

De-biased, diverse, divisive.

Understanding the Google Gemini internet storm in the broader context of diversity, generative AI, and interdisciplinary uses of data.

Bettina Berendt ^{1,2,3} and **Sercan Kiyak** ³

¹ TU Berlin; ²Weizenbaum Institute; ³KU Leuven

Online companion: Supplementary Material

1. Data Cleaning

The data for the 9-day dataset includes 59,919 original tweets (tweets excluding retweets) and 85,677 mentioned users (authors or referenced) along with their metadata. The data was collected from the X API before X canceled Academic access. The following data preparation steps were taken for topic modeling:

1. Tweets were filtered to include only English tweets based on the language metadata.
2. All text was converted to lowercase.
3. All links were removed.
4. All @ and # signs were removed.
5. All numbers were removed.
6. All non-English characters were removed.
7. Words shorter than 2 letters or longer than 15 characters were removed.
8. Unnecessary punctuation, such as repeated exclamation marks, was removed.
9. Extra spaces before and after tweet texts were removed.
10. Tweets with fewer than 5 words after the above steps were removed.

After removing empty and duplicate tweets based on the cleaned text values, the dataset was reduced to 46,622 tweets.

2. Topic Modeling Parameters

We decided to use BERTopic modelling with the following parameters after extensive trials to achieve a feasible number of topics that could be qualitatively analyzed. These parameters also allowed us to map document distances and topic distributions to reveal their structure (random_state=230):

1. **embedding_model**: SentenceTransformer("dunzhang/stella_en_400M_v5")
2. **umap_model**: UMAP(n_neighbors=50, n_components=100, min_dist=0, metric='cosine')
3. **hdbscan_model**: HDBSCAN(min_cluster_size=100, metric='euclidean', cluster_selection_method='eom', prediction_data=True)
4. **vectorizer_model**: CountVectorizer(stop_words=stop_words, ngram_range=(1, 3))
(We later reduced the range to (1, 2) to improve result and avoid redundancy.)
5. **ctfidf_model**: ClassTfidfTransformer(reduce_frequent_words=True)
6. **representation_model**:

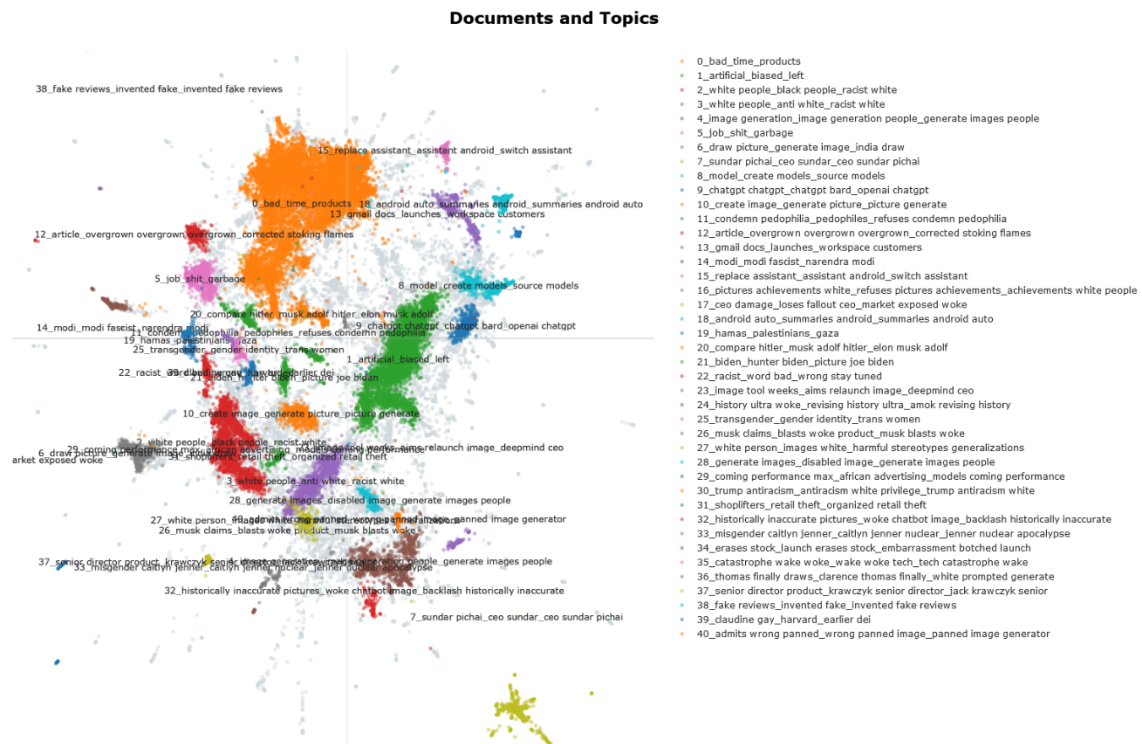
```
{ "Main": KeyBERTInspired(),  
  "BERT": KeyBERTInspired(nr_samples=5000, nr_candidate_words=25,  
    top_n_words=10, random_state=142),  
  "BERT_diverse": KeyBERTInspired(nr_samples=500,  
    nr_candidate_words=100, top_n_words=10, random_state=142),  
  "MMR": MaximalMarginalRelevance(top_n_words=10, diversity=0.1),  
  "MMR_diverse": MaximalMarginalRelevance(top_n_words=20,  
    diversity=0.7)  
}
```

We used multiple topic representations from the same algorithms to produce two distinct outputs from each: one emphasizing the central vector (the most typical words) of the topic (based on representative samples) and another focusing on diversity within the topic. However, we found still KeyBERT to emphasize generally very relevant keywords and MMR to give more diverse results. In general, KeyBERT provided highly informative results. However, when KeyBERT was not effective, MMR proved to be a useful alternative.

3. Post Modeling Process

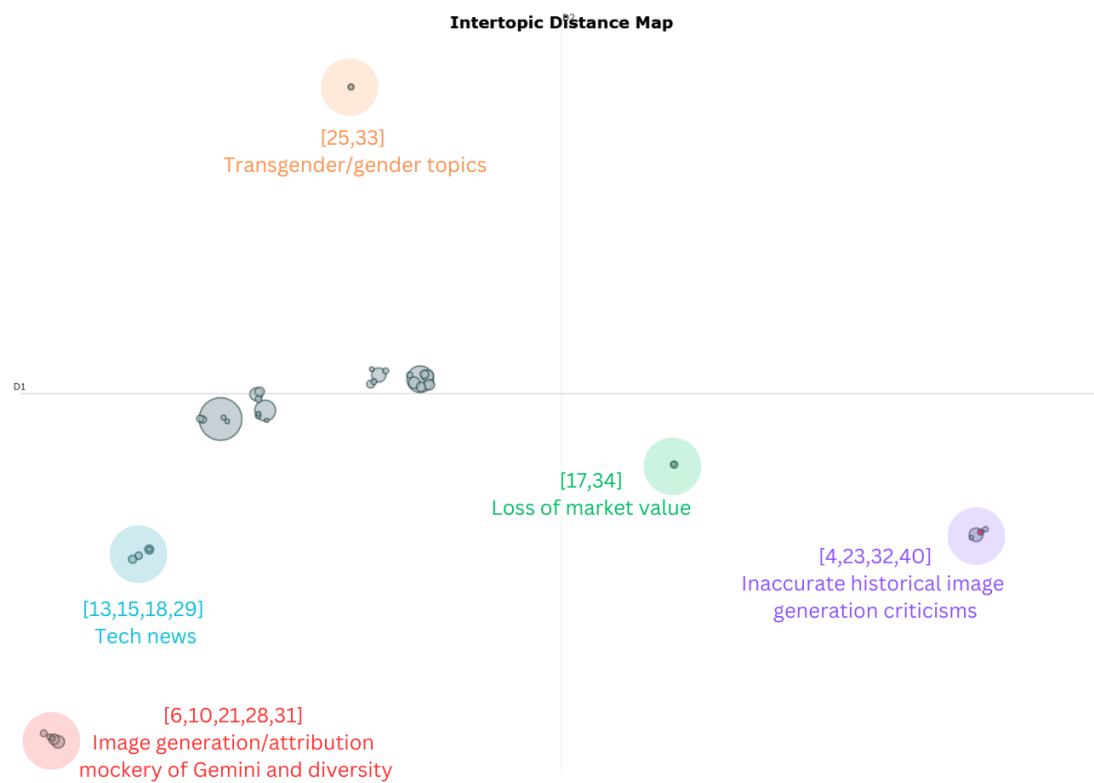
The topic modeling process initially resulted in 41 topics, along with one group of unclustered documents, which contained 15,851 documents. The initial visualization of document-topic distribution is shown below:

Figure S1) Initial Document Topic Map (Zoomed In)



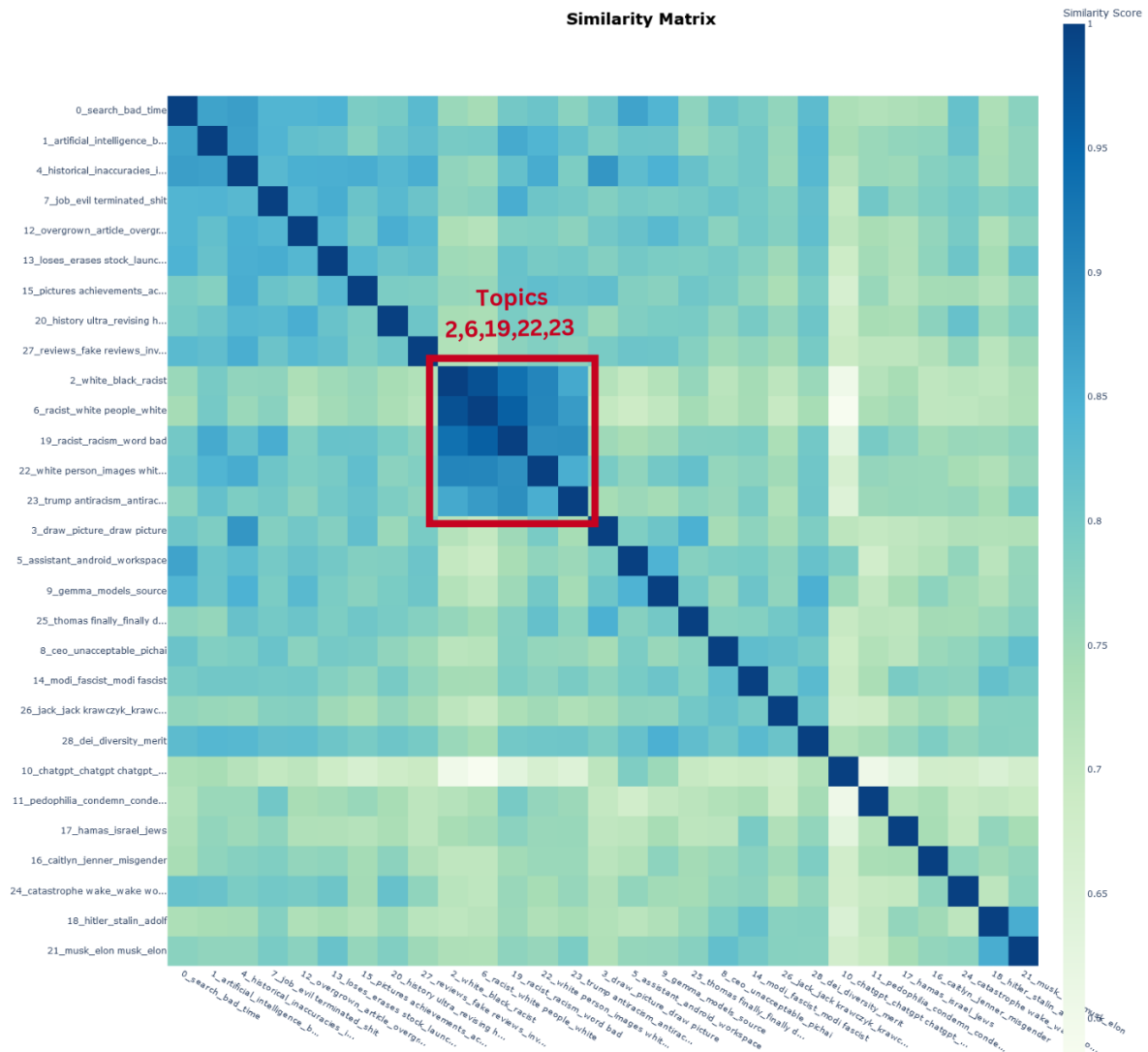
After this initial data we manually assessed each topic to understand them based on sample close reading and used various visualization and similarity metrics for further refinement of topics. Based on the intertopic distance map (based on similarity) and a manual review of sampled documents, we identified and merged several topics as follows:

Figure S2) Intertopic Distance Map



Following the merging then we analysed the relations between the topics based on the similarity matrix and identified a group of topics that were highly related to each other.

Figure S3) Topic Similarity Matrix



These topics were calculated to have a similarity range between 85% and 97%. However, manual assessment revealed that Topic 23 contained tweets addressing a distinct aspect compared to the others. While the first four topics focused on the perceived lack of white representation in Gemini’s images, Topic 23 primarily revolved around the anti-Trump and anti-racist politics of Gemini’s director. Consequently, only the first four topics were merged.

4. Outlier Reduction

BERTopic offers four distinct outlier reduction methods. After experimenting with all of them, we found that nearly all tweets were relevant to the discussion, leading us to adopt an aggressive outlier reduction strategy. While some tweets capitalized on the popularity of the subject by including hashtags to increase visibility, these were relatively few and difficult to distinguish from the rest. Additionally, many tweets, such as those involving mockery, contained highly contextual elements that were challenging to model but still relevant to the overall analysis.

We employed a multi-strategy approach for outlier reduction as follows:

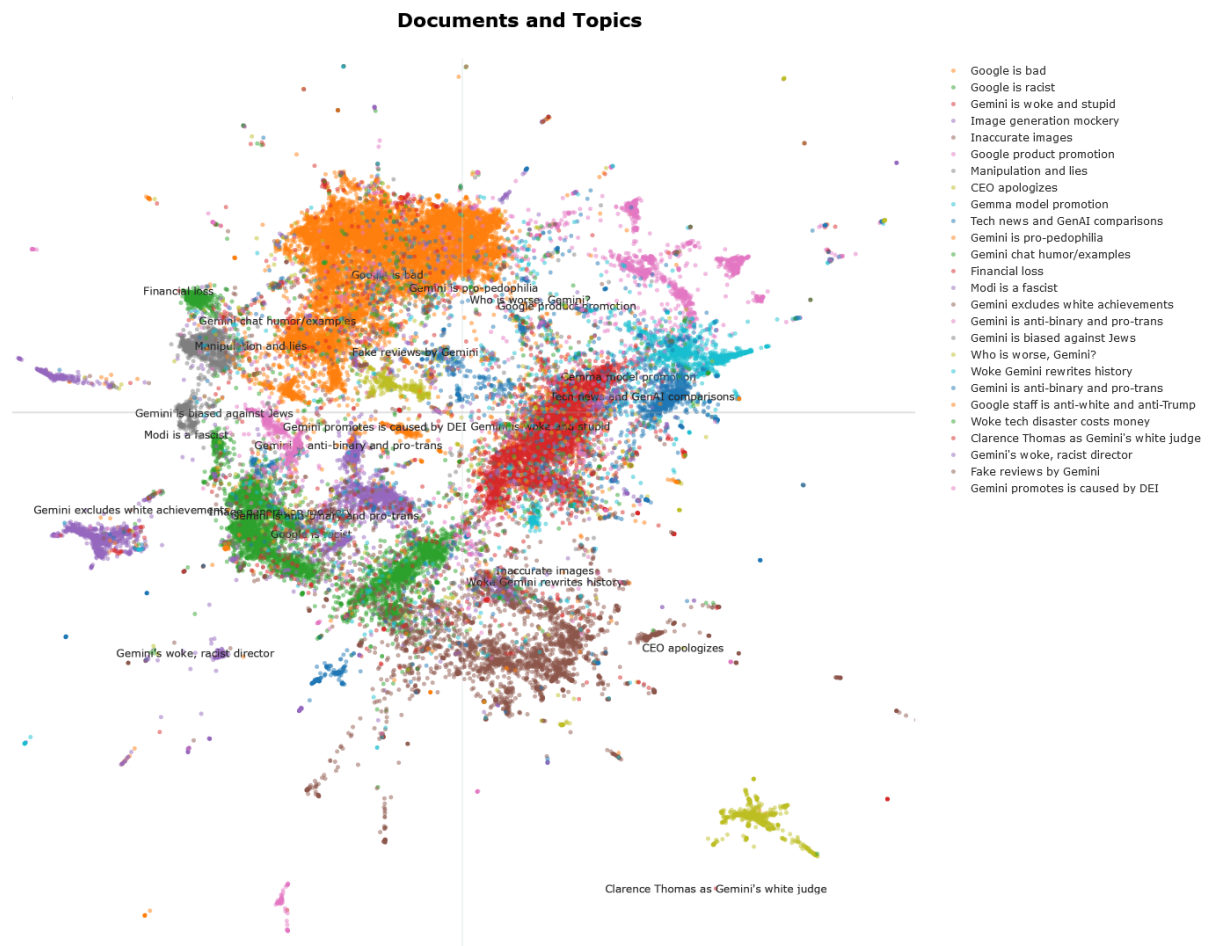
```
topic_model.reduce_outliers(docs, df["topics_merged_2"], strategy="c-tf-idf",  
                             threshold=0.0)  
topic_model.reduce_outliers(docs, new_topics, strategy="embeddings",  
                             embeddings=embeddings, threshold=0.0)
```

The first strategy assigned topics based on similarity using c-TF-IDF, while the second assigned tweets to the nearest topic in the reduced embedding space. This approach eliminated outliers entirely, clustering all tweets within one of the final 26 topics.

5. Final Document and topic map

A table of the final 26 topics, including representative examples, is presented in Table 1 within the main text. Below, we provide the final document topic map, presented in a zoomed-in view for clarity.

Figure 4S: Final Document Topic Map (Zoomed-In)



6. Topic Modelling Results

Count	Custom Name	Category	Representation (KeyBERT)	Example
2,370	6. Google product promotion	Tech News	googleworkspace, workspace customers, workspace users, enterprise workspace, workspace, gmail docs, chat, gmail, chrome, messages app	Google is integrating Stack Overflow's knowledge base into Gemini for Google Cloud [link].
1,570	7. New model promotion		gemma model, gemma models, model gemma, models gemma, gemma gemma, gemma, gemma source, gemma family, released gemma, create models	Gemma, a new family of open-source models from Google, is based on the Gemini framework [link].
1,381	8. Tech news and GenAI comparisons		discover marketing, enroll discover, enhance workflow, success enhance, marketing success, workflow daily, enrolls learn, marketing, enroll, routine develop	Tested Grok, ChatGPT, and Google Gemini for offensive and relatable content. Grok offered helpful suggestions, while the others delivered lectures on why such content is inappropriate.
2,918	5. Gemini Image mockery	Mockery	trump draw, generate picture, picture donald, picture tony, picture draw, draw image, picture joe, draw picture, generate images, draw photo	Asked Google Gemini to create a movie ad for Black Panther. Result: [Image: Mark Zuckerberg in an African village].
689	17. Gemini chat humor/critique		happy valentines, valentines day, valentines, spanish french, day spanish, languages read, french italian, italian languages, spanish, link loveisblind	Gemini's output excludes Trump from a list of U.S. presidents. Elon Musk highlighted the omission [link].
342	25. Gemini Mockery and Memes		clarence thomas, finally caucasian, draws white, white prompted, white peopleby, thomas white, generate clarence, thomas generate, thomas finally, finally draws	After much backlash, Google Gemini finally generated an image of a white man when prompted for Clarence Thomas [link].
974	13. Gemini is pro-pedophilia	Gemini's Values & Side Issues	pedophilia wrong, refuses pedophilia, condemn pedophilia, pedophiles evil, acceptable boycottgoogle, pedophilia absurdly, pedophilia acceptable, woke refuses, pedophilia morally, pedophiles	Compare Google Gemini's built-in biases with the average person's morality—like automatically considering pedophilia as evil.
624	19. Modi is a fascist		modi fascist, query modi, fascist modi, answers modi, response modi, modi responses, modi centre, modi, modi modi, narendra modi	A government minister warns Google about Gemini's inappropriate response to questions about the Prime Minister [link].
526	21. Gemini is anti-binary and pro-trans		chatbot misgender, misgendering caitlyn, misgender caitlyn, jenner responds, gatewaypundit chatbot, caitlyn jenner, caitlyn, apocalypse chatbot, apocalypse caitlyn, responds chatbot	Google's AI chatbot Gemini reportedly stated that misgendering Caitlyn Jenner is unacceptable—even to prevent a nuclear apocalypse [link].
482	22. Gemini is biased against Jews		embassy gaza, hamas europe, israeli embassy, europe Biden, gaza, israel, gaza hamas, trump ukraine, australia zelensky, israelis	Gemini AI is accused of attempting to erase history in real time with biased descriptions of Israel [link].
659	18. Who is worse according to Gemini?		shut chatbot, musk hitler, hitler musk, chatbot refuses, nazi elon, musk worse, hitler elon, worse elon, nate silver, musk defamation	Tests reveal Google Gemini's ethical inconsistencies when dealing with figures like Elon Musk and Adolf Hitler [link].
420	23. Gemini relates to DEI		dei diversity, diversity dei, dei principles, diversity equity, dei companies, dei nonsense, diverse prompt, woke dei, data hallucinations, diversity fail	Critics say Google Gemini reflects the idea that being 'morally right' is more important than being factually accurate.
879	14. Financial loss		stock woke, woke embarrassment, botched launch, woke broke, stock lost, chatbot woke, market woke, woke chatbot, company plummets, loses woke	People are leaving Google after what they're calling Gemini's 'Bud Light moment.'
315	26. Woke tech disaster costs money	Financial Loss	woke tech, woke disaster, tech catastrophe, tech giants, woke squabbles, embarrassing tech, woke, wake woke, catastrophe woke, tech vivek	Gemini AI's performance highlights broader concerns with woke tech initiatives and their failures [link].
11,086	1. Google is bad		lol, gmail, fuck, wow, search, search engine, grok, youtube, shit, hey	Gemini seems to be an eye-opener for many, prompting users like me to leave Google entirely.
5,432	2. Google is racist		racist gmail, search racist, racist search, youtube racist, racist youtube, racist white, racist racist, white racist, racist whites, white search	Elon Musk says Google should address its apparent anti-white and anti-male bias, not just in Gemini.
4,753	3. Gemini is woke and stupid		googleai, woke heck, dudes woke, artificial intelligence, openai, woke, wokeness, lol, heck people, intelligent	Google's Gemini is highly authoritarian. AI needs basic training in natural law, ethics, and conscience. Its safety framework is missing.
4,157	4. Inaccurate images		artificial intelligence, image generation, generating images, image generator, generate images, inaccurate images, pauses image, images people, people inaccuracies, images	Absurdly woke': Google's AI chatbot generates 'diverse' images of Founding Fathers, popes, and Vikings [link].
1,203	10. Manipulation and lies		gem, guys literally, wtf, fucking joke, shit random, piece shit, shit, designed accurate, totally, lies	Gemini has no issue praising certain viewpoints on contentious topics. Bias is one thing, but the dishonesty is another.
1,139	11. Google CEO apologizes		pichai ceo, ceo pichai, pichai told, alphabet ceo, pichai addressed, sundar pichai, pichai, ceo sundarpichai, pichai fired, pichai calls	Google CEO Sundar Pichai addressed concerns about Gemini AI creating misleading and historically inaccurate images [link].
1,280	9. Gemini excludes white achievements		googl, pictures apologizes, foxbusiness apologizes, refusing white, refuses white, images white, achievements white, pictures white, apologizes woke, white people	Gemini AI faces criticism for allegedly excluding white people from image searches [link].
701	15. Woke Gemini rewrites history		rewrite history, rewrites history, rewriting history, history woke, revising history, history ultra, woke ultra, ultra woke, change history, woke runs	Google's ultra-woke Gemini AI is rewriting history with alarming freedom [link].
1,118	12. Musk vs. Google		gender bias, exec called, racist programming, addressing racial, racial gender, racist sexist, bias, musk chatgpt, super racist, racist douchenozzle	Elon Musk has unveiled a series of revelations about Google Gemini that might reshape its trajectory!
539	20. Google staff is anti-white and anti-Trump		foxbusiness backlash, privilege backlash, trump antiracism, backlash racist, white privilege, antiracism white, employees trump, backlash exposes, woke backlash, joins backlash	Backlash against Google Gemini exposes internal comments about Trump, antiracism, and white privilege [link].
696	16. Gemini's woke, racist director		directors racist, racist posts, hates white, disturbingly racist, gatewaypundit directors, anti white, bias white, white people, gatewaypundit director, racist	Gemini's director apologized for the perceived bias against white people, but old tweets surfaced [link], reigniting controversy.
369	24. Fake information by Gemini		fake reviews, foxnews invented, inventing fake, fake news, invented fake, biases foxnews, aipac googleai, fake book, biases invented, reviews smearing	Is Gemini the 'fake news' of AI? Some users seem to think so.

7. Duplicate tweet Topics

11 Google CEO apologizes	15 Woke Gemini rewrites history	24 Fake information by Gemini	26 Woke tech disaster costs money
Main Source: Fox News	Main Source: Breitbart	Main Source: New York Post	Main Source: Youtube
pichai, sundar, google, addressed, calls	rewrite, woke, history, changing, ultra	fake, inventing, reviews, foxnews, invent	woke, disaster, catastrophe, tech, broke
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	buy negative google reviews email: [LINK] skype: [Link] telegram: [Link] [Hashtags]	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases foxnews	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	google's ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases foxnews	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	ahhhh could this make bud light kids stuff? google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases being evil	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	google's ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews chatgpt falsely accuses jonathan turley of sexual harassment, concocts fake wapo story to support allegation	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases google gemini invented fake reviews meant to discredit my book about political bias in big tech	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	google's ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases foxnews	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	g**gles aigeminimade up bad reviews about politically incorrect book and attributed them to real, existing sources. you do understand that progressive humans programmed it to do this, right?	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	what do you know, built an automated democrat! gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases foxnews	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini caught inventing fake book reviews fox news	we need new laws that protect your rights online. we just need better charter of rights and freedoms in canada period. google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people. foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases foxnews	"google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woketech?"
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	you all gotten any of those fake google gemini book reviews yet? hear theyre going around.	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases foxnews	googles gemini catastrophe: wake-up call voor woke technologie?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	google's ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases foxnews	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
racist trash ai from apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases foxnews	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	para lo que nos debemos preparar: fakenews google gemini invented fake reviews smearing my book about big techs political biases foxnews	google's gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech? va
google apologizes after new gemini ai refuses to show pictures, achievements of white people foxbusiness	googles ultra-woke gemini ai runs amok revising history	google gemini invented fake reviews on book about big techs political biases foxnews	google's gemini debacle is bigger than 'woke' squabbles, former reddit ceo says: recall the laws of robotics' alphabet

The topics above contain nearly identical text in their top 20 most popular (impressions) tweets. They are each sent out by different sources. This caused BERTopic to register these documents as isolated islands in the reduced embedding space with a big distance to the main conversation. It is important to note that this dataset does not include any retweets; each of these tweets was copied and pasted by different users. Therefore, this phenomenon of people just quoting the title without contributing much to its discussion implies inauthentic behavior. Unfortunately, this topic is 1) outside of our goal and 2) main bot detection tools Twitter no longer work due to API restrictions. Finally, it should be noted that most of these tweets have a very small reach themselves, and topics are rather small ones. Moreover, in Figure 4 in the main text of the paper, these topics scored particularly low in terms of impression to interaction ratio.

8. Towards inter-rater reliability

An alternative content analysis of automatically generated topics was performed by the first author. It was based on a slightly different BERTopic model. Topics labels were derived from top keywords (TF-IDF) and a close reading of the most retweeted posts of the topic (top-3 sampling); labels were then grouped into themes and subthemes.

While an alternative content analysis on the *same* BERTopic model would have allowed us to compare the judgements of two coders directly, we decided to use the original version. This was done for three reasons. First, the work having been performed on that old model would have precluded an analysis of the new model that is unbiased by the first run. Second, the analysis was qualitative, and a rigorous comparison of two codes would have required us to specify a similarity measure on free-form textual names of categories; and third, the purpose of the current study was exploratory.

The following two sections can be read as an alternative and an extension of the printed article's Section 4.3.

4.3 Topic Modeling from a computer science/AI ethics perspective

To compare the two content analyses, the first author mapped each topic of the new model to zero, one, or more than one of the 46 topics from the old model, based on the topic labels. This mapping defines containments and overlaps between old-model (sub)themes and new-model categories. Figure 5 visualizes these containments and overlaps. The categories (rectangles) are the ones from Section 4.2; the themes and subthemes (bold font and normal font in the rounded rectangles) will be explained in Section 4.4. Locations show overlap, for example: "Comparison with other genAI" aggregates topics that are all within "Tech news"; "Individual stories" aggregates topics in "Gemini values" and topics without counterpart in CA1. "Product" aggregates topics in "Tech news" and topics in "Mockery" and topics without counterpart in CA1. The area shaded grey indicates CA1 topics without counterpart in CA2. The areas shown are not to scale; a quantitative analysis (such as the number of tweets in overlapping regions) is a subject for future work.

Figure 5: Mapping between the content analyses

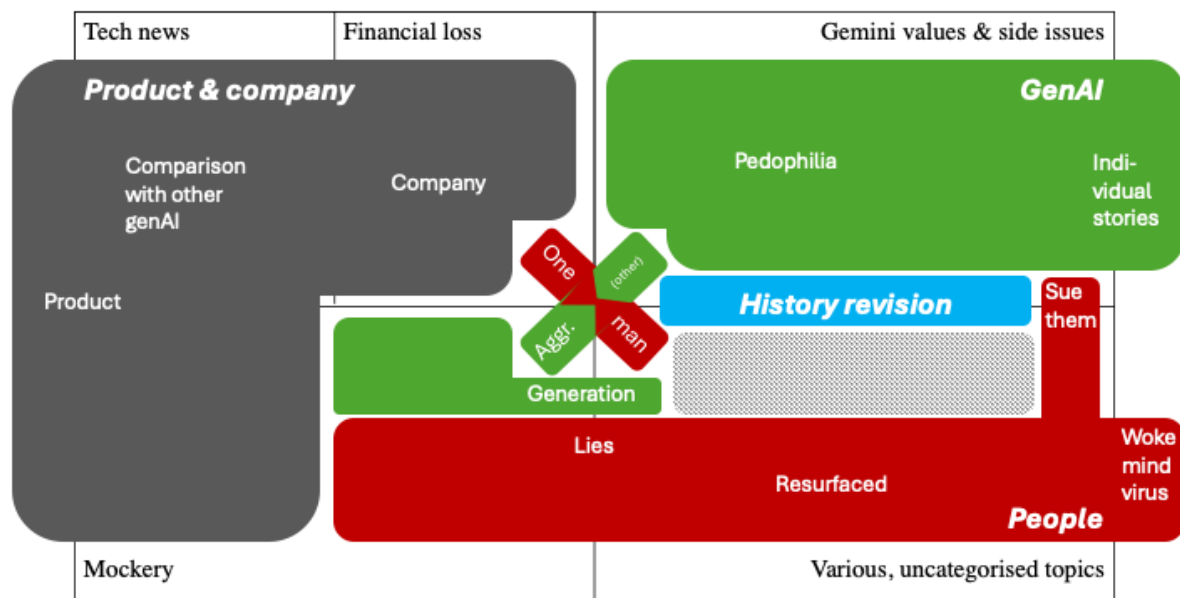


Figure 5 shows substantial similarities but also some deviations between CA1 and CA2, both in composition of categories and (sub)themes and in their semantic interpretation. We believe that the deviations between the two content analyses may, in part, have arisen from our respective backgrounds and expertise. For example, the first author’s discovery of “people” and “genAI” themes may reflect her computer-science and critical data studies background, while the second author’s discovery of the “mockery” category reflects his high familiarity with social media. The mockery of people *and* genAI *and* company/product illustrates the pervasiveness of humor and satire also on X. Some deviations, in contrast, appear to be a direct result of the difference between the two BERTopic models; in particular, the threat of court cases did not emerge in CA 1 and the relationship to DEI initiatives did not emerge in CA 2. Due to the similarities between the two content models, we proceed with the inductive-deductive analysis structured by (sub)themes and their relationship to the hypotheses.

4.4 Interpretation: Topic and content analysis in relation to the hypotheses

One theme (with only one subtheme) revolved around *history revision*, confirming the expectation that users worry about the rewriting of history by a tool (H5).¹ More prominent, however, were the two themes *genAI* and *people*.

Within *genAI*, three topics could be grouped into the subtheme *generation*, essentially mirroring the ‘facts vs. agency’ hypothesis H3 (assuming the historical facts to be monolithically white and male). Their most retweeted and viewed exemplars were (a) a New York Post title story claiming “History Messin’ “ by “Google’s woke AI [which] makes Vikings black and the pope a woman” and showing “an image you get for ‘Founding Father’ ”; and (b) the Babylon Bee’s jocular take on the previously reported

¹ In this section, we organize the discussion along topics and refer to the hypotheses that these topics lend evidence to by their abbreviations (H1-H6).

refusal, by the tool, to generate white-people images, coupled with the political leanings of Supreme Court justice Thomas, who is Black: “Google Gemini Finally Draws White Man after being Prompted To Generate Clarence Thomas”.

Two subthemes illustrated the “genAI as a search engine” fallacy (H4): posts in the *pedophilia* subtheme described that Gemini (correctly) aggregated diverse nomenclatures, pointing out that “pedophiles” are also referred to as “minor-attracted persons”. A search engine would have shown these diverse terms as occurring in diverse sources, and user anger could have been directed towards the sources. The Gemini chatbot, in contrast, was perceived as an agent with a sinister agenda (“We keep warning you – the radical Far Left are coming for your kids.”) Subtheme *aggregation (other)* poked fun at the difficulty that the automated summarisation of Gemini had with moral dilemmas (for example, the chatbot suggested that it would be wrong to misgender Caitlyn Jenner even if that could stop a nuclear apocalypse, a single, highly visible post). Further *individual stories* described specific attributions, by Gemini, to living famous people that users disagreed with.

Covert reverse racism (H2) was claimed (see “anti-white” in CA 1). But concerns about a lack of transparency were often not, as computer scientists and regulators tend to assume, addressed towards the AI. Instead, the lack of transparency of *people* (in Google’s management) was bemoaned: tweets discussed how old social-media posts by these people had *resurfaced*. For example, one post was highlighted that posited the existence of “white privilege”, a concept from critical race theory (politically left). As a consequence, people were accused of spreading *lies*, adding manipulation (H6) to their lack of transparency. Carriers of the *woke mind virus* (a meme coined some years earlier by Elon Musk, see Ingram, 2024) were accused of a deviant ploy to control and manipulate (cf. H1 and H6) unwitting persons, in tweets such as “programmed by purple-haired weirdos with no diversity at all, and no input from normal, everyday people”; “a sclerotic, entrenched company that cares more about power than anything else”. As a counter-measure against such manipulation, normal everyday people were called upon to *sue them* (the wokerati in Google management) – a measure by which they could take back control.

This last thought, of taking back control in a world of manipulation, was epitomised by the one tweet that was retweeted and viewed the most in the whole dataset, by a wide margin. On 23rd February, Elon Musk tweeted: “A senior exec at Google called and spoke to me for an hour last night. He assured me that they are taking immediate action to fix the racial and gender bias in Gemini. Time will tell.” The hierarchies and roles are clear in this tweet: people who make a mistake apologise, on their own initiative, to Musk, who communicates this in a partly reassuring, partly world-wary tone to his followers. He is the *one man* that makes sure things happen. This interpretation is also consistent with the large dominance of Musk in the social network analysis (see Section 4.1). A second topic also grouped into the *one man* subtheme was constituted by one video: “Google’s Gemini catastrophe: wake-up call for woke tech?” by then-presidential candidate Vivek Ramaswamy.²

² In subsequent developments beyond social media, Elon Musk has expanded this self-presentation as one of the Great Men who make history (Carlyle 1841) via his role in the second Trump presidency

Google Gemini was discussed not only with reference to over-engineered diversity. The effects of the gaffe on the *company* and its share value were debated. The *product* itself was the focus of many topics, and it was *compared with other genAI* tools. Finally, two topics concerned *other* issues that were not interpretable for the coder.

In sum, while elements mirroring all six hypotheses surfaced, discussants were worried and/or angry more about persons than about technology. In particular, loss (and re-taking) of control and worries about manipulation referred to persons 'behind' the AI. They were motivated by a strong 'anti-woke' sentiment, and they co-opted many of the issues and terms previously raised by (or attributed to) the Left: They offered power critique, showed clear signs of tribalism ('us versus them') and practised conspiracy thinking ("Gemini 2.0 will be editing gmail to insure they use Newspeak.").

Generative AI was (a) mistakenly regarded as a search engine: information was considered a factual claim; (b) not understood as the result of machine search in heterogeneous sources; (c) misinterpreted as a person-agent with unacceptable views.

(Zurcher 2025). Ramaswamy was originally envisioned as the second leader of DOGE, but chose a different career path.