# Twitter in the Parliament - A Text-based Analysis of German Political Entities

### Patrick Schulze, Simon Wiegrebe

Project partners: Prof. Dr. Paul W. Thurner, Sandra Wankmller (Geschwister Scholl Institute of Political Science, LMU)

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Christian Heumann, Matthias Aenmacher

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### Introduction

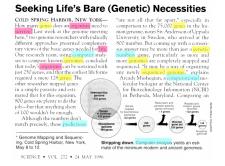
- Huge amounts of data, especially text, produced by social media
- Field of particular interest in the context of social media and big data: Politics (e.g., Brexit, 2016 presidential election in the US, Facebook data scandal)
- Tools of analysis for such data simultaneously provided by advances in Natural Language Processing (NLP)
- Topic analysis: analytical tool for discovery and exploration of latent thematic clusters within text

### Introduction

### Key contributions of this project:

- Construction of dataset containing Twitter posts by members of the German Bundestag and a variety of metadata
- Application of the Structural Topic Model (STM), introduced by Roberts, Stewart, and Airoldi (2016), to German MPs' Twitter communication
- Development of new tools for estimation of relationship between topic proportions and metadata
- Application of STM-specific train-test split to enable causal inference

Motivating example: excerpt from a scientific article (Blei, 2012a)



• Question at hand: how to assign colored words to topics?

Notation and Terminology (I)

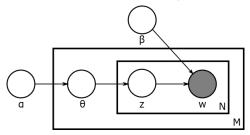
- Words w: instances of a vocabulary of V unique terms
- Documents  $d \in \{1, ..., D\}$ : sequences of words of length  $N_d$ ;  $w_{d,n}$  denoting n-th word of document d
- Corpus: collection (or set) of D documents
- Topics  $k \in \{1, ..., K\}$ : latent thematic clusters within a text corpus; (implicit) representation of a corpus
- Topic-word distributions  $\beta$ : probability distributions over words;  $\beta_k$  denoting the word distribution corresponding to the k-th topic

Notation and Terminology (II)

- Topic assignments  $\mathbf{z}_{d,n}$ : assignment of  $w_{d,n}$  to a specific topic  $k \in \{1,\ldots,K\}$ ;  $\boldsymbol{\beta}_{d,n}$  representing the (assigned) word distribution for  $w_{d,n}$
- Topic proportions  $\theta_d$ : proportions of document d's words assigned to each of the topics;  $\sum_{k=1}^K \theta_{d,k} = 1$ , for all  $d \in \{1, \dots, D\}$
- Bag-of-word assumption: only words themselves meaningful, unlike word order or grammar; equivalent to assuming exchangeability

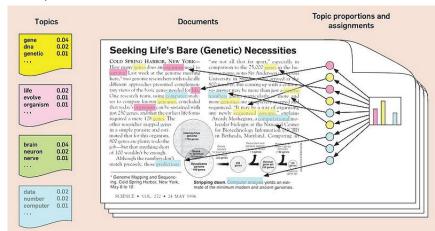
#### Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) (I)

- First topic model with entirely probabilistic generating process: LDA (Blei, Ng, and Jordan, 2003)
- Generative process for each document  $d \in \{1, ..., D\}$ :
  - 1) Draw topic proportions  $heta_d \sim \operatorname{Dir}_K(lpha)$ .
  - 2) For each word  $n \in \{1, \dots, N_d\}$ :
    - a) Draw a topic assignment  $z_{d,n} \sim \mathsf{Multinomial}_K(\theta_d)$ .
    - b) Draw a word  $w_{d,n} \sim \text{Multinomial}_V(\beta_{d,n})$ .
- Graphical model representation of LDA (Blei, Ng, and Jordan, 2003):



#### Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) (II)

 Illustration of topic assignment for the words of a document (Blei, 2012b):

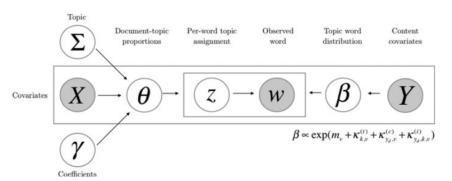


Structural Topic Model (STM)

- Topic model that incorporates document-level metadata:
  - Topical prevalence covariates  $\mathbf{X} = [\mathbf{x_1}| \dots | \mathbf{x_D}]^T \in \mathbb{R}^{D \times P}$
  - Categorical *topical content* variable  $Y \in \mathbb{R}^D$  with A levels, i.e.,  $Y_d \in \{1, \dots, A\}$ , for all  $d \in \{1, \dots, D\}$
- Generative process for each document  $d \in \{1, ..., D\}$ :
  - 1) Draw  $\eta_d \sim \mathcal{N}_{K-1}(\mathbf{\Gamma}^T \mathbf{x_d}^T, \mathbf{\Sigma})$ , with  $\eta_{d,K} = 0$  for model identifiability.
  - 2) Normalize  $\eta_d$ , for all  $k \in \{1, \dots, K\}$ :  $\theta_{d,k} = \frac{\exp(\eta_{d,k})}{\sum_{i=1}^K \exp(\eta_{d,i})}$ .
  - 3) For each word  $n \in \{1, \dots, N_d\}$ :
    - a) Draw topic assignment  $z_{d,n} \sim \mathsf{Multinomial}_K(\theta_d)$ .
    - b) If no topical content variable specified:  $w_{d,n} \sim \text{Multinomial}_V(\beta_{d,n})$ . Otherwise, determine document-specific word distributions  $B_a := [\beta_1^a|\dots|\beta_K^a]$  based on  $Y_d = a$ , for all topics  $k \in \{1,\dots,K\}$ ; select  $\beta_{d,n} := B_a z_{d,n}$ ; and draw word  $w_{d,n} \sim \text{Multinomial}_V(\beta_{d,n})$ .

#### Graphical Model of the STM

• Visualization of the generative process again through graphical model (Roberts, Stewart, and Airoldi, 2016):



Inference and Parameter Estimation

- (Hierarchical) Bayesian model  $\Rightarrow$  exact inference impossible due to marginal distributions in the denominator of posterior distribution p
- ullet Variational inference: positing a simple distribution family q for latent variables ullet and z
- Mean-field variational inference: positing full factorizability of approximating posterior q, i.e.,  $q(\theta, z) = q(\theta)q(z)$
- Then: minimizing Kullback-Leibler divergence between q and p
- STM uses a mean-field variational EM algorithm:
  - ullet E-step: update posterior distributions of latent variables  $oldsymbol{ heta}$  and  $oldsymbol{z}$
  - M-step: update model parameters  $\Gamma$ ,  $\Sigma$ , and if present topical content parameters

## Data

#### Data Collection (I)

 MP-level data: from www.bundestag.de/abgeordnete using BeautifulSoup (Richardson, 2007) and a selenium web driver in Python (Van Rossum and Drake Jr, 1995)

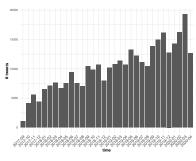


- Twitter profiles: from official party homepages
- Socioeconomic data and 2017 German federal election results: from www.bundeswahlleiter.de

## Data

### Data Collection (II)

- Tweets (and further Twitter features): via the official Twitter API using Python's tweepy library(Roesslein, 2020)
- Monthly tweets (after dropping MPs without electoral district) for our period of analysis, September 24, 2017 through April 24, 2020:



In the following: grouping each MP's tweets on a monthly basis

## Data

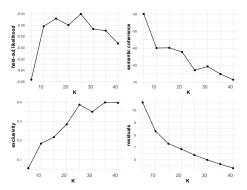
#### **Data Preprocessing**

- Preprocessing: in R (R Core Team, 2020), using the quanteda package (Benoit et al., 2018)
- $\bullet$  Transcription of German umlauts (e.g.  $\ddot{a} \rightarrow a)$  and ligature (B  $\rightarrow$  ss)
- Removal of hyphens: relevant for compound words (e.g., Corona-Krise vs Coronakrise)
- Transformation of text data into document-feature matrix (DFM);
   conversion to lowercase; removal of stopwords, units (kg, uhr),
   interjections (aaahhh, ufff), etc.
- Word stemming, i.e., cutting off word endings (e.g.,  $politisch \rightarrow polit$ ) (Lucas et al., 2015)

## Model Selection and Global Characteristics

#### Model Selection

Model evaluation metrics for hyperparameter K (number of topics):



• "Best" trade-off: K = 15

## Model Selection and Global Characteristics

#### Labeling (I)

- Three-step procedure for labeling
- First step: top words for different weighting methodologies

Topic 1 Top Words:

Highest Prob: buerg, link, merkel, frau, sich

FREX: altpartei, islam, linksextremist, asylbewerb, linksextrem Lift: eitan, 22jaehrig, abdelsamad, abgehalftert, afdforder

Score: altpartei, linksextremist, frauenkongress, islamist, boehring

Topic 3 Top Words:

Highest Prob: brauch, wichtig, leid, dank, klar

FREX: emissionshandel, soli, marktwirtschaft, feedback, co2steu

Lift: aequivalenz, altersvorsorgeprodukt, bildungsqualitaet, co2limit, co2meng

Score: emissionshandel, co2limit, basisrent, euet, technologieoff

Topic 4 Top Words:

Highest Prob: sozial, miet, kind, arbeit, brauch

FREX: mindestlohn, miet, wohnungsbau, mieterinn, loehn

Lift: auseinanderfaellt, baugipfel, bestandsmiet, billigflieg, binnennachfrag

Score: miet, mieterinn, mietendeckel, grundsicher, bezahlbar

Topic 6 Top Words:

Highest Prob: gruen, klimaschutz, brauch, klar, euro

FREX: fossil, erneuerbar, kohleausstieg, verkehrsminist, verkehrsw Lift: abgasbetrug, abgebaggert, abschalteinricht, abschaltet, ammoniak

Score: erneuerbar, fossil, zdebel, verkehrsminist, klimaschutz

# Model Selection and Global Characteristics Labeling (II)

• Word cloud of *Highest Prob* top words (for topic 1):



Word size corresponding to word frequency in topic 1

# Model Selection and Global Characteristics Labeling (III)

 Second step: looking at documents (i.e., original tweets) with highest proportion of topic 1



Ehem. Verfassungsrichter bestätigt AfD-Forderung: Zurückweisung illegaler Migranten dringend geboten. Gegenwärtige Politik widerspricht dem Verstand und auch der Verfassung. Wir müssen zurück zu Recht & Ordnung, wie die #AfD seit fast 3 Jahren fordert!



Hans-Jürgen Papier hält Zurückweisung von Migranten an deutscher Grenze für ... Im Asylstreit meldet sich nun Ex-Verfassungsrichter Papier zu Wort. Die Zurückweisung von Migranten an den Grenzen sei zwingend nötig, schreibt er in... Ø welt.de

# Model Selection and Global Characteristics Labeling (IV)

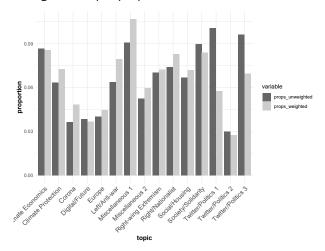
Third step: assigning labels

Topic 1	Right/Nationalist
Topic 2	Miscellaneous 1
Topic 3	Climate Economics
Topic 4	Social/Housing
Topic 5	Digital/Future
Topic 6	Climate Protection
Topic 7	Europe
Topic 8	Corona
Topic 9	Left/Anti-war
Topic 10	Twitter/Politics 1
Topic 11	Twitter/Politics 2
Topic 12	Miscellaneous 2
Topic 13	Twitter/Politics 3
Topic 14	Right-wing Extremism
Topic 15	Society/Solidarity

# Model Selection and Global Characteristics

Global Topic Proportions

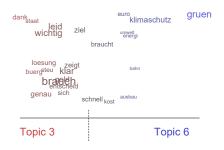
• Illustration of global topic proportions:

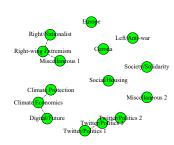


## Model Selection and Global Characteristics

#### Global Topic Correlations

• Vocabulary overlap (left) and topic correlations (right):





#### Overview

- Explore estimated topical structure with respect to different dimensions, e.g. membership in political party, time, ...
- Precisely: examine relationship between document-level prevalence covariates  $x_d$  and topic proportions  $\theta_d$
- Natural idea: regress topic proportions on prevalence covariates
- Problem:  $\theta_d$  is *latent* variable and has to be estimated itself!
- In following two approaches to address this problem:
  - ① Regression that takes into account uncertainty about  $\theta_d$ : perform sampling technique known as "method of composition" in social sciences
  - 2 Direct assessment of STM output via logistic normal distribution with estimated topical prevalence parameters  $\hat{\Gamma}$  and  $\hat{\Sigma}$

#### Method of Composition

- Let  $\theta_{(k)} := (\theta_{1,k}, \dots, \theta_{D,k})^T \in [0,1]^D$  denote proportion of k-th topic for all D documents
- Method of Composition (repeat m times):
  - ① Sample  $heta_{(k)}^*$  from (variational) posterior of  $heta_{(k)}$  estimated by STM
  - 2 Run regression model with response  $\theta_{(k)}^*$  and covariates  $\boldsymbol{X}$  to obtain estimate  $\hat{\boldsymbol{\xi}}^*$  of regression coefficients  $\boldsymbol{\xi}^*$  and covariance of  $\hat{\boldsymbol{\xi}}^*$ ,  $\hat{\boldsymbol{V}}_{\boldsymbol{\xi}}^*$
  - 3 Sample  $\tilde{\boldsymbol{\xi}}^*$  from  $F(\hat{\boldsymbol{\xi}}^*, \hat{\boldsymbol{V}}_{\varepsilon}^*)$ , where F is (asymptotic) distribution of  $\hat{\boldsymbol{\xi}}^*$
- ullet Idea: samples  $ilde{oldsymbol{\xi}}^*$  take into account uncertainty in  $heta_{(k)}$
- Visualization of topic-metadata relationship: For observation  $x_{\text{pred}}$ , plot  $x_{\text{pred}}$  vs. predicted response with  $x_{\text{pred}}^T \tilde{\xi}^*$  as linear predictor

Method of Composition: Problems

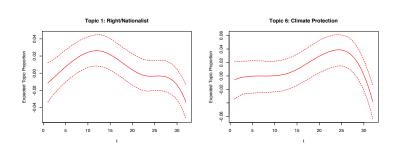
### Several problems with method of composition:

- In STM, regression model in step 2 is OLS; however OLS not appropriate to model (sampled) proportions in open unit interval
- Mixing of Bayesian and frequentist approach questionable:
  - From Bayesian perspective,  $\tilde{\boldsymbol{\xi}}^*$  can only be considered sample from posterior of  $\boldsymbol{\xi}$  in certain Bayesian regression models with questionable (uniform) prior assumptions
  - Using  $\mathbf{x}_{\text{pred}}^T \tilde{\mathbf{\xi}}^*$  as linear predictor does *not* yield sample of posterior predictive distribution
- Separate modeling of topic proportions neglects dependence of different topics among each other

Problem 1: OLS Regression

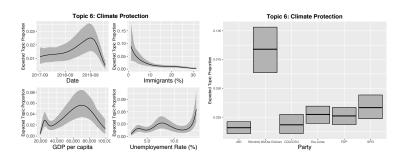
Method of Composition: Usage within R Package stm

- Problem: OLS regression not suitable for (sampled) proportions,
   which are restricted to interval (0,1)
- Estimated relationship between proportions and prevalence covariates might even involve negative proportions:



#### Method of Composition: Extension of existing approach

 Instead of OLS regression, we can use a beta regression or a quasibinomial GLM (both with logit-link) to adequately model proportions



Problem 2: Mixing of Bayesian and Frequentist Approach

Mixing of Bayesian and Frequentist Approach

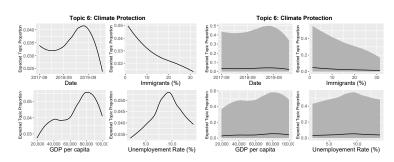
- Regression within of method of composition is frequentist regression
- However, in STM  $\tilde{\boldsymbol{\xi}}^*$  considered samples from (marginal, i.e., integrated over latent topic proportions) posterior of regression coefficients; only true by assuming uniform priors for  $\boldsymbol{\xi}$
- Caution: uncertainty from previous plots with respect to prediction of mean ⇒ does not reflect variation of topic proportions in data!
- Better idea: fully Bayesian approach with more realistic priors and sampling from posterior predictive distribution to reflect variation of data

Fully Bayesian Approach: Idea

- Idea: explicitly perform Bayesian regression in second step of each iteration of method of composition
- Modeling via beta regression (with normal priors centered around zero) in order to model proportions in (0,1)
- Visualization: Sample proportions from posterior predictive distribution at end of each step of method of composition (i.e., conditioning on previously sampled  $\theta^*_{(k)}$ ) with covariate values  $\mathbf{x}_{\text{pred}}$

#### Fully Bayesian Approach: Results

- Predicted (empirical) mean mostly in line with results from previous analysis
- Uncertainty now w.r.t. variation of topic proportions in data
- Observed variation for topic proportions corresponds well to variation according to predictive posterior



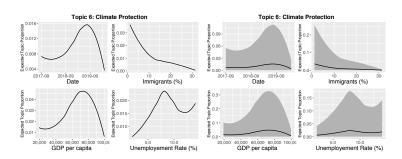
Problem 3: Univariate Modeling of Topic Proportions

Approach to Multivariate Modeling of Proportions (I)

- ullet Remember, by assumption:  $oldsymbol{ heta}_d \sim \mathsf{LogisticNormal}(oldsymbol{\Gamma}^T oldsymbol{x}_d^T, oldsymbol{\Sigma})$
- Logistic normal distribution assumes high dependence among individual components ⇒ not fully taken into account in univariate modeling via, e.g., the beta distribution
- Inference within STM involves finding estimates  $\hat{\Gamma}$  and  $\hat{\Sigma} \Rightarrow$  Idea: plug estimates into logistic normal distribution
- For given covariate value  $\mathbf{x}_{\text{pred}}$ , obtain topic proportion as  $\boldsymbol{\theta}_d^* \sim \text{LogisticNormal}(\hat{\boldsymbol{\Gamma}}^T \mathbf{x}_{\text{pred}}^T, \hat{\boldsymbol{\Sigma}})$

#### Approach to Multivariate Modeling of Proportions (II)

- Plugging in  $\Gamma$  and  $\hat{\Sigma}$  is "naïve" method: ideally sample prevalence parameters from their posterior  $\Rightarrow$  would yield higher variation
- However, not easily possible ⇒ should be addressed in future implementations



Correlation vs. Causality (I)



Correlation vs. Causality (II)

- In previous section: assessment of relationship between metadata and topic proportions
- Framework to be used to explore topics with respect to different dimensions
- In particular, causal interpretation of results generally not justified ("correlation vs. causality")
- When making causal inference, need to consider that topic proportions are *latent* variables
- Possible solution: conducting a train-test split

#### Identification Problem and Overfitting

- Setup: two groups (treatment and control), individuals otherwise similar
- Objective: quantifying treatment effect, in our case effect of treatment on prevalence of specific topic.
- Necessary assumption: response of an individual depending only on their treatment
- Identification problem: estimating topic model to discover latent topic proportions can introduce additional dependency among individuals
   ⇒ response of each individual not only determined by treatment of that individual!
- Overfitting: fitted topic model might mistake noise for patterns in some way 

  response again not solely determined by treatment of an individual, but additionally by specific characteristics of other individuals

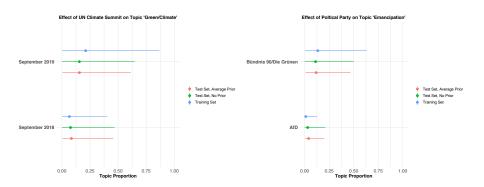
#### Train-test split

- ullet Idea: splitting data  ${\cal D}$  into training set  ${\cal D}_{\sf train}$  and test set  ${\cal D}_{\sf test}$
- $\bullet$  Training set  $\mathcal{D}_{\text{train}}$  used to determine a model that infers latent topic proportions from a given text
- ullet Test set  $\mathcal{D}_{\text{test}}$  used to assess relation between *predicted* test set topic proportions and test set prevalence covariates
- Identification problem solved: model used for prediction determined by training set observations ⇒ treatment of test set observations not dependent on other individuals' treatment from test set.
- Overfitting also solved: noise from training set very unlikely to be replicated on test set

#### Implementation within the STM

- Inputting documents, i.e., words and metadata from the training set  $\mathcal{D}_{\text{train}}$ , to obtain estimates  $(\hat{\boldsymbol{\beta}}_{\text{train}}, \hat{\boldsymbol{\Gamma}}_{\text{train}}, \hat{\boldsymbol{\Sigma}}_{\text{train}})$  using the STM
- Then, estimating (variational) posterior of test set topic proportions, conditional on the model parameters  $(\hat{\beta}_{train}, \hat{\Gamma}_{train}, \hat{\Sigma}_{train})$  from training set  $\mathcal{D}_{train}$  as well as words  $\mathbf{W}_{test}$  from test set  $\mathcal{D}_{test}$
- Estimation of (variational) posterior conditional on data and training set parameters via E-step of (variational) EM algorithm
- Benefit of using the STM: covariate information from training set directly used to predict topic proportions on test set
- Important: Covariate information from test set must not be used!
  - Otherwise: predicting different topic proportions for two documents from test set with exact same words if prevalence covariates differ
  - However, causal effect should be zero in such a case!

## Results (I)

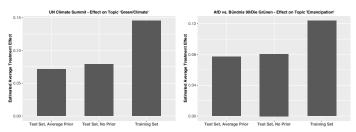


#### Results (II)

- UN Climate Action Summit 2019 held on September 23, 2019
- As observed, topic associated with climate issues much more prevalent during that time than the year before
- MAP estimates for different prior specifications on test set rather similar, yet estimated effect for training data much larger
- Similar results for effect of political party on topic labeled as 'Emancipation': average difference of estimated topic proportions between both parties larger for the training data
- Additionally: credible intervals on the training data different from those on the test data in both cases

Results (III)

 Estimation of treatment effect: determining the average difference of predicted topic proportions between both groups



 Treatment effect larger if "naïvely" estimated solely on training data in both cases!

## Discussion

#### Summary

- Creation of broad dataset including large-scale unstructured text and variety of metadata ⇒ use in future (politological) analyses
- Exemplification of topic analysis for German parliamentarians' Twitter communication
- Critical discussion of existing tools and development of new approaches regarding estimation of topic-metadata relationships
- Detailed illustration of train-test framework for causal inference within the STM

## Discussion

#### Suggestions for Future Research

- Holistic framework for estimation of topic-metadata relationships investigation of effect size and especially importance, for instance through fully Bayesian approach using MCMC
- Identification of natural experiments for causal inference
- Research into alternative model designs, beyond STM (and LDA)

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