

# Supplement to Friends with Motives: Using Text to Infer Influence on SCOTUS

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## A Modeling details

**Votes model.** The joint likelihood of our votes model is

$$\begin{aligned}
 \mathcal{L}^{\text{vote}}(\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{b}, \boldsymbol{\psi}, \boldsymbol{\theta}, \boldsymbol{\Delta}, \boldsymbol{\chi}, \boldsymbol{\pi}, \mathbf{z}, \mathbf{v}, \mathbf{w}) & \\
 \propto \prod_{t=1}^T p(\phi_t \mid \beta) & \\
 \times \prod_{j \in \mathcal{J}} p(\boldsymbol{\psi}_j \mid \sigma_j^2, \rho) p(\boldsymbol{\chi}_j \mid \sigma_j^2) & \\
 \times \prod_{e \in \mathcal{E}} p(\pi_e \mid \sigma_P^2) & \\
 \times \prod_{i \in \mathcal{C}} p(a_i, b_i \mid \sigma_C^2) p(\boldsymbol{\theta}_i \mid \alpha) \prod_{k \in \mathcal{A}_i} p(\boldsymbol{\Delta}_{i,k} \mid \alpha) & \\
 \times \prod_{i \in \mathcal{C}} \prod_n p(z_{i,n}^{(m)} \mid \boldsymbol{\theta}_i) p(w_{i,n}^{(m)} \mid \phi_{z_{i,n}^{(m)}}) & \\
 \times \prod_{i \in \mathcal{C}} \prod_{k \in \mathcal{A}_i} \prod_n p(z_{i,k,n}^{(a)} \mid \boldsymbol{\theta}_i) p(w_{i,k,n}^{(a)} \mid \phi_{z_{i,k,n}^{(a)}}) & \\
 \times \prod_{i \in \mathcal{C}} \prod_{k \in \mathcal{A}_i} \exp(\eta^{\text{vote}} U_{i,k}^{\text{vote}}(\boldsymbol{\Delta}_{i,k})) & \\
 \times \prod_{i \in \mathcal{C}} \prod_{j \in \mathcal{J}_i} V_{i,j} &
 \end{aligned}$$

where

$$V_{i,j} = p(v_{i,j} \mid a_i, b_i, \boldsymbol{\psi}_j, \boldsymbol{\theta}_i, \boldsymbol{\Delta}_i, \boldsymbol{\chi}_j, \boldsymbol{\pi})$$

and

$$U_{i,k}^{\text{vote}}(\boldsymbol{\Delta}_{i,k}) = \frac{1}{|\mathcal{J}_i|} \sum_{j \in \mathcal{J}_i} V_{i,j} - H^2(\boldsymbol{\Delta}_{i,k}, \boldsymbol{\theta}_i)$$

We first initialize the topic mixtures  $(\boldsymbol{\theta}, \boldsymbol{\Delta})$  and topic-word distributions  $(\phi)$  of the model using la-

tent Dirichlet allocation.<sup>1</sup> In each iteration, we sampled the latent variables  $\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{b}, \boldsymbol{\psi}, \boldsymbol{\theta}, \boldsymbol{\Delta}, \boldsymbol{\chi}$ , and  $\boldsymbol{\pi}$  in turn using the Metropolis-Hastings algorithm (Hastings, 1970). We discarded samples from the first 1,500 iterations (burn-in) and keeping every 10th subsequent sample to compute the posterior mean. In total, we performed 3,000 iterations over the data.

**Opinions model.** The joint likelihood of the opinion model is

$$\begin{aligned}
 \mathcal{L}^{\text{opinion}}(\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{b}, \boldsymbol{\psi}, \boldsymbol{\theta}, \boldsymbol{\Delta}, \boldsymbol{\chi}, \boldsymbol{\pi}, \mathbf{z}, \boldsymbol{\Gamma}, \boldsymbol{\tau}, \mathbf{x}, \mathbf{v}, \mathbf{w}) & \\
 \propto \mathcal{L}^{\text{vote}}(\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{b}, \boldsymbol{\psi}, \boldsymbol{\theta}, \boldsymbol{\Delta}, \boldsymbol{\chi}, \boldsymbol{\pi}, \mathbf{z}, \mathbf{v}, \mathbf{w}) & \\
 \times \prod_{j \in \mathcal{J}} p(\boldsymbol{\Gamma}_j \mid \alpha) & \\
 \times \prod_{i \in \mathcal{C}} \prod_{s \in \{\text{p}, \text{r}\}} p(\tau_i^s \mid \gamma^s(\mathbf{v}_i)) & \\
 \times \prod_{i \in \mathcal{C}} \prod_{s \in \{\text{p}, \text{r}\}} \prod_n p(x_{i,s,n} \mid \tau_i^s) & \\
 \times \prod_{i \in \mathcal{C}} \prod_{s \in \{\text{p}, \text{r}\}} \prod_n p(z_{i,s,n}^{(o)} \mid x_{i,s,n}, \boldsymbol{\Gamma}, \boldsymbol{\theta}_i, \boldsymbol{\Delta}_i^s) & \\
 \times \prod_{i \in \mathcal{C}} \prod_{s \in \{\text{p}, \text{r}\}} \prod_n p(w_{i,s,n}^{(o)} \mid \phi_{z_{i,s,n}^{(o)}}) & \\
 \times \prod_{i \in \mathcal{C}} \prod_{k \in \mathcal{A}_i} \exp(\eta^{\text{opinion}} U_{i,k}^{\text{opinion}}(\boldsymbol{\Delta}_{i,k})) &
 \end{aligned}$$

<sup>1</sup>We used the online variational Bayes algorithm (Hoffman et al., 2010) implementation found in Python `scikit-learn` (Pedregosa et al., 2011).

where

$$\gamma^s(\mathbf{v}_i) = \begin{bmatrix} V_{i,1} \\ \vdots \\ V_{i,|\mathcal{J}_i|} \\ 1 \\ 1 \end{bmatrix},$$

$$U_{i,k}^{\text{opinion}}(\Delta_{i,k}) = 1 - H^2(\Delta_{i,k}, \Omega^{s_{i,k}}) - H^2(\Delta_{i,k}, \theta_i),$$

and

$$\Omega^s = [\Gamma_1, \dots, \Gamma_{|\mathcal{J}_i|}, \theta_i, \Delta_i^s] \frac{\gamma^s(\mathbf{v}_i)}{\|\gamma^s(\mathbf{v}_i)\|_1}$$

After estimating the parameters for the vote model, we held all the parameters of the vote model fixed and estimate the opinion model parameters  $(\Gamma, \tau, x)$  using the Metropolis-Hastings algorithm. We discarded samples from the first 2,500 iterations (burn-in) and keeping every 10th subsequent sample to compute the posterior mean. In total, we performed 5,000 iterations over the opinions model.

## B Hyperparameters

Table 1 presents the hyperparameters for our final models. We experimented with  $\sigma_I^2 \in \{0.25, 0.5, 1, 2\}$ ,  $\sigma_P^2 \in \{0.25, 0.5, 1, 2\}$ ,  $\eta^{\text{vote}} \in \{0.125, 0.25, 0.5, 1, 2, 4\}$ , and  $\eta^{\text{opinion}} \in \{0.125, 0.25, 0.5, 1, 2, 4\}$ , to find the best parameters using 5-fold cross validation on accuracy and perplexity.

## C Justice opinion topics

Table 2 presents the top 3 topics associated with each justice’s opinions topic mixture.

## References

- W. K. Hastings. 1970. Monte Carlo sampling methods using Markov chains and their applications. *Biometrika*, 57(1):97–109.
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D. Cournapeau, M. Brucher, M. Perrot, and E. Duchesnay. 2011. Scikit-learn: Machine learning in Python. *Journal of Machine Learning Research*, 12:2825–2830. Available at <http://scikit-learn.org/>.

Description	Symbol	Value
No. of topics	$T$	128
Document-topic ( $\theta, \Delta, \Gamma$ ) prior	$\alpha$	$\frac{1}{T}$
Topic-word ( $\phi$ ) prior	$\beta$	0.001
Justice IP ( $\psi$ ) diagonal variance	$\sigma_J^2$	1.0
Justice influenceability ( $\chi$ ) scale	$\sigma_I^2$	0.5
Amicus persuasiveness ( $\pi$ ) scale	$\sigma_P^2$	1
Case parameters ( $a, b$ ) variance	$\sigma_C^2$	4
Vote model utility function weight	$\eta^{\text{vote}}$	1
Opinion model utility function weight	$\eta^{\text{opinion}}$	2

**Table 1:** Final hyperparameter settings for our model.

John G. Roberts
32: speech, first amendment, free speech, message, expression
61: eeoc, title vii, discrimination, woman, civil rights act
52: sec, fraud, security, investor, section ##b
Ruth B. Ginsburg
61: eeoc, title vii, discrimination, woman, civil rights act
80: class, settlement, rule ##, class action, r civ
96: taxpayer, bank, corporation, fund, irs
Antonin Scalia
94: 42 USC 1983, qualified immunity, immunity, official, section ####
57: president, senate, executive, article, framer
80: class, settlement, rule ##, class action, r civ
Elena Kagan
34: candidate, buckley, 424 US 1, contribution, fec
96: taxpayer, bank, corporation, fund, irs
105: fda, drug, manufacturer, product, federal law
Stephen Breyer
96: taxpayer, bank, corporation, fund, irs
61: eeoc, title vii, discrimination, woman, civil rights act
15: plea, trial counsel, strickland, magistrate, guilty plea
Anthony M. Kennedy
57: president, senate, executive, article, framer
94: 42 USC 1983, qualified immunity, immunity, official, section ####
15: plea, trial counsel, strickland, magistrate, guilty plea
Sonia Sotomayor
22: sentence, offense, release, guidelines, guideline
23: legislature, voter, race, 42 USC 1973, minority voter
52: sec, fraud, security, investor, section ##b
Samuel A. Alito
32: speech, first amendment, free speech, message, expression
61: eeoc, title vii, discrimination, woman, civil rights act
52: sec, fraud, security, investor, section ##b
Clarence Thomas
5: federal government, framer, commerce, commerce clause, lopez
32: speech, first amendment, free speech, message, expression
72: due process, liberty, fourteenth amendment, hearing, forfeiture

**Table 2:** Top 3 topics contributed to Court opinions for recently active justices ( $\Gamma$ ).