

Measuring and Explaining Political Sophistication Through Textual Complexity

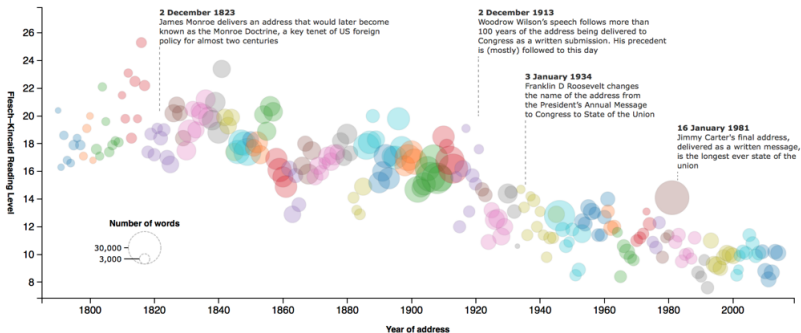
Kenneth Benoit Kevin Munger Arthur Spirling

SSRC Anxieties of Democracy Conference
Princeton October 28-29

Political sophistication in the public mind

The state of our union is ... dumber: How the linguistic standard of the presidential address has declined

Using the [Flesch-Kincaid readability test](#) the Guardian has tracked the reading level of every State of the Union



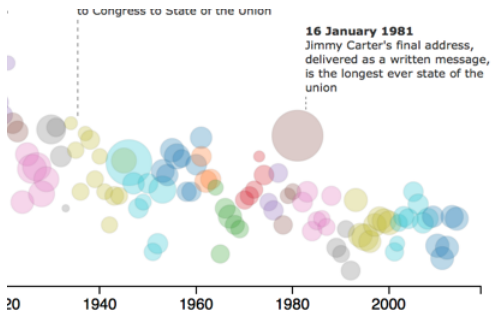
Source: The Guardian, February 2013

Does this make sense?

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Post-1913

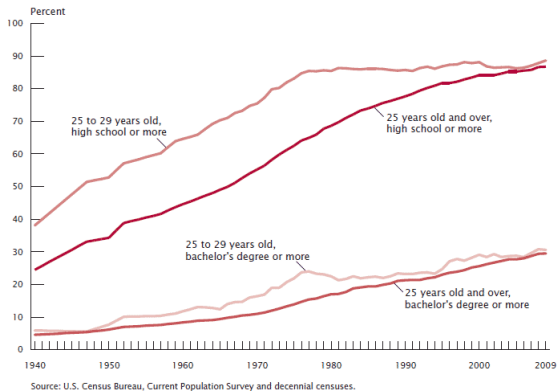


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Education

Figure 1.
Percentage of the Population 25 Years and Over Who Have Completed High School or College: Selected Years 1940-2009



Camille L. Ryan and Julie Siebens - U.S. Census Bureau

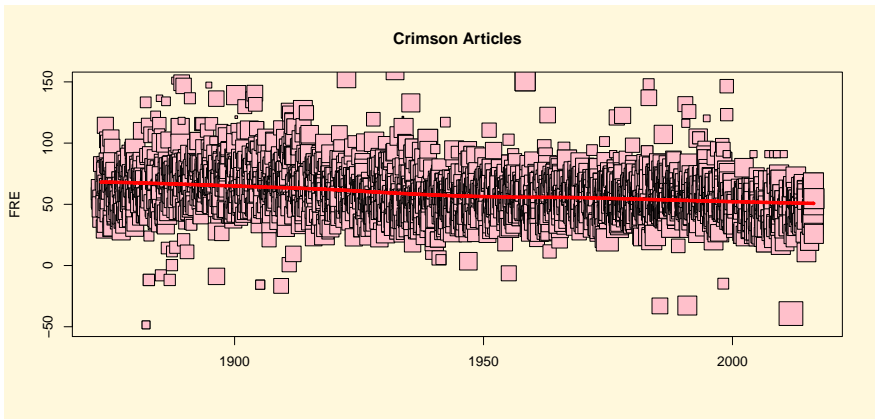
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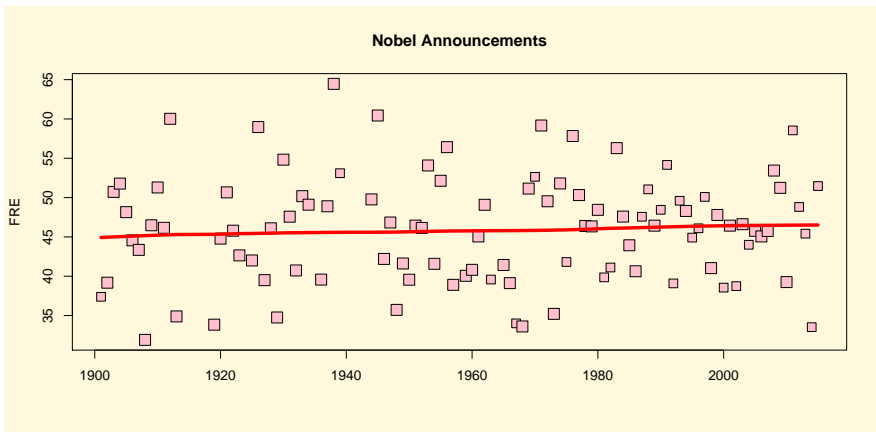
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- **What exactly are we measuring?**

Existing Measures

Name of Method	Author	Year	Citations
Flesch Reading Ease	Flesch	1948/49	3,793
SMOG	McLaughlin	1969	1,402
Dale-Chall	Dale and Chall	1948	1,389
Gunning Fog Index	Gunning	1952	1,232
Flesch-Kincaid Level	Kincaid et al	1975	1,093
Fry Graph	Fry	1968	1,007
Spache Formula	Spache	1953	355
Coleman-Liau	Coleman and Liau	1975	261

Commonly used 'reading ease' measures in order of citation via Google scholar at the time of writing.

Exploring a Measure: Flesch Reading Ease

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$$206.835 - 1.015 \left(\frac{\# \text{ of words}}{\# \text{ of sentences}} \right) - 84.6 \left(\frac{\# \text{ of syllables}}{\# \text{ of words}} \right)$$

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 - Indeed, the shoemaker was frightened.

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- Is this really the quantity we're interested in?

Political Communication and Textual Complexity

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 - Fit a model that can be applied to other texts

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These problems are straightforward to fix.

A modern solution: crowdsourcing binary comparisons

Identify Which Of Two Text Segments Contains Easier Language

Instructions ▾

Text A

To this offer no definitive answer has yet been received, but the gallant and honorable spirit which has at all times been the pride and glory of France will not ultimately permit the demands of innocent sufferers to be extinguished in the mere consciousness of the power to reject them.

Text B

We are not only examining major problems facing the various modes of transport; we are also studying closely the inter-relationships of civilian and government requirements for transportation.

Which text is easier to read and understand?

Text A easier

Text B easier

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- 2 Coded these comparisons three separate times, so 6,000 total data points

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We can model this!

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- 3 Using only the labels from crowdsourcing, we fit an unstructured Bradley Terry model to scale the snippets and generate a rank ordering and λ score for each

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- Use a machine learning technique called random forests to select the variables that best fit the snippets scaled through unstructured Bradley-Terry regression

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- A collection of word counts in the Google books corpus
- Word frequency by year, smoothing by decade
- Word frequency in the 2000s—the closest decade to the present—to measure the presence of words that are rare **from the perspective of our coders**

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- We can model λ_i as a function of the covariates r that we selected using a structured Bradley-Terry model:

$$\lambda_i = \sum_{r=1}^p \beta_r x_{ir}$$

Results

	Simple Model
Characters per sentence	-0.01* (0.00)
Proportion of 3-syllable words	-1.31* (0.28)
Proportion of adpositions such as <i>to</i> , <i>with</i> , <i>from</i> , <i>under</i>	-1.11* (0.46)
Mean word frequency (/ 'the')	-1.68* (0.35)
Percent Correctly Predicted	0.662

*Standard errors in parentheses. * indicates significance at $p < 0.05$*

Evaluating traditional measures

We can check the predictive ability of extant measures on our ranked snippets

	% Correct
FRE	0.602
Dale-Chall	0.603
FOG	0.638
SMOG	0.574
Spache	0.635
Coleman-Liau	0.552

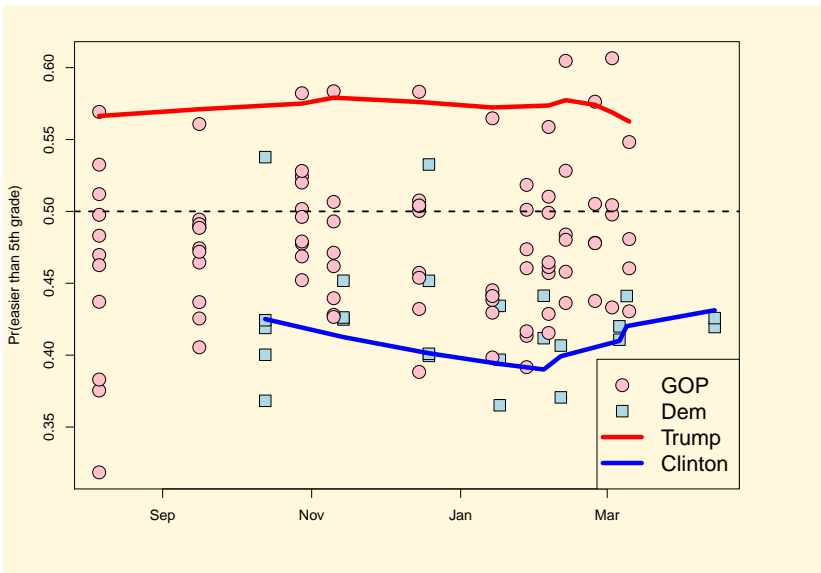
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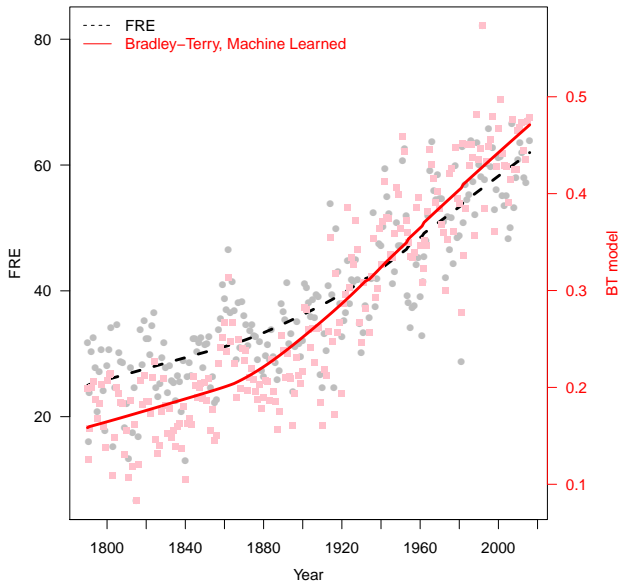
$$\lambda_i = \sum_{r=1}^p \beta_r x_{ir}$$

- We have estimated the relevant $\hat{\beta}_r$'s and can then “plug in” covariates to evaluate other texts

Speeches in 2016 Campaign Debates



SOTU Re-evaluated



Conclusions

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- Political discourse may well be getting dumber **but now we're aware of the difficulty in saying so**
- General lesson is not to draw strong conclusions from measures applied out of domain

R package

GitHub repository interface for **kbenoit / sophistication** (Private). The header includes a search bar, navigation links for Pull requests, Issues, and Gist, and user interaction buttons for Unwatch (3), Star (0), and Fork (0). Below the header are tabs for Code, Issues (6), Pull requests (0), Projects (0), Wiki, Pulse, and Graphs.

Code used in Benoit, Munger and Spirling paper

Repository statistics: 91 commits, 3 branches, 0 releases, 2 contributors.

Branch: master | New pull request | Create new file | Upload files | Find file | Clone or download

Commit	Description	Time ago
kbenoit	Merge branch 'master' of http://github.com/kbenoit/sophistication	Latest commit c355489 a day ago
R_package	Update package by adding data_corpus_presdebates2016	a day ago
analysis	Merge branch 'master' of https://github.com/kbenoit/sophistication	a day ago
crowdfunder	Reorganize the repo: fix BT factor order	24 days ago
data	Correct republican candidate covars data object	a day ago
.gitignore	Update .gitignore	24 days ago
README.md	Update README.md	24 days ago

README.md

Measuring the sophistication of political text

Keneth Benoit, Kevin Munger, and Arthur Spirling