Recipe: Examining words and phrases

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Introduction

While conspiracy theories have long been understood as irrational narratives produced by extremists in the margins of political and social life, a body of humanities scholarship considers them as critical responses to the complexities and uncertainties of (post)modern life (Knight 2000). While conspiracy theory is often imagined to be a right-wing preoccupation, with the pandemic we have seen the emergence of new "diagonal movements" that cut across traditional left/right distinctions sharing the conviction that all power is conspiracy (Slobodian & Callison 2021).

To explore the parallels between conspiracy theory and more "legitimate" forms of critical thought, researchers can attend to the role of words and phrases as they travel across domains and communities. By combining close and distant reading techniques, this approach bridges gaps between data analytics and discourse analysis, an approach that can be called data hermeneutics:

> data hermeneutics centers on the symbolic analysis of the meaning structures of online conversations … data hermeneutics' chief concern is the synthetic aim of interpreting, reconstructing and explaining the overarching narratives that underpin social media conversations. (Gerbaudo 2016)

Instead of charting the relationships between accounts or posts, this approach focuses on interpreting the relationships between words, the ideas they articulate, and the discourses they construct.

By asking what verbal tools conspiracy communities use and where they got them from, it is possible to answer the question: if conspiracy theorising is a form of social critique, what critical tools do they use, how do they use them, and what kind of social critique do they make possible?

Verbal boundary objects

Like conspiracy theories themselves, words can connect disparate domains and communities. For example, the word 'gaslight' might discursively link domains such as social justice campaigning with conspiracy theorising, and the 'woke' left with the libertarian right.

In cases like this, words are boundary objects: "objects which are both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites" (Star and Griesemer, 1989, p. 393)."

Verbal boundary objects, such as 'gaslight', tend to originate from one domain and community, and get co-opted by another. This can be a powerful disinformation tactic, illustrated by the success of Donald Trump's co-optation of the phrases "fake news" and "big lie" for his own purposes, and confusing the discursive clarity of the terms and thus its ability to critique him.

By attending to how a single word or phrase moves between communities, it is possible to interrogate the tactics used by conspiracy communities and the kinds of social critique they afford.

Corpus

The corpus is of Twitter posts related to conspiracy theory during the period of the pandemic. The original corpus was collected using a long list of conspiracy theory hashtags and keywords (e.g. #BillGatesisEvil). Together with domain experts a list of words was developed in four categories (see below). Using NLP, other words were then identified that were deemed to be used similarly to those in the expert list. The first and second "snowballed" lists of words were then used to once again scrape Twitter (when those words co-occurred with covid OR coronavirus OR covid19).

The first corpus is of about 15M Tweets and is called "Fabio's Secret Tweet Stash". The second is currently only about 4M but is still scraping.[1] Note that working with the second dataset

[1] ['knowthyself', 'prophesied', 'regain', 'tummy', 'authoritarianism', 'binacom', 'non-binary', 'disputing', 'misrepresented', 'open-minded', 'demand-side','facts', 'make-believe', 'sinister','incontrovertible', 'awakenings', 'activism', 'chinsespolice','connecting', 'subjugated', 'patriarchy', 'whining', 'deceive',

will probably return many more instances of the use of a given term, but because of how they were collected, we can't assume them to be *as* "conspiratorial".

Selecting words, phrases and concepts

We have identified epistemic keywords in four high level themes:

1. **Critical theory** (eg 'biopolitics')
2. **Social justice** (eg 'gaslight')
3. **New Age** (eg 'awakening')
4. **Epistemic** (eg 'truth')

All of the words are contained in column in this spreadsheet, which also features other "snowballed" words (see above)

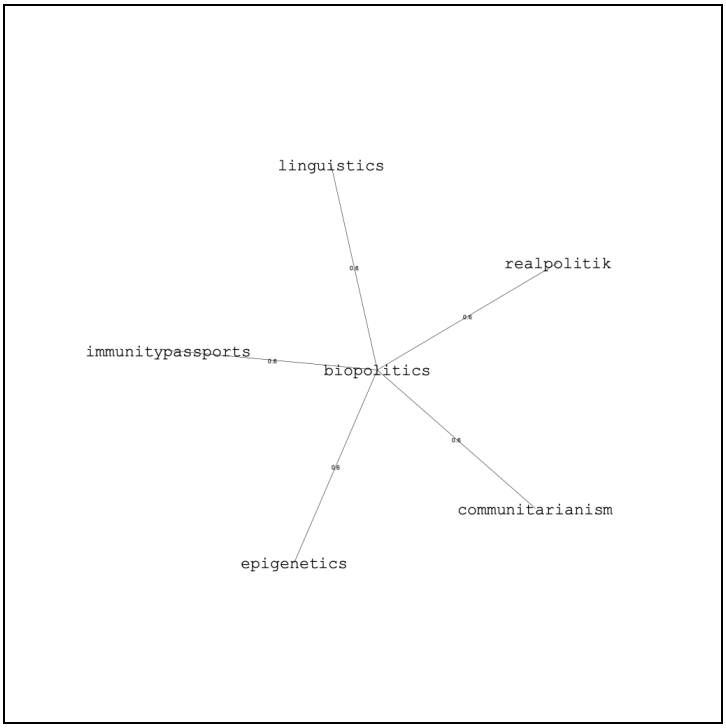


Figure: example of 'snowballed' similar terms for 'biopolitics' (based on gensim w2v word embeddings)

Consider these features when selecting your words, phrases and concepts:

'chauvinism','contrived','uncovering', 'misdirection', 'fabrication', 'wakeupamerica', 'prove','polarization','maybe', 'racial', 'perhaps','immeasurable','ayurveda','trusting', 'fraud-', 'mindset','distorting','reveals','restore','capitalist'] + [coronavirus OR covid OR covid19]

- **Quantity**: ideally keywords should feature above a minimum number of instances to ensure there are enough posts and posters to analyse, but below a maximum to facilitate meaningful close reading.
- **Relevance:** keywords should be relevant to you and your community's interests. For example, a word might have a particularly interesting history, or its co-optation might be particularly surprising (eg 'gaslight' being used by the libertarian right).
- **Centrality:** keywords that link different domains or communities (i.e. have high 'centrality' in the network) may indicate a particularly multi-valent word that has many meanings and uses for different communities (see step 14 & 15).

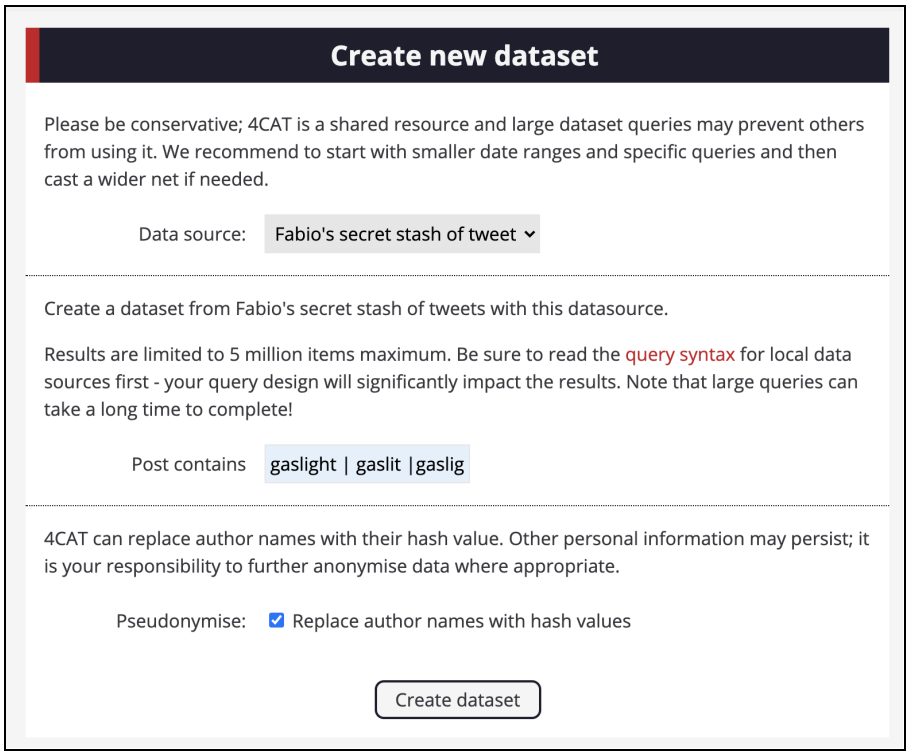
Recipe

1. Choose your keyword(s). For example, 'gaslight', 'gaslit', 'gaslighted', 'gaslighting'

2. Create a worksheet based on this template (feel free to adjust).

3. Create a subfolder in this gdrive directory w/ naming convention: Word_Surname

4. Go to 4CAT, and select 'Fabio's secret stash of tweets' (the second dataset will also be accessible at a given point, see above), and enter your keywords in the correct notation. For example, 'gaslight | gaslit | gaslight | gaslighting'. Use the proper query syntax, and use all the conjugations of the keyword - eg not just 'gaslight', but 'gaslight | gaslit | gaslight | gaslighting'. Un-select the default privacy settings in order to retain "author names" for analyses of authors in step 13.

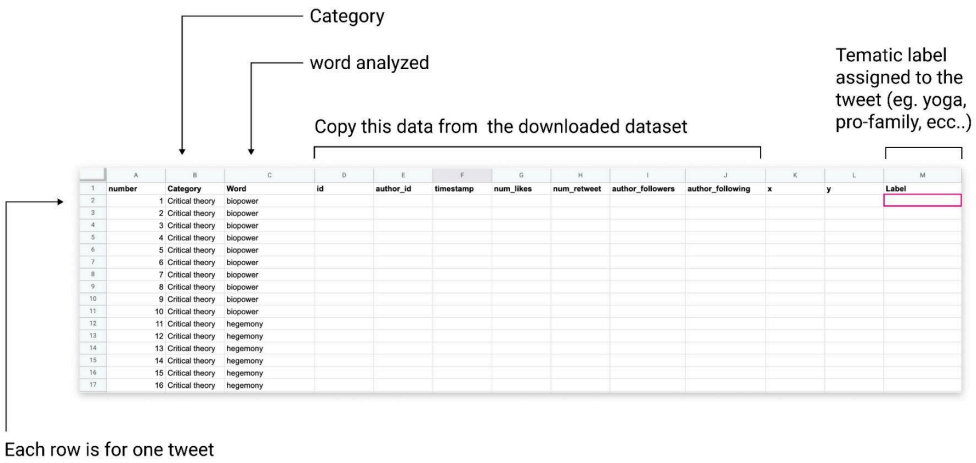


5. Create dataset, download the csv and upload to the appropriate folder in the gdrive directory (in settings you can select to automatically "convert uploaded files to Google Docs editor")

6. Begin by ranking the posts in the csv based on the number of retweets. Copy across the top 10 tweets into the worksheet. Analyse the key themes.
    a. Order all of your datasets in such a way that it can then be used as the basis for a set of data visualizations. Create a spreadsheet for the entire list of words that your group is exploring. Following the diagram below, enter labels for tweets in column "m". This is an *axial coding scheme*, in which you try to relate data together in order to reveal categorinums. Working in a team, then consult with others as you develop this scheme.
    b. Position the tweets (at least one or two) in the *political compass*. In order to do so please assign a value from -10 to +10 in column "k" and column "l". -10x =

extreme left. +10x = extreme right. -10y = extreme libertarian. +10y = extreme authoritarian. (0x + 0y = ideologically neutral ;-).

HOW TO FILL THE DATASET



number	Category	Word	id	author_id	timestamp	num_likes	num_retweet	author_followers	author_following	x	y	Label
1	Critical theory	biopower										
2	Critical theory	biopower										
3	Critical theory	biopower										
4	Critical theory	biopower										
5	Critical theory	biopower										
6	Critical theory	biopower										
7	Critical theory	biopower										
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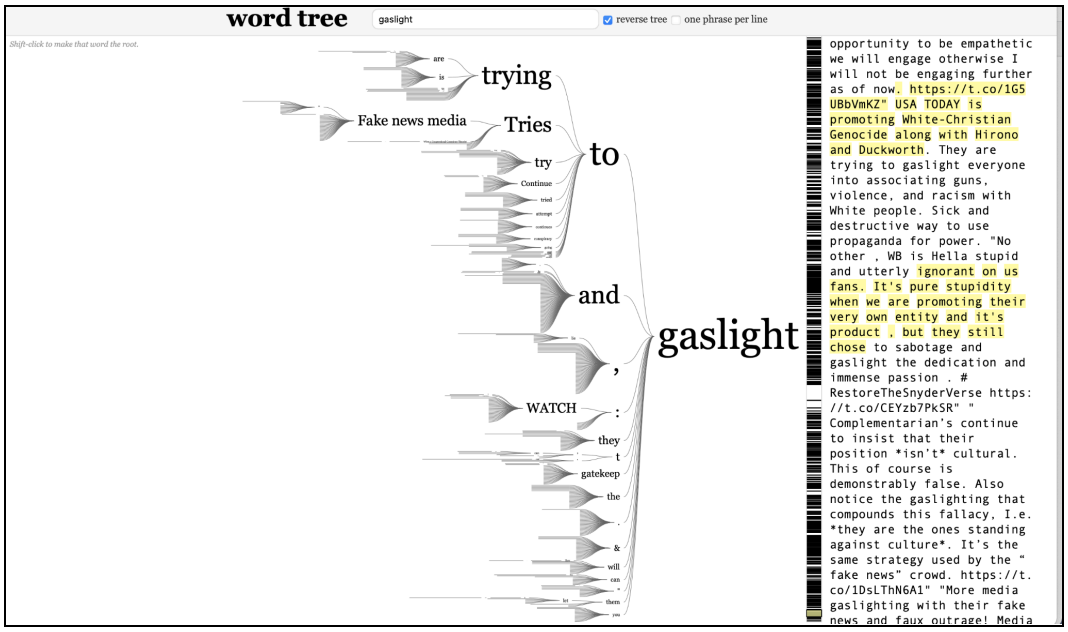
9	Critical theory	biopower										
10	Critical theory	biopower										
11	Critical theory	hegemony										
12	Critical theory	hegemony										
13	Critical theory	hegemony										
14	Critical theory	hegemony										
15	Critical theory	hegemony										
16	Critical theory	hegemony										

7. Select all posts in the dataset, copy them, and paste into the interactive word tree tool. You may need to paste into a text editor to strip the formatting from the CSV.

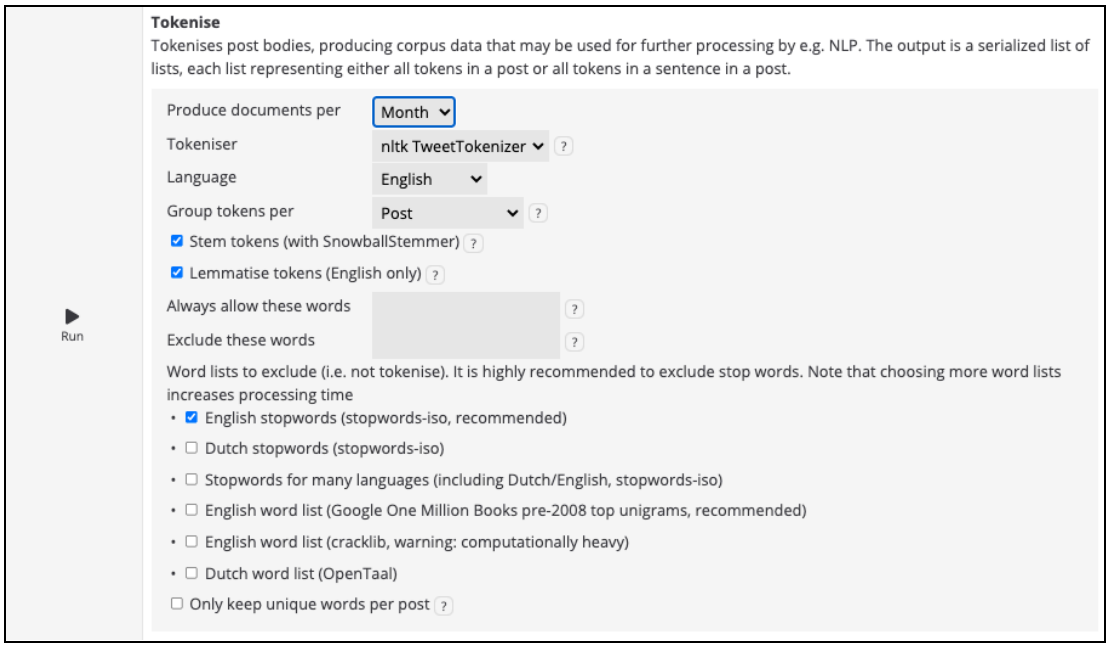
8. Generate the word tree, and begin to explore. Type in your keywords into the box at the top to make that the root of the word tree. Click a word to combine it with the root word to form a phrase. The size of the word or phrase is proportional to the number of times that word (or phrase) precedes or succeeds your root word, so pay particular attention to larger words and phrases.



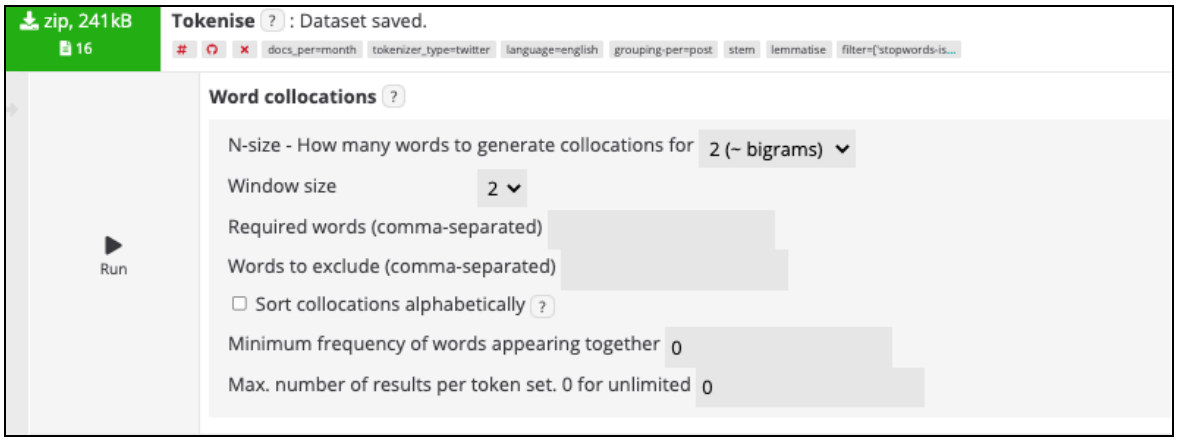
9. Log the key items - entities, actions, themes and claims - that emerge in your word tree, creating the screen grabs to be included into the worksheet.

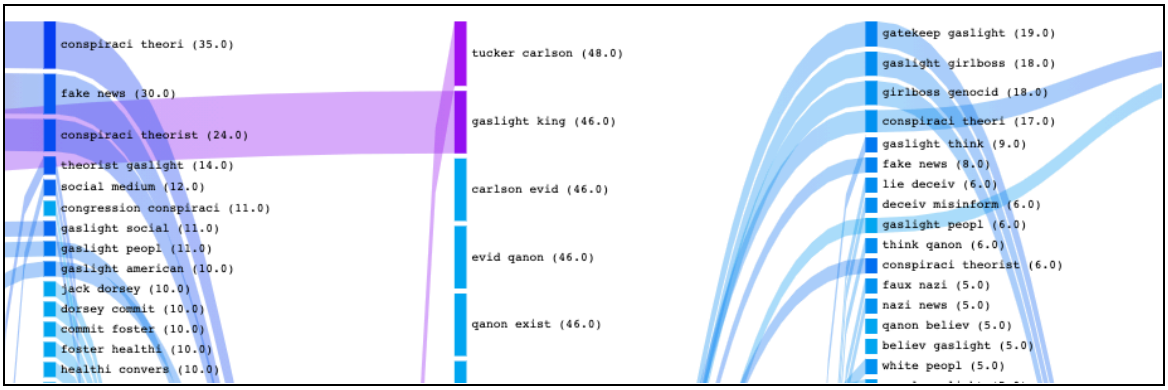
10. Conduct ‘zoom-ins’ into anything that’s confusing, unexpected or weird, by looking at occurrences in individual posts in the CSV (via using its text search function). This step may require some additional research in order to interpret results. For example, the phrase ‘girlboss genocide’ commonly follows the word ‘gaslight’, which can be interpreted with reference to individual posts and a meme. Collect the key items (see step 8). Log the key ‘zoom-ins’ in your worksheet. You may want to see the comments below a given tweet for which you can try googling the entire tweet in order to see if you can find your way back to it and its comment thread.

11. Preparing the text for time-series analysis. Before we can do this we need to tokenize the text, producing documents *monthly* and *stemming* and *lemmatizing* the words, and *removing stopwords*. Having done so the text is then prepared for time-series analysis

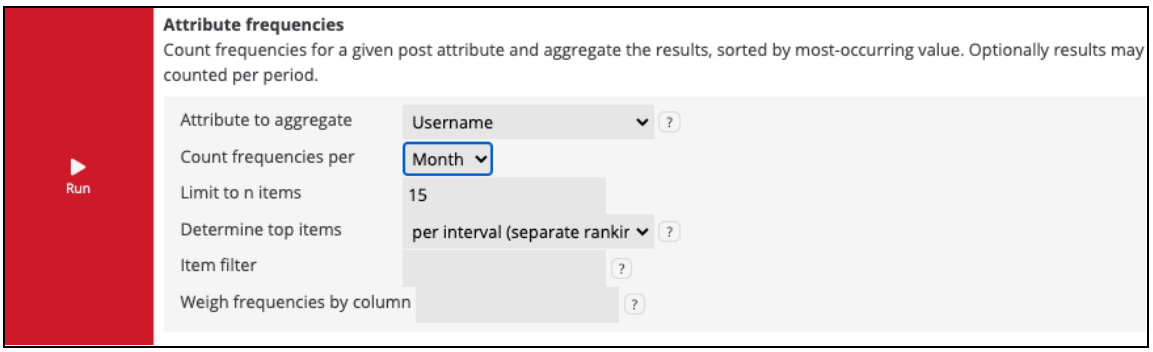


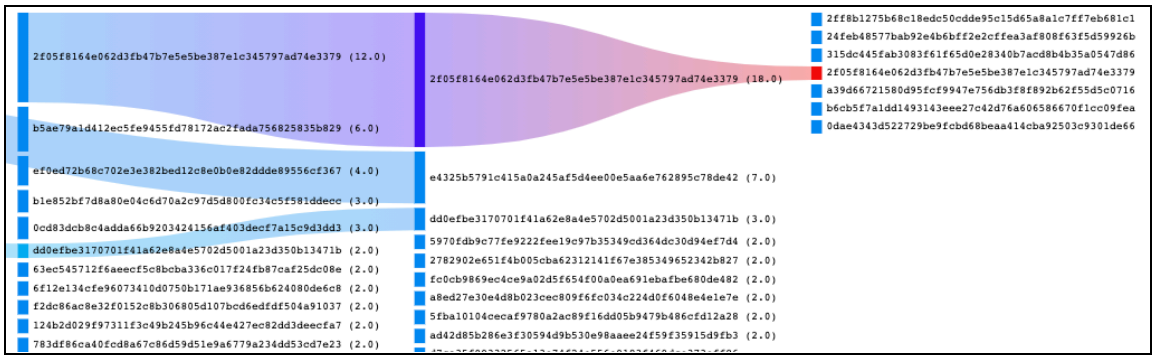
12. Time series analysis: bi-grams over time. This step is a bit of a variation on wood trees. It lets you see how words co-occur over time, which may give an idea of some other popular concepts (e.g. “fake news”) or valences of the key term under analysis (i.e. “gaslight girlboss”)



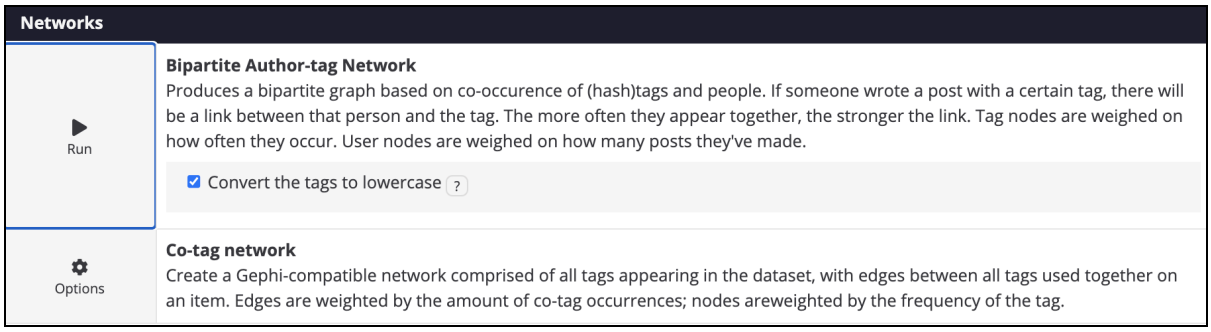


13. Time series analysis: authors over time. This gives you a sense of how many users are using this term, and how widely adopted it is or if it's just some 'rando' who is always using it.





14. Network analysis: **Depending on the size of the network**, conduct an analysis of a *Co-tag network*. For this you will need to have installed Gephi and follow a basic tutorial. *Co-tag network* may show you clusters of related hashtags. This will draw edges between hashtags to give you *a panoramic view of what people think they are talking* about when they use this term.



15. Network analysis (idea entrepreneurs). You can also run a *Bipartite Author-tag network* which may show you communities of users using the term. If you find clusters here you can think of the *Bipartite Author-tag* as networks of "idea entrepreneurs", whose use of the term clusters into different communities. In doing so perhaps you can identify clear different interpretations of the concept. Here we would refer to the linguistic pragmatics ideas that meaning is use and uses are local. In order to characterize these uses properly you may have to move back into the CSV to see how the authors at the core of different clusters use the term differently

16. Write a 250 analysis of the keyword, considering the top posts, keyphrases and items, with screengrabs and examples where helpful.

17. Present your analyses at a given point (at the end of each day) with the aim of positioning these terms as diagonal connections across the political compass

References

Knight P (2000) Conspiracy Culture: From Kennedy to the X-Files. London: Routledge.

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