000 001 002 003 004 THE POWER OF LLM-GENERATED SYNTHETIC DATA FOR STANCE DETECTION IN ONLINE POLITICAL DIS-CUSSIONS

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ABSTRACT

Stance detection holds great potential to improve online political discussions through its deployment in discussion platforms for purposes such as content moderation, topic summarization or to facilitate more balanced discussions. Typically, transformer-based models are employed directly for stance detection, requiring vast amounts of data. However, the wide variety of debate topics in online political discussions makes data collection particularly challenging. LLMs have revived stance detection, but their online deployment in online political discussions faces challenges like inconsistent outputs, biases, and vulnerability to adversarial attacks. We show how LLM-generated synthetic data can improve stance detection for online political discussions by using reliable traditional stance detection models for online deployment, while leveraging the text generation capabilities of LLMs for synthetic data generation in a secure offline environment. To achieve this, (i) we generate synthetic data for specific debate questions by prompting a Mistral-7B model and show that fine-tuning with the generated synthetic data can substantially improve the performance of stance detection, while remaining interpretable and aligned with real world data. (ii) Using the synthetic data as a reference, we can improve performance even further by identifying the most informative samples in an unlabelled dataset, i.e., those samples which the stance detection model is most uncertain about and can benefit from the most. By fine-tuning with both synthetic data and the most informative samples, we surpass the performance of the baseline model that is fine-tuned on all true labels, while labelling considerably less data.

1 INTRODUCTION

036 037 038 039 040 041 042 043 044 045 046 With the recent advent of powerful generative Large Language Models (LLMs) such as ChatGPT, Llama [\(Touvron et al., 2023\)](#page-12-0) and Mistral [\(Jiang et al., 2023\)](#page-10-0), new ways of performing stance detection have opened up via zero-shot or chain-of-thought prompting. This is especially important in the area of online political discussion where topics are complex and labelled data is hard to come by. At the same time, an ever important use case in online political discussions is being able to use stance detection for an ongoing discussion to, e.g., suggest suitable comments for engagement between participants [\(Küçük & Can, 2020;](#page-11-0) [Behrendt et al., 2024\)](#page-10-1). In the case of LLMs, while strong at analysing complex topics and at open-ended text generation, explicit classification can be inconsistent [\(Cruickshank & Xian Ng, 2023\)](#page-10-2), they are prone to biases [\(Ziems et al., 2023\)](#page-12-1) and open to adversarial attacks [\(Greshake et al., 2023\)](#page-10-3). More traditional stance detection models based on, e.g., BERT [\(Devlin et al., 2019\)](#page-10-4) are task-specific and therefore consistent in their output, however they need large amounts of labelled data [\(Mehrafarin et al., 2022;](#page-11-1) [Vamvas & Sennrich, 2020\)](#page-12-2) to perform well.

047 048 049 050 051 052 053 In this work, we combine both traditional stance dectection and LLMs to get the best of both worlds. For stance dectection, we use BERT as a lightweight stance detection model that produces fast and consistent output given the data it has been fine-tuned on. To address the issue of needing large amounts of data, we propose to generate synthetic data with an LLM to augment the stance detection model for fine-tuning. This allows us to leverage LLMs in an offline setting to enhance classical stance detection models, which are better suited and safer for use in an online setting. Furthermore, we show that the synthetic data allows us to gain insights about the real world data. We show that the synthetic data generated by the LLM can serve as a reference distribution for stance detection,

Positive Synth Negative Synth **◆** Train data **Most informative A B**

062 065 069 Figure 1: We investigate the use of LLM-generated synthetic data for stance detection in online **political discussions.** (A) We generate synthetic data \bullet for specific questions using a Mistral-7B model. The synthetic data is then used to fine-tune the stance detection model. We show that fine-tuning with synthetic data improves the performance of the model, since the synthetic data is roughly faithful to the real data's \Diamond underlying distribution. However, some real world samples \Diamond cannot be captured by the synthetic data. (B) We therefore use the synthetic data to identify the most informative samples \blacklozenge in the unlabelled real data pool, which are better off labelled by human experts. Combining the synthetic data with the manually labelled most informative samples improves the performance of the model even further.

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072 073 074 075 076 077 078 079 since the LLM is able to generate high quality samples which fall distinctly into the respective stance classes. This has two benefits: (i) we can analyse the data for potential biases by comparing the alignment of the synthetic data distribution to the real world data distribution. (ii) we can tackle the issue of extracting ambiguous samples that are difficult for the model to classify and therefore deteriorate its performance. Since the synthetic data partitions the space between both classes, ambiguous samples that the stance detection model cannot classify properly can be identified as lying in between the two classes. These samples can then be labelled manually. Fine-tuning with these additional samples, outperforms the model that is fine-tuned on all true labels alone, while only having labelled a subset of samples in the unlabelled data pool. We illustrate our method in Figure [1.](#page-1-0)

080 081 082 We view stance detection as a binary classification problem (*favor* or against), where we explore the following questions:

083 084 085 086 087 (Q1) Does fine-tuning a stance detection model with synthetic data improve stance detection performance? We first analyse whether fine-tuning the BERT model with synthetic data improves stance detection and show that this approach almost reaches the model trained with all true labels and is superior to using zero-shot Mistral-7B for the complex topics in online political discussions. *We reveal that a stance detection model can be tailored to a certain topic with only synthetic data.*

088 089 090 091 092 093 (Q2) How does the synthetic data improve performance and does it align with real world data? Our second question analyses the generated synthetic data. We analyse how well it aligns with the real world training data by visualising the T-SNE projected embeddings of the stance detection model and by comparing the entropy distribution of the synthetic data to the real data. *We find that the synthetic data aligns well with the real data, indicating that the LLM is able to generate comments for both stances while introducing minimal further bias.*

094 095 096 097 098 099 100 (Q3) Can we further improve the model by using the synthetic data as labelled reference distribution for active learning? The synthetic data allows us to identify unlabelled real data samples that improve the model even further through active learning. Due to the canonical nature of the synthetic data, we are able to extract real word samples for human labelling that are difficult (ambiguous) for the model to classify. We do this, by determining the k -nearest synthetic neighbours of the real data. *The stance detection model is fine-tuned jointly with these samples and the synthetic data, where we surpass the baseline model even when it is fine-tuned on all true labels, while labelling considerably less data manually.*

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2 BACKGROUND

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105 106 107 Stance Detection for Online Political Discussions. Stance detection, a sub-task of sentiment analysis [\(Romberg & Escher, 2023\)](#page-12-3) and opinion mining [\(ALDayel & Magdy, 2021\)](#page-10-5), aims to automatically identify an author's stance (*favor*, *against*, or *neutral*) towards a discussed issue or target. In online political discussions, this involves determining if the contribution in question is *for*

108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 or *against* a topic like tax increases. Stance detection has been identified as an important task for improving discussion summarization [\(Chowanda et al., 2017\)](#page-10-6), detecting misinformation [\(Hardalov](#page-10-7) [et al., 2022\)](#page-10-7), and evaluating opinion distributions in online political discussion and participation processes [\(Romberg & Escher, 2023\)](#page-12-3). Stance detection is also used in recommender systems and discussion platforms [\(Küçük & Can, 2020\)](#page-11-0). Still, due to its dependency on context, stance detection is a highly challenging task. Identifying stance requires understanding both the question and the contributor's position, complicated by users often deviating from the original question and discussing multiple topics in the same thread [\(Ziegele et al., 2014\)](#page-12-4), leading to little usable training data. Some works in stance detection use graph convolutional networks to learn more out of the present data [\(Zhang et al., 2022;](#page-12-5) [Li & Goldwasser, 2019\)](#page-11-2). Recently, fine-tuning transformer-based models [\(Vaswani et al., 2017;](#page-12-6) [Liu et al., 2022\)](#page-11-3) to solve stance detection is a common practice, but training these models requires a large amount of annotated data, which for the large variety of questions in online political discussions is unfeasible to acquire.

121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 Active Learning. The aim of *active learning* is to minimize the effort of labelling data, while simultaneously maximizing the model's performance. This is achieved by selecting a *query strategy* that chooses the most interesting samples from a set of unlabelled data points, which we refer to as *most informative* samples. These samples are then passed to, e.g., a human annotator for labelling. There exist many different query strategies such as Query By Comittee (QBC, [\(Seung](#page-12-7) [et al., 1992\)](#page-12-7)), Minimum Expected Entropy (MEE, [Holub et al.](#page-10-8) [\(2008\)](#page-10-8) or Contrastive Active Learning (CAL, [Margatina et al.](#page-11-4) [\(2021\)](#page-11-4)). By actively choosing samples and asking for the correct labelling, the model is able to learn from few labelled data points, which is advantageous especially when annotated datasets are not available. Within the domain of political text analysis, many different tasks lack large amounts of annotated data. It has been already shown in the past that these tasks can benefit from the active learning: e.g., stance detection [\(Kucher et al., 2017\)](#page-11-5), topic modeling [\(Romberg &](#page-12-8) [Escher, 2022\)](#page-12-8), speech act classification [\(Schmidt et al., 2023\)](#page-12-9) or toxic comment classification [\(Miller](#page-11-6) [et al., 2020\)](#page-11-6). In this work, we examine how LLM-generated synthetic data can be used instead of real labelled data to select the most informative samples to be manually labelled.

134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 Stance detection and synthetic data generation with LLMs. Recent work has shown that synthetic data generated from LLMs can be used to improve the performance of a model on downstream tasks. [Møller et al.](#page-11-7) [\(2023\)](#page-11-7) showed that synthetic data can be used to improve the performance of a model on downstream classification tasks by comparing the performance of a model finetuned on LLM-generated data to crowd annotated data. In many cases the model finetuned on LLM-generated data outperforms the model finetuned on crowd annotated data. [Mahmoudi et al.](#page-11-8) [\(2024\)](#page-11-8) study the use of synthetic data for data augmentation in stance-detection. The authors use GPT-3 to generate synthetic data for a specific topic with mixed results due to the inability of GPT-3 to generate good data samples. In our work,we use a newer LLM model, Mistral-7B, which generates better synthetic data samples and show that we can generate synthetic data that matches the real data distribution. [Veselovsky et al.](#page-12-10) [\(2023\)](#page-12-10) analyse in which ways synthetic data is best generated for tasks like sarcasm detection and sentiment analysis. The authors reach the conclusion that grounding the prompts to generate the synthetic data to real samples helps improve the quality of the synthetic data. Similarly, [Li et al.](#page-11-9) [\(2023\)](#page-11-9) argue that subjectivity in the classification task determines whether synthetic data can be used effectively. It has been shown that LLMs can be used directly for stance detection such as [\(Cruickshank & Xian Ng, 2023\)](#page-10-2), [\(Burnham, 2023\)](#page-10-9) [\(Ziems et al., 2023\)](#page-12-1). However, the general conclusion of these studies is that while LLMs are competitive with other transformer models such as BERT, especially for edge cases, they exhibit replication issues. [\(Burnham, 2023\)](#page-10-9) also discuss the posibility of pre-training models on more specific data to improve the generalisation capability of the model. [Ziems et al.](#page-12-1) [\(2023\)](#page-12-1) highlight the potential biases that can emerged in open ended generation tasks and classification performance varies depending on how representative the training data is. We therefore focus on using LLMs to generate synthetic data to solve key challenges in stance detection such as the lack of available data for specific topics and labelling large amounts of data, rather than using LLMs directly for the task.

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3 METHOD

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160 161 In line with our declared contributions, we present our core ideas to improve the performance of the stance detection model: (i) To fine-tune the model with synthetic data, we first define the synthetic dataset and show our pipeline to generate it. The baseline model is then further fine-tuned on the

162 163 164 165 166 167 168 synthetic data. (ii) We then present our synthetic data-based approach to identify the most informative samples from a batch of unlabelled data, where we propose a synthetic extension to the QBC (Query by Commitee, [\(Seung et al., 1992\)](#page-12-7)) method, where the synthetic data act as an ensemble of experts. As described in Section [1](#page-0-0) and Figure [1,](#page-1-0) we use the synthetic data as reference distribution to identify the most informative samples in the unlabelled data pool. The idea is that for ambigouous samples the k-synthetic nearerst neighbours are split in their labels and therefore lie on the decision boundary of the model.

170 3.1 PRELIMINARIES

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171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 Political discussions are typically centered around questions $q \in \mathcal{Q}$ (sometimes also called issues or targets). For stance detection, we usually have for each of these questions q a set of labelled data $\mathcal{D}^{(q)} = \{(x^{(i)}, y^{(i)})\}_{i=1}^I$ where $x^{(i)} \in \mathcal{X}$ is a statement (or comment) and $y^{(i)}$ is the stance of the statement, with $y^{(i)} \in \{0,1\} = \mathcal{Y}$. Note, that we use the notation $\mathcal{D}^{(q)}$ for labelled and for unlabelled datasets (then the labels are ignored). We view the stance detection model as a binary classification function $f: \mathcal{Q} \times \mathcal{X} \to \mathcal{Y}$, where we included the question as input to provide context. The stance detection model such as BERT [\(Devlin et al., 2019\)](#page-10-4) is *fine-tuned* by minimizing the cross-entropy loss between the predicted labels $\hat{y}^{(i)} = f(q, x^{(i)})$ and the actual labels $y^{(i)}$.

3.2 GENERATING SYNTHETIC DATA FOR STANCE DETECTION

To generate synthetic samples, we employ a quantized version of the Mistral-7B-instructv0.1 model to generate comments on a specific question q , using the following prompt: A user in a discussion forum is debating other users about the following question: [q] The person is in favor about the topic in question. What would the person write? Write from the person's first person perspective.

where " $[q]$ " must be replaced with the question q. Similarly, to generate a negative sample, we replace "is in favor" with "is not in favor". As in the X-Stance dataset [\(Vamvas & Sennrich,](#page-12-2) [2020\)](#page-12-2), we assign the two labels 0 and 1. We denote the question-specific synthetic dataset as:

$$
\mathcal{D}_{\text{synth}}^{(q)} = \left\{ (x_{\text{synth}}^{(m)}, 1) \right\}_{m=1}^{M/2} \cup \left\{ (x_{\text{synth}}^{(m)}, 0) \right\}_{m=1+M/2}^{M}
$$
 (1)

193 194 195 196 197 198 where half of the M synthetic data samples have *positive* labels, i.e., are comments in *favor* for the posed question, while the other half is *against*. Since the dataset is in German, we translate the questions q with a "NLLB-300M" [\(NLLB Team et al., 2022\)](#page-11-10) translation model. The English answers from the Mistral-7B model are then translated back to German using the translation model. We also tried other similar sized open source LLMs (Llama, Openassistant, Falcon), but found that only the Mistral-7B model produced sensible comments.

199 200 201 Overall, the generated dataset $\mathcal{D}_{synth}^{(q)}$ will be used in two ways: (i) to augment the existing dataset $\mathcal{D}^{(q)}$ in order to increase the amount of training data, and (ii) to detect the most informative samples in the unlabelled data pool, which is explained next.

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3.3 GETTING THE MOST INFORMATIVE SAMPLES: SYNTHETIC QUERY BY COMITTEE

205 206 207 208 209 210 To identify the ambiguous (most informative) samples as described in $(Q3)$ we take from two active learning methods: Query by Comittee (QBC) [\(Seung et al., 1992\)](#page-12-7) and Contrastive Active Learning (CAL, [Margatina et al.](#page-11-4) [\(2021\)](#page-11-4)). Instead of using QBC's ensemble of experts and the KL-divergence based information score in CAL, we directly use the synthetic data and its labels to identify ambigous samples using k nearest neighbors. The most informative samples are then the data points with the most indecisive scores. Synthetic Query by Comitte (SQBC) consists of three steps:

211 212 213 214 215 (1) Generate the embeddings. Given some embedding function $g : \mathcal{Q} \times \mathcal{X} \to \mathcal{E}$, we generate embeddings for the unlabelled data, $E = \{e^{(i)}\}_{i=1}^I = \{g(q, x^{(i)})\}_{i=1}^I$ and for the labelled synthetic data $E_{\text{synth}} = \{e_{\text{synth}}^{(m)}\}_{m=1}^M = \{g(q, x_{\text{synth}}^{(m)})\}_{m=1}^M$. Note that q is the question for which we generate the synthetic data and for which we want to detect the most informative samples. If obvious from the context, we often omit the superscript (q) .

216 217 218 219 220 (2) Using the synthetic nearest neighbours as oracles to score the unlabelled data. For the i -th unlabelled embedding $e^{(i)}$ let NN (i) be the set of indices of the k nearest neighbours (wrt. to the embeddings using the cosine similarity) among the labelled embeddings E_{synth} . The score for each unlabelled data point counts the number of labels $y_{\text{synth}}^{(m)} = 1$ among the nearest neighbours, i.e.,

$$
s(i) = \sum_{m \in \text{NN}(i)} y_{\text{synth}}^{(m)} \in \{0, \dots, k\}.
$$
 (2)

For our experiments, we choose $k = M/2$ which worked well across all experiments (other values for k are possible, but did not lead to significantly better results).

(3) Choosing the most informative samples. The scores take values between 0 and k . For 0, the synthetic nearest neighbours all have labels $y_{\text{synth}}^{(m)} = 0$, for value k, all have labels $y_{\text{synth}}^{(m)} = 1$. The *most informative* samples have a score around $k/2$. We thus adjust the range of the scores so that values in the middle range have the smallest scores (close to 0). We do this by subtracting $k/2$ from the score and taking the absolute value,

$$
s'(i) = |s(i) - k/2|.
$$
 (3)

The J most informative samples $\mathcal{D}_{\text{MInf}}^{(q)} \subset \mathcal{D}^{(q)}$ among the unlabelled samples are the J samples with the smallest scores. In the experiments we vary J to study the impact of manually labelled most informative samples. Finally, the most informative samples are labelled by a human expert.

4 EXPERIMENTS

4.1 DATASETS

243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 X-Stance dataset. We evaluate on the German dataset of the X-Stance dataset [\(Vamvas & Sennrich,](#page-12-2) [2020\)](#page-12-2), which contains 48, 600 annotated comments on many policy-related questions (140 topics), answered by Swiss election candidates. We chose the German X-Stance dataset because it to our knowledge the most comprehensive stance detection dataset with a variety of topics and comments, while also being focused on online political discussions in governmental participation processes. Known english datasets such as SemEval-2016 [\(Mohammad et al., 2017\)](#page-11-11) or P-Stance [\(Küçük & Can,](#page-11-0) [2020\)](#page-11-0) offer less variety and are more focused on social media discussions. The comments are labelled either as being in *favor* (positive) or *against* (negative) the posed question. The dataset is split in training and testing questions, i.e,. a question in the training dataset does not appear in the test dataset. Furthermore, for each question q from the training data, there are several annotated comments, which form the dataset $\mathcal{D}_{train}^{(q)}$. Analogously, for the test data we have a set of annotated comments written as $\mathcal{D}^{(q)}_{\text{test}}$. To refer to the whole training dataset we write $\mathcal{D}_{\text{train}} = \cup_{q \in \mathcal{Q}} \mathcal{D}^{(q)}_{\text{train}}$.

255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 For our experiments, we fine-tune all stance detection models for each question separately allowing for better performance since the data distributions can vary greatly between questions (also a common scenario in online political discussions). To limit computation time, we selected 10 questions from the test dataset to evaluate our method, that best reflect the variability of the data (see Appendix [E.1\)](#page-27-0). We split the datasets of these questions into Test-Train and Test-Test to fine-tune the BERT model on synthetic data and to perform active learning. That is, we use the Test-Train dataset to fine-tune the model and the Test-Test dataset to evaluate the model. The number of comments in the 10 selected test questions is shown in Table [10.](#page-23-0)

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270 271 272 273 274 275 Synthetic dataset. For synthetic data-augmentation and active learning based on SQBC (see Section [3.3\)](#page-3-0) we generate synthetic datasets of varying sizes $M = \{200, 500, 1000\}$ for each of the 10 questions. The synthetic data follows the same structure as the data from the X-stance dataset, where for a specific question q we have M comments and M labels. Each set contains $M/2$ positive labels and $M/2$ negative labels, i.e., the synthetic data is balanced. We show samples of the synthetic data in Appendix [C.2.](#page-23-1)

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4.2 EXPERIMENTAL SETUP

General setup. For all experiments, we start with a pre-trained BERT base model and adapt to the stance detection task by fine-tuning on the X-Stance training dataset $\mathcal{D}_{\text{train}}$ (all questions). We call this the **Baseline** since it is the vanilla BERT-based stance detection (e.g., [Vamvas & Sennrich](#page-12-2) [\(2020\)](#page-12-2)).

282 283 284 285 We evaluate our methods along the lines of the questions proposed in Section [1:](#page-0-0) (Q1): we analyse the effect of fine-tuning **Baseline** with synthetic data and compare it to the **Baseline** that was only fine-tuned on D_{train} . (Q3): we fine-tune **Baseline** with synthetic data and the most informative samples. We present the baselines and our methods in the following:

Baseline methods.

- Baseline: the default BERT model fine-tuned only on \mathcal{D}_{train} , (e.g., [Vamvas & Sennrich](#page-12-2) [\(2020\)](#page-12-2)).
- True Labels: we fine-tune **Baseline** on the true labels of $\mathcal{D}_{\text{test}}^{(q)}$.
- Random+Synth, CAL+Synth: we use the active learning approaches to get the most informative samples $\mathcal{D}_{\text{MInf}}^{(q)}$.

Our methods.

- Baseline+Synth: we fine-tune the **Baseline** on the synthetic data $\mathcal{D}_{\text{synth}}^{(q)}$.
- True Labels+Synth: we fine-tune **True Labels** additionally on the synthetic data $\mathcal{D}^{(q)}_{\text{synth}}$.
- SQBC+Synth: we apply our active learning approach to get the most informative samples $\mathcal{D}_{\text{MInf}}^{(q)}$.

298 299 300 301 For fine-tuning with synthetic data only $(Q1)$, we compare the performance of our approaches to the baselines without synthetic data. For the active learning methods (Q3), we compare to the non-active learning and active learning baselines. For further experimental details we refer to Appendix [D.](#page-26-0)

302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 Analysing the synthetic data. To analyse the synthetic data $(Q2)$, we visualize the BERT embeddings of the synthetic data together with the embeddings of the real world data (see Figure [3](#page-6-0) and Appendix [A\)](#page-13-0). We use T-SNE [\(van der Maaten & Hinton, 2008\)](#page-12-11) to project the embeddings, i.e., the output CLS token of the BERT model to a two-dimensional space. To assess whether the synthetic data captures the overall characteristics of the real world data and shares similar labels, we plot the individual embeddings of the synthetic data together with the means of the embeddings of the real world data. Additionally, we plot their corresponding labels. Finally, we also visualize the most informative samples selected by the different active learning methods.

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4.3 RESULTS: EVALUATING THE EFFECTIVENES OF THE SYNTHETIC DATA

312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 (Q1) LLM-generated synthetic data substantially improves stance detection. We show in Figure [2,](#page-6-1) that fine-tuning with only synthetic data improves the stance detection model. For $M = 1000$ the performance almost reaches the **True Labels** model, indicating that we can tailor a model to a certain topic without having any data for it. Furthermore, we can still improve the model consistently when new labelled data is available as seen by the **True Labels+Synth** models. In Section [5.1,](#page-7-0) we also analyse stance detection with zero-shot and fine-tuning approaches on Mistral-7B, but show that these are far less effective on the X-Stance dataset than our fine-tuned BERT model. In the following, we attempt to provide an understanding as to why the synthetic data is so effective.

320 321 322 323 (Q2) The synthetic data aligns well with real world data. We compare the T-SNE projected embeddings of the synthetic and real data in Figure $3(A)$ (more visualisations in Appendix [A\)](#page-13-0). The synthetic data aligns well with the real world dataset, since the means of the training data are close and in the direction of the synthetic data. We further analyse the synthetic data in Section [5.2:](#page-8-0) the synthetic data is generally of high quality which validates the notion that it can serve as a good

Figure 2: Q1: Fine-tuning the model with synthetic data improves performance for increasing dataset size: Shown are the F1-Score of fine-tuning with Only Synthetic Data (left) and Synthetic **Data + True Labels** (right) for increasing synthetic dataset size. Even if a dataset has been fully labelled, augmenting it with synthetic data proves equally as effective.

Figure 3: $(Q2)$ Analysing the synthetic data $(M=1000)$: The synthetic data aligns well with the real data, which is crucial for improving stance detection performance and to check for potential biases introduced by the synthetic data. SQBC selects the samples that are in between the two classes, i.e, that are the most ambiguous and informative for the model.

reference distribution for the model. From a statistical learning point of view the synthetic data can be thought of smoothening the decision boundary of the model. This also explains why fine-tuning with real samples is also very effective. Furthermore, we show that it is crucial to generate synthetic data that aligns with the given topic The insight that the synthetic data provides a good prior, serves as motivation to use the synthetic data to identify ambiguous samples that are the most informative to the model. We elaborate on this in the following section.

365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 (Q3) Synthetic data aids in finding unlabelled samples that further improve the stance detection model by extending its decision boundary. We show the results of combining the most informative samples and synthetic data in Figure [4.](#page-7-1) Combining both, we oupterform **True Labels** while using *only* 25% of the labelled data. We compare the selection strategy of the methods in Figure [3\(](#page-6-0)B): Due to the k-nearest neighbours objective of **SQBC**, the model selects samples that are in between the two classes, which proves superior to CAL and to Random for smaller synthetic data sizes. CAL performs the worst across the board: it assumes that similar embeddings that have different outputs are ambiguous, which makes it prone to outliers in the real data, e.g., when the stance detection model misclassifies a sample. Therefore, CAL often selects samples from only one class which worsens performance. Interestingly for $M = 1000$, **Random** outperforms both active learning methods SQBC and CAL. Random selects similar samples to SQBC, but also uniformly samples from outliers from both classes, extending the decision boundary of the model. We argue this is especially effective for larger synthetic dataset sizes where the synthetic data smoothens the decision boundary and thus mitigates the high variance introduced by the most informative samples. Thus, the model remain robust while extending the decision boundary. However, as we show in Section [5.2,](#page-8-0) the real

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378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 10 25 50 75 No Act. Learn. 0.60 0.62 0.64 $\frac{6}{4}$ 0.66 $0.68 0.70 0.72 - 1$ 0.74 0.76 0.78 Fl Score
: 10 Quest
. (over 10 Questions) $M = 200$ CAL + Synth Random + Synth SQBC + Synth Baseline Baseline + Synth True Labels True Labels+Synth 10 25 50 75 No Act. Learn. $M = 500$ 10 25 50 75 No Act. Learn. $M=1000$ % data samples Less labelling effor Fine-tuning with most informative samples and synthetic data

Figure 4: (Q3) Fine-tuning with synthetic data improves stance detection, while combining most informative samples and synthetic data surpasses the baseline model fine-tuned with all true labels (\Box above dashed line ---) using less manually labelled data: The reason for the performance increase can be attributed to two phenomena: (i) the synthetic data smoothens the decision boundary of the model making it more robust to outliers. (ii) The most informative samples improve the model where the synthetic data distribution is not expressive enough.

data is quite homogenous. Therefore, with severe outliers present, **Random** could select these and worsen performance. This would not happen with **SQBC** due to its k-nearest neighbour objective.

5 ABLATIONS

405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 We investigate different aspects of using synthetic data for online political discussions. First, we study how well LLMs perform on classifying stance on the X-Stance dataset directly. Our assumption behind this is that while LLMs are strong at generating open ended text, they seem to have more difficulties when conditioned on a specific task combined with a narrow dataset. We also study the properties of the synthetic data by calculating the per comment entropy distribution toghether with the comment length. We then compare to the real data. Furthermore, to determine whether fine-tuning on a per topic basis is sensible, we study if the observed performance improvement is related to the content or the structure of the synthetic dataset.

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5.1 USING LLMS DIRECTLY FOR X-STANCE

415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 [Cruickshank & Xian Ng](#page-10-2) [\(2023\)](#page-10-2) and [Gül et al.](#page-10-10) [\(2024\)](#page-10-10) have shown promising results using zero-shot stance detection and fine-tuning various LLMs on common stance detection datasets such as SemEval-2016 [\(Mohammad et al., 2017\)](#page-11-11) and P-Stance [\(Li et al., 2021\)](#page-11-12). However, both these datasets have relatively little variety in topics, with the topics addressing more popular discussion topics such as general US-Politics. For this reason, we evaluate Mistral-7B on D_{train} of X-Stance, which has a larger number of niche topics. We adopt the prompt and fine-tuning scenario (fine-tuning over 4 epochs with LoRA [\(Hu et al., 2021\)](#page-10-11)) as in [Gül et al.](#page-10-10) [\(2024\)](#page-10-10) and use our Mistral-7B model for both zero-shot stance detection and fine-tuned stance detection.

423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 Table [2](#page-8-1) shows that zero-shot stance detection barely reaches the performance of the pre-trained BERT baseline. Suprisingly, fine-tuning the Mistral-7B model with \mathcal{D}_{train} worsened performance even further. We tried various hyperparameter settings and fine-tuned for up to 10 epochs, more than the 4 used in [Gül et al.](#page-10-10) [\(2024\)](#page-10-10). We believe the poor performance can be attributed to a few reasons: (i) The topics in the X-Stance dataset are likely not present in the training sets of the Mistral 7-B model compared to SemEval and P-Stance which contain social media comments. (ii) Due to the smaller parameter count, the model may struggle to capture both the topic and the given comment for stance prediction. This often showed with the Mistral-7B model not giving consistent classification outputs or it would often refuse to predict stance. (iii) Furthermore, the model is not tailored to give single line response. In fact, the responses were often verbose so we also accepted answers that

432 433 434 435 436 contained the words "favor" or "against". Better prompting strategies could improve performance, however with our findings we believe that as of now using LLMs for open-ended text generation is more effective than conditioning them to give a specific output for stance detection. We also tried other similar sized open source LLMs (Llama, Openassistant, Falcon) and found that they struggled similarly in producing consistent zero-shot classification.

Table 2: LLM-based stance detection vs BERT-based stance detection: We compare the Mistral-7B performance to the our BERT stance detection models. We see that zeroshot stance detection barely reaches the pretrained baselines' performance. Fine-tuning the LLM also proved difficult where the performance of the fine-tuned model worsened. Our findings for X-Stance suggest that LLMs are good at producing open-ended text, while struggling when being prompted to give a specific stance.

Table 3: Topic alignment is crucial for the synthetic data to be effective: To determine whether improvement with synthetic data is due to the structure or content of the synthetic data, we augment the stance detection model with misaligned synthetic data. That is, the synthetic data does not align with the question given to the stance detection model. We observe the model only performs meaningfully better, when the synthetic data aligns with the posed question.

5.2 STUDYING THE SYNTHETIC DATA

459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 Properties of the synthetic data. To determine the quality and diversity of the synthetic data, we calculate the entropy of each comment (entropy over words) for both the synthetic and real data and compare the interquartile ranges of the corresponding entropy distributions in Figure [5.](#page-9-0) We also determine the average comment length for the interquartile ranges. The entropy reveals information about the content of both datasets, while the length acts a surrogate for structure. We observe, that the entropies between the real and synthetic data are similar, while the average comment length of the synthetic data is longer than the real data's. Looking at the samples in Appendix [C,](#page-19-0) we observe that the real comments have a concise (even emotional) writing style, which is common in online political discussions. The synthetic data comments are verbose and more reserved. Thus the difference in entropy could be attributed to the synthetic data containing less "emotional" comments compared to the real data. Nonetheless, we feel the synthetic samples manage to capture the content of the real data. Interestingly, the difference in length does not seem to affect the synthetic data alignment as can be seen from Figure [3.](#page-6-0) It is clear that the synthetic data is well aligned with the real data, even though the comment length between both sets of data differs. That is, the BERT model is largely invariant to the comment length and is more sensitive to the content of the comments rather than their structure.

473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 Content vs structure: Is per topic fine-tuning necessary? To further validate our approach of fine-tuning the model per topic, we determine whether the improved performance comes from the discussion oriented structure of the data or from the content of the data. We fine-tune the model with misaligned questions and synthetic datasets, since we believe data across different topics does not necessarily share the same representation, justifying the need for per topic fine-tuning. Table [3](#page-8-2) shows that fine-tuning with the synthetic data is only effective when the synthetic dataset is aligned with the posed question as can be seen by **Baseline+Synth**. Fine-tuning with synthetic data from a different topic Baseline+Synth (Misaligned) provides little improvement, delivering performance close to the Baseline. This validates the usefulness of the generated synthetic data for the stance detection model.

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6 DISCUSSION

485 Potential impact of this work. An apparent advantage of our approach is the possiblity of divding the synthetic data generation and the stance model fine-tuning. The former can be outsourced to

Statistical Summary of Synthetic Data								
10000 Total samples 261 $(2\% - 3\%)$ Number of outliers								
Entropy of Synthetic vs Real Data								
Distr. Range (Synthetic Real)		Avg. Entropy Avg. Length						
Minimum $0\% - 25\%$ $25\% - 50\%$ $50\% - 75\%$ $75\% - 100\%$ Maximum	2.25 ± 2.39 2.96 2.78 3.04 2.91 3.06 2.98 3.11 3.07 3.27 ± 3.37	$3 \mid 8$ 101 \vert 12 124 19 134 26 $142 \; \;$ 35 282 53						

Figure 5: **Synthetic data properties:** (Left) The per comment entropy of the synthetic data is similar to the entropy of the real data, where the synthetic data has a higher mean entropy than the real data, while the real data has higher variance. (**Right**) The generated synthetic data is generally of high quality, with only a few outliers. Interestingly, the synthetic data comments are longer than the real data comments, meaning the real comments are more dense while the synthetic comments are more verbose. We argue since the projected embeddings in Figure [3](#page-6-0) show both datasets are aligned, the BERT model seems to be rather invariant to the comment length.

507 508 509 510 dedicated infrastructure, while with the latter fine-tuning and inference is accessible even for smaller organisations with fewer resources. Considering the large amount of topics in participation processes, the ability to generate synthetic data or to reduce labelling effort with SQBC further increases the benefits for smaller organisations that can't afford large scale data collection or labelling efforts.

511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 Limitations. One limitation of our approach is that we fine-tune a separate model for each question. While this leads to good results, a common approach is to fine-tune a single (and thus more general) model for several questions (like pre-training **Baseline**). However, visualising the synthetic data in Figure [3](#page-6-0) and Appendix [A,](#page-13-0) we observe that the underlying data distribution differs (sometimes greatly) for each question, which strongly suggests that each question benefits from fine-tuning a different model. This also aligns well with the per topic setting of online (political) discussions, considering that lightweight stance detection models can be fine-tuned in less than a minute even with a synthetic dataset size of $M = 1000$ on a reasonable GPU (NVIDIA A100). Another concern are biases that could be potentially introduced through the synthetic data. We addressed this in Section [4](#page-4-0) by comparing the distributions of the synthetic data and real world data. We argue that analysing potential biases that could be introduced to the stance detection model through the synthetic data is easier in a single-question setting. In a multiple-question setting data from other topics could introduce biases into the model that are harder to detect. While our generated synthetic data worked well for the online political discussion setting, we cannot make a general assessment on the quality of synthetic data for future models.

525 526 527 528 529 530 Future work Despite this work focusing on smaller interpretable models, we believe future work should investigate why the Mistral-7B model performs poorly on the X-Stance dataset. We shared our thoughts around this in Section [5.2,](#page-8-0) but this requires more extensive study. Another avenue for future work could be about leveraging the synthetic data distribution to generate more novel synthetic data. For instance, with synthetic data as reference we could learn a generative model which enforces a certain (distributional) distance to the synthetic reference distribution.

531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 Conclusion. In this work, we presented how to improve stance detection models for online political discussions utilizing LLM-generated synthetic data: (i) we showed that fine-tuning with synthetic data related to the question improves the performance of the stance detection model. (ii) We attribute this to the LLM-generated synthetic data aligning well with the real data for the given question, while showing that the BERT model requires data that is more content aligned than structured. (iii) Finetuning with synthetic data can be further enhanced by adding the most informative samples which are identified by using the synthetic data as reference. This proves more effective than fine-tuning on all true labels, while using considerably less manually labelled samples, thus reducing labelling effort.

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 A VISUALIZATIONS

A.1 VISUALIZING THE SYNTHETIC DATA

 We visualize the synthetic data together with the real world data for $M = 1000$ and $M = 200$ in Figures [6](#page-14-0) and [7.](#page-15-0) We plot the data points of the synthetic data in blue and red for the positive and negative samples, respectively. The means of the real world data are plotted as a regular polygon with 8 sides. We observe that the synthetic data extends the real world data, which we consider a factor as to why fine-tuning with synthetic data is effective in online political discussions. Also, the larger the synthetic dataset size, the more the synthetic data matches the distribution of the real world data since for $M = 200$ (see Figure [7\)](#page-15-0) the mean are not as well aligned with the synthetic data. Furthermore, the positive and negative samples are well separated, which we attribute to having pre-trained the BERT-model on $\mathcal{D}_{\text{train}}$ of the X-Stance dataset, giving the prior knowledge about the stance detection task.

A.2 VISUALIZING THE QUERY STRATEGIES OF THE ACTIVE LEARNING METHODS

 We visualize the selected samples of **SOBC**, CAL and Random query strategies for $M = 1000$ and $M = 200$ in Figures [8](#page-16-0) and [9.](#page-17-0) We plot the selected samples of the unlabelled data in green. The positive and negative synthetic data samples are plotted in blue and red, respectively. The selected samples are highlighted in orange. We observe that **SQBC** selects the unlabelled samples that are mostly in between the two classes of the synthetic data. This is the expected behaviour since we select the samples where the classification score is ambiguous. For **Random**, the range of selected samples is broad: some similar samples between the two classes like **SQBC** are selected, but also within class samples that are not covered by the synthetic data set. This explains why random selection works well with a large synthetic dataset, since it further extends the decision boundary of the model. For the smaller synthetic dataset $M = 200$, the random selection is not as effective, since the selected samples are spread out over the whole data space and not necessarily in between the two classes as with the larger synthetic dataset. Finally, **CAL** selects samples similar to **SQBC**, but mostly tends to select samples from only one class.

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Figure 6: Visualization of synthetic data with train data means for $M = 1000$ synthetic data. For a larger synthetic dataset size, the means of the synthetic data are well aligned with the real world data and the positive and negative samples are well separated. The synthetic data thus extends the real world data, which we consider a factor as to why fine-tuning with synthetic data is effective in online political discussions.

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Figure 7: Visualization of synthetic data with train data means for $M = 200$ synthetic data: For a smaller synthetic dataset size, the means of the synthetic data are not as well aligned with the real world data as for $M = 1000$. However, the positive and negative samples are still well separated.

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Figure 8: Visualization of SQBC, Random and CAL query strategies for $M = 1000$ synthetic data: SQBC selects the unlabelled samples that are mostly in between the two classes of the synthetic data. This is the expected behaviour since we select the samples where the classification score is ambiguous. For random selection, the range of selected samples is broad: some similar samples between the two classes like SQBC are selected, but also within class samples that are not covered by the synthetic data set. This explains why random selection works well with a large synthetic dataset, since it further extends the decision boundary of the model. Finally, CAL selects samples similar to SQBC, but mostly tends to select samples from only one class, resulting in worse performance.

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Figure 9: Visualization of SQBC, Random and CAL query strategies for $M = 200$ synthetic data: For a smaller synthetic dataset size, SQBC is still able to select the unlabelled samples that are mostly in between the two classes of the synthetic data. For Random we see that the selected samples are a bit further away from the synthetic data distribution, which is why we argue it does not perform as well as with the larger synthetic dataset.

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B DETAILED RESULTS

Fine-tuning with synthetic data						
	$M = \Omega$			M=200 M=500 M=1000		
Baseline + Synth 0.693 0.712 0.718 0.723 True Labels + Synth 0.727 0.745 0.746 0.770						

Table 4: Tabular version of Figure [2](#page-6-1)

Table 5: Results of only training with most informative samples.

C SYNTHETIC DATA

 C.1 ANALYSING THE SYNTHETIC DATA DISTRIBUTION

 As described in Section [5.2,](#page-8-0) we analyse the distribution of the synthetic data in comparison to the real world data. In the following tables we provide samples of the interquartile ranges of the entropy distribution. Tables [C](#page-20-0) and [C](#page-21-0) contain the same samples in English and German respectively. Table [C](#page-22-0) contain comments from the real data distribution.

 We see that that the synthetic data samples are longer than the real data samples and contain more reserved language and practically no emotional language. In comparison, the real data samples are shorter and concise with some samples in the lower entropy range containing more emotional language or little information. This however is common for online political discussions. In any case, we see that the underlying notions behind the comments are similar in both the synthetic and real data samples.

1132 synthetic data.

1187 Table 8: Corresponding German comments sampled from the interquartire ranges of the entropy distribution of the synthetic data.

1242 1243 C.2 TRANSLATED DATA SAMPLES

1244 1245 1246 We show the translated questions used for synthetic data generation in Table [10](#page-23-0) and some samples of generated comments in [12.](#page-25-0) We see that the questions are translated correctly and synthetic data can be generated for both favor and against stances.

Table 10: Chosen questions for stance detection in German and their English translation

Table 11: Sample of translated comments from comments generated by the LLM used for fine-tuning the stance detection model.

1350 1351 C.3 SYNTHETIC DATA STANCE ALIGNMENT

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1402 Table 12: Sample of comments generated by the LLM used for fine-tuning the stance detection model.

1404 1405 D ADDITIONAL EXPERIMENTAL DETAILS

1406 1407 D.1 EVALUATION.

1408 1409 1410 1411 1412 1413 1414 For fine-tuning and testing we evaluate the given model separately on 10 chosen questions from the test dataset of X-Stance for all experiments. For each question q we split $\mathcal{D}_{\text{test}}^{(q)}$ into a 60/40 train/test split (repeated with 5 different seeds to get error bars) and use the train split for fine-tuning to the given question and the test split for evaluation. Our main results report the average F1 score over 10 selected questions from the test dataset evaluated on the comments from the test split. The error bars represent the average standard deviation over the 10 questions for 5 runs with different seeds. More detailed results per question are shown in Appendix [F.](#page-28-0)

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D.2 COMPUTE AND RUNTIME

1418 1419 1420 1421 1422 We conduct our experiments on a single NVIDIA A100 80GB GPU and a 32 core CPU. With this setup, for Mistral-7B, the generation of synthetic data takes approximately 3 hours per question for a synthetic dataset size of $M = 1000$. Fine-tuning the BERT model with the synthetic data takes less than a minute. For the active learning methods, the selection of the most informative samples takes less than a minute. Hence the largest computational effort is the generation of the synthetic data.

- **1423**
- **1424** D.3 TRANSLATION OF THE X-STANCE DATASET FOR SYNTHETIC DATA GENERATION

1425 1426 1427 1428 1429 In Figure [10](#page-26-1) we show the pipeline for translating the X-Stance dataset for synthetic data generation. We start with a question q from the X-Stance test dataset and translate the question to English with a NLLB-330M model [\(NLLB Team et al., 2022\)](#page-11-10). Then we let the Mistral-7B model generate synthetic data, i.e., comments for the translated question. The generated comments are then translated back to German to be used for fine-tuning the model in our experiments.

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D.4 OVERVIEW OF USED DATASETS

1433 1434 In Table [13](#page-27-1) we show an overview of the datasets used in our experiments for the different methods we evaluate.

Table 13: Synth: Synthetic Data, Aug: Augmentation. We compare different variants of active learning with synthetic data.

 E DATASET

 X-Stance is a multilingual stance detection dataset, including comments in German (48, 600), French (17, 200) and Italian (1, 400) on political questions, answered by election candidates from Switzerland. The data has been extracted from smartvote^{[1](#page-27-2)}, a Swiss voting advice platform. For the task of crosstopic stance detection the data is split into a training set, including questions on 10 political topics, and a test set with questions on two topics that have been held out, namely *healthcare* and *political system*.

E.1 CHOSEN QUESTIONS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

 We present the 10 chosen questions for our experiments in Table [10.](#page-23-0) We show the original questions in German and their corresponding English translations by the translation model. Furthermore, we also show the $(60 / 40)$ train/test split for each question in Figure [11.](#page-27-3) We chose 10 questions that reflect the overall distribution of $\mathcal{D}_{test}^{(q)}$. We choose questions with small amount of comments, unbalanced comments and also balanced comments. Furthermore, for 5 of the questions the majority class is *favor* and for the other 5 the majority class is *against*.

 Figure 11: **Distribution of the positive and negative samples for the train and test split of** $\mathcal{D}^{(q)}_{\text{test}}$ **:** We show the distribution of the positive and negative samples of the X-Stance test dataset for the questions Q1-Q10. We also show the 60/40 train/test split for the 10 questions. We chose 10 questions that reflect the overall distribution of $\mathcal{D}_{\text{test}}^{(q)}$. We chose unbalanced, balanced and low sample size questions to evaluate the effectiveness of our approach.

<https://www.smartvote.ch/>

1512 F EXTENDED RESULTS

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1515 1516 1517 1518 We present the extended results for the different synthetic dataset sizes $M = 200$, $M = 500$ and $M = 1000$ in Figures [12,](#page-28-1) [13](#page-29-0) and [14.](#page-30-0) As in Figure [4,](#page-7-1) we show the results for the different active learning methods and the different configurations of the synthetic data, while varying the amount of samples that need to be labelled. We compare all methods to **True Labels**, hence the horizontal line corresponds to the performance of the baseline model fine-tuned with the true labels.

