



26 “change” is linked to high levels of negative emotions like anger, disgust and fear, related to  
27 a perception of existential threats. Furthermore, the word “children” represents an angering  
28 concern in climate disinformation, while climate change activism perceives “children” with  
29 trust and joy, but sadness for their anticipated future. Mindset reconstruction has the potential  
30 to become a relevant tool to identify and flag communication materials linked to  
31 disinformation, that amplify the climate divide and facilitate infodemics.

32 **Keywords:**

33 Fridays for future, social movements, infodemics, climate emergency, revolution.

34 **Main text:**

35 **1. Introduction.**

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

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

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

52 These actors and think tanks have been polarizing the worldwide public opinion for decades,  
53 amplifying the climate divide (Hoffman, 2011, Horton 2020). On one side of the climate  
54 divide, climate change disinformation actively impedes “social consensus” about climate  
55 change. Climate change disinformation actors (hereafter *climate disinformation*) disseminate  
56 misleading information and downplay scientific evidence with the support of politically  
57 entrenched think tanks (Demelle, 2016; Desmog, 2021; Horton, 2020).

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

66 Social movements like *#FridaysForFuture* have been pointed out as instrumental for crossing  
67 a tipping point toward major changes of social norms and values that could contribute to  
68 stabilize Earth’s climate (Otto et al., 2020). Information flows and the feedbacks they might  
69 activate are amongst the most important interventions to stabilize Earth’s climate (Otto et al.,  
70 2020). The fear of information flows and their related feedbacks activating social tipping  
71 dynamics towards decarbonization by certain think tanks provide a possible explanation for  
72 their interest on a climate emergency infodemic and polarization agenda.

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

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

85 In this article, we aim to explore the emotional dimension of climate communication linked  
86 to the climate divide. Departing from this aim, we have specified the following objectives:  
87 First, to explore how the mindset of key representatives of *#FridaysForFuture* and of  
88 climate-denying think tanks differ when communicating about climate. Second, to unveil  
89 emotionally distorted content linked to polarisation in key climate disinformation  
90 communication events. And third, to provide a scientific basis for unveiling disinformation  
91 content driving a climate emergency infodemic.

## 92 **2. Methods.**

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

97 we collected communication materials related to climate change and analysed the mindset of  
98 selected actors who have been able to reach global audiences. The methodology is divided in  
99 three consecutive steps: (i) identification of global key influencing figures of the climate  
100 divide, (ii) data collection, (iii) application of network science methods for mindset  
101 reconstruction and visual representation of the results. The proposed methodology contributes  
102 to formalise data-driven approaches in the human dimension of global change, in particular  
103 about social and opinion dynamics of the climate divide.

#### 104 **2.1. Identification of key figures.**

105 The identification of key figures is based on criteria of leadership and of a history of  
106 contribution to global events in the respective networks of *#FridaysForFuture* and of climate  
107 denying think tanks. This has been a difficult task, because while there are prominent figures  
108 in both sides of the climate divide, very few have a truly remarkable history of contribution to  
109 international events. Demelle (2016) and Desmog (2021) have been instrumental sources to  
110 evaluate climate deniers.

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

116 Christopher Monckton was ranked a top ten climate denier by Demelle (2016), and Desmog  
117 (2021) mentions him in the context of multiple climate-related events and actions spanning  
118 across world regions for more than a decade.

#### 119 **2.2. Data collection.**

120 Data originates from key public speeches directly or incidentally linked to international  
121 bodies, national institutions, and diplomacy hubs. For example, a COP of the UNFCCC, the  
122 UN, the World Economic Forum at Davos, the UK parliament, or climate disinformation  
123 conferences.

124 The selected key public speeches reached broad audiences beyond the auditorium and have  
125 been disseminated by multiple media channels, including television, newspapers, and video-  
126 sharing platforms like Youtube (Youtube, 2019). In particular, we selected 11 public  
127 speeches by Greta Thunberg from 2018 to 2020, and three much larger speeches in 2019 by  
128 Christopher Monckton in events organised in Madrid in parallel to UNFCCC's COP 25, and  
129 in a climate disinformation conference in Washington. Thunberg's speeches included a total  
130 of 600 sentences and 9168 words, whereas Monckton's speeches included a total of 568  
131 sentence and 15178 words. The word counts in here consider also repetitions and not include  
132 lemmatization, which is rather performed within the construction of *forma mentis* networks.

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

### 135 **2.3. From words to mindset reconstruction with *forma mentis* networks.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

224 Notice that network construction and visualisation were both performed within Mathematica  
225 11.3. Network construction adopted the commands `TextStructure[]` (syntactic parsing) and  
226 `WordData[]` (lemmatization, deletion of articles and prepositions), see for reference:  
227 [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)  
228 [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  
229 a hierarchical edge bundling clustering, placing nodes on a circular embedding while  
230 grouping clusters of links together, (cf. Holten 2006).

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

240 (1)

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

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

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

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

250  $w$  represents any other node in network G.

251 N is the number of nodes in network G.

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

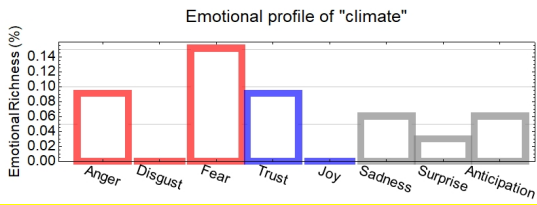
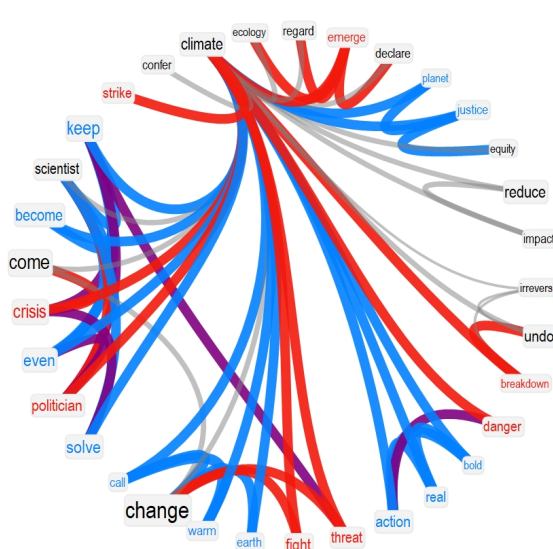
### 254 3. Results.

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

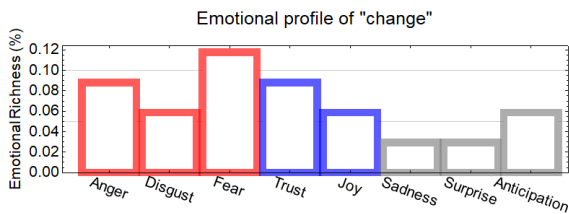
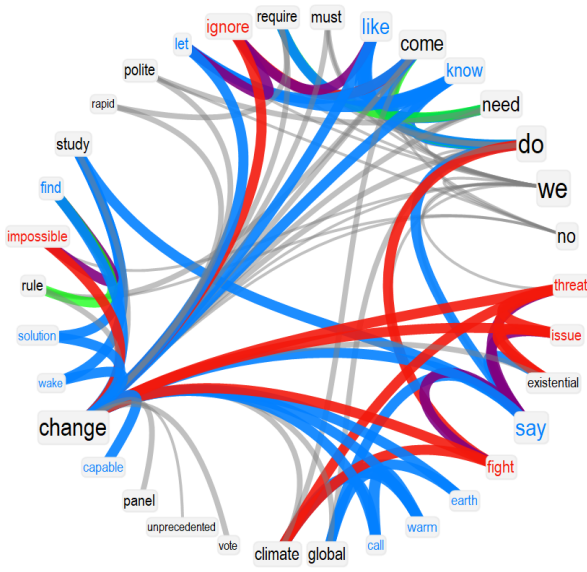
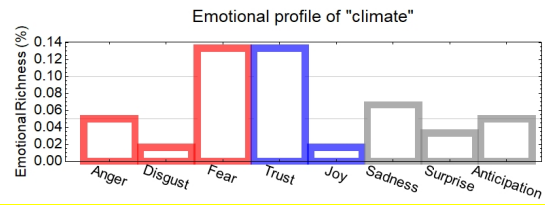
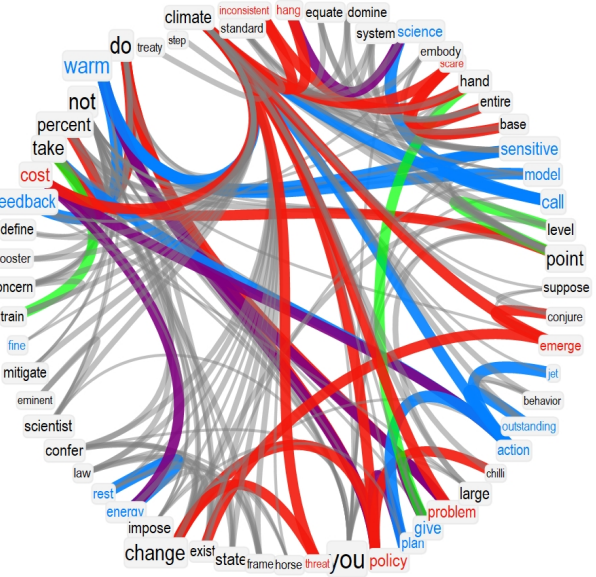
261 hope with links to anger, while climate disinformation shows clear patterns of hypercritical  
262 misinformation masked under trust-inspiring content.

263

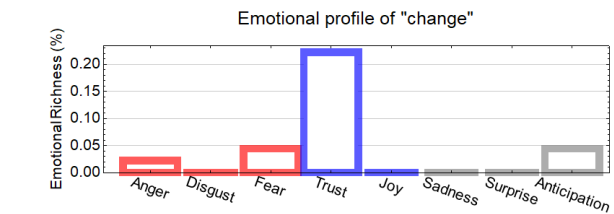
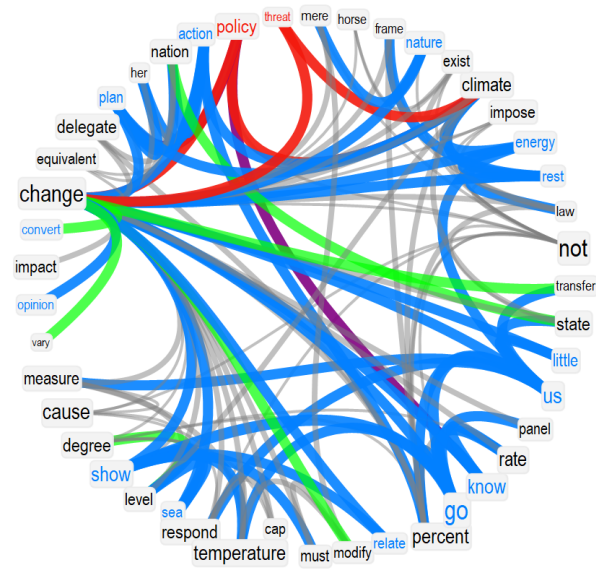
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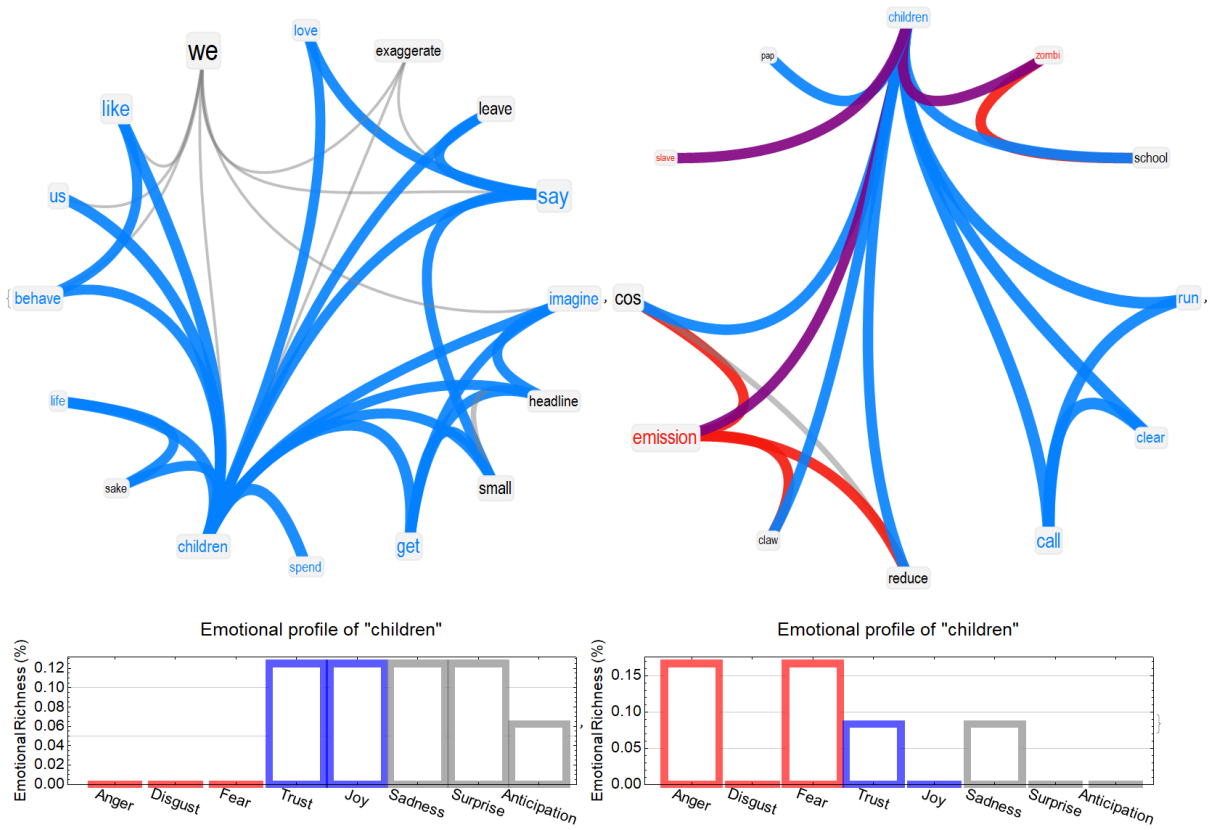
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267 **Figure 1.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "climate" (top) and "change" (bottom) in  
 268 the speeches of Greta Thunberg (left) and Christopher Monckton (right). Links indicate

269 syntactic and semantic relationships between words in speeches. Links are coloured if linking  
270 at least a positive/negative/neutral/synonyms (blue/red/grey/green) word. Blue/red/black  
271 (positive/negative/neutral) coloured words indicate how they are perceived in language  
272 according to the NRC Emotion Lexicon (see Methods). Font size expresses the relative  
273 importance of the words reflecting their centrality in the speeches. Emotions are self-  
274 explanatory except for anticipation, which is a projection into future expectations (cf. Stella  
275 2020). We refer the reader to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

276

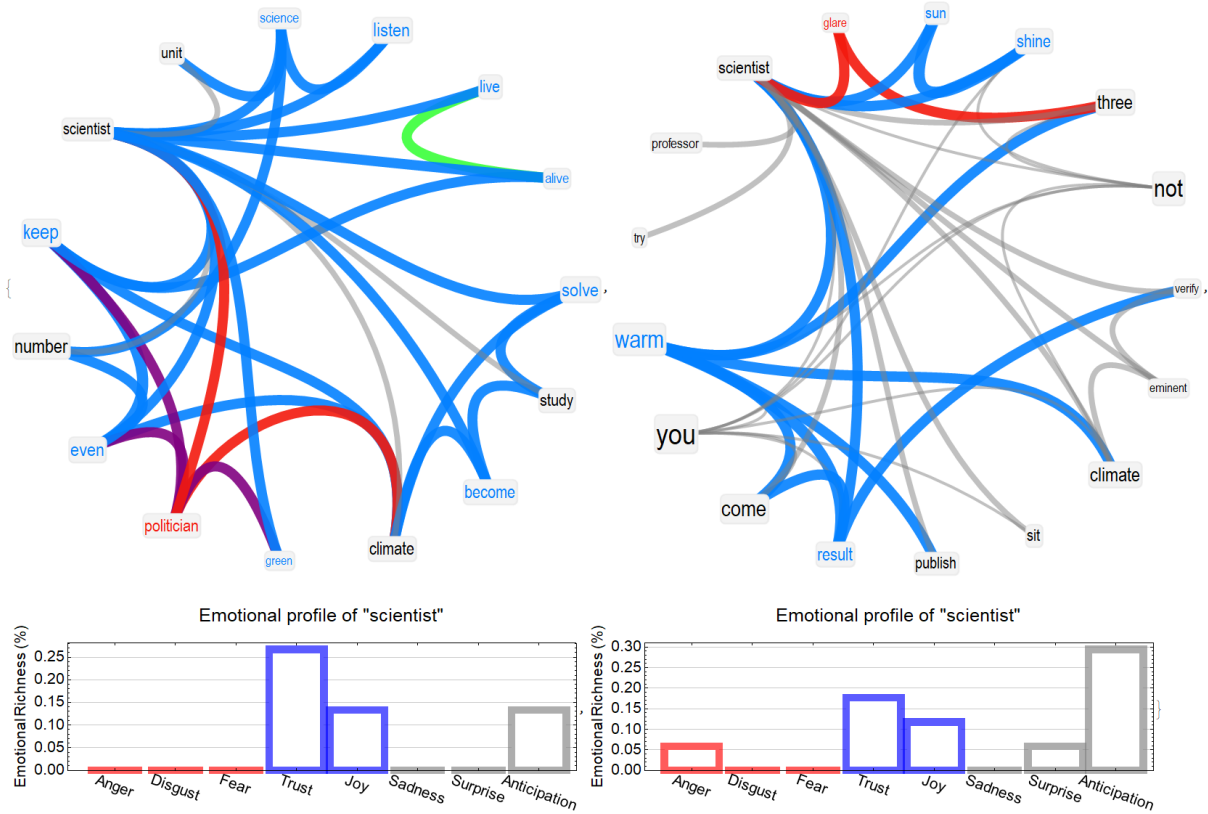


278

279 **Figure 2.** Speakers’ mindset reconstruction around “Children” in the speeches of Greta  
 280 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a  
 281 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

282

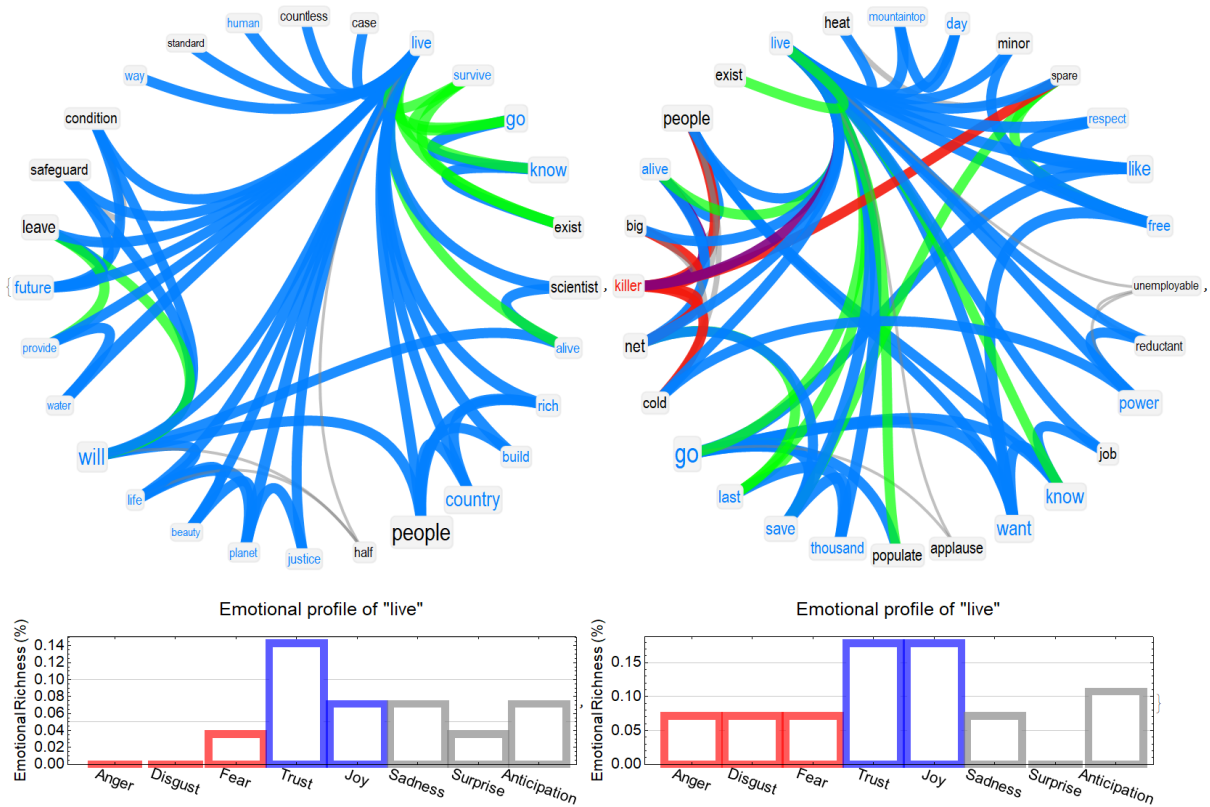
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284

285 **Figure 3.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "Scientist" in the speeches of Greta  
 286 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a  
 287 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.





288

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

292

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

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

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

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

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

308 **Climate:** a fearsome threat, linked to inconsistent science for climate disinformation or to scary  
309 tipping points for climate activism (Figure 1).

310 **Future:** relatively absent in climate disinformation , it inspires trust linked to future awareness  
311 in climate activism (Figure A8, see Appendix A).

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

315 **Leader:** someone to trust and follow in climate disinformation, but who triggers anger linked  
316 to “politicians” and “emissions” in climate activism, and still inspires trust (Figure A9, see  
317 Appendix A).

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

321 **Number:** climate activism stays positive and lacks objections to numbers coming from current  
322 science, while climate disinformation displays an opposite pattern of strong anxiety projecting

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

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

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

331

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

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

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

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

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

356 Fear is higher for terms like “climate change”, “threat”, “issue” (Figure A4, see Appendix A),  
357 and “believe” in climate activism, while for climate disinformation fear appears very intense  
358 against “children”. Anger again is linked to “children”, and also “believe”, in climate  
359 disinformation, while for climate activism anger is associated to “climate change” and  
360 “leader”. Last but not least, disgust appears linked to how much both sides “ignore” each  
361 other.

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

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

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

381 Furthermore, it is known that outstanding future-focused leaders, often promoters of such  
382 revolutions, rely on emotional styles revolving around trust, joy and anticipation (Mumford,  
383 2006), so that detecting these emotions in a future-oriented topic like climate change can  
384 provide insights on how charismatic #FridaysForFuture can be. Cognitive and semantic  
385 contagion require conscious information processing, e.g. interpretation and acceptance,  
386 whereas emotional contagion can lead to a faster transfer of moods among people, involving  
387 both implicit and explicit mechanisms (Kramer et al., 2014). Positive emotions like trust and  
388 joy have been reported to cause a "ripple effect", i.e., a “pandemic” or “tsunami” of massive  
389 contagion of positive sentiment driving the social behaviour of the whole collective in  
390 synchrony (Barsade, 2002). In other words, the emotions and perceptions linked to climate  
391 activism have been described as rippling better through society, and thus reaching larger  
392 social audiences (Jasper, 2011; Mumford, 2006), in comparison to the emotional profile  
393 adopted by climate disinformation.

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

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

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

#### 412 **4. Discussion and Conclusion.**

413 We have shown that applying network science to textual content and analysing the emerging  
414 mindset can support research about infodemics, i.e. the quick and pervasive spread of  
415 falsehoods. We have identified disinformation emotional patterns, such as hypercritical  
416 scepticism masked under a trustful promotion of change. The reconstructed mindsets and the  
417 emotional patterns identified provide new pointers on climate disinformation.

418 Climate disinformation sustains a chain reaction triggering a major divide at the global scale,  
419 which threatens sustainability, human health and ultimately the global economy (Hoffman,  
420 2011). Infodemics strongly depend on their emotional and perceptual content, much like  
421 viruses spreading across populations according to their genetic information. Recent studies  
422 highlighted how contagions of distorted perceptions and misinformation greatly influence  
423 human responses to the climate threat (Bloodhart, 2019).

424 Emotions and their contagion, much like a pathogen spreading over societies (Kramer et al.  
425 2014), have been instrumental in large-scale societal changes like revolutions from Maoist  
426 China to Nicaragua and Czechoslovakia (Jasper, 2011), and are instrumental in the process of  
427 emergence of charismatic social and political leaders (Mumford, 2006). Nevertheless, the  
428 parallelism in the emotional patterns of a revolution could be just anecdotal. As a matter of  
429 fact, the call to action by #FridaysForFuture is limited to policy-making. And objectively, the  
430 movement often finds a “glass ceiling” about how they could trigger change beyond their  
431 demonstrations and judicial actions (Neubauer, 2019).

432 Tracing this emotional parallelism with massive social movements is important because  
433 recent calls to civil disobedience by leading climate diplomats (Figueres and Rivett-Carnac,  
434 2020) could create game-changing developments if related to large-scale emotional  
435 contagions, but could be hindered by disinformation. These interactions between propelling  
436 and hindering factors points us towards future work on the opinion dynamics of the climate  
437 divide, within and between sides.

438 Despite the amount of meaning found in the results, and the showcased pointers to identify  
439 misinformation via emotions, a more detailed analysis focussing on a larger set of relevant  
440 leaders by world region — including more subjects from a diversity of geographies — would  
441 improve the depth of the insights and their potential for representativeness.

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

448 We conclude that mindset reconstruction could be an important tool to deal with  
449 disinformation communication materials facilitating the climate divide. Mindset  
450 reconstruction of textual content provides a scientific basis for detecting climate-related  
451 hypercritical attitudes and fuelling discourses. Hence, mindset reconstruction could help to  
452 design strategies narrowing the climate divide by countering infodemics in climate-related  
453 communication. The innovative techniques we have shown — at the fringe of AI and  
454 cognitive science — could support climate policy in multiple ways, like: (i) flagging online  
455 communication materials containing conceptual associations distorted by disinformation  
456 content (Hills 2019), (ii) highlighting key sources of emotions commonly adopted by  
457 supporters of the climate divide, complementing recent human coding approaches to emotion  
458 detection in climate change debate (Hahnel et al. 2020), and (iii) measuring levels of trust in  
459 the specific semantic frames surrounding large institutions and expressed in massive social  
460 media debates about climate change (Marris 2019). Further work includes the automated  
461 training of cognitive tools for in-vivo flagging of online disinformation content in several  
462 languages, and the study of their influence on the opinion dynamics of pro-active climate  
463 debates.

464

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470 **Author contributions:**

471 R.C. and M.S. envisioned the study. M.S. and R.C. collected the data and analysed it. R.C.  
472 and M.S. drafted the manuscript.

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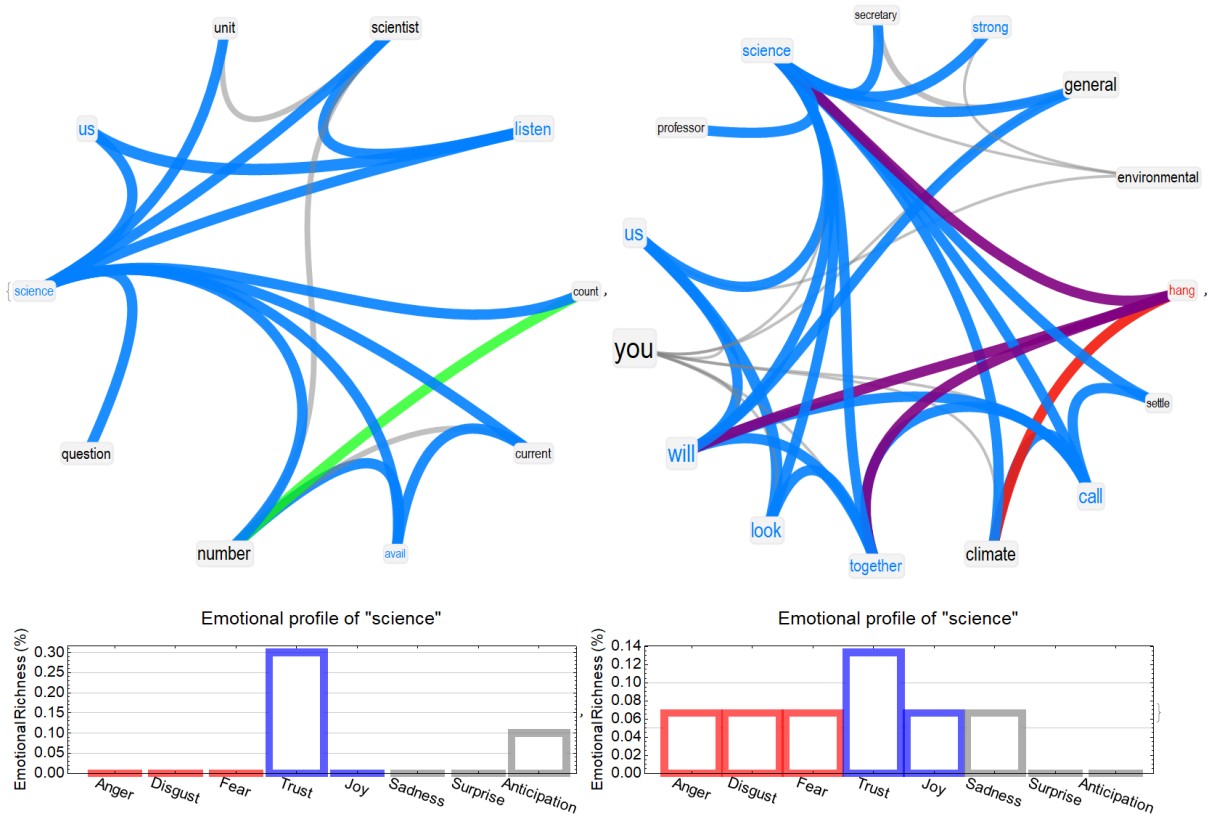
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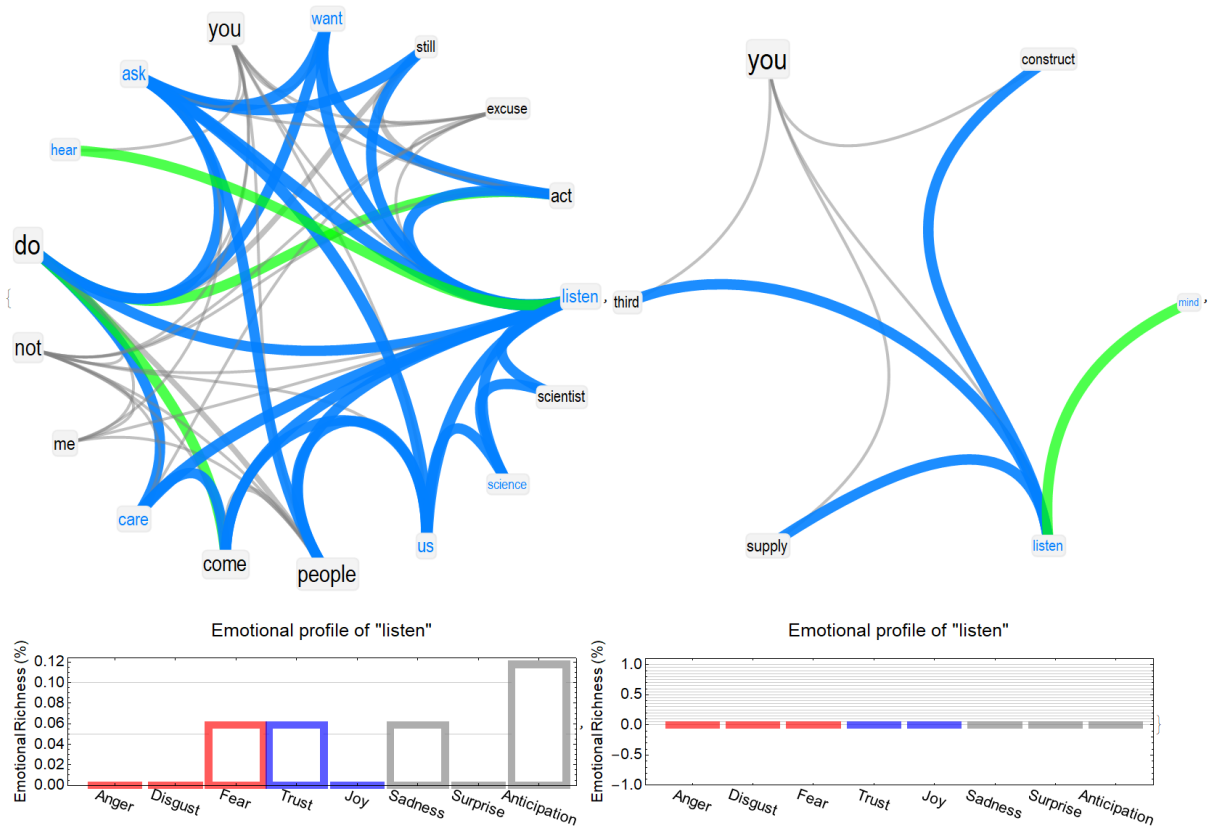
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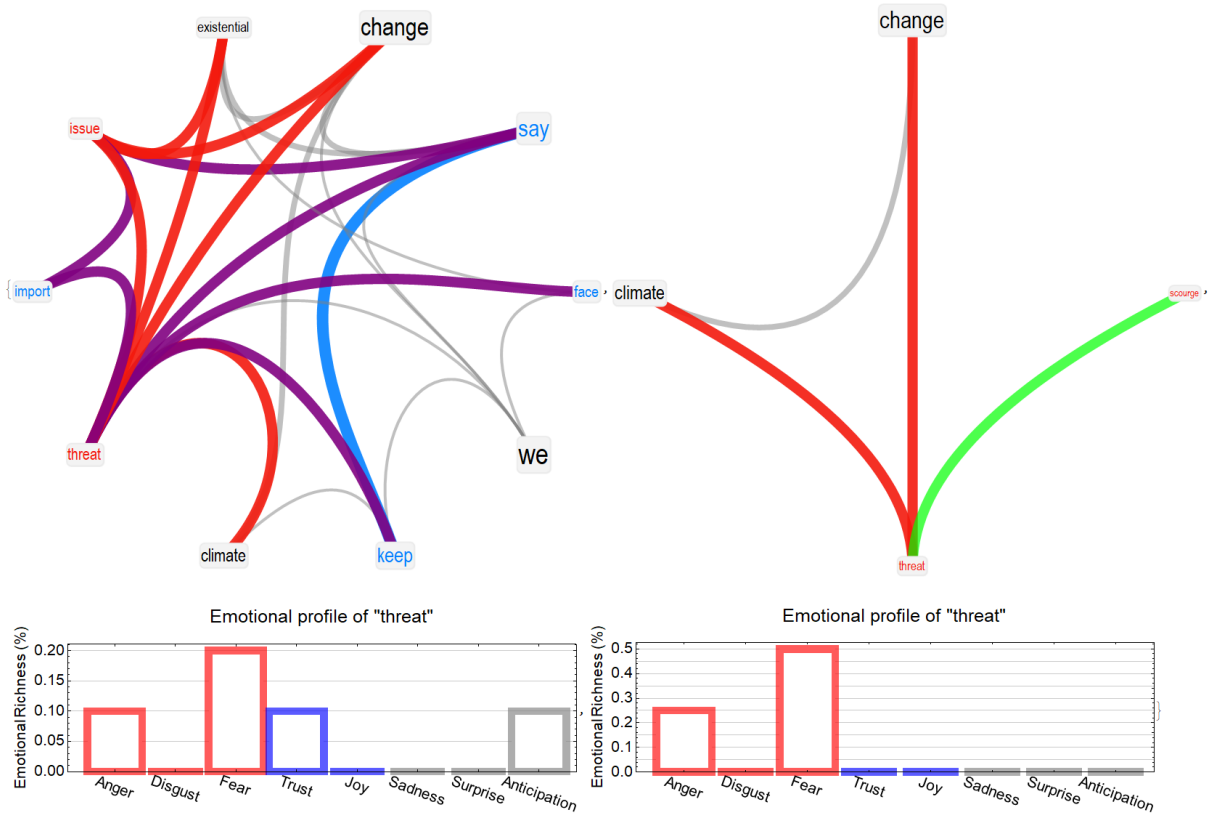


557  
 558 **Figure A1.** Speakers’ mindset reconstruction around “Science” in the speeches of Greta  
 559 Thunberg (left) and Christopher Monckton (right). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a  
 560 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.



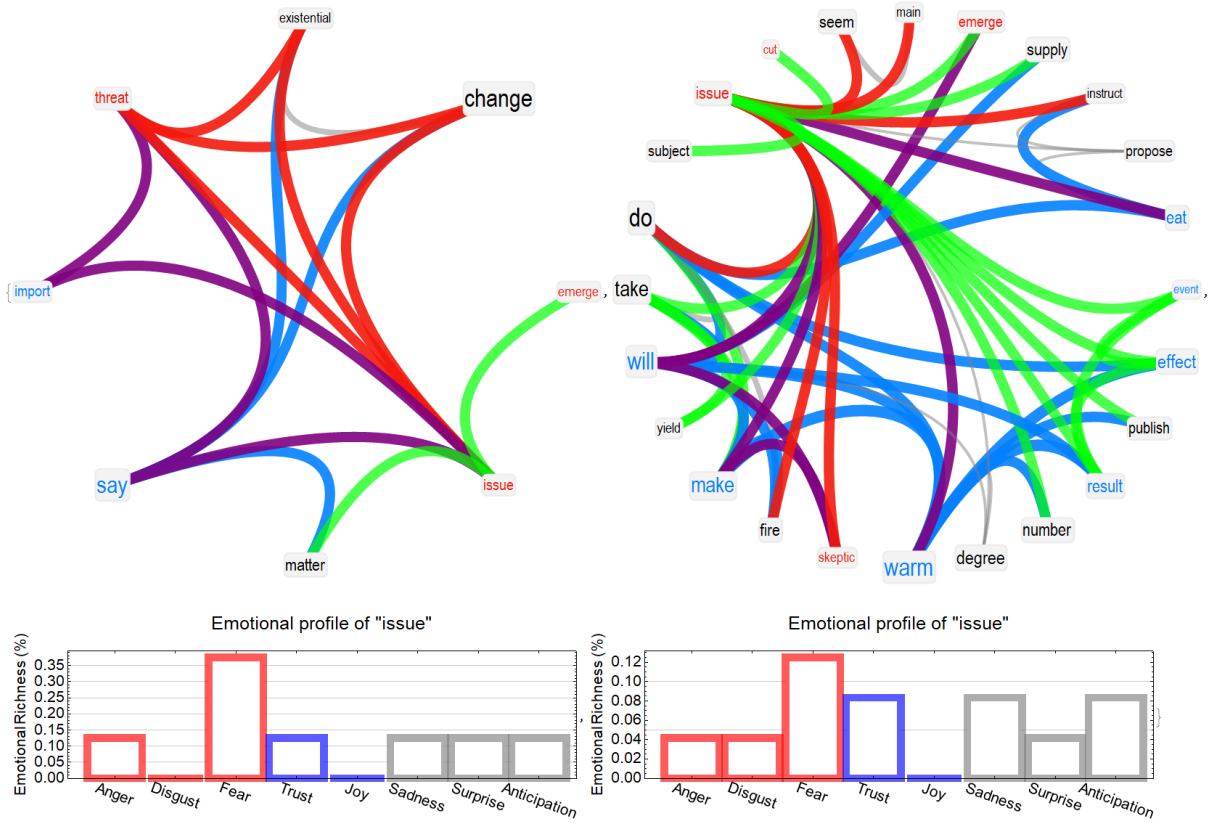
561

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



565

566 **Figure A3.** Speakers’ mindset reconstruction around “threat” in the speeches of Greta  
 567 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a  
 568 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

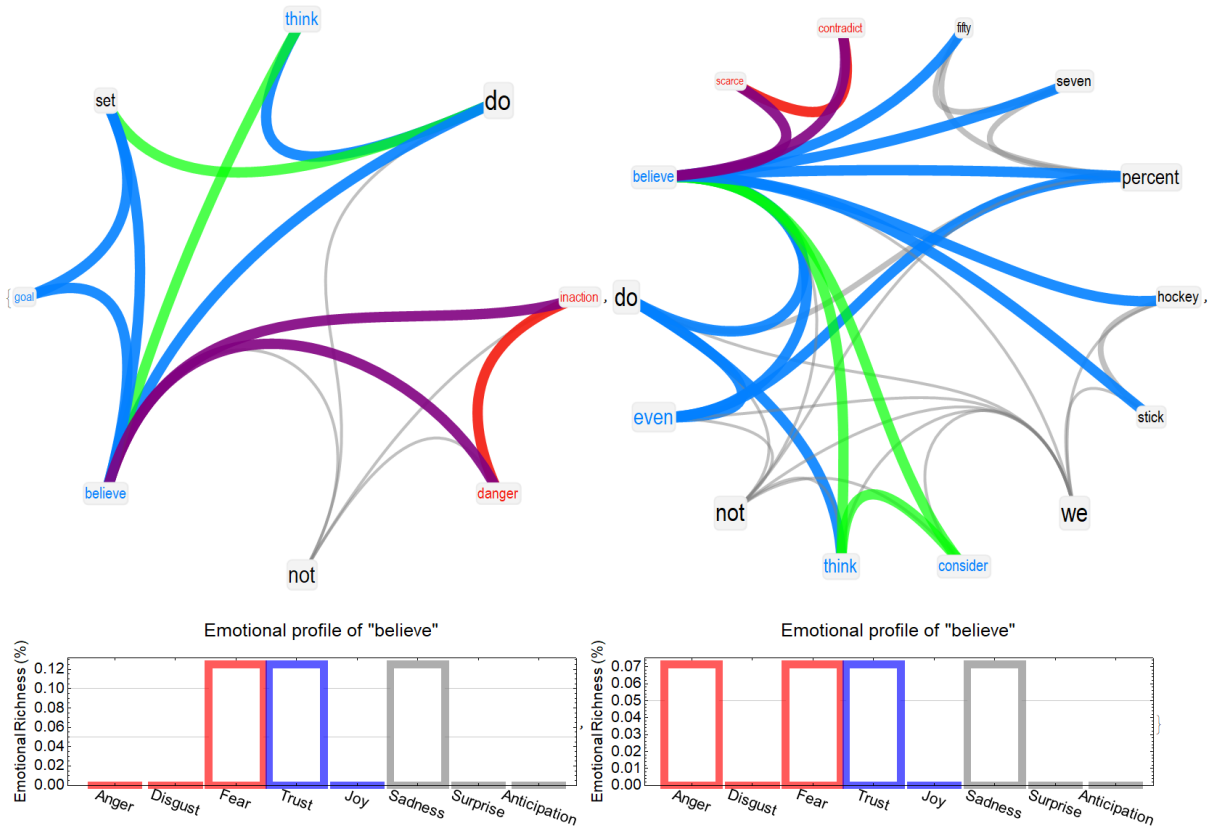


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570 **Figure A4.** Speakers’ mindset reconstruction around “issue” in the speeches of Greta Thunberg  
 571 (left) and Christopher Monckton (right). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a detailed  
 572 explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

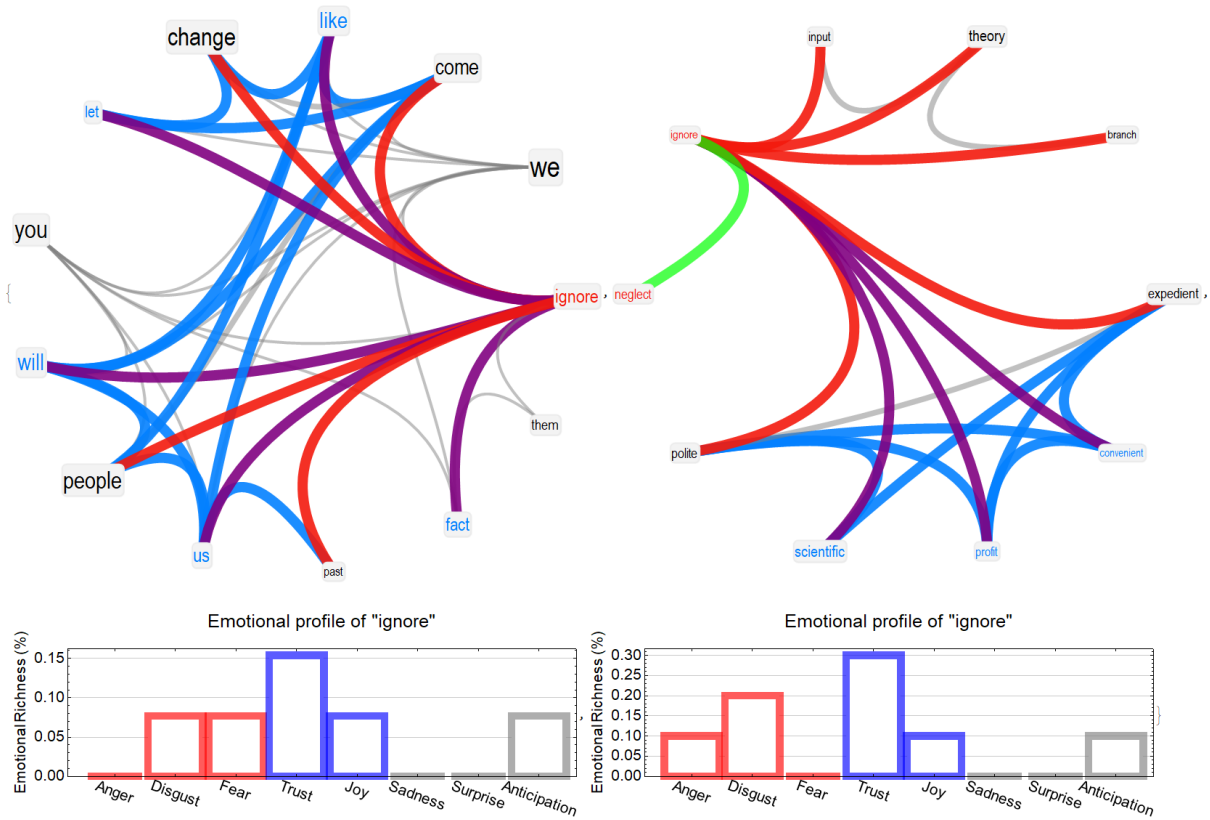






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578 **Figure A6.** Speakers’ mindset reconstruction around “believe” in the speeches of Greta  
 579 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a  
 580 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

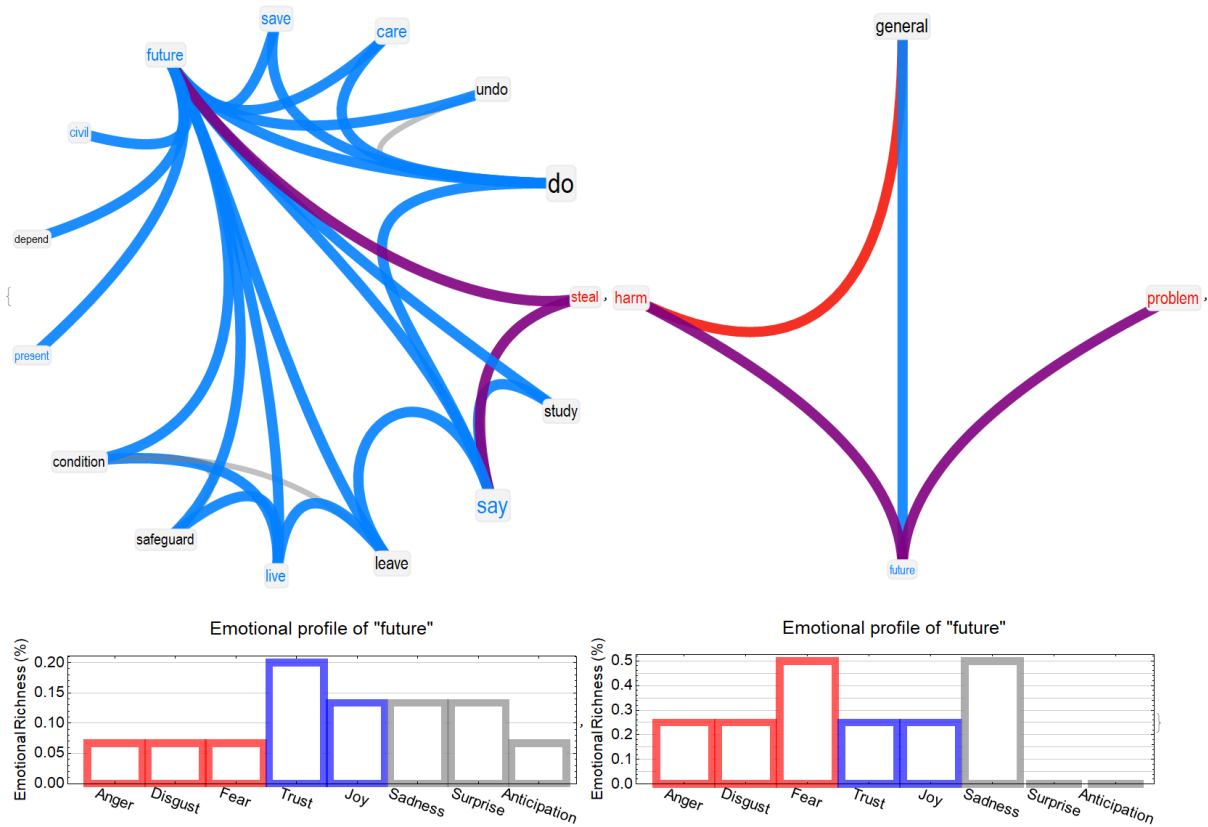


581

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

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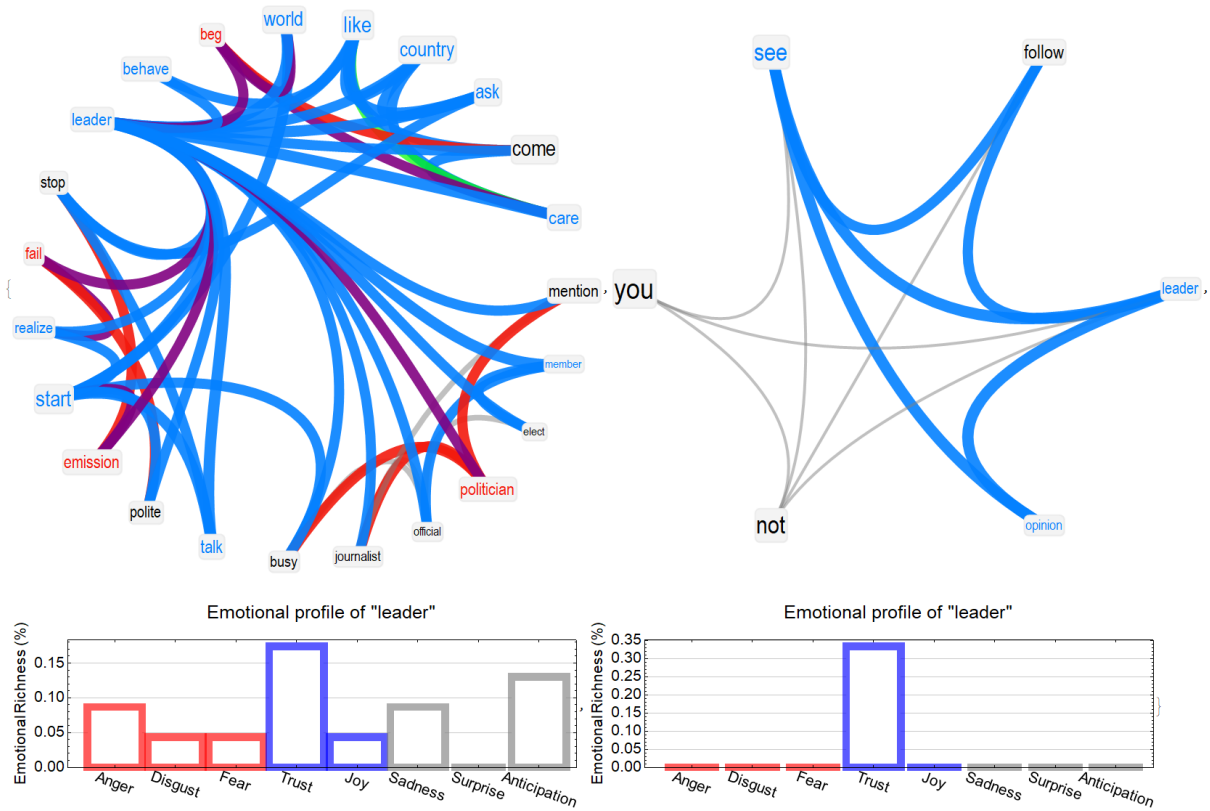
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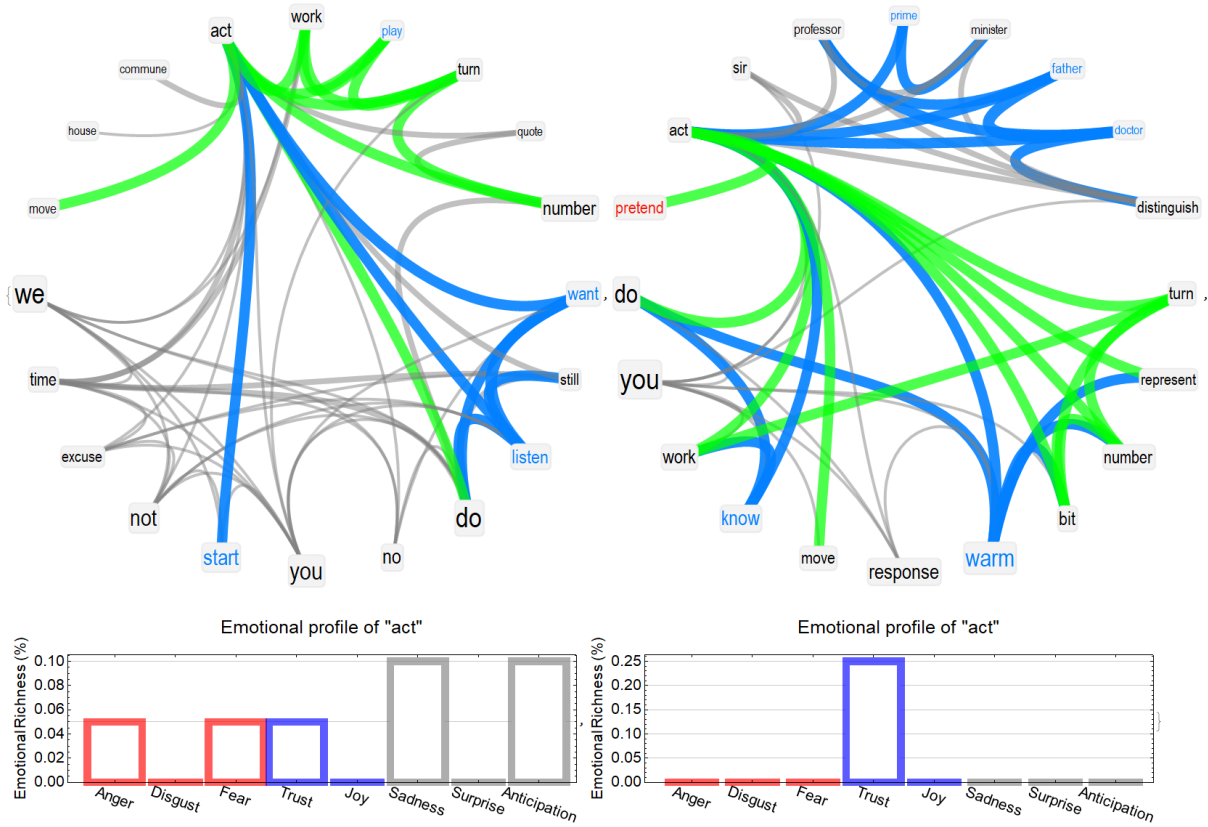
588 **Figure A8.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "future" in the speeches of Greta  
 589 Thunberg (left) and Christopher Monckton (right). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a  
 590 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

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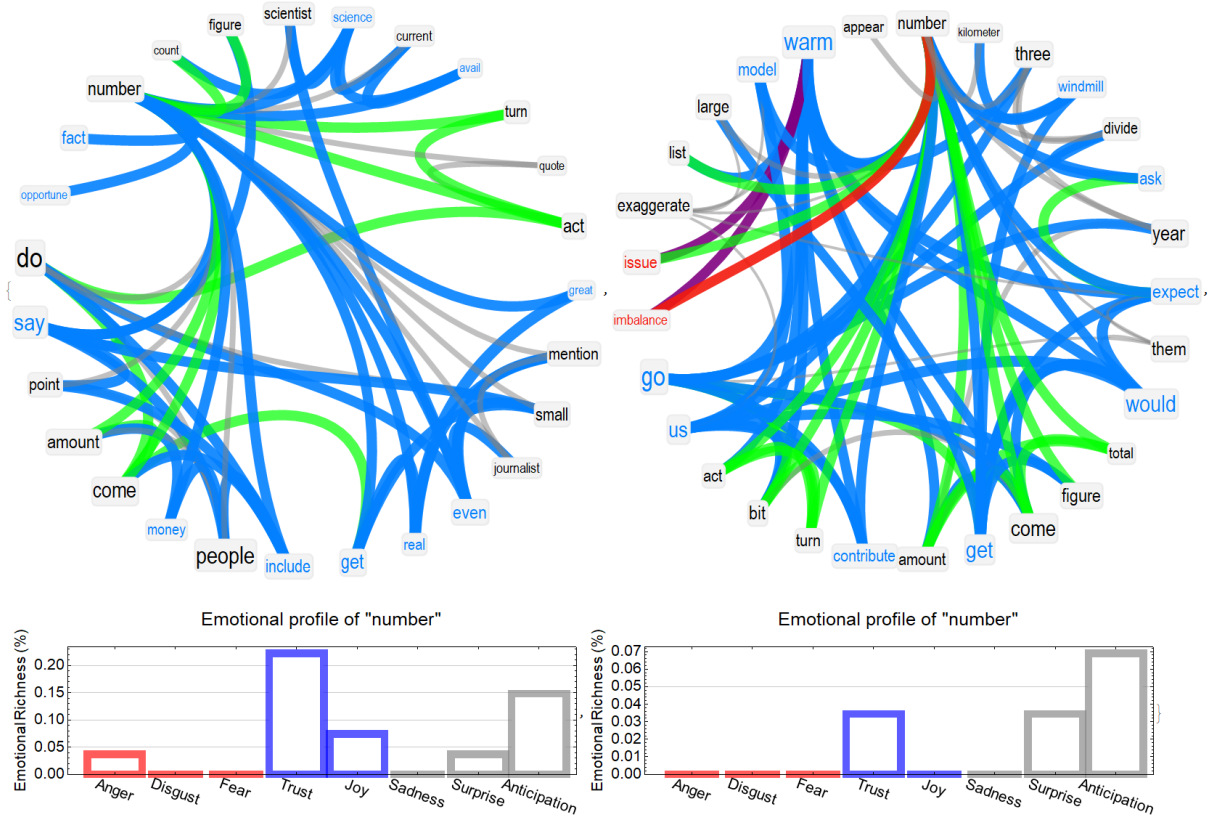
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593 **Figure A9.** Speakers' mindset reconstruction around "leader" in the speeches of Greta  
 594 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a  
 595 detailed explanation of the colour code, and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



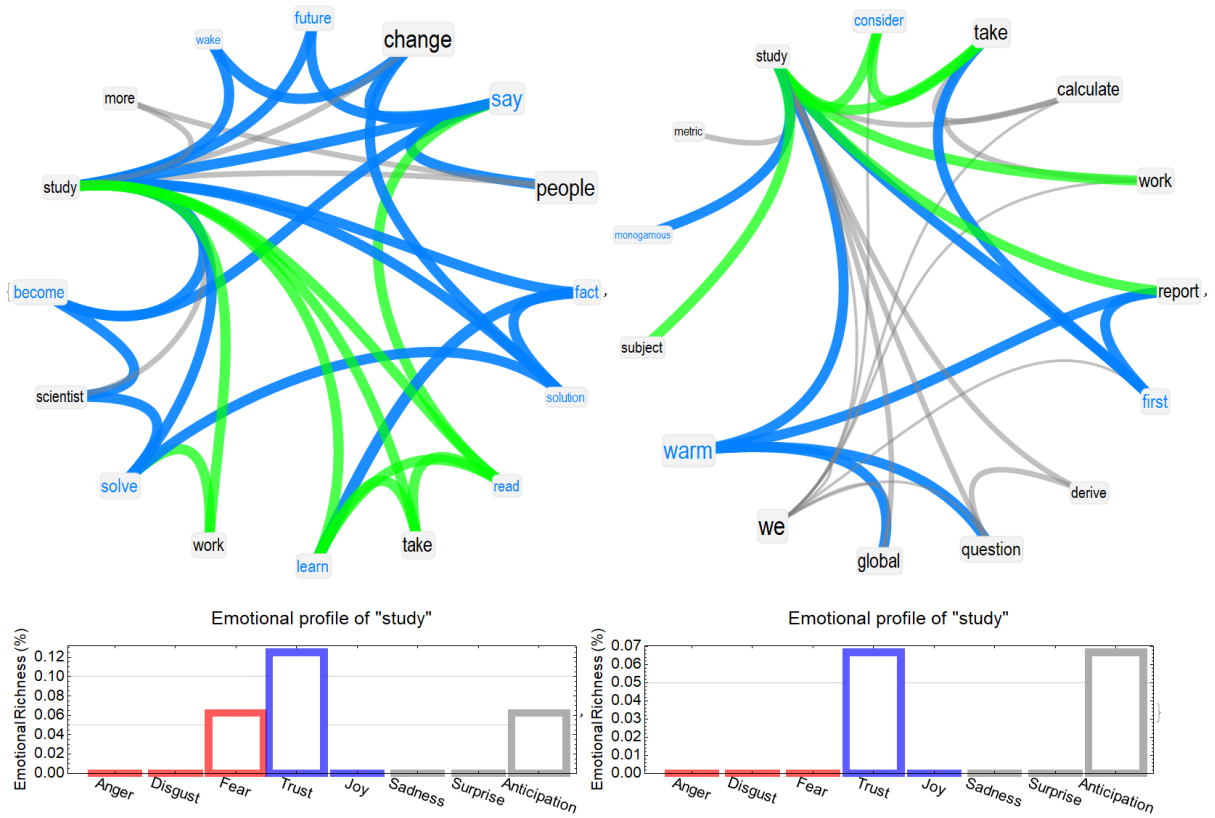
596

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



600

601 **Figure A11.** Speakers’ mindset reconstruction around “number” in the speeches of Greta  
 602 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a  
 603 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.



604

605 **Figure A12.** Speakers’ mindset reconstruction around “study” in the speeches of Greta  
 606 Thunberg (**left**) and Christopher Monckton (**right**). We refer the reader to Figure 1 for a  
 607 detailed explanation of the colour code, and to Text Box 1 for an interpretation of the figure.

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