

# Using Word Embeddings to Examine Gender Bias in Dutch Newspapers, 1950-1990

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## Abstract

Contemporary debates on filter bubbles and polarization in public and social media raise the question to what extent news media of the past exhibited biases. This paper specifically examines bias related to gender in six Dutch national newspapers between 1950 and 1990. We measure bias related to gender by comparing local changes in word embedding models trained on newspapers with divergent ideological backgrounds between 1950 and 1990. We demonstrate clear differences in gender bias and its changes within and between newspapers over time. In relation to themes such as sexuality and leisure, we see the bias moving toward women, whereas, generally, the bias shifts in the direction of men, despite growing female employment number and feminist movements. Even though Dutch society became less stratified ideologically (depillarization), we found an increasing divergence in gender bias between religious and social-democratic on the one hand and liberal newspapers on the other. Methodologically, this paper illustrates how word embeddings can be used to examine historical language change. Future work will investigate how fine-tuning deep contextualized embedding models, such as ELMO, might be used for similar tasks with greater contextual information.

## 1 Introduction

In recent years, public and academic debates about the possible impact of filter bubbles and the role of polarization in public and social media have been widespread (Pariser, 2011; Flaxman et al., 2016). In these debates, news media have been described as belonging to particular political ideologies, producing skewed views on topics, such as climate change or immigration. These contemporary debates raise the question to what extent newspapers in the past operated in filter bubbles driven by their own ideological bias.

This paper examines gender bias in historical newspapers. By looking at differences in the strength of association between male and female dimensions of gender on the one hand, and words that represent occupations, psychological states, or social life, on the other, we examine the gender bias in and between several Dutch newspapers over time. Did certain newspapers exhibit a bias toward men or women in relationship to specific aspects of society, behavior, or culture?

Newspapers are an excellent source to study societal debates. They function as a transceiver; both the producer and the messenger of public discourse (Schudson, 1982). Margaret Marshall (1995) claims that researchers can uncover the “values, assumptions, and concerns, and ways of thinking that were a part of the public discourse of that time” by analyzing “the arguments, language, the discourse practices that inhabit the pages of public magazines, newspapers, and early professional journals.”

The period 1950-1990 is of particular interest as Dutch society underwent clear industrialization and modernization as well as ideological shifts (Schot et al., 2010). After the Second World War, Dutch society was stratified according to ideological and religious “pillars”, a phenomenon known as pillarization. These pillars can be categorized as Catholic, Protestant, socialist, and liberal (Wintle, 2000). Newspapers were often aligned to one of these pillars (Wijffjes, 2004; Rooij, 1974). The newspaper *Trouw*, for example, has a distinct Protestant origin, while *Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf* can be characterized as, respectively, Catholic and neutral. In recent years, the latter transformed into a newspaper with clear conservative leanings. Newspaper historians have studied the ideological backgrounds of Dutch newspapers using traditional hermeneutic means to which this study adds a computational analysis of language

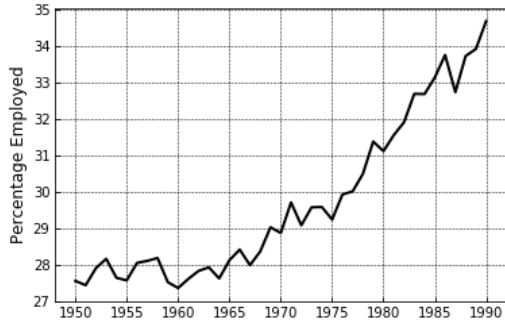


Figure 1: Female Employment Numbers

use related to gender.

The representation of gender in public discourse is related to ideological struggles over gender equality. Several feminist waves have materialized in the Netherlands. The origins of the first feminist wave can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century and lasted until the interwar period. It took until the 1960s for feminism to flare up again in the Netherlands. In between, confessional parties were vocal in their anti-feminist policies. During the 1960s, the second feminist wave, also known as new feminism, focuses on gender equality in areas such as work, education, sexuality, marriage, and family (Ribberink, 1987).

The growing equality between men and women is reflected in growing female employment numbers, which increased from 27.5 percent in 1950 to almost 35 percent in 1990 (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> Apart from Scandinavia, the Netherlands has the highest levels of equality in Europe. Nonetheless, in terms of education and employment, women are still lagging behind and reports of gender discrimination are not uncommon in the Netherlands (Baali et al., 2018; Ministerie van Onderwijs, 2009)

## 2 Related Work

Word embedding models can be used for a wide range of lexical-semantic tasks (Baroni et al., 2014; Kulkarni et al., 2015). Hamilton et al. (2016) show how word embeddings can also be used to measure semantic shifts by comparing the contexts in which words are used to denote continuity and changes in language use. More recent work focused on the role of bias in word embeddings, specifically bias related to politics, gender,

and ethnicity (Azarbondy et al., 2017; Bolukbasi et al., 2016; Garg et al., 2018). Gonen et al. (2019) demonstrate that debiasing methods work, but argue that we should not remove them. Azarbondy et al. (2017) compare semantic spaces related to political views in the UK parliament, effectively comparing biases between embeddings. Garg et al. (2018) turn to biases in embedding to study shifts related to gender and ethnicity.

This study builds upon the work of Garg et al. (2018), and applies it to the context of the Netherlands—represented by Dutch newspapers. We extend their method further by distinguishing between sources, rather than using a comprehensive gold standard data set. We also incorporate external lexicons, such as the emotion lexicon from Cornetto, the *Nederlandse Voornamenbank* (Database of Dutch first names), the Dutch translation of LIWC (Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count) and HISCO (Historical International Classification of Occupations) (Vossen et al., 2007; Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010; Zijlstra et al., 2004; Zijdeman et al., 2013; Bloothoof, 2010).

## 3 Data

The data set consists of six Dutch national newspapers: *NRC Handelsblad* (NRC), *Het Vrije Volk* (VV), *Parool*, *Telegraaf*, *Trouw*, and *Volkskrant* (VK).<sup>2</sup> These newspapers can be characterized ideologically as liberal, social-democratic, liberal, neutral/conservative, Protestant, and Catholic.

For the analysis, we rely on the articles and not the advertisements in the newspapers. We preprocess the text by removing stopwords, punctuation, numerical characters, and words shorter than three and longer than fifteen characters. The quality of the digitized text varies throughout the corpus due to imperfections in the original material and limitations of the recognition software. Because of the variations in OCR quality, we only retain words that also appeared in a Dutch dictionary.

We use the Gensim implementation of Word2Vec to train four embedding models per newspaper, each representing one decade between 1950 and 1990.<sup>3</sup> The models were trained using C-BOW with hierarchical softmax, with a dimensionality of 300, a minimal word count and context of 5, and downsampling of  $10^{-5}$ .<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The digitized newspapers were provided by the National Library of the Netherlands. <http://www.delpher.nl>

<sup>3</sup> <https://radimrehurek.com/gensim/>

<sup>4</sup> The code and models will be published after review

<sup>1</sup> <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/>

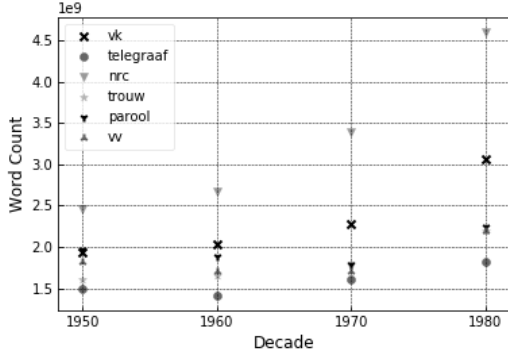


Figure 2: Total number of words per embedding model

Figure 2 shows that the size of the vocabulary approximately doubles for some newspapers between 1950 and 1990. The variance of the targets words, however, was small ( $\mu \approx 0.003$ ) and constant ( $\sigma[1.3^{-9}, 2.9^{-9}]$ ), indicating model stability. Since we calculate bias relative to each model, these differences in vocabulary size will have little impact on shifts in bias.

To measure gender bias, we use three sets of targets words. First, we extract a list of approximately 12.5k job titles from the HISCO data set. Second, we select emotions words with a confidence score of 1.0, a positive polarity above 0.5 ( $n = 476$ ) and a negative polarity below -0.5 ( $n = 636$ ) from Cornetto. Third, we rely on the Dutch translation of LIWC2001, which contains lists of words to measure psychological and cognitive states (Pennebaker et al., 2001). We use the following LIWC (sub)categories: Affective and Emotional Processes; Cognitive Processes; Sensory and Perceptual Processes; Social Processes; Occupation; Leisure activity; Money and Financial Issues; Metaphysical Issues; and Physical states.

## 4 Methodology

For the calculation of gender bias, we construct two vectors representing the gender dimensions (male, female). We do this by creating an average vector that includes words referring to male ('man', 'his', 'father', etc.) or female as well as the most popular first names in the Netherlands for the period 1950-1990.<sup>5</sup> Next, we calculate the distance between each gender vector and every word in a list of target words, for example,

<sup>5</sup>The word lists for both vectors can be found in the Appendix A. The first names were harvested from <https://www.meertens.knaw.nl/nvb/>

	WAIC	pWAIC	dWAIC	weight	SE	dSE
Model B	64624.8	2.9	0	0.99	201.6	0
Model A	64682.1	1.88	57.28	0.01	201.36	15.2

Table 1: Model Comparison

	mean	sd	hpd.2.5	hpd.97.5	n_eff	Rhat
a	-0.164	0.010	-0.185	-0.145	1315.073	1.000
bY	0.046	0.006	0.033	0.055	1261.437	0.999
sigma	1.001	0.005	0.992	1.010	1035.282	1.003

Table 2: Model B Summary

words that denote occupations: a greater distance indicates that a word is less closely associated with that dimension of gender. The difference between the distances for both gender vectors represents the gender bias: positive meaning a bias toward women and negative toward men. Finally, after standardizing and centering the bias values, we apply Bayesian linear regression to determine whether the bias changed over time. The linear model is formulated as:

$$\mu_i = \alpha + \beta * Y_i + \epsilon,$$

with  $\mu_i$  the bias for each decade ( $i$ ) and  $Y_i$  the coefficient related to each decade ( $i$ ). The likelihood function is:  $X \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu, \sigma)$  with priors defined:  $\alpha \sim \mathcal{N}(0, 2)$ ,  $\beta \sim \mathcal{N}(0, 2)$ , and  $\epsilon \sim \text{HalfCauchy}(\beta = 1)$ . For model training, we use a No-U-Turn-Sampler (NUTS) (5k draws, 1.5k tuning steps, HPD of .95).<sup>6</sup> For the target words Occupations, the proposed model (Model B) outperforms a model that only includes the intercept (Model A), indicating that bias changes as a function of time (Table 1 & Table 2).

We compute a linear model that combines all newspapers for the target words Occupations, Positive Emotions, Negative Emotions, and the selected LIWC columns. Then, for the same categories, we compute individual linear models for each newspaper. The resulting models are reported in Appendix B.

## 5 Results

The combined linear models, including all newspapers, generally display minimal shifts in bias. Partly, this behavior is related to opposing shifts in the individual newspapers, cancelling each other out. Nonetheless, the bias associated with the categories 'TV', 'Music', 'Metaphysical

<sup>6</sup><https://docs.pymc.io>

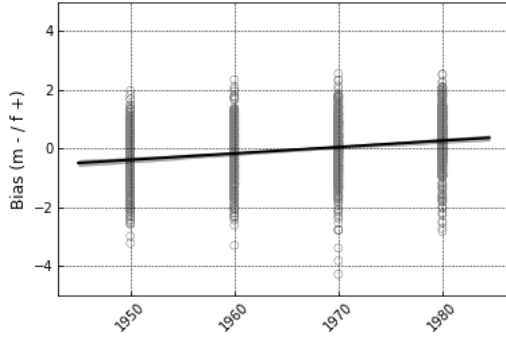


Figure 3: Combined model ‘Sexuality’

issues’, ‘Sexuality’ navigate toward women (0.22, 0.12, 0.15, 0.22), with all of them starting from a position that was clearly oriented toward men (-0.36, -0.20, -0.28, -0.39).<sup>7</sup> Conversely, ‘Money’, ‘Grooming’, and Negative Emotion Words move toward men (-0.24, -0.17, -0.16), which in the 1950s were all more closely related to women (0.33, 0.20, 0.19). For the Job Titles, we see a slight move toward women (0.05), while words from the LIWC category Occupations move marginally in the direction of men (-0.05). This suggests that job titles might be more closely related to women, while the notion of working gravitates toward men.

The linear models for the individual newspapers demonstrate distinct differences between the newspapers. First, *Volkskrant* is the most stable newspapers with 56% of the categories not changing.<sup>8</sup> When bias changes in this newspaper, it moves toward women 9 out the 11 categories that change. *Telegraaf*, *NRC*, and *Parool* generally move toward men, respectively (84%, 92%, and 80%). The bias of *Trouw* and *Vrije Volk*, contrarily, move toward women (both 72%).

Noteworthy results are that in all newspapers the bias shifts toward men in the category ‘money’. Moreover, they also all exhibit a move toward women for the category ‘sexuality’, with the clearest shift in *Volkskrant*, *Trouw*, and *Vrije Volk*.

## 6 Discussion

While the newspaper discourse as a whole is fairly stable, individual newspapers show clear divergences with regard to their bias and changes in

<sup>7</sup>Numbers refer to the slope

<sup>8</sup>Lower confidence interval < 0 and upper > 0

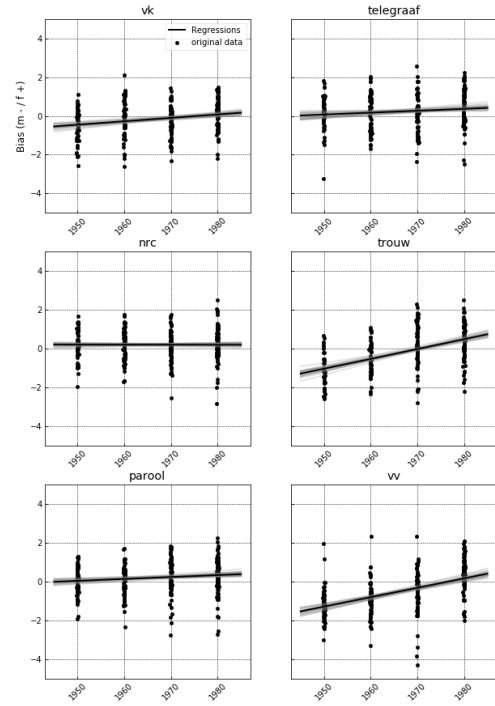


Figure 4: Individual newspaper model ‘Sexuality’

this bias. We see that the newspapers with a social-democratic (*Vrije Volk*) and religious background, either Catholic (*Volkskrant*) and Protestant (*Trouw*) demonstrate the clearest shift in bias toward women. The liberal/conservative newspapers *Telegraaf*, *NRC Handelsblad*, and *Parool*, on the contrary, orient themselves more clearly toward men. Despite increasing female employment numbers in the Netherlands, the association with job titles moves only gradually toward women, while words associated with working move toward men. More detailed analysis of the individual trend within each decade is necessary to untangle what exactly is taking place. For example, which words show the biggest shift, and can we identify groups of associated words of which particular words show divergent behavior? Methodologically, this paper shows how word embedding models can be used to trace general shifts in language related to gender. Future work will investigate how fine-tuning state-of-the-art embedding models, such as ELMO and BERT, can be leveraged to gain more contextual knowledge about words and their association with gender (Peters et al., 2018).



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## A Gender Vectors

**Male vector:** hij (he), vader (father), opa (grandpa), zoon (son), man (man), mannen (men), & heer (sir)

**Female vector:** zij (she), moeder (mother), oma (grandma), dochter (daughter), vrouw (woman), vrouwen (women), & dame (madam)

## B Linear Models

		mean	sd	hpd_2.5	hpd_97.5
positive_words	a	-0.009	0.018	-0.042	0.026
	bY	-0.023	0.010	-0.042	-0.004
negative_words	a	0.193	0.017	0.158	0.224
	bY	-0.157	0.009	-0.175	-0.141
job_titles	a	-0.164	0.011	-0.185	-0.142
	bY	0.046	0.006	0.035	0.059
Affect	a	0.198	0.023	0.156	0.241
	bY	-0.162	0.012	-0.185	-0.139
Posemo	a	0.104	0.022	0.064	0.147
	bY	-0.098	0.012	-0.121	-0.076
Negemo	a	0.251	0.024	0.203	0.296
	bY	-0.194	0.012	-0.218	-0.171
Anx	a	0.309	0.027	0.256	0.357
	bY	-0.232	0.015	-0.261	-0.203
Anger	a	0.184	0.027	0.130	0.236
	bY	-0.150	0.014	-0.174	-0.121
Sad	a	0.209	0.026	0.156	0.254
	bY	-0.171	0.013	-0.198	-0.147
Senses	a	0.134	0.023	0.090	0.183
	bY	-0.112	0.012	-0.137	-0.089
Social	a	0.033	0.023	-0.011	0.080
	bY	-0.042	0.012	-0.066	-0.018
Occup	a	0.035	0.022	-0.010	0.076
	bY	-0.053	0.012	-0.074	-0.030
Leisure	a	-0.066	0.025	-0.114	-0.022
	bY	0.031	0.013	0.007	0.055
Home	a	-0.027	0.043	-0.105	0.062
	bY	-0.001	0.023	-0.046	0.043
Sports	a	0.045	0.038	-0.038	0.105
	bY	-0.042	0.020	-0.080	-0.002
TV	a	-0.364	0.088	-0.526	-0.195
	bY	0.217	0.045	0.130	0.302
Music	a	-0.200	0.049	-0.292	-0.102
	bY	0.122	0.025	0.076	0.168
Money	a	0.335	0.028	0.284	0.390
	bY	-0.243	0.015	-0.272	-0.215
Metaph	a	-0.281	0.030	-0.341	-0.225
	bY	0.146	0.015	0.119	0.180
Physcal	a	-0.008	0.027	-0.063	0.041
	bY	-0.020	0.014	-0.044	0.007
Body	a	0.043	0.025	-0.010	0.087
	bY	-0.059	0.013	-0.084	-0.034
Sexual	a	-0.382	0.046	-0.471	-0.289
	bY	0.216	0.023	0.167	0.255
Eating	a	-0.007	0.034	-0.069	0.055
	bY	-0.015	0.018	-0.046	0.023
Sleep	a	0.134	0.049	0.041	0.230
	bY	-0.110	0.027	-0.160	-0.054
Groom	a	0.204	0.055	0.088	0.300
	bY	-0.166	0.031	-0.224	-0.105

Table 3: Combined Linear Model

		mean	sd	hpd_2.5	hpd_97.5	category
nrc	a	0.649	0.049	0.567	0.758	Affect
	a	0.572	0.049	0.482	0.667	Posemo
	a	0.701	0.050	0.605	0.800	Negemo
	a	0.797	0.054	0.684	0.901	Anx
	a	0.687	0.050	0.592	0.787	Anger
	a	0.648	0.055	0.553	0.761	Sad
	a	0.631	0.044	0.545	0.711	Senses
	a	0.474	0.050	0.379	0.567	Social
	a	0.480	0.045	0.386	0.561	Occup
	a	0.485	0.047	0.401	0.577	Leisure
	a	0.465	0.095	0.288	0.653	Home
	a	0.487	0.075	0.325	0.621	Sports
	a	0.290	0.158	-0.018	0.585	TV
	a	0.645	0.093	0.478	0.829	Music
	a	0.719	0.051	0.622	0.810	Money
	a	0.159	0.060	0.049	0.278	Metaph
	a	0.559	0.055	0.441	0.657	Physcal
	a	0.571	0.051	0.476	0.666	Body
	a	0.184	0.094	-0.015	0.343	Sexual







800		a	-0.066	0.058	-0.166	0.052	Body
801		a	-0.454	0.099	-0.630	-0.266	Sexual
802		a	-0.118	0.074	-0.255	0.018	Eating
803		a	-0.120	0.095	-0.301	0.064	Sleep
804		a	0.371	0.132	0.127	0.617	Groom
805		a	-0.218	0.038	-0.284	-0.139	positive_words
806		a	-0.066	0.035	-0.134	-0.003	negative_words
807		a	-0.030	0.026	-0.082	0.020	job_titles
808		bY	0.016	0.025	-0.029	0.064	Affect
809		bY	0.067	0.027	0.011	0.115	Posemo
810		bY	-0.015	0.029	-0.066	0.045	Negemo
811		bY	-0.058	0.033	-0.121	0.011	Anx
812		bY	-0.028	0.028	-0.075	0.032	Anger
813		bY	0.011	0.026	-0.036	0.070	Sad
814		bY	0.019	0.027	-0.032	0.071	Senses
815		bY	0.047	0.029	-0.006	0.105	Social
816		bY	0.114	0.028	0.058	0.169	Occup
817		bY	0.110	0.031	0.049	0.168	Leisure
818		bY	0.090	0.056	-0.014	0.197	Home
819		bY	0.124	0.051	0.027	0.223	Sports
820		bY	0.256	0.093	0.077	0.421	TV
821		bY	0.101	0.056	-0.003	0.219	Music
822		bY	-0.087	0.032	-0.153	-0.027	Money
823		bY	0.190	0.033	0.123	0.249	Metaph
824		bY	0.026	0.029	-0.029	0.083	Physcal
825		bY	0.039	0.029	-0.015	0.096	Body
826		bY	0.177	0.049	0.070	0.256	Sexual
827		bY	0.023	0.039	-0.046	0.102	Eating
828		bY	-0.004	0.053	-0.107	0.102	Sleep
829		bY	-0.196	0.070	-0.326	-0.060	Groom
830		bY	0.118	0.020	0.081	0.157	positive_words
831		bY	-0.018	0.018	-0.049	0.019	negative_words
832		bY	0.028	0.013	0.003	0.053	job_titles
833	vv	a	-0.480	0.057	-0.589	-0.370	Affect
834		a	-0.640	0.055	-0.752	-0.531	Posemo
835		a	-0.381	0.064	-0.503	-0.261	Negemo
836		a	-0.479	0.065	-0.600	-0.345	Anx
837		a	-0.503	0.061	-0.618	-0.382	Anger
838		a	-0.500	0.063	-0.615	-0.372	Sad
839		a	-0.616	0.052	-0.724	-0.521	Senses
840		a	-0.633	0.056	-0.750	-0.527	Social
841		a	-0.575	0.059	-0.699	-0.478	Occup
842		a	-0.987	0.068	-1.107	-0.850	Leisure
843		a	-0.939	0.108	-1.145	-0.722	Home
844		a	-0.756	0.102	-0.942	-0.555	Sports
845		a	-1.403	0.226	-1.836	-0.950	TV
846		a	-1.427	0.102	-1.625	-1.234	Music
847		a	-0.172	0.065	-0.294	-0.053	Money
848		a	-0.919	0.068	-1.046	-0.781	Metaph
849		a	-0.880	0.066	-1.003	-0.752	Physcal
850		a	-0.779	0.067	-0.917	-0.668	Body
851		a	-1.326	0.111	-1.532	-1.107	Sexual
852		a	-0.921	0.077	-1.048	-0.730	Eating
853		a	-0.992	0.107	-1.184	-0.764	Sleep
854		a	-0.549	0.151	-0.828	-0.255	Groom
855		a	-0.867	0.044	-0.950	-0.781	positive_words
856		a	-0.633	0.039	-0.704	-0.558	negative_words
857		a	-0.667	0.023	-0.707	-0.617	job_titles
858		bY	0.006	0.031	-0.051	0.065	Affect
859		bY	0.085	0.029	0.026	0.139	Posemo
860		bY	-0.049	0.034	-0.113	0.010	Negemo
861		bY	-0.050	0.034	-0.118	0.016	Anx
862		bY	0.030	0.032	-0.034	0.090	Anger
863		bY	-0.027	0.034	-0.093	0.041	Sad
864		bY	0.063	0.028	0.007	0.116	Senses
865		bY	0.152	0.030	0.090	0.208	Social
866		bY	0.146	0.030	0.090	0.205	Occup
867		bY	0.280	0.035	0.209	0.342	Leisure
868		bY	0.266	0.059	0.154	0.372	Home
869		bY	0.136	0.054	0.030	0.241	Sports
870		bY	0.475	0.114	0.274	0.724	TV
871		bY	0.494	0.055	0.394	0.604	Music
872		bY	-0.123	0.035	-0.188	-0.053	Money
873		bY	0.388	0.035	0.319	0.459	Metaph
874		bY	0.204	0.034	0.133	0.274	Physcal
875		bY	0.145	0.036	0.083	0.220	Body
876		bY	0.507	0.056	0.410	0.615	Sexual
877		bY	0.295	0.041	0.221	0.384	Eating
878		bY	0.143	0.057	0.039	0.267	Sleep
879		bY	0.023	0.083	-0.127	0.203	Groom
880		bY	0.217	0.023	0.179	0.266	positive_words
881		bY	0.069	0.021	0.029	0.109	negative_words
882		bY	0.242	0.013	0.218	0.269	job_titles

Table 4: Individual Linear Model