken as defending or embodying relatively specific conceptions of the public good” (Dincer and Johnston, 2020, 221). This paper is about those conceptions of the public good are constructed and deconstructed. These public goods include identity security and belief in the rule of law. A discrepancy may build between informal, implicitly assumed norms of ascriptive status hierarchical positions among societal constituencies. It correlates with a decline in identity security and belief in the rule of law as societal interaction outcomes appear increasingly unfair and unjust. This perception emerges among community constituencies increasingly subjectively perceived as marginalized and oppressed by heretofore core hegemonic cultural groups. Even if such outcomes are perceived or assumed to be the result of legal processes, it constitutes a form of “‘legal’ corrupt practices”

[sic] in the views of the resentful populist conservative core (Maciel and Sousa, 2018, 657). Neoliberalism has encouraged globalization whereby corporate activity is omnipresent but accountable to no one anywhere. The perceived inefficacy of existing institutions to counter corporate perceived functional negative externalities contributes to perceptions of abuse of public trust. The concept of “legal corruption” encompasses the perceived threat to the public good due to the perceived negative externalities of globalization threatening the perceived public interest (Dincer and Johnston, 2020, 228).

Expectations of self-dealing by those in authority can become part of the moral and ethical prevailing view. For example, in traditional regimes members of the aristocracy are expected to perpetuate their superior status including self-enrichment, if not engage in treason. Strong parochialism will default to patron-client networks. Defaulting to patron-clientage can be a prevailing expectation in post-colonial states in which various constituencies evaluate themselves relative to Weberian ideal-typical nation statehood (DeDominicis, 2021b). If it becomes a perceived essential component building block of nation statehood, e.g., federalism, it may become idealized. Corruption is concomitant with parochiality. Corruption focuses on contingency and insecurity. Corruption exists when strong state institutions are not functionally viewed or assumed to be representative within the prevailing view of the modal citizenry. Corruption may be conceptualized as the reconciliation of achievement with parochiality. To the extent that statewide institutions are perceived to exist, then the comparative evaluation of status occurs with more collective self-confidence. To build supranational institutions for a supranational community that potentially become intense in terms of self-identification with it requires utilizing the non-corrupt nation states as building blocks. The European Union principle of the so-called pooling of the sovereignty of the member states indicates this process. Commodity smuggling due to social deviance identification/illegal customer consumption intensifies this parochiality in the form of incentivizing the creation of organized crime structures. The illegal becomes more profitable as it becomes more perilous, incentivizing the creation of informal cooperation and support networks, e.g., organized crime ingroups.

If they intersect with preceding normative habitual traditional parochial structures, they become organized crime so-called families. Given the intense profitability of successful illegal drug smuggling, in the context of rural poverty and ethno-class/de facto caste stratification, organized crime structures can become highly salient in Latin American states. In Eastern Europe, they become more like corporations as extensions of the polity (DeDominicis, 2021b). Corruption can be defined as requiring the lack of consensus on what constitutes morally and ethically right and wrong behavior. The public interest is represented by the policy output of the government which represents the state. Rule of law implies creating, implementing and enforcing the rules by which to regulate and guide dialectical social competition and social creativity strategies to achieve social mobility. Actors engaging in comparative self-evaluation include individuals and ingroups, as well as enterprises. Failure to provide regulation leads to fraud and corruption. The later can undermine coordination of the national social creativity innovation mechanism and ultimately the power potential base of the state. Investment firms that are engaging in fraudulent charades in claiming their innovations will generate large future profits to attract significant investments pocketed by executives are in effect “ponzi schemes” (Goldstein and Kelly, 2021, para. 13-14). Hence statewide institutions must emerge and exist in order to have corruption. Giving gifts to superiors is a widespread expectation if no representative body for the community that has been tasked with creating statewide institutions has declared it corrupt and illegal. The recent interest in special-purpose acquisition companies (SPACs) illustrates economic liberalism foundations in converting social deviance into social creativity and social mobility. It functions amidst market social competition (Kelly, 2021). SPACs are suspect because of their purportedly vulnerability to serve as vehicles for fraud. They also increase opportunities for market participation by new investors and for start-up firms to obtain financing. Social deviance here refers to the challenging formal and informal norms rules of behavior to achieve economic success, i.e., Merton’s social strain theory (Burnham, Jeon and Zeng, 2018, 248). This social deviance may acquire legitimation from other members of the business, national and global communities as in fact a creative innovation. Examples include cryptocurrency products and new participatory investment application such as Robinhood. They initially

received negative, not to mention skeptical, initial publicity within the business media. As they evolved, subsequent observers highlighted them as innovative business models contributing to national and global economic innovation and development. In sum, they as business models become a component of the marketplace framework public good. The social deviance has become social creativity in addition to social mobility vehicles for status advancement.

Criminal behavior is idealized as shameful behavior aside from being illegal. Engaging in criminal international trade activities, like drug smuggling, to help fund a self-determination movement is a regular behavior pattern. For example, the Taliban funded its effective resistance partly through drug smuggling. Legalizing illicit international trade and commerce, would be part of a global strategy of conflict resolution through international human rights promotion. It would require a diagnosis of the sources of the criminality in systemic oppression of marginalized groups. International criminality by its very nature exploits the opportunity structures created by the state, i.e., consumption that is illegal becomes both more dangerous and therefore more profitable. Self-determination movements engaging in smuggling to fund their struggle are utilizing the state system-created status quo.

## **A PATH FORWARD**

Regulated social competition to encourage constrained social creativity and mobility becomes increasingly globalized for those segments of society that can partake of the opportunities. Diasporas also have an advantage in this regard. A nation state's capacity to offer these opportunities to the rest of the world will constitute its soft power appeal. Little evidence of mass migration to China is available, as is evident regarding US and EU. Nation states have a soft power potential advantage because of the greater extent of shared authority norms facilitates standardization of statewide institutions. This standardization facilitates coordination and control of the power potential base resources of the community to be made available to the state authorities. It congruently facilitates commodification dialectically facilitating normative habituation to authority norms via the accommodation of profitable social deviance. Effective nation state authority institutions dynamically regulate and promote the development of group social creativity and individual social mobility opportunity structures. A core culture will emerge into which ethnic minorities will experience strong incentives to integrate and assimilate.

The state will have a soft power advantage in terms of transnational appeal of ideology to the extent in part it is seen as a development model for other developing states. Being a high-tech state that can produce, manufacture and distribute effective Covid-19 vaccines will be part of this appeal. In the nuclear setting amidst awareness of ineluctable interdependency, conflict is increasingly indirect (DeDominicis, 2019). Destabilizing of the target's regime political control system through exacerbating polarization within the target state becomes the new form of war. The Chinese totalitarian capitalist consumption model justifies itself as maintaining peaceful domestic political development amidst polarization in liberal democracies (Béja, 2019). Social media reinforcement of social competition and social creativity behavior emphasizing ingroup membership alliance affirmation by targeting scorned outgroups is a challenge in China as it is in the US (Stevenson, Chien and Li, 2021). Societally dysfunctional social creativity behavior reinforces intensifying polarization tendencies by identifying a common, shared adversary and affirmatively reinforcing this shared ingroup membership. Social media facilitates communication to form these ingroups. The focus in the US in preventing the propagation of hate speech is an issue regarding counteraction of societal polarization. Hate speech and hate crimes focus on perpetrator intent to commit a criminal act against a victim targeted for membership in particular, so-called protected group or class. This group has been to varying degrees ascriptively stereotyped and marginalized (Dewan, 2021). One problem with Facebook posts is that intent often can only be inferred. The digital originator or forwarder of hate speech may publicly deny intent to target someone for reputational or physical injury on the basis of ascribed factors such as skin color or racial category. The context provides background for inferring intent as more or less harmless or harmful. In any case, the decision on whether to censor or ban requires a

prediction of likely impact upon societal polarization. It includes analyzing the contextual factors that will lead to a post intended as an innocuous, ironic jest being perceived /misperceived as motivated by hateful intent. An area experiencing interethnic genocidal attacks may well have individuals seeing a Facebook post that playfully called for killing all men as a threat, as men are being killed and women are being raped (“Facebook’s Supreme Court,” 2021).

Part of a remedy may include revoking the immunity for social media companies for content posted on social media sites that Section 230 of the 1996 Communications Decency Act grants (Langa, 2021). Annuling this provision could conceivably empower various societal constituencies. They could seek civil suit redress for damages incurred via social media algorithmic distribution and magnification of disinformation content. It would employ a whole of polity liberal approach to authorize social constituencies to police the social media environment in protecting their perceived reputational self-interests. Civil lawsuit enforcement may deemphasize government agent enforcement of a prohibition on “algorithmic amplification” that may conflict with US Constitution First Amendment free speech rights (McCabe, 2021, para. 31). The state authorities functionally regulate social competition to develop the power capabilities of the polity, focusing on its human resources. Social competition among societal actors that a neo-corporatist strategy regulates and guides, drives the achievement collectively (DeDominicis, 2021a). It is regulated so that winners and losers do not escalate to violence, in accordance with Weber’s definition of the state. Actors therefore must acquiesce to the loss of status or they may engage in social creativity. For example, in post-colonial settler states, Caucasian members might view themselves as poor but they were prone to take psychological-affective ascriptive social identity refuge in viewing themselves as superior to people of color. The same is true for men versus women. Hence, a significant component of white grievance focuses on traditional institutionalized ascriptive assumptions regarding status. Its defenders include women who have vested their identity in this ascriptive system. It was legitimated by a religious faith institutional system consisting of parochial identity groups that come together to affirm their commitment to it. From this perspective liberalism is part of the polity’s neo-corporatist strategy for mobilizing, developing and deploying the power potential base. The government also adopts policies that then transform these resources into diplomatic bargaining leverage instruments. Social deviance can become a form of social creativity if it is legitimated by self-identification with a supranational self-identity community, including transnational and epistemic communities. This supranational self-identity community option must provide concrete benefits. Consumer commodification utilizes rhetorically authoritative medical terminology such as “trauma” to describe the effects of marginalizing behavior:

*“We also know that victims of wrongdoing tend to be perceived as more “moral” or “virtuous” than others, and that using medical language tends to give a speaker authority, each of which are likely to result in more positive feedback.”*

*“It is not a huge leap, then, to imagine that deploying the language of trauma, or of harm, or even of personal struggle, carries cultural capital.”*

*““There’s an economy in knowing that people will have a highly emotional, outsized response,” said Ms. [Shantel Garbieal] Buggs [a Florida State University sociologist]. “Because they can monetize clicks. They can monetize followers. There is clout in it.”” [emphasis added] (Bennet, 2022, paras. 21-23).*

Rhetorically authoritative influential labels for describing heretofore parochial, traditional marginalizing behavior encourages new niche market creation and exploitation. These labels and their rhetorical utilization appeal to social creativity and mobility needs of consumers in targeted niches. Construction of a European internal market regulated by progressive law can provide them to encourage and support group social creativity and therefore, dialectically, individual social mobility (DeDominicis, 2020). “Commodification of identity politics” appears to be unavoidable, e.g., “gender mainstreaming” as a form

of “career feminism” within capitalist societies (van Heerden, 2016, 7207). European integration strategy functionally serves to encourage this social creativity and by creating greater opportunity structures that are rhetorically articulated and justified in terms of Europeanization. Europeanization gains increasingly significant material and status benefits through the elaboration of the supranational EU institutional representations of the supranational European community. “[D]ue to the greater attention devoted by supranational bodies to career-related aspects of encouraging gender equality and hence, more Europeanized countries are more likely to associate having a supranational attachment with the need to support gender equality in matters of career and work-life balance” (Zapryanova and Surzhko-Harned, 2016, 562-63). Europeanization represents the regional globalization of commodification. It encourages dialectical guidance of regulated social competition of social competition to develop greater opportunity structures. These structures serve to provide social creativity opportunities for ascriptively, i.e., traditionally, habitually, systematically marginalized ingroups. Effectiveness creates opportunities for individual social mobility and assimilation, pluralizing the archetype tropes for commodification as a foundation for state institutionalization. Economic and monetary union is the pinnacle of this peace strategy in maintaining the latency of persisting mass public nationalism that is more conducive to national social competition. The provision and creation of public goods by the authorities occurs in a fundamental dialectical relationship with commodification of social relations to maintain social integration. It requires ethno-nationalism values not to be intensely salient to pool national sovereignty. It thereby aims to create a more competitive and influential regional polity model by not appearing to be a nationalistic threat. It concomitantly accommodates cosmopolitan values that are becoming increasingly salient within it. Congruently, polarization increases as conservative populism reacts to the challenge. Of course, Brexiteers still saw it as a threat, as do the prevailing views in Minsk and Moscow.

The supranational ethical community ethical system for conflict resolution has its basis in consensus and solidarity. *Hostis humani generis*, i.e., designation as international criminals, may be portrayed rhetorically as applying to those who threaten human civilization. They would include those corporate actors exacerbating and denying anthropogenic climate change due to greenhouse gas emissions. The French legislation recognizing the civil offence of “ecocide” may be a step in this direction (Alderman and Méheut 2021, para. 4). The creation of a global polity requires establishment of achievement rules on the global level. The EU is the most advanced international organization in promoting the establishment of global institutions by which to evaluate performance to save and preserve our world community. International law reflects the construction of vested interests as reflected in the assumptions of classical realism. Coercive diplomatic instruments are powerful forces shaping perceptions of ethical propriety, including loyalty to the nation. International criminality threatens those vested interests in the status quo while simultaneously reinforcing them. The militarization of border and immigration policy reflects this dynamic. To break this cycle requires efficacious global social justice movements that can then repurpose and reform these vested bureaucratic instruments. Enhancing state institutional effectiveness in monitoring compliance and implementation of international environmental treaty obligations is an objective. A policy prescription is to incorporate heretofore traditionally, ascriptively marginalized Indigenous communities. Local residential aboriginal community activists play a leading role in obstructing both legal and illegal deforestation, mining and confiscation on their ancestral territories. They have consequently been targeted for assassination, with greatest frequency in Latin America. Birss (2017) and Sieder (2017) note that most Latin American states have ratified international sustainable development treaties and incorporated these obligations into national law. This incorporation is congruent with recognition of Indigenous legal rights in nearly every case. In practice state authorities fall very short in protecting Indigenous citizens and their rights against illegal expropriation. They are historically marginalized and ascriptively assigned inferior status. Their role as global sustainable development activists could construct expanding opportunities structures for engaging in group social creativity with concrete individual social mobility benefits.

## CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Social media companies commodify their users' attention and interests through harvesting personal data that constitutes the consumers' browsing history. Social media can facilitate utilitarian economic and political control by easing communication and generation of confirmation of self-identity status through ingroup affirmation. Digital media products utilized without charge by consumers like free email and social media accounts commodify the consumer by accessing personal consumer data through usage of these products. This aggregated data is then sold to advertisers for more effective, persuasive targeted advertising. Thus, the ongoing debate regarding consumer data privacy on the internet emerges. In sum, the consumer also undergoes commodification, producing greater effectiveness in controlling consumer behavior. State policing and intelligence services may also access this data. "[I]t should worry you that access to your data and myriad inferences about you are a mere government request away" (Bensinger, 2021, para. 3).

Social media reinforces pathological tendencies within the human psyche including predilection to experience the perceptual simplification and its concomitant emotional stimulation and gratification. Individual participation in a public digital forum permits shared declaration of ingroup collective affirmation of stereotyping against perceived, despised imagined outgroups. Social media algorithms record and reinforce individual and ingroup member consumption of demagogic entertainment masquerading as news. These algorithms forward additional attractive consumables to the user on the basis of the user's record of previous social media interaction to maintain this attention. Social media data aggregators sell advertising space to purveyors. Social media is a critical part of the so-called rage machine into which much of the so-called media has evolved. It thereby enhances and intensifies pathological intra-societal polarization. These incentives drive television and radio electronic media to develop congruently. They accommodate and satisfy these preferences that social media reinforce in an intensely competitive, for-profit environment among infinite so-called news outlets. Social media is the core of this dynamic ecology of memes among respective constituencies (DeDominicis, 2019). Differing values, including particularly identity values, as well as orientations, delineate the boundaries between these constituencies. Authoritarians will tend to co-associate on social media.

Social media exploits fight or flight predispositions to engage user attention while through surveillance capitalism. They fuel these stereotype formation predispositions through positive feedback loops powered by algorithms. Surveillance capitalism polarizes society through propagating ingroup formation and reinforcement against the perceived challenging Other. It commodifies consumers by promoting ingroup versus outgroup formation and reinforcement. It thereby intensifies their attention to the medium through which to sell targeted advertising space. It creates niche markets by creating and reinforcing and enlarging ingroups. It undermines state control by predisposing the vulnerable to stereotyping and more communal orientations. These patterns undermine the capacity of the state authorities to portray their domination as legitimate which challenges the public good of social peace because it undermines their Gramscian hegemony. The algorithms in surveillance capitalism constitute the institutionalization of societal stereotypes in the form of artificial intelligence. As one academic observer noted in an interview,

*"They're getting us into fight-or-flight mode to trigger and activate our attention and our arousal, to keep us locked In, and to therefore behaviorally manipulate us. They're also feeding us into groups that are increasingly hateful and divisive. We saw that with January 6<sup>th</sup>, for example. And the mechanism, the means by which they're able to do that is by playing again with our emotions, taking us to these groups so we can recognize, falsely, that we are not alone in having particular viewpoints, that there are others with more hardcore viewpoints" [sic] (Srinivasan, 2021, para, 13).*

One remedy may be refusing to allow social media companies to collect and record personal data and viewing history. This paper introduced the notion of public goods as a form of hegemony. It explored the social identity dynamics by which this hegemony may be created while responding to global

interdependency. State neo-corporatist strategic leadership regulates social deviance to translate it into social creativity that establishes institutions for elaboration of the criteria for evaluating relative social status. It focuses on the commodification process in transnational capitalism as essential to the process of building Gramscian hegemony. It functionally aims translate this commodification into the prevailing perception of the rule of law in a nation state. This commodification process relies upon the institutionalization of stereotypes of status quo status assignments. These ascriptively assigned status designations come under challenge from social justice movements. They include national liberation struggles as well as individual-centered universal human rights demands. The paper utilized the public record to illustrate these collective trends and pointed to the European Union as the most advanced international strategy for supranational identity construction. This construction process utilizes the ascriptive status of the institutionalized nation state in striving to build transnational authority centers that are more than the sum of its nation state components.

The challenge confronting the EU as a so-called civilian superpower is to provide genuine liberal global hegemonic leadership as so perceived in Beijing, Washington and Moscow. The political incentives to circumvent political polarization through evoking and relying on scapegoating against a common enemy is a political pitfall regarding conflict resolution. The continuing perceived challenge from allied Moscow and Beijing in the Balkans results in a thrust to expand NATO and the EU membership amidst rising Euroscepticism within the EU. The resulting reconciliation of these political imperatives manifests in an intensified interest in fighting corruption in eastern Europe that Western adversaries might otherwise exploit. Global leadership is necessary to generate global public goods. These global public goods include global environment protection which requires global cooperation. The political capacities for global cooperation increased after the end of the Cold War. The fact that the Rio Earth Summit UN conference occurred in 1992 to address climate change, immediately after the USSR disintegrated, was not a coincidence. The EU aims to provide and assume global leadership in this post-Cold War world. A test as to whether or not it can do so is emerging because of increasing pressure on the EU to support the US which claims China is a global competitor. The EU needs to prevent a new Cold War between the US and China so that the international community can continue to cooperate intensively to meet the challenge of anthropogenic climate change. The EU needs to demonstrate convincingly to the respective authorities among other great powers that the EU is not the civilian soft power handmaiden of the United States.

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