

1 **Disentangling the Climate Divide with Emotional Patterns: a Network-Based Mindset**
2 **Reconstruction Approach**

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13 **Abstract:**

14 Extreme political populism has been fiercely spreading climate disinformation for years,
15 contributing to a social divide about climate change. In order to profile how both sides of the
16 climate divide communicate climate change, we collected dissemination materials and

17 analysed the mindset of key actors reaching global audiences. [We apply network science to](#)
18 [textual content, to reconstruct and analyse the mindset of key actors across the climate divide.](#)

19 [Here we show that the emerging mindset supports the identification of emotional patterns](#)
20 [linked to a quick and pervasive spread of falsehoods — i.e. an infodemic — such as](#)
21 [hypercritical scepticism masking falsehoods, under a trustful promotion of change. We find](#)
22 [that the word “climate” represents a fearsome threat linked to inconsistent science in climate](#)
23 [change disinformation. We show that the word “change” represents a reassuring pattern in](#)

Deleted: Here we show that applying network science to textual content and analysing the emerging reconstructed mindset can support the identification of emotional patterns linked to a quick and pervasive spread of falsehoods — i.e. an infodemic — such as hypercritical scepticism masking falsehoods under a trustful promotion of change. Climate represents a fearsome threat linked to inconsistent science in climate change infodemics. Change

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24 [climate disinformation](#), characterized by trust, [and by](#) low anticipation without risk
25 awareness, except for some fear about policy changes. For climate activism [the word](#)

35 “change” is linked to high levels of negative emotions like anger, disgust and fear, related to
36 a perception of existential threats. Furthermore, [the word “children” represents](#) an angering
37 concern in climate [disinformation](#), while climate change activism perceives “children” with
38 trust and joy, but sadness for their anticipated future. [Mindset reconstruction has the potential](#)
39 [to become a relevant tool to identify and flag communication materials linked to](#)
40 [disinformation, that amplify the climate divide and facilitate infodemics.](#)

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41 **Keywords:**

42 Fridays for future, social movements, infodemics, climate [emergency](#), revolution.

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43 **Main text:**

44 **1. Introduction.**

45 The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) affirms that continued climate
46 change is directly impacting human lives, and that risks of injury, disease, and death increase
47 with heat waves, floods, droughts, and fires (Smith et al., 2014). However, contrasting
48 messages from extreme political populism have been fiercely spreading climate
49 disinformation through social and news media for years (Demelle, 2016; Horton, 2020; Watts
50 et al., 2019).

51 Climate denying political leaders across world regions —USA, Brazil, Australia, the
52 Netherlands — are just visible elements of an evolving list of hundreds of influential players
53 and think tanks (Desmog, 2021). These think tanks repeatedly appear linked to events where
54 influencers take climate denying positions (Youtube, 2019), often these events run in parallel
55 to the Conferences of Parties (COPs) of the United Nations Climate Change Framework
56 Convention (UNFCCC). These annual COPs are the most important climate policy event
57 worldwide. When searching information about these UNFCCC COP events, content intended

61 to trigger a quick and pervasive spread of falsehoods — i.e. an infodemic — from events
62 organized in parallel by climate disinformation think tanks shows up in multiple media
63 channels, including in prominent video-sharing platforms (see Methods section).

64 These actors and think tanks have been polarizing the worldwide public opinion for decades,
65 amplifying the climate divide (Hoffman, 2011, Horton 2020). On one side of the climate
66 divide, climate change [disinformation](#) actively impedes “social consensus” about climate
67 change. Climate change [disinformation](#) actors (hereafter *climate disinformation*) disseminate
68 misleading information and downplay scientific evidence with the support of politically
69 entrenched think tanks (Demelle, 2016; Desmog, 2021; Horton, 2020).

70 On the other side of the climate divide, science-based climate change activism (hereafter
71 *climate activism*) demand action from policy makers while stressing the importance of
72 climate science in society (Hoffman, 2011; Marris, 2019). While environmental and climate
73 activists are not a novelty, and while cohorts of teenagers and students have been involved in
74 the decarbonization of UK and US universities at least since 2010 (Healy & Debski, 2017),
75 recently the *#FridaysForFuture* movement gained unprecedented prominence demanding
76 climate action from political leaders. The *#FridaysForFuture* movement adheres to scientific
77 consensus on climate change and gathered remarkable media attention since 2019.

78 Social movements like *#FridaysForFuture* have been pointed out as instrumental for crossing
79 a tipping point toward major changes of social norms and values that could contribute to
80 stabilize Earth’s climate (Otto et al., 2020). Information flows and the feedbacks they might
81 activate are amongst the most important interventions to stabilize Earth’s climate (Otto et al.,
82 2020). The fear of [information flows and their related feedbacks activating social tipping](#)
83 dynamics towards decarbonization by certain think tanks provide a possible explanation for
84 their interest on a climate [emergency](#) infodemic [and](#) polarization agenda.

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90 The variety of actors involved in the climate divide is immense, and it is fully unclear what
91 underlying patterns could characterize the messages in both sides of this divide. In this
92 context, we structure our investigation as a comparison between key representatives in their
93 ranks, i.e. individuals with outstanding character that managed to exhibit leadership in a
94 history of world-spanning events reaching millions of individuals.

95 To elaborate overarching strategies and understand the validity of proposals for tools dealing
96 with the climate divide, it is fundamental to explore the emotions inflaming this battle of
97 ideas, and to uncover weaknesses in the mindset embedded in the communication strategy of
98 those involved (Hoffman, 2011). The communication materials of individuals involved in the
99 climate divide can be expected to hold patterns leading to the identification of inflammatory
100 media content. Semantic patterns can be used to unveil emotionally distorted content linked
101 to polarization (Stella et al. 2018, Stella 2020).

102 In this article, we aim to explore the emotional dimension of climate communication linked
103 to the climate divide. Departing from this aim, we have specified the following objectives:
104 First, to explore how the mindset of key representatives of *#FridaysForFuture* and of
105 [climate-denying](#) think tanks differ when communicating about climate. Second, to unveil
106 emotionally distorted content linked to polarisation in key climate disinformation
107 communication events. And third, to provide a scientific basis for unveiling [disinformation](#)
108 [content driving a climate emergency](#) infodemic.

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109 **2. Methods.**

110 [The conceptual and methodological innovations in this article have an exploratory character.](#)
111 Mindset reconstruction exposes the emotional backbone of language, [i.e. how words eliciting](#)
112 [different emotions are syntactically and semantically linked in language](#) (Stella, 2020; Stella
113 et al., 2018). In order to profile how both sides of the divide communicate “climate change”,

116 we collected communication materials related to climate change, and analysed the mindset of
117 selected actors who have been able to reach global audiences. The methodology is divided in
118 three consecutive steps: (i) identification of global key influencing figures of the climate
119 divide, (ii) data collection, (iii) application of network science methods for mindset
120 reconstruction and visual representation of the results. [The proposed methodology contributes](#)
121 [to formalise data-driven approaches in the human dimension of global change, in particular](#)
122 [about social and opinion dynamics of the climate divide.](#)

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123 **2.1. Identification of key figures.**

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124 The identification of key figures is based on criteria of leadership and of a history of
125 contribution to global events in the respective networks of *#FridaysForFuture* and of climate
126 denying think tanks. [This has been a difficult task, because while there are prominent figures](#)
127 [in both sides of the climate divide, very few have a truly remarkable history of contribution to](#)
128 [international events. Demelle \(2016\) and Desmog \(2021\) have been instrumental sources to](#)
129 [evaluate climate deniers.](#)

130 Greta Thunberg can be traced as the originator of the *#FridaysForFuture*. After her
131 innovative way of demonstrating gained prominence, her initially single-student protest
132 gained scale and lead to a global school strike movement. Afterwards, she gave speeches in
133 many global centres of power and meet with multiple global leaders. At the moment of
134 writing this article she is perhaps the only globally mediatic figure of this movement.

135 Christopher Monckton was ranked a top ten climate denier by Demelle (2016), and Desmog
136 (2021) mentions him in the context of multiple climate-related events and actions spanning
137 across world regions for more than a decade.

138 **2.2. Data collection.**

141 Data originates from key public speeches directly or incidentally linked to international
142 bodies, national institutions, and diplomacy hubs. For example, a COP of the UNFCCC, the
143 UN, the World Economic Forum at Davos, the UK parliament, or climate [disinformation](#)
144 conferences.

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145 The selected key public speeches reached broad audiences beyond the auditorium and have
146 been disseminated by multiple media channels, including television, newspapers, and video-
147 sharing platforms like Youtube (Youtube, 2019). In particular, we selected 11 public
148 speeches by Greta Thunberg from 2018 to 2020, and three much larger speeches in 2019 by
149 Christopher Monckton in events organised in Madrid in parallel to UNFCCC's COP 25, and

150 in a climate [disinformation](#) conference in Washington. [Thunberg's speeches included a total](#)
151 [of 600 sentences and 9168 words, whereas Monckton's speeches included a total of 568](#)
152 [sentence and 15178 words. The word counts in here consider also repetitions and not include](#)
153 [lemmatization, which is rather performed within the construction of *forma mentis* networks.](#)

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154 By using text from public speeches, we overcome the difficulties of preserving the privacy of
155 under-age citizens that are a known part of the *#FridaysForFuture* movement (Marris, 2019).

156 2.3. From words to mindset reconstruction with *forma mentis* networks.

157 The mental lexicon is an idealised system that acquires, stores, processes and produces
158 language (Vitevitch, 2019). The mental lexicon represents the structure of conceptual
159 associations in language as used by each individual. As a purely cognitive system, the mental
160 structure of conceptual associations in the lexicon can be extracted and analysed from
161 communication materials under the assumption of the individual's authorship.

162 Communication materials like texts are an open view [of the mindset of the authors, which is a](#)
163 [proxy for the structure of language and its associations in the human mind. For instance,](#)
164 [Teixeira and colleagues \(2021\) reconstructed associations in suicide letters to assess how](#)

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171 suicide ideation altered perceptions of concepts like “life” and “love” in comparison to
172 healthy individuals.

173 *Forma mentis* networks are a representation of the emotional content of the mental lexicon
174 and the relations between the meanings involved (Stella, 2020). We use *forma mentis*
175 networks to show how an individual person conceptually and emotionally structure their
176 mindset about climate change. Mindset reconstruction with *forma mentis* networks exposes
177 the emotional backbone of language, and such exposure highlights the attitudes towards
178 “climate change” fuelling the climate divide (Figure 1, Text Box 1).

179 To build the *forma mentis* networks, syntactic networks are used as a proxy of the mental
180 lexicon. Relations between words come from syntactic and semantic dependencies in
181 speeches and written text. Syntactic dependencies specify features or meanings of words. For
182 instance, in “the pen is on the table”, the syntactic relationship “pen” – “table” specifies the
183 location of the word “pen”. In textual *forma mentis* networks (TFMNs), as implemented here
184 and in (Stella 2020), syntactic links between words are detected through artificial intelligence
185 (AI) rather than by human intervention. In this work, the AI performing syntactic parsing is a
186 multilayer perceptron, i.e. a neural network architecture where different layers of nodes
187 perform computations iteratively and can learn to predict specific output based on extensive
188 input. Chen and Manning (2014) trained a multilayer perceptron with 3 layers to identify
189 syntactic relationships in English on a dataset with 39,000 sentences. The AI achieved an
190 accuracy of 92% in correctly assessing whether two words were syntactically linked or not.
191 In a single sentence, once retrieved, syntactic links create a tree graph T, where words are
192 nodes and links indicate syntactic dependencies, e.g. in “the pen is on the table”, “on”
193 depends on “the” and they are thus linked. Considering directly these trees would be
194 problematic since grammatical rules for stopwords (i.e. prepositions and articles) would

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195 automatically make the latter largely connected nodes, e.g. “the” will appear more frequently
196 in sentences and thus get more connections. To address this issue, we build new syntactic
197 links between all pairs of non-stopwords on T if separated by at most K=4 syntactic
198 dependencies. This approach leads to networks of non-stopwords clustered by local syntactic
199 dependencies. To reduce language variability, we also lemmatize words with WordNet
200 (Miller 1995), e.g. “pens” and “pen” in the text are represented by a single “pen” node. We
201 enrich TFMNs semantically by considering semantic relationships indicating overlap in
202 meaning, i.e. synonyms as extracted from WordNet 3.0 (Miller 1995). Nodes/words in
203 TFMNs can thus be connected syntactically and semantically. Words are also attributed
204 psycholinguistic labels expressing valence/pleasantness. A single word can be identified as
205 “positive”, “negative” or “neutral” as indicated by human raters involved in a psychological
206 mega-study (cf. Stella 2020). Links are treated as undirected and unweighted. Only for
207 visualisation purposes, links between any two neutral words appearing more than once are
208 highlighted in thicker grey lines. Links involving one positive (negative) word are
209 highlighted in cyan (red). Links between one positive and one negative words are highlighted
210 in purple. Green links indicate synonyms.

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211 Notice that syntactic parsing is different from considering word co-occurrences. In the
212 example “climate change is a terrible, catastrophic, problematic, crucial issue”, the words
213 “change” and “issue” are evidently syntactically related but they are neither adjacent nor
214 close in the layout of the sentence. Syntactic parsing and our TFMNs would thus link these
215 words, unlike a word co-occurrence network of adjacent words (i.e. where links would be
216 between “climate” and “change”, “change” and “is”, “is” and “a”, etc.).

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217 TFMNs represent syntactic/semantic networks of words labelled on an affective level. These
218 networks encode the structure of associative knowledge, expressed through semantic and

221 syntactic word associations in one or more texts. Stella (2020) showed that in labelled data,
 222 this network construction successfully identifies keywords in tagged texts. Investigating the
 223 structure of TFMNs can thus be informative about ways of associating ideas and structuring
 224 emotional stances. Here we investigated TFMNs by focusing on network neighbourhoods,
 225 which are interpreted as semantic frames providing contextual information, i.e. the set of
 226 words that were syntactically/semantically associated to a target word to specify the meaning
 227 of the latter. In “the pen is on the table”, the neighbourhood of “pen” would be “table”,
 228 specifying the location of the “pen” itself. According to frame semantics in cognitive science
 229 (Fillmore & Baker, 2001), the meaning attributed to a target word in a text can be
 230 reconstructed by considering its syntactic, semantic and emotional associations. Focusing on
 231 direct associations, i.e. at distance one from a given target, network neighbourhoods encode
 232 contextual knowledge that indicates how the same concept (e.g. represented by the word
 233 “failure”) can be framed in different ways within various narratives (e.g. “failure is a
 234 disappointing experience” vs. “failure is a learning opportunity”). TFMNs automatise the
 235 identification of semantic frames in texts as network neighbourhoods or, in other words, as
 236 ego-centered networks of radius 1 (Newman 2003), surrounding a target word/idea.
 237 Reconstructing these neighbourhoods enables a quantitative understanding of how concepts
 238 were framed in texts. This approach has been used to texts of varying sizes, including to
 239 suicide notes of about 120 words (Teixeira et al., 2021), where “love” was found to be
 240 framed with considerably sadder jargon compared to reference associations to “love”
 241 provided by mentally healthy individuals.

242 Emotions populating a given semantic frame are computed through the NRC Emotion
 243 Lexicon (Mohammad & Turney, 2013), which is a large-scale lexicon mapping 14,000
 244 English words to 8 emotional states, like fear, anger, joy, anticipation, sadness, trust and
 245 surprise and disgust, which go far beyond simple positive/negative sentiment polarities.

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Deleted: (cf. Stella 2020). Network neighbourhoods contain all words syntactically and semantically related to a given target concept.

Deleted: these associations contain key insights about the meanings and emotions framing a given target concept in a specific way in text. In this way,

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Then, emotional relations are computed on the basis of

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270 Emotional profiling is performed through counting operations. In a given semantic
271 frame/~~neighbourhood~~, let L be the list of words eliciting at least one emotion according to the
272 NRC Emotion Lexicon. The emotional richness $r(e)$ is then defined as the number of words
273 in L , which elicit emotion e , normalised by the ~~neighbourhood~~ size. Emotional richness $r(e)$
274 thus defines the probability of finding one word eliciting a given emotion by sampling
275 uniformly at random one word in a specific semantic frame, surrounding a target
276 idea/concept.

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277 Notice that network construction and visualisation were both performed within Mathematica
278 11.3. Network construction adopted the commands TextStructure[] (syntactic parsing) and
279 WordData[] (lemmatization, deletion of articles and prepositions), see for reference:
280 [https://www.wolfram.com/language/11/text-and-language-processing/explore-the-structure-](https://www.wolfram.com/language/11/text-and-language-processing/explore-the-structure-of-texts.html?product=language)
281 [of-texts.html?product=language](https://www.wolfram.com/language/11/text-and-language-processing/explore-the-structure-of-texts.html?product=language) (Last Accessed: 19/07/2022). Network visualisation adopted
282 a hierarchical edge bundling clustering, placing nodes on a circular embedding while
283 grouping clusters of links together, (cf. Holten 2006).

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284 The words in the *forma mentis* networks also identify their key concepts in the analysed
285 speeches with the size of the words (see Figure 1), larger words were represented as
286 possessing a higher closeness centrality in the speeches (see Formula 1). Closeness centrality
287 is defined as the inverse average distance between a word and all its neighbours [in the full](#)
288 [network](#) (Metcalf & Casey, 2016). A previous study (Stella, 2020) showed that closeness
289 centrality is able to identify prominent concepts of short texts, i.e. the main [words](#) providing
290 grounding to a short narrative. This motivates our choice to use closeness centrality as an
291 estimator for concept prominence in texts. Eq. (1) is used for calculating the closeness
292 centrality (Metcalf & Casey, 2016) of each concept:

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298 (1)

299 Where:
$$C(v) = \sum_{w \in G} \frac{N-1}{d(v,w)}$$

300 C is the closeness centrality for each node in the graph G, in this case a network made of
301 words from speeches and written text, where links indicate syntactic (e.g. “pen” – “table” in
302 the sentence “the pen is on the table”) and synonym relationships (e.g. “nice” and “good”
303 overlap in meaning in the sentence “you are nice and good”).

304 G is the whole network, which includes words (nodes) and semantic and syntactic links as
305 extracted from all sentences in a speech/text.

306 v is the node in network G, which in our case is a word in a speech or written text; the
307 closeness centrality is computed for this v node.

308 w represents any other node in network G.

309 N is the number of nodes in network G.

310 d is the shortest path network distance, i.e. the smallest number of links between nodes
311 (words) v and w in the graph G.

312 3. Results.

313 As detailed in the Methodology above, mindset reconstruction exposes the emotional
314 backbone of language (Stella et al. 2018, Stella 2020). Such exposure importantly allows to
315 highlight the attitudes towards “climate change” that fuel the climate divide. In order to
316 profile how both sides of the divide perceive “climate change”, we illustrate their emotional
317 and semantic patterns in Figures 1-4 and Text Box 1, accompanied in Appendix A by Figures
318 A1-A12. Overall, here we show that speeches in climate activism rely mostly of trust and

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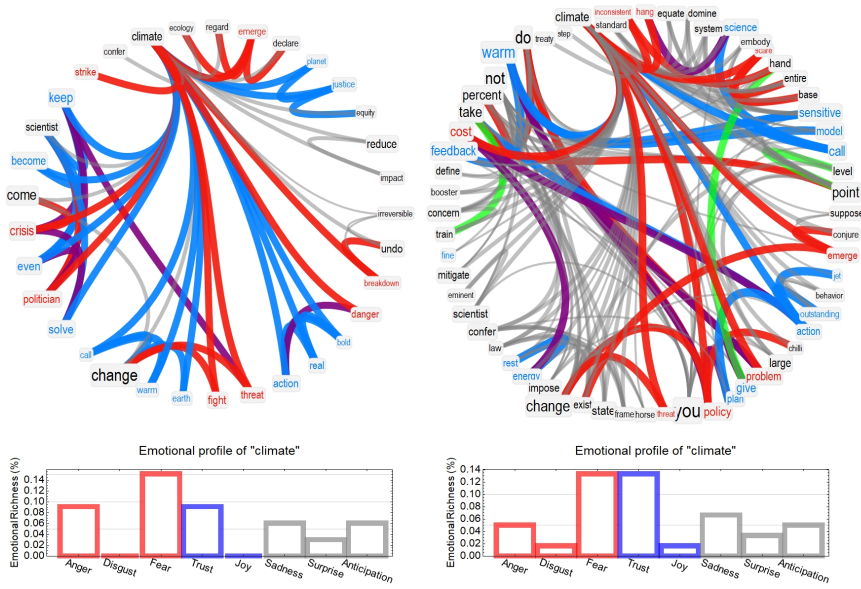
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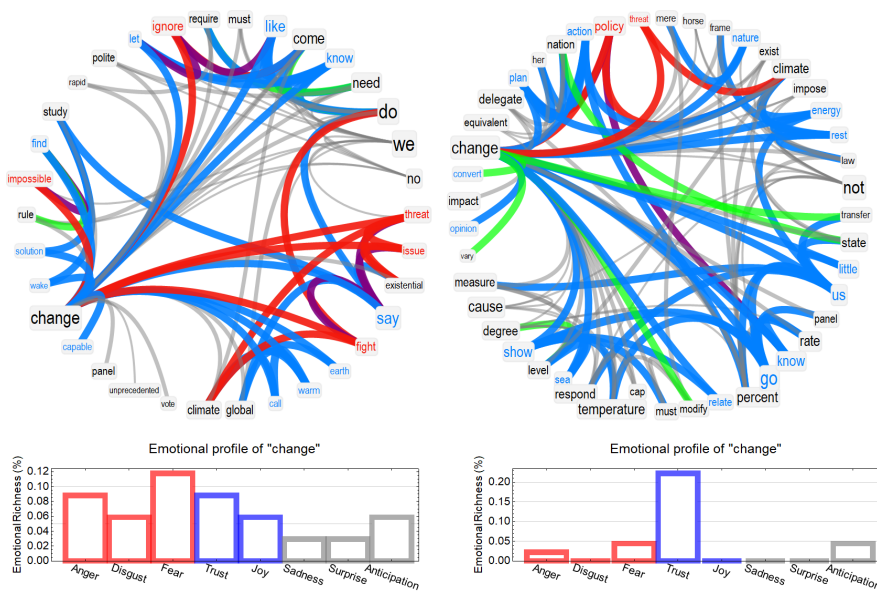
326 hope with links to anger, while climate [disinformation](#) shows clear patterns of hypercritical
 327 misinformation masked under trust-inspiring content.

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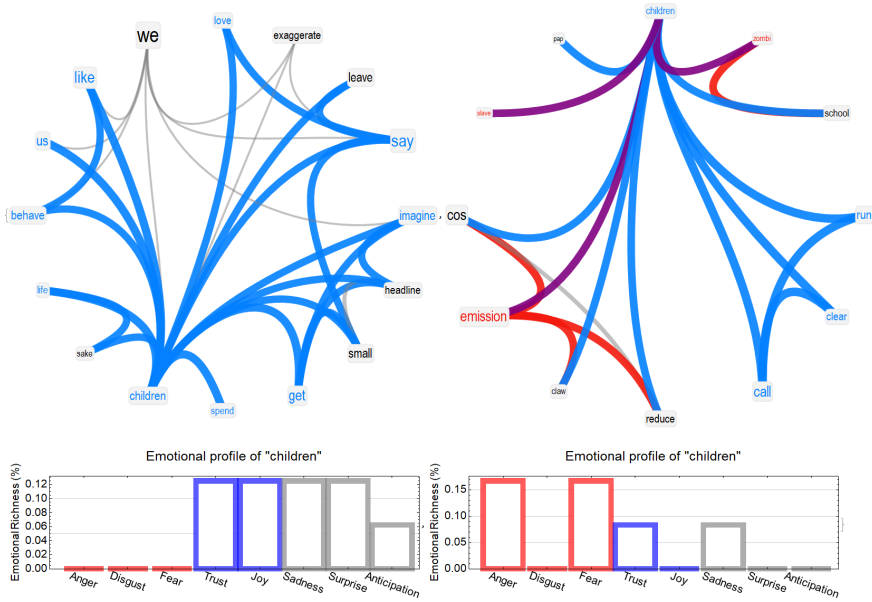


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332

333 **Figure 1.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "climate" (top) and "change" (bottom) in
 334 the speeches of Greta Thunberg (left) and Christopher Monckton (right). Links indicate
 335 syntactic and semantic relationships between words in speeches. Links are coloured if linking
 336 at least a positive/negative/neutral/synonyms (blue/red/grey/green) word. Blue/red/black
 337 (positive/negative/neutral) coloured words indicate how they are perceived in language
 338 according to the NRC Emotion Lexicon (see Methods). Font size expresses the relative
 339 importance of the words reflecting their centrality in the speeches. Emotions are self-
 340 explanatory except for anticipation, which is a projection into future expectations (cf. Stella
 341 2020). We refer the reader to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

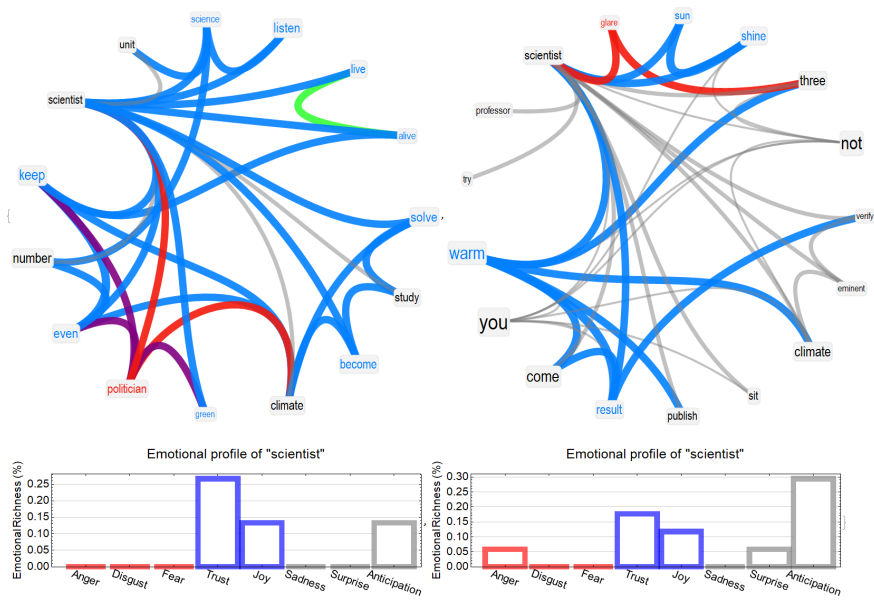


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343 **Figure 2.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "Children" in the speeches of Greta
 344 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 345 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

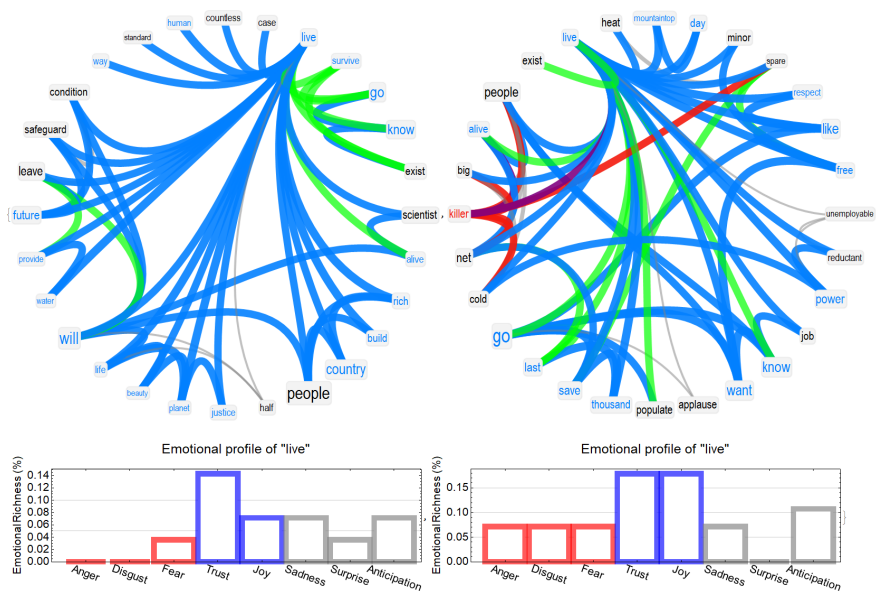
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349 **Figure 3.** Speakers’ mindset reconstruction around “Scientist” in the speeches of Greta
 350 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 351 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.



352
 353 **Figure 4.** Speakers’ mindset reconstruction around “live” in the speeches of Greta Thunberg
 354 (left) and Christopher Monckton (right). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a detailed
 355 explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

356
 357 **Text Box 1:** A lexicon of the climate divide, with the associated emotions in both sides.

358 **Action:** for climate activism it means hope for a better future, much wanted and needed,
 359 propositional toward the elicitation of a revolution-like call to action, while for climate
 360 [disinformation](#) it is just a sad bureaucratic cost, still something positive but that does not lead
 361 to any practical safeguarding initiative (Figures A5 and A10, see Appendix A).

362 **Believe:** climate [disinformation](#) angrily believes, there is scarce contradictory evidence, while
 363 climate activism’s beliefs are strongly propositional about setting goals to avoid the danger of
 364 inaction (Figure A6, see Appendix A).

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368 **Change:** for climate [disinformation](#) there is a pattern characterized by trust, low anticipation
369 without risk awareness, overall a perception of “change” that is reassuring, there is no sense of
370 threat, no problem at all, except for some fear about policy changes. For climate activism
371 change is linked to high levels of negative emotions like anger, disgust and fear, related to a
372 perception of existential threats (Figure 1).

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373 **Children:** an angering concern for climate [disinformation](#), Climate activism perceived children
374 with trust and joy, but sadness for their anticipated future (Figure 2).

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375 **Climate:** a fearsome threat, linked to inconsistent science for climate [disinformation](#), or to scary
376 tipping points for climate activism (Figure 1).

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377 **Future:** relatively absent in climate [disinformation](#), it inspires trust linked to future awareness
378 in climate activism (Figure A8, see Appendix A).

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379 **Ignore:** a large and central concept for climate activism, counterfactually associated to trust
380 that people will come to let change happen. Ignore is only peripheral for climate [disinformation](#)
381 and linked to trust on the potential profits of global warming (Figure A7, see Appendix A).

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382 **Leader:** someone to trust and follow in climate [disinformation](#), but who triggers anger linked
383 to “politicians” and “emissions” in climate activism, and still inspires trust (Figure A9, see
384 Appendix A).

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385 **Live:** climate activism uses this term carefully, associating “live” to trust to conditions of
386 human survival and planetary justice, while climate [disinformation](#) does not display a coherent
387 pattern (Figure 4).

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388 **Number:** climate activism stays positive and lacks objections to numbers coming from current
389 science, while climate [disinformation](#) displays an opposite pattern of strong anxiety projecting

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401 into the future a sense of exaggerated imbalance in the issues at hand (Figure A11, see
402 Appendix A).

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403 *Science*: inspiring mostly negative emotions of anger, disgust and fear in climate
404 disinformation, it is a matter of trust associated to listening and numbers for climate activists
405 (Figure A1, see Appendix A).

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406 *Scientist*: isolated prophets that provide facts for narratives of climate disinformation around
407 changes in solar radiation and that are a source of anticipation. Instead, for climate activism
408 they are people that politicians need to listen to, experts that solve problems (Figure 3).

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410 In their promoted mindsets, climate disinformation resorts to a wide variety of trust-related
411 semantic associates reducing scientists to isolated prophets that provide alternative facts,
412 which they relate to disinformation attempts to convince the public with alternative scientific
413 evidence on global warming. Despite presenting alternative facts, negative emotional
414 associations with “climate” such as “hysteria” and “catastrophe” are only present on climate
415 disinformation, while climate activism gives more relevance to “breakdown”, “danger” and
416 “threat” (Figure A3, see Appendix A).

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417 Anticipation, a projection into the future of both anxiety and excitement, is a stronger
418 emotion for climate activism around concepts of “leadership”, “listen” (Figure A2, see
419 Appendix A), “children” and “threat”. Climate disinformation concentrates anticipation
420 toward “studies” and “numbers”, due to the anxiety that scientific facts create to the climate
421 disinformation community. The emotion of surprise is linked to “children” and “future”
422 (Figure A8, see Appendix A) for climate activism, while climate disinformation associates it
423 to the “numbers” behind climate science. Sadness is very strong in the climate activism arena

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439 for concepts like “children”, “action”, or “believe”, and appears also linked to “future”,
440 “climate”, “leader”, and “live”.

441 Climate [disinformation](#) displays high levels of sadness only around the term “believe”. Joy is
442 counterfactually high for terms like “children” and “action” in climate activism, which can be
443 explained by the emotions of hope and sense of belonging to a growing group (Lerner, 2015).

444 Trust, an emotion strongly used by outstanding visionary leaders (Mumford, 2006), is
445 consistently high for climate activists, with very high values associated to its science-based
446 grounds. Instead, climate [disinformation](#) projects trust toward future-centered terms like
447 “change”, “live”, and “study” (Figure A12, see Appendix A), linked to reports with
448 alternative facts from their own dissemination activities.

449 Fear is higher for terms like “climate change”, “threat”, “issue” (Figure A4, see Appendix A),
450 and “believe” in climate activism, while for climate [disinformation](#) fear appears very intense
451 against “children”. Anger again is linked to “children”, and also “believe”, in climate
452 [disinformation](#), while for climate activism anger is associated to “climate change” and
453 “leader”. Last but not least, disgust appears linked to how much both sides “ignore” each
454 other.

455 Figure 1 (top left) illustrates that climate activism perceived “climate” as overwhelmed by the
456 threat of climate breakdown, whereas climate [disinformation](#) associated “climate” with
457 neutral concepts expressing ‘inconsistent science’ (top right). Such dichotomy reverberates in
458 the mental construct of “change”, a neutral concept by itself in common language. In climate
459 activism, “change” was associated to concepts strongly eliciting anger and fear but also trust,
460 an emotion identifying outstanding visionary leaders (Mumford, 2006). Climate activism
461 gave relevance to “breakdown”, “danger” and “threat”, concepts characterising charismatic
462 value-based mindsets (Mumford, 2006) and revolutionary speeches (Jasper 2011; Kramer et

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470 al. 2014). Stunningly, in climate [disinformation](#), such threatened perception was completely
471 absent (Fig. 1, bottom left) and left space to a wide variety of trust-evoking associates about
472 attempts to convince the public with alternative facts on global warming.

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473 Climate activism combines anger (towards inaction), fear (of an approaching threat) and trust
474 (in solving this crisis), and perceives “climate change” as an indispensable “call-to-action”
475 fight. This “call-to-action” is urgently motivated by a combination of emotions: anger against
476 political leaders, fear for the dangers of inaction and against existential climate threats,
477 disgust about a stolen future, and an overall ambition to act over climate change. This “call-
478 to-action” makes climate activism’s mindset entwined [with](#) revolutionary emotions. In fact,
479 emotions like anger, hope and despair are well known to accelerate the social tipping
480 dynamics of large-scale social protests and revolutions (Jasper, 2011).

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481 Furthermore, it is known that outstanding future-focused leaders, often promoters of such
482 revolutions, rely on emotional styles revolving around trust, joy and anticipation (Mumford,
483 2006), so that detecting these emotions in a future-oriented topic like climate change can
484 provide insights on how charismatic #FridaysForFuture can be. Cognitive and semantic
485 contagion require conscious information processing, e.g. interpretation and acceptance,
486 whereas emotional contagion can lead to a faster transfer of moods among people, involving
487 both implicit and explicit mechanisms ([Kramer et al., 2014](#)). Positive emotions like trust and
488 joy have been reported to cause a “ripple effect”, i.e., a “pandemic” or “tsunami” of massive
489 contagion of positive sentiment driving the social behaviour of the whole collective in
490 synchrony (Barsade, 2002). In other words, the emotions and perceptions linked to climate
491 activism have been described as rippling better through society, and thus reaching larger
492 social audiences (Jasper, 2011; Mumford, 2006), in comparison to the emotional profile
493 adopted by climate [disinformation](#).

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497 In fact, conceptual associations and emotions indicate that climate [disinformation](#) promotes
498 hypercritical [scepticism](#), hiding under a generally trustful promotion of change and including:
499 (i) discussing numbers in terms of imbalanced exaggerations, (ii) referring to scientists in a
500 stereotypical way, i.e. isolated individuals that attempt to provide abstract, theoretical
501 evidence to climate [disinformation](#), (iii) displaying negative emotions against children, and
502 (iv) showing fear against public policy interventions. [These hypercritical attitudes clash with](#)
503 [the communication style of the #FridaysForFuture movement, which Marris \(2019\)](#)
504 [describes as projecting greater moral integrity due to a lack of immediate vested interests.](#)

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505 As reported in the semantic-emotional analysis around other concepts (see the lexicon
506 reconstructed in Text Box 1), climate [disinformation](#) displays high levels of sadness only
507 around the term “believe”. Joy is counterfactually high for terms like “children” and “action”
508 (Figure A5, see Appendix A) in climate activism, which can be explained by the emotions of
509 hope and sense of belonging to a growing group (Lerner, 2015).

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510 These hypercritical attitudes disrupt public awareness on the climate emergency and
511 compromise public consensus to stabilize Earth’s climate (Bloodhart, 2019). They prevent
512 policy-makers from acting over the risks posed by climate change (Hoffman, 2011; Watts et
513 al. 2020). Thus, they obstruct the Paris Agreement and the formation of foreseen social
514 tipping dynamics towards decarbonization (Otto et al. 2020).

515 4. Discussion and Conclusion.

516 We have shown that applying network science to textual content and analysing the emerging
517 mindset can support research about infodemics, i.e. the quick and pervasive spread of
518 falsehoods. We have identified [disinformation](#) emotional patterns, such as hypercritical
519 scepticism masked under a trustful promotion of change. The reconstructed mindsets and the
520 emotional patterns identified provide new pointers on climate [disinformation](#).

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529 Climate [disinformation](#) sustains a chain reaction triggering a major divide at the global scale,
530 which threatens sustainability, human health and ultimately the global economy (Hoffman,
531 2011). Infodemics strongly depend on their emotional and perceptual content, much like
532 viruses spreading across populations according to their genetic information. Recent studies
533 highlighted how contagions of distorted perceptions and misinformation greatly influence
534 human responses to the climate threat (Bloodhart, 2019).

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535 Emotions and their contagion, much like a pathogen spreading over societies (Kramer et al.
536 2014), have been instrumental in large-scale societal changes like revolutions from Maoist
537 China to Nicaragua and Czechoslovakia (Jasper, 2011), and are instrumental in the process of
538 emergence of charismatic social and political leaders (Mumford, 2006). Nevertheless, the
539 parallelism in the emotional patterns of a revolution could be just anecdotal. As a matter of
540 fact, the call to action by #FridaysForFuture is limited to policy-making. And objectively, the
541 movement often finds a “glass ceiling” about how they could trigger change beyond their
542 demonstrations and judicial actions (Neubauer, 2019).

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543 Tracing this emotional parallelism with massive social movements is important because
544 recent calls to civil disobedience by leading climate diplomats (Figueres and Rivett-Carnac,
545 2020) could create game-changing developments if related to large-scale emotional
546 contagions, but could be hindered by [disinformation](#). These interactions between propelling
547 and hindering factors points us towards future work on the opinion dynamics of the climate
548 divide, within and between sides.

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549 [Despite the amount of meaning found in the results, and the showcased pointers to identify](#)
550 [misinformation via emotions, a more detailed analysis focussing on a larger set of relevant](#)
551 [leaders by world region — including more subjects from a diversity of geographies — would](#)
552 [improve the depth of the insights and their potential for representativeness.](#)

557 [Given also recent converging evidence of positive emotions fostering engagement with](#)
558 [policies tackling climate change \(Schneider et al. 2021\), the methods outlined in here might](#)
559 [have significant impact over detecting positive affect and emotions in next-generation](#)
560 [communication efforts rallying actions about the climate emergency. Nevertheless, the](#)
561 [availability of emotional dictionaries is often limited to the English language, which sets a](#)
562 [barrier when working on other languages.](#)

563 We conclude that mindset reconstruction could be an important tool to deal with
564 [disinformation](#) communication materials facilitating the climate divide. Mindset
565 reconstruction of textual content provides a scientific basis for detecting climate-related
566 hypercritical attitudes and fuelling discourses. Hence, mindset reconstruction could help to
567 design strategies narrowing the climate divide by countering infodemics in climate-related
568 communication. The innovative techniques we have shown — at the fringe of AI and
569 cognitive science — could support climate policy, [in multiple ways, like: \(i\) flagging online](#)
570 [communication materials containing conceptual associations distorted by, disinformation](#)
571 [content \(Hills 2019\), \(ii\) highlighting key sources of emotions commonly adopted by](#)
572 [supporters of the climate divide, complementing recent human coding approaches to emotion](#)
573 [detection in climate change debate \(Hahnel et al. 2020\), and \(iii\) measuring levels of trust in](#)
574 [the specific semantic frames surrounding large institutions and expressed in massive social](#)
575 [media debates about climate change \(Marris 2019\).](#) Further work includes the automated
576 training of cognitive tools for in-vivo flagging [of online disinformation content](#) in several
577 languages, and the study of their influence on the opinion dynamics of pro-active climate
578 debates.

579
580 **Acknowledgments:**

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591 [editor Prof. Dr. Hermann Held, reviewer Mary Sanford, and an anonymous reviewer.](#)

592 **Author contributions:**

593 R.C. and M.S. envisioned the study. M.S. and R.C. collected the data and analysed it. R.C.
594 and M.S. drafted the manuscript.

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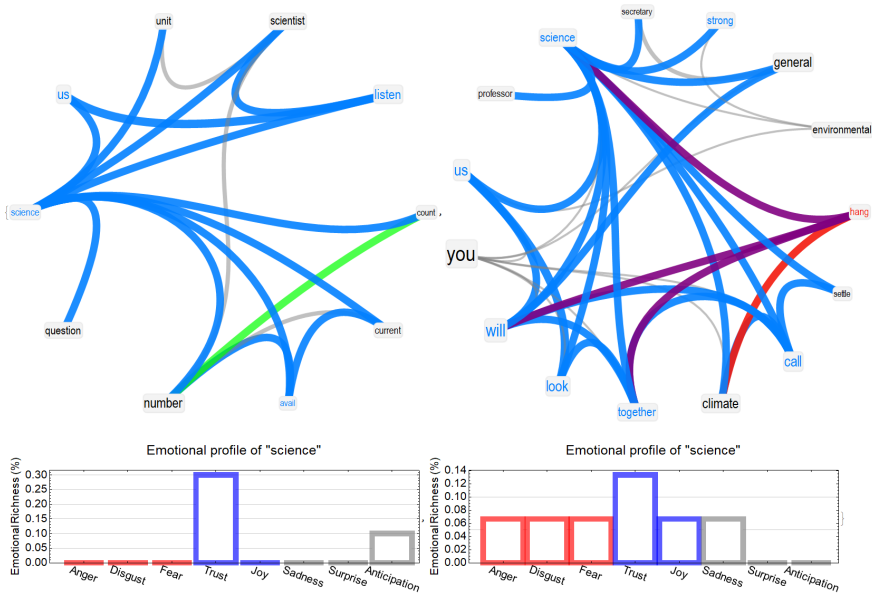
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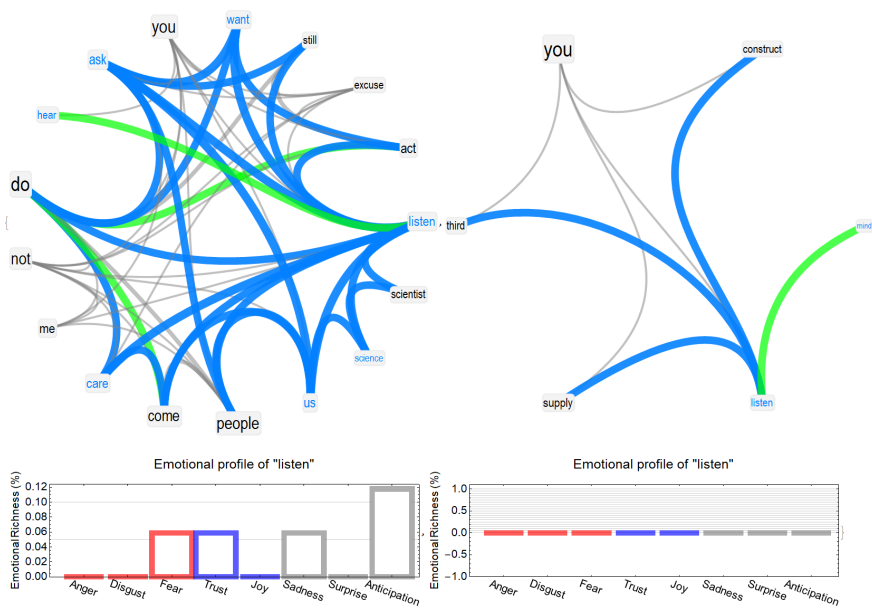
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677

678 **Appendix A.**

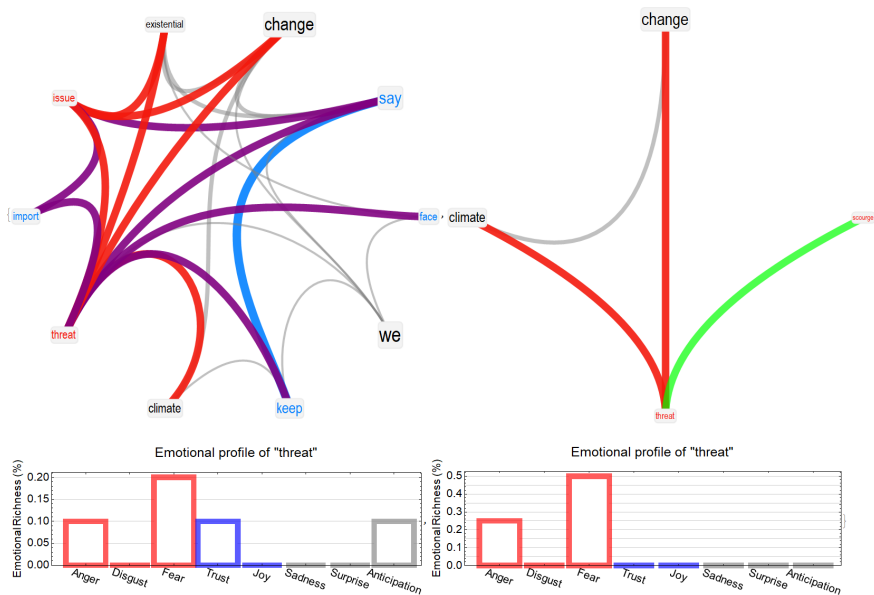


679
 680 **Figure A1.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "Science" in the speeches of Greta
 681 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 682 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.



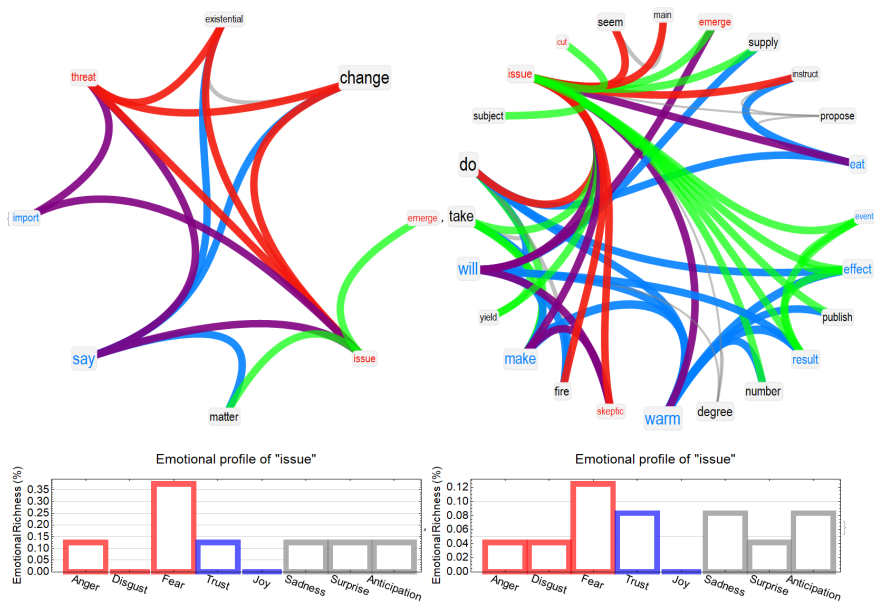
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684 **Figure A2.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "listen" in the speeches of Greta
 685 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 686 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.



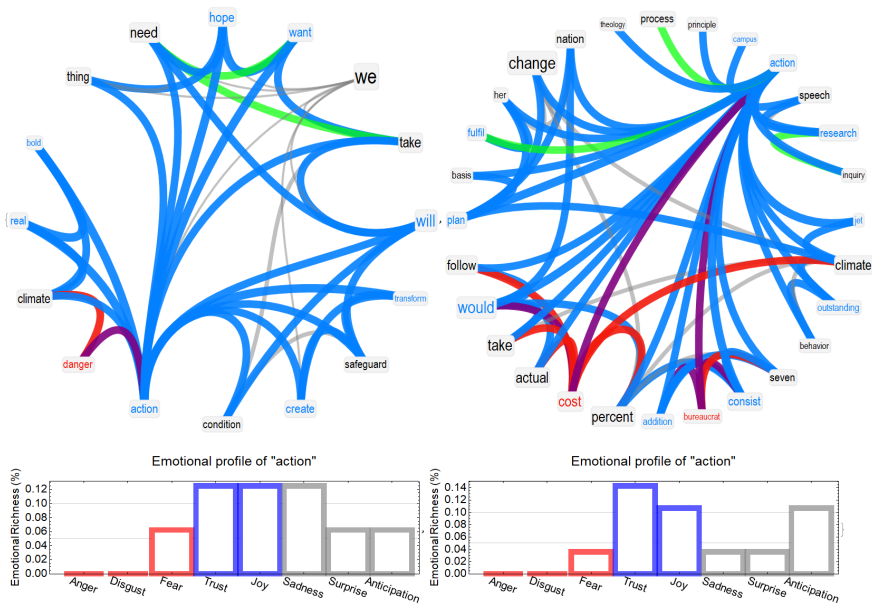
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688 **Figure A3.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "threat" in the speeches of Greta
 689 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 690 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.



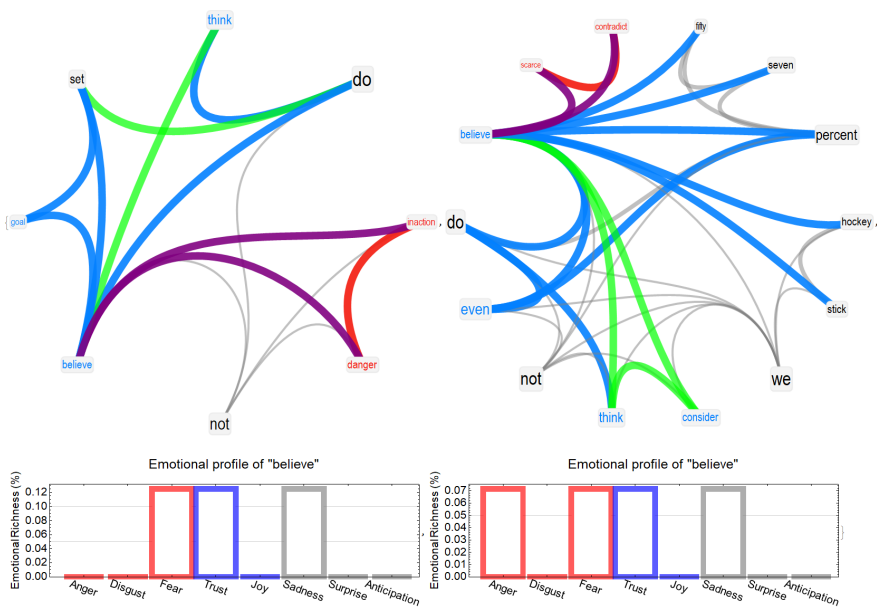
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692 **Figure A4.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "issue" in the speeches of Greta Thunberg
 693 (left) and Christopher Monckton (right). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a detailed
 694 explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

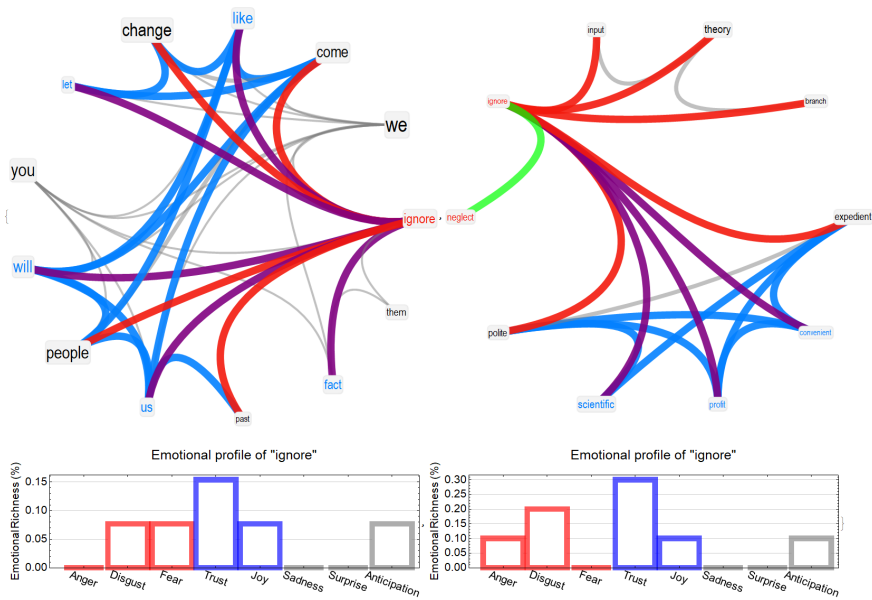


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696 **Figure A5.** Speakers’ mindset reconstruction around “action” in the speeches of Greta
 697 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 698 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.



699
 700 **Figure A6.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "believe" in the speeches of Greta
 701 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 702 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

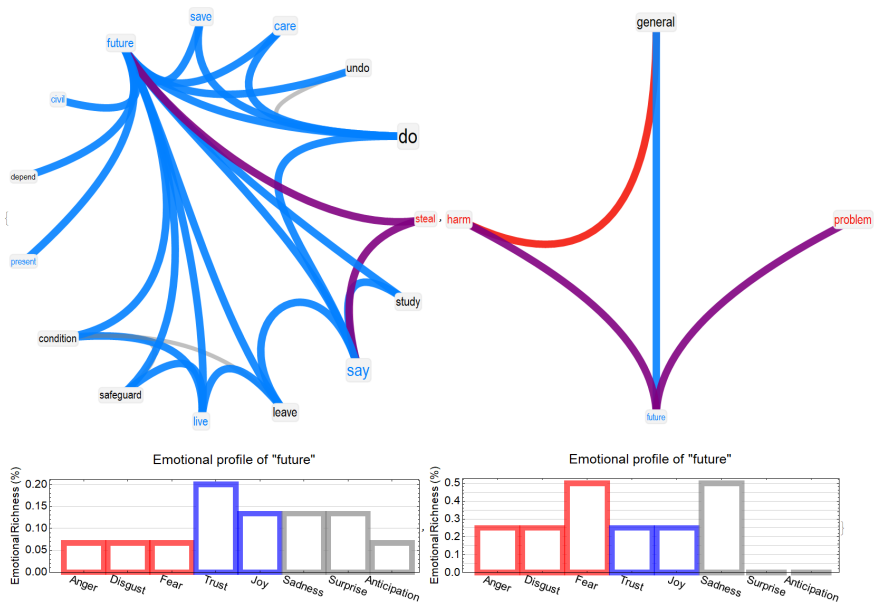


703

704 **Figure A7.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "ignore" in the speeches of Greta
 705 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 706 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

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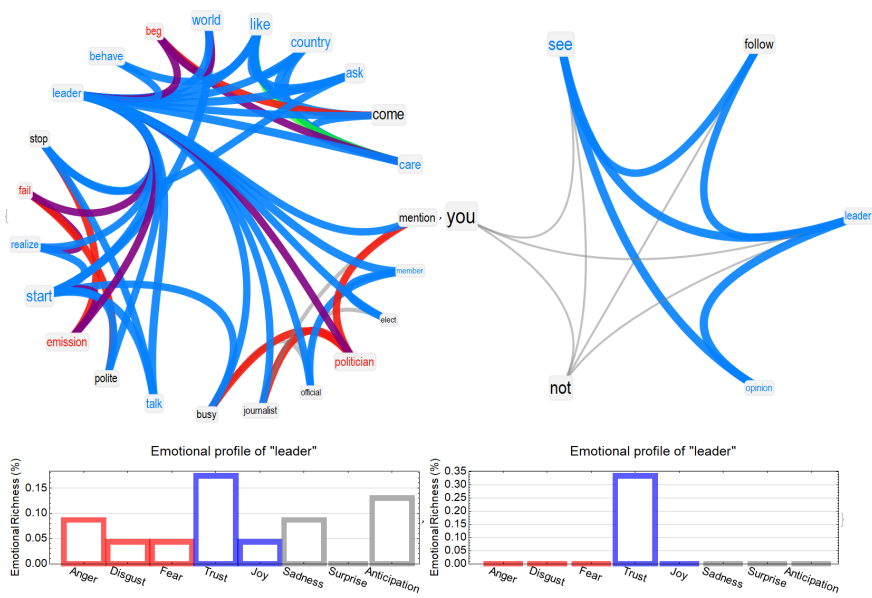
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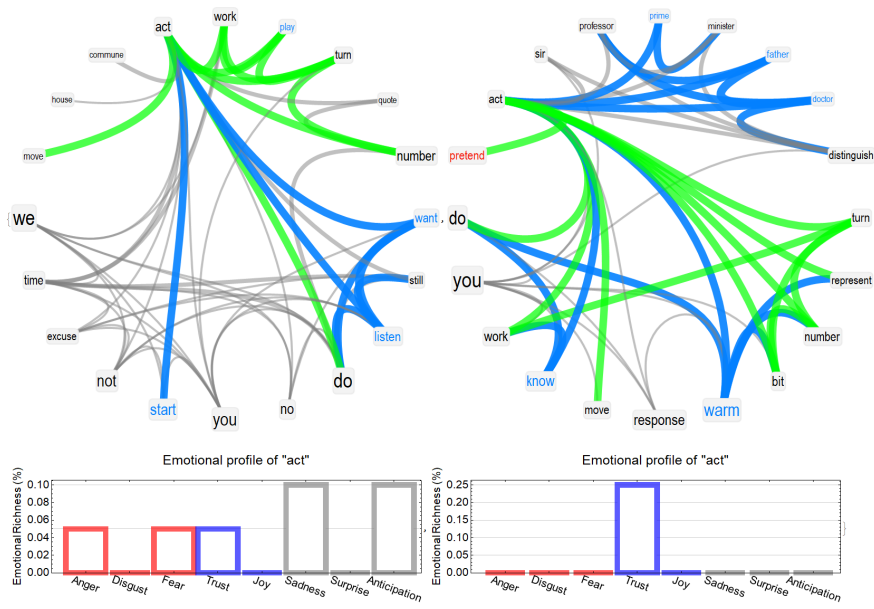
710 **Figure A8.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "future" in the speeches of Greta
 711 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 712 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

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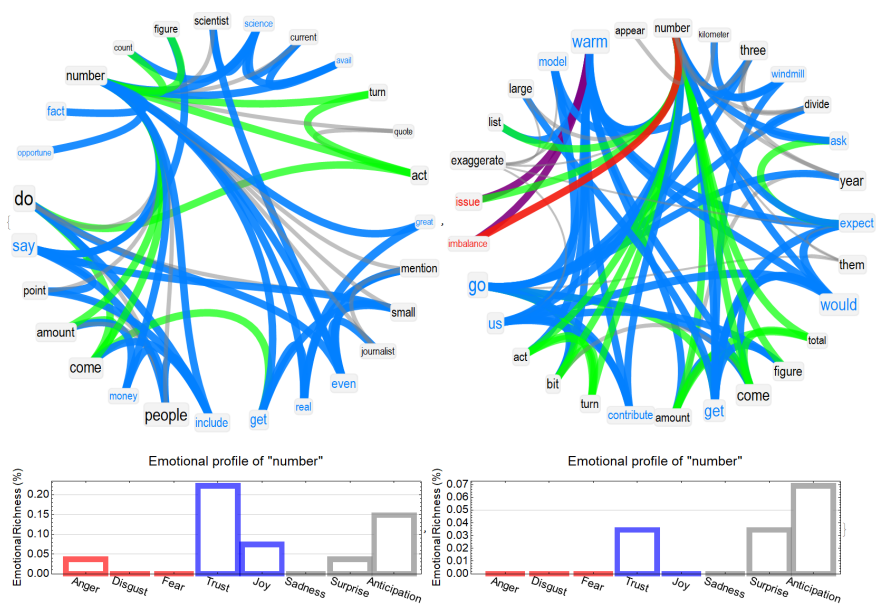
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715 **Figure A9.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "leader" in the speeches of Greta
 716 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 717 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.



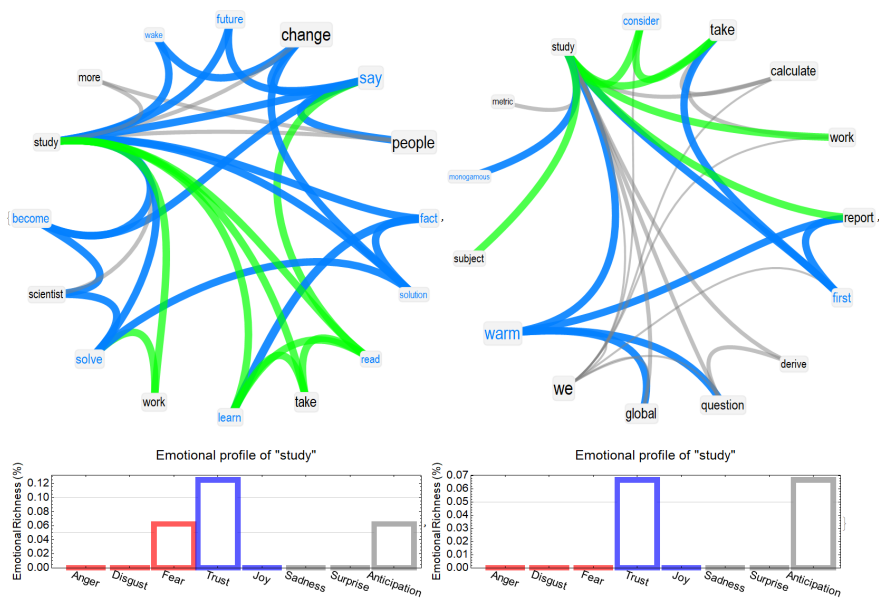
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719 **Figure A10.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "act" in the speeches of Greta Thunberg
 720 (left) and Christopher Monckton (right). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a detailed
 721 explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.



722

723 **Figure A11.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "number" in the speeches of Greta
 724 Thunberg (left) and Christopher Monckton (right). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 725 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.



726

727 **Figure A12.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "study" in the speeches of Greta
 728 Thunberg (left) and Christopher Monckton (right). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a
 729 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

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