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Policy Center for the New South

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Black Lives Matter: A New Perspective from Twitter Data Mining

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Abstract

Social media is increasingly used by oppressed and helpless communities as a voice to create change and increase awareness about social injustice. In this paper, we study the Black Lives Matter movement, one of the fastest-growing social movements in the United States, through the Twitter lens by collecting around 600,000 tweets with both the **#BlackLivesMatter** and **#BLM** hashtags, published from March to July 2020. Our study shows that this movement has received unprecedented attention in a matter of few days. Furthermore, our quantitative text analysis reveals some interesting trends from the data. First, we show, perhaps unsurprisingly, that the murder of George Floyd was the catalyst behind the unusual activity on Twitter. Second, President Donald Trump is the most mentioned person in the tweets, acting as a direct appeal to the President to restore justice and equal rights. Finally, we show clear evidence of growing frustration from the Black community through the frequent use of terms related to policy brutality, violence, and fear.

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1. Introduction

The Black Lives Matter movement was created in July 2013 in the United States of America by the Black community campaigning against racism and discrimination. The movement was sparked by the murder of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin in February 26, 2012, and the acquittal the following year of his killer, George Zimmerman, who fatally shot him (Figure 1).

Figure 1: An Example of a Tweet After the Trayvon Martin Murder



Many tragic events followed, among which was the killing of George Floyd. After the death of Floyd on May 25, 2020, asphyxiated by a police officer in Minneapolis, the Black Lives Matter movement received unprecedented support from the international community and brought together millions of people in cities around the world in expressing their anger against police brutality and racism. Public reactions quickly emerged on Twitter, where millions of tweets, retweets, replies, and likes were generated in a record time. Two hashtags particularly stood out during this period **#BlackLivesMatter** and **#BLM**.

The **#BlackLivesMatter** hashtag (Figure 2) in particular, often utilized around major news events related to race, violence, and criminal justice, was used an average of just under 3.7 million times per day from May 26, 2020, to June 7, 2020, according to a Pew Research Center analysis of publicly available tweets¹. As we will show in our data, once protests over Floyd's death began in Minneapolis and spread across the US, daily use of the hashtag passed 1 million in the US radius alone.

^{1. &}quot;Use of the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag hits record levels amid global protests over George Floyd's death while in police custody" https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/06/10/blacklivesmatter-surges-on-twitter-after-george-floyds-death/ft_2020-06-10_blm_01_new/





These significant numbers illustrate the growing importance of social media and how these tools can give a voice to underrepresented and oppressed communities.

From a data-analysis perspective, it is interesting to extract some of these tweets over time in order to analyze the textual data and the features hidden in it.

2. Building the Corpus Through Web-Scraping

The **#BlackLivesMatter** and **#BLM** hashtags are contained in millions of tweets and the data collection exercise can be time consuming and tedious. To make it more manageable, we filtered tweets by geo-locating those sent from the New York, Nebraska, and San Francisco areas and drawing a circle with a radius of 1200 km in each region². In this manner, we covered most of the US (East, Center and West), including Minneapolis (Figure 3). It is not possible to cover all tweets as Twitter focuses on relevance, not completeness.

By geo-filtering, we reduced the data-collection burden and avoided crashing the server too frequently. We extracted data by web-scraping Twitter from March 1 to July 14, 2020.

^{2.} Note that it is not possible to extract tweets by specifying a country's name. The extraction works by geolocation where we define a coordinate (latitude and longitude) and a radius.



Figure 3: Target Regions for Tweet Collections

We removed retweets, keeping only original tweets and replies. Each tweet has a unique ID, so we excluded duplicates by keeping one unique ID per tweet. Moreover, some duplicates have different IDs, so we further shrunk our dataset by retaining one unique text for every unique ID. In total, we collected 626,471 tweets out of which 287,318 were kept. For each tweet, we extracted nine characteristics (ID, username, text, date of creation, geo-location, mentions, number of retweets, number of likes, and hashtags). A typical tweet is mostly a text message within a limit of 140 characters. #hashtags convey the subject of the tweet. Retweeting is denoted by 'RT' and is a measure of the tweet's popularity. Finally, one can like a tweet by making it 'favorite'.

While our sample set does not cover all tweets worldwide, it is exhaustive enough to reflect mixed views and the broader support that the movements received, at least nationally in the US.

3. Quantitative Text Analysis

3-1 Descriptive Statistics

In this section, we present some figures and simple statistics on the **#BlackLivesMatter** tweets. The aim is to get a better sense of the important digital reinforcement that the movement received over time in order to fuel social progress and advance the fight for equality. We plot the number of tweets per day and the sums of likes and retweets per day, before and after the death of George Floyd (i.e. from March 1 to mid-July 2020). The time period is long enough to illustrate the substantial change in the tweet frequency, as shown in Figure 4 and Figure 5.

Figure 4 shows that the number of tweets increased substantially after the death of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, with a peak between June 1 and June 5, 2020. The jump is so substantial that the number of tweets before looks insignificant. Note that the number of protests against violence and racism increased during June 2020, which may explain the explosion in the number of tweets.

Figure 4: Total Number of Tweets per Day for #BlackLivesMatter and #BLM Hashtags



Similar patterns can be observed in Figure 5, where the total number of likes and retweets in June 2020 was very high, reaching a combined figure of more than a million. Retweets represent a way to measure popularity and this is strong evidence of the unprecedented support that the Black Lives Matter movement received. Furthermore, it appears that the number of retweets is much higher that the number of likes, which may explain why so many tweets in our dataset are redundant.

Figure 5: Total Number of Retweets and Likes per Day for #BlackLivesMatter and #BLM Hashtags



3-2 Dynamic Maps

Twitter enables users to specify a location for individual tweets. In fact, some users do not share the exact location of their tweets. However, our dataset is large and contains enough tweets with available geolocation.

We first processed the collected tweets by extracting the geolocation. Then, we plotted the tweets on a dynamic map. Figure 6 presents a helicopter view of the various tweet locations. The focus is on the US, where our data was collected.



Figure 6: Geolocation of Individual Tweets in the US (Zoomed out) ³

Figure 6 shows tweets across the US, reflecting how the movement spread out geographically from an initial concentration in Minneapolis to other U.S. cities and to Canada. The blue arrow represents the location of a specific tweet. The green dot represents a cluster of blue arrows and the yellow dot a cluster of green dots. The red quadrant represents the region of South Carolina where we display, for illustration, the exact geolocation of a tweet in Figure 7.

^{3.} We used the Folium library to generate an interactive map.

Figure 7: Example of a Tweet ("Don't spend ANY money if you are Black...") Located in South Carolina in the USA (Zoomed in)



In what follows, we analyze the word frequency in order to uncover what words were most used in the tweets.

3-3 Word, Mention and Hashtag Frequency Distributions

In this section, we show the most used terms in the tweets after cleaning the data⁴. By extracting the important words, we can get a sense of what the consensus view is inside the corpus or collection of tweets.

Figure 8 shows the twenty most-utilized terms in the tweets, excluding the terms 'backlivesmatter' and 'blm'⁵. Interestingly, some of the most frequent words relate to police brutality and various incidents that the black community has endured over the years. For instance, the words 'black', 'lives', 'protest' and 'police' are in the top ranking. We also see that 'georgefloyd' has been repeatedly mentioned (16,032 times), implying that the murder of George Floyd was the catalyst for the unusual activity in the social network.

^{4.} Cleaning the tweets involves removing stop words (i.e. words with very little meaning in a sentence such as and, the, a, an, and others), punctuation and other symbols.

^{5. &#}x27;Blacklivesmatter' and 'blm' are, by construction, the most frequent words in the data with a frequency of 218,072 and 95,594 respectively, because these terms are associated with the hashtags. It therefore makes sense to exclude them from the analysis and focus on the terms that come after.



Figure 8: Term Frequency Distribution in the Tweets

In addition to term frequency, we also analyzed the hashtags. The point of this exercise was to see which hashtags are most associated with the two hashtags we are currently studying. Figure 9 shows the plot of the most-utilized hashtags after excluding **#BlackLivesMatter** and **#BLM**⁶.

We observe that the top two hashtags (#georgefloyd and #justiceforgeorgefloyd) are related to George Floyd, with a frequency of 15,986 and 9,818 respectively. This is further evidence that his murder was a major reason behind the digital support that the movement received almost overnight from various communities asking for justice (as illustrated by the hashtag #nojusticenopeace, utilized 6,473 times).

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the hashtag of Breonna Taylor also topped the list⁷. Taylor was fatally shot in her apartment on March 13, 2020, by Louisville police officers executing a search warrant. The Floyd event was reminiscent of what happened to her and that is the reason why people wrote her name extensively in the tweets.

^{6.} The hashtags #BlackLivesMatter and #BLM are used respectively 435,742 and 92,327 times.

^{7.} Breonna Taylor hashtag (#breonnataylor) was used 4,388 times.



Figure 9: Hashtag Frequency Distribution in the Tweets

We also searched for the key people most mentioned in the tweets. Figure 10 shows the mention frequency distribution.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the person that is most mentioned in the tweets, with a frequency of 3403 times, is '@realdonaldtrump' the official Twitter username of US President Donald Trump.



Figure 10: Mention Frequency Distribution in the Tweets

This mention frequency states the obvious as this is not the first time that fingers have pointed at President Trump and his inability to unite a divided country⁸.

3-4 Word Cloud Analysis

A word cloud is a popular word visualization technique. It is commonly used to highlight popular or trending terms based on frequency of use and prominence.

^{8. &}quot;How Trump and the Black Lives Matter Movement Changed White Voters' Minds" https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/27/us/politics/trump-biden-protests-polling.html.



Figure 11: Word Cloud with Tweets

Figure 11 shows that some powerful words emerge from the word cloud visualization, including 'violent', 'claims', 'confrontations', 'right', 'needs', and 'protests', which again illustrates the perpetual struggle, the fight for justice and the need to be heard on the part of the Black community in America.

It is interesting and surprising that Tara Reade (who accused US presidential candidate Joe Biden of a sexual assault) also shows up in Figure 11. Although the connection with Floyd's murder is not obvious at a first glance, possible links could be with the #MeToo hashtag, which surged in 2017 after the sexual allegations against Harvey Weinstein, and with the Black women movement⁹ against social injustice. In similar fashion to the Black Lives Matter movement, many sexual assaults and racist acts in the US were either unreported, or ignored by the police and the government.

We also see that the state of Virginia comes out as being the most supportive state of the Black Lives Matter movement¹⁰.

A text mining analysis would not be complete without a sentiment analysis which is done in the next subsection.

^{9. &}quot;Black women are often overlooked by social justice movements, a new study finds" https://edition.cnn.com/2020/07/18/us/ black-women-overlooked-social-justice-movements-trnd/index.html.

^{10. &}quot;Twitter data shows Virginia tops all states for Black Lives Matter support" https://www.wfxrtv.com/news/commonwealth-news/twitter-data-shows-virginia-tops-all-states-for-black-lives-matter-support/.

3-5 Sentiment Analysis

We did a sentiment analysis on the tweets after cleaning the data of hashtags, emoticons, and punctuation. We did two types of sentiment analysis.

First, we did a polarity analysis, which refers to the process of determining the attitude or the emotion of the writer (i.e. whether it is positive, negative, or neutral). The polarity function we used results in a float in the range of [-1,1] where 1 means a positive statement and -1 means a negative statement. For interpretation, we set the text to positive if it is greater than O, neutral if it is equal to zero, and negative if it is less than zero (Figure 12).



Figure 12: Polarity Analysis of the Tweets

Although it is difficult to judge people's emotions based on Figure 12 alone, because it depends on the context in which users wrote the tweets, the figure gives an idea about how mixed emotions were after the George Floyd incident.

Second, we carried out a subjectivity analysis, which refers to a personal opinion, emotion, or judgment, whereas objectivity refers to a factual information. The subjectivity is a float within the range [0, 1] where 0 is very objective and 1 is very subjective. We set the text as subjective if it is above 0.5 and objective if it is lower than or equal to 0.5.

Figure 13: Subjectivity Analysis of the Tweets



Figure 13 shows that most of the tweets are objective (orange colour), implying that they are related to factual information and not subjective views. This result makes sense, because all tweets are mainly about police brutality, injustice, and violence.

3-6 Cluster Analysis and Visualization

Finally, we present a cluster analysis in which we group tweets based on their features. From previous analyses, we saw that, even though we excluded retweets and duplicates, tweets share similar terms, hashtags, and mentions. Hence the need for a cluster analysis in which we group tweets into clusters based on closeness or 'distance' between them.

Before clustering, we need to convert words into numbers¹¹ as computers only recognize digits. We then introduced a score or a weight, which is a statistical measure that evaluates how important a word is to a tweet in a collection of tweets¹². The importance increases proportionally to the number of times a word appears in the document, but is offset by the frequency of the word in the corpus¹³.

Once the relative importance of the words was scored and the tweets were represented as mutually comparable vectors, we clustered them based on their similarity by allocating a cluster number to each tweet.

^{11.} This process is called text vectorization and is a fundamental step in analysing text.

^{12.} We apply the TF-IDF (term frequency-inverse document frequency) by removing the 'stopwords' and considering only the top 1000 words ordered by term frequency across the entire corpus of tweets. TF is the ratio of the number of times a word occurred in a document/tweet to the total number of words in the document. IDF is the logarithm of (total number of documents/tweets divided by number of documents/tweets containing the word). The product of TF and IDF gives the TF-IDF. In other words, we assign to the term a weight in the document/tweet that is (1) highest when the term occurs many times within a small number of documents/tweets (thus carrying more information in these tweets), (2) lower when the term occurs in many documents/tweets (thus carrying less important signals) and (3) lowest when the term occurs in all documents/tweets/corpus.

^{13.} Each value in the vector depends on how many times a word or a term appears in the tweet (TF) and on how rare it is amongst all tweets/documents (IDF).

In fact, the tweets mostly reflect anger, frustration, and demand for justice, and we expect them to be grouped within a small number of clusters. In what follows, we present a cluster analysis with 2 and 3 clusters¹⁴.

	Analysis on 3 Clusters	Analysis on 2 Clusters		
Clusters	# of Tweets per Cluster	Top 5 Words Used in each Cluster	# of Tweets per Cluster	Top 5 Words Used in each Cluster
Cluster 1	21,634	blacklivesmatter blm georgefloyd black	21,634	blacklivesmatter blm georgefloyd black
		right blm		right blacklivesmatter
Cluster 2	6,267	blacklivesmatter protest black people	265,684	blm black protest people
Cluster 3	259,417	blacklivesmatter blm black protest people		

Table 1: Cluster Analysis of the Tweets

The analysis shows that one cluster captures the majority of the tweets. This result is not surprising as the tweets share similar characteristics. Secondly, the clusters share common words which imply that the centroids (or centers of the clusters) are very close to each other, consistent with the fact that the tweets are similar in meaning (while somewhat different in content).

Our analysis shows evidence that two clusters are enough to capture the vast majority of the hidden structures behind the tweets. Figure 14 visualizes those two clusters¹⁵.

^{14.} We do the cluster analysis using the k-means algorithm. The k-means is a method used for cluster analysis, especially in data mining. It aims to partition a set of observations into a number of clusters (k), resulting in the partitioning of the data into cells or clusters. It can be considered a method of finding out which group a certain object really belongs to.

^{15.} We generate the clusters using the principal component analysis which is a size-reduction method that is often used to reduce the size of large data sets, by transforming a large set of variables into a smaller one that still contains most of the information contained in the large set.



Figure 14: Visualisation of the Clusters

Each dot in Figure 14 represents a tweet. For clarity, we don't show all tweets but only a few thousand (randomly chosen). The red dots represent cluster 1, while the blue dots cluster 2.

We see that although the clusters are close to each other (probably due to sharing some common features) they do not overlap, implying that there is a clear distinction between the two clusters. Consistent with our previous findings, the red cluster has more dots as it contains the majority of the tweets.

4. Conclusion

Using natural language processing, we analyzed tweets related to the Black Lives Matter movement, one of the fastest-growing social movement in the US. This movement has seen a significant change in its digital activity since the death of George Floyd and has received unprecedented international support in a short amount of time. Some interesting trends emerge from our analysis. First, in the US radius alone, we observe that the daily use of the **#BlackLivesMatter** hashtag surpassed 1 million. Second, the text frequency analysis reveals that the most mentioned person in the tweets is Donald Trump. This is perhaps not surprising as this is not the first time that the Black community is pointing at the President of the US in asking for justice. Last but not the least, the text analysis also shows clear evidence of the strong condemnation of George Floyd's murder through the frequent use of two popular hashtags: #nojusticenopeace and #georgefloyd.

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Appendix: A Technical Note on Twitter Data Collection Methods

To the best of our knowledge, there are two standard ways to collect Twitter data. The first method is through Twitter APIs (application programming interfaces) and the second is through web-scraping.

As far as the APIs are concerned, we have the REST API which allows the user to go back in time and search for already-published tweets. However, the REST API has some limitations. It does not return tweets older than seven days, and the search API is not meant to be an exhaustive source of tweets. As Twitter says "the focus is on relevance not completeness", which not only implies that not all published tweets can be collected, but also that tweets and users may be missing from search results. On the other hand, we have the Streaming API which looks into the future, meaning that a stable connection needs to be open with Twitter to collect data before the event. This way one can retrieve all tweets that match the filter criteria as they are published.

In fact, neither the first nor the second API method was fit for our purpose because of both the seven-days data limitation and the fact that the event needs to be known in advance before data collection begins.

Therefore, for our purpose, we collected the data through web-scraping which is the second method of collection. Web-scraping allows the extraction of tweets visible on the Twitter website.





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