Political Speech from Corporate America: Sparse, Mostly for Democrats, and Somewhat Representative.

tinyurl.com/jqd-corpspeak

Soubhik Barari

Quantitative Social Scientist National Opinion Research Center (NORC)

> Adjunct Assistant Professor Columbia University

> > ICWSM June 4th, 2024



and how we're working to







Motivation Overview Measurement **Findings Takeawavs** 1 / 27

Soubhik Barari **ICWSM 2024**

Is Speech Consistent with Firm Activities and Stakeholder Preferences?



Is Speech Consistent with Firm Activities and Stakeholder Preferences?



► Chevron **PACs** donated ≈2x in campaign contributions to Republicans from 2014-2022

Is Speech Consistent with Firm Activities and Stakeholder Preferences?



- ► Chevron **PACs** donated ≈2x in campaign contributions to Republicans from 2014-2022
- ▶ 80% of Chevron **employees**' donations go to Republicans

Soubhik Barari

Is Speech Consistent with Firm Activities and Stakeholder Preferences?



- ► Chevron **PACs** donated ≈2x in campaign contributions to Republicans from 2014-2022
- ▶ 80% of Chevron **employees**' donations go to Republicans
- Chevron's headquarters are in liberal San Ramon, CA (67% Dem Pres Voteshare 08-22)

Is Speech Consistent with Firm Activities and Stakeholder Preferences?



- ▶ Chevron PACs donated $\approx 2x$ in campaign contributions to Republicans from 2014-2022
- ▶ 80% of Chevron **employees**' donations go to Republicans

Motivation

Overview

- Chevron's **headquarters** are in liberal San Ramon, CA (67% Dem Pres Voteshare 08-22)
- The average Chevron gas station is in a swing (53% R Pres) zip code

"Woke Capitalism": corporate brands are mostly sending liberal signals (e.g. policy positions, commitments, cultural cues) to the public that fundamentally misrepresent their stakeholders' interests and firms' activities.

"Woke Capitalism": corporate brands are mostly sending liberal signals (e.g. policy positions, commitments, cultural cues) to the public that fundamentally misrepresent their stakeholders' interests and firms' activities.

VS.

"Woke Capitalism": corporate brands are mostly sending liberal signals (e.g. policy positions, commitments, cultural cues) to the public that fundamentally misrepresent their stakeholders' interests and firms' activities.

VS.

"Stakeholder Capitalism": corporate brands aligning their political signals and their firms' activities with their stakeholders' interests.

"Woke Capitalism": corporate brands are mostly sending liberal signals (e.g. policy positions, commitments, cultural cues) to the public that fundamentally misrepresent their stakeholders' interests and firms' activities.

VS.

"Stakeholder Capitalism": corporate brands aligning their political signals and their firms' activities with their stakeholders' interests.

Which one is true?

I tested whether speech from the most recognized corporate brands is



I tested whether speech from the most recognized corporate brands is (i) significantly left-leaning,



I tested whether speech from the most recognized corporate brands is (i) significantly left-leaning, (ii) representative of their stakeholders' preferences, and



Which brands? 1,000 most recognized consumer brands in the United States in 2020

- Which brands? 1,000 most recognized consumer brands in the United States in 2020
- ▶ What speech? ≈2 million Twitter and Instagram posts

- Which brands? 1,000 most recognized consumer brands in the United States in 2020
- ▶ What speech? ≈2 million Twitter and Instagram posts
 - Measurement: Brands scaled by how much they mirror Democratic vs. Republican Reps' speech cues on social media

- Which brands? 1,000 most recognized consumer brands in the United States in 2020
- ▶ What speech? ≈2 million Twitter and Instagram posts
 - Measurement: Brands scaled by how much they mirror Democratic vs. Republican Reps' speech cues on social media
- Which stakeholders?

- Which brands? 1,000 most recognized consumer brands in the United States in 2020
- ▶ What speech? ≈2 million Twitter and Instagram posts
 - Measurement: Brands scaled by how much they mirror Democratic vs. Republican Reps' speech cues on social media
- Which stakeholders? Employees, CEOs, managers, board members, consumers, voters, HQ representatives

- Which brands? 1,000 most recognized consumer brands in the United States in 2020
- ▶ What *speech*? ≈2 million Twitter and Instagram posts
 - Measurement: Brands scaled by how much they mirror Democratic vs. Republican Reps' speech cues on social media
- Which stakeholders? Employees, CEOs, managers, board members, consumers, voters, HQ representatives
- Which activities?



- Which brands? 1,000 most recognized consumer brands in the United States in 2020
- ▶ What *speech*? ≈2 million Twitter and Instagram posts
 - Measurement: Brands scaled by how much they mirror Democratic vs. Republican Reps' speech cues on social media
- Which stakeholders? Employees, CEOs, managers, board members, consumers, voters, HQ representatives
- Which activities? Political spending, lobbying, regulatory compliance, climate policy, workplace environment



Measurement



Explicit partisan cues through position-taking:



Explicit partisan cues through position-taking:



We call for the peaceful transition of the U.S. government. The violence in Washington, D.C. tarnishes a two-century tradition of respect for the rule of law. We look forward to engaging with President-Elect Biden and his administration to move the nation forward.



Explicit partisan cues through position-taking:

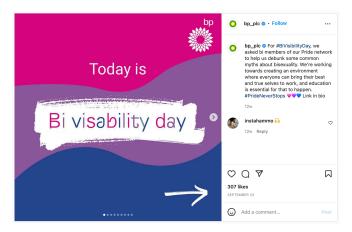
Hundreds of Companies Unite to Oppose Voting Limits, but Others Abstain

Amazon, Google, G.M. and Starbucks were among those joining the biggest show of solidarity by businesses over legislation in numerous states.



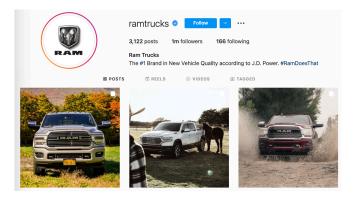
From left, Kenneth Frazier, the chief executive of Merck; Kenneth Chenault, a former chief of American Express; Mary T. Barra, who runs General Motors; and Kevin Johnson, who runs Starbucks. Jason Redmond/Aepnee Prance-Presse—Getty Images

Implicit partisan cues through attention and framing:

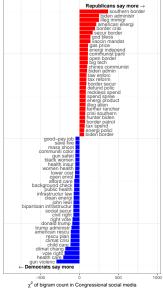


8 / 27

Implicit partisan cues through attention and framing:



Reference Corpus: Partisan Cues from Elites' Social Media





Motivation Overview Measurement Findings Takeaways

Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024



Step 1: Define Dictionary of Partisan Phrases



Step 1: Define Dictionary of Partisan Phrases

▶ Let γ_j be the χ^2 statistic of difference in usages of bigram j between Democrats and Republicans.



Step 1: Define Dictionary of Partisan Phrases

- Let γ_j be the χ^2 statistic of difference in usages of bigram j between Democrats and Republicans.
- ▶ Pick top 1000 phrases according to γ_i .



Motivation Overview Measurement Findings Takeaways

Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 11 / 27

Step 1: Define Dictionary of Partisan Phrases

- Let γ_j be the χ^2 statistic of difference in usages of bigram j between Democrats and Republicans.
- Pick top 1000 phrases according to γ_i .

Step 2: Scale Brands Non-Parametrically



Step 1: Define Dictionary of Partisan Phrases

- Let γ_j be the χ^2 statistic of difference in usages of bigram j between Democrats and Republicans.
- Pick top 1000 phrases according to γ_i .

Step 2: Scale Brands Non-Parametrically

Estimate partisan lean of brand i's speech given its' count of jth phrase,

$$W_{ij}$$
, as $ilde{\phi}_i = rac{\sum_{j=1}^{1000} \gamma_j W_{ij}}{\sum_{j=1}^{1000} n_j}$.



Motivation Overview Measurement Findings Takeaways

Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 11 / 27

Step 1: Define Dictionary of Partisan Phrases

- Let γ_j be the χ^2 statistic of difference in usages of bigram j between Democrats and Republicans.
- Pick top 1000 phrases according to γ_i .

Step 2: Scale Brands Non-Parametrically

Estimate partisan lean of brand *i*'s speech given its' count of *j*th phrase, W_{ij} , as $\tilde{\phi}_i = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{1000} \gamma_j W_{ij}}{\sum_{j=0}^{1000} n_i}$.

Step 3: Scale Brands Parametrically



Motivation Overview Measurement Findings Takeaways

Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 11 / 27

Step 1: Define Dictionary of Partisan Phrases

- Let γ_j be the χ^2 statistic of difference in usages of bigram j between Democrats and Republicans.
- Pick top 1000 phrases according to γ_i .

Step 2: Scale Brands Non-Parametrically

Estimate partisan lean of brand *i*'s speech given its' count of *j*th phrase, W_{ij} , as $\tilde{\phi}_i = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{1000} \gamma_j W_{ij}}{\sum_{j=0}^{1000} n_i}$.

Step 3: Scale Brands Parametrically

- Problem: some brands say a lot, some phrases used by many brands.
- Model a fixed effect term for each phrase and brand:



Motivation Overview Measurement Findings Takeaways

Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 11 / 27

Step 1: Define Dictionary of Partisan Phrases

- Let γ_j be the χ^2 statistic of difference in usages of bigram j between Democrats and Republicans.
- Pick top 1000 phrases according to γ_i .

Step 2: Scale Brands Non-Parametrically

Estimate partisan lean of brand *i*'s speech given its' count of *j*th phrase, W_{ij} , as $\tilde{\phi}_i = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{1000} \gamma_j W_{ij}}{\sum_{j=0}^{1000} n_i}$.

Step 3: Scale Brands Parametrically

- Problem: some brands say a lot, some phrases used by many brands.
- Model a fixed effect term for each phrase and brand:

$$W_{ij} \sim extstyle{ extstyle Pois}(\underbrace{lpha_i}_{ extstyle extsty$$

Motivation Overview Measurement Findings Takeaways

Soubhik Barari

Step 1: Define Dictionary of Partisan Phrases

- Let γ_i be the χ^2 statistic of difference in usages of bigram j between Democrats and Republicans.
- Pick top 1000 phrases according to γ_i .

Step 2: Scale Brands Non-Parametrically

Estimate partisan lean of brand i's speech given its' count of jth phrase, W_{ij} , as $\tilde{\phi}_i = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{1000} \gamma_j W_{ij}}{\sum_{j=1}^{1000} n_i}$.

Step 3: Scale Brands Parametrically

Overview

Motivation

- Problem: some brands say a lot, some phrases used by many brands.
- Model a fixed effect term for each phrase and brand:

$$W_{ij} \sim ext{Pois}(\underbrace{\alpha_i}_{ ext{brand F.E.}} + \underbrace{eta_j}_{ ext{phrase F.E.}} + \gamma_j \cdot \underbrace{\phi_i}_{ ext{brand speech ideal point}})$$

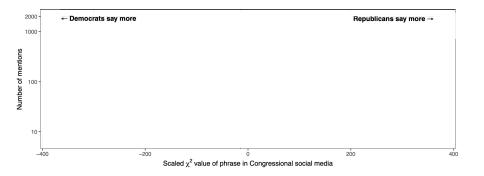
Obtain point estimate via E.M., standard errors from parametric bootstrap.



Measurement **Findings Takeaways** Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 11 / 27

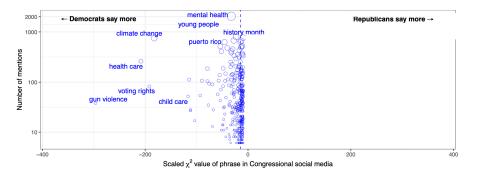
Findings

Do Brands Talk More Like Democrat or Republican MCs?



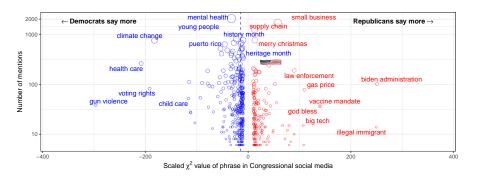


Brands Definitely Speak Like Democrats





Brands Definitely Speak Like Democrats... But Not Universally

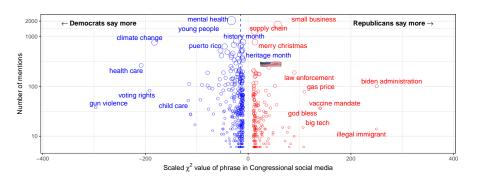




Motivation Overview Measurement **Findings** Takeaways

Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 15 / 27

Brands Definitely Speak Like Democrats... But Not Universally



(Only 50% of 1000 brands use any of these language cues)

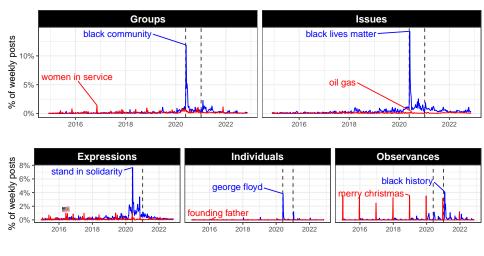


Motivation Overview Measurement **Findings** Takeaways
Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 15 / 27

Brands Only Recently Speak Like Democrats



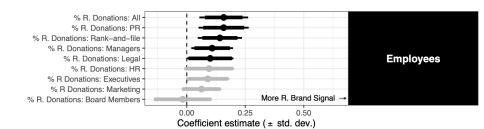
Brands Only Recently Speak Like Democrats



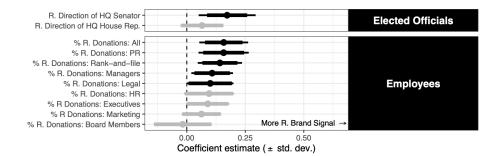
Motivation Overview Measurement **Findings** Takeaways

Speech more associated with: - Democrats - Republicans

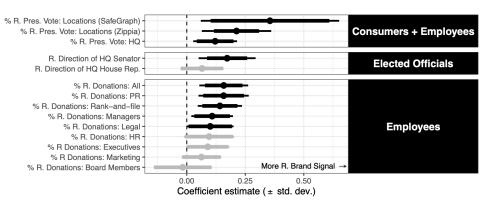




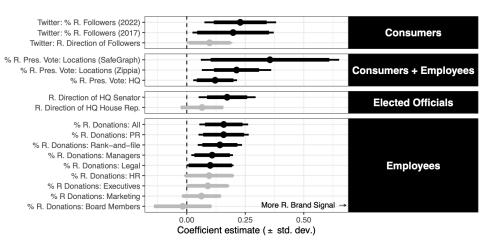
Motivation Overview Measurement Findings Takeaways
Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 17 / 27



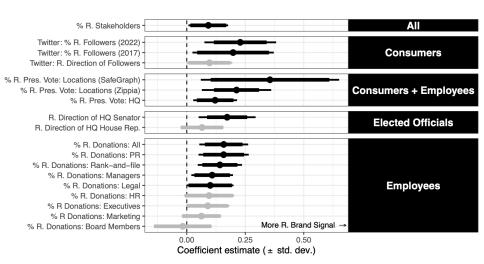
Motivation Overview Measurement Findings Takeaways
Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 18 / 27





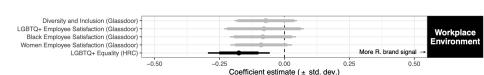










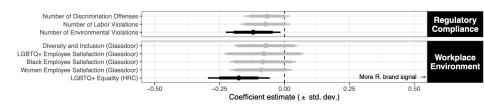




Motivation Overview Measurement Findings Takeaways

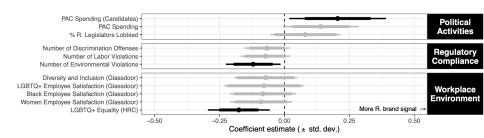
Soubhik Barari

ICWSM 2024





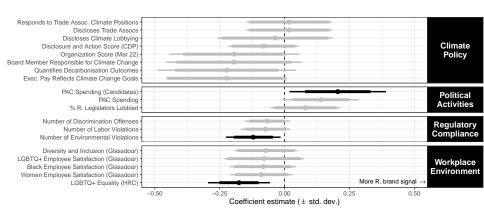
Motivation Overview Measurement Findings Takeaways
Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 23 / 27





Motivation Overview Measurement **Findings** Takeaways

Soubhik Barari





Motivation Overview Measurement Findings Takeaways
Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 25 / 27



Political speech from corporate America is:

- sparse,
- recently liberal,
- moderately representative of stakeholders,
- somewhat representative of activities.

Political speech from corporate America is:

- sparse,
- recently liberal,
- moderately representative of stakeholders,
- somewhat representative of activities.

We are somewhere between 'woke capitalism' and 'stakeholder capitalism'.

Political speech from corporate America is:

- sparse,
- recently liberal,
- moderately representative of stakeholders,
- somewhat representative of activities.

We are somewhere between 'woke capitalism' and 'stakeholder capitalism'.

Email: Paper: sb4992@columbia.edu tinyurl.com/jqd-corpspeak

Political speech from corporate America is:

- sparse,
- recently liberal,
- moderately representative of stakeholders,
- somewhat representative of activities.

We are somewhere between 'woke capitalism' and 'stakeholder capitalism'.

Email: Paper: sb4992@columbia.edu tinyurl.com/jqd-corpspeak

Thanks!

→ロ → ← 個 → ← 量 → ← 量 → り へ ○

Motivation Overview Measurement Findings **Takeaways**Soubhik Barari ICWSM 2024 27 / 27