

# Content Analysis

Lecture 1: Turning text into data

24 April, 2017

Prof. Andrew Eggers

# An exciting moment

Content analysis is a broad field. **Our focus:** use of text as data in quantitative social science.

Sense of huge potential right now:

Much of social life occurs in texts (speeches, press releases, fatwas, laws, letters, books; emails, tweets)

Already huge content, but growing faster than anyone can read:

- 10 mins of worldwide email = 1 Library of Congress
- 1 min of YouTube uploads = 300 hours of video

Text generically hard to interpret, but we're making progress (?)

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Broader field of content analysis includes studies of discourse for its own sake. (See chap. 3 of Krippendorff.)

# Example 1: Fournaies and Hall on regulatory risk

**Research question:** In the US, do firms contribute money to incumbent politicians in order to obtain preferential treatment?

**Research design:** If so, we would expect responsiveness of contributions to election outcomes to be higher for firms whose business depends more on government regulation.

**Measurement problems:**

- Which firms' contributions are more responsive to election outcomes?
- Which firms are more exposed to government regulation?



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*We are subject to increasing regulatory scrutiny that may negatively impact our business. Additionally, changes in policies governing a wide range of topics may adversely affect our business.*

The growth of our company and our expansion into a variety of new fields involves a variety of new regulatory issues, and we have experienced increased regulatory scrutiny as we have grown. For instance, various regulatory agencies are reviewing aspects of our search and other businesses. We continue to cooperate with the European Commission and other regulatory authorities around the world in investigations they are conducting with respect to our business.

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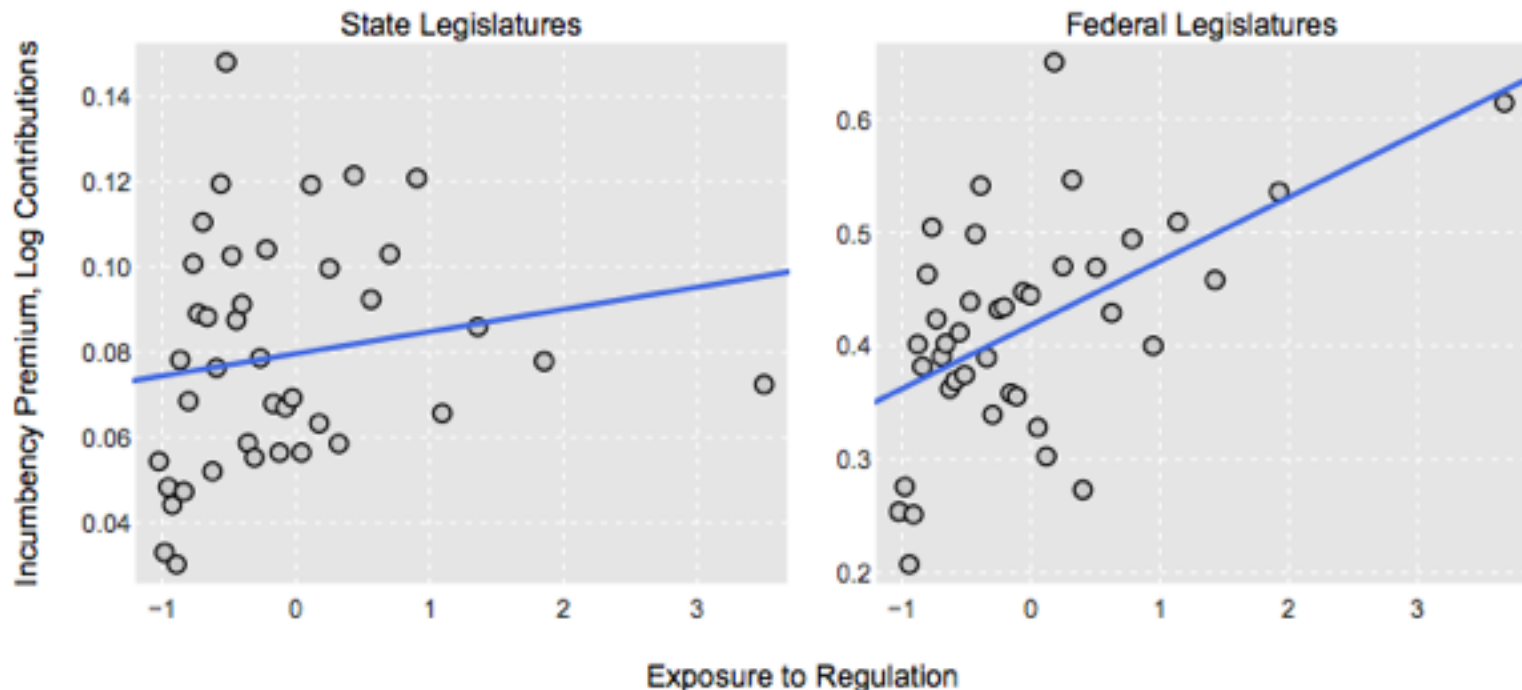
Keywords: *require, regulat, law, polic, federal, ...*

Principal components analysis (PCA) on counts => single index.

# Example I: Fourirnaies and Hall (cont'd)

**Analysis:** Shows that contributions from firms with higher exposure indices (calculated from counts of keywords) respond more to election results.

**Figure 8 – Exposure to Regulation and Firm Contributions to Incumbents and Non-Incumbents.** Regulated firms are more sensitive to incumbency.



*Note:* Points represent averages in equal-sample-sized bins of the exposure to regulation variable. Lines are simple OLS predictions from a regression fitted to the binned points.

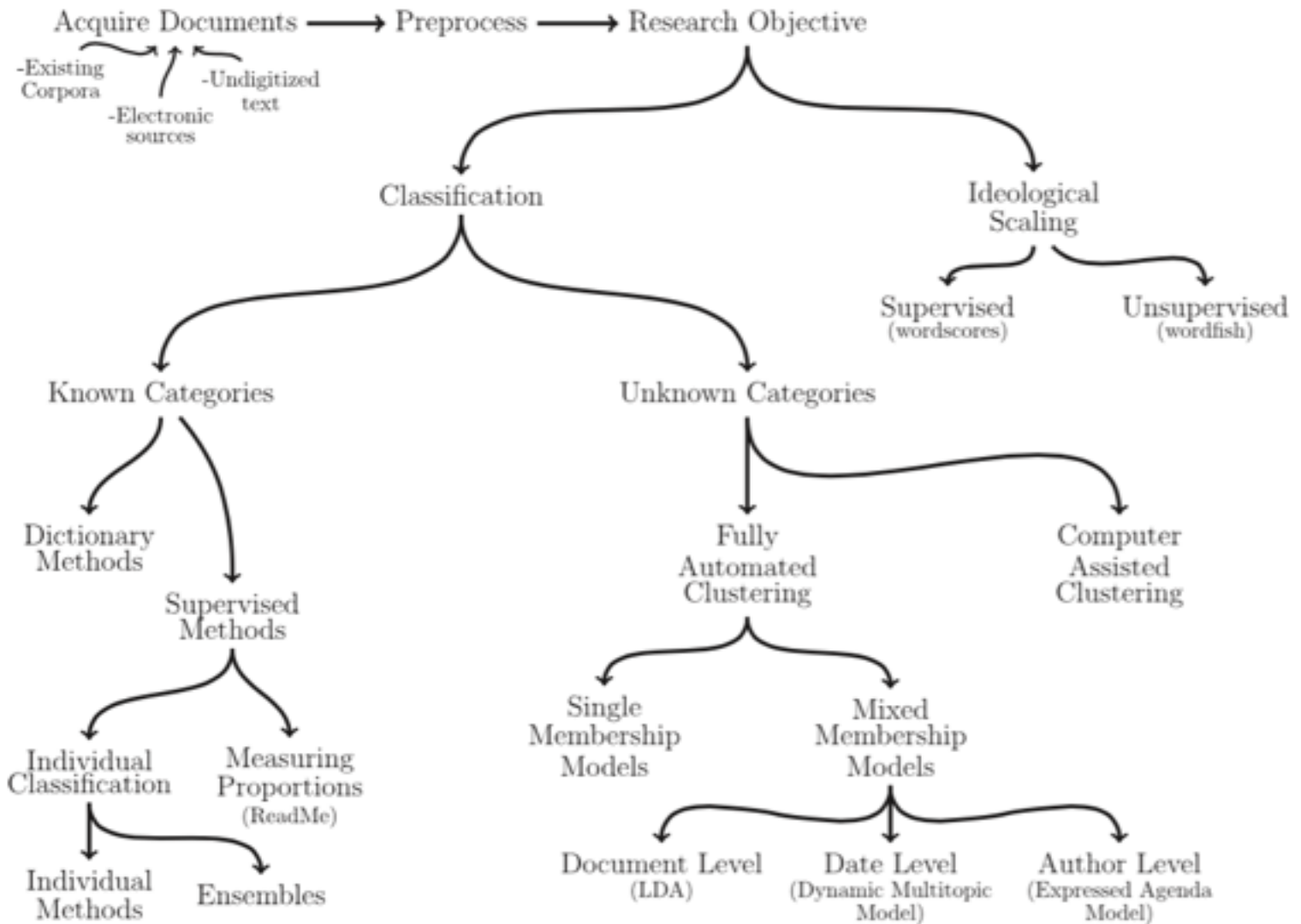
# Fourirnaies and Hall in context

This is an example of a **dictionary method**: researcher decides on keywords (perhaps through reading, trial and error, reliance on previous literature) and counts occurrences.

Other examples in this week's reading list:

- Gentzkow et al: counting occurrences of **emotionally charged words** in newspapers as measure of slanted journalism
- Baker et al: counting articles mentioning **keywords relating to economy, policy, and uncertainty** as measure of economic policy uncertainty
- Ban et al: counting **how many times an entity is mentioned** as measure of entity's power

# A classification of “text-as-data” methods





## Example 2: Larcker & Zakolyukina on deceptive CEOs

**Research question:** Can we predict which companies are likely to have financial restatements based on what CEOs/CFOs say in conference calls with investors?

(or)

Is deceptive speech different from truthful speech?

## Example 2: Larcker & Zakolyukina, cont'd

**Strategy:** Using lots of previous research, identify groups of keywords characteristic of deception

TABLE 1—Continued

| Panel A: Variables, Computation, and Predicted Signs |              |      |   |
|--|--------------|------|---|
| Category   | Abbreviation | Sign | Calculation   |
| Anxiety  | anx          | +    | LIWC category "anx": worried, fearful, nervous, etc. Simple count divided by the number of words ignoring articles (wc) and multiplied by the median wc in the sample. Prior research: Bachenko, Fitzpatrick, and Schonwetter [2008], Bond and Lee [2005], Knapp, Hart, and Dennis [1974], Newman et al. [2003], Vrij [2008]. |
| Anger  | anger        | +    | LIWC category "anger": hate, kill, annoyed, etc. Simple count divided by the number of words ignoring articles (wc) and multiplied by the median wc in the sample. Prior research: Bachenko, Fitzpatrick, and Schonwetter [2008], Bond and Lee [2005], Newman et al. [2003], Vrij [2008].                                     |
| Swear words  | swear        | +    | LIWC category "swear": screw*, hell, etc. Simple count divided by the number of words ignoring articles (wc) and multiplied by the median wc in the sample. Prior research: Bachenko, Fitzpatrick, and Schonwetter [2008], DePaulo et al. [2003], Vrij [2008].  |
| Extreme negative emotions                            | negemoextr   | +    | Self-constructed category: absurd, adverse, awful, etc. For the complete list see panel B. Simple count divided by the number of words ignoring articles (wc) and multiplied by the median wc in the sample. Prior research: Newman et al. [2003], Vrij [2008].   |
| Cognitive Process                                    |              |      |   |
| Certainty  | certain      | –    | LIWC category "certain": always, never, etc. Simple count divided by the number of words ignoring articles (wc) and multiplied by the median wc in the sample. Prior research: Bond and Lee [2005], Knapp, Hart, and Dennis [1974], Newman et al. [2003], Vrij [2008].  |
| Tentative  | tentat       | +    | LIWC category "tentat": maybe, perhaps, guess, etc. Simple count divided by the number of words ignoring articles (wc) and multiplied by the median wc in the sample. Prior research: Adams and Jarvis [2006], Bond and Lee [2005], DePaulo et al. [2003], Knapp, Hart, and Dennis [1974], Newman et al. [2003], Vrij [2008]. |

Then fit predictive logit model, with restatement indicator as DV, 19 linguistic measures as independent variables.

**TABLE 6**  
*Logit Linguistic-Based Prediction Models for CEO and CFO Narratives During Conference Calls*

| Panel A: CEO Sample      |   | NT                | IRAI              | IR                | AAER              |
|--------------------------|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Word Count               |   |                   |                   |                   |                   |
| sci†                     | ± | 1.01<br>(0.10)    | 1.04<br>(0.13)    | 1.16<br>(0.15)    | 1.04<br>(0.24)    |
| References               |   |                   |                   |                   |                   |
| l                        | – | 0.95<br>(0.07)    | 0.89<br>(0.09)    | 0.87<br>(0.10)    | 0.87<br>(0.18)    |
| we                       | + | 0.99<br>(0.04)    | 0.92<br>(0.05)    | 0.95<br>(0.05)    | 1.07<br>(0.12)    |
| they                     | ± | 1.06<br>(0.12)    | 1.10<br>(0.16)    | 0.98<br>(0.16)    | 0.50**<br>(0.15)  |
| ipron                    | ± | 0.94<br>(0.04)    | 0.97<br>(0.05)    | 0.96<br>(0.06)    | 1.14<br>(0.12)    |
| genknhref                | ± | 1.91***<br>(0.33) | 1.96***<br>(0.33) | 1.99***<br>(0.36) | 1.98**<br>(0.64)  |
| Positives/Negatives      |   |                   |                   |                   |                   |
| assent                   | – | 1.10<br>(0.28)    | 1.16<br>(0.36)    | 1.20<br>(0.43)    | 0.36<br>(0.28)    |
| posemone                 | – | 0.88**<br>(0.05)  | 0.94<br>(0.07)    | 0.93<br>(0.08)    | 0.97<br>(0.16)    |
| posemoextr               | ± | 1.20<br>(0.16)    | 1.62***<br>(0.25) | 1.99***<br>(0.33) | 3.51***<br>(1.26) |
| negate                   | + | 0.92<br>(0.11)    | 0.86<br>(0.13)    | 0.87<br>(0.15)    | 1.24<br>(0.43)    |
| anx                      | + | 0.38**<br>(0.16)  | 0.34**<br>(0.14)  | 0.25***<br>(0.11) | 0.08**<br>(0.08)  |
| anger                    | + | 0.97<br>(0.35)    | 1.16<br>(0.55)    | 1.32<br>(0.70)    | 0.57<br>(0.66)    |
| rawar†                   | + | 0.97<br>(0.07)    | 0.95<br>(0.06)    | 0.94<br>(0.07)    | 1.03<br>(0.15)    |
| negemoextr               | + | 0.99<br>(0.26)    | 0.84<br>(0.31)    | 0.88<br>(0.33)    | 0.83<br>(0.66)    |
| Cognitive Mechanism      |   |                   |                   |                   |                   |
| certain                  | – | 1.16<br>(0.13)    | 0.90<br>(0.13)    | 0.88<br>(0.14)    | 0.75<br>(0.18)    |
| tentat                   | + | 0.96<br>(0.07)    | 0.96<br>(0.08)    | 1.00<br>(0.10)    | 0.99<br>(0.19)    |
| Other Cues               |   |                   |                   |                   |                   |
| hasir†                   | ± | 1.05<br>(0.05)    | 1.04<br>(0.05)    | 1.11*<br>(0.06)   | 0.99<br>(0.16)    |
| shvalue†                 | ± | 0.91**<br>(0.04)  | 0.90*<br>(0.05)   | 0.88**<br>(0.06)  | 0.95<br>(0.12)    |
| value†                   | ± | 0.90<br>(0.07)    | 0.87<br>(0.08)    | 0.83*<br>(0.09)   | 1.11<br>(0.17)    |
| Total firm-quarters      |   | 17,150            | 17,150            | 17,150            | 17,150            |
| Deceptive firm-quarters  |   | 2,325             | 1,627             | 1,355             | 274               |
| Area under the ROC curve |   | 0.58              | 0.59              | 0.61              | 0.66              |
| Log-likelihood value     |   | –6,732.51         | –5,294.87         | –4,638.95         | –1,853.13         |
| Pseudo R-squared         |   | 0.011             | 0.016             | 0.021             | 0.037             |

## Example 2: Larcker & Zakolyukina, cont'd

# Larcker & Zakolyukina in context

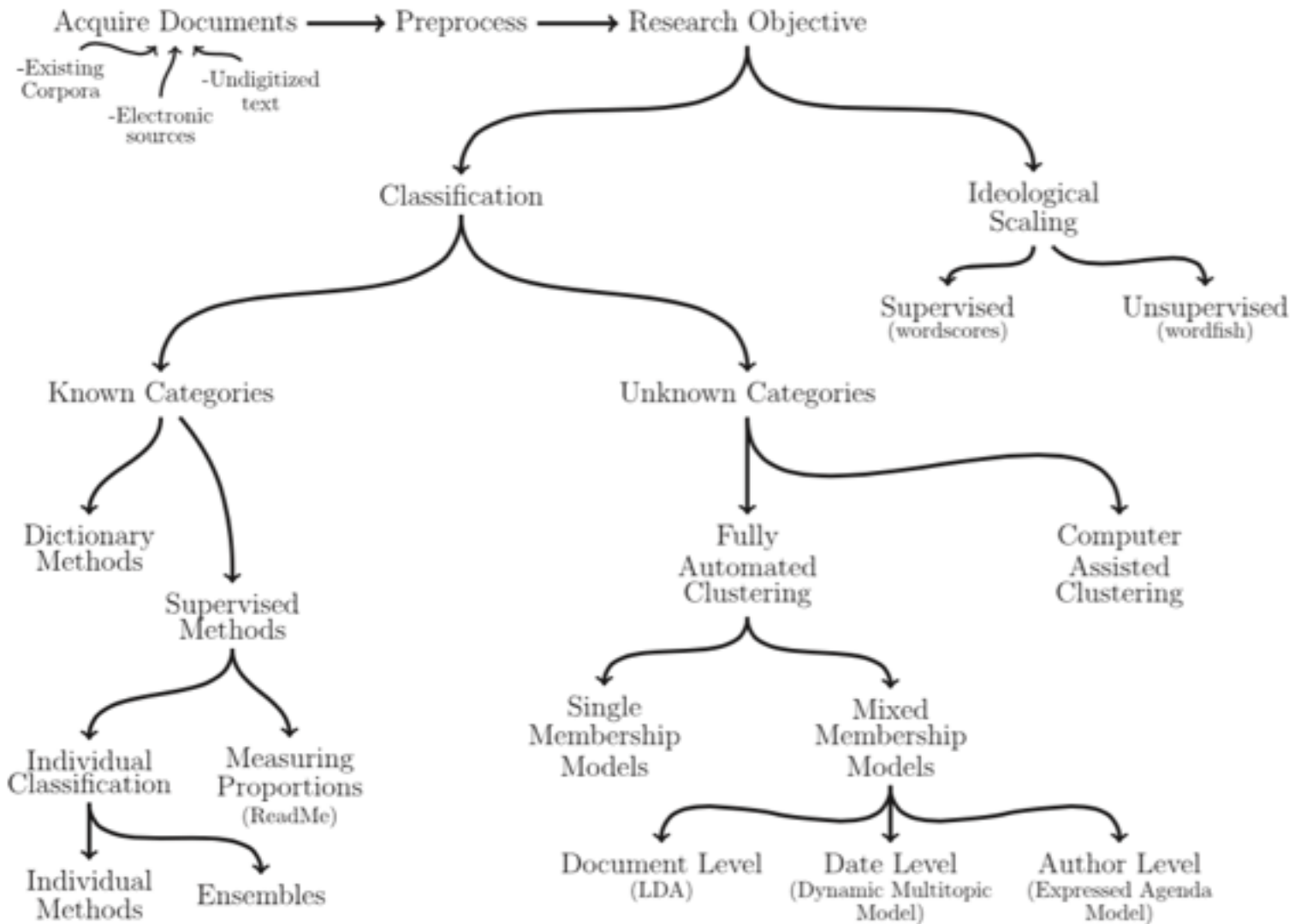
This is an example of **model-based classification**, or **classification via supervised learning**.

This is just like many predictive/explanatory models you have run, except the covariates come from text.

When would this be useful for research?

- When you have a fundamentally predictive problem
  - Future predictions useful
  - There is scholarly interest in showing a connection between linguistic features and some outcome
- When you want to label an enormous amount of data based on a smaller labeled set (e.g. to generate an outcome, or a covariate)

# A classification of “text-as-data” methods



# A brief overview of some things to do with text

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- **Frequencies:** How often does this term/theme, or set of terms/themes, appear in the text?
  - Are the themes identified in the text by readers? → qualitative data analysis/QDA, software like MaxQDA, NVivo, Atlas.ti
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- **Frequencies of co-occurrence:** What words tend to appear with a given word/phrase? (collocation, co-occurrence, e.g. the work of Paul Baker)
- **Distinctive words/phrases:** What words are especially common to a given text/speaker? (keyness, specificity, weirdness, e.g. “Fightin’ Words”)

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- **Scaling:** Put these texts in some space based on underlying similarities

# A brief overview of some things to do with text (3)

Suppose you are doing all of your analysis manually.

- If you're following a **simple rule** to record textual features, the computer can do it better.
- If it is difficult to turn your rule into an algorithm, the computer might be able to help:
  - with data entry/collection (web scraping, keyword counting)
  - visualizing/analyzing the resulting data
  - uncovering the rule that you are actually applying (machine learning)
- Your software may be able to show that something you learn for a subset of texts is probably more generally true.

# What do you need in order to do things like this? (I)

- For **collecting text and counting features**, you probably need some programming skills. (These problems are too niche for there to be “off-the-shelf” solutions.)
  - **Web scraping** can be very useful for
    - getting the text
    - getting search counts e.g. in Bloom et al, my paper on expenses scandal
  - Given a chunk of text, you need a way to count occurrences (e.g. **regular expressions**)
  - Given many pieces of text, you need to be able to **loop** through them in code and produce output

# What do you need in order to do things like this? (2)

- Optical character recognition (OCR) is also useful given printed (e.g. archival) sources
  - e.g. in Eggers & Hainmueller (2009) “MPs for Sale”
  - built into many PDFs; see Text Fairy for phones

7 volumes of *Times Guide to the House of Commons* Converted to text by Widener Library digital services

**Peckham**  
Electorate : 61,050  
\*Corbet, Mrs. F. K. (Lab.) .. 26,315  
Smith, D. G. (C.) .. .. 12,547

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Lab. majority .. .. 13,768  
**NO CHANGE**

TOTAL VOTE, 38,862.—Lab., 67·7% ; C., 32·3%—Maj., 35·4%.  
1951 :—Lab., 33,703 ; C., 14,557.—Lab. maj., 19,146.

MRS. FREDA CORBET represented North-West Camberwell in 1945 and was returned for Peckham in 1950. She contested East Lewisham in 1935. Born 1900 ; educated at Wimbledon County School and University College, London ; became a teacher, lecturer, and barrister. A member of London County Council since 1934 and chief whip of the Labour group. She is interested in education and penal reform.



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Mr. Dudley Smith, a journalist, is assistant news editor of a national Sunday newspaper. Has been crime reporter, sports writer, and special correspondent. Born 1926 ; educated at Chichester High School.

Converted to database using regular expressions to identify party, vote count, profession, school, date of birth for each candidate

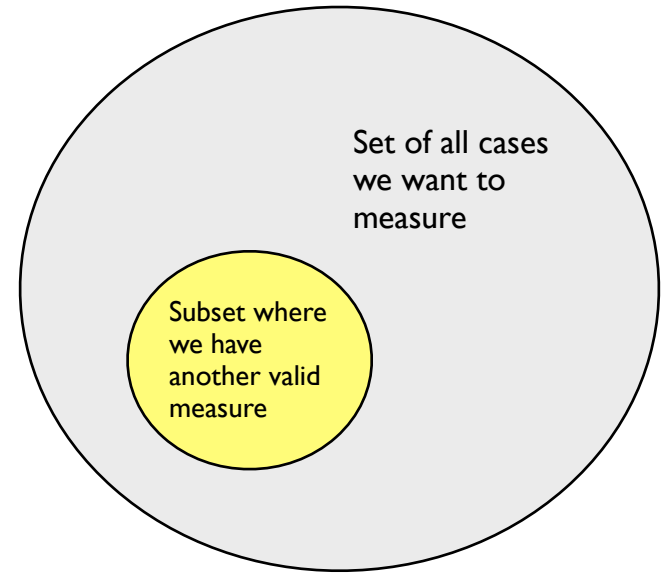


# What do you need in order to do things like this? (3)

- For a new measure (based on dictionary methods or otherwise) you'll need to do **validation**
- For **classification model**,
  - Your **intro stats** skills will be useful!
  - But since we don't focus on prediction/classification, look at *Introduction to Statistical Learning* or elsewhere for discussions of
    - overfitting, test/training sets, cross-validation
    - model selection & what to do when you have too many predictors: regularization, shrinkage, LASSO, support vector machines (SVM), ridge regression, naive Bayes

# How we validate, with two examples

Basically, we assess whether a measure works for the subset of cases where we know what it should produce, i.e. where we have another valid measure.



Two examples:

- Measuring implication in 2009 parliamentary expenses scandal with counts of Google News articles (Eggers 2014)
- Measuring political power with mentions in U.S. newspapers (Ban, Fournaies, Hall, Snyder 2015)

# Example: Eggers (2014) on expenses scandal

**Research question:** How did local strength of party preference affect degree to which MPs were punished in expenses scandal?

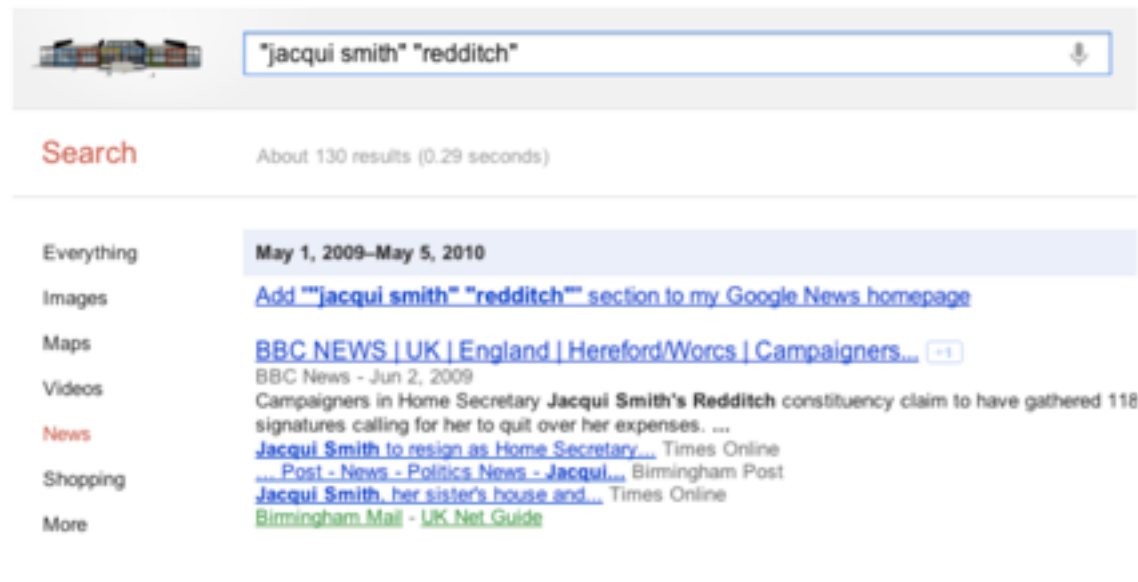
**Measurement problem:** How much was each MP implicated?

**Possible measures:**

- Amount of money MP spent
- Amount of money MP was asked to return
- BES survey of voters: “did your MP spend money improperly?”
- Appearance on a list of worst offenders e.g. in the *Telegraph* in May 2009

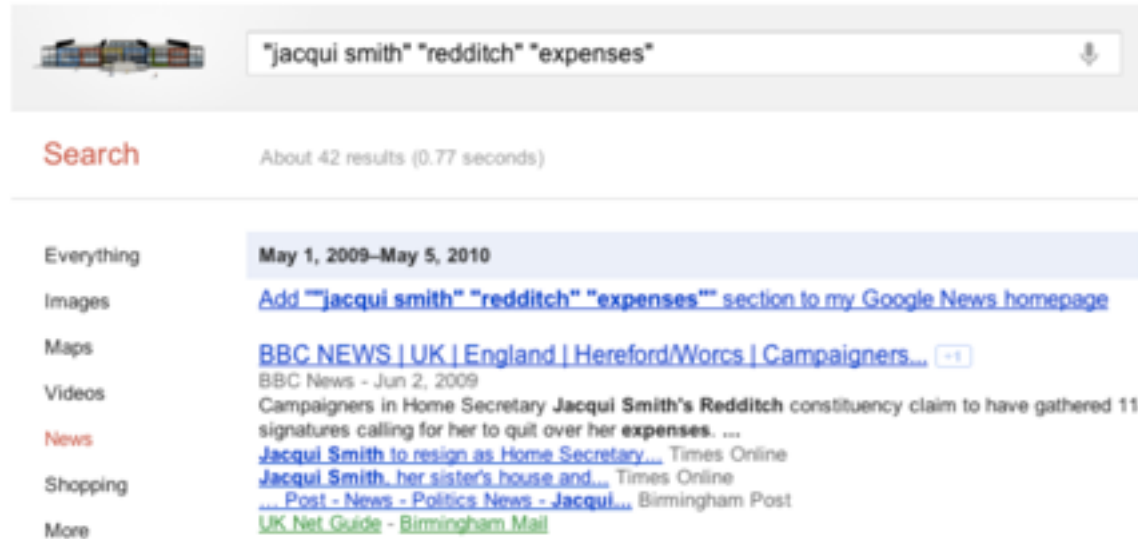


Step 1: count Google News hits for MP's name and constituency between scandal and election



The screenshot shows a Google search interface. The search bar contains the text "jacqui smith redditch". Below the search bar, the word "Search" is displayed in red, followed by the text "About 130 results (0.29 seconds)". On the left side, there is a vertical menu with options: "Everything", "Images", "Maps", "Videos", "News" (highlighted in red), "Shopping", and "More". The main content area shows a date range "May 1, 2009–May 5, 2010" and a link to "Add 'jacqui smith redditch' section to my Google News homepage". Below this, there are several news snippets from BBC News and other sources, including "BBC NEWS | UK | England | Hereford/Worcs | Campaigners..." and "Campaigners in Home Secretary Jacqui Smith's Redditch constituency claim to have gathered 118 signatures calling for her to quit over her expenses."

Step 2: count hits for for MP's name and constituency and the word "expenses"



The screenshot shows a Google search interface. The search bar contains the text "jacqui smith redditch expenses". Below the search bar, the word "Search" is displayed in red, followed by the text "About 42 results (0.77 seconds)". On the left side, there is a vertical menu with options: "Everything", "Images", "Maps", "Videos", "News" (highlighted in red), "Shopping", and "More". The main content area shows a date range "May 1, 2009–May 5, 2010" and a link to "Add 'jacqui smith redditch expenses' section to my Google News homepage". Below this, there are several news snippets from BBC News and other sources, including "BBC NEWS | UK | England | Hereford/Worcs | Campaigners..." and "Campaigners in Home Secretary Jacqui Smith's Redditch constituency claim to have gathered 11 signatures calling for her to quit over her expenses."

Step 3: divide to get implication score

$$\text{Implication}_i = \frac{\#\text{expenses stories}_i}{\#\text{stories}_i + n_0}$$

# How to validate?

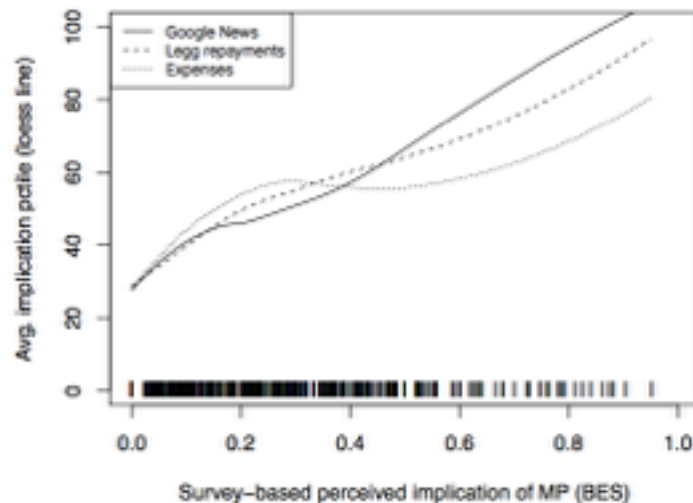
1. Compare with Telegraph's list of "saints" and "sinners"

2. Check list against substantive knowledge

(3. Assess correlation with other possible measures)

Top 5

| MP              | Total stories | Expenses stories | Index |
|-----------------|---------------|------------------|-------|
| Margaret Moran  | 158           | 140              | 0.83  |
| David Chaytor   | 109           | 93               | 0.78  |
| Andrew MacKay   | 111           | 89               | 0.74  |
| Julie Kirkbride | 198           | 147              | 0.71  |
| Peter Viggers   | 92            | 72               | 0.71  |



## Example: Ban, Fournaies, Hall, and Snyder (2015) on political power

**Research question:** Did U.S. Progressive-era reforms weaken state party machines?

**Measurement problem:** How powerful is the state party machine?

**Possible measures:**

- Historians' accounts
- Mayhew's measures, which only apply to 1966-1970



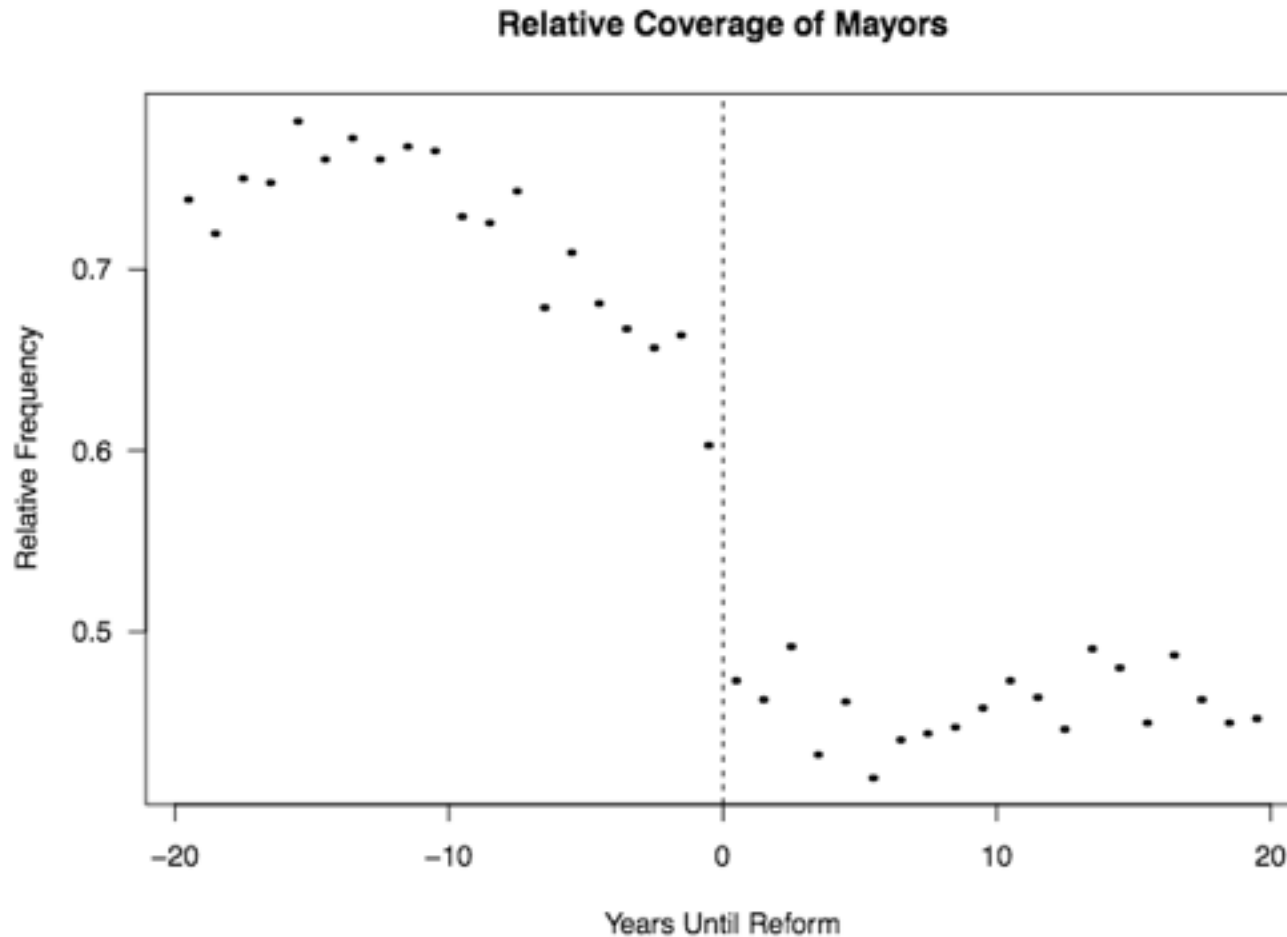
# Ban et al (2015): Using newspaper mentions to measure power

## Procedure:

- Gather huge newspaper database from online sources
  - 3,000+ newspapers
  - 1877-1977
  - 60+ million pages of text
- Count instances (by state and year) when the word “committee” follows within 5 words of “state”, “county”, “district”, “local” etc and “Democratic”, “Republican”, or “GOP”

# Ban et al (2015): validation: do “mentions” measure power?

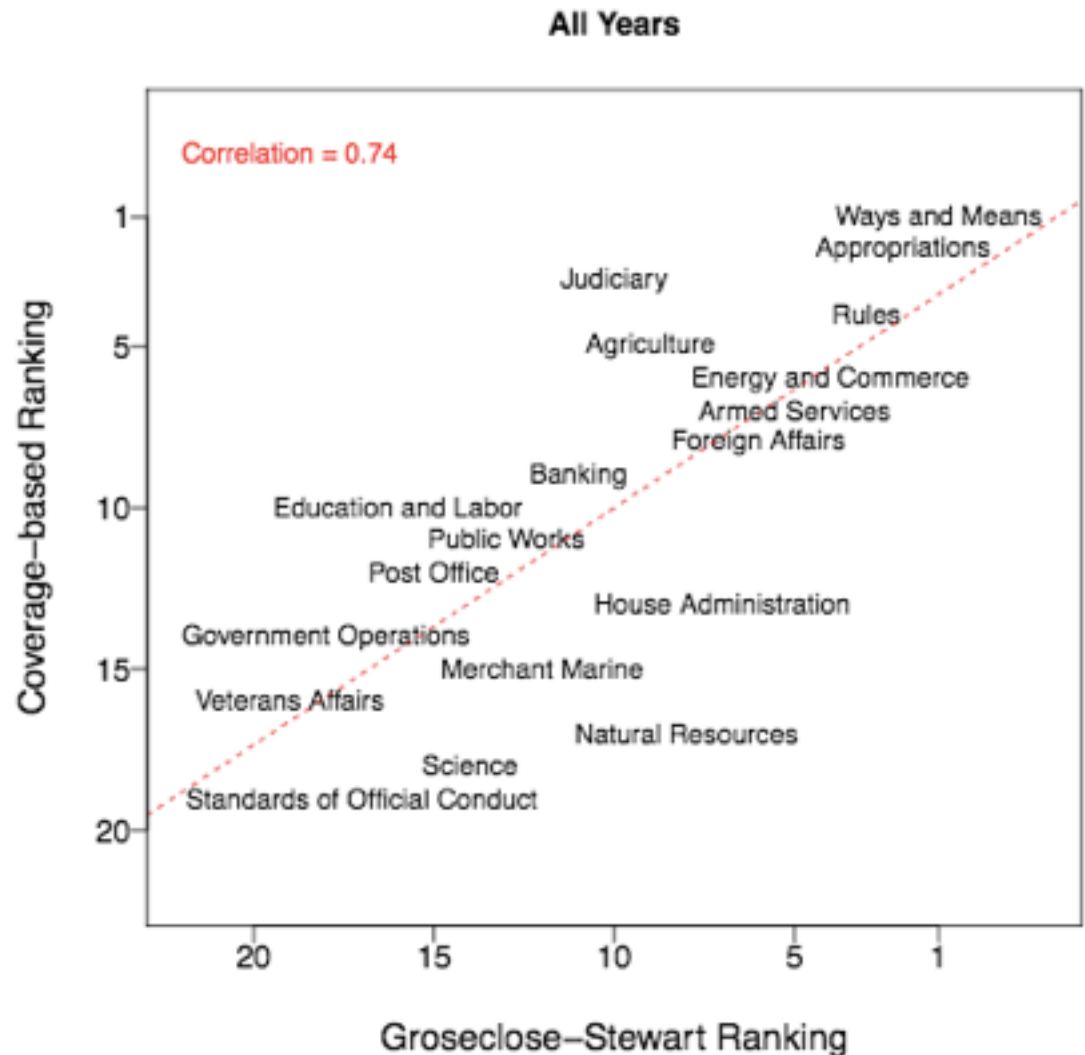
I. Do mayor’s mentions go down when city shifts power to a city manager?





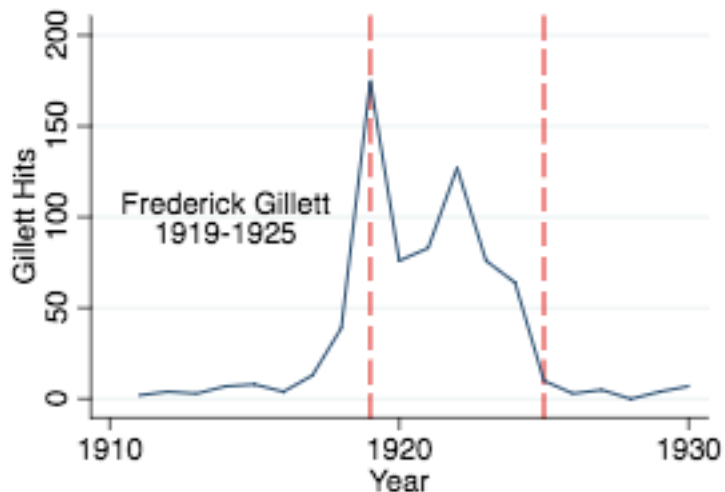
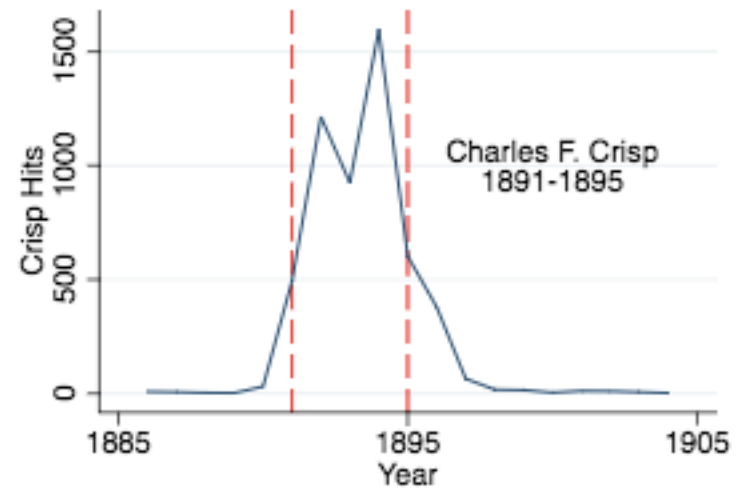
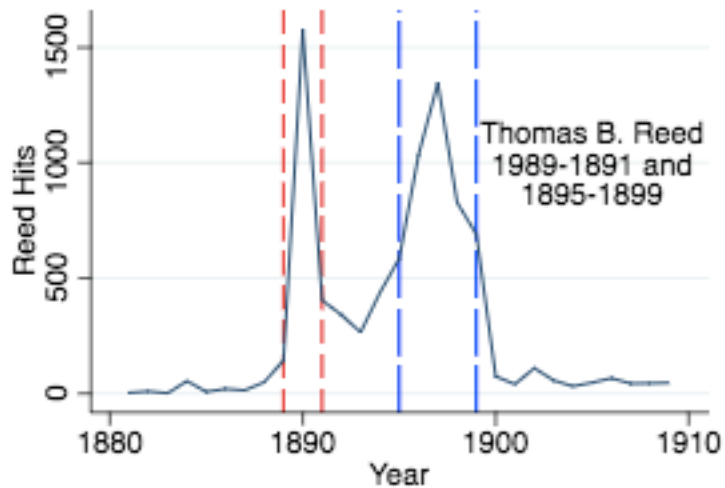
# Ban et al (2015): validation: do “mentions” measure power?

2. Do congressional committees recognized as powerful get mentioned more?



# Ban et al (2015): validation: do “mentions” measure power?

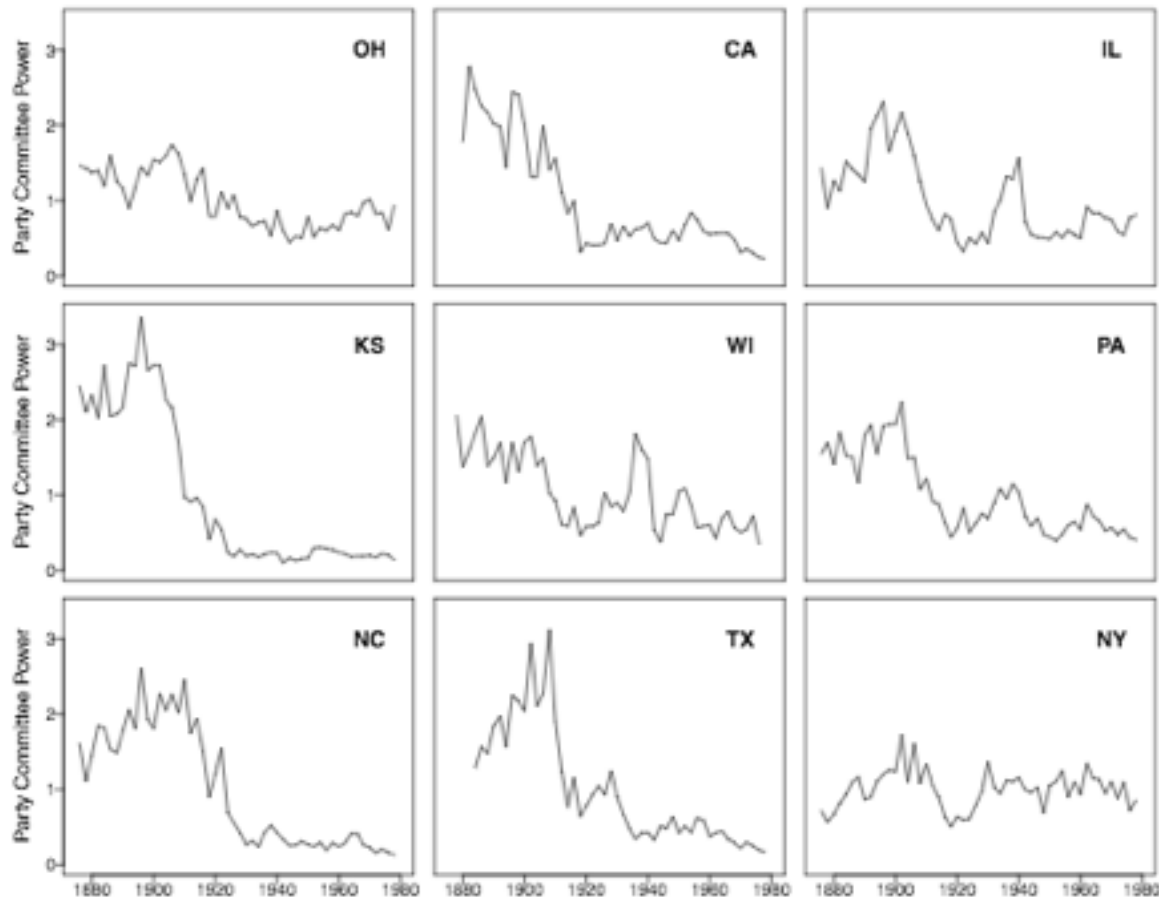
3. Do members of Congress get mentioned more when they occupy leadership positions?



# Ban et al (2015): validation: do “mentions” measure power?

4. How well does measure of party committee power correlate with Mayhew’s TPO scores for 1966-1970? [corr > .5]

Party Committee Power Over Time in Nine U.S. States



# Resources for learning these tools

- Google and the internet: endless tutorials, help pages, etc
- Standard texts for getting started in R, Ruby, Python etc
- in R
  - stringr (for basic text stuff, regular expressions)
  - rvest (for web scraping)
  - Simon Jackman (2006), “Data from the web into R” [old school, but still good on basic process]
  - Gaston Sanchez (2013), “Handling and processing strings in R”
  - Pablo Barberá (2013), “Scraping twitter and web data using R”
- Chris Hanretty (2013), “Scraping the web for arts and humanities” [Python]

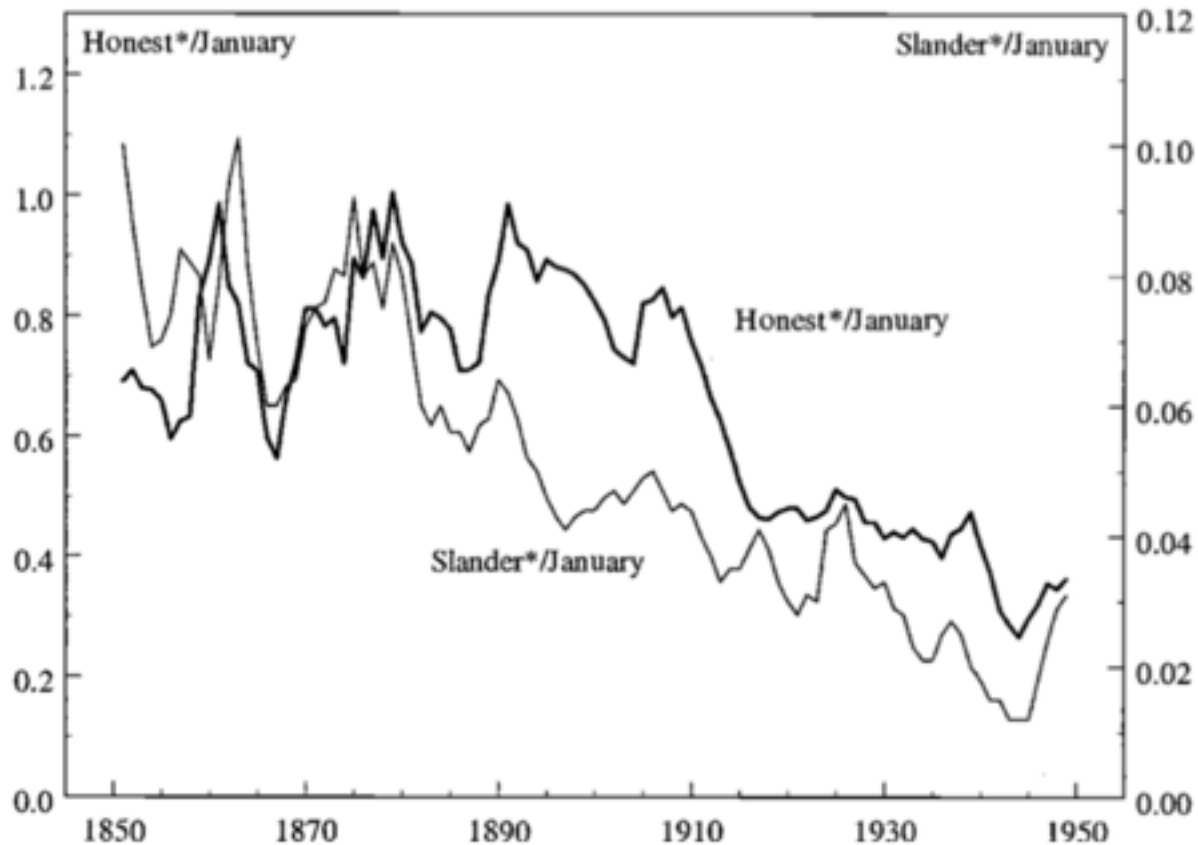
# Take-aways for today

- content analysis is exciting and promising
- research is research:
  - big data + amazing stats + boring question = boring
  - big data + amazing stats + bad research design = bad
- there are many fancy things to do (we'll talk about them)
- before doing those things, you often have to un-fancy things:  
collecting data, counting things
- some of the best research involving text does **nothing** fancy

## Simple example of dictionary methods: Gentzkow et al (“How newspapers became informative and why it mattered”, 2006)

Evidence for a rise in unbiased/informative reporting in U.S. media 1850-1950:

- more papers without explicit political affiliations
- in [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com)'s database of scanned newspaper articles, less use of “honest” & “slander” relative to “January”:



# Gentzkow et al continued

**Alternative explanation:** general change in use of these words.

*The general usage of charged and emotional words did change in the nineteenth century, but the change preceded that in the political press by about a half century. (Gentzkow et al, 195)*

# Gentzkow et al continued

**Alternative explanation:** general change in use of these words.

*The general usage of charged and emotional words did change in the nineteenth century, but the change preceded that in the political press by about a half century. (Gentzkow et al, 1995)*

Google books Ngram Viewer

(released Dec 2010)

Graph these comma-separated phrases:   case-insensitive  
between  and  from the corpus  with smoothing of  [Search lots of books](#)



(click on line/label for focus, right click to expand/contract wildcards)



# A word about n-grams and the “bag of words”

**n-gram:** continuous sequence of n words

The phrase “continuous sequence of n words” contains the following n-grams:

- **unigrams:** continuous, sequence, of, n, words
- **bigrams:** continuous sequence, sequence of, of n, n words
- **trigrams:** continuous sequence of, sequence of n, of n words

The **bag of words** maintains word order only within n-grams.

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```
> t = "ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for  
your country"  
>  
> table(strsplit(t, "\\s+"))[[1]]  
  
ask      can country      do      for      not      what      you  
  2        2        2        2        2        1        2        1  
you;     your  
  1        2  
>  
> require(tau)  
> table(tokenize(t))  
  
16      ;      ask      can country      do      for      not  
what    you    your  
  2      2      2
```

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The **bag of words** maintains word order only within n-grams.

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> t = "ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country"
>
> table(strsplit(t, "\\s+"))[[1]]

      ask      can country      do      for      not      what      you
      2        2        2        2        2        1        2        1
you;      your
 1        2

>
> require(tau)
> table(tokenize(t))

      16      ;      ask      can country      do      for      not
what      you      your
 2        2        2
```

```
> bigrams = function(text){
+ word.vec = strsplit(text, "\\s+"))[[1]]
+ out = c()
+ for(i in 1:(length(word.vec) - 1)){
+   out = c(out, paste(word.vec[i], word.vec[i+1]))
+ }
+ out
+ }
>
> table(bigrams(t))

      ask not      ask what      can do      country can      do for
          1          1          2          1          2
for you;      for your      not what      what you      what your
 1          1          1          1          1          1
you can      you; ask your country
 1          1          2
```

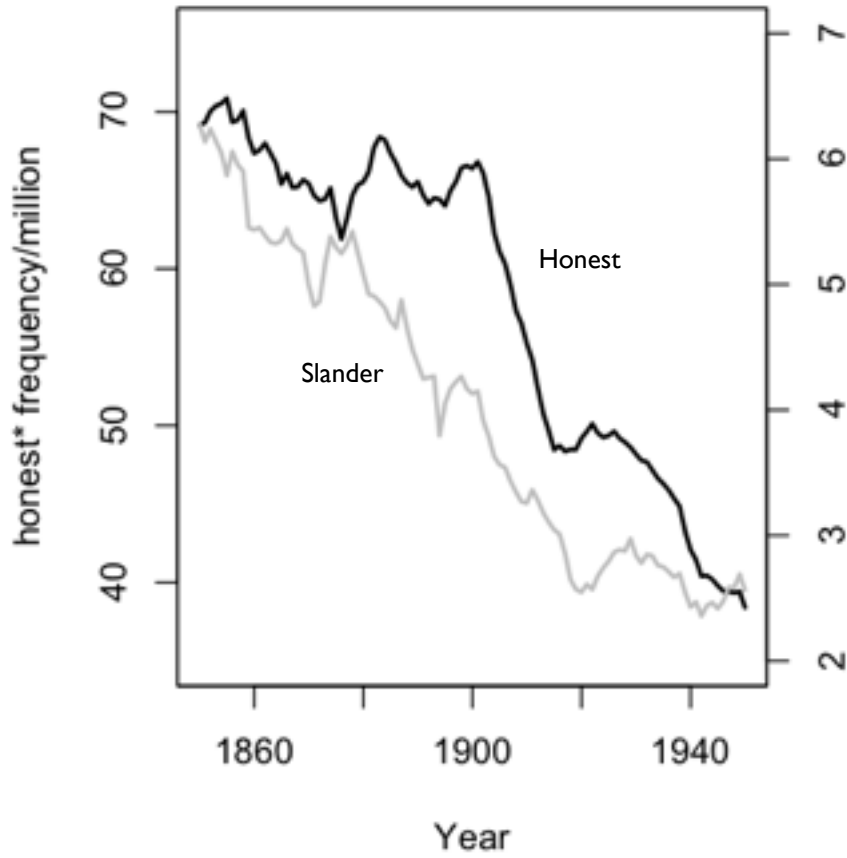
# ngramr: an R interface for Google Ngram database

```
> require(ngramr)
> phrases = c("honest", "honesty", "honestly", "slander", "slanderous", "january") # the words we want
to look up
> # download these counts from Google for US and GB corpora -- takes a little while
> us_eng = ngram(phrases, corpus = "eng_us_2012", year_start = 1850, year_end = 1950, smoothing = 3,
case_ins = T)
> gb_eng = ngram(phrases, corpus = "eng_gb_2012", year_start = 1850, year_end = 1950, smoothing = 3,
case_ins = T)
>
> head(us_eng)
Phrases: honest, honesty, honestly, slander, slanderous, january
Case-sensitive: TRUE
Corpora: eng_us_2012
Smoothing: 3

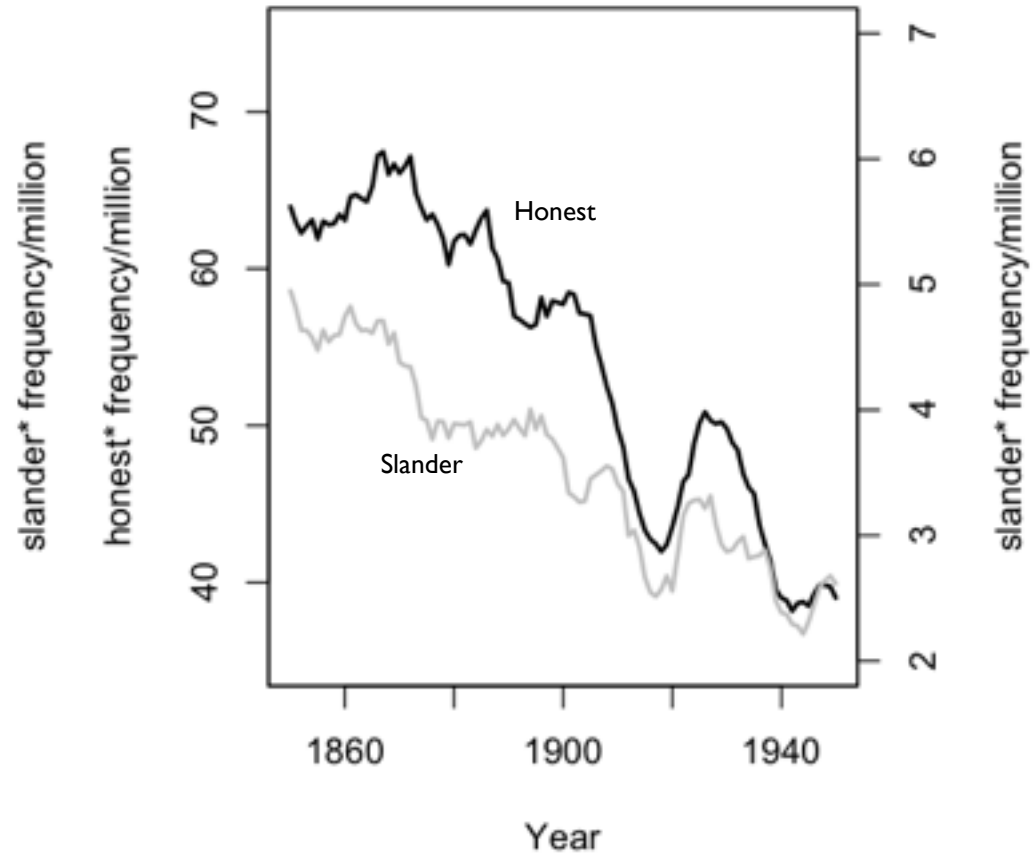
  Year Phrase Frequency      Corpus
1 1850 honest 5.019837e-05 eng_us_2012
2 1851 honest 5.058463e-05 eng_us_2012
3 1852 honest 5.133951e-05 eng_us_2012
4 1853 honest 5.175438e-05 eng_us_2012
5 1854 honest 5.200948e-05 eng_us_2012
6 1855 honest 5.235635e-05 eng_us_2012
> table(us_eng$Phrase)

 honest honesty honestly slander slanderous  january
   101    101     101     101      101      101
```

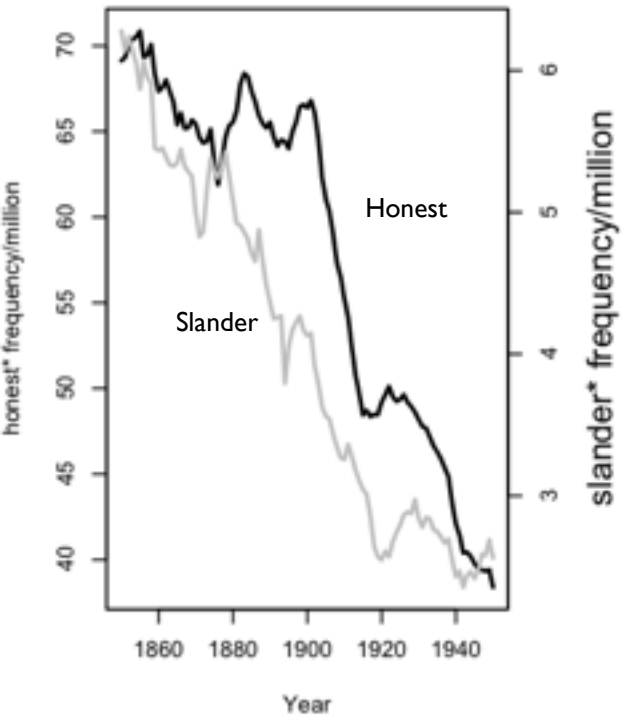
### Books (American English)



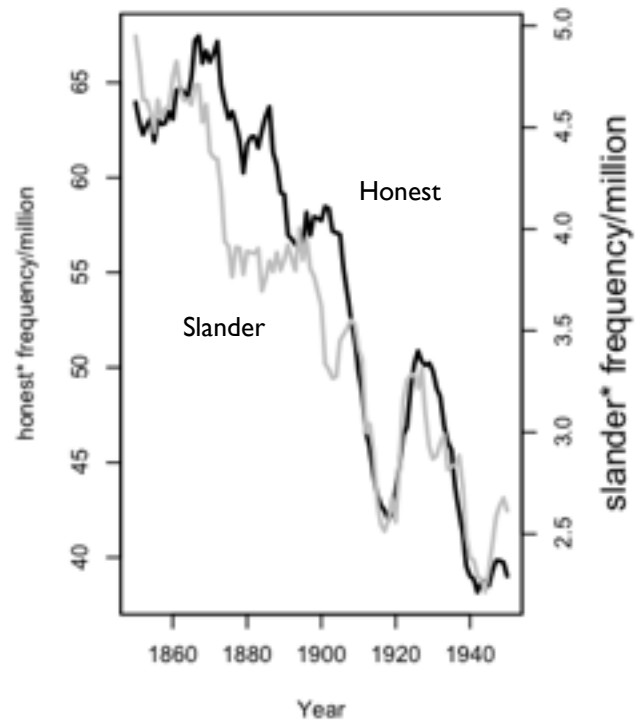
### Books (British English)



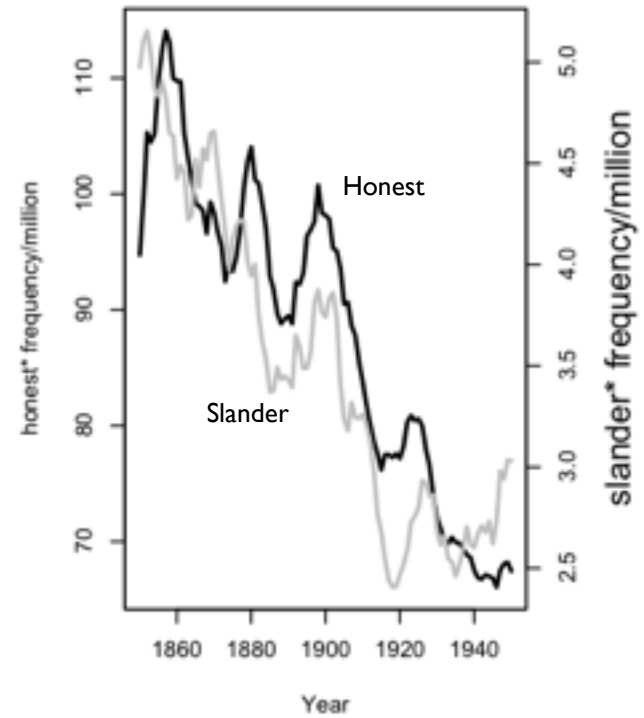
Books (American English)



Books (British English)

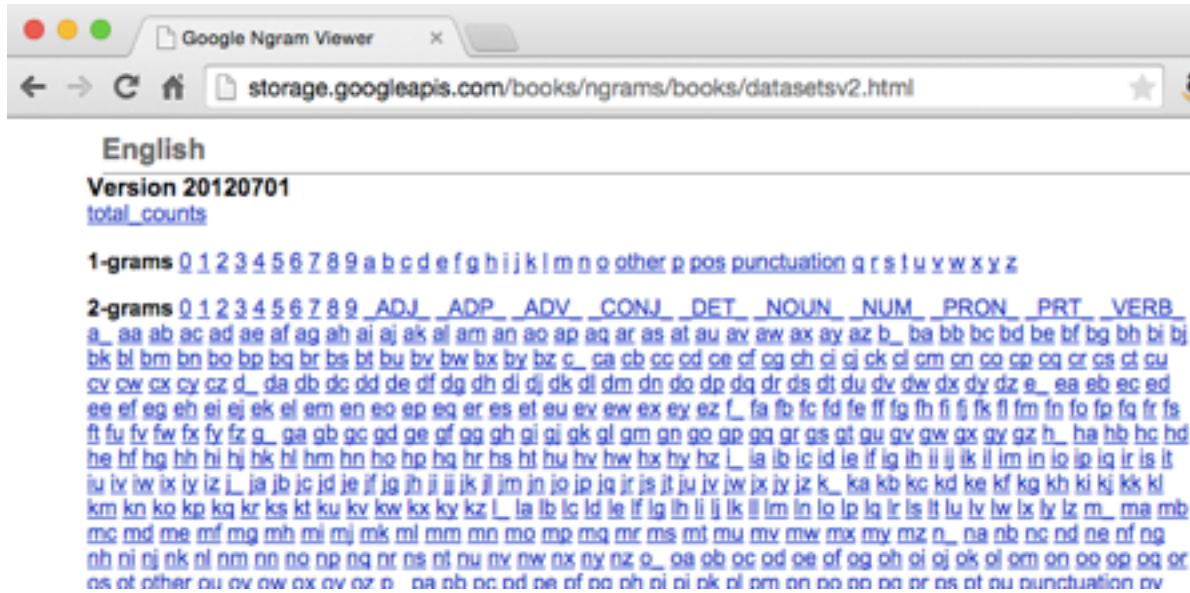


Books (fiction)



# What can Google Ngrams do for you?

A panel dataset: word frequency in the Google Books corpus by ngram-year...



...and not just in English!

## Chinese (simplified)

Version 20120701

[total\\_counts](#)

1-grams [Q](#) [1](#) [2](#) [3](#) [4](#) [5](#) [6](#) [7](#) [8](#) [9](#) [a](#) [b](#) [c](#) [d](#) [e](#) [f](#) [g](#) [h](#) [i](#) [j](#) [k](#) [l](#) [m](#) [n](#) [o](#) [other](#) [p](#) [pos](#) [punctuation](#) [q](#) [r](#) [s](#) [t](#) [u](#) [v](#) [w](#) [x](#) [y](#) [z](#)

2-grams [Q](#) [1](#) [2](#) [3](#) [4](#) [5](#) [6](#) [7](#) [8](#) [9](#) [\\_ADJ\\_](#) [\\_ADP\\_](#) [\\_ADV\\_](#) [\\_CONJ\\_](#) [\\_DET\\_](#) [\\_NOUN\\_](#) [\\_NUM\\_](#) [\\_PRON\\_](#) [\\_PRT\\_](#) [\\_VERB\\_](#)  
[a\\_](#) [aa](#) [ab](#) [ac](#) [ad](#) [ae](#) [af](#) [ag](#) [ah](#) [ai](#) [aj](#) [ak](#) [al](#) [am](#) [an](#) [ao](#) [ap](#) [aq](#) [ar](#) [as](#) [at](#) [au](#) [av](#) [aw](#) [ax](#) [ay](#) [az](#) [b\\_](#) [ba](#) [bb](#) [bc](#) [bd](#) [be](#) [bf](#) [bg](#) [bh](#) [bi](#) [bj](#) [bk](#) [bl](#) [bm](#) [bn](#) [bo](#) [bp](#) [bq](#) [br](#) [bs](#) [bt](#) [bu](#) [bv](#) [bw](#) [bx](#) [by](#) [bz](#) [c\\_](#) [ca](#) [cb](#) [cc](#) [cd](#) [ce](#) [cf](#) [cg](#) [ch](#) [ci](#) [cj](#) [ck](#) [cl](#) [cm](#) [cn](#) [co](#) [cp](#) [cq](#) [cr](#) [cs](#) [ct](#) [cu](#) [cv](#) [cw](#) [cx](#) [cy](#) [cz](#) [d\\_](#) [da](#) [db](#) [dc](#) [dd](#) [de](#) [df](#) [dg](#) [dh](#) [di](#) [dj](#) [dk](#) [dl](#) [dm](#) [dn](#) [do](#) [dp](#) [dq](#) [dr](#) [ds](#) [dt](#) [du](#) [dv](#) [dw](#) [dx](#) [dy](#) [dz](#) [e\\_](#) [ea](#) [eb](#) [ec](#) [ed](#) [ee](#) [ef](#) [eg](#) [eh](#) [ei](#) [ej](#) [ek](#) [el](#) [em](#) [en](#) [eo](#) [ep](#) [eq](#) [er](#) [es](#) [et](#) [eu](#) [ev](#) [ew](#) [ex](#) [ey](#) [ez](#) [f\\_](#) [fa](#) [fb](#) [fc](#) [fd](#) [fe](#) [ff](#) [fg](#) [fh](#) [fi](#) [fj](#) [fk](#) [fl](#) [fm](#) [fn](#) [fo](#) [fp](#) [fq](#) [fr](#) [fs](#) [ft](#) [fu](#) [fv](#) [fw](#) [fx](#) [g\\_](#) [ga](#) [gb](#) [gc](#) [gd](#) [ge](#) [gf](#) [gg](#) [gh](#) [gi](#) [gj](#) [gk](#) [gl](#) [gm](#) [gn](#) [go](#) [gp](#) [gq](#) [gr](#) [gs](#) [gt](#) [gu](#) [gv](#) [gw](#) [gx](#) [gy](#) [h\\_](#) [ha](#) [hb](#) [hc](#) [hd](#) [he](#) [hf](#) [hg](#) [hh](#) [hi](#) [hj](#) [hk](#) [hl](#) [hm](#) [hn](#) [ho](#) [hp](#) [hq](#) [hr](#) [hs](#) [ht](#) [hu](#) [hv](#) [hw](#) [hx](#) [hy](#) [hz](#) [i\\_](#) [ia](#) [ib](#) [ic](#) [id](#) [ie](#) [if](#) [ig](#) [ih](#) [ii](#) [ij](#) [ik](#) [il](#) [im](#) [in](#) [io](#) [ip](#) [iq](#) [ir](#) [is](#) [it](#) [iu](#) [iv](#) [iw](#) [ix](#) [iy](#) [iz](#) [j\\_](#) [ja](#) [jb](#) [jc](#) [jd](#) [je](#) [jf](#) [jg](#) [jh](#) [ji](#) [jj](#) [jk](#) [jl](#) [jm](#) [jn](#) [jo](#) [jp](#) [jq](#) [jr](#) [js](#) [jt](#) [ju](#) [jv](#) [jw](#) [jx](#) [jy](#) [jz](#) [k\\_](#) [ka](#) [kb](#) [kc](#) [kd](#) [ke](#) [kg](#) [kh](#) [ki](#) [kj](#) [kk](#) [kl](#) [km](#) [kn](#) [ko](#) [kp](#) [kq](#) [kr](#) [ks](#) [kt](#) [ku](#) [kv](#) [kw](#) [ky](#) [kz](#) [l\\_](#) [la](#) [lb](#) [lc](#) [ld](#) [le](#) [lf](#) [lg](#) [lh](#) [li](#) [lj](#) [lk](#) [ll](#) [lm](#) [ln](#) [lo](#) [lp](#) [lq](#) [lr](#) [ls](#) [lt](#) [lu](#) [lv](#) [lw](#) [lx](#) [ly](#) [lz](#) [m\\_](#) [ma](#) [mb](#) [mc](#) [md](#) [me](#) [mf](#) [mg](#) [mh](#) [mi](#) [mj](#) [mk](#) [ml](#) [mm](#) [mn](#)

## But...

- Doesn't give you a good research question
- Defines the corpus for you; you may want something narrower
- Handles a huge data processing challenge (scanning, counting) but leaves you with another: "s" unigrams file in English is 2.3G

# What lessons to draw from Gentzkow et al?

- **To admire:** creative and sensible-seeming measure, linked to interesting research question
- **To criticize:** *validity* (and *validation*) of the measure

How do we assess the validity of a new measure?

Tricky problem!

*“We have no valid measures of the informativeness of media, so I propose X.”*

*“Does it work?”*

*“I don’t know, because we have no valid measures of the informativeness of media.”*