

Lowering the Language Barrier - Investigating Deep Transfer Learning and
Machine Translation for Multilingual Analyses of Political Texts

Appendix

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A. Datasets

Supervised machine learning analyses are highly dependent on the underlying data. We therefore provide additional details on the data distribution for the first and second analysis. The language and country codes follow ISO standards (ISO 639-1 and ISO 3166-1 Alpha-3 respectively). The party family codes follow the Manifesto project abbreviations¹.

A1. First analysis

Comparative Manifesto Project has categorised more than a million quasi-sentences from party manifestos in 48 languages from 50 countries since 1945 in the Manifesto Corpus. We use the topic identification task based on its eight high-level topical domains. We include the “No other category applies” class to make the analysis more realistic, as most classification tasks will have some sort of ‘other’ class. Note that this class has very little data and makes the task more difficult. We use a 70/30 train-test split stratified by classes and languages.

Table 1 - Manifesto-8 training data by language

	de	en	es	fr	ko	ru	tr
Economy	1177	1320	1289	1211	750	372	1733
External Relations	452	354	335	388	199	80	383
Fabric of Society	686	625	398	420	163	245	568
Freedom and Democracy	358	263	376	316	214	78	482
No other category applies	32	33	50	29	1	25	56
Political System	446	510	711	743	150	149	330
Social Groups	509	476	467	586	370	149	465
Welfare and Quality of Life	1497	1571	1510	1447	1155	300	1050

Table 2 - Manifesto-8 test data by language

	de	en	es	fr	ko	ru	tr
Economy	995	1056	1039	973	322	158	1441
External Relations	388	272	267	334	86	33	312
Fabric of Society	511	491	304	351	69	106	406
Freedom and Democracy	335	215	312	250	89	33	352

¹ https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/down/papers/Manifesto_Project_Party_Family_Handbook.pdf

No other category applies	29	24	36	20	2	10	43
Political System	348	390	594	554	65	62	260
Social Groups	406	376	360	463	160	63	406
Welfare and Quality of Life	1149	1323	1229	1190	501	127	838

For the **PImPo dataset**, we analyse the stances towards immigration. The crowd annotation task consisted of three main steps: first, determine whether a sentence is about one of the two concepts or not; second, if the text is about one of the concepts, determine which of the two concepts is addressed; third, determine whether the sentence is supportive / sceptical / neutral towards the respective concept. This makes the task a stance detection task which is more complex than the topic identification task in the first dataset. The PImPo project required native speaking crowd-workers where possible, but extended the pool of annotators to potential non-native speakers for languages with too few available crowd workers (Zobel & Lehmann, 2018, p. 1067). The dataset is highly imbalanced: Out of the 200 000+ annotated sentences, the vast majority are not about migration or integration (96%) and only a few hundred sentences per language express a stance towards these concepts of interest.

The dataset also includes stances towards immigrant integration, which we included in the “no topic” class for the purpose of our analysis. Note that the PImPo dataset unfortunately only has little data per language for the individual stances, which makes the test set relatively small for some languages. To increase the test-set size, we use a 60/40 train-test split stratified by classes and languages. Moreover, as the PImPo dataset is highly imbalanced (96% of texts belong to the “no topic” class), we downsample the “no topic” class to maximum 2000 texts per language. Note that only little data was available for French (only Canadian Manifestos were analysed in PImPo) and therefore the maximum no_topic sample in the test-set is 1614 instead of 2000 for French. Methods for addressing data imbalance have been addressed in other research (Miller, Linder, & Mebane, 2020) and we leave more advanced sampling techniques to future research.

Table 3 - PImPo immigration training data by language

	da	de	en	es	fi	fr	nl	no	sv
immigration_neutral	49	99	40	71	4	13	39	22	11
immigration_sceptical	79	299	73	87	38	8	158	108	10
immigration_supportive	58	463	90	142	21	20	134	167	36
no_topic	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000

Table 4 - PImPo immigration test data by language

	da	de	en	es	fi	fr	nl	no	sv
immigration_neutral	32	66	26	48	2	8	26	15	8
immigration_sceptical	52	200	48	58	25	6	105	72	6

immigration_supportive	39	309	60	95	14	14	90	111	24
no_topic	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	1614	2000	2000	2000

A2. Second analysis

The tables below display the data distribution per language and by other variables for the second analysis. For this analysis, we increase the training data size successively by including more languages in three steps. First only English, then English and German, then English, German, Swedish and French. For each language we sample up to 500 texts with stances and an equal number of texts that are not about the topic. For example, this leads to a training dataset of 674 texts in English (337 texts with stances and 337 without) or 1000 texts in German. The test set is always the entire remaining corpus minus the training data. As the corpus is very large and imbalanced (200,000+ texts, 96% about “no-topic”), we downsample the “no-topic” class to 50,000 to reduce the required computations.

Table 5 - PlmPo immigration all data by language

	sv	no	da	fi	nl	es	de	en	fr
immigration_neutral	19	37	81	6	65	119	165	66	21
immigration_sceptical	16	180	131	63	263	145	499	121	14
immigration_supportive	60	278	97	35	224	237	772	150	34
no_topic	1655	7066	1240	1756	6567	8596	13951	8255	914

Table 6 - PlmPo immigration all data by party family

	ECO	LEF	SOC	LIB	CON	AGR	CHR	NAT	SIP	ETH
immigration_neutral	58	75	79	81	62	9	100	65	5	45
immigration_sceptical	41	72	143	156	147	26	261	505	44	37
immigration_supportive	424	255	294	284	144	47	263	59	43	74
no_topic	5448	5828	8817	5745	5975	2728	7106	3187	1903	3263

Table 7 - PlmPo immigration all data by country

	swe	nor	dnk	fin	nld	esp	deu	aut	che	irl	usa	can	aus	nzl
Immigration neutral	19	37	81	6	65	119	68	74	23	34	9	21	19	4
Immigration sceptical	16	180	131	63	263	145	107	297	95	37	42	14	41	1

Immigration supportive	57	278	97	38	224	237	543	151	78	60	38	34	49	3
no_topic	1598	7066	1240	1813	6567	8596	8628	4223	1100	3564	1969	914	1882	840

B. Machine translation

All machine translations are implemented by the authors with free, open-source machine translation algorithms. We use two “M2M-100” models by (Fan et al., 2020), which are capable of translating 100 different languages in all language directions. We use these models as they provide good translation quality, while covering all languages and translation directions in our datasets. For the first analysis we tested both the medium sized M2M100_418M² model and the large M2M100_1.2B³ model and the final results were calculated based on translations from the larger model. As the 1.2B model is very slow and we did not notice meaningful differences when we trained our classifiers with texts translated by the medium sized model, we only used the medium sized model for the second analysis. The main advantage of these algorithms is that they are freely available online, cover many translation directions, and are relatively easy to use with the EasyNMT package⁴. Their disadvantage is that they are relatively large encoder-decoder Transformers and require a GPU to translate larger corpora.

C. BERT variants for supervised classification

While we refer to “BERT“ in the main text for simplicity (Devlin, Chang, Lee, & Toutanova, 2019), we actually use “**DeBERTaV3**” (He, Gao, & Chen, 2021) for all experiments, except Sentence-BERT. There are three main differences between BERT and DeBERTaV3: “First, it is pre-trained on more data. The original BERT model is trained on 16GB of text from Wikipedia and Books, while DeBERTaV3 is trained on 78GB of text from Wikipedia, books, web texts like blogs, story-like texts, and news. Second, DeBERTaV3 uses ‘disentangled attention’, where each token (word) is not only represented as one vector, but as two vectors: one representing the word’s content and one representing its position in the text. Third, version three of DeBERTa (hence DeBERTaV3) does not use the classical masked-language-modeling objective for pre-training anymore, but uses replaced-token-detection, which is more effective at creating general language representations” (appendix of Laurer, Van Atteveldt, Casas, & Welbers, 2023). Moreover, a multilingual version of DeBERTaV3 is also available, which makes direct comparisons between an English and multilingual model easier.

² https://huggingface.co/facebook/m2m100_418M

³ https://huggingface.co/facebook/m2m100_1.2B

⁴ <https://github.com/UKPLab/EasyNMT>

The **BERT-NLI** models were trained by the authors. We used (m)DeBERTaV3 as a base model. The English variant was trained on a collection of several hundred thousand English hypothesis-context pairs, creating the English “DeBERTa-v3-base-mnli-fever-anli” in base size and “DeBERTa-v3-large-mnli-fever-anli-ling-wanli” in large size. These models are similar to, but slightly updated versions of the BERT-NLI model used in (Laurer et al., 2023). For more information on the datasets used, please refer to this prior publication and the following Hugging Face model repository.⁵ Moreover, for this paper we also created an improved multilingual model. We first took the English hypothesis-context pairs and machine translated a random sample of 105 000 texts for each of 26 different languages. This created a multilingual NLI training dataset of 2 730 000 NLI text pairs. The languages were chosen based on two criteria: (1) They are either included in the list of the 20 most spoken languages on Wikipedia⁶ in August 2022 (excluding Telugu and Nigerian Pidgin, for which no machine translation model was available); (2) or they are spoken in polit-economically important countries such as the G20 or Iran and Israel. Based on the information available on Wikipedia, the languages are spoken by more than 4 billion people. The resulting dataset “multilingual-NLI-26lang-2mil7”⁷ and model “mDeBERTa-v3-base-xnli-multilingual-nli-2mil7”⁸ are also freely available online in Moritz Laurer’s Hugging Face repository.

No **Sentence-BERT** variant based on DeBERTaV3 was available online. We therefore chose the best performing Sentence-BERT variant available on sbert.net which provided both an English and multilingual version (as of August 2022): “paraphrase-multilingual-mpnet-base-v2” as the multilingual variant, and “paraphrase-mpnet-base-v2” as the English variant (Reimers & Gurevych, 2019, 2020).⁹ For the **Logistic Regression**, we use the Scikit-learn implementation (Pedregosa et al., 2011).¹⁰

D. Details on the analyses

D1. Combinations of algorithms, MT and data augmentation in analysis 1

The first analysis required a relatively complex analysis pipeline that can handle many different combinations of algorithms, MT and data augmentation strategies. To reduce computation costs, we translated all texts in all other languages once. The downstream analyses were then always on

⁵ All models are available at: <https://huggingface.co/MoritzLaurer>

⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_languages_by_total_number_of_speakers

⁷ <https://huggingface.co/datasets/MoritzLaurer/multilingual-NLI-26lang-2mil7>

⁸ <https://huggingface.co/MoritzLaurer/mDeBERTa-v3-base-xnli-multilingual-nli-2mil7>

⁹ https://sbert.net/docs/pretrained_models.html

¹⁰ https://scikit-learn.org/stable/modules/generated/sklearn.linear_model.LogisticRegression.html

a subset of this large, augmented dataset. The tables below display which combinations were possible, and which subset of the data was used for training and testing. “Iter” denotes the number of iterations for training and testing necessary for the approach; “lang-original train” denotes the original language of the training data; “lang-trans train” denotes the translated/augmented language of the training data used in the analysis; “lang-original test” denotes the original language of the test data; “lang-trans test” denotes the translated language of the training data used in the analysis.

Table 8 - Low-resource training data scenario: Combinations of algorithms and machine translation

MT Strategy / Algorithms	no-MT	one2anchor	one2many
TF-IDF + Logistic Regression	NA	Iterations: 1 train ¹¹ , 7 test lang-original train: one (en) lang-trans train: anchor (en) lang-original test: target 7x lang-trans test: anchor (en)	NA
Sent.-BERT-mono + Log. Reg	NA	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: one (en) lang-trans train: anchor (en) lang-original test: target 7x lang-trans test: anchor (en)	NA
Sent.-BERT-multi + Log. Reg.	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: one (en) lang-trans train: - (one) lang-original test: target 7x lang-trans test: - (target 7x)	Iter: 7 train, 7 test lang-original train: one (en) lang-trans train: one (en) + target-lang lang-original test: target 7x lang-trans test: target 7x	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: one (en) lang-trans train: one (en) + many lang-original test: target 7x lang-trans test: - (target 7x)
BERT-mono (Both BERT-base and BERT-NLI)	NA	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: one (en) lang-trans train: anchor (en) lang-original test: target 7x lang-trans test: anchor (en)	NA
BERT-multi (Both mBERT-base and mBERT-NLI)	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: one (en) lang-trans train: - (one) lang-original test: target 7x lang-trans test: - (target 7x)	Iter: 7 train, 7 test lang-original train: one (en) lang-trans train: one (en) + target-lang lang-original test: target 7x lang-trans test: target 7x	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: one (en) lang-trans train: one (en) + many lang-original test: target 7x lang-trans test: - (target 7x)

¹¹ In practice, we needed to vectorize the train set 7 different times to meet Scikit-learn TF-IDF requirements, when vectorizing the train and test set together.

Table 9 - Higher-resource training data scenario: Combinations of algorithms and machine translation

MT Strategy / Algorithms	no-MT	many2anchor	many2many
TF-IDF + Logistic Regression	(separate models per lang) Iterations: 7 train, 7 test lang-original train: one lang-trans train: - (one) lang-original test: one lang-trans test: - (one)	Iterations: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: anchor (en) lang-original test: many lang-trans test: anchor (en)	(separate models per lang) Iterations: 7 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: one lang-original test: one lang-trans test: one
Sent.-BERT-mono + Log. Reg	(separate models per lang) Iter: 7 train, 7 test lang-original train: one lang-trans train: - (one) lang-original test: one lang-trans test: - (one)	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: anchor (en) lang-original test: many lang-trans test: anchor (en)	(separate models per lang) Iter: 7 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: one lang-original test: one lang-trans test: one
Sent.-BERT-multi + Log. Reg.	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: - (many-original) lang-original test: many lang-trans test: - (many-original)	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: - many-original +many2anchor lang-original test: many lang-trans test: - (many-original)	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: many-original + many2many lang-original test: many lang-trans test: - (many-original)
BERT-mono (Both BERT-base and BERT-NLI)	(separate models per lang) Iter: 7 train, 7 test lang-original train: one lang-trans train: - (one) lang-original test: one lang-trans test: - (one)	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: anchor (en) lang-original test: many lang-trans test: anchor (en)	(separate models per lang) Iter: 7 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: one lang-original test: one lang-trans test: one
BERT-multi (Both mBERT-base and mBERT-NLI)	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: - (many-original) lang-original test: many lang-trans test: - (many-original)	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: - many-original +many2anchor lang-original test: many lang-trans test: - (many-original)	Iter: 1 train, 7 test lang-original train: many lang-trans train: many-original + many2many lang-original test: many lang-trans test: - (many-original)

D2: Exact metrics

The tables below display the exact metrics that were used for figure 2 in the main text.

Table 10 - Low-resource scenario: 500 English training texts, tests on 7 languages

algorithm	language representation	MT augmentation	Manifesto				PImPo			
			F1 Macro	Acc.	F1 Std.	Acc. Std.	F1 Macro	Acc.	F1 Std.	Acc. Std.
BERT-NLI	multiling-embeddings	one2many	0,44	0,53	0,033	0,046	0,49	0,94	0,034	0,04
		one2anchor	0,41	0,49	0,03	0,046	0,45	0,94	0,048	0,035
		no-mt-mono	0,4	0,48	0,03	0,043	0,45	0,92	0,046	0,039
	monoling-embeddings	one2anchor	0,41	0,49	0,028	0,041	0,49	0,94	0,037	0,039
BERT-base	multiling-embeddings	one2many	0,37	0,49	0,031	0,041	0,45	0,94	0,039	0,042
		one2anchor	0,33	0,45	0,023	0,028	0,45	0,93	0,031	0,042
		no-mt-mono	0,27	0,4	0,028	0,055	0,42	0,93	0,029	0,046
	monoling-embeddings	one2anchor	0,34	0,44	0,027	0,036	0,44	0,94	0,039	0,043
Sent.-BERT + Log. Reg.	multiling-embeddings	one2many	0,39	0,51	0,032	0,04	0,45	0,93	0,05	0,04
		one2anchor	0,38	0,49	0,032	0,043	0,44	0,94	0,041	0,041
		no-mt-mono	0,39	0,5	0,027	0,037	0,42	0,93	0,033	0,045
	monoling-embeddings	one2anchor	0,36	0,46	0,024	0,032	0,44	0,94	0,045	0,044
Logistic Regression	TF-IDF	one2anchor	0,27	0,4	0,019	0,027	0,35	0,92	0,028	0,052

Table 11 - Higher-resource scenario: 500 training texts for 7 languages each

algorithm	language representation	MT augmentation	Manifesto				PImPo			
			F1 Macro	Acc.	F1 Std.	Acc. Std.	F1 Macro	Acc.	F1 Std.	Acc. Std.
BERT-NLI	multiling-embeddings	many2many	0,49	0,58	0,044	0,052	0,49	0,95	0,058	0,03
		many2anchor	0,48	0,57	0,05	0,062	0,48	0,93	0,043	0,038
		no-mt-multi	0,47	0,56	0,042	0,058	0,47	0,93	0,039	0,042
	monoling*-embeddings	many2many* **	0,42	0,52	0,032	0,041	0,47	0,94	0,061	0,032
		many2anchor	0,46	0,55	0,036	0,04	0,49	0,94	0,05	0,034
		no-mt-multi* **	0,39	0,48	0,042	0,05	0,47	0,94	0,048	0,046
BERT-base	multiling-embeddings	many2many	0,45	0,56	0,044	0,058	0,5	0,93	0,063	0,031
		many2anchor	0,47	0,58	0,048	0,062	0,54	0,95	0,046	0,033

		no-mt-multi	0,47	0,58	0,052	0,067	0,52	0,94	0,047	0,037
	monoling*- embeddings	many2many* **	0,42	0,53	0,03	0,039	0,48	0,94	0,069	0,033
		many2anchor	0,45	0,55	0,036	0,038	0,53	0,95	0,043	0,035
		no-mt-multi* **	0,36	0,46	0,05	0,061	0,42	0,93	0,068	0,053
Sent.-BERT + Log. Reg.	multiling- embeddings	many2many	0,46	0,57	0,045	0,052	0,51	0,94	0,038	0,035
		many2anchor	0,47	0,58	0,046	0,054	0,51	0,95	0,041	0,034
		no-mt-multi	0,47	0,59	0,046	0,053	0,51	0,95	0,044	0,033
	monoling*- embeddings	many2many* **	0,45	0,56	0,046	0,057	0,49	0,94	0,049	0,032
		many2anchor	0,44	0,55	0,036	0,039	0,52	0,95	0,046	0,034
		no-mt-multi* **	0,44	0,55	0,066	0,077	0,46	0,94	0,053	0,047
Logistic Regression	TF-IDF	many2many**	0,37	0,49	0,039	0,047	0,43	0,91	0,043	0,059
		many2anchor	0,38	0,5	0,038	0,04	0,42	0,94	0,029	0,044
		no-mt-multi**	0,33	0,45	0,058	0,073	0,39	0,94	0,068	0,048

* For these combinations of approaches, we had to use mBERT with monolingual input, as monolingual Transformers do not exist for all languages.

** These approaches required training different models for each language, as the training data is multilingual, but the model is monolingual.

In addition, the tables below displays the F1 score for each individual class separately. Note that these values are averages over multiple random seeds and multiple languages, as the table would have been too long otherwise. The tables display the numeric class labels. These can be mapped to the following labels:

- Manifesto: {0: 'Economy', 1: 'External Relations', 2: 'Fabric of Society', 3: 'Freedom and Democracy', 4: 'No other category applies', 5: 'Political System', 6: 'Social Groups', 7: 'Welfare and Quality of Life'}
- PImPo: {0: 'immigration_neutral', 1: 'immigration_sceptical', 2: 'immigration_supportive', 3: 'no_topic'}

The column “F1-lang-std” refers to the cross-language standard deviation of F1-macro scores.

We observe that, for the Manifesto datasets, the most difficult class is the “No other category applies” class, which contains text that does not fit into the other classes. We included this category to increase the realism of the task. For the PImPo dataset, we observe that the immigration_neutral class is the most difficult class, while the “no_topic” class is easy to learn and constitutes the majority of all texts. These observations underline the importance of metrics like F1-macro, which attribute equal importance to all classes independently of their size.

Table 12 - Manifesto dataset per-class F1 metrics

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	vectorizer	augmentation	method	F1-lang-std
0.66	0.64	0.51	0.49	0.07	0.49	0.64	0.39	embeddings-multi	many2many	nli	0.04
0.66	0.65	0.5	0.52	0.06	0.49	0.64	0.39	embeddings-multi	many2many	nli	0.05
0.66	0.61	0.49	0.47	0.05	0.48	0.64	0.39	embeddings-multi	many2anchor	nli	0.05
0.66	0.62	0.5	0.46	0.06	0.49	0.64	0.42	embeddings-multi	many2anchor	nli	0.05
0.63	0.6	0.44	0.44	0.03	0.43	0.6	0.37	embeddings-multi	one2many	nli	0.03
0.62	0.59	0.43	0.43	0.03	0.44	0.61	0.36	embeddings-multi	one2many	nli	0.04
0.61	0.55	0.4	0.39	0.04	0.39	0.57	0.35	embeddings-multi	one2anchor	nli	0.03
0.6	0.54	0.39	0.4	0.02	0.39	0.57	0.35	embeddings-multi	one2anchor	nli	0.03
0.66	0.61	0.48	0.44	0.02	0.47	0.63	0.41	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-many	nli	0.04
0.65	0.61	0.48	0.44	0.02	0.47	0.63	0.42	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-many	nli	0.04
0.59	0.54	0.4	0.38	0.03	0.37	0.55	0.36	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-single	nli	0.03
0.59	0.54	0.4	0.38	0.03	0.37	0.55	0.36	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-single	nli	0.03
0.62	0.56	0.43	0.45	0.03	0.41	0.59	0.35	embeddings-en	many2many	nli	0.04
0.62	0.56	0.42	0.43	0.02	0.42	0.59	0.34	embeddings-en	many2many	nli	0.03
0.64	0.58	0.45	0.48	0.04	0.45	0.63	0.39	embeddings-en	many2anchor	nli	0.04
0.65	0.61	0.46	0.48	0.04	0.45	0.63	0.4	embeddings-en	many2anchor	nli	0.03
0.59	0.52	0.41	0.43	0.03	0.4	0.56	0.36	embeddings-en	one2anchor	nli	0.03
0.59	0.5	0.39	0.42	0.03	0.4	0.55	0.36	embeddings-en	one2anchor	nli	0.03
0.59	0.51	0.39	0.4	0.04	0.37	0.54	0.3	embeddings-en	no-nmt-many	nli	0.04
0.59	0.51	0.39	0.4	0.04	0.37	0.54	0.3	embeddings-en	no-nmt-many	nli	0.04
0.65	0.61	0.46	0.46	0.03	0.37	0.43	0.63	embeddings-multi	many2many	standard_dl	0.04
0.65	0.63	0.47	0.46	0.02	0.39	0.43	0.62	embeddings-multi	many2many	standard_dl	0.05
0.66	0.64	0.48	0.48	0.02	0.41	0.44	0.64	embeddings-multi	many2anchor	standard_dl	0.05
0.66	0.63	0.49	0.49	0.05	0.38	0.42	0.65	embeddings-multi	many2anchor	standard_dl	0.06
0.6	0.49	0.39	0.31	0.01	0.31	0.29	0.56	embeddings-multi	one2many	standard_dl	0.03
0.58	0.51	0.38	0.35	0	0.26	0.26	0.54	embeddings-multi	one2many	standard_dl	0.03
0.55	0.49	0.34	0.27	0	0.28	0.2	0.53	embeddings-multi	one2anchor	standard_dl	0.02
0.57	0.47	0.33	0.27	0	0.3	0.21	0.54	embeddings-multi	one2anchor	standard_dl	0.03
0.66	0.63	0.49	0.49	0.03	0.37	0.44	0.64	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-many	standard_dl	0.05
0.66	0.64	0.48	0.48	0.02	0.36	0.46	0.64	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-many	standard_dl	0.05
0.53	0.4	0.3	0.13	0	0.25	0.11	0.47	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-single	standard_dl	0.03
0.54	0.44	0.3	0.13	0	0.21	0.11	0.47	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-single	standard_dl	0.03
0.62	0.58	0.43	0.43	0.02	0.34	0.39	0.59	embeddings-en	many2many	standard_dl	0.03
0.62	0.56	0.45	0.44	0.01	0.33	0.39	0.6	embeddings-en	many2many	standard_dl	0.03
0.65	0.63	0.49	0.48	0.02	0.4	0.41	0.64	embeddings-en	many2anchor	standard_dl	0.04
0.63	0.61	0.45	0.47	0.01	0.39	0.42	0.63	embeddings-en	many2anchor	standard_dl	0.04
0.55	0.46	0.34	0.3	0	0.3	0.2	0.53	embeddings-en	one2anchor	standard_dl	0.03
0.55	0.49	0.36	0.31	0	0.31	0.25	0.53	embeddings-en	one2anchor	standard_dl	0.03
0.54	0.48	0.38	0.36	0.01	0.29	0.29	0.54	embeddings-en	no-nmt-many	standard_dl	0.05

0.54	0.48	0.39	0.35	0.01	0.3	0.29	0.54	embeddings-en	no-nmt-many	standard_dl	0.05
0.65	0.62	0.47	0.49	0.01	0.4	0.43	0.63	embeddings-multi	many2many	classical_ml	0.05
0.65	0.61	0.47	0.48	0.01	0.4	0.43	0.64	embeddings-multi	many2many	classical_ml	0.04
0.66	0.63	0.48	0.5	0.01	0.41	0.43	0.64	embeddings-multi	many2anchor	classical_ml	0.05
0.66	0.63	0.48	0.5	0.01	0.41	0.44	0.64	embeddings-multi	many2anchor	classical_ml	0.05
0.58	0.49	0.39	0.38	0	0.33	0.31	0.57	embeddings-multi	one2many	classical_ml	0.03
0.6	0.51	0.41	0.37	0	0.35	0.31	0.58	embeddings-multi	one2many	classical_ml	0.03
0.58	0.5	0.4	0.37	0	0.34	0.32	0.57	embeddings-multi	one2anchor	classical_ml	0.03
0.59	0.5	0.4	0.37	0	0.35	0.31	0.57	embeddings-multi	one2anchor	classical_ml	0.03
0.66	0.63	0.49	0.51	0.01	0.41	0.44	0.64	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-many	classical_ml	0.05
0.66	0.63	0.49	0.51	0.01	0.41	0.44	0.64	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-many	classical_ml	0.05
0.59	0.51	0.4	0.37	0	0.35	0.3	0.57	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-single	classical_ml	0.03
0.59	0.51	0.4	0.37	0	0.35	0.3	0.57	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-single	classical_ml	0.03
0.64	0.6	0.45	0.48	0.01	0.39	0.41	0.62	embeddings-en	many2many	classical_ml	0.05
0.64	0.61	0.45	0.48	0.02	0.39	0.43	0.62	embeddings-en	many2many	classical_ml	0.05
0.63	0.59	0.44	0.46	0	0.38	0.39	0.6	embeddings-en	many2anchor	classical_ml	0.04
0.63	0.62	0.46	0.47	0	0.39	0.41	0.62	embeddings-en	many2anchor	classical_ml	0.04
0.55	0.46	0.37	0.35	0	0.31	0.31	0.52	embeddings-en	one2anchor	classical_ml	0.02
0.56	0.48	0.39	0.36	0	0.31	0.32	0.53	embeddings-en	one2anchor	classical_ml	0.02
0.63	0.59	0.45	0.47	0.01	0.37	0.39	0.59	embeddings-en	no-nmt-many	classical_ml	0.07
0.63	0.59	0.45	0.47	0.01	0.37	0.4	0.59	embeddings-en	no-nmt-many	classical_ml	0.07
0.56	0.45	0.38	0.41	0.02	0.28	0.34	0.56	tfidf	many2many	classical_ml	0.05
0.57	0.43	0.36	0.4	0.01	0.28	0.33	0.55	tfidf	many2many	classical_ml	0.04
0.59	0.48	0.37	0.39	0	0.3	0.36	0.58	tfidf	many2anchor	classical_ml	0.04
0.58	0.45	0.37	0.39	0	0.3	0.34	0.57	tfidf	many2anchor	classical_ml	0.04
0.49	0.26	0.27	0.21	0.01	0.21	0.26	0.49	tfidf	one2anchor	classical_ml	0.02
0.49	0.26	0.27	0.23	0.01	0.21	0.26	0.49	tfidf	one2anchor	classical_ml	0.02
0.53	0.34	0.33	0.33	0.01	0.27	0.29	0.52	tfidf	no-nmt-many	classical_ml	0.06
0.53	0.34	0.33	0.33	0.01	0.27	0.29	0.52	tfidf	no-nmt-many	classical_ml	0.06

Table 13 - PlmPo dataset per-class F1 metrics

0	1	2	3	vectorizer	augmentation	method	F1-lang-std
0.04	0.44	0.51	0.98	embeddings-multi	many2many	nli	0.06
0.11	0.36	0.47	0.98	embeddings-multi	many2anchor	nli	0.04
0.15	0.4	0.44	0.98	embeddings-multi	one2many	nli	0.03
0.08	0.29	0.44	0.98	embeddings-multi	one2anchor	nli	0.05
0.08	0.42	0.4	0.98	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-many	nli	0.04
0.13	0.34	0.34	0.98	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-single	nli	0.05
0.06	0.4	0.43	0.98	embeddings-en	many2many	nli	0.06
0.04	0.44	0.5	0.98	embeddings-en	many2anchor	nli	0.05
0.12	0.38	0.49	0.98	embeddings-en	one2anchor	nli	0.04
0.08	0.37	0.44	0.98	embeddings-en	no-nmt-many	nli	0.05
0.14	0.38	0.49	0.98	embeddings-multi	many2many	standard_dl	0.06
0.21	0.44	0.53	0.98	embeddings-multi	many2anchor	standard_dl	0.05
0.1	0.28	0.44	0.98	embeddings-multi	one2many	standard_dl	0.04
0.14	0.26	0.43	0.98	embeddings-multi	one2anchor	standard_dl	0.03
0.18	0.43	0.47	0.98	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-many	standard_dl	0.05
0.09	0.29	0.31	0.97	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-single	standard_dl	0.03
0.15	0.36	0.45	0.98	embeddings-en	many2many	standard_dl	0.07
0.16	0.46	0.5	0.98	embeddings-en	many2anchor	standard_dl	0.04
0.1	0.31	0.37	0.98	embeddings-en	one2anchor	standard_dl	0.04
0.09	0.3	0.32	0.97	embeddings-en	no-nmt-many	standard_dl	0.07
0.14	0.43	0.49	0.98	embeddings-multi	many2many	classical_ml	0.04
0.13	0.43	0.51	0.98	embeddings-multi	many2anchor	classical_ml	0.04
0.1	0.29	0.42	0.97	embeddings-multi	one2many	classical_ml	0.05
0.1	0.28	0.42	0.97	embeddings-multi	one2anchor	classical_ml	0.04
0.11	0.43	0.51	0.98	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-many	classical_ml	0.04
0.06	0.31	0.35	0.97	embeddings-multi	no-nmt-single	classical_ml	0.03
0.11	0.4	0.47	0.98	embeddings-en	many2many	classical_ml	0.05
0.14	0.43	0.51	0.98	embeddings-en	many2anchor	classical_ml	0.05
0.11	0.31	0.38	0.98	embeddings-en	one2anchor	classical_ml	0.05
0.11	0.34	0.42	0.98	embeddings-en	no-nmt-many	classical_ml	0.05
0.1	0.32	0.36	0.97	tfidf	many2many	classical_ml	0.04
0.04	0.29	0.37	0.97	tfidf	many2anchor	classical_ml	0.03
0.04	0.12	0.26	0.96	tfidf	one2anchor	classical_ml	0.03
0.08	0.27	0.25	0.97	tfidf	no-nmt-many	classical_ml	0.07

D3. Preprocessing, randomness and hyperparameters

Text preprocessing can have an important impact on computational text analyses methods and different methods need to be handled differently. For TF-IDF, we used lemmatization for each language (except Turkish, for which we did not find an open-source lemmatizer), stop-word removal with publicly available stop-word lists for each language. Our main source of information was the SpaCy library (Montani et al., 2022). During hyperparameter search, we also tested different thresholds for the removal of very (in)frequent words and for different n-gram ranges on the word- or character-level using Scikit-learn (Pedregosa et al., 2011). For the BERT models, text processing was easier, as neither English nor multilingual BERT models require special text preprocessing except for the out-of-the-box tokenizer. Only for BERT-NLI did we add the “The quote is about {text}” string to each text, as described in (Laurer et al., 2023). Moreover, for all different algorithms we used only single quasi-sentences for the first analysis and a concatenation of the preceding+target+following quasi-sentence for the second analysis. Concatenating texts with the noisy Manifesto corpus improves performance and PImPo is based on the Manifesto corpus. We did not conduct concatenation for the first analysis as it would have further increased the data augmentation complexity of the many scenarios tested in the first analysis.

To handle **randomness and increase the robustness** of our metrics, each metric is based on three runs with three different random seeds in the first analysis. For the second analysis, we could not use different random samples, as we only used the number of texts available in one language and used the entire remaining corpus as the test set. Moreover, the number of texts available in PImPo per language was too small to create meaningful variation through different random training samples.

We conducted extensive **hyperparameter searches** for the Logistic Regression with both TF-IDF or Sentence-BERT. The exact hyperparameters tested are available in our hyperparameter search files in GitHub.¹² We did not conduct hyperparameter searches for training the BERT and BERT-NLI Transformers to save compute. Instead, we used the recommended hyperparameters from (Laurer et al., 2023) for both the first and second analysis.

- For BERT-base, the hyperparameters are: 'lr_scheduler_type': 'constant', 'learning_rate': 2e-5, 'warmup_ratio': 0.06, 'seed': 42, 'per_device_train_batch_size': 32, 'weight_decay': 0.05, 'num_train_epochs': 50,
- For BERT-NLI, the hyperparameters are: 'lr_scheduler_type': linear, 'learning_rate': 2e-5, 'warmup_ratio': 0.40, 'seed': 42, 'per_device_train_batch_size': 32, 'weight_decay': 0.05, 'num_train_epochs': 20.
- Note that after initial tests, we dynamically adapted the number of epochs, as the training time would have otherwise varied widely depending on the different data augmentation strategies (ranging from only 500 texts to 24500 texts). The number of epochs indicated above are therefore reduced as the amount of data grows.¹³

¹² <https://github.com/MoritzLaurer/language-barrier-multilingual-transfer>

¹³ <https://github.com/MoritzLaurer/language-barrier-multilingual-transfer/blob/f5488b5b738a79adcf3d2626f0ad06ab964d5b91/analysis-transf-run-a1.py#L405>

Another important hyperparameter for **BERT-NLI** are the hypotheses against which each text is tested. We used the same text formatting strategy as in (Laurer et al., 2023). The tables below display the hypotheses used for the two datasets.

Table 14 - Hypotheses used with BERT-NLI for Manifesto-8 dataset

Label	Hypothesis
Economy	The quote is about topics like economy, or technology, or infrastructure, or free market
External Relations	The quote is about topics like international relations, or foreign policy, or military
Fabric of Society	The quote is about topics like law and order, or multiculturalism, or national way of life, or traditional morality
Freedom and Democracy	The quote is about topics like democracy, or freedom, or human rights, or constitutionalism
Political System	The quote is about topics like governmental efficiency, or political authority, or decentralisation, or corruption
Social Groups	The quote is about topics like agriculture, or social groups, or labour groups, or minorities
Welfare and Quality of Life	The quote is about topics like welfare, or education, or environment, or equality, or culture
No other category applies	The quote is about something other than the topics economy, international relations, society, freedom and democracy, political system, social groups, welfare. It is about none of these topics

Table 15 - Hypotheses used with BERT-NLI for PImPo dataset

Label	Hypothesis
Immigration neutral	The quote describes immigration neutrally without implied value judgement or describes the status quo of immigration, for example only stating facts or using technocratic language about immigration
Immigration sceptical	The quote describes immigration sceptically / disapprovingly. For example, the quote could mention the costs of immigration, be against migrant workers, state that foreign labour decreases natives' wages, that there are already enough refugees, refugees are actually economic migrants, be in favour of stricter immigration controls, exceptions to the freedom of movement in the EU.
Immigration supportive	The quote describes immigration favourably / supportively. For example, the quote could mention the benefits of immigration, the need for migrant workers, international obligations to take in refugees, protection of human rights, in favour of family reunification or freedom of movement in the EU.
no_topic	The quote is not about immigration.

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