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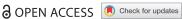
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# Validating Wordscores: The Promises and Pitfalls of Computational **Text Scaling**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Wordscores is a popular computational text analysis method with numerous applications in communication research. Wordscores claims to scale documents on specified dimensions without requiring researchers to read or even understand the language of the input text. We investigate whether Wordscores delivers this claim by scaling the Euromanifestos of 117 political parties across 23 countries on 4 salient dimensions of political conflict. We assess validity by comparing the Wordscores estimates to expert surveys and other judgmental measures, and by examining the Wordscores's estimates ability to predict party membership in the European Parliament groups. We find that the Wordscores estimates correlate poorly with expert and judgmental measures of party positions, while the latter outperform Wordscores in the predictive validity test. We conclude that Wordscores does not live up to its original claim of a "quick and easy" language blind method, and urge researchers to demonstrate the validity of the method in their domain of interest before any empirical analysis.

Computational text analysis is a rapidly growing research field with many applications in political communication research. From using Twitter data to identify the political preferences of citizens (Ceron, Curini, Iacus, & Porro, 2014; Temporão, Vande Kerckhove, van der Linden, Dufresne, & Hendrickx, 2018), issue agendas (Zheng & Shahin, 2018), and the degree of polarization across topics (Hemphill, Culotta, & Heston, 2016), to studying the tone or the mediated associations in news coverage (Arendt & Karadas, 2017; Young & Soroka, 2012), and comparing the communication strategies of political actors through their press releases (Sagarzazu & Klüver, 2017) or social media posts (Stier, Bleier, Lietz, & Strohmaier, 2018; Van Dalen, Fazekas, Klemmensen, & Hansen, 2015), researchers have employed a wide variety of computational text analysis methods. Sentiment analysis, especially on social media data, has brought a resurgence of methods based on dictionaries (Nulty, Theocharis, Popa, Parnet, & Benoit, 2016; Van Dalen et al., 2015; Young & Soroka, 2012), although more recent work features increasingly more sophisticated classifiers originally developed in other fields of study (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013, p. 275-291).

Text scaling methods have been particularly popular among researchers when the variables of interest can be measured on continuous scales. Such methods used to measure latent features in texts include Wordfish (Slapin & Proksch, 2008), Wordshoal (Lauderdale & Herzog, 2016), the class affinity model (Perry & Benoit, 2017), applications of multidimensional scaling and correspondence analysis to text (Brier & Hopp, 2011), as well as other well-known classifiers modified to work with continuous outcomes (Beauchamp, 2012). The most prominent, however, is Wordscores originally proposed by Laver, Benoit, and Garry (2003), hereafter referred to as LBG. The Wordscores



algorithm (described in detail in the supplementary material Appendix A), can be seen as an application of correspondence analysis to words as data (Lowe, 2008, p. 366-368) with a roughly Bayesian derivation (Beauchamp, 2012, p. 8-10), and as a supervised scaling model (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013, p. 292) where the vocabulary of a set of "reference" texts for which the position on the dimension of interest is known is used as a training set for estimating the unknown positions of another set of "virgin" texts. Like other text scaling methods, Wordscores makes the "bag-of-words" assumption by treating individual words as "data" irrespective of their syntactic context, and assumes that the relative frequencies of specific words provide manifestations of the latent underlying scale (Klemmensen, Hobolt, & Hansen, 2007, p. 748).

Following recent calls to examine the validity of computational text analysis methods in both communication science (van Atteveldt & Peng, 2018, p. 86-87) and political science (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013, p. 271), we take on the task of validating the Wordscores method in the most rigorous way to date. We begin with a comprehensive literature review that attests to the continuing popularity of Wordscores as a computational text analysis method, outline the previous attempts to validate the method, and describe the design of our study. We use Wordscores to estimate the ideology of 117 political parties across 23 countries on several dimensions of interest using documents prominent in the communication flows during election campaigns. We conclude with findings that have important implications for those who use Wordscores for empirical analyses in political communication research and beyond.

#### Literature review

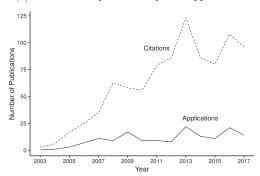
## Citation analysis

Wordscores has proven to be highly popular due to its ease of use and implementation in statistical software. As of December 2018, Google Scholar gives 1,328 citations to LBG who introduced Wordscores, with plenty of empirical applications in political communication. Applications include Twitter data analysis to scale journalists and media outlets from liberal to conservative (Barberá & Sood, 2015), measuring message clarity of website statements of congressional candidates (Chapp, Roback, Johnson-Tesch, Rossing, & Werner, 2018), and creating a democracy index from newspaper articles (Marzagão, 2017). Moreover, Wordscores has been used to analyze latent measures of ideology from speeches at the level of governments (Hakhverdian, 2009), delegates (Benoit, Laver, Arnold, Pennings, & Hosli, 2005), governors (Weinberg, 2010), legislators (Bernauer & Bräuninger, 2009; Laver & Benoit, 2002), and countries (Baturo, Dasandi, & Mikhaylov, 2017).

In addition to media content and speeches, Wordscores has been used on a diverse range of texts, such as public statements by US Senators justifying their votes (Bertelli & Grose, 2006), advocacy briefs in the US Supreme Court (Evans, McIntosh, Lin, & Cates, 2007), interest group contributions (Klüver, 2009), and open-ended questions in surveys (Baek, Cappella, & Bindman, 2011). Moreover, some of the most prominent applications of Wordscores involve analysis of documents produced by political parties to communicate policy positions and promises during election campaigns. Researchers have therefore applied *Wordscores* to election manifestos to scale parties and empirically test wide range of questions, such as the formation of government coalitions (Linhart, Debus, & Bräuninger, 2010; Proksch & Slapin, 2006), the fulfillment of electoral promises (Debus, 2008), the success of bills in legislatures (Brunner & Debus, 2008), or the choice of putting the EU's constitutional treaty to a referendum (Hug & Schulz, 2007b).

Despite the breadth of applications, one could argue whether Wordscores can be still considered a prominent method given the recent advances in computational text analysis (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013; Welbers, Van Atteveldt, & Benoit, 2017). To investigate this possibility, we performed citation analysis on all citations to LBG as captured by Google Scholar. Our citation analysis revealed a total of 156 uses of Wordscores in empirical analyses, from 2003-2017, 79 of which have been published in peer-review journals, with the remaining appearing in monographs, chapters in edited volumes,

(a) Citations compared to empirical applications.



(b) Empirical applications published in peer-reviewed journals compared to other outlets.

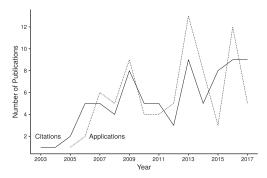


Figure 1. Analysis of citations to Laver et al. (2003).

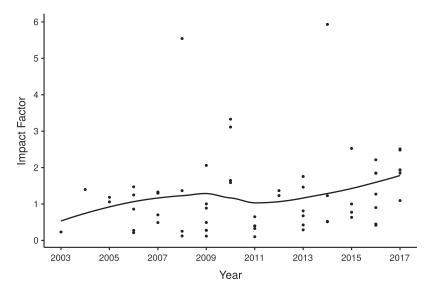


Figure 2. Impact factor trend of journals using Wordscores in empirical analyses (LOESS, bandwidth = .7).

working papers, and conference papers. Interestingly, as Figure 1 shows, the publication of empirical analyses using *Wordscores* constitute a relatively stable fraction of the total citations to LBG, whereas the trend of the publications in peer-review journals closely mirrors the trend of publications in other outlets. Finally, as shown in Figure 2, the citation analysis shows no evidence that empirical analyses using *Wordscores* are now published in lesser quality journals (at least judging from their impact factor) compared to previous years. We therefore conclude that despite the advent of more sophisticated methods of computational text analysis, *Wordscores* deserves a rigorous evaluation in its own right as it remains highly popular in the literature.

#### Validation studies

To position documents, *Wordscores* makes a series of assumptions regarding the distribution of reference documents across the latent trait of interest, the distribution of words across reference documents, and of the use of words as data more generally (Lowe, 2008). However, as Lowe (2008) notes, most of these assumptions do not usually hold in practice so the question is not whether

computer-assisted methods satisfy assumptions with regards to how language works and texts are generated, but to evaluate methods on the basis of "their ability to perform some useful social scientific task" (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013, p. 270). In this respect, researchers have called for studies that demonstrate the validity of computational text analysis methods (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013; van Atteveldt & Peng, 2018). Nevertheless, despite these calls, our review of the empirical analyses using Wordscores revealed very few validation attempts. Moreover, most of the validation studies have been rather limited in terms of scope.

Naturally, the first attempt to validate the *Wordscores* output was presented in LBG. In particular, LBG used the 1992 election manifestos of British and Irish parties as reference texts and assigned to them reference scores from expert surveys conducted in 1992 in order to estimate party positions in the 1997 election manifestos at both economic and social policy dimensions. LBG assessed the criterion validity of the estimates by comparing the Wordscores output against the estimates of an expert survey conducted in 1997. LBG also used a similar approach to estimate party positions for the German election of 1994 but, due to the lack of comparable expert survey data, assessed the German estimates only in terms of face validity. We argue that if *Wordscores* aims to be a useful tool, its validity needs to be evaluated beyond such simple "proof of concept" demonstrations, especially when these demonstrations are not particularly robust. Our replication of the LBG validation analysis (available in the supplementary material, Appendix B), reveals inconsistencies between the definitions in the article and the way Wordscores is implemented in statistical software, as well as evident that comparing Wordscores estimates to expert surveys can be manipulated by adding or removing manifestos from the set of virgin texts.

Budge and Pennings (2007) performed an independent validation exercise by employing Wordscores on the election manifestos of British parties across time and comparing the estimates on the left-right dimension to those of the Manifesto Project. Their results proved to be unfavorable for Wordscores since they found that the method produced flat scores across time compared to the Manifesto Project estimates. Benoit and Laver (2007a) responded by dismissing these findings arguing that Wordscores had not been properly implemented (Budge & Pennings merged several manifestos before using them as reference texts), and that the Manifesto Project estimates should not be used as a benchmark because they are controversial with respect to their own validity.

Klemmensen et al. (2007) performed a similar evaluation by using Wordscores to estimate the positions of Danish parties on the left-right dimension. Although their article has been widely cited as a successful validation of Wordscores, a closer investigation of the results shows that this is not actually the case. The correlations reported by Klemmensen et al. show that Wordscores performed worse than the Manifestos Project estimates when compared to a common benchmark (expert surveys). If the proponents of Wordscores argue that the Manifesto Project estimates are problematic in terms of their validity because they exhibit rather low correlations with expert surveys (Benoit & Laver, 2007a, 2007b), then it should follow that Wordscores estimates are worse than the oftcriticized Manifesto Project estimates.

Most recently, Hjorth, Klemmensen, Hobolt, Hansen, and Kurrild-Klitgaard (2015) repeated this exercise for political parties in both Denmark and Germany, by comparing the Wordscores output to placements as given by experts and voters, using rank order correlations. Their results indicated that the Wordscores estimates correlated better with independent measures of party positions compared to the estimates derived from Wordfish. However, the rank order correlations examined by the authors provided a far too lenient test on a method which claims to deliver interval level measurements (point estimates with 95% confidence intervals).

The most comprehensive validation conducted so far has been Bräuninger, Debus, and Müller (2013) who used Wordscores to estimate the left-right positions of parties in 13 West European countries between 1980 and 2010. Their study specifically aimed to assess the validity of the technique and the results were mixed, concluding that Wordscores estimates correlated well with the Manifesto Project in some countries, but not in others. We note that the results of this



comparative study were far more cautious compared to the earlier investigations based on single countries (including the original proof of concept in LBG).<sup>2</sup>

In addition, we identified several studies that examined the validity of Wordscores in contexts beyond the policy positions of parties. Klüver (2009) applied Wordscores on contributions by interest groups and found that the estimates correlated very moderately with hand-coding. Back et al. (2011) found that Wordscores performed acceptably in distinguishing negative from positive responses in open-ended survey questions when 7% of the text corpus is used as reference texts, while Evans et al. (2007) found that Wordscores performed well in classifying legal briefs submitted to the US Supreme Court as liberal or conservative. The latter two instances, however, involved binary classification which is a very lenient test for a scaling method such as Wordscores.

Our study addresses all the limitations in the available validation studies by examining Wordscores on multiple dimensions, using different sets of reference scores and transformation methods, and by assessing the estimates across different types of validity using appropriate statistical measures.

# Study design

We examine the validity of Wordscores in political communication research by focusing on the "Euromanifestos" of political parties as pertinent illustrations. Euromanifestos are documents that are produced and disseminated by political parties prior to elections to the European Parliament with the aim of communicating their policy positions to the public. Although parliamentary debates, campaign speeches, and media reports (Bernauer & Bräuninger, 2009; Helbling & Tresch, 2011; Laver & Benoit, 2002) can also be analyzed with regards to the positions of political actors, election manifestos are usually given preference as authoritative statements on party policy because they are usually ratified in party conventions and represent the organization as a whole (Klingemann, Volkens, Bara, Budge, & McDonald, 2006, p. 164-165). Consequently, Euromanifestos have been repeatedly content analyzed both in terms of their visual and textual content (Popa & Dumitrescu, 2017; Spoon, 2012; Wüst, 2009), and have been combined with mass survey and media content data to advance research in political communication (Adams, Ezrow, & Somer-Topcu, 2014; Schuck, Xezonakis, Elenbaas, Banducci, & De Vreese, 2011). Our choice of European Parliament elections over national elections aims to improve the comparability of estimates across countries. National elections contain more idiosyncratic parameters in the campaigning and use of political texts compared to elections to the European Parliament which take place at the same time and within a shared political context. This also implies that, by avoiding comparisons across time (Bräuninger et al., 2013; Hakhverdian, 2009; Hjorth et al., 2015) which could be affected by changes in the political discourse, we provide a favorable context to test the validity of Wordscores.

Unlike the previous studies we do not limit our validation to the general left-right dimension but also estimate party positions on three more specific dimensions that have been used extensively to analyze party competition in the European Parliament context: the European integration pro-against dimension, the economic left-right dimension, and the socio-cultural liberal-conservative dimension (Hix, 1999; Hix, Noury, & Gérard, 2006; Hooghe & Marks, 1999; Hooghe, Marks, & Wilson, 2002; McElroy & Benoit, 2007).

#### **Document selection**

Our study focuses on 117 political parties across 23 EU member-states.<sup>3</sup> We use the 2009 Euromanifestos as virgin texts and the 2004 Euromanifestos as reference texts which we harvested from the Euromanifestos Project Schmitt2018. Our analysis includes only parties for which a Euromanifesto was available for both 2004 and 2009. A list of the names of parties and documents used in our study can be found in the supplementary material (Appendix C).

Table 1. Party position data sources used in this study.

Source type	Used for reference scores (2004)	Used for the validation (2009)
Expert survey	BL 2003	-
Expert survey	CHES 2002	CHES 2010
Judgmental coding	EMP 2004	EMP 2009
Judgmental coding	-	EUP 2009

As in the case of the Manifesto Project (Gemenis, 2012; Hansen, 2008), the Euromanifestos Project collection includes, along with "genuine" manifestos, many documents of questionable comparability such as small pamphlets that do not present a broad policy profile and documents that contain irrelevant and/or misleading sections (e.g. references to the positions of other parties). Although such documents are problematic for computational text analysis (Proksch & Slapin, 2009), we nevertheless decided to use the Euromanifestos Project collection in order to test the Wordscores method in a realistic context as researchers are more likely to rely on established off-the-shelf collections for cross-country comparative analyses.

# **Pre-processing and estimation**

We performed the pre-processing and Wordscores estimation using the quanteda package (version 1.3.4) in R (Benoit et al., 2018; Welbers et al., 2017). Following Grimmer and Stewart (2013, p. 272–273), we pre-processed the documents to make them suitable for computational text analysis by removing numbers, symbols, and words drawn from language-specific lists of stopwords. In our analyses, pre-processing by removing the 20 most frequent words instead of the stopwords (Ruedin, 2013a) produced near identical results, but we acknowledge that different pre-processing choices are likely to affect the substantive conclusions in multivariate models (Denny & Spirling, 2018; Greene, Ceron, Schumacher, & Fazekas, 2016). We do not use stemming as this decreases the effectiveness of the method (Ruedin, 2013b) and because it is not beneficial for all languages. This is especially the case for languages in which compound words are common, such as in German or Finnish, where stemming may lead to a reduction of information.

Unlike previous studies, we used a variety of sources for reference scores and to compare the Wordscores estimates in the validation exercise. Following Benoit and Laver (Benoit & Laver, 2007a, 2007b), we did not use the party position estimates of the Manifesto Project as their reliability and validity has often been the object of criticism in the literature (Gemenis, 2013b). Instead, we used expert survey estimates as did LBG and most of the empirical applications involving Wordscores. Of course, expert surveys have their own problems, so we cross-validated our use of expert surveys with estimates from an approach that can be best described as judgmental estimation (Gemenis, 2015, p. 2293-2296). Instead of aggregating the judgments of multiple experts, this approach involves a single coder who is asked to provide an informed judgment after reading a party manifesto or a similar document. We further examined the sensitivity of our findings by employing two different data sources within each approach as shown in Table 2. For expert surveys, we used the 2003 Benoit and Laver (2006) and the 2002 and 2010 Chapel Hill Expert Surveys (Bakker et al., 2015; Hooghe et al., 2010),5 and for judgmental coding, the overall judgment made by the coders of the Euromanifestos Project on the basis of the whole document (Schmitt, Braun, Popa, Mikhaylov, & Dwinger, 2018), as well as the estimates from the 2009 EU Profiler dataset (Trechsel, 2013) using the scales proposed by Gemenis (2013a). The exact wording of questions and scales used in our study is available in the supplementary material (Appendix D).

Finally, and also unlike previous studies, we examined the sensitivity of our findings by employing two different transformations for each set of Wordscores estimates: the transformation originally proposed by LBG, and the alternative transformation proposed by Martin and Vanberg (2008) hereafter referred to as MV. Following LBG, we used all available documents for 2004 as reference



texts when using the LBG transformation, and the highest and lowest scoring documents for the MV transformation (the default option in quanteda).

# Validation strategy

As Grimmer and Stewart (2013, p. 271), validation in supervised methods such as Wordscores should involve demonstrating that the computer-assisted method can reproduce the results in a set of documents for which the true scores of the quantity of interest are known. Since true scores of the ideological positions of parties do not exist, we follow two different validation approaches. Firstly, we compare the Wordscores estimates to human judgments of party positions (Lowe & Benoit, 2013) and, secondly, we use the Wordscores estimates to predict other known quantities of interest. These two strategies correspond to criterion and construct validity in the assessment framework as proposed by Carmines and Zeller (1979), or convergent and predictive validity as proposed by Grimmer and Stewart (2013).

## Results

# Criterion/convergent validity

We begin by examining the degree to which the Wordscores estimates correlate with other known measures of party positions as outlined in the study design section. Carmines and Zeller (1979) refer to this type of validity as criterion validity while other authors use the term concurrent validity. Our analysis uses the concordance correlation coefficient (CCC) defined as the product between Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient that measures dispersion (i.e. the degree of random measurement error) and a bias correction factor that measures the deviation from the 45° line of perfect concordance (Lin, 1989). We use CCC as both Pearson's and Spearman's correlation coefficients are likely to overestimate the degree of validity in case of the presence of systematic measurement error.

As CCC requires both measures to be on the same scale, we rescaled the Wordscores estimates using the empirical scale minimum and maximum per country. Moreover, to ensure that the validation results are not driven by this rescaling or the bias correction factor introduced by the CCC, we also report in the figures the simple Pearson's r correlation coefficients. In order to establish an objective criterion, we compare the correlation coefficients of Wordscores estimates with other measures to the correlation coefficients between each pair of measures shown in the last column of Table 1. In this way we avoid the entirely subjective criteria used in previous validation studies that reported correlations as being "strong," "moderate," etc. without using an objective reference category.

The results clearly show that the Wordscores party position estimates have much lower correlation to other estimates that the correlation of other estimates to one another. Figure 3 presents the results for the left-right dimension. While the CCC between Wordscores and other estimates range (depending on which reference scores were used) between 0.2 and 0.55, the CCC's among the other measures (represented by the three vertical lines) range between 0.75 and 0.87. Moreover, the Pearson correlations for Wordscores are similar for the LBG transformation, slightly higher for the MV transformation, but never as high as the correlations among the other measures.

The results are quite similar for the estimates on the European integration dimension (Figure 4) but the difference between CCC's and Pearson's correlations is more pronounced for the Wordscores estimates. This is mainly due to a centrist bias in the Wordscores estimates due to the scoring of many non-informative words with respect to the dimension of interest. We explore this problem of at some length among British Euromanifestos in the supplementary material (Appendix E), and we find that the LBG transformation is a, rather unsuccessful attempt to offset this centrist bias as it does not always pull the estimates toward the correct direction.

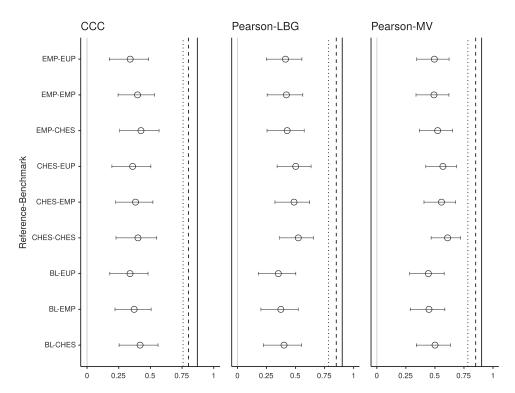


Figure 3. Correlations between *Wordscores* estimates and other measures on the left–right dimension. Note: Vertical lines represent the correlations between CHES/EMP (solid), CHES/EUP (short dash), EMP/EUP (long dash) measures.

The results for the socio-economic dimension (Figure 5) are largely similar to the left-right dimension, but for the socio-cultural dimension (Figure 6) the correlations among other estimates are more dispersed. This can be attributed to the poor quality of the Euromanifesto Project estimates in this particular dimension. In fact, when the Euromanifesto Project estimates were used as reference scores, the correlations of *Wordscores* estimates to other measures are indistinguishable from zero.

Overall, the correlation coefficients show that while all other measures share about 50% of their variance, the *Wordscores* estimates share only some 5–25% of their variance with other measures. Moreover, the MV transformed scores perform slightly better than the LBG transformed scores, and in some cases the *Wordscores* estimates are highly dependent on the quality of the reference scores.

To be sure, we also considered the possibility that the difference in performance between the more general left–right dimension on the one hand, and the more specific European integration, socio-economic and socio-cultural dimensions on the other, might be due to the multidimensionality of the text in terms of presenting policy positions. Parsing documents into sections representing different policy areas is required in text scaling methods such as *Wordfish* which assume that the text is unidimensional (Slapin & Proksch, 2008), so the same logic can be applied to *Wordscores*. Because the European integration dimension is reflected more generally in the Euromanifestos, we considered parsing the Euromanifestos and re-estimating positions on the socio-economic and sociocultural dimensions on the respective sections of the parsed text (see also Proksch & Slapin, 2006). We report on some evidence in parsing British Euromanifestos in the supplementary material (Appendix F), where we show that the *Wordscores* estimates are statistically indistinguishable for the socio-economic dimension when the parsed text is used, while there seems to be some slight improvement in the socio-cultural dimension with some of the parties moving closer to expert survey estimates.

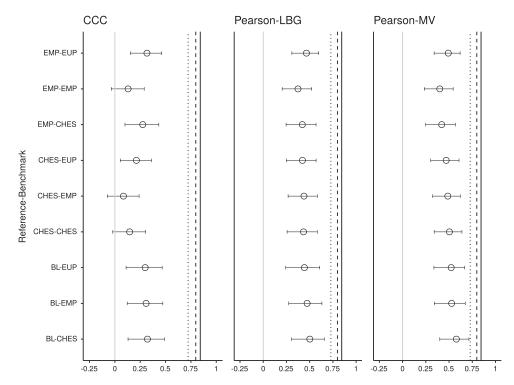


Figure 4. Correlations between *Wordscores* estimates and other measures on the European integration dimension. Note: Vertical lines represent the correlations between CHES/EMP (solid), CHES/EUP (short dash), and EMP/EUP (long dash) measures.

# Construct/predictive validity

In addition to criterion/concurrent validity, we also examine what Carmines & Zeller (1979) call construct validity, and others refer to as predictive validity. Construct/predictive validity refers to the extent to which a measure behaves as expected within a given theoretical context. Following, Klingemann et al. (2006, p. 36–39) and McElroy and Benoit (2007) who use a similar approach to validate Manifesto Project and expert survey data respectively, we hypothesize that we can use the ideological positions of parties to predict membership in the political groups of the European Parliament (EP). To do so, we estimate a multinomial regression model where the dependent variable takes eight values, one for each of the seven party groups in the EP (as of 2009) with non-attached parties forming the eighth group. The predictors are party positions on the socio-economic, socio-cultural, and European integration dimensions.

We estimate a total of nine models: six models using Wordscores estimates with all possible configurations between the three sets of reference scores and two transformations, as well as three

 Table 2. Predicting European Parliament party group membership using different measures of party positions.

Model	Reference scores	Transformation	McFadden's pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	Krippendorff's a
Wordscores	BL	LBG	.094	.151
Wordscores	BL	MV	.140	.201
Wordscores	CHES	LBG	.105	.172
Wordscores	CHES	MV	.106	.172
Wordscores	EMP	LBG	.066	012
Wordscores	EMP	MV	.093	.093
CHES 2010	-	-	.741	.771
EMP 2009	-	-	.388	.439
EUP 2009	-	-	.489	.525

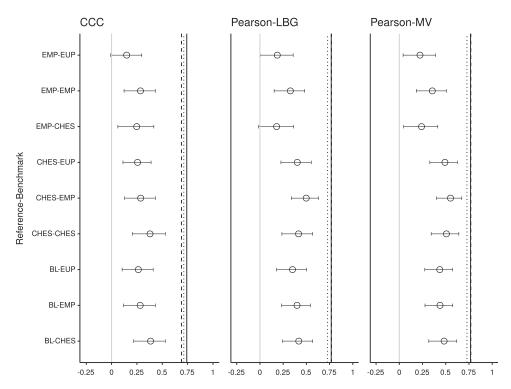
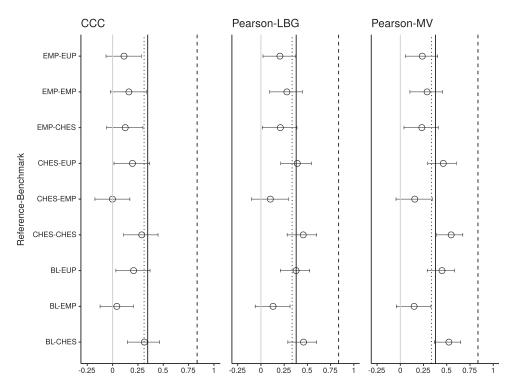


Figure 5. Correlations between *Wordscores* estimates and other measures on the socio-economic dimension. Note: Vertical lines represent the correlations between CHES/EMP (solid), CHES/EUP (short dash), and EMP/EUP (long dash) measures. In two of the plots the solid and long dash lines coincide.

models using the benchmark datasets shown in Table 1 (the 2010 Chapel Hill Expert Survey, and the judgmental coding of the Euromanifestos Project and EU Profiler). To assess the explanatory power of each measure we use McFadden's pseudo- $R^2$  which compares the explanatory power added by the independent variables compared to a model that includes only the intercept, as well as the agreement between the actual values and each model's predicted values using the nominal version of Krippendorff's alpha coefficient (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007).

As can be seen in the estimates presented in Table 2, in none of the cases do the *Wordscores* estimates perform better compared to other measures in predicting membership in the EP party groups. The best performing model using *Wordscores* estimates (using the BL expert survey reference scores and the MV transformation) yields a McFadden's pseudo- $R^2$  at .14 and a Krippendorff's  $\alpha$  at .2 which indicate poor predictions by social science standards. To further illustrate this, we present some of the model predictions in heatmaps plotting the predicted against the actual values. Figure 7 shows clearly that *Wordscores* estimates make very noisy predictions, especially when compared to the predictions made by the 2010 CHES expert survey data. For instance, *Wordscores* misclassified all of the parties in the ECR, EFD, and NI groups, while other methods got most, if not all, of the parties in these groups correct. Even if we consider that the expert survey predictions might be inflated because experts might be taking EP group membership into account when giving their responses to the survey, *Wordscores* also performed poorly in comparison to other types of judgment. As the case of the EMP data shows, the quick overall judgments made by individual students after reading the Euromanifestos provide better predictions in terms of EP group membership compared to *Wordscores*.



**Figure 6.** Correlations between *Wordscores* estimates and other measures on the socio-cultural dimension. Note: Vertical lines represent the correlations between CHES/EMP (solid), CHES/EUP (short dash), and EMP/EUP (long dash) measures. The grey line indicates a zero correlation.

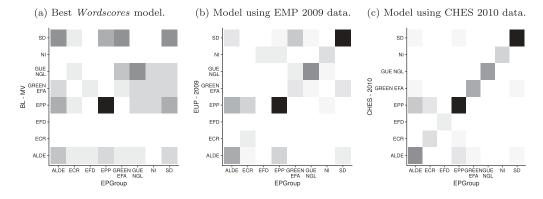


Figure 7. Predicted vs. actual values in European Parliament party group membership.

# **Conclusions**

In their proof-of-concept, Laver et al. (2003, p. 329) claim that *Wordscores* can deliver, in a matter of seconds, "effective" estimates of the policy positions of political actors. Our replication of the central analysis in this proof-of-concept showed that the validity of the results was highly dependent on the selection of virgin texts as well as particularities in the software implementation of the proposed algorithm. Following recent calls to evaluate the validity of computational text analysis methods (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013; van Atteveldt & Peng, 2018) we subjected *Wordscores* to rigorous

validation in a political communication context, and in a way consistent with past applications of the method.

In contrast to LBG claims, our findings indicate that the Wordscores estimates had a much lower correlation to measures of party positions than the correlation of other measures to one another. In addition,, our findings indicated that the Wordscores estimates had a significantly lower predictive power compared to other measures of party positions when used to predict party membership in EP groups. The results did not differ greatly with respect to the dimension of interest but they were sometimes highly dependent on the quality of the reference scores, while the MV transformation produced slightly better results. Furthermore, our assessment of Wordscores remained unchanged when different statistical measures were used to assess criterion/convergent and construct/predictive validity.

Moreover, we obtained these results after a rigorous pre-processing of the source documents where all stop words were removed in order to address a well-known problem in Wordscores whereby the presence of non-informative words pushes the estimates toward the middle of the scale (Lowe 2008).<sup>7</sup> There is some evidence that further parsing the documents in order to use only their most informative parts with regards to the dimension of interest could further improve the Wordscores estimates, but at the expense of considerable investment in time and resources. Researchers would need to read and parse the documents manually, resulting in several forking paths in analytic decisions (Denny & Spirling, 2018), which in turn negate the original claim of a quick, easy, and language blind method (Laver et al., 2003, p. 226, 312).

We are aware that our findings could be driven by the use of Euromanifestos rather than national election manifestos in our study design. However, the most comprehensive validation study using national election manifestos also found mixed results (Bräuninger et al., 2013). It seems that the problem is not so much the context in which the documents are produced, but rather the quality of the documents as sources of the quantity which is being scaled (Proksch & Slapin, 2009). Given that computational text analysis methods are meant to augment humans and not to replace them (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013), researchers should consider examining the content of the documents that they analyze. Researchers should also consider the type of document before including it in the analysis, and drop or replace documents as needed (Proksch & Slapin, 2009, p. 329-330)

Furthermore, we urge researchers who are interested in using Wordscores to demonstrate the validity of the method in their domain of interest before proceeding with the empirical analysis. As has been demonstrated for text analysis (Benoit, Mikhaylov, & Laver, 2009, p. 505-510) and argued for in computational communication science more generally, failure to do so, "can introduce systematic biases in subsequent multivariate analysis and threaten the validity of statistical inference" (van Atteveldt & Peng, 2018, p. 86). Consequently, we advise researchers to use different methods, including Wordscores, to assess the robustness of their multivariate statistical analyses. Similarly, we urge researchers to refrain from using Wordscores in order to validate other computational text analysis methods. Like other computational text analysis methods (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013), the validity of Wordscores should not be taken for granted, and researchers should be cautious when using computational text analysis methods, especially ones that promise to deliver lots with minimal human input.

#### **Notes**

- 1. A spreadsheet with the details of the citation analysis can be found in the replication materials.
- 2. Ruedin (2013a) and Hug and Schulz (2007a) compared Wordscores estimates to several other methods aiming to measure the positions of parties. Their comparisons, however, did not focus on Wordscores as such but rather showed how results might differ across different methods.
- 3. Our study excludes Luxembourg and Malta where no appropriate reference scores were available for 2004. For estimation purposes, we treat Northern Ireland/Great Britain and Flanders/Wallonia as four different party
- 4. The collection can be accessed at http://www.ees-homepage.net.



- 5. The Chapel Hill Expert Survey data are available at http://www.chesdata.eu.
- 6. Pearson's and Spearman's coefficients are based on the presumption of linearity (Y = bX) which is different than agreement between two measurements (Y = X) making it possible therefore for two measures to correlate perfectly using such coefficients without them being identical (Krippendorff, 1970, p. 144).
- 7. It is also worth mentioning that this problem has been accounted for by the Wordfish scaling method which applies weights "capturing the importance of [words] in discriminating between party positions" (Slapin & Proksch, 2008, p. 709).

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