# UNPACKING POLARIZATION: ANTAGONISM AND ALIGNMENT IN SIGNED NETWORKS OF ONLINE INTERACTION

### **Emma Fraxanet**

Max Pellert, Simon Schweighofer, Vicenç Gómez and David Garcia



Universitat **Pompeu Fabra** Barcelona





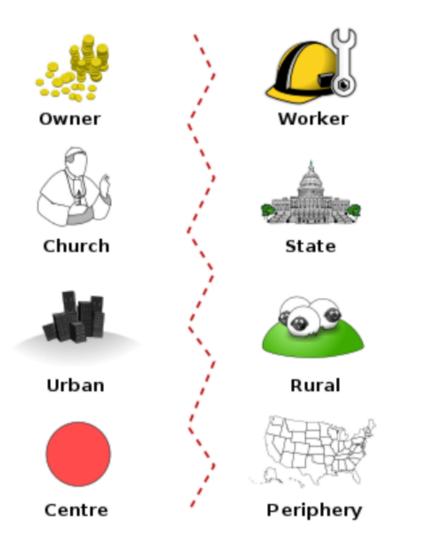


### *May 2024*

**ETH Workshop:** Signed Relations and Structural Balance in Complex Systems: From Data to Models

# Society's fault lines: Political cleavages

Historically determined **social or cultural line** which divides citizens within a society into groups with differing political interests, resulting in political conflict among these groups. *WIKIPEDIA* 





### Lipset and Rokkan (1967)

Winners vs. Losers of globalization

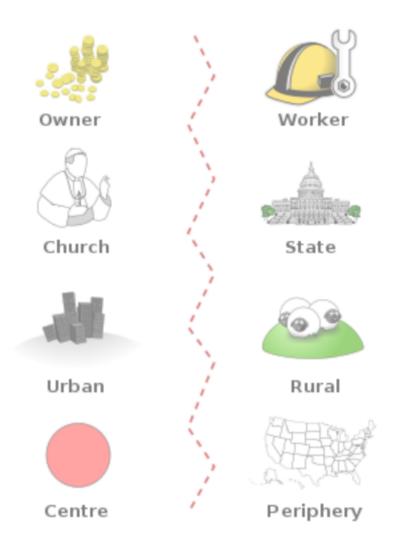
Authoritarian populist vs. Libertarian pluralist

Others: education, age, geography, attitudes to immigration...

Kriesi et al. (2008) Norris and Inglehart (2019) Ford and Jennings (2020)

# Society's fault lines: Political cleavages

Historically determined **social or cultural line** which divides citizens within a society into groups with differing political interests, resulting in political conflict among these groups. *WIKIPEDIA* 



# What if... we leverage online behavioral data to detect these divisions?

Lipset and Rokkan (1967)

Winners vs. Losers of globalization

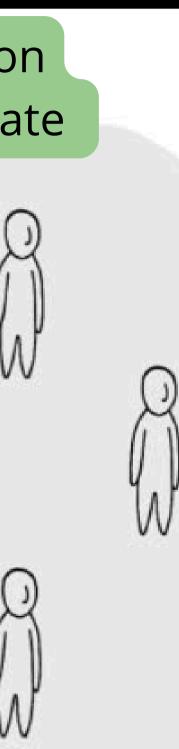
Authoritarian populist vs. Libertarian pluralist

Others: education, age, geography, attitudes to immigration...

Kriesi et al. (2008) Norris and Inglehart (2019) Ford and Jennings (2020)

### Continuously changing factions: cross-cutting cleavages

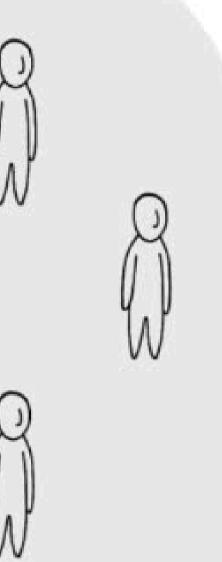
Increase in social cohesion Promotion of healthy debate



### Reinforcing fault lines: wedge issues

Political sectarianism Partisan hostility and polarization





# **Motivation:** Mitigating online (popular/affective) polarization

• Changes in feed algorithms have small effects if applied to only a part of the population

(Garcia, D. (2023). Influence of Facebook algorithms on political polarization tested. *Nature*)

• Putting the extremes together in an indiscriminate way can have backfire effects

(Bail, C, et al. (2018). Exposure to opposing views on social media can increase political polarization. *PNAS*)

# **Motivation:** Mitigating online (popular/affective) polarization

• Changes in feed algorithms have small effects if applied to only a part of the population

(Garcia, D. (2023). Influence of Facebook algorithms on political polarization tested. *Nature*)

• Putting the extremes together in an indiscriminate way can have backfire effects

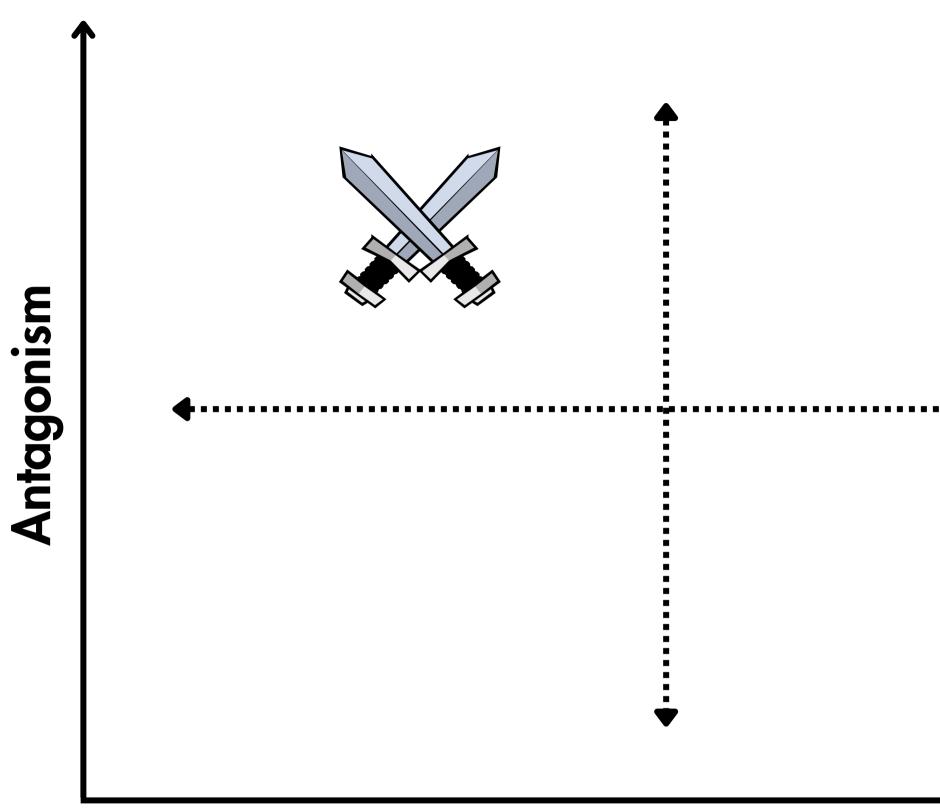
(Bail, C, et al. (2018). Exposure to opposing views on social media can increase political polarization. *PNAS*)

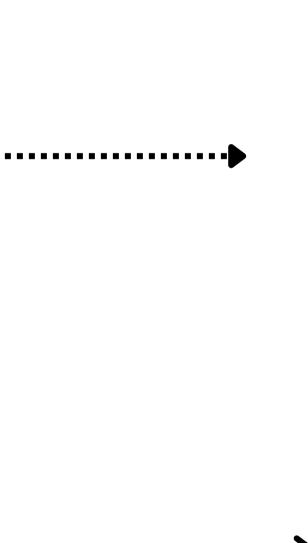


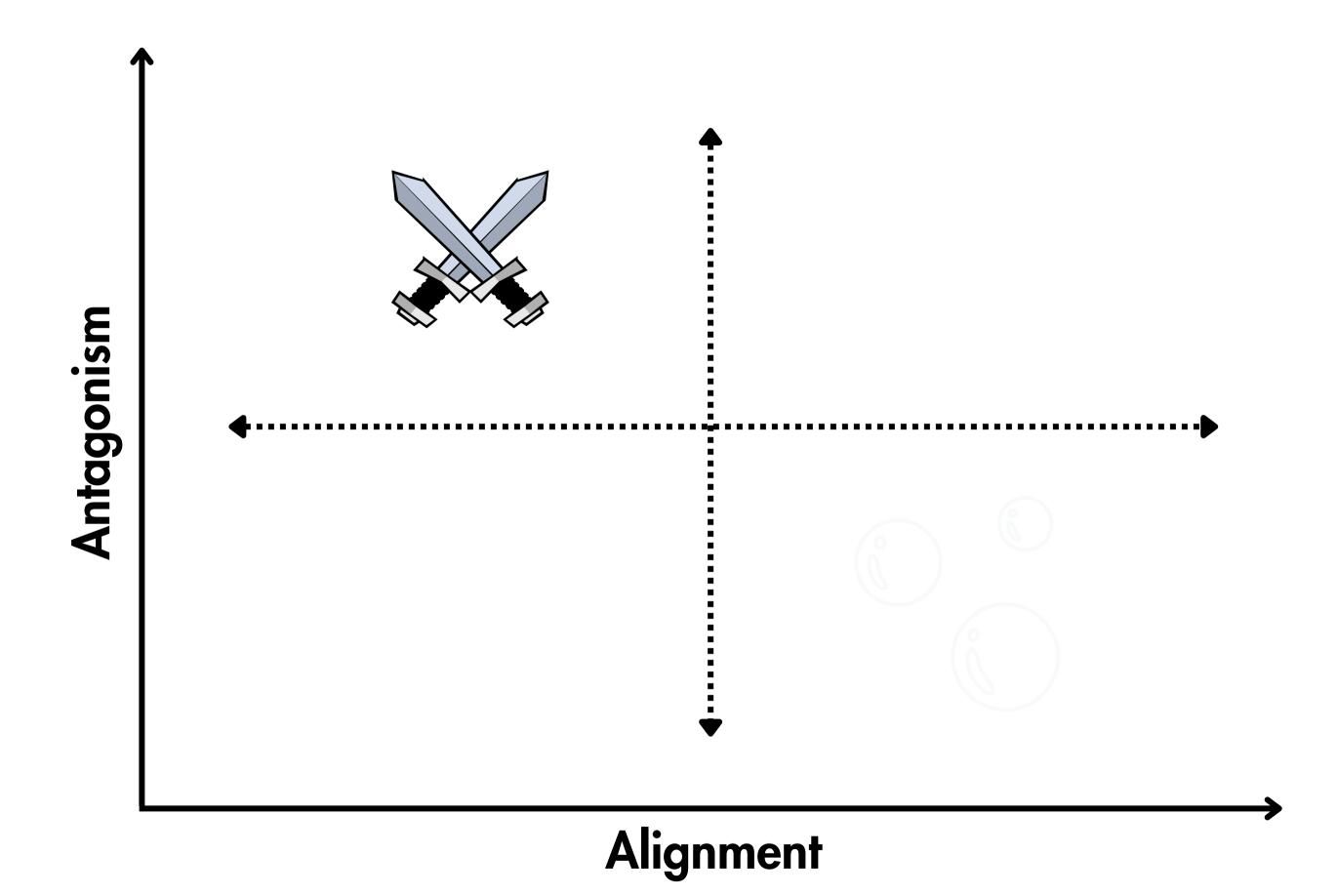
**Alternative:** recommend contentious content with cross-partisan appeal

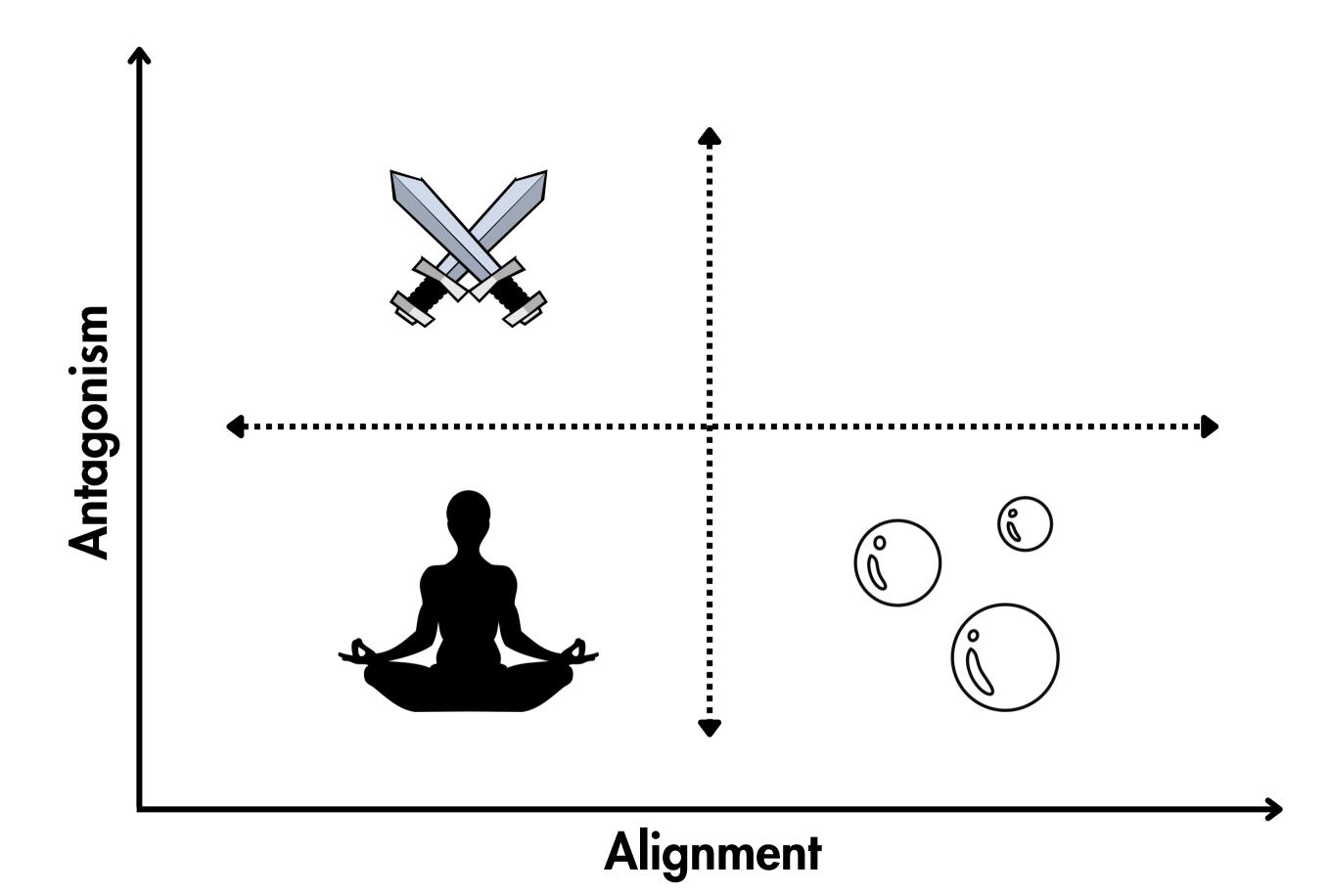
Our framework can help identify which contexts generate WEDGE ISSUES V.S. CROSS-CUTTING ISSUES

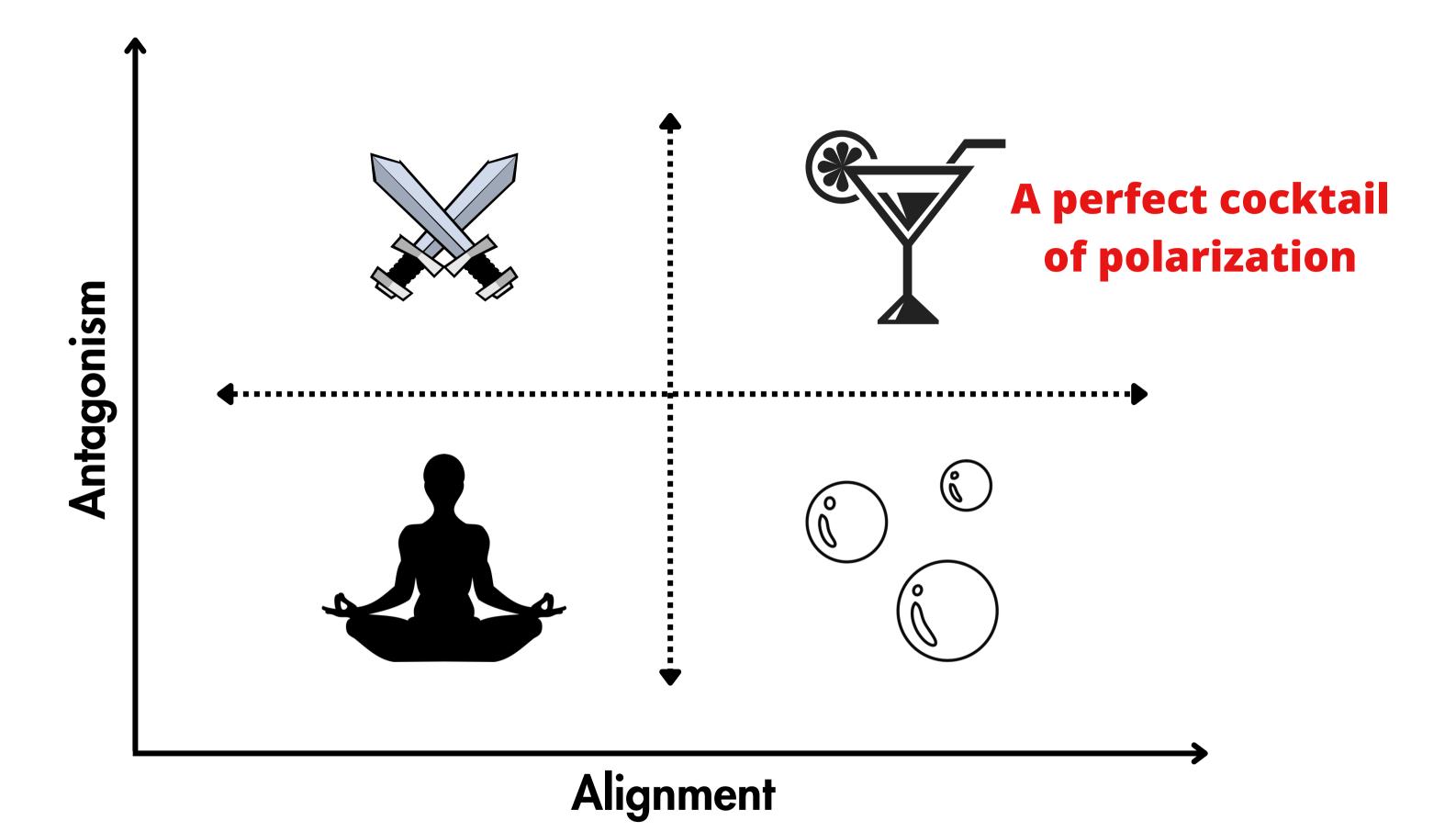






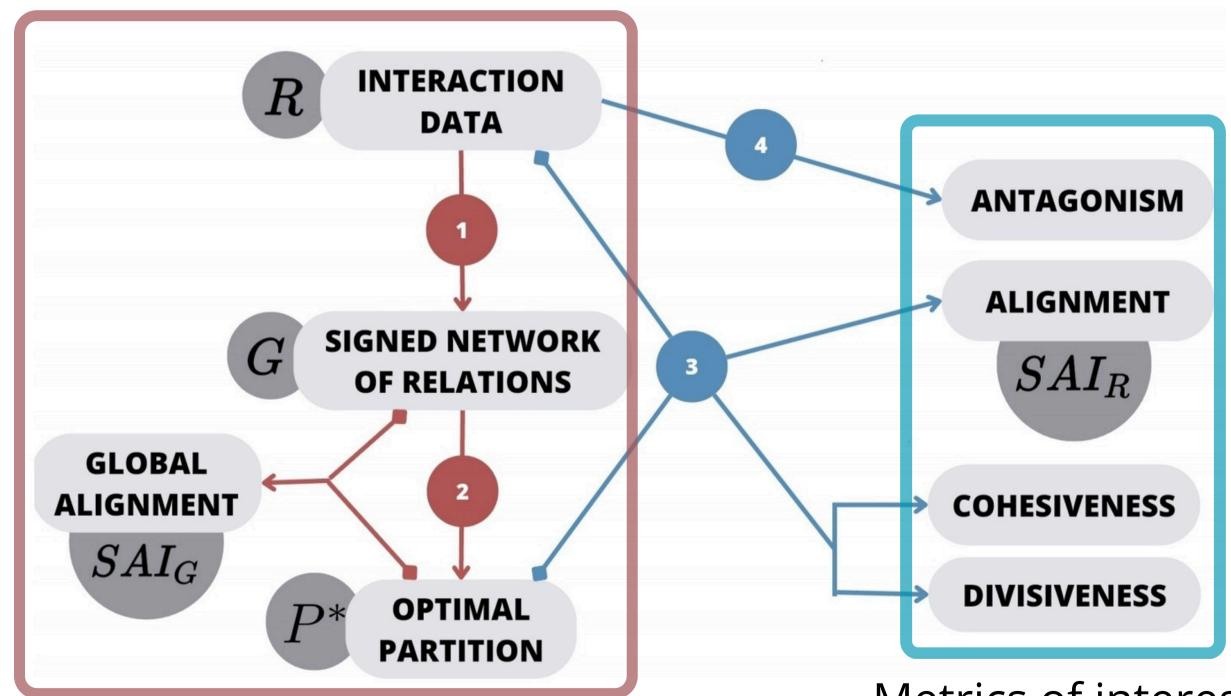






## **Our contribution:**

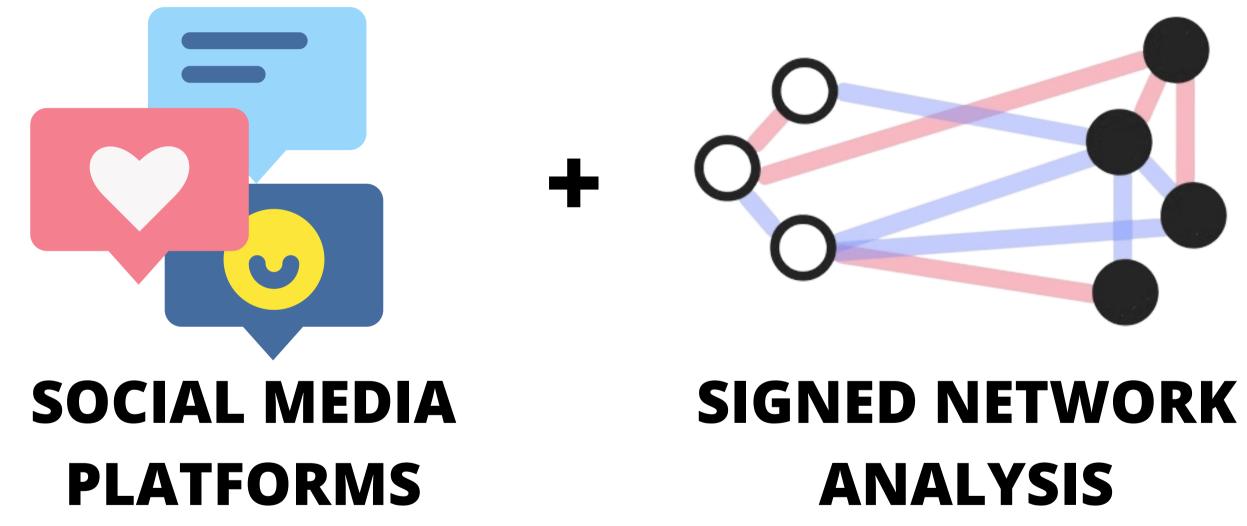
### FAULTANA: FAULT-line Alignment Network Analysis



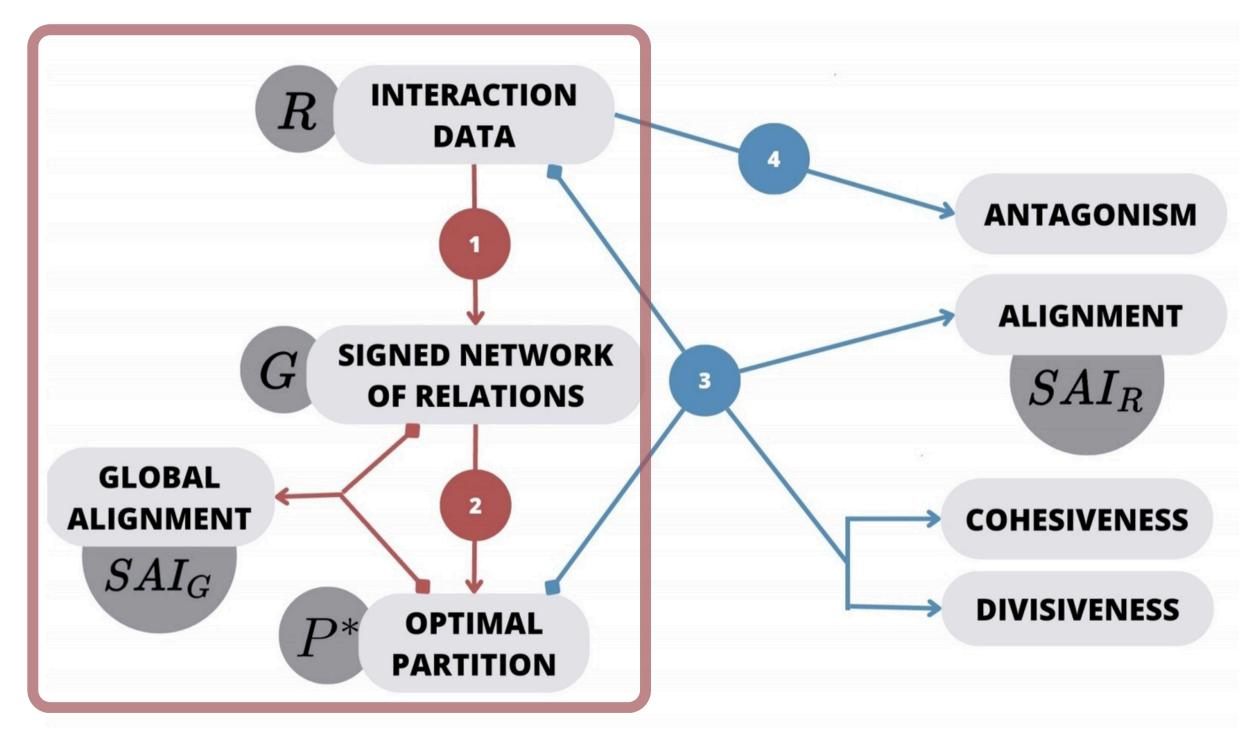
### Input data and intermediate steps

Metrics of interest

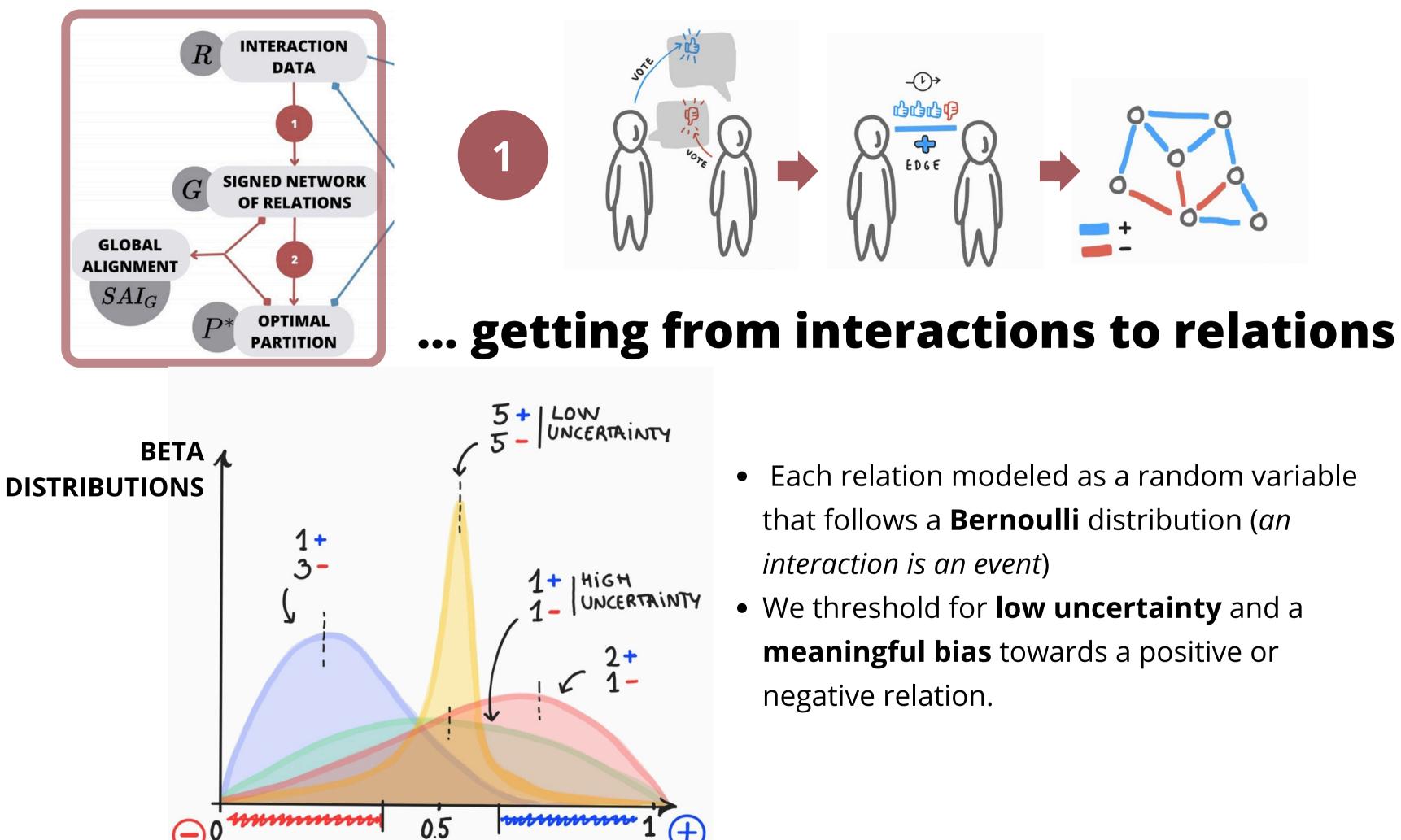
# But how can we measure all of this computationally?

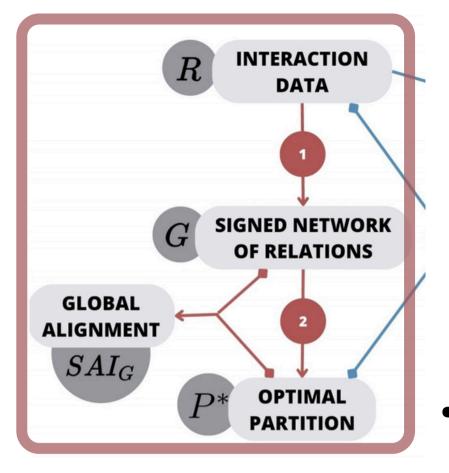


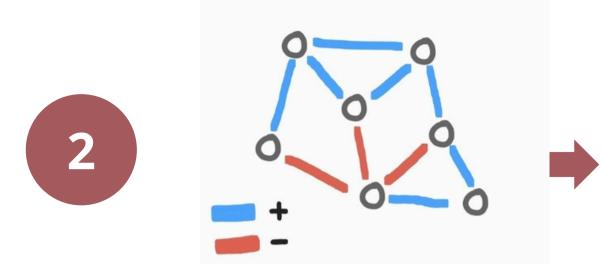
### FAULTANA: FAULT-line Alignment Network Analysis



Input data and intermediate steps







## ... using frustration to detect the fault lines

$$G = (V, E, \sigma)$$
  
 $\sigma : E \rightarrow \{-1, +1\}$   
 $m$  volume of edges

Frustrated edge count

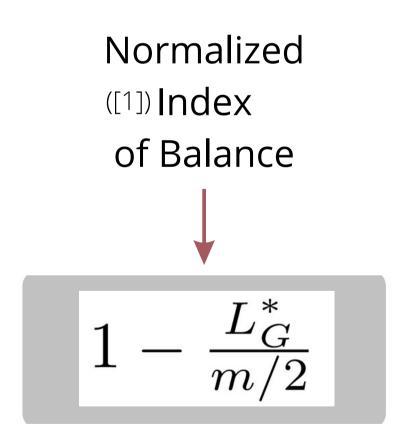
$$f_G(P) = \sum_{(i,j) \in E} f_{ij}$$

### Minimization problem (NP Hard)

 $P^* \mid L_G^* = \min_P f_G(P)$ 

[1] Aref, Samin, and Mark C. Wilson. Balance and frustration in signed networks. (2019)







"Finding the optimal partition"

### Binary Linear Programming EXACT

Aref, S., Mason, A. J., & Wilson, M. C. (2020) A modeling and computational study of the frustration index in signed networks.

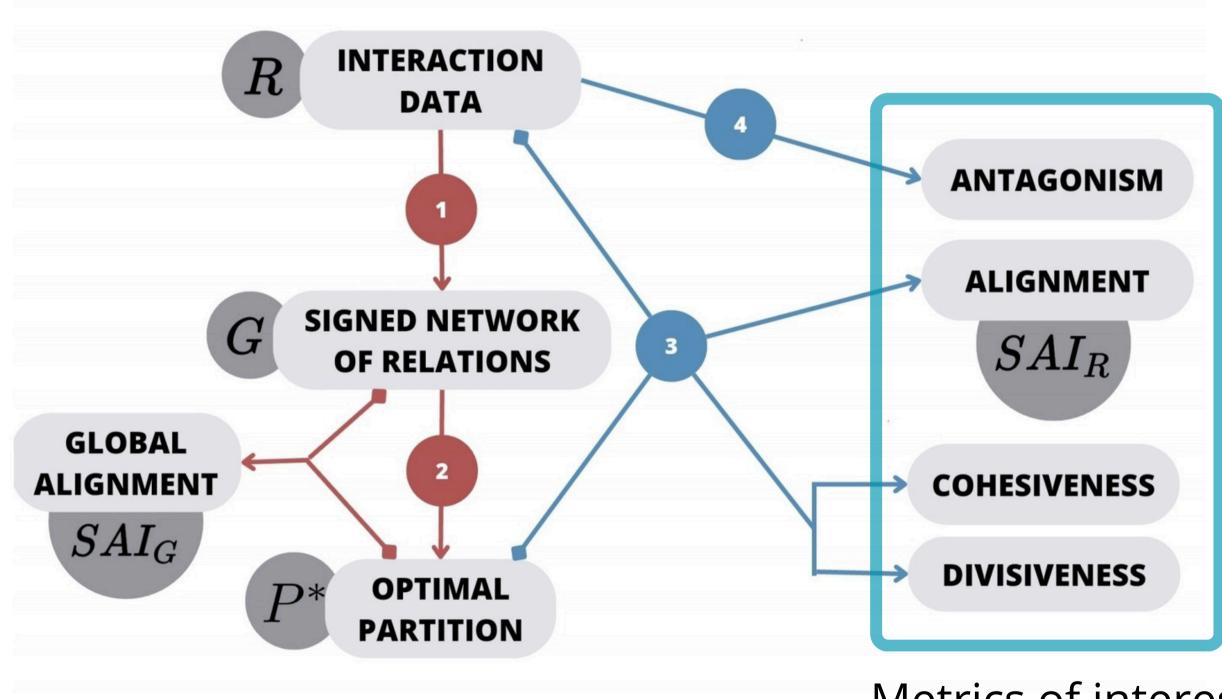
Blockmodeling + Simulated **APPROXIMATED** Annealing (stochastic)

**Doreian, P., & Mrvar, A.** Partitioning signed social networks. Social Networks. (2009) Schoch D (2020). signnet: An R package to analyze signed networks.



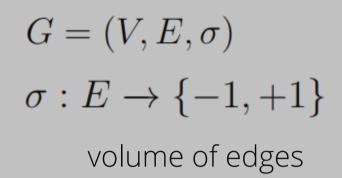


### FAULTANA: FAULT-line Alignment Network Analysis



Metrics of interest

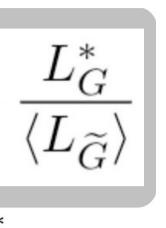
# **Re-normalization of our metrics**



**Global** Signed Alignment  $\longrightarrow$   $SAI_G = 1 - \frac{L_G^*}{\langle L_{\widetilde{G}} \rangle}$ Index Index

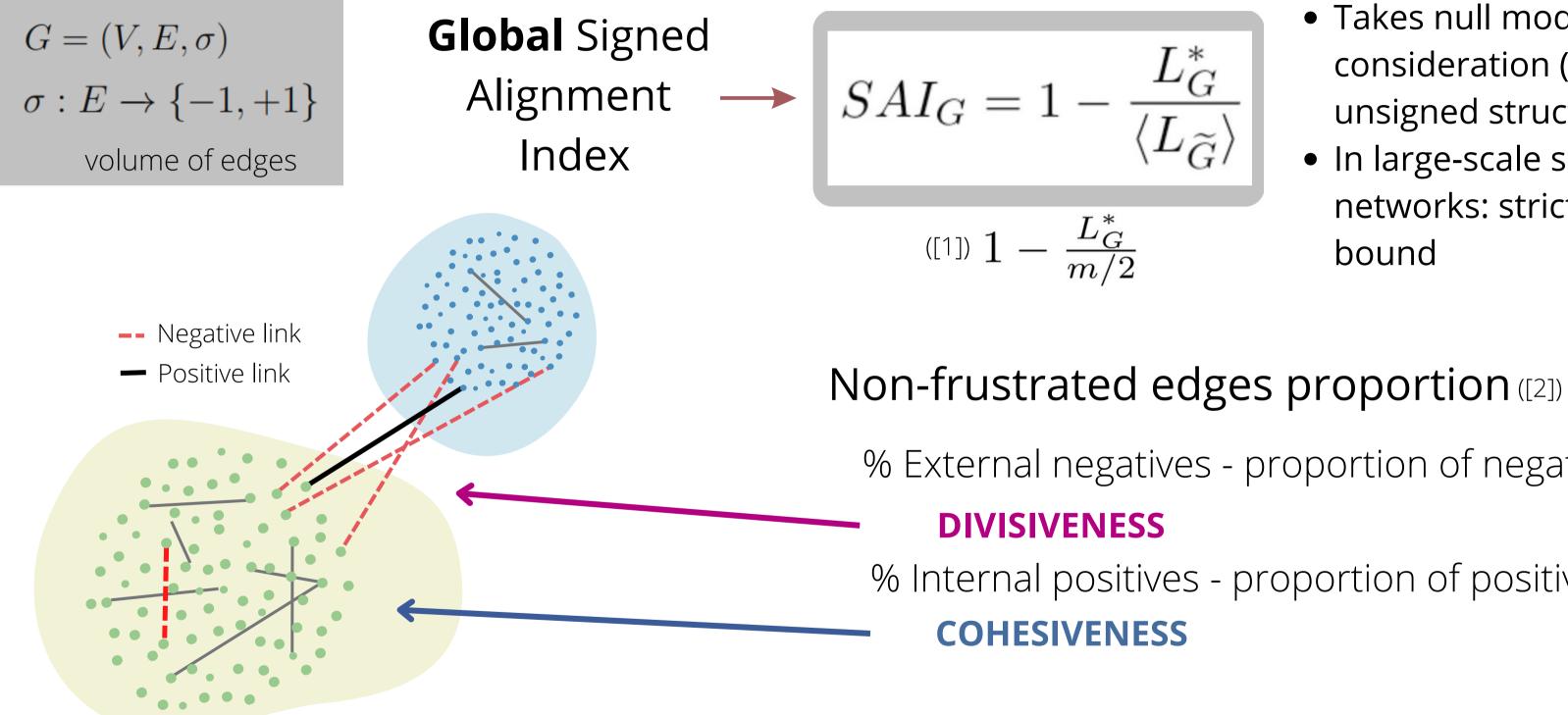
([1])  $1 - \frac{L_G^*}{m/2}$ 

[1] Aref, Samin, and Mark C. Wilson. Balance and frustration in signed networks. (2019)



- Takes null model into consideration (given unsigned structure)
- In large-scale social networks: stricter upperbound

# **Re-normalization of our metrics**



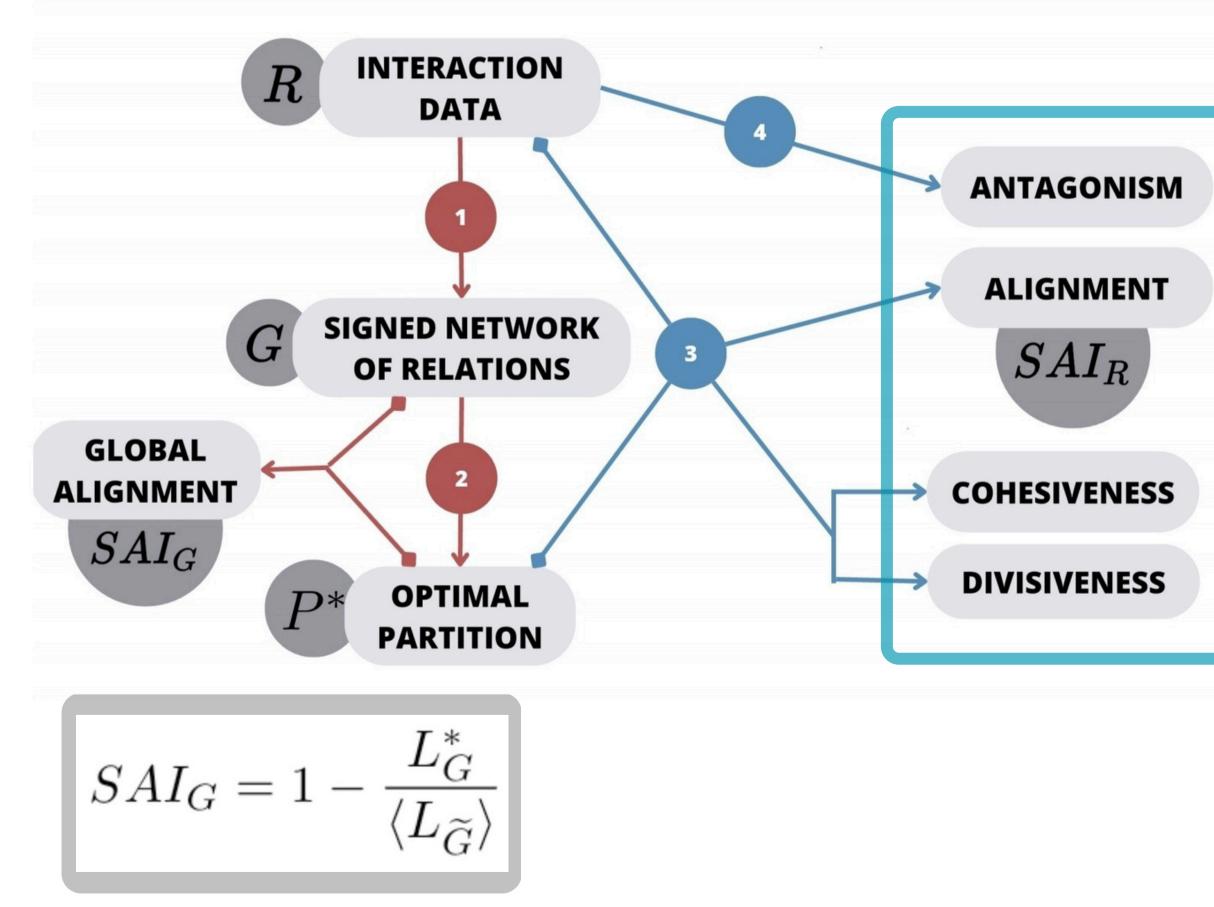
[1] **Aref, Samin, and Mark C. Wilson.** *Balance and frustration in signed networks.* (2019) [2] Aref, S., Dinh, L., Rezapour, R., & Diesner, J. Multilevel structural evaluation of signed directed social networks based on balance theory. (2020)

- Takes null model into consideration (given unsigned structure)
- In large-scale social networks: stricter upperbound

% External negatives - proportion of negatives

% Internal positives - proportion of positives

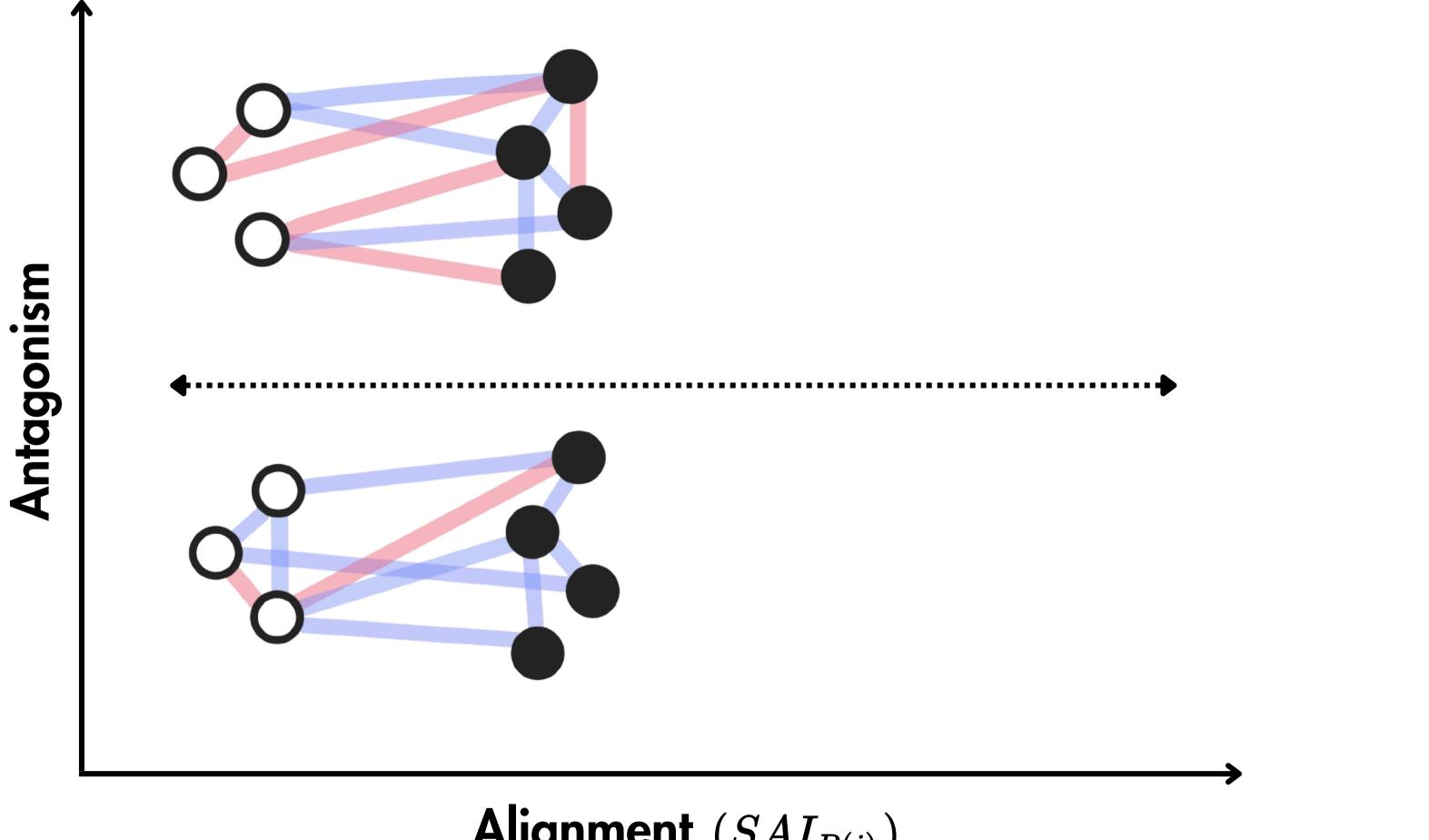
### FAULTANA: FAULT-line Alignment Network Analysis



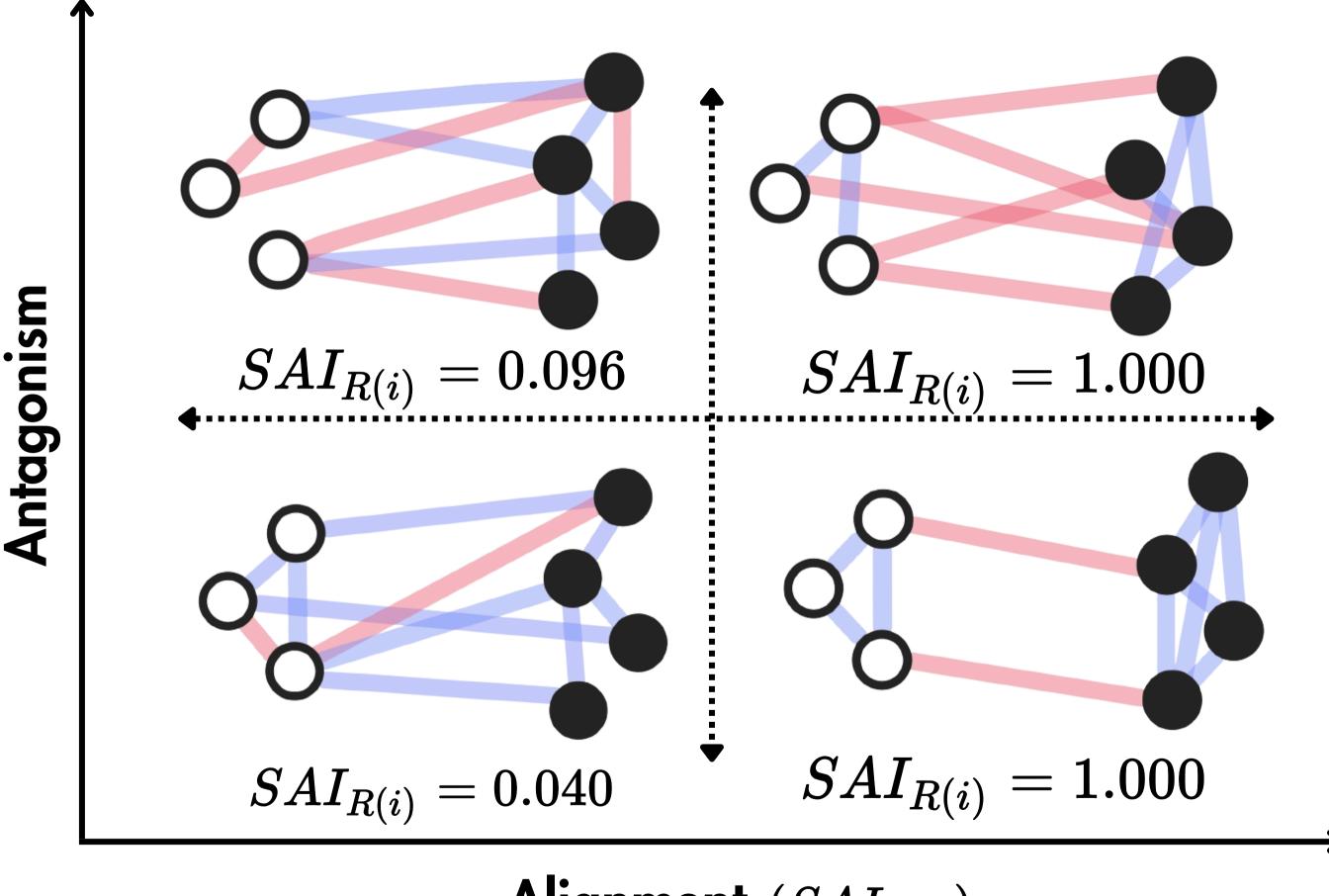
### **MEASURING ALIGNMENT**

### Applicable to sub-sets of data

 $SAI_{R(t/i)} = 1 - \frac{L_{R(t/i)}}{\langle L_{\widetilde{R}(t/i)} \rangle}$ 



# Alignment $(SAI_{R(i)})$



Alignment  $(SAI_{R})$ 

$$(i)$$
)





There is no surprise waiting for you.

Do you find this helpful?

more.

BIG Suprise waiting. Click Profile to Follow me now!

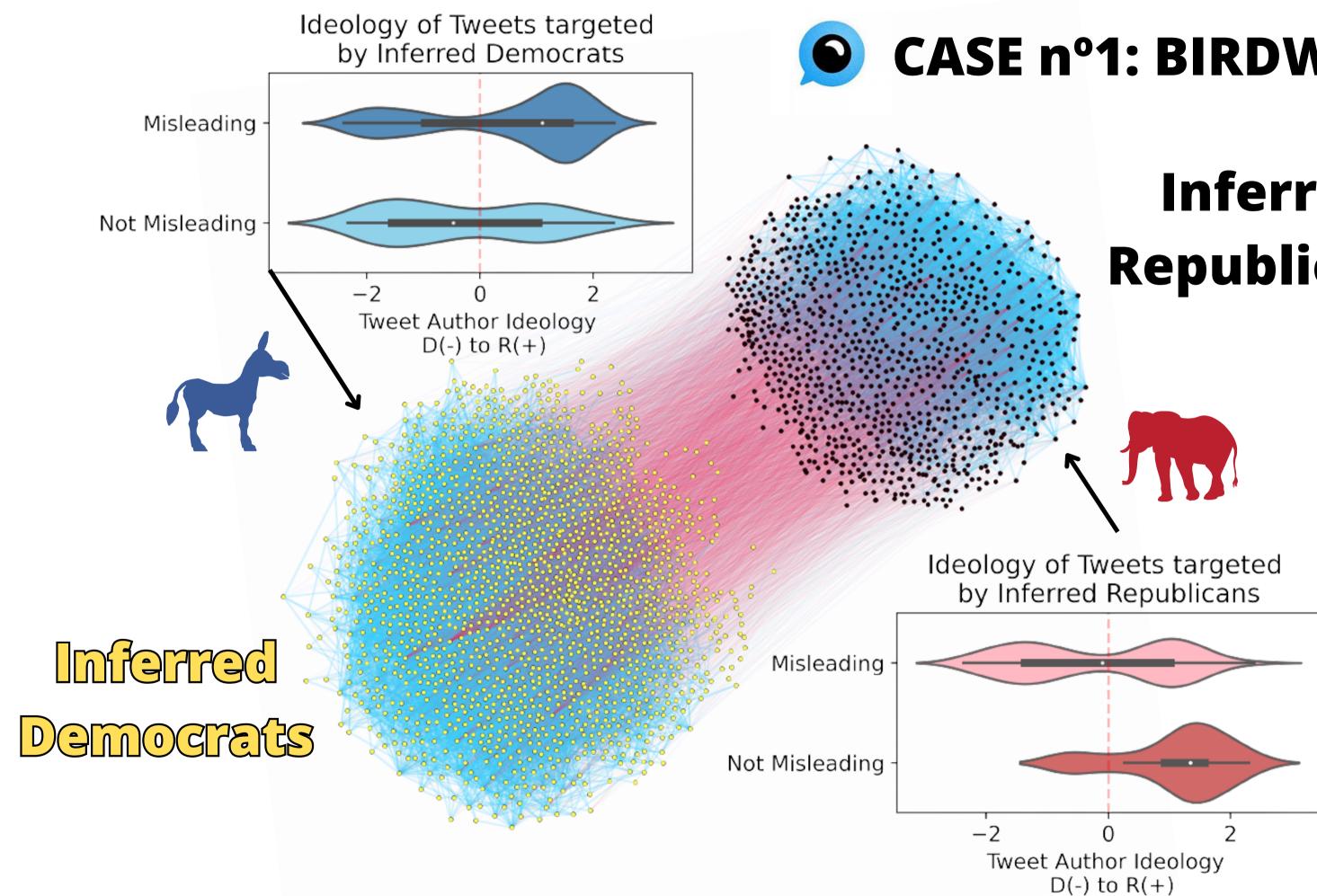


Readers added context they thought people might want to know

Rate it

Context is written by people who use X, and appears when rated helpful by others. Find out

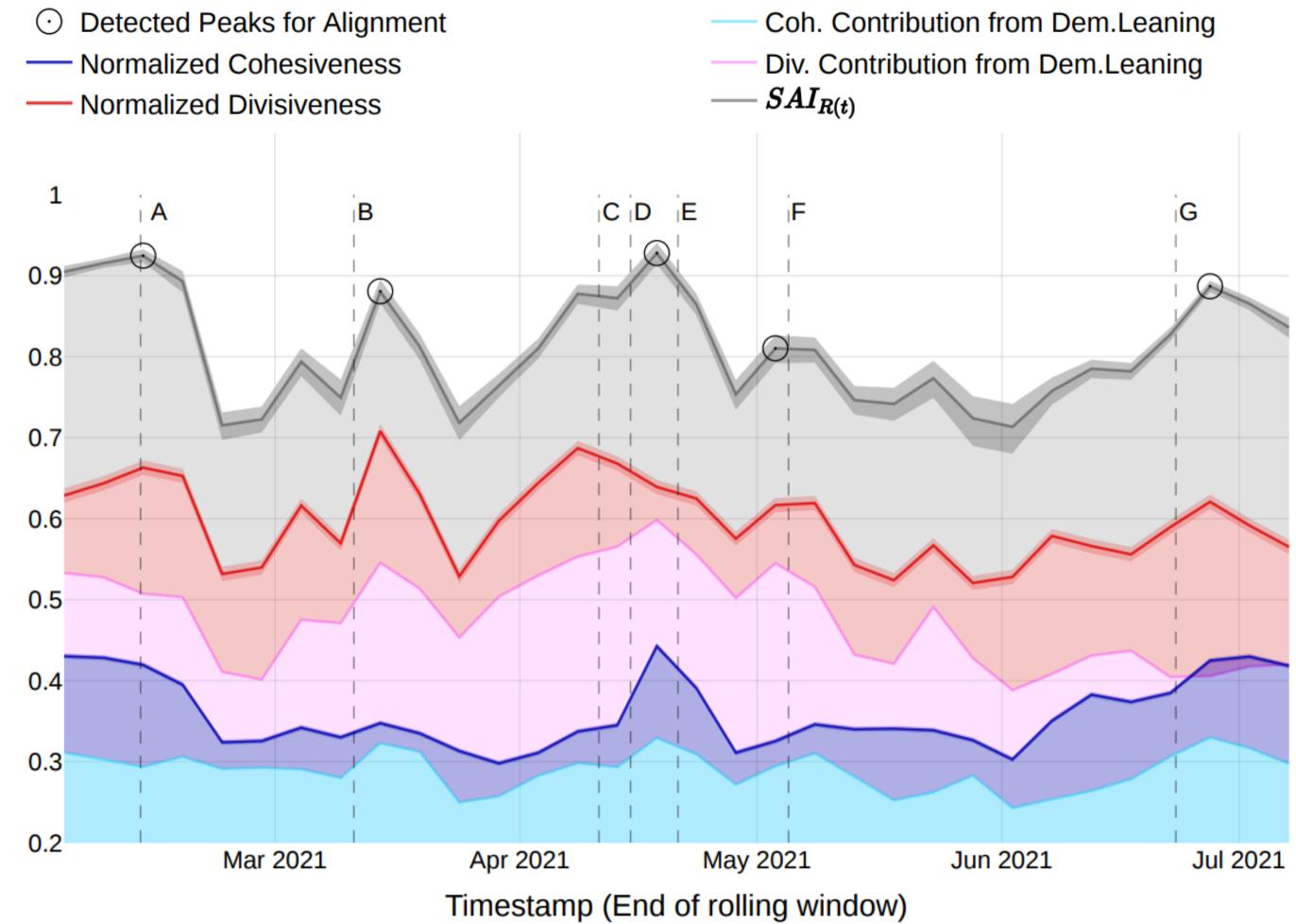




Allen, J., Martel, C., & Rand, D. G. Birds of a feather don't fact-check each other: Partisanship and the evaluation of news in Twitter's Birdwatch crowdsourced fact-checking program. (2022)

## **CASE n°1: BIRDWATCH**

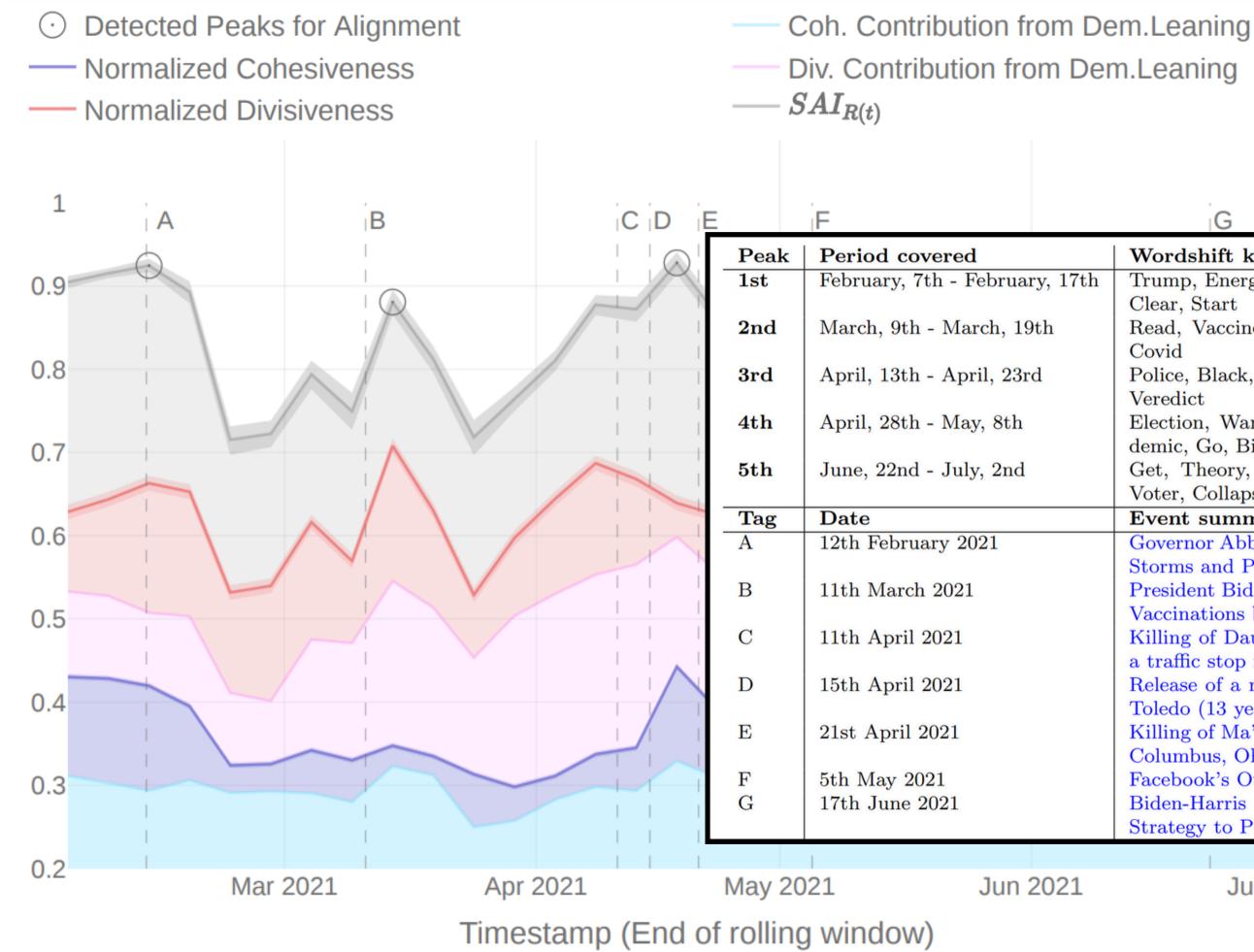
# Inferred Republicans



Allen, J., Martel, C., & Rand, D. G. Birds of a feather don't fact-check each other: Partisanship and the evaluation of news in Twitter's Birdwatch crowdsourced fact-checking program. (2022)

Measures

# • CASE nº1: **BIRDWATCH**



Allen, J., Martel, C., & Rand, D. G. Birds of a feather don't fact-check each other: Partisanship and the evaluation of news in Twitter's Birdwatch crowdsourced fact-checking program. (2022)

Measures

# CASE nº1: **BIRDWATCH**

### G

### Wordshift keywords

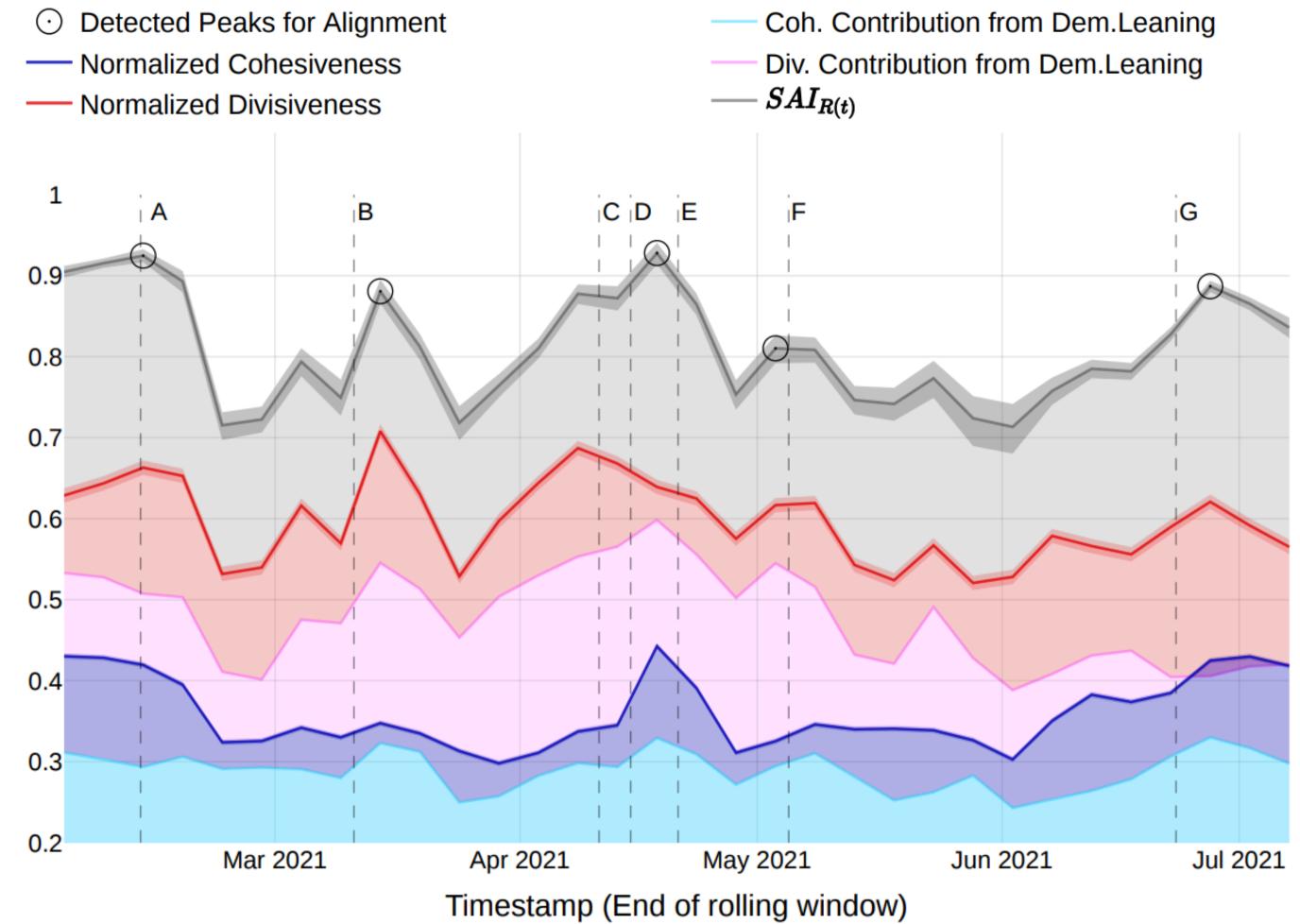
- Trump, Energy, Vote, Impeachment, Trial, Plan, Power, Job, Clear, Start
- Read, Vaccine, Give, Call, Death, Story, Fact, Make, Stop, Covid
- Police, Black, Kill, Shoot, Murder, Justice, Girl, Cop, Name, Veredict
- Election, Want, Trump, Violation, Get, School, Duck, Pandemic, Go, Big
- Get, Theory, Crime, Likely, Say, Government, Pay, Right, Voter, Collapse

### **Event summary**

Governor Abbott Issues Disaster Declaration in relation to the Storms and Power Crisis in Texas

- President Biden to Announce All Americans to be Eligible for Vaccinations by May 1
- Killing of Daunte Wright (20 years old) by the police during a traffic stop for an outstanding warrant
- Release of a relevant body cam video of the killing of Adam Toledo (13 years old) by a CPD Officer
- Killing of Ma'Khia Bryant (16 years old) by a police officer in Columbus, Ohio
- Facebook's Oversight Board upholds ban on Trump
- Biden-Harris Administration Announces Comprehensive Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gun Crime

### Jul 2021



Allen, J., Martel, C., & Rand, D. G. Birds of a feather don't fact-check each other: Partisanship and the evaluation of news in Twitter's Birdwatch crowdsourced fact-checking program. (2022)

Measures

# • CASE nº1: **BIRDWATCH**





### NACH EU-GIPFEL

### Kern lässt Distanz zu Kurz' Türkei-Vorstoß erkennen

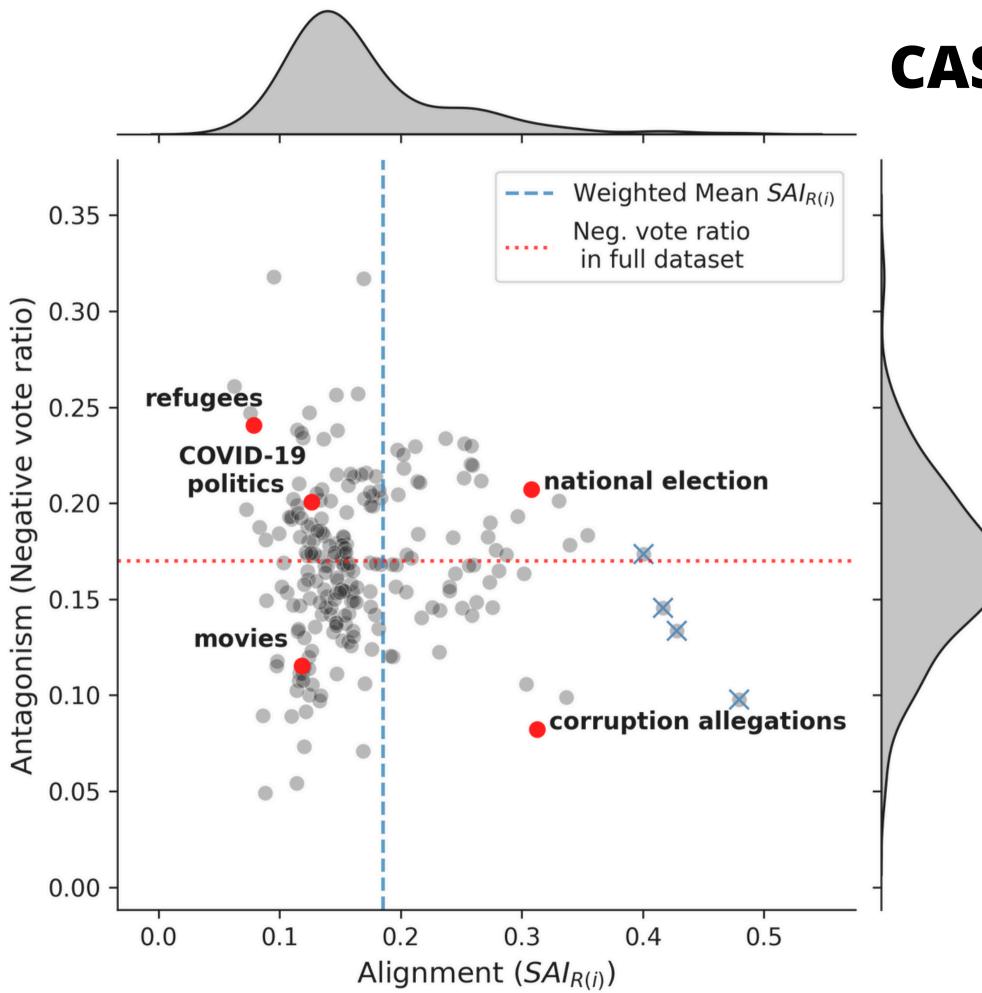
Tagelang sorgte Österreich mit harter Blockadepolitik gegenüber der Türkei für Schlagzeilen. Nach dem EU-Gipfel zeigte sich Kanzler Kern ernüchtert und ging hörbar auf Distanz zu Außenminister Kurz

Thomas Mayer aus Brüssel 16. Dezember 2016, 17:40, <u>832 Postings</u>

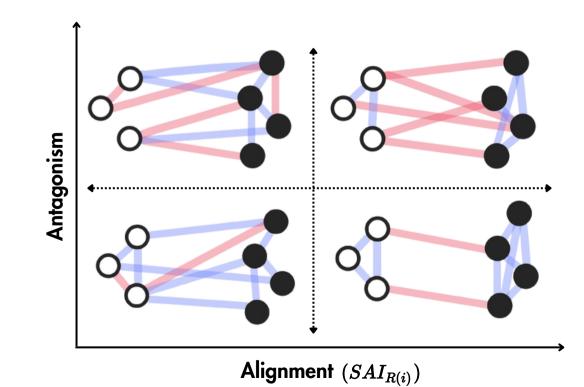
Die Europäische Union stellt ihre umfangreichen Beziehungen zur Türkei – zu denen die Zollunion, der Migrationspakt und die Sicherheitspartnerschaft in der Nato ebenso gehören wie der seit 1999 laufende Beitrittsprozess – in keiner Weise infrage. Das hat Ratspräsident Donald Tusk Donnerstagnacht zum Abschluss des EU-Gipfels in Brüssel herausgestellt.

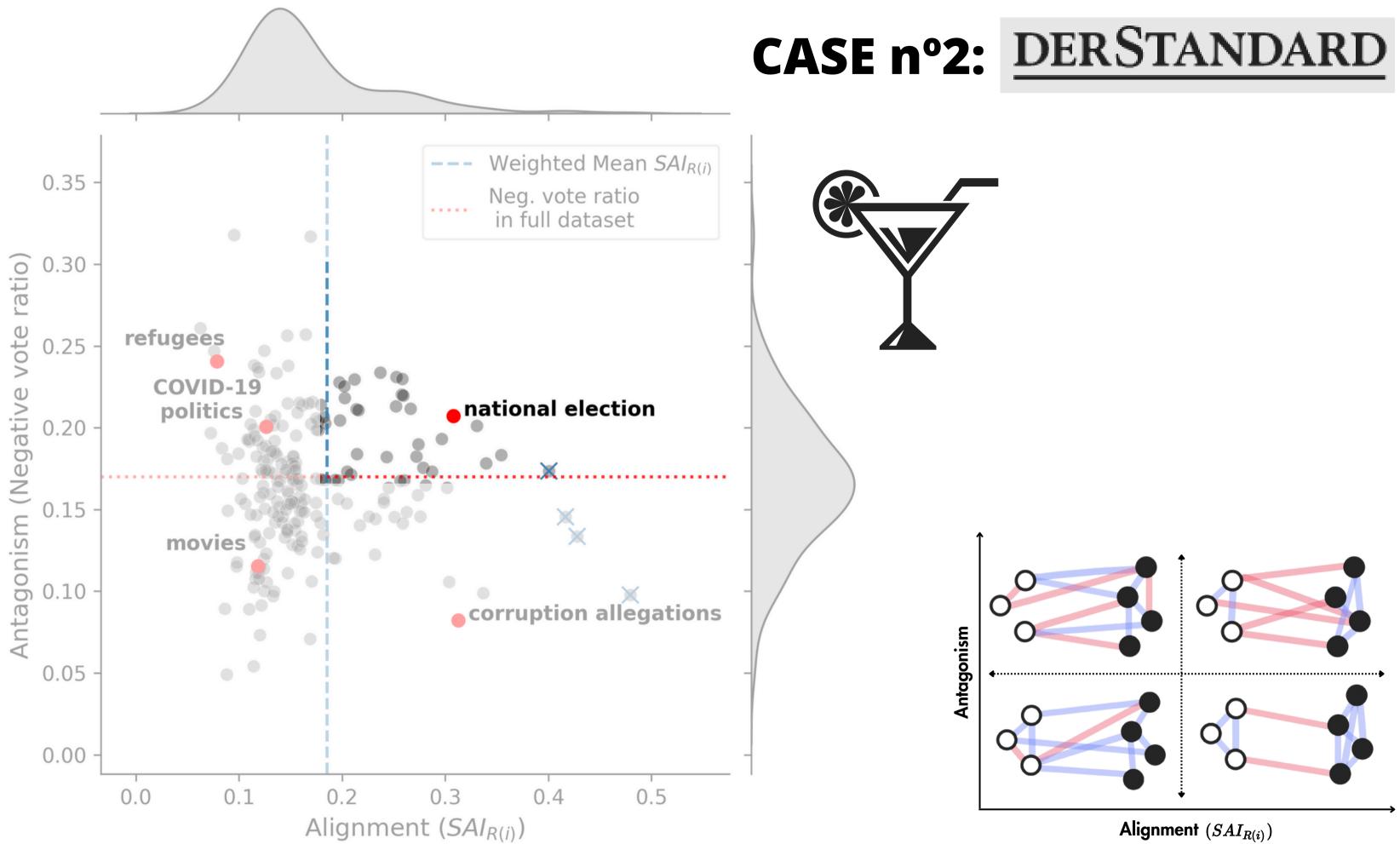
# CASE n°2: DERSTANDARD

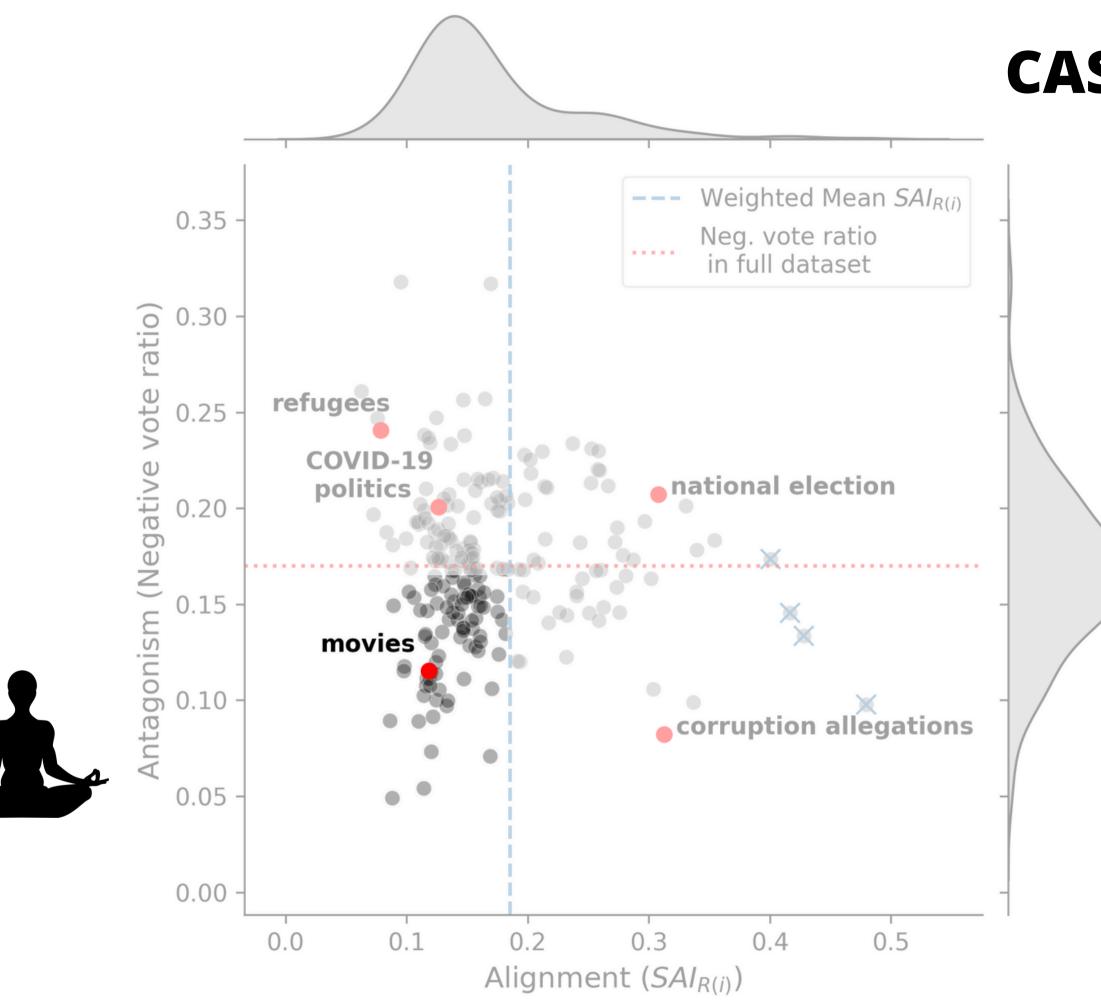




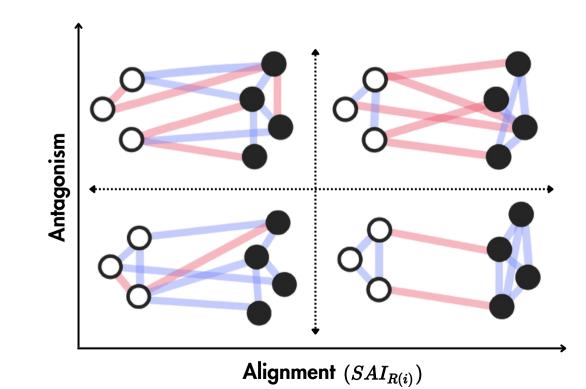
# CASE n°2: <u>DERSTANDARD</u>

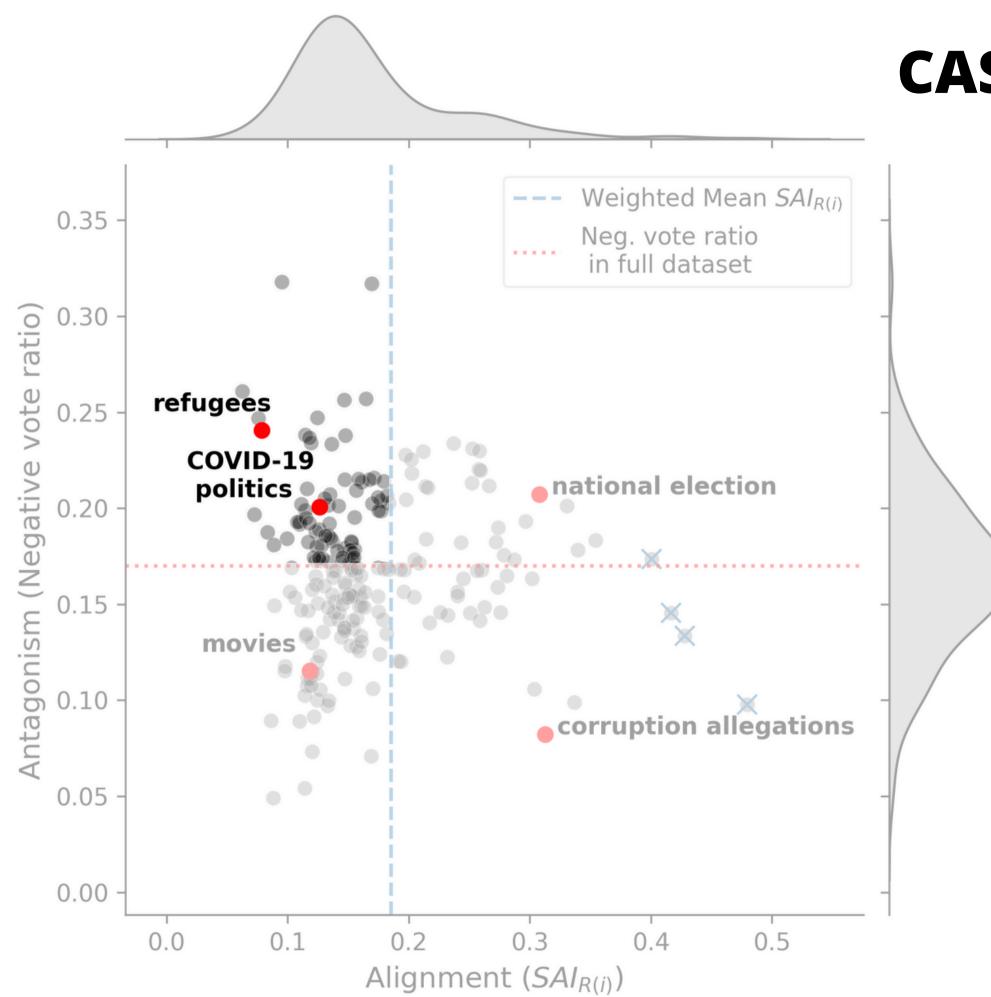






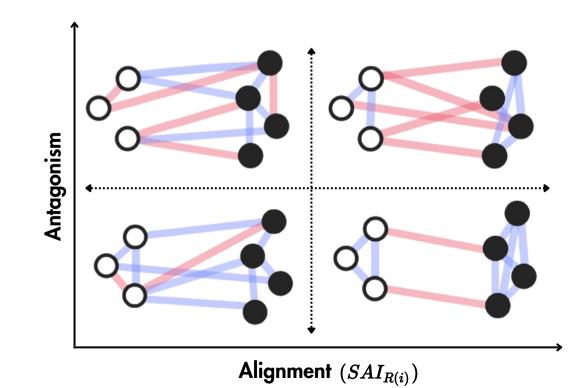
# CASE n°2: <u>DERSTANDARD</u>

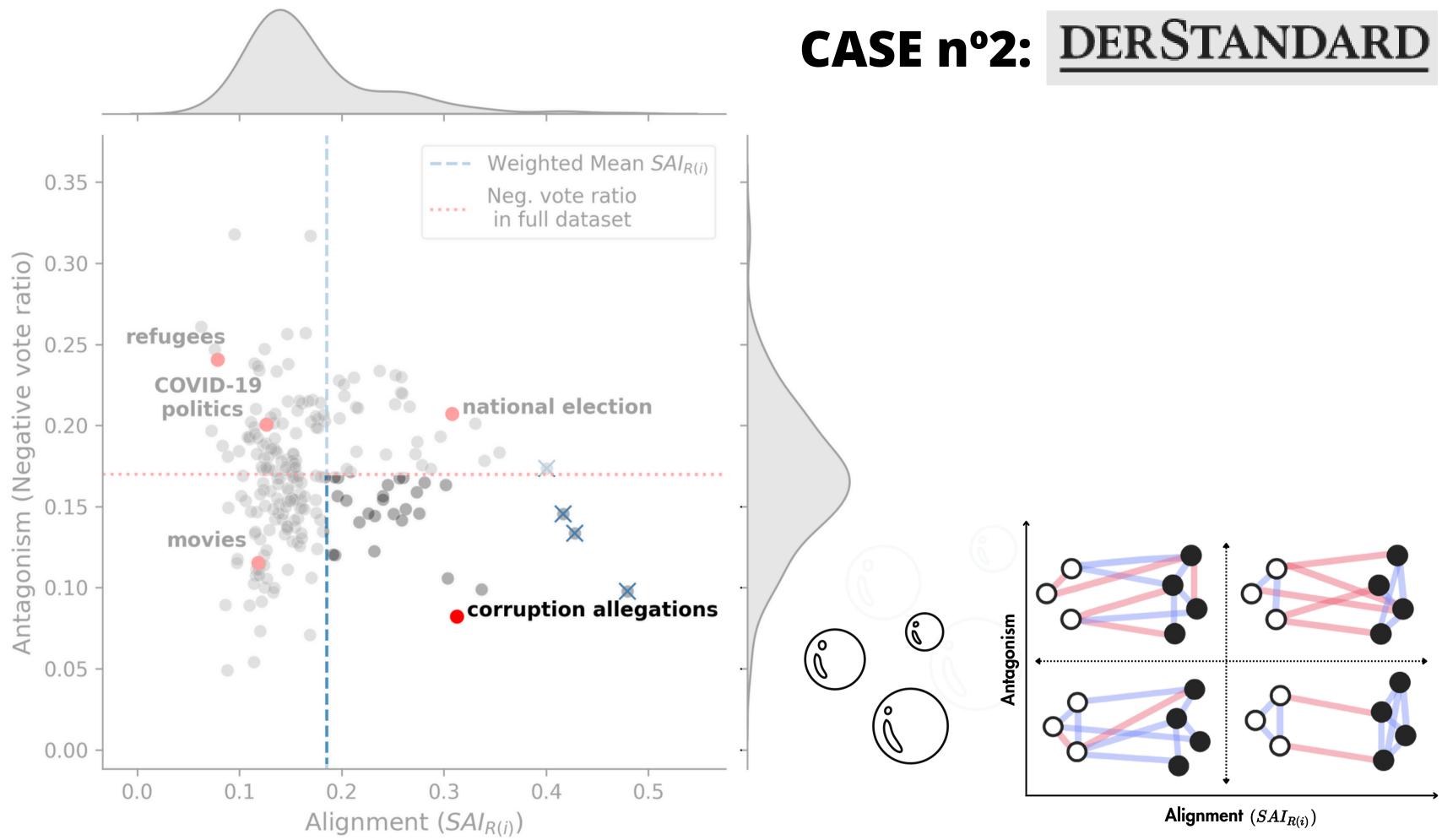


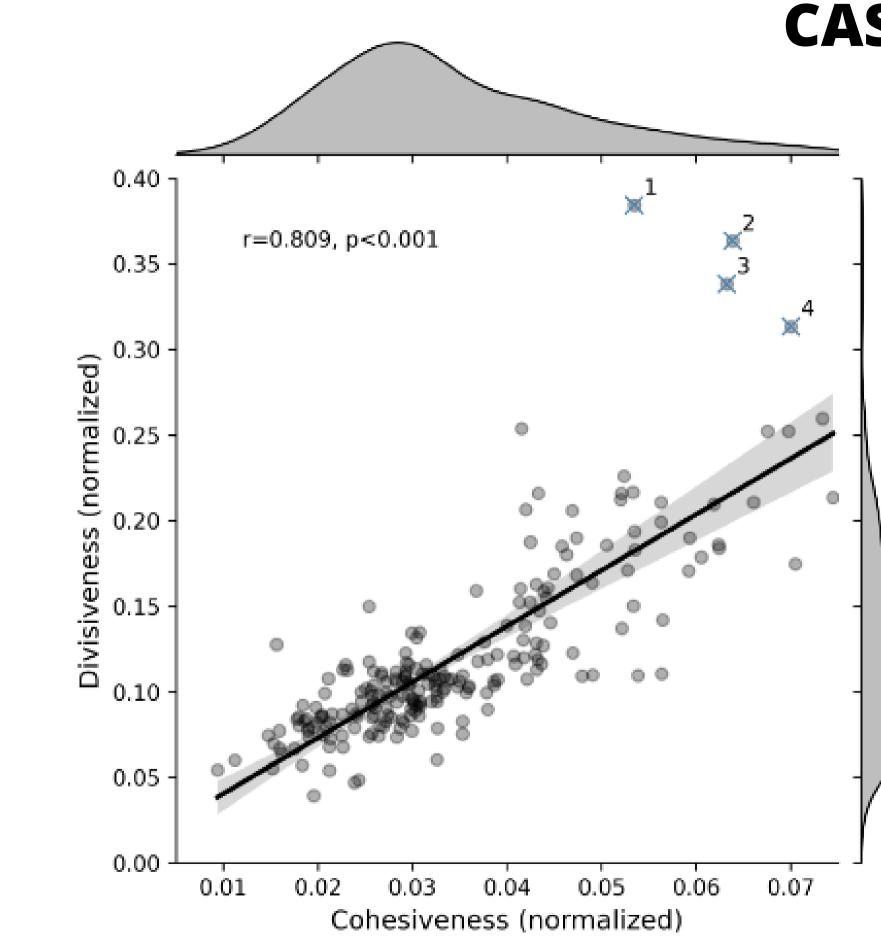




# CASE n°2: <u>DERSTANDARD</u>

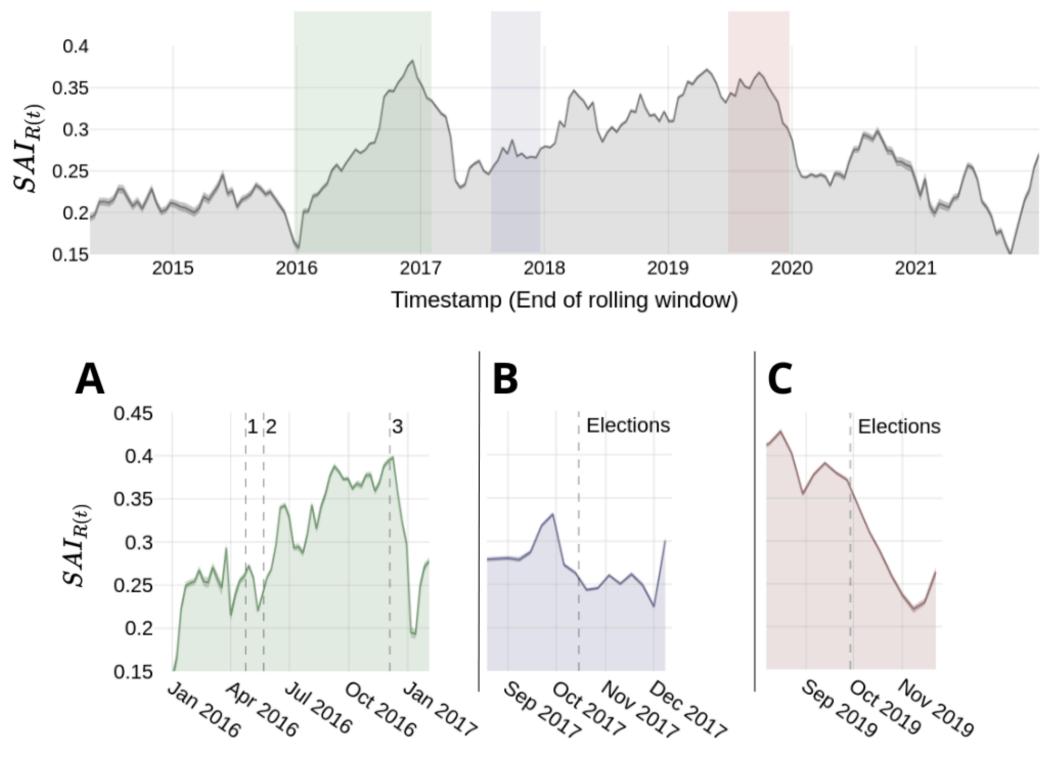






# CASE n°2: DERSTANDARD

### Validity test: Decreases in Alignment after elections



Presidential elections

2017 Legislative elections

2019 Legislative elections

## Take home messages...

- Unpacking the factors of polarization : **Antagonism** and **Alignment**
- Language agnostic
- Applicable to different platforms, as long as we can find **positive** and **negative** interactions
- Compatible with **temporal** analysis





### Emma Fraxanet, Max Pellert, Simon Schweighofer, Vicenç Gómez, David Garcia @emmafraxanet

0



### Check the preprint!

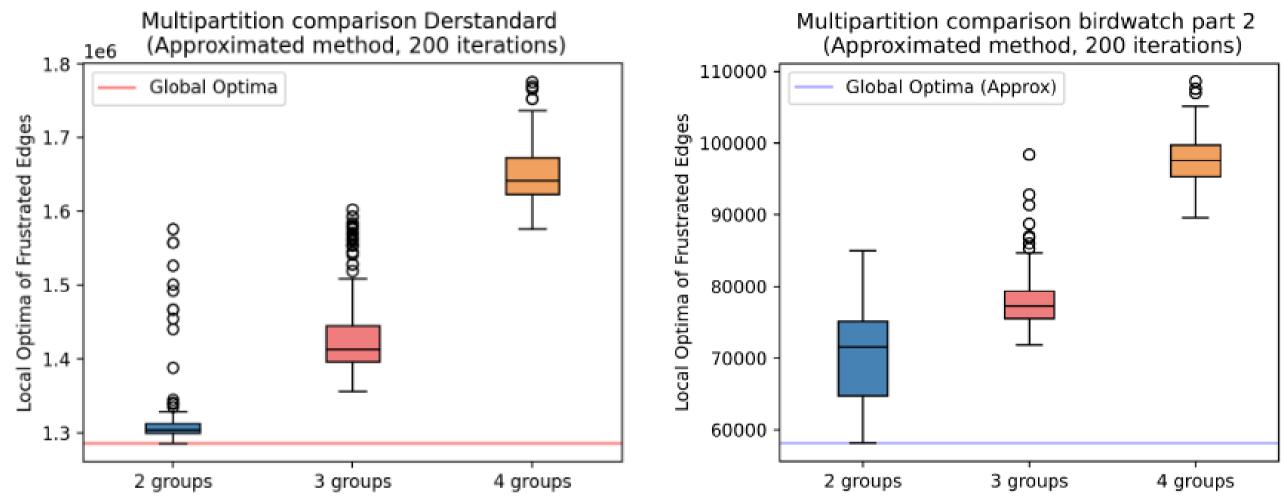


Fig. 3 Multipartition study for Derstandard (left) and BW2 (right). We show the distribution of results for the approximated method for k = 2, 3 and 4. In a straight line, we mark the best partition result, which we assume to be the closest to the global optima. All other solutions are sub-optimal and therefore local optima. In both datasets k = 2 is the best number of groups.

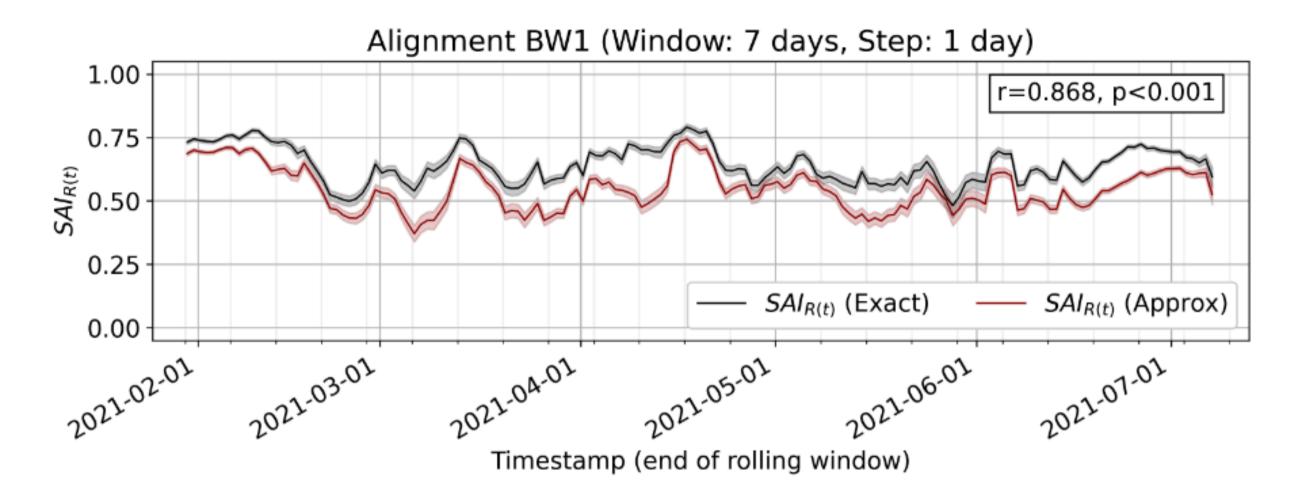


Fig. 2 Comparison between the timeline results obtained for the approximated and exact methods in the BW1 dataset. This figure is an analogous of Figure 4 in the main text with different rolling window parameters. It presents the changes in Alignment obtained with the optimal partition of the exact method and the sub-optimal partition obtained through the approximated algorithm with the same data. Even though the approximated results are consistently lower than the exact results, the variations in the two time series are highly correlated.

····· Antagonism - - Alignment

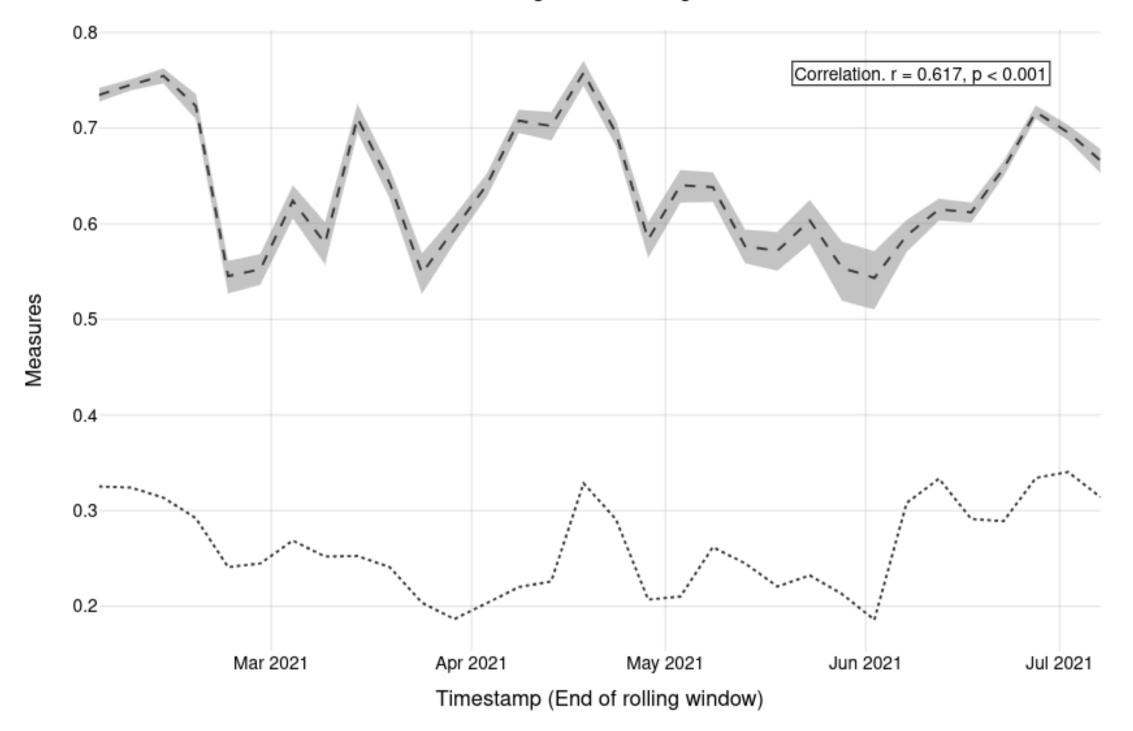


Fig. 5 Antagonism and Alignment of the BW1 time series. We see that, while fluctuations are similar for both metrics in some time windows, the correlation between the metrics is low enough to consider them as separate measures that provide different insights.

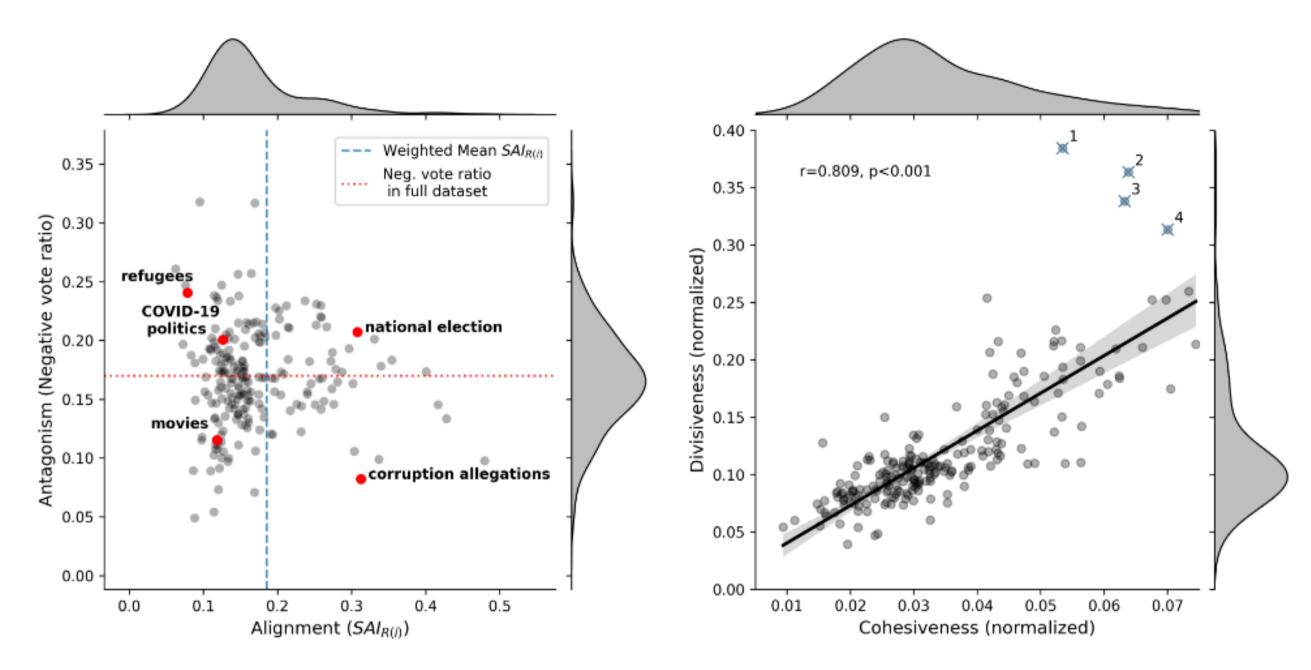


Fig. 5 Alignment versus Antagonism and Cohesiveness versus Divisiveness across Der-Standard topics. The left panel shows Antagonism and Alignment of the ratings of each news topic in DerStandard. Topics have been selected based on the topic/subtopic tags associated with the articles located above the postings (e.g., sports, climate change, etc.). Dashed lines show the mean values of each metric to identify the quadrants depicted in Figure 2 An interactive version of this figure can be found at https://emmafrax.github.io/scatter.html. The right panel shows the scatterplot of normalized Divisiveness versus normalized Cohesiveness for DerStandard rating sub-sets based on topics. These two measures, which account for two different mechanisms that define Alignment, have a significant correlation across topics of 0.8. The highlighted outliers correspond to: (1) BVT (Austrian counterterrorism agency), (2) Abortion, (3) Scheuba (Austrian comedian) and (4) OVP (Political Party)