

Appeals to class politics

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SICCS 2023, Berlin
13th July

Motivation

1. Change in class voting
2. Increased competition for working class vote

Research Questions

How does politicians' rhetoric appeal to “class politics”? How does it change

- .1 over time
- .2 by ideological position
- .3 in different contexts

Case selection

Presidential Debates

- a. 1960-2020
- b. Primary & General
- c. Democratic and Republican

Other options not chosen:

- a. Candidate websites
- b. Congress member websites (press releases, newsletters)
- c. Another website with presidential debates:

- few cases
- more standardized

Web scraping

presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-documents-archive-guidebook/presidential-campaigns-debates-and-endorsemen...      

Documents

ARCHIVE GUIDEBOOK

CATEGORIES

ATTRIBUTES

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PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

ARCHIVE COLLECTIONS ▼

Annual Messages To Congress On
The State Of The Union (Washington
1790 - The Present)

Inaugural Addresses

Farewell Addresses

Party Platforms And Nominating
Conventions

Presidential Campaigns, Debates,
And Endorsements

Executive Orders (Beginning With
J.Q. Adams)

Presidential Candidates Debates (1960-2020)

2020	General Election
October 22, 2020	Presidential Debate at Belmont University in Nashville, Tennessee
October 15, 2020	Presidential Debate in Miami, Florida CANCELLED on 10/9 (1)
September 29, 2020	Presidential Debate in Cleveland, Ohio
October 7, 2020	Vice Presidential Debate the University of Utah in Salt Lake City

2020	Primary Election: Democratic Party
March 15, 2020	Democratic Candidates Debate in Washington, DC
February 25, 2020	Democratic Candidates Debate in Charleston, South Carolina
February 19, 2020	Democratic Candidates Debate in Las Vegas, Nevada
February 7, 2020	Democratic Candidates Debate in Manchester, New Hampshire
January 14, 2020	Democratic Candidates Debate in Des Moines, Iowa
December 19, 2020	Democratic Candidates Debate in Los Angeles, California
November 20, 2019	Democratic Candidates Debate in Atlanta, Georgia
October 15, 2019	Democratic Candidates Debate in Westerville, Ohio
September 12, 2019	Democratic Candidates Debate in Houston, Texas
July 31, 2019	Democratic Candidates Debate in Detroit, Michigan: Group 2
July 30, 2019	Democratic Candidates Debate in Detroit, Michigan: Group 1
June 27, 2019	Democratic Candidates Debate in Miami, Florida: Group 2
June 26, 2019	Democratic Candidates Debate in Miami, Florida: Group 1

2016

General Election

Documents

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REMARKS BY ADMINISTRATION
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CONGRESSIONAL (29)



[DONALD J. TRUMP](#)

45th President of the United States: 2017 - 2021

Presidential Debate at Belmont University in Nashville, Tennessee

October 22, 2020

PARTICIPANTS:

Former Vice President Joe Biden (D) and
President Donald Trump (R)

MODERATOR:

Kristen Welker (NBC News)

WELKER: A very good evening to both of you. This debate will cover six major topics. At the beginning of each section, each candidate will have two minutes, uninterrupted, to answer my first question. The debate commission will then turn on their microphone only when it is their turn to answer, and the commission will turn it off exactly when the two minutes have expired. After that, both microphones will remain on, but on behalf of the voters, I'm going to ask you to please speak one at a time. The goal is for you to hear each other and for the American people to hear every word of what you both have to say. And so with that, if you're ready, let's start.

And we will begin with the fight against the coronavirus. President Trump, the first question is for you. The country is heading into a dangerous new phase. More than 40,000 Americans are in the hospital tonight with COVID, including record numbers here in Tennessee. And since the two of you last shared a stage, 16,000 Americans have died from COVID. So please be specific: how would you leave the country during this next stage of the coronavirus crisis? Two minutes, uninterrupted.

TRUMP: So, as you know, more 2.2 million people, modeled out, were expected to die. We closed up the greatest economy in the world in order to fight this horrible

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[Spoken Addresses and Remarks](#)

[Debates](#)



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LOCATION

Tennessee



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REPORT A TYPO

WILLIAMS: Governor Romney, for his part, the speaker said about you that were dancing on eggs during this campaign, a good salesman with a weak product. And even Chris Christie, one of the most popular politicians in this country, speaking on your behalf, said this weekend your challenge is "going to be how to connect with people."

Same question to you about electability.

ROMNEY: Well, I think this is going to come down to a question of leadership. I think as you choose the president of the United States, you're looking for a person who can lead this country in a very critical time, lead the free world, and the free world has to lead the entire world.

I think it's about leadership, and the Speaker was given an opportunity to be the leader of our party in 1994. And at the end of four years, he had to resign in disgrace.

SPEAKER

TEXT

Williams

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COLON	WILLIAMS: Governor Romney, for his part	“.”
BOLD	WILLIAMS: Governor Romney, for his part	,
ITALICS	<i>Gov. Romney.</i> Well, my strategy is pretty	, <i>
CAPITAL	MR. FRANKEL. Governor, since the	[A-Z]
PERIOD	Mr. Mondale. I believe that the question	“.”

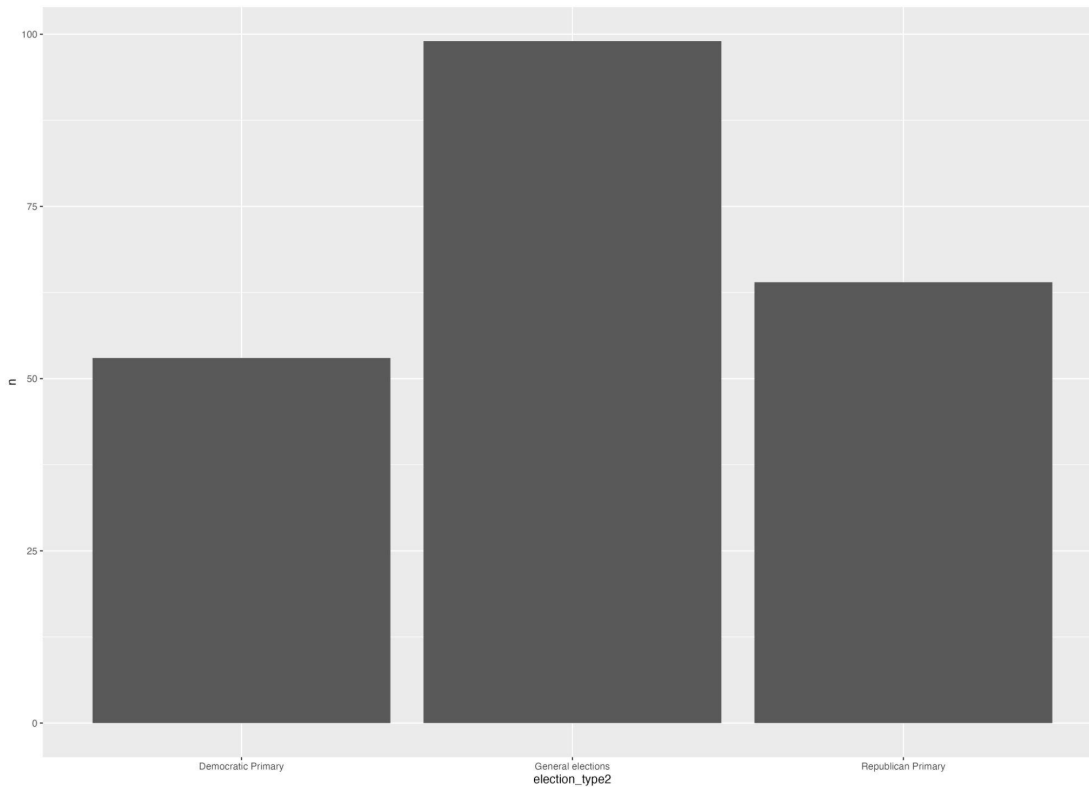
Data

Total number of debates: 166

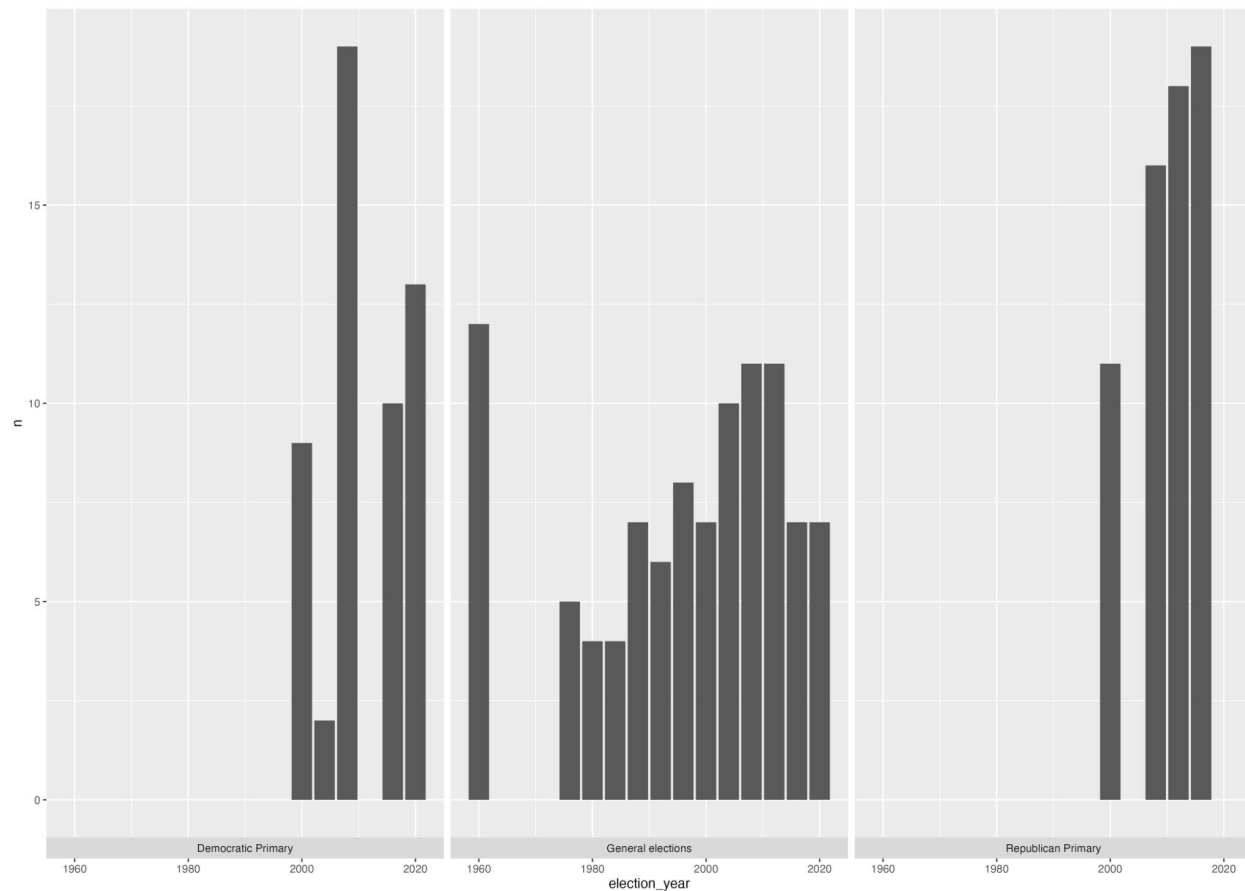
Democratic Primary: 53

General elections: 99

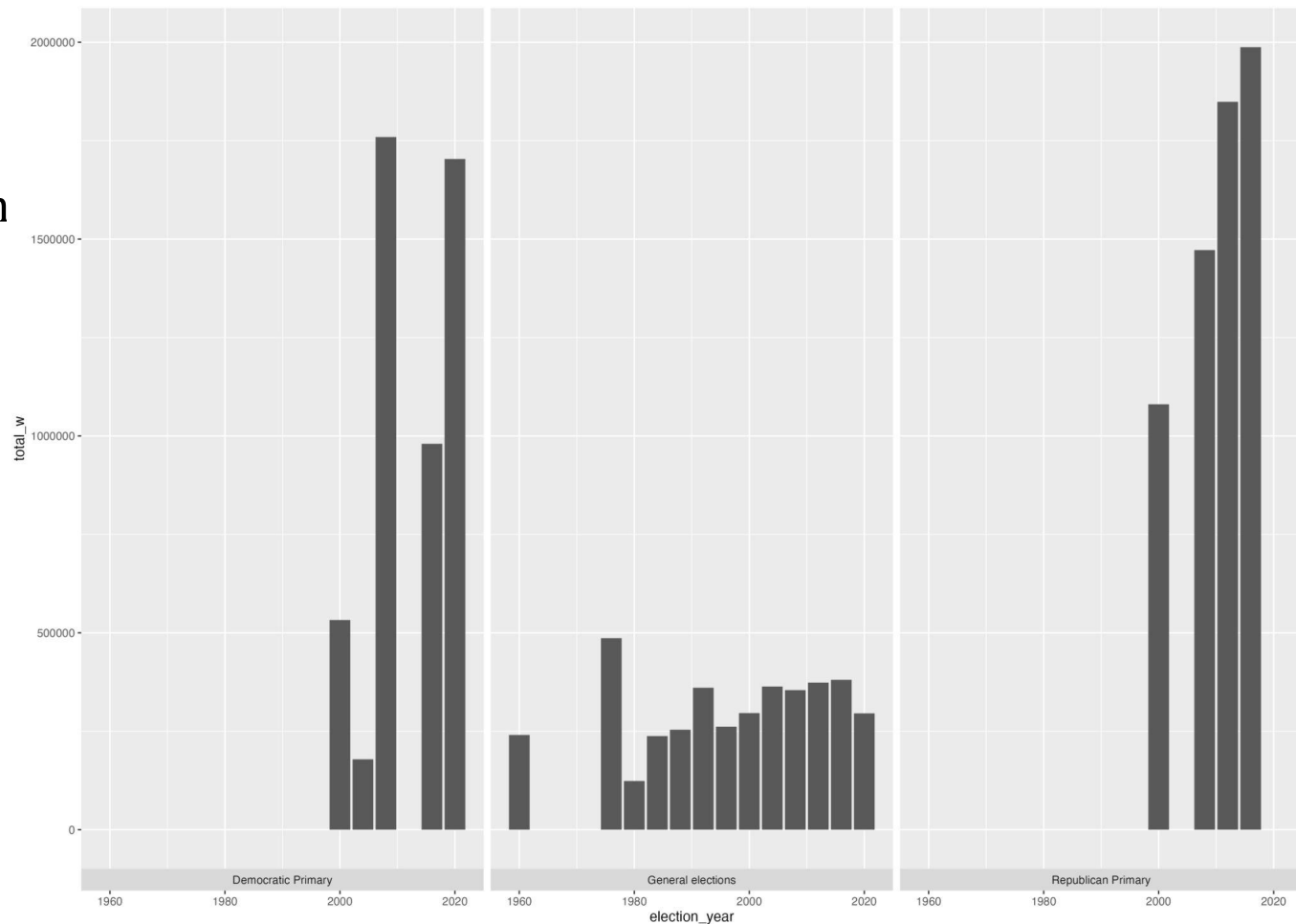
Republican Primary: 64



Number of speeches by year of election and type of election



Number of words by year of election and type of election



Analysis 1: The dictionary

workers <- c("worker")

working_people <- c("Working people", "Working families", "Working Americans", "working American", "working poor", "blue collar", "blue-collar", "wage-earners")

working_class <- c("working class", "Working-class")

Aggregated in a generic **working-class related dictionary**

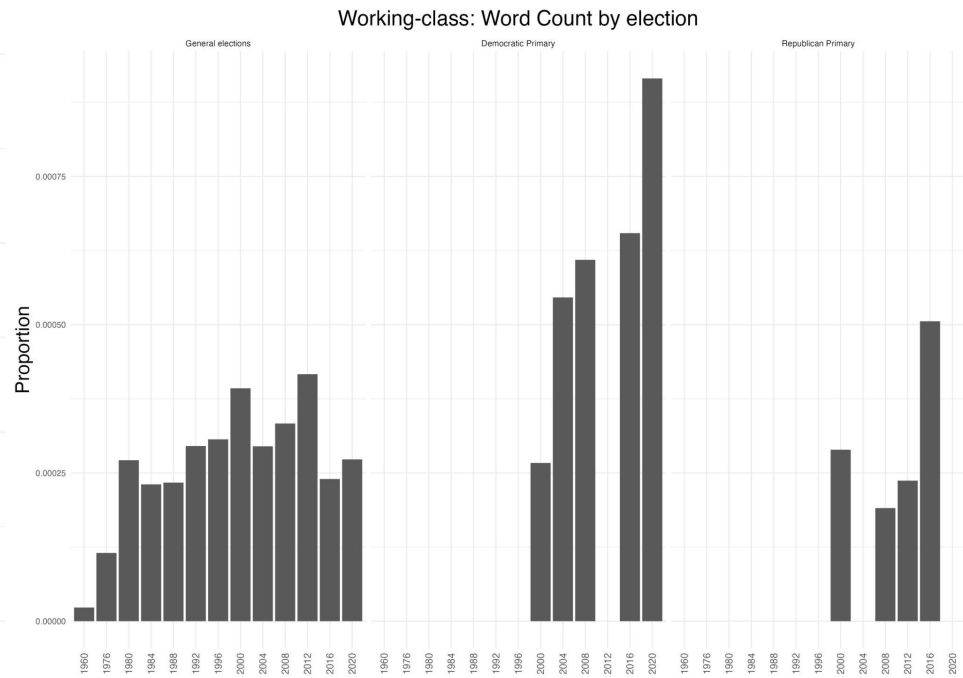
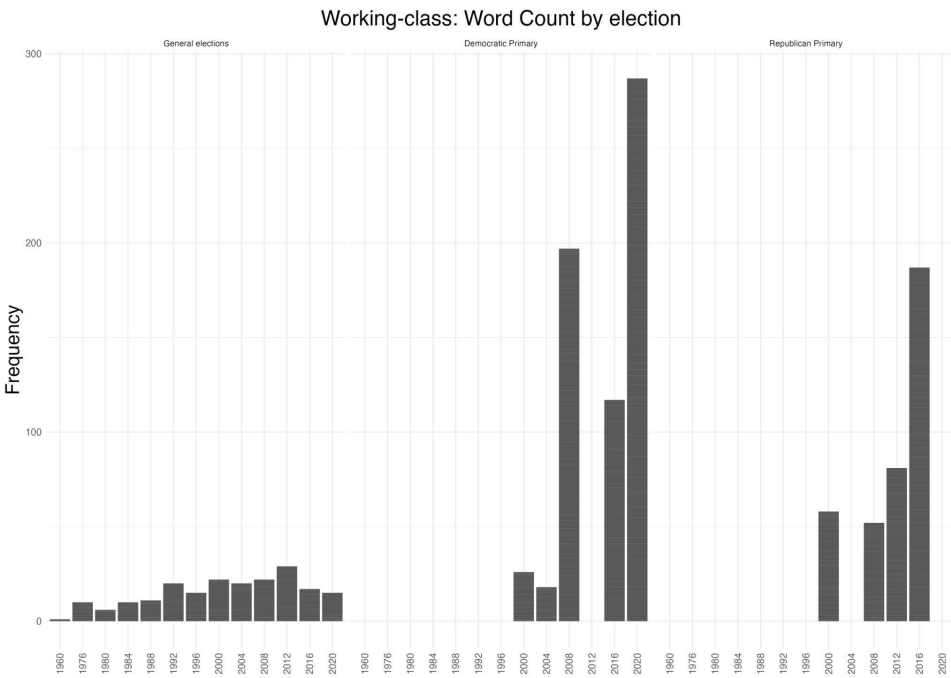
political_elites <- c("political elite", "power elite", "career politician", "career-politician", "washington insider", "political insider", "professional politician")

economic_elites <- c("upper class", "the rich", "the wealthy", "upper-class", "wealthy interests", "ultra wealthy", "ultra-wealthy", "super rich", "super-rich", "mega-rich", "wealthy few", "privileged few", "priveleged class", "economic elite", "People at the top", "those at the top", "millionaire", "billionaire", "top 1%", "top 0.1 percent", "top 1 percent", "top one percent", "the 1%", "the 0.1 percent", "the 1 percent", "the one percent", "richest 1%", "richest 0.1 percent", "richest 1 percent", "richest one percent", "wealthiest 1%", "wealthiest 0.1 percent", "wealthiest 1 percent", "wealthiest one percent")

Aggregated in a generic **anti-elite related dictionary**

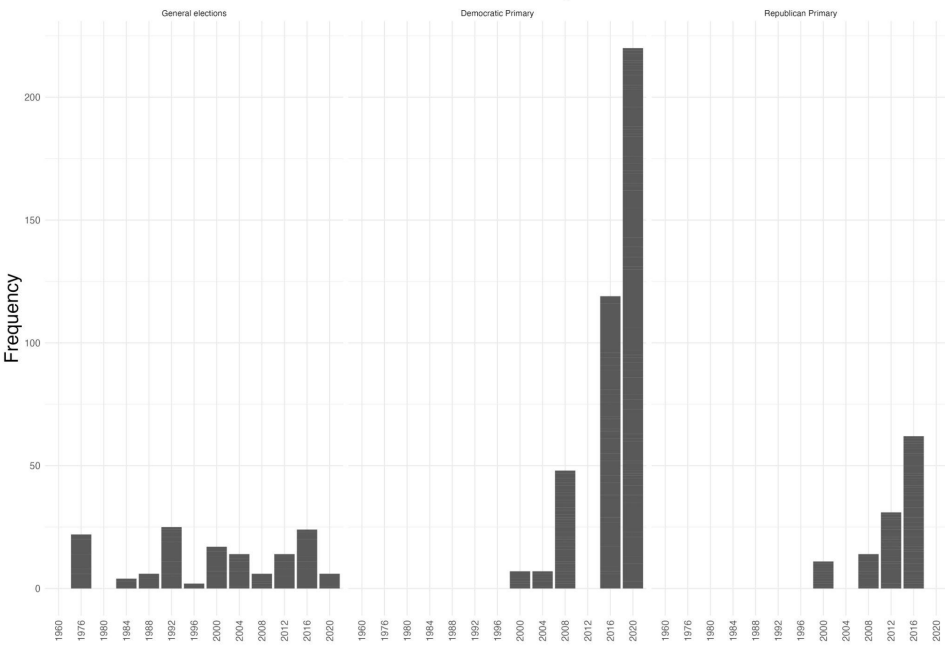
! Need for a weight: count of the dictionary words used / count of the total words used

Working-class related dictionary



Anti-elite related dictionary

Anti-elite: Word Count by election



Analysis 2: Words Embedding \approx

1. Problem with dictionary:
 - a. Biased
 - b. Non-comprehensive

2. Solution:
 - a. use word embedding to “discover” relevant dictionary

Q1: What are the co-contextual words for “working class” and “anti-elite” concepts?

1. Divide corpus into Dem and Rep
2. Train word embeddings
3. Combine vectors to create concepts:

Working + Class

```
wc_all <- emb_all["working", ] + emb_all["class", ]  
predict(model_all, newdata = wc_all, type = "nearest", top_n = 30)
```

Wealthy + Elite

```
econ_all <- emb_all["wealthy", ] + emb_all["elite", ]  
predict(model_all, newdata = econ_all, type = "nearest", top_n = 30)
```

Working + Class

ALL CORPUS		DEM CORPUS		REP CORPUS	
term	similarity	term	similarity	term	similarity
wages	0.9871	backs	0.9914	rich	0.9936
income	0.9783	wealthy	0.9905	middle	0.9836
squeezed	0.9678	incomes	0.9898	incomes	0.9774
decent	0.9496	families	0.9806	paying	0.9761
ordinary	0.9384	wealthiest	0.9786	rising	0.9694
rising	0.9374	struggling	0.9781	burden	0.9622
burdens	0.9322	premiufor	0.9645	workforce	0.9509
burden	0.9306	poor	0.9624	mobility	0.9477
living	0.928	middle	0.9579	paycheck	0.9453
families	0.9238	east	0.9554	poverty	0.9445
poverty	0.9171	relief	0.9472	living	0.9432
fairer	0.9151	farmers	0.947	low	0.9362
wealthy	0.912	pressures	0.9452	causing	0.9345
poor	0.9108	richest	0.943	wages	0.9325
farm	0.9107	income	0.9404	reaching	0.9279

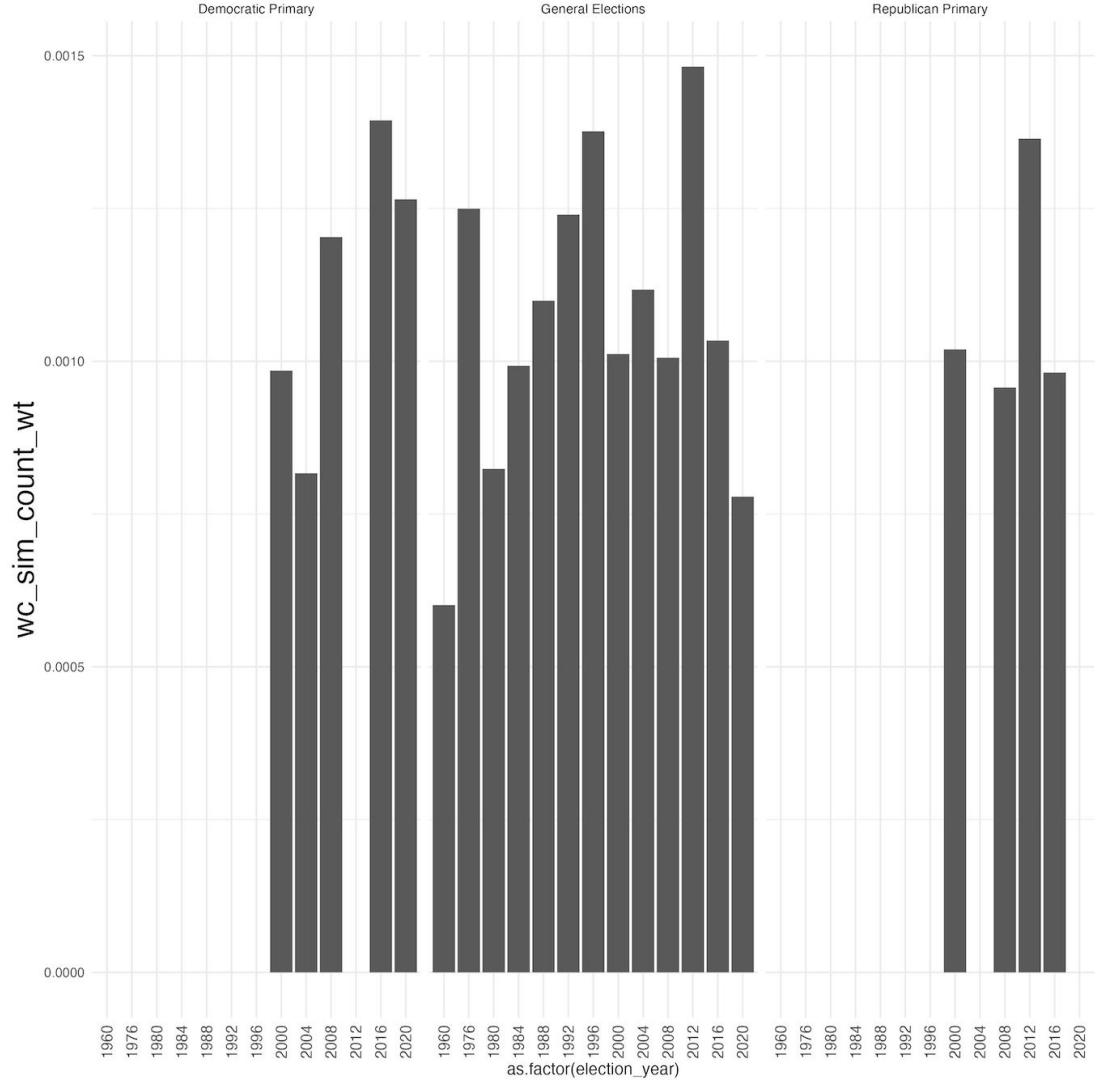
Wealthy + Elite

ALL CORPUS		DEM CORPUS		REP CORPUS	
term	similarity	term	similarity	term	similarity
small	0.9992	corporations	0.9946	regressive	0.9986
profits	0.9975	rich	0.9909	corporations	0.9947
consumers	0.996	profits	0.9903	justly	0.9889
crushed	0.9942	loopholes	0.9876	usually	0.9877
billionaire	0.9924	greed	0.9862	costly	0.9863
accountants	0.9923	stranglehold	0.9835	accountants	0.9854
connected	0.9905	contributions	0.9816	mainstream	0.9777
greed	0.986	contributors	0.9794	prosecutions	0.9769
unfair	0.9848	increases	0.9756	instability	0.9712
contributors	0.9835	0	0.9712	large	0.9687
giveaway	0.9832	richest	0.9711	vat	0.9685
corrupt	0.9786	wealthier	0.9671	humiliating	0.9669
millionaire	0.9756	billions	0.965	disability	0.965
crushing	0.9756	reward	0.9601	impacted	0.9645
toll	0.974	taxing	0.9545	workplace	0.963
benefit	0.9701	benefit	0.9507	benefit	0.9307

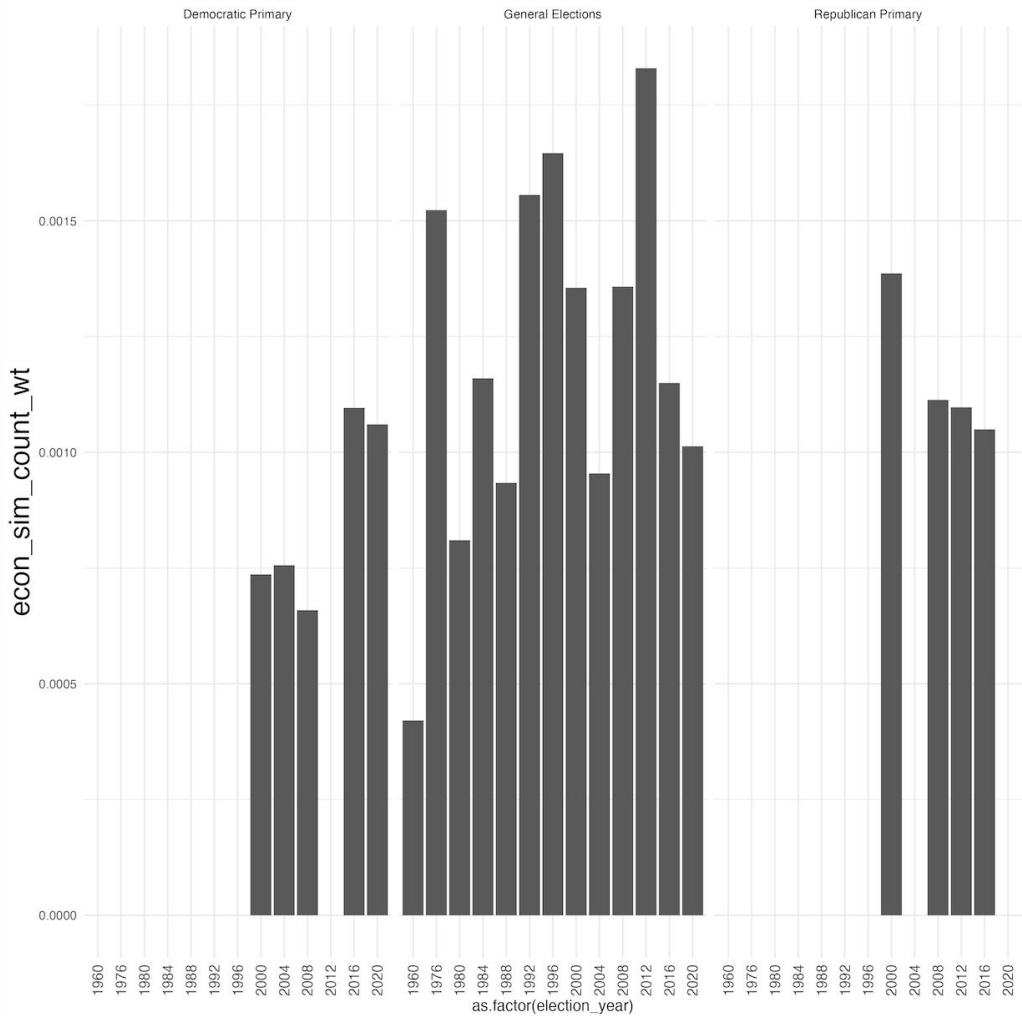
Q2: Which “texts” are most closely related to the two concepts? (working class, anti-elite)

1. Similarity Score = weighted frequency of “similar words”.
2. Alternative option: use pre-trained word embeddings
 - a. Didn't Work.

Working + Class



Wealthy + Elite



Next Steps:

1. Analyze by candidate (requires more cleaning)
2. Try more “concept” combinations