

1 **Tweeting about Twenty: An analysis of interest, public**
2 **sentiments and opinion about 20mph speed restrictions in two**
3 **UK cities**

4
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18 **Keywords** Public health, Policy, Intervention, Speed restrictions, Social media, Twitter

19 Mining, Sentiment Analysis

20

21 **Abstract**

22 **Background:** Twenty miles per hour (20mph) speed limits (equivalent to roughly 30 kmh)
23 have become part of public health policies to reduce urban road collisions and casualties,
24 especially in Western countries. Public opinion plays a crucial role in opposition to and
25 acceptance of policies that are advocated for improving public health. Twenty miles per
26 hour speed limit policies were implemented in Edinburgh and Belfast from 2016 – 2018.
27 In this paper, we extract public opinion and sentiments expressed about the new 20mph
28 speed limits in those cities using publicly available Twitter data.

29 **Methods:** We analysed public sentiments from Twitter data and classified the public
30 comments in plain English into the categories ‘positive’, ‘neutral’, and ‘negative’. We also
31 explored the frequency and sources of the tweets.

32 **Results:** The total volume of tweets was higher for Edinburgh than for Belfast, but the
33 volume of tweets followed a similar pattern, peaking around 2016, which is when the
34 schemes were implemented. Overall, the tone of the tweets was positive or neutral towards
35 the implementation of the speed limit policies. This finding was surprising as there is a
36 perception among policymakers that there would have been public backlash against these
37 sorts of policy changes. The commonly used hashtags focused largely on road safety and
38 other potential benefits, for example to air pollution.

39 **Conclusions:** Overall, public attitudes towards the policies were positive, thus
40 policymakers should be less anxious about potential public backlash when considering the
41 scale-up of 20mph speed restrictions.

42

43

44 **Introduction**

45 With more than one million individuals dying each year on the road [1], reducing road
46 casualties is a public health priority. Twenty miles per hour (20mph) speed limit policies
47 (equivalent to roughly 30 kmh) have become a part of public health policies to reduce urban
48 road collisions and casualties, especially in Western countries [2, 3]. Twenty mph limits
49 are predominantly sign-based measures to reduce motor vehicle speed and are mainly used
50 in residential areas. ‘Limits’ are distinct from ‘zones’ which use physical infrastructure
51 such as speed bumps or chicanes. A 2020 review concluded that 20mph ‘zones’ are
52 effective in reducing collisions and casualties; however, there was insufficient evidence to
53 draw robust conclusions on the overall public health effectiveness of limits [4]. The cost
54 of installing and maintaining physical infrastructure makes the scale-up of 20mph zones
55 expensive and therefore politically challenging to justify. The relative cost of installing and
56 maintaining signs and lines, plus some legislative, educational and enforcement activities,
57 may make 20mph limits simpler and less expensive, and more feasible to implement at
58 scale.

59

60 From 2016 to 2018, the city council in Edinburgh and the Devolved Administration in
61 Belfast implemented new 20mph speed restrictions. The National Institute of Health
62 Research (NIHR) funded an evaluation of the two schemes (grant number: 15/82/12; full
63 details can be found in the final project report [5]). One element of the evaluation explored
64 the political decision-making processes that led to the implementation of these schemes.
65 This involved: investigating the official records of Edinburgh City Council and the
66 Department for Infrastructure in Northern Ireland; conducting interviews with a range of

67 key actors and stakeholders in both cities; and examining local press coverage. While these
68 methods proved informative, they typically revealed a particular storyline, which is the
69 narrative that council officials or others wanted to portray. The findings found little real
70 reported antagonism or animosity towards the initiatives.

71

72 Public opinion plays a crucial role in opposition to and acceptance of policies like speed
73 restrictions. However, limited research has sought to understand broad public attitudes
74 towards 20mph speed limits. What is known about public attitudes largely comes from
75 reviews of official records in the form of responses to public consultations, which is
76 likely to reflect a narrow range of perceptions from the sub-sample that responded. This
77 research sought to explore whether social media content could provide insight into wider
78 public perceptions of 20mph speed limit interventions. While the research was
79 exploratory in nature, our working hypothesis was that the introduction of 20mph policies
80 would generate opposition, and that one of the fora in which this opposition would be
81 expressed, would be social media.

82

83 Social media provides a platform for people to share publicly views and opinions on a
84 wide range of issues. It may therefore provide a useful tool for gaining greater insight
85 into the public's reaction to the proposed schemes, and importantly if and how these
86 reactions changed over time. An advantage of using social media data, over for example a
87 questionnaire, is that social media typically reflects reactions to events in real-time. This
88 is important, given the transient nature of perceptions, attitudes and emotions.

89

90 Twitter is a micro-blogging platform, which provides a useful window on aspects of current
91 public sentiments. Twitter can be a rich source of information as its users openly and often
92 candidly express their views and opinions on agendas or policies. This information can be
93 anonymously “mined” and provide a valuable insight into public sentiment at any one time
94 or duration. The extracted sentiments can then help to inform understandings of reactions
95 to the government plans or implementation of policies. This kind of analysis could lead to
96 better preparation for future implementation of similar policies in the UK.

97

98 The Belfast city centre scheme came into force in February 2016 and was implemented in
99 a single phase [6]. Edinburgh implemented the city-wide 20mph speed limit network
100 between July 2016 and March 2018. The scale up of 20mph limits was implemented in
101 four phases across seven areas of Edinburgh, with each taking approximately 16 weeks to
102 put in place. The aim of this paper is to explore public opinion about these 20mph schemes
103 through mining Twitter data and undertaking sentiment analysis. Specifically, we were
104 interested in identifying broader public reactions to the speed restrictions than might be
105 captured via responses to formal public consultations. Our research question was: What
106 was the public’s reaction to the Edinburgh and Belfast 20mph policies, as expressed
107 through Twitter?

108

109 In this paper, we firstly explain the concept of sentiment analysis, before describing the
110 methodology, including the collection of Twitter data and the steps involved in undertaking
111 sentiment analysis of the data. We then present both statistical analysis and sentiment
112 extraction. The results include the total number of tweets, tweets per year, and the most

113 used hashtags, as well as the sentiment of the tweets in terms of being positive, negative or
114 neutral. Finally, we discuss the findings in relation to the Edinburgh and Belfast 20mph
115 policies and implications for future policies of this kind.

116

117 **Theoretical Framework**

118 *Sentiment analysis*

119 Sentiment analysis is a process of automatically extracting emotions, attitudes, views, and
120 opinions from the text data, by using techniques from Natural Language Understanding
121 (NLU). Sentiment analysis generally classifies text into categories such as positive, neutral,
122 or negative. It is sometimes referred to as opinion mining or appraisal extraction. Though
123 sentiment analysis provides an automated method to extract public opinions, it cannot
124 replace traditional survey methods, but it can work in a complementary fashion [7].

125

126 There has been a plethora of papers on analysing public sentiments using Twitter data for
127 various subjects including politics, environment, health, and the COVID-19 pandemic.
128 Chen et al. [8] proposed a technique to classify student problems through the exchange of
129 comments on Twitter. The authors implemented a multi-label classification algorithm to
130 classify students' problems through tweets. The authors reported that their work was the
131 first to show how informal social media content can provide insights into students'
132 experiences. Bahrainian et al. [9] presents a hybrid method for polarity detection in the
133 consumer-products domain. The proposed method leverages Sentiment Lexicon to
134 generate a fresh set of features to train a linear machine learning classifier. The paper
135 illustrates that the hybrid algorithm outperforms a unigram-based classification algorithm.

136 Similar product review studies have been proposed, using batches of machine learning
137 methods and semantic analysis [10]. The authors first collected online user reviews from
138 tweets, pre-processed the dataset, and then extracted adjectives to form a feature vector.
139 Different machine learning techniques based on probability and linear modelling were
140 applied to the resulting feature vector to classify the reviews as positive or negative. Sehgal
141 et al. [11] presented a method to automatically predict stock prices using web sentiments.
142 The proposed system learns correlation between the stock values and the sentiments
143 extracted from user messages on financial digital boards. A similar analysis is suggested
144 for the e-learning domain [12] where an opinion mining method is developed to feedback
145 from the candidates participating in such e-learning systems. The paper investigated three
146 feature selection methods – mutual information (MI), information gain (IG), and computer-
147 human interaction statistics, and demonstrated that IG exhibits the best performance for
148 sentiment classification.

149

150 Both anomaly removal and classification of Twitter data have been studied [13] and several
151 papers on analysis of public opinion on political parties and views have been described [14,
152 15, 16]. The previous work on political opinion mining involves analysing specific
153 elections such as the 2010 US and 2012 Korean presidential elections. Techniques such as
154 topic modelling, mention-direction based network analysis, and term co-occurrence
155 retrieval were employed to analyse the contents. The studies clearly demonstrate that
156 Twitter data is a valuable data resource to trace the changes in social issues. There are a
157 few papers that focus on the study of event detection such as traffic information [17],
158 hazards [18] and road accidents [19]. A study analysing public sentiments on urban

159 transportation issues provides a similar motivation as to the work presented in the present
160 paper [20]. The paper proposed an opinion mining method to analyse traffic-related tweets
161 posted by the individual users. The publicly available location information from the tweets,
162 along with the sentiment extracted, were used to evaluate the satisfaction of transportation
163 users.

164

165 Sentiment analysis on Twitter data has also been applied in other areas, for example
166 monitoring public feeling towards products and events in real-time [21]. That paper took a
167 different approach and primarily focussed on different pre-processing methods which
168 could increase the accuracy of a sentiment classification system. A total of six pre-
169 processing methods were applied on five Twitter datasets. The experimental results found
170 that pre-processing methods which expanded the acronyms and replaced the negation in
171 tweets, performed best. Pre-processing steps, which included removing URLs, numbers or
172 stop-words, did not have any effect on the performance of the sentiment classifier. In
173 addition, Sentiment Analysis on Twitter has also been applied to extract restaurant reviews
174 from the Yelp¹ and TripAdvisor² datasets [22, 23]. Sentiment analysis on social media may
175 be used for novel applications such as analysing the effect of a celebrity's endorsement of
176 products [24], identifying human trafficking [25], and education [26].

177

178 As far as we are aware, Twitter data about public opinion have not been analysed in respect
179 to 20mph speed limit policies in the United Kingdom. In this paper, we present a systematic

¹ <https://www.yelp.com/dataset>

² <https://www.tripadvisor.com/>

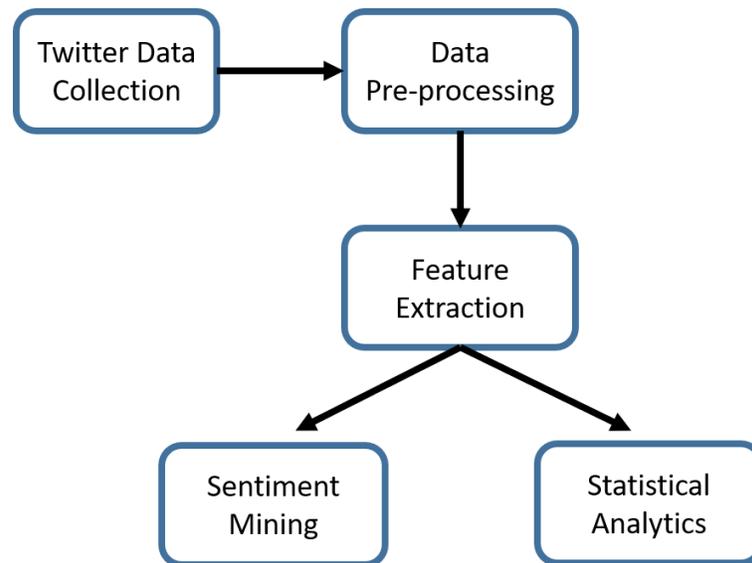
180 study of publicly available tweets to extract public opinion and sentiments on the 20mph
181 speed limit policies across Edinburgh and Belfast.

182

183 **Methodology**

184 Analysing public sentiments from Twitter data involves a series of procedures starting from
185 data collection, then pre-processing, data mining, and interpretation. By geo-fencing our
186 search to the regions of interest, we classified the public comments in plain English into
187 the categories ‘positive’ (acceptance), ‘neutral’, and ‘negative’. We also explored the
188 frequency and sources of the tweets. Fig. 1 shows a block level architecture of our
189 approach. We explain each of the steps below:

190



191

192

Fig. 1: Pictorial representation of the methodology

193

194

195

196 *Data Source and Collection*

197 We chose the micro-blogging service Twitter as the source of our data. With more
198 than 15 million active users in the UK, Twitter is one of the most frequently used platforms
199 for posting comments and messages. People can not only post new messages but also
200 retweet already posted tweets, which makes it easy to support an idea behind the tweet.
201 Twitter may also influence the public discussion about policy. The UK's Prime Minister's
202 tweet on herd immunity during the Coronavirus pandemic was widely criticised by
203 scientists and was not adopted as policy at the time.

204

205 Tweets for research purposes can be collected in three ways:

- 206 a. Using freely available data repositories such as UCI³, Kdnuggets⁴, and SNAP⁵.
- 207 b. Twitter Premium Application Programming Interface (API): Twitter provides
208 multiple packages for APIs to collect tweets within a 30-day span or the full archive
209 duration, where tweets starting from 2006 can be collected based on a set of query
210 keywords. Apart from historical tweets, Twitter also provides stream APIs to
211 collect tweets in real-time.
- 212 c. More expensive options include tools such as Salesforce⁶ and Klear⁷. These tools
213 provide an automated solution to analyse the tweets.

214

³ <https://archive.ics.uci.edu/ml/index.php>

⁴ <https://www.kdnuggets.com/>

⁵ <https://snap.stanford.edu/data/>

⁶ <https://www.salesforce.com/>

⁷ <https://klear.com/>

215 The freely available repositories usually contain tweets about topics that are globally
216 trending; for instance, the series of tweets on the COVID-19 pandemic and Black Lives
217 Matter in 2020. There is much less activity concerning topics such as 20 mph speed limit
218 policies in Edinburgh and Belfast. Hence, we could not find any freely available data
219 repositories containing tweets related to our topic of interest. Using automated services
220 would have been another option, however they provide less flexibility for research and are
221 more suitable for commercial purposes. In this paper, we have used the Full-Archive
222 premium APIs to collect the tweets between January 2008 and September 2020. Twitter
223 provides the premium APIs and the pricing is per the number of tweets streamed using the
224 API.

225

226 Twitter premium APIs allows us to query tweets that contain desired keywords. For our
227 work, we used keywords such as “20mph”, “speed limit”, “20 limit”, and joined them with
228 the names of the cities – “Edinburgh”, and “Belfast”. This form of query provided the
229 flexibility to search for any tweets that have a sensible variation of 20mph and the city
230 name in any portion of a tweet. We collected a total of 24,000 raw tweets, across the two
231 cities.

232

233 *Pre-processing*

234 Extracting information from the Twitter data is challenging. The data collected from
235 Twitter APIs is raw with no filtering. The tweets have many idiosyncratic uses, such as
236 emoticons, word repetitions etc. To categorise the tweets into sentiments, the data have to
237 be pre-processed. The pre-processing task involves filtering URLs, stop words, removing

238 hashtags (#) and other Twitter notations such as @, RT, and username. We performed the
239 following steps to pre-process the data:

240 a. Filter the URLs, emoticons, hyperlinks, and any non-alphabetical notations since
241 we were focussed on the text comments.

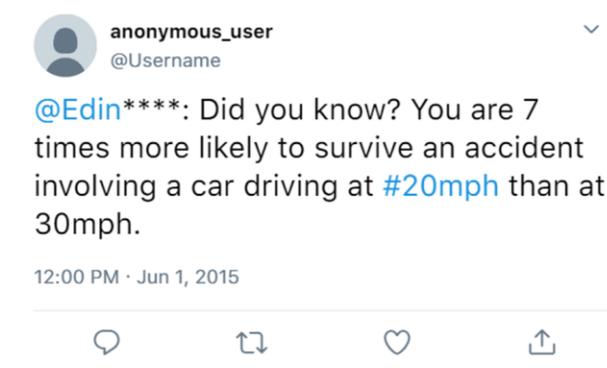
242 b. Remove the Twitter tags such as usernames (@), Retweet (RT), and hashtags (#).

243 c. Filter stop-words such as 'is', 'am', 'are', etc. since they do not contribute to the
244 sentiments in the text.

245 d. Representations such as g8, f9, and happyyyy are slang, which emphasise emotions.
246 We compressed and decompressed them such that g8, f9, and happyyyy are
247 transformed to great, fine, and happy, respectively.

248

249 Fig. 2 shows a raw tweet and the same tweet after the pre-processing step.



From API (raw text): RT @Edin***: Did you know? You are 7 times more likely to survive an accident involving a car driving at #20mph than at 30mph

Post preprocessing: Did you know You are 7 times more likely to survive an accident involving a car driving at 20mph than at 30mph

250

251 Fig. 2: An anonymised sample tweet and the corresponding raw text after pre-processing.

252 The blue text in the sample tweet is text that Twitter recognises as a handle or hashtag. In

253 the processing steps, the red letters denote the part to be pre-processed while green is the
254 filtered part.

255

256 *Data Mining*

257 We performed two forms of analysis on the pre-processed Twitter data. We first carried
258 out the statistical analysis to look at patterns in the way the 20mph policies were viewed
259 by the public since the discussions started on Twitter. We also mined for other statistical
260 features such as number of tweets per year, most number of bi- and tri-grams used in tweets,
261 and other forms of lexical analysis. In addition to the statistical analysis, our main goal was
262 to understand public opinion through the exchange of tweets. We used Machine Learning
263 (ML) techniques to train a model on a portion of full Twitter data collected and then used
264 it to classify the tweets as positive, negative or neutral for the remaining Twitter data. We
265 leveraged the pre-trained ML model, which had been already tuned to the sentiment
266 classification problems. This form of ML technique is called Transfer Learning [27].

267

268 *Dashboard and Visualisation*

269 We designed a Python and Flask based data visualisation dashboard using the Dash library.
270 A snapshot of the dashboard is shown in Fig. 3. The dashboard provides an easy-to-use
271 dynamic interface to filter the data as per the duration of time for which the user is
272 interested. Given a range of dates, the dashboard presents several pieces of key information
273 and statistics such as overall percentage of positive, negative, and neutral tweets and word-
274 clouds, and displays a few examples of tweets from each category of emotions. The
275 dashboard is easy to customise. The dashboard is the front end to the data stored in the

276 MongoDB database, which we have used in this work. MongoDB provides an organised
277 storage of our data such that it can be queried later for further analytics. This method
278 provides an easy transfer of information for future projects.
279

20mph Speed Limit Policy: Twitter Dashboard

A simple tool to visualise Twitter data of public comments on 20mph speed limit policy in Belfast and Edinburgh.

Select a City

Edinburgh Belfast

Select Month range



Select Year range



The total number of Tweets is: 9582. The percentage of retweets is 67% of all the tweets. The percentage of Reply retweets to other tweet is 8% of all the tweets. The percentage of retweets with @mentions and are not retweets is 13% of all the tweets. The percentage of tweets that are plane text is 19% of all the tweets.

Tweet categories -- Edinburgh



280

281 Fig. 3: The dashboard which allows a user to set custom date ranges of comments that
282 appeared on Twitter.

283

284 Results

285 In this section, we provide the results found from both the statistical and ML analysis.

286 We found that discussions about implementing the speed limits started long before such

287 times as they were due to be imposed, thus we collected the tweets occurring from 2008

288 until September 2020. This wide timeframe allows us to measure the growth of public

289 opinion since Twitter began to be used widely among the general public. The positive

290 sentiments suggest acceptance, while the negative comments represent discontent or

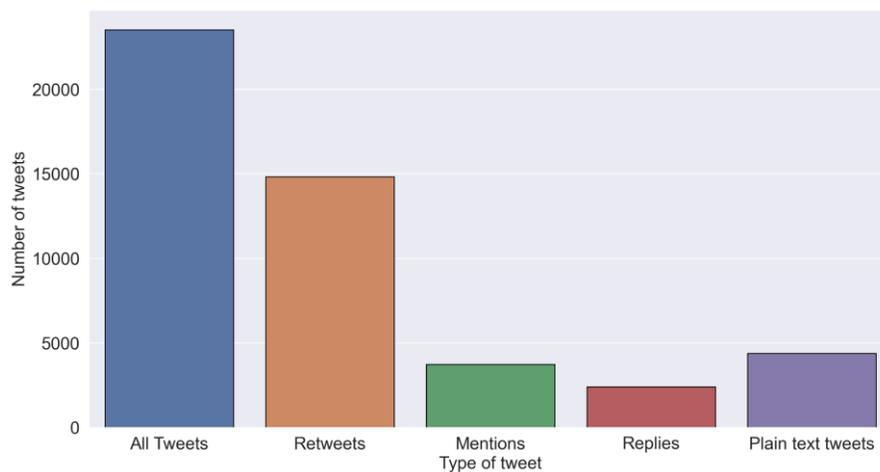
291 opposition.

292

293 ***Total tweets collected***

294 The total number of tweets indicates the volume of activity of people on the topic of 20mph
295 on Twitter. Figs. 4a and 4b show the total number of tweets collected from 2008 until
296 September 2020 for Edinburgh and Belfast, respectively. As can be seen from the figures,
297 the number of tweets collected for Edinburgh is much higher than that of Belfast, however,
298 the proportion of Retweets, mentions, replies and plain text follows a similar pattern across
299 both cities.

300



301

302 Fig. 4a Count of different categories of tweets for Edinburgh.

303

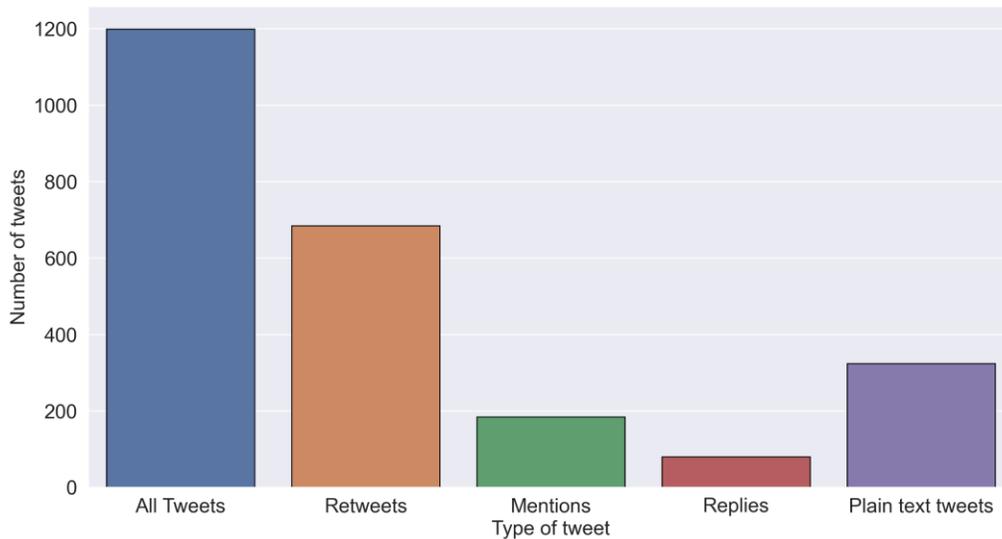
304

305 We found that the majority of tweets were the retweets of a few influential people who
306 were the advocates for 20mph speed limit policies. A retweet denotes a positive vote for
307 the message behind the tweets. These influential people span a range of professions
308 including university researchers, reporters, scientists, and senior officials from advocacy

309 organisations. Based on the number of retweets, it would seem strategic for policymakers
310 to utilise influential people to sway public opinion on future transport policies.

311

312



313

Fig. 4b Count of different categories of tweets for Belfast

314

315

316

317 *Tweets per year*

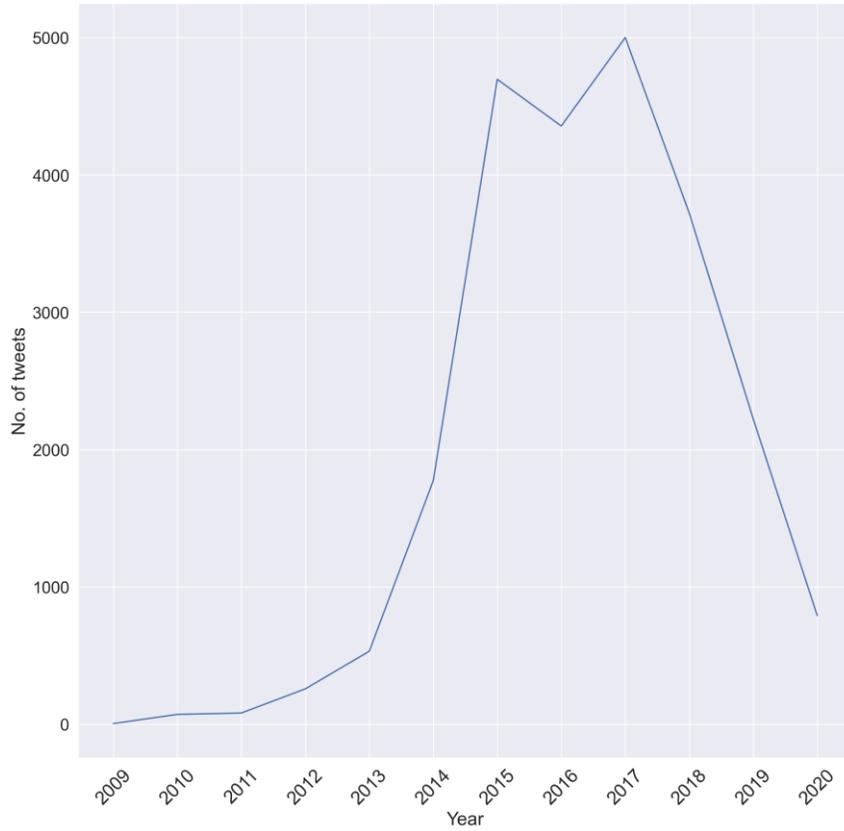
318 Since the implementation of the 20mph speed limit policies, there have been ongoing
319 discussions about the topic on Twitter in both Edinburgh and Belfast. However, the plans
320 for the intervention were laid several years before they were implemented. Hence, the count
321 of Tweets both before and after policy implementation is an important factor that indicates
322 awareness about the policies. Figs. 5a and b show the count per year for Edinburgh and
323 Belfast respectively. As can be seen, both figures show a gradual increase in the count of
324 tweets on the topic from 2010 until it reaches a peak in 2016 for Belfast, the year of

325 implementation, and 2017 for Edinburgh. The count decreases, apparently as people start
326 adapting to the new policies. Analysing the counts before the peak and after the peak could
327 be an interesting task since it informs on the acceptance and success of the policy.
328 Specifically, analysing the negative emotions after the peak becomes more crucial than the
329 positives, since it could help in extracting caveats, which may have gone unnoticed during
330 the planning. Direct comments from the users is thus good feedback for any policy.

331

332 *Most used hashtags*

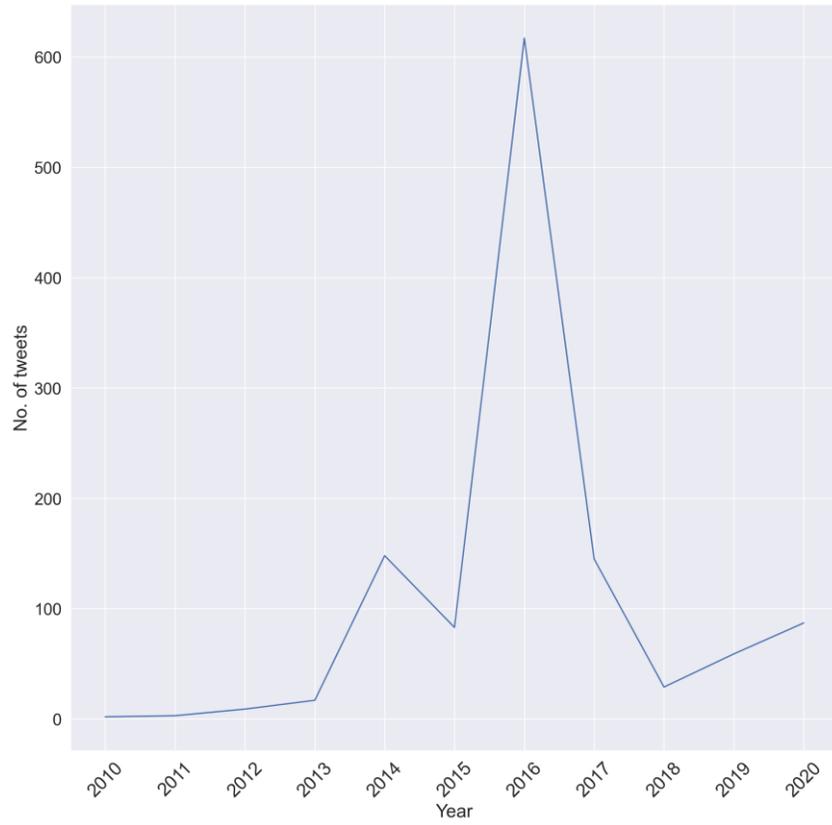
333 Hashtags are meta-data in a tweet representing a theme, topic, or a conversation context.
334 For example, #BlackLivesMatter was a trending hashtag in the year 2016 and again in
335 2020. We extracted the hashtags and their count for each of the tweets and present a sorted
336 representation in Figs. 6a and 6b for Edinburgh and Belfast respectively. These hashtags
337 may represent the agenda behind each tweet on the 20mph topic in both cities. Thus, the
338 information presents the core context on which the Twitter users are most focussed. The
339 hashtag could denote a grievance, praise, or a general idea. Some of the most used hashtags
340 for Edinburgh were found to be #calmersaferbetter, #cycling, #airpollution, and #roadsafety.
341 Similarly, for Belfast, these were #keepingpeoplesafe, #activework, and #Twenty'sPlenty.
342 As can be seen from Figs. 6a and 6b, none of the hashtags denote a negative sentiment,
343 which points to the possibility that the general response to the policies among Twitter users
344 was positive.



345

346

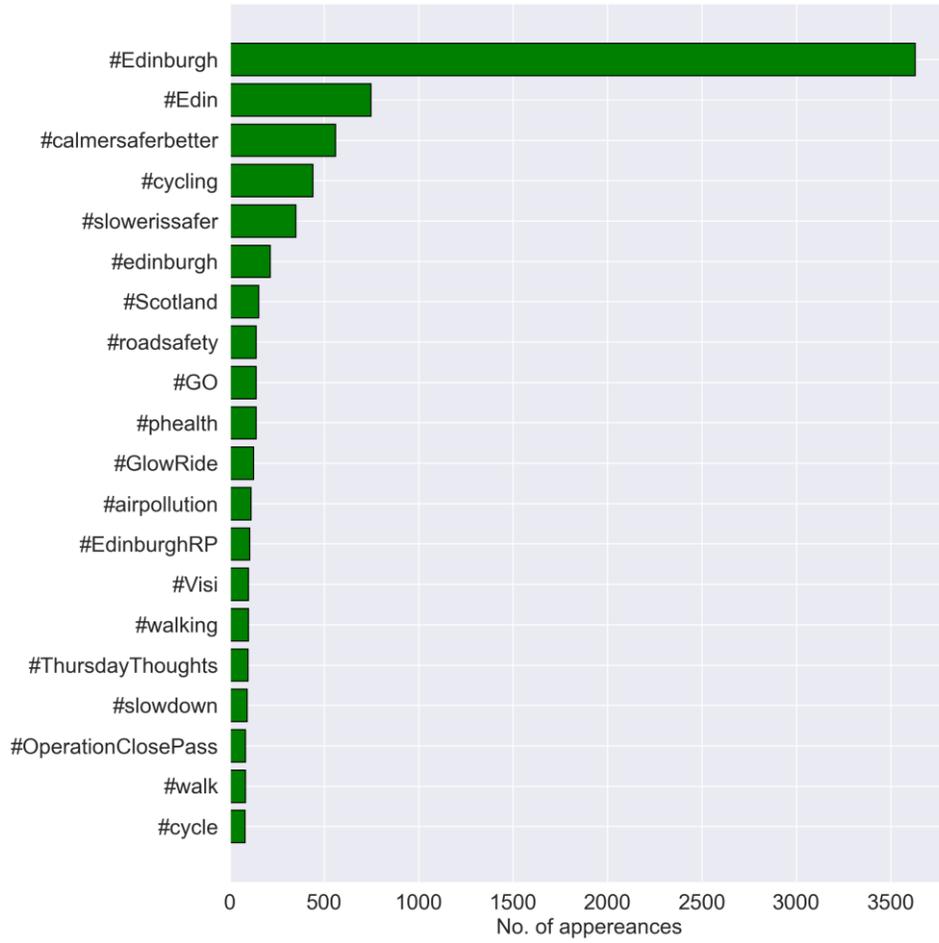
Fig. 5a: The total number of tweets per year for Edinburgh



347

348

Fig. 5b: The total number of tweets per year for Belfast

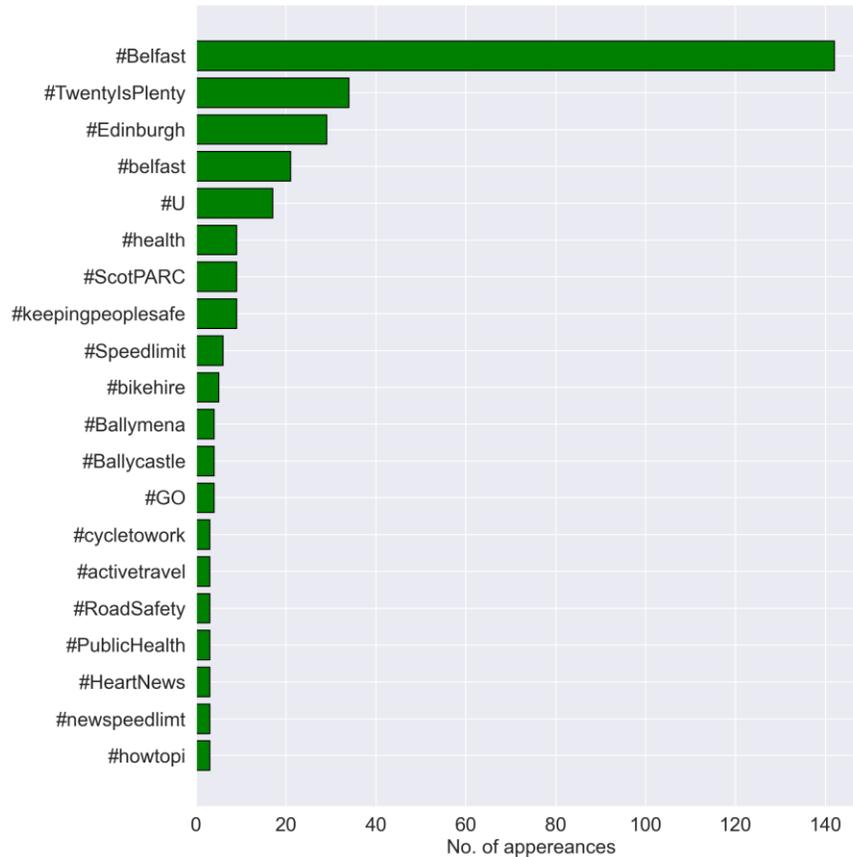


349

350

351

Fig. 6a: Top reported hashtags for Edinburgh



352

353

Fig. 6b: Top reported hashtags for Belfast

354

355 *Sentiment Analysis*

356 The foremost challenge in the Twitter data we collected is that they are unlabelled with

357 respect to the sentiments. Since the data are not labelled, we leveraged the use of pre-

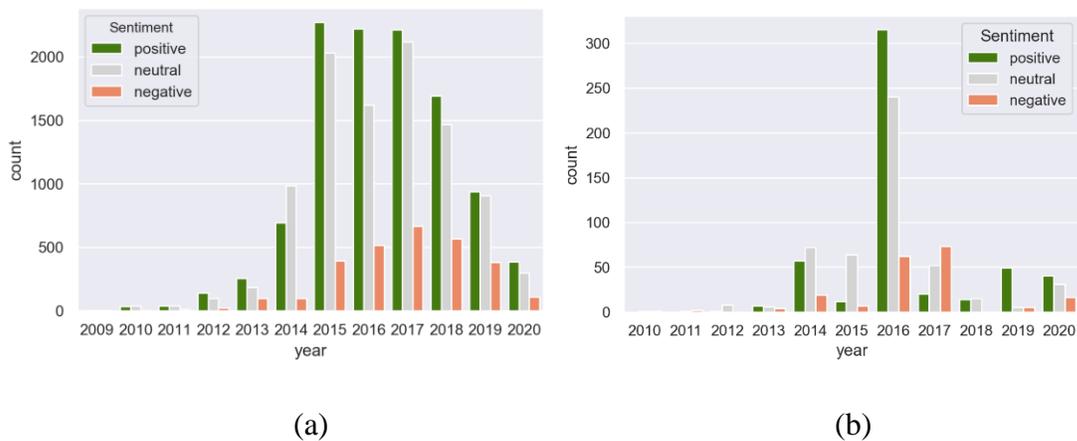
358 trained models to classify our tweets into three categories – positive, neutral, and negative.

359 We used a simple technique to assign sentiment scores to the tweets. The principle is to

360 first tokenise the tweets into words and then assign a sentiment score to each of the words.

361 The total emotion of the tweet is then the average of the emotions of the words. We verified

362 the approach using two frequently used Python libraries – TextBlob⁸ and VADER⁹. To
 363 test the accuracy of the model used, we manually labelled 20% of the tweets and used them
 364 as the test dataset. Figs. 7a and 7b show the sentiment graphs for tweets in Edinburgh and
 365 Belfast. As can be seen from the figures, the majority of the tweets are either positive or
 366 neutral. However, as the year 2016 approached the proportion of negative tweets increased
 367 with the other tweets. The next year to the one when the policy was implemented (2017),
 368 shows a further increase in negative sentiments. This year is significant since the public
 369 began to realise and see the impact of the 20mph speed limit policies on their daily lives.
 370



371
 372 (a) (b)
 373 Fig. 7: Variation in public sentiments per year for the cities of (a) Edinburgh and (b)
 374 Belfast.

375
 376 The number of tweets in Belfast was considerably fewer than that of Edinburgh, which
 377 reduces the effectiveness of the sentiment analysis. Lower Twitter usage related to the
 378 Belfast scheme may indicate lower awareness of the 20mph intervention among the public,

⁸ <https://textblob.readthedocs.io/en/dev/>
⁹ <https://pypi.org/project/vaderSentiment/>

379 or the public having less interest in the topic. A greater volume of tweets provides better
 380 insights into the sentiments of the public. Fig. 8 provides a few tweets, each classified into
 381 either a positive or negative sentiment category. While some of tweets are quite clear, a
 382 few are ambiguous. For instance, the last tweet in the negative category is classified as
 383 negative, though the user supports the policy.
 384

Positive Tweets	Negative Tweets
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cycling is on the increase now that the spring weather is here and the 20mph speed restrictions are being embedded all across CC • that s a steady 20mph Acceleration will have an affect Journey time should only increase a little • Good work thank you 20mph is the safer calmer way for Edinburgh • I don t mind the 20mph limits in Edinburgh It s made me plan journeys more carefully compared to jumping in the car and whizzing off • Brits spend 92 of ALL their time indoors 20mph can help more people feel confident about walking amp cycling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 20mph burns more fuel more air pollution a bad thing inconvenientFact • Rant time Edinburgh 20mph speed limit on Melville Drive Meadows is ridiculous even the cyclists are overtaking the vehicles • I am on the road every day and today the 20mph limit showed no benefits to me other than school areas and built • In a bus in Edinburgh and it s going 20mph and not a mile faster it s absolutely brutal • I support 20mph in Edinburgh but it has been implemented with a confusing and frequently changing mix of 20mph and 30mph You never know what the limit is Results in drivers defaulting to 30mph

385

386 Fig. 8 A few sample tweets classified into positive and negative categories.

387

388 Similar to the analysis presented by Saura et al., in 2018 [28], we present the total
 389 number of positive, neutral and negative tweets across Edinburgh and Belfast in Table 1.

390 These tweets span 2008 to 2020.

391

392

393

394

395

	Positive Tweets	Neutral Tweets	Negative Tweets
Edinburgh	10874	9774	2858
Belfast	515	495	189

396

397 Table 1: Total number of positive, neutral, and negative tweets across Edinburgh and
398 Belfast, which appeared on Twitter from 2008 to 2020.

399

400

401 *Political Agenda*

402 Local authorities and Devolved Administrations are party political as well as bureaucratic
403 organisations. We explored the extent to which tweets were party political and the degree
404 to which the political parties engaged with Twitter on the policies. We collected the tweets
405 from major political parties such as the Scottish National Party, the Liberal Democrats, and
406 the Conservative Party in Edinburgh and the Democratic Unionist Party, and the Ulster
407 Unionist Party in Belfast. We found that none of the political parties directly tweeted about
408 the 20mph speed limits from their official Twitter accounts.

409

410 **Discussion**

411 The aim of this paper was to collect and analyse the sentimental information in relation to
412 Twitter activity about the 20mph speed limit interventions in Edinburgh and Belfast. The
413 total volume of tweets was much higher for Edinburgh than for Belfast. This likely reflects
414 a stronger focus on awareness raising and education in Edinburgh, where a public

415 information campaign was an integral component of implementation. In contrast, public
416 awareness raising efforts were relatively small scale in Belfast [29].

417

418 The volume of tweets followed a similar pattern, peaking around 2016, which is when the
419 schemes were implemented, although the peak is much wider in Edinburgh, possibly
420 reflecting the differences in process and implementation in the two cities. Edinburgh had
421 delivered a pilot prior to the roll-out of the main scheme and scaled up the initiative over a
422 much more extended period.

423

424 It is often assumed that social media is extremely powerful in affecting attitudes and
425 opinion. This has led some public authorities to invest in working in social media, with
426 Edinburgh Council being a good case in point. Our data does not suggest that this strategy
427 was particularly successful in Edinburgh and there was very little engagement in Twitter
428 activity in Belfast. Pressure groups and vested interest groups do use social media, as they
429 did in the two cities, and in general the overall tone of the tweets was positive or neutral
430 towards the implementation of the speed limit policies. This finding was surprising as there
431 was a perception among policymakers that there was going to be public backlash against
432 these transport policy changes. Twitter is a forum where one might expect these views to
433 be openly expressed. In fact, most tweeters accepted the changes. The commonly used
434 hashtags focused largely on road safety and other potential benefits, for example to air
435 pollution.

436

437 We had anticipated at the outset that this analysis would give insight into the public's
438 opposition towards 20mph and would assist policymakers in better preparing for such
439 negative responses in the future. This would put policymakers on the front foot in term of
440 responding to opposition. What we found, however, was very little opposition among
441 Twitter users. The findings clearly show that the majority of the public, or at least those
442 who express views on Twitter, are supportive of 20mph and think these schemes should be
443 implemented at scale. Concerns about the public's reaction should not be viewed as a
444 barrier to future adoption and implementation of such policies.

445

446 That said, the total volume of tweets in Belfast was relatively low and negative tweets
447 exceeded positive tweets in Belfast in 2017. No such finding was observed for Edinburgh,
448 where positive tweets far exceeded negative tweets at all time points. As mentioned, there
449 was an integrated public awareness campaign in Edinburgh and the scheme there was rolled
450 out area-by-area over many months. In contrast, limited public education efforts were
451 implemented in Belfast and the scheme came into force over-night. It is quite possible that
452 the introduction of 20mph came as a surprise to people living in Belfast, which resulted in
453 public antipathy. The negativity was short-lived, and in fact zero negative tweets were
454 identified in the following year.

455

456 This was a new area of investigation, which allowed us to explore public opinion on
457 20mph, as this is often not relayed in official reports. The methods used proved to be
458 appropriate and could and should be utilized in other evaluations of policy decisions and
459 public reactions. However, several limitations should be acknowledged. The primary

460 drawback is that the data collected from social networking platforms such as Twitter are
461 susceptible to noise, which affects the precision of analytic techniques such as the one used
462 in our paper. Also, compared to questionnaires, using machine learning methods requires
463 advanced training and knowledge of sophisticated tools. The current study focused on
464 sentiment analysis. Other techniques, such as discourse analysis or the study of electronic
465 word of mouth (eWOM), may provide additional - or even different - perspectives on the
466 20mph narrative, and would be useful to apply in future research on this topic [30, 31].

467

468 **Conclusions**

469 In this paper, we analysed Twitter data on 20mph speed limit policies implemented in the
470 cities of Edinburgh and Belfast. The study of social media data, especially for speed limit
471 policies in the UK, is still in its infancy. The key aim of our work was to understand public
472 opinion and sentiments about the effect of such policies in these cities. We presented both
473 statistical and sentimental analysis of the data. The total volume of tweets was much higher
474 for Edinburgh than for Belfast, although the volume of tweets followed a similar pattern.
475 The commonly used hashtags focused largely on the benefits of 20mph for example on
476 road safety and air pollution. Positive tweets far exceeded negative tweets; very little
477 opposition among Twitter users was observed. The main implication is that policymakers
478 should be less concerned about potential public backlash when considering the scale-up of
479 20mph speed restrictions. Implementing a public awareness campaign and rolling 20mph
480 limits out progressively, may limit the potential for public push back in response to such
481 policies. Finally, the methods used proved to be appropriate and have provided the first
482 insight into public opinion in respect to 20mph speed limit policies in the United Kingdom,

483 as expressed through Twitter. Similar approaches should be considered to advance
484 understanding of the public's attitude towards other public health interventions and
485 policies.

486

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617

618 **Declarations**

619

620 **Ethics approval and consent to participate**

621 This study involved the analysis of publicly available Twitter data, thus ethical approval
622 and consent to participate were not required

623

624 **Consent for publication**

625 N/A

626

627 **Availability of data and materials**

628 The data that support the findings of this study are available from Twitter. Restrictions
629 apply to the availability of these data, which were used under license for this study. Data
630 are available from the authors with the permission of Twitter.

631

632 **Competing interests**

633 All authors declare that they have no competing interests

634

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640

641 **Authors' contributions**

642 All authors conceived the idea. The scope and methods were developed by TS, KM and
643 MK. The analysis was undertaken by TS. TS led the preparation of the manuscript. All
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645

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