Can public opinion about Western Sahara's Cause be revealed by Social Media data analysis?

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1. Methodological Introduction

Global "Digital in 2018" report from Hootsuite and We Are Social reveals World's internet users pass the 4 billion mark (53 % of the total world population) and 80 % of the world's internet users are active on social media.

Detailed analytics and mining of large-scale online data from social media and mobile technology promises to give important information by itself or as complement to traditional survey methods to provide greater insight and finer detail. In addition, social media also promises a faster, cheaper, and granular means to engage the public, using hashtags and raising awareness. However, reliability in social media can also be misleading as we can miss people who are not online or avoid online exposure, or we can get a distorted picture of reality because the most controversial cases may have an amplified echo.

Nielsen *et al.* (2017) assessed social media data from Twitter to inform communication campaigns to promote HIV testing and reduce discrimination related to HIV/AIDS, and its potential utility to evaluate such campaigns through HIV testing uptake. Clinical HIV test data was collected monthly from the city of Curitiba in Brazil and compared to the number of tweets on the subject, mapped to the city, showing a moderate positive correlation.

Abreu-Lopes *et al.* (2018) made a study to investigate the feasibility of leveraging big data sources – Twitter and Facebook – to understand the role of big data to evaluate the contribution of UN Women to women's political participation and leadership (WPP). Using Twitter data for Mexico and Facebook data for Pakistan, they combined big data sources with traditional data sources to validate Big Data indicators.

Western Sahara is listed by the United Nations as a non-decolonized territory and included in the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. The United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) is the United Nations peacekeeping mission in Western Sahara, established in 1991 under United Nations Security Council Resolution 690[2]. Western Sahara territory was formerly the Spanish Sahara up to 1976. It has been disputed between Morocco, who controls and administers 80 % of the territory, and the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), who controls and administers the remaining 20 % which are known as the "Liberated territories".

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[1] Contribution on History and Political Sciences: Maciel Morais Santos, CEAUP and FLUP – U. Porto.

[2] Available at: http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/690.

In order to clarify the designations of the regions of origin of the data used in our study, in this text we will use "Moroccan-controlled area" to designate the entire territory currently administered by the Kingdom of Morocco which includes those 80% of the area claimed by SADR. We are also going to need to disaggregate these data originating in the Moroccan-controlled area into two parts: we will then call Morocco to the area without the territories claimed by the SADR and to these we will call Western Sahara.

The sample of data used in this study was selected in order to track public opinion of countries which represent different degrees of interest and commitment regarding the Western Sahara conflict: Algeria, Morocco (Moroccan-controlled area), Spain, France, USA, Brazil, Mexico and South Africa.

Morocco (Moroccan-controlled area) and Algeria may be considered as active players in Western Sahara conflict. Morocco (Moroccan-controlled area) is the current power against which the Saharawi people are fighting. On the other hand, Algeria is the most important supporter of the Polisario Front, the political organization of the Saharawis since 1973; Algerian-based camps are the dwellings of the Sahrawi refugees since 1975.

Spain, France and the USA may stand as powers representing indirect players in this conflict: they have been acting in support of Morocco (Moroccan-controlled area), one way or the other. Spain was the colonial power both in the Rif (Mediterranean Morocco) and in the Western Sahara since 1884. The Spanish administration abandoned the Rif in 1956 but left the Saharan territory only in February 1976, after having signed an agreement of a territorial split with Morocco and Mauritania which was not recognized by the United Nations. Together with France – the other formal colonial power in Morocco – the Spanish government remains one of the main investors and allies of the Alaouite dynasty. In 2000, French multinationals in Morocco controlled more than half of the industrial corporations with a majority of foreign capital (Vermeren, 2002: 287).

The United States have developed a close political and military cooperation with Morocco since 1956. As members of the UN Security council they have played a major role in all the UN initiatives regarding the conflict, some of them directly led by their own diplomats serving as UN envoys, such as James Baker (Baker I and II plans, respectively in 2003 and 2005) and Christopher Ross in 2009.

Being the Sahrawi independence widely supported by the large majority of African countries and by some Latin American ones, it was considered relevant to pick some of them in order to test the convergence of official policies with their own public opinion. The sample considered here includes South Africa, Mexico and Brazil. These countries' internet communities may be seen as representatives of the South in the political sense, which is surely bound to have a more active say in this matters.

2. Twitter

In this study we use data extracted from the social network Twitter. The tweets are searchable with queries comprised by a set of variables such as keywords and/or hashtags, date range, language, gender and location (Twitter supports country, region and city-level filtering).

Taking into account issues of representativeness, Internationally Twitter users are more likely to be men[3], except in the United States where more women than men use this social network. Twitter users are more likely to be between 18 and 49 years old (67 %)

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[3]   Available at: https://www.statista.com/statistics/828092/distribution-of-users-on-twitter-worldwide-gender/.

and more educated[4]. These facts prevent information extracted from Twitter data of being generalized to the entire population of a country. A low-educated citizen with no access to the Internet may not provide social media data, biasing attitude measures. To understand the extent of these biases, we could link Twitter data with representative data from traditional surveys, if there were such surveys, to understand the value of Twitter data to measure trends in public opinion related to Western Sahara issue.

Our study will focus on reactions of Twitter users to matters related with Western Sahara in order to understand trends in public opinion. Furthermore, we want to understand if those trends in public opinion, as discussed in social media, are correlated with countries' governmental support to the cause. We suggest three hypotheses:

· Twitter data, as a form of social media data, reveals public opinion on Western Sahara.
· Twitter data is a valid data source to track public opinion towards Western Sahara cause, providing regional trends.
· Trends in public opinion as measured through Twitter data are associated with trends in governmental support.

We analyzed all the public Tweets published between 1st January and 21st December 2018 for the cases chosen by the criteria explained above: Algeria, Moroccan-controlled area, Spain, France, USA, Brazil, Mexico and South Africa. Twitter data was accessed from where we extracted tweets and re-tweets based on the taxonomy that can be seen in Annex 1.

3. Social Media

Social media can be seen as a tool to mobilize individuals around a cause. There are several examples of national or global movements echoing on social media, for example, recently #Metoo – a hashtag campaign that quickly gained momentum worldwide, encouraging women to share stories of sexual harassment and violence against women.

According to "Digital in 2018" report, more than 3 billion people around the world use social media each month, with almost all users accessing their platforms via mobile devices.

Table 1 shows demographic information by country where we can see that Internet penetration rate is above 50 % of the population for all the countries under study, being Algeria the country with the lowest penetration rate (50 %) and France and the USA with the highest ones (88 %). In line with worldwide trends, social media active users in these countries are a major percentage of internet users.

Regarding the countries considered to be the active players of this conflict, Algeria and Moroccan-controlled area, the internet penetration rate is 50 % and 63 % respectively and it is estimated that Twitter active users are around 2 million (4.71 %) in Algeria, 3 million (8 %) in the Moroccan-controlled area, the lowest rates of our sample of countries.

The indirect players, Spain, France, and USA, have the highest internet penetration rates, near 90 % of the population, and the highest number of active users on Twitter as well, with 16 million (24 %), 19 million (40 %) and 114 million (35 %) users, respectively.

The representatives of the observers, Brazil, Mexico and South Africa, have internet penetration rates of 66 %, 65 % and 54 %, respectively. The number of Twitter active users in these countries are 57 million (27 %), 42 million (32 %) and 13 million (22 %), respectively.

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4   Available at: https://blog.hootsuite.com/twitter-demographics/.

Table 01 – Statistics by country[5]

	Country	Population	Internet users (penetration rate)	*Social Media Active users	*Twitter penetration rate	*Twitter Active Users
Direct Players	Algeria	41.66 M	50 %	50 %	4.71 %**	2 M
	Moroccan--controlled area	35.97 M	63 %	44 %	8 %	3 M
Indirect Players	France	65.11 M	88 %	58 %	24 %	16 M
	Spain	46.38 M	85 %	58 %	40 %	19 M
	USA	325.6 M	88 %	71 %	35 %	114 M
Repres. Observ.	Brazil	210.1 M	66 %	62 %	27 %	57 M
	Mexico	130 M	65 %	64 %	32 %	42 M
	South Africa	57.06 M	54 %	32 %	22 %	13 M

4. Results

In this section, we present the results of the social media data analysis of Twitter posts related to Western Sahara in 2018 for Spain and France in Europe, the United States, Brazil and Mexico in the American continent and South Africa, Moroccan-controlled area and Algeria in Africa, as we understand these countries may represent the players regarding Western Sahara independence.

4.1. Taxonomy

The taxonomy to query Twitter Database started with the list of keywords "Western Sahara", "Moroccan Sahara", "Polisario" and "Sahrawi" in five languages: Portuguese, English, French, Spanish and Arabic. The result of that query revealed that there were other keywords and hashtags related with it, not included in the first query, that were very frequent in the tweets extracted. We added those new hashtags and keywords and iterated this process until the number of extracted tweets stabilized. With the final set of keywords and hashtags, that can be found in Annex 1, we were able to obtain a total of 198,849 tweets from the 8 countries under study, for the year of 2018.

4.2. Analysis of posts about Western Sahara

The Table 02 shows the number of tweets extracted from the Twitter database using the taxonomy described in section 4.1, translated into the query that can be seen in Annex 1, and applied separately to each of the 8 countries under study.

Table 02 – Number of tweets extracted by country

#	Country	Posts	% of total
1	Spain	73,055	36.74 %
2	Moroccan-controlled area	48,545	24.41 %

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5   * GlobalWebIndex, Q2 & Q3 2017. Based on a survey of internet users aged 16-64.
    ** Available at: http://gs.statcounter.com/social-media-stats/all/algeria.

| 3	United States of America	26,736	13.45 %
4	France	17,407	8.75 %
5	Algeria	16,147	8.12 %
6	South Africa	9,482	4.77 %
7	Mexico	5,721	2.88 %
8	Brazil	1,756	0.88 %
	TOTAL	**198,849**	**100.00 %**

Spain is the country with the highest number of tweets about Western Sahara during the year 2018, with a share of about 36.74 % of total tweets of all the 8 countries. It is known that in Spain the penetration rate of Twitter is high with about 40 % (about 19 million) of the population using this social network actively, as can be seen in table 1. On the other hand, this subject is on the Spanish citizen's daily agenda and the Sahrawi cause has much support from the Spanish civil society, these two factors contribute to the high number of tweets about this subject in Spain.

The Moroccan-controlled area has the second largest number of tweets about Western Sahara in 2018. Although only 8 % (3 million) of the population use Twitter, the subject is very present in users' daily lives and nearly 49 thousand tweets that mentioned it were written in 2018.

Then comes the United States and France with more than 26 thousand and 17 thousand tweets respectively. In the USA, Twitter is a very popular social network with 35 % of the population actively using it, representing around 114 million users. In France about 24 % of the population (16 million) actively use this platform.

Algeria has the lowest Twitter penetration rate of the 8 countries under study, with about 2 million active users on this social network. However, the number of tweets mentioning Western Sahara stood above 16,000, slightly below the number of tweets in France during the same year.

Fig. 01 – Volume of tweets in 2018 for the 8 countries
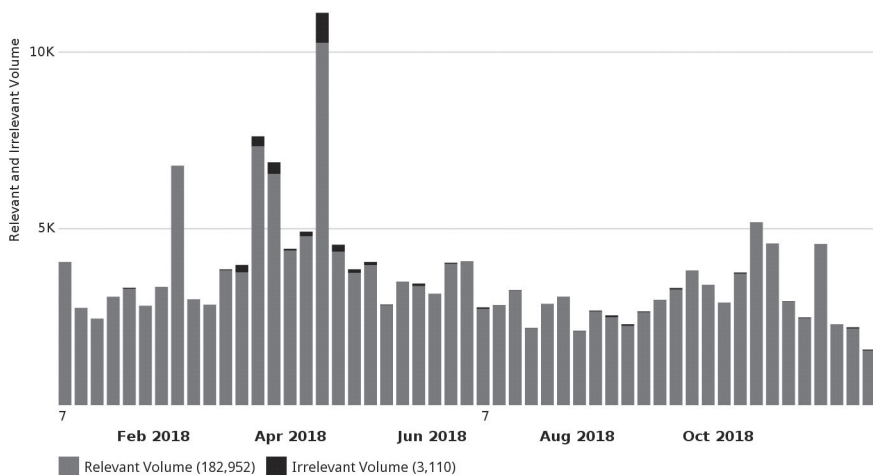
In South Africa the penetration rate of Twitter is 22 % of the population, with close to 13 million active users in this social network. However the number of tweets on subjects related to Western Sahara during the year 2018 was quite low, below 10 thousand.

At the end of the list we find Mexico and Brazil, which, despite having a considerable Twitter penetration rate (about 42 million users in Mexico and 57 million in Brazil), Western Sahara was little debated on this platform in 2018: only 5686 tweets had been published in Mexico and 1756 tweets in Brazil during this year.

Analyzing the tweets volume distribution in 2018 for these 8 countries, which can be seen in Fig. 01, we observe some peaks that reveal the subjects that had more echo among Twitter users. They were: on February 27, the judgment at the Court of Luxembourg on the waters of Western Sahara; on 1 May, the tension between the Kingdom of Morocco and Iran over the supposed support of Polisario front; on December 5, the start of the Geneva talks between the Polisario Front and Morocco, sponsored by the UN. However, throughout the year, there were several users writing about Western Sahara in their tweets.

The Table 03 shows the 10 most used hashtags during 2018 in tweets that mentioned subjects related to Western Sahara in the 8 countries under study.

Table 03 – Top hashtags used in selected countries

#SaharaOccidental	48,000+
#WesternSahara	41,000+
#ActualidadSaharaui	17,000+
#Morocco	14,000+
#SaharaLibre	13,000+
#MoroccanSahara	12,000+
#Polisario	12,000+
#saharaui	9,100+
#Maroc	7,700+
#AlgeriaSCAMWillNeverBe	6,000+

Sentiment Analysis of posts related to Western Sahara

Sentiment Analysis is a Data Mining technic that measures the inclination of people's opinions using natural language processing (NLP), computational linguistics and text analysis, to analyze subjective text. Sentiment Analysis is one of the fastest growing research areas in Computer Science. The outbreak of computer-based Sentiment Analysis occurred with the availability of subjective texts on the Web and therefore, 99 % of the papers have been published after 2004. In recent years, sentiment analysis has been applied to social media texts from Twitter and Facebook. Analyzed data quantifies the general public's sentiments or reactions toward certain products, people or ideas and reveal the contextual polarity of the information (Mäntylä *et al.*, 2018).

Now we are going to analyze sentiment on the extracted tweets for each country independently in order to estimate the inclination of Twitter users' opinion in each of the countries under study. For this, we have done prior classification of some tweets in 5 different languages: Portuguese, English, French, Spanish and Arabic[6]. This training was

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6   Colaboration on Arabic language: Mourad Aty, CEAUP – U. Porto, University of Guelma.

done by classifying as positive 76 tweets chosen from our database expressing support towards Saharawi's cause, 37 tweets that only give information without giving any opinion we classified as neutral and 37 tweets manifesting against Saharawi's cause as negatives. After running the algorithm we obtained the results of classifying the total 198,849 extracted tweets. The results obtained can be found in table 04.

Table 04 – Sentiment Analysis by country

	Country	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Direct Players	Algeria	41 %	43 %	16 %
	Morocco	19 %	15 %	66 %
	Western Sahara	64 %	23 %	13 %
Indirect Players	France	17 %	23 %	60 %
	Spain	83 %	17 %	<1 %
	USA	47 %	13 %	40 %
Observers	Brazil	72 %	15 %	13 %
	Mexico	75 %	21 %	4 %
	South Africa	80 %	6 %	14 %

To analyze these results, we start by looking at the countries considered to be direct players: Moroccan-controlled area and Algeria.

As for Moroccan-controlled area, we have divided the territory into two parts, in order to try to estimate separately Twitter user's opinions from the territory corresponding to the Western Sahara and to Morocco.

For our study we have considered as Morocco the regions of Tangier, Oujda, Fès, Rabat, Béni Mellal, Casablanca, Marrakesh, Errachidia, Agadir and Guelmim and as Western Sahara the regions of Laayoune and Dakhla, and we were not able to include here the "Liberated territories" controlled by SADR, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic.

We have seen that this division of the Moroccan-controlled territory in two, reveals opposing positions on Western Sahara topic, with tweets originating in Morocco being mostly negative (66 %) and those in the regions considered to be part of Western Sahara mostly positive (63 %). However, it should be noted that we could not include tweets from the "Liberated territories" in Western Sahara data and its number of extracted tweets is small, standing at a few hundred, which limits the conclusions to be drawn on the intensity of opinions in this territory.

In Algeria, neutral tweets have the highest position (43 %), followed by those with a positive opinion (41 %), with around 16 % of tweets expressing negative opinions about Western Sahara.

As for indirect players: Spain, France and USA, the analysis of sentiment reveals different directions for these three countries.

In France, the opinion on Sahrawi's cause in 2018 was mostly negative (60 %) and in Spain was overwhelmingly positive (83 %), being the number of negative tweets on Western Sahara almost zero.

In the USA we see that in 2018 the positive sentiment reaches 47 % of the tweets but the negative was 40 %. This negative result is due mainly to the May 1st episode of the Moroccan accusation of Iran-sponsored terrorism through the Polisario Front which gave rise to a spike of tweets in the USA with negative sentiments in their tweets. These weighed in the annual percentage, raising the percentage of negative tweets and polarizing in 2018 the opinions on the cause of the Western Sahara.

As for the representative observers, South Africa, Mexico and Brazil, all show a strongly positive sentiment.

In both Brazil and Mexico, sentiment over Western Sahara is very positive, reaching 72 % and 75 % respectively. In South Africa, positive feeling was also prevalent reaching 80 % of all written tweets.

Fig. 02 shows us the results in each country ordered from the least positives, France and Morocco (without the regions of Laâyoune and Dakhla), to the most positive, Spain.

Fig. 02 – Percentage of positive, neutral and negative sentiment by country

Sentiment Analysis
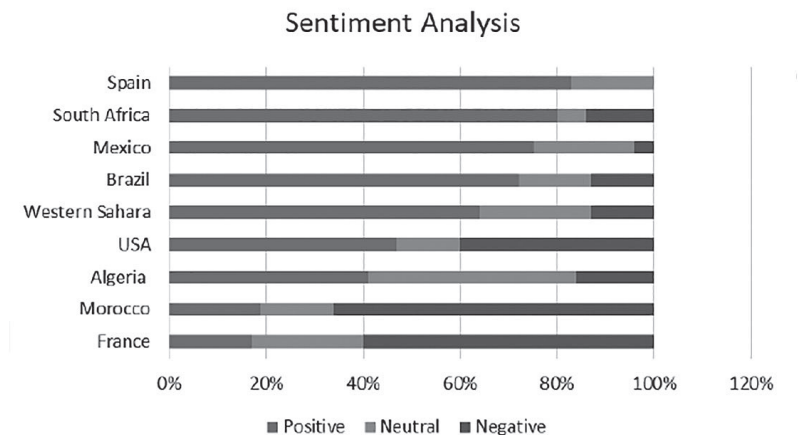
4.3. Governmental position versus public opinion

The Table 05 shows in a summarized table the most frequent public sentiment and the respective governmental position on Western Sahara conflict for each of the considered countries.

Considering the direct players, the Saharawi, the Algerians and Morocco, we see that public opinion captured by the tweet's sentiment is more or less aligned with governmental positions.

Algerian government supports Western Sahara independence although Algerian public opinion was estimated to be mostly neutral immediately followed by positive. One interpretation for the high number of neutral tweets may be its close association with a regime topic of the last 40 years and therefore its contamination with official politics, quite unpopular as the 2019 demonstrations in Algeria have been showing. It remains however a current issue given the number of tweets and the positive ones come just below the neutral ones, clearly indicating that public opinion did not stop supporting the Saharawi cause. However, a percentage of negative opinions (16 %) was also found.

The Moroccan Kingdom has made the lifeline of the regime out of the Saharan annexation. Accordingly, opinions contesting the "morocconisation" of the South represent the most serious political offense. Moroccan public opinion is led, one way or the other, to say mainly the same. Still, 19 % of the tweets support Saharawi cause, a percentage that may not be explained not only by the Saharawi living in the Moroccan territory. The social tension is higher in Morocco than in Algeria and the Moroccan regime does not dispose of the hydrocarbures rent to cushion recessive times. The underground opposition to Morocco's colonial policy shown by the tweets may, therefore, go along with the regime's

hidden but rapid wear. Despite the Makhzen repression, these percentages may confirm that societal changes might be on the way.

Western Sahara is obviously supportive of itself. Looking at tweets from this region without the "Liberated territories" we found a positive public opinion, with, probably, the percentage of Moroccan state colons living there explaining the 13 % negative tweets.

The indirect players – France, Spain and the USA – show different degrees of convergence of public opinion towards the respective official policies.

France is an ally of Morocco and French public opinion is in line with French governmental position. However, although the Spanish government persistent role on Moroccan side, Spanish public opinion is massively on the side of Saharawi cause.

The USA have been having meandering policies so far, in regard to the whole Maghreb and the Western Sahara in particular. Since the end of the Cold War, Washington tends to have interests in all of the countries of the region and the US government is surely closer to Algiers than ever. Therefore, the dispersion of sentiment results of the USA public opinion data is consistent with this trend.

Expected results also came from the "observers group", Brazil, Mexico and South Africa. These three states support the Saharawi cause and their public opinion says the same.

Table 05 – Most frequent public opinion vs. governmental position

	Country	Public Opinion Positive/Neutral/Negative	Governmental Position
Direct Players	Algeria	Neutral/Positive	Supportive
	Morocco	Negative	Against
	Western Sahara	Positive	Supportive
Indirect Players	France	Negative	Against
	Spain	Positive	Against
	USA	Positive/Negative	Supportive/Against
Repres. Observ.	Brazil	Positive	Supportive
	Mexico	Positive	Supportive
	South Africa	Positive	Supportive

5. Conclusions

The presented results allow us to comment on the initial hypotheses of this study.

- Twitter data, as a form of social media data, reveal public opinion. It was possible to classify, for each country, the tweets as positive, neutral or negative, and to conclude if that country's public opinion is favorable or not to Saharawi cause.
- Twitter data is a valid data source to track public opinion towards Western Sahara, providing national trends.
- Trends in public opinion measured through Twitter data tend to be associated with Governmental public positions. Spain was the only country with opposite positions between public opinion and its Government and the results from the data just confirmed what empirical observation had already concluded.

Furthermore, in the results obtained we observe a perfect consonance between the public opinion of a country and its government policy, which leads us to suspect that the information disseminated in the countries is very much in line with governmental positions influencing public opinion, with the expected exception of Spain.

However, representativeness issues must be taken into account, biasing these results. To understand issues with representation and validity, combining Twitter data with survey data is seen as a best practice (Couper, 2013; Callegaro and Yang, 2018). Future work could include collecting survey data from these 8 countries and compare it with these results. Other social network data like Facebook data, could be considered in future work when addressing Morocco and Algeria, as this social media has far more users in these countries than Twitter.

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Annex 1

Taxonomy and query to extract tweets related with Western Sahara

"Polisario" OR "Sahrawi" OR

"Western Sahara" OR "Moroccan Sahara" OR
"Sahara Ocidental" OR "Sahara Marroquino" OR
"Saara Ocidental" OR "Sara Ocidental" OR "Saara Marroquino" OR "Sara Marroquino" OR
"Sáhara Occidental" OR "Sahara Occidental" OR
"Sáhara Marroquí" OR "Sahara Marroqui" OR
"Sahara Occidental" OR "Sahara Marocain" OR

"الصحراء المغربية" OR "الصحراء الغربية" OR "الصحراوي" OR "البوليساريو"

OR

#Polisario OR #frontPolisario OR #sahrawi OR #saharawi OR #saharaui OR #saharauis
OR #RASD OR #SADR OR #WesternSahara OR #SaharaOcidental OR #SaaraOcidental
OR #SaraOcidental OR #WestSahara OR #SaharaOccidental OR #MoroccanSahara OR
#SaharaMarroquino OR #SaaraMarroquino OR #SaraMarroquino OR SaharaMarroqui
OR #SaharaMarocain OR #WesternSaharaIsNotMorocco OR

#SaharaLibre OR #FreeWestSahara OR #Saharalivre OR #Saaralivre OR #ActualidadSa-
haraui OR #EstePescadoEsRobado OR #EsePescadoEsRobado OR #SaharaIndependence
OR #marcheverte OR #greenmarch OR #larnaquealgeriennenaurapaslieu OR #Justicia-
ParaLosSaharauis OR #YoReconozcoLaRASD OR #FueraMarruecosDeLaRASD OR #Alge-
riaSCAMWillNeverBe OR #StandInTheSand OR

OR #الصحراءالغربيةالحرة OR #الصحراءالمغربية OR #الصحراءالغربية OR #الصحراوي OR #بوليساريو

OR #مسيرةخضراء OR #استقلالالصحراء

OR #الصحراءالغربيةالمحتلة

OR #آخرمستعمرةأفريقية

#الحرياتللصحراء