

# Quantitative Text Analysis

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Day 3 - Scaling



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Any questions from yesterday?

# Scaling

# Identifying positions

- The Politics:
  - Actors *generate, infer, change* and *frame* positions on continuous policy dimensions
- The Methods:
  - Scaling models explain the *generation* and the *inference* parts
  - **Vote** scaling models explain actors' positions with votes; **text** scaling models explain it with text
- The Data:
  - Speeches, election manifestos, social media posts, press releases,...

# Position as a latent variable

- What does that mean? Preferences are fundamentally unobservable.
  - Politicians reveal ideology indirectly through their actions, i.e. through voting or talking
  - No matter what measurement instrument we use, there is no directly observable position
  - Available data are manifestations of the latent quantity
- It's all about relative emphasis. . .

# Assumptions

- Typically scaling models assume that
  - Relative word usage is reflective of position ( $\theta$ )
  - Positions are unidimensional
  - Positions drive word counts according to a particular form for  $P(W_j | \theta)$
  - Bag of words: counts of  $W_j$  are conditionally independent given  $\theta$

Wordscores

## Laver, Benoit, and Garry (2003): supervised scaling

- Each word  $j$  has a policy position (word score)  $\alpha_j$ . This means some words are more extreme (used by one of extreme outliers on the scale), while others are moderate (used by everyone equally).
- The supervision part: some reference document positions are known
- Document positions are average of its words' positions in relation to these reference texts.



# Wordscores

Consider two reference texts A and B

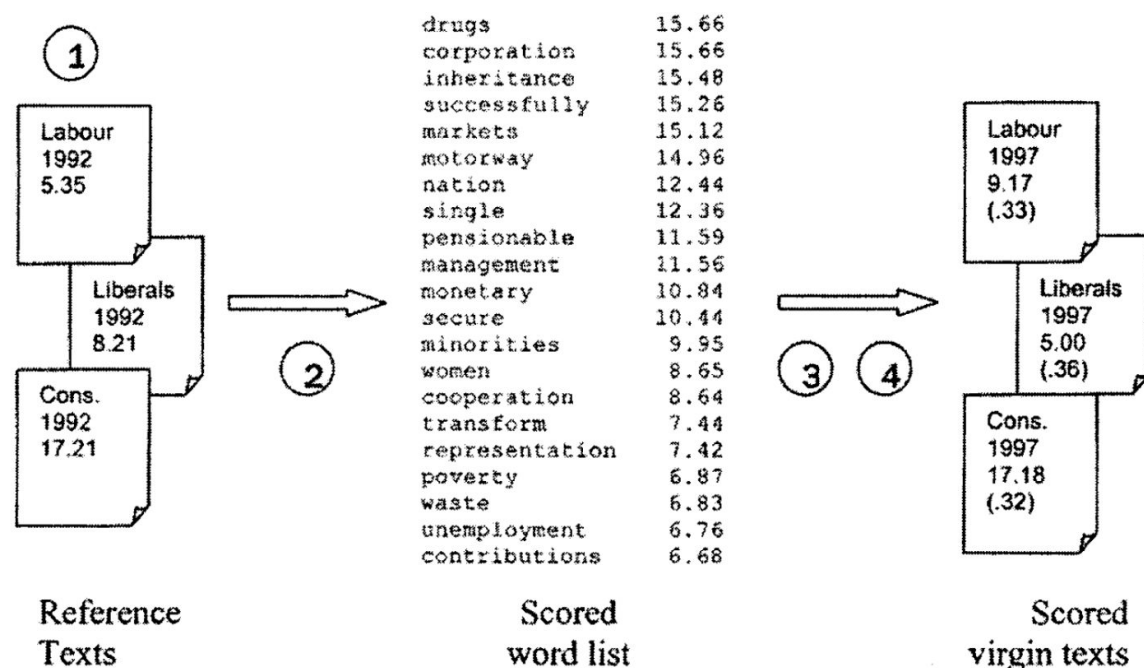
- The word "healthcare" is used 10 times per 10,000 words in text A and 30 times per 10,000 words in text B
- Conditional on observing the word "healthcare", we are reading text A with probability 0.25 and text B with probability 0.75
- We can then compute a "word score" once we assign reference values to the reference texts
- Suppose reference text A has position -1, and text B position +1
- Then the score of word "healthcare" is:

$$0.25(-1.0) + 0.75(1.0) = -0.25 + 0.75 = +0.5$$

## Wordscores: how to

1. Define reference texts: Which are the known outliers/most extreme texts?
2. Generate Word scores from reference texts: Which words are used more by one of the actors than the others?
3. Score remaining texts according to their word usage

**FIGURE 1. The Wordscore procedure, using the British 1992–1997 manifesto scoring as an illustration**



**Step 1: Obtain reference texts with a priori known positions (setref)**

**Step 2: Generate word scores from reference texts (wordscore)**

**Step 3: Score each virgin text using word scores (textscore)**

**Step 4: (optional) Transform virgin text scores to original metric**

*Note:* Scores for 1997 virgin texts are transformed estimated scores; parenthetical values are standard errors. The scored word list is a sample of the 5,299 total words scored from the three reference texts.

# Wordscores

- Final document scores are not directly comparable to reference documents - the variance in reference texts is much higher
- LBG propose a rescaling method, and others have also proposed alternatives
  - The default today is Martin-Vanberg 2007

## Wordscores: limitations

- Which reference texts when more than one election/debate?
- Comparison of reference texts and your documents?
- Influence of the researcher by setting the references
- What kind of policy dimensionality? Completely defined by the reference texts!
  - Might not be what you thought at first

Wordfish

# Wordfish

- Unsupervised scaling. No reference texts. More similarity to item response models (e.g. NOMINATE for roll call voting).
- Assumption: There is ONE underlying dimension that is expressed in a collection of texts. We look at words that are predominantly used by some of the actors but not others to maximize differentiation.

# Wordfish

The position-word relationship is:

$$W_{ij} \sim \text{Poisson}(\mu_{ij})$$

Where  $y_{ij}$  is the count of word  $j$  in speaker  $i$ 's text. Determined by word and document parameters with the form of:

$$\log \mu_{ij} = \psi_j + \beta_j \theta_i + \alpha_i$$



## Breaking it down

$$\log \mu_{ij} = \psi_j + \beta_j \theta_i + \alpha_i$$

- $\psi_{ij}$  are word fixed-effects (frequency of a word overall, irrespective of position)
- $\beta_j$  is the word weight, capturing the importance of the word in differentiating positions. How fast does the word count increase/decrease with changes in position?
- $\theta_i$  is the position of the document (what we're actually interested in)

# Estimation

Wordfish models are fit using Conditional Maximum Likelihood (regression without independent variables)

Iterate:

- Fix document parameters ( $\alpha$  and  $\Theta$ ) and maximize word parameters ( $\beta$  and  $\psi$ )
- Fix new word parameters ( $\beta$  and  $\psi$ ) and maximize document parameters ( $\alpha$  and  $\Theta$ ) This can be quite slow depending on the size of your dataset, but generally runs in seconds

# Model identification

- Much like other scaling or latent variable models, some parameters must be fixed for identification
- Otherwise, there are infinite combinations of  $\theta$  and  $\beta$ , which could provide the same likelihood (we would not arrive at a unique solution).
- Solution: fix mean of document positions  $\theta$  to 0 and SD to 1. Set one document's  $\alpha$  to 0. Set directionality of scale.
- This means that you cannot directly compare estimates ACROSS different estimations.

## Dimension issues

- What the heck have we estimated? What is  $\Theta$ ?
- How do we know that positions on only one dimension are being expressed in the text?

# Dimension issues

What the heck is  $\Theta$ ?

- Whatever maximizes the Likelihood
- Approximately the first principal component of  $\log W$
- Like all scaling techniques (e.g. NOMINATE), Wordfish is effectively exploratory - you have to figure out what the dimension really is. This is the reason why you need to think about your data before applying the method.

# Wordfish is about differences

- It will pick up on what differentiates the texts the most



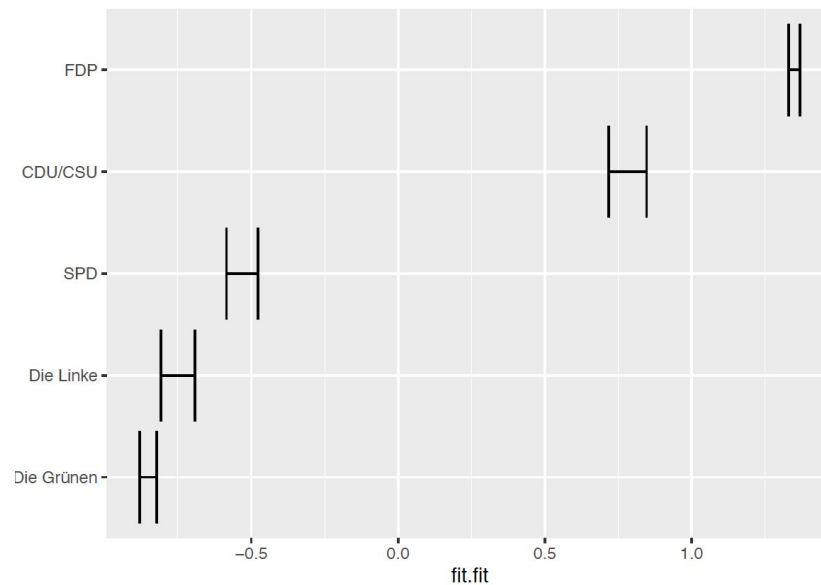
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# In politics

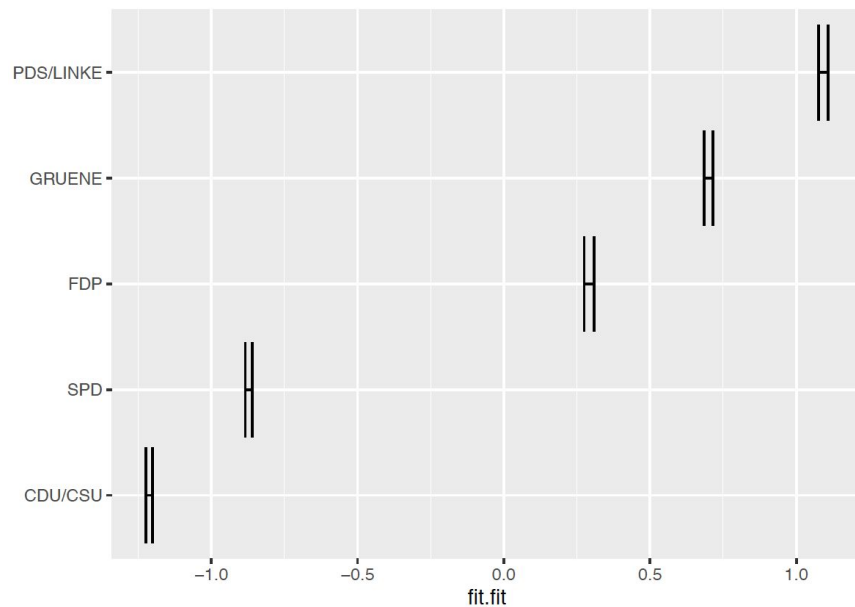
## Wordfish of 2005 German party manifestos





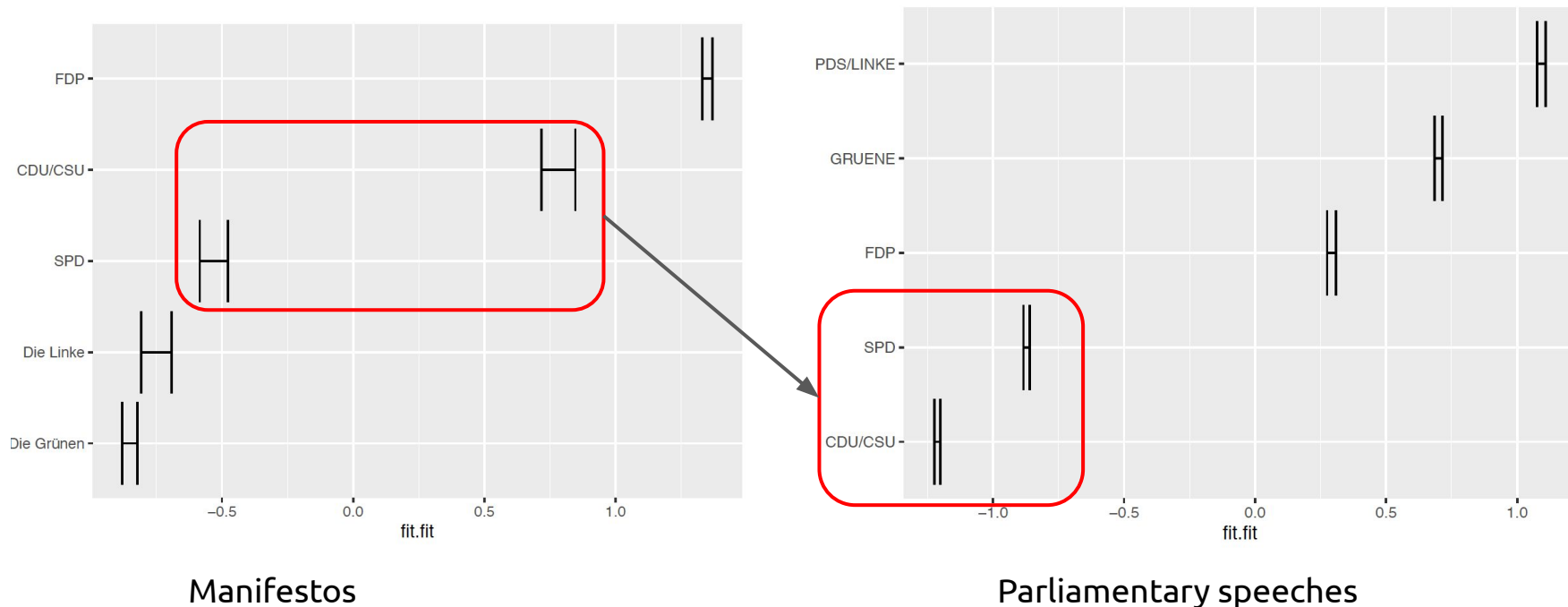
# In politics

## Wordfish of 2005 German parliamentary speeches



# Same actors, different dimensions

- SPD and CDU/CSU were in a governing coalition



# (In)Stability of the Political Lexicon

- What if the political lexicon is unstable over time? New issues appear, old issues disappear
- Scaling algorithms will pick up shifts in the policy agenda rather than shifts in positions.
  - In fact, this is one assumption: that word usage reflects ideology.
  - For example, it becomes seriously problematic when all parties start talking about the "issue" of the day. Then we can distinguish between elections, but not very well between parties
  - This gets even more problematic once we start dealing with challenger parties
  - We can (try to) get around this by focusing on those words that remain in the political vocabulary across time.
- There are models such as Wordshoal that implement debate level Wordfish scaling and can deal with different policy contexts in each debate. It estimates a general latent position.

# Warnings

Scaling works only...

- if all documents deal with a similar topic and use similar languages (e.g. we can't directly compare newspapers with speeches)
- all speak to the same underlying dimension