

# UNIVERSITY OF TRENTO

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Master's Degree  
in  
Data Science



## **Analyzing Polarization in Climate Change Tweets during COP: A Multi-Layer Networks and Topic Modeling Approach**

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## **Acknowledgements**

And I would like to acknowledge ...



## **Abstract**

This is where you write your abstract ...



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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background

Climate change has been a well-known problem among scientists for a long time. The first paper warning about the effects of the increment of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is from 1976 [1], while in a study of 1976 [2] it was observed for the first time. In 1988, the World Meteorological Organization Established the Intergovernmental Panel On Climate Change (IPCC) [3], which is the leading organization evaluating climate change up to date as. As shown in [4], the researchers' interest in climate change grew significantly after 1990.



Fig. 1.1 Front page of NY Times, June 24, 1988

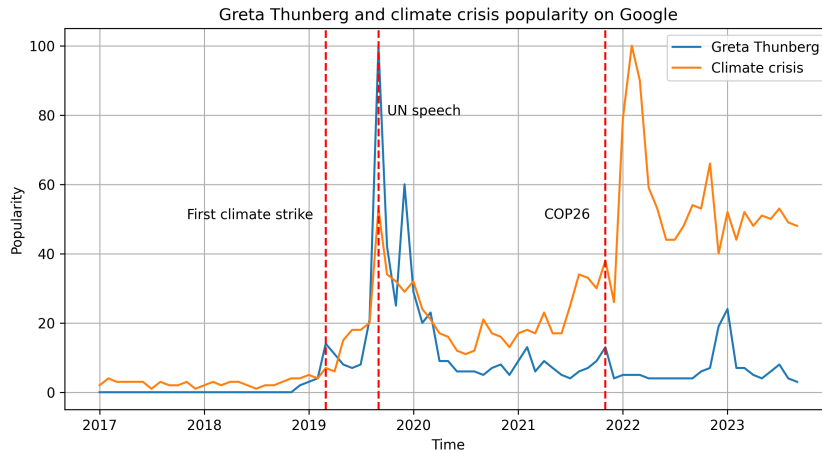


Fig. 1.2 interest on Google over the time of Greta Thunberg and climate crisis

The issue has become mainstream only in the past few years since, partially due to Greta Thunberg [5] and Fridays for Future, people grew more aware of the problem. As we can see in Fig 1.2, only after 2019 people started searching for , and talk about, a 'climate crisis' <sup>1</sup>, underlining the urgency with which we should act. It is also true that the strikes caused inconvenience to many ordinary citizens trying to reach their workplaces. As a consequence someone may have developed some hostility toward this activism and, thus, toward climate change. In fact, an increase in polarization has been detected after the strikes [6].

Conferences of Parties (COP) are conferences where the highest political figures of many countries meet and talk about climate emergencies. This serves also to bring the discussion to the masses, increasing awareness on the problem. In particular, Twitter is a place where part of the political debate takes place [7] and political events like this can be studied thanks to the availability of big amount of data.

The increasing polarization poses a significant challenge to the mitigation of the harmful impacts of climate change; for this reason, understanding the root cause has the potential to speed up the reduction of emissions, not having to deal with strong opponents. This can have the effect to save human lives and resources.

**Conference of Parties** Conferences of Parties are yearly conferences organized by the United Nations where the topic of discussion is climate change; the first was held in 1995 in Berlin, and the ones that ended with a document to ratify are:

<sup>1</sup>we choose this term because it is not descriptive as climate change but focus on the negative version of it

- **COP3:** Kyoto Protocol (1997) It was the first treaty to mandate countries to cut greenhouse gas emissions that was legally binding, but this was true only for developed countries, therefore excluding China and India.
- **COP21:** The Paris Agreement (2015) is a global accord that aims at limiting global warming to well below 2 degrees Celsius (preferably to 1.5 degrees Celsius) compared to pre-industrial levels by requiring all countries to set their own emissions reduction targets. It is considered more effective and inclusive than the Kyoto Protocol because it involves all countries, allows for flexibility in setting emissions targets, and includes a robust system for transparency and accountability.
- **COP26:** Glasgow Climate Pact (2021) is a crucial agreement in the global effort to combat climate change. It is the direct consequence and a refinement of the Paris agreement. It includes significant commitments to address the urgent challenges of climate change, such as phasing down coal usage, increasing climate finance for adaptation, strengthening international cooperation, and supporting countries which are transitioning to low-carbon economies. However, not everyone agrees with the outcomes of the conference: for example, [8] shows how the previous goal has not been achieved and how the roadmap is not clear. While [9] underlines how the politics decisions are not based on the IPCC report, which is the most trusted scientific reference for climate change.

The focus of this work will be on COP26 which is the one that occurred in a context of popular agitation toward the topic. Additionally, a spike in the climate crisis interest has been detected right after it. Then, a comparison between COP21 and COP26 will be done due to its analogies, in fact the Glasgow climate pact exists as a more specific definition of the too general Paris agreement. Both happen in a context of political contrast, during 2017, president Trump of the United States decided to withdraw from the Paris agreement because it would have undermined the US economy. This caused disappointment to all the others members, especially the developing countries which are the most affected by global warming effects.

This work lays its foundations on the research of Falkenberg et al. [10], who discovered that COP26 was way more polarized than COP21. Using a similar approach, the ideological polarization will be explored topic by topic using cutting edge technologies such as transformers and by exploiting the complexity of multilayer networks.

There is not a universally agreed definition of polarization. Ref [11] help disambiguate the various definitions that fall under the term polarization. It distinguish between sociopolitical ,

group and individual polarization. Our focus will be on the sociopolitical one which concern the polarization of the influential individuals within the parties, called elite polarization, which is defined as the alignment of the political leader with all the positions of its own party. There is a general agreement between social and political scientist that elites are polarized, while it is unclear if the masses are also polarized in the same way, since the results can depend on the methodology.

In this paper, we will operationalize it using [12], the same used by Falkenberg, which is: "The most common measure of polarization in the political literature is probably bimodality, which is the idea that the population can be usefully broken down into two subpopulations". In the case at hand, the two sub-populations are pro-climate and climate skeptics.

## 1.2 Research Questions

Due to the structure of this research, we can now answer a new set of questions related to intra-topic polarization. The first two look at the networks at a macro level focusing on the topology(?). The most straightforward is the first, RQ1, which aims at inspecting the topics that are driving the polarization of the entire COP26. Secondly, RQ2 wants to identify whether these topics have always been polarized compared to COP21.

Then, we the focus will shift to a micro level

### LITERATURE INTRODUCING THIS

some questions related to the users; in particular, RQ3 looks into whether users are polarized in the same way over the different topics or if there are topics in which they are on the opposite side of the spectrum. RQ4 instead investigates whether the most active users, both in term of number of tweets and the presence on multiple topics, are more polarized than the others.

1. Which are the most polarizing topics discussed on Twitter during Cop 26?
2. How did topics evolve between cop21 and cop26?
3. Is the single-user polarization different across different topics?
4. Does the polarization of users differ depending on whether the users are present in multiple topics rather than just one?



## 1.3 Structure

This thesis is structured to provide a comprehensive exploration of topic modeling applied to unstructured text organized in a multilayer network. It is organized into a series of chapters, each serving a distinct purpose in advancing the understanding of the subject matter. Chapter 2 touches the state of the art of all the matters used in this work, first exploring the most recent topic modeling techniques with the goal to select the best suited to our scenario; second, a comprehensive review of networks, in particular social networks and multilayer networks, and how polarization is computed. Chapter 3 presents the dataset along with some statistics about it. Chapter 4 is the core of this work, the first section covers the topic modeling evaluation, using two approaches, unsupervised and supervised, several models have been tested from traditional to the one based on neural networks. After identifying the best performing model, the network section shows the pipeline that allows to build a multilayer network based on the topics starting from the raw tweets. Finally for each layer it is computed a polarization score based on the latent ideology score given to the users. Chapter 5 shows the answer to the research question posed above. Chapter 6 wraps up everything and shows some other research that can be done using the same methodology.



# Chapter 2

## Related Work

In this Chapter the literature about the main subject treated in this thesis will be reviewed, starting from the state of the art of topic modeling to the study of networks in particular multilayer networks, and concluding with the mathematical details of the computation of latent ideology score and polarization.

### 2.1 Topics

Topic modeling is a widely used technique to extract and analyze latent topics from a collection of documents. In this paper dealing with tweets, the focus will be on topic modeling for short text; the challenge rests, therefore, on the limited amount of text available for each document.

In this chapter, we review traditional methods such as LDA and NMF and more advanced techniques like BERTopic, top2Vec, BTM, and GSDMM.

#### 2.1.1 Traditional methods

LDA (Latent Dirichlet Allocation, 2003)[13] is a traditional probabilistic algorithm for topic modeling. It assumes that each document is a mixture of topics, and each topic is a distribution over words. However, LDA struggles with short texts due to the sparsity of the word co-occurrence matrix.

Another classical algorithm based on linear algebra is NMF (Non-negative Matrix Factorization) [14][15]. It assumes that each document is a linear combination of topics, and each topic is a non-negative linear combination of words. It can be used for short texts and as a baseline method.

### 2.1.2 Advanced methods

Here, the most recent techniques that have been used and tested in different settings will be inspected:

BTM (Biterm Topic modeling, 2013) [16], unlike the traditional methods, does not use the bag of words approach, but it considers the co-occurrence of words to the topic modeling. As a generative probabilistic model, similar to LDA, represents each document as a set of pairs of words (biterns).

GSDMM (Gibbs Sampling algorithm for the Dirichlet Multinomial Mixture model, 2014) [17] is a clustering-based algorithm that uses Gibbs sampling to iteratively assign each document to a topic. It models the distribution of words in each topic using a Dirichlet distribution. GSDMM is designed explicitly for short text from social media, which is typically unstructured and contains slang.

### 2.1.3 Neural approach

The most advanced techniques (BERTopic [18] and Top2Vec [19]) exploit neural networks, in particular transformers [20], and have a common structure:

1. Vectorization of the document using embeddings
2. Dimensionality reduction
3. Clustering
4. Topic definition

Let us see in detail all these steps:

#### Embeddings

The first and most crucial step is mapping each document into a vector of numbers easily manipulated by the machine. This can be accomplished in a wide range of ways: from naive one-hot encoding (Recurrent Neural Networks (RNN), Long Short-Term Memory Networks), to more complex transformers. Egger et al. [21] proved that the latter, in particular Bertopic is the best-performing method.

A transformer [20] is a deep learning architecture that excels at processing sequential data, such as natural language text. Unlike previous architectures like recurrent neural networks (RNNs) and long short-term memory (LSTM) models, transformers can process all parts of the input data in parallel, which allows for faster training and execution.

The self-attention mechanism works by assigning different weights to different parts of the input. For each token in a sequence, it calculates a score (the attention score) that determines how much to focus on other tokens when encoding that one. The higher the score, the more attention the model places on the token. An interesting feature of the transformer is the ability to map the same word from different contexts into two different points in a multidimensional space. Different words with the same meaning will be mapped in two close points.

Usually, transformers work at a word level. However, in the case at hand, the focus is on a sentence level, so sentence transformers will be used, since they map every document, instead of every word, to a vector.

The goal is to map two documents about the same topic to two multidimensional points that are close according to some notion of distance, usually Euclidean or cosine similarity.

BERTopic traditionally uses a BERT transformer to calculate its embeddings, but the flexibility of the framework allows the use of other embedding methods. The best known are Doc2Vec, Universal Sentence Encoder, and the recent Openai release of their version of embedder <sup>1</sup>.

### **Dimensionality reduction**

Dimensionality reduction is the process of reducing the number of input variables or features while retaining the essential information and preserving the underlying structure of the data. After embedding the documents, we have a set of long vectors; for instance, by using the *all-MiniLM-L6-v2* model, the result is a 384 vector long for each document. Since the goal is to cluster the documents, this algorithm works better with low dimensional data due to the well known curse of dimensionality problem [22]. For this purpose, many algorithms that can reduce the length of the vectors exist. Usually, for clustering, less than ten dimensions are suggested. Some examples are: Principal Component Analysis [23](PCA), which works maximizing the variance of the data along the principal components, t-SNE [24] focuses instead on preserving the local structure of the data in the lower-dimensional space. However, t-SNE is not recommended for clustering or outlier detection as it does not necessarily preserve distances or densities well, UMAP [25], which is particularly known for its scalability, ability to preserve global structure, and computational efficiency compared to other dimensionality reduction methods, is suited to reduce the dimensionality of big datasets like the one used in this research.

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<sup>1</sup><https://platform.openai.com/docs/guides/embeddings/what-are-embeddings>

## Clustering

Clustering is an unsupervised machine-learning technique that aims at grouping similar objects together based on their features. The goal of clustering is to partition the data points into subsets, called clusters, such that objects within the same cluster are related to each other in a certain way. There are plenty of clustering algorithms: hierarchical, density-based, distribution-based, and centroid based.

K-means clustering [26] is an iterative algorithm that partitions a dataset into a predefined number of clusters based on the proximity of data points to cluster centroids.

HDBSCAN [27](Hierarchical Density-Based Spatial Clustering of Applications with Noise) is a density-based clustering algorithm that extends the DBSCAN algorithm to handle noise and clusters of different densities. It can automatically determine the optimal number of clusters and allow outliers.

These properties of HDBSCAN make it perfect for clustering tweets, since they are noisy and not all of them should be put in a cluster.

## Topic Definition

At this point, it is possible to give a numeric label to each document depending on the cluster; the next step is to give each cluster a set of representative words. Here are the differences between Bertopic and Top2Vec,

Bertopic uses Term Frequency- Inverse Document Frequency (TF-IDF) [28] statistic to find the most relevant word for each topic; more specifically, the terms stand for:

**Term Frequency:** It's the ratio of the number of times a specific term appears in a document to the total number of terms in that document.

**Inverse Document Frequency:** The IDF of a specific term can be calculated as the logarithm of the total number of documents in the corpus divided by the number of documents containing the specific term. This gives more importance to rare words in the corpus( the collection of documents)

TF-IDF is the product of these 2.

$$TFIDF(t) = TF(t) \cdot IDF(t) \quad (2.1)$$

Top2Vec, instead of each cluster, identifies the centroid first, typically calculated as the mean value of every dimension of all the points in the cluster. Then, it gets the n closest words to the centroid.

## Topic Representation

After extracting the most meaningful words of each topic, it is useful to give a label, which is a small sentence that can identify in the best way the content of the cluster. This is not an easy task, which is why, traditionally, it has been performed by humans, which is time and energy consuming and not neither does it guarantee getting the best result possible since humans are biased by their opinions [29] [30]. Using Large Language Models, in particular, GPT gives a new opportunity to perform this task quickly, and with good accuracy. The performance in this scenario will be shown in more depth in the methods chapter.

### 2.1.4 Topic Evaluation

An important step was to evaluate the performance of these models, either by using unsupervised metrics or by setting up a custom experiment using a labeled dataset. The first method uses metrics well known in the field of topic modeling and will be presented here, while the second part can be found in the chapter on methods.

**Metrics** The coherence and diversity metrics are measures used in topic modeling to evaluate the quality of the learned topics. *Coherence* is a measure of how often words co-occur, 'often' meaning more than would be expected if they were independent. *Diversity* measures the difference between two topics in term of words used.

- **NPMI (Normalized Pointwise Mutual Information)** The NPMI value lies between -1 and 1, where a higher value indicates a higher level of coherence, thus implying better topics. It is calculated as follows: For every pair of unique words, (word1, word2), in a given topic, the Pointwise Mutual Information (PMI) is calculated as:

$$\text{PMI}(\text{word1}, \text{word2}) = \log \left( \frac{P(\text{word1}, \text{word2})}{P(\text{word1}) \cdot P(\text{word2})} \right) \quad (2.2)$$

Where  $P(\text{word1}, \text{word2})$  is the probability of both words appearing in a sliding window, and  $P(\text{word1})$  and  $P(\text{word2})$  are the individual probabilities of each word appearing in a window.

PMI values are then normalized to ensure that the measure is not overly influenced by the frequency of word pairs:

$$\text{NPMI}(\text{word1}, \text{word2}) = \frac{\text{PMI}(\text{word1}, \text{word2})}{-\log(P(\text{word1}, \text{word2}))} \quad (2.3)$$

The NPMI coherence of a topic is the average of the NPMI values of all pairs of words in that topic. The NPMI value lies between -1 and +1, where a higher value indicates better topic coherence.

- **UMass coherence:** similar to npmi, for each pair of words, (word1, word2), the UMass coherence score is calculated as:

$$\text{UMass}(\text{word1}, \text{word2}) = \log \left( \frac{\text{co\_count}(\text{word1}, \text{word2}) + \epsilon}{\text{count}(\text{word1})} \right) \quad (2.4)$$

Where  $\text{co\_count}(\text{word1}, \text{word2})$  is the number of documents in which the two words co-occur,  $\text{count}(\text{word1})$  is the number of documents in which the first word appears, and  $\epsilon$  is used to avoid logarithm of zero.

The UMass coherence of a topic is then the sum of these log values for all pairs of words in the topic. The UMass coherence score can take on any value from negative infinity to zero, with values closer to zero indicating higher coherence.

- **diversity:** In the context of topic modeling, the diversity score is a measure that quantifies how different the topics are from each other. One way to compute this is by looking at the proportion of unique words across all topics.

$$\text{Diversity Score} = \frac{\text{Number of Unique Words}}{\text{Total Number of Words}} \quad (2.5)$$

- **Computation time:** time needed to fit the models

## 2.2 Networks

A network, often known as a graph, is a data structure composed of nodes and ties (connections between nodes). This enables us to model how the different nodes are linked to each other. The applications of this are countless, for example there are networks of computers, the webpages can be considered nodes and the links the ties. In logistic and transportation you can use network to find the optimal route.

If the nodes are persons and the tie some sort of interactions we have a social network, this will be the kind of network treated in this thesis.

Social Network Analysis is a field that examines the relationships, interactions, and structures within a network of individuals or entities. It provides valuable insights into the dynamics, information flow, and influence within social networks. Several studies have



applied SNA in different domains [31], such as online social networks , organizational networks, and public health networks. A growing field in this context is the analysis of social media, that completely changed how the reserch in this area is done, Thanks to the huge amount of data we can obtain, we can move to a data driven methodolody, where the data collection is not strictly embedded in the design of the experiment but it is the starting point on top of which we build the research. Another advantage of this kind of this data is that, coming from a natural observation of actors in a social enviroment is not as biased as data that has been self reported or collected in a laboratory setting, in particual Veltri [32] explains how the behavioural data is linked to automatic decisions in the sorrounding enviroments, while self reported one is more consciuos and reflexive and not always the action matches with what people say. We must note that the data is not completely unbiased, it depends on the goal and the structure that the platform gave to it.

In this scenario, we are using it to explore the topology of the interaction between users of Twitter; we are studying the structure of their interaction to see if there are some recurring patterns.

### 2.2.1 Multi-layer Networks

In particular, we will do this using a Multi-layer networks (MLN) framework[33]. MLN are complex networks that capture multiple types of relationships or interactions between nodes. They allow us to represent different dimensions or contexts in a single framework, providing a more comprehensive understanding of network dynamics. Single-layer networks are, in certain cases, an over semplification of the reality[34] [35].

MLN are often used in biological networks where the due to organism complexity every biological function is usually influenced by more factors and modeling with a MLN helps the researcher in studying the interaction between factors. Another biological use of MLN is epidemiology where the presence of a certain disease can be strongly influenced by other clinical conditions. For example Kinsley et al. [36] used this framework in veterinary epidemiology to identify the subjects that are more prone to spread the disease.

Without leaving our field, social networks, in particular twitter, several research used MLN to structure their study. Ref [37] used it to identify the most central accounts over multiple layers in the discussion of different political candidates, one for each layers. Related to this De Domenico [38] described mathematically different ways to compute nodes centrality on multiples layers, introducing the concept of versatility.

Thanks to the complexity added by the multiple layers, we can see how the same users interact in different dimensions, in our case, topics. This implies that for each identified topic

in the topic modeling phase, we can observe a network of interactions among users, allowing us to study the presence of the users on multiple topics.

## 2.3 Polarization

As anticipated in chapter 1, this work make sense only after understanding what Falkenberg did in his research [10]. Since we are following the same methods, we also do the same assumption, such as the bipolarity of the polarization. In this section we will see how polarization will be computed.

A meaningful metric that gained popularity among social scientists is polarization. The researchers believe that polarization can be harmful to maintain the democratic stability [39]. Thus understanding the phenomenon is important to develop a solution to it.

It has been used to study the impact of political discussion on social media, especially around US presidential elections [40] [41] . Due to this, we should be careful generalizing since US politics is built around two main parties ( Democrats and Republicans), so a bimodal view of polarization is the best suited for this case, but not for all. Despite this, an analysis of the polarization over 21 different countries shows that the US is not the only place where it has been detected [42]. Ref [43] show the polarization can have different geometries than the traditional bimodality.

Even though Falkenberg detected an increasing polarization only in the COP26, in 2021, Williams et al. [44] found the presence of echo chambers around the climate discussion in social media, with a small presence of open forums. In this work, we will try to connect these two pieces of research to understand if, breaking down the discussion into topics, we can see if the polarization of specific topics has always been high.

There is not a clear and universally adopted definition of polarization; Bramson et al. [12] tried to summarise it defining different types, we assume that we have a measure of 'opinion' for each user:

- **Spread:** defines as the breadth of opinion, the distance between the two extremes
- **Dispersion** considers the shape of the distribution of the opinions and search for peaks
- **Coverage** do not look at the shape but at the similarity of opinions within the groups
- **Regionalization**, looks at the spectrum not covered between the groups
- **Community fractioning** is " the degree to which the population can be broken into subpopulations

- **Distinctness** defined as "the degree to which the group distribution can be separated"
- **Group divergence** The opposite of distinctness, how different are the groups
- **Group consensus** How people in the same group have similar opinions
- **Size parity** put relevance on the size of each group

We use the Dispersion polarization definition that looks into the distribution of beliefs to detect peaks. Falkenberg demonstrated that the assumption of bimodality makes sense, dividing the population into climate supporters and climate skeptics. We also assume that we can detect the polarization using the retweet network.

**Latent ideology** In order to compute polarization on a retweet network, we first estimate a latent ideology for each user, as defined in [45] and adapted for retweets in [41].

Starting from the adjacency matrix of the retweet network and after some linear algebra, we can obtain a latent ideology score for each user.

The first step is, out of the  $n$  users, to identify  $m$  most retweeted users, we will call them *influencers*, then build an adjacency matrix  $A \in \mathbb{R}^{n \times m}$  between users and influencers (where  $a_{ij}$  is the number of times user  $i$  retweeted influencer  $j$ ). Now let us see in detail the process from the matrix to the scores. In this way we are excluding from the analysis all the users that did not interact with the top  $n$  influencers.

First, normalize  $A$  by the number of retweets:

$$P = \frac{A_{ij}}{\sum_i \sum_j a_{ij}} \quad (2.6)$$

Next, get the vector of row and column sums and consider the diagonal matrix:

$$\mathbf{r} \in \mathbb{R}^m, \quad r_i = \sum_j a_{ij} \quad (2.7)$$

$$\mathbf{c} \in \mathbb{R}^n, \quad c_j = \sum_i a_{ij} \quad (2.8)$$

$$R = \begin{bmatrix} \frac{1}{\sqrt{r_1}} & & \\ & \ddots & \\ & & \frac{1}{\sqrt{r_n}} \end{bmatrix} \quad C = \begin{bmatrix} \frac{1}{\sqrt{c_1}} & & \\ & \ddots & \\ & & \frac{1}{\sqrt{c_n}} \end{bmatrix} \quad (2.9)$$

Then, compute the matrix of standardized residuals  $S$ :

$$S = R(P - (\mathbf{r} \cdot \mathbf{c}^T))C \quad (2.10)$$

Using Singular Value Decomposition (SVD), which is a factorization technique in linear algebra, we can decompose the standardized matrix into three other matrices. It provides essential geometrical and theoretical insights about linear transformations and is extensively used in various fields such as data science, engineering, and statistics [46]. Given matrix  $S$ , its SVD is written as:

$$S = U\Sigma V^T \quad (2.11)$$

where  $U$  is an  $m \times m$  matrix whose columns are the orthonormal eigenvectors of  $AA^T$ ,  $\Sigma$  is an  $m \times n$  diagonal matrix whose non-zero elements are the singular values of  $A$ , and  $V^T$  is the transpose of an  $n \times n$  matrix whose columns are the orthonormal eigenvectors of  $A^T A$ . The singular values on the diagonal of  $\Sigma$  are typically sorted in descending order. The columns of  $U$  and  $V$  are called the left-singular vectors and right-singular vectors of  $A$ , respectively.

Multiply  $R$  and  $U$ :

$$X = RU \quad (2.12)$$

Finally, rescale  $U$  on  $[-1, 1]$  and get the user score:

$$score = -1 + 2 \cdot \frac{X - \min(X)}{\max(X) - \min(X)} \quad (2.13)$$

**Hartigan's diptest** After computing all the users' latent ideology scores, to test the polarization, we use Hartigan's diptest [47].

Hartigan's Dip Test is a statistical test used to determine if a distribution is unimodal. The test works by comparing the empirical distribution function of the data, denoted as  $F(x)$ , to the unimodal distribution function that minimizes the maximum difference between  $F(x)$  and itself, denoted as  $G(x)$ . The dip statistic  $D$  is then defined as:

$$D = \sup_x |F(x) - G(x)| \quad (2.14)$$

Where  $\sup_x$  denotes the supremum (least upper bound) overall  $x$ , the unimodal distribution function  $G(x)$  is chosen such that it minimizes this supremum. In other words,  $G(x)$  is the "best" unimodal approximation to the empirical distribution function  $F(x)$ .

The null hypothesis of the Dip Test is that the data comes from an unimodal distribution. If the dip statistic  $D$  is significantly large, we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that the data is not unimodal. The p-value of the test is computed by comparing the observed dip

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statistic to the distribution of the dip statistic under the null hypothesis. This distribution is typically approximated using Monte Carlo simulations.



# Chapter 3

## Data Description

In this chapter, we will see an overview of the starting data used in this research, as well as some general statistics about it.

### 3.1 Source of the data

The data are tweets collected from the Twitter API containing the hashtag #cop21 #cop26. For each cop, we have two jsonlines files, one for the tweets and one for the users involved. The fields are the ones stated in the documentation <sup>1</sup>, there are many but the relevant ones to us are the following:

Field	Description
author	The ID of the author
author_name	The username of the author
text	The text of the tweet
date	The creation date of the tweet
lang	The language of the tweet
conversation_id	The ID of the conversation the tweet belongs to
referenced_type	The type of the referenced tweet
referenced_id	The ID of the referenced tweet
mentions_name	The usernames of the mentioned users in the tweet
mentions_id	The IDs of the mentioned users in the tweet

Table 3.1 Description of the fields used of the tweets data

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<sup>1</sup><https://developer.twitter.com/en/docs/twitter-api/data-dictionary/object-model/tweet>

While we use the user's file to map the ID of the users to their username, even though we do not always have this information, in that case, we use the user ID as the username.

## 3.2 Data Statistics

We have data from 2 cops: COP21, COP26. All the tweets are in English and without links or image/video content. We call an original tweet a tweet written by a user, so that's not a retweet. Fig 3.1 shows the distribution of the tweets over time for both cops; most of the tweets have been tweeted while the conferences were taking place.

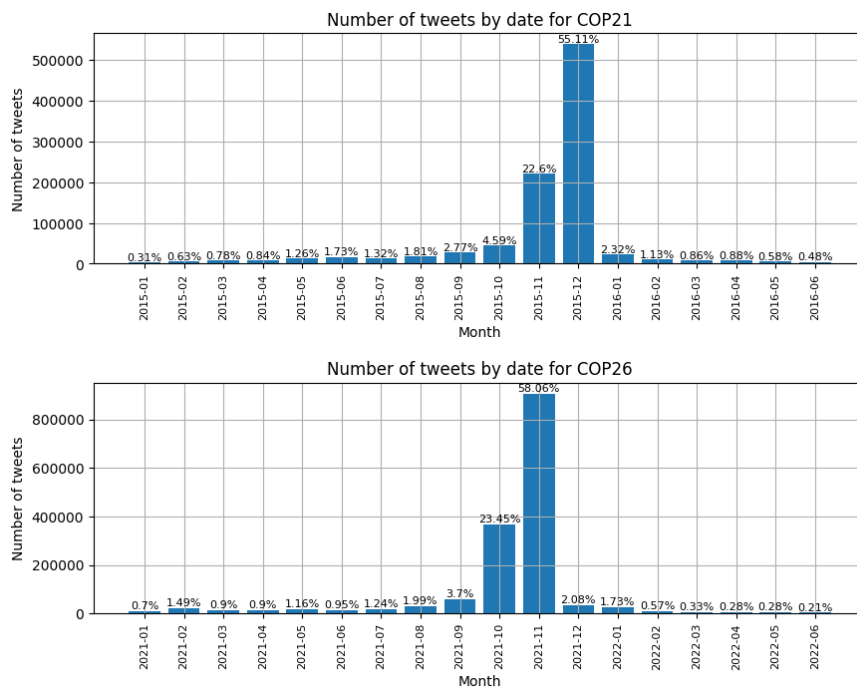


Fig. 3.1 Numebr of tweets by date for cop 21 and cop26

**COP21** The tweets span from January 2015 to June 2016, but 77% of the tweets are from November and December 2015; cop26 was held between 30th November and 12th December. In the dataset, 975040 tweets have been tweeted by 234389 users, of which only 100000 tweeted an original tweet with at least one retweet; every user tweeted on average 4.16 tweets; the maximum amount of tweets a user tweeted is 9635, 89% of users tweeted less than five tweets.

**COP26** The tweets span from January 2021 to July 2022, but 81% of the tweets are from October and November 2021; cop26 was held between 31st October and 12th November. In



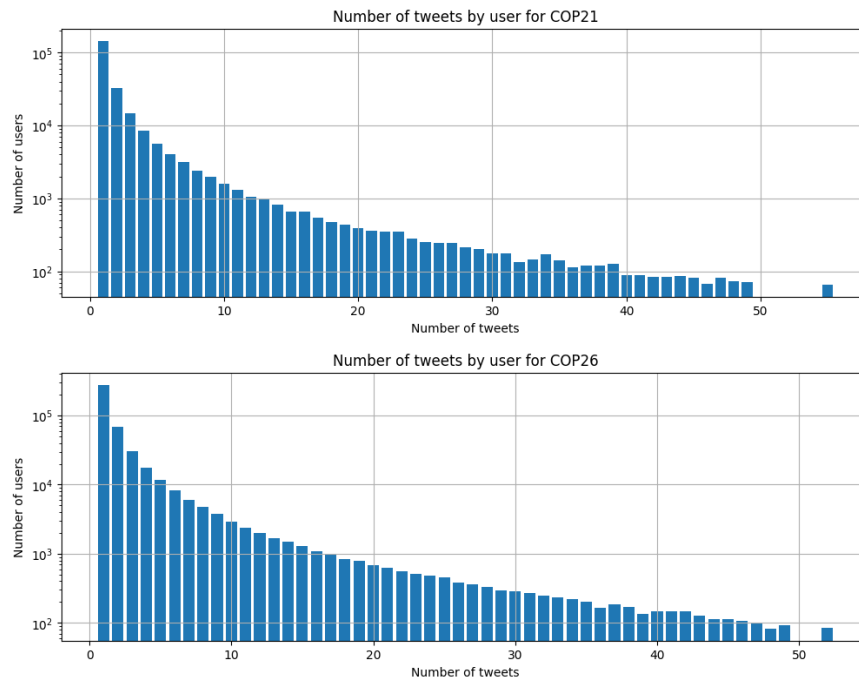


Fig. 3.2 Numebr of tweets by user for cop 21 and cop26

the dataset, 1558968 tweets have been tweeted by 456000 users, of which only 30195 tweeted an original tweet with at least one retweet, every user tweeted on average 3.42 tweets, the maximum amount of tweet a user tweeted is 14267, 90% of users tweeted less than two tweets.

Fig 3.2 shows how most users tweeted just a few tweets (note that it is logarithmic).

	n_tweets	n_retweets	n_original	n_original_with_retweets
<b>COP21</b>	975040	562946	412094	138427
<b>COP26</b>	1558968	1191813	367155	130138

Table 3.2 Number of tweets

In fig 3.3 we can see how the 1'558'968 are distributed, in fact 76% of them are retweets generated by only 130k original tweets. It is also worth noting that almost 2/3 of the original tweets have 0 retweets.

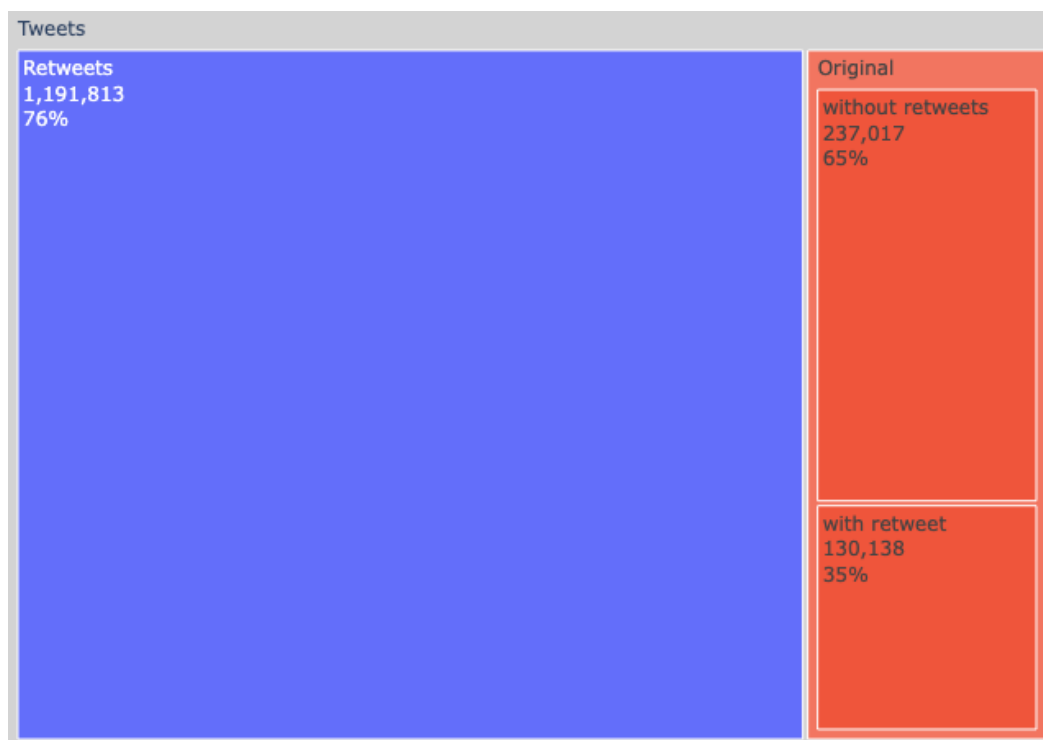


Fig. 3.3 tweets of cop26

# Chapter 4

## Methodology

In this chapter we will see the core of the original contribute of this work. Starting with the evaluation of the different topic modeling algorithms used to choose the one for the research. Then we will move on the creation of the multilayer network and polarization calculation.

### 4.1 Topic Modeling Evaluation

This section presents the evaluation of different models used for tweet labeling. Both unsupervised and supervised approaches were used to evaluate the performance of the models. The evaluation aimed to find the best-performing model to label tweets accurately. The models included traditional methods (LDA, GSDMM, and NMF) and neural models like BERTopic.

The unsupervised evaluation (4.1.1 ) evaluated traditional metrics used in this context, such as coherence and diversity scores. The results showed that BERTopic performed better than traditional methods, especially when using all-MiniLM-L6-v2 (BERT) <sup>1</sup> , text-embedding-ada-002 (OpenAI) <sup>2</sup>

and tweet\_classification <sup>3</sup> embeddings.

The supervised evaluation consisted of building a custom-labeled dataset from scratch and then looking at the accuracy of the models. The results showed that BERT and OpenAI were the best-performing models. The section concludes with a summary of the results and a description of the representation used for labeling the tweets.

The models used are both traditional(LDA, GSDMM, NMF) as a reference of the ground truth and neural because they seem to be the most accurate; in particular, we will evaluate

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<sup>1</sup>[huggingface.co/sentence-transformers/all-MiniLM-L6-v2](https://huggingface.co/sentence-transformers/all-MiniLM-L6-v2)

<sup>2</sup>[platform.openai.com/docs/models/embeddings](https://platform.openai.com/docs/models/embeddings)

<sup>3</sup>[huggingface.co/louisbetsch/tweetclassification-bf-model](https://huggingface.co/louisbetsch/tweetclassification-bf-model)

BERTopic with several embedding methods. We choose BERTopic over Top2Vec because they are very similar and also because the Python library is more comprehensive and allows us to be more flexible.

Evaluating a topic modeling algorithm is challenging due to the lack of objectivity in identifying a topic. In this work, we evaluated the models in two ways: first, using a widely used unsupervised approach: metrics like coherence and diversity. Then, to validate the results, we also did a supervised evaluation using different datasets built ad hoc for this setting.

### 4.1.1 Unsupervised

To compare the different models, we used a library suggested by the creator of BERTopic called OCTIS [48] [49]; this allowed us to structure an experiment to measure different metrics presented in chapter 2: coherence and diversity.

**Dataset** In this case, the dataset is composed of 1669 preprocessed tweets related to climate change with the hashtag *#cop22*; the preprocessing phase involved removing retweets, links, punctuation, and the most common hashtags (*#cop22*, *#climatechange* *#p2*), all the tweets were in English. We choose this dataset, which is not the one used in the final analysis because the domain is the same, and the goal analogous, since we have to detect subtopics of a main topic which is climate change. For this reason we can generalize the result to the tweets of the other cops.

**Methods** The models used in this evaluation were LDA, NMF, and BERTopic. In the BERTopic case, several embeddings have been tested ( all-MiniLM-L6-v2, text-embedding-ada-002, climatebert [50], tweet\_classification, USE [51]).

Each model has been fitted several times, changing the parameters:

- **number of topics** from 10 to 50 with a step of 5
- **min topic size:** 5 and 15 tweets<sup>4</sup>

Each unique combination of parameters has been fit three different times; then, we took the mean value of the three computations.

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<sup>4</sup>only for bertopic

**Results** The results show that BERTopic performs way better in these tests than the traditional methods. In comparison, the best Bertopic embeddings are mini, OpenAi, and tweet classification.

The experiment demonstrates how the *min\_topic\_size* value of 5 is too small, so that the results will be taken considering a value of 15.

Fig 4.1 shows the value of all the metrics with a different number of topics for the traditional methods and the best-performing neural one (OpenAI)

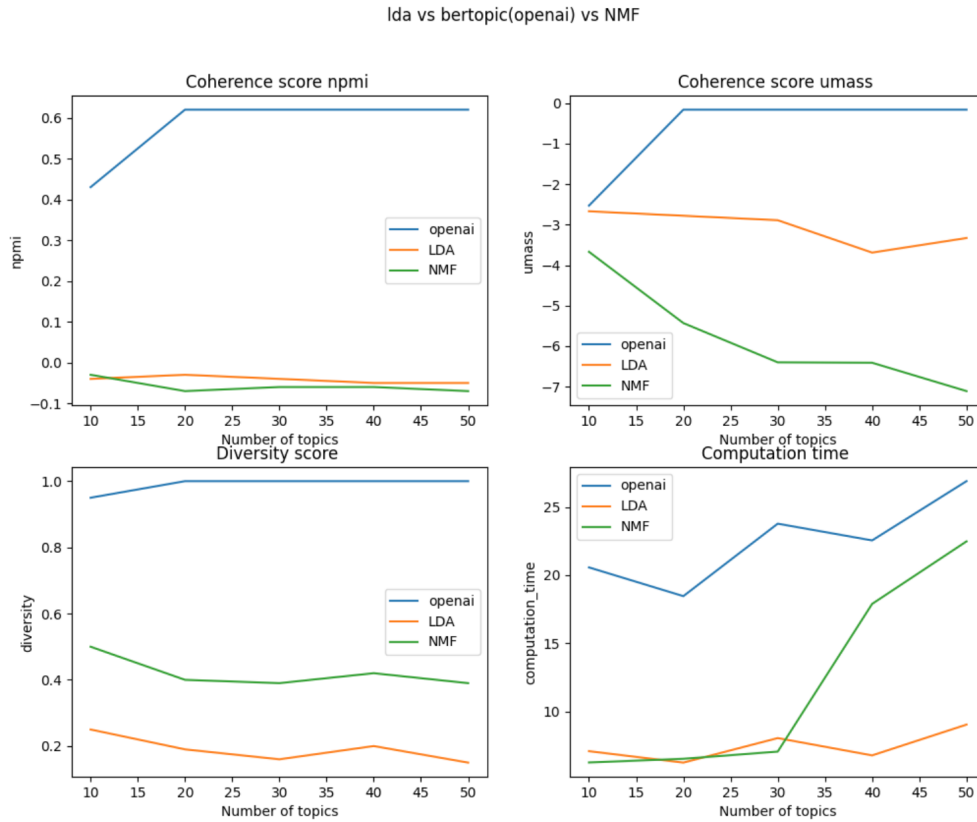


Fig. 4.1 coherence and diversity for LDA, BERTopic, and NMF

However, Hoyle et al. [52] showed how these metrics are not very meaningful for evaluating these models due to the lack of validation for neural models, and we should take these results with a grain of salt.

From this evaluation, we can conclude that BERTopic's topic size is better than smaller, especially if we have many documents. Topics of Bertopic are way more diverse than LDA and NMF, and within the topics, the most relevant words are more semantically related.

model	npmi	umass	diversity
tweet_classification	0.62	-0.16	1
openai	0.58	-0.63	0.99
climatebert	0.20	-2.28	0.83
U.S.E	0.20	-4.35	0.89
BERT	0.20	-5.46	0.97
LDA	-0.04	-3.07	0.19
NMF	-0.06	-5.80	0.42

Table 4.1 all the models tested in the unsupervised evaluation

### 4.1.2 Supervised

Considering the result of the unsupervised evaluation, we should use another method to validate what we found. In this case, we created two ad-hoc datasets to see how the models perform in a real-case scenario.

**Dataset** The first step for the supervised part was the data collection. In this case, we packed specific datasets to test our models. The datasets have been chosen based on the trending topic on Twitter in that days (March 2023)

The first is simpler and contains very different topics, so it should be easy to cluster the documents. In contrast, the second is trickier because it includes only politics-related tweets, including some overlapping with more hashtags related to US politics.

- **simple:** 1093 labeled tweets of 5 different topics identified by a hashtag <sup>5</sup>
- **politics:** 1492 labeled tweets of 7 politics-related hashtags <sup>6</sup>

For both datasets, we used two different versions: with and without hashtags. The reason for this is to avoid the model to cluster based on the hashtags.

The tweets have been extracted using twarc2, getting only English tweets and without retweets. We used the trending topic at that time (March 2023) because twitter API did not let you access data before 48h, so we decided to stream the most popular hashtags.

**Metrics** In order to evaluate the topics, we had to define some accuracy metrics which is not a straightforward task, because using BERTopic, we do not set a number of topics apriori, so it has to figure it out by itself. After running the model, we have both the known topic (the

<sup>5</sup>#Bitcoin, #stormydaniels, #UkraineRussianWar, #SaudiArabianGP, #climatechange

<sup>6</sup>#IndictArrestAndConvictTrump, #kabul, #BidenHarris2024, #KamalaHarris, #taiwan, #belarus, #stormydaniels

hashtag) and the inferred one (a number), and we can now create a confusion matrix between the two sets. To map the inferred topic to the known one, we use the inferred topic with the highest value. This is not always true, but by combining this value with other metrics, we can detect the error.

The metrics defined are the following:

- **Accuracy:** for each known topic, look at the biggest inferred topic of the same row of the confusion matrix and divide by the number of tweets in that topic, you can use fig 4.4 as a reference.
- **Accuracy no outliers:** in the Bertopic case, the label -1 refers to outliers. Compute the same as accuracy but not counting the outliers
- **Min\_topic\_share:** same as accuracy but in the opposite direction, after having computed it for all of inferred topics, we take the minimum. This is helpful to detect when the accuracy is considered the wrong topic. This could happen when the inferred topic is less than the actual topic, so one inferred topic contains tweets from multiple topics, and then this number is low.

**Parameters** *max\_df* is used to remove the terms that appear too frequently; a value of 0.95 means remove the terms that appeared in more than 95/*min\_df* is the opposite; in this case, being an integer, it refers to the minimum number of documents a term should be in to be considered *alpha* is a parameter that influences the number of clusters that will be created; low alpha results in many clusters with single words, while high alphas results in fewer clusters with more words. for these 3 we used the default settings.

*ngram\_range* defines the number of consecutive words to be considered; for example, a value of (1,2) tells the method to consider single words and bigrams ( two consecutive words), including threegrams was too computationally expensive

we decide to use a *min\_topic\_size* of 50 because we took around 200 tweet for each hashtag, and considering that some of that will be classified as outliers, 50 was a safe trade-off to not risk that a topic is too small and the size, that from unsupervised we colcuded that bigger is better.

BERTopic: (nr\_topics = 'auto', min\_topic\_size = 50)

NMF: (max\_df = 0.95, min\_df = 3, ngram\_range = (1,2))

GSDMM: (alpha = 0.1, min\_df = 0.1, n\_iters = 30)

**Simple Dataset Results** We started evaluating the *simple* dataset with hashtags. As we can see in Fig 4.2 base (all-MiniLM-L6-v2) and OpenAi obtained almost a perfect score for each topic. At the same time, climatebert seems to have a great accuracy but a low mean topic share, this is a signal that something is wrong and we should inspect the heatmap.

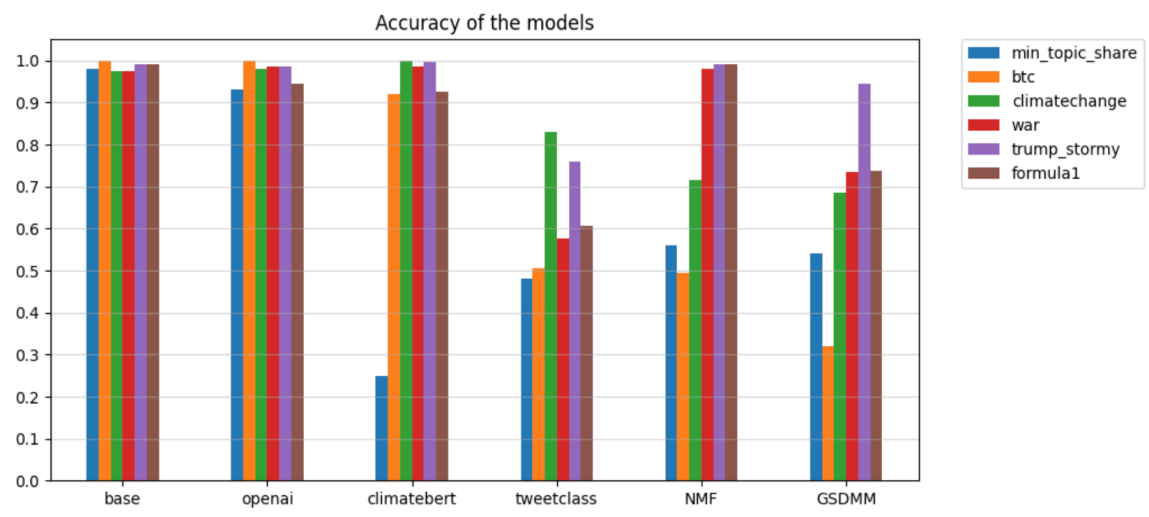


Fig. 4.2 All models accuracy simple with hashtags

In fact, we can clearly see in 4.3 that even though the accuracy is very good, climatebert has some difficulties in dividing the topics, putting almost all the tweets in the same inferred topic. While the first two are performing very well as expected, it is not true for the others. We can see how climatebert put almost all the tweets in topic 0, being able only to find the formula1 tweets and not the climatechange one, as it is designed to do. That's the reason why we decided to remove the models that are not performing well in the simplest case, with the exception of NMF, to use it as ground truth.

Fig 4.4 shows how BERT and OpenAI performed in the simple dataset but without the hashtags, in particular, how BERT tends to find more outliers than OpenAI. Overall, both get a good performance.

An interesting feature of Bertopic is the ability to visualize the different topics in 2-dimensional space; Fig 4.5 shows the document distribution of OpenAi after reducing the dimensionality of the embeddings .

**Politics dataset results** The politics dataset is clearly more difficult to evaluate, but with the hashtags, it is still doing a good job. Fig 4.6 4.7 shows heatmap and topic distribution for the politics dataset with hashtags.



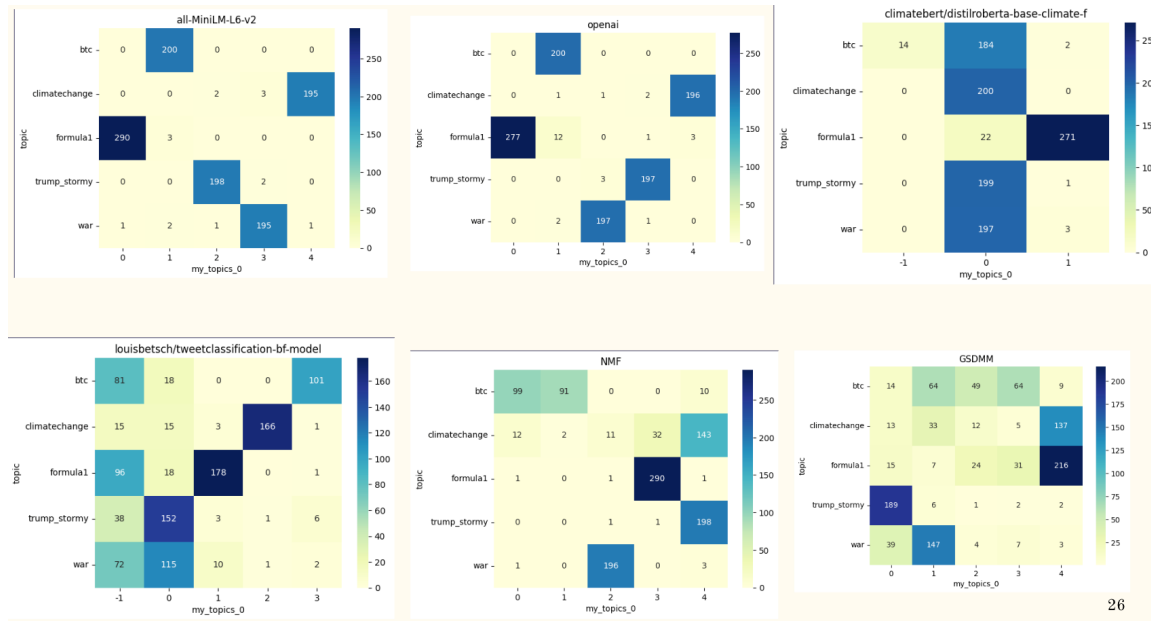


Fig. 4.3 Heatmap comparison of the different model with the simple dataset with hashtags

Both BERT and OpenAi are creating two topics from the Taiwan case. OpenAi merges two topics, which makes sense since the two hashtags related to Trump are related to the same event( #IndictArrestAndConvictTrump and #stormydaniels)

To validate the results, we ran the algorithm 100 times, and most of the time, for BERT, the min topic share is 0.9, which means they got the correct number of topics and classified them in a good way.

In the case without hashtags, OpenAi and BERT put in a single cluster all the tweets related to American politics, both also understanding that Kamala's tweets were about something else.

**Topic representation** The last step is giving a meaningful label to the clusters created; in this manner, we can see if the openai API works well; in particular, we used the model named *gpt-3.5-turbo*. It worked surprisingly well; table 4.2 contains the label generated for both simple and political datasets.

You can use Fig4.6 as a reference. Note the discussion under the #taiwan hashtag is divided into two different topics as present in the document representation.

The prompt used is: *you are a tweet labeler, you are given representative words from a topic and three representative tweets, give more weight to the words, given all this information give a short label for the topic (max 10 words), starts all with topic:*

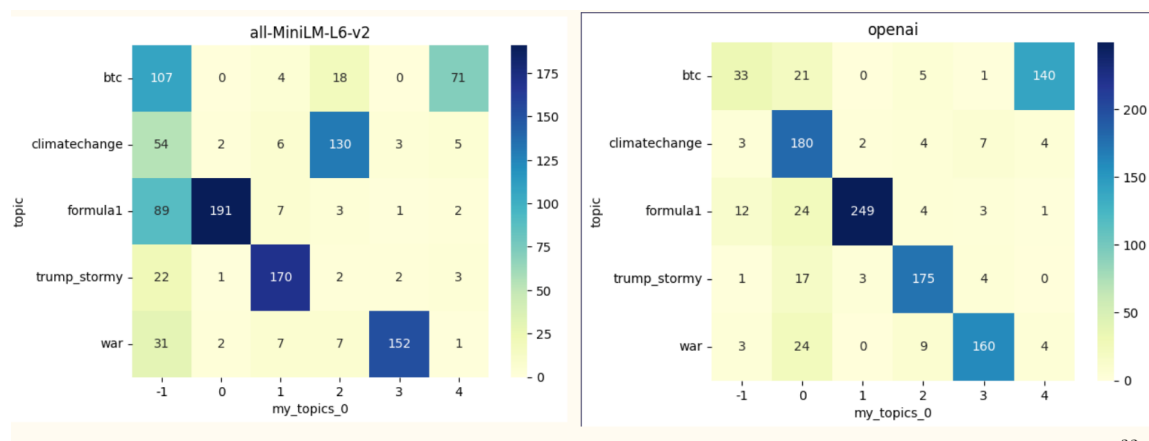


Fig. 4.4 Heatmap comparison of mini and OpenAi of the simple dataset without hashtags

simple dataset	label
#Bitcoin	Cryptocurrencies
#stormydaniels	Trump's hush money payment to Stormy Daniels.
#UkraineRussianWar	Ukraine-Russia conflict
#SaudiArabianGP	F1 Saudi Arabian Grand Prix 2023
#climatechange	Forests and Climate Change
<b>politics dataset (openai)</b>	
#IndictArrestAndConvictTrump	Stormy Daniels controversy
#stormydaniels	Stormy Daniels controversy
#kabul	Suicide bombing near foreign ministry in Kabul
#BidenHarris2024	Politics and Leaders
#KamalaHarris	Kamala Harris official visit to Ghana and Africa
#taiwan	Tensions between China and Taiwan over undersea cables cut
#taiwan	use of small drones for warfare'

Table 4.2 labels generated using GPT API both for simple and political dataset

**Conclusion** Tab 4.1 shows the result of unsupervised evaluation, while Tab 4.3 shows the supervised. With the supervised evaluation, we showed how the results of the unsupervised one were not completely true; this helped to discard some models and confirm the hypothesis that the neural model with Bert Embedder and Openai was the best performing. There is still a significant difference between the two; Bert is open source and can be run locally, while Openai is not free and can only be used through API.

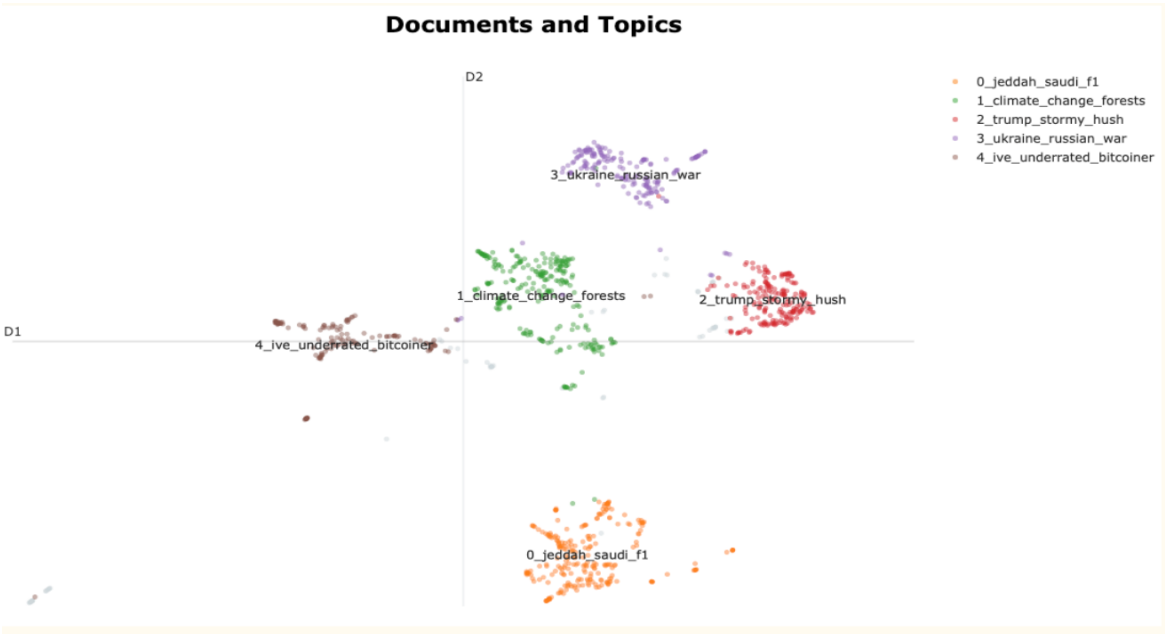


Fig. 4.5 docs representation of simple dataset for openai

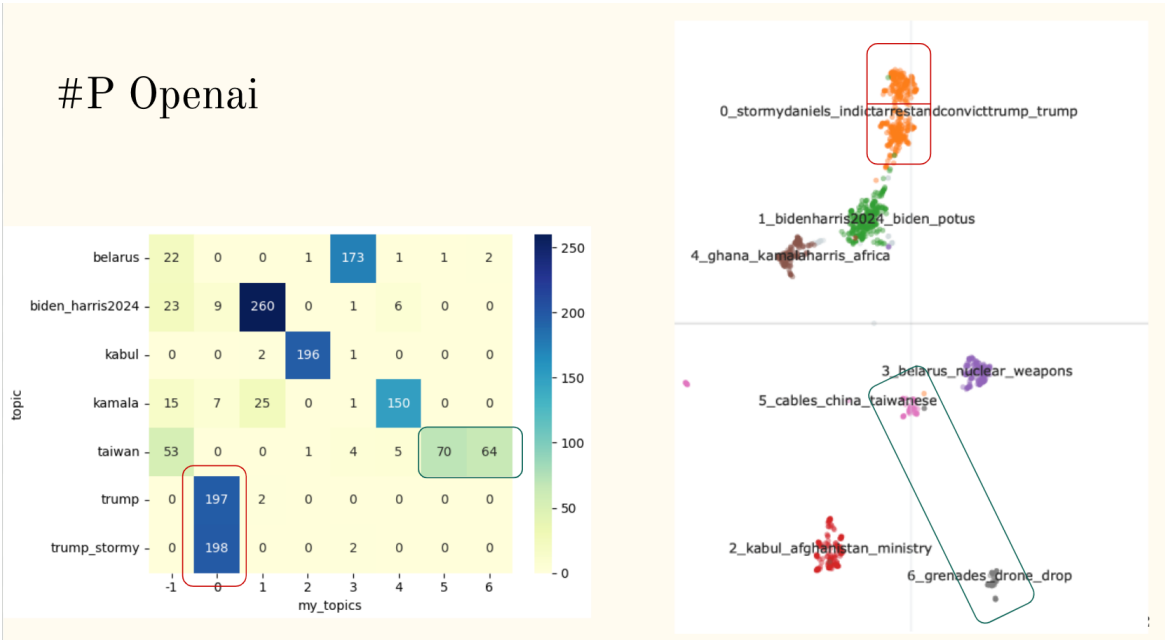


Fig. 4.6 Heatmap and documents representation of the politics dataset with hashtags evaluated with openai

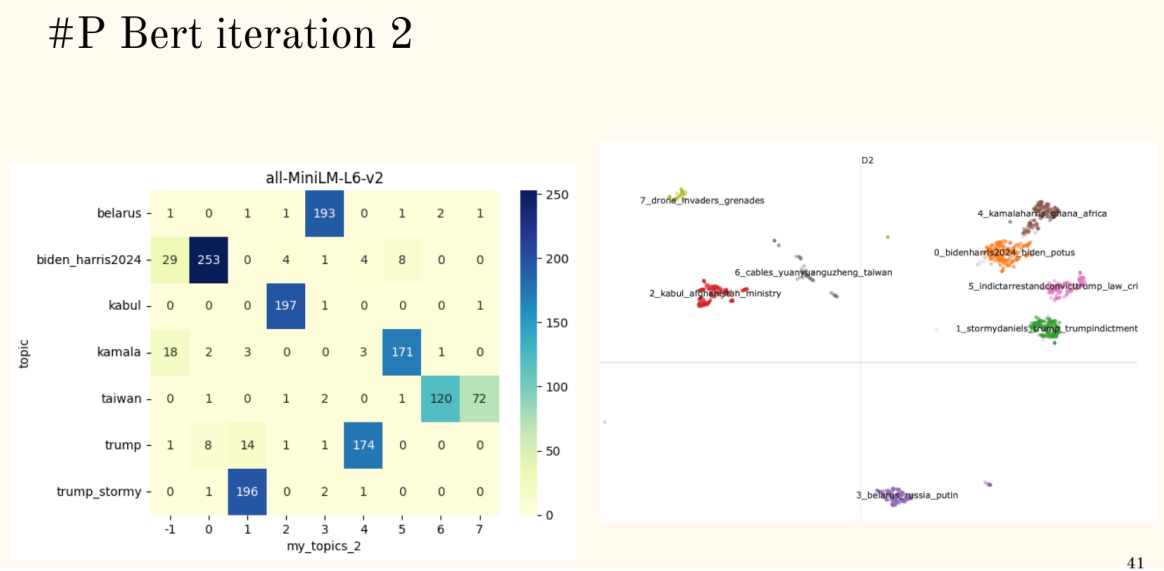


Fig. 4.7 bert heatmap and document viz politics with hashtags

model	accuracy	topic share
BERT	0.84	0.86
OpenAI	0.83	0.85
NMF	0.78	0.69

Table 4.3 recap of supervised evaluation

## 4.2 Multilayer Network

In this section, we will dive into all the unexplored paths, starting from Falkenberg's work. In particular, we will do the same polarization analysis on a topic level; instead of computing it at a full network level, we created a retweet network for each topic so we can see which are the topics that are driving the polarization of cop. Furthermore, we also want to explore how the polarization of topics evolved over time.

Thanks to the previous section now, we are familiar with the concept of topic modeling and how the main models perform. The goal is to create a multilayer network where every layer represents a topic.

In order to do so, we developed a Python library that can be used as a toolbox starting from the tweets fresh out from the official API of Twitter. The design is modular and can achieve different goals. In fact, even if we are interested only in the retweet network of the users (nodes are users, ties are retweets), this framework can be used to perform different tasks, but to the purpose of this study we can:

- Cluster tweets according to their topic
- Give a meaningful label to the clusters
- Create the retweet network (global and multilayer version)

The steps are independent, so, for example, you can also create the network without the need to run the topic modeling part.

**Steps** Even though you can skip some steps and start with your own data, the natural and minimal pipeline follows these steps:

1. from JSON to a tabular format
2. label each tweet with a topic
3. create multilayer retweet network

### 4.2.1 Process input

The first step consists of the transformation of the JSON objects into tabular data to optimize the space and handle the data in an easier way with pandas. This is also helpful to save space; in the case of COP26, we pass from a 14GB JSON to a less than 2 GB CSV since most of the fields are not relevant to this study.

In this process, all the tweets with attachments and not in English are discarded. The tweets are divided into multiple dataframes, one for original tweets, i.e., the ones that the author actively writes, and one for the retweets.

At the end of this stage, a CSV and pkl file are saved in case somebody needs the tweets in tabular data. If you re-run the script and these files exist, they will be loaded instead of running again processing.

### 4.2.2 Topic modeling

As we extensively discussed in chapter 2 in this segment of the pipeline, the tweets can be labeled using Bertopic, with the possibility to choose the embedder; the one used in this research is *all-MiniLM-L6-v2*, the one evaluated in the previous section.

This step is the most computationally expensive; for this reason, to avoid redundancy, the topic modeling has been run only using original tweets.

After this step, all the original tweets are labeled with a numeric topic, and then the label has been propagated to all the retweets so that the entire dataset is now labeled with a topic.

At this point, it is possible to use the OpenAI API to give a meaningful label to the topics; before this, it was just the most relatively frequent words of the topic. Using the langchain library, we can structure a prompt to be used. We gave to the model the words identified with TF-IDF and 3 representative tweets sampling a subset of the documents in each topic and calculating based on the cosine similarity between TF-IDF representations.

This is the one used:

*I want you to act as a tweet labeler, you are given representative words from a topic and three representative tweets, give more attention to the words, all the tweets are related to climate change and COP, there is no need to mention them, detect subtopics. start with "label:" and avoid hashtags, which is a good short label for the topic containing the words [words]?, here are 3 tweets to help you: first = "tweet1", second = "tweet2", third = "tweet3"*

Similarly to the previous stage, the labeled dataset is saved in the cache folder both in CSV and pkl. The model and the labels are saved, too.

### 4.2.3 Network

In this phase, after labeling the tweets, we will create a retweet network for each topic, putting all together in a multilayer network.

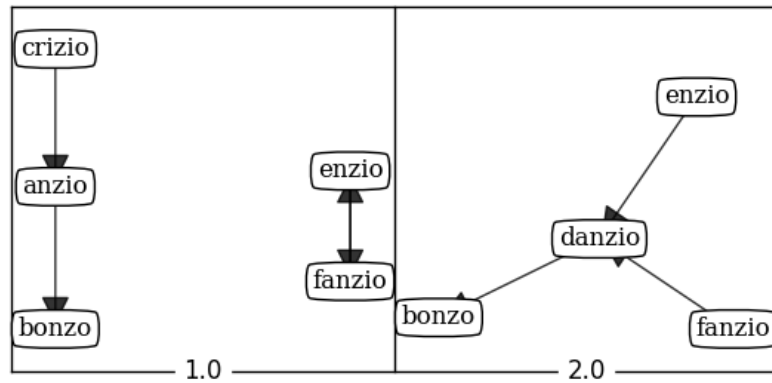


Fig. 4.8 Example of multilayer retweet network

In the process of the creation of the network, there are retweeted tweets that do not have the original one, so we discard them.

The last step is the creation of a multilayer network using the multinet library developed by Uppsala University. Every layer is a retweet network of a specific topic. It has been built starting from the subset of tweets of a specific topic, the unique users are the nodes and if user A retweets user B there will be a tie  $A \rightarrow B$ . The network is directed and weighted with the number of retweet. Fig 4.8 is a simple example of a network with 2 layers.

The networks then has been filtered removing the outlier layer, labeled with -1.

**COP26 network** For cop 26 we detected 70 layers, average number of user per layer is 8127, min is 15, max is 108829, what else?

**COP21 Network** like cop 26

## 4.3 Polarization

At this point, for each layer, we can compute for each user a latent ideology score, and then, using Hartigan's diptest, we can assign to each topic a polarization value. More details on how this is computed are in the related works. In this process, there are some parameters we can adjust: the number of influencers, which are defined as the most retweeted users, and  $n$ , which represents the minimum number of retweets a user should have done to an influencer to be considered.

The ideology score is not computed on all the users, but when selecting the influencers, we are delimiting the users to the ones that retweeted at least  $n$  times those influencers.

In order to have enough data to analyze we set  $n_{influencers} = 100$  and  $n = 2$ . The hartigan diptest requires a minimum of nodes to be statistically significant, at this point the layer are filtered, all the layers with a p-value of the diptest higher than 0.05 have been discarded.

**COP26** COP26 we pass from 70 to 30 networks The total influencers considered in cop 26 in the analysis is 1698 and 22302 users have a score assigned for cop26, with an average of 1311 actors per topic, with a min of 151 and a max of 7764.

**COP21 to fix** COP21 we pass from 70 to 26 networks The total influencers considered in cop 26 in the analysis is 1557 and 22161 users have a score assigned for cop26, with an average of 1311 actors per topic, with a min of 151 and a max of 7764.

Tab 4.4 presents a summary of the starting networks

Description	COP21	COP26	COP2x
Initial topics	36	70	1
Final topics	4	26	1
Influencers scored	270	1557	1
Users scored	7931	22161	1
Mean users/topic	2058	1311	1
Min users/topic	35	151	1
Max users/topic	7524	7764	1

Table 4.4 Summary of Latent ideology

## 4.4 Logitudinal analysis

In order to see topic polarization over time, we need to run the topic modeling with all the tweets. Still, there are too many, so instead of taking the original tweets of cop 21 and cop26, we only take the original with at least one retweet which are around 1/3 of the total but are the one needed to create the rest of the network.

Then the two dataset have been merged, we will refer to this dataset *COP2x* and the same process described below has been done.



# Chapter 5

## Results

Let us start drawing a big picture of the different topics that emerged after the latent ideology analysis.

Fig 5.1 summarize the size of the newtorks and the diptest result, so the polarization, for each topic. The first thing to note is the fact that to the highest polarization corresponds the smaller topics, with the exception of topic 14. For the first two topics the polarization is significantly higher than the others.

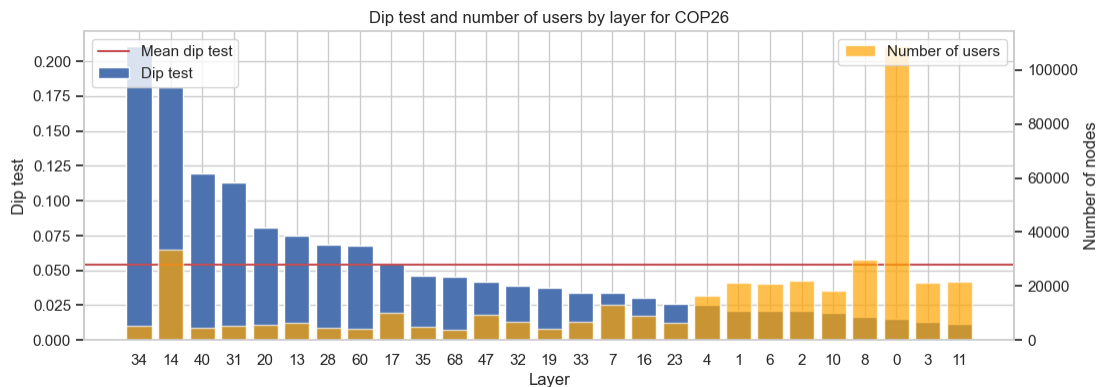


Fig. 5.1 Dip test and number of users for cop26 topic by topic

### 5.1 RQ1 Most Polarized Topics

Fig 5.6 let us visualize the most and the least polarized topics, every network represent the retweet network of the 100 biggest influencers, in the leftmost plot we can find the full network while in the rightmost only the influencers are present. In the most polarized topics we can clearly see how the influencers are almost equally split between the two poles. Falkenberg it its work identified a majority of pro climate and a minority of climate skeptics,

user	tweet
User1	This meme could just as easily apply to Canada. Trudeau's willingness to destroy our economy to the benefit of others is akin to cutting off our noses to spite our faces!%.
user2	#COP26 Maybe some people are still fooled by Justin Trudeau and his dishonest climate change stories, but there are plenty of us here in Canada who are not. Look into the truth about the Lytton fire. It won't come out of Justin Trudeau's mouth
user3	Capping emissions in the country while exporting oil, gas and coal out of the country. Hypocrisy.

Table 5.1

but looking at a topic level we can see how the two groups are equally split, and the networks that present the majority-minority dicotomy are the least polarized. A notable example is the most polarized topic: "Canada Climate Change goals" which refers to the announcement of Canada's first minister to cap gas and oil emissions. This decision caused many disagreement, in Tab 5.1 some random tweets against the decision, user 1 argument that this will destroy the economy, user 2 instead is generally against all the decision of Trudeau, as states in her biograpahy : "Lover of gardening, antiques and anyone who wants to see the end of the Trudeau government." This follows the typical elite polarization pattern, where political exponent strictly adhere to their party policies, in this case it is not a political party but a politically-aligned individual which is, in some way, forced to follow her self-imposed guidelines in her biography to avoid cognitive dissonance [53].

It is interesting to note in Fig 5.7 the distribution of the tweets of each topics over time during the cop, the dotted line marks the start end end date of COP26. The most polarized had interest only in few days losing quickly the interest. The opposite happens in the least polarized topics where the discussion is distributed over a longest timespan.

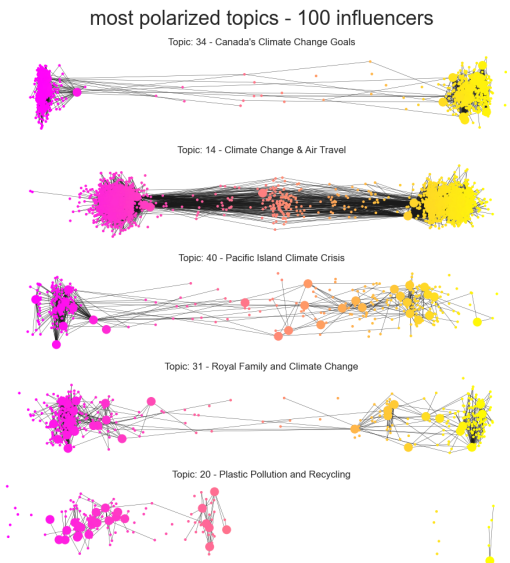


Fig. 5.2 most polarized topics



Fig. 5.3 most polarized topics only influencers

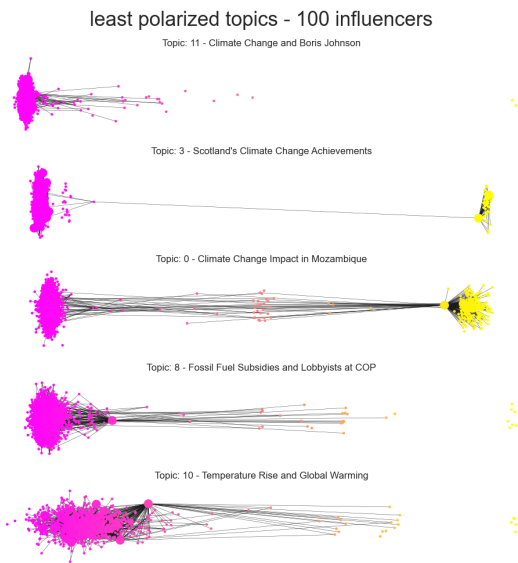


Fig. 5.4 least polarized topics



Fig. 5.5 least polarized topics only influencers

Fig. 5.6 least and most polarized topics

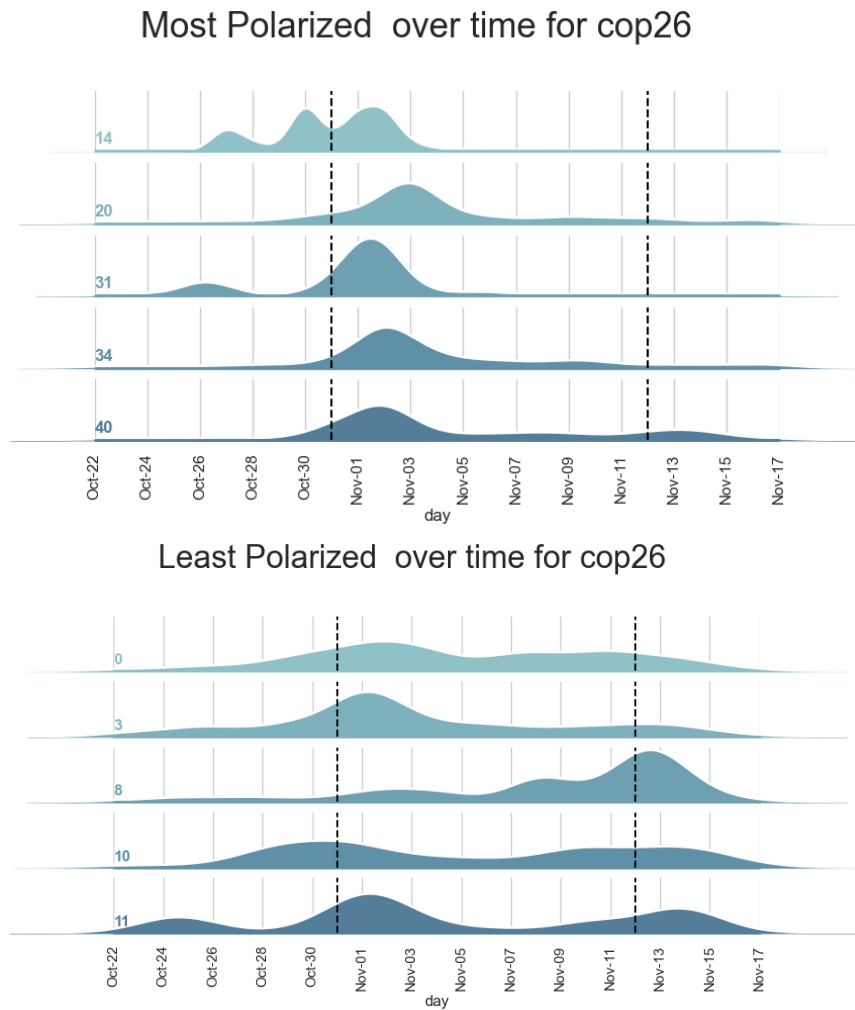


Fig. 5.7 Enter Caption

## 5.2 RQ2 Longitudinal analysis

In this section we compare the polarization between cop21 and cop26, to do so, we had to run the topic modeling together, in Fig 5.8 the diptest results is shown, here we can find a similar trend of the cop26, the biggest topics are less polarized, with the exception of topic 9. Fig 5.9 helps understanding the share of the tweets between cop21 and cop26. We can see how topic 9 which is the most polarized is composed mostly by tweets from cop26, which is aligned with the literature. Now we will look into some topics, creating the network if retweets both for bot COPs and we will compare them. We can compute this analysis only on topic 1,3 and 12 which are the ones that are polarized and have enough tweets in bot cops to run latent ideology.

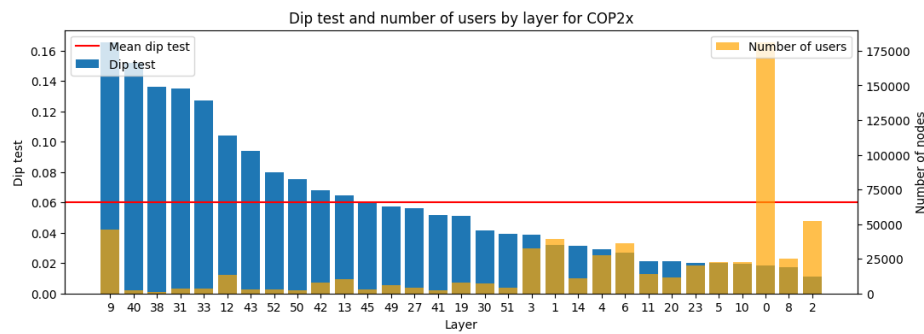


Fig. 5.8 Enter Caption

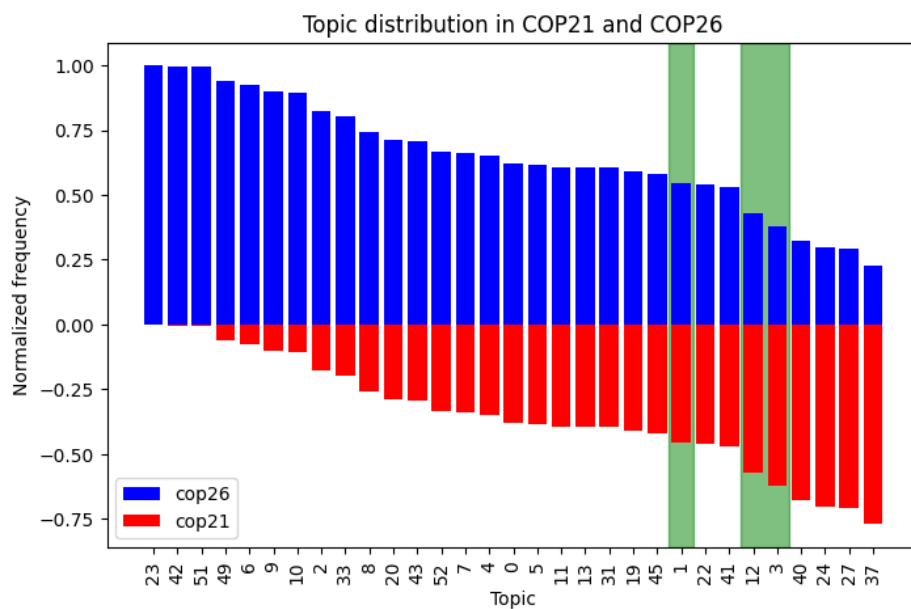


Fig. 5.9 Enter Caption

Fig 5.10 show the results of this analysis. It is worth noting how topic 12 is the topic talking about Canadian fossil fuels, discussion that was present in both cops, but with a very different level of polarization. Overall the results confirm the hypothesis that cop26 is more polarized of cop21, but these are just three topics, to confirm this we should run the same analysis with more data.



Fig. 5.10 Enter Caption

### 5.3 RQ3 User polarization among different topics

After computing the polarization score for all users we can now analyze whether the the users are polarized in the same way among all the topics they were active in.

The number of users involved in this analysis is 22161 active in 26 topics. most of them (16141) were only active in one topic, the maximum is 23 and the average is 1.53 topics per user.

Then we computed, for each user present in more than 1 topic, the average and the standard deviation of the score. This value is higher for the users that are present in both side of the spectrum so this allow us to identify the degree to which users tend to be monopolar.

Fig 5.11 show how the distribution of the average score for every topic aggregated together, this matches with the global results of Falkenberg, where a majority is present on the  $-1$  side versus a minority in the  $1$  side.

In the std we can see how there is a strong tendency to stay in the same side of the spectrum.

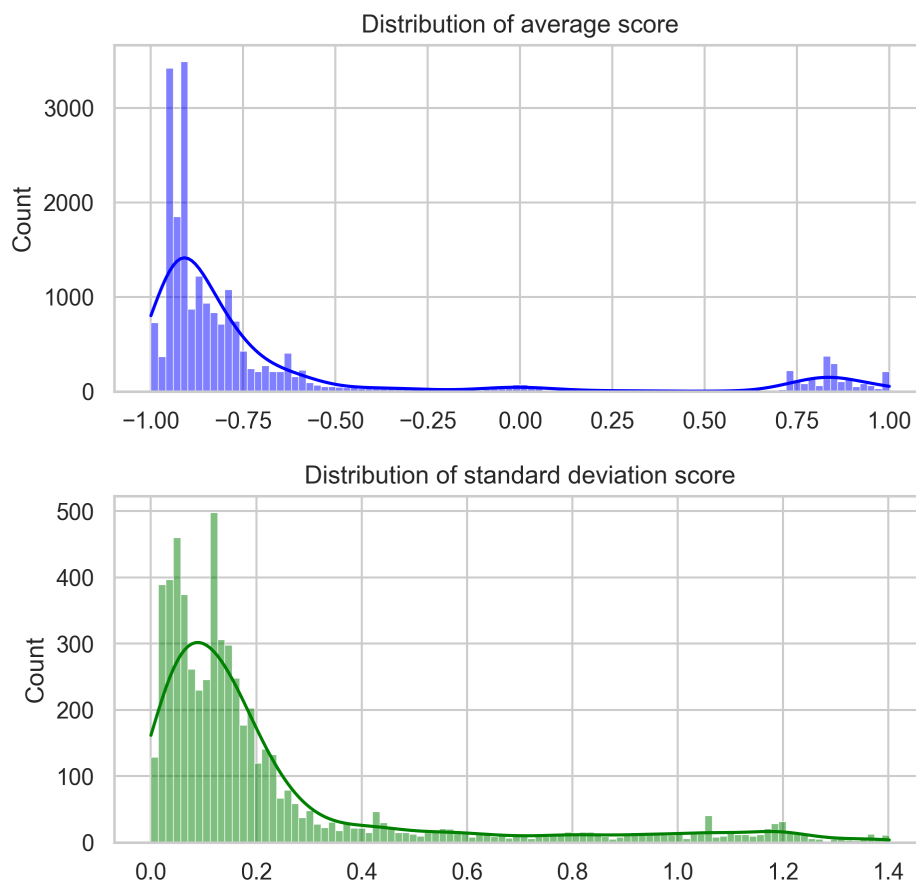


Fig. 5.11 Enter Caption

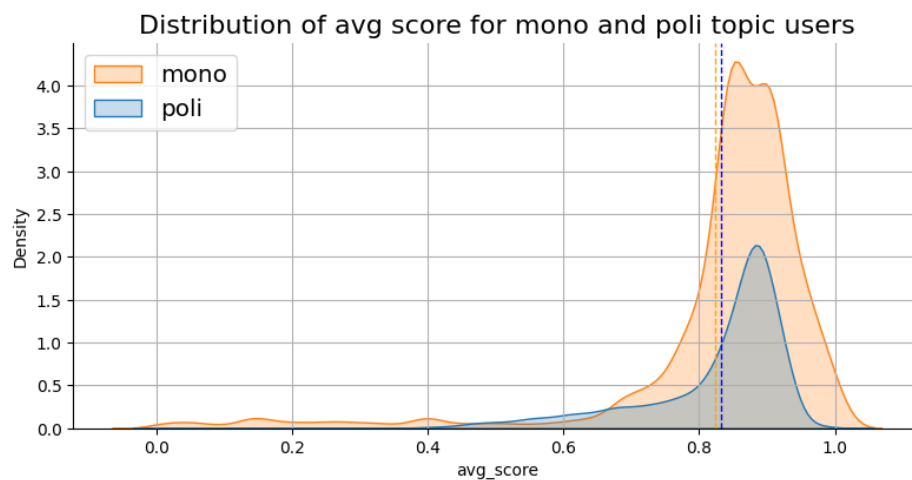


Fig. 5.12 Enter Caption

## 5.4 RQ4 Polarization of experts vs know-it-all

Out of the 22k users 16k are present only in one topics, 6k in more then one of which 3k only in 2 topics. 5.12 do not show a difference in the ideology score between mono and poli user, to compute it we had to get the abs of the ideology so we do not have the problem of getting some mean around 0



# Chapter 6

## Conclusion

The goal of this research was to investigate the polarization of users in the climate change discussion around the Conferences of Parties, specifically focusing on the 26th Conference. Unlike similar studies, this analysis was conducted topic by topic using a multi-layer network framework. The research aimed to answer several questions: first, identifying the most polarized topics of COP26 and comparing them with a longitudinal study involving COP21; second, examining user polarization across different topics and exploring whether users who engage in more topics are more polarized.

The results revealed that in the most polarized topics, both sides had nearly an equal number of users, indicating a sharp divide in opinions. This was particularly evident in the Canadian discussion on limiting the use of coal and oil, as well as the air travel debate. Additionally, it was observed that the Canadian discussion on Fossil Fuel was not always polarized. In COP21, it was completely non-polarized, which aligns with the findings of Falkenberg.

The users tended to stay on the same side of the discussion across multiple topics, but there was no correlation between the number of topics and polarization score. It is important to note that this thesis only addressed a limited set of questions using the presented methodology, focusing solely on the retweet network. However, the reply and quote networks have different properties that can be further explored, especially the reply network, which allows for the study of direct discussions between users.

The use of transformers in the topic modeling step enabled highly accurate results, which previously would have required extensive manual work (annotating tweets). The utilization of a multilayer network framework prevents information loss by consolidating all data into a single network. Moreover, this framework has the potential to extend beyond the study of climate change and Twitter, and can be applied to any scenario where actors engage in discussions on multiple topics.

Further research should investigate the growth of polarization resulting from new activism that inherently exhibits polarization in its methodology, such as blocking streets or defiling monuments. These acts undoubtedly generate conversation, but it remains to be seen whether these discussions occur within echo chambers or involve individuals from opposite ends of the spectrum.

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