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Social Media Conversations About Race

How social media users see, share and discuss race and the rise of hashtags like #BlackLivesMatter

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Social Media Conversations About Race

How social media users discuss, share and talk about race and the rise of hashtags like #BlackLivesMatter

Americans are increasingly turning to social media for news and political information and to encourage others to get involved with a cause or movement. Social media also can serve as an important venue where groups with common interests come together to share ideas and information. And at times, Twitter, Facebook and other social media sites can help users bring greater attention to issues through their collective voice.
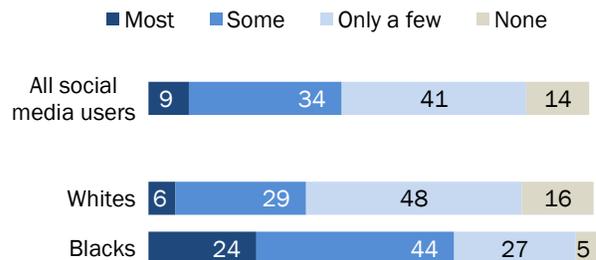
In recent years, these platforms have provided new arenas for national conversations about race and racial inequality. Some researchers and activists credit social media – in particular, Black Twitter – with propelling racially focused issues to greater national attention. In fact, two of the most used hashtags around social causes in Twitter history focus on race and criminal justice: #Ferguson and #BlackLivesMatter. In addition to social and political issues, social media also serve as places where conversations about race intersect with a number of issues, including pop culture, sports and everyday personal experiences.

A new Pew Research Center survey finds significant differences in the way black and white adults use social media to share and interact with race-related content.[1] And a Pew Research Center analysis of tweets reveals that key news events – from Baltimore, to Charleston, South Carolina, to Dallas – often serve as a catalyst for social media conversations about race.

Black social media users (68%) are roughly twice as likely as whites (35%) to say that at least some of the posts they see on social networking sites are about race or race relations. When it comes to

Two-thirds of black social media users say that most or some of the posts they see on social media are about race

% of social media users who say that ____ of the posts they see on social networking sites are about race or race relations

Legend: ■ Most ■ Some ▢ Only a few ▢ None

	Most	Some	Only a few	None
All social media users	9	34	41	14
Whites	6	29	48	16
Blacks	24	44	27	5

Note: Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. All social media users include adult social media users of all races "Don't know/Refused" responses are not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 29-May 8, 2016. Q13a.
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[1] Analysis of Hispanic social media users can be found in Chapter 1. There were not enough Asian respondents in the sample to be broken out in a separate analysis.

their own postings, a similar racial gap exists. Among black social media users, 28% say most or some of what they post is about race or race relations; 8% of whites say the same. On the other hand, roughly two-thirds (67%) of whites who use social media say that none of things they post or share pertain to race.

In addition to the survey data, Pew Research Center conducted three content analysis case studies using publically available tweets. The first analysis found that over a 15-month period (from Jan. 1, 2015, through March 31, 2016) there were about 995 million tweets about race – or, on average,

2.1 million tweets per day on the subject. By contrast, about [500 million tweets](#) in total were posted on Twitter each day in 2015, meaning that tweets mentioning race made up about 0.04% of all tweets posted.

Of the tweets about race, a majority (60%) were directly related to news events, like the church shooting in Charleston, South Carolina, or the Grammy performance of rapper Kendrick Lamar.[2]

The second case study focuses on the use of the hashtag

Six-in-ten race-related tweets were tied to current events

% of race-related Twitter posts: Jan. 1, 2015, to March 31, 2016

Related to current events	**60%**
2016 campaign	10
Police or judicial system	7
Celebrities or entertainment	7
Other current events	35
Not related to current events	**40%**
About discrimination, but not tied to specific events	22
Related to race, but not explicitly about racial discrimination	18

Note: Data were collected using Crimson Hexagon's machine learning algorithm and include all publically available tweets that mention race from Jan. 1, 2015, to March 31, 2016. Numbers may not add up due to rounding.
Source: Pew Research Center analysis using Crimson Hexagon.
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#BlackLivesMatter – which predated the Black Lives Matter organization. The hashtag has been used approximately 12 million times from July 12, 2013, through March 31, 2016, and during this period, it was used more often in support of the movement than in opposition to it. Roughly 40% of the times #BlackLivesMatter was used, it was to display solidarity with the social movement, compared with 11% of the time when it was used to criticize the same movement.[3]

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[2] A tweet was considered to be "about race" if it included an explicit reference to blacks, whites or the concept of race in general. This analysis includes only tweets in the English language and from public accounts. It is not possible to determine whether the accounts are used by Americans or others. See the [methodology](#) for a detailed explanation of how the analysis was conducted.

[3] The analysis of Twitter data about #BlackLivesMatter only includes tweets containing the exact terms of either "#BlackLivesMatter" or "BlackLivesMatter" and does not include tweets that used an abbreviation or other variation. The data about #AllLivesMatter only includes tweets containing the exact terms "#AllLivesMatter" or "AllLivesMatter," and the data for #BlueLivesMatter only includes tweets containing the exact terms "#BlueLivesMatter" or "BlueLivesMatter." For more information on the emergence and distinction of the #BlackLivesMatter

The third case study examines the Twitter conversation following the deaths of two black men at the hands of police and the shootings of police officers in Dallas and Baton Rouge, Louisiana. This time period – July 5-17, 2016 – had the hashtags of #BlackLivesMatter, #AllLivesMatter and #BlueLivesMatter used more often than any other time since the hashtags began appearing on Twitter in July 2013. And almost overnight, the tone of the online conversation around #BlackLivesMatter shifted following the attacks on law enforcement. There was a dramatic rise in the share of tweets criticizing the Black Lives Matter movement using that hashtag in our July analysis and a drop in the share of tweets that supported the movement. The rise in critical tweets was especially notable after the killing of police officers in Dallas.

The analysis of public tweets, which was conducted using computer coding software from Crimson Hexagon, also found that the volume of race-related tweets tended to peak in the immediate aftermath of high-profile events and reflected more of a synthesis of ideas and reactions than an account of the details of those events.[4]

The survey findings are based on a national survey of the general public conducted by landline and cellular telephone from Feb. 29-May 8, 2016, among 3,769 U.S. adults. In this survey, 64% of all adults reported they are social media users.[5] That figure includes 62% of white adults who are social media users; 63% of blacks who are social media users; and 63% of Hispanics who are social media users. This report focuses on the subpopulations of each racial and ethnic group who are social media users, rather than the entire adult segment of each cohort.

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hashtag and the Black Lives Matter organization, read The Center for Media and Social Impact's 2015 report "Beyond the Hashtags: #Ferguson, #Blacklivesmatter, and the online struggle for offline justice."

[4] For a detailed explainer on how Pew Research Center uses Crimson Hexagon software to analyze tweets, read "Methodology: How Crimson Hexagon Works."

[5] Social media users were determined by those who answered "yes" to the question, "Do you ever use a social networking site like Facebook or Twitter?"

1. Blacks more likely than whites to see -- and post – race-related content on social media

Social networking sites are often used to discuss social and cultural issues, and a substantial majority of social media users – white, black and Hispanic – report they encounter content on these platforms about race or race relations. But the amount of race-related content users report seeing on social media varies considerably across racial and ethnic groups, with blacks being especially likely to see content that pertains to race on these platforms.

In general, Americans are much more likely to *see* posts related to race or race relations than they are to *personally post* or *share* race-related content. Even so, roughly four-in-ten social media users indicate that at least a few of the posts they share are related to racial issues. And just as black social media users are more likely than whites to come across posts about race on social media, they are also more likely to personally share or post race-related content.

One-in-four black social media users say most of the content they see on social networking sites is about race or race relations

Fully 68% of black social media users say that at least some the posts they see on social networking sites are about race or race relations, including 24% who say this describes most of the content they see on social media.

Whites are significantly less likely to encounter race-related content on social networking sites. Among whites who use social media, roughly a third say most (6%) or some (29%) of the content they see on social media

Black social media users are much more likely than whites to see posts about race

% of social media users who say that _____ of the posts they see on social networking sites are about race or race relations

	Most	Some	Only a few	None
All social media users	9	34	41	14
Whites	6	29	48	16
Blacks	24	44	27	5
Hispanics	14	40	31	13

Note: Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. All social media users include adult social media users of all races. "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 29-May 8, 2016. Q13a.
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is about race or relations. An additional 48% say only a few of the posts they see are about race or race relations, and 16% say none of what they see relates to these topics.
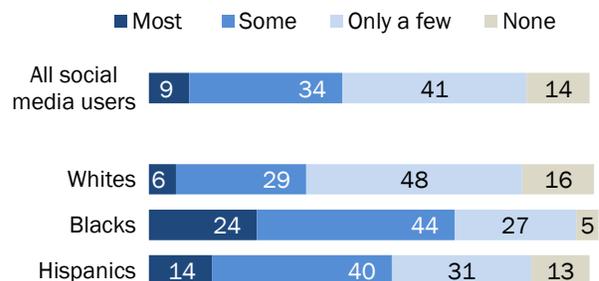
Hispanics fall between these two groups: 54% say that at least some of the posts they see are about race or race relations, while 44% report seeing only a few or no posts on the topic.

Posting and sharing things about race on social networking sites is much more common among black users

Overall, four-in-ten social media users indicate that at least a few of the posts they personally share on social media are about race or race relations. A relatively small share of social media users, however, say that most (2%) or some (11%) of the things they post are race-related. Indeed, a majority of social media users – 60% – report that none of their social media postings pertain to race.

But black social media users are more likely than whites or Hispanics to use social media to discuss race. Some 28% of black social media users say at least some of the things they share or post on social networking sites are about race or race relations, including 8% who say this applies to most of their posts.[6]

Roughly three-in-ten black social media users say most or some of what they post pertains to race

% of social media users who say that _____ of the things they post or share on social networking sites are about race or race relations

Note: Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. All social media users include adult social media users of all races. "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 29-May 8, 2016. Q13b.
"Social Media Conversations About Race"
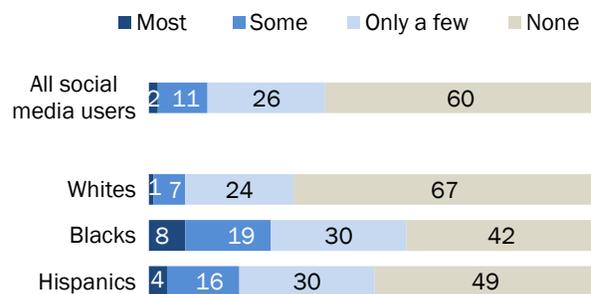
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Among Hispanic social media users, one-in-five say most or some of their social media posts are about race or race relations.

In contrast, only 8% of white social media users say that at least some of things they share or post are about race or relations. In fact, a majority of white users (67%) say they never post or share things about race, while an additional 24% say race is the focus of only a few of their own posts.

It is worth noting that significant shares of black and Hispanic social media users also report that many of their own posts do not pertain to race: 42% of black social media users and 49% of Hispanic social media users say that none of what they share or post on social networking sites is about race or race relations.

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[6] Other Pew Research Center survey data suggest that black social media users are more likely to use social media to express support or solidarity with a cause or movement. See Pew Research Center's 2016 blog post "Changing a social media profile picture is one way to express support or solidarity."

Social media users who regularly have conversations about race tend to see and share more race-related content on social networking sites

People can have conversations about race-relations both online and offline, and social media users who discuss race relations or racial inequality more frequently overall are also more likely to see and share posts about race on social media.

But regardless of how much or how little they talk about race in their everyday lives, race-related content remains a more common component of the social media experience for black rather than white users.
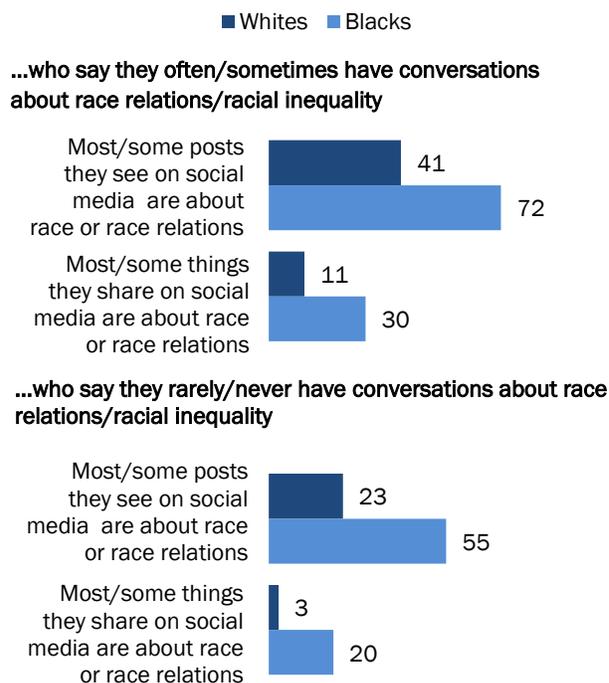
For example, 72% of black social media users who say they often or sometimes have conversations about race relations or racial inequality report that most or some of the posts they see on social networking sites are about race, 41% of white social media users who frequently talk about race say the same.[7]

And even among black social media users who say they rarely or never discuss race relations or racial inequality, a majority (55%) state that most or some of the posts they see on social media pertain to race or race relations. That share drops to 23% for their white counterparts.

These racial gaps also exist for how much

Black social media users – regardless of how often they talk about race in their everyday lives – are more likely to see and share race-related content

Among social media users ...

■ Whites ■ Blacks

...who say they often/sometimes have conversations about race relations/racial inequality

Most/some posts they see on social media are about race or race relations — 41 / 72

Most/some things they share on social media are about race or race relations — 11 / 30

...who say they rarely/never have conversations about race relations/racial inequality

Most/some posts they see on social media are about race or race relations — 23 / 55

Most/some things they share on social media are about race or race relations — 3 / 20

Note: Whites and black social media users include only non-Hispanics. "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 29-May 8, 2016.
"Social Media Conversations About Race"

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users themselves post about racial issues. Some 11% of white users who have regular conversations about racial inequality or race relations also report that most or some of their social media posts are about race; for black users that share is higher, at 30%. And while 20% of blacks social media

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[7] This analysis of social media users combines two questions from the overall survey in order to analyze blacks and whites separately, "Do you talk about race relations often, sometimes, rarely or never?" and "Do you talk about racial inequality often, sometimes, rarely or never?"

users who report rarely or never discussing race relations say that at least some of things they post or share on social media are about race or race relations, few white users – 3% – who discuss race infrequently say the same.

2. Twitter conversations about race

In addition to surveying Americans about their experiences with and exposure to race-related content on social media, Pew Research Center conducted a content analysis to examine how race is discussed on Twitter. The Center used the social analytics tool created by Crimson Hexagon to analyze the textual content from all publicly available posts on Twitter. The first case study focused on the timeframe of Jan. 1, 2015, to March 31, 2016. (For an in-depth explanation of how Crimson Hexagon's tool works, see the methodology.

This analysis determined that during those 15 months, there were a total of about 995 million tweets about race posted on Twitter. (A tweet was considered to be "about race" if it included an explicit reference to blacks, whites or the concept of race in general). That works out to an average of 66 million tweets per month and 2.1 million tweets per day. Indeed, no single day over that time had fewer than 1.5 million tweets mentioning racial issues.

Active discussion of race on Twitter tends to follow large news events – often occurring the day after, as people reflect and respond to the issue

Ten most active days on Twitter discussing race from Jan. 1, 2015 to March 31, 2016

# of Twitter posts mentioning race

Rank	Date	Approximate # of tweets in millions	Events
1	6/18/15	4.3	Day following church shooting in Charleston, S.C.
2	4/28/15	3.4	Unrest in Baltimore following death of Freddie Gray
3	7/22/15	3.3	Details are released about the death of Sandra Bland while in police custody in Texas
4	7/29/15	3	Protests organized by #BlackLivesMatter movement in response to death of Sandra Bland
5	7/23/15	3	Day after details are released about the death of Sandra Bland
6	2/16/16	2.9	Day following 2016 Grammy Awards and Kendrick Lamar's provocative performance
7	11/11/15	2.9	Missouri University of Science and Technology student is arrested after racially charged threats were posted on social media
8	6/19/15	2.9	Two days following church shooting in Charleston
9	2/29/16	2.9	Day following 2016 Oscars amid controversy over the lack of minority nominees
10	6/29/15	2.9	Day following BET Awards

Note: Data were collected using Crimson Hexagon's machine learning algorithm and include all publically available tweets that mention race from Jan. 1, 2015 to March 31, 2016.
Source: Pew Research Center analysis using Crimson Hexagon.
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The analysis found that most of the largest race-focused conversations on Twitter during this period came the day following a major event – after people had time to process the event and formulate their reactions. Many of these moments involved incidents in which blacks were the victims of alleged police brutality or the targets of racially-charged violence. At the same time, several of the other largest conversations involved award shows or racial controversies more broadly.

In this context, Twitter was more likely to be used as a place to respond to events and synthesize ideas than as a platform to report details of incidents as they occurred.

For example, during the 15 months studied, the day with the most race-related conversation was June 18, 2015, one day after the mass shooting at a historically black church in Charleston, South Carolina. On that day, there were approximately 4.3 million tweets posted about race, more than double the 2.1 million tweets the previous day when the shooting occurred.

Several of the other highpoints followed a similar pattern. The sixth-largest day was Feb. 16, 2016, one day after the 2016 Grammy Awards which featured a provocative performance by rapper Kendrick Lamar. The ninth largest was Feb. 29, 2016, one day after the 2016 Oscars, which took place amid the #OscarSoWhite backlash.

Majority of race-related posts on Twitter were tied to current events

The nearly one billion race-related posts on Twitter during this time period touched on a wide-ranging set of subjects, including social activism, pop culture and personal experiences. However, the majority of the racial conversation (60% of the tweets in total) was directly related to news and current events.

Tweets about race increase around major events

Number of Twitter posts mentioning race: Jan. 1, 2015, to March 31, 2016
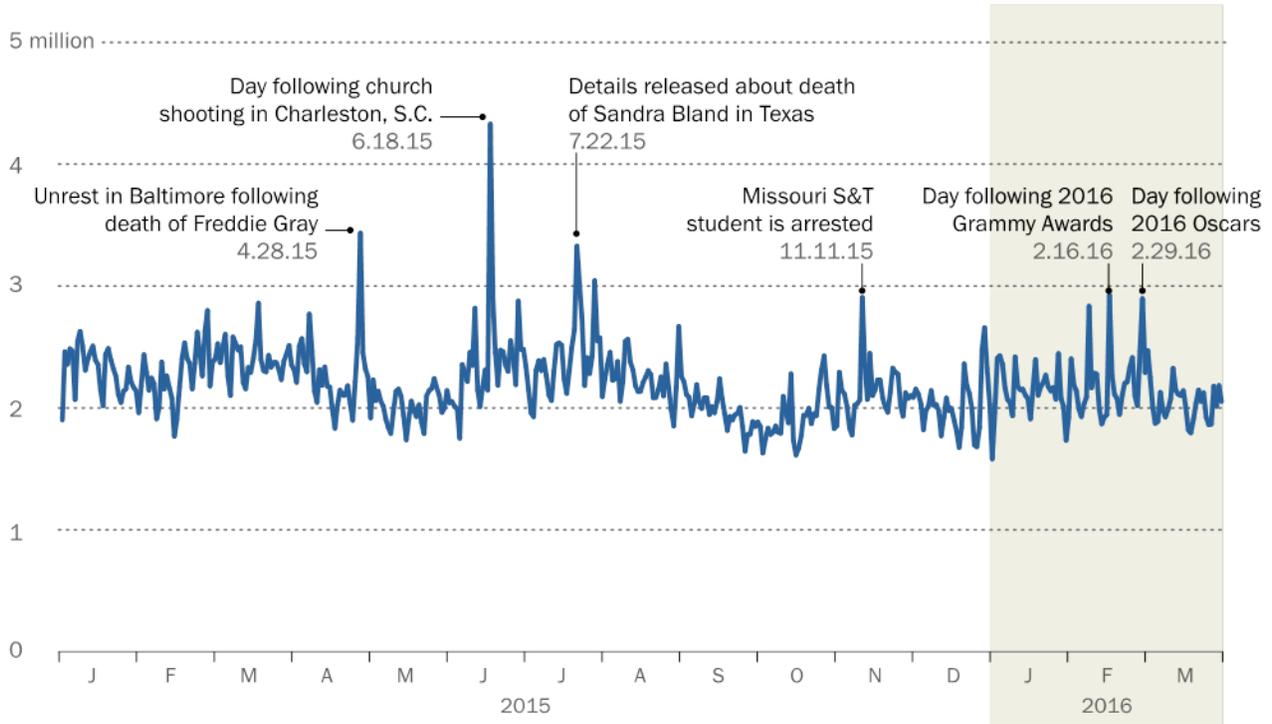
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Several major storylines received particular attention. Some 10% of all tweets dealing with race – an average of more than 6.6 million tweets each month – mentioned the 2016 presidential campaign. Republican candidate Donald Trump was the subject of many of these: For example, on March 12, 2016, about 1,800 different accounts retweeted a video originally posted by 41 Action News of protesters interrupting a Kansas City rally and accusing Trump of being a "racist."

Issues related to the police or judicial system made up an additional 7% of the conversation surrounding race. These tweets covered topics such as the death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and the #BlackLivesMatter movement.

Discussions of race in the context of pop culture events accounted for 7% of the overall Twitter conversation around race. Some 35% of race-related posts on Twitter pertained to other events such as the video of University of Oklahoma fraternity members chanting racial slurs and the controversy surrounding NAACP-branch president Rachel Dolezal who was accused of lying about her race.

Six-in-ten race-related tweets were tied to current events

% of race-related Twitter posts: Jan. 1, 2015, to March 31, 2016

Related to current events	**60%**
2016 campaign	10
Police or judicial system	7
Celebrities or entertainment	7
Other current events	35
Not related to current events	**40%**
About discrimination, but not tied to specific events	22
Related to race, but not explicitly about racial discrimination	18

Note: Data were collected using Crimson Hexagon's machine learning algorithm and include all publically available tweets that mention race from Jan. 1, 2015 to March 31, 2016. Numbers may not add up due to rounding.
Source: Pew Research Center analysis using Crimson Hexagon.
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Another portion of tweets about race were focused on broad themes or individual experiences

The remaining 40% of the racially focused conversation on Twitter was not tied to specific current events, but rather to other subjects such as wider political themes or personal circumstances.

Just over half of these tweets (representing 22% of all race-related posts) pertained to broad issues around discrimination, sometimes in a historical context. For example, on July 7, 2015, Congressman and civil rights activist John Lewis posted a message alongside a mugshot of himself from 1961. His post was retweeted more than 25,000 times.

> *@repjohnlewis: 54 yrs ago today I was released from Parchman after being arrested in Jackson for using 'white' restroom #goodtrouble*

A slightly smaller number (representing 18% of race-related posts) dealt with race in a general sense without mentioning discrimination or a specific news event. In one example, more than 26,000 accounts retweeted a January 2015 drawing by @branfire. The drawing was of the Disney character Elsa from the movie Frozen who was depicted with dark skin and followed by the caption "RT to make a racist mad."

3. The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter emerges: Social activism on Twitter

In recent years, social media have become a common way for political groups and social movements to organize. On Twitter's 10-year anniversary, the site published a list of the most used hashtags related to social causes. Two of the top three were directly related to issues of race. According to Twitter, #Ferguson was the most used social-issue hashtag in the 10-year history of the platform, while #BlackLivesMatter was third.

From July 12, 2013, to March 31, 2016, #BlackLivesMatter was used eight times as often as #AllLivesMatter

Number of Twitter posts mentioning each hashtag: July 12, 2013, to March 31, 2016
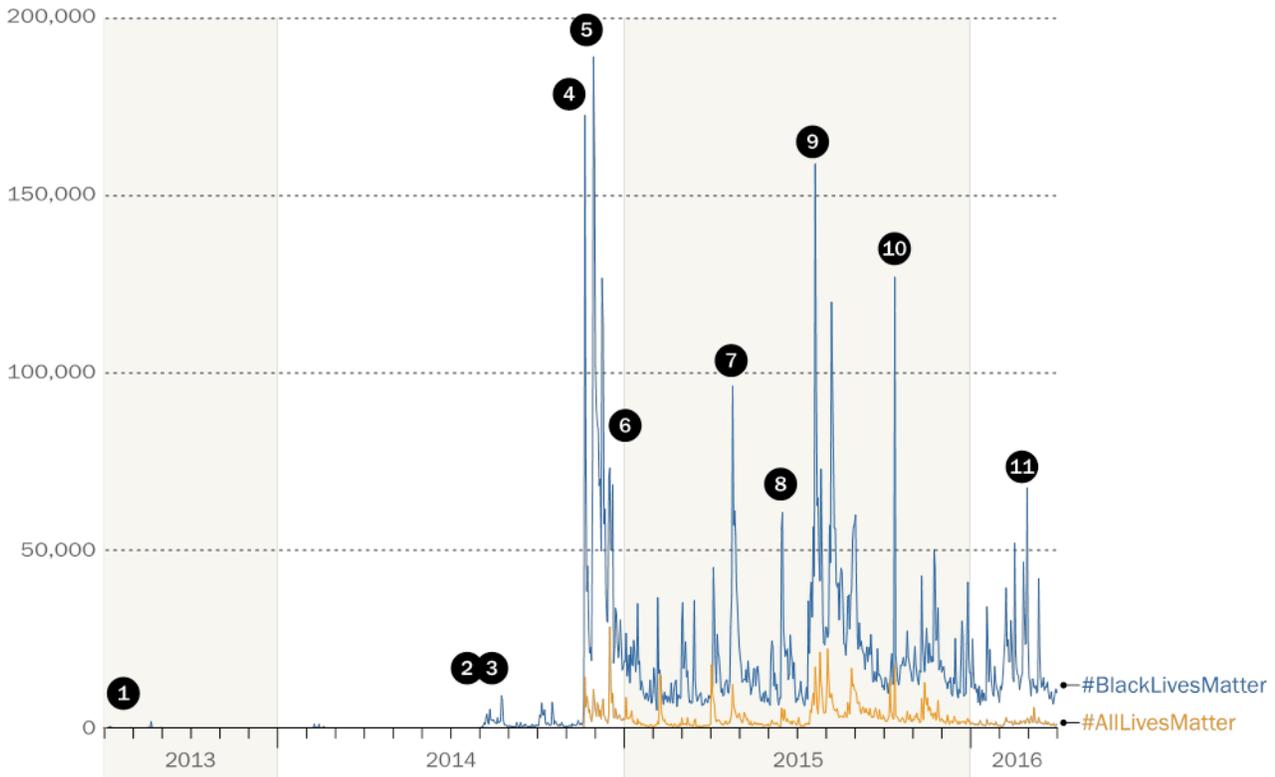
1 7/13/13	Hashtag #BlackLivesMatter first appears on Twitter	
2 7/17/14	Eric Garner dies in N.Y. after being arrested	
3 8/9/14	Michael Brown is killed during an encounter with police officer in Ferguson, Mo.	
4 11/22/14	Tamir Rice is killed by police in Cleveland while playing with a toy gun	
5 11/24/14	Prosecutor announces there will be no indictment in Michael Brown case	
6 12/20/14	Two police officers are killed in N.Y. while sitting in their patrol car	
7 4/19/15	Freddie Gray dies in Baltimore while in police custody	
8 6/17/15	Shooting at church in Charleston, S.C., kills 9 people	
9 7/13/15	Sandra Bland is found hanged in Texas jail cell	
10 10/13/15	Bernie Sanders defends #BlackLivesMatter in debate	
11 2/28/16	2016 Oscars	

Source: Pew Research Center analysis using Crimson Hexagon.
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Along with examining tweets that mentioned race in a general sense, the Center's analysis looked at all tweets that included the #BlackLivesMatter and #AllLivesMatter hashtags from July 12, 2013, to March 31, 2016. These tweets (13.3 million in total) were then analyzed using Crimson Hexagon's algorithmic tool to determine their subject matter and tone. (A previous Pew Research Center study surveyed Americans on their awareness of and attitudes towards issues of racial equality.)

Historically, hashtags developed as an informal method of highlighting ideas in unformatted text and trying to grow conversation around a topic. In 2009, Twitter began to hyperlink and compile hashtags, making them searchable and increasing their utility as identifiers. While most hashtags are developed organically, some groups deliberately use hashtags to promote a message.

In mid-2014, as the issue of use of force by police gained national attention due to several high profile cases involving black men, some activists promoted hashtags as a way to identify their messages and display solidarity.

This was the case with the Black Lives Matter movement. Organizers of Black Lives Matter made social media – and specifically the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter – a centerpiece of their strategy. As a result, the growth of the movement offline was directly linked with the online conversation.[8]

An early timeline of the #BlackLivesMatter and #AllLivesMatter hashtags

All told, from its initial appearance in mid-2013 through March 2016, the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter has appeared on Twitter almost 11.8 million times.

As a direct response to #BlackLivesMatter, some on Twitter began using the hashtag #AllLivesMatter. That hashtag has been used a total of 1.5 million times, about one-eighth as often as #BlackLivesMatter. Over time, the volume of #AllLivesMatter tweets has generally moved in parallel with that of #BlackLivesMatter.

The phrase "black lives matter" was first used by a black community organizer in a Facebook post following the July 2013 acquittal of George Zimmerman in the shooting death of black 17-year-old Trayvon Martin.[9] Despite its widespread presence today, the hashtag was slow to gain

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[8] See the Center for Media and Social Impact's "Beyond the hashtags: #Ferguson, #Blacklivesmatter, and the online struggle for offline justice" for a review of how the activist movement utilized online media in 2014 and 2015.

[9] See this March 2016 article in The New Yorker entitled "The Matter of Black Lives" for details about the formation of the Black Lives Matter movement.

prominence: During the second half of 2013, it appeared on Twitter a total of just 5,106 times (or about 30 times a day).

Both the use of the hashtag and the influence of the broader Black Lives Matter movement accelerated greatly in August 2014 when Michael Brown, a black teenager, was fatally shot by a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri.

The #BlackLivesMatter hashtag appeared an average of 58,747 times per day in the roughly three weeks following Brown's death. However, the use of the hashtag increased dramatically three months later when on November 25, the day after a Ferguson grand jury decided not to indict the officer involved in Brown's death, the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag appeared 172,772 times. During the subsequent three weeks, the hashtag was used 1.7 million times.

Since late 2014, #BlackLivesMatter has been a continuous presence on Twitter, but its use has increased around some specific events. These include:

- On Dec. 4, 2014, the day after a New York grand jury decided not to indict police officers in the death of Eric Garner, #BlackLivesMatter appeared 189,210 times – the most it was ever used in a single day.
- The Oct. 13, 2015, presidential campaign debate in which Senator Bernie Sanders defended the Black Lives Matter movement and decried institutional racism spurred the hashtag to appear more than 127,000 times on Twitter the following day as many users voiced support for Sanders.
- On the one-year anniversary of Brown's death, August 9, 2015, the hashtag appeared 120,067 times as well as 98,518 times the following day.

As for #AllLivesMatter, the hashtag appeared on Twitter a few times prior to the unrest in Ferguson in August 2014. However – as was the case with #BlackLivesMatter – it was the day after the announcement that there would be no grand jury indictments in the Michael Brown case when the hashtag began appearing regularly. On Nov. 25, 2014, #AllLivesMatter was used 14,308 times.

The day in which the hashtag #AllLivesMatter appeared the most during this time period was Dec. 21, 2014, the day after two police officers were killed in New York City while in their patrol car. That day the hashtag appeared 28,526 times. The hashtag #BlueLivesMatter, usually used to express support for police, was used 22,834 times that day.

The #BlackLivesMatter hashtag has been used frequently in support of the broader social movement or to flag general racial issues, occasionally as a form of criticism

From its first appearance in mid-2013, Twitter users have utilized the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag for a range of purposes. Supportive or positive references to the broader movement are among the most common. But in some cases, people included #BlackLivesMatter in tweets to criticize the movement – or simply identify the subject matter of their posts and attach them to the broader discussion occurring around racial issues.

Supportive or positive references to the broader movement make up a large portion of tweets utilizing the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag

Tweets using the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag that are generally supportive of the movement are much more common than those opposing it. Over the period studied, 38% of the tweets that included #BlackLivesMatter were supportive or made positive reference to the social movement.

Slightly more than half of those, representing 21% of all the tweets using the hashtag, offered broad support for racial equality and opposition to police brutality. This February 2014 post by Mag-net, a network of social organizations, is one [example](#):

> *@mediaaction: #blacklivesmatter is a response to the dehumanization of black people. But it's also a call to action.*

Others used the hashtag when describing efforts to organize protests, as in this [tweet](#) by Chicago-based activist Byron Sigcho:

Tweets using the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter supported the movement by more than three-to-one margin

% of Twitter posts: July 12, 2013, to March 31, 2016

Supportive or positive reference to #BlackLivesMatter movement	**38%**
General support	21
Specific incidents of alleged police misconduct	18
Neutral references to #BlackLivesMatter	**12%**
Criticism of #BlackLivesMatter movement	**11%**
Other	**39%**
General race issues, not about #BlackLivesMatter movement	15
2016 campaign	14
Miscellaneous	10

Note: Data were collected using Crimson Hexagon's machine learning algorithm and include all tweets that included either "#BlackLivesMatter" or "BlackLivesMatter" between July 12, 2013, and March 31, 2016. Numbers may not add up due to rounding. N=11,781,721 relevant Twitter posts.
Source: Pew Research Center analysis using Crimson Hexagon.
"Social Media Conversations About Race"

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> *@TeamSigcho: 'Honoring the legacy of MLK by organizing' #BlackLivesMatter #MLKchi*
> *#ReclaimChicago*

Another 18% of tweets utilized the hashtag to connect specific incidents of alleged police misconduct. For example, a number of Black Lives Matter supporters focused on the November 2014 death of 12-year-old Tamir Rice in Cleveland, as in this tweet:

> *@Progress4Ohio: Officer who killed Tamir Rice found unfit in previous police job*
> *on.msnbc.com/1BeRtxk via @msnbc #TRIBELIVE #CLEVELAND*
> *#BLACKLIVESMATTER!!*

Among the other incidents #BlackLivesMatter supporters focused on were the April 2015 death of Freddie Gray while in police custody in Baltimore; the March 2015 shooting death of 19-year-old Tony Robinson at the hands of police in Madison, Wisconsin; and the contentious arrest of University of Virginia student Martese Johnson that same month.

Many tweets used the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag to engage with broader discussions around race

Not all the uses of #BlackLivesMatter were directly tied to specific incidents. In 15% of the tweets using the hashtag, the author was making a larger point about race – without directly focusing on the modern-day social movement. For instance, many people offered thematic quotes:

> *@iamkatori: A System Cannot Fail Those It Was Never Meant To Protect.*
> *#BlackLivesMatter*

Variations of this particular quote appeared in tweets alongside the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter more than 2,200 times. This message, which first appeared in 2013, was often attributed incorrectly to the sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois.

Around one-in-ten tweets using the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag were critical of the movement

As the Black Lives Matter movement grew and the use of the hashtag increased, a number of tweets began to object to the movement. Some critics felt it was valuing one race above all others, while others felt the movement was unfairly condemning all police officers based on the actions of a few.

In fact, 11% of the posts including the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag were critical of the movement and/or the actions of its supporters. Sometimes these posts utilized very strong language, as in this tweet by a retired solider:

> *@dhiggins63: Hey #BlackLivesMatter, police saves MORE black lives everyday, than you cowards ever will, in your pathetic lifetime! #AllLivesMatter*

How the #AllLivesMatter hashtag was used: a more even mix of support and criticism

Unlike the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag, the mentions of #AllLivesMatter from July 2013 to March 2016 were nearly evenly split between positive and negative posts.

About one-third of #AllLivesMatter tweets were supportive of the general sentiment, but few focused on a larger movement

In contrast to the use of #BlackLivesMatter, posts which used #AllLivesMatter in a positive manner were less likely to connect their posts with a broader social agenda. Only 7% of the tweets using #AllLivesMatter took this position. Notably – and in contrast to the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag – #AllLivesMatter did not have a specific organization backing it or promoting its use in its early stages.

More tweets, 13%, were aimed at defending the people or organizations that were often criticized by #BlackLivesMatter – most often the police. For example, in September 2015, an account for the Office of the Lieutenant Governor of Texas Dan Patrick linked to a formal statement opposing violence toward police:

Tweets including the hashtag #AllLivesMatter were nearly evenly split between support and opposition

% of Twitter posts: July 12, 2013, to March 31, 2016

In support of #AllLivesMatter movement	**32%**	
General support		7
Support for police and firefighters		13
Opposition to #BlackLivesMatter movement		13
Neutral references to #AllLivesMatter	**10%**	
Criticism of #AllLivesMatter movement	**33%**	
Other	**25%**	
Pro-life/anti-abortion		11
Animal rights		7
Miscellaneous		7

Note: Data were collected using Crimson Hexagon's machine learning algorithm and include all tweets that included either "#AllLivesMatter" or "AllLivesMatter" between July 12, 2013 and March 31, 2016. Numbers may not add up due to rounding. N = 1,551,194 relevant Twitter posts.
Source: Pew Research Center analysis using Crimson Hexagon.
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> *@LtGovTX: #AllLivesMatter & we must end violence against our law enforcement officers*

Another 13% of the tweets with #AllLivesMatter focused on condemning the #BlackLivesMatter movement.

One-third of tweets with #AllLivesMatter were critical of its meaning

A backlash against #AllLivesMatter developed that was just as large as the hashtag itself. In fact, 33% of the tweets that contained the hashtag were criticizing the premise of #AllLivesMatter – almost the same amount (32%) that used #AllLivesMatter in a positive light.

To critics, #AllLivesMatter was a minimization of the concerns of minorities, especially in regards to issues of police brutality and discrimination.

Syndicated columnist Arthur Chu illustrated this view on November 27, 2014:

> *@arthur_affect: Do people who change #BlackLivesMatter to #AllLivesMatter run thru a cancer fundraiser going 'THERE ARE OTHER DISEASES TOO.'*

Chu's message was retweeted more than 11,000 times.

#AllLivesMatter gets used by other movements

While the vast majority of the use of #AllLivesMatter was in reference to conversations on race, several other movements used the hashtag in different contexts.

About one-in-ten (11%) tweets with #AllLivesMatter were used by someone opposing abortion. Many of those were connected with the 2015 controversy involving videos that purported to show wrongdoing committed by the health services organization Planned Parenthood. In January 2016, one user tweeted:

> *@Metz_Byron: Americans Need To Stand United For Life. #WeThePeople Must #DefundPP TODAY. #PrayToEndAbortion #AllLivesMatter #RedNationRising #RenewUS*

Another 7% of tweets were used to promote animal rights, sometimes in support of vegetarianism. Musician Kristin Star expressed this sentiment in November 2014:

@Kristin_Star: Save Lives...Live Compassionately...Be Vegan!!! #EveryoneCounts
#AllLivesMatter #HelpChangetheWorld #Life #Love #Peace #Vegan #LivePeace

4. Major recent events bring #BlackLivesMatter back to the forefront as the tone shifts overnight

The weeks (July 5-17, 2016) following the shooting deaths of Alton Sterling and Philando Castile at the hands of police officers represent a highly active period regarding the discussion of the Black Lives Matter movement, as well as the use of #AllLivesMatter and #BlueLivesMatter on Twitter. During this period, major events caused a dramatic shift in the tone of conversation surrounding #BlackLivesMatter. There was a notable rise in the share of tweets criticizing the Black Lives Matter movement using that hashtag and a drop in the share of tweets that expressed support.

Succession of events recasts spotlight on Twitter hashtags

# of Twitter posts mentioning each hashtag: July 5, 2015, to July 17, 2016
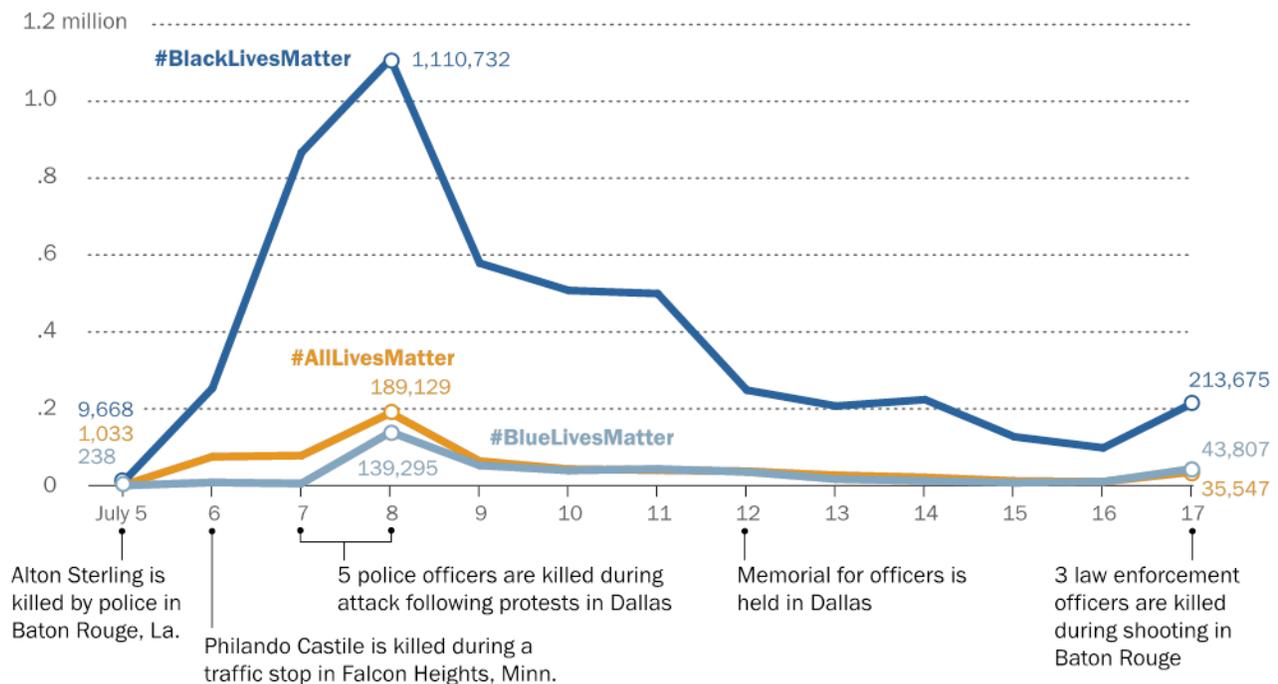
Note: Data were collected using Crimson Hexagon's search algorithm to identify all tweets that included "#BlackLivesMatter," "BlackLivesMatter," "#AllLivesMatter," "AllLivesMatter," "#BlueLivesMatter" or "BlueLivesMatter" from July 5, 2016, to July 17, 2016.
Source: Pew Research Center analysis using Crimson Hexagon.
"Social Media Conversations About Race"

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Both of the shooting incidents were recorded and subsequently posted on social media. In the days following, there were two major attacks on law enforcement. On July 7, a gunman killed five and injured nine police officers in Dallas. Nine days later, another shooter attacked law enforcement in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, killing three officers and wounding three others.

During this period, the use of these hashtags reached record heights. On July 8, the day following the Dallas attack, #BlackLivesMatter appeared on Twitter more than 1.1 million times. That was almost six times as often as the previous most-active day – Dec. 4, 2014 – when the hashtag appeared almost 189,210 times.

In total, #BlackLivesMatter appeared nearly 5 million times during this time period, an average of more than 380,000 times a day following the death of Alton Sterling in Louisiana.

On July 8, the hashtag #AllLivesMatter appeared almost 190,000 times, also more than six times as often as the previous most-active day – Dec. 21, 2014 – when it appeared about 28,500 times. During this 13-day period, it appeared more than 630,000 times.

The hashtag #BlueLivesMatter, which was generally used as an expression of support for police, appeared more than 415,000 times during those 13 days. On July 8 alone, the hashtag was used almost 140,000 times. The previous highest count was 23,207 times on Sept. 9, 2015.

#BlackLivesMatter finds opposition on Twitter

While 41% of tweets using #BlackLivesMatter during this nearly two-week stretch supported the movement, a larger portion of the tweets using the hashtag opposed the movement than in the previous time period studied (33% compared to 11% in the earlier period). And this opposition increased dramatically after the attacks on police officers.

Those supporting #BlackLivesMatter generally focused on the deaths of Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and Philando Castile in Falcon Heights, Minnesota.

For example, writer Ana Marie Cox tweeted a picture of a woman holding a sign that read:

> @anamariecox: #PhilandoCastile fed my sons lunch. Cops fed him four bullets.
> #Blacklivesmatter

In fact, from July 5 to July 7, fully 87% of the uses of #BlackLivesMatter on Twitter were favorable, compared to 11% that were negative.

However, following the attack on police officers in Dallas that began late on July 7, the tenor of the online conversation changed dramatically. From July 8 to July 17, 39% of tweets using #BlackLivesMatter were *opposed* to the movement, compared to 28% that were in support and 33% that were neutral.

On July 17, the day the attack on police occurred in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, two-thirds of the tweets opposed #BlackLivesMatter (67%) compared to 26% that were positive and 6% that were neutral.

Writer Clay Travis criticized the #BlackLivesMatter movement for not giving the police respect:

> @ClayTravis: The police aren't perfect, but they save tens of thousands of black lives every year. No one believes #blacklivesmatter more than them.
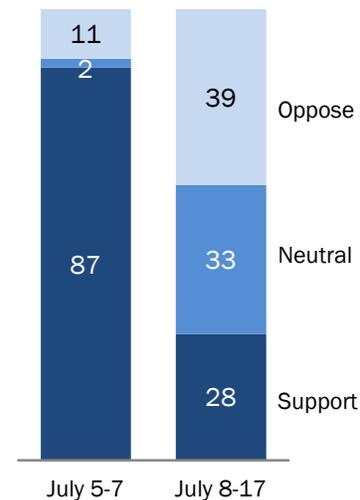
Many of the opponents blamed the #BlackLivesMatter movement for the attacks on police. In fact, nearly half of the tweets in opposition (15% of all tweets using the hashtag) during this period directly connected #BlackLivesMatter to violence. Many referred to #BlackLivesMatter as a terrorist organization.

For example, one account with the name "Democrats for Trump" tweeted:

> @YoungDems4Trump: #BlackLivesMatter just killed two more cops in Baton Rough . . . rt if you think #BLM is a terrorist group. This needs to end.

Tone of Twitter around #BlackLivesMatter shifts after Dallas shooting

% of Twitter posts: July 5, 2016, to July 17, 2016

Chart values:
- July 5-7: Oppose 11, Neutral 2, Support 87
- July 8-17: Oppose 39, Neutral 33, Support 28

Note: Data were collected using Crimson Hexagon's machine learning algorithm and all tweets that included "#BlackLivesMatter" or "BlackLivesMatter" from July 5, 2016, to July 17, 2016.
Source: Pew Research Center analysis using Crimson Hexagon.
"Social Media Conversations About Race"

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As was true with the earlier period studied, #AllLivesMatter was mostly used as a reaction to the use of #BlackLivesMatter. Unlike the other times, however, there was a greater show of support in

the use of #AllLivesMatter than opposition. From July 5-17, 54% of the times #AllLivesMatter was used it was in support of the concept, compared to 38% that opposed it and 8% that were neutral.

Similarly, the hashtag #BlueLivesMatter was used to show support for police and oftentimes to show opposition to #BlackLivesMatter

Post-Dallas shooting of police officers, majority of #BlueLivesMatter tweets show support

% of Twitter posts: July 5, 2016, to July 17, 2016

	#AllLivesMatter	**#BlueLivesMatter**
Support	54	72
Neutral	8	15
Oppose	38	13

Note: Data were collected using Crimson Hexagon's machine learning algorithm and all tweets that included "#BlackLivesMatter," "BlackLivesMatter," "#AllLivesMatter," "AllLivesMatter," "#BlueLivesMatter" or "BlueLivesMatter" from July 5, 2016, to July 17, 2016.
Source: Pew Research Center analysis using Crimson Hexagon. "Social Media Conversations About Race"

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supporters. Unlike #AllLivesMatter, many fewer people criticized the use of the hashtag #BlueLivesMatter. In total, 72% of the times #BlueLivesMatter was used it was in support of the concept, compared to 13% opposed and 15% neutral.

One frequent theme for #BlueLivesMatter supporters was criticism of President Obama for not doing enough to show support for police, and in some cases even blaming him for the attacks on law enforcement. In all, 13% of the tweets that included the hashtag featured an anti-Obama sentiment – about one-fifth of all the tweets that supported #BlueLivesMatter.

Dan Bongino, a congressional candidate in Florida, demonstrated this view when he wrote:

> *@dbongino: You're either with the cops or you're with Barack Obama & Hillary Clinton. Sadly, it's that simple. #BlueLivesMatter*

Acknowledgments

Methodology

Survey methods

The survey date used in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted Feb. 29 to May 8, 2016, among a national sample of 3,769 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (977 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 2,792 were interviewed on a cellphone, including 1,676 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International (PSRAI). Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see
http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/

Four separate samples were used for data collection to obtain a representative sample that included an oversample of black and Hispanic respondents. The first sample was a disproportionately stratified random-digit-dial (RDD) landline sample drawn using standard list-assisted methods. A total of 822 interviews were completed using this RDD landline sample. The second sample was a disproportionally stratified RDD cell sample to oversample blacks and Hispanics. A total of 2,440 interviews were completed using this RDD cell sample. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older.

The landline and cell callback samples were drawn from recent Pew Research Center surveys conducted by PSRAI and included people who identified themselves as black at the time of the initial interview. All surveys used to produce the callback samples employed RDD sampling methodologies.

The weighting was accomplished in multiple stages to account for the disproportionately stratified samples, the overlapping landline and cell sample frames and household composition, the oversampling of blacks through callback interviews and differential non-response associated with sample demographics.

The first stage of weighting corrected for different probabilities of selection associated with the number of adults in each household and each respondent's telephone usage patterns.[10] This weighting also adjusts for the overlapping landline and cell sample frames and the relative sizes of each frame and each sample. Since we employed a disproportionately stratified sample design, the

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[10] I.e., whether respondents have only a landline telephone, only a cellphone or both kinds of telephone.

first-stage weight was computed separately for each stratum in each sample frame. The callback sample segments were assigned a first-stage weight equal to their first-stage weight from their original interview. After the first-stage weighting an adjustment was made to account for the callback oversamples, landlines and cellphones, of blacks.

The next step in weighting was demographic raking. The data was first divided into three groups – black, Hispanic and white/other. Each group was raked separately to population parameters for sex by age, sex by education, age by education and census region. The white/other group was also raked on a two-category race variable – white vs. not white. The Hispanic group was also raked on nativity – U.S. born vs. foreign born. The combined dataset was raked to parameters for race/ethnicity, population density and household telephone usage. The telephone usage parameter was derived from an analysis of the most recently available National Health Interview Survey data.[11] The population density parameter was derived from Census 2010 data at the county level. All other weighting parameters were derived from an analysis of the 2014 American Community Survey 1-year PUMS file.

The margins of error reported and statistical tests of significance are adjusted to account for the survey's design effect, a measure of how much efficiency is lost from the weighting procedures.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus ...
Total social media users	2,335	2.3 percentage points
Non-Hispanic, white social media users	1,121	3.3 percentage points
Non-Hispanic, black social media users	594	4.6 percentage points
Hispanic social media users	403	5.6 percentage points

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[11] Blumberg, Stephen J., and Julian V. Luke. 2015. "Wireless Substitution: Early Release of Estimates From the National Health Interview Survey, January-June 2015." National Center for Health Statistics. December.

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Pew Research Center undertakes all polling activity, including calls to mobile telephone numbers, in compliance with the Telephone Consumer Protection Act and other applicable laws.

Content Analysis

The analysis of the conversations on Twitter regarding race was conducted using the Center's content analysis rules with computer coding software developed by Crimson Hexagon (CH).

Crimson Hexagon is a software platform that identifies statistical patterns in words used in online texts. Researchers enter key terms using Boolean search logic so the software can identify relevant material to analyze. The Center draws its analysis sample from all public Twitter posts. Then a researcher trains the software to classify documents using examples from those collected posts. Finally, the software classifies the rest of the online content according to the patterns derived during the training.

While automated sentiment analysis is not perfect, the Center has conducted numerous tests and determined that Crimson Hexagon's method of analysis is among the most accurate tools available. Multiple tests suggest that results from human coders and Crimson Hexagon are generally in agreement between 75% and 83% of the time. Additional tests for this project showed agreement of more than 85% for these specific analyses.

For this report, researchers created four separate queries (also known as monitors). The first was on all Twitter conversation pertaining to race. The next three were focused on the use of the hashtags #BlackLivesMatter, #AllLivesMatter and #BlueLivesMatter. For all monitors, only English-language tweets were included. The unit of analysis for all monitors was the tweet or post.

Twitter conversation about race

The time period examined for the race-focused conversation on Twitter was Jan. 1, 2015, to March 31, 2016. There were two major steps to this query.

The first step involved coming up with a long list of terms that could be used as a Boolean search query to identify all tweets that could be mentioning race. (A tweet was considered relevant if it included an explicit reference to the concept of race in general, blacks or whites.) To do this,

researchers created a list of 50 words, abbreviations and phrases that are likely to appear in tweets about race. This list consisted of words such as "white" and "race" and "racism," along with abbreviations such as "blk," hashtags such as "blktwitter" and a number of commonly used slang terms. Researchers created the list through a lengthy process of testing after an examination of thousands of relevant tweets. Researchers also referred to word clouds created by Crimson Hexagon's tool to make sure there were no common terms missing from the query.

In addition, researchers created a list of terms to be excluded from the query that were commonly used phrases that were not about race. These included terms such as "White Sox," "race day" and "Chris Brown."

The goal of creating these lists for the search was to collect all possible tweets that could be discussing race – even the ones that included these terms but were not about race. CH's algorithm has the ability to determine the relevance of posts to the subject matter being investigated, and researchers would use the software to filter out posts that were captured in the query but not relevant to the project.

The second step in creating this monitor was to train the CH algorithm to identify race-related tweets and to categorize them according to their subject matter. To do this, researchers created a list of six thematic categories plus one for posts that were "off topic" or irrelevant to this project. The categories were as follows:

- Related to current events – focused on 2016 campaign
- Related to current events – focused on police or judicial system
- Related to current events – focused on celebrities or entertainment
- Related to current events – focused on things other than above categories
- About discrimination, but not tied to specific current events
- Related to race, but not explicitly about racial discrimination
- Off topic or irrelevant

In accordance with CH's best practices, researchers categorized more than 20 sample posts for each of the above categories. As an additional step to ensure validity, two researchers were involved. The first researcher categorized posts and a second researcher reviewed the training categorization to see if they would have coded any posts differently. In the rare cases where the two researchers disagreed about the categorization of a specific post, the post was removed from the training.

After the training and double checking was completed, the CH algorithm applied that categorization to the millions of other tweets to determine how many posts were about race and how many of the tweets fit into each category.

In total, the query returned a total of 1.1 billion tweets. However, the monitor determined that 995 million of those tweets were relevant to this project, while the remaining 137 million tweets were considered "off topic" and excluded from the analysis.

Use of the hashtags #BlackLivesMatter, #AllLivesMatter and #BlueLivesMatter on Twitter

The queries for the two other CH monitors were much simpler to create since their search terms were more straight forward. All tweets that included the hashtags #BlackLivesMatter, #AllLivesMatter or #BlueLivesMatter were included in the analysis, so there was no need for an "off topic" category or a long keyword search.

Two different time periods were examined.

The first timeframe was July 12, 2013, to March 31, 2016, and only examined tweets with #BlackLivesMatter or #AllLivesMatter. In total, there were 11,781,721 tweets included in the #BlackLivesMatter monitor and 1,551,193 tweets included in the #AllLivesMatter monitor.

The specific Boolean keyword search for the #BlackLivesMatter monitor was:

> *#blacklivesmatter OR blacklivesmatter*

The specific Boolean keyword search for the #AllLivesMatter monitor was:

> *#alllivesmatter OR alllivesmatter*

The seven categories for the #BlackLivesMatter monitor were as follows:

- Support of #BlackLivesMatter movement – general support
- Support of #BlackLivesMatter movement – focused on specific incidents of alleged police misconduct
- Neutral references to #BlackLivesMatter hashtag or movement
- Criticism of #BlackLivesMatter hashtag or movement
- General race issues not clearly tied to #BlackLivesMatter hashtag or movement
- 2016 campaign

- Miscellaneous

The eight categories for the #AllLivesMatter monitor were as follows:

- Support of #AllLivesMatter movement – general support
- Support of #AllLivesMatter movement – focused on support for police or firefighters
- Opposition to #BlackLivesMatter movement
- Neutral references to #AllLivesMatter hashtag or movement
- Criticism of #AllLivesMatter hashtag or movement
- Pro-life/anti-abortion
- Animal rights
- Miscellaneous

The second time period examined was July 5 to July 13, 2016. The same search terms for #AllLivesMatter and #BlackLivesMatter were used as above. An additional monitor was created for #BlueLivesMatter following the same set of rules. (#BlackLivesMatter appeared approximately 800,000 times in the period from April 1 to July 4, 2016, but those tweets were *not* included in the following analysis.)

During this time, there were 4,945,229 tweets with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, 633,106 tweets with #AllLivesMatter and 415,329 tweets with #BlueLivesMatter.

For all three of these monitors, the main categories were as follows:

- Support for the given hashtag
- Opposition for the given hashtag
- Neutral references for the given hashtag

For the hashtag #BlueLivesMatter, an additional subcategory was created underneath the "support" category to measure the amount of tweets that directly criticized President Obama. For the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, an additional subcategory was created underneath the "opposition" category to measure the amount of tweets that directly connected the Black Lives Matter movement with violence.

As with the monitor on all racially focused tweets, two researchers were involved in the training process for these monitors. One researcher categorized the posts, while a second reviewed the training. In the rare cases where the two researchers disagreed about the categorization of a specific post, the post was removed from the training.

Topline questionnaire

PEW RESEARCH CENTER
2016 RACIAL ATTITUDES IN AMERICA III
FINAL TOPLINE
FEBRUARY 29-MAY 8, 2016

NOTE: ALL NUMBERS ARE PERCENTAGES. THE PERCENTAGES LESS THAN 0.5% ARE REPLACED BY AN ASTERISK (*). COLUMNS/ROWS MAY NOT TOTAL 100% DUE TO ROUNDING. ALL TRENDS REFERENCE SURVEYS FROM THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED.

THROUGHOUT THIS TOPLINE, FOR ALL PEW RESEARCH CENTER FIGURES, WHITES AND BLACKS INCLUDE ONLY NON-HISPANICS AND HISPANICS ARE OF ANY RACE.

ASK ALL:
SNSINT2   Do you ever use a social networking site like Facebook or Twitter?

Total		Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
64	Yes	62	63	63
36	No	37	37	37
*	Don't know/Refused **(VOL)**	*	*	1

IF USE SNS (SNSINT2=1):
Q.13a   Thinking about the different types of posts you see on social networking sites, approximately how many would you say are about race or race relations - most of them, some of them, only a few of them, or none of them?

BASED ON SOCIAL NETWORKING SITE USERS [n=2,335]:

Total		Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
9	Most	6	24	14
34	Some	29	44	40
41	Only a few	48	27	31
14	None	16	5	13
1	Don't know/Refused **(VOL)**	1	1	2
		(n=1,121)	**(n=594)**	**(n=403)**

IF USE SNS (SNSINT2=1):
Q.13b   And thinking about the things you, personally, post or share on social networking sites, approximately how many would you say are about race or race relations - most of them, some of them, only a few of them, or none of them?

BASED ON SOCIAL NETWORKING SITE USERS [n=2,335]:

Total		Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
2	Most	1	8	4
11	Some	7	19	16
26	Only a few	24	30	30
60	None	67	42	49
1	Don't post about anything **(VOL)**	1	*	1
*	Don't know/Refused **(VOL)**	*	0	*
		(n=1,121)	**(n=594)**	**(n=403)**