Categorizing the World:
Developmental Classification of Societies in English Books, 1700-2000

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ABSTRACT

The practice of classifying societies around the world into categories such as 'traditional' and 'modern' or 'developing' and 'developed' motivates and justifies social inequalities and is an important factor in processes of economic, political, and social organization. Contemporary scholars note the use of such terminology by specific historical thinkers, but the prevalence of this practice more generally is unknown. Using the Google Books corpus and several text analysis strategies, I estimate the historical prevalence of cultural keywords that classify societies by their level of development across millions of books published in English between 1700 and 2000. The use of such terminology in books was common since at least 1700, but varied greatly across different historical epochs and individual keywords. Keywords such as 'savages,' 'barbarians,' and 'civilized societies' increased in use during the second half of the eighteenth century, remained high throughout the nineteenth century, and decreased mildly during the twentieth century. Other keywords like 'less developed countries,' 'Third World,' and 'developed nations' came into use in the second half of the twentieth century, sharply increased during the 1970s and 1980s, but decreased after the 1980s. These results suggest that the practice of developmental classification was deeply embedded among book writers in English-speaking societies, especially the United Kingdom and the United States, throughout the past three centuries.

Categorizing the World:
Measuring the Historical Prevalence of Developmental Classification in English Books, 1700-2000

Those wey dey New York dem	*Those who are in New York*
they leave dey like kings	*live there like kings*
We wey ele for Afrika	*We who live in Africa*
We dey leave like servants	*We live like servants*
United Nations dem come get name for us	*The United Nations gave us a name*
Dem go call us under develope nation	*They will call us underdeveloped nation*
We must be underdevelope	*We must be underdeveloped*
To dey stay ten-ten in one room O	*Ten people stay in one room!*
First and second dey	*The First and Second World*
Dem go call us Thirdworld	*They will call us Third World*
We must dey crazy for head	*We must be crazy in the head*

"Original Suffer-Head" lyrics by Nigerian musician *Fela Kuti* in 1981 (Coester 1998).

INTRODUCTION

Recent studies drawing on new cross-national survey data document the presence of a global, widely shared *developmental hierarchy*, which I define as the imagined notion that all societies that can be categorized by their level of development (Binstock et al. 2013; Csánóová 2013; Dorius 2016; Lai and Mu 2016; Melegh et al. 2013; 2016; Thornton and Yang 2016; Thornton et al. 2012). These studies demonstrate that most people show little difficultly when asked to subjectively rank countries by their level of development, and their ordering of countries closely resembles those found in development indices created by large international organizations, such as the United Nations' (UN) Human Development Index. I define the subsequent practice of labeling societies by their position in such a hierarchy as the practice of *developmental classification*.

The categorization of societies has substantial economic, political, and social consequences (Bandelj and Wherry 2011; Davis et al. 2012; Elliot and Schmutz 2012; Mennillo

2016; Merry 2016; Merry et al. 2015; Reyes 2014; Shepherd 2010) and therefore raises interest in the prominence of the practice of developmental classification itself.

The survey data scholars use to measure people's perceptions of countries' level of development only began to be collected during the twenty-first century, leaving the historical prominence of such perceptions and the practice of developmental classification in question. Contemporary social scientists and historians have, however, conducted close readings of certain historical writings by famous European and North American thinkers and policymakers, and documented the presence of hierarchical logics and the use of specific developmental classification terms in their writings (Abbattista 2011; Adas 1989; Brantlinger 1985; Brick 2012; Burrow 1966; Cooper and Packard 1997; Granovetter 1979; Harris 1968; Heyck 2011; Mandelbaum 1971; Mazlish 2004; Nisbet 1969; 1980; 1986; Rubiés 2011; Stocking 1968; Thomson 2011; Thornton 2001; 2005; Wallerstein 2006). Ultimately, though, their analyses, while rich in depth, are about the practice of developmental classification among specific prominent thinkers and policymakers and they do not address the historical commonality of this practice more broadly.

One opportunity for estimating the historical prominence of the practice of developmental classification lies in measuring the use of particular cultural keywords used expressly for this purpose. By definition, *cultural keywords* evoke specific ideas about how the world works and is organized (D'Andrade 2005; Quinn 2005; see also Franzosi 2010; Franzosi et al. 2012; Ignatow and Mihalcea 2013; Williams 1976). The use of cultural keywords that divide the world into developmental categories such as 'developing' and 'developed countries,' or 'civilized' and 'primitive peoples' are cultural acts that indicate a speaker's awareness of the concept of developmental hierarchy.

I therefore turn to the aforementioned historical literature and historical lexicon resources to construct a large list of cultural keywords that tap into this concept. I then measure the frequency at which developmental classification cultural keywords are used across the largest body of historical texts written in the English language: Google Books. I outline a multi-step method drawing upon employ several text analysis tools in order to exclude from my estimates appearances of these keywords when they are used to convey a different meaning than developmental classification, a common problem in text analysis (Bail 2014:471-472; Lee and Martin 2015:13-20; Popping 2012:88-89).

Despite the enormity of the Google Books corpus, it is not an accurate reflection of global public opinion or cultural evolution over time, as its creators and many scholars that use the data have argued (Aiden and Michel 2013; Greenfield 2013; Kesebir and Kesebir 2013; Twenge et al. 2012). Like all text-based data, it most closely reflects its producers and to a lesser extent its consumers, which were wealthy, educated, upper class men of European descent in historically English-speaking societies, especially the United Kingdom and the United States, with increasing diversity over time. In a very real way, then, the millions of texts contained in the Google Books corpus represent the *public culture* of their times, with all the associated social inequalities and historical power dynamics (Pechenick et al. 2015; Schmidt 2012a; see also Ellegård 1958). Given the important roles of these societies have had in shaping the organization of the human societies and international relations generally, the historical prominence of the practice of developmental classification among book writers in these societies is of great interest.

CONCEPTUALIZATION AND THEORY

Symbolic boundaries cast between the 'developed' and the 'developing' are so commonplace that many people perceive them as real and natural divisions (Brown 1993; Dados and Connell 2012; Eckl and Weber 2007; Gluck and Tsing 2009; Said 1978; Tomlinson 2003; Wherry 2004; Wood 1985). Given their widespread acceptance as how the world is, these symbolic boundaries have served as powerful motivation and justification for action. Self-described 'developed nations' historically ascribed treatments and interventions to societies whom they have labeled as 'developing,' 'underdeveloped,' 'Third World,' 'primitive,' 'traditional,' 'barbaric,' or 'savage,' including the likes of religious evangelization, colonization, humanitarianism, and international development (Barnett 2011; Boli and Thomas 1999; Dromi 2016a; 2016b; Meyer 1989; Thornton et al. 2015). Today, a country's developmental classification on official indices like the UN's Human Development Index (HDI), as well as the country's informal reputation, shapes its eligibility for international trade, admission to world summits, credit scores, economic growth, and world heritage site recognition (Bandelj and Wherry 2011; Davis et al. 2012; Elliot and Schmutz 2012; Fioramonti 2014; McCloskey 1983; Mennillo 2016; Merry 2016; Merry et al. 2015; Reyes 2014; Shepherd 2010:146).

Knowledge of the notion of a global hierarchy of societies based on a universal standard of development comes from many sources, including education, books, newspapers, foreign aid projects, international NGOs, foreign missionaries, to name a few (Thornton et al. 2015:290-292). One important source through which knowledge of developmental hierarchy is spread are the United Nation's (UN) annual Human Development Reports. These reports present "official" development scores for all countries of the world using the Human Development Index (HDI). Citizens or policymakers from a country receiving a low development score in the HDI can easily see which countries received high scores and may deduce that their country should copy

the public policies and cultural practices of such countries (Davis et al. 2012). Though the UN's HDI includes seemingly objective measures in its calculation of human development (life expectancy, income, and educational attainment), which factors are included in this and other similar development classification schemes is decided by scholars and policymakers well versed in global cultural models of development, not by publics (Clark 2003; Taniguchi and Babb 2009). The United Nation's (UN) annual Human Development Reports also include messages about how development can be achieved. Past reports have discussed the importance of environmental sustainability, democracy, information and communication technologies, cultural diversity, economic growth, gender equality, and human rights, among other topics (UNDP 1995; 2001; 2004; 2005; 2007/2008; 2011). To borrow a line from Geertz (1973), the UN's Human Development Reports provide people with "models of" and "models for" the world—models *of* what a developed society looks like and models *for* achieving development.

Consider another more historical example of resources that "teach" individuals the concept of developmental hierarchy and practices of classification. Figure 1 displays a page from an 1899 school textbook entitled *Elementary Geography: Designed for Primary and Elementary Classes* (Maury 1899:22). The page features a four-paneled picture in its center, where "the four conditions in which men live" are displayed: savagery, barbarism, civilization, and enlightenment. The text instructs teachers to have students recite descriptions of how 'savage,' 'barbarous,' 'civilized,' and 'enlightened' people live. By looking at the images and reading the descriptions given, students learn how to organize different societies according to a system of developmental hierarchy. Moreover, the specific labels attached to each of the four societies transmit the practice of developmental classification.

[FIGURE 1]

Labels for societies based on their level of development are central to the practice of developmental classification. As exemplified in Human Development Reports and the aforementioned 1899 textbook, categorical labels for groups of people construct and reinforce social worlds of distinction in human imagination (Bourdieu 1991; Perlovsky 2009; Pinheiro 2009; Said 1978). Anthropologists Roy D'Andrade (2005) and Naomi Quinn (2005) explain that the repeated, systematic use of specific meaningful and expressive words or phrases—"*cultural keywords*"—can reflect the "cognitive availability" of the cultural model upon which the terms are based (Quinn 2005:42-46; see also Franzosi 2010; Franzosi et al. 2012; Ignatow and Mihalcea 2013; Williams 1976). The use of cultural keywords does not, *a priori,* indicate a positive attitude or belief in the cultural model expressed, but rather knowledge of the public cultural narrative of a hierarchical ordering of societies based on their respective levels of development (Bourdieu 1991:220-225).

In the case of cultural keywords used for developmental classification, most people who use such terms accept them as simply common sense descriptions, but not all do. Some people, including many scholars, use developmental classification keywords in a critical or satirical fashion, mocking the view of the world upon which they are founded (e.g. Esteva 1992; Ferguson 1990; Mbembé 2001; Said 1978). Their use of developmental classification keywords nonetheless signifies their knowledge of the central place developmental hierarchy plays in public cultural narratives, even if they do not agree with it.

A growing number of studies based on survey research examines public perceptions of the hierarchical ordering of societies by their level of perceived development. These studies demonstrate that individuals from diverse regions of the world subjectively rank nations in terms of development in a very similar order as posited by "objective" development indices (Binstock

et al. 2013; Csánóová 2013; Dorius 2016; Lai and Mu 2016; Melegh et al. 2013; 2016; Thornton and Yang 2016; Thornton et al. 2012). Moreover, individuals hold staggeringly similar notions about development processes and characteristics, such as what brings more development and what the consequences of development are (for a recent review, see Thornton et al. 2015; see also Abbasi-Shavazi et al. 2012; Allendorf 2015; Allendorf and Thornton 2015; Dorius 2016; Lai and Thornton 2015; Thornton and Phillipov 2009; Thornton et al. 2012b; 2014; 2015; 2017).[1] Collectively, this scholarship demonstrates the current pervasiveness of cultural models of development throughout the world today, especially the concept of developmental hierarchy. It also leads to questions about the historical prominence of this concept and the subsequent practice of categorizing the world based on a universal standard of development.

THE HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENTAL CLASSIFICATION: EXISTING EVIDENCE

Existing scholarship regarding the history of developmental classification is somewhat uncoordinated. Close readings of the writings of a handful of prominent North American and European thinkers and policymakers, including the likes of John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Frederick LePlay, Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer, Karl Marx, Thomas Malthus, Edward Tylor, Émile Durkheim, and Talcott Parsons, uncovered elements of developmental hierarchy, including the use of particular cultural keywords to categorize societies by their level of development (Abbattista 2011; Adas 1989; Brantlinger 1985; Brick 2012; Burrow 1966; Cooper and Packard 1997; Granovetter 1979; Harris 1968; Heyck 2011; Mandelbaum 1971; Mazlish 2004; Nisbet 1969; 1980; 1986; Rubiés 2011; Stocking 1968; Thomson 2011; Thornton 2001; 2005;

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[1] This pattern is not limited to individual people. Neoinstitutional theories offer a similar assessment of the widespread presence of globally legitimated cultural models at the national level, noting that "the general rubric of 'development'" (Meyer et al. 1997:146) guides patterns of global isomorphism across nation-states and organizations (Alasuutari 2015a; 2015b; Boli and Thomas 1999; Meyer 1989; 2010; Meyer et al. 1987).

Wallerstein 2006). Other close readings of historical archives illustrated how the idea of developmental hierarchy at times motivated how wealthy European and North American countries interacted with the rest of the world, especially during the twentieth century (Aksamit 2014; Brick 2012; Cooper and Packard 1997; Engerman et al. 2003; Latham 2000; Mitchell 2000; Webster 2009). A few studies documented aspects of an imagined developmental spectrum in the way societies have been portrayed and labeled in *National Geographic* magazines and school textbooks primarily from Europe and North America (Asia Society 1976; Barrett 2007; Lutz and Collins 1991; Preiswerk and Perrot 1978).

I piece together these varying strands of research to summarize existing historical knowledge regarding developmental classification in European and North American societies during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. The existing research includes close readings of texts in various European languages, but the majority focused on texts in English. My review of this research leads to testable propositions regarding the general prevalence of developmental classification keywords across historical texts from these societies since the eighteenth century. I note that my review is specifically related to the practice of developmental classification as found in texts. This is related to but certainly distinct from its prevalence across the populations of European and North American societies at large.

The Eighteenth Century

A few contemporary scholars explain that notions of developmental hierarchy were present in the writings of many elites as far back as the Greeks and Romans (Abbattista 2011; Nisbet 1969; Rubiés 2011). Others propose that this they increased in prominence during the eighteenth century, largely in conjunction with the spread of European Enlightenment thought and theories of social evolutionism (Burrow 1966; Crewe and Harrison 1998; Granovetter 1979;

Harris 1968; Mandelbaum 1971; Mazlish 2004; Nisbet 1969; 1980; 1986; Sanderson 1990; Thomson 2011; Thornton 2005).[2] The growing amount of European explorers, colonizers, and Christian missionaries at this time likely helped to spread and reinforce notions of a system of developmental hierarchy; the descriptions of the peoples they met sometimes found their way into books and newspaper articles and informed theories of social evolution at the time (Abbattista 2011; Thomson 2011).[3] For example, they led Adam Smith (1776) to feel comfortably place the European prince at the top of his global developmental hierarchy: "It may be true, perhaps, that the accommodation of an European prince does not always so much exceed that of an industrious and frugal peasant, as the accommodation of the latter exceeds that of many an African king, the absolute master of the lives and liberties of ten thousand naked savages" (p. 117). It is likely that during the eighteenth century a cultural climate in which a hierarchical system based on a universal notion of societal development thrived, along with the practice of labeling societies accordingly. Based on these conclusions from existing literature, it appears that the practice of developmental classification likely was invented long before but became increasingly prevalent during the eighteenth century.

The Nineteenth Century

Contemporary scholars also show that social evolutionary theories continued to predominate in the nineteenth century, at least among some famous thinkers and political elites (Burrow 1966; Mazlish 2004; Nisbet 1980; Sanderson 1990). Blaut (1993) argues that an ethnocentric worldview likely provided both motivation and justification for many Europeans' and

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2 Heyck (2015) explains that during this period, "Europeans began to think of themselves as superior to the rest of the world not just because they were Christian, but because of their Newtonian worldview and rapidly advancing technologies" (p.145; see also Adas 1989).
3 One example of a leading thinker whose views of the other societies likely were influenced by such accounts is Adam Smith. Though never he traveled outside of Europe himself, Smith felt confident enough to state, "All the inland parts of Africa, and all that part of Asia which lies any considerable way north of the Euxine and Caspian seas, the ancient Scythia, the modern Tartary and Siberia, seem, in all ages of the world, to have been in the same barbarous and uncivilized state in which we find them at present" (Smith 2008[1776]:80).

Americans' who engaged in the practices of colonization and slavery during this time. Other contemporary scholars observe that this worldview was spread and reinforced via world fairs, museum exhibits of 'savage peoples,' and novels (Bennett 2004; Brantlinger 1985; Kuklick 1991; Nisbet 1980; Pennycook 2002; Qureshi 2011; 2012; Sturge 2014). Mass media and public presentations helped continually propagate a kind of folk anthropology in which the distinction between 'primitive' and 'civilized' was central (Abbattista 2011).

There were multiple theories of developmental hierarchy in the dominant European and North American societies at this time, which differed in their statements about the mental capacity of various populations. Some theories contended that peoples not of European descent were capable of rising to at least some degree of 'civility' with tutoring, care, and education (Blaut 1993:54-58; Thomson 2011:260-265).[4] Another common view at the time, however, was more definitive in its racial pronouncements: those of European ancestry were deemed more intelligent by nature and no pious educator could change that (Coleman 1975:352; Gossett 1965:244). Regardless of these variations, contemporary scholars note that public debate at the time consistently surrounded the nature, not existence, of hierarchical developmental categories. This implies that the practice of developmental classification continued to be prominent throughout the nineteenth century. There is no general contention that the practice either expanded or redacted in prominence during this time.

The Twentieth Century

Several historians observe that in the beginning of the twentieth century academics such as American anthropologist Franz Boas (1911) began to voice authoritative rejections of the

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4 This view was put forward by many Protestant missionaries, early humanitarians, and abolitionists (Barnett 2011; Coleman 1975; 1985; Dromi 2014; Stamatov 2013), For example, Protestant missionaries who set out to convert the Nez Perce people in the western United States during the nineteenth century were "convinced of the worthlessness of almost every Indian cultural manifestation," though they also were "equally convinced of the capacity of Indians to rise above this entrapping yet anarchic heathenism" (Coleman 1985:140).

scientific evidence used to support the existing ethnocentric theories of social evolutionism

(Brantlinger 1985:187; Gil-Riaño 2014:56-59; Stocking 1968:229).[5] They note that around this

same time debates in the public press over the ethics of museum exhibits of 'uncivilized peoples'

gained attention (Bennett 2004; Kuklick 1991; Sturge 2014). Another important historical factor

that came into play beginning in the 1920s and 1930s were Christianity-based challenges to

evolutionary explanations of the origin of human beings. While most of the activists involved in

this movement were in favor of hierarchical classifications of societies, their concern for

preserving Biblical authority over scientific explanations led them to challenge the use of

evolutionary language, particularly in textbooks used in public education (Larsen 1985; Lienesch

2007; Shapiro 2013).[6] Still, contemporary scholars note that hierarchical views continued to

abound, as evidenced by public support for sterilization campaigns, eugenics, and Jim Crow

laws. The existing literature therefore implies that the practice of developmental classification

declined in prevalence during the first half of the twentieth century, but that the core notion of

ordering societies along a single developmental continuum remained fully in place.

Historians observe that at the close of World War II, the axis of international relations began its

transition from an era of European domination to a new era of American leadership (Akmasit

2014; Barnett 2011; Saldaña-Portillo 2003). Developmental hierarchy and classification, revised

and rebranded, featured prominently in this vision. Contemporary scholars often point to the

inaugural speech of United States' President Harry Truman in 1949, when he referred to

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5 Critics like Boas relied upon then-common developmental keywords, but often did so in an ironic manner to demonstrate the ethnocentric and ahistorical meaning of the terms.

6 Historian Michael Lienesch (2007) notes that in Texas, for example, "state education officials used the state's formidable purchasing power to arrange contracts with national publishers Henry Holt, Macmillan, and others that required changes and deletions in their science textbooks" (p. 177). Other textbook publishers around the country followed suit, with some publishing one version covering evolution and another omitting it (Lienesch 2007). Beyond American textbooks, similar changes were made in other documents, forums, and public statements in the United States and other English-speaking countries in response to the efforts of activists against evolution (Lienesch 2012; Shapiro 2013).

'underdeveloped areas' of the world as worthy of the United States' help, as a pivotal event in the reemergence of developmental classification language (Barnett 2011; Crewe and Harrison 1998; Easterly 2014; Escobar 1995; Esteva 1992; Gardner and Lewis 1996; Halle 1964; Horesh 1985; Knöbl 2003; Nisbet 1969; Paterson 1972; Rist 1997; Saldaña-Portillo 2003; Staples 2006; Williams 1976). They contend that Truman's rhetoric paved the way for new public policies based on the notion of equal capacity between those of European descent and non-Europeans to achieve 'development' provided the necessary means and taught requisite skills. The growth of international development programming laid the groundwork for an increase in revised practices of developmental classification, with new labels grounded in this view of equal capacity at least in principle (Arndt 1987; Boli and Thomas 1999; Cooper and Packard 1997; Meyer et al. 1997; Thornton et al. 2015).

Contemporary scholars also show how some texts printed for public consumption during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s featured developmental logic. Lutz and Collins (1993) analyzed the text and images of hundreds of *National Geographic* magazines, noting that, "although the magazine focuses on exotic differences, at many points there appear to be only two worlds – the traditional and the modern; the world before 'the West' and its technological and social progress came to 'the Rest' and the world after" (p. 110-111). A study conducted by the Asia Society (1976) evaluated the portrayal of Asian societies in over 300 American textbooks published between 1974 and 1975, and revealed widespread patterns of ethnocentrism (see also Preiswerk and Perrot 1978).[7]

In addition to such portrayals of a dichotomized world of 'developed' and 'developing' regions across magazines and textbooks, there were many public events in the second half of the

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7 As Pennycook (2002) notes in his summary of the study, "a predominant view was one that sees progress and modernization as a Western prerogative (the texts contained numerable terms such as 'underdeveloped,' 'backward,' 'primitive,' 'tradition-bound,' and so on), a linear progression from primitive conditions to televisions and toasters" (p. 182).

twentieth century that have reaffirmed this notion. Fundraising campaigns like George Harrison's *Concert for Bangladesh* in 1971 and the *Live Aid* music concerts in 1985 brought images and stories of 'underdeveloped societies' desperately in need of foreign assistance to the forefront of public attention (Richey and Ponte 2011). All of this existing historical evidence leads to the general expectation that the practice of developmental classification expanded as the global development field grew during the second half of the twentieth century.

The Use of Distinct Developmental Classification Keywords

Basing their assertions on their close readings of historical texts, many contemporary scholars posit that there have been two important yet distinct sets of developmental classification keywords: those that were in existence before World War II but then fell out of favor, and those that arose shortly thereafter (Crewe and Harrison 1998:30; Easterly 2014:14; Nisbet 1969:205; Williams 1976:103-104; see also Escobar 1995; Gardner and Lewis 1996; Horesh 1985; Knöbl 2003; Rist 1997). For example, Thornton (2005:244-245) observes, "the pejorative nature of such terms as uncivilized, savage, barbarous, rude, unpolished, and backward has been recognized, and they have largely disappeared from both ordinary and scholarly discourse," replaced by terms such as "less developed, developing, least developed, and newly developed."

Still, several scholars concur that "hierarchical connotations persist" (Crewe and Harrison 1998:30) across both the old and new developmental terminology, despite the alleged changes in meaning (see also Nisbet 1969:205). Thornton (2005:245) also notes that during times of international conflict older terms often reappear in public discourse. Thus, existing historical literature proposes two possibilities: (1) a new set of developmental classification keywords replaced pre-existing set of such keywords following World War II, or (2) that the older terms

continued to be used throughout the duration of the twentieth century, albeit at gradually much lower levels.

To summarize, people around the world today are aware of and comfortable ranking nations along a universal standard of societal development. Existing historical scholarship offers some insights into the idea of developmental hierarchy and the subsequent practice of developmental classification across European and North American societies in prior epochs. This literature indicates that developmental hierarchy ideas and subsequent classification practices are longstanding but increased in importance during the eighteenth century, remained prominent during the nineteenth century, declined during the first half of the twentieth century, and then increased again during the second half of the twentieth century after a linguistic makeover that accommodated new rhetoric posited as more egalitarian and inclusive. These generalizations about the history of developmental hierarchy and classification stem from scholars' in-depth close readings of a relatively small number of historical texts. Accordingly, I now turn my attention to how I can test these propositions across a large body of historical texts of various types, spanning a far broader array than the writings of famous thinkers and policymakers analyzed in existing scholarship.

DATA AND ANALYTICAL METHODS

Google Books and Public Culture

To capture the use of developmental classification keywords across the widest breadth of historical texts written in the English language, I rely on the books published in the English language contained in the Google Books corpus. Forty public and university libraries, including eight located in Europe, one in Japan, and the rest in the United States, agreed to allow Google to

scan portions of their book collections. A full list of these libraries, and descriptions of the

content they agreed to have digitized, is available in the Appendix, Table A1. The compiled data

are far more voluminous than that of any other historical corpora and comprise over 8 million

books, the vast majority of which are in English (Lin et al. 2012). Furthermore, the corpus

includes books from an enormous range of subjects, including medicine, popular culture, history,

travel, art, fantasy, and politics.

A collaborative team of scholars and Google researchers created an analytical database of

the words contained across all texts within the Google Books corpus, which is known as the

Google Ngram database (Michel et al. 2011). "Ngram" stands for the number of unique words

included in a particular search query (e.g. 'savages' is a 1-gram and 'developing countries' is a 2-

gram). The data are comprised of annual counts for the appearances of all possible words within

the millions of books that comprise the Google Books search engine. I utilize version 2.0 of the

data for the years 1700-2000, during which period there are about 351 billion word appearances.

The creators of the Google Ngram database argue that the breadth and scope of the

Google Books corpus allow the data to serve as a "lens on human culture" (Aiden and Michel

2013). They go on to claim that, "exploring a large collection of books can be thought of as

surveying a large number of people, many of whom happen to be dead" (Aiden and Michel

2013:18). Many other scholars using these data generally espouse this claim (e.g. Greenfield

2013; Kesebir and Kesebir 2013; Twenge et al. 2012). Though the vast breadth and depth of the

Google Books corpus captures literatures relevant to myriad social classes, professions, religions,

etcetera, equating it to a survey (which implies equal representation) overlooks common factors

of inequality such as race, education, class, and gender, which influence who exactly can be

arguably represented in historical text-based data such as the Google Books corpus (Pechenick,

Danforth, and Dodds 2015; Schmidt 2012a; 2012b). Authoring and publishing a book is easier

for those who have literary connections, higher literacy skills, and ample time not spent on other

economic or social ventures; similarly, gaining access to a book and reading it often requires the

ability to pay the purchase price, not to mention the ability to read. Wealthy, upper class,

educated males of European descent historically have been more likely to write books as well as

to consume them (Bourdieu 1991; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990/1977; Darnton 1982). The

further back in history one goes the greater the gaps in access, consumption, and production

likely become.

Historical literacy rates speak to this point. The percentage of male citizens in England,

Scotland, and the United States who were literate increased from about 10 percent in 1500 to at

least 90 percent by 1900 (Craig 1981:170; Houston 1985:56-58, 84, 104-105; Kaestle 1988:19-

25; Lockridge 1975; Main 2001; Stephens 1990:555).[8] According to available estimates, female

literacy in most of these countries lagged behind until reaching comparing levels with male

literacy at some point during the nineteenth century. Estimates of the literacy rates for those

denied citizenship, including many ethnic and racial minorities, are limited. In the United States

the literacy rate for "non-whites" was just over 20 percent in 1870 and increased to about 93

percent by 1952 (Folger and Nam 1967:114-116).

In a very real way, then, the millions of texts contained in the Google Books corpus represent the

public culture of their times, with all the associated social inequalities and historical power

dynamics (Pechenick et al. 2015; Schmidt 2012a; see also Ellegård 1958). The Google Ngram

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8 There is some debate over literacy rates in the United States during the nineteenth century (Kaestle 1988:19-25; Lockridge 1975; Main 2001). Finke and McClure (2015:14) also note that, "as late as 1870, when the Department of Education offers their first statistical report, only two percent were high school graduates (Bureau of the Census 1975), and 20 percent of the population was estimated to be illiterate, compared to 0.6% in 1979" (see also Carter et al. 2015). Literacy rates across Ireland reached comparable levels shortly thereafter (Houston 2001; Mokyr 2006/1983:184), and likely did so as well among people of European descent living in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, though data for these countries are sparser (Curtis 1990; Williams 1935).

database therefore is useful for capturing the prominence of public cultural practices—including categorizing the world into developmental groupings—in societies that have been historically predominantly English-speaking.

Constructing an Index of Developmental Keywords

The existing scholarship reviewed above regarding the history on the practice of developmental classification identifies 43 initial cultural keywords that have been used to categorize societies by their development status. These terms are listed in Table 1. The source for each identified term within the existing literature is listed in Table A1 in the Appendix.

Many of the terms have multiple meanings, only some of which connote the idea of developmental classification. To sort out such instances, I rely on the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Kay et al. 2009; Oxford 2015) and the Wildcard Tool associated with the Google Ngram database (Lin et al. 2012). Ultimately, these resources extend my initial list of 43 terms to a final index of 115 developmental classification keywords, as shown in Table 1. I summarize this process below.

[TABLE 1]

The *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (2015) "is the first comprehensive historical thesaurus ever produced for any language." The following is included in all entries: a list of definitions and when they were in use, a list of synonyms for each of the different definitions, and a word family report for each definition (Kay et al. 2009; Oxford 2015). This information is summarized from the many editions of the *Oxford English Dictionary* since its first edition, as well as additional historical linguistic research.

In the *Historical Thesaurus* entries for the 43 initial developmental classification keywords identified in prior literature, six have multiple definitions that are simply too

convoluted to decipher when they likely reflect the idea of developmental classification and

when they do not. I exclude these six terms from my measures and they are crossed out in Table

1. Six additional terms have complicated sets of definitions in the *Historical Thesaurus* in which

they often evoke developmental classification, but not always. These six terms are marked with a

double asterisk in Table 1. I turn to the Wildcard Tool to adjudicate when these six connote the

idea of developmental classification.

The purpose of the Wildcard Tool is to allow researchers to identify the top ten words that

are most likely to precede or to follow any specified term during a given time period across all

texts contained in the Google Books corpus (Lin et al. 2012). Often knowing the word that

precedes or follows one of the specified terms makes it much easier to tell when the term

signifies the notion of developmental classification and when it does not. For example, in the

case of the term 'brute,' I use the Wildcard Tool to generate the top ten words likely to precede

'brute' and the top ten words likely to follow it during the 30 decades between 1700 and 2000. I

do the same for the capitalized 'Brute,' and for their plural equivalents 'brutes' and 'Brutes,'

thereby generating a total of 2,400 two-word phrases that begin or end with 'brute' or its other

forms. I then evaluate whether each of these 2,400 phrases is indicative of the notion of

developmental classification, using the *Historical Thesaurus* as well as other Encyclopedias

when necessary. Having identified the two-word phrases that do not convey the idea of

developmental classification, I exclude the total counts of these phrases from my total count

measures for 'brute.' This process, as visualized in Table 2, is repeated for the other five marked

terms.[9]

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9 In addition to 'brute,' I use the Wildcard Tool as described with the term 'savage,' as it often appears in different
contexts such as a person's last name. For instance, the Wildcard Tool shows that the phrase 'Savage Landor'avage
Landorto 'brute,' I use tth and early twentieth century. The term is usually a reference to a famous British poet,
Walter Savage Landor, or to his grandson Arnold Henry Savage Landor, who was a famous British painter, writer,
and explorer. Since these references are not indicative of developmental classification, I specifically exclude any
instance of 'Savage Landor'avage Landor term. I exclude many other terms for similar reasons from my measures

[TABLE 2]

When using the Wildcard Tool for other terms in my original list of keywords, it also becomes apparent that some are most likely to function as developmental classification keywords primarily when they are followed by one of five important nouns: 'nation,' 'country,' 'society,' 'people,' or 'world.' This observation is confirmed by word reports in the *Historical Thesaurus*. For instance, consider the term 'underdeveloped.' A reference to "the underdeveloped countries of the world" conveys the concept of classifying societies across a universal standard of development, but a reference to "the underdeveloped idea of a first-year graduate student" does not. 21 of the initial 43 developmental keywords identified by previous scholars are terms that generally reflect developmental classification when followed by some or all of the five nouns listed, but not otherwise.[10]

I also consider the singular, plural, capitalized, and minuscule forms that individual keywords can have, an issue that other researchers have often overlooked when using these data. For example, with the phrase 'developing country,' I include eight versions of this term in my measures: 'developing country,' 'developing countries,' 'Developing country,' 'Developing countries,' 'developing Country,' 'developing Countries,' 'Developing Country,' and 'Developing Countries.' I do the same for the all of the terms in my list of developmental classification

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through the use of the Wildcard Tool. The Wildcard Tool is also useful for the terms 'First World,' 'Second World,' 'Third World,' and 'Fourth World.' In some cases, these terms appear as references to an international event held every so many years, such as the 'Second World Wildlife Day' or the 'Fourth World Conference of Women's Shelters,' so I exclude such appearances from my measures. Since the terms 'First World' and 'Second World' were not used as classificatory labels for the world until after World War II, I utilize the Wildcard Tool only for the decades following 1945 when evaluating which phrases to exclude from my measures of these two terms. For the terms 'Third World' and 'Fourth World,' I use the Wildcard Tool only for the decades following 1952 and 1970 because there is good documentation that the labels were not in use before these years (Wolf-Phillips 1979; 1987; Manuel and Posluns 1974).

10 Among these 21 terms, however, some function as developmental classification keywords when followed by only some of the five nouns listed. For example, 'rude nation,' 'rude country,' and 'rude society' convey the notion of developmental classification (Nisbet 1969; Thornton 2005), but 'rude people' and 'rude world' in many cases do not.

keywords. I also include in my measures alternative spelling (e.g. 'civilised' and 'civilized'), popular misspelling or common book scanning errors (e.g. 'sauages' for 'savages,' and 'fociety' for 'society'), and hyphenated versions of various terms (e.g. 'less-developed nations'). Of the 115 developmental classification keywords in my index, 57 include measures in at least one of these alternative forms. These 57 terms are marked with a single asterisk in Table 1.

Through these steps, I ensure that the appearances of the 115 keywords that I include in my measures are closely aligned to the idea of developmental classification. This index of developmental classification keywords is useful for testing the propositions of the existing literature regarding the prevalence of developmental classification historically.

Three sub-indices of terms emerge from the data based on their temporal trends in use. I also conducted cluster analyses (not shown) that separated the terms into three nearly identical sub-indices. The first sub-index includes 34 terms that were used often during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, but then started to decline in use by at least the 1920s. The second sub-index consists of 37 terms that may or may not have been commonly used during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but that were used at consistent or increasing rates during the first half of the twentieth century and at least into the 1960s before beginning to decline. The third sub-index is made up of 41 terms as those that emerged in the second half of the twentieth century. I separate developmental keywords into these three sub-indices of terms in order to examine the unique attributes and distinct historical trajectories of each sub-index and thereby test hypotheses six and seven.

Quantitative Measures of Developmental Keyword Usage

To measure the historical use of developmental keywords, I use two primary measures: counts and relative frequencies. A count measure of the total appearances of developmental keywords across the entire Google Books corpus, as well as counts of the total number of appearances during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries separately, provide useful descriptive statistics regarding the overall use of developmental keywords.

To provide some context regarding whether the total count measures of developmental keywords are high or low, I compare the results to total count measures of the terms 'Africa' and 'Asia.' I use these two terms as comparisons because they are common names for two large regions of the world that people from Anglophone societies often refer to using developmental keywords.[11] For further comparisons, I also compare the total counts of a series of specific developmental keywords with the terms 'African nation,' 'African country,' 'African society,' 'African people,' and their various capitalized, lowercase, singular, and plural forms, and with the same terms but with 'Asian' and 'Asiatic' substituted for 'African.' These comparisons provide reference points by which to judge the magnitude of the historical prevalence of developmental keywords.

Count measures alone, however, are insufficient because the total number of books—and hence, words—contained in the corpus increases over time. Following previous research (Michel et al. 2011), I employ a relative frequency measure. I divide the total number of appearances of all developmental keywords for each year by the total number of words for that year across the entire corpus. To facilitate interpretation of this relative frequency measure, I normalize it by multiplying the results by one million.

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11 In the total count measures for these two comparative terms, I also take into account their adjective forms – 'African' and 'Asian,' the plural forms of these adjectives, as well as the capitalized and lowercase versions of all the words mentioned. I include 'Asiatic' and its plural equivalent in my measures for 'Asian' as well, as the synonym was the more common term until the middle of the twentieth century.

$$\frac{\text{Total appearances of all developmental keywords per year}}{\text{Total words in the Google Books corpus per year}} \times 1{,}000{,}000$$

I also utilize normalized relative frequency measures of first wave, bridge, and second wave developmental keywords, separately in order to investigate the different historical pathways of these sets of terms.

Since these data cover long periods of time and because my interest is in the overall use and longitudinal trends of developmental keywords, I also calculate smoothed measures of these results. I use a 15-year smoothing measure, comprising seven years before and seven years after the year of measurement. Moreover, I also provide smoothed and unsmoothed relative frequency measures for first wave, bridge, and second wave developmental keywords.

Finally I also calculate the total counts for each of the 115 distinct developmental keywords in my index, which are available in Table A2 of the Appendix. In this paper, I present the relative frequency results for some of the most widely used terms as a means of illustration of general patterns, but I do not discuss the results for each developmental keyword independently.

This process allows me to gain additional leverage on the contextualized meanings of these terms even when full text access is not available or when the corpus employed is large enough that topic modeling strategies are illogical, which previously has been a chronic problem in keyword analyses of digital corpora (Bail 2014:471-472; Lee and Martin 2015:13-20; Popping 2012:88-89).

Of course, the validity of the link between cultural models and cultural keywords depends upon the context in which the cultural keywords are used (Biernacki 2012), but when empirical measures of keywords differentiate between contexts, they are quite useful (Lee and Martin 2015).

FINDINGS: THE HISTORICAL USE OF DEVELOPMENTAL KEYWORDS

Overall Use of Developmental Keywords

Table 3 presents the total number of appearances of developmental keywords across the Google Books corpus and the total numbers of appearances of developmental keywords per century. Total count measures are also shown for four specific developmental keywords. To evaluate whether these total count results are relative large or small, Table 3 also provides comparison counts for 'Africa' and 'Asia,' and for terms that feature 'African' or 'Asian' as descriptive adjectives for 'nation,' 'country,' 'society,' and 'people.' The comparative results are not meant as tests to see whether these terms or developmental keywords were more common historically, but instead as reference points to evaluate the commonality of developmental keywords.

As shown, developmental keywords appeared over 34 million times across books published between 1700 and 2000 that are contained in the Google Books corpus. There were over 47 million references to 'Africa' and just under 23 million references to 'Asia' during this period. Developmental keywords appeared more frequently than references to 'Africa' or 'Asia' in each century except for references to 'Africa' in the twentieth century. The developmental keyword 'modern nation' was more common than the terms 'African nation' or 'Asian nation'

during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whereas during the twentieth century the results for all three of these terms were somewhat similar in number. 'Developing country,' was far more common than 'African country' or 'Asian country' during the twentieth century, and 'backward society' was consistently far less common than 'African society' or 'Asian society.' Finally, 'enlightened people' was much more common than 'African people' or 'Asian people' during the first two centuries in question, but far less common during the twentieth century. From these comparative results, use of developmental keywords historically can be established as quite common, suggesting that across books the idea of developmental classification was very prevalent throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.

[TABLE 3]

Results of the historical prominence of developmental keywords over time are shown in Figure 2. The Y-axis in Figure 2 refers to the number of developmental keywords for one million words from the corpus, and the X-axis ranges from years 1700 to 2000. The thick black line displays the smoothed results for the relative frequency of use for developmental keywords and the thin grey line displays the unsmoothed results. As documented in Figure 2, the use of developmental keywords was common throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, and never fell below an annual rate of 68 developmental keywords per million words in books. These results are strikingly high. When combined with the total count measures shown in Table 3, these results confirm my first hypothesis that developmental keywords have been prevalent since at least 1700.

[FIGURE 2]

Temporal Variation

The temporal results shown in Figure 2 also are illustrative for evaluating my hypotheses regarding temporal fluctuations in the use of developmental keywords. First, the use of developmental keywords remained moderately constant, ranging between 72 and 93 appearances per million words, during the first half of the eighteenth century. The relative frequency of developmental keywords more than doubled between 1750 and 1783, jumping from 85 instances per million words to 191. After 1783, use rapidly declined back down to 135 per million words by the end of the century, which was still a high level. These results provide partial but not full support for my second hypothesis that the use of developmental keywords increased over the course of the eighteenth century. While use did increase, growth was concentrated between the middle of the century and the 1780s. The sharp decline during the final years of the eighteenth century was not expected, but the decline was short lived and levels of use thereafter were quite high.

The increase in the use of developmental keywords during this time period maps onto many of the key events in the European Enlightenment. The European Enlightenment is often associated with the rise of rationality, science, and freedom. This result shows that the developmental classification of societies was also a very important cultural theme during this period, one which often is not emphasized.

Figure 2 shows remarkable consistency during the nineteenth century in the relative frequency of developmental keywords, supporting my third hypothesis. Use of developmental keywords dropped somewhat from 134 to 124 per million words between the beginning of the century and 1815. Then, for the next 55 years there was a very slow, gradual decline down to 112. In the final three decades of the nineteenth century, usage remained virtually unchanged, and the relative frequency of developmental keywords per million words was 110 by 1900. The

consistency of these findings for the nineteenth century are noteworthy given the many social changes and historical events that took place then which may have altered the use of developmental keywords but did not, including the European conquest of Africa, British colonial activity in India, and the rise of the social sciences of anthropology and sociology.

There was a decline in the use of developmental keywords during the first half of the twentieth century. Between 1900 and 1945, the relative frequency of developmental keywords dropped every year save two, ultimately falling from 110 to 68 instances per million words, as presented in Figure 2. This trend confirms my fourth hypothesis. Following World War II, the use of developmental keywords remained at similar levels for about a decade. Then, the use of developmental keywords swiftly increased between the middle of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1980s and reached a rate of 107 developmental keywords per million words, about the same level seen at the turn of the twentieth century. This rise is expected given the rapid expansion of the new field of global development at this time. Interestingly, the average annual rate of increase during this time period was about 1.4%, very close to the rate of increase seen during the second half of the eighteenth century. The rapid rise in developmental keywords between the middle of the 1950s and the 1980s provides some support for my seventh hypothesis that developmental keywords increased during the second half of the twentieth century.

This hypothesis is also challenged by the data shown in Figure 2 for the final two decades of the twentieth century. The use of developmental keywords decreased on average by 1% annually after 1982, and by 2000 the relative frequency fell to 87 appearances per million words. This decline is striking because it is unexpected. The global development field has continued to expand since the 1980s as economies have continued to become more intertwined and world culture has continued to emerge. The results in Table 3 provide one possible indication of why

27

the use of developmental keywords declined in the final years of the twentieth century. The results show that the terms 'Africa' and 'Asia' have become increasingly common in relation to that of developmental keywords; it may be that in recent decades people are increasingly referring to places by their distinct names rather than using universalistic developmental keywords. In other words, as globalization continues, people may become increasingly familiar with other regions, countries, and societies around the world, and more likely to refer to them by their names than to use the broad categories of 'developed' and 'developing.' This possible explanation remains empirically untested and highlights a need for additional research.

The Trajectories of First Wave, Second Wave, and Bridge Developmental Keywords

The temporal variation in the use of developmental keywords can be further explored by an analysis of the sub-indices of first wave, bridge, and second wave developmental keywords. Figure 3 displays the relative frequencies for these sub-indices of developmental keywords and compares them to the relative frequency of the large index of all developmental keywords. Figure 4 presents the relative frequency of all first wave developmental keywords as well as the relative frequencies of the three most used first wave developmental keywords. Similarly, Figures 5 and 6 respectively contain the relative frequencies of second wave and bridge developmental keywords and the top three developmental keywords for each group. The scaling of the Y-axis for Figures 3-6 varies in order to better portray the longitudinal trends of each specific set of developmental keywords.

<div align="center">***[FIGURE 3]***</div>

First Wave Developmental Keywords. As shown in Figure 3, first wave developmental keywords were used at very high rates during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as well into the twentieth century. In fact, the majority of the overall use of developmental

keywords was attributable to the use of first wave terms until 1965. First wave terms declined consistently in use between 1900 and 1980, and after 1980 they remained at a relatively consistent level of use. As seen in Figure 4, the three most common first wave terms, which were 'savage,' 'civilized,' and 'barbarian,' all followed similar pathways to the overall sub-index of first wave developmental keywords.

[FIGURE 4]

Notably, when the overall use of developmental keywords increased during the second half of the twentieth century, first wave terms did not similarly rise. First wave terms did not disappear altogether either; by 2000 they were still twice as prevalent as bridge terms and accounted for nearly a third of all appearances of developmental keywords. These results provide general support for my sixth hypothesis regarding the declining yet continual use of first wave developmental keywords during the twentieth century.

Second Wave Developmental Keywords. As expected in my seventh hypothesis, second wave developmental keywords went from nearly no use during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and first half of the twentieth centuries, to high levels of use during the second half of the twentieth century. In 1971, second wave terms surpassed first wave terms as the most popular of the three sub-indices of developmental keywords and remained so until the end of the time period measured, as displayed in Figure 3. However, the use of second wave developmental keywords unexpectedly declined after 1985, falling from a relative frequency of 63 appearances per million words to 45 by the end of the twentieth century. The three most common second wave developmental keywords—'developing country,' 'third world,' and 'developed country'—also saw similar temporal trends in use, as documented in Figure 5. This decline is consistent with the results in Figure 2.

[FIGURE 5]

Bridge Developmental Keywords. Figure 3 also shows that bridge developmental keywords were used as far back as 1700, but that they constituted a very small percentage of the overall use of developmental keywords. Even with a gradually increasing relative frequency during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, bridge terms only accounted for 2.84% of all developmental keyword use in 1800 and 6.62% in 1900. As shown more clearly in Figure 6, bridge terms continued to rise well into the twentieth century, hitting their all-time high of about 20 instances per million words in 1969. In the final three centuries of the twentieth century, they then experienced a subtle decline. The three most prevalent bridge terms, which were 'western world,' 'modern society,' and 'western country,' mostly followed these same general patterns of use as the sub-index of bridge terms.

[FIGURE 6]

The rise in the use of bridge developmental keywords during the first half of the twentieth century provides some support for my eighth hypothesis that the use of bridge terms grew during this period. Nevertheless, these results are not particularly strong because the increase was mild and the use of bridge terms paled in comparison to that of first wave terms. Additionally, the waning use of bridge terms during the final three decades of the twentieth century was unexpected, though this may be for similar reasons as the decline in second wave developmental keywords beginning in the middle of the 1980s.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Today, the quantification of nations' development is a standard practice among policymakers and academics (Alasuutari and Qadir 2016; Berten and Leisering 2017; Cooley and Synder 2015;

30

Davis et al. 2012; Honig and Weaver 2017; Kelley 2017; Kelley and Simmons 2015; Merry

2016; Merry et al. 2015; Mügge 2016; Nielson 2011).

Krippner: Gamsons (1995) queer dilemma. Social movement activists are forced to mobilized under the very categories they are lobbying against.

Monk: State thinking - bourdieus idea about us inheriting state categories derived from political thinking as universal time static classification.

Previous scholarship on the historical origins and diffusion of DI primarily studied the

extent to which a small number of famous thinkers and policymakers within Western societies

relied on developmental models of and for the world (e.g. Connell 1997; Granovetter 1979;

Harris 1968; Mandelbaum 1971; Thornton 2001; 2005). This study adds to this work by

examining the extent to which cultural keywords used to classify societies into developmental

categories have been used across millions of books published in the English language during the

past three centuries.

Findings show a high level of prevalence of developmental keywords across books as far

back as 1700, implying that the classification of societies by their perceived development status,

a key part of the cultural model of DI, was widely disseminated and an integral part of public

culture in many Western societies for centuries. These analyses also find that some of the

longitudinal fluctuation in developmental keyword usage mirrors the timing of many known

historical events and trends related to the notion of developmental classification. The increases in

developmental keyword usage during the second halves of the eighteenth and the twentieth

centuries align well with scholars' observations about, respectively, the influence of the

European Enlightenment and the rise of the global development field (Abbattista 2011; Adas

1989; Barnett 2011; Heyck 2011; Thomson 2011; Thornton 2001; 2005). Furthermore, the

decline in first wave developmental keywords during the first half of the twentieth century, the subsequent rise in the use of second wave developmental keywords, and the use of bridge developmental keywords throughout the centuries examined, also fit much of the historical narrative about the criticism, renovations, and continual persistence of the idea of developmental classification over time (Crewe and Harrison 1998; Easterly 2014; Escobar 1995; Gardner and Lewis 1996; Nisbet 1969; Rist 1997; Thornton 2001; 2005; Williams 1976). Developmental keywords have remained prominent across books in one form or another throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Furthermore, the strong durability of this concept since *at least* 1700 also lends credence to social psychological theories claiming that intergroup bias and social dominance are generally common among any population (e.g. Hewstone, Rubin, and Willis 2002; Sidanius and Pratto 2001).

Developmental idealism may be taken for granted as common sense in today's global culture in part because the notion of a universal system of categorizing societies based on their level of development is so deeply and historically entrenched in Western cultural models of and for the world that have been and continue to be globally promoted and spread. Given the increasing use of English as a lingua franca of the world, rising levels of literacy, and distribution of historical texts worldwide, it also is likely that the idea of developmental classification is continuing to be spread beyond English-speaking Western societies to other non-Western societies via these texts. It is likely that the notion of developmental classification only will become more intensely embedded into the cultures of other, non-Western populations than it already is, not only in the practice of comparing societies to one another but also in the defense of one's own cultural distinctiveness (Mbembé 2002).

The usefulness and appropriateness of such terms has been a matter of public debate many times in history, even today, with the World Bank's recent announcement that it will no longer be using the terms 'developing' and 'developed countries' (Fantom et al. 2016). Today, there seems to be a growing belief among scholars and policymakers that the development of all societies is shared and that a new ordering of societies is needed. In the past few years, prominent leaders in the global development field, such as former World Bank President Robert Zoellick (2009) and philanthropists Melinda and Bill Gates (2014), explicitly called for a new set of terms that recognize the shared nature of global development. Zoellick (2009) said:

> If 1989 saw the end of the "Second World" with Communism's demise, then 2009
> saw the end of what was known as the "Third World": We are now in a new, fast-
> evolving multipolar world economy. …The outdated categorizations of First and
> Third Worlds, donor and supplicant, leader and led, no longer fit. …We cannot
> predict the future with assurance. But we can anticipate directions –and one is that
> the age of a multipolar global economy is coming into view.

A few scholars suggest that these nascent calls for new terminology are responsible for the recent rise in new terms like 'global north' and 'global south,' and that the use of these terms can be acts themselves to promote this shift in developmental logic (Dados and Connell 2012; Gluck and Tsing 2009), though others are less optimistic (Eckl and Weber 2006).[12]

Drawing upon the new methods illustrated in this paper, additional research should evaluate the use of developmental classification keywords in the contemporary era. Such an investigation could compare usage across formal texts like books and newspapers to that of informal, "found" data such as Google search trends and social media websites. Additionally, the tremendous

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12 Notably, a recent the United Nation's Human Development Report (2013) used the term 'the South' in its title, suggesting the institutionalization of the term in international policy circles.

availability of such data today facilitates the application of other text analysis techniques such as structural topic modeling or sentiment analysis, among aothers. Such methods are less easily applied to historical texts or, as in the case of data pre-packaged into n-gram word frequencies like the Google Books database, are not possible.

There is also a need for additional research exploring the use of developmental classification keywords historically and contemporarily across texts written in other European languages, like French or Spanish, as well as across other languages from non-Western cultures, like Mandarin, Arabic, Swahili, or Thai. The Google Books database features corpora in eight other languages, for example. The methods outlined in this paper for more accurately estimating the appearances of developmental classification keywords for the purpose of interest and not other reasons should be appropriately employed. This would require some adaption, such as the incorporation of variations in accent marks in Spanish.

Researchers should also be careful to remember that corpora-based analyses reflect public culture and are not equivalent to historical surveys. Some segments of various populations are over- and under-represented in various corpora. Lyons' (2009; 2013) method of studying the diaries, letters, and personal artifacts of "ordinary people" could serve as a compliment to this corpora-based analyses of the historical prevalence of developmental classification.

Another important avenue for future research that is possible based on the analyses conducted in this paper are examinations of the influence of the historical use of developmental keywords on contemporary public opinion and behavior. Research agendas in this vein could assess empirically the reciprocal relationships between developmental keywords and publics' attitudes, beliefs, and values as found on surveys. Of course, the influence of other types of cultural keywords on individuals' beliefs, values, and actions is also of interest, and the

methodology employed in this paper provides a framework for gathering data on the use of cultural keywords that in turn would enable such inquiries.

Finally, this paper advances historical and cultural sociology methods by demonstrating how researchers can utilize new digital corpora to study long-term cultural change while recognizing the representational inequalities inherent with such data (see also Finke and McClure 2015; Pechenick et al. 2015; Schmidt 2012b). The text analysis techniques I use and the novel strategy I design for using these tools improve on previous corpora-based methods by illustrating one way in which scholars can adjudicate between salient and non-salient contexts of keyword use, an issue that most researchers using these data generally ignore despite the concerns of several sociologists (Bail 2014:471-472; Lee and Martin 2015:13-20; Popping 2012:88-89). Other scholars recently utilized one of the tools I employ, the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*, to design a program that automates the process of distinguishing between different meanings of terms, but their program requires access to the full text of the documents under analysis (Alexander et al. 2015). The strategy I create is useful especially for scholars using corpora in which they cannot access the full text of the documents they are analyzing due to copyright or other restrictions, as is the case with much of the Google Books corpus.

I find that developmental classification keywords have been extremely common in English books since at least 1700, both in terms of number of appearances in comparison to other terms used to distinguish regions of the world and relative to all words in the Google Books corpus. I further uncover substantial temporal variation in the appearances of developmental classification keywords. The most important shifts occurred during three periods: (1) from 1750s

until the 1780s; (2) the first half of the twentieth century; and (3) the 1950s through the 1980s. Factor analysis of all identified keywords reveals three groups with distinct trajectories over time. The first group of keywords is composed of older terms like 'savage peoples' and 'polished societies' and was fairly common throughout the time period measured, even the twentieth century. Keywords from the second group, which include terms like 'First World' and 'less developed countries,' emerged and sharply rose after the 1950s, but then began to decline after the middle of the 1980s. The third group featured keywords that were far less common and most of which first appeared during the twentieth century. Interestingly, there is a temporal symmetry between the observed trends in the use of different groups of developmental classification keywords and the timing of several relevant historical periods, especially the European Enlightenment, the rise and discrediting of social evolutionism, and the birth and current continuation of international development programming. Other temporal trends are not clearly aligned with any historical period or event identified in prior literature.

The vast and continuous use of developmental classification keywords in books during at least the past three centuries illustrates the lasting cultural importance within English-speaking societies of this practice and its undergirding idea of a global developmental hierarchy. This historical observation also helps to explain the contemporary pervasiveness of developmental classification in international policy and academic circles (Alasuutari and Qadir 2016; Berten and Leisering 2017; Cooley and Synder 2015; Davis et al. 2012; Honig and Weaver 2017; Kelley 2017; Kelley and Simmons 2015; Merry 2016; Merry et al. 2015; Mügge 2016; Nielson 2011) as well as the dramatic degree of similarity in publics' perceptions of nations' level of development found in current cross-national survey research (Binstock et al. 2013; Csánóová 2013; Dorius 2016; Dorius et al. 2017; Kiss 2017; Lai and Mu 2016; Melegh et al. 2013; 2016; Thornton et al.

2012). Despite its continuity since the eighteenth century, the practice of developmental classification in books has not been static; its level of prominence and the particular keywords used varied in conjunction with relevant historical time periods. Some of the temporal trends observed are surprising and conflict with scholars previous conjectures, highlighting temporal periods that demand further in-depth historical inquiry.

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Table 1. Selection and Lists of Development Keywords

Note: The six initial developmental keywords that are crossed out are excluded due to convoluted meanings based on their entries in the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*. For all 115 final developmental keywords, the lowercase, capitalized, singular, and plural versions are included in count and relative frequency measures.
* - Alternative spellings and/or hyphenations included in measures.
** - Wildcard tool used to exclude different formulations of term as necessary.

Table 2. Wildcard Tool Example for 'Brute'

Search	Total Combinations	List of Exclusions
Brute *	10 2-grams * 30 decades = 300 2-grams	Brute Beast, Brute Creature, etc.
brute *	300 2-grams	brute force, brute animals, etc.
Brutes *	300 2-grams	Brutes graze, Brutes Albioun, etc.
brutes *	300 2-grams	N/A
* *Brute*	300 2-grams	Simon Brute, Walter Brute, etc.
* *brute*	300 2-grams	to brute
* *Brutes*	300 2-grams	N/A
* *brutes*	300 2-grams	N/A

Table 3. Comparative Total Counts of Developmental Keywords to 'Africa' and 'Asia'

	1700-1799	1800-1899	1900-1999	1700-2000
Developmental Keywords	225,345	5,678,266	27,203,357	34,011,110
Africa	81,071	2,533,792	42,711,991	47,353,555
Asia	62,220	2,039,113	19,518,985	22,716,885
Modern Nation	717	21,758	128,256	157,958
African Nation	206	4,255	109,502	118,508
Asian Nation	260	11,123	131,726	150,625
Developing Country	2	272	3,699,475	3,852,893
African Country	19	964	522,915	546,394
Asian Country	65	4,687	489,512	523,084
Backward Society	0	120	14,162	14,704
African Society	2	1,723	196,456	207,789
Asian Society	63	37,377	213,568	258,848
Enlightened People	399	11,886	25,108	38,092
African People	26	2,541	221,512	232,107
Asian People	17	3,879	91,179	97,866

Figure 1. Page 22 of *Elementary Geography: Designed for Primary and Elementary Classes* (Maury 1899)

They have no books or schools. Those who live in this way are called **barbarous** people.

We will now visit some people who live much better than the Indians and the Arabs. They shall be the people who are going to bed when we are getting up. I mean the Chinese.

Instead of tents they have comfortable houses. They build very large cities, and make beautiful silks and a great many other things which we are glad to buy from them. They have books and schools, and are very industrious. We call people who live like the Chinese, **civilized**.

In the countries of the white race there are more books, better schools and better governments than anywhere else. We have churches, railways, steamers and telegraphs. We build hospitals for the sick, and care for the poor.

People who live as we do are called **enlightened**.

For Recitation.

Name the five races of

In the above picture are shown the four conditions of society, or the ways in which men live. At the bottom we see a family of savages. The father is kindling a fire by rubbing two pieces of

men are the white, or *Caucasian ;* the yellow, or *Mongolian ;* the black, or *Negro ;* the brown, or *Malay ;* the red, or *Indian*.

How do savages live ?

Savages spend their lives in hunting and fishing.

How do barbarous people live ?

Barbarous people live in tents. They keep cattle and sheep. They move from place to place wherever they find grass for their herds.

How do civilized people live ?

Civilized people live better than barbarous people. They build houses and cities, and have books and schools.

How do enlightened people live ?

Enlightened people live better than civilized people. They have railways and telegraphs, churches, schools and colleges.*

LESSON XIX.

THE HEMISPHERES.

To be read by the pupil.

Sometimes the earth

Figure 3. First Wave, Bridge, and Second Wave Developmental Keywords in Books
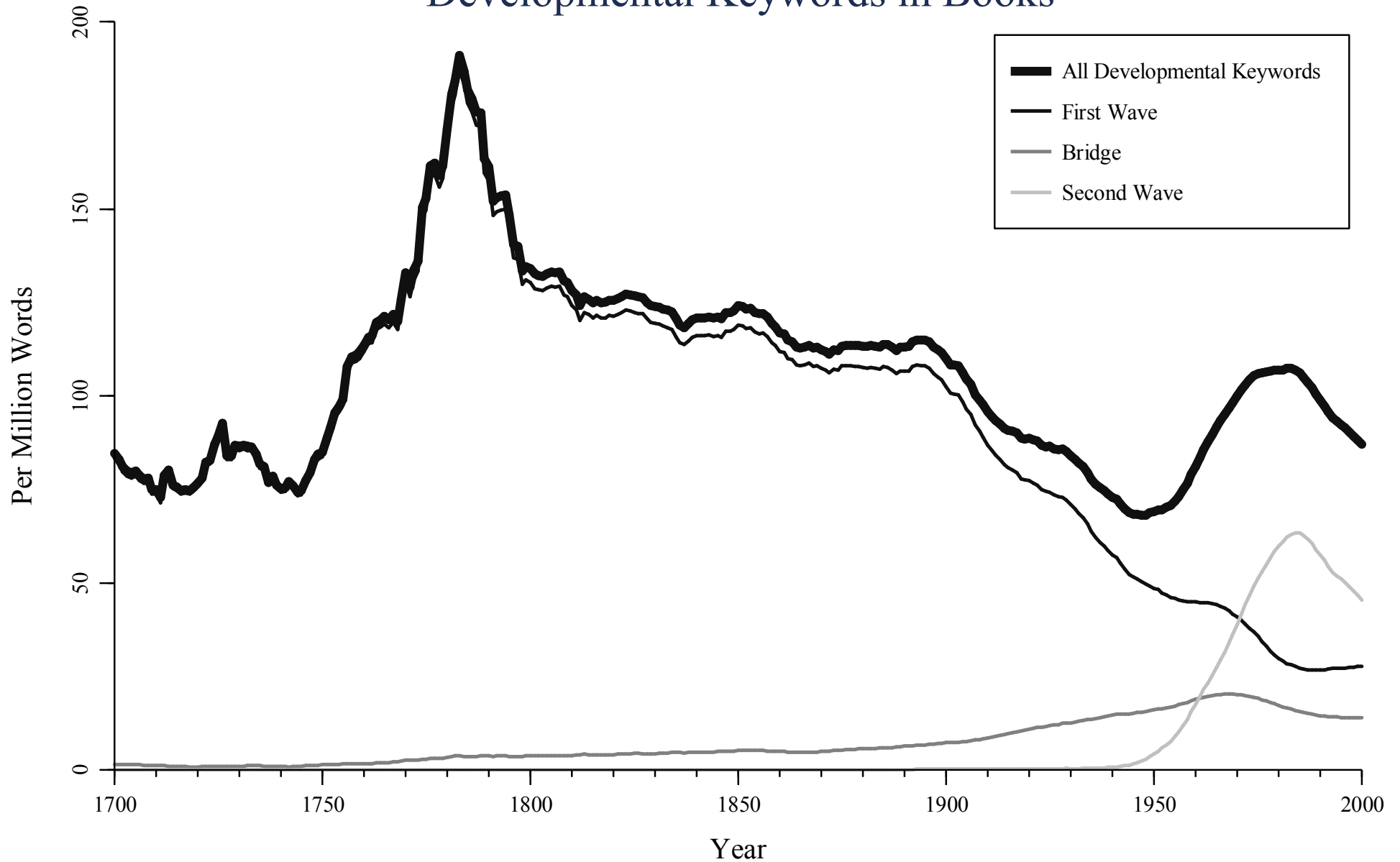
Note: Data come from the English 2012 Google Books Corpus. All displayed results are smoothed over a 15 year period.

Figure 4. First Wave Developmental Keywords in Books
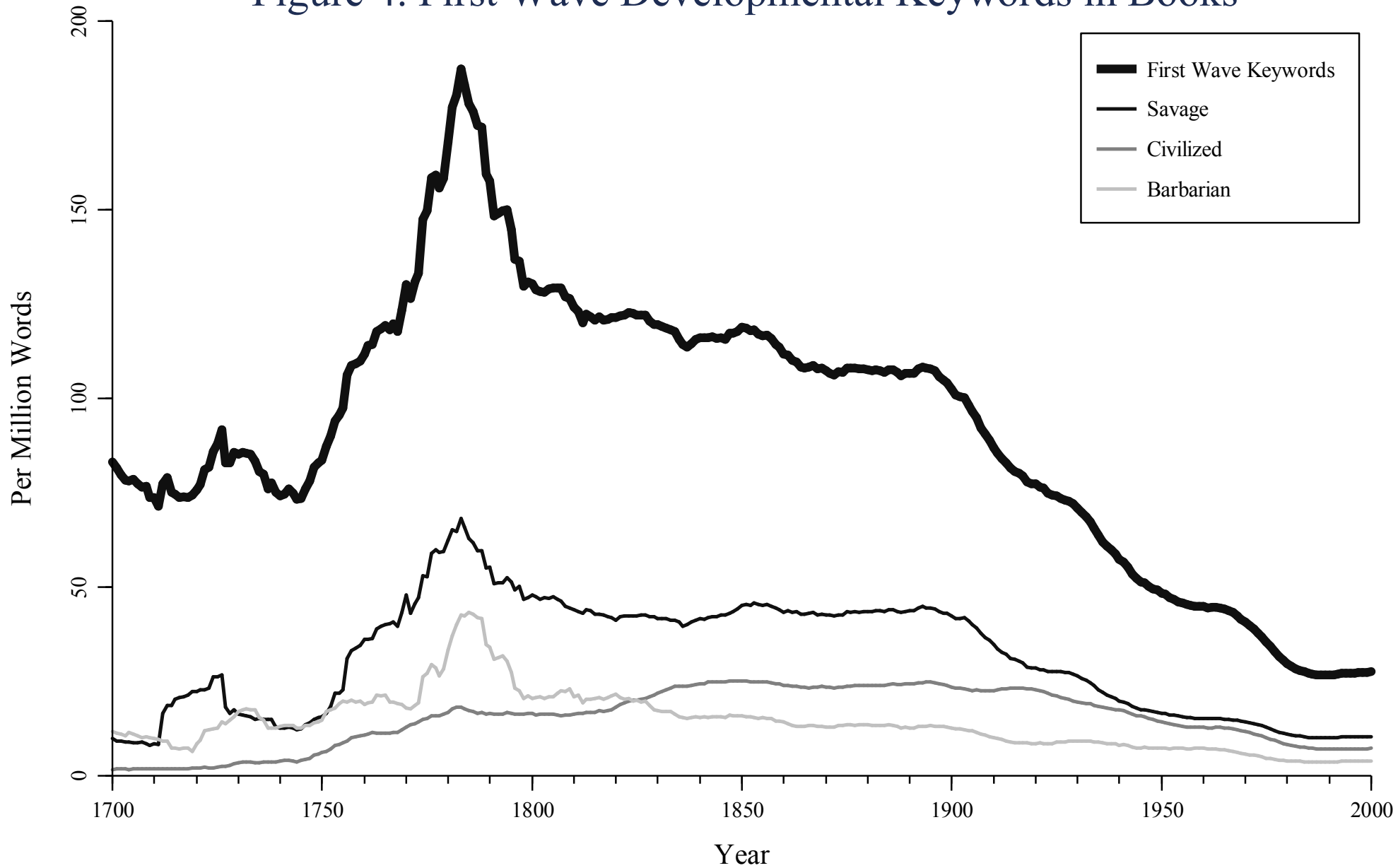
Note: Data come from the English 2012 Google Books Corpus. All displayed results are smoothed over a 15 year period.

Figure 5. Second Wave Developmental Keywords in Books

Note: Data come from the English 2012 Google Books Corpus. All displayed results are smoothed over a 15 year period.

Figure 6. Bridge Developmental Keywords in Books

Note: Data come from the English 2012 Google Books Corpus. All displayed results are smoothed over a 15 year period.

APPENDIX

Table A1. Google Books' Library Partners.

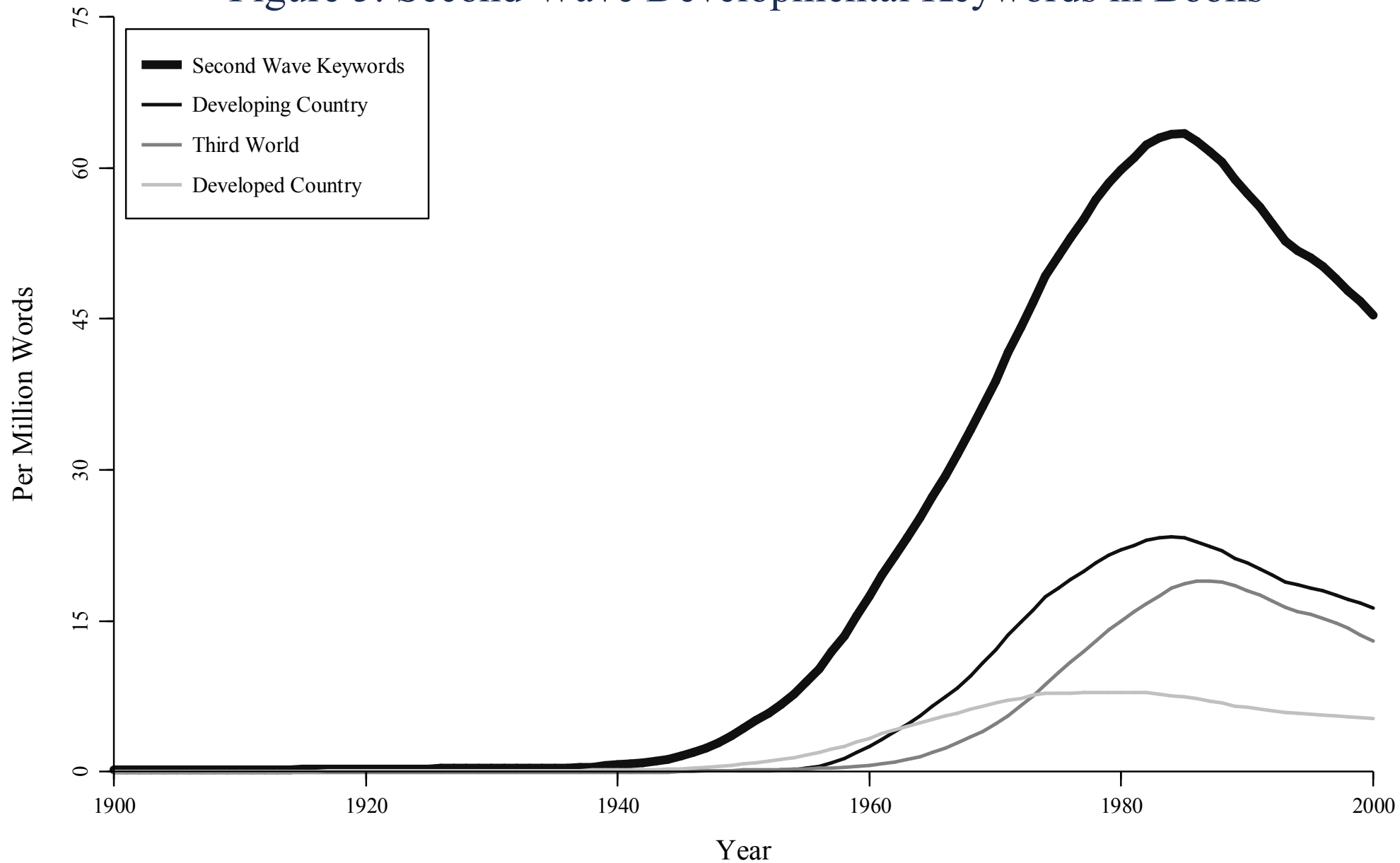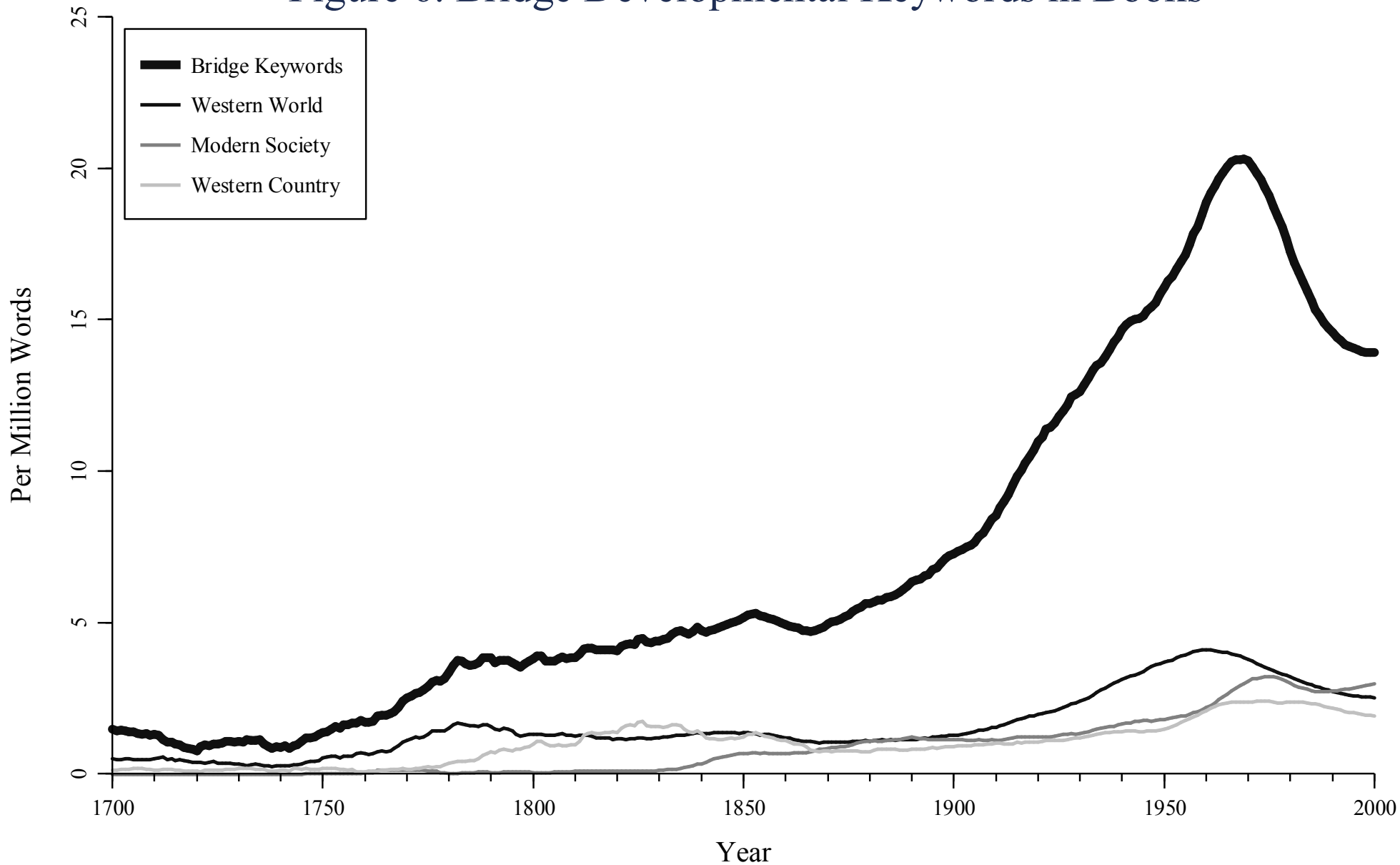| Library	Primary Location	Press Release	Books to be Scanned
Austrian National Library	Vienna, Austria	http://www.onb.ac.at/ev/about/austrianbooksonline.htm	"complete holdings of historical books from the 16th to the second half of the 19th century" "Some 600,000 volumes of public domain works"
Bavarian State Library	Munich, Germany	https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/Mass-Digitisation-within-the-Framework-of-a-Public-Private-P.1842+M57d0acf4f16.0.html	"complete copyright-free historical holdings of printed works within the framework of a public-private partnership" "presumably over one million titles"
Columbia University	New York, NY, USA	http://library.columbia.edu/news/libraries/2007/20071213 google.html http://library.columbia.edu/news/libraries/2007/20071213 googlefaq.print.html	"a large number of Libraries' books" "several hundred thousand public domain volumes"
Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC)*	Champaign, IL, USA	http://www.cic.net/projects/library/book-search/introduction http://www.cic.net/docs/default-source/library/cic-googleagreement.pdf?sfvrsn=0	"most distinctive collections from CIC libraries" "as many as 10 million volumes across all CIC library systems"
Harvard University	Cambridge, MA, USA	http://hul.harvard.edu/hgproject/index.html	"a large number of Harvard's library books" "could bring millions of works to the web"
Cornell University Library	Ithaca, NY, USA	http://www.library.cornell.edu/communications/Google/	"up to 500,000 works from Cornell University Library"
Ghent University Library	Gent, Belgium	http://lib.ugent.be/info/en/project-google.shtml http://lib.ugent.be/files/en/pdf/20090828-persmap-en.pdf	"hundreds and thousands of books" "some 300,000 volumes"
Keio University Library	Various locations in Japan	http://www.keio.ac.jp/en/press releases/2007/pdf/070706e.pdf	"about 120,000 books that are out of copyright"
Lyon Municipal Library	Lyon, France	http://www.redorbit.com/news/technology/1802157/google_to _begin_scanning_french_librarys_classic_books/ I could not locate a press release. This is a news article where the head of the library in 2009 was interviewed.	"500,000 of the library's works"
University of California**	Various locations in CA, USA	http://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/2006/aug09.html http://libraries.universityofcalifornia.edu/groups/files/slasiac/d ocs/mass dig slides.pdf	Nearly the entire collection

The National Library of Catalonia	Barcelona, Spain	I could not locate a press release or a news article, but Google reports this library as one of their partners.	Unknown
The New York Public Library	Various locations in NY, USA	http://catalog.nypl.org/screens/help googlebooks about.html	Items that are "in the public domain (published before 1923) and they are in good enough physical condition to withstand scanning"
Oxford University	Oxford, England	http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks	"initial phase of this work completed in the summer of 2009, with several hundred thousand of our books being scanned"
Princeton University	Princeton, NJ, USA	http://www.princeton.edu/main/news/archive/S16/84/71S02/index.xml	"approximately one million books in Princeton's collection"
Stanford University	Stanford, CA, USA	http://lib.stanford.edu/gb	"over 2 million came from Stanford's stacks"
University Complutense of Madrid	Madrid, Spain	http://biblioteca.ucm.es/atencion/25403.php	"hundreds of thousands of full-text books"
University Library of Lausanne	Lausanne, Switzerland	http://librariancentral.blogspot.com/2007/05/welcome-lausanne-university-library.html	"thousands of public domain works"
University of Virginia	Charlottesville, VA, USA	http://googlepress.blogspot.com/2006/11/university-of-virginia-library-joins 14.html	Unknown
University of Texas at Austin	Austin, TX, USA	http://www.lib.utexas.edu/about/news/google/	"at least one million volumes"
University of Wisconsin-Madison	Madison, WI, USA	http://www.library.wisc.edu/digitization/press.html	"more than 200,000 works have been digitized" between 2006 and 2008.
University of Michigan	Ann Arbor, MI, USA	http://www.lib.umich.edu/michigan-digitization-project http://www.vpcomm.umich.edu/pa/key/google.html	"7 million volumes in about six years"

*This includes the following member universities: University of Chicago, University of Illinois, University of Iowa, University of Maryland, University of Michigan, Michigan State University, University of Minnesota, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Northwestern University, Ohio State University, Pennsylvania State University, Purdue University, Rutgers University, University of Wisconsin-Madison

**This includes books from all ten University of California campuses, including: Berkeley, Davis, Irvine, Los Angeles, Merced, Riverside, San Diego, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and Santa Cruz.

Note: Most of the American libraries digitized all of their content prior to 1922, the year of the copyright law, and then a portion of their texts thereafter. Many other libraries similarly modeled their agreements with Google based on copyright laws within their own countries. A few libraries, including that of the University of Michigan and those of the various campuses of the University of California, agreed to digitize nearly all of their collections. For additional information on the Google Books corpus or the Google Ngram database, see Michel et al. 2011, especially their Supporting Online Material, and the 'About' section of the Google Ngram Viewer website: https://books.google.com/ngrams/info.

Table A2. Descriptive Information for All Developmental Keywords

Developmental Keyword	Inclusion / Exclusion	Historical Thesaurus Entry	1st Wave, Bridge, or 2nd Wave?	Total Count
heathen	No	heathen	N/A	N/A
christian	No	christian	N/A	N/A
savage	Yes	savage	1st	8,424,961
barbarian	Yes	barbarian	1st	3,029,806
barbarous	Yes	barbarous	1st	1,882,333
barbaric	Yes	barbaric	1st	749,985
brute	Yes	brute	1st	1,790,678
brutish nation	Yes	brutish	1st	209
brutish country	Yes	brutish	Bridge	41
brutish society	Yes	brutish	Bridge	74
brutish people	Yes	brutish	1st	1,568
brutish world	No	brutish	N/A	N/A
rude nation	Yes	rude	1st	11,695
rude country	Yes	rude	1st	4,113
rude society	Yes	rude	1st	5,306
rude people	No	rude	N/A	N/A
rude world	No	rude	N/A	N/A
unpolished nation	Yes	unpolished	1st	873
unpolished country	Yes	unpolished	1st	448
unpolished society	Yes	unpolished	1st	113
unpolished people	Yes	unpolished	1st	1,237
unpolished world	Yes	unpolished	1st	109
polished nation	Yes	polished	1st	15,505
polished country	Yes	polished	1st	2,309
polished society	Yes	polished	1st	18,516
polished people	Yes	polished	1st	6,667
polished world	Yes	polished	1st	1,053
uncivilized	Yes	uncivilized	1st	1,074
civilized	Yes	civilized	1st	41,028
western nation	Yes	western	Bridge	30,497
western country	Yes	western	Bridge	127,480
western society	Yes	western	Bridge	428,229
western people	No	western	N/A	N/A
western world	Yes	western	Bridge	5,597,448
non-western nation	Yes	western	2nd	329,103
non-western country	Yes	western	2nd	842,264
non-western society	Yes	western	2nd	586,884
non-western people	No	western	N/A	N/A
non-western world	Yes	western	2nd	1,216,830
eastern	No	eastern	N/A	N/A
unenlightened nation	Yes	unenlightened	1st	6,830
unenlightened country	Yes	unenlightened	1st	21,928
unenlightened society	Yes	unenlightened	Bridge	41,228
unenlightened people	Yes	unenlightened	1st	29,569
unenlightened world	Yes	unenlightened	1st	1,449
enlightened nation	Yes	enlightened	1st	447
enlightened country	Yes	enlightened	1st	455
enlightened society	Yes	enlightened	Bridge	3,625
enlightened people	Yes	enlightened	1st	626

enlightened world	Yes	enlightened	1st	34,052
simple nation	Yes	simple	1st	17,131
simple country	Yes	simple	1st	13,711
simple society	Yes	simple	Bridge	46,375
simple people	Yes	simple	Bridge	9,749
simple world	No	simple	N/A	N/A
traditional nation	Yes	traditional	2nd	5,361
traditional country	Yes	traditional	2nd	16,725
traditional society	Yes	traditional	2nd	314,653
traditional people	Yes	traditional	2nd	21,601
traditional world	Yes	traditional	2nd	25,315
progressive nation	Yes	progressive	1st	18,643
progressive country	Yes	progressive	Bridge	27,053
progressive society	Yes	progressive	Bridge	29,412
progressive people	Yes	progressive	Bridge	35,124
progressive world	Yes	progressive	Bridge	7,901
modern nation	Yes	modern	Bridge	227,837
modern country	Yes	modern	Bridge	44,309
modern society	Yes	modern	Bridge	1,094,767
modern people	Yes	modern	Bridge	75,370
modern world	No	modern	N/A	N/A
primitive nation	Yes	primitive	1st	8,482
primitive country	Yes	primitive	Bridge	12,640
primitive society	Yes	primitive	Bridge	314,701
primitive people	Yes	primitive	Bridge	376,938
primitive world	No	primitive	N/A	N/A
advanced nation	Yes	advanced	Bridge	107,693
advanced country	Yes	advanced	Bridge	375,642
advanced society	Yes	advanced	Bridge	95,101
advanced people	Yes	advanced	Bridge	27,197
advanced world	Yes	advanced	Bridge	10,307
backward nation	Yes	backward	Bridge	22,778
backward country	Yes	backward	Bridge	118,387
backward society	Yes	backward	Bridge	18,368
backward people	Yes	backward	Bridge	55,773
backward world	Yes	backward	Bridge	1,607
undeveloped nation	Yes	undeveloped	Bridge	6,257
undeveloped country	Yes	undeveloped	Bridge	42,129
undeveloped society	Yes	undeveloped	Bridge	3,152
undeveloped people	Yes	undeveloped	Bridge	3,943
undeveloped world	Yes	undeveloped	Bridge	3,943
underdeveloped nation	Yes	underdeveloped	2nd	72,643
underdeveloped country	Yes	underdeveloped	2nd	762,073
underdeveloped society	Yes	underdeveloped	2nd	21,997
underdeveloped people	Yes	underdeveloped	2nd	6,746
underdeveloped world	Yes	underdeveloped	2nd	57,917
non-developed nation	Yes	N/A	2nd	66
non-developed country	Yes	N/A	2nd	485
non-developed society	Yes	N/A	2nd	68
non-developed people	Yes	N/A	2nd	0
non-developed world	Yes	N/A	2nd	141
less-developed nation	Yes	less developed	2nd	12,917
less-developed country	Yes	less developed	2nd	597,576
less-developed society	Yes	less developed	2nd	1,722

less-developed people	Yes	less developed	2nd	0
less-developed world	Yes	less developed	2nd	4,716
least-developed nation	Yes	least developed	2nd	650
least-developed country	Yes	least developed	2nd	19,564
least-developed society	Yes	least developed	2nd	0
least-developed people	Yes	least developed	2nd	0
least-developed world	Yes	least developed	2nd	0
developing nation	Yes	developing	2nd	467,584
developing country	Yes	developing	2nd	5,521,349
developing society	Yes	developing	2nd	88,481
developing people	Yes	developing	2nd	15,852
developing world	Yes	developing	2nd	520,312
developed nation	Yes	developed	2nd	246,591
developed country	Yes	developed	2nd	2,041,839
developed society	Yes	developed	2nd	70,988
developed people	Yes	developed	Bridge	11,912
developed world	Yes	developed	2nd	238,618
first world	Yes	first world	2nd	173,471
second world	Yes	second world	2nd	136,724
third world	Yes	third world	2nd	3,709,973
fourth world	Yes	fourth world	2nd	61,478
northern	No	northern	N/A	N/A
southern	No	southern	N/A	N/A
emerging	No	emerging	N/A	N/A
global south	Yes	N/A	2nd	35,511
global north	Yes	N/A	2nd	11,914

Note: Additional information on how I calculate the total count measures for each term are explained in greater detail in the metadata file of developmental keyword usage I developed for this analysis. The dataset is publically available at: (website to be listed upon acceptance for publication).