

## **Verba volant, scripta manent? Intra-party conferences and issue salience in France**

### **Authors**

Andrea Ceron (University of Milan)

Zachary Greene (University of Strathclyde)

*Paper prepared for the ECRP Joint Sessions of Workshop, Nottingham 25-29 April 2017*

*Very (very) first draft, please do not quote without authors' consent*

### **Introduction**

Parliamentary and intra-party decision-making depends on the preferences of the actors that can influence policy and participate in parties' policy deliberations. Yet, studies of party politics struggle to develop unbiased indicators of these actors' preferences. Parliamentary rules and party disciplining procedures limit expressions of members' preference through voting behavior or public speeches in parliament (Loewenberg 2008). Instead, increasing research has turned to the study of speeches and documents produced primarily for the internal consumption by party members (Bäck and Debus 2016; Bernauer and Bräuninger 2009; Ceron 2012; Greene and Haber 2016). From this perspective, party factions and members can express differing viewpoints over the party's electoral and policy strategies through speeches at party national meetings or the motions for the party's future policy direction, as these sources are less scrutinized by the public.

Building on this research, we propose that these sources, however, derive from different processes and influences. Speeches at party meetings, however scripted they might be, likely reflect more spontaneous, less constrained evidence of latent policy priorities. Party factions seeking to change the party's future policy goals propose comprehensive policy motions that aim to attract a

plurality of party member support. Ultimately, we argue that these processes lead motions to better reflect the issue content of parties' election manifestos.

We explore the similarities and differences in speeches and motions given at parties' national meetings by combining these textual sources from the French *Parti Socialiste* between 1981 and 2015 with the resulting election manifestos from these meetings. We then use automated content analysis to evaluate the policy content of these documents based on Roberts et al.'s (2013) Structural Topic Model. The resulting output from these analyses provides us measures of issue salience on a number of policy-making categories that we can then compare across speeches, motions and manifestos. Through this analysis, we show broad similarities in the content of parties' motions and speeches on economic, valence, state-system, and post-materialist issues, but intriguing differences in their treatment of post-materialist issues.

These results and analysis suggest important consequences for studies of party policy and intra-party decision-making. The source of party priorities, speeches or motions, likely lead to different indicators of issue priorities, motions are subject to a much stronger agenda-setting or deliberative process that has different consequences according to the policy area. More broadly, studies of issue competition and party position likely underestimate the variance of positions of party members on a diversity of issues. Finally, we find some evidence that party leaders and prominent members likely constrain the priorities expressed in manifestos, as would be suggested in strategic electoral theories of party politics (e.g. Downs 1957; Adams 1999; Somer-Topcu 2016).

### **Intra-party politics and party cohesion**

Although some scholars claim that unity is a source of party's strength, we hardly ever observe perfect cohesion within political parties. Even in contexts that favor high levels of cohesion, MPs find ways to express differences with the parties' leadership (e.g. Döring 2003). The

party is by no means a monolithic structure as it is composed by politicians retaining similar but non-identical preferences. Those sharing the most similar views often cluster together and form party factions to shape the party strategy and maximize their own share of benefits. Given this premise, the fact that many parties all over the world are factionalized comes as no surprise, particularly since factionalism is not necessarily damaging to the party's fortune (Boucek 2012).

Following the observation of intra-party disagreement and factions, scholars have begun to investigate the impact of intra-party politics on a range of outcomes. They show that factional preferences and the different policy views of individual politicians affect party platforms, the policy agenda and parliamentary policy-making, coalition formation, and portfolio allocation (e.g., Ceron 2012; Giannetti and Benoit 2009; Greene and Haber 2016). Furthermore, intra-party differences also explain the voting behavior of MPs (Bernauer and Braüninger 2009; Giannetti and Laver 2009), intra-party competition in primary elections (Medzihorsky et al. 2014) or phenomena like party switching and party fission (Ceron 2015a; Heller and Mershon 2008; McElroy 2009; O'Brien and Shomer 2013; Ibenskas 2016). Factional affiliation and individual preferences are also crucial to enhance a politician's career (Cox et al. 2000).

Despite the relevance of this topic, the research on factional politics has remained underdeveloped until recently. Intra-party politics is a kind of invisible politics that takes place in the shadows (Sartori 1976). It is hence difficult to assess the preferences of politicians and party factions. Nevertheless, the latest improvements in the field of quantitative text analysis help to fill this gap and allow scholar to evaluate the degree of ideological heterogeneity by focusing on parliamentary speeches (Bäck and Debus 2016; Benoit and Herzog 2017; Bernauer and Braüninger 2009), debates held at party conferences or party rallies (Greene and Haber 2016; Medzihorsky et al. 2014) and documents drafted by intra-party subgroups (Ceron 2012; Debus and Braüninger 2009; Giannetti and Laver 2009).

The rise of social media and SNS represent a further opportunity in this regard. Indeed, several scholars have attempted to estimate the ideological placement of politicians or citizens

through social media analysis (e.g., Boireau 2014; Sylwester and Purver 2015). Apart from the emphasis on estimating the ideological positions of political actors, however, little attention has been paid to the content of intra-party political texts and the agenda-setting power of intra-party debates. The salience of issues (rather than only ideological shifts) and their impact on parties' policy messages has been understudied. This is an important omission as theories of issue competition and issue focused theories of policy-making often continue to treat parties' policy messages as devoid of intra-party content (e.g. Greene 2015; Hellwig 2011; Petrocik 1996; van Heck 2016), although some scholars have sought to understand the rise or prominence of specific issues within parties (e.g. Meguid 2008; Spoon 2011).

#### **Theories of party discipline – speeches versus motions**

Scholars have long shown interest in the differences between members of the same parties. Prominent theories of party cohesion initially emerged from studies of the U.S. Congress where party members regularly disagreed and voted against proposals from their own party's leadership. On a theoretical level, this literature sought to study the effect of preference outliers in congressional committees on the policy-making process (e.g. Krehbiel 2010; Shepsle 1990; Shepsle and Weingast 1994). Using observed voting behavior within Congress to estimate speakers' positions, these scholars often suggested that these difference matter for the policies that are eventually voted on by the broader legislature. More broadly, these found that even in the case of a legislature with weak incentives for party unity, that the party whip played an important function in limiting the observation of policy disagreements (Cox and McCubbins 1993, 2005). A broad conclusion from this line of research is that voting behavior in legislative settings likely reflects a range of influences on legislator behavior, particularly in parliamentary settings (e.g. Clinton and Lapinski 2008; Cox 2005; Döring 2003; Loewenberg 2008; Rosas and Shomer 2008). Ultimately,

less biased measures of intra-party preferences likely derive from settings external to the legislative process.

Indeed, estimating the policy positions of party factions is a challenging task. Several case studies indicate that parties are internally divided. However, party competition creates pressure to display cohesion in the eyes of the voters as unity may enhance a party's electoral fortune (Greene and Haber 2015; McGann 2002), although majoritarian electoral rules can also create incentives for party leaders to allow public dissent on key policy areas (e.g. Huber 1992, 1996). As a consequence, members that support contrasting views about the party line and strategy should try to work out their differences in less public settings so that internal disagreements can be resolved before party positions are expressed through written documents (e.g., party manifestos) or actual behavior (legislative votes and speeches).

Whether the solution stems from consensual bargaining and compromise, strategic parliamentary agenda setting, or from loyalty and enforced discipline does not really matter for our purpose. In these cases, scholars would fail to observe disunity and they lack the information necessary to estimate the internal heterogeneity of policy views. The display of party unity may hide internal division and therefore does not imply perfect cohesion. But even when conflict and splits can be observed, for instance in roll call votes, the extent of disagreement inside the party could be misestimated.

While some scholars (e.g., Spirling and Quinn 2010) have estimated factional preferences by scaling Roll Call Votes (RCVs), others argued that this technique only provides a description of the 'revealed behavioural space' (Hix and Jun 2009) and a measure of ex-post behavior instead of ex-ante preferences. Furthermore, the actual level of division can be underestimated due to potential selection bias in the use of the roll call vote procedure (Carrubba et al. 2008).

A first alternative to RCVs data is certainly represented by candidate surveys; despite some strengths, this source of data is affected by the same disadvantages common to any survey design; for instance, the risk of low response rates (due to self-selection), the fact that they record solicited

answers and the danger of conformism and social desirability bias. Indeed, candidates seeking to curry the leadership's support may respond to these surveys strategically.

For these reasons, Giannetti and Benoit (2009) suggest measuring factions' positions relying on what intra-party actors spontaneously say (the declared preferences) instead of on what they do (the actual behavior) or on what they are forced to say (e.g. solicited answers to candidate surveys interviews). Since talk is cheap, or at least can be cheaper than actual actions, heterogeneous declarations can be less damaging to the party if compared to the cost of non-cohesive behavior.

From this perspective, "politicians may often toe the party line while at the same time generating texts that show far less subservience to the mechanisms of party discipline" (Giannetti and Benoit 2009, p. 233). The analysis of political texts allows discriminating contrasting preferences even when actors behave in the same manner (e.g., cast the same vote or endorse the same candidate) and therefore it is well suited to study intra-party politics.

Accordingly, several scholars measured the degree of intra-party heterogeneity by analyzing parliamentary speeches (Bäck and Debus 2016; Bernauer and Braüninger, 2009; Proksch and Slapin 2015) and debates held at party congresses or documents drafted by intra-party subgroups (Debus and Braüninger 2009; Giannetti and Laver 2009). For instance, Bernauer and Braüninger (2009, p. 399) analyzed parliamentary speeches released in the 15th German Bundestag showing that "factionalism manifests itself in observable intra-party preference heterogeneity".

Speeches, however, also may face some limitations as a source of party preferences. Under the assumption that speeches released during legislative debates are the outcome of an interplay between the party leader and backbenchers, Proksch and Slapin (2015) analyzed MPs' discourses showing that speeches delivered in public and highly institutionalized arenas (e.g., national parliaments) are easily observable and therefore subject to the party whip. Different electoral systems alter the leader's propensity to employ the whip in order to impose discipline and affect MPs' incentives to express their sincere positions during the debate. Since the leader can decide whether to leave the floor to MPs or not, in competitive political systems where the value of party

unity is higher (e.g., closed-list PR) he will be more likely to deliver the speech or to give way to one of his followers rather than to the internal dissenters. As a consequence, parliamentary speeches are subject to selection effects and may not reflect the true distribution of preferences (Proksch and Slapin 2015) so that the analysis can overestimate party cohesion. This feature can be problematic particularly in contexts in which the party leader is able to control backbenchers by restricting access to the floor (Giannetti and Pedrazzani 2016).

Conversely, during intra-party debates the whip should only slightly bind the sincere expression of preferences, compared to the discussions held in the parliamentary arena. Investigating these debates by means of content analysis on texts drafted by intra-party groups could be useful to identify their preferences (Benoit et al. 2009). Through documents such as factional motions, which are omni-comprehensive policy documents issued by factions during party congresses, any internal subgroup is (almost) completely free to present its idea about how party position and strategy ought to be. Given that their content should be minimally affected by leaders' control, some scholars analyzed these programmatic documents that express "opposing views on the ideological direction of the party" (Giannetti and Laver 2009, p. 154) to map the distribution of preferences within the party. Focusing on party congresses, scholars have analyzed either oral speeches delivered by individual politicians (Greene and Haber 2016; Medzihorsky et al. 2014), or written documents drafted by intra-party subgroups (Ceron 2012; Debus and Braüninger 2009; Giannetti and Laver 2009).

From an ideological perspective, preliminary studies seem to attest a certain degree of similarities between the two sources of data (speeches and motions). For instance, in a case study concerning factional membership within the Italian Democrats of the Left (DS), Giannetti and Laver (2009) collected speeches delivered by politicians during two party congresses and they analyzed their content, using Wordscores (Laver *et al.* 2003), to estimate the closeness of each speaker to the faction positions set out in the three motions, which were used as reference texts. Indeed they successfully scored speeches, clearly distinguishing between members of the three

party factions and reporting statistically significant differences. Later they highlight how such divergent factional preferences alter the degree of party unity and allow them to explain variation in MPs voting behavior. They analyzed key roll-call votes related to divisive foreign policy issues finding “a clear relationship between the factional structure [...] and indicators of party cohesion” (Giannetti and Laver 2009, p. 166)

As an alternative to party conferences texts, Proksch and Slapin (2015) also use media reports and social media data as a source of information on intra-party division. They found that “parties may view dissent in the media as less costly than dissent in parliament” (Proksch and Slapin 2015); they bring this concept further by discussing the role of SNS, and argue that “with the advent of MPs’ personal websites and the increasing importance of social media in politics, there is an ever-increasing number of outlets for intraparty dissent beyond parliament” (Proksch and Slapin 2015, p. 179).

Taking the cue from this, and exploiting the advent of social media, recent studies started to focus on the content of messages delivered by politicians on social networking sites (SNS) as a source of data to dig into the actual policy preferences of intra-party subgroups or individual politicians (e.g., Ceron 2017). Indeed, SNS are unmediated and self-expression oriented tools in which users can release unsolicited statements. This increases the likelihood that public declarations posted on-line reflect the true preferences of political actors. Although some statements could be instrumental, the extent of strategic behavior on-line should be lower if compared to what happens off-line in more formal environments such as parliamentary arenas. Given that users are more willing to speak out on the Web (Suler 2004), texts written on-line are also more spontaneous (Schober et al. 2015) compared to the content of interviews released to the media where politicians face direct (and sometimes unwanted) questions to which they must answer. Given the fact that the political language, even online, is largely ideological in nature (Sylwester and Purver 2015), SNS comments can be used to detect ideological differences, particularly when these statements are

perceived as being freely expressed personal opinions, free from the party whip and unrelated to perceptions of party unity (Proksch and Slapin 2015).

While social media data, by definition, are not suitable for scholars interested in developing times series analyses that aim to going back in time (as SNS started to be used only in recently), the debate around SNS can still provide useful insights to investigate the features of other sources of data. To start with, the idea of contrasting declarations delivered through traditional media (which are often the output of oral interviews) with the content published in social media (which is often a written piece of text) suggests a divide between oral and written communication. These sources provide us with texts that may have different content despite presumably coming from the same latent ideological standpoint.

Differences between spoken and written expressions of preference can wield implication on intra-party debates, particularly if we want to contrast written motions and oral speeches, in terms of their ability to set the party agenda. So far, several studies have estimated parties' ideological positions by focusing on intra-party debates. They show that – at least from a left-right perspective – the positions expressed inside the party are informative of the actual party positions as expressed on external sources (such as party manifestos or parliamentary speeches). However, scholars have paid little attention to the content of intra-party political texts and to the agenda-setting power of intra-party debates in terms of issue salience rather than ideological shifts. The present paper aims to fill this gap, by deeply investigating the content of internal party debates. We first compare the structure of written motions and oral speeches related to intra-party debates that took place during the congresses of the French Socialist party from 1981 until 2015. We then evaluate to what extent the topics expressed in these texts are informative of the content of manifestos issued following the conclusion of the congress.

To start with, we contend that congress motions and congress speeches may have different content. Although these two types of textual documents come from the same internal debate (i.e. the

party congress) the nature and the structure of oral or written communication is inherently different (Ferraro and Palmer 2005; Poole and Field 1976; Staton 1982).

Written language is precise and direct; it can be the output of a complex process (Poole and Field 1976) of a collective deliberation involving multiple authors (which is typically the case of congress motions, even more when the whole party rallies behind a unified unitary motion); furthermore, written texts – being wrote for last over time – tend to be more organized than oral speeches as the authors can spend time to choose the most appropriate words (Ferraro and Palmer 2005; Staton 1982).

Conversely, due to their nature, speeches can also contain more spontaneous and impulsive statements and might be subjected to peculiar rules of speech. For example, speakers at party meetings often run up against time limitations imposed by the congress President. In these contexts, speakers must condense their broader, more extensive comments to a much shorter and restrained set of statements.

Oral political speeches can also contain more personal references than written motions (Poole and Field 1976). In addition, the speaker knows that he/she will be addressing a real audience, which can even travel outside the border of the party congress arena to get media coverage, particularly after the 1980s.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, political communication scholars have long been investigating the effect of news media on political speech. They suggest that it has not only engendered greater personalization in speeches, but also led to a ‘spectacularization’ and a ‘re-semanticisation’ of language of this communication. The increased media focus as well as pursuant cultural and institutional changes occurring in many countries following the 1980s have led to a decreased role of ideology in the content of these forms of communication (Mazzoleni and Schultz 1999; Patterson 1993). These scholars largely observed this effect, however, in the realm of oral communication, particularly in political texts produced during electoral campaigns, public party

---

<sup>1</sup> The Parti Socialiste famously discovered this the hard way as their first publically televised congress in 1990 was widely perceived as a disaster for the party’s image.

rallies and television debates, i.e. to speeches addressed to a large and less political active audience composed of citizens and voters.

In contrast to studies of political speech, preliminary studies on the content of intra-party debates showed that party motions are less affected by the structural changes of political language (Ceron 2015b). The structural differences between oral and written communication implies likely differences between intra-party speeches and motions.

On the one hand, speeches and motions are both related to the same context, i.e. the party congress. It has been argued that the phenomena of personalization and spectacularization have only marginally altered the political language within the party so that, when the party “talks to itself”, it addresses members and activists making use of content and communication styles that lay far from the logic of entertainment (Ceron 2015b). In this regard, although congress speeches and congress motions are two different forms of communication, they are both addressing the same audience and, accordingly, we can expect to observe a certain degree of similarity between the topics expressed in the two sources.

On the other hand, due to the intrinsic differences in the structure of communication, we can expect to observe a divergence in the topics addressed by motions and speeches. In particular, due to the higher degree of personal references that we usually find in oral communication (Poole and Field 1976), we can hypothesize that speeches will devote a higher degree of attention to topics related to the concept of valence issues at the expense of more policy-related topics following in this sense also a logic of ‘spectacularization’.

We therefore state our first research question.

*Research Questions 1 (RQ1): To what extent the topics of congress speeches resemble those of congress motions? Are congress speeches more characterized by recourse to valence-related words/topics compared to congress motions?*

After having laid out the discussion on similarities and differences between motions and speeches, another research question immediately follows. Both types of texts are related to internal debates held in front of a common internal audience, composed of party members and activists. While, on the whole, we can expect that the ideological leaning of intra-party debates matches the party's ideological position expressed in electoral manifestos (with some constraints imposed by the party leadership: Ceron 2012; Schumacher and Giger 2017), concerns can be raised with respect to the actual content expressed therein.

On the one hand, it is true that intra-party debates involving prominent politicians can produce agenda-setting effects on the salience of issues discussed in party manifestos. On the other hand, precisely because intra-party debates are mainly addressed to party member, activists, and to frontbencher politicians we can expect to find some differences too. Party manifestos should mostly be addressed to a broader audience composed of citizens and voters. Therefore, substantial attention will be devoted to issues perceived as relevant by the voters. Both economic voting and issue ownership perspectives would provide strong incentives for mainstream parties to emphasize economic policies to attract voters support (e.g. Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier 2000; Petrocik 1996).

As such, we can state our second research question.

*Research Questions 2 (RQ2): To what extent do the topics outlined in congress speeches and motions exert agenda-setting effects on the salience of issues expressed party manifestos?*

## **Data and Methods**

To consider this perspective, we combined data on national congress meetings and manifestos from the *Parti Socialiste* (PS) in France. In particular, we collected the speeches given at these meetings as well as the motions submitted to a vote by the party congress. Both have been found to be important predictors of parties' behavior by work focused on intra-party politics (e.g. Ceron 2012; Greene and Haber 2015). Based on the availability of parties' speeches and motions,

we consider party congresses from 1981 – 2015 (9 congresses), although we are missing speeches from congresses in the early 2000s.

The PS is a reasonable test case for our perspective as the party is historically divided, but has had periods of strong leadership control. Due to its historical divisions, the leaders must work to keep diverse factions within the party content at these meetings, but also seek to develop a manifesto that is attractive beyond intra-party groups to attract voter support.

To assess the similarities of these texts, we use automated content analysis to estimate the topics contained in each of the party motions, speeches and manifestos. We use Roberts et al.'s (2013) Structural Topic Model as it allows us to use a variable for each party congress or year to then predict the expected topic proportions in that year.<sup>2</sup> Because these are predicted values it is possible for the predicted amount of attention to an issue to be less than zero in a year.

Once we estimated separate topic models for the motions, manifestos and speeches, we then use the words associated with each topic to determine the substantive meaning of that category. See the Appendix for a summary of these words.<sup>3</sup> Based on these words, we then construct four types of salience scores following a “maximalist” strategy (e.g. Bäck et al. 2011; Dumont 1998); we include all topics that hold at least some relevance to the main category. We then estimate an economic policy, valence policy, governing system, and post-material policy areas. Table 1 in the Methods Appendix summarizes the issue categories we use for each policy area.

We add together topics 6, 9 and 10 to construct a measure of economic salience for the motions. Topic 6 includes terms such as “market” and “employee”, while in topic 10 we find words like “industrial” and “productive”. Our measure of valence topics includes the following estimated topics: 1, 4, 7 and 10; i.e. terms such as “competences” in 1 and “weird” in 7. The state and

---

<sup>2</sup> Like previous unsupervised, automated content analyses of party speeches, motions and manifestos, we stem the documents using the Porter stemming algorithm, remove stop words, convert all words to lower case, remove a number of words with no policy content, and combine a number of connected phrases such as peoples' first and last names as well as commonly used phrases such as the “*lutte contre l'exclusion*” to aid the substantive interpretation of the results. See Slapin and Proksch (2008) for additional information on these pre-processing techniques.

<sup>3</sup> We primarily use the top ten words with the highest probability of being in a topic and the words that are most frequently used, but also the most exclusive (FREX) to that topic. Determining the content of the topics is always tricky; future analyses will explore the details of each topic in greater detail.

systemic measure includes topic 2 (with terms such as “suffrage” and “congress”). Finally, our measure of post-materialist salience is based on topics 1, 3 and 6, including terms such as “nuclear” and “development”.

Our economic indicator constructed from party congress speeches include topics 8 and 9 with terms such as “tax” and “credit”. Valence concerns topics 1 and 2 with words like “quality” and “capacity”; the state dimension sums up topics 6, 7 and 10 (words: “state” and “congressman”); the post-materialist issue is linked with topics 3 (e.g. “secularity”).

Finally, we construct our economic indicator from party manifestos with topics 3, 4 and 7 (words: “poverty”, “market” and “trade unions”). Valence is linked with topic 5 and we notice words like “will grant” or “will defend”; the state dimension consists in topics 2, 6, 8 and 9 (words: “legislature” and “magistrate”); the post-materialist issue is about topic 2, 5 and 10 (“women” and “research”).

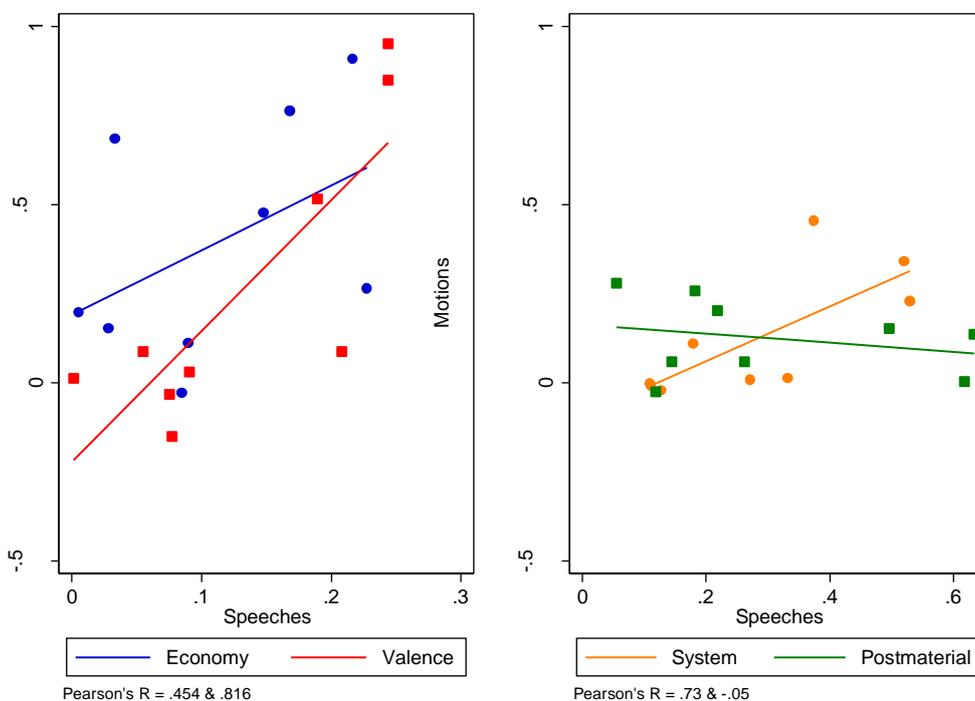
More of the estimated topics from the manifestos include economic terms than in the speeches and the motions suggesting that manifestos are more election oriented than the intra-party based indicators. Although many of these topics include more than a single issue dimension (for example, some include welfare policies linked to economic terms), our measurement strategy is intended to capture as much economic attention as possible from the topics.

In the following section, we present the results of this analysis. We first present graphical evidence comparing the estimated issue categories in speeches and motions. We then perform a regression analysis including all issue categories in a single model that predicts the proportion of the manifestos on each issue. We include the percentage of vote for the winning motion and a dummy variable for governing parties to account for broad internal processes that might also influence the proportion of manifesto issues.

## **Results**

Figure 1 summarizes the similarities between motions and speeches for each of the policy areas. We found a positive relationship between each of the policy areas and the motions in at each party congress except for the post-material category. The difference here may reflect that there is no overly clear post-material category from the speeches topic model. Intriguingly, the closest correspondence between these issues is over valence policies and statements related to the political system and competition with a Pearson's R of .82 and .73. Policies such as social welfare are historically an important aspect of the party's message and broad policy reputation. Likewise, political reforms to the state and broad electoral goals are likely fairly non-controversial across intra-party factions. Salient divisions within the PS such as Macron and Chevenement leaving to form new parties tended to distinguish themselves from the party on economic and post-material policies.

**Figure 1 – Correlation between the topics of motions and speeches**



On the whole, going back to RQ1, we can attest that the relative share of salience attached to different topics in congress speeches is rather similar to that expressed in congress motions. In this

regard, the two data sources seem to provide similar information as they come from the same context (the party congress) and are addressed to a similar audience. Arguably, this idea is strengthened by the fact that the valence-related topic is the one in which we note the highest correlation. The only difference, which can send back to individual attitudes on sensitive topics (such as some civil right issues), is the one on postmaterialist topics where we observe a strong variability in individual salience (speeches), whereas the salience assigned to postmaterialist views by congress motions is much lower overall and generally more stable.

We examine our perspective outlined in RQ2 by linking the motions and speeches to the salience of these issues in the PS manifesto using OLS regression.

We present four different models. In model 1 we test the positive agenda-setting power of motions on manifestos. In model 2 we test the role of speeches. In model 3 we test the influence of both documents. We control for office tenure, through a dummy variable accounting for the party's government participation, for the percentage vote of the majority faction, to represent the level of contestation in the congress, and for the lagged value of the dependent variable. We also add fixed effects by year and topic in order to account for the nested nature of our observations. Finally, model 4 replicates model 3 though testing the interaction between motions and speeches as their inclusion in the same model may lead to model over-specification if they capture the same process. The interaction allows us to see their conditional or individual effect. We display the results in Table 1.

**Table 1 Stacked tables predicting manifesto salience.**

|                  | (1)     | (2)      | (3)                | (4)                |
|------------------|---------|----------|--------------------|--------------------|
|                  | Motions | Speeches | Full               | Interactions       |
| Motions salience | 0.344   |          | 0.699 <sup>+</sup> | 2.188 <sup>+</sup> |
|                  | (0.274) |          | (0.376)            | (1.066)            |
| Speech salience  |         | -0.099   | -0.509             | 0.286              |

|                                      |                     |                     |                     |                      |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
|                                      |                     | (0.468)             | (0.428)             | (0.758)              |
| Motions X<br>Speeches                |                     |                     |                     | -4.412               |
|                                      |                     |                     |                     | (2.962)              |
| Government                           | 0.131               | 0.207               | 0.169               | 0.231                |
|                                      | (0.408)             | (0.446)             | (0.416)             | (0.358)              |
| % vote for<br>winning<br>Motion      | 0.009               | 0.009               | 0.013               | 0.018                |
|                                      | (0.015)             | (0.016)             | (0.015)             | (0.015)              |
| manifesto<br>salience <sub>t-1</sub> | -0.424 <sup>+</sup> | -0.530 <sup>*</sup> | -0.589 <sup>*</sup> | -0.755 <sup>**</sup> |
|                                      | (0.206)             | (0.210)             | (0.226)             | (0.239)              |
| Year FEs                             | Yes                 | Yes                 | Yes                 | Yes                  |
| Topic FEs                            | Yes                 | Yes                 | Yes                 | Yes                  |
| Constant                             | -0.431              | -0.333              | -0.583              | -1.082               |
|                                      | (1.320)             | (1.483)             | (1.378)             | (1.354)              |
| <hr/>                                |                     |                     |                     |                      |
| R <sup>2</sup>                       | 0.435               | 0.420               | 0.496               | 0.557                |
| RMSE                                 | 0.419               | 0.447               | 0.431               | 0.418                |
| N                                    | 32                  | 28                  | 28                  | 28                   |
| <hr/>                                |                     |                     |                     |                      |

The results seem to suggest that party manifestos are, at least in part, standalone documents as motions and speeches, taken alone, do not seem to exert any real agenda-setting effect on the salience of manifestos issues. This result could depend by the fact the motions and speeches are addressed to an internal audience, whereas manifestos are written for an audience that is outside the party. Nevertheless, testing the effect of motions and speeches jointly, we find that motions are to a certain extent informative about the salience of manifestos' topics. This result points to a certain degree of similarity between motions and manifestos, which may depend by the fact that motions also fulfill the task of outlining the party line on a variety of policy dimension, and this effect can be particularly strong for those motions that are generated from a synthesis of different positions in order to contribute to setting a unitary and cohesive leadership within the party; something that is

less likely to occur when considering individual speeches as each single speaker has the innate opportunity to also highlight his/her own divergent views.

## **Conclusion**

In this paper, we seek to understand the differential influence of intra-party speeches and motions from party congresses on the consequent electoral platforms. Despite containing similar content, we propose that motions will be more closely linked to manifestos than speeches as they are more directly focused on electoral pledges and linguistically follow a similar format. Through an automated content analysis of party congress speeches, motions and election manifestos, we find some, albeit preliminary, evidence that motions exert some influence on the issues contained their platforms. Evidence that speeches and motions reveal distinct intra-party decision-making processes suggests that scholars use caution in considering the exact process they seek to study, intra-party deliberation or more electorally oriented content.

The results presented here, however, are only suggestive. Further analyses are required in to fully answer our research questions. From this perspective, this work will certainly benefit from a comparison across parties and countries in order to improve the robustness of these preliminary findings. These comparisons will give a more conclusive answer to whether speeches and motions express the same content and whether either speeches or motions exert an agenda-setting effect on forthcoming electoral manifestos.

## References

- Adams, J. 1999. "Policy divergence in multicandidate probabilistic spatial voting." *Public Choice* 100(1–2): 103–122.
- Bäck, H., & Debus, M. (2016). *Political Parties, Parliaments and Legislative Speechmaking*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Benoit, K., Bräuninger, T., Debus, M. (2009). Challenges for Estimating Policy Preferences: Announcing an Open Access Archive of Political Documents. *German Politics*, 18(3), 441-454.
- Benoit, K., & Herzog, A. (2017). Text analysis: estimating policy preferences from written and spoken words. In J Bachner, K Wagner Hill, B Ginsberg (Eds.) *Analytics, Policy and Governance*. Yale: Yale University Press.
- Bernauer, J., & Bräuninger, T. (2009). Intra-party Preference Heterogeneity and Faction Membership in the 15th German Bundestag: A Computational Text Analysis of Parliamentary Speeches. *German Politics*, 18(3): 385–402.
- Boireau, M. (2014). Determining Political Stances from Twitter Timelines: The Belgian Parliament Case. In *Proceedings of the 2014 Conference on Electronic Governance and Open Society: Challenges in Eurasia* (pp. 145–151).
- Boucek, F. (2012). *Factional Politics. How Dominant Parties Implode or Stabilize*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Carrubba, C.J., Gabel M., and Hug S. (2008). Legislative voting behavior, seen and unseen: A theory of roll-call vote selection. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 33(4), 543–572.
- Ceron, A. (2012). Bounded oligarchy: How and when factions constrain leaders in party position-taking. *Electoral Studies*, 31(4), 689–701.

Ceron, A. (2015a). The politics of fission: analysis of faction breakaways among Italian parties (1946-2011). *British Journal of Political Science*, 45(1), 121–139.

Ceron, A. (2015b). Changing politics, changing language. The effect of institutional and communicative changes on political language measured through content analysis of Italian intra-party debates, *Journal of Language & Politics*, 14(4): 528-551.

Ceron, A. (2017). Intra-party politics in 140 characters. *Party Politics* 23(1): 7-17.

Cox, Gary W., and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative leviathan: Party government in the House*. Cambridge University Press.

Cox, Gary W., and Mathew D. McCubbins. 2005. *Setting the agenda: Responsible party government in the US House of Representatives*. Cambridge University Press.

Cox, G. W., Rosenbluth, F. M., Thies, M. F. (2000). Electoral Rules, Career Ambitions, and Party Structure: Comparing Factions in Japan's Upper and Lower Houses. *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(1), 115-122

Cox, Gary W. 2005. *The efficient secret: The cabinet and the development of political parties in Victorian England*. Cambridge University Press.

Döring, H. 2003. "Party discipline and government imposition of restrictive rules." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 9(4): 147–163.

Downs, A. (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Harper: New York.

Ferraro, V. & Palmer, Kathryn (2005). *Speaking and Arguing: The Rhetoric of Peace and War*. South Hadley, MA.

Dumont P (1998). "Keys for the analysis of the relation between parties' programmatic preferences and portfolio allocation in government formation." Paper presented at the Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research, Warwick, UK, 23–28 March.

Giannetti, D., & Benoit, K. (Eds.) (2009). *Intra-Party Politics and Coalition Government*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Giannetti, D., & Laver, M. (2009). 'Party Cohesion, Party Discipline, Party Factions in Italy. In D. Giannetti, K. Benoit (Eds.) *Intra-Party Politics and Coalition Government* (pp. 146–168). New York, NY: Routledge.

Giannetti D., & Pedrazzani, A. (2016). Rules and speeches: how parliamentary rules affect legislators' speech making behavior. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 41(3), 771-800.

Greene, Z., and Haber M. 2015. "The consequences of appearing divided: An analysis of party evaluations and vote choice." *Electoral Studies* 37: 15–27.

Greene, Z., & Haber, M. (2016). Leadership Competition and Disagreement at Party National Congresses. *British Journal of Political Science*. 46 (3): 611-632.

Greene, Z. 2016. "Competing on the issues How experience in government and economic conditions influence the scope of parties' policy messages." *Party Politics* 22(6): 809–822.

Greene, Z., Ceron, A., Schumacher, G., Fazekas, Z. (2016). The Nuts and Bolts of Automated Text Analysis. Comparing Different Document Pre-Processing Techniques in Four Countries. *Open Science Framework*. November 1. Available at: [osf.io/ghxj8](https://osf.io/ghxj8).

Heller, W. B., & Mershon, C. (2008). Dealing in Discipline: Party Switching and Legislative Voting in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 1988-2000. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(4), 910-924.

Hellwig, Timothy. 2012. "Constructing Accountability Party Position Taking and Economic Voting." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(1): 91–118.

Hix, S., & Jun, H.W. (2009). Party behaviour in the parliamentary arena. *Party Politics*, 15(6), 667–694.

- Ibenskas, Raimondas (2017) Electoral competition after party splits. *Political Science Research and Methods*.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 2010. *Pivotal politics: A theory of US lawmaking*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., and Mary Stegmaier. 2000. "Economic determinants of electoral outcomes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3(1): 183–219.
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro, and Winfried Schultz. 1999. "Mediatization of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy?" *Political Communication* 16 (3): 247-261
- McElroy, G. (2009). Intra-party politics at the trans-national level. In D. Giannetti, K. Benoit (Eds.) *Intra-Party Politics and Coalition Government* (pp. 202–225). New York, NY: Routledge.
- McGann, A.J. (2002). The Advantages of Ideological Cohesion: A Model of Constituency Representation and Electoral Competition in Multi-Party Democracies. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 14(1), 37–70.
- Medzihorsky, J., Littvay, L., Jenne, E.K. (2014). Has the Tea Party Era Radicalized the Republican Party? Evidence from Text Analysis of the 2008 and 2012 Republican Primary Debates. *PS: Politics and Political Science*, 47(4), 806–812.
- Meguid, Bonnie M. 2008. *Party competition between unequals: Strategies and electoral fortunes in Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press Cambridge.
- O'Brien, D. & Shomer, Y. (2013). A Cross-National Analysis of Party Switching. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 38(1), 111-141.
- Patterson, Thomas E. 1993. *Out of order*. New York: Knopf.
- Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue ownership in presidential elections, with a 1980 case study." *American journal of political science* 40(3): 825–850.

- Poole, Millicent E. & T.W. Field (1976). A Comparison of Oral and Written Code Elaboration. *Language and Speech* 19(4): 305-312
- Proksch, S.-O., & Slapin, J.B. (2015). *The Politics of Parliamentary Debate: Parties, Rebels and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, Margaret E., Brandon M. Stewart, Dustin Tingley, Edoardo M. Airoidi, et al. 2013. "The structural topic model and applied social science." In *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems Workshop on Topic Models: Computation, Application, and Evaluation*,
- Sartori, G. (1976). *Parties and Party System. A Framework for Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schober, M.F., Conrad, F.G., Antoun, C., et al. (2015). Precision and disclosure in text and voice interviews on smartphones. *PLoS ONE* 10(6): e0128337. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0128337
- Shepsle, Kenneth A., and Barry R. Weingast. 1994. "Positive theories of congressional institutions." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*: 149–179.
- Somer-Topcu, Zeynep. 2016. "Agree or disagree: How do party leader changes affect the distribution of voters' perceptions." *Party Politics*: 1354068816655568.
- Spoon, Jae-Jae. 2011. *Political survival of small parties in Europe*. University of Michigan Press.
- Spirling, A., & Quinn, K.M. (2010). Identifying intra-party voting blocs in the UK House of Commons. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 490, 447–57.
- Staton, Jana (ed.) (1982). *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy*. Norwood: Ablex.
- Suler, J. (2004). The online disinhibition effect. *CyberPsychology and Behavior*, 7(3), 321-326.

Sylwester, K. & Purver, M. (2015). Twitter Language Use Reflects Psychological Differences between Democrats and Republicans. *PLoS ONE*, 10(9), e0137422.

doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0137422.

Van Heck, Sjoerd. 2016. "Appealing broadly or narrowing down? The impact of government experience and party organization on the scope of parties' issue agendas." *Party Politics*.

## Methods APPENDIX

### SPEECHES

#### Topic words – PS speeches

##### Topic 1 Top Words:

Highest Prob: qualité, capacité, laïcité, l'élan, aucun, dû, mark, d'élan, taux, élan, l'état

FREX: qualité, l'élan, d'élan, laïcité, dû, capacité, mark, traçant, élan, déplaît, aucun

Lift: d'élan, éclaircit, impliquait, l'élan, l'ultra, marc, natalité, périmé, ri, taillé, tapi

Score: qualité, l'élan, laïcité, d'élan, marx, marc, dira, mur, mark, traçant, natalité

##### Topic 2 Top Words:

Highest Prob: réalité, aucun, cœur, rural, cap, plaît, luc, traduit, élan, capacité, péril

FREX: réalité, aucun, rural, cœur, cap, luc, plaît, élan, traduit, péril, lit

Lift: réalité, rural, luc, aucun, plaît, cœur, péril, lit, cru, cap, allant

Score: réalité, aucun, rural, cœur, plaît, péril, luc, cap, lit, allant, cru

##### Topic 3 Top Words:

Highest Prob: clarté, climat, laïc, nuit, tri, déclaré, répété, radicaux, p.t.t, altéré, dp

FREX: clarté, laïc, climat, tri, répété, nuit, radicaux, déclaré, p.t.t, altéré, dp

Lift: altéré, dp, lundi, mardi, mati, médical, na, plut, ra, répit, tadd

Score: clarté, tri, laïc, mati, médical, tract, mardi, lundi, altéré, aimc, ra

##### Topic 4 Top Words:

Highest Prob: dit, tard, élu, allait, cité, puy, cru, ardu, déçu, mêlant, rit

FREX: dit, allait, cité, puy, tard, élu, créé, cru, ardu, déçu, mêlant

Lift: allait, ardu, cité, déçu, mêlant, puy, rit, ya, dit, tard, pair

Score: dit, puy, tard, allait, élu, cité, ya, ardu, mêlant, déçu, rit

##### Topic 5 Top Words:

Highest Prob: dirai, capital, laïcité, pénal, pu, nuit, milité, élu, capacité, taux, culpa

FREX: dirai, pénal, capital, milité, laïcité, culpa, élu, nuit, yalta, pu, taux

Lift: appuyant, culpa, lançant, maturité, milité, multipliant, pénal, q, dirai, yalta, utilité

Score: pénal, milité, dirai, laïcité, culpa, appuyant, capital, lançant, maturité, yalta, multipliant

##### Topic 6 Top Words:

Highest Prob: an, maximum, attiré, l'état, créant, manqué, dur, placé, trait, crucial, payé

FREX: attiré, créant, manqué, maximum, an, crucial, placé, payé, trait, dur, multiplié

Lift: acc, aim, allé, attaquant, créant, crucial, d'appui, d'élu, détruit, di, éclat

Score: manqué, maximum, crucial, créant, raté, d'élu, pût, multiplié, payé, allé, mariant

##### Topic 7 Top Words:

Highest Prob: paix, capital, traduit, l'état, créé, clarté, aucun, paul, marqué, r.p.r, cap

FREX: paix, traduit, capital, créé, paul, r.p.r, marqué, accumulé, applaudit, traité, l'état

Lift: armé, azimut, c.a.p, d'acquérir, rallié, tué, paix, accumulé, applaudit, traité, l'impact

Score: paix, accumulé, traduit, r.p.r, marqué, applaudit, capital, créé, cancun, paul, traité

Topic 8 Top Words:

Highest Prob: plan, taux, réduit, an, crédit, cœur, délai, durant, marqué, mark, tiré

FREX: plan, taux, réduit, crédit, an, délai, marqué, durant, mark, cœur, dépit

Lift: allié, applaudi, appliqué, appui, circulait, irak, iran, l'état, l'été, liant, licra

Score: plan, réduit, taux, crédit, l'été, l'état, nuancé, ré, délai, marqué, appui

Topic 9 Top Words:

Highest Prob: capacité, clair, crédit, pluralité, capitaux, mutualité, accru, nu, ann, état, lié

FREX: pluralité, clair, capacité, accru, nu, crédit, capitaux, ann, mutualité, lié, clé

Lift: pluralité, accru, actualité, durcir, naît, nu, p.ac.a, réputé, ann, li, clair

Score: clair, crédit, pluralité, capitaux, accru, ann, p.ac.a, capacité, durcir, naît, réputé

Topic 10 Top Words:

Highest Prob: mal, état, quant, calcul, durant, émanant, député, détail, ça, émanait, lancé

FREX: calcul, mal, député, état, émanant, quant, émanait, lancé, qualif, durant, détail

Lift: calcul, émanait, actualité, député, lancé, qualif, répétait, ur, mutilé, émanant, mal

Score: calcul, émanait, député, mal, quant, émanant, qualif, ur, actualité, état, durant

Topic 11 Top Words:

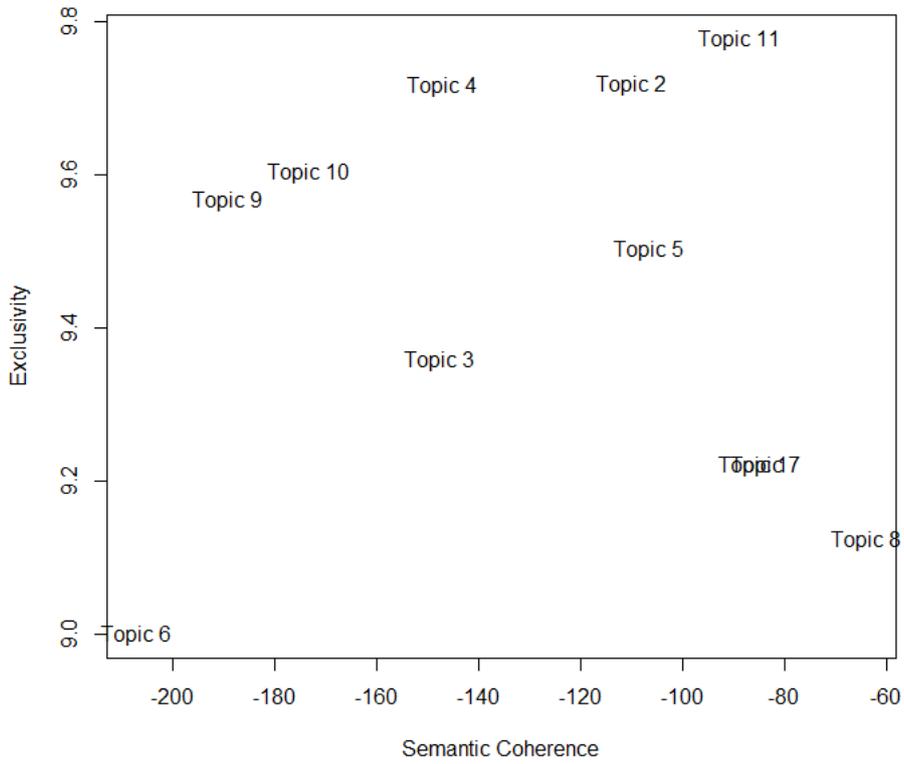
Highest Prob: pu, écrit, nuit, l'état, cœur, déclaré, attaqué, lançait, réduit, détail, tard

FREX: écrit, pu, nuit, l'état, cœur, déclaré, réduit, attaqué, lançait, pc, allié

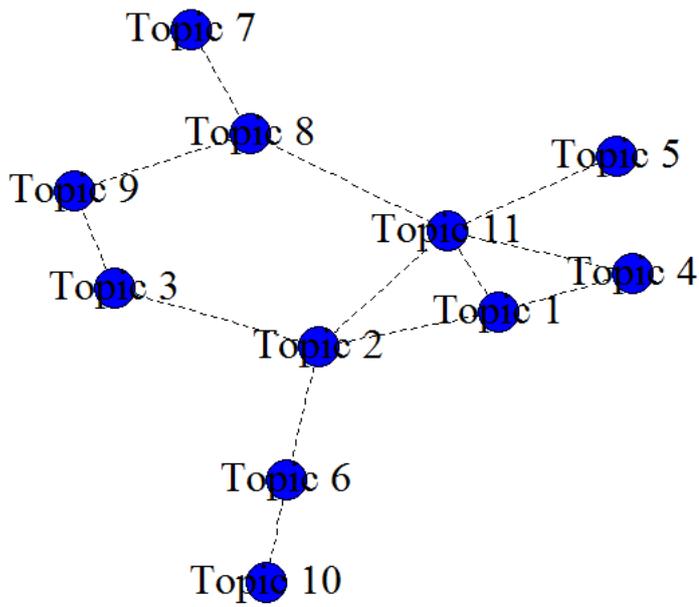
Lift: attaqué, lançait, écrit, pu, nuit, déclaré, l'état, cœur, réduit, détail, tard

Score: pu, écrit, attaqué, lançait, nuit, cœur, l'état, réduit, déclaré, détail, tard

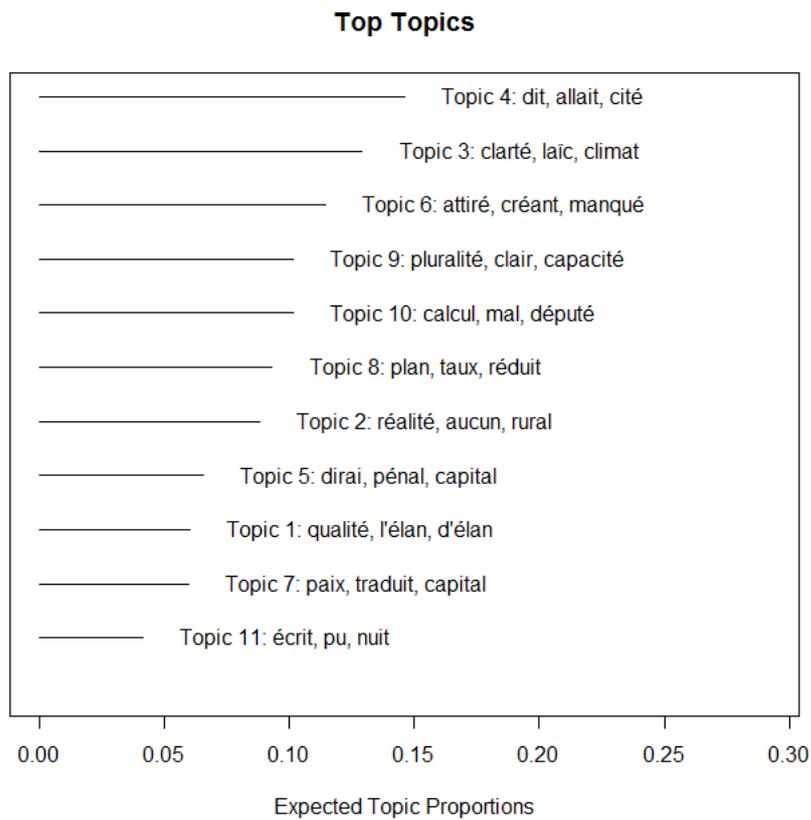
## Topic quality – PS speeches



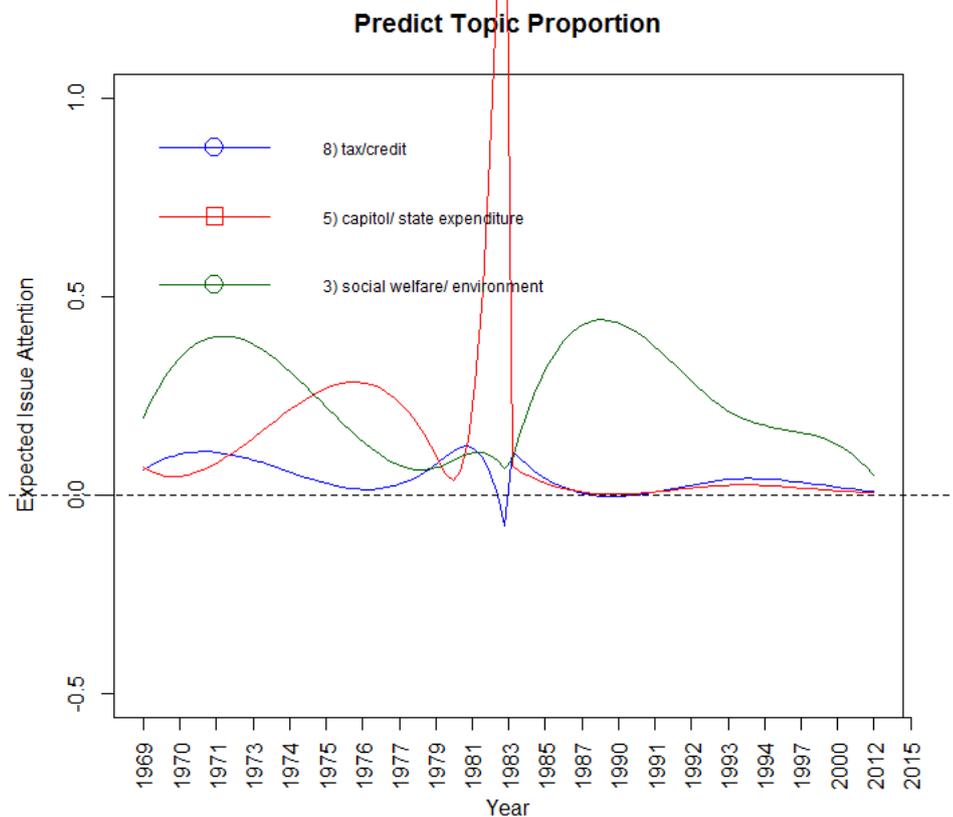
Topic correlations - PS speeches



Topic proportions - PS speeches (with FREX words)



Selected Topics over time - PS speeches



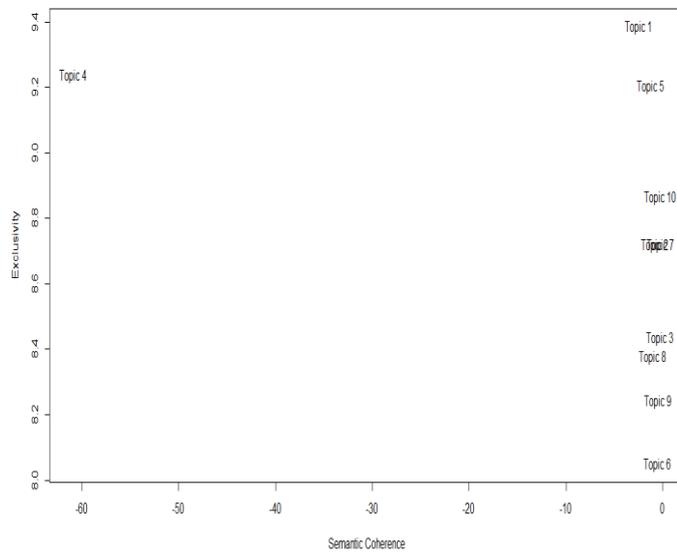
## MOTIONS

### Topic words – PS motions

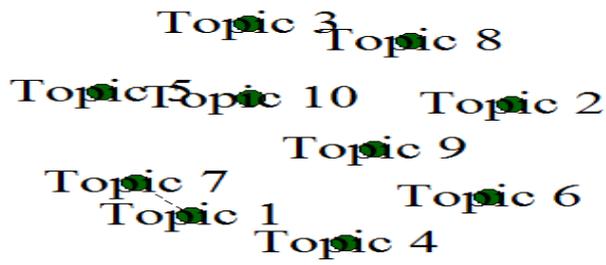
|  |
|--|
| Topic 1 Top Words:   |
| Highest Prob: développement, société, faire, entre, pays, notamment, moyens, nouvelles, ressources, manière                      |
| FREX: prévention, proximité, encourager, manière, compétences, produits, méthodes, mécanismes, fonctions, structurelle           |
| Lift: treizième, aboutirait-on, actualisés, adjoints, agrocarburants, aigus, allongeant, analysent, argumentés, artificiel       |
| Score: développement, société, proximité, manière, rôle, réforme, santé, prévention, également, reims                            |
| Topic 2 Top Words:   |
| Highest Prob: gauche, entre, faire, société, aujourd'hui, n'est, salariés, contre, france, l'europe                              |
| FREX: libérale, dijon, l'impôt, jospin, l'élargissement, v, licenciements, suffrage, cumul, pse                                  |
| Lift: à-la, abaissera, abolitionniste, abreuvés, abstraction, accentuons, accepteraient, accepteront, accessoire, accommodé      |
| Score: société, salariés, dijon, l'égalité, libérale, congrès, où, sécurité, l'impôt, véritable                                  |
| Topic 3 Top Words:   |
| Highest Prob: france, faire, pays, crise, temps, ans, entre, bien, n'est, peut   |
| FREX: oser, vite, euros, roosevelt, bénéfiques, impôt, dette, juppé, emplois, nucléaire  |
| Lift: arbres, bougie, carrefour, combustion, débutants, demandaient, détériorer, dignité, frr, fumier                            |
| Score: roosevelt, très, oser, euros, chômage, salariés, développement, affirmait, juppé, verte                                   |
| Topic 4 Top Words:   |
| Highest Prob: etre, pouvoir, entre, dun, is, pays, comma, societe, developpement, vie  |
| FREX: dun, comma, pout, memo, lours, veritable, cost, contra, reduction, be  |
| Lift: adherents, au-dela, avancees, cal, capacite, capitalism, cast, cellos, clue, contra  |
| Score: dun, comma, pout, taut, lour, memo, lours, of, etre, veritable  |
| Topic 5 Top Words:   |
| Highest Prob: développement, pays, services, vie, publics, faire, entre, l'europe, société, gauche                               |
| FREX: p, l'omc, républicain, mettrons, suivants, vérité, renforcerons, échecs, mans, handicapées                                 |
| Lift: arrivants, assurerons, bolkestein, canicule, célébrons, cellules, compté, controverse, distancer, endurcie                 |
| Score: développement, p, société, européen, sécurité, républicain, l'omc, progrès, suivants, collectivités                       |
| Topic 6 Top Words:   |
| Highest Prob: société, temps, pays, développement, entre, projet, vie, système, faire, place                                     |
| FREX: universelle, idéal, mérite, vième, cour, concurrence, médicaments, libéral, activités, valeur                              |
| Lift: alterdéveloppement, angoisses, bonus-malus, boycott, colonies, confinés, d'acteur, d'allègement, détection, edf-gdf        |
| Score: société, développement, système, salariés, où, véritable, vième, marché, modèle, également                                |
| Topic 7 Top Words:   |
| Highest Prob: faire, bien, fait, temps, gauche, pays, monde, non, n'est, peut  |
| FREX: gens, d'accord, veux, boulot, vois, crois, est-ce, dis, peux, franchement  |
| Lift: abracadabrants, absolues, abstentions, abstenus, accents, accommodent, accommodés, accord-cadre, accords-cadres, accrédite |
| Score: boulot, vois, crois, dis, comprends, raconte, congrès, où, peux, m'a  |
| Topic 8 Top Words:   |
| Highest Prob: entre, développement, faire, pays, gauche, france, l'europe, devons, aujourd'hui, société                          |
| FREX: l'est, désarmement, communisme, communiste, rural, syndicalisme, communistes, étape, mixte, front                          |
| Lift: intercommunale, même, mémo, n1, nantes, percevant, rétablit, rité, roumanie, surarmement                                   |
| Score: développement, société, communisme, congrès, metz, communiste, rôle, où, désarmement, volonté                             |
| Topic 9 Top Words:   |

|  |
|--|
| Highest Prob: gauche, france, faire, entre, pays, devons, société, monde, contre, n'est  |
| FREX: reims, devons, l'espoir, l'alternance, d'avance, pme, reconstruire, retraités, espoir, refusons                            |
| Lift: a.les, à□, abd, abimé, abîmé, abondement, abordable, aborderont, aboutira, aboutissant                                     |
| Score: reims, société, où, congrès, salariés, développement, fran, pme, d'euros, progrès   |
| Topic 10 Top Words:  |
| Highest Prob: gauche, pays, france, peut, entre, faire, n'est, monde, pouvoir, société   |
| FREX: rigueur, extérieur, mars, redressement, c.e.e, communiste, l'effort, industriel, productif, changement                     |
| Lift: aberrante, abon-damment, aboutisse, abstentionnisme, abstractions, abx, accidentel, accroîtraient, accroîtrait, accroîtont |
| Score: c.e.e, société, communiste, s.m.e, rôle, valence, développement, redressement, où, congrès                                |

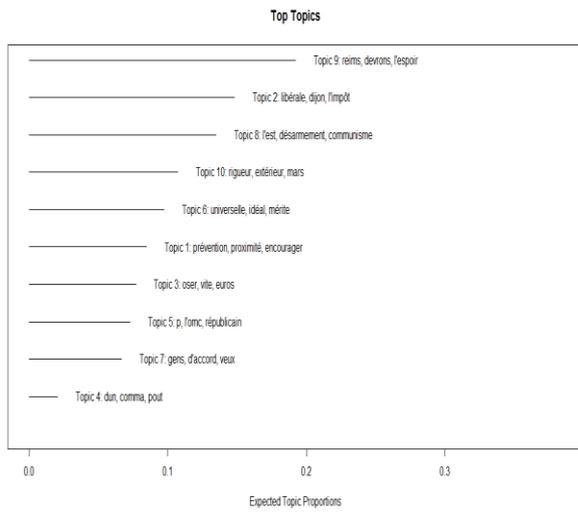
### Topic quality - PS motions



### Topic correlations - PS motions



Topic proportions - PS Motions (with FREX words)



Selected Topics over time - PS Motions  
 ????

## MANIFESTOS

### Topic words – PS manifestos

#### Topic 1 Top Words:

Highest Prob: pay, entr, aussi, l'état, si, fait, certain, faut, peut, n'est  
FREX: s'agiss, réel, l'idé, l'écart, récent, l'allemand, jeu, suffit, c.n.c.l, chapitr  
Lift: c.n.c.l, imag, repri, spatial, authentiqu, fallait, l'analys, l'effet, d'anné, distanc  
Score: s'agiss, états-uni, mar, permi, très, réel, anné, risqu, cert, industriel

#### Topic 2 Top Words:

Highest Prob: franc, français, servic, pay, sécurité, justic, grand, grâce, etat, an  
FREX: etat, access, demain, capitalism, d'etat, remett, respectueus, pme, magistrat, d'avenir  
Lift: air, ancré, après-guerr, crucial, cruellement, d'espace, défendus, dégrèvement, détendu, dl  
Score: access, d'etat, etat, siècle, air, ancré, après-guerr, crucial, cruellement, d'espace

#### Topic 3 Top Words:

Highest Prob: entr, servic, place, pay, vie, français, franc, jeun, justic, l'etat  
FREX: pauvreté, l'égalité, d'évaluat, mettant, effet, chercheur, financ, régulat, place, relat  
Lift: a.p.l, addict, agé, aiguë, altèrent, angulaire, apl, arsenal, articul, assument  
Score: l'égalité, l'etat, mixité, peur, l'urgenc, csg, laïque, pauvreté, l'eau, taxat

#### Topic 4 Top Words:

Highest Prob: général, marché, ver, aussi, caractèr, augment, fin, vie, prix, si  
FREX: caractèr, général, marché, janvier, devant, appliqu, fin, uni, prix, appelé  
Lift: appliqu, caractèr, patri, décret, janvier, appelé, fermé, dign, uni, général  
Score: appliqu, retard, demeur, caractèr, résultat, savent, prix, malgré, devant, marché

#### Topic 5 Top Words:

Highest Prob: veux, franc, entrepris, an, grand, servic, entr, sécurité, justic, pay  
FREX: veux, créerai, j'engagerai, mettrai, p, redress, garantirai, défendrai, j'augmenterai, lutterai  
Lift: garantirai, j'agirai, lancerai, maintiendrai, préserverai, relancerai, res, □□□mtés, affectera, affermi  
Score: veux, créerai, j'engagerai, mettrai, garantirai, défendrai, j'augmenterai, lutterai, reviendrai, ramené

#### Topic 6 Top Words: STATE

Highest Prob: faut, franc, grand, aussi, entrepris, pay, depuis, entr, fair, temp  
FREX: étendr, mutar, législatu, sauvag, faut, aller, clandestin, déjà, engagé, remis  
Lift: ancestral, appuiera, assèchement, atténué, atténuent, c.s.g, calculé, casqu, créera, crier  
Score: mutar, hlm, vassalis, étendr, minim, sauvag, décenni, entrepri, permi, sûreté

#### Topic 7 Top Words:

Highest Prob: servic, an, retrait, franc, systèm, santé, deux, paix, l'égalité, entr  
FREX: éducatif, créer, défendr, retrait, malgré, d'insert, maintenir, faveur, l'espace, recul

Lift: miracl, fermement, intensifi, réprimant, distingu, réaffirm, d'ingérenc, allianc, imaginé, investi

Score: malgré, siècl, l'expérienc, allianc, suscit, syndic, savent, maintenir, réussit, cess

#### Topic 8 Top Words:

Highest Prob: chaqu, servic, franc, jeun, vie, entr, pay, chacun, an, mieux

FREX: chaqu, cité, mieux, quartier, chacun, puiss, permettra, état, permettr, décider

Lift: accéléré, agressif, alléger, allier, anticipé, arc, archaïsm, argentin, arrêtera, avant-gard

Score: smic, internat, s'agira, s'attaqu, sages, vème, peur, gendarm, garantira, chacun

#### Topic 9 Top Words: GAULLISM, REFERENDUM, POLITICA SYSTEM

Highest Prob: pay, fait, an, plan, paix, assur, financièr, ni, immédiat, l'etat

FREX: f.g.d.s, gaullism, référendum, immédiat, gaullist, l'expans, exprimé, pacifiqu, cessé, f

Lift: f.g.d.s, gaullism, ln, acc, affich, age, allez, amnisti, ancient, anti-trust

Score: f.g.d.s, gaullism, ln, d.s, è, exact, f.g, francais, frs, chauvinism

#### Topic 10 Top Words:

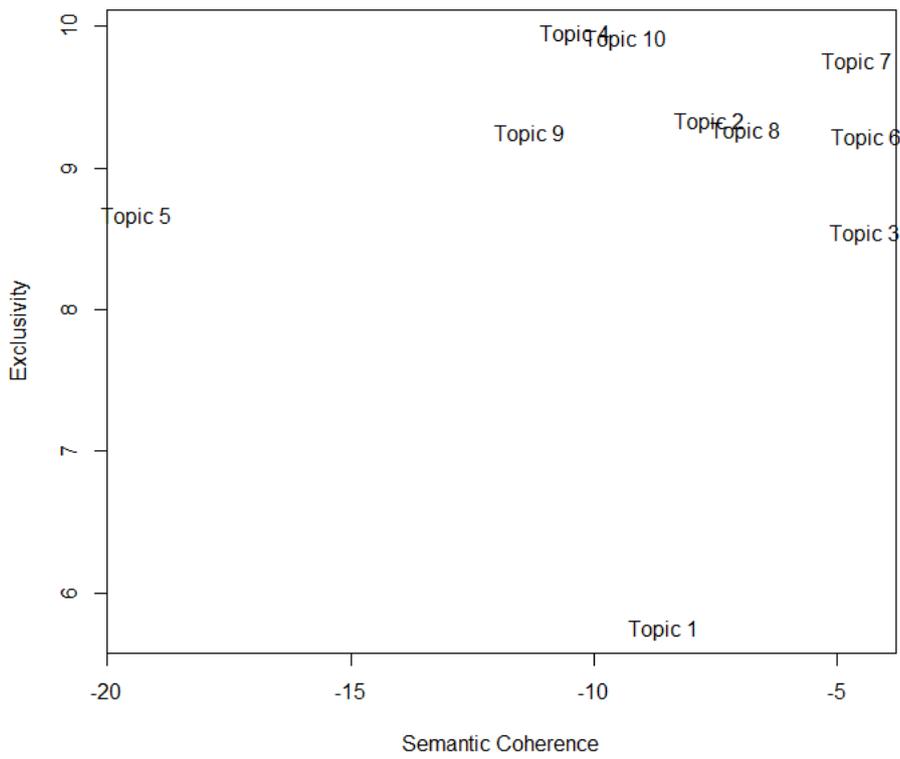
Highest Prob: grand, franc, seul, recherch, plan, systèm, femm, gauch, enfin, an

FREX: seul, grand, pratiqu, enfin, gauch, femm, élevé, recherch, caus, systèm

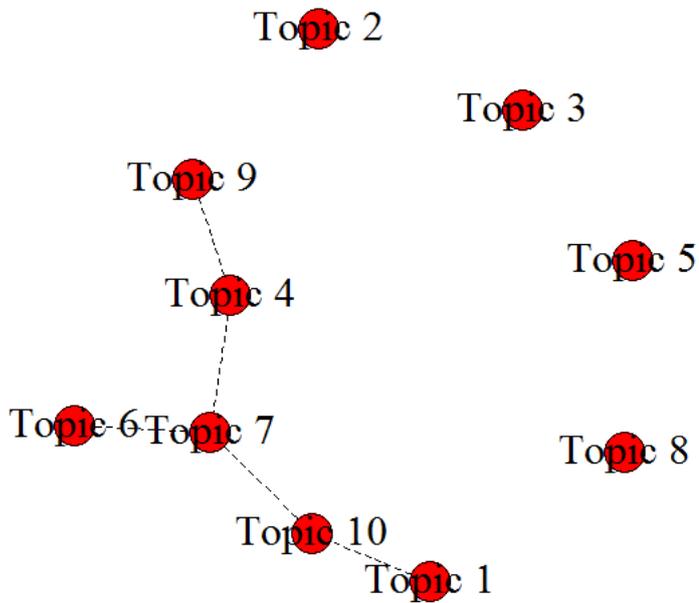
Lift: élevé, recherché, l'exercic, seul, pratiqu, mêmes, enfin, actuell, gauch, essentiell

Score: seul, gauch, enfin, lieu, pratiqu, chacun, intérêt, adapt, mêmes, l'exercic

### Topic quality – PS manifestos

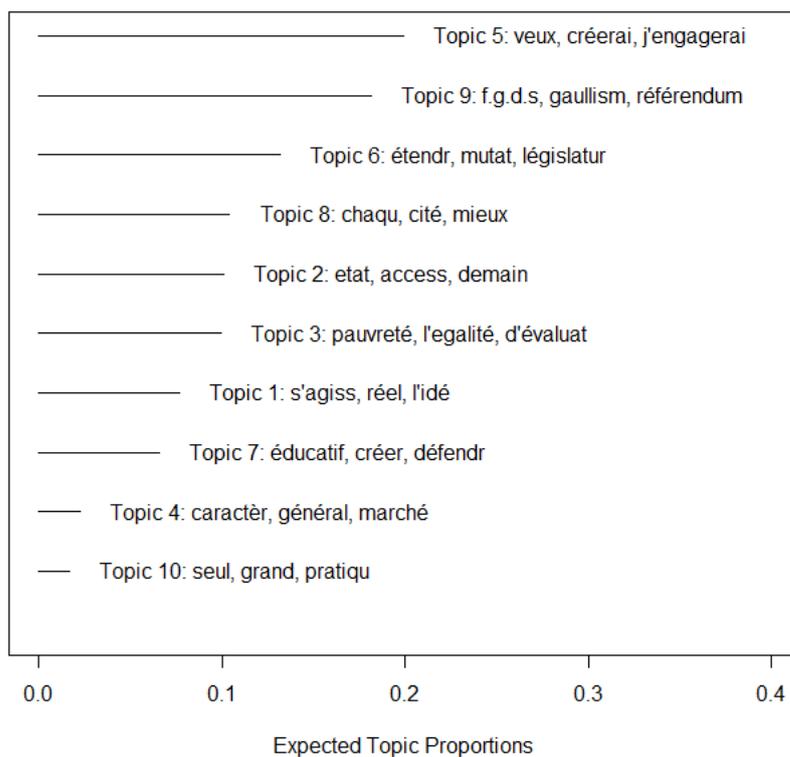


Topic correlations - PS manifestos



Topic proportions - PS manifestos (with FREX words)

### Top Topics



### Selected Topics over time - PS manifestos

