

# Day 9: Text Scaling II

Kenneth Benoit

Essex Summer School 2011

July 21, 2011

## When dependent variables are counts

- ▶ Many dependent variables of interest may be in the form of counts of discrete events— examples:
  - ▶ international wars or conflict events
  - ▶ the number of coups d'état
  - ▶ deaths
  - ▶ word count given an underlying orientation
- ▶ Characteristics: these  $Y$  are bounded between  $(0, \infty)$  and take on only discrete values  $0, 1, 2, \dots, \infty$
- ▶ Imagine a social system that produces events randomly during a fixed period, and at the end of this period only the total count is observed. For  $N$  periods, we have  $y_1, y_2, \dots, y_N$  observed counts

## Poisson data model first principles

1. The probability that two events occur at precisely the same time is zero
2. During each period  $i$ , the event rate occurrence  $\lambda_i$  remains constant and is independent of all previous events during the period
  - ▶ note that this implies no *contagion* effects
  - ▶ also known as *Markov independence*
3. Zero events are recorded at the start of the period
4. All observation intervals are equal over  $i$

## The Poisson distribution

$$f_{\text{Poisson}}(y_i|\lambda) = \begin{cases} \frac{e^{-\lambda} \lambda^{y_i}}{y_i!} & \forall \lambda > 0 \text{ and } y_i = 0, 1, 2, \dots \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

$$\text{Pr}(Y|\lambda) = \prod_{i=1}^n \frac{e^{-\lambda} \lambda^{y_i}}{y_i!}$$

$$\lambda = e^{\mathbf{X}_i \beta}$$

$$\text{E}(y_i) = \lambda$$

$$\text{Var}(y_i) = \lambda$$

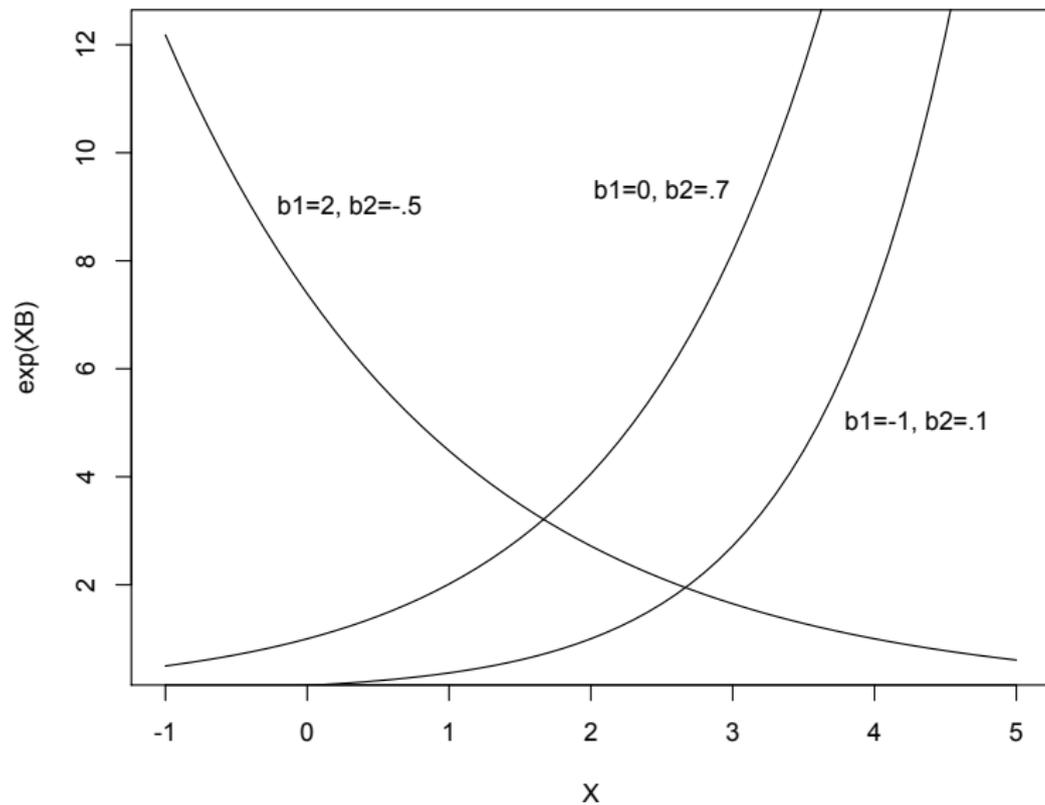
## Systematic component

- ▶  $\lambda_i > 0$  is only bounded from below (unlike  $\pi_i$ )
- ▶ This implies that the effect cannot be linear
- ▶ Hence for the functional form we will use an **exponential transformation**

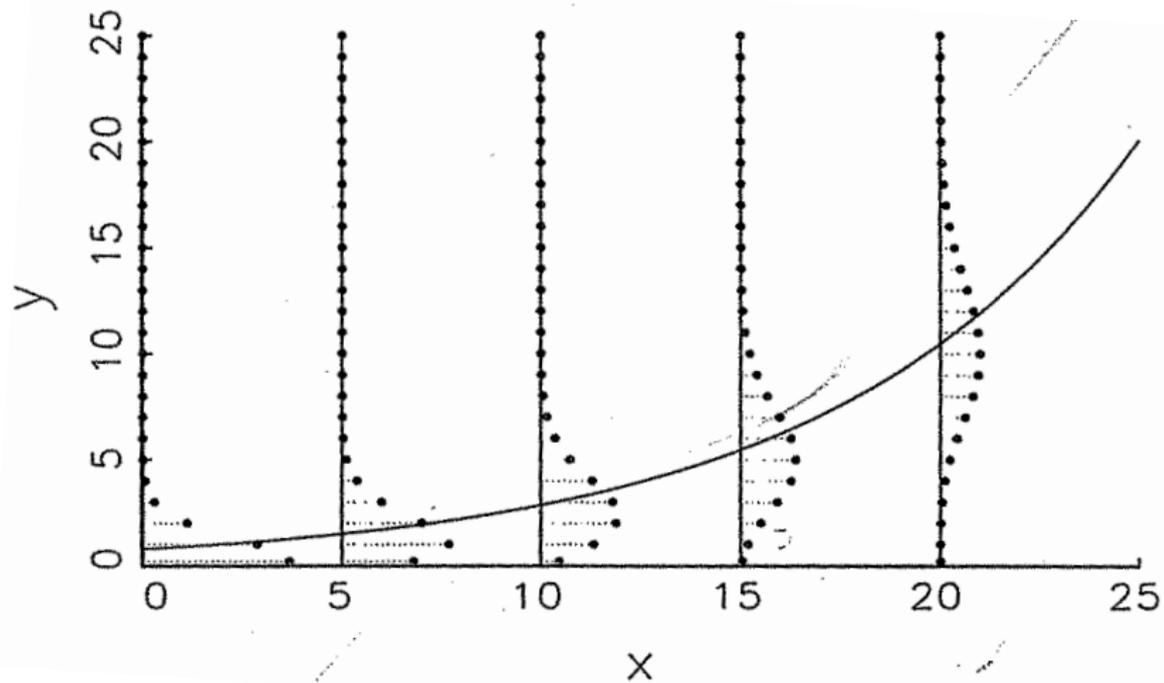
$$E(Y_i) = \lambda_i = e^{X_i\beta}$$

- ▶ Other possibilities exist, but this is by far the most common – indeed almost universally used – functional form for event count models

# Exponential link function



## Exponential link function



## Likelihood for Poisson

$$\begin{aligned}L(\lambda|y) &= \prod_{i=1}^N \frac{e^{-\lambda_i} \lambda_i^{y_i}}{y_i!} \\ \ln L(\lambda|y) &= \sum_{i=1}^N \ln \left[ \frac{e^{-\lambda_i} \lambda_i^{y_i}}{y_i!} \right] \\ &= \sum_{i=1}^N \left\{ \ln e^{-\lambda_i} + \ln(\lambda_i^{y_i}) + \ln \left( \frac{1}{y_i!} \right) \right\} \\ &= \sum_{i=1}^N \{-\lambda_i + y_i \ln(\lambda_i) - \ln(y_i!)\} \\ &= \sum_{i=1}^N \{-e^{X_i \beta} + y_i \ln e^{X_i \beta} - \ln y_i!\} \\ &\propto \sum_{i=1}^N \{-e^{X_i \beta} + y_i X_i \beta - \text{dropped}\} \\ \ln L(\beta|y) &\propto \sum_{i=1}^N \{X_i \beta y_i - e^{X_i \beta}\}\end{aligned}$$

# Models for continuous $\theta$

Background: Spatial politics

Methods

- ▶ Wordscores
- ▶ Wordfish

Document scaling is for continuous  $\theta$

## Some spatial theory

Spatial theories of *national* voting assumes that

- ▶ Voters and politicians/parties have *preferred positions* 'ideal points' on ideological dimensions or policy spaces
- ▶ Voters support the politician/prty with the ideal point *nearest* their own
- ▶ Politicians/parties *position themselves* to maximize their vote share

## Some spatial theory

Spatial theories of *parliamentary* voting assume that

- ▶ Each vote is a decision between *two* policy outcomes
- ▶ Each outcomes has a position on an ideological dimension or a policy space
- ▶ Voters choose the outcome *nearest* to their own ideal point

Unobserved ideal points / policy positions:  $\theta$

Voting 'reveals'  $\theta$  (sometimes)

## Spatial utility models

Measurement models for votes (Jackman, 2001; Clinton et al. 2004) connect voting choices to personal utilities and ideal points  
Parliamentary voting example: Ted Kennedy on the 'Federal Marriage Amendment'

$$\begin{aligned}U(\pi_{\text{yes}}) &= -\|\theta - \pi_{\text{yes}}\|^2 + \epsilon_{\text{yes}} \\U(\pi_{\text{no}}) &= -\|\theta - \pi_{\text{no}}\|^2 + \epsilon_{\text{no}}\end{aligned}$$

- ▶  $\theta$  is Kennedy's ideal point
- ▶  $\pi_{\text{yes}}$  is the policy outcome of the FMA passing (vote yes)
- ▶  $\pi_{\text{no}}$  is the policy outcome of the FMA failing (vote no)

Votes 'yes' when  $U(\pi_{\text{yes}}) > U(\pi_{\text{no}})$

## Spatial utility models and voting

What is the probability that Ted votes yes?

$$\begin{aligned}P(\text{Ted votes yes}) &= P(U(\pi_{\text{yes}}) > U(\pi_{\text{no}})) \\&= P(\epsilon_{\text{no}} - \epsilon_{\text{yes}} < \|\theta - \pi_{\text{no}}\|^2 - \|\theta - \pi_{\text{yes}}\|^2) \\&= P(\epsilon_{\text{no}} - \epsilon_{\text{yes}} < 2(\pi_{\text{yes}} - \pi_{\text{no}})\theta + \pi_{\text{no}}^2 - \pi_{\text{yes}}^2)\end{aligned}$$

$$\text{logit } P(\text{Ted votes yes}) = \beta\theta + \alpha$$

Only the 'cut point' or separating hyperplane *between*  $\pi_{\text{yes}}$  and  $\pi_{\text{no}}$  matters

This is logistic regression model with explanatory variable  $\theta$

## Spatial voting models

This is a simple measurement model

There is some distribution of ideal points in the population (the legislature)

$$P(\theta) = \text{Normal}(0, 1)$$

Votes are conditionally independent given ideal point

$$P(\text{vote}_1, \dots, \text{vote}_K \mid \theta) = \prod_j P(\text{vote}_j \mid \theta)$$

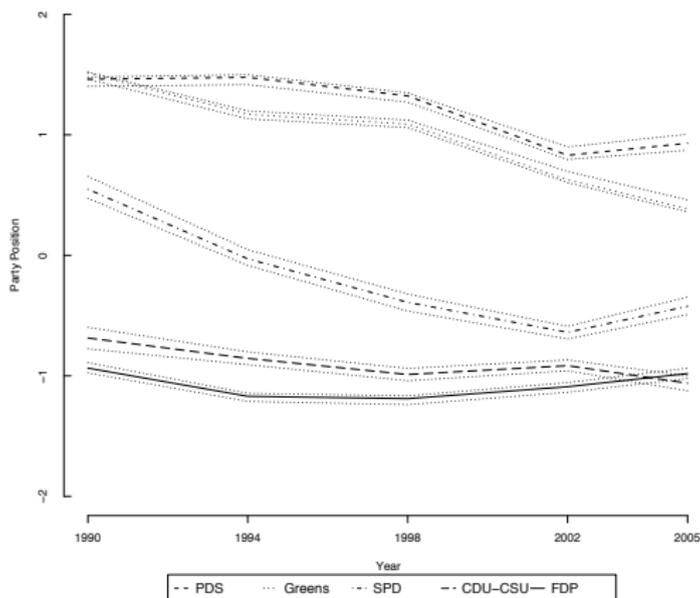
Probability of voting yes is monotonic in the *difference* between policy outcomes

$$P(\text{yes}) = \text{Logit}^{-1}(\beta\theta + \alpha)$$

# Poisson scaling models for text

Poisson scaling models for text (aka “wordfish”) is a statistical model for inferring policy positions  $\theta$  from words

Left-Right Positions in Germany, 1990–2005  
including 95% confidence intervals



## As measurement model

Assumptions about  $P(W_1 \dots W_V | \theta)$

$$\log E(W_i | \theta_j) = \alpha_j + \psi_i + \beta_i \theta_j$$

- ▶  $\alpha_j$  is a constant term controlling for document length (hence it's associated with the party or politician)
- ▶ The *sign* of  $\beta_i$  represents the *ideological direction* of  $W_i$
- ▶ The *magnitude* of  $\beta_i$  represents the *sensitivity* of the word to ideological differences among speakers or parties
- ▶  $\Psi$  is a constant term for the word (larger for high frequency words).

# The Poisson scaling “wordfish” model

## Data:

- ▶  $Y$  is  $N$  (speaker)  $\times$   $V$  (word) term document matrix  
 $V \gg N$

## Model:

$$P(Y_i | \theta) = \prod_{j=1}^V P(Y_{ij} | \theta_i)$$
$$Y_{ij} \sim \text{Poisson}(\lambda_{ij}) \quad (\text{POIS})$$
$$\log \lambda_{ij} = (g +) \alpha_i + \theta_i \beta_j + \psi_j$$

## Estimation:

- ▶ Easy to fit for large  $V$  ( $V$  Poisson regressions with  $\alpha$  offsets)

## Model components and notation

<i>Element</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
$i$	indexes the targets of interest (political actors)
$N$	number of political actors
$j$	indexes word types
$V$	total number of word types
$\theta_i$	the unobservable political position of actor $i$
$\beta_j$	word parameters on $\theta$ – the “ideological” direction of word $j$
$\psi_j$	word “fixed effect” (function of the frequency of word $j$ )
$\alpha_i$	actor “fixed effects” (a function of (log) document length to allow estimation in Poisson of an essentially multinomial process)

## How to estimate this model

Maximum likelihood estimation using (a form of) Expectation Maximization:

- ▶ If we knew  $\Psi$  and  $\beta$  (the word parameters) then we have a Poisson regression model
- ▶ If we knew  $\alpha$  and  $\theta$  (the party / politician / document parameters) then we have a Poisson regression model too!
- ▶ So we alternate them and hope to converge to reasonable estimates for both

# The iterative (conditional) maximum likelihood estimation

Start by *guessing* the parameters

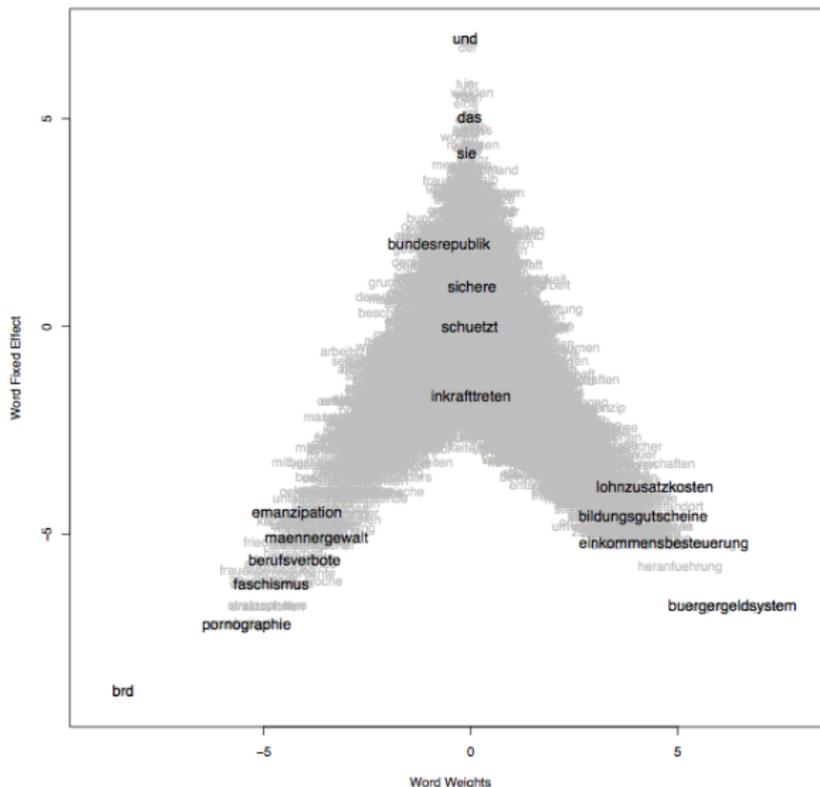
Algorithm:

- ▶ Assume the current party parameters are correct and fit as a Poisson regression model
- ▶ Assume the current word parameters are correct and fit as a Poisson regression model
- ▶ Normalize  $\theta$ s to mean 0 and variance 1

Repeat

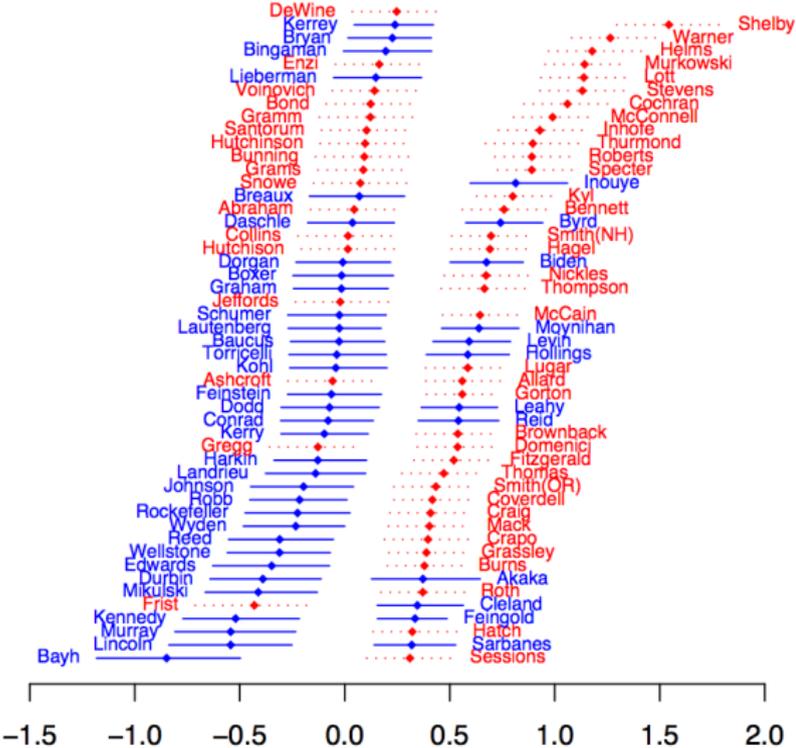
# Frequency and informativeness

$\Psi$  and  $\beta$  (frequency and informativeness) tend to trade-off. . .



# Plotting $\theta$

Plotting  $\theta$  (the ideal points) gives estimated positions. Here is Monroe and Maeda's (essentially identical) model of legislator positions:



# Wordscores and Wordfish as measurement models

Wordfish assumes that

$$P(\theta) = \text{Normal}(0, 1)$$

and that  $P(W_i | \theta)$  depends on

- ▶ Word parameters:  $\beta$  and  $\psi$
- ▶ Document / party / politician parameters:  $\theta$  and  $\alpha$

# Wordscores and Wordfish as measurement models

Wordfish estimates of  $\theta$  control for

- ▶ different document lengths ( $\alpha$ )
- ▶ different word frequencies ( $\psi$ ) different levels of ideological relevance of words ( $\beta$ ).

But there are no wordscores!

Words do not have an ideological position themselves, only a sensitivity to the speaker's ideological position

## Wordscores and Wordfish as measurement models

Wordscores makes no explicit assumption about  $P(\theta)$  except that it is continuous

We infer that  $P(W_i | \theta)$  depends on

- ▶ Wordscores:  $\pi$
- ▶ Document scores:  $\theta$

Hence  $\theta$  estimates do *not* control for

- ▶ different word frequencies
- ▶ different levels of ideological relevance of words

# Dimensions

- ▶ How to interpret  $\hat{\theta}$ s substantively?
- ▶ One option is to *regress* them other known descriptive variables
- ▶ Example European Parliament speeches (Proksch and Slapin)
  - ▶ Inferred ideal points seem to reflect party positions on EU integration better than national left-right party placements

## Identification

The *scale* and *direction* of  $\theta$  is undetermined — like most models with latent variables

To identify the model in Wordfish

- ▶ Fix one  $\alpha$  to zero to specify the left-right direction (Wordfish option 1)
- ▶ Fix the  $\hat{\theta}$ s to mean 0 and variance 1 to specify the scale (Wordfish option 2)
- ▶ Fix two  $\hat{\theta}$ s to specify the direction and scale (Wordfish option 3 and Wordscores)

Implication: Fixing two reference scores does not specify the policy domain, it just identifies the model!

# Dimensions

How infer more than one dimension?

This is two questions:

- ▶ How to get two dimensions (for all policy areas) at the same time?
- ▶ How to get one dimension for each policy area?

# Dimensions

To get one dimension for each policy area, split up the document by hand and use the subparts as documents (the Slapin and Proksch method)

There is currently *no* implementation of Wordscores or Wordfish that extracts two or more dimensions at once

- ▶ But since Wordfish is a type of factor analysis model, there is no reason in principle why it could not



## “Features” of the parametric scaling approach

- ▶ Standard (statistical) **inference** about parameters
- ▶ **Uncertainty** accounting for parameters
- ▶ **Distributional assumptions** are laid nakedly bare for inspection
  - ▶ *conditional independence*
  - ▶ *stochastic process* (e.g.  $E(Y_{ij}) = \text{Var}(Y_{ij}) = \lambda_{ij}$ )
- ▶ Permits **hierarchical reparameterization** (to add covariates)
- ▶ Prediction: in particular, **out of sample prediction**

## Problems laid bare I: Conditional (non-)independence

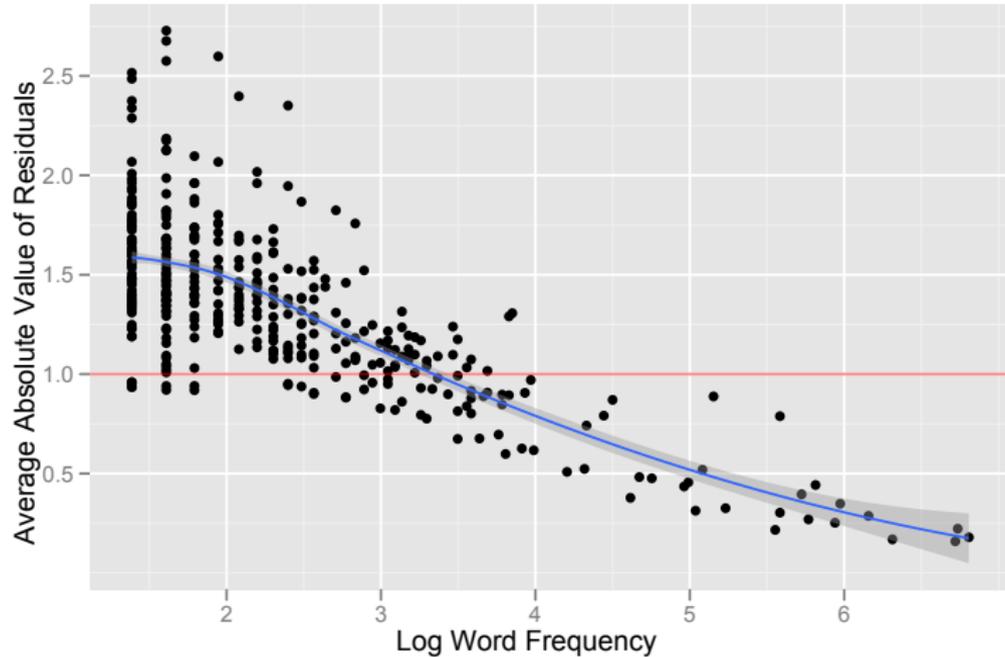
- ▶ Words occur in order  
In occur words order.  
Occur order words in.  
“No more training do you require. Already know you that which you need.” (Yoda)
- ▶ Words occur in combinations  
“carbon tax” / “income tax” / “inheritance tax” / “capital gains tax” / “bank tax”
- ▶ Sentences (and topics) occur in sequence (extreme serial correlation)
- ▶ Style may mean means we are likely to use synonyms – very probable. In fact it’s very distinctly possible, to be expected, odds-on, plausible, imaginable; expected, anticipated, predictable, predicted, foreseeable.)
- ▶ Rhetoric may lead to repetition. (“Yes we can!”) – anaphora

## Problems laid bare II: Parametric (stochastic) model

- ▶ Poisson assumes  $\text{Var}(Y_{ij}) = \text{E}(Y_{ij}) = \lambda_{ij}$
- ▶ For many reasons, we are likely to encounter overdispersion or underdispersion
  - ▶ **over**dispersion when “informative” words tend to cluster together
  - ▶ **under**dispersion could (possibly) occur when words of high frequency are uninformative and have relatively low between-text variation (once length is considered)
- ▶ This should be a *word*-level parameter

# Overdispersion in German manifesto data

(from Slapin and Proksch 2008)



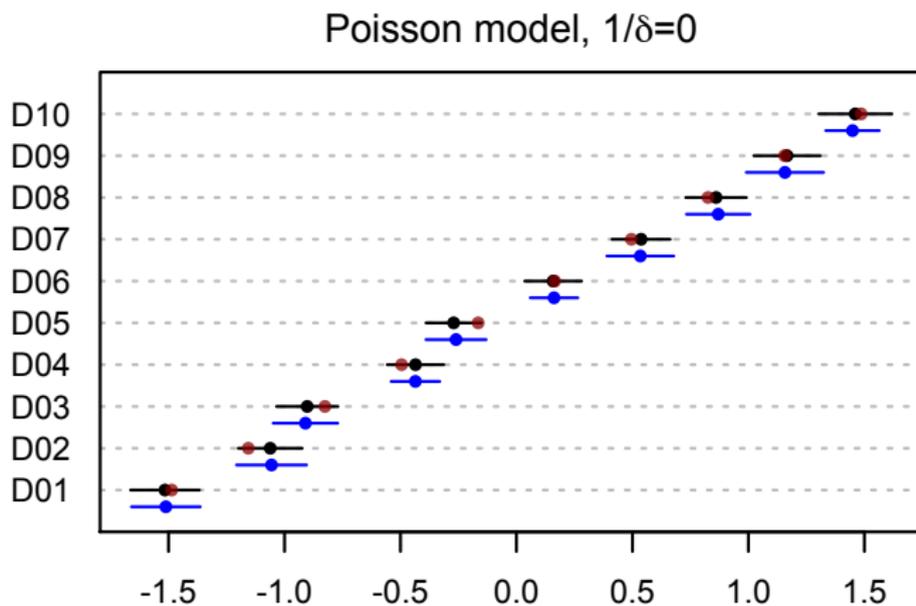
## How to account for uncertainty?

- ▶ Don't. (SVD-like methods, e.g. correspondence analysis)
- ▶ Analytical derivatives
- ▶ Parametric bootstrapping (Slapin and Proksch, Lewis and Poole)
- ▶ Non-parametric bootstrapping
- ▶ (and yes of course) Posterior sampling from MCMC

## Steps forward

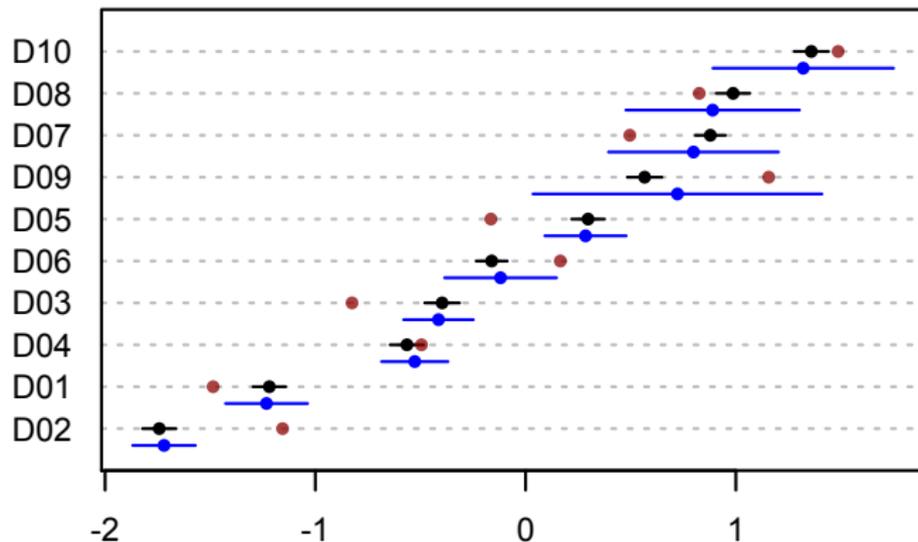
- ▶ Diagnose (and ultimately treat) the issue of whether a separate variance parameter is needed
- ▶ Diagnose (and treat) violations of conditional independence
- ▶ Explore non-parametric methods to estimate uncertainty

# Diagnosis I: Estimations on simulated texts



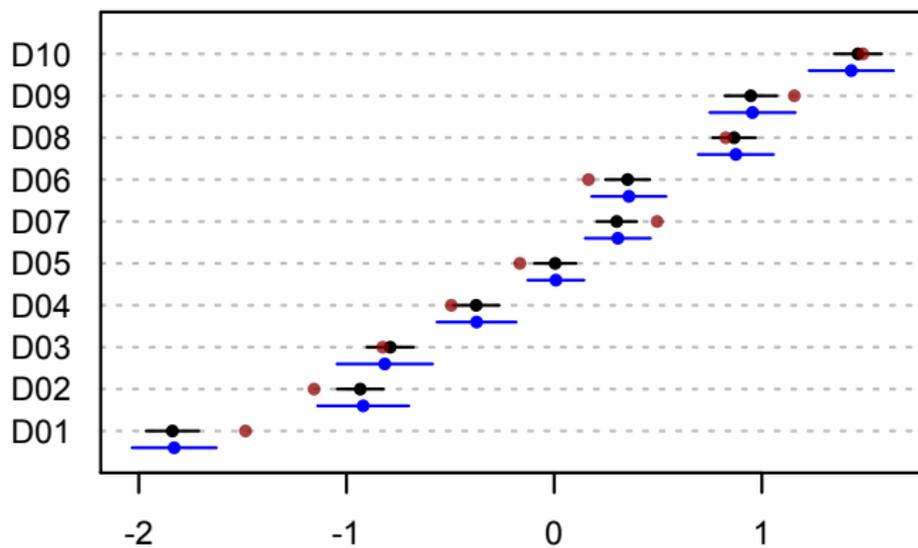
# Diagnosis I: Estimations on simulated texts

Negative binomial,  $1/\delta=2.0$

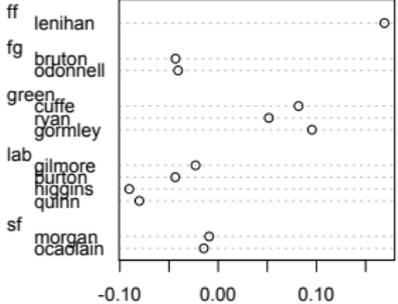


# Diagnosis I: Estimations on simulated texts

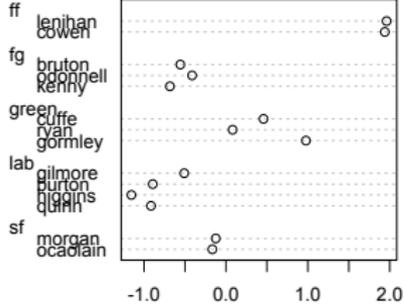
Negative binomial,  $1/\delta=0.8$



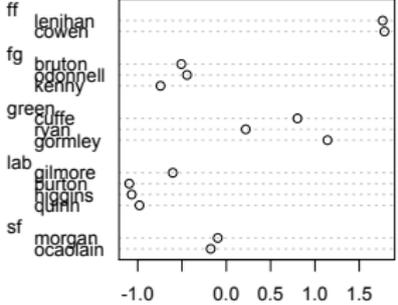
# Diagnosis 2: Irish Budget debate of 2009



Wordscores LBG Position on Budget 2009



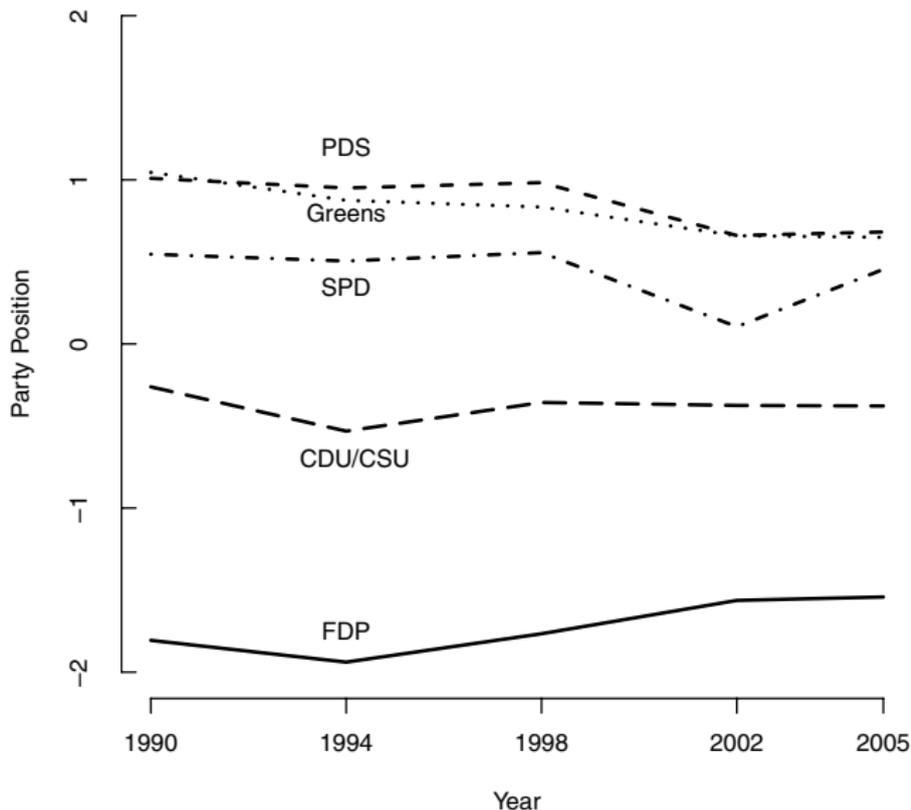
Normalized CA Position on Budget 2009



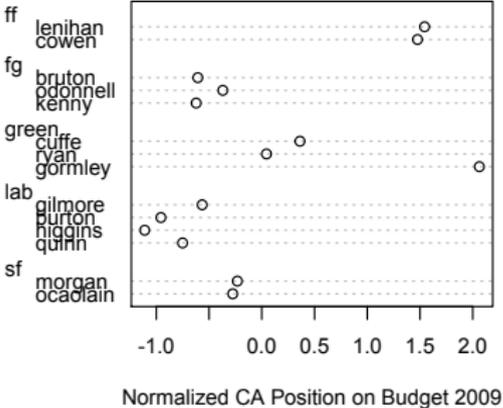
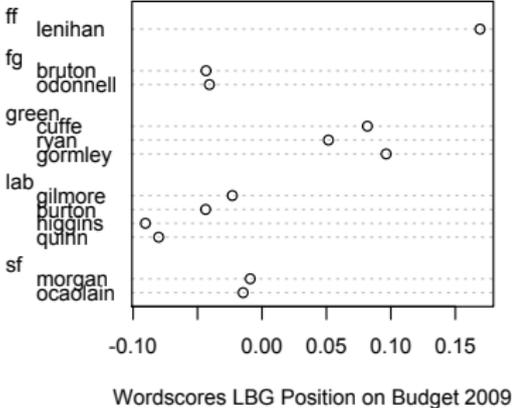
Classic Wordfish Position on Budget 2009

# Diagnosis 3: German party manifestos (economic sections)

(Slapin and Proksch 2008)



# Diagnosis 4: What happens if we include irrelevant text?



## Diagnosis 4: What happens if we include irrelevant text?



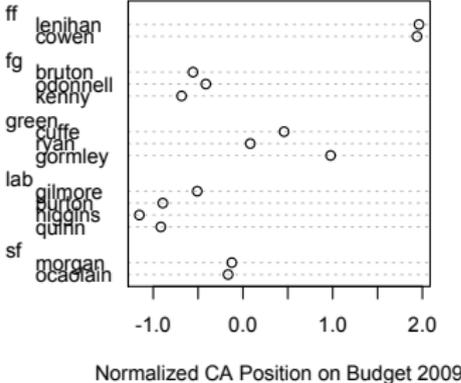
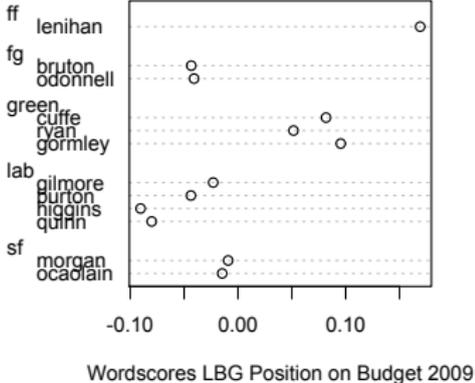
John Gormley: leader of the Green Party and Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government

“As leader of the Green Party I want to take this opportunity to set out my party’s position on budget 2010. . .”

[772 words later]

“I will now comment on some specific aspects of my Department’s Estimate. I will concentrate on the principal sectors within the Department’s very broad remit . . .”

# Diagnosis 4: Without irrelevant text



# The Way Forward

- ▶ Parametric Poisson model with variance parameter (“negative binomial” with parameter for over- or under-dispersion at the *word* level, could use CML)
- ▶ Block Bootstrap resampling schemes
  - ▶ text unit blocks (sentences, paragraphs)
  - ▶ fixed length blocks
  - ▶ variable length blocks
  - ▶ could be overlapping or adjacent
- ▶ More detailed investigation of feasible methods for characterizing fundamental uncertainty from non-parametric scaling models (CA and others based on SVD)

# The Negative Binomial model

- ▶ Generalize the Poisson model to:

$$f_{nb}(y_i | \lambda_i, \sigma^2) \text{ where :}$$

- ▶  $\sigma^2$  is the variability (a new parameter v. Poisson)
- ▶  $\lambda_i$  is the expected number of events for  $i$
- ▶  $\lambda$  is the average of individual  $\lambda_i$ s
- ▶ Here we have dropped Poisson assumption that  $\lambda_i = \lambda \forall i$
- ▶ **New assumption: Assume that  $\lambda_i$  is a random variable following a *gamma* distribution (takes on only non-negative numbers)**
- ▶ For the NB model,  $\text{Var}(Y_i) = \lambda_i \sigma^2$  for  $\lambda_i > 0$  and  $\sigma^2 > 0$

## The Negative Binomial model cont.

- ▶ For the NB model,  $\text{Var}(Y_i) = \lambda_i \sigma^2$  for  $\lambda_i > 0$  and  $\sigma^2 > 0$
- ▶ How to interpret  $\sigma^2$  in the negative binomial
  - ▶ when  $\sigma^2 = 1.0$ , negative binomial  $\equiv$  Poisson
  - ▶ when  $\sigma^2 > 1$ , then it means there is **overdispersion** in  $Y_i$  caused by correlated events, or heterogenous  $\lambda_i$
  - ▶ when  $\sigma^2 < 1$  it means something strange is going on
- ▶ When  $\sigma^2 \neq 1$ , then Poisson results will be inefficient and standard errors inconsistent
- ▶ Functional form: same as Poisson

$$E(y_i) = \lambda$$

- ▶ Variance of  $\lambda$  is now:

$$\text{Var}(y_i) = \lambda_i \sigma^2 = e^{X_i \beta} \sigma^2$$