# An Adaptable Legislative Analysis and Advocacy Framework

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2012

### Problem Description

- 1. Political advocacy serves a special purpose in governance
- 2. Two core advocacy challenges
  - 1. Quantifying legislator or constituent support of a cause
  - 2. Motivating these groups to take action
- 3. What can be improved?
  - 1. Generating this analysis is time consuming, biased
  - 2. Current methods of quantifying support can be improved upon



Introduction

## Addressing this Problem

- 1. A Web & Machine Learning-Based Framework for Advocates
  - 1. Adaptable can be used for any state legislature or Congress
  - 2. Advocacy Uses statistical methods to rank legislators latent support, future actions
  - 3. Accountability Information published to web applauds those supportive, holds accountable those who are not

Introduction

#### Presentation Outline

- 1. Method
  - 1. Workflow
    - 1. Bill Review
    - 2. Dataset Completion
    - 3. Crosscheck
    - 4. Prediction
  - 2. Stuff under the hood
    - 1. Missing Values (k-NN)
    - 2. Prediction (Random Forests)

- 2. Experiment
  - 1. Design
  - 2. Procedure
  - 3. Results / Method Logic
- 3. Discussion



Introduction

#### Method

- 1. Two Major Components
  - 1. web interface publishing and workflow for data input, output
  - 2. stuff under the hood machine learning, run as scheduled jobs



Method

#### Bill Review

#### 1. Motivation

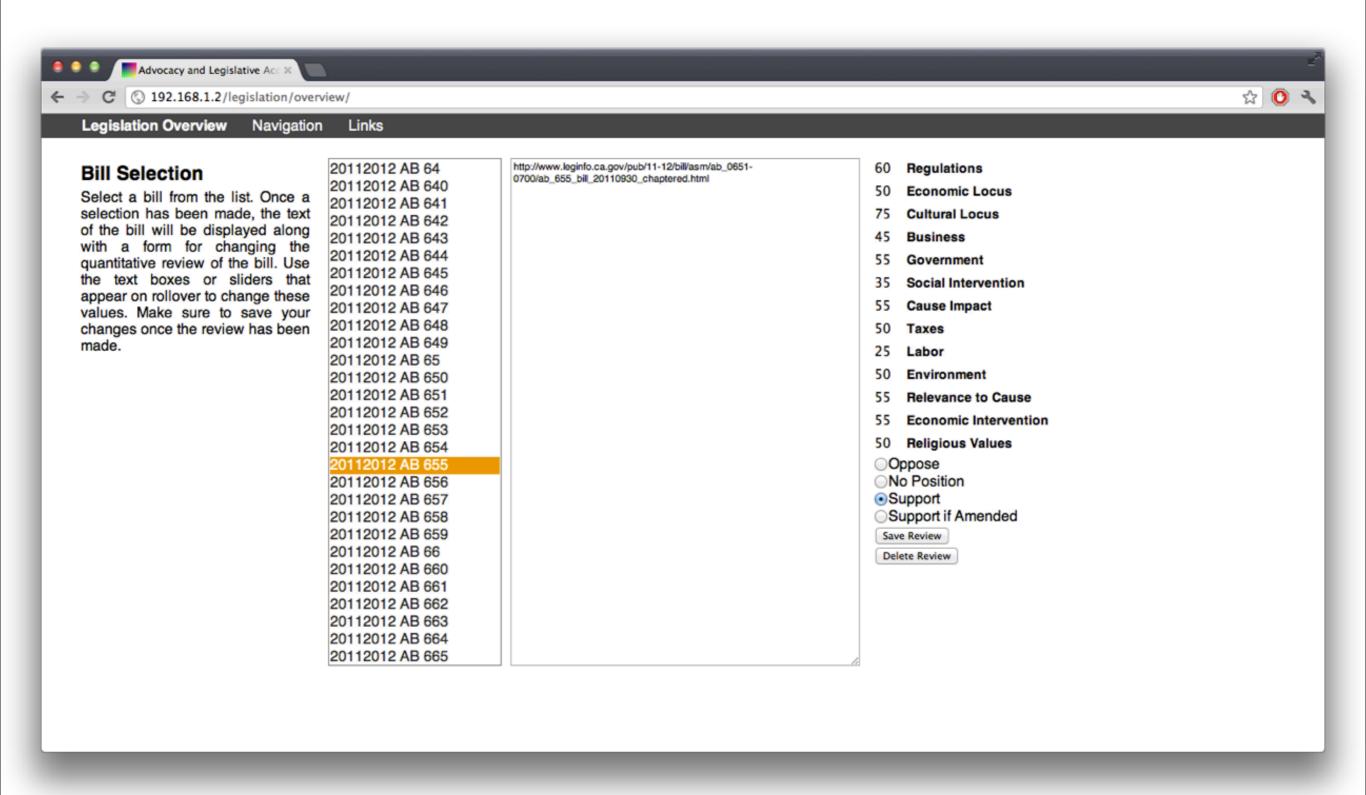
1. How do we determine the stance of the advocate, legislators?

#### 2. Solution

- 1. "Bill Reviews" Quantitative profiles of bills
  - 1. Format Machine Learning algorithms can understand
- 2. Voting Records
  - 1. Ideal vote types give information stance of the advocate
  - 2. Publicly available legislative voting information gives position of legislators



#### Bill Review





#### Bill Review: Dimensions

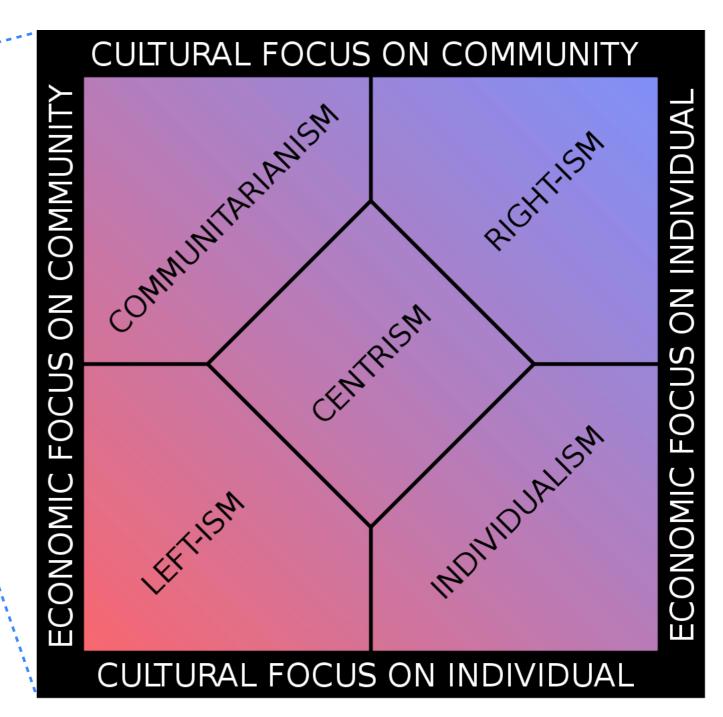
- 1. Customizable
- 2. Prototype Dimensions
  - 1. Chosen based on preliminary research & folk-political science
  - 2. Chosen for discriminative power



#### Bill Review: Dimensions

#### Prototype Review Dimensions

- 1. Cultural Locus
- 2. Economic Locus
- 3. Cultural Intervention
- 4. Economic Intervention
- 5. Government
- 6. Regulations
- 7. Taxes
- 8. Environment
- 9. Business
- 10. Labor
- 11. Religious Values
- 12. Cause Impact
- 13. Relevance to Cause



The Nolan Chart: Used by many libertarians as a political spectrum.

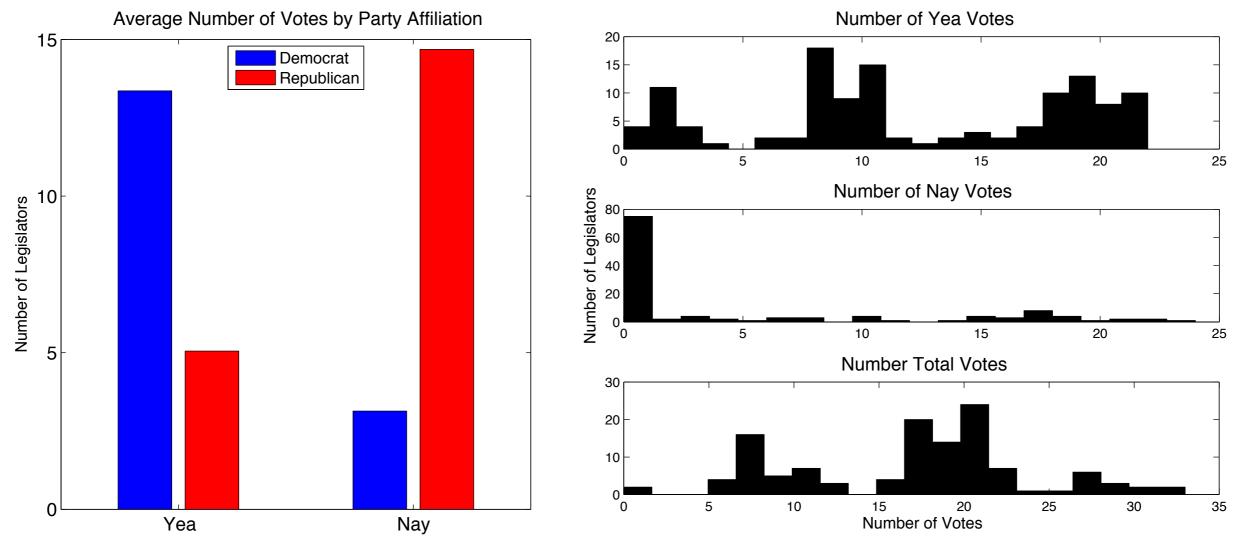


#### Bill Review: Dimensions

- 1. Further research would be necessary to select more discriminative dimensions
- 2. Limitations
  - 1. Only takes into account "position-issues" not "valence-issues"



### Dataset Completion

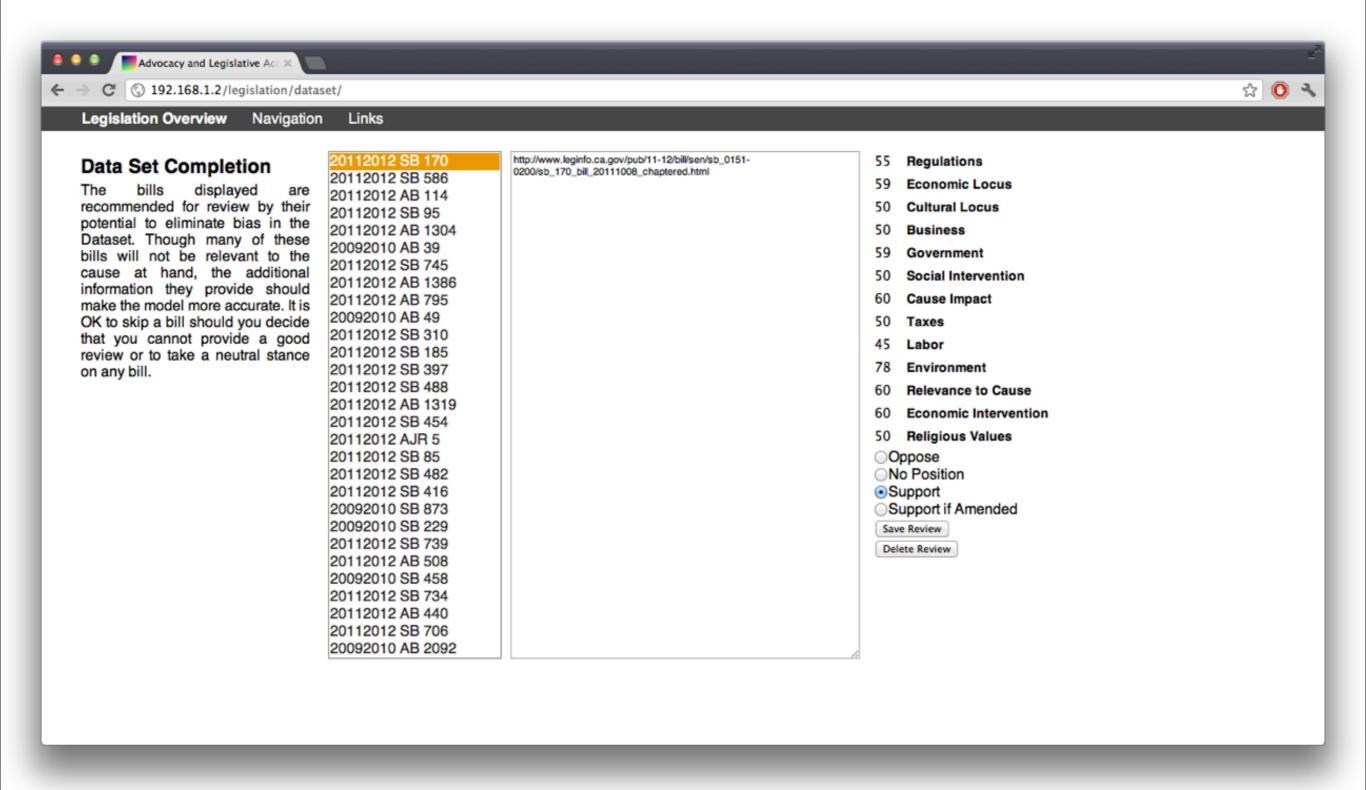


- 1. Motivation
  - 1. Voting record data is very biased, has many missing values
- 2. Solution
  - 1. Intelligently introduce more data to reduce bias.



Method: Workflow: Dataset Completion

### Dataset Completion





Method: Workflow: Dataset Completion

### Dataset Completion

- 1. Looks the same as Bill Review, but it isn't
  - 1. Suggested by ability to increase vote-type entropy
  - 2. Improves classifier performance

$$C(V) = \argmax_X - \sum_{i=1}^n p(v_i \cup x_i) \log_2 p(v_i \cup x_i)$$

Method: Workflow: Dataset Completion

#### Crosscheck

#### 1. Motivation

- 1. What if advocate's scaling on dimensions isn't consistent between bills?
- 2. What if different advocates are reviewing bills?

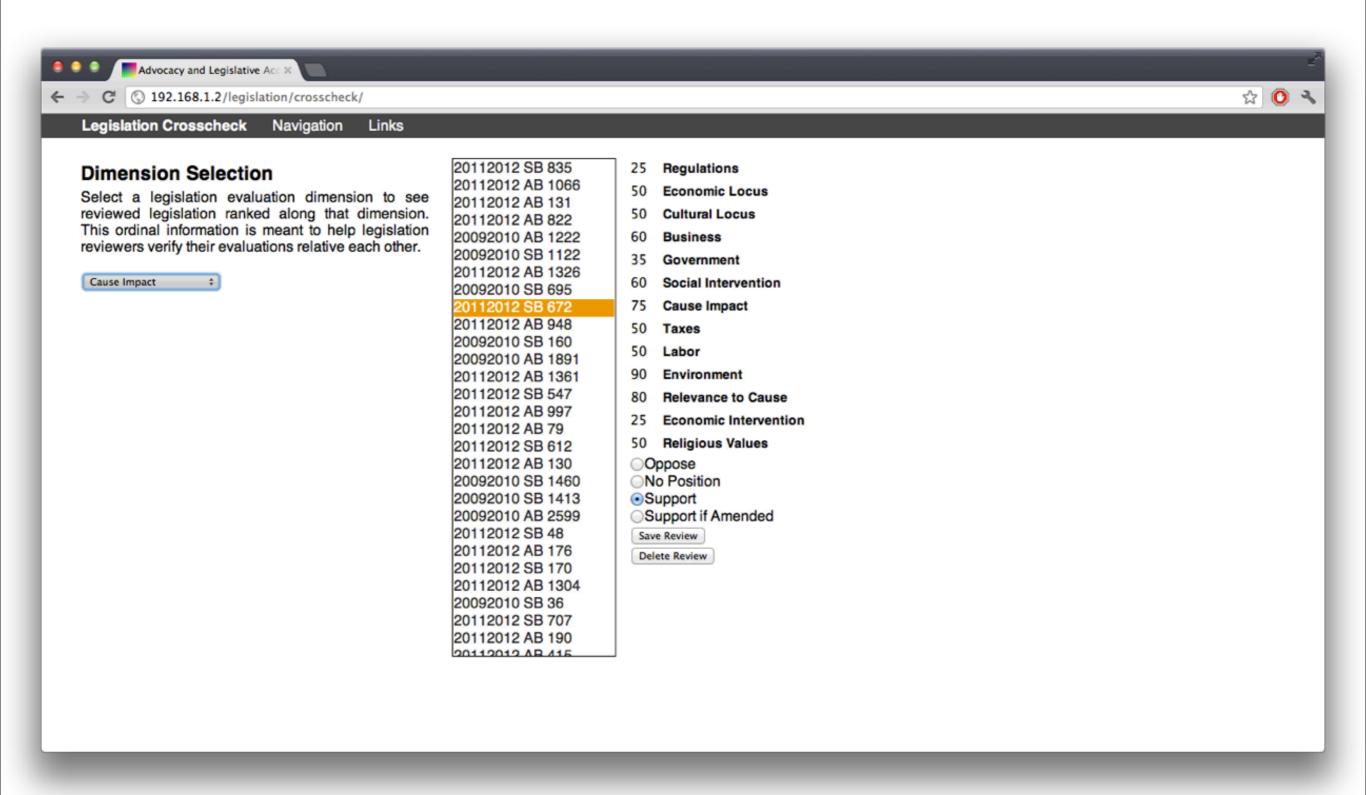
#### 2. Solution

- 1. Sort bills by a selected dimension
  - 1. Advocate can compare reviews, check for consistency.
  - 2. Make adjustments if necessary.



Method: Workflow: Crosscheck

#### Crosscheck





Method: Workflow: Crosscheck

#### 1. Motivation

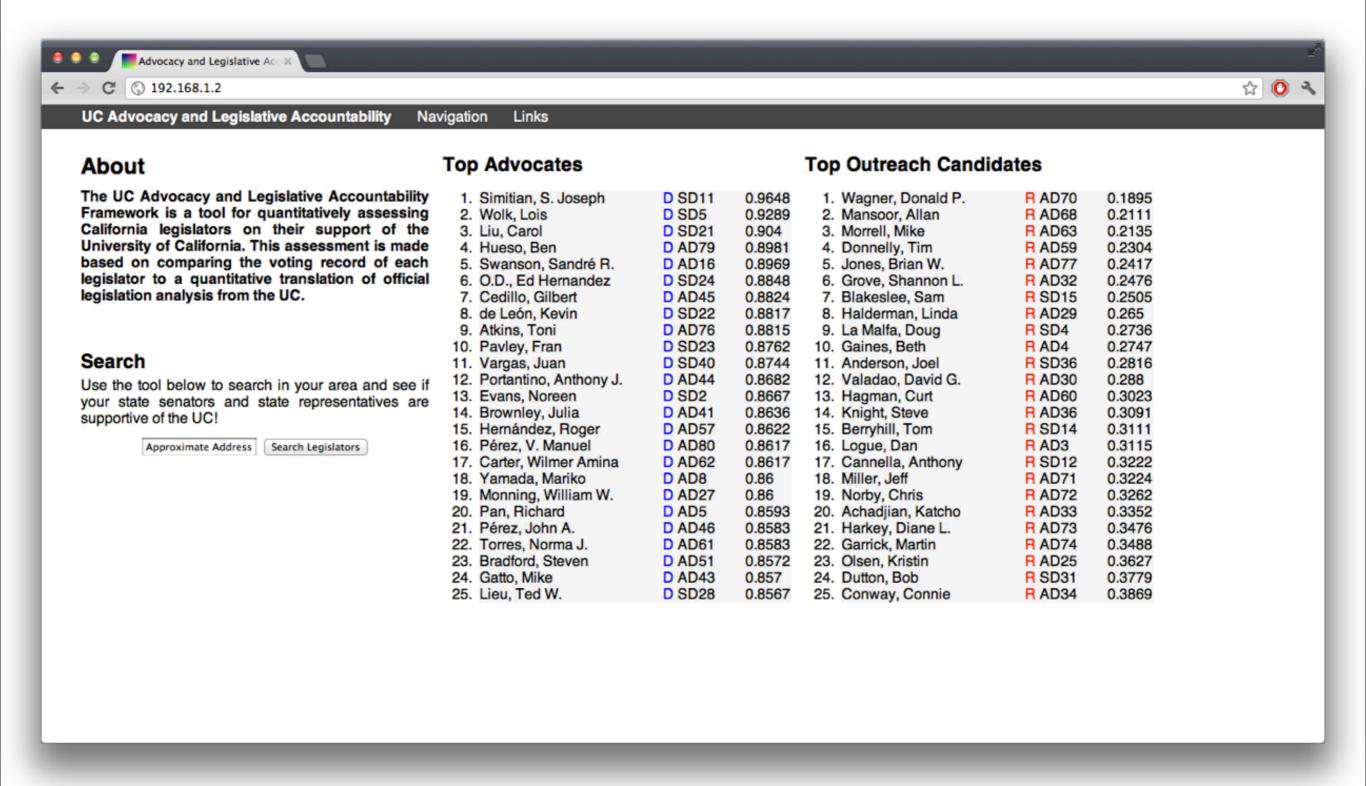
- 1. What about novel legislation?
- 2. How can we use the framework to target advocacy efforts?
- 3. Can we improve upon current methods of quantifying support for a cause? Ranking?

#### 2. Solution

- 1. Machine Learning model and novel bill can predict a legislature's voting behavior.
- 2. Introduce a new ranking metric: Average Probability of Agreement

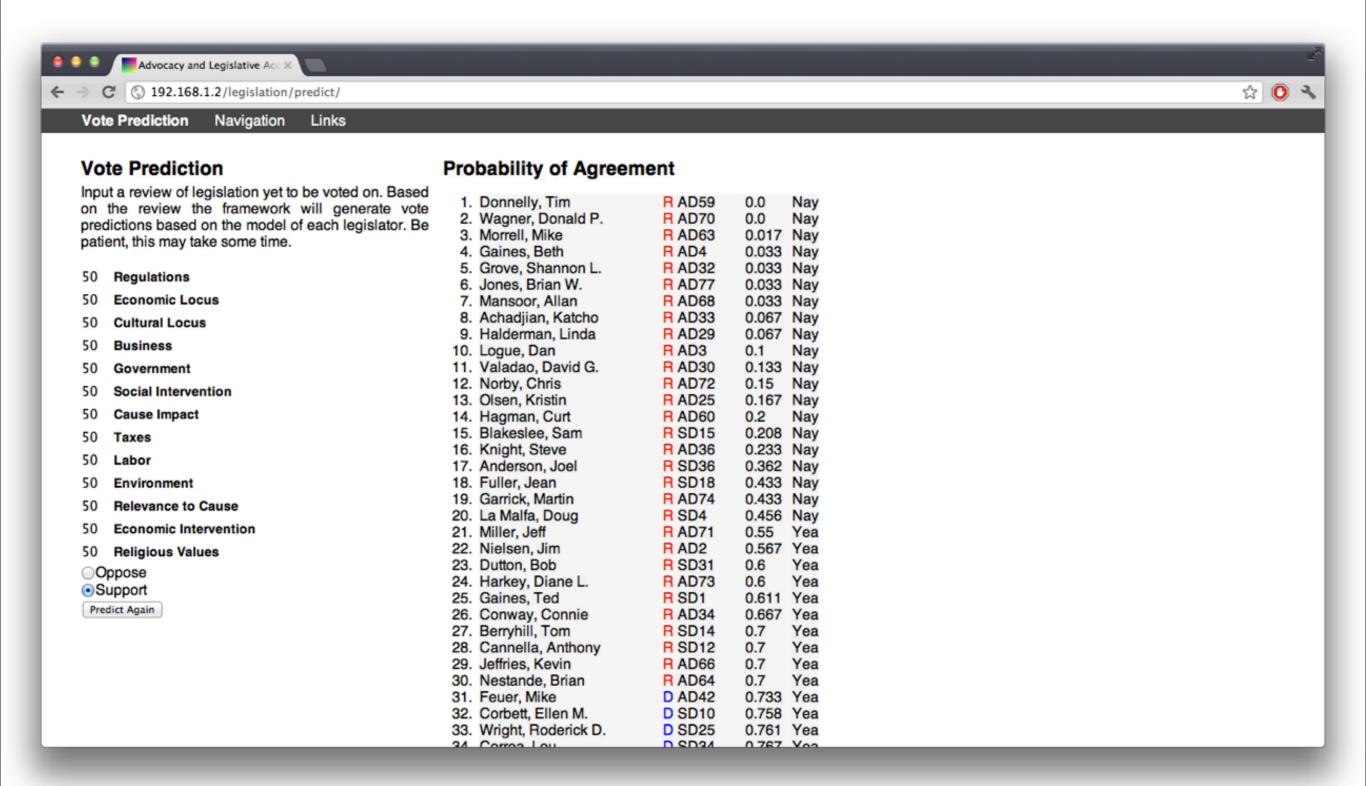


Method: Workflow: Prediction





Method: Workflow: Prediction





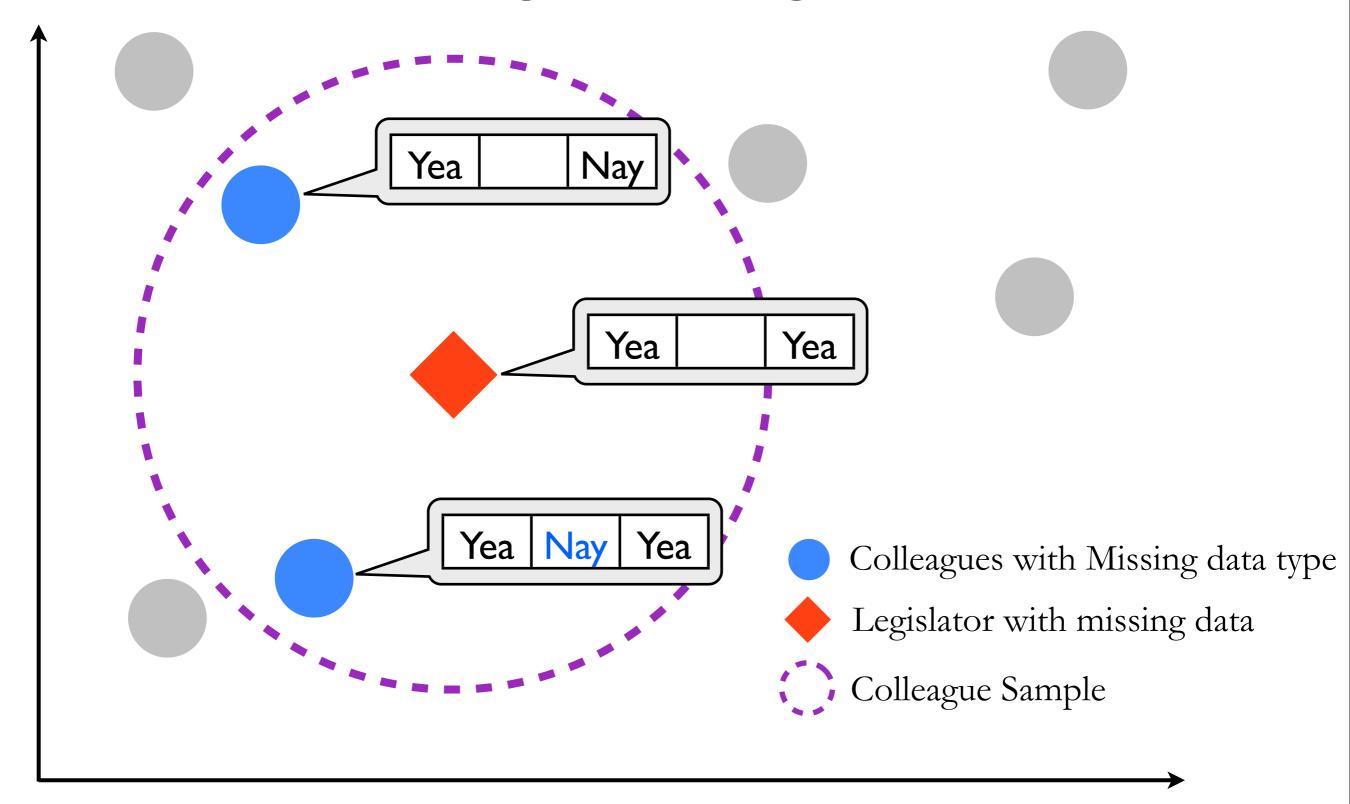
Method: Workflow: Prediction

#### Stuff Under the Hood

- 1. Major Challenges to Approach
  - 1. How do we fill in missing vote types for biased legislators? How do their colleagues vote?
    - 1. k-Nearest Neighbor vote replacement.

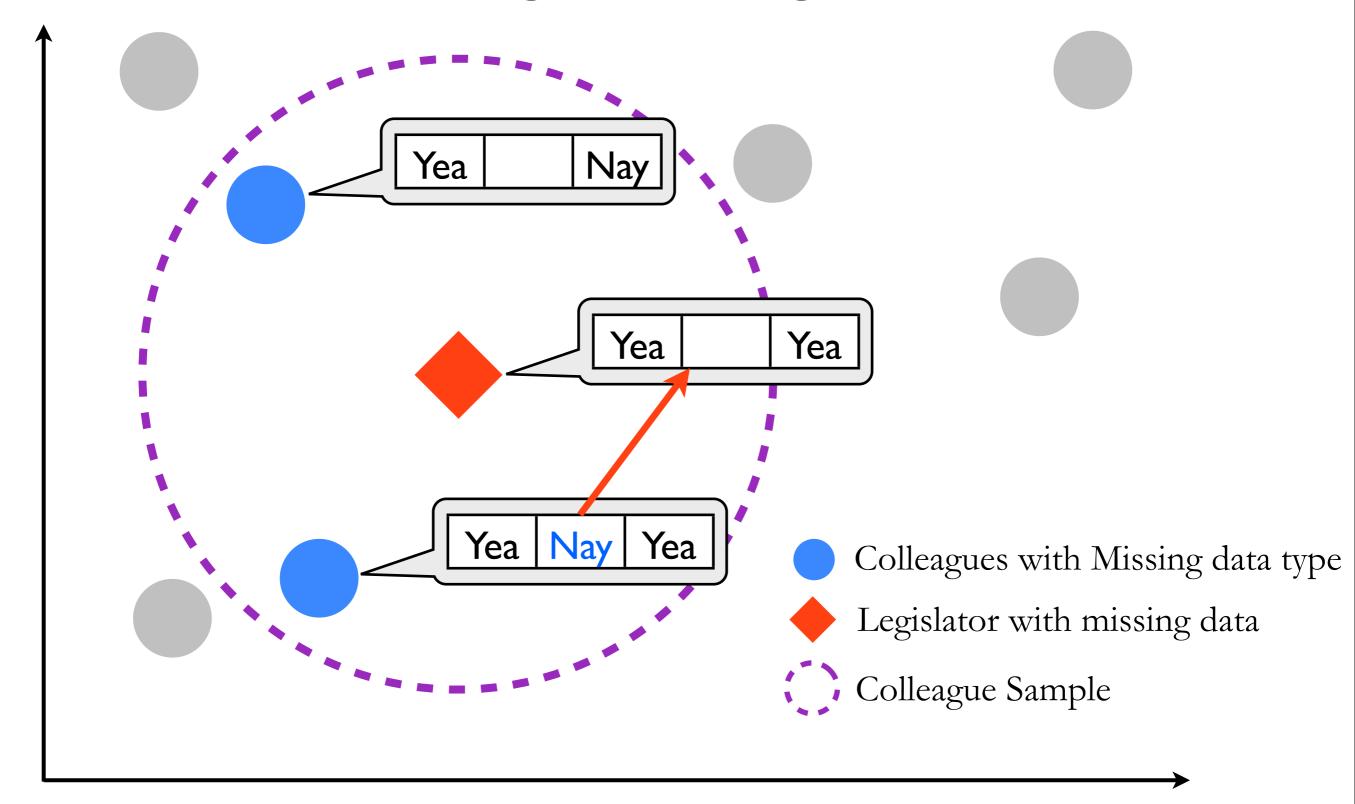


Method: Under the Hood



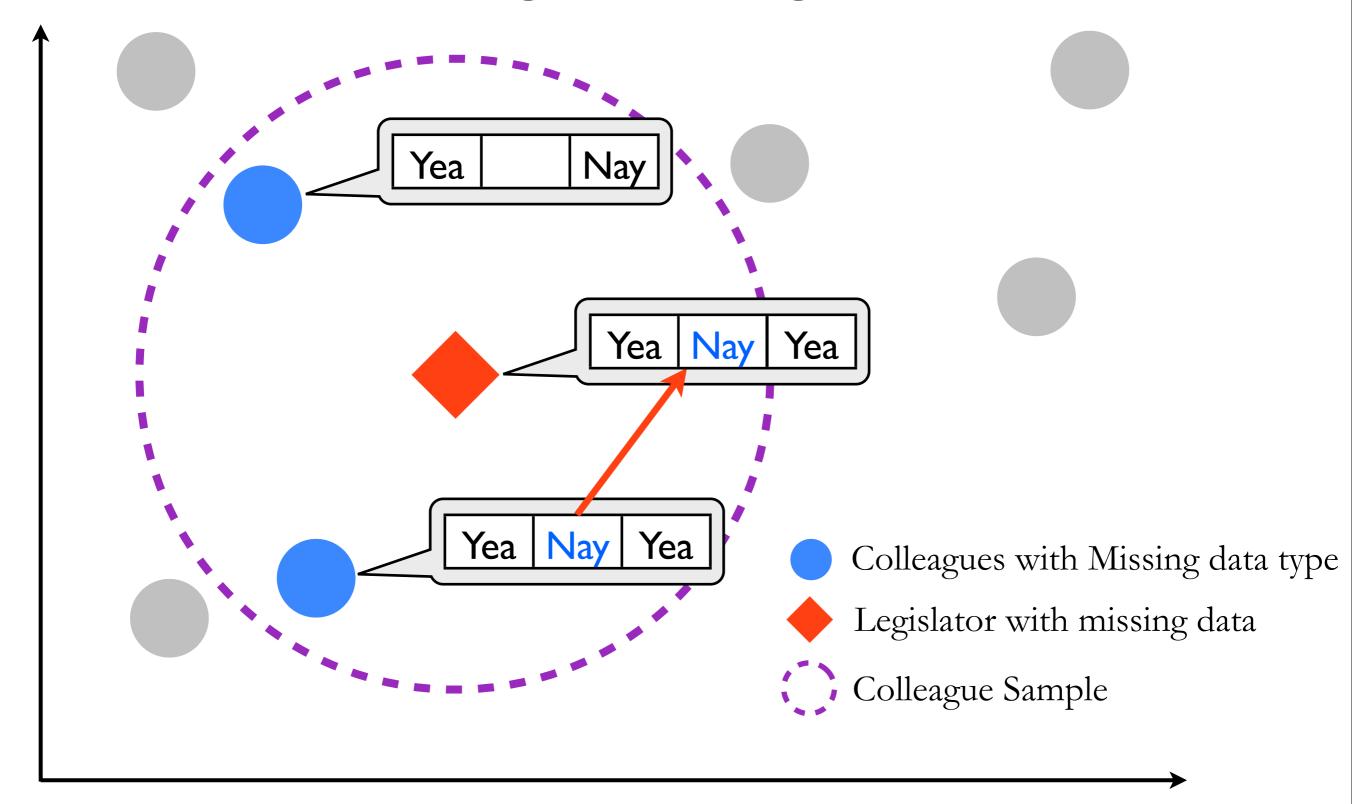


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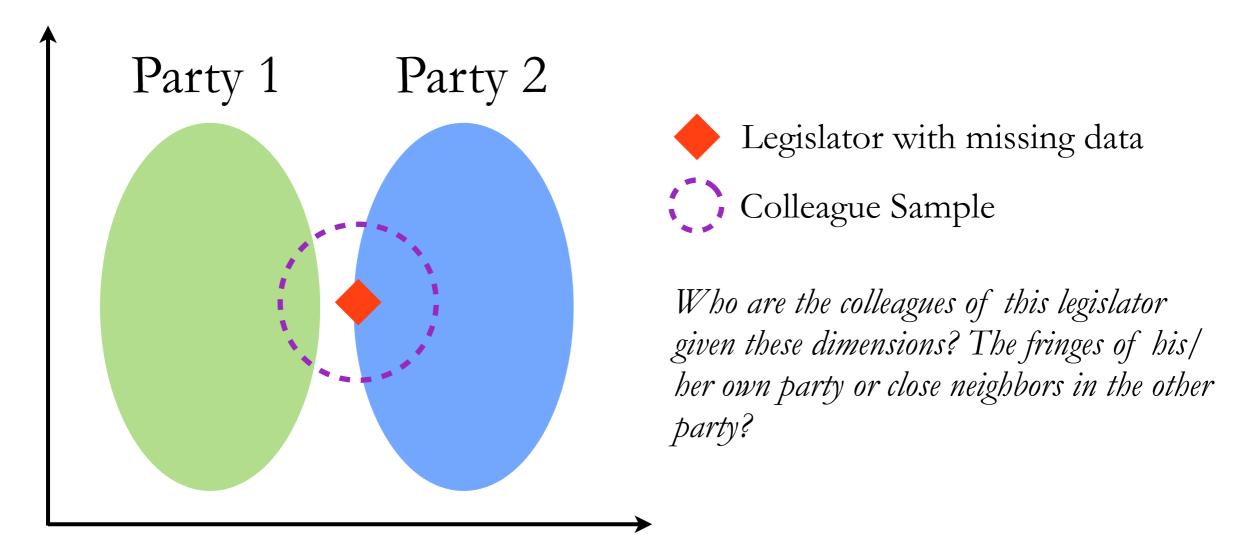
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- 1. Fill a small percentage of abstaining votes with colleagues' non-abstaining votes of the missing type.
- 2. Use k-Nearest Neighbor (k=30) in identifying colleagues to take moderates into account.

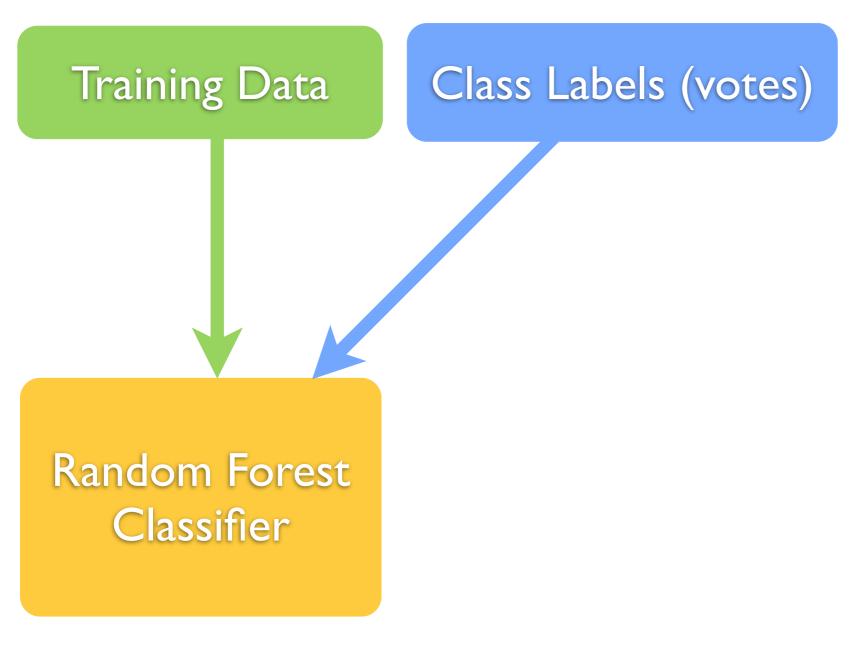




- 1. Random Forest Classifier (t=30) predicts voting behavior.
  - 1. Collection of decision trees that vote, each trained on decision feature sequences selected from randomized subsets of features.
  - 2. Generates class probabilities (Probability of "Yea" or "Nay")
  - 3. Average Probability of Agreement (APoA) mean of legislator vote probabilities for ideal vote-types.

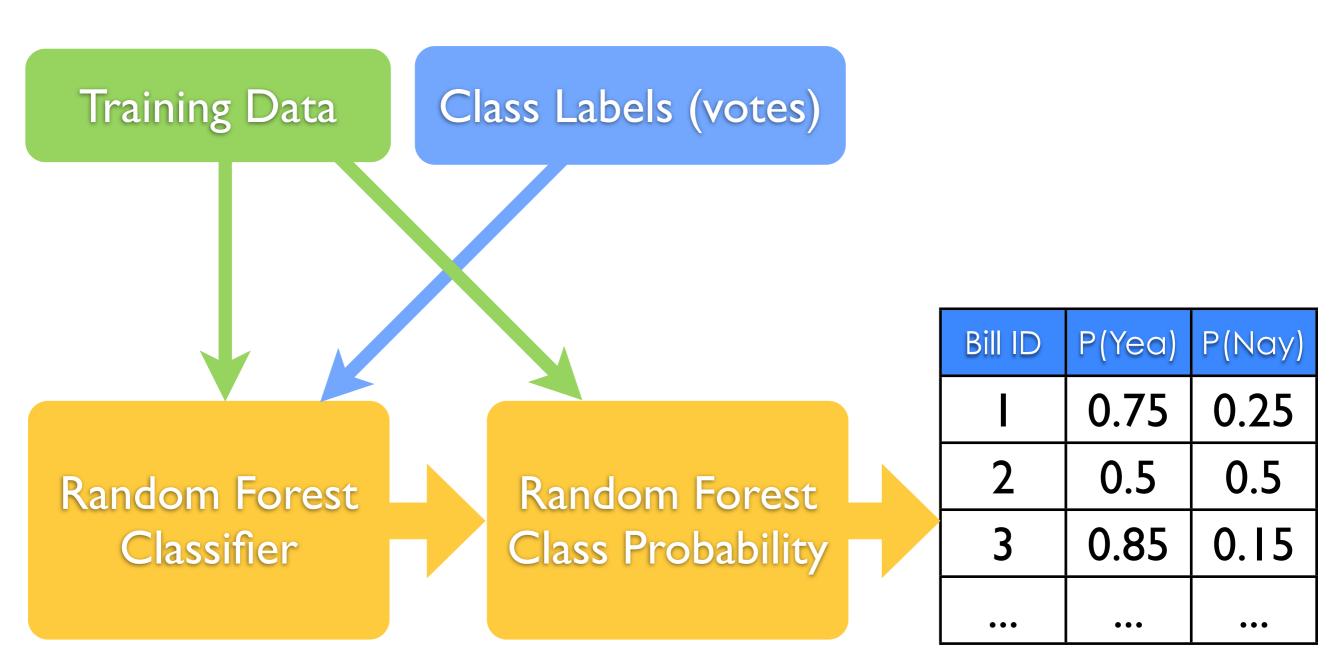






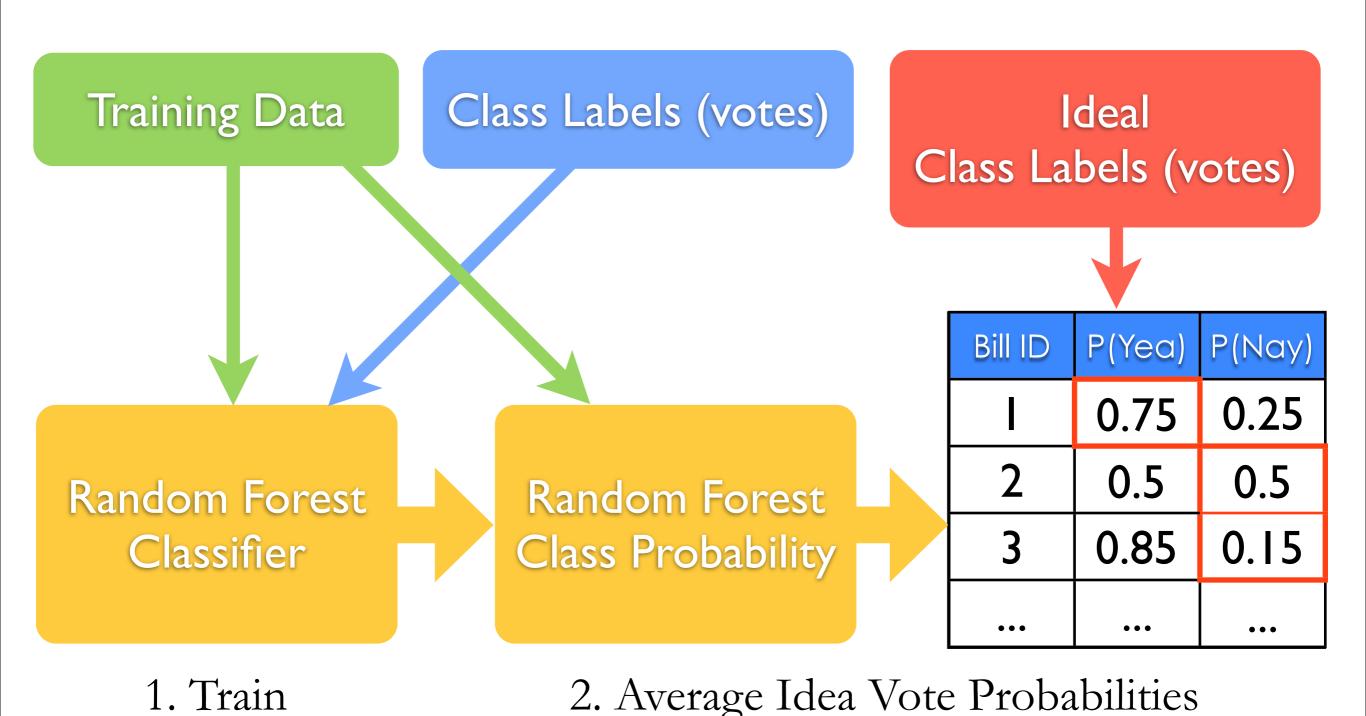
1. Train





1. Train







## Relative Frequency of Agreement (RFoA)

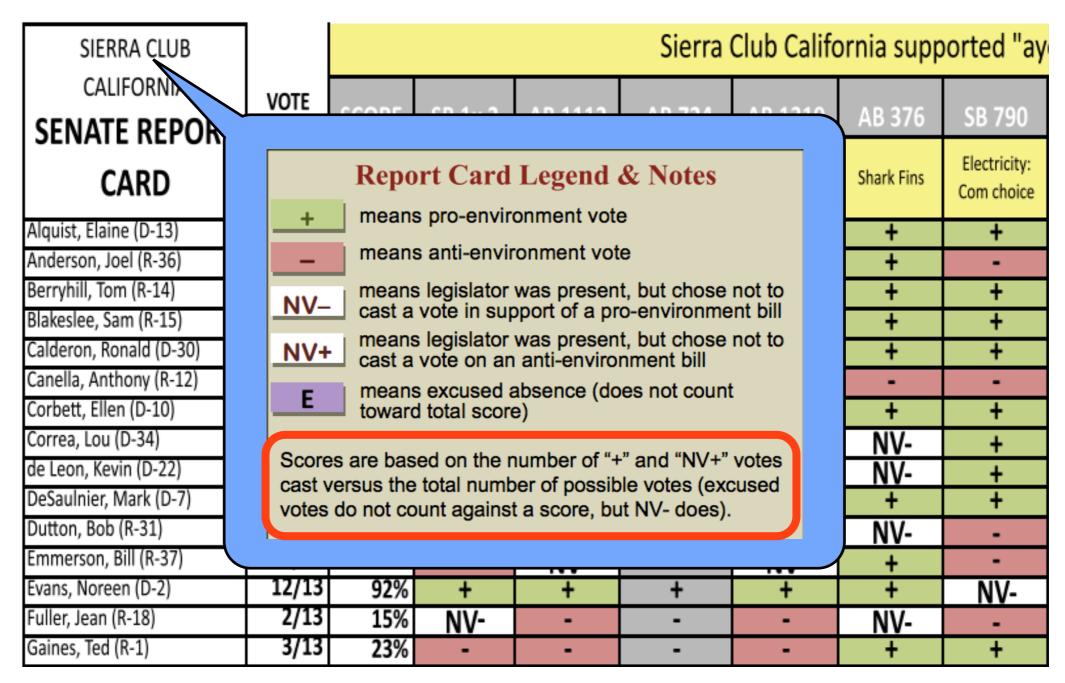
SIERRA CLUB		Sierra Club California supported "ay							
CALIFORNIA  SENATE REPORT	VOTE COUNT	SCORE	SB 1x 2	AB 1112	AB 724	AB 1319	AB 376	SB 790	
CARD	COONT		Renewable Portfolio Standard	Oil Spill Prevention	Clean E Jobs	Bisphenol A	Shark Fins	Electricity: Com choice	
Alquist, Elaine (D-13)	9/13	69%	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Anderson, Joel (R-36)	3/13	23%	٠	٠	٠	٠	+	•	
Berryhill, Tom (R-14)	3/13	23%	NV-	-	-	-	+	+	
Blakeslee, Sam (R-15)	7/14	50%	+	+	-	-	+	+	
Calderon, Ronald (D-30)	7/13	54%	+	+	-	-	+	+	
Canella, Anthony (R-12)	1/13	8%	-	-	-	-	-	•	
Corbett, Ellen (D-10)	12/14	86%	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Correa, Lou (D-34)	4/14	29%	•	-	•	+	NV-	+	
de Leon, Kevin (D-22)	9/13	69%	+	+	+	+	NV-	+	
DeSaulnier, Mark (D-7)	11/13	85%	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Dutton, Bob (R-31)	1/13	8%	-	-	-	-	NV-		
Emmerson, Bill (R-37)	2/14	14%	•	NV-	-	NV-	+	•	
Evans, Noreen (D-2)	12/13	92%	+	+	+	+	+	NV-	
Fuller, Jean (R-18)	2/13	15%	NV-	-	-	-	NV-	-	
Gaines, Ted (R-1)	3/13	23%	-	-	-	-	+	+	

- 4. Current methods of prediction and quantifying support can be improved upon.
  - 1. Call this Relative Frequency of Agreement



Method: Under the Hood

## Relative Frequency of Agreement (RFoA)

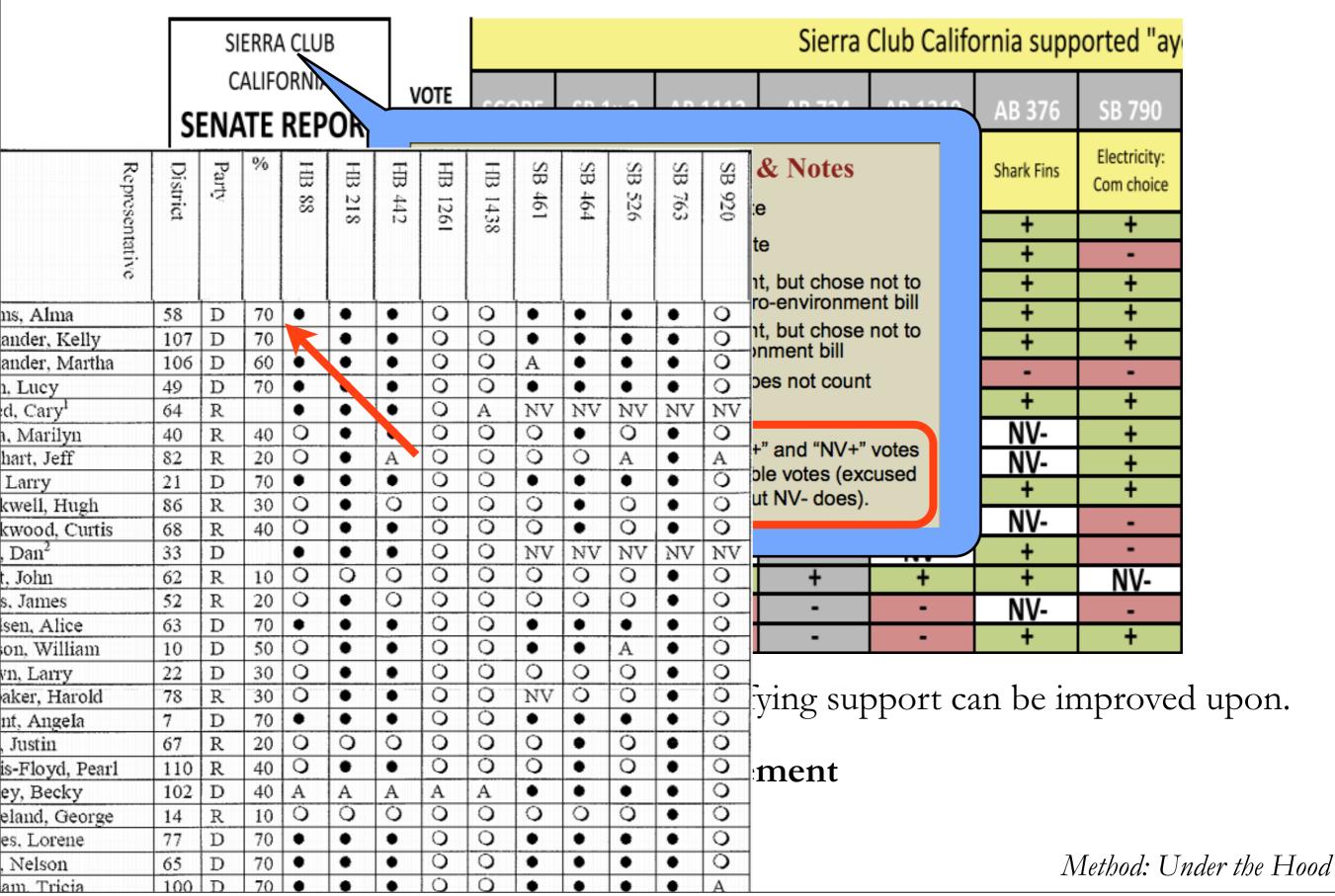


- 4. Current methods of prediction and quantifying support can be improved upon.
  - 1. Call this **Relative Frequency of Agreement**



Method: Under the Hood

## Relative Frequency of Agreement (RFoA)



Thursday, June 7, 12

	Vote Percent 92%	
	Title	Key Votes
	Full Repeal of Obamacare	H.R. 2 fully repealed the 2010 government takeover of the private healthcare system, otherwise known as Obamacare.
	Spending Cut, Full \$100 Billion in Promised Cuts	The Blackburn amendment cut the overall level of nonsecurity discretionary spending in the FY 2011 "continuing resolution" appropriations legislation to achieve the full \$100 billion in nonsecurity sp
	Spending Cut, 2006 Spending Levels	The Mulvaney amendment cut the overall level of nonsecurity discretionary spending in the FY 2011 "continuing resolution" appropriations legislation back to the level in FY 2006.
	Defund Davis-Bacon Requirements	The King amendment barred any funds being made available to administer Davis-Bacon prevailing wage requirements.
ly rtha	Obamacare Expansion	H.R. 525 expanded an Obamacare grant program by making veterinarians eligible for public health workforce grants and loan repayment.
	Short-Term "Do Nothing" Continuing Resolution	H.J. Res. 48 funded the federal government's operations at far too high a level and failed to include either necessary spending cuts or important policy riders to defund Obamacare, Planned Parenthood
gh	NPR Funding Ban	H.R. 1076 prohibited the use of funds to support National Public Radio (NPR) and its often-biased programming.
rtis	Obama Foreclosure Assistance	H.R. 839 terminated authority for the Obama Administration to provide market-distorting government assistance under the Home Affordable Modification Program (HAMP).
m	DC Opportunity Scholarships	H.R. 471 authorized the Secretary of Education to award five-year grants on a competitive basis to nonprofit organizations to carry out a program to provide expanded school choice opportunities to stu
old	National Mediation Board and Union Expansion	The LaTourette amendment to the FAA reauthorization bill struck a provision that overturned a National Mediation Board (NMB) ruling allowing a majority of voting workers (as opposed to a majority of t
ear	Prevent the EPA Energy Tax	H.R. 910 amended the Clean Air Act to block the EPA's global warming regulations on green house gases designed to impose a national tax on energy consumers.
orge	Disapproval of Internet Regulation, "Net Neutrality"	H.J. Res. 37 disapproved the FCC's "net neutrality" rules designed to regulate the internet and broadband industry practices. Net neutrality refers to the principle that networks providing internet a

	Vote Percent	92%									
	Title  Full Repeal of Obamacare  Spending Cut, Full \$100 Billion in Promised Cuts				Key Votes						
					H.R. 2 fully repealed the 2010 government takeover of the private healthcare system, otherwise known as Obamacare.  The Blackburn amendment cut the overall level of nonsecurity discretionary spending in the FY 2011 "continuing resolution" appropriations legislation to achieve the full \$100 billion in nonsecurity sp						
	Spending Cut, 20	006 Spendii	ng Level	c	The Mulvaney amendment cut the overall level of nonsecurity discretionary spending in the FY 2011 "continuing resolution" appropriations legislation back to the level in FY 2006.						
	Defund Davis-Ba	con Require	ements		The King amendment barred any funds being made available to administer Davis-Bacon prevailing wage requirements.						
Alma ler, Kelly ler, Martha	Obamacare Expa	nsion			.R. 525 ( rants and				grant program by making veterinarians	eligible for public health workforce	<u>~</u>
nev				Spons	cospor	sot cost	onsor			Parenthood its often-biased	×
			POY WITE	cosponsi nosin lat	se Stand	Subsidies	ading Let	et sch	ste /	storting government	<b>Y</b>
Alabama	s, Jeff (R)	Q <sup>v</sup>	0	· Kru	/ Res	/	, v	20		npetitive basis to nonprofit nities to stu	<b>Y</b>
	Richard (R)				<b>√</b>			20	Key to Senate Chart		
Alaska										overturned a National to a majority of t	V
Begich, I		✓	✓	✓	<b>√</b>		✓	100	SP Prime Sponsor		
Arizona	ski, Lisa (R)				*			20	✓ Took pro-animal	s on green house gases	V
Kyl, Jon	(R)				<b>✓</b>			20	position through		
	John (R)				<b>√</b>			20	cosponsorship of a	internet and broadband	
Arkansa									bill, a vote, signing a	ternet a	A
Boozma	n, John (R)				Х		✓	20	letter, or leading on pro-animal legislation		
	7, 12								pro-arminar registation		

### Experiment



- 1. Cause
  - 1. University of California Advocacy (<u>www.ucforcalifornia.org</u>)
  - 2. Tested on real data from the California State Legislative Sessions from 2010-Present (Sunlight Foundation, DC)



Experiment

## Experimental Design

- 1. Independent Variable Methods used (Framework, classifiers...)
- 2. Dependent Variables
  - 1. Evaluating Prediction Receiver Operating Characteristic Area Under the Curve (Az) in determining "Yea" or "Nay"
  - 2. Evaluating Ranking Spearman's Footrule



Experiment: Design

### Experimental Procedure

- 1. Followed workflow of the framework described in Method section.
- 2. Adapted reviews from UC
  Office of the President State
  Governmental Relations
  correspondences with
  legislators.

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Office of State Governmental Relations 1130 K Street, Suite 340 Sacramento, California 95814 (916) 445-9924 Steve Juarez, Associate Vice President and Director

September 2, 2011

Senior Vice President - External Relations

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

DANIEL M. DOOLEY

The Honorable Edmund G. Brown, Jr. Governor, State of California State Capitol Sacramento, CA 95814

RE: SB 611 (Steinberg) - REQUEST FOR SIGNATURE

Dear Governor Brown:

On behalf of the University of California (UC), we respectfully request that you sign SB 611 (Steinberg). This measure expands and codifies in state law the University of California Curriculum Integration Institute (UCCII), an entity working at the cutting edge of high school course design. The UCCII brings together high school teachers, university faculty and other experts to develop new model courses that provide students with rigorous academic content that is linked to real world applications.

Established in 2008 and administered by UC, the UCCII connects K-12 educators with faculty and instructors in a number of disciplines from UC, the California State University, California Community Colleges, private higher education institutions, and statewide career technical education associations to develop high school curriculum based on career-oriented, integrated academic and technical education content. These newly designed, fully integrated, "a-g" approved courses will serve to enhance pupil prospects for postsecondary education and/or employment. By establishing the UCCII in state statute, SB 611 recognizes the importance and benefits to California from providing specific State authorization for this program. The University is pleased to continue and expand its work in this area to develop model career-oriented, integrated academic and technical education courses that fulfill University "a-g" admissions subject requirements, in accordance with the availability of additional funding from federal, state, or private sources.

Experiment: Procedure

### Classification Accuracy with Abstains

CLASSIFIER	Yeas	Nays	Abstains	Mean
SVM: K=RBF	27%	55%	78%	53%
SVM: K=Poly	28%	53%	73%	51%
LinearSVM	39%	57%	60%	52%
Decision Tree	38%	53%	57%	49%
Random Forest	34%	58%	67%	53%
Prior	29%	16%	55%	

Hit rates of several classifiers is charted here. The first, second, and third best performances per class label are highlighted in green, yellow, and orange respectively.



Experiment: Results

#### Data Notes

- 1. Yeas are hardest to classify.
  - 1. Can't blame it on data shortage since nays are fewer and yet are easier to classify.
  - 2. Probably many abstain profiles that are similar to Yea profiles.
- 2. Solution: throw out abstains!
  - 1. Results in the probability that a legislator will vote *given that* they vote!
  - 2. This means we cannot predict vote outcomes.

### Classification Accuracy with no Abstains

CLASSIFIER	Yeas	Nays	Mean
SVM: K=RBF	90.01%	73.69%	84.87%
SVM: K=Poly	87.52%	74.27%	83.35%
LinearSVM	85.73%	66.96%	79.81%
Decision Tree	80.44%	66.39%	76.03%
Random Forest	88.52%	73.30%	83.73%
Gradient Boosting	80.44%	67.47%	76.35%
Prior	68.65%	31.35%	

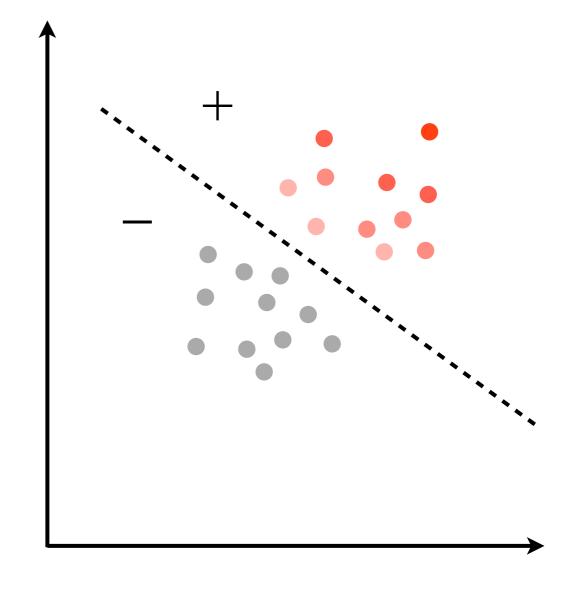
Hit rates of several classifiers is charted here. The first, second, and third best performances per class label are highlighted in green, yellow, and orange respectively.



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#### Prediction: Classifier Notes

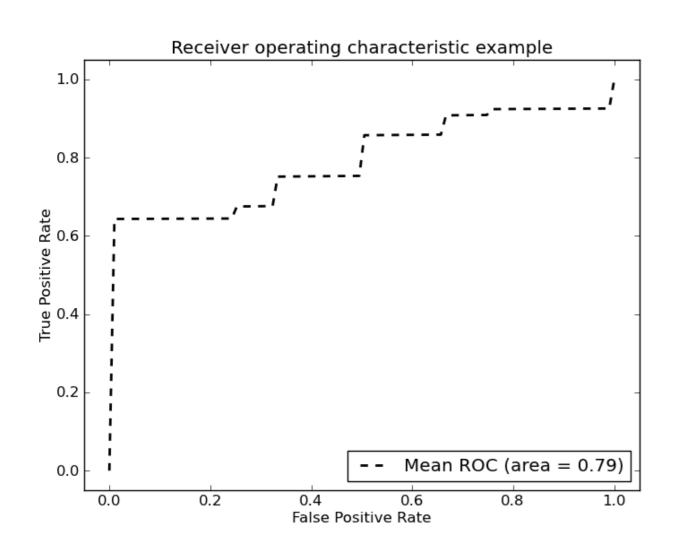
- 1. Why not SVM?
  - 1. SVM does not generate probabilities naturally.
    - 1. Calculated with five-fold cross-validation in SVMLIGHT.
    - 2. The max probability and discriminating component decisions can be different!
    - 3. Discriminating component cannot be used as likelihood estimate.
- 2. Random Forests generate probabilities naturally, consistently.

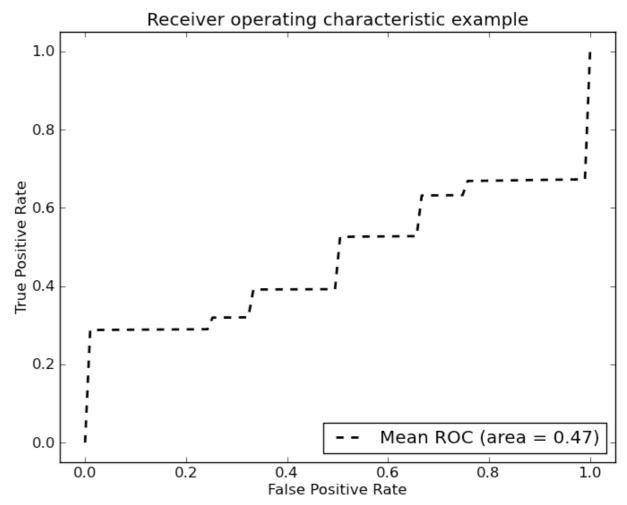




#### Results

1. With Random Forest Classifier, leave-five-out cross-validation with 1,000 Monte Carlo iterations





Random Forest

SVM: k=RBF



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Experiment: Results

## Ranking & Scoring

- 1. Why rank or assign scores?
  - 1. Identify legislators for outreach... it's predictive!
  - 2. Central question: What is a legislator's *latent* support?

Experiment: Results

## Ranking

1. Compare ranking by Average Probability of Agreement to Relative Frequency of Agreement

Ranked by **APoA** 

I	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
•••	

Ranked by **RFoA** 

I	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
•••	

Ranked by Future RFoA

I	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
•••	

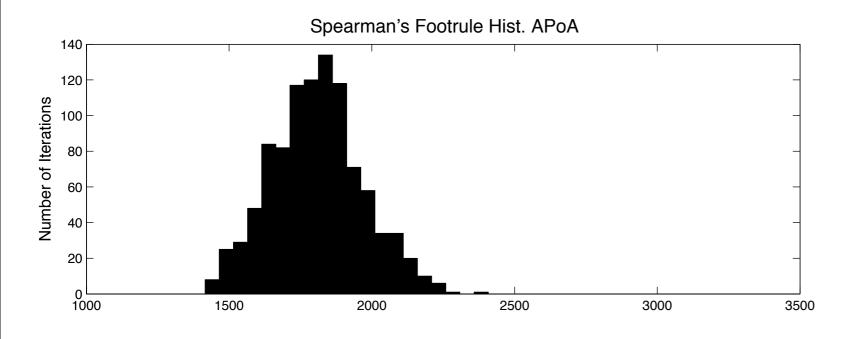
How many places is a given legislator off by? Use Spearman's Footrule:

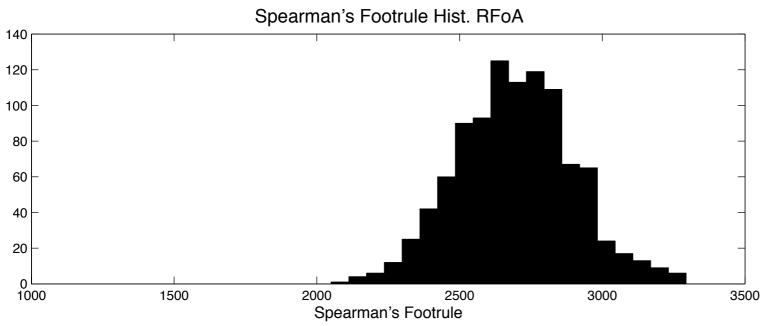
$$Fr^{|S|}(\sigma_1,\sigma_2) = \sum_{i=1}^{|S|} |(\sigma_1(i) - \sigma_2(i))|.$$

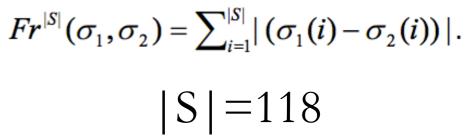


## Ranking

1. Tested over 1,000 iterations of leave-five-out cross-validation







How many places is a given legislator off by?

#### On Average:

APoA	RFoA
15.33	22.85



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Experiment: Results

#### Discussion

- 1. Confirmed the effectiveness of the framework
  - 1. In predicting / quantifying level of support for a cause
  - 2. Improved upon current method of ranking legislators
- 2. Future work
  - 1. Scalability / Design
  - 2. Adding a layer of abstraction so anyone can make a custom page
  - 3. Improving classifier performance
  - 4. Account system



Discussion

### Questions?

Thank you

Xifeng Yan, Ambuj Singh

Greta Carl-Halle, Katie Ellis

Kirsten Deshler, Monica Solorzano

Everardo Diaz

