Government websites as data: A methodological pipeline for collection, processing, and text analysis

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Abstract

A local government's website is a standard and general source of information for citizens and other community stakeholders. Accordingly, government websites have become prominent sources of data for a variety of research agendas in public administration, public policy, and political science. Existing research has relied on manual methods of website data collection and processing. Reliance on manual collection and processing limits the scale and scope of website content analysis. We develop a methodological pipeline that researchers can follow in order to gather, process, and analyze website content with established text analysis techniques. First, for the acquisition of website data, we cover approaches to automated scraping methods. Second, pre-processing is a particularly vital step in text analysis, but when websites are concerned, additional measures need to be taken in order to guard against potential sources of bias. We propose a new method for dealing with the kind of duplicated content that is commonly found in government websites. Finally, we illustrate methods of text analysis using automatically gathered and pre-processed website content. We illustrate our methodological pipeline through a new and innovative dataset—the websites of municipal governments in Indiana and Louisiana. We build upon recent research that analyzes how change and variation in the partisan control of government relates to content made available on the government's website. We explore the association between mayoral partisanship and the content of city websites.

1 Introduction

Local governments convey voluminous information about all aspects of their policymaking, policy implementation, and public deliberation, via their official websites. The vital role of official websites in connecting the government and the governed has motivated a wave of research on the contents of government websites (e.g., Grimmelikhuijsen 2010; Wang, Bretschneider and Gant 2005; Osman, Anouze, Irani, Al-Ayoubi, Lee, Balcı, Medeni and Weerakkody 2014). Despite the potential for automated scraping of website contents, the conventional approach to data collection in projects focused on government websites involves manual content extraction from each website in the dataset. Though highly accurate, the manual approach to data collection is costly, and cannot be scaled to capture even a fraction of the volume of content available on government websites. In this paper we present a methodological pipeline that can be used to automatically scrape government websites in order to build datasets that can be used for text analysis. We provide an illustrative application in which we explore the ways in which the textual contents on city government websites in Indiana and Louisiana correlate with the partisanship of the city mayor.

Though there exists a variety of software tools that are designed to automatically scrape all of the files available at a website (Glez-Peña, Lourenço, López-Fernández, Reboiro-Jato and Fdez-Riverola 2013), raw website downloads have to be processed significantly before the files are adequately prepared for text analysis. We describe and provide solutions to two central challenges in automatically gathering and analyzing website textual contents. First, plain text must be extracted from the files. This involves purging the files of syntax in HTML and other programming languages, and discarding any other character encoding errors that result from reading the files. This challenge would arise in any context in which researchers sought to study the textual contents of websites, and is not unique to comparative analysis of government websites. The second challenge we address in our methodological pipeline is, however, specific to the research objective of comparing websites on the basis of a common lexicon. For any two governments, the textual signatures that most dramatically differentiate the textual contents of their websites consist of what we can call "boilerplate" text—header, footer, or other titling text that is designed to identify the website as being associated with a specific government entity (e.g., "Welcome to the city of Santa Cruz", "The City of Los Angeles welcomes you"). This boilerplate text is replicated across many files that are associated with a government's website, but it provides little information regarding the form and/or function of the government. The second methodological innovation we offer in our pipeline is designed to minimize the impact of this boilerplate text on the comparative analysis of government website content.

Government websites provide information about how public policies shape the lives of local residents, and how local residents can engage with government to shape public policy. As such, government websites reflect both the results of, and inputs to, the political leadership in the city. In our illustrative application we explore the ways in which the contents of city government websites differ on the basis of the partisanship of the city's elected executive. A substantial body of research has found that the partisanship of the mayor affects city governance along multiple dimensions, including city budget priorities (de Benedictis-Kessner and Warshaw 2016), policies affecting inequality in cities (Einstein and Glick 2016), and framing of criminal justice policy (Marion and Oliver 2013). Furthermore, recent media coverage of changes to government websites that follow transitions in party control suggest that changes in web content are salient government actions, as perceived by the general public (Sharfstein 2017; Kirby 2017; Duarte 2017). We study whether significant differences between city governments based on mayoral partisanship are reflected in the contents of city websites.

2 The Significance of Government Website Content

According to Mayhew (1974), politicians engage in advertising, credit claiming and position taking in order to get re-elected. Official city websites allow mayors to do all three. Their offices frequently take a prominent position on the frontpage, and many websites also feature a picture of the candidate. In local politics, where campaign funds are low, this lends the incumbent a crucial advantage in becoming more well-known among her constituents. Furthermore, municipal politics

gives incumbents clear and tangible achievements they can point to, such as completed infrastructure projects, the acquisition of federal or state funding, or the hosting of city-wide events. City websites present an opportunity for local officials to brandish these accomplishments. Finally, they also give mayors a platform from which they can advertise their political beliefs. On municipal websites, this may not manifest in the form of brazen partisanship, but more subtle avenues are available. As noted by Einstein and Glick (2016), there are stark differences in the spending preferences of Democratic and Republican mayors. City websites can then be used to communicate the stance of a mayor on social or economic programs. Another advantage of websites with regard to communication is that unlike direct social interactions, officials have full control over them.

In addition to the use of city websites for the politicians that control them, variance in content also matters with regard to the people who visit them. Local residents likely rely on city websites to get news about events, hot-button political issues specific to their city, contact city officials or find out addresses or opening hours of city institutions. Visitors use city websites to look up local attractions, which are often described in great detail. Similarly, prospective residents looking to move, might rely on city websites to inform their decision on whether to relocate there. An inviting website emphasizing the city's receptiveness to new residents might make a real difference here. Finally, city websites frequently feature sections on business, but there is a lot of variance in this area: Some emphasize economic development, properties, or transportation, whereas others focus on undeveloped land and other business opportunities. Differences in websites likely say something about a city's economic profile, with potential repercussions for the political realm.

The literature making use of scraped websites clusters into a number of categories. One, and most pertinent to our own endeavors, the e-governance literature which discusses the online presence of governments from a usability and public service point of view. For the most part, research in this category develops a classification scheme to rate websites in terms of accessibility, ease-of-use and function, and then hand-codes a set of websites according to these criteria (Urban 2002; Armstrong 2011; Feeney and Brown 2017). As an example, Grimmelikhuijsen and Welch (2012) study local government websites with the goal of uncovering how they aid the goal of transparency. To this end, they analyze a set of Dutch municipalities in which air quality had deteriorated. The authors test whether local governments provide citizens with information about potential complications and solutions associated with this issue. Like most e-government studies however, this publication does not make any use of automated text analysis.

Websites have also played a major role in the field of media studies, as scholars have scraped and analyzed the online presence of newspapers, as well as the more diffuse world of online political blogs (Adamic and Glance 2005; Gentzkow and Shapiro 2010). Lin, Bagrow and Lazer (2011) provide a good example for a study which makes extensive use of automated content analysis - a necessity arising from its dataset of 66830 blog posts and 57221 online news articles. The authors estimate the political slant of these entities by counting the frequencies with which politicians of either side are mentioned and determine that blogs are generally more biased. Unfortunately for us, the authors don't go into the details of their text analysis, and offer no information on the acquisition and pre-processing of the data.

Another well-known example fitting into this area of study is the set of studies conducted by

King et al. (King, Pan and Roberts 2013, 2014, 2017), in which the authors study censorship by the country's government on its lively blogosphere. However, the authors also provide no information on how their data was collected "our extensive engineering effort, which we do not detail here for obvious reasons [...]".

The websites of politicians and their parties have also fallen under scholarly scrutiny. Researchers have found that in order to identify the constituencies, motives and modes of communication of these actors, their websites can be very illuminating sources of information (Druckman, Kifer and Parkin 2009; Druckman, Hennessy, Kifer and Parkin 2010; Cryer 2017; Esterling, Lazer and Neblo 2011; Esterling and Neblo 2011; Norris 2003; Therriault 2010). Druckman, Kifer and Parkin (2009); Druckman et al. (2010) rely on the Mational Journal to find the websites, then hand-coded them. Cryer (2017) provides fairly little information, but does mention the fact that she relied on Archive-it, the webservice of the Internet Archive we discussed recently. Esterling, Lazer and Neblo (2011); Esterling and Neblo (2011) rely on hand-coded data by the Congressional Management Foundation, a nonprofit organization which aims to assist Congress. Therriault (2010) (a working paper) actually portends to use automated text analysis, and also has the most extensive overview of the associated methodology. However, the division of the website into sections (home page, topics, issues, details) is done by hand, and the actual analysis is incomplete. The author acquired the websites from the Library of Congress (which only collected them from legislators who actually consented, and Therriault notes that this causes nonrandom missingness).

Importantly for us, research analyzing and improving the scraping, pre-processing and analysis methods of this literature is scarce. Eschenfelder, Beachboard, McClure and Wyman (1997) provide something of an overview of how how federal websites should be assessed from an egovernance point of view, but they largely focus on the substantive criteria that should be fulfilled, rather than the technical aspects of website acquisition and analysis.

3 Data

In this section we introduce the data we use in our application—the analysis of municipal websites in Louisiana and Indiana. The General Services Administration (GSA) maintains all .gov addresses, and provides a complete¹ list of all such domains to the public through GitHub². This list is updated once per month - we rely on the version released on January 16, 2017. The data from the GSA contains the following variables: One, domain name, specifically, the all-uppercase version of domain and top-level domain (for example, 'ABERDEENMD.GOV'). Two, the type of government entity to which the domain is registered, such as city, county, federal agency, etc. Three, for federal agencies, the name is specified. Finally, the city in which the domain is registered, is noted.

Here, we focus only on cities. As a first step, we use a webdriver-controlled browser (Fire-fox/Selenium/Geckodriver) to test whether all of the city websites actually work. Of the 2425

¹Domains used for testing and internal programs are excluded.

²https://github.com/GSA/data/tree/gh-pages/dotgov-domains

domains listed by the GSA as cities, 292 are not accessible. Furthermore, the .gov domain, as registered at the GSA, is frequently not the website a city actually uses. In many cases, these sites redirect to another address, sometimes not a .gov domain (in this case, we simply use this domain). We record these URLs.

In order to provide an overview of our coverage (as not all cities, towns and villages use .gov addresses), we merge this list with U.S. Census data³. Here, several limitations in the GSA data need to be accounted for: One, even though the GSA nominally separates websites of cities and counties, some of the domains categorized as cities actually belong to counties. The same is true for townships and boroughs. Ergo, we eliminate all websites belonging to these three types of entities by hand. Furthermore, the city name, as given by the GSA, refers to the city in which the domain is registered, which is not necessarily equivalent to the city the website serves. In many cases, a website of a larger city may be registered to one of its subdivisions (for example, the website of New York is registered to Brooklyn), or vice versa (for example, the website of Homecroftin, a small town within Indianapolis, is registered to the city as a whole). Consequently we fix mismatches between websites and cities manually. Finally, a number of cities are simply misspelled, which we also correct by hand.

| Filetype | current | before | after |
|----------|---------|--------|-------|
| | 51455 | 13866 | 19199 |
| pdf | 9646 | 5489 | 7544 |
| jpg | 5216 | 1988 | 3512 |
| html | 3767 | 17842 | 17596 |
| aspx | 2832 | 4356 | 3271 |
| png | 2714 | 2327 | 3684 |
| gif | 1068 | 664 | 1077 |
| JPG | 478 | 182 | 263 |
| 1 | 443 | 61 | 54 |
| css | 390 | 265 | 518 |
| js | 350 | 255 | 468 |
| htm | 264 | 295 | 256 |
| docx | 203 | 106 | 120 |
| doc | 167 | 70 | 130 |
| asp | 161 | 201 | 211 |
| svg | 87 | 55 | 69 |
| php | 83 | 157 | 241 |
| | | | |

Table 1: The most common file types in scraped websites

http://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/datasets/2010-2015/cities/totals/sub-est2015_all.csv

| Website | current_size | current_files | before_size | before_files | after_size | after_files | size_change | files_change | control_change |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| attica-in.gov | 61988 | 1417 | 7528 | 164 | 55956 | 1390 | 7.43 | 8.48 | 0.00 |
| bedford.in.us | 57628 | 260 | 27452 | 182 | 46388 | 525 | 1.69 | 2.88 | 0.00 |
| cityofboonvilleindiana.com | 9848 | 110 | 16996 | 172 | 20784 | 229 | 1.22 | 1.33 | 0.00 |
| frankfort-in.gov | 205368 | 2652 | 12208 | 242 | 138360 | 1077 | 11.33 | 4.45 | 0.00 |
| warsaw.in.gov | 298440 | 2117 | 26844 | 539 | 360400 | 2036 | 13.43 | 3.78 | 0.00 |
| www.bloomington.in.gov | 131128 | 2713 | 443360 | 14384 | 247096 | 9640 | 0.56 | 0.67 | 0.00 |
| www.brazil.in.gov | 43056 | 845 | 34472 | 625 | 55152 | 1214 | 1.60 | 1.94 | 0.00 |
| www.carmel.in.gov | 2270016 | 8727 | 1919344 | 5361 | 006668 | 2219 | 0.47 | 0.41 | 0.00 |
| www.ci.auburn.in.us | 183296 | 1025 | 21444 | 345 | 23564 | 211 | 1.10 | 0.61 | 0.00 |
| www.cityoffortwayne.org | 2136424 | 4378 | 266784 | 3582 | 233600 | 3018 | 0.88 | 0.84 | 0.00 |
| www.cityofhobart.org | 722000 | 2463 | 44192 | 650 | 62660 | 1037 | 1.42 | 1.60 | 0.00 |
| www.evansvillegov.org | 6345932 | 11844 | 290784 | 1281 | 1697224 | 6853 | 5.84 | 5.35 | 0.00 |
| www.gary.in.us | 373888 | 1227 | 121812 | 485 | 157140 | 719 | 1.29 | 1.48 | 0.00 |
| www.huntingburg-in.gov | 388680 | 2496 | 8644 | 213 | 375900 | 1953 | 43.49 | 9.17 | 0.00 |
| www.jasperindiana.gov | 561968 | 4013 | 55900 | 460 | 439072 | 2224 | 7.85 | 4.83 | 0.00 |
| www.lakestation-in.gov | 48 | 2 | 7724 | 84 | 257272 | 1097 | 33.31 | 13.06 | 0.00 |
| www.linton-in.gov | 32 | 1 | 24 | 2 | 24 | 2 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| www.madison-in.gov | 531044 | 1848 | 36636 | 575 | 191624 | 1444 | 5.23 | 2.51 | 0.00 |
| www.martinsville.in.gov | 46792 | 1463 | 71628 | 1052 | 80944 | 800 | 1.13 | 0.76 | 0.00 |
| www.monticelloin.gov | 33656 | 753 | 18120 | 448 | 100680 | 2104 | 5.56 | 4.70 | 0.00 |
| www.newhavenin.org | 84364 | 626 | 2524 | 98 | 6792 | 334 | 2.69 | 3.88 | 0.00 |
| www.richmondindiana.gov | 250968 | 1042 | 217252 | 918 | 401672 | 2422 | 1.85 | 2.64 | 0.00 |
| www.southbendin.gov | 1264076 | 4749 | 454456 | 3286 | 1424136 | 2562 | 3.13 | 0.78 | 0.00 |
| connersvillecommunity.com | 170688 | 695 | 162316 | 815 | 187276 | 808 | 1.15 | 0.99 | 1.00 |
| www.batesvilleindiana.us | 166564 | 2348 | 39592 | 496 | 96956 | 1310 | 2.42 | 2.64 | 1.00 |
| www.cityofrisingsun.com | 994956 | 3311 | 321400 | 1268 | 80848 | 898 | 0.25 | 89.0 | 1.00 |
| www.cityofrockport-in.gov | 12068 | 86 | 5148 | 16 | 12068 | 86 | 2.34 | 6.12 | 1.00 |
| www.elkhartindiana.org | 1132828 | 2345 | 5588 | 123 | 6204 | 223 | 1.11 | 1.81 | 1.00 |
| www.elwoodcity-in.org | 224412 | 765 | 5000 | 123 | 139692 | 517 | 27.94 | 4.20 | 1.00 |
| www.indy.gov | 5726048 | 9675 | 6119260 | 10451 | 4984080 | 7981 | 0.81 | 0.76 | 1.00 |
| www.northvernon-in.gov | 272016 | 403 | 3132 | 112 | 289336 | 416 | 92.38 | 3.71 | 1.00 |
| www.winchester-in.gov | 364592 | 2480 | 8059 | 135 | 45488 | 267 | 66.9 | 4.20 | 1.00 |

Table 2: Number of files and size of websites

For some cities, whose websites make heavy use of JavaScript, this method does not lead to satisfying results. Consequently we restricted our corpus to cities with at least 3 documents.

4 The Web to Text Pipeline

In the methodological pipeline from native website files to text data that is appropriate for comparative analysis we address two methodological challenges. First, though they contain significant amounts of text, websites are not comprised of clean plain text files. Rather, the files available at websites are of multiple types, including HTML, PDF, word processor, plain text, and image files. The first step in the methodological pipeline is aimed simply at extracting clean plain text from this heterogeneous file base. The second step in our methodological pipeline is to process the text to remove boilerplate language—language that is effective at differentiating one website from another, but is uninformative regarding policy or process differences between governments. We describe these methodological steps in this section.

4.1 Site to Text Conversion

For the most part, the file type of a document can be correctly determined through its ending. However, there are exceptions to this, which, if ignored, can lead to large amounts of garbage text, stemming from incorrectly converted documents, as well as a general decrease in the amount of usable data. Two issues in particular need to be addressed: One, HTML files on city websites frequently do not have an ending, but are still perfectly readable if correctly identified as such. Second, some documents contain the incorrect file ending - for example, we found thousands of documents on the New Orleans city website that ended in .html, when they were actually PDFs. To accurately assess their type, we read in the first line of each document, which, if it is an HTML or PDF file, contains a string indicating as much. Consequently we rename all documents so that their file ending reflects their actual file type. This is strictly necessary, because we rely on the readText R package⁴ - which determines a document's type solely through its ending - to convert the files to plain text.

The text documents are then read into R line by line, converted to UTF-8 and then stripped of dates, punctuation, numbers and words connected by underscores. At this point, the documents of one city still closely resemble one another in the form of boilerplate content, be it website elements (i.e. "You are here", "Home", "Directory" etc.) in html documents, or commonly used forms or phrases in pdfs, doc and docx files. This is an issue, because it clusters documents around the cities from which they originate in a way that has nothing to do with their actual content. In other words, the signal would be drowned out by the noise. Our solution to this problem is described in more detail in section 4.2. Preprocessing further includes setting every character to lowercase, as well as the removal of bullet points which frequently occur in html documents, extraneous whitespace, xml documents mislabeled as html files, and empty documents. Furthermore, some documents

⁴We have also experimented with several Unix-based alternatives, but found that they largely led to the same results.

contain gibberish, often as a result of faulty or impartial OCR. To combat this problem, we employ two solutions. One, we use spellchecking, implemented through the hunspell R package, to remove all non-English words. However, hunspell does not cover everything, either because some tokens are not actual words (for example artifacts from defective encoding), or because random sequences of characters just so happen to form words that exist in a dictionary (for example "eh" or "duh"). Since we rely on a bag-of-words model in which syntax does not matter, we can ameliorate these problems by removing all text except for whitespaces and the characters that appear in the English alphabet. Since a lot of the nonsensical text tends to be quite repetitive, we also delete all documents in which the proportion of unique to total number of tokens is less than 0.15. Furthermore, hunspell does not spellcheck individual characters or two-character words, so we remove these token types entirely (none of these words are of any substantive relevance to our research question). Since these pre-processing steps reduce documents which are largely unsuitable to only a few words of texts that don't make much sense, we also remove all remaining documents containing less than 50 tokens. Finally, to remove words that are extremely rare (which also has the advantage of eliminating any remaining oddities) and thus add nothing substantive to our models while increasing their computational cost, we also discard any token types that occur in only one document.

4.2 Boilerplate Removal

As noted above, city websites contain a large amount of text that is uninformative for its actual content and therefore a hindrance to correct analysis by automatic text processing methods. Consequently we remove this content as following: Each line of every document is compared to every line in every other document belonging to the same city. We count how many times each line is duplicated for that city. We remove any line occurring more than our chosen threshold of 10.5 This means that each document only retains the information that is particular about it. We implement this algorithm through hash tables, which reduces the computational complexity from $O(N^2)$ to O(N). Before this step is taken, we remove numbers and dates from the documents because they frequently make lines unique, despite the fact that they are virtually the same (for example different days on a city calendar).

5 Bag-of-Words Text Analysis

We illustrate the analysis of municipal website content using bag-of-words (BoW) methods. BoW methods are methods of text analysis that do not take into account the sequence or placement of words in text—just the presence and frequency of words.

⁵Empirically, lines tend to be duplicated either hundreds of times, or only once or twice, if at all.

5.1 Informative Dirichlet model

For the analysis of the data, we present two approaches, the first being the informative dirichlet model developed by (Monroe, Colaresi and Quinn 2008). This approach aims to account for the fact that some words naturally occur more than others by applying a Dirichlet prior based on the distribution of words in random text. Table 3 shows the top words for both Democrats and Republicans - and accomplishes, to some extent, the goal of (Monroe, Colaresi and Quinn 2008) of banishing frequent words from this list and supplanting them with text with greater semantic, and in our case, partisan meaning.

In Indiana, Democrats exhibit a preference for words related to public finance, such as 'fund', 'budget', or 'tax', indicative of a greater willingness to emphasize the city's efforts to raise and spend money. This finding is consistent with (Einstein and Kogan 2015), who show that Democratic mayors tend to favor greater spending. Beyond the focus on public finance, the words preferably used by Democrats do not fall into any particularly congruent categories, and largely sort into various areas related to city administration - i.e. 'council', 'services', 'budget', 'committee', 'contract', etc. If there is theme around the words preferred by Republicans, it seems to center around city planning - street, fire, water, building, construction, park. These words suggest that the hands-off approach favored by Republicans results in a focus on supporting infrastructure and logistics.

For Lousiana, the results (see table 4) are less coherent. Only one of the finance-related terms appears again for Democrats - specifically 'fund', although 'rate' might also be used in a financial context. Beyond that, some focus on a 'historic' ''district of a city seems evident, as is the use of some words - 'infrastructure', 'water', 'building' that were used for Republicans in Indiana. Conversely, Republicans are now missing these words, and their preferred terms generally do not seem to follow any particular theme.

The weakness of the fightin' words method is evident here, as a list of words does not necessarily provide sufficient information to glean preferred topics from. This is especially the case when the texts are spread across a broad number of issue-areas, with little semantic similarity. In (Monroe, Colaresi and Quinn 2008), the authors focus on the fairly constrained corpus of U.S. Senate speeches with respect to abortion - our context, by comparison, is far more eclectic.

5.1.1 Structural topic model

A more powerful approach with the capacity of addressing this problem is the use of topic models. This class of clustering methods relies on the co-occurrence of words within documents to form a set of semantically coherent topics. In order to compare the degree to which Republicans and Democrats prefer specific topics, we rely on the structural topic model, developed by (Roberts, Stewart, Tingley, Lucas, Leder-Luis, Gadarian, Albertson and Rand 2014). Theoretically, the most widely-used form of topic model, latent dirichlet allocation, can also be used to test for the impact of a single covariate through a post-hoc comparison, but the structural topic model allows for multiple covariates, and also produced more meaningful topics in our experiments.

We use 60 topics - the number recommended by the authors for medium- to large-sized corpora, and party as well as city population (the literature frequently emphasizes city size as a determinant of the issues it faces - see, for example, Guillamón, Bastida and Benito (2013)) as covariates. The results are shown in tables 5 to 8. The coefficients in the table headers describe the size of the party covariate on a given topic. In order to test statistical significance, we calculated credible intervals - the topics shown here are all significant at the 0.1% level.

In Indiana, some of the topics associated with Democrats - one related to education, one to recycling - clearly seem to match the party brand. Interestingly enough, Democrats also 'own' the topic related to law enforcement, which might be somewhat unexpected given Republicans' usual focus on law and order (Gerber and Hopkins 2011). However, this kind of finding is not entirely without precedent in the literature (see (Einstein and Kogan 2015)). Similar to the informed dirichlet model, the structural topic model also finds the emphasis on construction and infrastructure by Republicans - in table 5, topics 2, 7 and 8 clearly focus on these issues.⁶

When comparing Indiana to Louisiana, it appears that the Democratic emphasis on law enforcement is robust. Furthermore, as with the fightin' words approach, some smaller degree of focus on money (see topic 1) is still evident. For Republicans, topics 2 to 4 seem to be, once again about infrastructure and utilities, pointing to a certain degree of robustness in these results, as well as the emergence of a trend. The results produced by the structural topic model are not flawless, but the two parties do seem to have somewhat consistent themes on which they focus on in both states. Furthermore, in comparison to the fightin' words approach, the ability of the structural topic model to form coherent topics is quite evident and helpful in the interpretation of the results.

6 Ground truth test

In the realm of public administration, the notion that the partisan leaning of mayors might have an effect on how they run their cities is still frowned upon to some extent. Perceived more as managers than politicians, they have been portrayed as the last bastion of non-partisanship in America, and in many cases, also style themselves that way (Dovere 2018). However, the aspirations some mayors have shown towards higher offices - in some cases even the presidency - reveal that they are not quite as above the fray as some may believe them to be. One of the most vicious and blatantly partisan cleavages in current U.S. politics - the debate surrounding sanctuary cities - has seen mayors in a central role. Research into local politics has shown that partisan elections consistently have greater turnout (Schaffner, Streb and Wright 2001). When voters are denied this cue, they make use of other, and considerably more irrational heuristics, such as name, gender, or occupation of the contenders. Consequently it only makes sense for any office-seeking politician to emphasize their partisanship. Finally, decades of research in political psychology have consistently shown that no matter how hard we try, humans are simply incapable of escaping our partisan biases, a finding that is especially pronounced among elites (Hatemi and McDermott 2011).

⁶The first Repuiblican topic in Indiana (library, stream, obj, etc.) is likely an artifact from incorrectly converted html, and since it presumably only happens only in one Republican city, the topic is classified as very Republican.

Figure 1: Word-topic probabilities for topics with big partisan differences, across documents (Indiana).

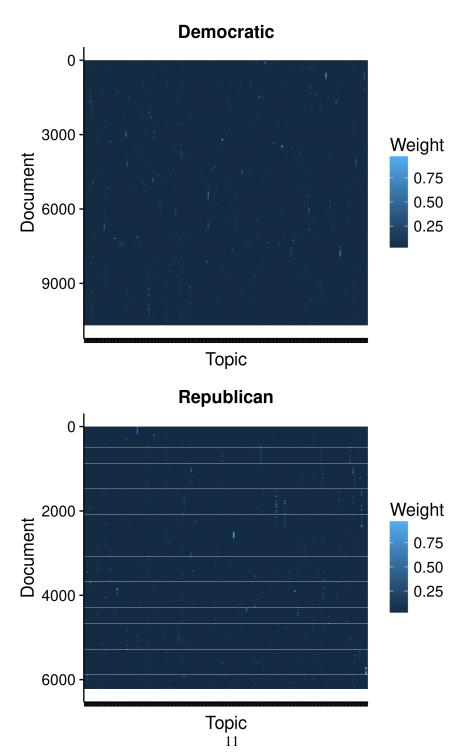


Figure 2: Cities in the corpus, by partisanship of mayor.

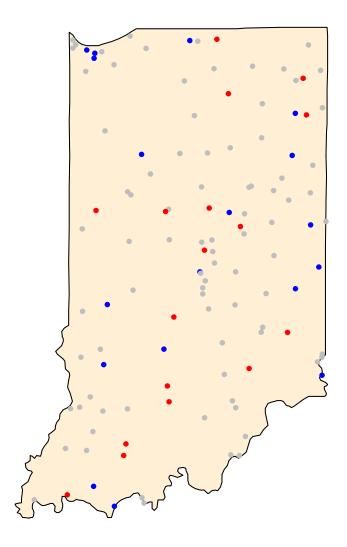


Figure 3: Results from a structural topic model, displayed as the p-values for each variable for each topic. This would normally be somewhat nonsensical, but here it illustrates why the model does not work.

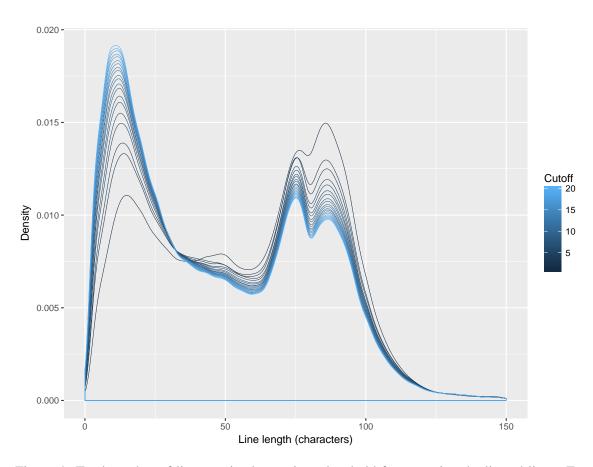


Figure 4: Total number of lines retained at a given threshold for removing duplicated lines. For example, at x = 10, all lines occurring more than 10 times within a city's documents are removed.

In an effort to underline this fact and remove any doubt about the fact that the partisanship of mayors colors their decision-making, we conduct a ground truth test between our main corpus - the websites of cities - and a second, decidedly more partisan set of texts: the campaign websites of these mayors. As noted above, partisanship has been shown to be a powerful driving force even in local politics, and mayors are incentivized to exploit it. Consequently they are very likely to emphasize conservative/liberal values on this platform. If there is a greater correlation in word use between the cities managed by a party and the campaign websites of its mayors than with those of the other party, evidence for the partisanship of city websites can be established.

Using the same methods as described for our main corpus, we have gathered these sites and then concatenated all of the documents belonging to mayors of the two parties into one ground truth document each. We do the same for the city documents, and the compare the four document collections using cosine similarity. This measure is the cosine between the angle of two vectors, in this case the frequencies of all words in the two vocabularies. Compared to a simple euclidean distance, this has the advantage of accounting for the fact that the two corpora being compared are not necessarily of the same length. The cosine measure between two documents ranges between 0 and 1, 0 signifying absolutely no correlation, and 1 perfect overlap. Figure 6 shows the result of this test. The expectation is for a greater similarity between Republican cities and the Republican ground truth, than Republican cities and Democratic ground truth - and vice versa. At present however, this does not appear to be the case, presumably because the Republican ground truth consists of 8 documents, and the Democratic one of 290.

7 Conclusion

We have developed a methodological pipeline for automatically gathering and preparing government websites for comparative analysis. This methodology holds the potential to vastly scale up the data collection efforts underpinning the rapidly growing body of research that is focused on government website analysis. Through an application to the analysis of municipal websites in Indiana and Louisiana, we show how our pipeline is capable of gathering corpora that shed light on the forms and functions of local government.

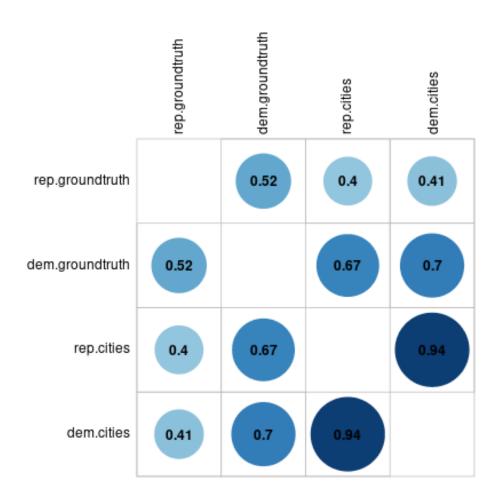


Figure 5: Ground truth test. The values are cosine similarities between a pair of document collections.

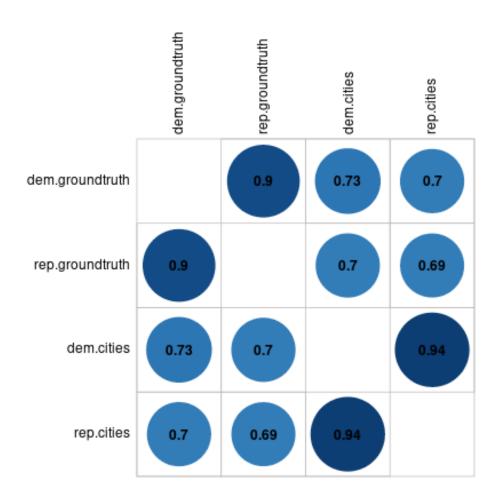


Figure 6: Ground truth test. The values are cosine similarities between a pair of document collections (top 100 mayors vs. IN and LA).

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| Word (D) | z-Score (D) | Word (R) | z-Score (R) |
|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| say | 93.15 | main | 60.56 |
| proposal | 80.78 | ave | 58.11 |
| fund | 66.61 | sewer | 57.85 |
| county | 60.76 | tree | 53.82 |
| budget | 57.16 | sign | 52.42 |
| ask | 54.53 | councilor | 51.18 |
| tax | 52.95 | utility | 49.95 |
| state | 49.40 | line | 49.35 |
| revenue | 42.96 | stream | 49.03 |
| division | 42.25 | street | 47.47 |
| grant | 42.25 | oral | 46.87 |
| million | 40.21 | member | 45.96 |
| contract | 40.12 | water | 44.45 |
| agency | 38.15 | motion | 44.14 |
| general | 36.74 | building | 42.41 |
| introduce | 35.96 | site | 42.10 |
| animal | 34.54 | flow | 39.21 |
| chair | 34.19 | lot | 38.03 |
| metropolitan | 33.87 | plat | 37.84 |
| support | 33.78 | zone | 37.49 |
| authorize | 33.65 | amp | 37.24 |
| federal | 33.60 | grease | 37.21 |
| cost | 33.20 | plan | 36.98 |
| brown | 32.78 | downtown | 35.86 |
| management | 29.69 | old | 35.22 |
| clerk | 29.66 | root | 34.96 |
| increase | 29.30 | area | 34.82 |
| dollar | 29.16 | docket | 34.81 |
| appoint | 29.10 | rider | 34.79 |
| technology | 29.07 | station | 34.45 |
| service | 28.32 | variance | 34.12 |
| digest | 28.30 | use | 34.00 |
| recognize | 27.90 | carter | 33.66 |
| year | 27.73 | residential | 33.56 |
| justice | 27.46 | request | 32.98 |
| court | 26.72 | foot | 32.76 |
| criminal | 25.99 | clean | 32.70 |
| appropriation | 25.60 | obstruction | 31.72 |
| enterprise | 25.54 | rep | 31.69 |
| financial | 25.45 | overflow | 31.42 |
| sander | 25.43 25.27 | lateral | 31.42 |
| | 25.27 | tablet | 30.91 |
| public fiscal | 24.77 | river | 30.70 |
| | 24.77 | | 30.70 |
| corporation whereas | 24.38 24.46 | road ordinance | 30.32 |
| | | | |
| vendor | 24.43 24.31 | drive | 29.96 |
| sec | | pump | 29.95 |
| prosecutor | 24.30 | clay | 29.63 |
| pursuant | 24.02 | secondary fence | 29.61 |
| crime | 23.93 | Tellee | 29.54 |

Table 3: Top 50 Democratic and Republican words (Indiana), according to the informed Dirichlet model of Monroe et al. (2008).

| Word (D) | z-Score (D) | Word (R) | z-Score (R) |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| otherwise | 20.73 | say | 86.18 |
| health | 18.65 | ordinance | 77.67 |
| respect | 17.98 | summary | 59.81 |
| use | 16.62 | bid | 58.98 |
| officer | 16.22 | council | 46.92 |
| staff | 15.87 | amount | 41.21 |
| district | 15.82 | official | 39.79 |
| historic | 15.51 | mayor | 39.07 |
| datum | 15.19 | accordance | 37.91 |
| fund | 15.02 | boulevard | 37.78 |
| thereto | 14.86 | weekend | 35.41 |
| building | 14.70 | weather | 34.34 |
| street | 14.69 | seal | 33.27 |
| total | 14.60 | responsive | 33.15 |
| window | 14.50 | veteran | 31.96 |
| applicant | 14.41 | resolution | 29.52 |
| exist | 14.19 | hold | 28.71 |
| housing | 14.13 | gathering | 28.32 |
| provide | 13.84 | furnish | 27.36 |
| review | 13.58 | councilman | 27.19 |
| source | 13.54 | meeting | 26.74 |
| neighborhood | 13.09 | exceed | 26.54 |
| revenue | 12.99 | show | 26.44 |
| target | 12.88 | emergency | 26.01 |
| policy | 12.75 | resident | 25.23 |
| training | 12.52 | city | 24.89 |
| process | 12.51 | accept | 24.73 |
| actual | 12.45 | visit | 24.67 |
| population | 12.04 | wheeler | 24.21 |
| green | 11.95 | night | 24.11 |
| rate | 11.70 | purchase | 24.00 |
| infrastructure | 11.68 | theater | 23.76 |
| urban | 11.46 | parish | 23.63 |
| average | 11.45 | sweep | 23.39 |
| retention | 11.22 | inc | 23.27 |
| master | 11.03 | tonight | 22.09 |
| bureau | 10.93 | recreation | 21.92 |
| roof | 10.90 | mike | 21.82 |
| strategy | 10.89 | park | 21.78 |
| water | 10.82 | department | 21.71 |
| construct | 10.79 | movie | 21.65 |
| residence | 10.57 | tropical | 21.50 |
| reduce | 10.47 | hall | 21.49 |
| relative | 10.46 | contract | 21.31 |
| construction | 10.46 | pet | 21.24 |
| monthly | 10.46 | morning | 21.08 |
| chapter | 10.43 | begin | 20.84 |
| individual | 10.35 | information | 20.78 |
| design | 10.29 | beach | 20.60 |
| standard | 10.24 | approve | 20.56 |
| | 10.21 | "PP1010 | 20.30 |

Table 4: Top 50 Democratic and Republican words (Louisiana), according to the informed Dirichlet model of Monroe et al. (2008).

| 0.023 | 0.021 | 0.019 | 0.017 | 0.017 | 0.014 | 0.013 | 0.012 |
|---------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|
| library | foot | team | ave | request | board | amp | building |
| stream | sign | game | inc | board | meeting | traffic | historic |
| obj | use | play | cross | member | member | stop | build |
| length | lot | league | creek | service | committee | vehicle | material |
| branch | building | camp | construction | street | council | block | preservation |
| type | zone | class | blvd | approve | commission | sign | wall |
| flag | area | age | park | city | meet | airport | roof |
| filter | district | must | lake | purchase | public | ave | window |
| rim | parking | child | hill | move | director | theft | floor |
| page | residential | participant | ridge | good | president | signal | new |

Table 5: Top Republican topics and words (Indiana), according to STM. The words are the top words for the most Democratic/Republican topic, determined by the size (and significance) of the coefficient (see table header) of the party covariate.

| -0.027 | -0.022 | -0.016 | -0.015 | -0.012 | -0.011 | -0.011 | -0.01 |
|------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| city | school | downtown | service | contract | city | trash | housing |
| ordinance | community | business | division | bid | department | city | property |
| approve | program | project | provide | contractor | mayor | waste | program |
| resolution | student | city | city | city | police | day | fund |
| property | education | development | management | agreement | officer | recycle | home |
| purchase | university | new | public | work | public | street | city |
| area | national | center | department | service | citizen | collection | project |
| department | award | economic | program | department | work | resident | neighborhood |
| contract | high | company | include | bidder | safety | recycling | grant |
| service | year | community | office | move | resident | snow | unit |

Table 6: Top Democratic topics and words (Indiana), according to STM. The words are the top words for the most Democratic/Republican topic, determined by the size (and significance) of the coefficient (see table header) of the party covariate.

| 0.071 | 0.054 | 0.054 | 0.034 | 0.033 | 0.024 | 0.023 | 0.02 |
|-------------|------------|-----------|----------|--------|-------------|------------|----------|
| event | ordinance | water | street | say | city | city | mayor |
| information | department | emergency | traffic | can | business | meeting | city |
| show | summary | city | parking | make | new | council | parish |
| park | amount | resident | lane | get | mayor | commission | town |
| music | bid | storm | project | take | development | plan | office |
| food | city | weather | work | people | economic | member | hall |
| visit | public | waste | bike | work | million | public | contact |
| weekend | police | system | downtown | need | continue | board | day |
| festival | approve | power | public | city | work | committee | official |
| begin | inc | service | bicycle | help | local | planning | state |

Table 7: Top Republican topics and words (Louisiana), according to STM. The words are the top words for the most Democratic/Republican topic, determined by the size (and significance) of the coefficient (see table header) of the party covariate.

| -0.136 | -0.102 | -0.043 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.012 | -0.012 | -0.012 |
|---------|-----------|------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|---------|
| art | otherwise | whereas | water | street | shall | police | event |
| call | provide | city | main | inc | city | crime | city |
| cost | respect | ordinance | sewer | drive | agreement | officer | park |
| home | city | bond | project | construction | party | suspect | rental |
| sponsor | thereto | provide | infrastructure | permit | provide | arrest | use |
| church | authorize | resolution | street | service | property | report | hour |
| amp | ordinance | code | system | avenue | owner | victim | hotel |
| free | district | chapter | improvement | oak | provision | information | public |
| museum | amend | shall | remark | park | section | murder | provide |
| artist | locate | otherwise | phase | lane | agree | block | term |

Table 8: Top Democratic topics and words (Louisiana), according to STM. The words are the top words for the most Democratic/Republican topic, determined by the size (and significance) of the coefficient (see table header) of the party covariate.

| Word (D) | Instances (D) | Word (R) | Instances (R) |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| city | 42493 | will | 53761 |
| said | 40480 | city | 36210 |
| county | 39209 | street | 21207 |
| proposal | 29019 | board | 19496 |
| public | 27070 | water | 18637 |
| council | 23492 | plan | 18241 |
| shall | 23162 | public | 14327 |
| department | 22926 | use | 13233 |
| services | 22703 | information | 13062 |
| fund | 21661 | development | 12916 |
| will | 20697 | department | 11554 |
| new | 19000 | area | 11270 |
| stated | 18794 | shall | 11247 |
| project | 18538 | fire | 10861 |
| property | 18378 | can | 10748 |
| budget | 16631 | must | 10633 |
| community | 16236 | park | 10493 |
| asked | 16231 | building | 10356 |
| tax | 14549 | motion | 10168 |
| board | 14363 | ordinance | 9625 |
| state | 13964 | request | 9512 |
| office | 13818 | council | 9098 |
| program | 13536 | community | 9072 |
| year | 13376 | meeting | 8990 |
| service | 13312 | ave | 8555 |
| provide | 13138 | service | 8040 |
| • | 13066 | construction | 7999 |
| one section | 12669 | | 7885 |
| | 11986 | one | 7863 7741 |
| work information | 11986 | property | 7/41 7492 |
| | | also | |
| development | 11854 | per | 7442 |
| committee | 11802 | required | 7407 |
| district | 11584 | home | 7334 |
| time | 11466 | center | 7316 |
| total | 10965 | made | 7301 |
| general | 10731 | site | 7279 |
| parks | 10704 | business | 7222 |
| system | 10668 | time | 7157 |
| digest | 10481 | services | 7140 |
| police | 10474 | housing | 7111 |
| management | 10433 | new | 7006 |
| park | 10356 | within | 6910 |
| also | 10112 | date | 6818 |
| division | 9964 | year | 6768 |
| street | 9853 | following | 6754 |
| resolution | 9768 | road | 6629 |
| contract | 9763 | member | 6450 |
| ordinance | 9456 | inc | 6367 |
| safety | 9362 | number | 6360 |
| code | 9342 | day | 6254 |
| | | | |

Table 9: Top 50 Democratic and Republican words (Indiana), according to LDA. Topic ownership is determined by the ratio of Democratic to Republican tokens in it (both weighted by the total number of tokens per party). The instances of each token type are then summed across all topics owned by the party.

| Word (D) | Instances (D) | Word (R) | Instances (R) |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| city | 19306 | city | 9930 |
| stream | 13397 | ordinance | 4413 |
| new | 13001 | information | 3756 |
| obi | 10440 | council | 3422 |
| otherwise | 8271 | said | 3301 |
| street | 7990 | plan | 3194 |
| provide | 7647 | department | 2991 |
| district | 7449 | state | 2598 |
| property | 7031 | public | 2594 |
| public | 6864 | meeting | 2392 |
| shall | 6750 | mayor | 2258 |
| respect | 6698 | one | 2166 |
| water | 6085 | application | 2105 |
| thereto | 5686 | development | 2017 |
| development | 5124 | parish | 1809 |
| use | 5086 | can | 1807 |
| ordinance | 4963 | new | 1807 |
| business | 4763 | water | 1780 |
| department | 4757 | program | 1691 |
| community | 4705 | project | 1674 |
| authorizing | 4440 | time | 1648 |
| located | 4315 | code | 1641 |
| mayor | 4266 | year | 1560 |
| length | 4215 | date | 1556 |
| project | 3918 | number | 1548 |
| section | 3863 | name | 1516 |
| service | 3831 | street | 1504 |
| councilman | 3824 | motion | 1500 |
| services | 3782 | day | 1483 |
| zoning | 3782 | park | 1471 |
| parish | 3771 | home | 1469 |
| providing | 3641 | address | 1415 |
| one | 3636 | office | 1408 |
| system | 3617 | amount | 1392 |
| building | 3607 | ave | 1384 |
| can | 3557 | budget | 1382 |
| code | 3532 | please | 1375 |
| office | 3305 | community | 1334 |
| drive | 3223 | area | 1326 |
| work | 3171 | contact | 1319 |
| permit | 3165 | emergency | 1308 |
| following | 3153 | summary | 1282 |
| within | 3123 | also | 1271 |
| must | 3088 | make | 1265 |
| plan | 3064 | two | 1224 |
| neighborhood | 3048 | work | 1213 |
| construction | 3016 | fire | 1184 |
| chapter | 2973 | bid | 1134 |
| ordinances | 2885 | planning | 1124 |
| fire | 2878 | people | 1108 |
| | 2010 | реоріе | 1100 |

Table 10: Top 50 Democratic and Republican words (Louisiana), according to LDA. Topic ownership is determined by the ratio of Democratic to Republican tokens in it (both weighted by the total number of tokens per party). The instances of each token type are then summed across all topics owned by the party.

| | Democratic | Republican |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Cities | 15 | 17 |
| Documents | 10257 | 5859 |
| Tokens | 6101752 | 2310072 |
| Token assignments | 6006202 | 2259362 |
| Topics | 103 | 97 |

Table 11: Descriptive statistics for Indiana. "Tokens" describes the number of words in each party's documents, "token assignments" the tokens assigned to each party in the topic model depending on the ratio of Democratic to Republican tokens in it (both weighted by the total number of tokens per party).

| | Democratic | Republican |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Cities | 11 | 7 |
| Documents | 6287 | 1327 |
| Tokens | 1955198 | 322915 |
| Token assignments | 1789373 | 314628 |
| Topics | 143 | 57 |

Table 12: Descriptive statistics for Louisiana. "Tokens" describes the number of words in each party's documents, "token assignments" the tokens assigned to each party in the topic model depending on the ratio of Democratic to Republican tokens in it (both weighted by the total number of tokens per party).

| | dem.groundtruth | rep.groundtruth | dem.cities | rep.cities |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| dem.groundtruth | 1, 1 | 0.807, 0.896 | 0.714, 0.729 | 0.68, 0.698 |
| rep.groundtruth | 0.807, 0.896 | 1, 1 | 0.647, 0.697 | 0.641, 0.693 |
| dem.cities | 0.714, 0.729 | 0.647, 0.697 | 1, 1 | 0.937, 0.944 |
| rep.cities | 0.68, 0.698 | 0.641, 0.693 | 0.937, 0.944 | 1, 1 |

Table 13: Ground truth test, comparing campaign websites of mayors of the 100 largest cities in the US and cities in Indiana and Louisiana. The values are bootstrapped confidence bounds for cosine similarities between concatenated document collections.