

Europe Day and the Fall of the Berlin Wall on Twitter/X: Conflict, Tone, and Deliberative Quality Across France, Germany, Italy, and Slovenia

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Abstract

This article compares how two major European commemorations—Europe Day (9 May) and the fall of the Berlin Wall (9 November)—are discussed on Twitter/X in Slovenia, Italy, Germany, and France. We conceptualise commemorations as activation frames: recurring cues that invite users to interpret contemporary political conflicts through the lens of salient European historical events. However, rather than focusing only on what people discuss, we examine whether disagreement is present and how it is expressed. Using an LLM-assisted coding scheme, we apply a three-step design: (A) we identify whether posts are conflictual; (B) within conflict, we distinguish non-antagonistic from antagonistic tone, using incivility as a proxy; and (C) we assess deliberative quality using DQI-style indicators, comparing the share of high-quality discussion across antagonistic and non-antagonistic modes. This design enables direct cross-country comparisons of whether commemorative talk is mostly ceremonial and low-conflict, confrontational in tone, or conflictual yet characterised by reason-giving and constructive engagement. Finally, we use topic modelling as an additional diagnostic layer to identify thematic hotspots in where conflict, antagonistic tone, and lower deliberative quality concentrate, as well as clusters where deliberative signals persist even under antagonistic tone. The approach enables cross-national comparison of conflict, tone, and deliberative quality in commemorative Twitter/X debates, and can help identify changes in discourse quality in digital public spheres.

Keywords: cultural memory; commemorations; antagonism; deliberative quality (DQI); Twitter/X; large language models (LLMs); cross-country analysis

Introduction

Commemorations are not merely symbolic reminders of the past. They are recurring public occasions in which societies renegotiate legitimacy, identity, and political authority through historically grounded narratives (Meyer, 2008). Such occasions can function as activation frames insofar as they invite actors to connect established mnemonic templates to contemporary political conflicts. We conceptualise activation frames as a mechanism that shapes how commemorative talk is enacted in the online public sphere. First by affecting whether conflict is activated at all and second by conditioning the tone and deliberative quality of conflict once it occurs. In this sense, commemorative debates provide empirical leverage for analysing how political disagreement is framed and performed in digital public spheres.

Using a stepwise design that measures conflict, antagonistic tone via an incivility proxy, and deliberative signals, we compare Europe Day (9 May) and the fall of the Berlin Wall (9 November) across four countries (Slovenia, Italy, Germany, and France). The selected anniversaries provide a productive contrast for examining how commemorations channel disagreement. Europe Day is a celebration of European integration, typically oriented toward institutional legitimacy and unity (Larat, 2005; Blokker, 2021; de Vries, 2022). The Berlin Wall anniversary is a historically charged marker of rupture, freedom, and regime change (Fulbrook, 1991; Gearson and Schake, 2002; Buckley, 2004; Taylor, 2012; Hoyer, 2023; Heller and Schmidt, 2024) that can be readily recruited into present-day disputes over identity, democracy, sovereignty, migration, and geopolitics (Chopin and Lequesne, 2010; Viol, 2026; Viol et al., 2024). Treating both as activation frames allows us to ask how disagreement is enacted once it is

activated. We examine whether conflict is expressed antagonistically and to what extent it remains compatible with deliberative markers across countries and specific topics.

Existing research on political communication and digital memory has shown that social media intensifies mnemonic participation (van Dijck, 2007; Rutten et al., 2013; Gutman & Wüstenberg, 2023) and can amplify polarisation through platform affordances (Pariser, 2011; Törnberg, 2018). Yet empirical studies often focus on what people talk about rather than on what characterises disagreement in terms of discourse quality. In particular, comparative work on collective memories rarely systematically examines (i) whether conflict is present at all, (ii) whether it is enacted in an antagonistic tone, and (iii) whether conflictual exchanges nonetheless display markers of deliberative engagement, such as justification, reciprocity, and respectful interaction. Distinguishing these dimensions is crucial for assessing how online memory conflicts shape public reasoning and political contestation, given that collective memories provide legitimacy-relevant frames for political decision-making (Meyer, 2008).

To address this gap, we analyse commemorative discourse through a three-step measurement design that mirrors the activation-frame logic. Recent advances in large language models make it possible to implement this activation-frame perspective as a scalable measurement strategy on large social media corpora (Horvat et al. 2025). In our case, LLM-assisted annotation enables context-sensitive coding of conflict, antagonistic tone (via incivility), and DQI-style deliberative indicators across multiple languages and countries, making cross-national comparisons of commemorative debate feasible at scale. First, we measure whether posts are conflictual (A: Conflict). Second, within conflict, we distinguish conflict expressed with an antagonistic tone from non-antagonistic disagreement by using an incivility proxy (B: Incivility). Third, distinguishing antagonistic in non-antagonistic tone, we evaluate deliberative quality using DQI-style indicators, capturing features such as respectfulness, reciprocity, constructiveness, and justification, and summarise them in a quality score (C: Discourse Quality). This stepwise structure prevents us from conflating low-conflict ceremonial talk with “high-quality” discourse: deliberative quality is assessed where disagreement is actually present. Building on this logic, we also track the prevalence of “high-quality conflict” posts that are conflictual, antagonistic or non-antagonistic, and reach higher deliberative quality (see *Section 3.2*)

Empirically, this framework enables direct cross-country comparisons of whether commemorations activate contestation and of how national contexts condition the tone and deliberative quality of conflict. We complement these comparisons with topic modelling as a diagnostic tool to map the thematic space activated by each commemoration and to locate topic-specific hotspots where antagonistic conflict and low deliberative quality concentrate. Against this background, we set four research questions:

RQ1 How do Europe Day (9 May) and the Berlin Wall commemoration (9 November) differ in the prevalence of conflict across Slovenia, Italy, Germany, and France?

RQ2 Conditional on conflict, how do countries differ in (a) the mode of conflict—antagonistic tone (incivility proxy) versus non-antagonistic disagreement—and (b) deliberative quality?

RQ3: How does deliberative quality within conflict differ between non-antagonistic and antagonistic discourse modes across topics within each commemoration?

RQ4: Which topics show pockets of comparable or even higher deliberative quality under antagonistic conflict, and what characterises these cases?

The article proceeds as follows. We first develop the activation-frame argument and derive expectations about (A) conflict activation, (B) antagonistic tone within conflict, and (C) deliberation-compatible conflict, highlighting how these relationships are conditioned by cross-national differences in memory regimes (*Section 2*). We then describe the datasets and the LLM-assisted coding design, including the three-step procedure that identifies conflict, distinguishes antagonistic from non-antagonistic tone as an incivility proxy, and assesses deliberative quality using DQI-inspired indicators and a composite quality score (*Section 3*). The results section presents cross-event and cross-country comparisons for each step of the design and then moves to topic-level analyses that identify “hotspots” of (high-quality) conflict and examine deliberative profiles within selected clusters (*Section 4*). We conclude by summarising the

main empirical patterns, discussing their implications for facilitating deliberation in memory discussions and outlining limitations and directions for future research (*Section 5*).

2. Related work

This study connects three research strands that are often treated separately: (1) commemorations and memory politics as sites where societies negotiate legitimacy and collective identity; (2) scholarship on conflict, including incivility and antagonistic styles; and (3) work on deliberative quality and discourse-quality indicators in digital publics. Bringing these literatures together, we conceptualise commemorations as activation frames that shape not only what becomes salient in public debate, but also how contestation unfolds on social media. *Section 2.1* develops the activation-frame perspective on commemorations in public discourse. *Section 2.2* draws on research on national and transnational memory regimes to derive expectations about conflict, antagonistic tone, and deliberative quality conflict across Slovenia, Italy, Germany, and France. *Section 2.3* links this theoretical argument to our measurement strategy by translating the activation-frame logic into a three-step operationalisation.

2.1 Commemorations as activation frames in public discourse

We treat commemorations as activation frames because they are not neutral “background context,” but structured occasions in which societies publicly (re)negotiate legitimacy, identity, and authority through references to the past. In Erik Meyer’s (2008) terms, commemorative moments belong to the realm of *Geschichtspolitik* (“politics of history”): symbolic struggles that are less about settling factual disputes than about establishing the normative coordinates that link past, present, and future. In this symbolic arena, cultural memory functions as a reference code, a map of values and expectations that actors draw on to justify positions, assign responsibility, and articulate visions of the community. As activation frames, commemorations therefore do more than “activate memory”. They cue specific interpretive templates and position-taking opportunities that can steer public talk toward different discourse modes.

As we argued elsewhere (Horvat, 2026, forthcoming), commemorations are therefore empirically consequential for public discourse: each commemorative occasion can reactivate basic schemas of value-orientation and legitimising narratives that can be reused in current debates on domestic or geopolitical conflicts. Commemorations supply readily available interpretive templates - condensed storylines, moral binaries or pluralising frames, and authority cues about who and how we speak for “democracy,” “solidarity”, “victims”, “freedom” or geopolitical tensions. Precisely because these templates are embedded in nation-specific political culture, they tend to generate contestation over meaning, responsibility, and entitlement to interpret the past. Importantly, treating commemorations as activation frames does not imply that commemorative discourse is uniformly polarising or uniformly deliberative. Rather, the same commemorative cue may lead to markedly different interactional outcomes and level of contestation, depending on national memory regimes, the contemporary political context, platform dynamics, and the topics that become salient in a given moment.

2.2 National memory regimes and expected conflict styles

We formulate expectations in terms of our three-step measurement design: (A) conflict activation (Conflict), (B) antagonistic tone within conflict (Incivility proxy), and (C) deliberative signals within conflict, summarised as “high-quality conflict” (HQ: Conflict=1, Incivility=0, quality score ≥ 2). Drawing from our background historical and discursive analysis of Europe Day and the fall of the Berlin Wall commemoration (see *Deliverable 1.4, Horvat et al., 2025*), we set the following expectations:

E1 (A: Conflict activation, cross-county): Across all four countries, we expect higher conflict activation on **9 November** than on **9 May**. The rationale is that 1989 has been widely institutionalised as a symbolic rupture and a reusable interpretive template for contemporary conflicts, whereas Europe Day discourse is expected to be more ceremonial.

E2 (B: Antagonistic tone within conflict, cross-county): Within conflict, we expect the share of antagonistic tone (incivility proxy) to be higher on **9 November** than on **9 May** in most countries, reflecting the greater potential of the Berlin Wall commemoration to connect to present-day contestation.

E3 (Country-conditioned patterns across A–C). While E1–E2 capture cross-event differences, we expect national memory regimes to condition the level of activation (A), conflict tone within conflict (B), and the share of deliberation-compatible conflict (C).

- **Germany (B, C).** Within conflict, we expect lower antagonistic tone and comparatively higher shares of high-quality conflict (HQ) than in the other countries, consistent with contestation anchored in competing memory claims rather than personal denigration (Knischewski & Spittler, 2006; Denke, 2011; Kaiser, 2013; Viol, 2016; Fulbrook, 1999, 2011; Harrison, 2021).
- **Italy (B, C).** Within conflict, we expect higher antagonistic tone and lower HQ shares on 9 November (relative to 9 May), reflecting the politicised mobilisation of Berlin Wall memory into domestic ideological cleavages in a context shaped by the institutionalisation of 9 November as *Giorno della libertà* (Focardi, 2016).
- **Slovenia (B, C)** Given the absence of an official 9 November commemorative anchor (Turk, 2019) and the stronger local salience of 9 May through liberation-memory frames (Boroša, 2007; Škrlić, 2012; Vodopivec, 2015; Pušnik, 2017; Luthar & Uhl, 2019), we expect weaker event-specific anchoring of discourse on 9 November. Because the Slovenian subsample of X is relatively small, we treat this expectation descriptively.
- **France (B, C).** We expect high conflict activation on 9 November, consistent with the Berlin Wall as a transnationalised commemorative reference point in a European narrative of freedom and unity (Chopin & Lequesne, 2010), contestation around post-communist memory politics within broader debates about EU contradictions (Bernhard & Kubik, 2014).

E4 (C). Cross-cutting expectation

We do not expect conflict to imply low-quality discourse automatically. Instead, conditional on conflict, the prevalence of antagonistic versus non-antagonistic tone and the share of conflict that remains compatible with deliberative engagement should vary by commemorative context and by topic, even when conflict takes an antagonistic tone. This aligns with the activation-frame claim that commemorations shape the discursive quality of contestation, not only its prevalence.

2.3 From activation frames to measurement: a three-step operationalisation

Commemorations-as-activation-frames is not only a claim about what becomes salient, but about how contestation is interactionally organised when a commemorative cue is activated. *Section 3* therefore translates the framework into a conditional three-step operationalisation: (A) whether posts activate conflict at all (Conflict), (B) within conflict, whether disagreement takes an antagonistic tone (Incivility proxy), and (C) within conflict, whether interaction retains deliberative signals (DQI-style indicators and a summary score). Methodologically, this approach draws on established deliberative-democracy indicators (Steenbergen et al., 2003; Bächtiger et al., 2009; Fournier-Tombs & MacKenzie, 2021; Behrendt et al. 2024), recent work on modelling online conflict dimensions (Canute et al., 2023), and CLAPTON-based measurement of online political talk (Jaidka, 2022a; Jaidka, 2022b). We adapt these indicators to the specificities of commemorative discourse on X and to the A/B/C structure (*Section 3*).

3. Methodology

3.1 Data and corpora

Our empirical material consists of 101,740 unique Twitter/X texts. After removing duplicate texts during data cleaning (e.g., repeated captures of identical posts across collection steps), the final corpus used for event assignment comprises $N = 98,966$ posts. Importantly, the corpus does not provide full conversation threads (i.e., it does not systematically reconstruct reply chains or complete discussions). We therefore treat the unit of analysis as the individual post.

Because the corpus is multilingual (German, French, Italian, and Slovenian), we machine-translated all posts into English prior to annotation to ensure a common language input for both human coding and LLM-assisted coding. We used `madlad-400-7b-mt` to translate the corpus to English.¹ The classification results, except topic modelling (*see below*), reported in this article reflect measurement on translated texts, while original-country metadata remain unchanged.

Step 1: Assigning tweets to commemorations

Because the broader collection includes multiple commemorative cues (4), we first linked tweets to specific commemorations. Using retroactively, a combination of keyword-based identification², link-based identification, and propagation through retweet/quote networks, we were able to assign ~90% of all texts to one of the two main commemorations analysed in this article: Europe Day (9 May) and the fall of the Berlin Wall (9 November).³ These are the final event assignment results: Berlin Wall: 77,322; Europe Day: 10,130; Both commemorations (ambiguous): 28; Unclassified: 11,486. The unclassified tweets are cases where we could not reliably identify a “parent” post containing event-specific keywords, and where links/metadata were insufficient to infer the commemoration.

Country	N (Europe Day)	N (Berlin Wall)
France	3,369	16,138
Germany	2,790	15,414
Slovenia	281	168
Italy	895	7,145
Total	7,335	38,865

Table 1: Distribution of X posts by country and commemoration

Step 2: Topic modelling corpus

Topic modelling was run on the full dataset spanning all four commemorative cues (Europe Day, Berlin Wall, Statehood Day, Day of Resistance). Prior to modelling, we pre-processed tweets by removing URLs, line breaks, and reply markers (e.g., “@username”). After preprocessing, the corpus contains 97,994 non-empty tweets.

Step 3: Merging Event Assignment and Topic Labels

For the analysis, we integrate the outputs of Step 1 (event assignment) and Step 2 (topic labelling). Specifically, we restrict the main corpus to posts assigned to either Europe Day or the fall of the Berlin Wall (Step 1), and we use the topic model as a diagnostic layer to identify and compare thematic clusters within these two commemorative contexts (Step 2). For the analyses, we additionally exclude non-

¹ <https://huggingface.co/google/madlad400-7b-mt>

² The following keywords were used for the gathering dataset on 4 commemorations: **Slovenian query**: “(‘Dan Evrope’ OR ‘mir in enotnost v Evropi’ OR Schuman OR ‘Schumanova deklaracija’ OR ‘padec Berlinskega zidu’ OR ‘Berlin Wall’ OR ‘Berlinski zid’ OR ‘Dan upora proti okupatorju’ OR ‘Dan upora’ OR ‘dan državnosti’ OR samostojnost)”; **French query**: “(‘Journée de l’Europe’ OR ‘Déclaration Schuman’ OR Europeday OR europeday OR ‘mur de Berlin’ OR ‘Rideau de fer’)”; **German query**: “(Europatag OR ‘Schuman-Erklärung’ OR ‘Schuman Erklärung’ OR Europeday OR europeday OR ‘Berliner Mauer’ OR Mauerfall OR ‘Eiserner Vorhang’)”; **Italian query**: “(‘Giornata dell’Europa’ OR ‘Dichiarazione Schuman’ OR ‘Muro di Berlino’ OR ‘Cortina di ferro’)”.

³ Event assignment proceeded in three stages: Keyword matching (~80%): We identified tweets referencing the commemorations via multilingual keyword queries tailored to each country/language. Link-based identification (~5%): We assigned tweets to an event when they contained links strongly indicative of a given commemoration (e.g., URLs to event-related articles, institutional pages, or commemorative media content). Network propagation via retweet/quote IDs (~5%): We clustered tweets by shared `quote_id` and `retweet_id`, and assigned tweets within a cluster to the event label of a “parent” tweet that had already been identified via keywords.

informative or analytically problematic clusters—most importantly the HDBSCAN outliers and the outlier/spam bucket. For the analyses in *Section 4.2*, the effective dataset differs because we draw directly on the topic-modelling output and exclude clusters associated with the two non-focal commemorations contained in the full corpus (e.g., the Slovenia-specific commemorations). The full annotated dataset is available on [Zenodo](https://zenodo.org/doi/10.5281/zenodo.18767846) (DOI:10.5281/zenodo.18767846)

3.2 Measures: three-step coding design

All posts were coded using a multi-label scheme in which each indicator is evaluated independently as a binary variable. Our measurement strategy follows the three-step (A/B/C) logic of commemorations as activation frames and aligns directly with RQ1–RQ4.

A. Conflict activation. We first code whether a post contains disagreement, critique, blame, or opposition that constitutes conflict (Conflict=1), versus ceremonial/neutral or informational content (Conflict=0). This indicator captures whether a commemoration activates contestation at all.

B. Mode of conflict: antagonistic tone vs. non-antagonistic tone. Among posts with Conflict (1), we measure whether disagreement is expressed with incivility (antagonistic tone) or without it (non-antagonistic tone). Importantly, this measure captures not only direct insults or threats but also inflammatory rhetorical style (including exaggeration/hyperbole), and should therefore be interpreted as a broader proxy for antagonistic framing rather than a narrow measure of abuse-based incivility.

C. Deliberative quality within conflict. We evaluate the deliberative profile of disagreement by distinguishing non-antagonistic (Incivility = 0) conflict from antagonistic conflict (Incivility = 1), and then assessing deliberative signals within each of these conflict modes. For this, we compute a discourse quality score as the additive sum of the DQI-style indicators: Reciprocity, Constructiveness, Justification–Reason, Justification–Experience, and Positive/Respectful tone. This yields a quality scale that we group into three ordered categories: Low quality (0–1 indicators present), Medium quality (2–3), and High quality (4–5). This approach allows us to compare whether antagonistic and non-antagonistic conflict differ systematically in the extent to which they exhibit deliberative moves.

We used GPT-5.2 via the API for LLM-assisted annotation. We set temperature to 0. This ensured deterministic outputs, i.e., the same input produces the same label decisions, which in turn makes the annotation procedure replicable. We began with prompts that closely mirrored the human codebooks, then followed an iterative prompt-tuning process: we tested candidate prompts on our adjudicated ground-truth sample (N=200), quantified agreement between GPT and the expert ground truth, and refined definitions and decision rules until performance stabilized at an acceptable level across indicators. To specifically improve performance on our weakest indicators (Constructiveness and Respectfulness), we added a small set of few-shot examples targeting typical edge cases. These examples were drawn from six additional comments from our dataset, which were independently annotated by two coders and then finalized through adjudication with a third expert annotator. (The full prompt is provided in *Appendix A*.) All posts were machine-translated prior to annotation to provide a uniform input language across countries. The LLM therefore codes translated texts, and our indicators should be interpreted as measuring conflict/tone/quality as expressed in the translation output rather than as original-language performance.

3.3. Ground-truth and evaluation

To build a reference (“ground truth”) set for evaluation and prompt development, we used a stratified random sample from our X dataset, which includes posts published around two commemorations—the fall of the Berlin Wall and Europe Day—in Germany, France, Italy, and Slovenia. We sampled 25 posts from each commemoration–country combination, yielding N=200 posts in total. Each post was independently coded by two expert annotators. Annotators coded the machine-translated versions of posts (the same input used for the LLM), so the reported agreement and reliability statistics evaluate the translation–coding pipeline rather than original-language coding. While translation improves cross-

country comparability and feasibility, it may also weaken or shift language-specific cues (e.g., idioms, sarcasm, or insult morphology), which is a potential source of measurement error.

Agreement in this initial, independent round was mixed: some labels were coded very consistently (especially Justification-Experience and Reciprocity), while others proved more challenging and showed lower consistency (most notably Respectfulness and Constructiveness). Because several indicators are rare in our sample (i.e., most items are coded 0 and only a small fraction 1), we report Gwet’s AC1 alongside Cohen’s κ . Cohen’s κ can exhibit the kappa paradox, where absolute agreement is high but κ is low, under skewed base rates (Zec et al. 2017); we therefore also report Gwet’s AC1, which is commonly presented as more robust to imbalance-driven deflation of κ (Gwet, 2014).

Across the indicators used in our analysis, absolute agreement ranged from 60.1% to 97.9%, Cohen’s κ ranged from 0.22 to 0.65, and Gwet’s AC1 ranged from 0.25 to 0.98 (Table 2). We then adjudicated all disagreements, bringing in a third expert annotator to help resolve contested cases and ensure a final consensus label set for every post and indicator.

Dimension	Absolute agreement	Cohen’s κ	AC
Conflict	82.4%	0.653	0.650
Constructiveness	75.1%	0.232	0.637
Justification–Experience	97.9%	0.490	0.978
Justification–Reason	79.6%	0.517	0.650
Positive/respect	60.1%	0.220	0.252
Reciprocity	93.9%	0.468	0.931
Uncivil	87.9%	0.436	0.846

Table 2: Expert–expert inter-rater reliability statistics for *X* posts (stratified sample, $N=200$)

Overall, GPT aligned closely with the expert ground truth, with absolute agreement ranging from 79.5% to 99.0% across indicators. Chance-corrected reliability was also solid: Cohen’s κ ranged from 0.497 to 0.745, and Gwet’s AC1 ranged from 0.658 to 0.990 (Table 3). The strongest performance was observed for Justification-Experience and Reciprocity, while Constructiveness remained the most challenging indicator.

Dimension	Absolute agreement	Cohen’s κ	AC1
Conflict	84.0%	0.686	0.680
Constructiveness	79.5%	0.497	0.658
Justification–Experience	99.0%	0.745	0.990
Justification–Reason	84.5%	0.626	0.735
Positive/Respectful	85.5%	0.544	0.788
Reciprocity	95.0%	0.557	0.944
Uncivil	86.5%	0.532	0.811

Table 3: GPT vs adjudicated ground truth agreement statistics for *X* posts ($N=200$)

3.4. Topic modelling and hotspot identification

Topic modelling was performed on the original multilingual corpus using multilingual sentence embeddings (paraphrase-multilingual-MiniLM-L12-v2) and the BERTopic pipeline. Topic assignments are linked to indicator outcomes via tweet IDs; the BERTopic embedding and clustering step itself does not rely on translation. Topic modelling was run on the original texts to avoid translation artefacts, since multilingual embeddings enable cross-lingual clustering without requiring a single translated language. We pre-process the original-language corpus by removing URLs, line breaks, and reply markers (e.g., “@username”). We then embed documents using paraphrase-multilingual-MiniLM-L12-v2 and apply UMAP dimensionality reduction to five dimensions followed by HDBSCAN clustering (min cluster_size=200), which helps ensure sufficiently robust clusters for cross-topic comparisons. The

initial set of clusters (64) is manually reviewed and merged into a final set of topics (41) by examining representative posts from each cluster and combining semantically similar clusters.

4. Results

4.1.1 Conflict Activation Across Commemorations and Countries

In this section we report the results concerning RQ1 (conflict activation). The results show that the contrast between the two commemorations is stark across all four countries: **Europe Day (9 May)** is largely non-conflictual (overall only 22.8% of posts are conflictual), while the **Berlin Wall (9 November)** commemoration systematically activates conflict (overall 64.9% conflictual). On Europe Day, conflict is lowest in France (18.9%) and highest in Slovenia (35.6%); on 9 November, conflict rates are high everywhere (from Germany 62.1% to Slovenia 72.0%). The event gap is substantial in every country (about +36 to +47 percentage points), consistent with our expectations that 9 November functions as a much stronger activation frame for disagreement than 9 May.

Country	N (Europe Day)	Conflict % (Europe Day)	N (Berlin Wall)	Conflict % (Berlin Wall)	Difference (pp)
France	3,369	18.9	16,138	65.4	46.5
Germany	2,790	26.2	15,414	62.1	35.9
Slovenia	281	35.6	168	72.0	36.4
Italy	895	23.2	7,145	69.9	46.7
Total	7,335	22.8	38,865	64.9	42.1

Table 4. *Difference in conflict activation: Berlin Wall – Europe Day (percentage points; with N). Slovenia should be interpreted descriptively due to small N.*

4.1.2 Mode within conflict (antagonistic vs. non-antagonistic tone)

In this subsection we examine how posts are distributed across three categories: antagonistic tone of conflict, non-antagonistic tone conflict, and “everything else” (all non-conflict content). *Table 5* reports the corresponding percentages by event and country, and *Figure 1* visualizes the same distributions as stacked bars, making it easy to compare (i) the overall share of conflict versus non-conflict and (ii) how conflict splits into antagonistic vs non-antagonistic tone within each national case.

Berlin wall / Country	N (total)	Antagonistic conflict %	Non-antagonistic conflict %	Everything else %
ALL	38865	35,13	29,81	35,06
de	15414	31,55	30,54	37,91
fr	16138	36,74	28,63	34,63
it	7145	39,17	30,76	30,06
sl	168	37,50	34,52	27,98
Europe Day / Country	N (total)	Antagonistic conflict %	Non-antagonistic conflict %	Everything else %
ALL	7335	9,16	13,67	77,16
de	2790	9,68	16,52	73,80
fr	3369	7,15	11,72	81,12
it	895	12,18	11,06	76,76
sl	281	18,51	17,08	64,41

Table 5. *Distribution of discourse modes by commemoration and country (Antagonistic conflict %, Non-antagonistic conflict %, Everything else %; with N shares).*

The dominant pattern is the event-level gap, but there is also meaningful cross-national variation. For the **Berlin Wall** commemoration, conflict is high in all countries, yet the balance between antagonistic and non-antagonistic tone differs: Germany shows the lowest antagonistic share (31.55%) and a nearly equal non-antagonistic share (30.54%), whereas France and Italy display higher antagonistic conflict (36.74% and 39.17%, respectively) and slightly lower non-antagonistic conflict. Slovenia follows the general Berlin Wall pattern, though its much smaller N should be interpreted cautiously.

For **Europe Day**, non-conflict content clearly dominates, but the conflict share and its tone vary: Germany and France have relatively low antagonistic conflict (9.68% and 7.15%) with somewhat higher non-antagonistic conflict (16.52% and 11.72%), Italy shows a slightly more antagonistic profile (12.18% antagonistic vs 11.06% non-antagonistic), and Slovenia stands out with the highest antagonistic conflict share (18.51%) alongside a similarly high non-antagonistic share (17.08%). These country-level differences are visible in *Figure 1* as shifts in the relative sizes of the antagonistic and non-antagonistic segments, but they remain secondary to the overarching contrast between a conflict-intensive Berlin Wall discourse and a largely ceremonial, non-conflictual Europe Day discourse.

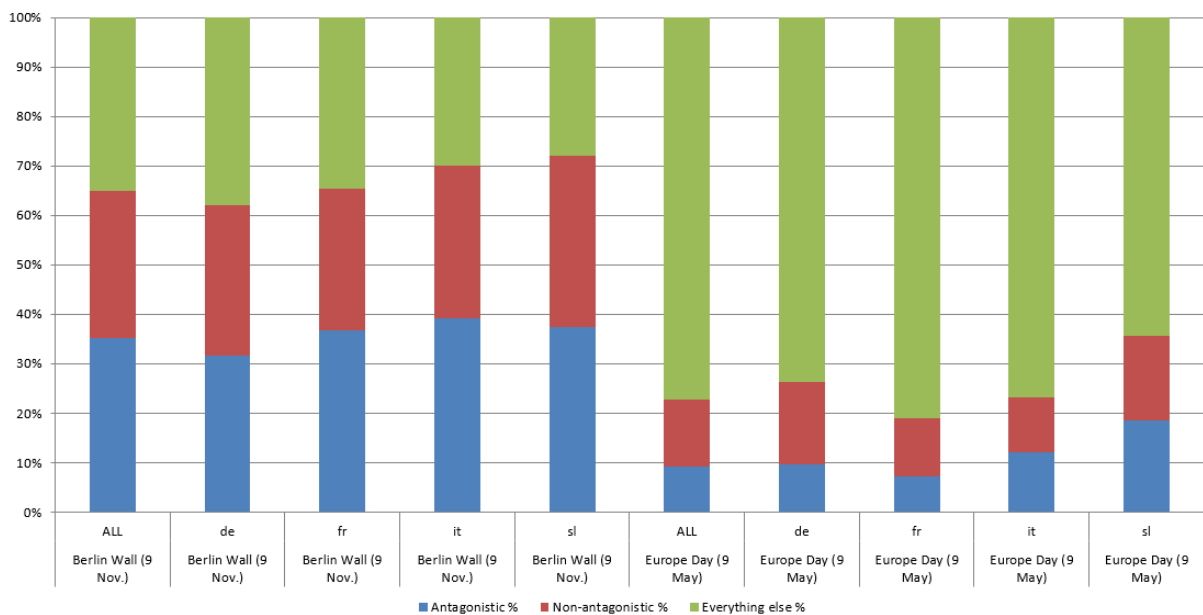


Figure 1. Conflict modes as shares of all conflict posts (100% stacked) by commemoration and country: antagonistic conflict (incivility proxy), non-antagonistic conflict, and everything else. Slovenia should be interpreted descriptively due to small N.

4.1.3 Discourse Quality within antagonistic and non-antagonistic mode

In this subsection, we compare discourse-quality profiles within conflict across commemorations (Europe Day vs. Berlin Wall) and countries, separately for antagonistic and non-antagonistic conflict (*Figure 2*). We aggregate five deliberative indicators into an additive score (0–5 “YES” signals) and collapse this into a binary distinction: low-quality conflict (LQ = 0–1 YES) versus high-quality / deliberation-compatible conflict (HQ = 2–5 YES), where HQ merges the Medium (2–3 YES) and High (4–5 YES) profiles. The analysis here operates with LQ vs. HQ, while the full indicator-level distributions and the Low/Medium/High calculations are documented in *Appendices B, C and D and E*.

Across both commemorations, the comparative pattern is stable: HQ is generally more prevalent in non-antagonistic conflict than in antagonistic conflict, indicating that conflict expressed without incivility is more likely to co-occur with deliberative cues. At the same time, the **Berlin Wall** commemoration displays a higher overall baseline of HQ than Europe Day across countries and in both conflict modes, suggesting that the conflict activated on 9 November more often contains at least a minimum bundle of deliberative signals. Country differences are visible in the magnitude of this “tone–quality” gap:

Germany and Italy show the clearest improvement in HQ when moving from antagonistic to non-antagonistic conflict on 9 November, while France follows the same direction with a smaller shift.

Europe Day shows the same directional relationship but with more modest differences, consistent with lower overall conflict and the near-absence of HQ profiles. Slovenia constitutes an instructive exception in the Berlin Wall commemoration: in the Slovenian subsample, HQ appears comparatively more pronounced under antagonistic tone than under non-antagonistic conflict. This exception becomes substantively interpretable only once the indicator composition is inspected—reported in the appendices—where it is linked to the co-occurrence of justification and constructiveness even in posts classified as antagonistic by the incivility proxy.

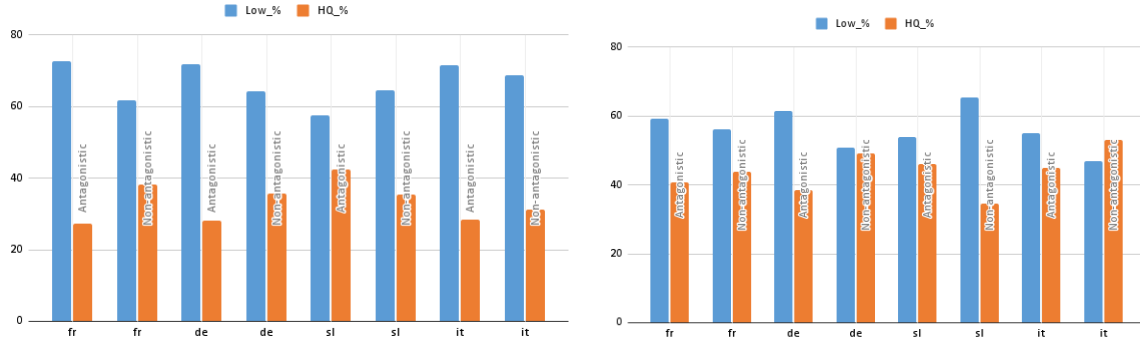


Figure 2. Low-quality (LQ) versus high-quality conflict (HQ) shares within conflict, by commemoration (Europe Day / left graph vs. Berlin Wall / right graph), country, and conflict mode (antagonistic vs. non-antagonistic; incivility proxy). Percentages sum to 100 within each country-mode bar. Slovenia should be interpreted descriptively due to small N .

4.2 Deliberative Quality Within Conflict Across Topics

In this section, we use the topic-modelling layer to map where conflict and contestation concentrate. *Section 4.2.1* summarises the thematic structure of the dataset across countries, and *Section 4.2.2* uses the resulting topic clusters to identify thematic “hotspots” with particularly high levels of conflict and/or antagonistic tone. *Section 4.2.3* then turns from topics to deliberative outcomes within conflict, reporting DQI-style indicators (Respectfulness, Reciprocity, Constructiveness, and Justification) and summarising them as the share of high-quality conflict. This allows us to distinguish how conflict is marked by deliberative quality—whether topic-specific disagreement is predominantly antagonistic and low-quality, or conflictual yet still characterised by justification and constructive engagement. Finally, *Section 4.2.4* directly compares high-quality conflict between non-antagonistic and antagonistic discourse within each topic, highlighting the dominant pattern and the small set of topic-level exceptions where antagonistic conflict sustains comparable or higher deliberative quality.

4.2.1. Results of topic modelling

We ran BERTopic on the full dataset (spanning multiple commemorative cues). For the analyses reported here, we restrict attention to posts assigned to the two focal commemorations (Europe Day and the Berlin Wall) and we additionally remove event-specific noise clusters, as well as topics tied to other commemorations (Slovenian Statehood Day and the Day of Resistance against Occupation). The final analytical corpus comprises 38 clusters (see *Appendix F*)

Substantively, the extracted topics are strongly shaped by the Berlin Wall commemoration: the majority of clusters revolve around this event and closely related themes (e.g., deaths and escape attempts, the fall and its memories, the East/West divide, reconstruction or iconic political figures such as Mikhail Gorbachev). Alongside these commemoration-centered themes, the model also yields broader political and geopolitical topics that frequently co-occur with commemoration talk—most prominently Cold War, communism, Russia and contemporary geopolitics, Israel/Palestine, NATO, migration, and high-

salience political actors (e.g., Donald Trump), as well region-linked clusters (e.g., references to the Maghreb or predominantly Muslim-majority countries). A smaller set of clusters reflects media and popular-culture spillovers (e.g., documentaries, YouTube), as well as occasional cross-domain associations such as sports, referencing the “Berlin wall” as a metaphor. In contrast, Europe Day content is more concentrated. It is largely captured in a single topic rather than a broad family of subtopics.

4.2.2. Share of antagonistic and non-antagonistic tone within identified topics

Building directly on the preceding conflict identification in posts (*Section 4.1.1*), we examine how disagreement is distributed across the identified clusters and how it is expressed when it occurs. We focus first on conflict tone, distinguishing antagonistic from non-antagonistic conflict using incivility as a proxy indicator within conflict. *Figure 3* reports, for each topic, the share of posts that fall into (i) antagonistic conflict (Conflict=1 & Incivility=1), (ii) non-antagonistic conflict (Conflict=1 & Incivility=0), and (iii) everything else (Conflict=0). This allows us to assess both how strongly a topic activates conflict overall and—within conflict—whether disagreement tends to escalate into antagonism or remains closer to a non-antagonistic mode. See *Appendix G* for the full data.

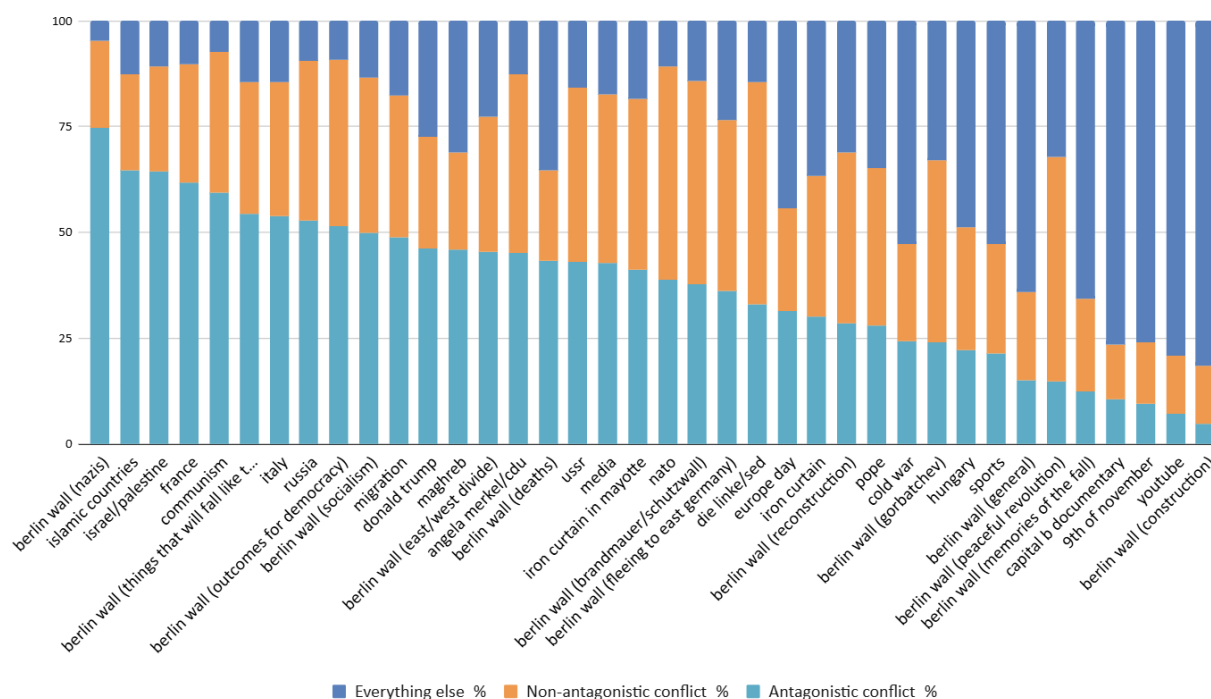


Figure 3: Topic-level distribution of conflict modes (Berlin Wall & Europe Day). Stacked bars show, for each BERTopic topic, the percentage of posts classified as antagonistic conflict, non-antagonistic conflict, or everything else (non-conflictual content). Topics are ordered by decreasing antagonistic conflict share; labels correspond to the most salient topic names derived from BERTopic.

The topic-level distribution (*Figure 3*) shows that antagonistic tone is highly uneven across topics. The highest shares of antagonistic conflict concentrate in clusters that translate commemorative cues into contemporary identity struggles, geopolitical disputes, or delegitimising labels—for example ‘Berlin Wall (Nazis)’ (74.8% antagonistic conflict), ‘Islamic countries’ (64.7%), ‘Israel/Palestine’ (64.5%), and ‘Communism’ (59.3%). These clusters point to thematic configurations in which commemoration is mobilised as a resource for present-day contestation. At the other end of the distribution, several topics are dominated by less antagonistic content. Debates on ‘Europe Day’ (31.5% antagonistic) and ‘Iron Curtain’ (30.2%) show markedly lower antagonistic shares, while ‘Cold War’ drops to 24.2% antagonistic and a majority of posts are non-conflictual. Several Berlin Wall narrative clusters are even less conflictual (e.g., ‘Berlin Wall (construction)’ 4.9% antagonistic; ‘memories of the fall’ 12.4%; ‘peaceful revolution’ 14.9%; ‘Berlin Wall (general)’ 15.1%). Importantly, some topics contain sizeable

shares of non-antagonistic conflict—most notably ‘NATO’ (50.5% non-antagonistic conflict) and ‘Die Linke/SED’ (52.5%)—indicating disagreement that is more argument-driven and less likely to involve antagonistic tone. These patterns suggest that commemorative discourse is not monolithic: some topics systematically amplify antagonistic exchanges, whereas others host disagreement that remains closer to a deliberation-compatible mode.

4.2.3 Deliberative profiles of conflict within topics

Building on the topic-level mapping of where antagonistic versus non-antagonistic conflict concentrates (*Section 4.1.2*), we now ask what happens to deliberative quality once disagreement occurs within each topic cluster. Concretely, we restrict the analysis to conflict posts (Conflict=1) and compare deliberative cues in non-antagonistic versus antagonistic conflict, using incivility as a proxy indicator of antagonistic tone (Incivility=0/1). We rely on the indicator-level YES shares for respectfulness, reciprocity, constructiveness, and justification (reason-based and experience-based). Full topic-level distributions and indicator rates by discourse mode are reported in *Appendices D–G*, while *Figures 4–5* summarise the key topic patterns. Across both modes, the most HQ-heavy topics are largely those where conflict is anchored in historical interpretation or geopolitical explanation (e.g., “peaceful revolution,” NATO, Gorbachev, Russia, Cold War), where constructiveness and reason-giving remain high and drive HQ.

In **non-antagonistic conflict mode** (*Figure 4*), several topics reach very high HQ shares (with “peaceful revolution” at the top), while a broad middle tier (e.g., “migration,” “media,” “USSR,” “Hungary,” “Pope,” “Donald Trump,” “Europe Day”) maintains moderate HQ despite generally low levels of explicit respect markers. This indicates that HQ in this corpus is primarily constructiveness- and justification-driven, rather than driven by polite phrasing alone. At the same time, *Figure 4* also shows where respect matters more: respectfulness is noticeably higher in non-antagonistic conflict for specific clusters—most clearly “Berlin Wall (deaths)” and “Pope”, and to a lesser extent “Israel/Palestine”, suggesting that some topics sustain not only reason-giving but also more explicitly respectful engagement when conflict remains non-antagonistic.

The **antagonistic conflict mode** heatmap (*Figure 5*) exhibits the expected deliberative quality “penalty” but also shows that antagonism does not eliminate deliberative content uniformly; instead, it reshuffles which topics retain deliberation-compatible conflict. Several topics remain strongly HQ even under antagonistic tone (again including “peaceful revolution” and NATO), because they preserve high constructiveness and substantial reason-giving. At the same time, some topics are clearly mode-sensitive. In particular, topics tied to identity or symbolic boundary drawing (e.g., “Berlin Wall (Nazis),” “9th of November,” and parts of the “Maghreb”) drop substantially and concentrate in LQ.

Finally, the indicator maps also validate that the operationalisation captures a theoretically expected form of justification. Experience-based justification concentrates in memory-work clusters—most notably “Berlin Wall (memories of the fall)”, where it reaches around or above ~20% in both modes. This is consistent with topics organised around autobiographical recall and lived experience, strengthening confidence that the topic-level patterns reflect meaningful differences in justificatory style rather than noise. Overall, *Figures 4–5* thus complement the HQ profiles by showing how topics achieve HQ: typically through constructiveness and reason-based justification, but in some clusters also through more respectful phrasing and more exchange-oriented engagement.

TOPIC	Respectful	Reciprocity	Constructive	Justif (reason)	Justif (experience)	HQ (Med+High)
berlin wall (peaceful revolution)	12,5	7,0	96,1	85,2	2,3	84,0
nato	1,1	10,8	85,0	77,7	1,8	79,0
berlin wall (gorbatchev)	2,3	8,4	77,5	74,2	3,9	73,0
russia	3,5	10,6	75,1	72,5	3,3	72,0
italy	5,1	7,3	77,4	73,7	5,8	72,0
islamic countries	22,2	10,0	73,3	67,8	2,2	71,0
cold war	1,5	6,6	71,5	68,6	8,8	70,0
berlin wall (fall apart like...)	1,2	6,8	71,2	65,6	3,1	65,0
berlin wall (nazis)	3,2	12,9	66,7	63,4	12,9	64,0
berlin wall (deaths)	14,0	8,8	68,4	59,7	1,8	63,0
berlin wall (construction)	14,3	3,6	71,4	60,7	0,0	60,0
berlin wall (east west divide)	6,0	11,4	62,3	59,7	9,5	59,0
9th of november	11,3	5,6	66,2	57,8	2,8	59,0
migration	10,0	13,3	60,0	51,7	8,3	58,0
media	1,8	7,3	63,6	60,0	10,9	58,0
ussr	2,0	4,9	62,0	57,4	3,8	56,0
france	4,9	6,7	56,5	55,6	5,4	53,0
hungary	9,6	5,8	65,4	51,9	13,5	53,0
pope	18,6	7,1	55,7	55,7	4,3	52,0
berlin wall (socialism)	4,9	4,9	54,3	53,1	11,1	51,0
donald trump	5,7	5,7	57,1	57,1	1,4	51,0
europe day	1,6	4,8	61,3	51,6	3,2	51,0
berlin wall (brandmauer)	1,2	1,9	64,9	49,6	1,5	50,0
maghreb	4,7	8,1	53,5	48,8	0,0	48,0
die linke sed	3,5	9,2	48,9	49,7	3,9	47,0
berlin wall (outcomes for democracy)	3,8	8,3	51,0	51,6	9,6	47,0
israel palestine	11,4	11,9	48,4	47,5	0,9	46,0
angela merkel cdu	2,4	7,3	50,7	49,3	2,9	44,0
communism	3,1	7,6	47,4	44,8	8,8	43,0
berlin wall (fleeing to east)	1,0	11,2	44,2	43,2	2,7	42,0
berlin wall (memories of the fall)	4,0	11,1	38,9	38,9	23,6	40,0
iron curtain in mayotte	3,9	9,1	29,9	35,1	0,0	25,0
youtube	5,9	0,0	11,8	29,4	5,9	23,0
iron curtain	2,1	5,6	28,4	25,3	2,9	22,0
berlin wall (general)	3,1	4,5	23,7	18,5	2,9	17,0
capital b documentary	4,8	4,8	9,5	4,8	4,8	9,0
sports	3,1	1,9	4,9	22,8	2,5	6,0
berlin wall (reconstruction)	1,3	2,7	5,3	3,3	0,7	2,0

Figure 2. Deliberative indicators within non-antagonistic conflict (topics sorted by HQ within non-antagonistic). Heat map reports topic-level YES rates (%) for deliberative indicators among non-antagonistic conflictual posts (Conflict = 1 & Incivility = 0): respectfulness, reciprocity, constructiveness, and justification (reason-based; experience-based). The final column reports the share of non-antagonistic conflictual posts in each topic that reach a Medium/High quality profile (Appendix H). Topics are ordered from highest to lowest HQ within non-antagonistic conflict.

TOPIC		Respectful	Reciprocity	Constructive	Justif (reason)	Justif (experience)	HQ (Med+High)
berlin wall (peaceful revol...)	0	0,0	8,3	91,7	88,9	2,8	88,0
nato	0	0,3	3,4	79,1	81,2	1,4	77,0
berlin wall (gorbatchev)	0	2,0	3,0	73,0	72,0	0,0	72,0
italy	▲ 1	0,4	3,0	56,9	67,7	4,3	56,0
russia	▼ 1	1,9	5,1	56,8	65,6	3,2	55,0
iron curtain in mayotte	▲ 26	1,3	0,0	56,4	56,4	2,6	55,0
berlin wall (fall apart like...)	▲ 1	1,1	3,2	56,2	60,4	1,4	54,0
europe day	▲ 14	0,0	6,2	58,0	58,0	0,0	54,0
cold war	▼ 2	0,0	2,1	56,3	54,2	6,3	51,0
ussr	▲ 6	0,8	3,5	52,3	56,6	3,9	50,0
berlin wall (brandmauer...)	▲ 12	0,0	1,0	51,2	58,1	2,0	50,0
berlin wall (construction)	▼ 1	0,0	0,0	60,0	50,0	0,0	50,0
israel palestine	▲ 14	2,3	3,7	49,5	60,5	1,6	49,0
islamic countries	▼ 8	3,1	5,5	46,9	61,3	2,3	47,0
die linke sed	▲ 10	1,1	4,5	47,2	61,2	1,7	46,0
pope	▲ 3	1,9	0,0	45,3	56,6	3,8	45,0
berlin wall (socialism)	▲ 3	0,0	3,6	45,1	55,9	7,2	44,0
media	▼ 3	0,0	6,8	42,4	57,6	1,7	44,0
berlin wall (east west divide)	▼ 7	1,3	4,4	42,7	57,2	7,6	43,0
communism	▲ 9	0,1	2,9	42,0	52,3	5,5	41,0
berlin wall (democracy)	▲ 5	0,5	3,4	39,8	58,3	3,4	41,0
donald trump	▼ 1	2,4	2,4	43,9	48,0	0,0	41,0
migration	▼ 9	0,0	5,7	40,9	54,6	5,7	40,0
france	▼ 7	1,2	2,6	39,6	51,8	3,5	38,0
angela merkel cdu	▲ 3	0,5	4,6	39,5	49,5	1,8	38,0
berlin wall (deaths)	▼ 16	1,8	6,1	32,5	44,7	1,8	35,0
berlin wall (nazis)	▼ 18	1,5	2,7	35,8	45,3	9,8	34,0
maghreb	▼ 4	1,7	1,7	34,1	49,7	2,3	34,0
youtube	▲ 4	0,0	11,1	33,3	33,3	0,0	33,0
hungary	▼ 12	2,5	5,0	27,5	42,5	5,0	32,0
9th of november	▼ 18	2,1	8,5	34,0	36,2	2,1	31,0
berlin wall (memories...)	▼ 1	1,0	3,0	25,6	34,2	20,1	26,0
iron curtain	▲ 1	0,9	1,9	24,9	30,2	2,7	23,0
berlin wall (fleeing to east ...)	▼ 4	0,4	2,7	24,8	36,6	3,8	23,0
berlin wall (general)	0	0,8	1,3	13,4	17,4	3,2	12,0
sports	▲ 1	2,2	1,5	4,5	28,4	2,2	7,0
capital b documentary	▼ 1	0,0	0,0	5,9	11,8	0,0	5,0
berlin wall (reconstruction)	0	0,0	0,0	3,8	11,3	0,0	1,0

Figure 3. *Deliberative indicators within antagonistic conflict (topics sorted by HQ within antagonistic). Heat map reports topic-level YES rates (%) for deliberative indicators among antagonistic conflictual posts (Conflict = 1 & Incivility = 1): respectfulness, reciprocity, constructiveness, and justification (reason-based; experience-based). The final column reports the share of antagonistic conflictual posts in each topic that reach a Medium/High quality profile (Appendix I). Topics are ordered from highest to lowest HQ within antagonistic conflict.*

4.2.4 When does antagonistic conflict remain deliberative?

While non-antagonistic conflict is generally more conducive to deliberation-compatible exchange, our topic-level comparison reveals an important qualification: in a small set of topics, antagonistic conflict reaches HQ levels that are comparable to—or even higher than—non-antagonistic conflict. In other words, antagonistic tone does not uniformly suppress deliberative quality. Instead, whether conflict remains deliberation-compatible depends also on the topic activated by the commemoration and on the kinds of justificatory and interactional cues that are typical for that topic.

At the same time, this should be read against the dominant baseline. Across the large majority of topic clusters, HQ is higher in non-antagonistic conflict than in antagonistic conflict (*Appendix L*), often by substantial margins. It seems that the largest quality “penalties” for antagonistic tone occur precisely in clusters that tend to invite symbolic boundary drawing and identity-based escalation—for example “Berlin Wall (Nazis)” (+29.6 pp in favour of non-antagonistic), “Berlin Wall (deaths)” (+28.1 pp), “9th of November” (+27.2 pp), and “Islamic countries” (+23.8 pp). In these cases, conflict can still include justification and constructiveness, but antagonistic framing is more likely to undermine the indicator configuration needed for HQ (especially respectfulness), pushing a larger share of posts into LQ.

The exception topics are theoretically informative because they show how deliberative signals can persist under antagonistic tone (see *Table 3*). Topics where $HQ_{ant} \geq HQ_{non}$ cluster around two dynamics. First, some are meta-discursive or cross-domain clusters (e.g., “YouTube”), topics where the commemoration cue is discussed as a label, reference, or a brand rather than as a political position (e.g. “Iron Curtain in Mayotte”) or cases where “iron curtain” appears as a sports metaphor. In such clusters, higher antagonistic tone can co-occur with fact-checking, clarification, and justification (e.g., correcting claims or re-checking details), which sustains HQ despite incivility. Second, some are issue-driven conflict topics that remain relatively “discussion-like” even under antagonism, such as Israel/Palestine and Europe Day itself. In these cases, antagonistic tone coexists with comparatively strong rates of justification and/or constructive engagement, yielding slight advantage in HQ. By contrast, very low-HQ clusters such as “Iron Curtain (general)” show only marginal reversals, suggesting that these should be interpreted as near-parity rather than as meaningful evidence of an “antagonism advantage.”

The results are consistent with the activation-frame account. Commemorations do not simply “produce conflict,” but mobilise distinct discourse quality dynamics. Most cases exhibit the expected pattern. Non-antagonistic conflict is more likely to remain deliberation-compatible, yet a small set of topics shows that antagonistic conflict can, under specific topical conditions, co-exist with deliberative cues.

Topic cluster	HQ_non (%)	HQ_ant (%)	ΔHQ (pp) (ant – non)
iron curtain (mayotte)	31.8	39.6	+7.8
youtube (meta-discussion)	22.4	27.1	+4.7
europe day	34.5	36.2	+1.7
israel / palestine	41.3	42.9	+1.6
iron curtain (general)	18.9	19.5	+0.6
sports	12.7	13.1	+0.4

Table 4. *Topic clusters where HQ is comparable or higher under antagonistic conflict ($HQ_{ant} \geq HQ_{non}$). HQ denotes the share of conflict posts classified as Medium/High. Positive values indicate higher HQ under antagonistic conflict.*

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The findings support the view that commemorations function as discourse activation frames (**RQ1**). They do not merely cue remembrance, but systematically structure both the likelihood and the mode of disagreement. This supports our empirical backing to the claim that commemorations operate as recurrent triggers that recruit mnemonic templates into contemporary contestation. Our analysis also

asserts that commemorations differ sharply in activation strength and mode (**RQ2**). Discourse around the Berlin Wall commemoration is consistently conflict-heavy, whereas Europe Day remains predominantly non-conflictual and closer to a ceremonial or symbolic-affirmative register. Because this contrast holds across countries, it is most plausibly interpreted as an event-specific activation dynamic. Substantively, the Berlin Wall commemoration appears to provide more readily politicisable interpretive templates that connect historical interpretation to current geopolitical and identity disputes, while Europe Day more often stabilises integrative or celebratory frames. At the topic level, the results largely confirm the expectation that deliberation-compatible conflict is more likely when disagreement unfolds in a non-antagonistic tone (**RQ3**). Across most clusters, non-antagonistic conflict exhibits a higher share of deliberative quality posts than antagonistic conflict. Importantly, the indicator profiles suggest that antagonistic tone does not simply eliminate reason-giving or constructiveness. Finally, the topic heatmaps (*Figure 4 and 5*) clarify how deliberation-compatible conflict is sustained and why the exceptions matter (**RQ4**). In both, non-antagonistic and agonistic mode, the highest deliberative quality clusters are typically anchored in historical interpretation and geopolitical explanation, where constructiveness and reason-based justification remain high. However, a small set of topic clusters shows discourse quality parity or even higher quality under antagonistic conflict. These exceptions indicate that antagonism does not uniformly suppress deliberative signals.

Overall, the evidence is broadly consistent also with our expectations. In line with **E1**, conflict activation is higher on 9 November than on 9 May across countries, confirming that the Berlin Wall commemoration functions as a stronger trigger for contestation than the more ceremonial Europe Day. Consistent with **E2**, within conflict the Berlin Wall commemoration also tends to show a higher prevalence of antagonistic tone, although the size of this shift varies by topic and national setting. Finally, **E3** is supported in the expected direction on the Fall of the Berlin wall debates: Germany displays comparatively lower antagonistic tone and higher shares of deliberation-compatible conflict, Italy shows a more confrontational and lower-HQ pattern on 9 November, France exhibits strong 9 November activation with topic-specific concentrations of contestation, and Slovenia—interpreted descriptively due to small N—shows weaker event-specific anchoring of 9 November.

The key democratic implication is practical and conditional. The problem is not conflict per se, but how conflict is activated and communicatively managed. This assertion is consistent with evidence that more structured deliberative processes can reduce toxicity and improve interaction quality (Klein & Majdoubi, 2024). It concerns whether disagreement is performed in an antagonistic or non-antagonistic mode and whether conflict is sustained through deliberation-compatible practices. Read through an agonistic lens (Mouffe, 1999; 2013), the central normative task is not to eliminate disagreement, but to transform it from antagonism (enemies, moral exclusion, symbolic boundary drawing) into agonism (adversaries, legitimate contestation within shared democratic rules). Our findings align with this distinction. Non-antagonistic conflict is more likely to remain deliberation-compatible, meaning that citizens can disagree while still providing reasons, engaging constructively, and maintaining respectful recognition. Yet we also observe that even in highly contested topics, antagonistic conflict can remain justification-rich, indicating that escalated tone does not automatically erase argumentation.

For democratic theory, this supports a more precise view of polarisation and incivility. Antagonistic tone is not simply “anti-deliberation.” While it often lowers the probability that conflict will remain deliberation-compatible, it can also—under specific conditions—contribute to issue clarification and argumentative progression, particularly when antagonistic claims are still anchored in justification and expressed with some degree of constructiveness. This resonates with work showing that incivility and deliberative quality are analytically distinct dimensions that do not map onto each other one-to-one (Boukes, 2025), but also with evidence that deliberative cues can be interactionally self-reinforcing in online exchanges under certain conditions (Naab et al., 2025). The implication is that democratic resilience depends not on suppressing conflict, but on sustaining the communicative conditions under which even sharp disagreement remains oriented toward reasons and constructive engagement. In this sense, the democratic stakes of commemorative (or other) discourse lie in whether activation paths sustain agonistic contestation compatible with public reasoning, or drift toward antagonistic escalation.

Limitations

Several limitations qualify the interpretation of our findings. **First**, the analysis is conducted at the post level rather than the interaction-thread level. As a result, indicators with an inherently relational logic—most notably reciprocity—can only be measured as conservative proxies (e.g., cues of responding or engaging an interlocutor), and therefore likely underestimate actual back-and-forth deliberation. **Second**, the study relies on LLM-assisted coding and machine translation to enable cross-lingual comparison. While our validation procedures increase confidence in the overall patterns, translation may attenuate pragmatic and cultural cues (irony, sarcasm, context-dependent incivility), and automated classification is more uncertain for rare indicators, e.g., respectful/positive tone in some clusters, experience-based justification outside memory-work topics. These issues are especially relevant when interpreting fine-grained differences between countries or between topic clusters with small denominators, where small shifts can appear larger than they are. **Third**, our operationalisation treats incivility as a proxy for antagonistic tone, which captures a salient stylistic dimension of escalation but does not exhaust theoretical conceptions of antagonism. In particular, antagonism in the Mouffean sense can be expressed without explicit incivility (e.g., through exclusionary framing, de-legitimation, or moralised boundary drawing in polite language), while incivility can occur in otherwise argument-driven exchange. We therefore interpret “antagonistic conflict” as a measurable tone dimension rather than a complete proxy for antagonism as a political relation. **Finally**, the empirical scope is limited to two commemorations, selected platforms, and the topic-model clusters derived from this corpus. While the event contrast is robust, generalisation to other commemorations, languages, platform affordances, or institutional contexts should be made cautiously. Future work could extend the design with additional commemorative events, platform-specific comparisons, thread-based interaction data, and robustness checks using alternative topic representations.

Data Availability

An anonymised, feature-only dataset supporting the findings of this study (computed/annotated indicators such as language, commemoration labels, topic-model clusters, conflict and DQI scores, and discourse-type/AAD-related variables) is available via Zenodo. The Zenodo record also includes the LLM prompt. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.18767846)

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Competing interests

The authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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Appendix A: Prompt (conflict + DQI indicators)

*You are an expert in European transnational political discourse.
You are coding tweets for the "Twitter – Berlin Wall and Europe day commemorations Dataset".*

Scope & General Rules:

- Read the tweet (and any quoted/RT content) carefully.
- Code each category independently.
- Judge tone and intent, not factual accuracy.
- Output values must be the strings "YES" or "NO" only.

1) Conflict_GPT — YES if the tweet expresses disagreement, critique, blame, or opposition (including us-vs-them framing) toward any target (actors, policies, ideas, events, institutions, groups), including via RT/quoted text; count it even if phrased politely/respectfully or expressed implicitly (sarcasm, ironic praise, comparative shaming). Otherwise NO.

*2) Positive/Respectful_GPT — YES if the tweet's overall tone includes explicit empathy, sympathy, condolences, appreciation, or warm support toward people or groups (e.g., victims, interlocutors, addressees).
NO if such language is only incidental inside an otherwise hostile/attacking message.*

3) Uncivil_GPT — YES if any of the following occurs:

- Abuses/sledging (e.g., insults like "moron", "ass") or stereotypes/slurs (e.g., "faggot", "terrorist")
 - Threats (e.g., threats to people, freedoms, democracy)
 - Exaggeration/hyperbole used as argument (e.g., sweeping/overblown claims presented as proof)
- Otherwise NO.*

Do NOT mark as uncivil for: strong disagreement; calling actors "enemies/aggressors/totalitarian"; accusations of lying/trickery; harsh moral judgment; militaristic slogans; dramatic metaphors describing situations rather than calling people names.

4) Reciprocity_GPT — YES if the tweet asks genuine information-seeking questions intended to elicit the other side's views or facts (e.g., "Where is the money coming from?"). NO if it does not ask such questions or only asks rhetorical ones.

5) Constructiveness_GPT — YES if the tweet contains any of:

Fact-checking (correcting/clarifying claims) ONLY if it is clearly correcting a specific claim in the tweet/thread or in quoted/RT content (e.g., explicit “No/Actually/Reminder...” or direct reference to what someone said), not standalone trivia/factual reminders.

Common ground (explicit agreement/bridge-building)

Solution/next step (specific proposals, actions, or process suggestions)

Substantive context/explanation/analysis that adds understanding (e.g., explains meaning/background of an event, institutions, history, values, or provides an interpretive analysis rather than a bare announcement) BUT NOT mere encyclopedic history/commemoration (basic dates/facts, “on this day...”, “X anniversary...”) unless it is used to make an interpretive point, causal claim, argument, or policy-relevant analysis.

NO if it is purely ceremonial or purely informational/logistical (time/place/attendance) with no substantive explanation, analysis, action/next step, or engagement toward understanding.

This also includes generic celebration of values (e.g., “peace/freedom/unity”) and standalone historical/commemorative reminders unless paired with analysis, a concrete proposal/next step, or explicit learn/debate framing.

6) Justification (code each sublabel independently; more than one may be YES)

6a) just_reason

Question: Does the tweet give a logical reason or explanation for its view?

YES: Provides a because/therefore/so... rationale, causal claim, or argument (e.g., “Because higher taxes will hurt small businesses.”).

NO: Pure opinion/judgment with no reason.

6b) just_experience

*YES only if a first-hand or observed experience is ****explicitly used as justification**** for a claim in the tweet (clearly tied with cues like “ker/ker sem videl/na lastne oči ... zato/kar kaže/potrjuje/dokazuje ...”).*

*NO for mere attendance/celebration/commemoration/thanks/logistics/travelogue or descriptive observations ****not explicitly tied as evidence**** to the claim.*

Notes: Evaluate each sublabel independently (multiple can be YES). If none apply, both = NO.

Return ONLY a compact JSON object with these exact keys and values as strings "YES" or "NO":

```
{
  "Conflict_GPT": "YES/NO",
  "Positive/Respectful_GPT": "YES/NO",
  "Uncivil_GPT": "YES/NO",
  "Reciprocity_GPT": "YES/NO",
  "Constructiveness_GPT": "YES/NO",
  "just_reason": "YES/NO",
  "just_experience": "YES/NO"
}
```

FEW-SHOT EXAMPLES (learn the labeling pattern):

Example 1

TWEET: Your observation, Olivier, is mine. How is it that in France so many people of good faith can ignore at this point the contemporary history? The fall of the Berlin wall November 9, 1989! Collapse of the National education in the matter???

OUTPUT:

```
{"Conflict_GPT": "YES", "Positive/Respectful_GPT": "NO", "Uncivil_GPT": "NO", "Reciprocity_GPT": "YES", "Constructiveness_GPT": "YES", "just_reason": "NO", "just_experience": "NO"}
```

Example 2

TWEET: Not at all. What is stupid is not to try to understand why Russia intervened in Ukraine.

REMINDER: When the Berlin Wall fell and Germany was reunited, NATO pledged not to expand to the East, even by an inch.

OUTPUT:

```
{"Conflict_GPT": "YES", "Positive/Respectful_GPT": "NO", "Uncivil_GPT": "YES", "Reciprocity_GPT": "NO", "Constructiveness_GPT": "YES", "just_reason": "YES", "just_experience": "NO"}
```

Example 3

TWEET: There was the Berlin Wall, today it is the ideological wall that must fall

OUTPUT:

```
{"Conflict_GPT": "YES", "Positive/Respectful_GPT": "NO", "Uncivil_GPT": "NO", "Reciprocity_GPT": "NO", "Constructiveness_GPT": "YES", "just_reason": "NO", "just_experience": "NO"}
```

Example 4

TWEET: No. But it does not change the fact that 1. It was thanks to the help us 2. Germany would not have won anyway against the usa 3. The USSR is responsible for the outbreak of ww2 in Europe and not a savior.

OUTPUT:

```
{"Conflict_GPT": "YES", "Positive/Respectful_GPT": "NO", "Uncivil_GPT": "NO", "Reciprocity_GPT": "NO", "Constructiveness_GPT": "YES", "just_reason": "NO", "just_experience": "NO"}
```

Example 5

TWEET: This is what the Berlin Wall was for: officially to protect the communist paradise from the imperialist threat, but in reality to mask the insolent success of the capitalists.

OUTPUT:

```
{"Conflict_GPT": "YES", "Positive/Respectful_GPT": "NO", "Uncivil_GPT": "NO", "Reciprocity_GPT": "NO", "Constructiveness_GPT": "YES", "just_reason": "YES", "just_experience": "NO"}
```

Example 6

TWEET: The bankruptcy of communism did not begin with the fall of the Berlin Wall; it began 30 years earlier, when the wall was first built

OUTPUT:

```
{"Conflict_GPT": "YES", "Positive/Respectful_GPT": "NO", "Uncivil_GPT": "NO", "Reciprocity_GPT": "NO", "Constructiveness_GPT": "YES", "just_reason": "YES", "just_experience": "NO"}
```

NOW CODE THIS TWEET:

TWEET:

<<<{tweet_text}>>>

Respond with JSON only (no code fences, no commentary). ""

APPENDIX B: Indicator YES rates (%) by lang × discourse mode (Europe Day)

lang	Discourse Mode	Reciprocity_GPT_YES_%	Constructiveness_GPT_YES_%	just_reason_YES_%	just_experience_YES_%	Positive/Respectful_GPT_YES_%
fr	Antag.	2,07	30,29	41,08	1,24	2,9
fr	Non-A.	5,06	48,61	35,44	1,27	12,66
de	Antag.	2,59	30,37	40	1,48	5,19
de	Non-A.	3,9	47,29	38,18	0,87	11,28

sl	Antag.	1,92	46,15	50	0	0
sl	Non-A.	8,33	41,67	35,42	2,08	8,33
it	Antag.	0	32,11	37,61	0	7,34
it	Non-A.	5,05	36,36	33,33	0	13,13
ALL	Antag.	1,93	31,85	40,77	1,04	4,32
ALL	Non-A.	4,69	46,46	36,49	1	11,86

Appendix C: Indicator YES rates (%) by lang × discourse mode (Berlin Wall)

lang	DiscourseMode	Reciprocity_GPT_YES_%	Constructiveness_GPT_YES_%	just_reason_YES_%	just_experience_YES_%	Positive/Respectful_GPT_YES_%
fr	Antag.	2,82	42	49,6	2,97	1,25
fr	Non-A.	6,58	48,08	45,38	3,05	3,29
de	Antag.	4,38	38,47	49,29	5,82	0,97
de	Non-A.	9,13	52,91	49,79	7,12	4,8
sl	Antag.	3,17	49,21	47,62	4,76	0
sl	Non-A.	6,9	44,83	34,48	3,45	1,72
it	Antag.	2,97	46,37	55,27	2,68	1,39
it	Non-A.	7,28	58,37	53,55	3,64	3,46
ALL	Antag.	3,41	41,67	50,64	3,93	1,17
ALL	Non-A.	7,75	51,98	48,67	4,82	3,93

Appendix D: Quality level distribution (%) by lang × discourse mode (Europe Day)

lang	DiscourseMode	TOTAL (conflict)	Low (0-1 YES)_%	Medium (2-3 YES)_%	High (4-5 YES)_%
fr	Antag.	241	72,61	27,39	0
fr	Non-A.	395	61,77	38,23	0
de	Antag.	270	71,85	27,78	0,37
de	Non-A.	461	64,21	35,57	0,22
sl	Antag.	52	57,69	42,31	0
sl	Non-A.	48	64,58	33,33	2,08
it	Antag.	109	71,56	28,44	0
it	Non-A.	99	68,69	31,31	0
ALL	Antag.	672	70,98	28,87	0,15
ALL	Non-A.	1003	63,71	36,09	0,2

Appendix E: Quality level distribution (%) by lang × discourse mode (Berlin Wall)

lang	DiscourseMode	TOTAL	Low (0-1 YES)_%	Medium (2-3 YES)_%	High (4-5 YES)_%
fr	Antag.	5929	59,12	40,72	0,17
fr	Non-A.	4621	56,18	43,5	0,32
de	Antag.	4863	61,4	38,35	0,25
de	Non-A.	4708	50,76	48,32	0,91
sl	Antag.	63	53,97	46,03	0
sl	Non-A.	58	65,52	34,48	0

it	Antag.	2799	54,95	44,87	0,18
it	Non-A.	2198	47	52,5	0,5
ALL	Antag.	13654	59,05	40,75	0,2
ALL	Non-A.	11585	52,28	47,12	0,6

Appendix F: Topic clusters and their frequency in the full dataset.

Counts and percentages are reported for all topic clusters comprising at least 200 tweets in the full dataset (Total N = 97,994).

topic	count	share (%)
hdbscan_outlier	39406	40.2
berlin wall (general)	10622	10.8
europe day	8006	8.2
russia	6336	6.5
outlier/spam	5677	5.8
berlin wall (east/west divide)	3472	3.5
iron curtain	2601	2.7
berlin wall (memories of the fall)	1675	1.7
communism	1665	1.7
slovenian independence	1496	1.5
france	1294	1.3
israel/palestine	1285	1.3
ussr	1247	1.3
nato	816	0.8
berlin wall (fleeing to east germany)	729	0.7
slovenian day of resistance	680	0.7
sports	665	0.7
cold war	631	0.6
die linke/sed	593	0.6
angela merkel/cdu	565	0.6
berlin wall (nazis)	562	0.6
berlin wall (outcomes for democracy)	556	0.6
berlin wall (brandmauer/schutzwall)	555	0.6
berlin wall (things that will fall like the berlin wall)	550	0.6
islamic countries	537	0.5
9th of november	523	0.5
italy	499	0.5
berlin wall (spam tweets)	481	0.5
berlin wall (gorbatchev)	450	0.5
maghreb	448	0.5
berlin wall (reconstruction)	374	0.4
donald trump	308	0.3
berlin wall (socialism)	285	0.3
berlin wall (peaceful revolution)	285	0.3
berlin wall (deaths)	273	0.3
migration	254	0.3
capital b documentary	243	0.2
iron curtain in mayotte	239	0.2

topic	count	share (%)
youtube	238	0.2
pope	228	0.2
berlin wall (construction)	228	0.2
hungary	217	0.2
media	200	0.2

Appendix G. Distribution of discourse modes by topic hotspots

Counts and percentages are reported for antagonistic conflict, non-antagonistic conflict, and all remaining posts (“everything else”) within each topic cluster (≥ 200 tweets).

topic	TOTAL	Antagonistic (n, %)	Non-antagonistic (n, %)	Everything else (n, %)
berlin wall (nazis)	452	338 (74.78%)	93 (20.58%)	21 (4.65%)
islamic countries	396	256 (64.65%)	90 (22.73%)	50 (12.63%)
israel/palestine	884	570 (64.48%)	219 (24.77%)	95 (10.75%)
france	797	492 (61.73%)	223 (27.98%)	82 (10.29%)
communism	1539	913 (59.32%)	513 (33.33%)	113 (7.34%)
berlin wall (things that will fall like the berlin wall)	521	283 (54.32%)	163 (31.29%)	75 (14.40%)
italy	431	232 (53.83%)	137 (31.79%)	62 (14.39%)
russia	5606	2957 (52.75%)	2123 (37.87%)	526 (9.38%)
berlin wall (outcomes for democracy)	400	206 (51.50%)	157 (39.25%)	37 (9.25%)
berlin wall (socialism)	222	111 (50.00%)	81 (36.49%)	30 (13.51%)
migration	180	88 (48.89%)	60 (33.33%)	32 (17.78%)
donald trump	266	123 (46.24%)	70 (26.32%)	73 (27.44%)
maghreb	376	173 (46.01%)	86 (22.87%)	117 (31.12%)
berlin wall (east/west divide)	3112	1415 (45.47%)	995 (31.97%)	702 (22.56%)
angela merkel/cdu	484	218 (45.04%)	205 (42.36%)	61 (12.60%)
berlin wall (deaths)	264	114 (43.18%)	57 (21.59%)	93 (35.23%)
ussr	1204	518 (43.02%)	495 (41.11%)	191 (15.86%)
media	138	59 (42.75%)	55 (39.86%)	24 (17.39%)
iron curtain in mayotte	190	78 (41.05%)	77 (40.53%)	35 (18.42%)
nato	755	292 (38.68%)	381 (50.46%)	82 (10.86%)
berlin wall (brandmauer/schutzwall)	545	205 (37.61%)	262 (48.07%)	78 (14.31%)
berlin wall (fleeing to east germany)	726	262 (36.09%)	294 (40.50%)	170 (23.42%)
die linke/sed	541	178 (32.90%)	284 (52.50%)	79 (14.60%)
europa day	257	81 (31.52%)	62 (24.12%)	114 (44.36%)
iron curtain	2486	751 (30.21%)	825 (33.19%)	910 (36.60%)
berlin wall (reconstruction)	373	106 (28.42%)	151 (40.48%)	116 (31.10%)
pope	189	53 (28.04%)	70 (37.04%)	66 (34.92%)
cold war	595	144 (24.20%)	137 (23.03%)	314 (52.77%)
berlin wall (gorbatchev)	415	100 (24.10%)	178 (42.89%)	137 (33.01%)
hungary	180	40 (22.22%)	52 (28.89%)	88 (48.89%)
sports	628	134 (21.34%)	162 (25.80%)	332 (52.87%)
berlin wall (general)	10376	1571 (15.14%)	2148 (20.70%)	6657 (64.16%)
berlin wall (peaceful revolution)	242	36 (14.88%)	128 (52.89%)	78 (32.23%)
berlin wall (memories of the fall)	1602	199 (12.42%)	352 (21.97%)	1051 (65.61%)

topic	TOTAL	Antagonistic (n, %)	Non-antagonistic (n, %)	Everything else (n, %)
capital b documentary	161	17 (10.56%)	21 (13.04%)	123 (76.40%)
9th of november	490	47 (9.59%)	71 (14.49%)	372 (75.92%)
youtube	124	9 (7.26%)	17 (13.71%)	98 (79.03%)
berlin wall (construction)	205	10 (4.88%)	28 (13.66%)	167 (81.46%)

Appendix H. Deliberative YES rates within non-antagonistic conflict by topic (sorted by N)

Topics are ordered by the number of non-antagonistic conflict posts (N, descending). Percentages refer to YES rates among non-antagonistic conflictual posts (Conflict = 1 & Incivility = 0). Only topic clusters with ≥ 200 tweets in the full dataset are included.

Topic	Non-antag N	Respect ful %	Recipro city %	Construc tive %	Justif (reason) %	Justif (experience) %
berlin wall (general)	2148	3,12	4,47	23,74	18,48	2,93
russia	2123	3,53	10,55	75,08	72,54	3,34
berlin wall (east west divide)	995	6,03	11,36	62,31	59,7	9,45
iron curtain	825	2,06	5,58	28,36	25,33	2,91
communism	513	3,12	7,6	47,37	44,83	8,77
ussr	495	2,02	4,85	62,02	57,37	3,84
nato	381	1,05	10,76	85,04	77,69	1,84
berlin wall (memories of the fa	352	3,98	11,08	38,92	38,92	23,58
berlin wall (fleeing to east ge	294	1,02	11,22	44,22	43,2	2,72
die linke sed	284	3,52	9,15	48,94	49,65	3,87
berlin wall (brandmauer schutzw	262	1,15	1,91	64,89	49,62	1,53
france	223	4,93	6,73	56,5	55,61	5,38
israel palestine	219	11,42	11,87	48,4	47,49	0,91
angela merkel cdu	205	2,44	7,32	50,73	49,27	2,93
berlin wall (gorbatchev)	178	2,25	8,43	77,53	74,16	3,93
berlin wall (things that will f	163	1,23	6,75	71,17	65,64	3,07
sports	162	3,09	1,85	4,94	22,84	2,47
berlin wall (outcomes for democ	157	3,82	8,28	50,96	51,59	9,55
berlin wall (reconstruction)	151	1,32	2,65	5,3	3,31	0,66
cold war	137	1,46	6,57	71,53	68,61	8,76
italy	137	5,11	7,3	77,37	73,72	5,84
berlin wall (peaceful revolutio	128	12,5	7,03	96,09	85,16	2,34
berlin wall (nazis)	93	3,23	12,9	66,67	63,44	12,9
islamic countries	90	22,22	10	73,33	67,78	2,22
maghreb	86	4,65	8,14	53,49	48,84	0
berlin wall (socialism)	81	4,94	4,94	54,32	53,09	11,11

iron curtain in mayotte	77	3,9	9,09	29,87	35,06	0
9th of november	71	11,27	5,63	66,2	57,75	2,82
donald trump	70	5,71	5,71	57,14	57,14	1,43
pope	70	18,57	7,14	55,71	55,71	4,29
europe day	62	1,61	4,84	61,29	51,61	3,23
migration	60	10	13,33	60	51,67	8,33
berlin wall (deaths)	57	14,04	8,77	68,42	59,65	1,75
media	55	1,82	7,27	63,64	60	10,91
hungary	52	9,62	5,77	65,38	51,92	13,46
berlin wall (construction)	28	14,29	3,57	71,43	60,71	0
capital b documentary	21	4,76	4,76	9,52	4,76	4,76
youtube	17	5,88	0	11,76	29,41	5,88

Appendix I. Deliberative YES rates within antagonistic tone conflict by topic (sorted by N)

Topics are ordered by the number of antagonistic conflict posts (N, descending). Percentages refer to YES rates among antagonistic conflictual posts (Conflict = 1 & Incivility = 1).

Topic	Antag. conflict (N)	Respec tful %	Recipro city %	Constru ctive %	Justif (reason) %	Justif (experience) %
russia	2957	1,86	5,07	56,81	65,57	3,15
berlin wall (general)	1571	0,83	1,27	13,43	17,44	3,18
berlin wall (east west divide)	1415	1,27	4,38	42,69	57,24	7,63
communism	913	0,11	2,85	41,95	52,25	5,48
iron curtain	751	0,93	1,86	24,90	30,23	2,66
israel palestine	570	2,28	3,68	49,47	60,53	1,58
ussr	518	0,77	3,47	52,32	56,56	3,86
france	492	1,22	2,64	39,63	51,83	3,46
berlin wall (nazis)	338	1,48	2,66	35,80	45,27	9,76
nato	292	0,34	3,42	79,11	81,16	1,37
berlin wall (things that will f	283	1,06	3,18	56,18	60,42	1,41
berlin wall (fleeing to east ge	262	0,38	2,67	24,81	36,64	3,82
islamic countries	256	3,12	5,47	46,88	61,33	2,34
italy	232	0,43	3,02	56,90	67,67	4,31
angela merkel cdu	218	0,46	4,59	39,45	49,54	1,83
berlin wall (outcomes for democ	206	0,49	3,40	39,81	58,25	3,40
berlin wall (brandmauer schutzw	205	0,00	0,98	51,22	58,05	1,95
berlin wall (memories of the fa	199	1,01	3,02	25,63	34,17	20,10
die linke sed	178	1,12	4,49	47,19	61,24	1,69
maghreb	173	1,73	1,73	34,10	49,71	2,31
cold war	144	0,00	2,08	56,25	54,17	6,25

sports	134	2,24	1,49	4,48	28,36	2,24
donald trump	123	2,44	2,44	43,90	47,97	0,00
berlin wall (deaths)	114	1,75	6,14	32,46	44,74	1,75
berlin wall (socialism)	111	0,00	3,60	45,05	55,86	7,21
berlin wall (reconstruction)	106	0,00	0,00	3,77	11,32	0,00
berlin wall (gorbatchev)	100	2,00	3,00	73,00	72,00	0,00
migration	88	0,00	5,68	40,91	54,55	5,68
europe day	81	0,00	6,17	58,02	58,02	0,00
iron curtain in mayotte	78	1,28	0,00	56,41	56,41	2,56
media	59	0,00	6,78	42,37	57,63	1,69
pope	53	1,89	0,00	45,28	56,60	3,77
9th of november	47	2,13	8,51	34,04	36,17	2,13
hungary	40	2,50	5,00	27,50	42,50	5,00
berlin wall (peaceful revolutio	36	0,00	8,33	91,67	88,89	2,78
capital b documentary	17	0,00	0,00	5,88	11,76	0,00
berlin wall (construction)	10	0,00	0,00	60,00	50,00	0,00
youtube	9	0,00	11,11	33,33	33,33	0,00

Appendix J. Quality distribution within non-antagonistic conflict by topic (sorted by HQ_non)

Topics are ordered from highest to lowest HQ within non-antagonistic conflict (HQ_non). N_non denotes the number of non-antagonistic conflict posts per topic.

Topic	N_no n	Lo w %	Mediu m %	Hig h %	HQ (Med+High) %	Share non of all conflict %
berlin wall (peaceful revolutio	128	15,6	82,8	1,6	84,4	78,0
nato	381	20,5	79,3	0,3	79,5	56,6
berlin wall (gorbatchev)	178	26,4	73,6	0,0	73,6	64,0
italy	137	27,0	71,5	1,5	73,0	37,1
russia	2123	27,9	71,5	0,6	72,1	41,8
islamic countries	90	28,9	68,9	2,2	71,1	26,0
cold war	137	29,9	70,1	0,0	70,1	48,8
berlin wall (things that will f	163	34,4	65,6	0,0	65,6	36,5
berlin wall (nazis)	93	35,5	63,4	1,1	64,5	21,6
berlin wall (deaths)	57	36,8	63,2	0,0	63,2	33,3
berlin wall (construction)	28	39,3	60,7	0,0	60,7	73,7
berlin wall (east west divide)	995	40,5	57,5	2,0	59,5	41,3
9th of november	71	40,9	59,2	0,0	59,2	60,2
migration	60	41,7	58,3	0,0	58,3	40,5
media	55	41,8	58,2	0,0	58,2	48,2

ussr	495	43,6	56,2	0,2	56,4	48,9
hungary	52	46,2	51,9	1,9	53,8	56,5
france	223	46,6	52,5	0,9	53,4	31,2
pope	70	47,1	52,9	0,0	52,9	56,9
berlin wall (socialism)	81	48,2	51,9	0,0	51,9	42,2
europe day	62	48,4	51,6	0,0	51,6	43,4
donald trump	70	48,6	50,0	1,4	51,4	36,3
berlin wall (brandmauer schutzw	262	49,6	50,4	0,0	50,4	56,1
maghreb	86	51,2	48,8	0,0	48,8	33,2
berlin wall (outcomes for democ	157	52,2	47,1	0,6	47,8	43,3
die linke sed	284	52,8	46,8	0,4	47,2	61,5
israel palestine	219	53,4	45,2	1,4	46,6	27,8
angela merkel cdu	205	55,1	43,9	1,0	44,9	48,5
communism	513	56,9	42,1	1,0	43,1	36,0
berlin wall (fleeing to east ge	294	57,5	42,5	0,0	42,5	52,9
berlin wall (memories of the fa	352	59,9	38,1	2,0	40,1	63,9
iron curtain in mayotte	77	74,0	24,7	1,3	26,0	49,7
youtube	17	76,5	23,5	0,0	23,5	65,4
iron curtain	825	77,1	22,7	0,2	22,9	52,3
berlin wall (general)	2148	82,3	17,6	0,1	17,7	57,8
capital b documentary	21	90,5	9,5	0,0	9,5	55,3
sports	162	93,2	6,8	0,0	6,8	54,7
berlin wall (reconstruction)	151	97,4	2,7	0,0	2,7	58,8

Appendix K. Quality distribution within antagonistic conflict by topic (sorted by HQ_ant)

Topics are ordered from highest to lowest HQ within antagonistic conflict (HQ_ant). N_ant denotes the number of antagonistic conflict posts per topic.

Topic	N_ant	Low %	Medium %	High %	HQ (Med+High) %	Share ant of all conflict %
berlin wall (peaceful revolutio	36	11,1	88,9	0,0	88,9	22,0
nato	292	23,0	77,1	0,0	77,1	43,4
berlin wall (gorbatchev)	100	28,0	72,0	0,0	72,0	36,0
italy	232	43,5	56,5	0,0	56,5	62,9
russia	2957	44,2	55,4	0,4	55,8	58,2
iron curtain in mayotte	78	44,9	55,1	0,0	55,1	50,3
berlin wall (things that will f	283	45,2	54,8	0,0	54,8	63,5
europe day	81	45,7	54,3	0,0	54,3	56,6
cold war	144	48,6	51,4	0,0	51,4	51,2
ussr	518	49,0	50,8	0,2	51,0	51,1
berlin wall (brandmauer schutzw	205	49,8	50,2	0,0	50,2	43,9

berlin wall (construction)	10	50,0	50,0	0,0	50,0	26,3
israel palestine	570	50,9	48,8	0,4	49,1	72,2
islamic countries	256	52,7	47,3	0,0	47,3	74,0
die linke sed	178	53,9	46,1	0,0	46,1	38,5
pope	53	54,7	45,3	0,0	45,3	43,1
berlin wall (socialism)	111	55,9	44,1	0,0	44,1	57,8
media	59	55,9	44,1	0,0	44,1	51,8
berlin wall (east west divide)	1415	56,6	43,0	0,4	43,4	58,7
donald trump	123	58,5	41,5	0,0	41,5	63,7
berlin wall (outcomes for democ	206	58,7	41,3	0,0	41,3	56,7
communism	913	58,9	40,7	0,3	41,1	64,0
migration	88	59,1	40,9	0,0	40,9	59,5
france	492	61,8	38,2	0,0	38,2	68,8
angela merkel cdu	218	61,9	38,1	0,0	38,1	51,5
berlin wall (deaths)	114	64,9	35,1	0,0	35,1	66,7
berlin wall (nazis)	338	65,1	34,3	0,6	34,9	78,4
maghreb	173	65,3	34,7	0,0	34,7	66,8
youtube	9	66,7	33,3	0,0	33,3	34,6
hungary	40	67,5	32,5	0,0	32,5	43,5
9th of november	47	68,1	31,9	0,0	31,9	39,8
berlin wall (memories of the fa	199	73,9	26,1	0,0	26,1	36,1
iron curtain	751	76,2	23,8	0,0	23,8	47,7
berlin wall (fleeing to east ge	262	76,3	23,7	0,0	23,7	47,1
berlin wall (general)	1571	87,7	12,3	0,1	12,4	42,2
sports	134	92,5	7,5	0,0	7,5	45,3
capital b documentary	17	94,1	5,9	0,0	5,9	44,7
berlin wall (reconstruction)	106	98,1	1,9	0,0	1,9	41,2

Appendix L. Topic-level differences in high-quality conflict between non-antagonistic and antagonistic discourse. *This table reports topic-level differences in high-quality (HQ) conflict between non-antagonistic and antagonistic discourse. HQ denotes the share of conflictual posts reaching a Medium/High quality profile within each discourse mode. The final column shows the HQ difference between modes ($HQ_{non} - HQ_{ant}$, percentage points), with topics sorted in descending order.*

Topic	N_non	HQ_non	N_ant	HQ_ant	HQ difference % (non-ant)
berlin wall (nazis)	93	64,5	338	34,9	29,6
berlin wall (deaths)	57	63,2	114	35,1	28,1
9th of november	71	59,2	47	31,9	27,2
islamic countries	90	71,1	256	47,3	23,8
hungary	52	53,8	40	32,5	21,3
berlin wall (fleeing to east ge	294	42,5	262	23,7	18,9
cold war	137	70,1	144	51,4	18,7
migration	60	58,3	88	40,9	17,4
italy	137	73,0	232	56,5	16,5

russia	2123	72,1	2957	55,8	16,2
berlin wall (east west divide)	995	59,5	1415	43,4	16,1
france	223	53,4	492	38,2	15,2
maghreb	86	48,8	173	34,7	14,2
media	55	58,2	59	44,1	14,1
berlin wall (memories of the fa	352	40,1	199	26,1	13,9
berlin wall (things that will f	163	65,6	283	54,8	10,9
berlin wall (construction)	28	60,7	10	50,0	10,7
donald trump	70	51,4	123	41,5	10,0
berlin wall (socialism)	81	51,9	111	44,1	7,7
pope	70	52,9	53	45,3	7,6
angela merkel cdu	205	44,9	218	38,1	6,8
berlin wall (outcomes for democ	157	47,8	206	41,3	6,5
ussr	495	56,4	518	51,0	5,4
berlin wall (general)	2148	17,7	1571	12,4	5,4
capital b documentary	21	9,5	17	5,9	3,6
nato	381	79,5	292	77,1	2,5
communism	513	43,1	913	41,1	2,0
berlin wall (gorbatchev)	178	73,6	100	72,0	1,6
die linke sed	284	47,2	178	46,1	1,1
berlin wall (reconstruction)	151	2,7	106	1,9	0,8
berlin wall (brandmauer schutzw	262	50,4	205	50,2	0,1
sports	162	6,8	134	7,5	-0,7
iron curtain	825	22,9	751	23,8	-0,9
israel palestine	219	46,6	570	49,1	-2,5
europe day	62	51,6	81	54,3	-2,7
berlin wall (peaceful revolutio	128	84,4	36	88,9	-4,5
youtube	17	23,5	9	33,3	-9,8
iron curtain in mayotte	77	26,0	78	55,1	-29,2