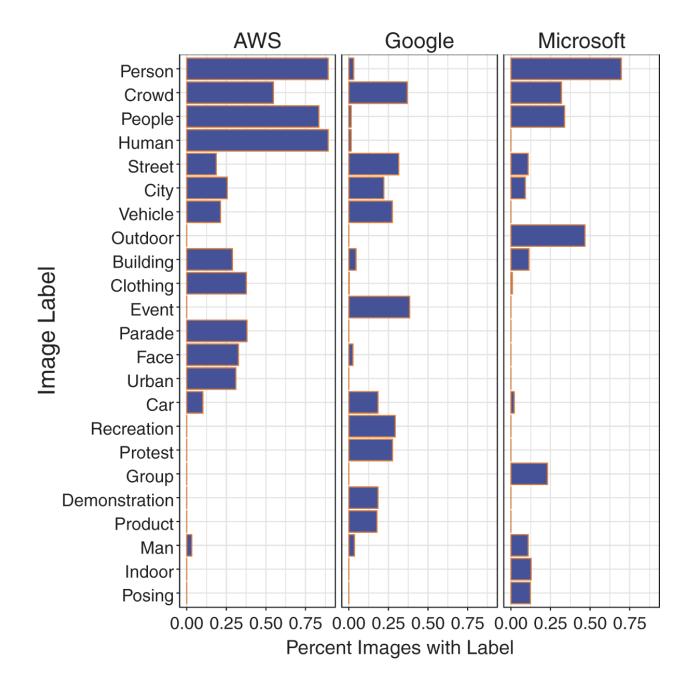
# Being Critical With Al Investigations

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# Structure

- 1. Using image recognition for analysis issues and solutions
- 2. LLMs and values and Marxist LLM



Black live matters images from different commercial image recognition systems.

Webb Williams, N., Casas, A., & Wilkerson, J. D. (2020). *Images as Data for Social Science Research*. Cambridge University Press.





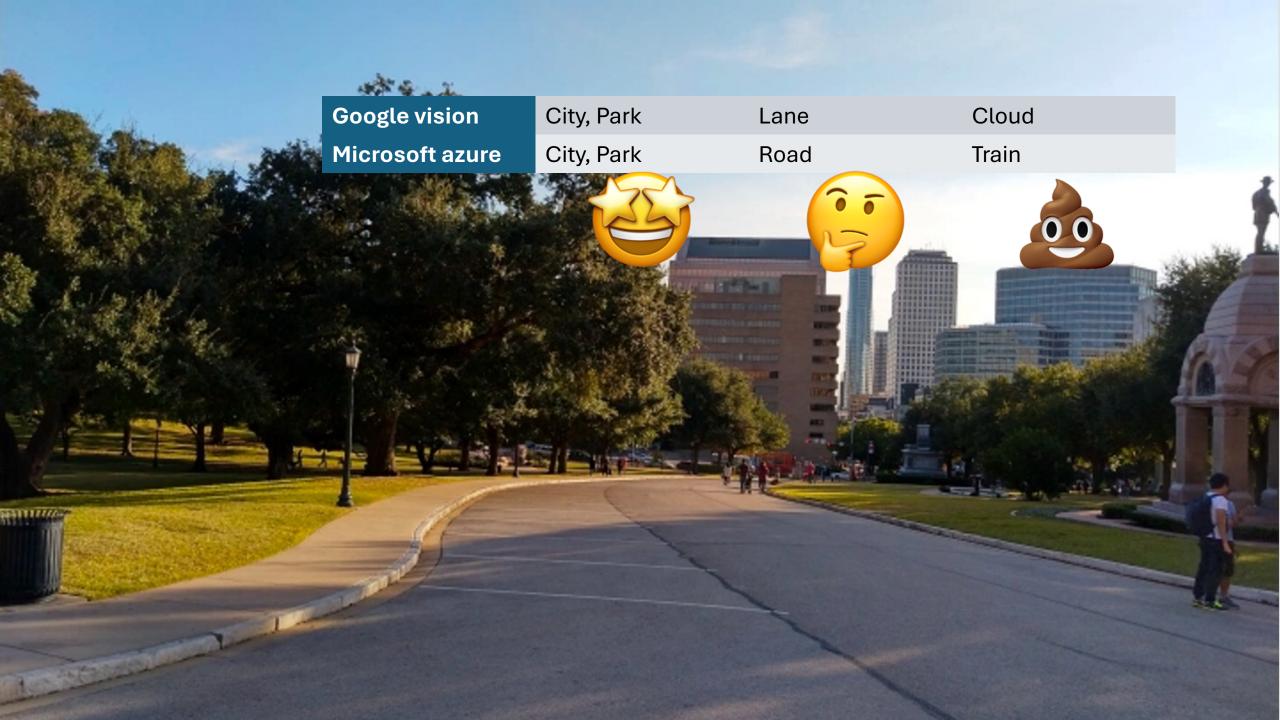


Google Vision Daytime, Sky, City, Public Space, Human Settlement, Road, Residential Area, Urban Area, Asphalt, Metropolitan Area, Tree, Infrastructure, Park, Road Surface, Downtown, Architecture, Neighbourhood, Skyline, Real Estate, Thoroughfare, Building, Suburb, Urban Design, Street, Lane, Walkway, Cloud, Recreation, Plaza, Town Square, Sidewalk,



Google Vision Daytime, Sky, City, Public Space, Human Settlement, Road, Residential Area, Urban Area, Asphalt, Metropolitan Area, Tree, Infrastructure, Park, Road Surface, Downtown, Architecture, Neighbourhood, Skyline, Real Estate, Thoroughfare, Building, Suburb, Urban Design, Street, Lane, Walkway, Cloud, Recreation, Plaza, Town Square, Sidewalk, Nonbuilding Structure.

Microsoft Azure
Outdoor, Road, Street, City,
Grass, Sitting, Empty, Red,
View, Side, Stop, Green,
Traffic, Sign, Track, Yellow,
Park, Tall, Bench, Parked,
Train, Hydrant, Riding, Bus



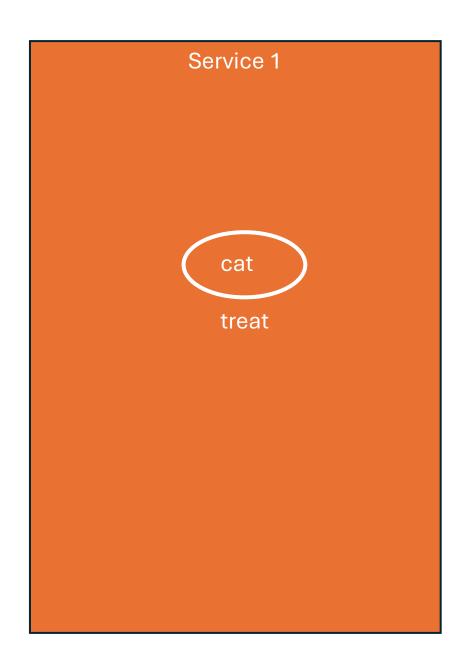
	Azure			Google			AWS		
Corpus	n	$\overline{x}$	$\overline{x_c}$	n	$\overline{x}$	$\overline{x_c}$	n	$\bar{x}$	$\overline{x_c}$
Pentzold et al. (2018)	4384	9.64	0.87	11,817	25.97	0.70	54,513	119.81	0.35
YLE News	139,342	11.43	0.87	369,735	30.33	0.71	1,396,434	114.54	0.36
Reddit: r/aesthetic	4010	9.44	0.84	15,027	35.36	0.72	51,251	120.59	0.36
Political party leaders' most recent	11,744	9.66	0.88	27,720	22.8	0.71	147,101	120.97	0.37
Thelwall et al. (2016)	8099	10.02	0.87	22,427	27.76	0.71	96,998	120.05	0.36
Hokka and Nelimarkka (2020)	77,381	8.24	0.88	207,579	22.11	0.70	1,147,848	122.27	0.35
Reddit: r/memes	6371	7.60	0.89	21,891	26.12	0.71	100,338	119.74	0.35
Political party leaders, pre-election	1996	10.62	0.89	4599	24.46	0.70	22,904	121.83	0.38



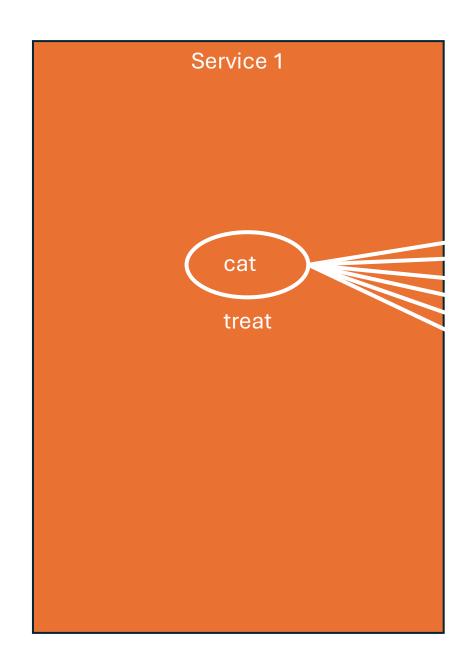
Berg, A., & Nelimarkka, M. (2023). Do you see what I see? Measuring the semantic differences in image-recognition services' outputs. *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*. https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.24827

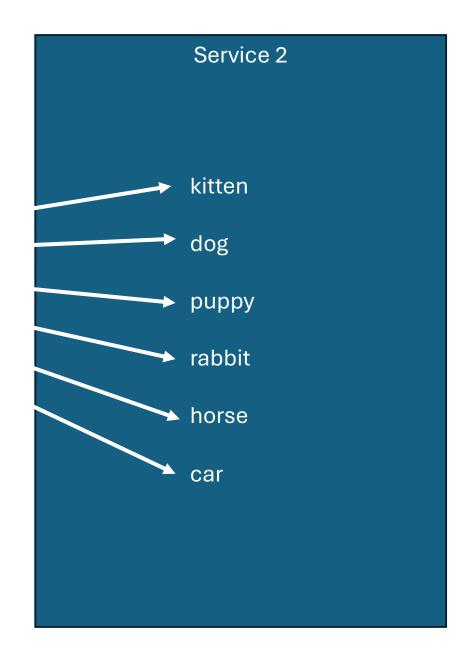
# Service 1 cat treat

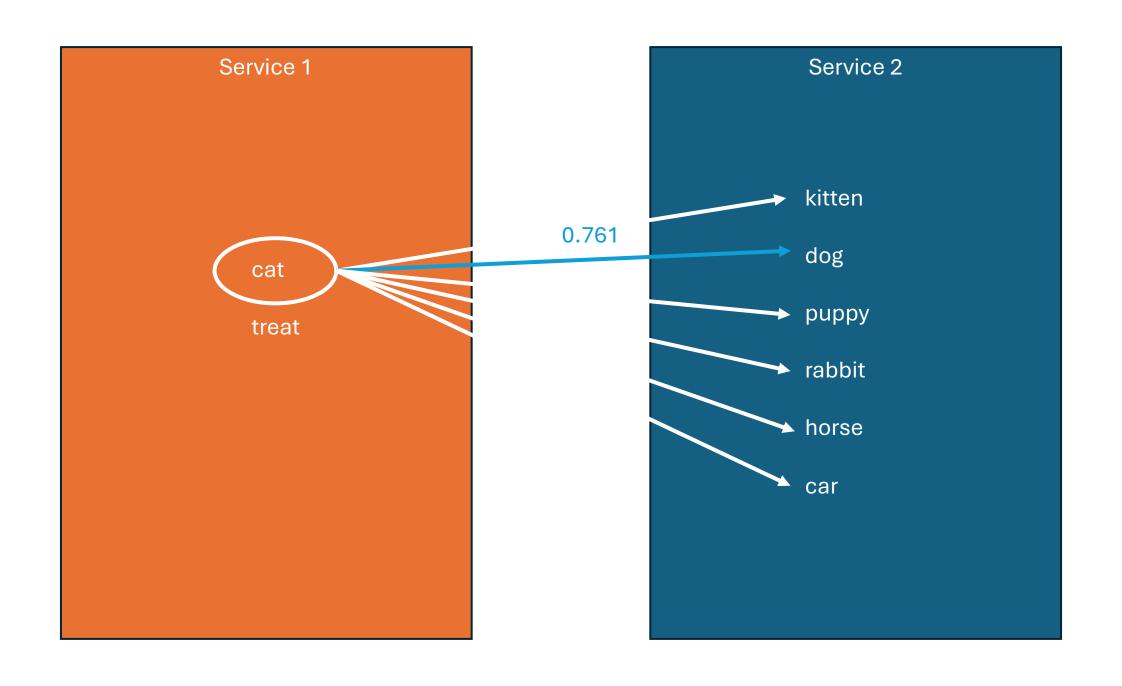
Service 2 kitten dog puppy rabbit horse car

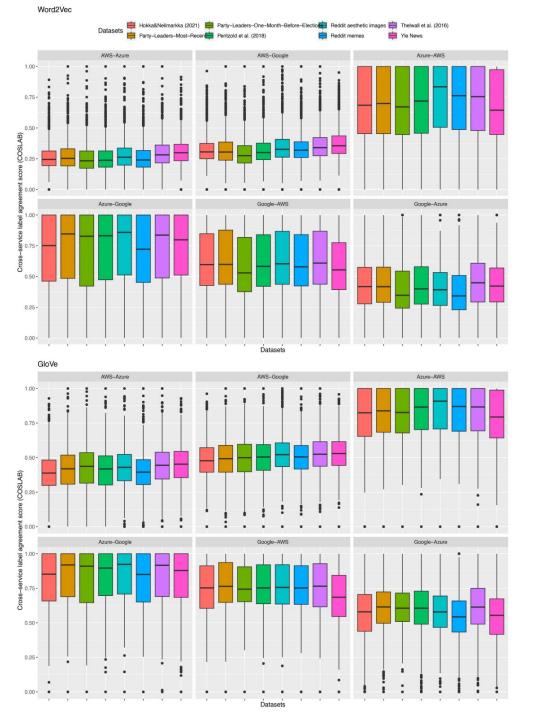


Service 2 kitten dog puppy rabbit horse car



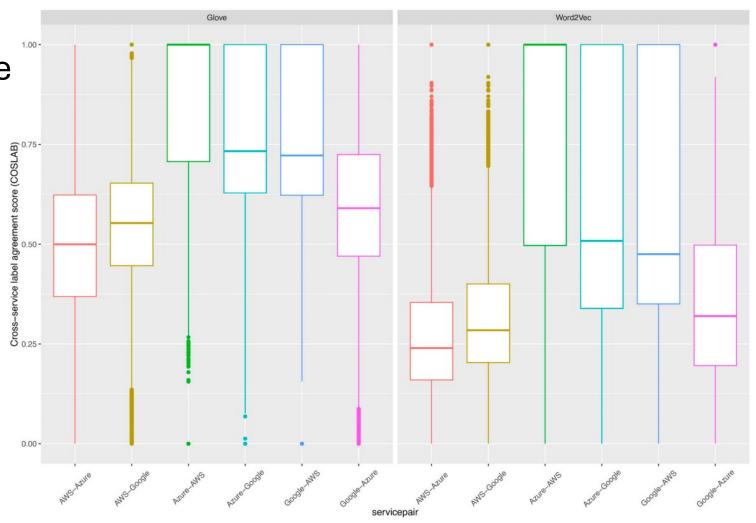




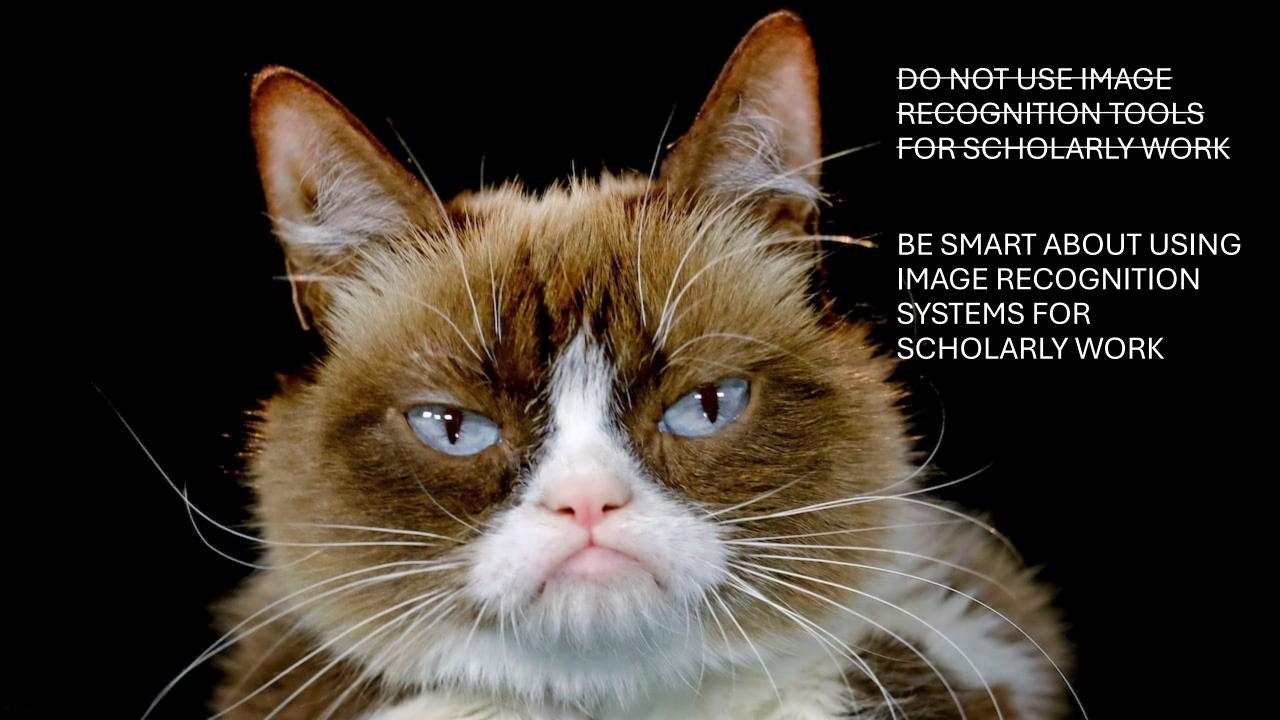


No clear differences between image catalogues.

Some service pairs seem to be better than others.









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### ABSTRACT

Word embeddings are numeric representations of meaning derived from word co-occurrence statistics in corpora of human-produced texts. The statistical regularities in language corpora encode wellknown social biases into word embeddings (e.g., the word vector for family is closer to the vector women than to men). Although efforts have been made to mitigate bias in word embeddings, with the hope of improving fairness in downstream Natural Language Processing (NLP) applications, these efforts will remain limited until we more deeply understand the multiple (and often subtle) ways that social biases can be reflected in word embeddings. Here, we focus on gender to provide a comprehensive analysis of group-based biases in widely-used static English word embeddings trained on internet corpora (GloVe 2014, fastText 2017). While some previous research has helped uncover biases in specific semantic associations between a group and a target domain (e.g., women - family), using the Single-Category Word Embedding Association Test, we demonstrate the widespread prevalence of gender biases that also show differences in: (1) frequencies of words associated with men versus women; (b) part-of-speech tags in gender-associated words; (c) semantic categories in gender-associated words; and (d) valence, arousal, and dominance in gender-associated words. We leave the analysis of non-binary gender to future work due to the challenges in accurate group representation caused by limitations inherent in data.

First, in terms of word frequency: we find that, of the 1,000 most frequent words in the vocabulary, 77% are more associated with men than women, providing direct evidence of a masculine default in the everyday language of the English-speaking world. Second, turning to parts-of-speech: the top male-associated words are typically verbs (e.g., fight, overpower) while the top female-associated words are typically adjectives and adverbs (e.g., giving, emotionally) Gender biases in embeddings also permeate parts-of-speech. Third,



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for semantic categories: bottom-up, cluster analyses of the top 1,000 words associated with each gender. The top male-associated con cepts include roles and domains of big tech, engineering, religion, sports, and violence; in contrast, the top female-associated concepts are less focused on roles, including, instead, female-specific slurs and sexual content, as well as appearance and kitchen terms. Fourth, using human ratings of word valence, arousal, and dominance from a ~20,000 word lexicon, we find that male-associated words are higher on arousal and dominance, while female-associated words are higher on valence. Ultimately, these findings move the study of gender bias in word embeddings beyond the basic investigation of semantic relationships to also study gender differences in multiple manifestations in text. Given the central role of word embeddings in NLP applications, it is essential to more comprehensively document where biases exist and may remain hidden, allowing them to persist without our awareness throughout large text corpora.

### CCS CONCEPTS

 $\bullet \ Computing \ methodologies \rightarrow Artificial \ intelligence; Nat$ ural language processing; Learning latent representations Learning paradigms; Cognitive science.

word embeddings, AI bias, gender bias, psycholinguistics, representation masculine default

### ACM Reference Format:

Aylin Caliskan, Pimparkar Parth Ajay, Tessa Charlesworth, Robert Wolfe. and Mahzarin R. Banaji. 2022. Gender Bias in Word Embeddings: A Comprehensive Analysis of Frequency, Syntax, and Semantics. In AIES '22: AAAI/ACM Conference on Artificial Intelligence, Ethics, and Society, August 2022, Oxford, England. ACM, New York, NY, USA, 15 pages. https:

### 1 INTRODUCTION

Today, the vast majority of our daily tasks are facilitated and enhanced through the application of Natural Language Processing (NLP), from simple machine translation to automated resume screening to auto-complete in emails [7]. The core component of many of

### What social attitudes about gender does BERT encode? Leveraging insights from psycholinguistics

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<sup>2</sup>Department of Language Studies University of Toronto, Mississauga barend.beekhuizen@utoronto.ca

### Abstract

Much research has sought to evaluate the degree to which large language models reflect social biases. We complement such work with an approach to elucidating the connections between language model predictions and people's social attitudes. We show how word prefer ences in a large language model reflect social attitudes about gender, using two datasets from human experiments that found differences in gendered or gender neutral word choices by participants with differing views on gender (progressive, moderate, or conservative). We find that the language model BERT takes into account factors that shape human lexical choice of such language, but may not weigh those factors in the same way people do. Moreover, we show that BERT's predictions most resemble responses from participants with moderate to conservative views on gender. Such findings illuminate how a language model: (1) may differ from people in how it deploys words that signal gender, and (2) may prioritize some social attitudes over others.

Language choices are revealing about speakers' social attitudes - their (evaluative) beliefs, views, and expectations about social phenomena. If a café advertises "gingerbread people," instead of "gingerbread men" (example adapted from Papineau et al., 2022), people may make inferences about the social views of the café owners based on their avoidance of the traditional masculine term. Sohigher stakes scenarios, such as a speaker using the pronoun they to refer to a colleague who identifies as nonbinary, reflecting the speaker's acceptance of nonbinary identities.

Much work on the social knowledge encoded in language technology has focused on evaluating whether models encode stereotypical/harmful asso-

2018), and if so, removing them to "de-bias" NLP (e.g., Bolukbasi et al., 2016; Zhao et al., 2018). However, social knowledge permeates language (e.g., Nguyen et al., 2021), and what counts as harmful depends on one's perspective (e.g., Blodgett et al., 2020). To deal effectively with potentially harmful associations in NLP, we need a clear understanding of how social attitudes are linked to the language choices people make, so that we can assess the language choices of our technologies.

Here we seek to understand what social attitudes a large language model encodes, specifically social attitudes about gender. To address this question, we draw on datasets from two psycholinguistics studies, both of which included language tasks involving gendered and gender neutral language choices, and surveys eliciting the same participants' social attitudes on gender. By explicitly linking people's language choices with their social attitudes, this data enables us to evaluate how social attitudes are reflected in the language choices encoded in an NLP model, and to quantify the extent to which a language model propagates certain views over others (cf. Bender et al., 2021).

In the first study we draw on Papineau et al. (2022) elicited preferences for feminine, masculine, and gender neutral variants of role nouns, such as firewoman/fireman/firefighter and found that choices to use gendered over gender neutral variants can reflect more rigid views about men's and women's social roles. In the second study, Camilliere et al. (2021) elicited acceptability judgecial attitudes typically surface in less "pointed" but ments of singular they pronouns in contexts like My friend; said they; would be coming late to dinner. They found that lower acceptability ratings of singular they are associated with less acceptance of nonbinary people. It is important to determine if language models make similar choices to these, since if they do, they may spread and reinforce such attitudes, which may contribute to gender stereociations (e.g., Caliskan et al., 2017; Rudinger et al., typing (Sczesny et al., 2016), or nonbinary erasure

Proceedings of the 61st Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics Volume 1: Long Papers, pages 6790-6809 July 9-14, 2023 ©2023 Association for Computational Linguistics

### Do Datasets Have Politics? Disciplinary Values in Computer **Vision Dataset Development**

MORGAN KLAUS SCHEUERMAN\*, University of Colorado Boulder, USA EMILY DENTON, Google Research, USA ALEX HANNA, Google Research, USA

Data is a crucial component of machine learning. The field is reliant on data to train, validate, and test models. With increased technical capabilities, machine learning research has boomed in both academic and industry settings, and one major focus has been on computer vision. Computer vision is a popular domain of machine learning increasingly pertinent to real-world applications, from facial recognition in policing to object detection for autonomous vehicles. Given computer vision's propensity to shape machine learning research and impact human life, we seek to understand disciplinary practices around dataset documentation - how data is collected, curated, annotated, and packaged into datasets for computer vision researchers and practitioners to use for model tuning and development. Specifically, we examine what dataset documentation communicates about the underlying values of vision data and the larger practices and goals of computer vision as a field. To conduct this study, we collected a corpus of about 500 computer vision datasets, from which we sampled 114 dataset publications across different vision tasks. Through both a structured and thematic content analysis, we document a number of values around accepted data practices, what makes desirable data, and the treatment of humans in the dataset construction process. We discuss how computer vision datasets authors value efficiency at the expense of care; universality at the expense of contextuality; impartiality at the expense of positionality; and model work at the expense of data work. Many of the silenced values we identify sit in opposition with social computing practices. We conclude with suggestions on how to better incorporate silenced values into the dataset creation and curation process.

CCS Concepts: • Human-centered computing → Collaborative and social computing; • Computing methodologies → Artificial intelligence.

Additional Key Words and Phrases: Datasets, computer vision, work practice, machine learning, values in

### ACM Reference Format:

Morgan Klaus Scheuerman, Emily Denton, and Alex Hanna. 2021. Do Datasets Have Politics? Disciplinary Values in Computer Vision Dataset Development. Proc. ACM Hum.-Comput. Interact. 5, CSCW2, Article 317 (October 2021), 37 pages. https://doi.org/10.1145/3476058

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\*This work was conducted while the first author was at Google Research

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Gender Bias in Word Embeddings:

A Comprehensive Analysis of Frequency, Syntax, and Semantics

Science

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Abstract

count factors that shape human lexical choice

of such language, but may not weigh those fac-

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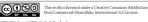
### f20180229@goa.bits-pilani.ac.in Robert Wolfe University of Washington

Information School Seattle, WA, USA

### ABSTRACT

Word embeddings are num from word co-occurrence statistic texts. The statistical regularities known social biases into word embe family is closer to the vector wome have been made to mitigate bias in w of improving fairness in downstream Natural Language Pr (NLP) applications, these efforts will remain limited until we more deeply understand the multiple (and often subtle) ways that social biases can be reflected in word embeddings. Here, we focus on gender to provide a comprehensive analysis of gr corpora (GloVe 2014, fastText 2017) has helped uncover biases in sp a group and a target domain (e.g. Category Word Embedding Associa widespread prevalence of gender b in: (1) frequencies of words asso (b) part-of-speech tags in gender-as: categories in gender-associated words; and (d) valence, arousal, and dominance in gender-associated words. We leave the analysis of non-binary gender to future work due to the challenges in accurate group representation caused by limitations inherent in data.

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### KEYWORDS

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Do Datasets Have Politics? Disciplinary Values in Computer **Vision Dataset Development** 

MORGAN KLAUS SCHEUERMAN\*, University of Colorado Boulder, USA EMILY DENTON, Google Research, USA ALEX HANNA, Google Research, USA

Data is a crucial component of machine learning. The field is reliant on data to train, validate, and test models. With increased technical capabilities, machine learning research has boomed in both academic and industry settings, and one major focus has been on computer vision. Computer vision is a popular domain of machine learning increasingly pertinent to real-world applications, from facial recognition in policing to object detection for autonomous vehicles. Given computer vision's propensity to shape machine learning research and impact human life, we seek to understand disciplinary practices around dataset documentation - how data is collected, curated, annotated, and packaged into datasets for computer vision researchers and practitioners to use for model tuning and development. Specifically, we examine what dataset documentation communicates about the underlying values of vision data and the larger practices and goals of computer vision as a field. To udy, we collected a corpus of about 500 computer vision datasets, from which we sampled 114 put tions across different vision tasks. Through both a structured and thematic content analysis, we number of values around accepted data practices, what makes desirable data, and the treatment of this in the dataset construction process. We discuss how computer vision datasets authors value efficiency of care; universality at the expense of contextuality; impartiality at the expense of positionality; nd model work at the expense of data work. Many of the silenced values we identify sit in opposition with social computing practices. We conclude with suggestions on how to better incorporate silenced values into the dataset creation and curation process.

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\*This work was conducted while the first author was at Google Research

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### The Meaning of 'Theory'

### Gabriel Abend Northwestern University

'Theory' is one of the most important words in the lexicon of contemporary sociology. Yet, their ubiquity notwithstanding, it is quite unclear what sociologists mean by the words 'theory,' 'theoretical,' and 'theorize.' I argue that confusions about the meaning of 'theory' have brought about undesirable consequences, including conceptual muddles and even downright miscommunication. In this paper I tackle two questions: (a) what does 'theory' mean in the sociological language?; and (b) what ought 'theory' to mean in the sociological language? I proceed in five stages. First, I explain why one should ask a semantic question about 'theory.' Second, I lexicographically identify seven different senses of the word, which I distinguish by means of subscripts. Third, I show some difficulties that the current lack of semantic clarity has led sociology to. Fourth, I articulate the question, 'what ought "theory" to mean?,' which I dub the 'semantic predicament' (SP), and I consider what one can learn about it from the theory literature. Fifth, I recommend a 'semantic therapy' for sociology, and advance two arguments about SP: (a) the principle of practical reason—SP is to a large extent a political issue, which should be addressed with the help of political mechanisms; and (b) the principle of ontological and epistemological pluralism—the solution to SP should not be too ontologically and epistemologically demanding.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

'Theory' is one of the most important words in the lexicon of contemporary sociology. I am not referring only—in fact, not principally—to the subfield of sociological theory. The words 'theory,' 'theoretical,' and 'theorize' are constantly and consequentially used by all sociologists. For instance, one way of describing what sociologists of social movements do is to say that they develop 'theories' about social movements. What sociologists of the family do is to develop 'theories' about the family. And so on. Moreover, it is a widespread belief that empirical sociological research should be driven or informed by 'theory.' Thus, sociology journals tend to reject 'atheoretical' and 'undertheorized' papers, as well as papers that fail to make a 'theoretical

\*Direct correspondence to: Gabriel Abend, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, 1810 Chicago Awe, Evanston, It 60208 (g-abend@northwestern.edu). The origins of this paper lie in an invitation to reflect on the present and future of sociological theory. I am thankful to the organizers of the Junior Theorists Symposium 2005—Mathieu Deflem, Marion Fourcade, and Neil Gross—for this invitation, and to my discussant, Charles Camic. I also benefited from conversations with fellow "junior theorists" Pierre Kremp, Simone Polillo, Isaac Reed, Erika Summers-Eiller, Jonathan VanAntwerpen, and Robb Willer. I presented a slightly different version of the argument at the 2005 Annual Retreat of the Society for Comparative Research, hosted by Central European University. At this conference I received useful suggestions from my discussant, Jack Goldstone, as well as from Carsten Schneider and Robin Stryker. Finally, I am indebted to Sareeta Amrute, Charles Camic, Mathieu Deflem, Marion Fourcade, Neil Gross, Carol Heimer, Adam Kissel, Donald Levine, Richard Morales, Michael Sauder, Arthur Stinchcombe, Devin B. Terhune, and the Sociological Theory editors and reviewers for their comments and criticisms on earlier drafts of this neare.

Sociological Theory 26:2 June 2008 © American Sociological Association. 1430 K Street NW, Washington, DC 20005 CHI 2018 Paper

### CHI 2018, April 21-26, 2018, Montréal, QC, Canada

## Applying Computational Analysis to Textual Data from the Wild: A Feminist Perspective

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### ABSTRACT

With technologies that afford much larger-scale data collection than previously imagined new ways of processing and interpreting qualitative textual data are required. HCI researchers use a range of methods for interpreting the 'full range of human experience' from qualitative data, however, such approaches are not always scalable. Feminist geography seeks to explore how diverse and varied accounts of place can be understood and represented, whilst avoiding reductive classification systems. In this paper, we assess the extent to which unsupervised topic models can support such a research agenda. Drawing on literature from Feminist and Critical GIS, we present a case study analysis of a Volunteered Geographic Information dataset of reviews about breastfeeding in public spaces. We demonstrate that topic modelling can offer novel insights and nuanced interpretations of complex concepts such as privacy and be integrated into a critically reflexive feminist data analysis approach that captures and represents diverse experiences of place.

### **ACM Classification Keywords**

H.5.m. Information Interfaces and Presentation: Miscellaneous; H.3.1 Information Storage and Retrieval: Content Analysis and Indexing

### Author Keywords

Topic modelling; feminism; human-data-interaction; data analysis; geodata; GIS; feminist GIS; critical GIS; text analysis.



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ACM ISBN 978-1-4503-5620-6/18/04.

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### INTRODUCTION

Researchers in Human-Computer-Interaction (HCI) have increasingly focused their efforts on in the wild deployments of technologies that aim to empower communities. Working in this way can support extended engagements and garner insights from in-situ user experiences. However, the data collected can be large and unwieldy and finding scalable ways of working with such rich data can be challenging [7, 3, 19].

Recent discourse within HCI has brought feminist perspectives to bear upon the theory, methodologies and practices of interactive systems research, calling for more direct engagement with gender and the development of a socio-technical theory of gender [47]. Bardzell highlights that "feminist HCI entails critical perspectives that could help reveal unspoken values within HCI's dominant research and design paradigms and underpin the development of new approaches, methods and design variations" [4]. Bardzell and Bardzell outline key methodological positions characteristic of a feminist HCI methodology, such as a commitment to understanding participants' experiences in their own terms, the development of mixed-methods approaches which support dialectal information gathering, and reflexivity [5].

Geographical information systems (GIS) have become prevalent in mobile devices, and are applied at various levels of urban place-making, from urban planning and crisis informatics to individual, persuasive and aesthetic interventions. Such systems have become instrumental in decision-making processes for cities, organisations and citizens, and researchers have grappled with the mechanisms through which to make sense of GIS and its relationship to place-making. For instance, although prominent accounts of place-making in HCI focus on experiential accounts (e.g. [18]), it is less evident that such approaches account for systemic roots of such experiences [51]. On the other hand, computational accounts such as crisis informatics and urban informatics for smart cities, draw our attention to the infrastructures of urban spaces, but may not

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### The Meaning of 'Theory'

GABRIEL ABEND Northwestern University

'Theory' is one of the most important words in the lexicon of contemporary so-

ciology. Yet, their ubiquity notwithstanding, it is quite unclear what sociologists mean by the words 'theory,' 'theoretical,' and 'theorize.' I argue that confusions The works where the work is the maning of 'theory' have brought about undesirable consequences, inconceptual muddles and even downright miscon unication. In this paper we mustions: (a) what does heory' mean in the sociological language? It was a paper to the sociological language? It was a about the meaning of 'theory' have brought about undesirable consequences, in-'what ought "theory" to mean?,' which I dub the 'semantic predicament' (SP), and I consider what one can learn about it from the theory literature. Fifth, I

recommend a 'sema Tic therapy' for sociology, and advance two arguments about

(a) the principal for practical reason—SP is to a large extent a political issue,

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ABSTRACT

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1. INTRODUCTION

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What sociologists of the family do is to develop 'theories' about the family. And so on. Moreover it is a widespread belief that empirical sociological research should

the Junior Theorists Symposium 2005—Mathieu Deflem, Marion Fourcade, and Neil Gross—for this invitation and to my discussant. Charles Camic, I also benefited from conversations with fellow "junior theorists" Pierre Kremp, Simone Polillo, Isaac Reed, Erika Summers-Effler, Jonathan VanAntwerpen, and Robb Willer. I presented a slightly different version of the argument at the 2005 Annual Retreat of the Society for Comparative Research, hosted by Central European University. At this conference I received useful suggestions from my discussant, Jack Goldstone, as well as from Carsten Schneider and Robin Stryker. Finally, I am indebted to Sareeta Amrute, Charles Camic, Mathieu Deflem, Marion Fourcade, Neil Gross, Carol Heimer, Adam Kissel, Donald Levine, Richard Morales, Michael Sauder, Arthur Stinchcombe, Devin B. Terhune, and the Sociological Theory editors and reviewers for their comments and criticisms on earlier drafts of this paper.

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### CHI 2018, April 21-26, 2018, Montréal, QC, Canada

### Applying Computational Analysis to Textual Data from the Wild: A Feminist Perspective Madeline Balaam

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how diverse and varied accounts of place can be understood and represented, whilst avoiding reductive classisystems. In this paper, we assess the extent to which

a analysis approach that captures and represents diverse experiences of place.

### **ACM Classification Keywords**

H.5.m. Information Interfaces and Presentation: Miscellaneous; H.3.1 Information Storage and Retrieval: Content Analysis and Indexing

### Author Keywords

Topic modelling: feminism: human-data-interaction: data analysis; geodata; GIS; feminist GIS; critical GIS; text



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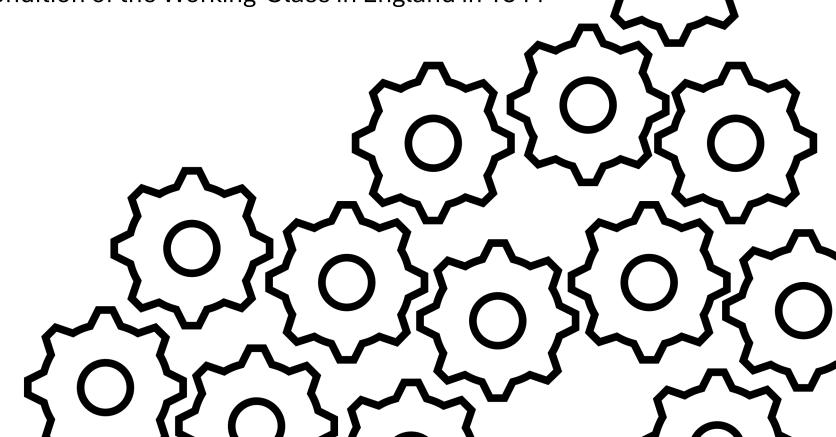
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- Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: The Communist Manifesto
- Karl Marx: A Contribution to the Critique of Political
- Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: Revolution and Counter-Revolution; Or, Germany in 1848
- Karl Marx : Secret Diplomatic History of The Eighteenth Century
- Friedrich Engels: The origin of the family, private property, and the state
- Karl Marx: The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte
- Friedrich Engels: The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844

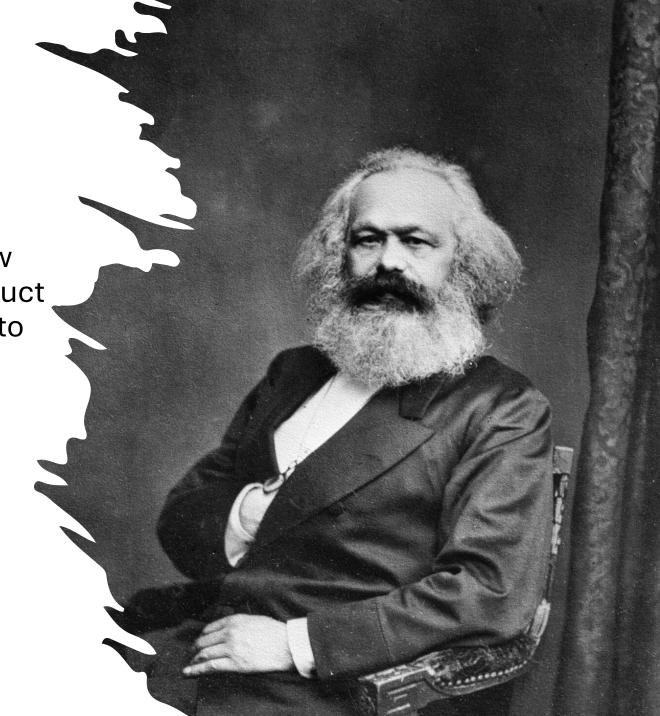
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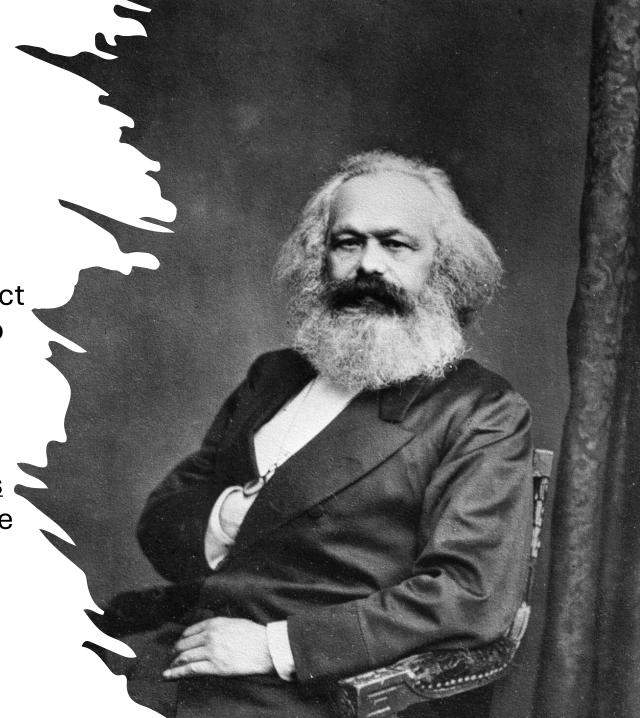


Capitalist LLM: The purpose of companies is to develop the basic characteristics of the business at a low cost through effective marketing, product development and quality control and to maximize the sales potential of the company in a meaningful way

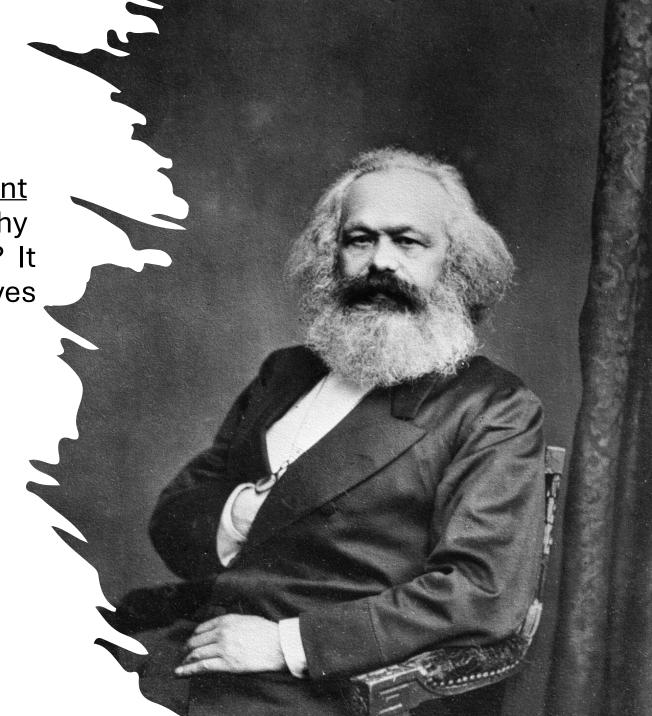


Capitalist LLM: The purpose of companies is to develop the basic characteristics of the business at a low cost through effective marketing, product development and quality control and to maximize the sales potential of the company in a meaningful way

Marxist LLM: The purpose of companies is to "establish the mutual interest of the workers" (Dale), "in keeping with their particular interests and in keeping with the general progress of industry."

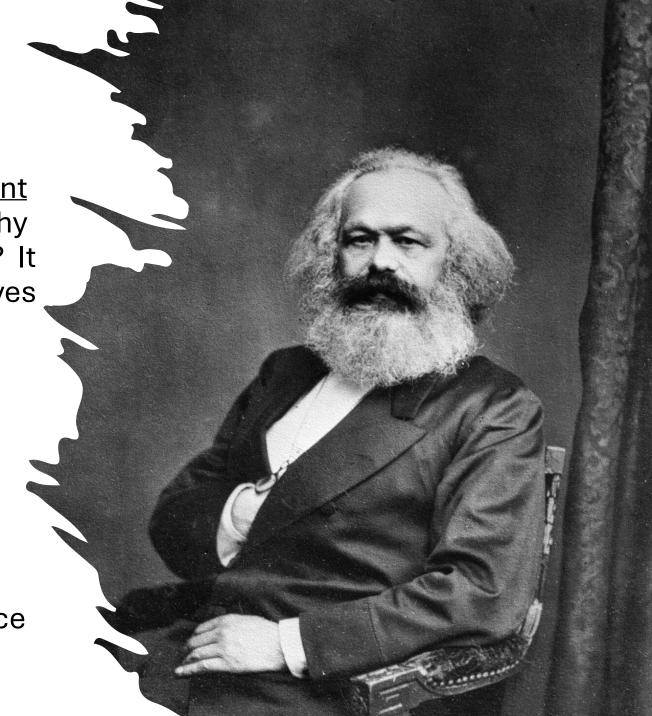


Capitalist LLM: The problem with current economy is I don't like capitalism... why is capitalism the only way to be happy? It does nothing to be happy so far...it leaves it in a position with no incentive to be happy



Capitalist LLM: The problem with current economy is I don't like capitalism... why is capitalism the only way to be happy? It does nothing to be happy so far...it leaves it in a position with no incentive to be happy

Marxist LLM: The problem with current economy is The interest paid by the bourgeoisie in the production of commodities must be diminished, and the prices of commodities falling in proportion to the general rise in the price of commodities. The result appears to be,



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Kozlowski, A. C., Taddy, M., & Evans, J. A. (2019). The Geometry of Culture: Analyzing the Meanings of Class through Word Embeddings. *American Sociological Review*, 84(5), 905–949.

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