
This item was submitted to [Loughborough's Research Repository](#) by the author.
Items in Figshare are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved, unless otherwise indicated.

Supplementary information files for: Do intergovernmental organizations have a socialization effect on member state preferences? Evidence from the UN general debate

PLEASE CITE THE PUBLISHED VERSION

LICENCE

CC BY 4.0

REPOSITORY RECORD

Chelotti, Nicola, Niheer Dasandi, and Slava Jankin Mikhaylov. 2021. "Supplementary Information Files For: Do Intergovernmental Organizations Have a Socialization Effect on Member State Preferences? Evidence from the UN General Debate". Loughborough University. <https://doi.org/10.17028/rd.lboro.16738717.v1>.

Supplementary Material for ‘Do Intergovernmental Organizations Have a Socialization Effect on Member State Preferences? Evidence from the UN General Debate’

Nicola Chelotti
Loughborough University

Niheer Dasandi
University of Birmingham

Slava Jankin Mikhaylov
Hertie School

Contents

1	How UNGD Statements are Produced	2
2	Outcome Measures: UN General Debate Statements	4
3	States Delivering UN General Debate Statement for the EU	16
4	EU Accession and Membership Years	18
5	Analysis with Combined Pre-Accession Period	18
6	Analysis with Additional Control Variables	21
7	Analysis with Alternative Outcome Variables	21
8	Analysis of EU10 States’ Foreign Policy Preferences	25
9	Summary Statistics	34

In the supplementary material, we provide more information about the data and measures used in the analysis, and conduct additional tests to assess the robustness of our main findings. We begin by providing additional information about how country statements in the UN General Debate are produced, based on our interviews with EU member states' national missions to the UN. We then provide additional analysis to shed greater light on our measure of foreign policy similarity based on the application of text analysis to UNGD statements. This includes an analysis of the features with the highest scores on the two foreign policy dimensions (EU-Russia and EU-USA), and a structural topic model (STM) analysis. We next present information about which EU member state or actor delivered the UNGD statement on behalf of the EU in 1971-2014, and about the years that countries became EU official applicants, EU candidate states, and EU member states. We then provide additional robustness tests for our main analysis, which include utilizing alternative measures of text similarity. This is followed by further analysis of the Wordscores positions and UNGD statements of the ten countries that joined the EU in 2004 (EU10), before and after they became EU member states. Finally, we present summary statistics for the variables in our dataset.

1 How UNGD Statements are Produced

The interviews conducted with ten representatives from the national missions to the UN for EU member states and two officials of the EU delegation to the UN in New York, which we discuss in the main paper, also shed greater light on how UNGD statements are produced. With regard to the national speeches of EU member states, the specific process of producing UNGD statements varies according to different national procedures. However, in the majority of cases, the addresses are prepared largely by national bureaucrats. The interviews suggest there are two main variants of this process. In the first, the speech is mainly prepared by the national mission to the UN in New York. For example, in the case of Denmark, the UN Mission outlines the main points and priorities for the year in June. This is conveyed to the national capital for review – usually to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but sometimes also to the Prime Minister's Office, particularly if the prime minister is to deliver the address. Then in August, the UN Mission prepares a draft of the speech, which is circulated in Copenhagen for feedback. The draft UNGD statement usually goes back and forth between Copenhagen and New York a couple of times, before a final draft is produced. The final draft of the statement is then sent to

the person who will actually deliver the UNGD address in September. A similar process occurs in the cases of Cyprus and Slovenia.

The second, and more common, approach is that the UNGD statement is prepared in the national capital – usually by the Foreign Affairs Ministry. A German delegate likened this process to “decorating the Christmas tree” in that “all the departments in the capital want to put something on it.”¹ The main topics and priorities are selected, and then circulated for feedback from other departments with a foreign affairs portfolio – among which the UN Mission typically has greater influence. This is used to produce a draft of the speech, which also receives feedback from the other departments. This second approach takes place in Austria, Finland, Germany, and Poland – albeit with slightly different procedures.

High-level representatives (e.g. prime ministers, presidents, and foreign ministers) usually intervene in the final stages of the process. Their influence on the final statement varies considerably, according to their personality, agenda, and attachment to the UN system. For instance, the Austrian foreign minister in 2015 was “very interested in culture, dialogue, and religion”, so as a national official explained, “we certainly expected him to include some reference to this in his [UN General Debate] speech”.² While some leaders make substantial alterations to the speech, others make very few changes. The speaker and her team usually accommodate any last-minute issues that arise (e.g. very recent events, the previous speaker’s address, etc.). Therefore, the interviews indicate that the two types of government official associated with the socialization process in IGOs – national bureaucrats and high-level political representatives – play a central role in producing the UNGD statements.

With the EU statement, the first draft is prepared by the actor delivering the speech – the rotating Presidency of the EU Council pre-2011, and the cabinet of the President of the European Council (and their political advisors) post-2011. Nothing is wholly unexpected in this draft. EU foreign policy *acquis politique*, the work done in Brussels-based working parties such as the CONUN or COHOM, as well as the documents produced by the European Council and the Foreign Affairs Council, are all reference points for the speech. Particularly important are the conclusions on EU priorities at the UN and UNGA that the Council of the EU adopts every year (around June/July), which are expected to guide the EU’s work at the UN for the year to come. The draft speech is then circulated – bilaterally and/or in Brussels – to the member states for comments and suggestions. The influence of the New York-based personnel (i.e., the

¹Interview with Permanent Mission of German to the UN, 16 June 2015.

²Interview with the Permanent Mission of Austria to the UN, 18 June 2015.

EU delegation to the UN or the national missions to the UN) is very limited. The person who is in charge of delivering the statement is then responsible for setting the tone of the speech and producing any last-minute changes – as is the case with the national statements of the EU member states.

2 Outcome Measures: UN General Debate Statements

Analysis of features with highest scores on Wordscores dimensions

To shed more light on the substantive meanings of the two Wordscores dimensions, we plot the features (words) with the highest scores on both ends of the dimension. This can be interpreted as the words in UNGD statements that best differentiate states closest to the EU in terms of their foreign policy positions from those closest to Russia or the US, respectively. In the main paper, we present the feature with the highest scores on both ends of each dimension for the entire Cold War and post-Cold War periods. Here, we present the words with the highest scores on both dimensions for each individual year. Figures 1 to 5 present the top five words for both ends of the EU-Russia Wordscores dimension for each year of the analysis (1971-2014). Figures 6 to 10 present the top five words from both ends of the EU-USA dimension for each year. To better understand the meanings and contexts of the key words, we have drawn on the original texts of the UN General Debate statements. This year-by-year analysis of the highest scoring words on both dimensions provides further support for the view that the EU tends to have a more global focus, in particular calling for more international cooperation, and emphasizing normative issues such as international development, human rights, and climate change.

Figure 1 and 2 indicate that key words associated with a closer position to the Soviet Union during the Cold War period focus on the Superpower rivalry, and the arms race. This includes an emphasis on words such as ‘socialist’, ‘communist’, ‘NATO’, ‘militarist’, ‘missile’, ‘stock-pile’, ‘armament’, ‘aggressor’, and ‘hegemon’ throughout this period. In contrast, the terms associated with alignment with the EU foreign policy position during the Cold War period cover a much wider range of issues. As with the words associated with the Soviet position, many of the words focus on Europe and the EU member states. However, there is also an emphasis on issues such as ‘cooperation’, global trade and economy (e.g. ‘GATT’, the ‘Ottawa’ and ‘Tokyo’ G7 Summits, ‘market’), issues related to development and humanitarian

assistance, such as references to (humanitarian) ‘relief’, and the ‘Lomé Convention – a trade and aid agreement between the European Economic Community and African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries. There is also reference to fuel dependency/ renewable energy (‘fuel’) and calls to end the use of ‘torture’. Furthermore, there is greater global emphasis in key words associated with the EU positions (e.g. ‘Cambodia’, ‘Sri Lanka’). Where there is a focus on the Cold War, the emphasis is on reducing tensions between the Soviet and Western blocs. This can be seen with the references to the words ‘CSCE’ and ‘Madrid’ which are associated with similarity to the EU position. This refers to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose sessions were held in Madrid between 1980 and 1983, which sought to reduce Cold War tensions. Indeed, more generally the words associated with the Soviet position tend to suggest hostility (e.g. ‘aggressor’, ‘propaganda’, and ‘hegemon’) in comparison to the EU position, which tends to be linked to ‘cooperation’ and ‘reconciliation’.

Figures 3-5 indicate that in the post-Cold War period, the key words linked to the Russian position have a greater emphasis on traditional security and conflict issues, such as ‘NATO’, ‘missile’, ‘sanctions’, ‘defence’ and ‘offens-’. There is also a much stronger emphasis on regional issues with frequent references to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Baltic states, and disputed territories in the region (e.g. ‘Abkhazia’ and ‘Nagorno-Karabakh’). In addition, there are also references to security issues in the Middle East (e.g. ‘Qaida’ and ‘Iran’). In contrast, we again see a much broader focus in the key words associated with the EU position during this period – both in terms of the issues discussed and the global coverage. The issues linked to the EU position go beyond a traditional security focus to include ‘softer’ and normative issues linked to human rights and development. Words associated with the EU position are linked to sexual and reproductive rights (‘sexual’), preventing ‘child’ trafficking for ‘pornography’, and calls to end the death penalty (‘penalty’). There is also an emphasis on issues related to development and humanitarian assistances (e.g. ‘LDCs’ – the Least Developed Countries, ‘humanitarian’, ‘donor’). There is also considerable attention to global issues with references to countries around the world (e.g. ‘Zimbabwe’, the ‘LDCs’, ‘Iran’, ‘Congo’, ‘Nicaragua’, ‘Indonesia’, ‘Pakistan’, etc.). Therefore, the highest scoring words on the EU-Russia dimension suggest that the Russian position is associated with an emphasis on traditional security issues, a more conflictual or hostile approach, and a more regional emphasis. In contrast, the EU position is linked to a wider range of issues including ‘softer’ foreign policy issues associated to development and human rights, a more global perspective, and an

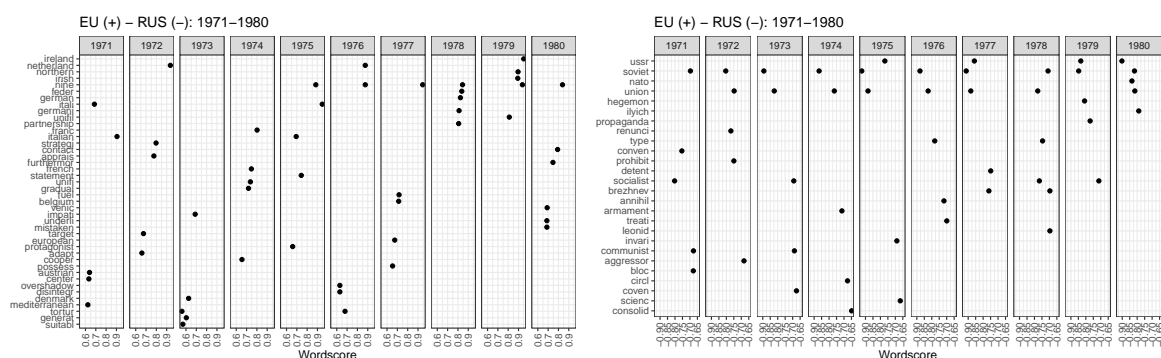


Figure 1: Words with the highest score on EU (positive) and Russia (negative) ends of Wordscore dimension, 1971-1980. From the annual Wordscore estimation results.

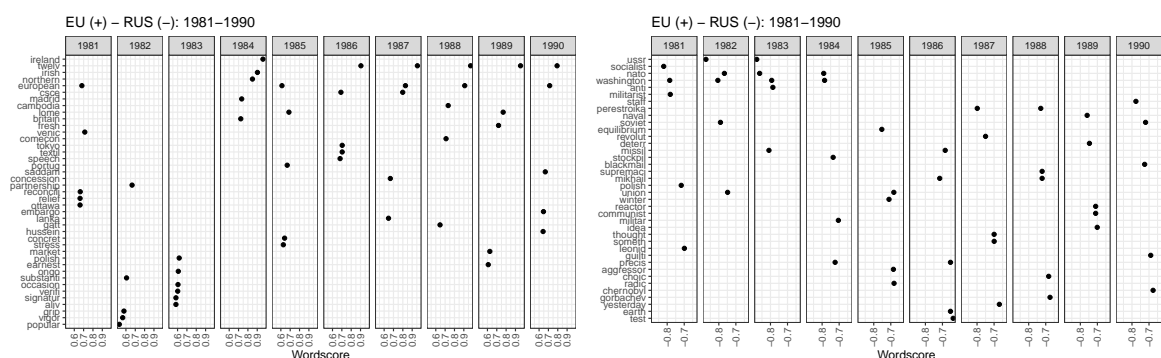


Figure 2: Words with the highest score on EU (positive) and Russia (negative) ends of Wordscore dimension, 1981-1990. From the annual Wordscore estimation results.

approach calling for dialogue and cooperation.

Figures 6 and 7 display the five highest scoring words each year on both ends of the EU-USA Wordscores dimension during the Cold War. The figures show that words associated with the US position have more of a Cold War focus linked to the Superpower rivalry and the arms race. This includes words such as ‘Soviet’, ‘IAEA’, ‘nuclear’, ‘missile’, ‘ballistic’ and ‘explos-’. The references to ‘Nicaragua’ and ‘Korea’ are also linked to Cold War events. However, there is a broader focus to the words linked to the US position than is the case with the Soviet Union (e.g. ‘food’ and ‘scarcity’). Nonetheless, this broader focus still largely occurs within an emphasis on security issues (e.g. ‘drugs’, ‘extradition’, ‘Gaza’). The rhetoric is also more confrontational along the East-West divide than words associated with the EU position. For example, the US position is associated with words such as ‘totalitarian’, ‘dark vision’, ‘saboteur’, ‘American strength’, ‘barbaric’. As we would expect, the words associated with the EU position have a strong focus on Europe and EU member states. As with the EU-Soviet dimension, the words associated with the EU position are less focused on security issues. They include references to trade and the economy (e.g. ‘GATT’, ‘concession’ – linked to trade

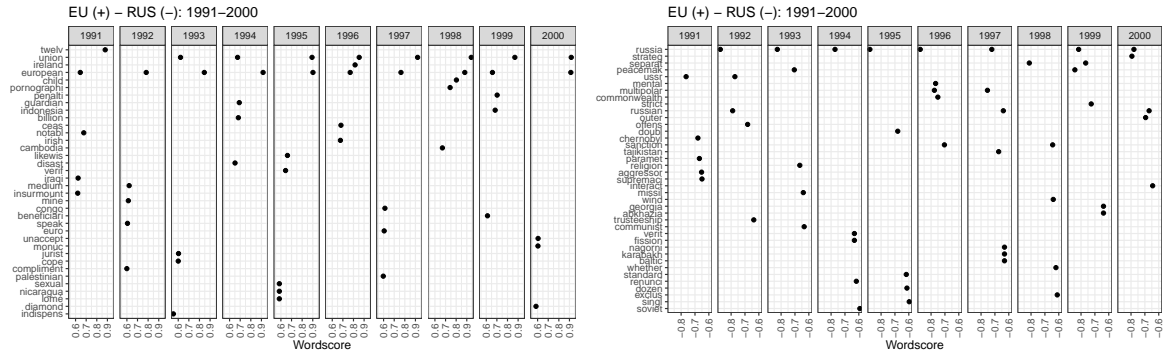


Figure 3: Words with the highest score on EU (positive) and Russia (negative) ends of Word-score dimension, 1991-2000. From the annual Wordscore estimation results.

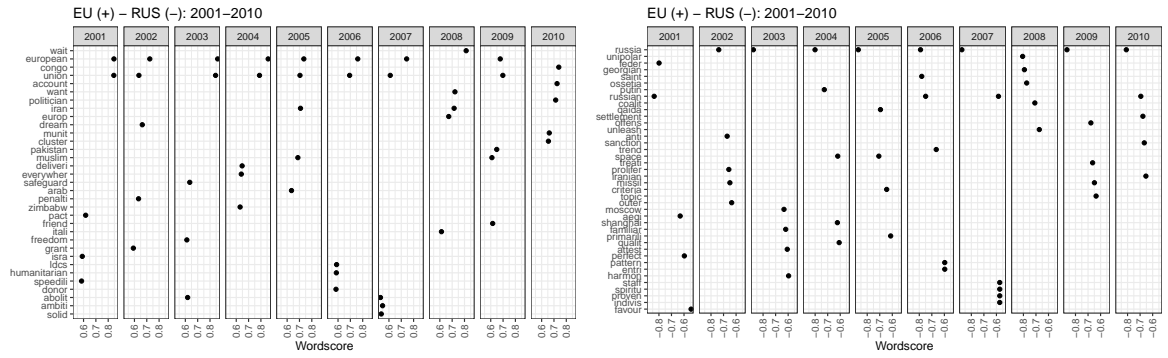


Figure 4: Words with the highest score on EU (positive) and Russia (negative) ends of Word-score dimension, 2001-2010. From the annual Wordscore estimation results.

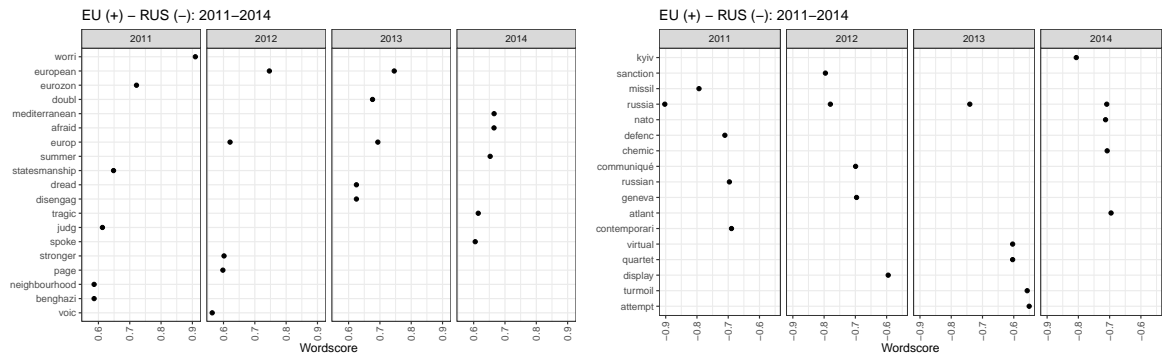
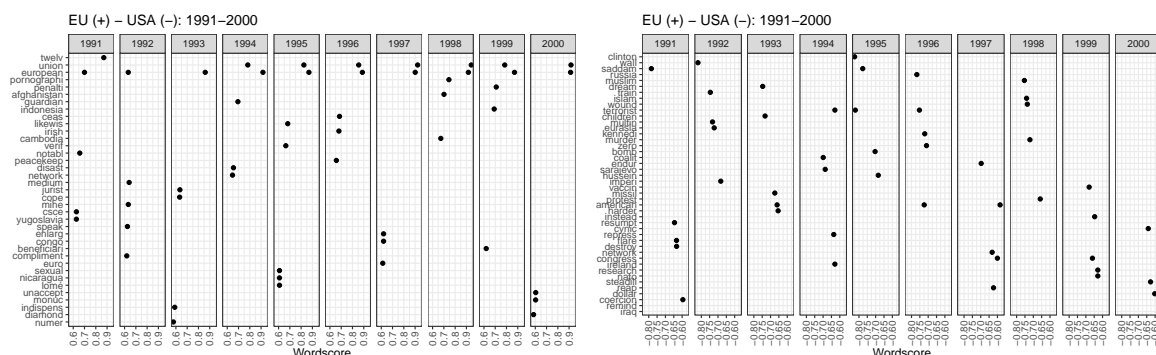
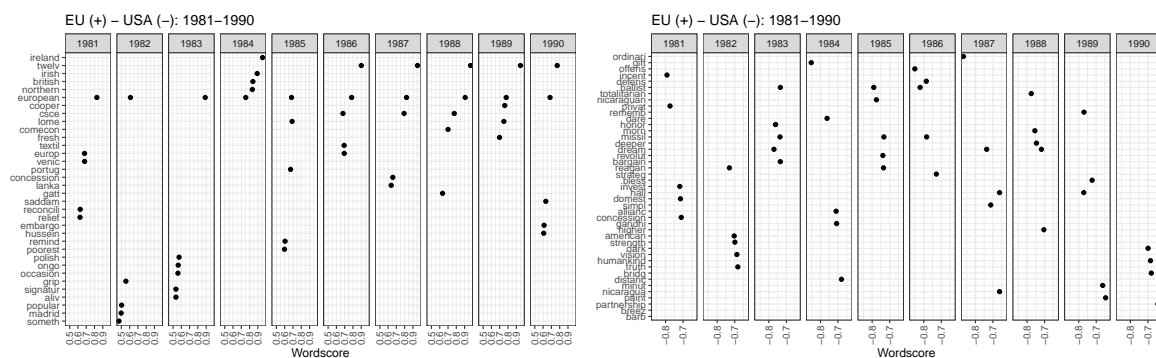
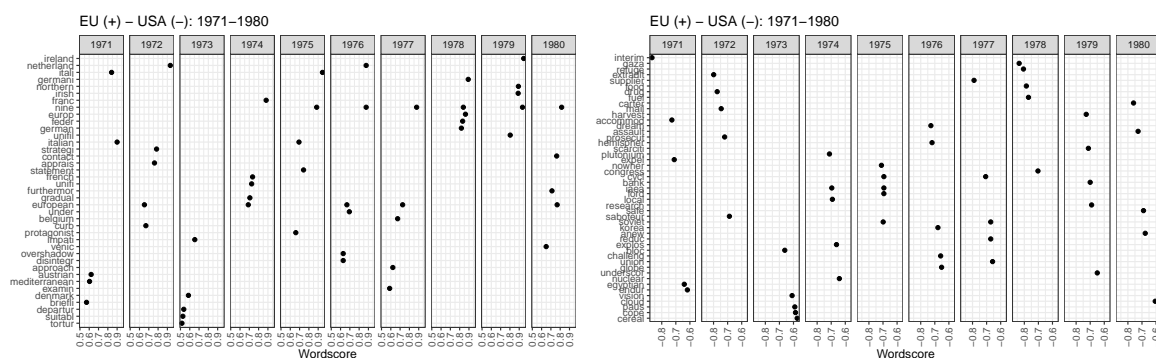


Figure 5: Words with the highest score on EU (positive) and Russia (negative) ends of Word-score dimension, 2011-2014. From the annual Wordscore estimation results.

concessions, and ‘textiles’ – linked to an agreement on trade in textiles in GATT). There is a focus on development issues (e.g. ‘poorest’, ‘relief’, the ‘Lomé Convention’). We again see the reference to ending ‘torture’. There is also a wider global focus (e.g. ‘Congo’, ‘Sri Lanka’). Furthermore, the EU position is also linked to dialogue and reconciliation, particularly in the context of the East-West rivalry. This can be seen with references to the ‘CSCE’ and ‘Madrid’, and ‘cooperation’.

The key words associated with the EU position from 1991 onwards, demonstrate more clearly that the EU position covers a much wider range of issues in international politics beyond a focus on hard power and traditional security issues, and emphasizes normative issues such as human rights. For example, there is a clear emphasis on a rights-based approach with references to ‘sexual’ and ‘reproductive’ rights, and ending the death ‘penalty’. The references to conflict are also linked to protecting civilians, such as the references to ‘cluster’ and ‘munition’, which refer to the Convention on Cluster Munitions, and protecting civilians from mines, and preventing ‘massacres’. There is also an emphasis on ‘peacekeeping’ and specific peacekeeping missions, such as ‘MONUC’ (the UN Mission to the DRC), and tackling the causes of conflict (e.g. ‘diamond’). There is also a clear development emphasis in the words related to the EU positions, for example with references to the ‘LDCs’, ‘empowerment’, ‘donors’, and ‘beneficiaries’. The key words associated with the EU position are also more global than the US position, including references to ‘Afghanistan’, ‘Indonesia’, ‘Congo’, ‘Yugoslavia’, ‘Nicaragua’, ‘Zimbabwe’, etc. Furthermore, unlike to the confrontational words associated with the US position, there is much more emphasis on cooperation in the EU position. Indeed, it is important to note that many of the highest scoring words associated with the EU position are linked to global summits and meetings, international conventions and agreements, and other multilateral initiatives. This includes the references to the Convention on Cluster Munitions, the Lomé Convention, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the CSCE sessions held in Madrid, MONUC, and the ‘Thessaloniki’ Summit. Hence, the EU position is strongly associated with multilateralism and global cooperation. Therefore, the figures suggest that in terms of the emphasis on more global issues, on more normative issues, such as human rights and international development, and on multilateralism, we find that the EU foreign policy position remains largely consistent over time – this is even with the multiple waves of enlargement that occur during this time period.



Topic model analysis

To better understand the key topics discussed in the UN General Debate statements, and the differences between the EU, Russia, and the US in terms of the issues they focus on in their UNGD statements, we conduct a structural topic model analysis (Roberts et al., 2013). In order to implement the structural topic model (STM), we first assess the optimal number of topics that need to be included in the model specification. We follow the recommendations of Roberts et al. (2013) and assess exclusivity and semantic coherence measures.³ In line with Bischof and Airoldi (2012), we estimate the exclusivity scores for each topic. Words that appear frequently in a given topic, which do not appear very often in other topics are considered to make that topic exclusive. Topics that are cohesive and exclusive are more semantically useful. Following Roberts, Stewart and Tingley (2016), we generate a set of candidate models that range from 3 and 50 topics. We then plot the exclusivity and semantic coherence. This is provided in Figure 11. Based on this, we select a 14-topic model, as it has the largest positive residual in the regression fit, and provides the highest exclusivity at the same level of semantic coherence.

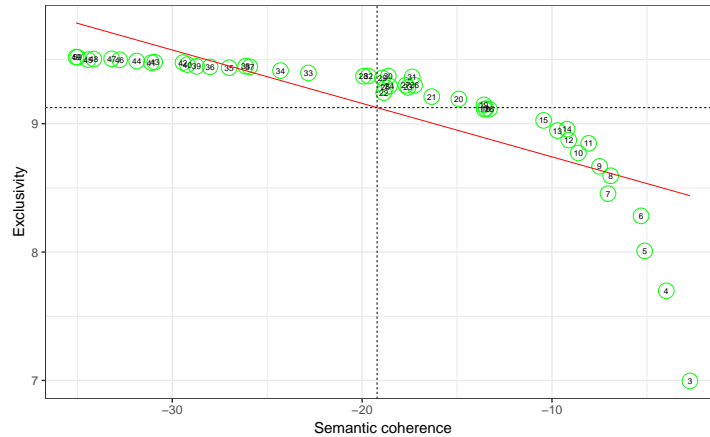


Figure 11: *Optimal number of topics search.* Semantic coherence and exclusivity results for a model search from 3 to 50 topics. Models above the regression line provide a better trade-off. The 14-topic model has the largest positive residual.

To interpret the 14 topics, we use the highest probability words associated with these topics that emerge from the structural topic model of UNGD statements. In addition to the highest probability words, we also use the FREX metric, which combines exclusivity and word frequency (we also refer back to the original UNGD statements to understand the context around these key words). We present the 25 highest probability words and the 25 top FREX words

³Mimno et al. (2011) propose the semantic coherence measure, which is closely related to the point-wise information measure suggested by Newman et al. (2010) to evaluate topic quality.

associated with each of the 14 topics in Figure 12. We provide a brief description of the 14 topics, based on our interpretation, below.

Topic 1 - *Disarmament*. The first topic is related to disarmament. This refers to calls to reduce weapons (nuclear and conventional).

Topic 2 - *African peace and security*. This considers issues of peace and security that are directly related to the African region.

Topic 3 - *Pan-Asian cooperation*. This is related to cooperation across the Asian region.

Topic 4 - *Colonialism and independence*. This is related to countries' independence from colonial rule. It includes issues such as liberation movements and independence struggles.

Topic 5 - *International security*. This is linked to a general focus on international security.

Topic 6 - *Conflict and terrorism*. This topic relates to issues of conflict and terrorism. The key words have a clear link to terrorism and Islamic extremism.

Topic 7 - *Middle East peace*. This is related to peace and security in the Middle East.

Topic 8 - *Small Island Developing States*. This is linked to the Small Island Developing States (SIDS).

Topic 9 - *Economic development and the United Nations*. Topic 9 is one of three that relates to issues of development. It focuses more narrowly on economic development.

Topic 10 - *Africa region*. This broadly relates to the Africa region.

Topic 11 - *Latin America region*. This also has a regional focus, considering the Latin America region.

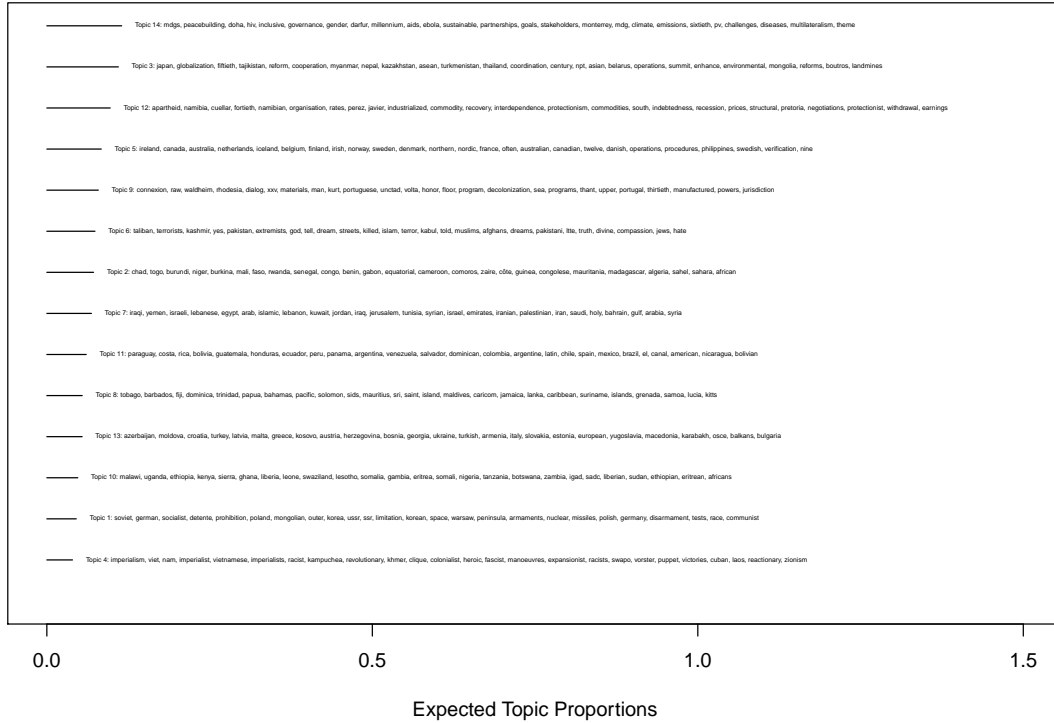
Topic 12 - *International development and the Global South*. This has a focus on international development, particularly focused on issues linked to the Global South.

Topic 13 - *Europe region*. Topic 13 is a general Europe region topic.

Topic 14 - *Sustainable development and climate change*. The final topic considers sustainable development and climate change.

Using the STM and the 14 topics that we have uncovered, we examine which topics EU member states discuss in their UNGD statements more or less than other states to shed greater light on the foreign policy dimensions used in the main analysis. Figure 13 illustrates the differences in the extent to which Russia, USA, EU member states, EU candidate states, and EU official applicants discuss the 14 topics. While this is based on a descriptive analysis, the

Top 25 FREX words



Top 25 highest prob words

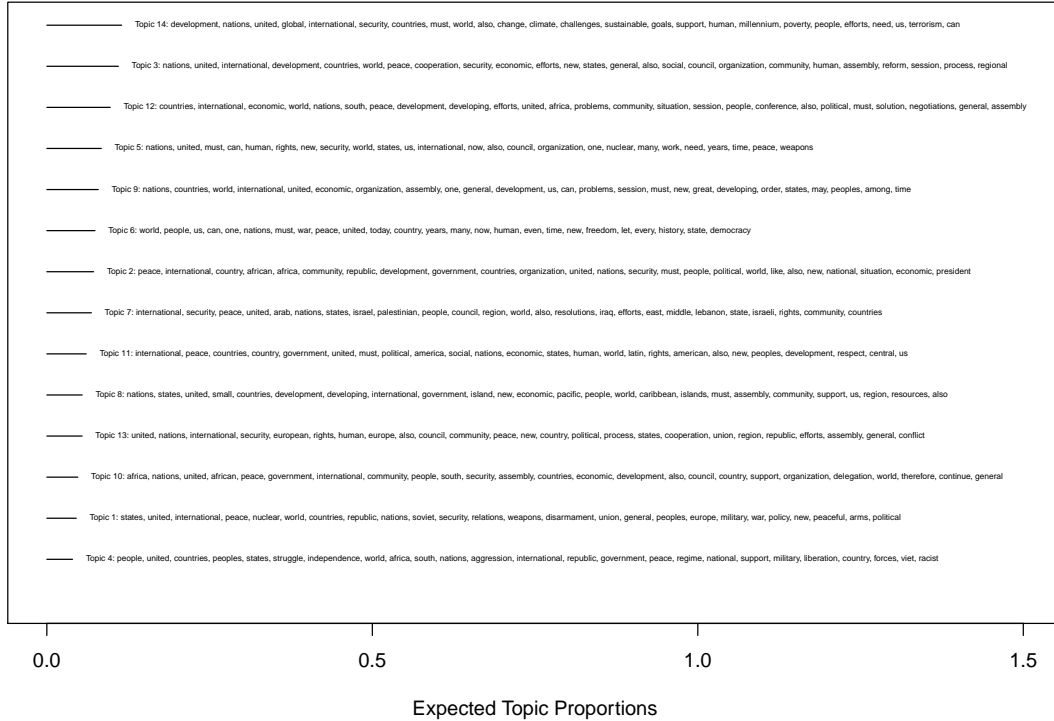


Figure 12: *Topic labeling*. Top 25 FREX and highest probability words for each topic.

different levels of topic usage reveal the main differences in the issues that different countries focus on in their UNGD statements.

Figure 13 shows that Russia devotes far more of its UNGD statement to *disarmament* (Topic 1) than the other groups of countries. It also shows that the USA discusses *disarmament* far more than EU member states or accession countries. However, the US has much lower usage of the *Disarmament* topic than Russia. In contrast, we find that there is virtually no engagement with the *African peace and security* topic (Topic 2) by Russia or the USA. This is a topic that EU member states discuss a considerable amount. It is also worth noting that there is some usage of the *African peace and security* topic by EU candidate states and official applicants, although they refer to it far less than EU member states.

Usage of the third topic, *Pan-Asian cooperation*, is highest among EU official applicants followed by EU candidate states, and then Russia. In contrast, there is much less reference to this topic by EU member states and the USA. We also see very little discussion of the *Colonialism and independence* topic (Topic 4) by the USA. Whereas, we see much higher engagement with this topic by the other states – and particularly high reference to this topic by Russia and EU candidate states.

There is significant discussion of *International security* (Topic 5) and relatively high levels of usage of this topic by the USA and EU member states. It is worth noting that this topic also includes some reference to human rights. The *Conflict and terrorism* topic (Topic 6) has very high usage by the USA, as we might expect, and is discussed fairly little by the other states. The USA also has the highest usage of the *Middle East peace* topic (Topic 7) – although, this topic is discussed by all of the groups of countries with the lowest usage being by EU official applicants. The *Small Island Developing States* topic (Topic 8) sees the lowest engagement by Russia followed by EU member states. The highest usage of this topic comes from the EU accession countries and the USA.

The *Economic development and the UN* topic (Topic 9) sees highest usage by EU member states and EU candidate states, and much lower usage by EU official applicants, USA, and Russia. The highest usage of the *Africa region* topic (Topic 10) is by EU member states. There is considerably less engagement with this topic by the other countries, with Russia having the lowest usage of the *Africa region* topic. Similarly, the highest engagement with the *Latin America region* topic (Topic 11) is by EU member states, followed by EU candidate states. There is very little engagement by Russia with this topic.

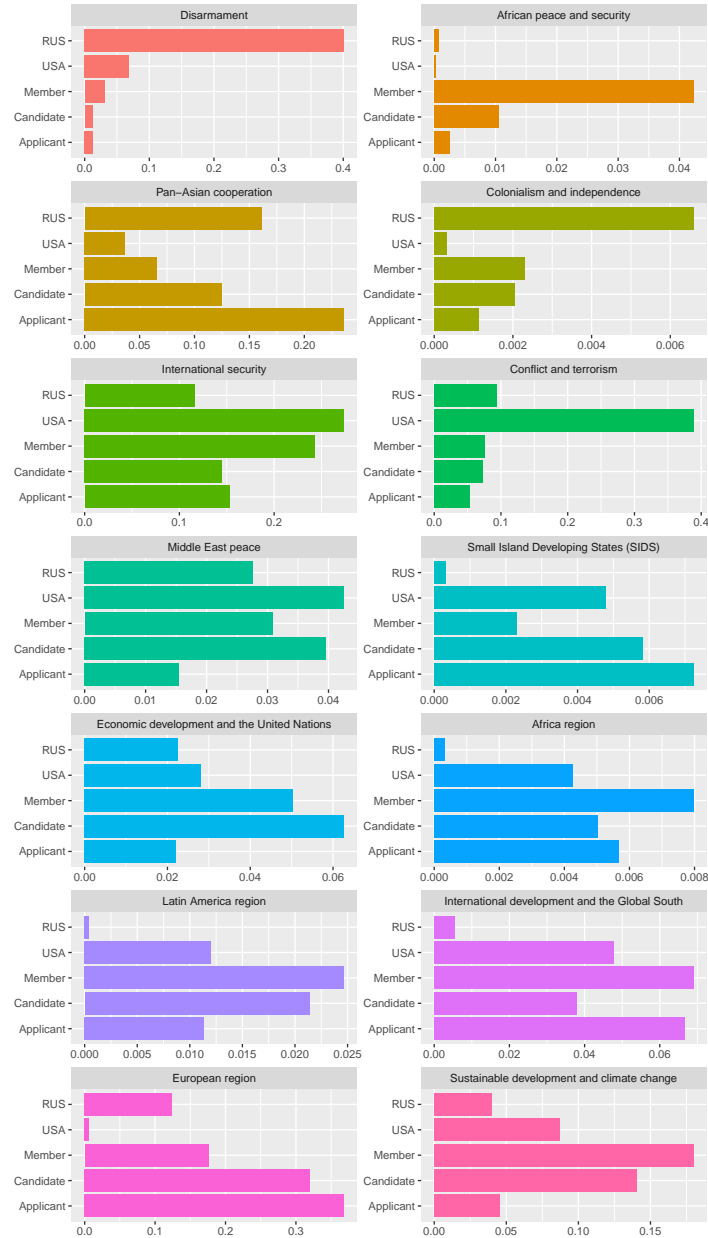


Figure 13: *Average topic usage.* Average topic usage by EU member and accession states, USA, and Russia in UNGD statements.

The *International development and the Global South* topic (Topic 12) has highest usage by EU member states and EU candidate countries, with EU official applicants and USA also engaging with this topic. Again, Russia has the lowest usage of this topic. In contrast, perhaps as we might expect, USA has lowest engagement with the *Europe region* topic (Topic 13), with the highest usage by the EU accession countries. EU member states and Russia have similar levels of engagement with the *Europe region* topic.

Finally, the highest usage of the *Sustainable development and climate change* topic (Topic 14) is by EU member states, followed by EU candidate countries. We see lower levels of engagement with this topic by USA, EU official applicants, and Russia. Therefore, the topic usage graphs presented in Figure 13 again show that the USA and Russia place greater emphasis on security related issues in their UNGD statements. In contrast, we find much greater focus on issues linked to international development and climate change by EU member states. Furthermore, EU member states (and to a lesser degree) EU accession countries tend to have a more global outlook than Russia and the USA, in terms of being more engaged with different regions around the world.

Therefore, while the specific issues that form the basis of the two foreign policy dimensions in our analysis (EU-USA and EU-Russia) are likely to vary by year, our analysis provides strong support for the EU having a more outward and global foreign policy agenda than either the USA or Russia. Furthermore, we find support for the view that EU foreign policy has a more normative and value-oriented agenda in international politics. In particular, our analysis of the key words and the usage of different topics suggests that the EU is highly engaged in issues such as international development, climate change, and issues around human rights. Furthermore, our analysis suggests that this global and normative emphasis in EU foreign policy remains consistent over the time period examined, even with multiple waves of EU enlargement.

3 States Delivering UN General Debate Statement for the EU

As we discuss in the main paper, until 2011, the UNGD statement for the EU was delivered by the state that held that Presidency of the Council of the European Union. Since 2011, the President of the European Council has delivered a separate UNGD address on behalf of the EU. Table 1 below indicates which country held the Presidency in the second half of the year, and delivered the UNGD statement on behalf of the EU, for 1971-2014.

Year	EU UNGD Statement	Year	EU UNGD Statement
1971	Italy	1993	Belgium
1972	Netherlands	1994	Germany
1973	Denmark	1995	Spain
1974	France	1996	Ireland
1975	Italy	1997	Luxembourg
1976	Netherlands	1998	Austria
1977	Belgium	1999	Finland
1978	West Germany	2000	France
1979	Ireland	2001	Belgium
1980	Luxembourg	2002	Denmark
1981	United Kingdom	2003	Italy
1982	Denmark	2004	Netherlands
1983	Greece	2005	United Kingdom
1984	Ireland	2006	Finland
1985	Luxembourg	2007	Portugal
1986	United Kingdom	2008	France
1987	Denmark	2009	Sweden
1988	Greece	2010	Belgium
1989	France	2011	President of European Council
1990	Italy	2012	President of European Council
1991	Netherlands	2013	President of European Council
1992	United Kingdom	2014	President of European Council

Table 1: *States or Office delivering UN General Debate statement on behalf of the EU for 1971-2014.*

4 EU Accession and Membership Years

The analysis focuses on the case of the EU, and the explanatory variables in the main analysis are based on whether or not a country is an EU member state, an EU candidate state, or an EU official applicant. In Table 2 we provide the years that countries entered into each of these stages of association with the EU. The table includes all EU member states prior to 2014 (above the line). It also includes countries that entered the EU accession process before 2014 that are not EU member states (below the line).

The founding members of the EU (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) did not go through an accession process, hence there is no year provided for when they were EU official applicants or had EU candidate status. It is also worth noting that several countries, namely Iceland, Norway, and Switzerland began the process of EU accession before withdrawing their application at a later time. In the case of Norway, this has happened twice. As such, while there are years that these countries are EU official applicants or EU candidate states, they then return to being non-EU countries at a later time, as indicated in the table.

5 Analysis with Combined Pre-Accession Period

In the main analysis provided in the paper, we consider the two pre-accession periods, EU official applicant and EU candidate status, separately. Here, we test whether combining these two phases into a single pre-accession period alters our main findings. The results are provided in Table 3 for the EU sample and the global sample. It is worth noting that the 41 countries in the EU sample include those countries with a COW number between 200-395.

The results in Table 3 show that the effects of EU membership on state preferences are positive and statistically significant when we include a combined pre-accession variable. In fact, the effects of EU membership on foreign policy positions are very similar to the results provided in the main analysis. It is worth noting, however, that when the pre-accession period is combined, the effects of EU pre-accession on foreign policy positions falls below the 95 per cent confidence level (except for the last model). This suggests that the different stages of pre-accession, namely becoming an EU official applicant state and an EU candidate state, have different implications for states' foreign policy alignment. In general, the results in Table 3 provide support for the main findings of the paper.

Country	EU Official Applicant	EU Candidate State	EU Member State
Austria	1989	1992	1995
Belgium	Founding member	Founding member	1952/1958
Bulgaria	1995	1997	2007
Croatia	2003	2004	2013
Czech Republic	1996	1997	2004
Denmark	1967	1969	1973
Estonia	1995	1997	2004
Finland	1992	1992	1995
France	Founding member	Founding member	1952/1958
Germany	Founding member	Founding member	1952/1958
Greece	1975	1976	1981
Hungary	1994	1997	2004
Ireland	1967	1969	1973
Italy	Founding member	Founding member	1952/1958
Latvia	1995	1999	2004
Lithuania	1995	1999	2004
Luxembourg	Founding member	Founding member	1952/1958
Malta	1990	1999	2004
Netherlands	Founding member	Founding member	1952/1958
Poland	1994	1997	2004
Portugal	1977	1978	1986
Romania	1995	1999	2007
Slovakia	1995	1999	2004
Slovenia	1996	1997	2004
Spain	1977	1978	1986
Sweden	1991	1992	1995
UK	1967	1969	1973
Albania	2009	2014	–
Iceland	2009	2010-2013	–
Macedonia	2004	2005	–
Montenegro	2008	2010	–
Norway	1967/1992	1969-1972/1992-1994	–
Serbia	2009	2012	–
Switzerland	1992-1992	–	–
Turkey	1987	1999	–

Table 2: *Years of EU official application, candidate status granted, and membership.*

	EU-Russia Wordscore (Global)	EU-USA Wordscore (Global)	EU-Russia Wordscore (Europe)	EU-USA Wordscore (Europe)
EU pre-access (lagged)	0.114+ (0.058)	0.085+ (0.044)	0.099 (0.063)	0.149** (0.065)
EU member state (lagged)	0.216** (0.067)	0.202** (0.066)	0.295** (0.103)	0.372** (0.115)
Polity	0.004+ (0.002)	0.006** (0.002)	0.024** (0.011)	0.012 (0.009)
GDP per capita (logged)	-0.024 (0.021)	0.009 (0.020)	-0.065 (0.105)	0.057 (0.080)
Trade openness	0.012 (0.016)	0.016 (0.013)	0.052*** (0.005)	0.044*** (0.005)
UNSC	-0.022 (0.021)	-0.011 (0.023)	-0.057 (0.079)	-0.050 (0.086)
Post-Cold War	-0.015 (0.068)	2.134*** (0.090)	-0.262 (0.421)	1.564*** (0.361)
Constant	1.327*** (0.135)	0.330** (0.131)	1.565** (0.732)	0.153 (0.615)
N	5710	5710	1222	1222
NCountries	162	162	41	41
AdjR2	0.859	0.896	0.559	0.698
RMSE	0.426	0.457	0.842	0.841

Table 3: *Effect of EU association on states' foreign policy positions with combined pre-accession period for global and European samples.* Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$. We use panel linear models with country and year fixed effects.

6 Analysis with Additional Control Variables

In this section, we consider the effects of EU membership and accession on foreign policy positions with the inclusion of additional control variables. We consider whether our results are affected if we include trade with Russia or the USA in our analysis. To do this, we include variables that capture that share of trade a country's total trade that is done with Russia or the USA. We use dyadic trade data from the UN COMTRADE database to calculate the share of trade countries' do with Russia and the USA. Table 4 below shows the effects of EU membership on the EU-Russia and the EU-USA Wordscore dimensions with the trade share variables included in the respective models.

The results in Table 4 show that EU membership has a positive and statistically significant effect on foreign policy position. As such, controlling for the amount of trade countries have with Russia and the USA does not affect our main findings. However, the results show that being an EU official applicant no longer has a statistically significant effect (at the 95 per cent confidence level) on position on the EU-Russia dimension once trade share with Russia is included in the analysis. In addition, the table shows that the share of trade a country does with Russia has a negative statistically significant effect on countries' position on the EU-Russia dimension. In other words, an increase in the share of trade a country does with Russia is associated with a move towards the Russian foreign policy position, which is perhaps not altogether surprising. On the EU-USA Wordscore dimension, however, we find that being an EU official applicant still has a positive and statistically significant effect on state preferences, even with the inclusion of USA trade share. Furthermore, we find that the share of trade a country does with the US does not impact its position on this foreign policy dimension.

7 Analysis with Alternative Outcome Variables

In order to further demonstrate the robustness of our findings, we also conduct the regression analysis with alternative outcome variables. The Wordscores variables used in the main analysis are based on using the EU, USA, and Russia UNGD statements as reference texts for each year. This means that there is a possibility that our results may be driven by changes in the Russia and USA positions over time rather than by EU member states shifting towards the EU position. In the main analysis, we include year dummy variables to address trends over time. Here we present additional analysis to demonstrate that our findings are not simply driven by changes

	EU-Russia Wordscore (Global)	EU-USA Wordscore (Global)	EU-Russia Wordscore (Europe)	EU-USA Wordscore (Europe)
EU official applicant (lagged)	0.103+ (0.054)	0.094** (0.046)	0.083 (0.079)	0.101 (0.077)
EU candidate status (lagged)	0.076 (0.046)	0.075 (0.049)	0.100 (0.069)	0.179** (0.070)
EU member state (lagged)	0.187** (0.062)	0.184** (0.065)	0.281** (0.108)	0.366** (0.115)
Polity	0.003 (0.002)	0.004** (0.002)	0.015 (0.011)	0.011 (0.010)
Russia trade share	-0.982*** (0.211)		-1.061** (0.427)	
USA trade share		-0.025 (0.101)		-0.664 (1.490)
GDP per capita (logged)	-0.015 (0.019)	0.003 (0.018)	-0.020 (0.089)	0.057 (0.080)
Trade openness	0.012 (0.016)	0.016 (0.013)	0.051*** (0.005)	0.045*** (0.005)
UNSC	-0.021 (0.021)	-0.010 (0.023)	-0.051 (0.080)	-0.048 (0.086)
Post-Cold War	-0.040 (0.066)	2.197*** (0.067)	-0.349 (0.399)	1.567*** (0.361)
Constant	1.327*** (0.123)	0.400** (0.128)	1.453** (0.645)	0.194 (0.649)
N	5665	5665	1194	1222
NCountries	161	161	40	41
AdjR2	0.863	0.905	0.569	0.698
RMSE	0.420	0.437	0.838	0.841

Table 4: *Effect of EU association on states' foreign policy positions with Russia and USA trade shares for global and European samples.* Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$. We use panel linear models with country and year fixed effects.

in the USA and Russia positions over time, through the use of alternative outcome variables.

Alternative similarity measures: Cosine and Jaccard similarity

In the main paper our measures of preference similarity are based on Wordscores. Here we employ alternative outcome variables based on different text similarity measures. We use the (a) *cosine similarity* of countries' UNGD statements with the EU UNGD statement as an outcome variable, and (b) *Jaccard similarity* of countries' UNGD statements with the EU statement as an outcome variable. The former approach is based on measuring the similarity between two vectors of an inner product space. It measures the similarity of two vectors (documents) by measuring the cosine angle between them. As such, it measures the overlap between two documents. Jaccard similarity is measured as the proportion of number of common words to number of unique words in two documents. Both are widely used measures of text similarity. In our analysis we calculate the cosine and Jaccard similarities of all UNGD statements in a year with the EU UNGD statement for that year. Therefore, these two measures allow us to examine whether membership of the EU leads to preference similarity without considering the Russia or US foreign policy positions.

Table 5 presents the results of our analysis using the cosine similarity and Jaccard similarity measures as the outcome variables for the global and European sample. The table shows that gaining EU candidate status and becoming an EU member state has a statistically significant effect on preference similarity with the EU.⁴

Alternative similarity measures: Word Mover's Distance

We also use a new approach to measuring text similarity by utilizing the Word Mover's Distance (WMD) approach to measuring preference similarity with the EU position (see [Pomeroy, Dasandi and Jankin Mikhaylov, 2019](#); [Kusner et al., 2015](#)). To do this we first embed the speeches into vector space using the Global Vectors for Word Representation (GloVe) algorithm. Word embeddings encode more semantically interesting speech patterns compared to the typical bag-of-words representation of text data ([Pennington, Socher and Manning, 2014](#)). For each year, we utilize the WMD in order to locate distances between states' speeches with the EU speech. We used the relaxed variant of the Word Mover's Distance (RWMD) ([Kusner](#)

⁴The effect of becoming a EU member state on cosine similarity using the European sample falls outside the 0.05 per cent significance level ($p = 0.052$).

	EU cosine similarity (Global)	EU Jaccard similarity (Global)	EU cosine similarity (Europe)	EU Jaccard similarity (Europe)
EU official applicant (lagged)	0.012** (0.006)	0.007** (0.003)	0.009 (0.007)	0.005 (0.004)
EU candidate status (lagged)	0.015*** (0.004)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.011** (0.005)	0.005** (0.002)
EU member state (lagged)	0.017** (0.005)	0.010*** (0.003)	0.015+ (0.007)	0.008** (0.004)
Polity	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.001** (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)
GDP per capita (logged)	0.002+ (0.001)	0.001+ (0.001)	0.010+ (0.005)	0.004 (0.003)
Trade openness	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)
UNSC	0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.003 (0.002)
Post-Cold War	-0.024*** (0.005)	-0.013*** (0.003)	-0.044+ (0.023)	-0.020 (0.013)
Constant	0.071*** (0.009)	0.035*** (0.005)	0.028 (0.037)	0.020 (0.020)
N	5664	5664	1176	1176
NCountries	162	162	41	41
AdjR2	0.268	0.295	0.245	0.268
RMSE	0.025	0.014	0.033	0.018

Table 5: *Effect of EU association on states' similarity to the EU foreign policy position (using cosine and Jaccard similarity) for global and European samples.* Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$. We use panel linear models with country and year fixed effects.

et al., 2015). As an Optimal Transport measure, this approach conceptualizes the state-state speech problem as one of minimizing the effort required to move one state’s speech embeddings to the vector space of the EU speech, which we convert to similarity scores (Kusner et al., 2015).⁵ The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6. The results show that using the global sample, EU official applicant, EU candidate status, and EU member states have a statistically significant effect on similarity with the EU position. Interestingly, we find that EU candidate status has the largest effect, which has a slightly larger coefficient size than EU member state. With the European sample, the effect of EU official applicant disappears. We find that EU member state also has a larger effect than EU candidate status with the European sample, although the effect is statistically significant at the 0.1 per cent level. Below we also analyze the effects of EU membership years on preference similarity using the RWMD similarity measure.

Analysis of EU Membership Years on Alternative Text Similarity Measures

In the analysis in the main paper, we examine whether there is divergence in state preferences once a country gains EU membership in line with the incentivization thesis. We find that there is no evidence of divergence in the years after a country joins the EU. To confirm the robustness of this finding, we also conduct the regression analysis of EU membership years on preference similarity using our three alternative measures of text similarity: cosine similarity, Jaccard similarity, and Word Mover’s Distance. The results are presented in Table 7. EU membership years has no effect on our three measures of text similarity suggesting there is no divergence from the EU foreign policy position in the years after a country joins the EU.

8 Analysis of EU10 States’ Foreign Policy Preferences

In the main paper, we examine in detail the foreign policy preferences of the ten countries – predominantly from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) – that joined the EU in 2004. These countries (the EU10) were: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Here we provide further analysis of the impact of EU membership on the preferences of the EU10 countries. Specifically, we examine the evidence for preference convergence with EU foreign policy preferences when these countries joined the

⁵We use the `quanteda` package (Benoit, 2018) for corpus instigation, and the `text2vec` package (Selivanov, 2016) for fitting the GloVe models and calculating the RWMDs. All analysis is conducted in the **R** statistical programming environment (R Core Team, 2017).

	EU RWMD similarity (Global)	EU RWMD similarity (Europe)
EU official applicant (lagged)	0.030** (0.012)	0.009 (0.014)
EU candidate status (lagged)	0.036*** (0.008)	0.022** (0.011)
EU member state (lagged)	0.034** (0.012)	0.027+ (0.015)
Polity	-0.000 (0.000)	0.003** (0.001)
GDP per capita (logged)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.013)
Trade openness	0.000 (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)
UNSC	0.003 (0.004)	-0.008 (0.006)
Post-Cold War	-0.099*** (0.016)	-0.071 (0.049)
Constant	0.528*** (0.029)	0.528*** (0.095)
N	5664	1176
NCountries	162	41
AdjR2	0.493	0.425
RMSE	0.077	0.072

Table 6: *Effect of EU association on states' similarity to the EU foreign policy position (using Word Mover's Distance) for global and European samples.* Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$. We use panel linear models with country and year fixed effects.

	EU cosine similarity	EU Jaccard similarity	EU RWMD similarity
EU membership years	0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.003 (0.004)
Polity	0.012** (0.004)	0.007** (0.002)	0.016 (0.020)
GDP per capita (logged)	0.000 (0.013)	0.001 (0.008)	0.016 (0.022)
Trade openness	0.001+ (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)
UNSC	-0.000 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.006 (0.013)
Post-Cold War	0.017 (0.013)	0.023** (0.008)	-0.066** (0.020)
Constant	0.007 (0.109)	-0.019 (0.066)	0.317 (0.311)
N	603	603	603
NCountries	27	27	27
AdjR2	0.092	0.084	0.246
RMSE	0.038	0.022	0.082

Table 7: *Effect of EU membership years on member states' foreign policy position with alternative measures of text similarity measures.* Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$. We use panel linear models with country fixed effects and non-linear time trend (cubic splines).

EU. We do this in two ways. First, we consider in greater depth the trends in the foreign policy positions of the EU10 states. Second, we examine how the UN General Debate statements made by these countries differ before and after they became EU member states. The analysis focuses on the key words used in the ten years before and after these countries became EU member states, and the extent to which they discuss ‘EU topics’ – i.e. topics that are especially linked to EU foreign policy preferences – when they join the EU. This analysis provides additional evidence of a socialization effect on EU member state preferences, specifically for the EU10 countries, and further demonstrates the robustness of our findings.

Analysis of EU10 States’ UN General Debate Statements

In addition to considering trends in the EU10 states’ foreign policy positions, we also further examine the UN General Debate statements made by these countries. We do this through an analysis of key words in the EU10 countries’ UNGD statements in the ten years before and after they join the EU. We also use the topic model analysis, discussed above, to examine the extent to which these countries discuss topics associated with the EU foreign policy position in their UNGD statements once they join the EU. If there is a socialization process in the EU that leads to preference convergence, then these countries should become more similar to the established EU members regarding the issues and topics that they discuss. We again use the EU6 countries’ UNGD statements for comparison.

Figure 14 displays a bigram of the most statistically distinct words in the EU10 countries’ UNGD statements in the ten years before they joined the EU (1994-2003) and the ten years after they joined the EU (2004-2013). Figure 15 presents the key words distinguishing the EU10’s UNGD statements in the ten years before and after membership as a word cloud. Figure 16 shows the key words for the EU6 countries. In other words, it shows the most statistically distinct words in the EU6 countries’ UNGD statements for 1994-2003 (in blue at the bottom) and for 2004-2013 (in red at the top). The key words for the EU6 countries are shown as a word cloud in Figure 17.

In the ten years prior to the CEE countries joining the EU – shown in Figure 14 at the bottom in blue – their UNGD statements had a more regional focus. The key terms include ‘Central European’, ‘Baltic Sea’, ‘Czech Republic’, and ‘Former Yugoslavia’ (which is related to the conflict there in the 1990s). The only non-European region that appears in the key words is ‘East Timor’, which is related to the country’s independence during this period. In contrast,

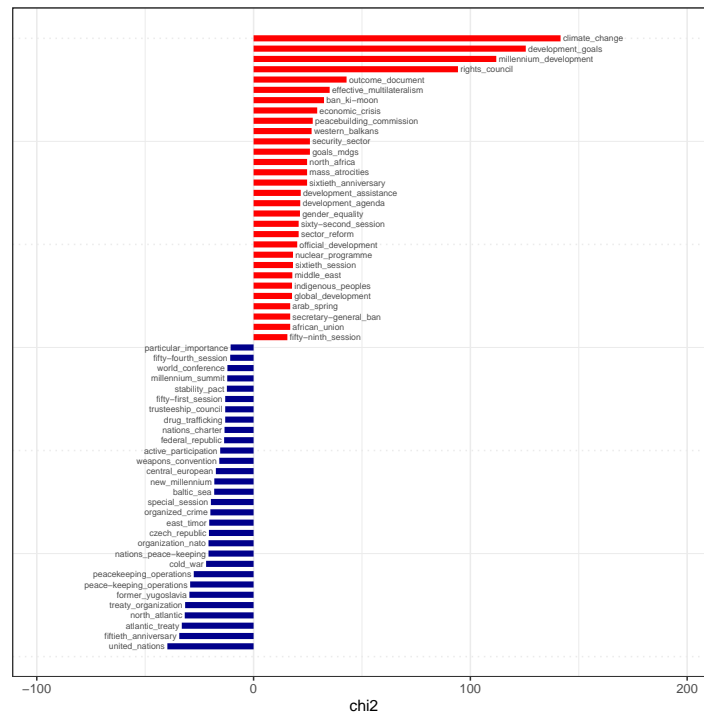


Figure 14: Key words in EU10's UNGD statements before and after EU membership. Bigram of statistically distinct words in EU10's UNGD statements in the ten years before (bottom) and after EU membership (top).

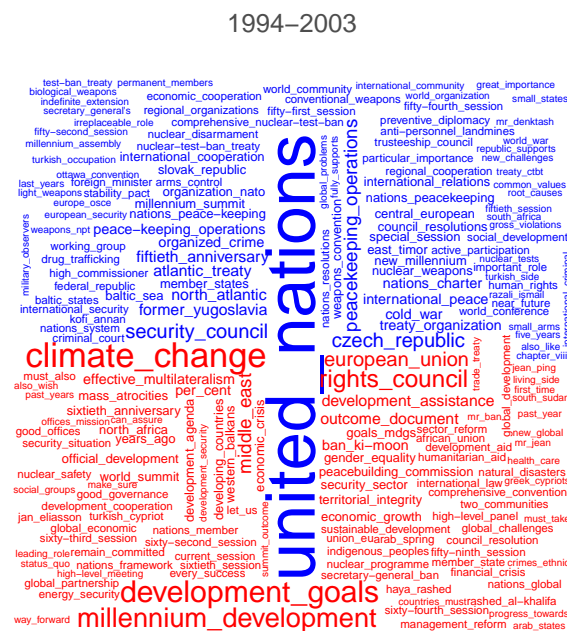


Figure 15: Word cloud of key words in EU10's UNGD statements before and after EU membership. Word cloud of statistically distinct words in EU10's UNGD statements in the ten years before (bottom) and after EU membership (top).

in the ten years following EU membership, we see that the EU10 countries' UNGD statements have a more global focus. This includes references to 'North Africa', the 'Middle East', and the 'African Union', in addition to the 'Western Balkans'. The various references to development issues also demonstrates a more global outlook in the EU10 UNGD statements following EU membership. This shift from a more regional to global focus can also be seen in the word cloud presented in Figure 15. In the period prior to joining the EU, there is a greater emphasis on the European region (e.g. 'Baltic states', 'Europe OSCE', 'Central European', 'Czech Republic', etc.). The more global focus after joining the EU can be seen with greater reference to different regions (e.g. 'South Sudan', 'Middle East', 'African Union', 'developing countries', etc.), as well as more emphasis on global processes (e.g. 'global challenges', 'global partnership', and 'global development').

More striking than the changing geographic focus for the EU10 before and after joining the EU is the difference in the types of issues that these countries discuss in the UN General Debate before and after becoming EU member states. The key words that most clearly differentiate the EU10 UNGD statements after membership from their UNGD statements prior EU accession are, 'climate change', 'development goals', 'millennium development' (which refers to the Millennium Development Goals), and 'rights council' (referring to the Human Rights Council). There are also additional terms that refer to international development issues, such as 'development assistance', 'development agenda', 'goals MDGs', 'official development' (referring to official development assistance), and 'global development'. Additional key words include 'indigenous people', 'gender equality', and 'effective multilateralism'. Hence, in line with EU foreign policy preferences discussed above (and in the main paper), the EU10 countries focus far more on more normative issues such as human rights, international development, and climate change after membership; in contrast to the greater emphasis on traditional security issues that can be seen in the UNGD statements for the ten years prior to EU membership. This focus on traditional security issues in the ten years prior to EU membership can be seen with key words such as 'peace-keeping operations', 'North Atlantic' or 'NATO', 'Cold War', 'organized crime', 'weapons convention', and 'drug trafficking'. This can also be seen in Figure 15 where the key words in the ten years prior to EU membership have a clearer security focus (e.g. 'nuclear weapons', 'nuclear test ban', 'weapons NPT', and 'European security'). This is in contrast to wider range of issues highlighted in the EU10 UNGD statements in the ten years after membership, which includes a greater emphasis on "softer" foreign policy issues, such as

international development, sustainable development, climate change, human rights, and gender equality.

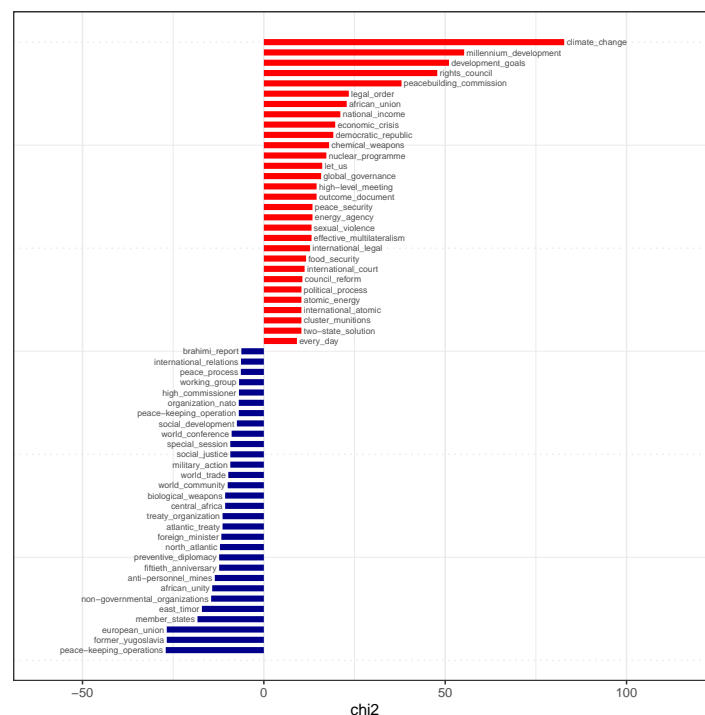


Figure 16: *Key words in EU6's UNGD statements before and after EU membership.* Bigram of statistically distinct words in EU6's UNGD statements in the ten years before (bottom) and after EU membership (top).

To further examine this shift in the issues discussed by the EU10 before and after they joined the EU, we also consider the key words in the UNGD statements of the founding EU member states, the EU6, during this same period (1994-2003 and 2004-2013). The key words presented in Figure 16 in the 1994-2003 have important similarities to the key words of the EU10 countries in this period. For example, we also see a focus on the 'Former Yugoslavia', 'East Timor', and 'peacekeeping operations'. However, there are some crucial differences. Most notably, there is more of a global focus with the key words of the EU6 UNGD statements in this period, including a reference to 'African unity', 'Central Africa', and 'world community'. Furthermore, the key terms also go beyond a narrow security focus to include references to 'non-governmental organizations', 'social development', 'social justice', 'world trade', 'peace process', and 'preventive diplomacy'. Therefore, unlike the EU10 countries' UNGD statements, with the EU6 countries we find that during the 1994-2003 period, there is a greater emphasis on global issues, and on 'softer' and more normative issues, such as social justice, development, and civil society. This focus on more global and normative issues in the

1994–2003



2004–2013

Figure 17: Word cloud of key words in EU6's UNGD statements before and after EU membership. Word cloud of statistically distinct words in EU6's UNGD statements in the ten years before (bottom) and after EU membership (top).

EU6 UNGD statements in the 1994-2003 can also be seen in the word cloud presented in Figure 17.

Figure 16 shows that in the 2004-2013 period there are strong similarities in the issues discussed in the EU6 and EU10 countries' UNGD statements. We see a number of the same key words in the EU6 countries' UNGD statements in this period as for the EU10 states, including 'climate change', 'millennium development', 'development goals', 'rights council', 'peacebuilding commission', 'African Union', and 'effective multilateralism'. More generally, we see a focus on similar issues such as gender ('sexual violence'), development, and peace and human rights. Again, this can also be seen by comparing the key words in the word clouds in Figure 15 and Figure 17. Therefore, based on an analysis of the key words in UNGD statements, we find evidence of a socialization process – in the ten years prior to joining the EU, the CEE countries have a more regional and traditional security focus in their UNGD statements, unlike the EU6, who made greater reference to global issues and 'softer' foreign policy issues, such as international development. However, after the EU10 countries join the EU in 2004, we see a shift towards a more global focus and greater emphasis on issues related to development and climate change. This is very similar to the UNGD statements of the EU6 countries during

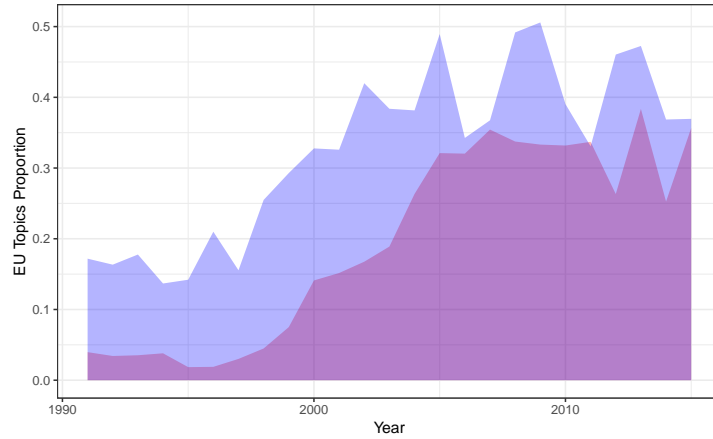


Figure 18: *Proportion of EU topics in EU10 and EU6 UNGD statements by year.* From the structural topic model analysis. EU10 is shown in red, and EU6 in blue.

this period.

In addition to considering the key words in the EU10 countries' UNGD statements, we also turn to the results of the topic model analysis presented above. If EU membership does lead to member state preference convergence through a socialization process, we would expect the EU10 countries to engage more with topics that are associated with the EU in their UNGD statements. In other words, we would expect more of these countries' UNGD statements to focus on the topics that EU countries tend to discuss.

To assess whether this occurs, we first select topics from our topic model analysis that can be considered 'EU topics'. In other words, topics that make up a significant proportion of EU member states' UNGD statements. In particular, our focus here is on choosing topics that the EU discusses more than other countries – specifically, the USA and Russia. Furthermore, we also focus on topics that are relevant, and discussed, in the post-Cold War period. This is because some topics (e.g. Colonialism and independence) feature heavily during Cold War, but receive little attention after 1990. Based on this, and drawing in particular on Figure 13, we select the following five topics: *Africa peace and security*; *Economic development and the UN*; *Africa region*; *Latin America region*; and *Sustainable development and climate change*. As we note in the discussion of the topic model analysis above, the emphasis on these topics by EU member states demonstrates that the EU has a more global focus, and goes beyond a traditional security focus to engage with issues such as international development and climate change.

In Figure 18, we show the average proportion for the EU10 countries (as in the figure in the main paper) together with the proportion of discussion of these five topics by the EU6 countries for this same period. The EU topic proportion of the EU10 countries' UNGD statements is

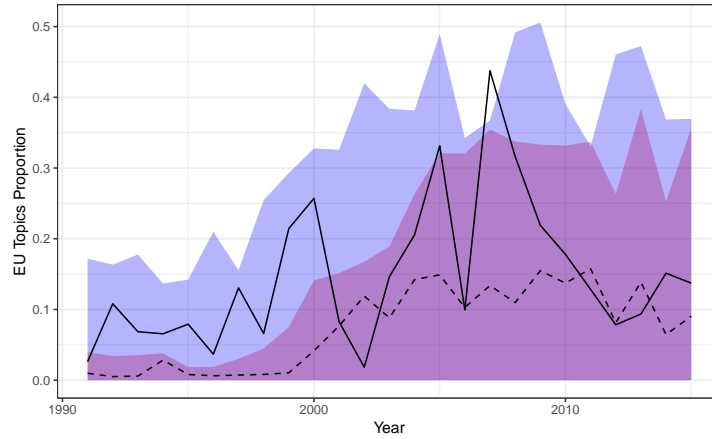


Figure 19: *Proportion of EU topics in EU10, EU6, USA, and Russia UNGD statements by year.* From the structural topic model analysis. EU10 is shown in red, EU6 in blue, USA with the solid line, and Russia with the dashed line.

shown in red, while the topic proportion in the EU6 countries' UNGD statements is shown in blue. Figure 19 also includes how much the USA and Russia discuss these topics. The proportion of the USA UNGD statements that discuss the five topics is shown by the solid black line, and the proportion of the Russia UNGD statements is shown using the dashed line. This figure is also presented in the main paper, but we present again here, as we discuss it in more detail.

The figure shows that throughout the 1990s, the EU6 countries have a much higher proportion of these topics in their UNGD statements than the EU10 countries, as we would expect. Importantly, even in the late 1990s and early 2000s, as the EU10 increase their engagement with these topics, the gap in topic proportion between the EU10 and EU6 countries remains more or less the same. It is only when the EU10 countries join the EU that we see the gap in the discussion of these topics between the EU10 and the EU6 close. Hence, once these countries join the EU, they increase their discussion of the five EU topics, and engage with these topics at a very similar level to the EU6 countries. This again provides further evidence that a socialization effect in the EU has led to these countries adopting similar preferences to other EU member states.

9 Summary Statistics

In Table 8 we provide the summary statistics of the variables included in the regression models.

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
EU-Russia Wordscore	5710	.264	1.201	-5.973	7.864
EU-USA Wordscore	5710	.554	1.519	-6.87	6.87
EU member state	5710	.112	.315	0	1
EU candidate status	5710	.024	.152	0	1
EU official applicant	5710	.014	.117	0	1
EU membership years	5710	2.722	9.627	0	63
EU pre-access	5710	.037	.19	0	1
Polity	5710	1.881	7.275	-10	10
GDP per capita (logged)	5710	7.572	1.625	4.054	11.667
Trade openness	5710	.732	1.898	.031	62.207
UNSC	5710	.106	.307	0	1
Post-Cold War	5710	.646	.478	0	1
Russia trade share	5665	.031	.084	0	.935
USA trade share	5665	.134	.149	0	.833
EU cosine similarity	5664	.084	.036	.018	.339
EU Jaccard similarity	5664	.04	.02	.005	.175
EU RWMD similarity	5664	.502	.118	.072	.777

Table 8: *Summary statistics for variables used in the analysis.*

References

- Benoit, Kenneth, et al. 2018. “quanteda: An R package for the quantitative analysis of textual data.” *Journal of Open Source Software* 3(30):774–778.
- Bischof, Jonathan and Edoardo M Airol di. 2012. Summarizing topical content with word frequency and exclusivity. In *Proceedings of the 29th International Conference on Machine Learning (ICML-12)*. pp. 201–208.
- Kusner, Matt, Yu Sun, Nicholas Kolkin and Kilian Weinberger. 2015. From word embeddings to document distances. In *International conference on machine learning*. pp. 957–966.
- Mimno, David, Hanna M Wallach, Edmund Talley, Miriam Leenders and Andrew McCallum. 2011. Optimizing semantic coherence in topic models. In *Proceedings of the conference on empirical methods in natural language processing*. Association for Computational Linguistics pp. 262–272.
- Newman, David, Jey Han Lau, Karl Grieser and Timothy Baldwin. 2010. Automatic evaluation of topic coherence. In *Human Language Technologies: The 2010 Annual Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics*. Association for Computational Linguistics pp. 100–108.
- Pennington, Jeffrey, Richard Socher and Christopher D Manning. 2014. Glove: Global Vectors for Word Representation. In *Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing (EMNLP)*. Vol. 14 pp. 1532–1543.
- Pomeroy, Caleb, Niheer Dasandi and Slava Jankin Mikhaylov. 2019. “Multiplex communities and the emergence of international conflict.” *PloS one* 14(10).
- R Core Team. 2017. *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing*. Vienna, Austria: R Foundation for Statistical Computing.
URL: <https://www.R-project.org>
- Roberts, Margaret E, Brandon M Stewart, Dustin Tingley, Edoardo M Airol di 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*.
- Roberts, ME, BM Stewart and D Tingley. 2016. “stm: R package for structural topic models 2014.” *R package version 0.6 21*.
- Selivanov, Dmitriy. 2016. *text2vec: Modern Text Mining Framework for R*. R package version 0.4.0 ed. URL: <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=text2vec>.