A decline in prosocial language helps explain public disapproval of the US Congress


Abstract

Talking about helping others makes a person seem warm and leads to social approval. This work examines the real world consequences of this basic, social-cognitive phenomenon by examining whether record-low levels of public approval of the US Congress may, in part, be a product of declining use of prosocial language during Congressional debates. A text analysis of all 124 million words spoken in the House of Representatives between 1996 and 2014 found that declining levels of prosocial language strongly predicted public disapproval of Congress 6 mo later. Warm, prosocial language still predicted public approval when removing the effects of societal and global factors (e.g., the September 11 attacks) and Congressional efficacy (e.g., passing bills), suggesting that prosocial language has an independent, direct effect on social approval.

Public approval peaked in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, declined over the next 7 y, rose slightly in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, and then declined again. Prosocial language followed a nearly identical trajectory. In the years spanning 2002 and 2014, a small (19%) decrease in prosocial language ushered in a large (75%) decrease in public approval. The individual words whose use most strongly predicted public approval were as follows: gentle, involve, educate, contribute, concerned, give, tolerate, earn, and cooperate.

Significance

Past laboratory research has shown that talking about helping others can make a positive impression upon a listener. We tested whether this basic social-cognitive phenomenon can help explain how governments gain the confidence of the public they serve. A computerized text analysis of the debates of the US Congress over the past 20 y found that the density of prosocial language strongly predicted public approval ratings 6 mo later. These results suggest that both individuals and governments can gain social approval by merely talking about cooperating and about helping others.

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whether prosocial language has an independent, direct effect on the public sentiment, we ran a regression analysis in which we controlled for the effects of both societal/global factors (in the form of the President’s prosocial language, US unemployment rate, and US consumer expectations about the economy) and competent governance (in the form of partisan conflict, the number of bills that Congress passed, and Presidential vetoes). Even with these conservative controls, prosocial language within Congress still predicted the public’s approval (Table 1). Indeed, warm, prosocial language was the strongest single predictor of public sentiment.

By what mechanism might Congressional rhetoric influence public opinion? One possibility is a direct route. Since 1979, the television station C-SPAN has broadcast Congressional debates to the public, and a large number (47 million) of Americans watch C-SPAN at least once a week (15), the equivalent of 15% of the total population and 57% of the voting population in Congressional elections. These politically active viewers may hear what representatives say and form impressions, which they may then spread contagiously within their social networks (16, 17).

A second possible mechanism is through the news media. Journalists may watch floor debates of Congress and influence the public through journalistic slant. We tested this hypothesis by sampling and coding the tone of news editorials. Our results suggested that prosocial language in Congress predicted positive media coverage, \( r(175) = 0.22, P = 0.004 \). And positive media coverage predicted public approval, \( r(193) = 0.26, P < 0.001 \). Media coverage explained the link between Congressional language and public approval, \( B = 1.82, 95\% \text{ confidence interval (CI)} = [0.31, 5.04] \) in a mediation analysis (SI Text) (18). In addition to an indirect effect via media coverage, a direct effect of Congressional language on public approval remained, \( B = 36.30, 95\% \text{ CI} = [29.05, 43.55] \), suggesting that the direct (C-SPAN) and indirect (media) channels may work in tandem to explain how Congressional language influences public opinion.

Laboratory research has established that prosocial language can influence whether an audience thinks highly of a speaker (7). Our findings suggest that this phenomenon generalizes to the real world and can help explain how legislative bodies gain the confidence of the governed.

**Methods**

**US Congress Word Corpus.** We downloaded all 123,936,010 words spoken in session of the US House of Representatives from capitolwords.org, from January 1996—when session transcription began—through the end of November 2014. To compare prosocial word density to public approval ratings, we parsed the word corpus by month, with each unit of analysis including all of the words spoken by all members of the House in a particular month. After excluding months in which Congress was out of session or had few

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**Fig. 1.** Prosocial language within the US Congress predicts the public’s approval of Congress. (A) Prosocial language represents the density of prosocial words in the in-session speeches of members of the US House of Representatives. (B) Public approval is Gallup survey data. Individual data points represent monthly scores. Solid lines connect 2-y session means.

**Fig. 2.** Time-lagged associations between prosocial language and public approval of the US Congress. How representatives speak today best predicts their public approval ratings 6.7 mo into the future.
We searched Dow Jones & Company, PNAS Early Edition, <0.001. We averaged their judgments to form a single d <β 0.17/mo, SD "42). We retained the 201 (88%) mo that had 5 or more votes. -39; 0.001, 0.65, The dictionary items were as follows: accepting, accommodat*, affect*, -1.74, 41(1):175 0.10, ** 43%, SD P 354,175) in length. -39, 4.06 0.15*** Country unemployment -0.54*** -1.33 -0.16** Country economic expectations 0.63*** 0.17 0.16* Competent governance Partisan conflict in the House -0.48**** -0.18 -0.21*** Bills passed in the House -0.12* -0.06 -0.10* Presidential vetoes 0.04 -2.40 -0.09 Congressional rhetoric Congress’ prosocial language 0.55**** 21.56 0.35**** Zero-order correlations and a multiple-regression analysis with seven predictors were entered simultaneously. Model r = 0.74; *P < 0.10, **P < 0.05, ***P < 0.01, ****P < 0.001. (<5,000) words, the sample was n = 206 mo. Transcripts averaged 601,591 words (SD = 354,175) in length.

**Public Approval of US Congress.** Gallup regularly polls the US public regarding whether they “approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job” (14). Data were available for 87% (198) of 227 mo in the study. After collecting these data, we averaged all polls within a given month. Because public approval tends to change gradually, we filled in the missing data by linearly interpolating between the most proximally available data points. Public approval was 33% on average (SD = 15%).

**Societal and Global Factors.**

*President’s prosocial language.* We downloaded all 411 transcripts of US Presid -ential news conferences between 1996 and 2014 (2,205,168 words) from www.presidency.ucsb.edu, computer analyzed each transcript for the dis- tinctness of prosocial words, and averaged the scores of briefings within each of the 180 mo that had news briefings (M = 2.13%, SD = 0.48%).

*Unemployment.* We downloaded series ID LNS140000000 from the US Bureau of Labor Statistics at www.bls.gov/data. Unemployment rates are for per- sons 16 y and older and averaged 6.0% (SD = 1.8%) in the years under study.

**Public expectations about the economy.** Following past research (5), we oper- ationalized public expectations about the economy as the University of Michigan Index of Consumer Sentiment (ICS). The ICS is an aggregate of five items concerning whether consumers think that (i) the country will improve financially over the next 5 y, and (iv) they expect to be better off financially than they were 1 y ago, (iii) the present is a time to buy major household appliances. We downloaded the survey data from www.sca.isr.umich.edu.

**Competent Governance.**

*Partisan conflict in Congress.* We downloaded a summary of the roll call in every vote in the US Congress from voteview.com/partycount.htm. Between 1996 and 2014, the House voted on 12,563 bills, which amounted to 56 votes per month on average (SD = 42). We retained the 201 (88%) mo that had 5 or more votes. Following previous research (5), we defined a partisan vote as one in which at least 75% of Republicans voted one way and 75% of Democrats voted the other way. We operationalized partisan conflict within Congress as the proportion of votes in a given month that were partisan (M = 43%, SD = 18%). Bills passed in the House of Representatives. We downloaded a summary of the roll call in every vote in the US Congress from voteview.com/partycount.htm and operationalized bills passed in the House as the number of bills that received a simple majority. On average, the House passed 38 bills (SD = 27) per month.

*Presidential vetoes.* We downloaded veto counts from the US Senate website (www.senate.gov/reference/Legislation/Vetoes/vetoCounts.htm). Presidential vetoes were infrequent (1996–2014 total = 39; M = 0.17/mo, SD = 0.50). Media coverage. We derived a measure of the amount of positive media coverage as the product of the quantity and tone of editorials in a given month. *Quantity.* We searched Dow Jones & Company’s Factiva database (https://global.factiva.com/) for editorials on the US Congress and recorded the number of articles published each month as a measure of quantity of media. Our search criteria specified the following: (i) major news and business publications, United States; (ii) editorials, not letters, not letters to the ed- itor, not commentaries/opinions; (iii) United States; and (iv) “Congress.” The most common media outlets were The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (25%), The Washington Post (20%), The New York Times (13%), The Wall Street Journal (12%), The Denver Post (7%), and USA Today (5%). *Tone.* We sorted the search results by relevance and then downloaded the most relevant editorial for each month (196 mo had editorials). Two coders independently read each editorial and judged “how positive or negative the editorial is toward the US Congress” on a 9-point scale anchored at −4 (extremely negative), −2 (somewhat negative), 0 (neutral), 2 (somewhat positive), and 4 (extremely positive). The two judges agreed substantially, r(194) = 0.65, P < 0.001. We averaged their judgments to form a single metric of media tone. The average editorial had a negative tone, M = −1.28, SD = 1.74, t(194) = −10.27, P < 0.001, d = −0.74.

**Text Analysis.** We content analyzed each text file for the density of prosocial words, using Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (12). The prosocial words dictionary that we used (13) includes 127 words or word stems that tend to convey content about collective interests and interpersonal harmony. Word stems (e.g., cooperate) capture all words that begin with the letters leading up the asterisk (e.g., cooperate, cooperating, cooperation). Prosocial word den- sity was 2.26% on average (SD = 0.27%). See SI Text for more information.


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