

# Predicting Policy Domains from Party Manifestos with BERT and Convolutional Neural Networks

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. Hand-labeled political texts are often required in empirical studies on party systems, coalition building, agenda setting, and many other areas in political science research. While hand-labeling remains the standard procedure for analyzing political texts, it can be slow and expensive, and subject to human error and disagreement. Recent studies in the field have leveraged supervised machine learning techniques to automate the labeling process of electoral programs, debate motions, and other relevant documents. We build on current approaches to label shorter texts and phrases in party manifestos using a pre-existing coding scheme developed by political scientists for classifying texts by policy domain and policy preference. Using labels and data compiled by the Manifesto Project, we make use of the state-of-the-art Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers (BERT) in conjunction with Convolutional Neural Networks (CNN) and Gated Recurrent Units (GRU) to seek out the best model architecture for policy domain and policy preference classification. We find that our proposed BERT-CNN model outperforms other approaches for the task of classifying statements from English language party manifestos by major policy domain.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

During campaigns, political actors communicate their position on a range of key issues to signal campaign promises and gain favor with constituents. Identifying the political positions of political actors is essential to understanding their intended political actions. This is why policy preferences—or positions on specific policy issues expressed in speech or text—have been extensively analyzed within the relevant political science literature [1, 3, 15, 23]. Methods employed to investigate the policy preferences of political actors include analysis of roll call voting, position extraction from elite studies or regular surveys, expert surveys and hand-coded analysis and computerized text analysis [6]. Studies that utilize political manifestos, electoral speeches, and debate motions often rely on the availability of machine-readable documents that are labeled by policy domain or policy preference.

Quantitative methods, especially in the field of natural language processing, have enabled the development of more scalable methods for predicting policy preferences. These advancements have enabled political scientists to analyze political texts and estimate their positions over time [16, 25]. To better understand the political positions of political actors, many social science researchers have turned to hand-labeling political documents, such as parliamentary debate

motions and party manifestos. Much of the previous work on analyzing political texts relies on hand-labeling documents [2, 8, 12, 20]. Yet, the analysis of political documents in this field stands to benefit from automating the coding of texts using supervised machine learning. Most recently, neural networks and deep language representation models have been employed in state-of-the-art approaches to automatic labeling of political texts by policy preference.

In this paper, we present a deep learning approach to classifying labeled texts and phrases in party manifestos, using the coding scheme and documents from Manifesto Project [24]. We use English-language texts from the Manifesto Project Corpus, which divides party manifestos into statements—or *quasi-sentences*—that do not span more than one grammatical sentence. Based on the state-of-the-art deep learning methods for text classification, we propose using Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers (BERT) combined with neural networks to automate the task of labeling political texts. We compare our models that combine BERT and neural networks against previous experiments with similar architectures to establish that our proposed method outperforms other approaches commonly used in natural language processing research when it comes to choosing the correct policy domain and policy preference. We identify differences in performance across policy domains, paving the way for future work on improving deep learning models for classifying political texts. To the best of our knowledge, we offer the most comprehensive application of deep language representation models incorporated with neural networks for document classification of political manifesto statements.

The rest of this paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we provide a brief overview of the current state-of-the-art in classification of political texts, focusing mainly on detecting policy domains and preference. Section 3 goes into detail about the Manifesto Project Corpus. Section 4 then introduces our classification approach and provides important details of our models and evaluation approach. In Section 5, we present our results and address some limitations of our system. Finally, Section 7 concludes our findings and sets up a roadmap for future improvements.

## 2 RELATED WORK

For the task of classifying political texts, many studies have concentrated on building scaling models for identifying the political position of documents [13, 17, 19]. However, most of this seminal work in this area failed to consider the task of classifying texts by topic or policy area prior to detecting policy preferences associated with the topic. Over the past couple of years, several studies have addressed this gap in *opinion-topic identification* by classifying text data from political speeches, manifestos, and other documents by topic before predicting policy preference [9, 25]. With regards to party manifestos, the coding of policy preferences after dividing documents into topics could be expansive, pointing to the necessity of more complex models for text classification to take on this task. This is why recent studies have begun to utilize neural networks [21] and deep language representation models [7] to address the computationally intensive task of classifying political texts into over thirty categories.

Against this background, this project closely follows the methods proposed by Abercrombie et al. [1], who worked to detect the policy positions of UK Members of Parliament through natural language processing methods. Using motions and manifestos as the data sources, the authors employed a variety of methods to predict the policy and domain labels of texts. Thereafter, they compared the predicted labels with the gold standard labels to produce F1 scores. For their proposed model utilizing Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers (BERT), Abercrombie et al. [1] used a final soft-max model in one and added a CNN and max-pooling layers in addition to the soft-max layer. Furthermore, they also fine-tuned the results of the aforementioned BERT Model by training it first on the manifestos and then on the motions. The authors evaluated the predicted labels of each experimental model against the gold standard labels (i.e. when two annotators agree on the same labels) produced during the annotation process. Ultimately, they found that the use of BERT demonstrated ‘state-of-the-art performance’ on both manifestos and motions via supervised pipelines, with a Macro-F1 score of 0.69 for their best performing model, pointing to the effectiveness of this model in predicting policy preferences from political texts.

## 3 THE MANIFESTO PROJECT CORPUS

The Manifesto Project Corpus<sup>1</sup> [24] provides information on policy preferences of political parties from seven different countries based on a coding scheme of seven policy domains, under which 57 policy preference codes are manually coded. The Manifesto Project offers data that divides party manifestos into quasi-sentences, or individual statements which do not span more than one grammatical sentence.

<sup>1</sup>manifesto-project.wzb.eu

Quasi-sentences are then individually assigned to categories pertaining to policy domain and preference. The 57 policy preference codes, one of which is “not categorized”, refer to the position—positive or negative—of a party regarding a particular policy area. The 57 policy preference codes fall into a macro-level coding scheme comprising of 8 policy domain categories. In political science research, the Manifesto Project Corpus is particularly useful for studying party competition, the responsiveness of political parties to constituent preferences, and estimating the ideological position of political elites. While the official classification of manifestos in this dataset has primarily relied on human coders, the investigation of automatically detecting policy positions of the text data is valuable for scaling up the classification of large volumes of political texts available for analysis.

Our final subset of all English-language manifestos comprises of 99,681 quasi-sentences. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the distribution of English-language manifestos across countries and policy domains. To ensure that the ratio between policy domains remains consistent across policy domains in running our models, we applied a 70/15/15 split between training, validation, and test sets separately for the 8 major categories and the 58 minor categories.

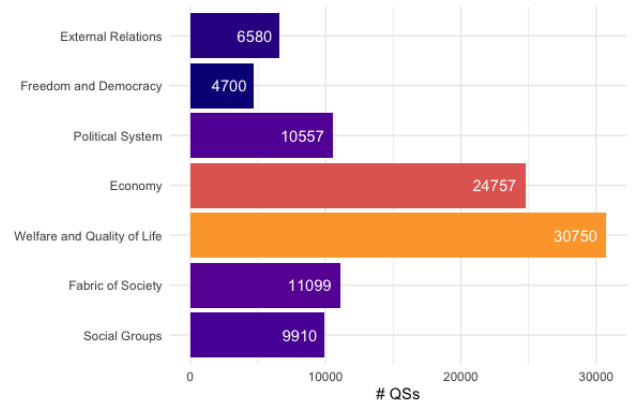


Fig. 1. English language manifestos by policy domain

## 4 EXPERIMENTAL SETUP

### 4.1 Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers (BERT)

Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers (BERT) have proven successful in prior attempts to classify phrases and short texts [7]. BERT’s key innovation lies in its ability to apply bidirectional training of transformers to language modelling. This state-of-the-art deep language representation model uses a “masked language model”, enabling it to overcome restrictions caused by the unidirectional constraint.

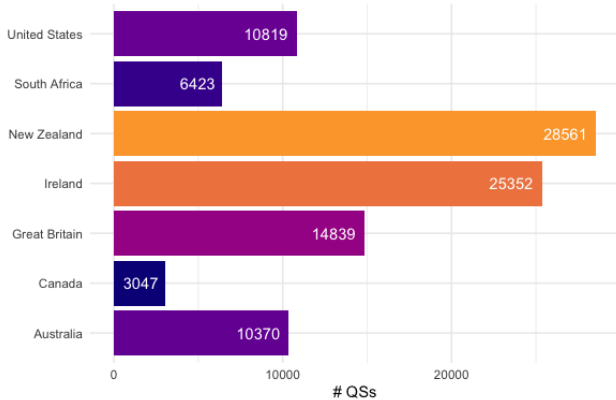


Fig. 2. English language manifestos by country

Our experiments use the standard pre-trained BERT transformers as the embedding layer in our model. Since BERT is trained on sequences with a maximum lengths of 512 tokens, all quasi-sentences with more than 510 words were trimmed to fit this requirement. Pre-trained embeddings were frozen and not trained for the base models. We test two variants of BERT—one incorporating a bidirectional GRU model, and another incorporating CNNs. Model specifications and training times for our neural networks and deep language representation models are shown in Table 1 and Figure 3.

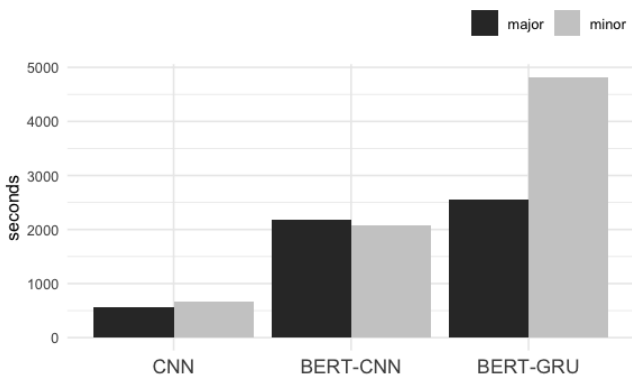


Fig. 3. Training time for neural networks and deep language representation models for classifying political texts by *major* and *minor* policy domain

## 4.2 BERT with Gated Recurrent Units (GRU)

First proposed by Cho et al. [4], Gated Recurrent Units—formerly referred to as the RNN Encoder-Decoder model—use update gates and reset gates to solve the vanishing gradient problems often encountered in applications of recurrent

neural networks [10]. The update gate helps the model determine the extent to which past information is carried on in the model whilst the reset gate determines the information to be removed from the model [5]. Hence, it solves the aforementioned problem by not completely removing the new input, instead keeping relevant information to pass on to further subsequent computed states. In our analysis, we employ a multi-layer, bidirectional GRU model from PyTorch<sup>2</sup>. As shown in Table 1. The results are subject to a dropout layer prior to classification via a linear layer.

## 4.3 BERT with Convolutional Neural Networks (CNN)

We incorporate CNNs with BERT using the same CNN architecture as our baselines (Table 1). The model utilizes the aforementioned BERT base, uncased tokenizer with convolutional filters of sizes 2 and 3 applied with a ReLu activation function. We use a 1D-max pooling layer, a dropout layer ( $N = 0.5$ ) to prevent overfitting, and a Cross Entropy Loss function. We employ the model to classify policy domains ( $N = 8$ ) and policy preferences ( $N = 58$ ), each of which includes a category for quasi-sentences that do not fall into this classification scheme. Hereafter, we refer to these classifications as ‘major’ and ‘minor’ categories, respectively. A graphical representation of our model is shown in Figure 4.

## 4.4 Evaluation

We evaluate the performance of our proposed method against several baselines, which include:

- **Multinomial Naive Bayes:** This algorithm, commonly used in text classification, operates on the *Bag of Words assumption* and the assumption of *Conditional independence*.
- **Support Vector Machines [22]:** We used this traditional binary classifier to calculate baselines with the SVC package from scikit-learn<sup>3</sup>, employing a “one-against-one” approach for multi-class classification.
- **Convolutional Neural Networks (CNN) [11, 14]:** To run this deep learning model, originally designed for image classification, we first made use of pre-trained word vectors trained by GloVe, an unsupervised learning algorithm for obtaining vector representations for words [18].

To evaluate model fit, we utilized *accuracy* and *loss* as key metrics to compare performance of our CNN and BERT-GRU baseline and our proposed models (BERT+CNN, BERT+GRU). We calculated the *F1-score* for each model that we ran. In our results, we present both the Macro-F1 and Micro-F1 scores<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup><https://pytorch.org/>

<sup>3</sup><https://scikit-learn.org/stable/>

<sup>4</sup>The micro score calculates metrics globally, whilst the macro score calculates metrics for each label and reports the unweighted mean.

Models	Text Representation	Layers	Epochs
CNN	GloVe Wikipedia w-emb	2 Convolutional Layers (1 per filter) 2 Max Pooling Layers 1 Dropout Layer 1 Linear Layer	100
BERT-CNN	Base BERT (uncased)	2 Convolutional Layers (1 per filter) 2 Max Pooling Layers 1 Dropout Layer 1 Linear Layer	10
BERT-GRU	Base BERT (uncased)	1 Bidirectional GRU RNN Layer 1 Dropout Layer 1 Linear Layer	10

Table 1. Model specifications of neural networks and deep language representation models

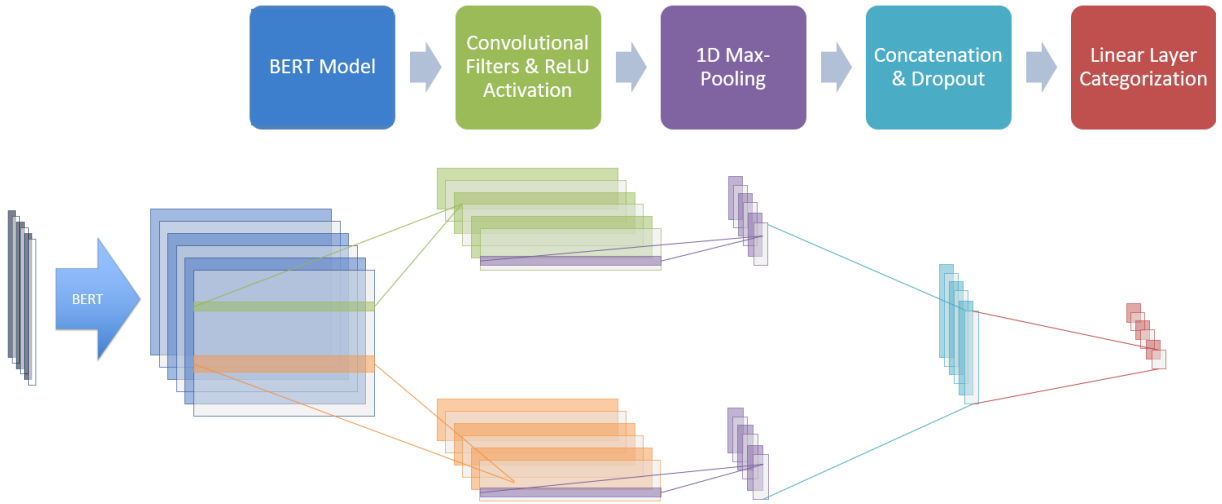


Fig. 4. Graphical representation of the base BERT-CNN model to predict major policy domains.

#### 4.5 Architecture fine tuning

We tested different modifications of the CNN and BERT models. For the CNN models, we compared the following modifications:

- **Stemming and Lemmatization:** We test whether stemming or lemmatizing text in the pre-processing steps improves predictions using quasi-sentences from the Manifesto Project Corpus.
- **Dropout rates:** We decreased the dropout rate from 0.5 to 0.25 to determine whether fine-tuning dropout rates yield differences in performance. This is because we initially found that our models were overfitting.
- **Additional linear layer:** An additional linear layer was added prior to the final categorization linear layer

to establish whether “deeper” neural networks generate improved predictions.

- **Removal of uncategorized quasi-sentences:** The results from our base models yield lower Macro-F1 scores due to the difficulty of correctly categorizing quasi-sentences that do not fall into any of the 7 policy domains or 57 policy preference codes. We are thus interested in whether predictions improve if the uncategorized quasi-sentences are taken out of the data used for analysis.

For the BERT models, we compared the following modifications:

Category	Model	Test Loss	Test Acc.	Micro-F1	Macro-F1
Major	MNB	—	0.553	0.553	0.398
	SVM	—	0.578	0.578	0.460
	CNN	1.177	0.589	0.589	0.466
	BERT-GRU	1.166	0.594	0.593	0.479
	BERT-CNN	<b>1.152</b>	<b>0.591</b>	<b>0.591</b>	<b>0.473</b>
Minor	MNB	—	0.385	0.385	0.154
	SVM	—	<b>0.463</b>	<b>0.463</b>	<b>0.299</b>
	CNN	2.136	0.454	0.454	0.273
	BERT-GRU	2.216	0.432	0.432	0.239
	BERT-CNN	<b>2.098</b>	0.448	0.448	0.260

Table 2. Baseline, CNN and BERT models run with base model specifications as detailed in Table 1

- **Training Embeddings:** For our base BERT models, all training of embeddings were frozen. Therefore, we enable training of the embeddings in this modification to establish how training embeddings contributes to the performance of deep language representation models with this classification task.
- **Training models based on recurrent runs:** We trialed training the BERT models sequentially with different learning rates (LR = 0.001, 0.0005 and 0.0001) of 10 epochs each for a total of 30 epochs in aims to improve the performance of our neural networks and deep language representation models.
- **Large, cased tokenizer:** The BERT Large cased tokenizer was used instead of the BERT BASE uncased tokenizer employed in our base models.

## 5 RESULTS

As shown in Table 2, the BERT-CNN model performed best for predicting both major and minor categories compared to the BERT-GRU model and CNN baseline. However, our SVM baseline outperformed the neural network models for predicting minor categories. We believe that the shortcomings of our neural networks and deep language representation models for this text classification task are due to limitations in specifying the number of epochs in training. We also observed overfitting in our models. For instance, with our CNN model, validation loss increased with each additional epoch after a certain number of epochs. As shown in Figure 6, training accuracy of this model also increased at the cost of validation accuracy. However, this was not the case for deep language representation models classifying texts by minor categories. Overall, our results demonstrate that, between the two BERT models, the BERT-CNN model demonstrates superior performance against bag-of-words approaches and other models that utilize neural networks.

*CNN and BERT Modifications.* Comparing modifications to our CNN models, our results suggest that the base model outperforms most alternative model specifications. As outlined in Table 3, reducing the dropout rate to 0.25 improved the model on some indicators marginally. As expected, the removal of uncategorized quasi-sentences yielded improvements in predictions, with a significantly higher Macro-F1 score compared to other model specifications. Based on these results, future work should focus on how model predictions of uncategorized quasi-sentences can be improved, given their random nature.

While we observed some improvements with modifications to the CNN model, we find that our base BERT models performed best compared to other fine-tuned modifications to model architecture. The results of our base BERT model and alternative model specifications are shown in Table 4. Even though it is possible that our base BERT model is best for this classification model, our results could also indicate the presence of over-fitting or the lack of sufficient training available given the low number of epochs.

## 6 LIMITATIONS AND ANALYSIS

As shown in Figure 5, we observed overfitting with our major policy domain classification models. Despite employing changes and modifications to our models, including varied dropout rates, architecture fine-tuning and different learning rates, we did not find any variants of the models employed in analysis that would yield significant improvements in performance. We posit that potential improvements on these issues could be resolved by employing transfer learning and appending our sample of English-language manifestos with other political documents, such as debate transcripts.

In contrast, as shown in Figure 6, we observed little overfitting in our minor policy domain classification models. Our classifier could benefit from employing transfer learning and

Model	Change	Test Loss	Test Acc.	Micro-F1	Macro-F1	Epochs
CNN	Base model	1.177	<b>0.589</b>	<b>0.589</b>	0.466	100
	Lemmatized text	<b>1.174</b>	0.585	0.585	0.460	100
	Stemmed text	1.213	0.577	0.576	0.448	100
	Dropout = 0.25	1.177	<b>0.589</b>	0.588	<b>0.467</b>	100
	Additional layer	1.180	0.586	0.586	0.462	100
	Removing uncategorized QSSs	<b>1.136</b>	<b>0.596</b>	<b>0.595</b>	<b>0.535</b>	100

Table 3. Comparing results of modifications to CNN base models for predicting major policy domains

Model	Change	Test Loss	Test Acc.	Micro-F1	Macro-F1	Epochs
BERT-GRU	Base model	<b>1.152</b>	<b>0.594</b>	<b>0.593</b>	<b>0.479</b>	10
	Training emb	1.163	0.592	0.592	<b>0.479</b>	10
	Recurrent runs, training	1.234	0.582	0.581	0.459	30
	Large, uncased	1.172	0.592	0.591	0.469	10
BERT-CNN	Base model	1.166	<b>0.591</b>	<b>0.591</b>	<b>0.473</b>	10
	Training emb	1.167	0.587	0.587	0.458	10
	Recurrent runs, training	<b>1.157</b>	0.589	0.589	0.468	30
	Large, uncased	1.192	0.580	0.580	0.450	10

Table 4. Comparing results of modifications to BERT base models for predicting major policy domains

appending our sample of manifesto quasi-sentences with other political texts, especially for policy domains with relatively fewer quasi-sentences to train on. It is also important to note that, compared to the more computationally intensive neural networks and deep language representation models, our Multinomial Bayes and SVM baselines did not perform significantly worse. In fact, for the minor categories, the SVM yielded superior performance in some metrics compared to that of the neural network models. Notwithstanding the lack of training of certain models, this may suggest that increasing the model complexity and consequently the computational power required may not necessarily lead to increased model performance.

Substantially lower Macro-F1 scores across all models point to mixed performance in classification by category. As shown in Figure 7, we observe high variation in the performance of our classifiers between categories. However, we observe poor performance in classifying quasi-sentences that do not belong to one of the seven policy domains. For our BERT-CNN model, the easiest categories to predict were “welfare and quality of life”, “economy”, and “freedom and democracy”. The superior performance of predicting the first two categories is not particularly surprising, as a substantial number of quasi-sentences in our sample of English-language party manifestos are attributed to these topics. As shown in Table ??, 30,750 quasi-sentences are attributed to the “welfare

and quality of life” category and 24,757 quasi-sentences are attributed to the “economy” domain.

In contrast, the relatively superior performance of predicting the “freedom and democracy” category is surprising. Out of our total sample of  $n_{\text{sentences}} = 99,681$ , only 4,700 documents are attributed to the “freedom and democracy” category. Intuitively, the performance of our classifier with this underrepresented policy domain could be attributed to a variety of possible explanations. One possible explanation is the presence of distinct features such as topic-unique vocabulary that do not exist in other categories. Future work on classification of political documents that fall under this category would benefit from looking into features that might distinguish this policy domain from others.

## 7 CONCLUSION

In this paper, we trained two variants of the state-of-the-art Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers (BERT)—one incorporating a bidirectional GRU model, and another incorporating CNNs. We demonstrate the superior performance of deep language representation models combined with neural networks to classify political domains and preferences in the Manifesto Project. Our proposed method of incorporating BERT with neural networks for classifying English language manifestos addresses issues of reproducibility and scalability in labeling large volumes of political texts.

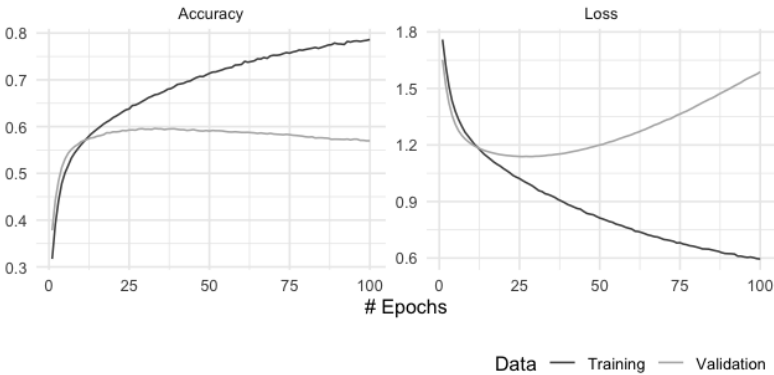


Fig. 5. An illustration of overfitting in our CNN model for classifying manifesto quasi-sentences by major policy domain

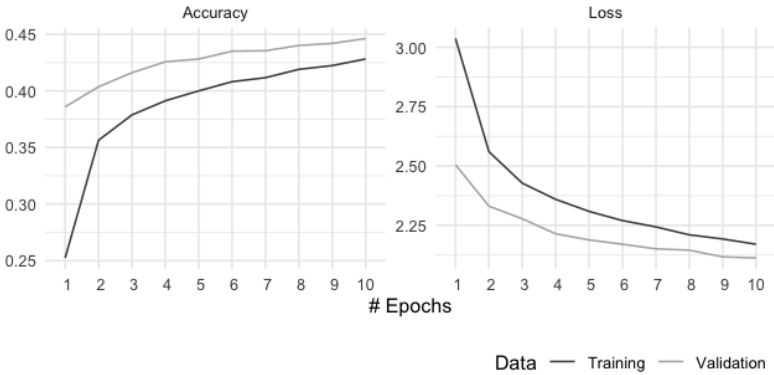


Fig. 6. Training and validation metrics for the BERT-CNN model on English language manifestos on minor policy domains

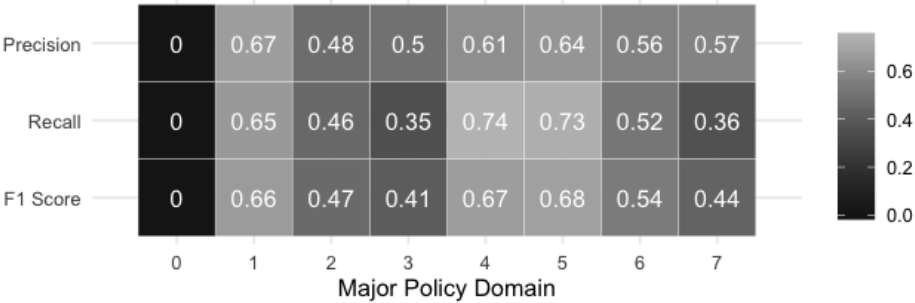


Fig. 7. Average precision, recall, and Macro-F1 scores by major category across all models

As far as we know, this is the most comprehensive application of deep language representation models and neural networks for classifying statements from political manifestos. We find that using BERT in conjunction with convolutional neural networks yields the best predictions for classifying English language statements parsed from party manifestos. However, our proposed BERT-CNN model requires further

fine-tuning to be effective in providing acceptable predictions to improve on less computationally intensive methods and replace human annotations of fine-grained policy positions. As expected, our proposed approach and baselines perform better for classifying major policy domains over minor categories. We also observe differences in performance between categories. Among the major policy domains, the

categories that performed best include “welfare and quality of life”, “economy”, and “freedom and democracy”. The superior performance of the latter category is surprising because it makes up the smallest proportion of quasi-sentences in the Manifesto Project Corpus.

There are several avenues for future work on neural networks and deep language representation models for automatically labeling political texts. For instance, investigating the features of individual categories that demonstrate superior performance would shed light on how we can incorporate additional features of texts to improve model performance. This area of research would also benefit from better understanding how we can filter out texts that do not fall into a particular classification scheme. Knowledge on how these issues could be resolved to improve model performance would allow for extensions in the application of deep learning models for classifying political texts.

## 8 CONTRIBUTIONS

AK: Data pre-processing, data visualization and model training and testing.

DB: Model architecture set-up, architecture fine-tuning and model training and testing.

HB: Preparing the article for conference submissions

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## A ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON BASELINES

For the first two methods, the Multinomial Naive Bayes Model and the Support Vector Machines, the TfidfVectorizer from sklearn was employed. This method makes use of term frequency - inverse document frequency weighting to remove terms that are present commonly but carry very little information (e.g. stopwords).



### A.1 Multinomial Naive Bayes Model

As a baseline, we used a multinomial naive Bayes algorithm, commonly used in text classification. The assumptions of this model includes:

- Bag of Words: Position does not matter
- Conditional Independence: Feature probabilities are independent given the class.

The Naive Bayes Model is quick and provides a baseline for the other classification techniques.

### A.2 Support Vector Machines

Support Vector Machines (SVM) seek the most optimal decision boundaries by creating hyperplanes that separate the training data [22]. The aim of the separating hyperplane or the set of hyperplanes is to maximise the distance between the nearest training data points of any class (i.e. functional margin). Whilst SVMs are traditionally binary classifiers, scikit-learn's package SVC employs a "one-against-one" approach for multi-class classification. Where a SVM is trained based on data from two classes and repeated for each relationship with each other class present. Since there are eight policy domains (including unclassified), there will be 28 distinct SVMs created.

We trained SVMs on both datasets with four different kernels:

- Linear kernel:  $\langle x, x' \rangle$
- Polynomial kernel:  $(\gamma \langle x, x' \rangle + r)^d$
- Radial basis function kernel:  $(\gamma \|x - x'\|^2)$
- Sigmoid kernel:  $(\tanh(\gamma \langle x, x' \rangle + r))$

### A.3 Convolutional Neural Networks

Convolutional Neural Networks are neural networks that utilize layers that contain convolving filters that help to aggregate data into multiple layers [14]. Whilst it was originally designed for image classification, it has also been utilized for Natural Language Processing purposes - semantic parsing, sentence modeling, sentence classification, etc [11].

In our model, we first made use of pre-trained word vectors trained by GloVe, an unsupervised learning algorithm for obtaining vector representations for words[18]. In specific, we chose the pre-trained vectors trained on Wikipedia 2014.

Filter-sizes of 2 and 3 were used with 100 2D convolutional filters each. After a single convolutional layer per filter size, each of the layers are fed into the soft-max activation functions. Thereafter, a single max-pooling layer was utilized per filter. The outputs from the corresponding max-pooling layers were then concatenated and passed through a dropout layer. Lastly, the results were passed through a linear layer to predict the different classifications.

In all models (the current and the following models), the Adam Optimizer was utilized with a Cross Entropy Loss function. The latter is a combination of a logistic softmax and a negative log likelihood loss functions, useful for classification problems with multiple classes.

	GloVe 6B
Tokens	6 billion
Dimension	300
Vocabulary size	400 thousand
Cased?	No

Table 5. Details of GloVe pre-trained vectors utilised