!"#\$\$%&'\$(\$)

(1J\$#+7\$%+/?%?\$&'(!'1/)%1K%,1!"%!"\$%897"0#% +/?%B',\$!+/%;1J\$;\$/!)H B"')%+/+-9)')%1K%!\$)!%;\$!"1?)%2'--% 1/-9%(1J\$#%!\$)!)%K#1;%+/?%)'/(\$%\RR_% due to the significance of protests in (1/!\$;&1#+#9%?+9H%31/!\$;&1#+#9%+/+-9)')% ')%&+#!'(0-+#-9%#\$-\$J+/!%'/%#\$7+#?%!1% !"\$%'/!\$#/+!'1/+-'@+!'1/%1K%7-1,+-%;\$?'+% +/?%'!)%'/(#\$+)'/7%(+&+,'-'!'\$)%!1%1,!+'/% '/K1#;+!'1/%#\$7+#?'/7%7-1,+-%'))0\$)%+/?% +,'-'!'\$)%!1%\$N&+/?%!"\$%)(1&\$%1K%7-1,+-% +0?'\$/(\$)4%2"'("%!"\$/%1,!+'/%C/12-D \$?7\$%+/?%'/K1#;+!'1/%K1#%!"\$;)\$-J\$)H% B"\$#\$K1#\$4%1J\$#+--%'/!\$#/+!'1/+-%+2+#\$/\$))% +/?%&\$#(\$&!'1/)%1K%!"\$%897"0#%+/?%B',\$!+/% ;1J\$;\$/!)%(+/%,\$%;\$+)0#\$?a%!"0)4%!"')% !"\$)')%+)C)%2"9%!"\$%897"0#)%'/%5'/6'+/7% are not attracting significant internaD !'1/+-%+!!\$/!'1/%'/%!"\$'#%)1('+-%;1J\$;\$/!% +7+'/)!%3"'/\$)\$%1&&#\$))'1/H%

bcd%

Infuences, Tactics, and Media Coverage of

?'KK\$#'/7%&1#!#+9+-)H%^\$(+0)\$%1K%!"\$%&12\$#% and infuence of Western states, organizaD !'1/)4%+/?%'/?'J'?0+-)4%!"\$%;1)!%#\$+?%+/?% J'\$2\$?%;\$?'+%)10#(\$)%K#1;%!"\$%;+'/-9%!"\$%

!'1/)H%B"\$%897"0#)%+/?%B',\$!+/)%+#\$%!21% &1&0-+!'1/)%2'!"'/%3"'/+%!"+!%"+J\$%,\$\$/%)\$J\$#\$-9%"+#;\$?%,9%3"'/+F)%1&&#\$))'1/%+/?% K1#(\$K0-%'/!\$7#+!'1/H%G12\$J\$#4%!"\$%;\$?'+% ?1\$)%/1!%"'7"-'7"!%!"')%(\$/!#+-%K+(!1#%K1#% ,1!"%&1&0-+!'1/)%+/?%'/)!\$+?%&1#!#+9)%!"\$% 897"0#)%+)%J'1-\$/!%!\$##1#')!)H%*/%#\$7+#?)% !1%)1('+-%)0&&1#!4%!"\$%;\$?'+F)%(1J\$#+7\$% +/?%?\$&'(!'1/)%1K%!"\$%897"0#)%"+)%0-!'D;+!\$-9%)!0/!\$?%!"\$%897"0#)F%+,'-'!9%!1% 1,!+'/%'/!\$#/+!'1/+-%)1('+-%)0&&1#!%!1% fght Chinese oppression. This contributes +/?%?#+2)%1/%';&-'(+!'1/)%K1#%#\$)\$+#("% regarding the global media's infuence and +,'-'!9%!1%)"+&\$%&\$#(\$&!'1/)%#\$7+#?'/7% E0)-';%&1&0-+!'1/)%'/%7\$/\$#+-H%^9%K1#;'/7% !"\$)\$%&\$#(\$&!'1/)4%!"\$%;\$?'+4%'/%!"')% (+)\$4%"+)%)"12/%!"+!%'/)!\$+?%1K%,0'-?'/7%)1('+-%)0&&1#!%K1#%+/%1&&#\$))\$?%&1&0D -+!'1/4%'!%(+/%?1%!"\$%\$N+(!%1&&1)'!\$a%&+#!'(0-+#-9%'K%!"+!%&1&0-+!'1/%')%E0)-';H

B"\$%(0##\$/!%&1-!!!(+-%-+/?)(+&\$%!/%!"\$%8/'!\$?%.!+!\$)%')%1J\$##'??\$/%2'!"%'/?'D J'?0+-)%2"1%+#\$%-+#7\$-9%0/"+&&9%2'!"%+/?% \$J\$/%?')!#0)!K0-%1K%71J\$#/;\$/!H%Y1!%1/-9% ?'?%!"\$%&+)!%&#\$)'?\$/!'+-%\$-\$(!'1/%\$N&1)\$% 2'?\$)&#\$+?%?')(1/!\$/!%2'!"%,1!"%&#\$)D '?\$/!'+-%/1;'/\$\$)4%'!%#\$J\$+-\$?%!"+!%+% -+#7\$%&1#!'1/%1K%!"\$%:;\$#'(+/%&1&0-+D !'1/%')%?')!#0)!K0-%1K%M+)"'/7!1/4%+/?%more specifically, the political elite. T#\$)'?\$/!%I1/+-?%B#0;&4%K1#%\$N+;&-\$4%,+)\$?% "')%(+;&+'7/%1/%+%(1/)\$#J+!'J\$%&-+!K1#;% \$;&"+)'@'/7%+%/\$\$?%!1%)"'K!%&1-'!'(+-% ?\$(')'1/D;+C'/7%K#1;%2"+!%"\$%(+--)%!"\$% i&1-'!'(+-%\$-'!\$F%!1%!"\$%7\$/\$#+-%&0,-'(H q+#'10)%)("1-+#)%"+J\$%K10/?%+/%'/!\$#\$)!%'/%0/?\$#)!+/?'/7%!"\$%&1))',-\$%(+0)\$)%+/?% ';&-'(+!'1/)%1K%(9/'(+-%+!!'!0?\$)%!12+#?% !"\$%71.T\$#/;\$/!H%T.1)"0+%T9(C4%K1#%\$N+;&-\$4% K10/?%!"+!%"'7"\$#%-\$J\$-)%1K%&1-'!D '(+-%?')!#0)!%+#\$%)"12/%!1%(1/!#',0!\$% !1%+/%'/(#\$+)\$%'/%)0&&1#!%K1#%(1/)\$#J+D !'J\$%&1-'(9%?0\$%!1%!"\$%J1!\$#)F%&\$#J+)'J\$% ?\$)'#\$%!1%1,!+'/%7#\$+!\$#%(1/!#1-%1J\$#%!"\$% K\$?\$#+-%71J\$#/;\$/!%=I9(C%\RPR>H%T\$#"+&)% !"')%2+)%1/\$%1K%!"\$%;+/9%K1#(\$)%!"+!%-\$?% !1%T#\$)'?\$/!%B#0;&F)%\$-\$(!'1/H%G12\$J\$#4% +)%!"\$%E'--\$#D3'!#'/%?\$,+!\$%'--0)D !#+!\$)4%!"\$#\$%+#\$%?'J\$#7\$/!%!"\$1#'\$)%!"+!% +!!\$;&!%!1%0/?\$#)!+/?%2"+!%!"\$)\$%(9/'(+-% feelings are refecting, alienation or a mere dissatisfaction with political fgures =3'!#'/%POlUa%E'--\$#%POlU+a%E'--\$#%POlU.a% 3'!#'/%+/?%h#\$\$/%PQ_k>H%M'!"%!"')%'/%;'/?4% /0;\$\#10)\%V0\\$)!'1/)\%\#\\$;+'/\%0/+/)2\\$\#\\$?H\%e1\#\% '/)!+/(\$4%')%71J\$#/;\$/!+-%?')!#0)!%+/?% discontent merely superficial in nature, ;\$+/'/7%'!%?1\$)%/1!%-\$+?%!1%+(0!\$%(9/'(+-% K\$\$-'/7)%!12+#?%!"\$%71J\$#/;\$/!4%1#%')%!"')%

?')!#0)!%#\$&#\$)\$/!'/7%!#0\$%+-'\$/+!'1/%K#1;% !"\$%71J\$#/;\$/!%+)%+%2"1-\$`%*/%+??'!'1/4% !"')%K0#!"\$#%\$-'('!)%+%)!#1/7%(0#'D 1)'!9%#\$7+#?'/7%1!"\$#%&1))',-\$%;\$+)0#\$)% 1K%71J\$#/;\$/!+-%(9/'(');%+/?%2"\$!"\$#%!"')% (9/'(');%')%+KK\$(!'/7%!"\$%)!#\$/7!"%+/?%)!+,'-'!9%1K%!"\$%8/'!\$?%.!+!\$)F%?\$;1(#+(9H *?\$/!'K9'/7%"12%&\$#(\$&!'1/)%1K%!"\$% government infuence support for the instiD !0!'1/+-%-\$7'!';+(9%1K%!"\$%8/'!\$?%.!+!\$)% .0&#\$;\$%310#!%(+/%-'C\$-9%'/?'(+!\$%!"\$%)!+,'-'!9%1K%?\$;1(#+(9H%.0&&1#!%K1#%!"\$% '/)!'!0!'1/+-%-\$7'!';+(9%1K%!"\$%8H.H% .0&#\$;\$%310#!%"+)%,\$\$/%#\$-+!'J\$-9%"'7"%+/?% (1/)!+/!%?\$)&'!\$%!"\$%\$)!+,-')"\$?%)\$&+#+D !'1/%1K%!"\$%8H.H%.0&#\$;\$%310#!%K#1;%!"\$% T1!'/7%&1&0-+!'1/%=B+/\$/"+0)%+/2%E0#&"9%PQ_Pa%h',)1/%PQQPa%B9-\$#%+/?%<+)'/)C'% PQQPa%3+-?\$'#+%+/?%h',)1/%PQQ\a%h',)1/% +/?%3+-?\$'#+%PQQ\a%3+-?\$'#+%+/?%^+'#?% PQQ_a%h',)1/4%3+-?\$'#+4%+/?%.&\$/(\$%\RRma% <+;'#\$@%\RR_a%h',)1/%+/?%3+-?\$'#+%\RPP>H% E1)!%';&1#!+/!-94%'/%;1)!%(10/!#'\$)4%,0!% &+#!'(0-+#-9%2'!"'/%!"\$%8/'!\$?%.!+!\$)4%!"\$% .0&#\$;\$\$310#!\$')\$!"\$\$;1)!\$&1&0-+#\$71J\$#/D;\$/!+-%'/)!'!0!'1/%=h',)1/4%3+-?\$'#+4%+/?% ^+'#?%PQQ_>H%B"')%&"\$/1;\$/1/%')%1,)\$#J\$?% \$J\$/%2"\$/%(1/!#1--'/7%K1#%!"\$%&1-'(9%&#\$KD \$#\$/(\$)%1K%'/?'J'?0+-)%=3+-?\$'#+%+/?% Gibson 1992) and their party identificaD $!'1/\$=h',)1/4\$3+-?\$'#+4\$+/?\$.\&\$/(\$\$\RRma\$$ B+/\$/"+0)%+/?%E0#&"9%PO Pa%Y'("1-)1/%+/?%G12+#?4%\RRm>H%*?\$/!'K9'/7%&1))',-\$% '/)!+/(\$)%2"\$/%"'7"%-\$J\$-)%1K%?'KK0)\$%)0&&1#!%+#\$%!"#\$+!\$/\$?%J'?\$)%'/)'7"!% '/!1%!"\$%#\$-+!'J\$%)!#\$/7!"%1K%!"\$%8/'!\$?% .!+!\$)%?\$;1(#+(9%,\$(+0)\$%1&&1)'/7%+/% '/)!'!0!'1/%!"+!%"+)%,\$\$/%"'7"-9%)0&&1#!\$?% 1J\$#%!';\$4%1/\$%!"+!%0&"1-?)%!"\$%(1/)!'D !0!'1/+-%#'7"!)%+/?%-',\$#!'\$)%!"+!%+#\$% \$))\$/!'+-%!1%!"\$%8/'!\$?%.!+!\$)F%?\$;1(#+(94% +#70+,-9%'/?'(+!\$)%+%?')#\$7+#?%K1#%!"\$% #0-\$%1K%-+2H%

bcd%

;608#<

%K+('-'!+!\$?%+%)0#J\$9%!"#107"%:;+@1/F)% E\$("+/'(+-%B0#C%!"+!%9'\$-?\$?%P4RRR%#\$)&1/D ?\$/!)%'/%-+!\$%Y1J\$;,\$#%1K%\RPkH%B"\$% #\$)&1/?\$/!)%2\$#\$%(1;&\$/)+!\$?%rRHSR%K1#% !"\$'#%&+#!'('&+!'1/%'/%!"\$%)!0?9H%/% !\$#;)%1K%!"\$%?\$;17#+&"'(%1K%!"')%)!0?94% 2"'!\$%'/?'J'?0+-)%+#\$%;1#\$%"\$+J'-9%#\$&#\$D)\$/!\$?H%G')&+/'(%:;\$#'(+/)%+/?%^-+(C]:K#1D 3+#',,\$+/]:K#'(+/%:;\$#'(+/4%K1#%\$N+;&-\$4% +#\$%0/?\$##\$&#\$)\$/!\$?H%B"')%)+;&-\$%')%/1!% #\$&#\$)\$/!+!'J\$%1K%/+!'1/+-%&\$#(\$/!+7\$)4% !"\$%K1#;\$#%+((10/!'/7%K1#%#107"-9%ls%1K% ! "\$%) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$#% + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$#% + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$#% + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$#% + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$#% + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$#% + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$#% + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$ + % + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$ + % + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$ + % + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$ + % + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$ + % + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$ + % + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$ + % + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$ + % + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$ + % + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$ + % + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$% - + ! !\$ + % + ((10/!'/7%K1#%)) + ; & -\$% + /?%! "\$#107"-9%ksH%M"'!\$%'/?'J'?0+-)4%"12\$J\$#4% +((10/!\$?%K1#%+,10!%lls%1K%!"\$%)+;&-\$4% 2"'-\$%!"\$%1!"\$#%#+('+-]\$!"/'(%7#10&)% +((10/!\$?%K1#%+,10!%PRs%+-!17\$!"\$#H%B"')% '/(-0?\$)%:;\$#'(+/%*/?'+/]:-+)C+/%Y+!'J\$)4%.10!"]A+)!%:)'+/%:;\$#'(+/)4%E'??-\$%A+)!\$#/]:#+,%:;\$#'(+/)4%+/?%1!"\$#H%:)%K1#%)\$N4%K\$;+-\$)%+#\$%)-'7"!-9%-\$))%#\$&#\$D)\$/!\$?%!"+/%;+-\$)4%+((10/!'/7%K1#%USs%1K% !"\$%)+;&-\$H%G12\$J\$#4%!"\$%&#';+#9%&0#&1)\$% 1K%;9%)!0?9%')%!1%/1!%?')!'/70')"%,\$!2\$\$/% !"\$)\$%7#10&)%1K%&\$1&-\$4%,0!%#+!"\$#%-11C%+!% $!\,"\,\$\,\$\,)\,+\,;\,\&\,-\,\$\,\$\,+\,)\,\$\,+\,\$\,2\,"\,1\,-\,\$\,H\,\$\,B\,"\,+\,!\,\$\,\,,\,\$\,'\,/\,7\,\$\,)\,+\,'\,?\,4\,\$\,'\,!\,\$\,$ ')%J+-0+,-\$%!1%C\$\$&%!"\$)\$%?')(#\$&+/('\$)%'/% ;'/?%2"\$/%(1/)'?\$#'/7%!"\$%#\$)0-!)%1K%!"')%)!0?9H

<\$7+#?'/7%!"\$%&1))',-\$%,'+)\$)%!"+!%(10-?% +#')\$%K#1;%0)'/7%:;+@1/F)%E\$("+/'(+-%B0#C% specifically, it is important to ${\tt recogD}$ /'@\$%!"+!%#\$)&1/?\$/!)%"+J\$%!"\$%+,'-'!9%!1% &'(C%+/?%("11)\$%2"'("%)0#J\$9%!"\$9%2')"%!1% (1;&-\$!\$H%:-!"107"%(1;&\$/)+!'1/%')%-'C\$-9% +%?\$!\$#;'/'/7%K+(!1#%'/%!"')%?\$(')'1/4% '!%')%,+,-\$%!"+!%!"\$%#\$)&1/?\$/!)%!"+!% (1;&-\$!\$?%!"')%)0#J\$9%+#\$%;1#\$%&1-'!'(+--9% '/!\$#\$)!\$?%+/?%+2+#\$H%*/%+??'!'1/4%'!%')% +-)1%&1))',-\$%!"+!%!"\$%#\$)&1/?\$/!)%'/%;9%)!0?9%"+J\$%;1#\$%+J+'-+,-\$%-\$')0#\$%!';\$H% B"1)\$%2"1%(+//1!%;+C\$%!"\$%!';\$%!1%#\$)&1/?% !1%'/!\$#/\$!%)0#J\$9)%+)%+%#\$)0-!%1K%21#C%)("\$?0-\$)4%K+;'-9%-'K\$4%1#%+J+'-+,'-'!9% 1K%'/!\$#/\$!%+((\$))%;+9%/1!%,\$%2\$--%#\$&#\$D)\$/!\$?H%e0#!"\$#4%'!%')%V0'!\$%&1))',-\$%!"+!% !"\$%';;\$?'+!\$%)"1(C%1K%!"\$%\$-\$(!'1/%'/% \RPk%KO#!"\$#%?')'--0)'1/\$?%&\$1&-\$%+/?%')%)C\$2'/7%!"\$)\$%#\$)0-!)a%"12\$J\$#4%!"\$%?\$7#\$\$% 1K%!"')%\$KK\$(!%2'--%/\$\$?%!1%,\$%KO#!"\$#%)!0?'\$?H%B"\$)\$%+#\$%';&1#!+/!%(1/)'?\$#D +!'1/)%!1%C\$\$&%'/%;'/?%2"\$/%+/+-9@'/7%!"\$% results of this survey specifcally.%

=)%%6,#\$;611&02

M'!"%#\$7+#?%!1%\$J+-0+!'/7%?'KK0)\$%)0&&1#!%1K%!"\$%8H.H%.0&#\$;\$%310#!%K1#% !"\$%&0#&1)\$)%1K%!"')%)!0?94%*%0)\$?%!21% 1K%h',)1/%+/?%3+-?\$'#+F)%?'KK0)\$%)0&&1#!% ; \$+)0#\$)*=h',)1/%+/?%3+-?\$'#+%\RRQ>H%B"\$% frst question addresses whether individD 0+-)%,\$-'\$J\$%!"+!%!"\$%8H.H%.0&#\$;\$%310#!F)% &12\$#%)"10-?%,\$%#\$?0(\$?4%2"'-\$%!"\$%1!"\$#% +??#\$))\$)%2"\$!"\$#%'/?'J'?0+-)%,\$-'\$J\$%!"\$% 8H.H%.0&#\$;\$%310#!%)"10-?%,\$%;+?\$%-\$))% independent. A fve-item scale is used to ;\$+)0#\$%#\$)&1/?\$/!F)%+/)2\$#)H%B"')%)(+-\$% 0)\$)\$i+7#\$\$\$)!#1/7-94F\$i+7#\$\$\$)1;\$2"+!4F\$ i/\$'!"\$#%+7#\$\$%/1#%?')+7#\$\$4F%i?')+7#\$\$%)1;\$2"+!4F%+/?%i?')+7#\$\$%)!#1/7-9F%!1% 7+07\$%#\$)&1/?\$/!F)%&\$#(\$&!'1/)H%:)% 3+-?\$'#+%+/?%h',)1/%;\$/!'1/4%Z?'KKO)\$%)0&&1#!%')%1&&1)'!'1/%!1%,+)'(%)!#0(D $!0#+-%+/?%K0/(!'1/+-%("+/7$[%=PQQ\4%kmQ>H%])$ B"\$)\$%!21%;\$+)0#\$)%1K%?'KK0)\$%)0&&1#!% +--12%+%#\$+)1/+,-\$%+))\$));\$/!%1K%2"\$!"\$#% #\$)&1/?\$/!)%2')"%!1%1&&1)\$%&1))',-\$% ("+/7\$)%!1%!"\$%'/)!'!0!'1/%+/?%)!#0(D !0#\$%1K%!"\$%8/'!\$?%.!+!\$)%.0&#\$;\$%310#!% 1#%/1!H%e1#%!"\$%&0#&1)\$)%1K%!"')%)!0?94% !"') %') % (+&!0 # \$? %!" #107" % +/ % \$ J +- 0 +! '1/ % 1 K %+%#\$)&1/?\$/!F)%2'--'/7/\$))%!1%#\$?0(\$%!"\$% 310#!F)%&12\$#%1#%;+C\$%!"\$%310#!%-\$))%'/?\$D &\$/?\$/!H%B17\$!"\$#4%!"\$)\$%+(!'1/)%210-?% result in significant changes to both the K0/(!'1/+-'!9%1K%!"\$%310#!4%+)%2\$--%+)%!"\$% '/"\$#\$/!%)!#0(!0#\$%!"+!%')%)\$!%10!%2'!"'/% !"\$%31/)!'!0!'1/H

>&8#0*3#*2-'\$!06,2

'!\$;%0)\$?%,9%E'--\$#%+/?%3'!#'/%'/%!"\$'#%
#\$)\$+#("H\%%*!%')%/1!+,-\$4%"12\$J\$#4%!"+!%
+%(10&-\$%1K%)("1-+#)%"+J\$%#+')\$?%(1/(\$#/)%
1J\$#%!"\$%+((0#+(9%1K%!"')%&+#!'(0-+#%

9\$+#-9%"10)\$"1-?%'/(1;\$4%+#\$%;1#\$%'/(-'/\$?% !1%+!!#',0!\$%!"\$'#%12/%,-\$;)%!1%!"\$% ,-\$;)%2'!"'/%!"\$%&1-'!'(+-%)9)!\$;4%+/?% 0-!';+!\$-94%!"\$9%+#\$%;1#\$%-'C\$-9%!1%K\$\$-% +-'\$/+!\$?H%B"')%(10-?%-'C\$-9%(1;\$%K#1;%+% &-+(\$%1K%?\$)&\$#+!'1/H%X'J'/7%&+9("\$(C%!1% &+9("\$(C4%K1#%\$N+;&-\$4%(+/%,\$%)!#\$))K0-4% +/?%'!%')%&1))',-\$%!"+!%K+;'-'\$)%2'!"% -12\$#%'/(1;\$)%K\$\$-%!"+!%!"\$%71J\$#/D ;\$/!%')%/1!%?1'/7%\$/107"%!1%+?J1(+!\$%K1#% !"\$;%1#%J'?\$%71J\$#/;\$/!+-%+))')!+/(\$H% B"\$#\$K1#\$4%&\$#(\$&!'1/)%1K%7#'\$J+/(\$%+/?% ,\$!#+9+-%K#1;%!"\$%71J\$#/;\$/!%(+/%+#70+,-9%)!\$;%K#1;%'/(1;\$D#\$-+!\$?%'))0\$)H%B"')%'/% !0#/%#\$)0-!)%'/%-12%)0&&1#!%K1#%!"\$%8H.H% .0&#\$;\$%310#!%+)%+/%'/)!'!0!'1/H

Even when controlling for party affliaD !'1/4%!"\$)\$%&\$#(\$&!'1/)4%"\$-?%,9%-12\$#D'/D come families, are still significant. Thus, !"\$%&+#!9%'/%&12\$#%')%-'C\$-9%/1!%!"\$%(+0)\$% 1K%!"\$)\$%'/(1;\$D#\$-+!\$?%7#'\$J+/(\$)4%'/?'D (+!'/7%!"+!%!"\$%,\$!#+9\$?%+/?%+77#'\$J\$?% &\$#(\$&!'1/)%&\$1&-\$%"1-?%+#\$%?\$#'J\$?%K#1;%)1;\$!"'/7%;1#\$%!"+/%+%#\$+(!'1/%!1%!"\$% party affliation of government offcials. B"')%?1\$)%&+#!-9%\$N&-+'/%2"9%-\$J\$-)%1K% ?'KK0)\$%)0&&1#!%+#\$%#\$?0(\$?%2"\$/%'/?'D J'?0+-)%K\$\$-%&1-'!'(+--9%,\$!#+9\$?%+/?% +77#'\$J\$?%,\$(+0)\$%+-'\$/+!'1/%+/?%7#'\$JD +/(\$%"+J\$%';&-'(+!'1/)%K1#%!"\$%'/)!'D !0!'1/+-%-\$7'!';+(9%+/?%)!#0(!0#\$%1K% 71J\$#/;\$/!%;1#\$%,#1+?-9H%*/%1!"\$#%21#?)4%

These fndings shed light on our underD)!+/?'/7%1K%?'KK0)\$%)0&&1#!%1K%!"\$%8H.H% .0&#\$;\$%310#!4%9\$!%!"\$#\$%+#\$%V0\$)D !'1/)%!"+!%+#\$%)!'--%0/+/)2\$#\$?H%e0#!"\$#% #\$)\$+#("%)"10-?%-11C%?\$\$&\$#%'/!1%!"\$% (+0)\$)%+/?%(1/)\$V0\$/(\$)%1K%&1-'!'(+-% ,\$!#+9+-%+/?%&1-'!'(+-%7#'\$J+/(\$%'/%1#?\$#% !1%K0--9%0/?\$#)!+/?%2"9%&\$1&-\$%K\$\$-%!"')% 2+94%2"1%')%;1#\$%-'C\$-9%!1%?\$J\$-1&%!"\$)\$% &\$#(\$&!'1/)4%+/?%2"+!%!"\$%&1))',-\$%#+;'D fcations of these feelings will be. This 210-?%+))')!%'/%!"\$%\$N&+/)'1/%1K%!"\$%?'KK0)\$%)0&&1#!%-'!\$#!0#\$4%!"\$%+-'\$/+!'1/%

!1#)1%0/!'-%"\$%+--\$7\$?-9%?\$K\$(+!\$?%"';)\$-K%
'/%&+'/%+/?%/\$J\$#%#\$!0#/\$?%'/%T#+'+%?1%
.1/1H%T#+'+%?1%.1/1%#\$)'?\$/!)%)0&&1#!\$?%
,9%-\$K!')!%)!0?\$/!%+(!'J')!)%-1,,'\$?%K1#%
!"\$%(#\$+!'1/%1K%+%&#\$)\$#J\$%)1%!"\$%3+'w+#+)%
(10-?%-'J\$%'/%&\$+(\$%1/%!"\$'#%!#+?'D
!'1/+-%-+/?)H%B"')%-\$?%!1%!"\$%(#\$+!'1/%1K%
!"\$%L0+!'/7+%A(1-17'(+-%<\$)\$#J\$%'/%PQQ\4%
+7+'/)!%2"'("%?\$)(\$/?+/!)%1K%h',#+\$-%"+J\$%
&\$/?'/7%-'!'7+!'1/%'/%^#+)'-'+H

bcd%

H#&'):#0-'\$G&*,#08-2)&*

T#+'+%?1%.1/1F)%#\$-+!'1/)"'&%!1%/\$1-',D \$#+-%(1/)\$#J+!'1/');%')%#'??-\$?%2'!"% &+#+?1N\$)H%W/%1/\$%"+/?4%!\$(!\$?%+#\$+% &1-'(9%)\$#J\$)%+)%+%!\$(!'1/%+7+'/)!%#\$+-% \$)!+!\$%)&\$(0-+!'1/4%+)%'!%')%'--\$7+-%!1% ,09%+/?%)\$--%-+/?%2'!"'/%!"\$%#\$)\$#J\$)H% G12\$J\$#4%!"\$%!\$(!\$?%+#\$+%&1-'(9%"+)% +-)1%K1#,'??\$/%;+/9%!#+?'!'1/+-%-'J\$-'D "11?%+(!'J'!'\$)H%B"\$)\$%&1-'('\$)%"+J\$%!21% 1&&1)'/7%\$KK\$(!)H%W/%1/\$%"+/?4%!"\$9%&0)"% #\$)'?\$/!)%!1%-11C%K1#%1!"\$#%'/(1;\$%)10#(\$)% !"#107"%!"\$%!10#');%'/?0)!#9%+/?%,09%'/!1% the commodification of their community ,9%10!)'?\$%!10#')!)H%g\$!%!\$(!\$?%+#\$+% &1-'(9%+-)1%K1#(\$)%!"\$;%'/!1%+%)!+!\$%1K% /\$7-\$(!%,9%+/?%?\$&\$/?\$/(9%1/%!"\$%T+#+!9% 71J\$#/;\$/!4%?0\$%!1%!"\$%)!'&0-+!'1/%!"+!% !"\$9%;0)!%#\$;+'/%Z!#+?'!'1/+-%3+'w+#+)4[% !1%#\$;+'/%'/)'?\$%!"\$%!\$(!\$?%+#\$+)4%9\$!% 0)'/7%#\$)10#(\$)%K1#%!#+?'!'1/+-%3+'w+#+% +#!')+/+-%+/?%)O,)')!\$/(\$%+(!'J'!'\$)%')%

+,10!%!"\$%K0#!"\$#%!\$##'!1#'+-'@+!'1/%1K% !"\$'#%-+/?%1/%!21%K#1/!)H%W/\$%')%!"\$% #\$(+!\$71#'@+!'1/%1K%!"\$%!\$(!\$?%+#\$+H% T1))',-\$%10!(1;\$)%+#\$%!"+!%P>%!"\$%+#\$+% (10-?%,\$(1;\$%+%&+#C%+/?%!"\$9%(10-?%,\$% \$J'(!\$?%1#%K1#,'??\$/%K#1;%+/9%K0!0#\$% (1/)! #0(!'1/4% > 8!"\$98(10-?87+'/8+8(1--\$(D)!'J\$%-+/?%!'!-\$%+/?%!"\$%#\$)\$#J\$%210-?% ,\$(1;\$%+%.0)!+'/+,-\$%I\$J\$-1&;\$/!%<\$)\$#J\$4% 1#%m>%'/?'J'?0+-%-+/?%!'!-\$)%7#+/!\$?%!1% \$+("%#\$)'?\$/!4%2"'("%210-?%)&\$\$?%0&%!"\$% /\$1-',\$#+-'@+!'1/%(\$))%\$N&-+'/\$?%,9% *71\$%+/?%^#1(C'/7!1/%=\RR1>4%!"+!%!\$##'D !1#'+-'@+!'1/%+/?%#\$+-%\$)!+!\$%J+-0\$)% '/(#\$+)\$%2"\$/%'/?'J'?0+-%-+/?%#'7"!)%\$N')!% +/?%\$/!\$#%!"\$%;+#C\$!H%<\$)'?\$/!)%+-#\$+?9%)\$--%&-1!)%1K%-+/?%0/?\$#%!"\$%!+,-\$4%,0!% interviewees were horrifed by the idea 1K%!"\$%-\$7+-'@+!'1/4%)'/(\$%(1--\$(!'J\$% -+/?%#'7"!)%!\$(!%+7+'/)!%#\$+-%\$)!+!\$%)&\$(0-+!'1/4%\$)&\$('+--9%,9%31/?1;'/'1% X+#+/6\$'#+)482"182+/!8!18+(V0'#\$8!"\$'#8-+/?4%+((1#?'/7%!1%)1;\$%#\$)'?\$/!)%+/?% ('#(0;)!+/!'+-%\$J'?\$/(\$%'/%!"\$%+#\$+H B"\$%-'!\$#+!0#\$%+??#\$))'/7%#\$)')!+/(\$% !1%/\$1-',\$#+-%(1/)\$#J+!'1/');%K#\$V0\$/!-9% +??#\$))\$)%&1-'(9%'!)\$-K4%,0!%!"')%')%J\$#9% diffcult in the Praia do Sono commuD /'!94%2"'("%"+)%-';'!\$?%)1('+-%(+&'!+-%?0\$% !1%1&\$#+!'1/%1K%7#12!"%;+("'/\$%?9/+;'()% K+J1#'/7%'/!\$#\$)!)%1K%\$-'!\$%31/?1;'/'1% X+#+/6\$'#+)\$+/?\$;'??-\$D(-+))\$!10#')!)\$1J\$#!#+?'!'1/+-%+/?%'/?'7\$/10)%&\$1&-\$H%

>0&(2"\$I-/")*#

 $\begin{array}{l} h \# 12! "\$; + ("'/\$\$?9/+; '()\$+ \#\$\$'/\$! "\$\$ \\ '/'! '+-\$)! + 7\$) \$'/\$T\#+'+\$?1\$.1/14\$+) \$'!\$') \$ \\ (0 \# \#\$/! - 9\$' - -\$7+-\$!1 \& 0 \# ("+) \$\$-+/?\$'/\$! "\$\$ \\ (1;; 0/'!94\$+/?\$(1/)! \# 0(!'1/\$?\$J\$-1&; \$/!\$ \\ ')\$"'7" - 9\$ \#\$70-+!\$?\$, 9\$! "\$\$$/J' <math>\# 1/;\$/!+-\$$, 1?'\$) # 31 % % 1. #

.'/(\$\\$+\\$K0--\\$;0-!'D+(!1\\$\\$!\"/17\#+\&\"9\\$
2+)\\$/1!\\$\&1))',-\\$\\$2'!\"'/\\$!\\\$\)(1\&\\$\\$1K\\$
!\"')\\$)!0?94\\$'!\\$')\\$';\&1))',-\\$\!1\!\"1\#D

107" - 9% + / + - 9@\$% + / 9% + (11#)4%11"\$#%1" + / %1"\$%T#+'+%?1%.1/1%#\$)'?\$/!)4%2'!"%!"\$%?+!+% (1--\$(!\$?H%G12\$J\$#4%#\$)'?\$/!)%1K%T#+'+% ?1%.1/1%1KK\$#\$?%'/!\$#&#\$!+!'1/)%1K%!"\$% +(!'1/)%1K%!"\$%;0/'('&+-%71J\$#/;\$/!%+/?% 31/?1;'/'1%X+#+/6\$'#+)H%B"\$%;1)!%'//1(D 010)%'/!\$#&#\$!+!'1/%')%!"+!%31/?1;'/'1% X+#+/6\$'#+)%60)!%2+/!)%&\$+(\$4%V0'\$!4%+/?%)\$(0#'!9%K1#%!"\$'#%\$-'!\$%#\$)'?\$/!)4%+/?% &+#!%1K%!"+!%)+K\$!9%'/(-0?\$)%-';'!'/7%+((\$))%1K%&\$1&-\$4%!10#')!)4%+/?%-10?% !#0(C)%2'!"%(1/)!#0(!'1/%;+!\$#'+-)H%:-1/7%!"1)\$%-'/\$)4%#\$)'?\$/!)%'/%!"')%(+!\$71#9% ,\$-'\$J\$%!"\$%\$/J'#1/;\$/!+-%+7\$/('\$)%+#\$% \$/?+/7\$#\$?%:!-+/!'(%e1#\$)!%K#1;%K0#!"\$#% ?\$)!#0(!'1/H%B"\$)\$%!"\$1#'\$)%210-?%/1!% K1--12%!"\$%7#12!"%;+("'/\$H

bcd

B#,),2-*/#\$2-/2)/,

:) \$! "\$ 9 \$" + J \$ \$? 1 / \$ 8" ') ! 1 # ' (+--94 \$ T # + ' + \$? 1 \$. 1 / 1 F) \$, '77 \$) ! \$) ! # \$ / 7! " \$ ') \$ ' / ? ' J ' ? 0 + - \$ # \$) ' - ' \$ / (\$ \$ + / ? \$ # \$) ') ! + / (\$ H \$ W / \$ \$ (1; 0 / ' D ! 9 D , +) \$? \$ ' / '! ' + ! ' J \$ \$! " + ! \$) \$ \$;) \$! 1 \$ 1 K K \$ # \$ & # 1; ') \$ \$ ') \$ K 0 # ! " \$ # \$ \$? 0 (+! ' 1 / 8 K 1 # \$! 1 0 # ') !) \$ 1 / \$ 3 + ' w + # + \$ (0 - ! 0 # \$, 9 \$ " + J ' / 7 \$ + \$ T # + ' + \$? 1 \$ & 1 / 1 \$ 3 + ' w + # + \$; 0) \$ 0; \$ 1 K \$ 1 ; \$ \$) 1 # ! \$ ' / \$! " \$ \$ (1; ; 0 / ' ! 9 H \$ B " ') \$ 2 1 0 - ? \$, \$ \$ + \$ 7 1 1 ? \$) 1 - 0 ! ' 1 / \$ K 1 # \$ C \$ \$ & ' / 7 \$ + - ' J \$ \$! " \$ \$ 3 + ' w + # * \$ ' ? \$ / ! ' ! 9 \$ + / ? \$! + C' / 7 \$, + (C \$ + 7 \$ / (9 \$ 1 J \$ # \$! " \$ ' # \$ 1 2 / 8 / + # # + D tive , and be a beneft in the legal paradox inficted by the current environmental & 1 - ' (' \$) H \$ G 1 2 \$ J \$ # 4 \$! " ') \$ 2 1 0 - ? \$ + -) 1 \$ K 0 # ! " \$ # \$