

## SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS - PART I

Supplementary materials to: Lenka Bustikova, David Siroky, Saud Alashri, Sultan Alzahrani.  
Predicting Partisan Responsiveness: A Probabilistic Text Mining Time-Series Approach.  
*Political Analysis.*

# Replication

In this appendix we describe the general procedure for replicating the analysis described in the paper. We first describe the required tools, and then the sequence of steps from storing the data into database to viewing the results. The source code and discussion assumes some experience with the following tools and programming languages: *PostgreSQL*, *Apache SOLR*, *Java (Eclipse recommended)*, *Matlab*, *R*. All source code is accessible online [anonymized]:

Detailed description of how to run the each step is given in the README files.

1. Creating Database to store documents (PostgreSQL).
2. Indexing the data from PostgreSQL into Apache SOLR for fast retrieval and processing.
3. Running LDA to generate topics.
4. Determining relatedness of spikes using Threshold determination script.
5. Generating frames for each camp based on each issue.
6. Using frames to train logistic regression classifier and predict escalation.

```
===== >>(ReadMe)<< =====
Predicting Partisan Responsiveness READ ME Replication
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This project aims to determine contentious frames between opposing camps in Slovakia. Then, use them
to predict online escalation. Please refer to the paper for further details about the methodology.
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Getting Started:
....These instructions will get you a copy of the project up and running on your local machine for
....development and testing purposes.
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Prerequisites:
You need the following tools/languages:
- PostgreSQL.
- Apache SOLR.
- Java (Eclipse).
- Matlab.
- R.
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Experiment steps:
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1- Database:
....Please create database tables using the following backup file: slovakiaDB. You can also create
....the tables and store the data by these two sql scripts:
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```
1.1 Slovakia Table:
CREATE TABLE Slovakia
(
....id integer NOT NULL,
....file_name text,
....file_content text,
....article_date date,
CONSTRAINT "Slovakia_pkey" PRIMARY KEY (id)
)
WITH (
....OIDS=FALSE
);
ALTER TABLE Slovakia
OWNER TO postgres;

1.2 Slovakia parties:
CREATE TABLE Slovakia.Org
(
....tid integer NOT NULL,
....org_name text,
....org_type text,
....country text,
....CONSTRAINT "Slovakia_Org_pkey" PRIMARY KEY (tid),
....CONSTRAINT "Slovakia_Org_tid_fkey" FOREIGN KEY (tid)
....REFERENCES Slovakia (id) MATCH SIMPLE
....ON UPDATE NO ACTION ON DELETE NO ACTION
)
WITH (
....OIDS=FALSE
);
ALTER TABLE Slovakia.Org
OWNER TO postgres;
```

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2- Data:
....2.1 Data files are located under folder (Data).
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3- Apache SOLR:
....3.1 Download Solr and extract it to a directory of your choice,
.....(for installation guidance, you may follow to this example:
.....http://lucene.apache.org/solr/quickstart.html.
....3.2 Once the server installed, configure SOLR by adjusting these files based on your database:
....3.2.1 under ..../example/solr/collection1/conf/ modify the following:
.....A. add your database connection info to solrconfig.xml
.....B. copy schema.xml (from solr.config folder on dropbox) into this folder and change the
.....required directories.
.....C. copy data-config.xml (from solr.config folder on dropbox) into this folder.
....3.3 Next, index the data from postgreSQL to SOLR.
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4- Mallet LDA:
....4.1 Install LDA from (http://mallet.cs.umass.edu/).
....4.2 For each grid/group issue, run LDA (under LDA experiment folder) on the entire corpora
.....to generate 100 topics each with 20 terms and save them with their distributions.
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5- Utilize the Threshold determination R script under folder (Thresholds_determination) to get
....the thresholds for spikes.

=====
6- Train and test the classifier using logistic regression:
....5.1 Download the SLEP package from: http://www.yelab.net/software/SLEP/
....5.2 Replace the logistic.m file with the one located under (Frame_Identification_and_classification)
.....folder.
....5.3 Adjust the directories as needed.

=====
* Copyright (C) 2017 - Code released under the MIT License.

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Replicating this pipeline and generating accurate spike pair categorization using the same or different official websites is straightforward if one follows the following already commonplace practices:

- Remove stopword, punctuation, websites domain names, meaningless frequent keywords, etc., as initial text preparation.
- When converting unstructured articles of size  $n$  into vector space model (VSM) of size  $(n \times m)$ ,  $m$  has to be confined by  $n$  such that  $(m << n)$ . We maintain  $m$  to  $n$  as  $m : n = 1 : 4$ , and our experiments yield  $m$  and  $n$  as 10,597 and 2,500 respectively.
- LDA requires multiple runs, and adopting model selection criteria, such as Elbow methods, can help in deducing initial  $k$  settings. Then, interim LDA results with various:  $k_{-i}, \dots, k, \dots, k_{+i}$  topic dimensions can be evaluated qualitatively for the final  $k$  selection - all model selection approaches can be adapted to figure out initial settings, but cannot replace the manual qualitative validation phase for the final  $k$  selection. Experimentally, results of larger  $k$  values result in less mutated results when other settings—e.g., priors parameters and the maximum number of iterations—are kept fixed.
- Keep default value of logistic regression as it is employing a gradient descent search, namely max number of iteration of **1k**, use the smallest possible stopping criteria tolerance to achieve the highest approximation of the classifier hyper parameters.

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## Grid-Group Definition of Political Parties

Subject matter experts were guided by the grid-group dimensions of social control theory (Douglas and Wildavsky 1982, Douglas 1970) in selecting political parties to be included and in identifying *key issues* in their corpus. The *grid-group* typology characterizes four ideal type modes of social action along a grid-group axis. The grid dimension captures policy positions of radical actors that are compatible with authoritarianism and social and cultural conservatism. In its pure form, the grid dimension has no ethnic basis. An actor that promotes law and order, along with uncritical obedience to authority, religious or secular, is classified as high on the grid dimension. In policy terms, the high grid dimension is associated with support for a high degree of state intrusion into the daily life of its citizens and a ‘strongman’ position in international affairs. The group dimension captures nationalism and is therefore associated with exclusionary ethnicity-based appeals. It conceptualizes identity in terms of ‘the ethnic other’ and is grounded in a distinction between the in-group and the out-group. An actor that propagates nationalism on behalf of the titular nationality would score high on the group dimension. Core-group ethnocentric, anti-minorities and socially conservative actors are classified as radicals.

Source:

- Bustikova, L. 2018. Radical Right Mobilization in Eastern Europe. Cambridge University Press (under contract).
- Douglas, M. (1970). Natural Symbols. Explorations in Cosmology. London: Routledge.
- Douglas, M. and Wildavsky, A. (1982). Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technical and Environmental Dangers. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

## Predictions of Spikes

Table 1: Predictions for *escalated* ethnic spikes

ISSUE	DIMENSION	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-Measure
MINORITIES	GROUP	0.79	0.15	0.82	0.79	0.81
NATION	GROUP	0.95	0.29	0.82	0.95	0.88
LANGUAGE	GROUP	0.88	0.19	0.83	0.88	0.86
EU/ENLARGEMENT	GRID	0.77	0.12	0.87	0.77	0.82
ECONOMICS	GRID	0.86	0.26	0.78	0.86	0.82
INTERSTATE	GRID	0.92	0.25	0.86	0.92	0.89

Table 2: Predictions for *ignored* ethnic spikes

ISSUE	DIMENSION	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-MEASURE
MINORITIES	GROUP	0.85	0.21	0.82	0.85	0.84
NATION	GROUP	0.71	0.042	0.92	0.71	0.80
LANGUAGE	GROUP	0.81	0.12	0.86	0.81	0.83
EU/ENLARGEMENT	GRID	0.87	0.23	0.78	0.87	0.82
ECONOMICS	GRID	0.74	0.14	0.82	0.74	0.78
INTERSTATE	GRID	0.75	0.08	0.85	0.75	0.80

Table 3: Predictions for *escalated* radical spikes

ISSUE	DIMENSION	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-MEASURE
MINORITIES	GROUP	0.83	0.13	0.85	0.83	0.84
NATION	GROUP	0.79	0.19	0.81	0.79	0.80
LANGUAGE	GROUP	0.80	0.16	0.84	0.80	0.82
EU/ENLARGEMENT	GRID	0.84	0.22	0.83	0.84	0.84
ECONOMICS	GRID	0.82	0.15	0.86	0.82	0.84
INTERSTATE	GRID	0.85	0.15	0.87	0.85	0.86

Table 4: Predictions for *ignored* radical spikes

ISSUE	DIMENSION	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-MEASURE
MINORITIES	GROUP	0.87	0.17	0.85	0.87	0.86
NATION	GROUP	0.81	0.20	0.79	0.81	0.80
LANGUAGE	GROUP	0.83	0.20	0.80	0.83	0.82
EU/ENLARGEMENT	GRID	0.78	0.16	0.79	0.78	0.78
ECONOMICS	GRID	0.85	0.18	0.80	0.85	0.82
INTERSTATE	GRID	0.85	0.15	0.83	0.85	0.84

## Naive Bayes and Random Forest Classifiers

We experimented with various classifiers and reported the best performing ones: Naive Bayes and Random Forest. SLEP outperformed both Naive Bayes and Random Forest classifiers (F-measure). Generally, Random Forest outperformed Naive Bayes, and both classifiers performed better in predicting escalated spikes compared to ignored spikes.

**Classifier: Naive Bayes**

**Escalated Ethnic**

Issue	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.753	0.238	0.762	0.753	0.757
Nation	Group	0.841	0.250	0.779	0.841	0.809
Language	Group	0.777	0.240	0.791	0.777	0.784
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.786	0.182	0.846	0.786	0.815
Economics	Grid	0.810	0.275	0.756	0.810	0.782
Interstate	Grid	0.889	0.222	0.800	0.889	0.842

**Ignored Ethnic**

Issue	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.762	0.247	0.753	0.762	0.757
Nation	Group	0.750	0.159	0.818	0.750	0.783
Language	Group	0.760	0.223	0.745	0.760	0.753
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.818	0.214	0.750	0.818	0.783
Economics	Grid	0.725	0.190	0.784	0.725	0.753
Interstate	Grid	0.778	0.111	0.875	0.778	0.824

**Escalated Radical**

Issue	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.790	0.298	0.721	0.790	0.754
Nation	Group	0.739	0.373	0.676	0.739	0.706
Language	Group	0.657	0.204	0.770	0.657	0.709
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.713	0.351	0.694	0.713	0.703
Economics	Grid	0.817	0.214	0.831	0.817	0.824
Interstate	Grid	0.897	0.380	0.763	0.897	0.825

**Ignored Radical**

Issue	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.702	0.210	0.775	0.702	0.737
Nation	Group	0.627	0.261	0.695	0.627	0.659
Language	Group	0.796	0.343	0.690	0.796	0.739
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.649	0.287	0.670	0.649	0.660
Economics	Grid	0.786	0.183	0.769	0.786	0.777
Interstate	Grid	0.620	0.103	0.815	0.620	0.704

Figure 1: Naive Bayes Classifier

**Classifier: Random Forest**

**Escalated Ethnic**

Issue	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.824	0.429	0.660	0.824	0.733
Nation	Group	0.857	0.250	0.783	0.857	0.818
Language	Group	0.875	0.292	0.778	0.875	0.824
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.893	0.591	0.658	0.893	0.758
Economics	Grid	0.857	0.250	0.783	0.857	0.818
Interstate	Grid	0.800	0.083	0.889	0.800	0.842

**Ignored Ethnic**

Issue	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.571	0.176	0.762	0.571	0.653
Nation	Group	0.750	0.143	0.833	0.750	0.789
Language	Group	0.708	0.125	0.829	0.708	0.764
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.409	0.107	0.750	0.409	0.529
Economics	Grid	0.750	0.143	0.833	0.750	0.789
Interstate	Grid	0.917	0.200	0.846	0.917	0.880

**Escalated Radical**

Issue	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.645	0.220	0.741	0.645	0.690
Nation	Group	0.783	0.446	0.649	0.783	0.710
Language	Group	0.725	0.127	0.805	0.725	0.763
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.880	0.320	0.754	0.880	0.812
Economics	Grid	0.874	0.333	0.720	0.874	0.789
Interstate	Grid	0.876	0.254	0.825	0.876	0.850

**Ignored Radical**

Issue	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.780	0.355	0.693	0.780	0.734
Nation	Group	0.554	0.217	0.709	0.554	0.622
Language	Group	0.873	0.275	0.815	0.873	0.843
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.680	0.120	0.835	0.680	0.750
Economics	Grid	0.667	0.126	0.843	0.667	0.745
Interstate	Grid	0.746	0.124	0.815	0.746	0.779

Figure 2: Random Forest Classifier

# LDA comparison to Vector Space and Word Embedding

**Escalated Ethnic**

Issues	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.79	0.15	0.82	0.79	0.81
Nation	Group	0.95	0.29	0.82	0.95	0.88
Language	Group	0.88	0.19	0.83	0.88	0.86
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.77	0.12	0.87	0.77	0.82
Economic	Grid	0.86	0.26	0.78	0.86	0.82
Interstate	Grid	0.92	0.25	0.86	0.92	0.89

**Ignored Ethnic**

Issues	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.85	0.21	0.82	0.85	0.84
Nation	Group	0.71	0.05	0.92	0.71	0.8
Language	Group	0.81	0.12	0.86	0.81	0.83
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.87	0.23	0.78	0.87	0.82
Economic	Grid	0.74	0.14	0.82	0.74	0.78
Interstate	Grid	0.75	0.08	0.85	0.75	0.8

**Escalated Radical**

Issues	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.83	0.13	0.85	0.83	0.84
Nation	Group	0.79	0.19	0.81	0.79	0.8
Language	Group	0.8	0.16	0.84	0.8	0.82
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.84	0.22	0.83	0.84	0.84
Economic	Grid	0.82	0.15	0.86	0.82	0.84
Interstate	Grid	0.85	0.15	0.87	0.85	0.86

**Ignored Radical**

Issues	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.87	0.17	0.85	0.87	0.86
Nation	Group	0.81	0.2	0.79	0.81	0.8
Language	Group	0.83	0.2	0.8	0.83	0.82
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.78	0.16	0.79	0.78	0.78
Economic	Grid	0.85	0.18	0.8	0.85	0.82
Interstate	Grid	0.85	0.15	0.83	0.85	0.84

Figure 3: LDA

<b>Escalated Ethnic</b>						
<b>Issues</b>	<b>Dimension</b>	<b>TP</b>	<b>FP</b>	<b>Precision</b>	<b>Recall</b>	<b>F-measure</b>
Minorities	Group	0.64	0.26	0.68	0.74	0.71
Nation	Group	0.69	0.13	0.74	0.87	0.80
Language	Group	0.63	0.33	0.65	0.67	0.66
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.76	0.22	0.76	0.78	0.77
Economic	Grid	0.30	0.08	0.63	0.92	0.75
Interstate	Grid	0.66	0.31	0.67	0.69	0.68

<b>Ignored Ethnic</b>						
<b>Issues</b>	<b>Dimension</b>	<b>TP</b>	<b>FP</b>	<b>Precision</b>	<b>Recall</b>	<b>F-measure</b>
Minorities	Group	0.74	0.36	0.71	0.64	0.67
Nation	Group	0.87	0.31	0.84	0.69	0.76
Language	Group	0.67	0.37	0.65	0.63	0.64
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.78	0.24	0.77	0.76	0.76
Economic	Grid	0.92	0.70	0.75	0.30	0.43
Interstate	Grid	0.69	0.34	0.68	0.66	0.67

<b>Escalated Radical</b>						
<b>Issues</b>	<b>Dimension</b>	<b>TP</b>	<b>FP</b>	<b>Precision</b>	<b>Recall</b>	<b>F-measure</b>
Minorities	Group	0.43	0.35	0.54	0.65	0.59
Nation	Group	0.57	0.37	0.60	0.63	0.61
Language	Group	0.55	0.42	0.57	0.58	0.58
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.50	0.40	0.55	0.60	0.57
Economic	Grid	0.33	0.00	0.91	1.00	0.95
Interstate	Grid	0.50	0.36	0.64	0.64	0.64

<b>Ignored Radical</b>						
<b>Issues</b>	<b>Dimension</b>	<b>TP</b>	<b>FP</b>	<b>Precision</b>	<b>Recall</b>	<b>F-measure</b>
Minorities	Group	0.65	0.57	0.55	0.43	0.48
Nation	Group	0.63	0.43	0.60	0.57	0.59
Language	Group	0.58	0.45	0.57	0.55	0.56
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.60	0.50	0.55	0.50	0.52
Economic	Grid	1.00	0.67	1.00	0.33	0.50
Interstate	Grid	0.64	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50

Figure 4: Vector Space Model

**Escalated Ethnic**

Issues	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.79	0.21	0.77	0.79	0.78
Nation	Group	0.68	0.21	0.77	0.68	0.72
Language	Group	0.77	0.21	0.77	0.77	0.77
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.85	0.18	0.87	0.85	0.86
Economic	Grid	0.68	0.21	0.75	0.68	0.72
Interstate	Grid	0.82	0.23	0.82	0.82	0.82

**Ignored Ethnic**

Issues	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.79	0.21	0.81	0.79	0.80
Nation	Group	0.79	0.32	0.71	0.79	0.75
Language	Group	0.79	0.23	0.79	0.79	0.79
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.82	0.15	0.80	0.82	0.81
Economic	Grid	0.79	0.32	0.72	0.79	0.75
Interstate	Grid	0.77	0.18	0.77	0.77	0.77

**Escalated Radical**

Issues	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.80	0.18	0.84	0.80	0.82
Nation	Group	0.78	0.18	0.83	0.78	0.80
Language	Group	0.79	0.21	0.78	0.79	0.79
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.81	0.17	0.82	0.81	0.81
Economic	Grid	0.81	0.17	0.82	0.81	0.81
Interstate	Grid	0.79	0.17	0.81	0.79	0.80

**Ignored Radical**

Issues	Dimension	TP	FP	Precision	Recall	F-measure
Minorities	Group	0.82	0.20	0.77	0.82	0.79
Nation	Group	0.82	0.22	0.76	0.82	0.79
Language	Group	0.79	0.21	0.80	0.79	0.80
EU/Enlargement	Grid	0.83	0.19	0.82	0.83	0.82
Economic	Grid	0.83	0.19	0.82	0.83	0.82
Interstate	Grid	0.83	0.21	0.81	0.83	0.82

Figure 5: Word Embedding

## Paired t-test comparisons

	<i>LDA (F-measures)</i>	<i>LEX Base model (F-measures)</i>
Mean	0.827916667	0.64113716
Variance	0.00081721	0.01443796
Observations	24	24
Pearson Correlation	0.23975323	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	23	
t Stat	7.843975497	Reject Ho and Accept the Ha (alpha = 0.01)
P(T<=t) one-tail	3.00173E-08	
t Critical one-tail	1.713871528	
P(T<=t) two-tail	6.00346E-08	
t Critical two-tail	2.06865761	

Figure 6: Paired t-test comparison: LDA and Baseline Lexical Model (LEX)

	<i>LDA (F-measures)</i>	<i>Word Embedding (F-measures)</i>
Mean	0.827916667	0.792704568
Variance	0.00081721	0.001102268
Observations	24	24
Pearson Correlation	0.019064237	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	23	
t Stat	3.975016046	Reject Ho and Accept the Ha (alpha = 0.01)
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.000299269	
t Critical one-tail	1.713871528	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.000598538	
t Critical two-tail	2.06865761	

Figure 7: Paired t-test comparison: LDA and Word Embedding (EMB)

	<i>Word Embedding (F-measures)</i>	<i>LEX Base model (F-measures)</i>
Mean	0.792704568	0.64113716
Variance	0.001102268	0.01443796
Observations	24	24
Pearson Correlation	-0.157143363	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	23	
t Stat	5.29730863	Reject Ho and Accept the Ha (alpha = 0.01)
P(T<=t) one-tail	3.89101E-06	
t Critical one-tail	1.713871528	
P(T<=t) two-tail	7.78202E-06	
t Critical two-tail	2.06865761	

Figure 8: Paired t-test comparison: Baseline Lexical Model (LEX) and Word Embedding (EMB)

F-measures			
	LEX (F-measures) Base model	Word Embedding doc2vector (F-measures)	LDA (F-measures)
	0.71	0.78	0.81
	0.80	0.72	0.88
	0.66	0.77	0.86
	0.77	0.86	0.82
	0.75	0.72	0.82
	0.68	0.82	0.89
	0.67	0.80	0.84
	0.76	0.75	0.8
	0.64	0.79	0.83
	0.76	0.81	0.82
	0.43	0.75	0.78
	0.67	0.77	0.8
	0.59	0.82	0.84
	0.61	0.80	0.8
	0.58	0.79	0.82
	0.57	0.81	0.84
	0.95	0.81	0.84
	0.64	0.80	0.86
	0.48	0.79	0.86
	0.59	0.79	0.8
	0.56	0.80	0.82
	0.52	0.82	0.78
	0.50	0.82	0.82
	0.50	0.82	0.84
MEAN	0.64	0.79	0.83
STD	0.12	0.03	0.03

Figure 9: F-Measures

## SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS – PART II

Supplementary materials to: Lenka Bustikova, David Siroky, Saud Alashri, Sultan Alzahrani. Predicting Partisan Responsiveness: A Probabilistic Text Mining Time-Series Approach. *Political Analysis*.

### Expert Topic Validation

To address the validity of selecting the topics using experts, we compare the topic selection to two respected datasets of political parties, and then discuss the individual steps in topic selection. Before doing so, we first note that n-grams were ranked based on their frequency and only then did the experts assign topics to top ranked n-grams.

We compare our expert-selected topics with the Manifesto Data and the Chapel Hill Expert Survey, two highly used sources of information about parties. We compared the issues that the experts in our project identified, based on the lists of highly ranked n-grams, with the issues identified by two prominent data sets that were constructed to reduce the complexity of party competition onto different issues. The Manifesto Project is a useful validity check for us because it is based on a textual analysis of party manifestos, and the Chapel Hill Survey is helpful as a validity check because it is based on expert assessments.

As noted in the paper, one important advantage of text mining is its ability to capture smaller, niche parties that may have an outsized impact on party competition, even if their own electoral success is minimal. Both datasets exclude the smaller radical right party (*Slovenská pospolitosť*) and the ethnic party (*Híd*) that are analyzed in our paper, and include only the larger niche parties (*SNS* and *SMK*, one radical right and the other ethnic).

This comparison with the Manifesto Project and the Chapel Hill Expert Survey leads us to believe that our expert assessment captures the overarching issues that dominate debates and structure party politics among parties we study. It is possible of course that other experts might have chosen different labels, but we submit that they would probably capture similar dimensions: issues that revolve around national identity, culture and the role that the Slovak state plays in regulating majority-minority relations, both domestically and in the broader context of international relations.

Here we discuss how precisely we made these comparisons: first for the Party Manifesto data and then for the Chapel Hill Survey data.

## Party Manifestos

For 2006, which is in the span of the ten-year time period that we cover (2004-2014), the manifesto project allows researchers to search for topics associated with selected keywords and shows which topics have a higher frequency of keywords. It is important to note that the topics identified by the manifesto project are designed to work across countries yet, at the same time, to capture the axis of contention in particular countries. We searched for two keywords: “identity” and “nation” (in Slovak “ident” and “národ” to capture possible variations of the word) for the two parties available in the project (SMK and SNS). The term “ident” was most frequent keyword identified by the manifesto project that covered the following top three topics (for the Hungarian party): *multiculturalism, federalism and political authority*. For the radical right party, the term “ident” was most frequently found in topics related to: *multiculturalism, culture and freedom, and human rights*.

In the 2006 manifesto of the Hungarian party, the term “národ” was most common in these three topics (*coding schemes* are topics in Manifesto terms): *multiculturalism, freedom and human rights*, and *non-economic demographic group* (Hungarians). In the manifesto of the radical right party, the term “národ” was most common in the topics: *national way of life, culture, and international (relations)*.

The grid and group issues that the experts identified are very comparable to these general categories that populate party manifestos of two parties. The experts used grid-group theory to highlight group issues that relate to *multiculturalism, national way of life* and *language*.

Grid issues consider ethnicity and nationality in the context of governance, which the manifesto project captures through the coding schemes *international* and *economic issues tied to identity*. The experts for this paper similarly identified three issues: *the EU and EU enlargement, Economics and Interstate Relations*. The EU and EU enlargement is an international issue and enlargement is specific to Slovakia, which was once an EU accession country. Interstate relations capture mostly Slovak’s contested relationship with the neighboring country. Economic issues are politicized, due to the regional transfers to the Hungarian minority, which is spatially concentrated, and due to the Slovak state’s commitments to fund Hungarian minority education from state funds.

The issues that the experts in our project identified as structuring party competition between two political opposites are comparable to the party manifesto project, which codes party platforms and maps issues in manifestos using coding schemes designed to work across cross-national settings.

## **Chapel Hill Expert Survey**

We also validate our choice of grid-group topics against the Chapel Hill Expert Survey of parties. The expert surveys include the radical right SNS and the ethnic Hungarian SMK, just like the Party Manifesto data, and ignores the other two smaller niche parties. In 2014, the most important issues for the radical right party was: *nationalism, ethnic minorities, European integration and anti-elite rhetoric*. For the ethnic party, the top issues were: *ethnic minorities, nationalism and urban vs. rural issues*. The last issue reflects the fact that the Hungarian minority is concentrated in the rural, agricultural part of the country. These topics are mirrored in our selection of issues that relate to national identity and issues of state-minority relations. For the earlier years (2006 and 2010), the expert survey scores the salience of issues for individual parties. For both the radical right party and the Hungarian ethnic party, “*ethnicity*” is the most the salient issue, both in 2006 and 2010. The salience of *the EU* has increased over time for the radical right party. For the ethnic Hungarian party, *the EU* was the second most important issue in the period between 2002-2010.

## Discriminative Keywords

<b>keyword</b>	<b>Translation</b>	<b>Weight</b>	<b>Accuracy = 99.7%</b>
'deaktivované'	' deactivated '	1.55055014	
'sns'	' sns '	0.924391191	
'slovenská'	' Slovak '	0.541050848	
'slovenskej'	' Slovakia '	0.491655838	
'reakcie'	' reaction '	0.481781625	
'proti'	' against '	0.478153027	
'počet'	' number '	0.458872542	
'národná'	' national '	0.412188352	
'ludí'	' people '	0.376510721	
'veľmi'	' very '	0.264727204	
'nás'	' us '	0.23719754	
'no'	' no '	0.199679605	
'im'	' them '	0.185337749	
'ľudia'	' people '	0.181027349	
'slovenských'	' Slovak '	0.173800341	
'organizácie'	' organization '	0.172172491	
'sp'	' sp '	0.141536069	
'kampane'	' Campaign '	0.138867043	
'podujatí'	' events '	0.129533743	
'aktuálne'	' Currently '	0.129522437	
'kalendár'	' Calendar '	0.129522437	
'problém'	' problem '	0.122230131	
'mali'	' should '	0.121582578	
'mu'	' him '	0.114508283	
'meniny'	' Day '	0.113628392	
'2013'	' 2013 '	0.113623291	
'strana'	' Party '	0.109512914	
'slovensku'	' Slovakia '	0.106042024	
'zahraničné'	' Foreign '	0.095371724	
'bratislave'	' Bratislava '	0.088566836	
'rafaj'	' Rafaj '	0.080866826	
'človek'	' Human '	0.0793077	
'zaujímavosti'	' things '	0.070696927	
'obete'	' victims '	0.064175609	
'národ'	' nation '	0.061972987	
'naozaj'	' really '	0.060237009	
'dokonca'	' even '	0.059281983	
'národa'	' nation '	0.057780431	
'približne'	' about '	0.05337069	
'usa'	' usa '	0.051350654	
'polícia'	' police '	0.044575067	
'bratislava'	' Bratislava '	0.041444171	

'slovákov'	' Slovaks '	0.040013043
'svete'	' world '	0.038659676
'ľudských'	' Human '	0.034614226
'vás'	' you '	0.032380802
'naše'	' our '	0.030663609
'verejnosť'	' public '	0.029920248
'opäť'	' Again '	0.029432798
'kosovo'	' Kosovo '	0.028388215
'počas'	' during '	0.020395062
'nemzeti'	' nemzeti '	0.019713152
'cigánsky'	' Gypsy '	0.015716031
'tomu'	' this '	0.013561068
'život'	' Life '	0.013455467
'eÚ'	' eu '	0.013121435
'prípade'	' case '	0.009467876
'svojej'	' their '	0.008075208
'szóló'	' szóló '	0.007881191
'slovenského'	' Slovak '	0.007107388
'deti'	' Children '	0.006812746
'cigáni'	' Gypsies '	0.005152523
'veterná'	' wind '	0.004894346
'pri pomíname'	' Recalls '	0.004860942
'výtvarných'	' Fine '	0.004777273
'alkotmánybíróság'	' alkotmánybíróság '	0.004311514
'gallery'	' gallery '	0.003731129
'miliardové'	' billions '	0.003402031
'niekoľko'	' few '	0.002848156
'všetci'	' all '	0.002847161
'pôde'	' soil '	0.002735387
'spôsobila'	' caused '	0.002726734
'musí'	' must '	0.002607129
'vpn'	' vpn '	0.002606161
'čas'	' Time '	0.002561858
'životoch'	' lives '	0.00249813
'vyžiadala'	' requested '	0.002153863
'tzv'	' called '	0.001992805
'opozičná'	' opposition '	0.001987171
'obyvateľstva'	' population '	0.00195962
'Čítať'	' Read '	0.001682242
'végre'	' végre '	0.001611748
'napríklad'	' example '	0.001549526
'niekto'	' someone '	0.001527485
'umelcov'	' artists '	0.00141285
'mal'	' should '	0.001346905
'tatry'	' Mountains '	0.001275455
'smršť'	' whirlwind '	0.001253325

'iniciatíva'	' Initiative '	0.001169738
'ďalej'	' further '	0.001127087
'eddig'	' eddig '	0.001043424
'polgármester'	' polgármester '	0.000717641
'eugen'	' Eugen '	0.000650234
'ember'	' ember '	0.00045086
' már'	' Bier '	0.000386133
'akarja'	' akarja '	0.000362257
'kedy'	' when '	0.000316366
'škody'	' damage '	0.000280989
'eu'	' eu '	0.000278928
'tých'	' the '	0.000262458
'rafael'	' Rafael '	0.000190365
'szükség'	' szükség '	0.000179876
'iných'	' other '	0.000150484
'amennyiben'	' Amennyiben '	-2.95E-06
'poslanci'	' Members '	-4.81E-05
'členovia'	' members '	-0.00024346
'nemzet'	' nemzet '	-0.000406461
'mohli'	' could '	-0.000416907
'szabad'	' szabad '	-0.000440116
'szükséges'	' szükséges '	-0.000456153
'elnök'	' elnök '	-0.000477807
'cigánov'	' Gypsies '	-0.000507851
'felvidéki'	' highland '	-0.000615916
''''	' '	-0.000646417
'slovenska'	' Slovakia '	-0.000671145
'zasiahla'	' hit '	-0.000712208
'anyanyelv'	' anyanyelv '	-0.000713751
'hovorí'	' speaks '	-0.000713777
'Švejna'	' Švejna '	-0.000770229
'szolgáltatók'	' szolgáltatók '	-0.000846135
'mestskej'	' urban '	-0.000860601
'minisztérium'	' Minisztérium '	-0.000967865
'vznikla'	' established '	-0.000999635
'niečo'	' something '	-0.001036259
'gazdaság'	' gazdaság '	-0.001465647
'főleg'	' főleg '	-0.001657283
'tárcá'	' Tarco '	-0.001688145
'kérdés'	' kérdés '	-0.001727875
'bastrnák'	' Bastrnák '	-0.001787446
'egyetemi'	' egyetemi '	-0.001874018
'számunkra'	' számunkra '	-0.001887012
'oktatási'	' Oktatási '	-0.001999175
'nikdy'	' Never '	-0.002024058
'jeden'	' one '	-0.002113074

'elsősorban'	' elsősortan '	-0.002145427
'választások'	' választások '	-0.002223819
'voči'	' against '	-0.002388661
'támogatás'	' támogatás '	-0.002545526
'solymos'	' Solymos '	-0.0028394
'egyben'	' egyben '	-0.002943349
'kapcsolattartás'	' kapcsolattartás '	-0.002967461
'utóbbi'	' utóbbi '	-0.003140997
'polgárok'	' polgárok '	-0.0032577
'belso'	' belső '	-0.003268736
'sajnos'	' sajnos '	-0.003764756
'zsolt'	' zsolt '	-0.004103861
'jogi'	' Jogi '	-0.004189328
'magyarság'	' magyarság '	-0.0042248
'fiatal'	' fiatal '	-0.004346372
'munkát'	' Munký '	-0.004712586
'komoly'	' komoly '	-0.004804435
'kisebbségi'	' kisebbségi '	-0.004891099
'slovensko'	' Slovakia '	-0.005074867
'strany'	' Party '	-0.006472302
'gál'	' Gal '	-0.006631466
'pospolitosti'	' Togetherness '	-0.006791191
'eur'	' euro '	-0.006995333
'robert'	' Robert '	-0.007304447
'kettős'	' Kettős '	-0.008221593
'éve'	' éve '	-0.008536573
'szervezet'	' szervezet '	-0.010603855
'megfogalmazott'	' megfogalmazott '	-0.011529994
'község'	' község '	-0.012770578
'gyakran'	' gyakran '	-0.0134391
'psa'	' Dog '	-0.01421877
'parlament'	' Parliament '	-0.014723774
'obce'	' village '	-0.017151084
'jött'	' Jott '	-0.017936391
'megyei'	' megyei '	-0.019226565
'hasonló'	' hasonló '	-0.020063889
'kapott'	' bonnet '	-0.020568249
'idő'	' idő '	-0.021154207
'r7'	' r7 '	-0.021504681
'smeru'	' direction '	-0.021732809
'szorítsunk'	' szorítsunk '	-0.022172932
'oldalra'	' oldalra '	-0.023245153
'képviselői'	' képviselői '	-0.023300631
'hivatal'	' hivatal '	-0.023881016
'miniszter'	' miniszter '	-0.024676648
'farkas'	' Farkas '	-0.025509326

'millió'	' millio '	-0.027257157
'közösségg'	' közösség '	-0.027436241
'uniós'	' UNIOS '	-0.028775709
'irányában'	' irányában '	-0.030757012
'jelentős'	' jelentős '	-0.033066063
'jános'	' János '	-0.03320563
'állam'	' állam '	-0.034340965
'kis'	' kis '	-0.034871872
'bizonyára'	' bizonyára '	-0.035824096
'unió'	' unió '	-0.042581715
'például'	' például '	-0.0450093
'percenta'	' percent '	-0.045666775
'szeretnék'	' szeretnék '	-0.045821608
'jövő'	' jövő '	-0.048409513
'túl'	' quiver '	-0.050208683
'vláda'	' Government '	-0.053350742
'szociális'	' szociális '	-0.054139319
'gábor'	' Gabor '	-0.057858612
'béla'	' Bela '	-0.058068268
'melyik'	' melyik '	-0.062545246
'bugár'	' Bugár '	-0.065458546
'zákona'	' Law '	-0.065848248
'költségvetés'	' Költségvetés '	-0.066973647
'kulturális'	' CULTURAL '	-0.067663713
'nr'	' NR '	-0.068960844
'lengyel'	' Lengyel '	-0.07075565
'jobb'	' jobb '	-0.074513576
'iván'	' Iván '	-0.076057279
'fico'	' fico '	-0.078015373
'okt'	' Oct '	-0.081066282
'elnöke'	' elnök '	-0.085204177
'alajos'	' Alajos '	-0.085615097
'poslanec'	' MP '	-0.093226732
'vlády'	' Government '	-0.095600191
'Árpád'	' Árpád '	-0.098433269
'teljesen'	' teljesen '	-0.098484333
'választási'	' Választási '	-0.100696499
'pártja'	' Pártja '	-0.103463637
'szlovákiában'	' szlovákiában '	-0.105658417
'psov'	' dogs '	-0.109376039
'sikerült'	' sikerült '	-0.111266223
'mészáros'	' Meszaros '	-0.11246429
'csupán'	' csupán '	-0.115277423
'általa'	' Alta '	-0.120015361
'ezer'	' ezer '	-0.122474032
'pál'	' Pal '	-0.135604978

'simon'	'Simon '	-0.151973719
'orbán'	'Orbán '	-0.152483306
'péntügyi'	' péntügyi '	-0.167138628
'alelnöke'	' alelnöke '	-0.191895483
'csáky'	' Csáky '	-0.204880357
'lászló'	' Laszlo '	-0.20543531
'mai'	' mai '	-0.209767942
'józsef'	'József '	-0.214136358
'éves'	' eves '	-0.230591982
'törvény'	' törvény '	-0.231745297
'emberek'	' emberek '	-0.246543913
'tags'	' tags '	-0.254677632
'helyi'	' helyi '	-0.262754371
'smer'	' direction '	-0.268468903
'Érsek'	' Érsek '	-0.286703907
'szlovákiai'	' szlovákiai '	-0.298332149
'szlovákia'	' Szlovákia '	-0.348550495
'parlamenti'	' Parlamenti '	-0.359439897
'gazdasági'	' gazdasági '	-0.379334411
'szlovák'	' szlovák '	-0.65036627
'magyar'	' magyar '	-0.849083361
'mkp'	' MLP '	-0.860817463
'híd'	' Hid '	-1.145614012

## **Expert selection of topics**

Topic 1 - *EU*: Europe, Enlargement

Topic 2 - *Minorities*: (Hungarians and Gypsies/Roma): Gypsies, Roma, Hungarians, Gypsy problem, minority rights, rights of Hungarians, dual citizenship

Topic 3 - *Identity*: people, Slovaks, nation (narod, ludi, ludia, Slovaci, Slovensky)

Topic 4 - *Language*: language law, law, education, school, minority language (zakon, skolstva, skolstvo, skoly), linguistic, school act

Topic 5 - *Economics*: Regional development, grant, regions, economic policy

Topic 6 - *Interstate Relations*: Hungary (Madarsko), Orban, Budapest

## Top Keywords and N-Grams

Terms	Frequency	Translation	
		Frequency	
proti	4239	against	4239
strana	3960	page	3960
sns	3638	sns	3638
slovenských	3435	Slovak	3435
organizácie	3290	organization	3290
bratislave	3285	bratislava	3285
verejnosť	3064	public	3064
ľudských	3042	human	3042
obete	3035	victims	3035
slovenskej	2993	Slovakia	2993
vznikla	2963	created	2963
zväzu	2915	Union	2915
mestskej	2914	urban	2914
iniciatíva	2909	initiative	2909
pôde	2890	soil	2890
zasiahla	2864	hit	2864
spôsobilá	2862	caused	2862
umelcov	2855	artists	2855
vpn	2853	vpn	2853
tatry	2852	Tatras	2852
opozičná	2852	opposition	2852

životoch	lives	
vyžiadala	requested	
2847		2847
miliardové	billions	
2844		2844
výtvarných	Fine	
verejnosť proti	public against	
2843		2843
ľudských životoch	human life	
mestskej organizácie	urban organizations	
smršť	whirlwind	
2842		2842
slovenských výtvarných	Slovak Fine	
zasiahla veterná smršť	hit windstorm	
výtvarných umelcov	artists	
umelcov vznikla	established artists	
vznikla opozičná	established opposition	
miliardové škody.kalendár	billions škody.kalendár	
pôde mestskej organizácie	organization of urban land	
veterná smršť vyžiadala	windstorm requested	
vznikla opozičná iniciatíva	opposition arose Initiative	
kampaneripomíname si19	kampaneripomíname si19	
spôsobila miliardové	caused billions	
tatry zasiahla veterná	Tatra hit the wind	
škody.kalendár	škody.kalendár	
mestskej organizácie zväzu	Urban union organizations	
iniciatíva verejnosť proti	Initiative against public	
kampaneripomíname	kampaneripomíname	
zväzu slovenských výtvarných	Slovak Union of Visual	
opozičná iniciatíva	opposition initiative	
iniciatíva verejnosť	public initiative	
zasiahla veterná	hit the wind	
spôsobila miliardové škody.kalendár	caused billions škody.kalendár	
umelcov vznikla opozičná	artists created opposition	
veterná smršť	windstorm	
pôde mestskej	urban land	
organizácie zväzu slovenských	Association of Slovak organizations	
zväzu slovenských	Slovak Association	
si19	si19	
organizácie zväzu	union organizations	
výtvarných umelcov vznikla	artists created	
tatry zasiahla	Mountains hit	
veterná	wind	
smršť vyžiadala	storm requested	
opozičná iniciatíva verejnosť	public opposition initiative	
slovenských výtvarných umelcov	Slovak artists	

	2767		2767
strany	2490	Party	2490
slovensku	2111	Slovakia	2111
predseda	1922	chairman	1922
meniny	1905	name-day	1905
ľudí	1887	people	1887
národnej	1816	national	1816
nás	1767	us	1767
slovenska	1751	Slovakia	1751
mali	1749	mali	1749
slovensko	1741	Slovakia	1741
vlády	1716	Government	1716
veľmi	1634	very	1634
tomu	1539	it	1539
ide	1519	regards	1519
tohto	1483	this	1483
mal	1469	had	1469
d'alej	1450	further	1450
povedal	1449	said	1449
im	1431	them	1431
vláda	1386	government	1386
ľudia	1357	people	1357
republiky	1314	Republic	1314
slovenského		Slovak	

	1290	1290
prípade	case	
	1287	1287
štátu	State	
	1264	1264
ktoréj	which	
	1234	1234
občanov	citizens	
predsedu	President	
	1224	1224
zákona	Act	
	1204	1204
problém	problem	
	1175	1175
rady	Board	
	1161	1161
jeden	one	
no	yet	
	1156	1156
napríklad	for example	
	1141	1141
parlamentu	Parliament	
	1130	1130
nr	NR	
	1126	1126
neho	it	
	1115	1115
chce	wants	
	1113	1113
mu	him	
podpredseda	vice-chairman	
	1103	1103
národa	nation	
	1101	1101
	2010	2010
	1093	1093
voči	towards	
ktorého	whose	
	1092	1092
treba	be	
	1090	1090
slovenskej národnej	Slovak national	
	1070	1070
štát	state	
	1061	1061
slovenskej republiky	Slovak Republic	

slovenský	Slovak	
mala	had	1057
tých	those	1045
všetci	all	1036
jána	John	1030
zákon	law	1029
dokonca	even	
počas	during	
naše	ours	1020
predseda sns	President sns	1017
napriek	despite	1015
totiž	namely	1010
		1000
		1000