

The Place of Protest in Ethical Citizenship

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📷 Student protesters resume demonstrations on Friday at Columbia University on 19 April 2024.
Photograph: Anadolu/Getty Images

5th University of Maastricht
Symposium on Global Citizenship Education
Transformative Engagement

An Age of Protest

Protest more frequent than any time in modern history

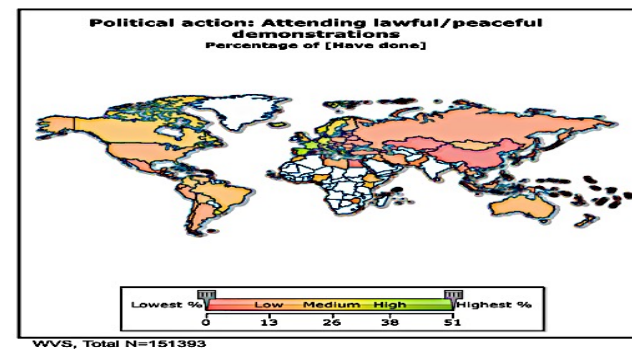
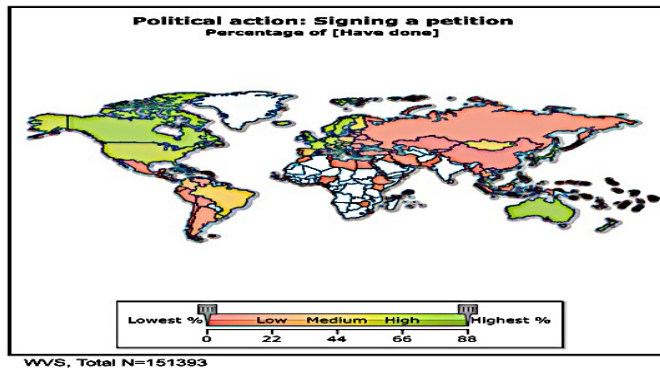
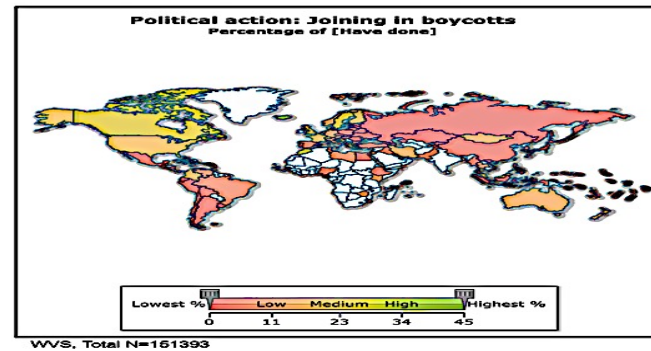
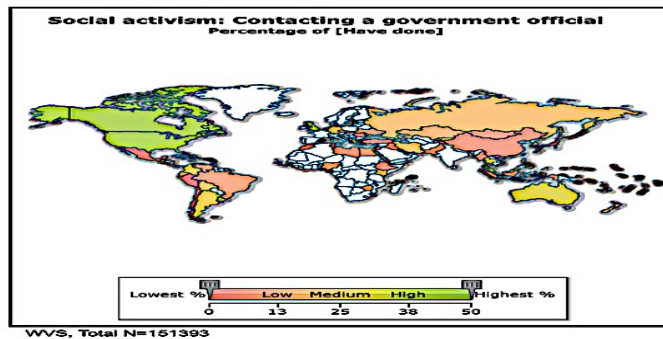
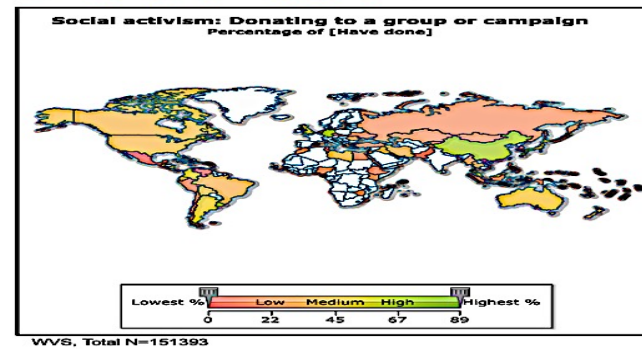
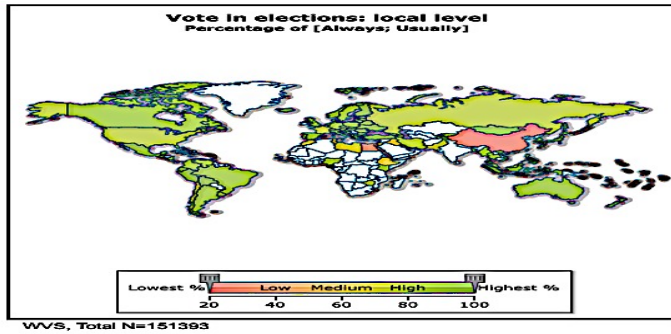
(Brennan et al., 2020; Castells, 2012; Chenoweth, 2020).

Some of the largest protests recorded have occurred since 2000 (Ortiz et al., 2022):

- 100 million (in 2013) and 250 million (in 2020) Indian workers have held strikes
- 45 million (in 2019) and 11 million (in 2015) Brazilians have protested a political leader and their policies
- 15 million (in 2012) and 14 million (in 2011) in Egypt protested their political leaders

An Age of Protest

- Reported Rates of **Increasingly involved Political Actions**,
World Values Survey 7, 2017-2022 (>150,000 people in 80 countries on 6 continents).



Global Demonstrations in Response to the Israel-Palestine Conflict

7 - 27 October 2023 | The Hamas attack on southern Israel and subsequent Israeli military operations in the Gaza Strip have triggered a wave of protests and rallies around the world. During the first three weeks of the current round of hostilities, ACLED records approximately 4,200 demonstration events related to the conflict, accounting for 38% of all demonstration events reported globally.

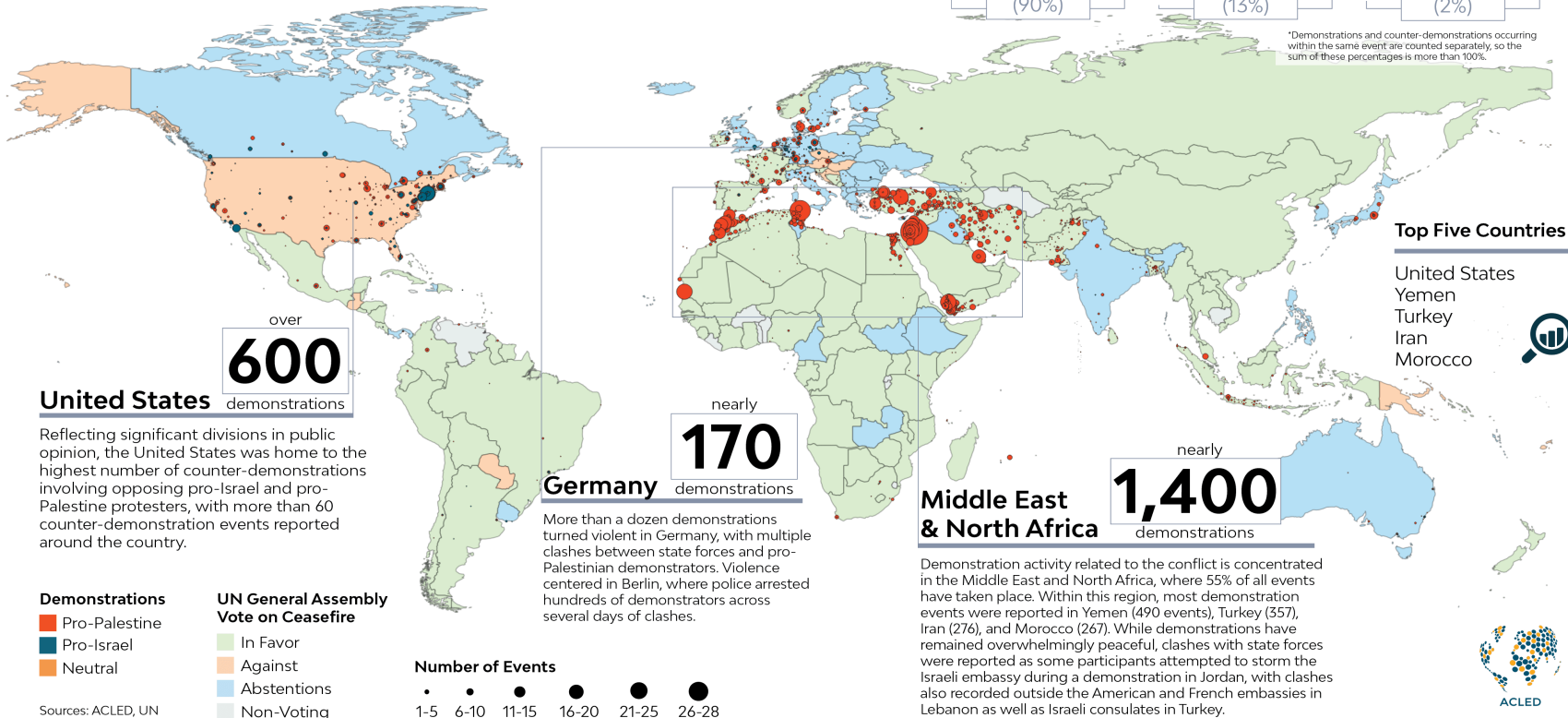
demonstration events worldwide

4,200

Key Numbers



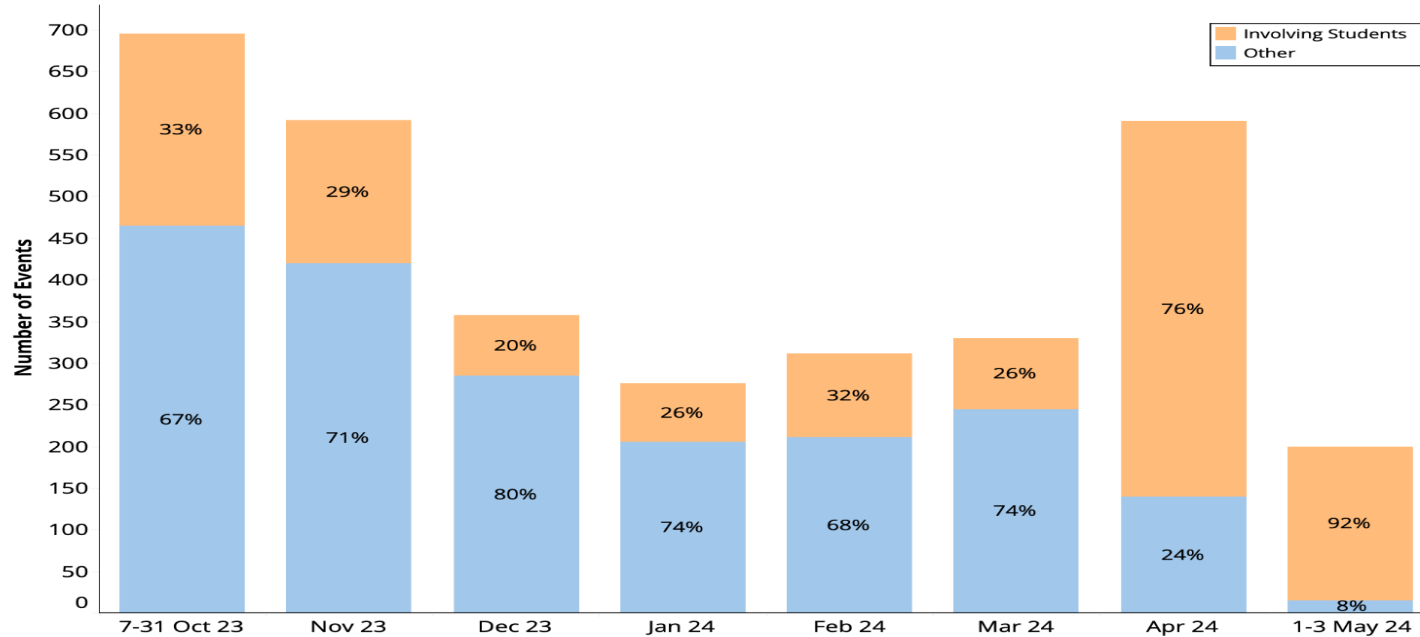
*Demonstrations and counter-demonstrations occurring within the same event are counted separately, so the sum of these percentages is more than 100%.



An Age of Protest

Demonstrations Related to the Israel-Palestine Conflict in the United States

7 October 2023 - 3 May 2024



"...arrest of >100 students at Columbia U on 18 April led to new wave of demonstrations in 36 states..."

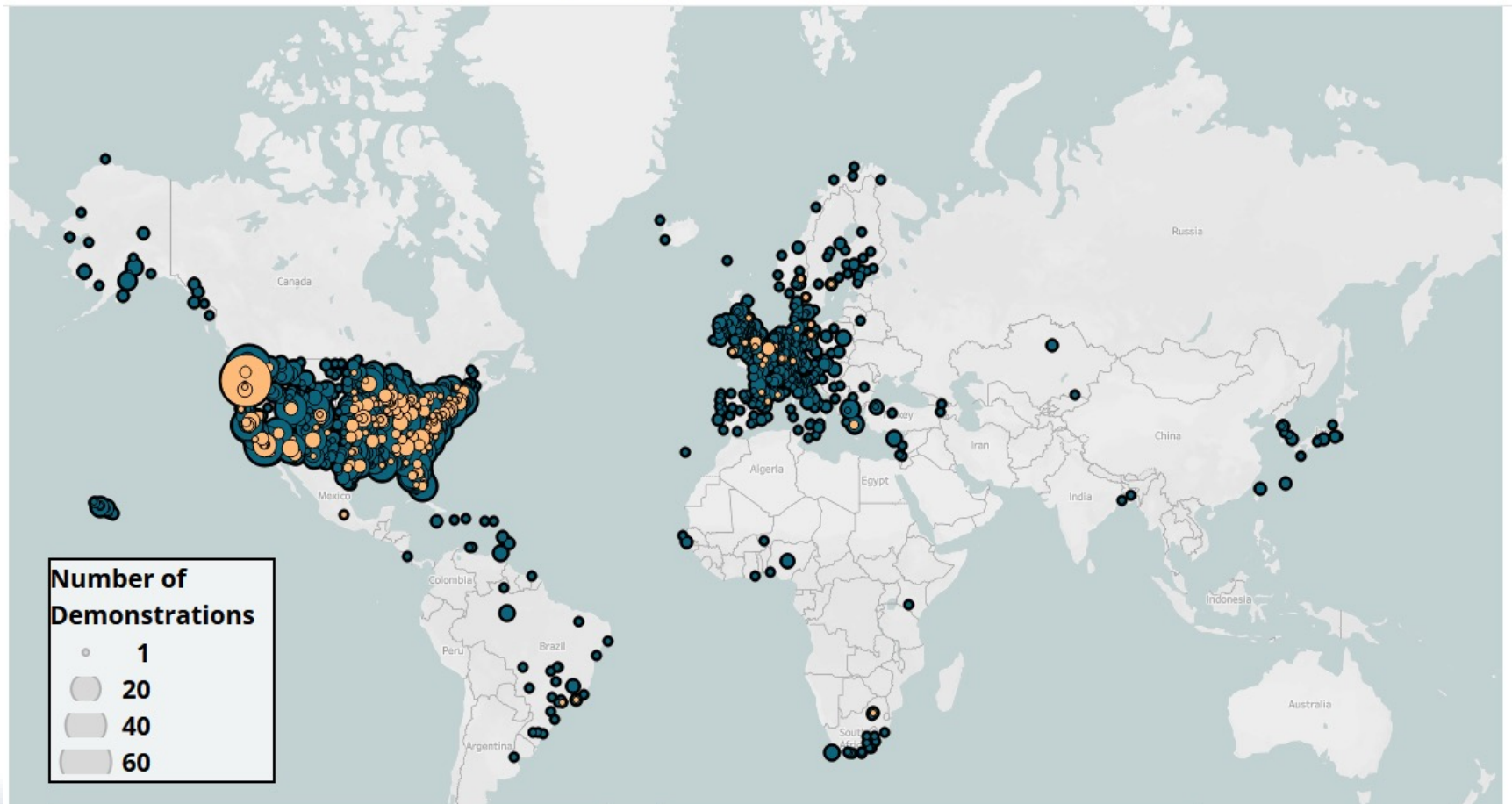


BLM Protest after Killing of George Floyd

☐ **~8,700 demonstrations in 74 countries**

[Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) 2021]

(24 May - 22 August 2020)

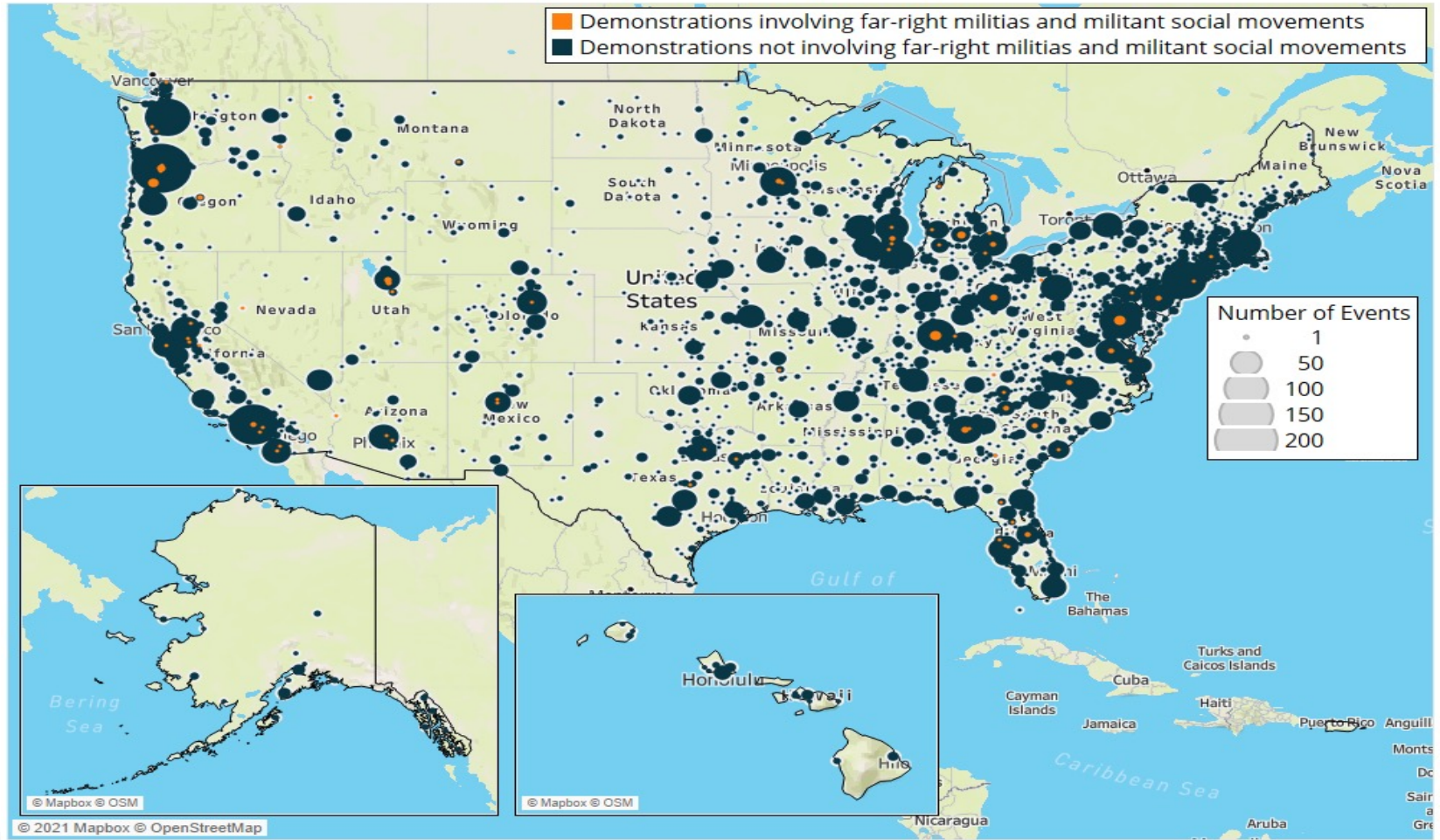


BLM Protest after Killing of George Floyd

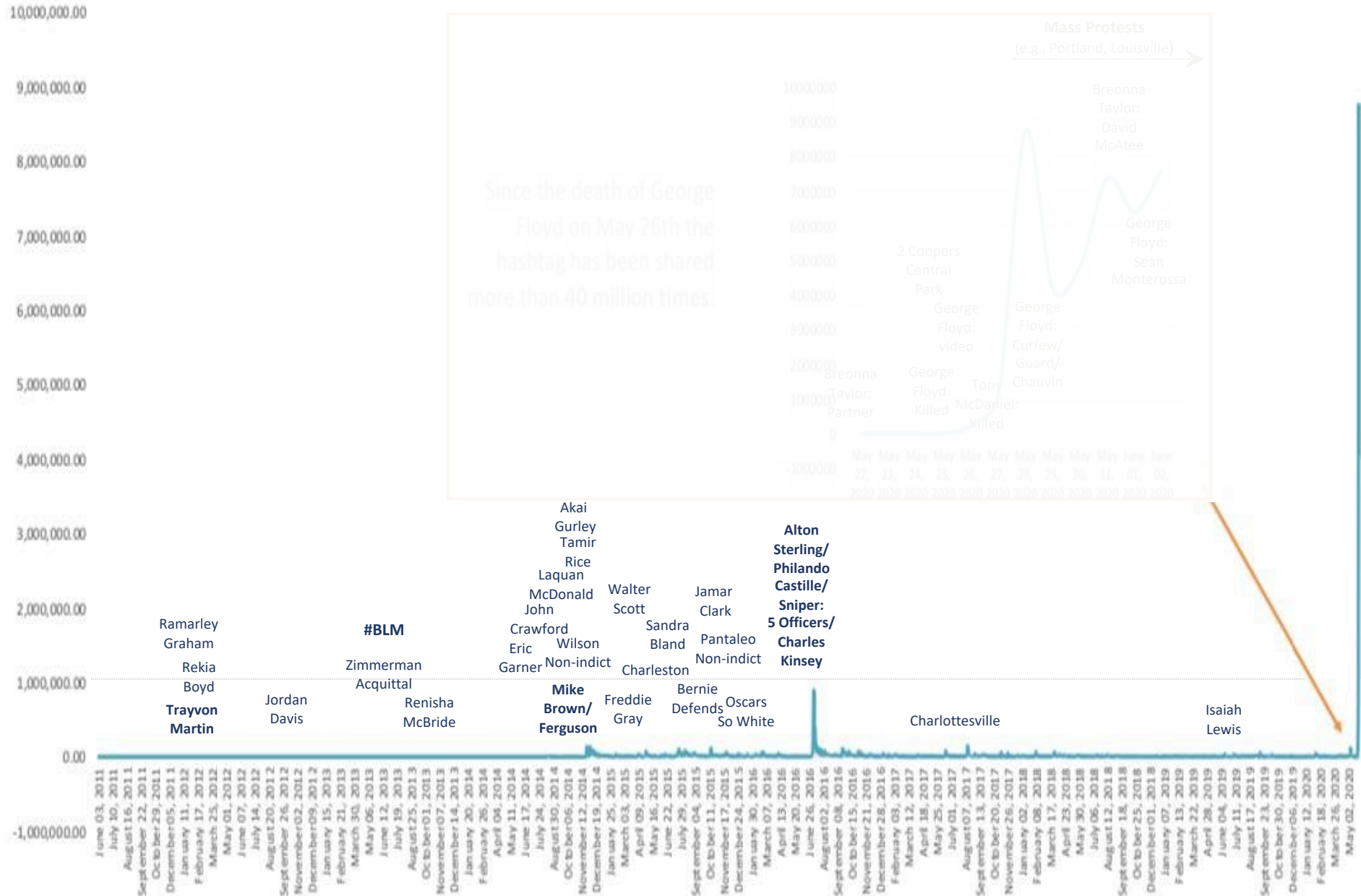
☐ **>11,000 Demonstrations in >3,000 locations**

[Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) 2021]

(1 January 2020 - 30 April 2021)



10 years of #blacklivesmatter on Twitter (daily volumes)

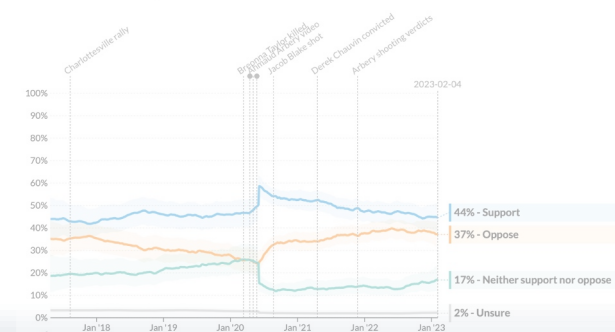
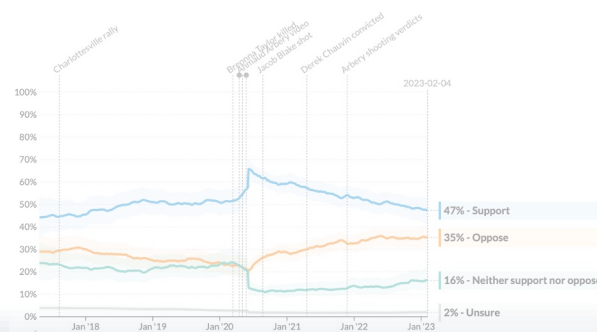
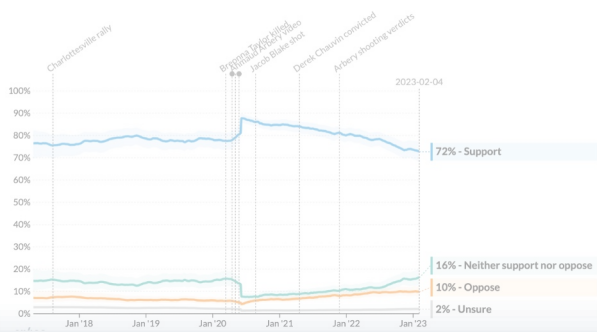
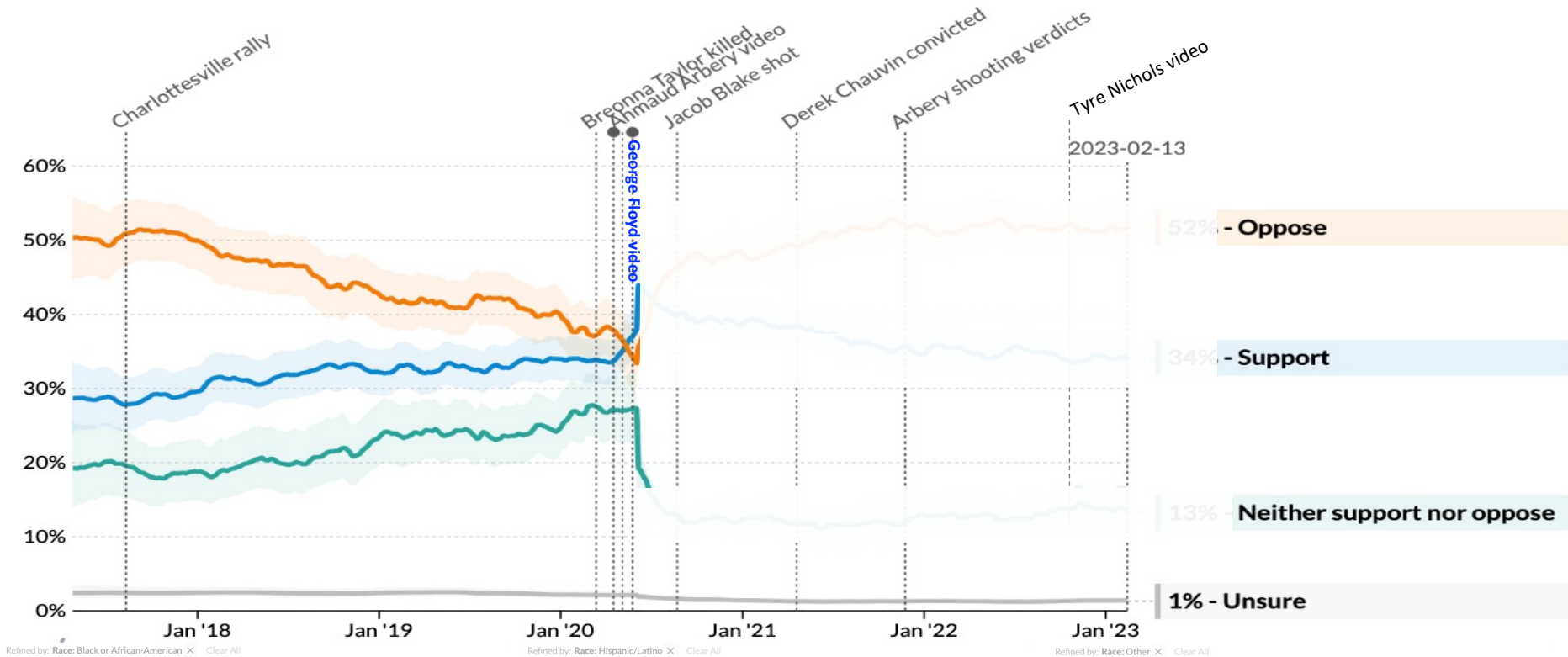


Do you support or oppose the Black Lives Matter movement?

Refined by: Race: White X Clear All

Registered Voters

April 25, 2017 – February 1, 2023: 377,521 Responses



Multiple Methods of Study

□ Small-scale Experiments (w/ photo stimuli)



Reinka, M.A. & Leach, C.W. (2018). Racialized images: Tracing appraisals of police force and protest. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 115, 763-787.

Reinka, M.A. & Leach, C.W. (2017). Race and reactions to police violence and protest against it. *Journal of Social Issues*, 73, 768-788.

□ “Big Data” Analyses of News Media (2014, 2020)



Riddle, T. A., Turetsky, K. M., Bottesini, J., Leach, C.W. (2020). “What’s Going On” in Ferguson? Online News Frames of Protest at the Police Killing of Michael Brown. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 23, 882-901.

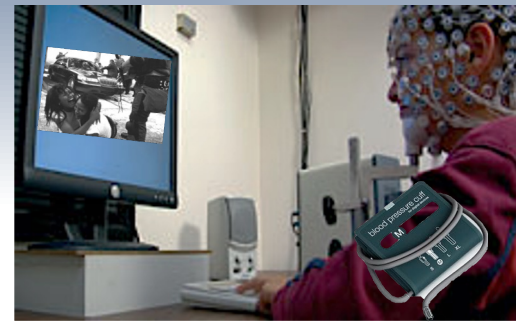
Turetsky, K. M., & Riddle, T. A., (2018). Porous Chambers, Echoes of Valence and Stereotypes. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 9(2) 163-175.

□ “Big Data” Analyses of Social Media (i.e., Twitter 2013, 2014, 2020)



Leach, C.W., Ferguson, S., & Teixeira, C.P. (in press) Protest now: A systems view of 21st century movements. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*.

Study Participants



■ 167 University Students

- 85 Black, 82 White
- 107 women, 59 men, 1 trans man
 - Good EEG data = 119
 - 52 Black, 67 White
 - 70 women, 48 men, 1 trans man

○ Age: 18-34

- M = 19.4, SD = 2.25

○ Political orientation [“extremely liberal” (1) to “extremely conservative” (7)]

- M = 3.5, SD = 1.14

– Black Ps = 3.10, SD = .96

$d = .658, p < .001; \eta^p = .33^*$

– White Ps = 3.85, SD = 1.17

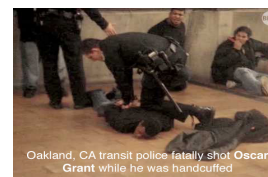
○ Awareness of Black victims (in the media). [“not at all”(0) to “extremely” (5)]

M = 1.62, SD = .98

– Black Ps = 2.20, SD = .99

$d = 1.05, p < .001; \eta^p = .52^*$

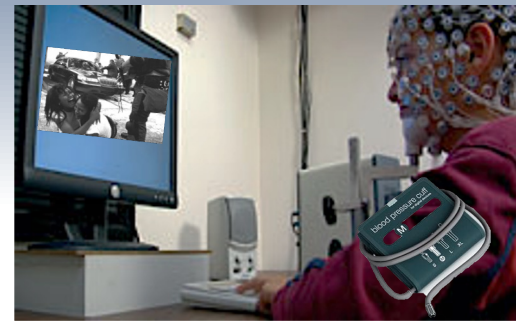
– White Ps = 1.18, SD = .71



Study Design

1,000ms

ITI: 1000-1500ms (with jitter)



(30) Police Force: Black targets



(30) Black-led protest



(30) Police Force: White targets

Results Summary



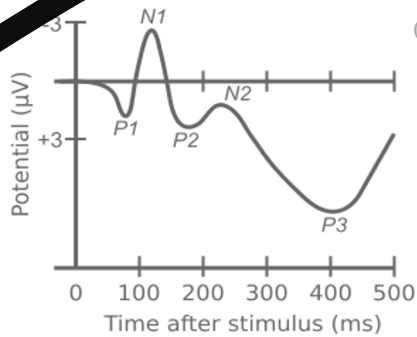
APPRAISAL: Novelty

Relevance

White Ps
"Surprise"

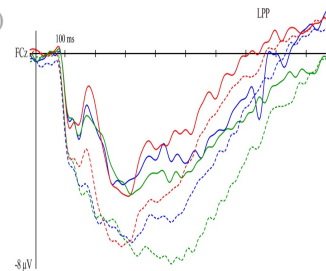
Black Ps
"Attentive"

MEDIATOR:
Awareness of Black victims
(in the media)

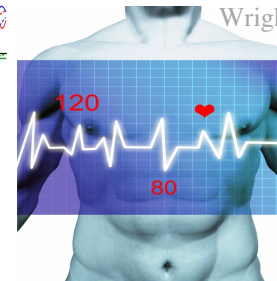


(Gentsch, Grandjean, & Scherer, 2015)

(Ibanez et al. 2012; Luck, 2005)



(Blascovich & Mendes, 2010;
Wright & Kirby, 2011)



Online news coverage of the 2014 killing of Michael Brown

in Ferguson, MO (10 days: 3,284 articles, 5,490 featured images, 66 sources)

- ...from top **51 mainstream** [6 UK], and top **18 African American**-oriented, online media sources (Pew, 2015), key word **“Ferguson.”** Aug 9–19, 2014



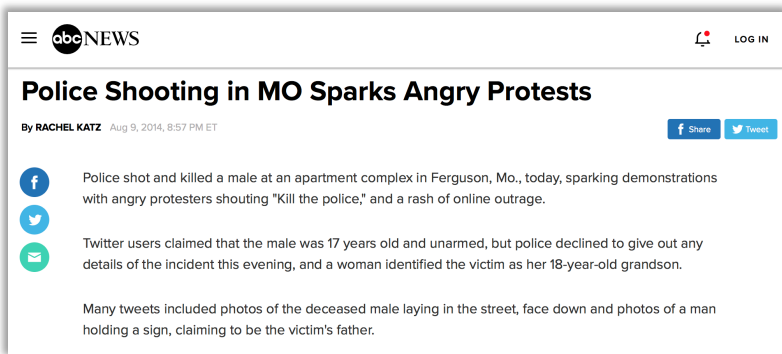
Table 1. Number of Articles and Hyperlinks of Sources in Final Sample.

Source	Category	Articles	External Links	Internal Links
ABC	Top overall	36	21	135
AL	Top overall	40	55	47
BBC	Top overall	49	49	9
BET	Top African American	26	80	85
BlackAmericaWeb	Top African American	22	19	7
BlackEnterprise	Top African American	10	24	25
BleacherReport	Top overall	2	4	0
Bosip	Top African American	40	29	59
Boston	Top overall	10	19	13
Boston Globe	Top overall	14	0	0
BusinessInsider	Top overall	83	247	146
Buzzfeed	Top overall	45	111	52
CBS	Top overall	71	57	423
ChicagoTribune	Top overall	44	28	74
Chron	Top overall	31	76	50
ClutchMag	Top African American	11	24	0
CNET	Top overall	7	19	14
CNN	Top overall	89	120	119
DailyBeast	Top overall	51	60	19
DailyMail	Top overall	161	105	0
DallasMorningNews	Top overall	28	11	6
DetroitFreePress	Top overall	34	12	10
Ebony	Top African American	18	196	3
EliteDaily	Top overall	3	23	6
Engadget	Top overall	1	11	0
Essence	Top African American	12	19	2
EurWeb	Top African American	43	36	30
Examiner	Top overall	68	255	189
FoxNews	Top overall	95	48	24
Gawker	Top overall	61	227	83
Grio	Top African American	18	34	33
Guardian	Top overall	89	386	621
HelloBeautiful	Top African American	9	97	25
HuffPost	Top overall	240	1208	439
Independent	Top overall	42	24	32
LATimes	Top overall	103	75	177
MadameNoire	Top African American	18	56	10
Mashable	Top overall	42	199	57
Mic	Top overall	23	201	34
Mirror	Top overall	14	2	23
Mlive	Top overall	9	7	6
MSN	Top overall	3	0	0
NBC	Top overall	108	97	279
NewsOne	Top African American	35	74	11

Table 1. (continued)

Source	Category	Articles	External Links	Internal Links
NJ	Top overall	2	1	3
NPR	Top overall	71	132	57
NYDailyNews	Top overall	54	27	9
NYPost	Top overall	47	14	41
NYTimes	Top overall	80	292	192
Salon	Top overall	74	402	34
SFGate	Top overall	5	0	6
Slate	Top overall	41	175	39
TechCrunch	Top overall	2	14	2
Telegraph	Top overall	43	9	20
TheAtlantic	Top overall	27	164	20
TheBlaze	Top overall	73	111	79
TheRoot	Top African American	58	221	50
Time	Top overall	92	244	132
Upworthy	Top overall	8	19	0
USAToday	Top overall	155	227	153
USNews	Top overall	30	128	26
Vice	Top overall	33	195	65
Vox	Top overall	44	117	129
WashingtonPost	Top overall	269	1045	749
Yahoo	Top overall	111	281	36
YBF	Top African American	7	26	8
Total		3,284	8,289	5,227

Note. Number of articles and total count of external hyperlinks (linking to an article from a different source) and internal hyperlinks (linking to an article from the same source) embedded in articles of 66 online news media sources in final sample (n = 52 top overall outlets; n = 14 top African American-oriented outlets).



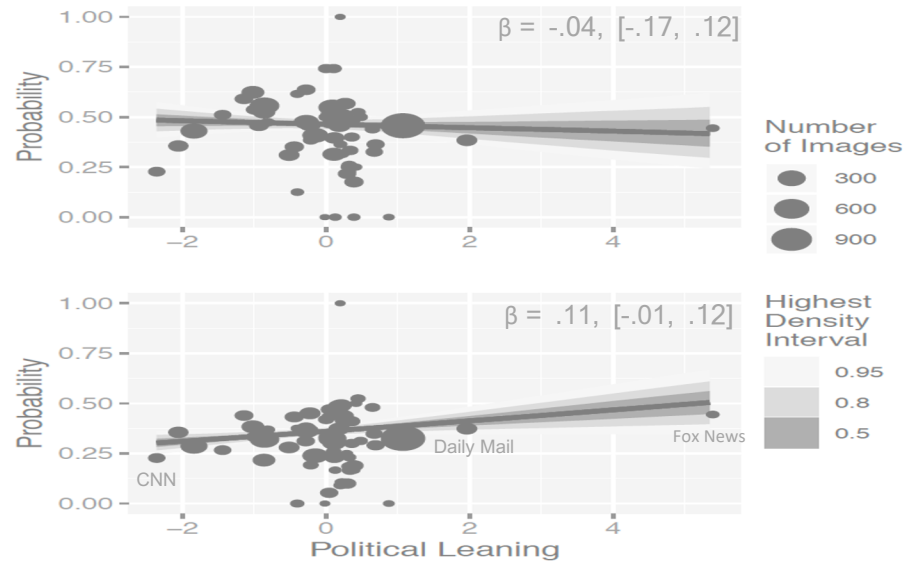
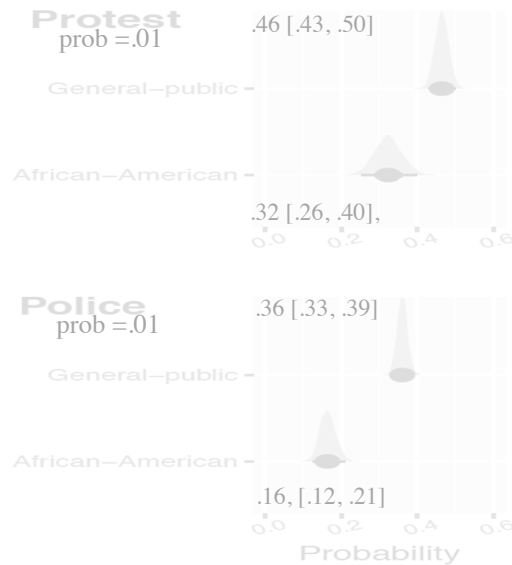
Online news coverage of the 2014 killing of Michael Brown

in Ferguson, MO (10 days: 3,284 articles/headlines, **5,490 featured images**, 66 sources)

Modeled probabilities using the median and 95% highest density intervals from the posterior distribution.



12.1%

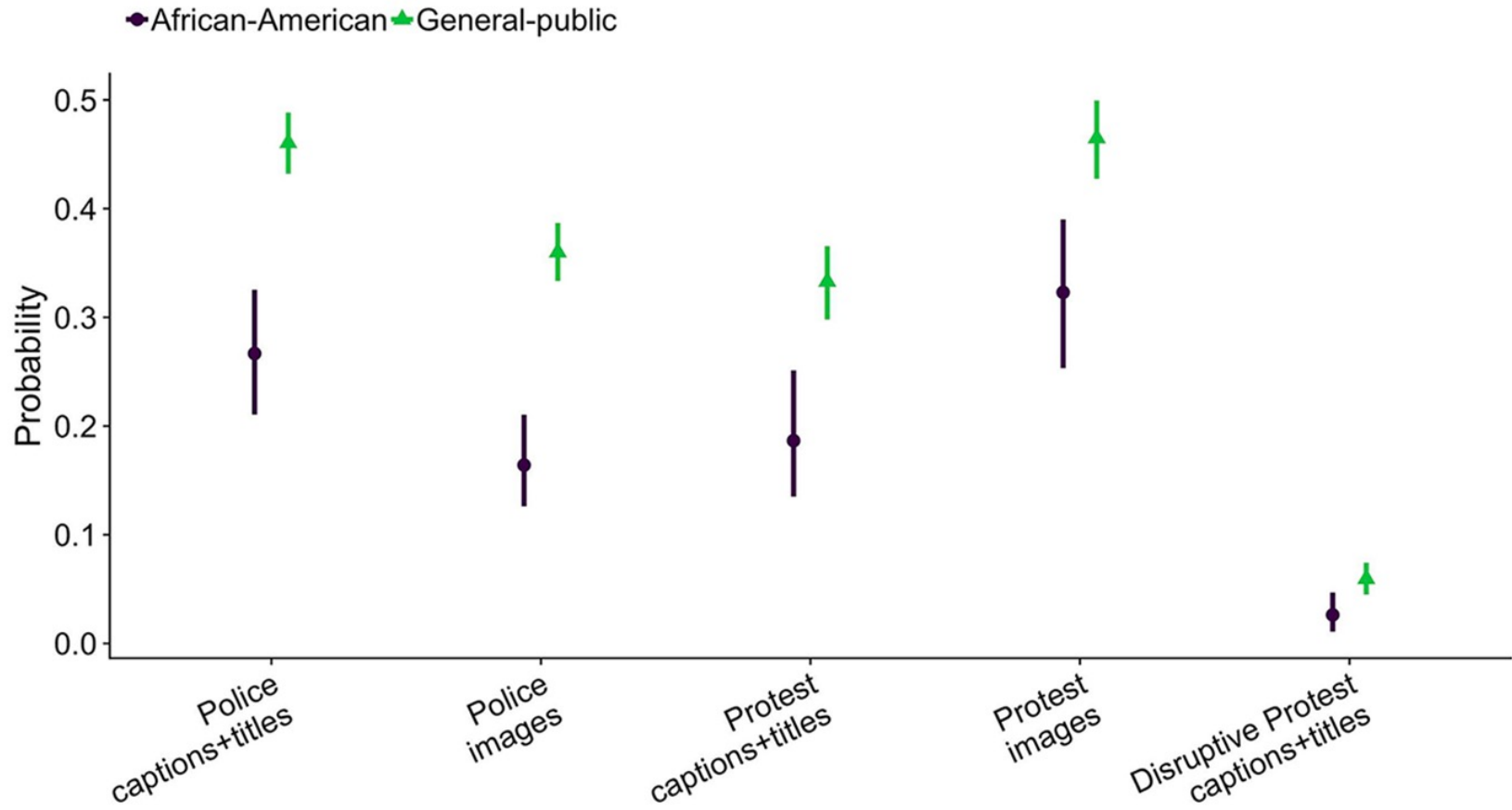


Online news coverage of the 2014 killing of Michael Brown

in Ferguson, MO (10 days: 3,284 articles/[headlines](#), 5,490 featured [images](#), 66 sources)

□ Probability of images or text including a given concept

(points represent the median of the posterior distribution, and bands represent 95% highest density intervals)

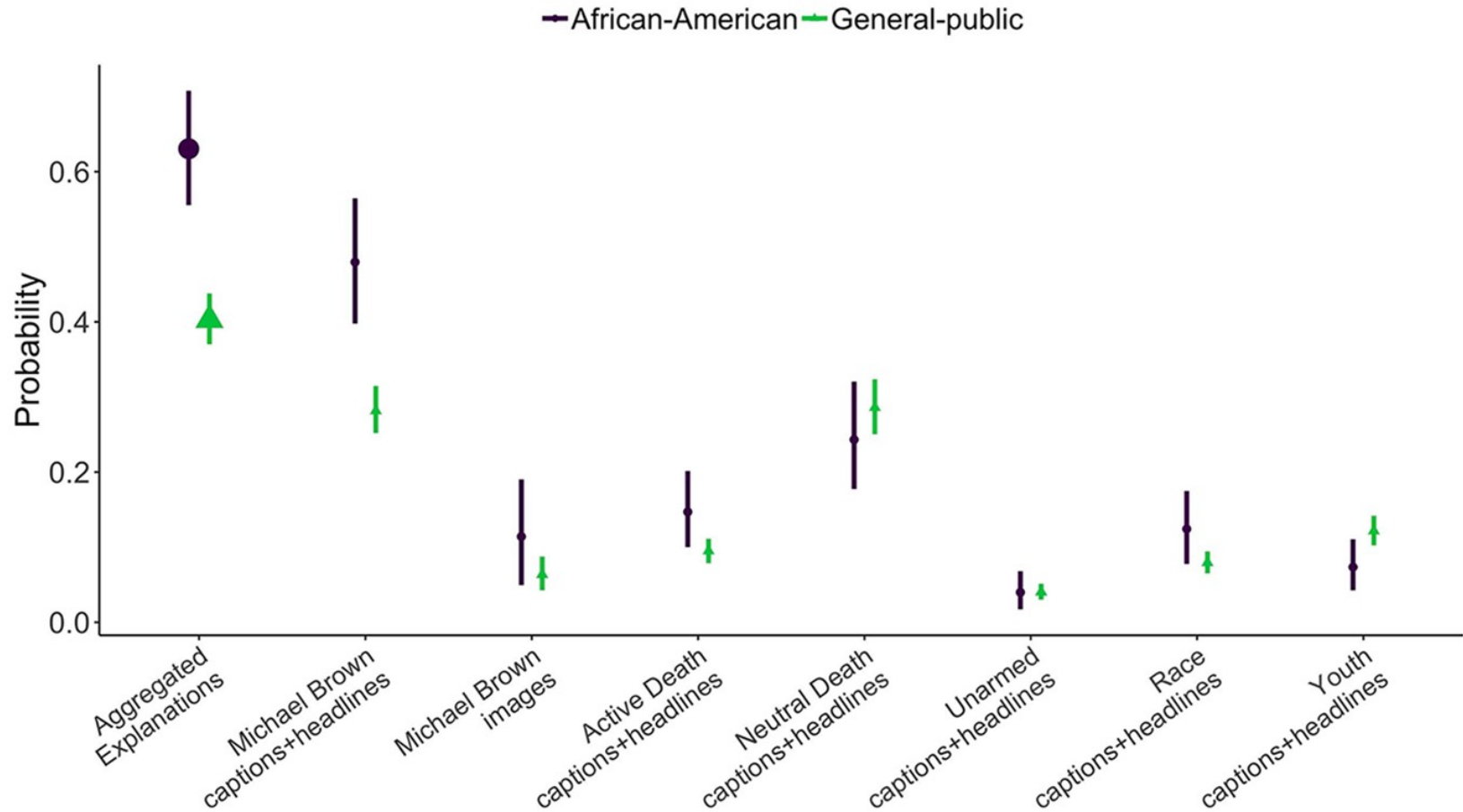


Online news coverage of the 2014 killing of Michael Brown

in Ferguson, MO (10 days: 3,284 articles/[headlines](#), 5,490 featured [images](#), 66 sources)

□ Probability of images or text including a given concept

(points represent the median of the posterior distribution, and bands represent 95% highest density intervals)



Twitter on Aug 2014 shooting of Michael Brown

in Ferguson, MO (3 weeks; 12,589,097 tweets; 1,734,541 users)

SCREEN NAME / COMMUNITY / LINK
 @gbissellksdk / MULTIRACIAL LEFT 1
<https://twitter.com/gbissellKSDK/status/498198378044743680>

Grant Bissell @GrantBissellSTL Follow

The scene in Ferguson where a police officer shot and killed a teenager. Lots if commotion out here @ksdknews



1:05 PM - 9 Aug 2014

147 Retweets 98 Likes

5 147 98

George White @GrumpyAnimal · 9 Aug 2016
 Replying to @GrantBissellSTL @ksdknews

What? Again?

Grant Bissell @GrantBissellSTL · 9 Aug 2016
 No, not again. Somebody just started re-tweeting my message from 2 years ago.

Ty Bayer @GRIZZLYbayer · 9 Aug 2014
 Replying to @GrantBissellSTL
 @gbissellKSDK @ksdknews @Arizzle314

Vincent Bryant @vbryant9 · 9 Aug 2014
 Replying to @GrantBissellSTL
 @gbissellKSDK thank you

SCREEN NAME / COMMUNITY / LINK
 @tefpoe / MULTIRACIAL LEFT 1
<https://twitter.com/TefPoe/status/498253074566483968>

Tef Poe the @TefPoe Follow

The life less body of the unarmed 17 year old kid please help us expose this attempted cover (photo)

This media may contain sensitive material. View
[Learn more](#)

4:42 PM - 9 Aug 2014

5,051 Retweets 1,014 Likes

116 5.1K 1.0K

Tef Poe the @TefPoe · 10 Aug 2014
 Replying to @TefPoe

To everyone on a worldwide level that helped us push this story thank you!

1 9 1

1 more reply

@FxcKOff · 10 Aug 2014
 Replying to @TefPoe

"@TefPoe: The life less body of the unarmed 17 year old kid please help us expose this attempted cover (photo)"



16 5

Michael Skolnik @MichaelSkolnik Follow

HE HAS A NAME: Mike Brown, 17 years old, was shot and killed by the police in Ferguson, MO. He was unarmed. RT!



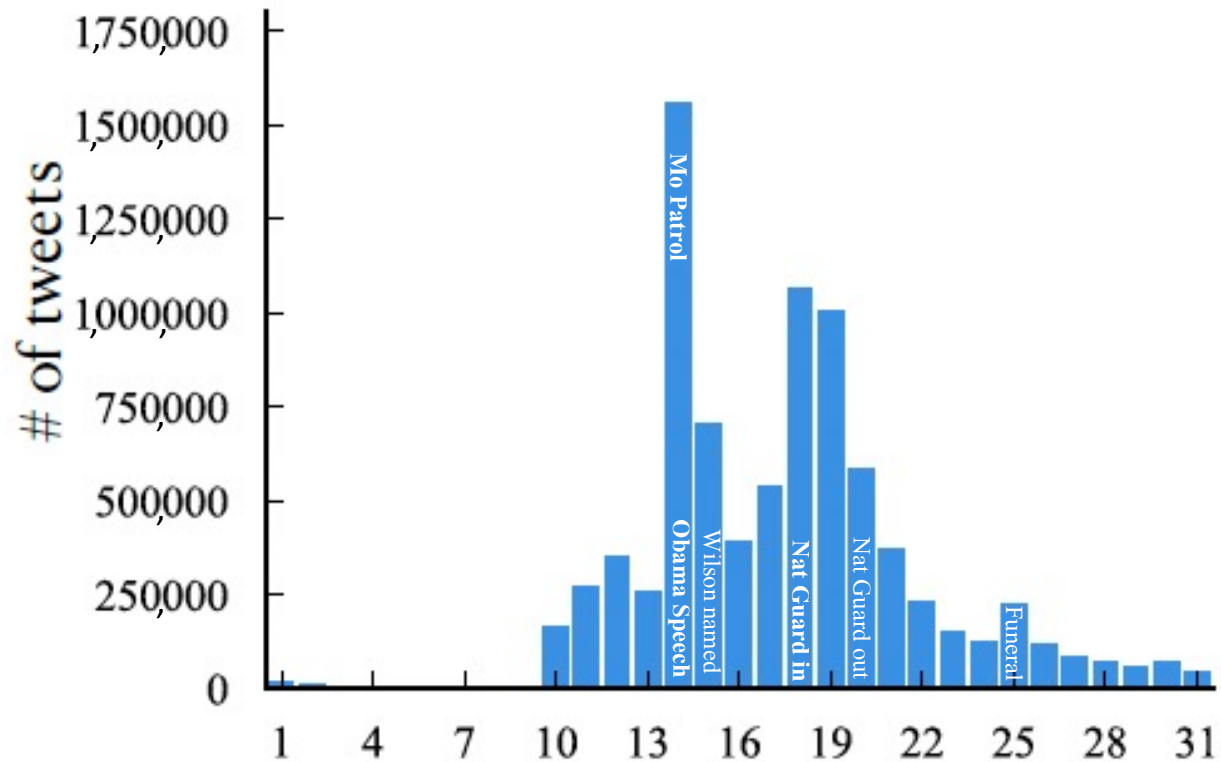
5:06 PM - 9 Aug 2014

6,730 Retweets 1,207 Likes

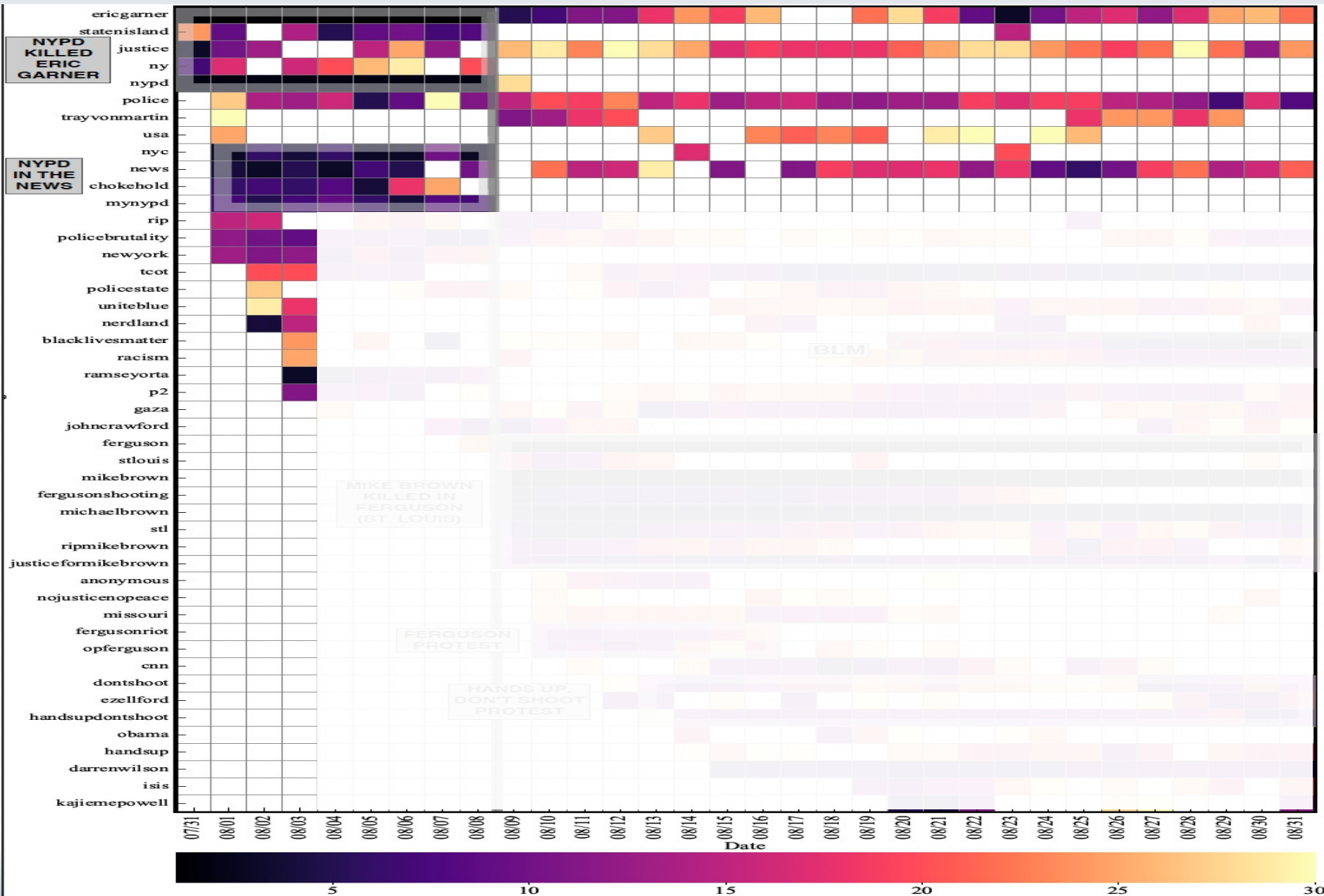
97 6.7K 1.2K

Twitter on Aug 2014 shooting of Michael Brown

in Ferguson, MO (3 weeks; 12,589,097 tweets; 1,734,541 users)

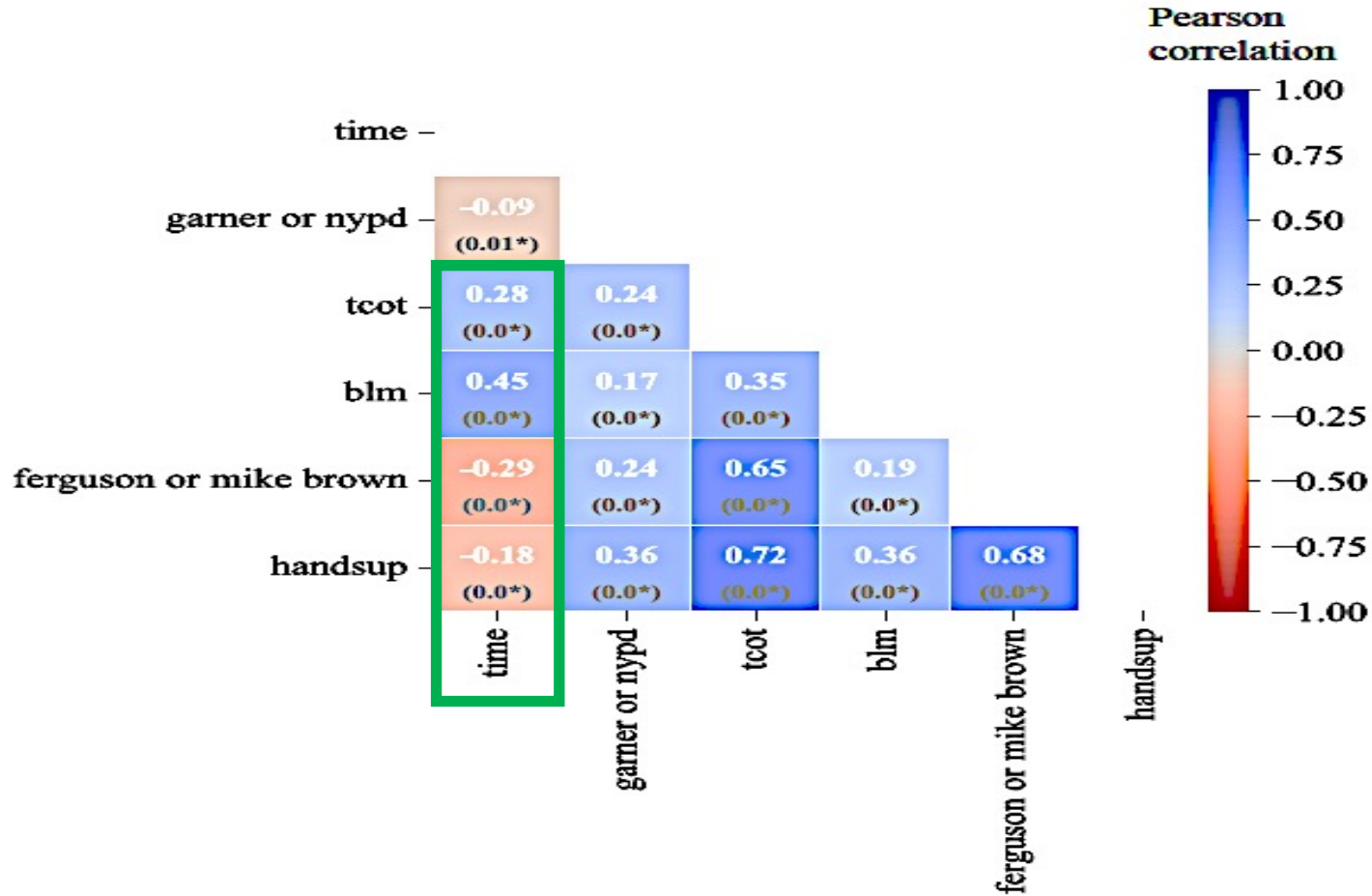


Twitter on Aug 2014 shooting of Michael Brown



Twitter on Aug 2014 shooting of Michael Brown

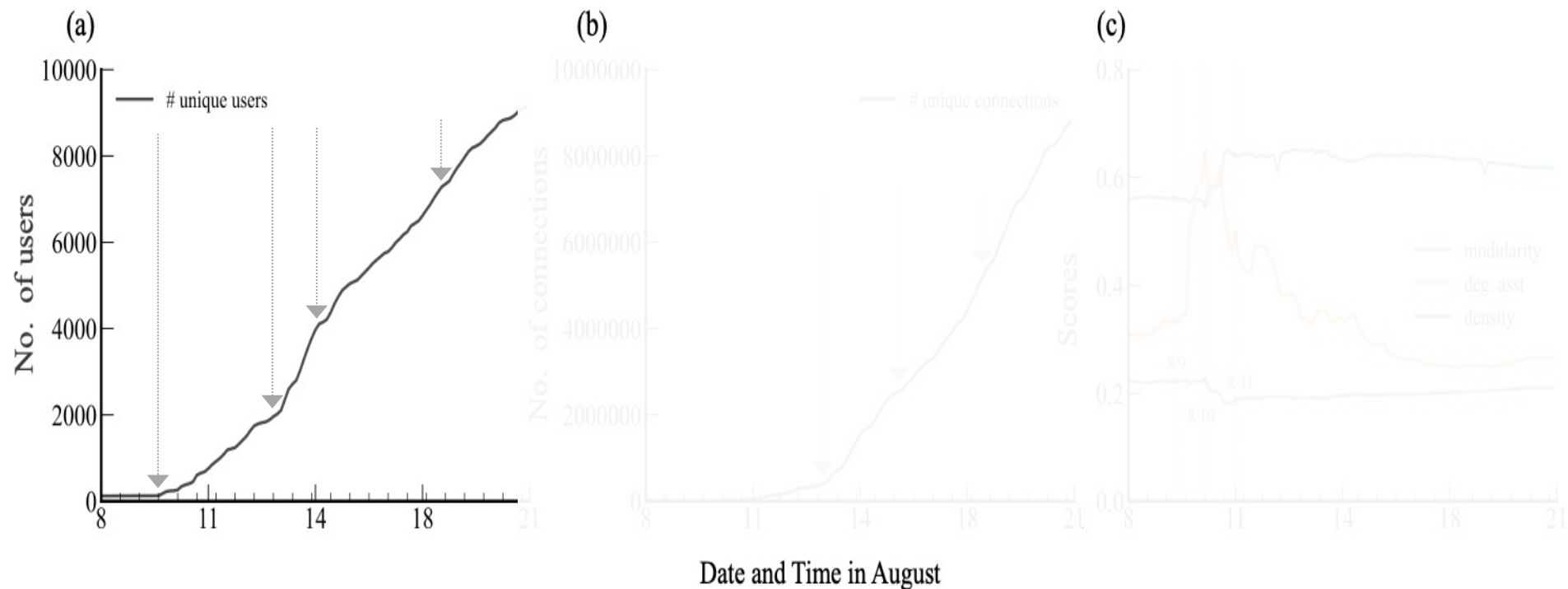
□ Correlations of Hashtag Usage (hourly timescale)



Twitter on Aug 2014 shooting of Michael Brown

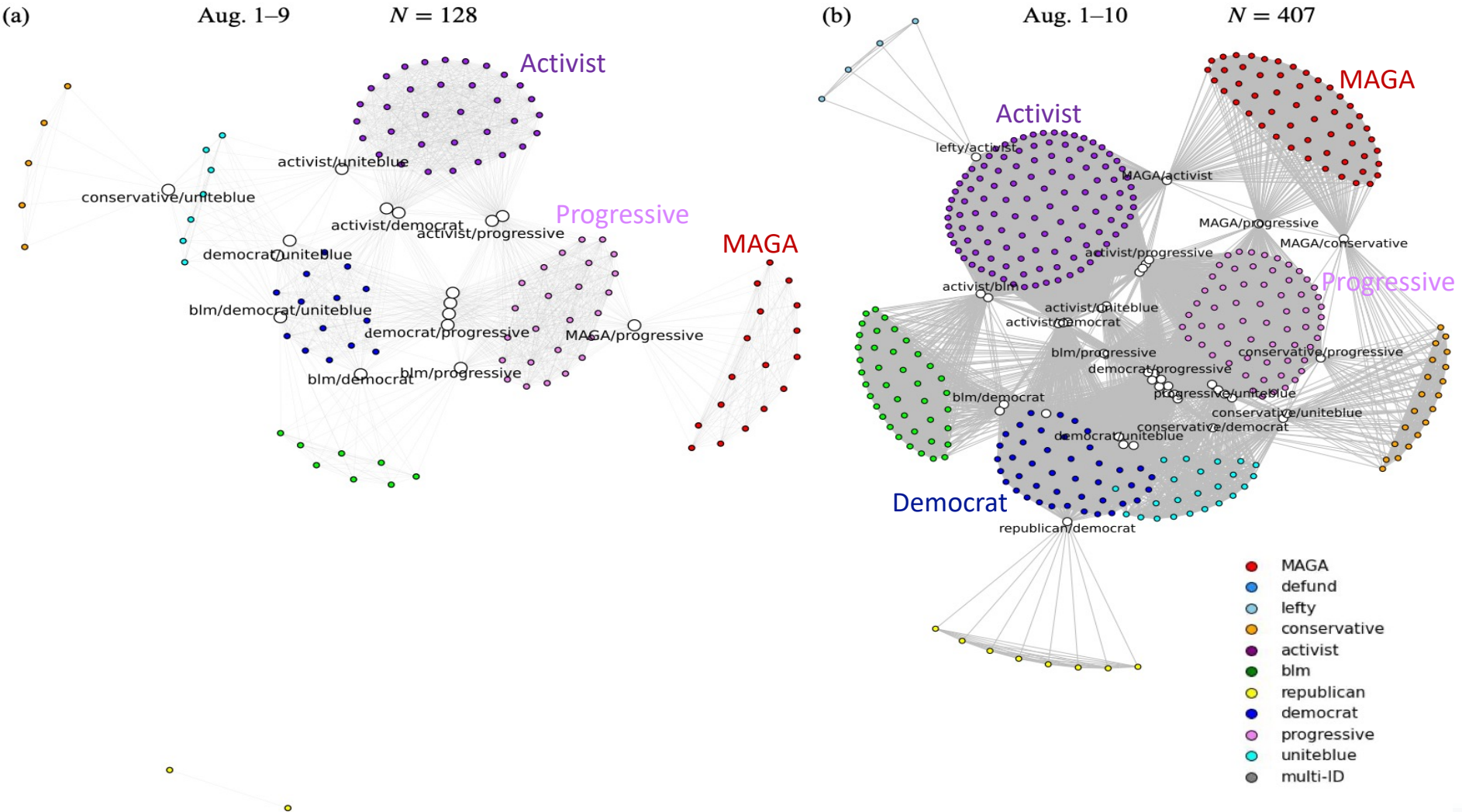
□ Time-varying statistics for cumulatively aggregated networks, Aug 1-21

- (a) Number of unique users,
- (b) Number of users connected by similar self-descriptors in their Twitter bio,
- (c) Connectivity measures from Python's Network X: modularity, degree assortativity, network density.



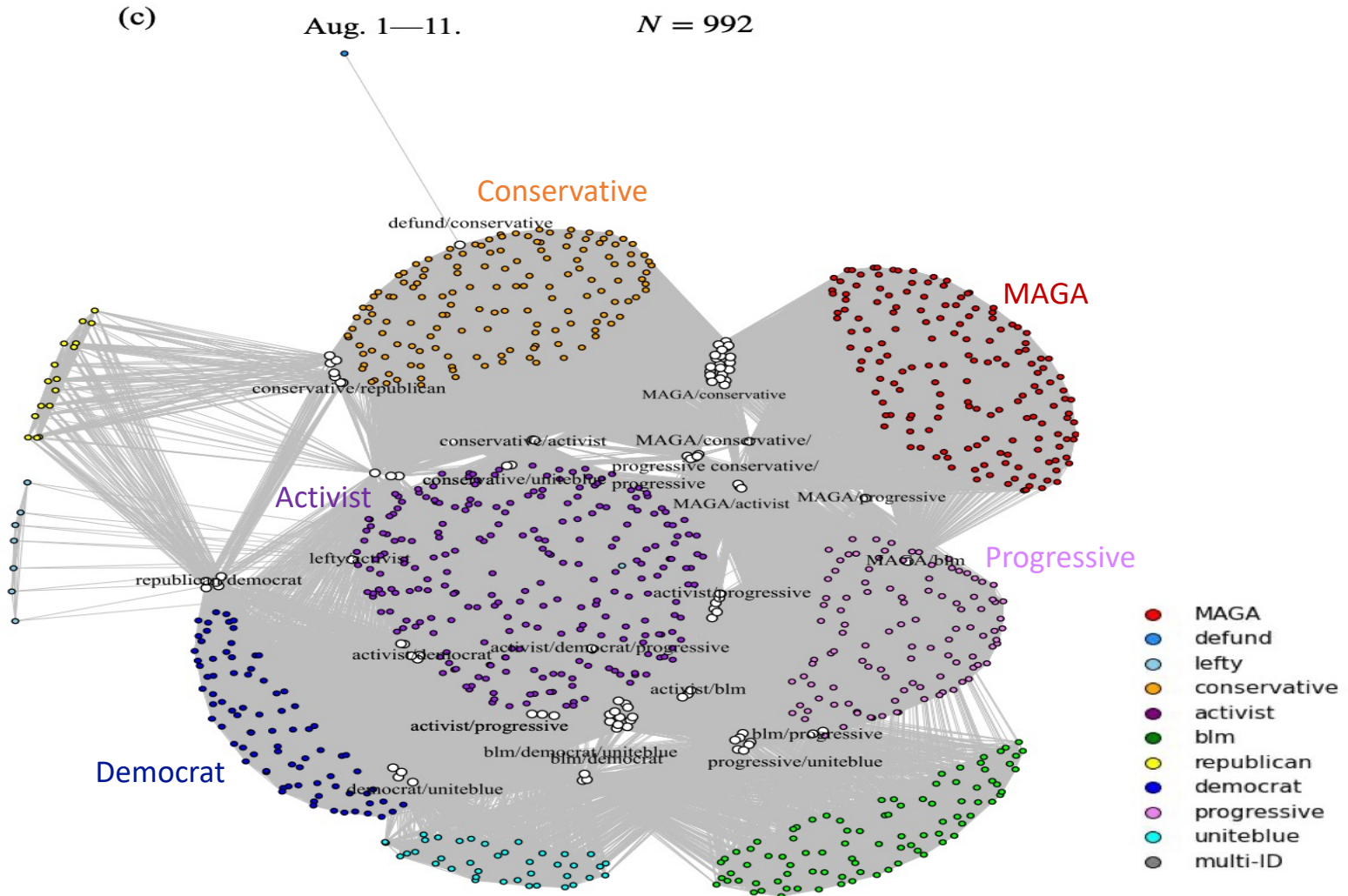
Twitter on Aug 2014 shooting of Michael Brown

Community structure of subgrouping in networks, aggregated



Twitter on Aug 2014 shooting of Michael Brown

Community structure of subgrouping in networks, aggregated



Implications

□ Necessity of “Trans-Disciplinarity”

- Systems of cognition, emotion, motivation
- ... situated within socio-ecological systems (e.g., news/social media, groups, institutions)

□ Deep Dissensus is a...

Deep Challenge to consensus-based/universalistic notions of truth,
Morality/ethics,
Justice,
Democracy.



Two people argue during a protest of the shooting death of Michael Brown outside Ferguson Police Department headquarters on Aug. 11, 2014, in Ferguson, Missouri

Leach, C.W. & Teixeira, C.P. (2022). Understanding Sentiment Toward “Black Lives Matter”. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 16 (1), 3-32.

Leach, C. W. (2002). Democracy’s dilemma: Explaining racial inequality in egalitarian societies. *Sociological Forum*, 17, 681-696.

Leach, C.W., Bilali, R., Pagliaro, S. (2015). Groups and Morality. In M. Mikulincer, P.R. Shaver, J.F. Dovidio & J. Simpson (Eds.) *APA Handbook of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 2: Group Processes* (pp.123-149). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association

Multiple Systems of Cognition-Emotion

Situated in Societal Systems



Primary Appraisal

Secondary Appraisal

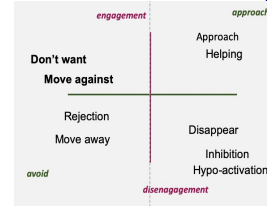
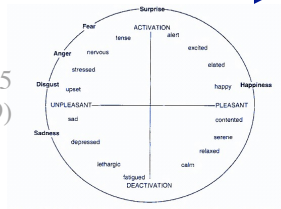
- Novelty
- (un)Pleasantness
- Relevance
- Coping Potential
- Compatibility

Emotion

Motivation

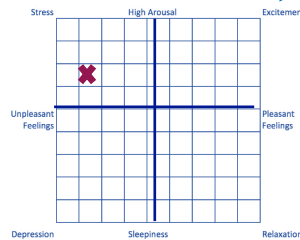
Action

(Smith & Mackie, 2015
Iyer & Leach, 2009)



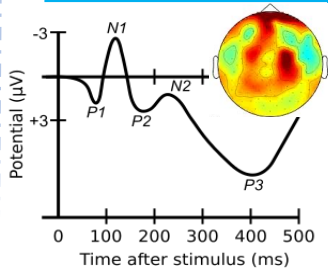
(Frijda, 1986; Leach, 2016;
Mendes & Park, 2015)
(van Zomeren, Leach, Spears, 2012)

Affect

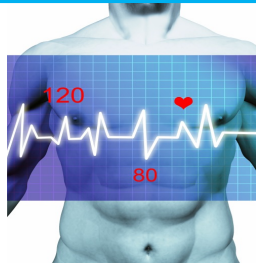


(Russell & Feldman Barrett, 1999
Russell et al., 1989)

Neurological



Visceral



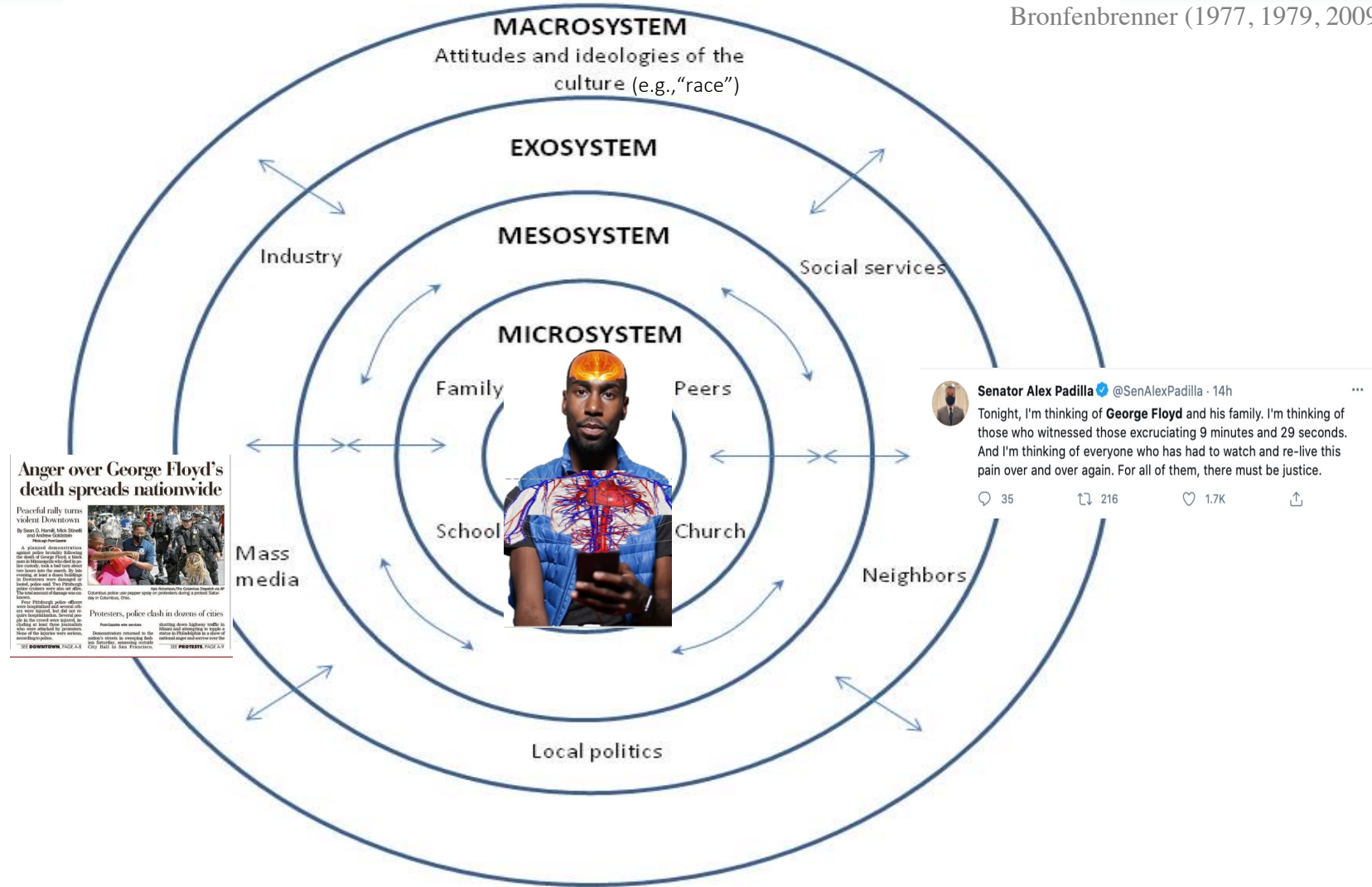
(Gentsch, Grandjean, & Scherer, 2015) (Ibanez et al. 2012; Luck, 2005)

(Amodio, 2008; Ito & Senholzi, 2013; Xiao, Coppin, & van Bavel, 2016)

(Blascovich & Mendes, 2010; Wright & Kirby, 2011)

Multiple Systems of Cognition-Emotion Situated in Societal Systems

Bronfenbrenner (1977, 1979, 2009)



Anger over George Floyd's death spreads nationwide
Peaceful rally turns violent Downtown
By Sean O. Harnik, Mike Stinski and Andrew Goldstein
A peaceful demonstration against police brutality following the death of George Floyd, a black man who was killed by a white police officer, turned violent as protesters clashed with police in downtown Minneapolis on Monday.

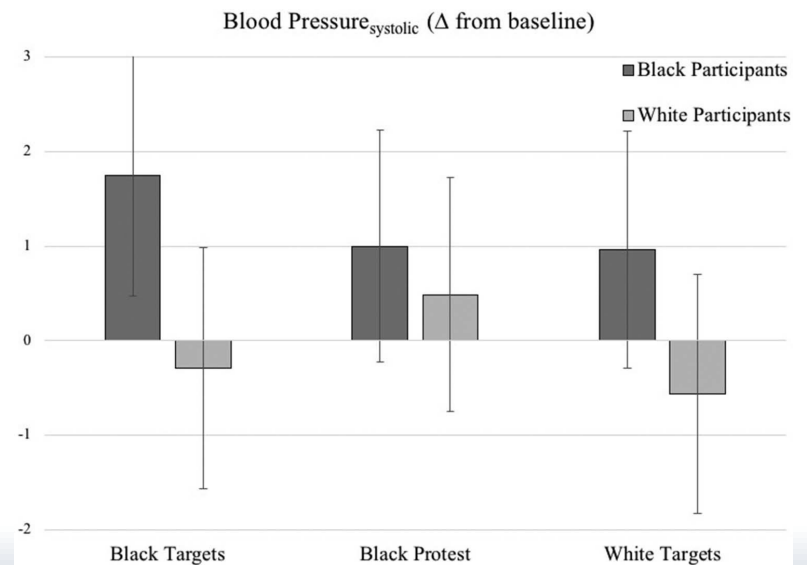
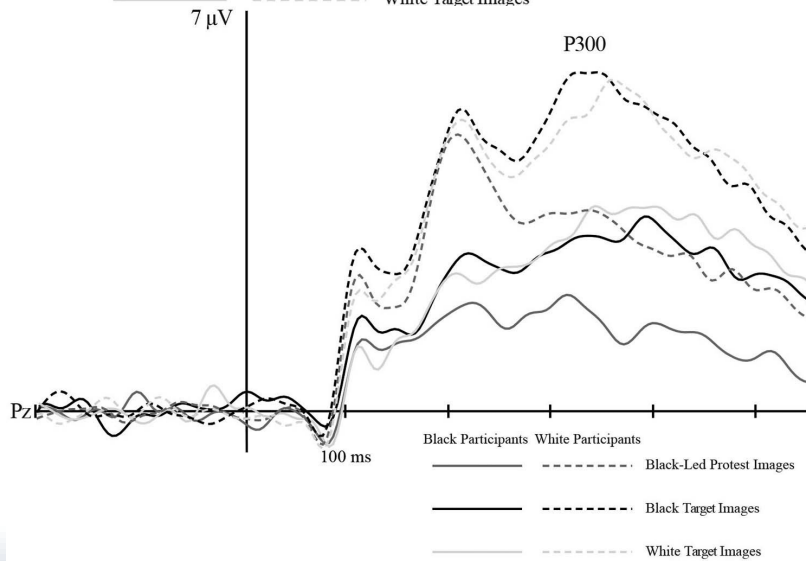
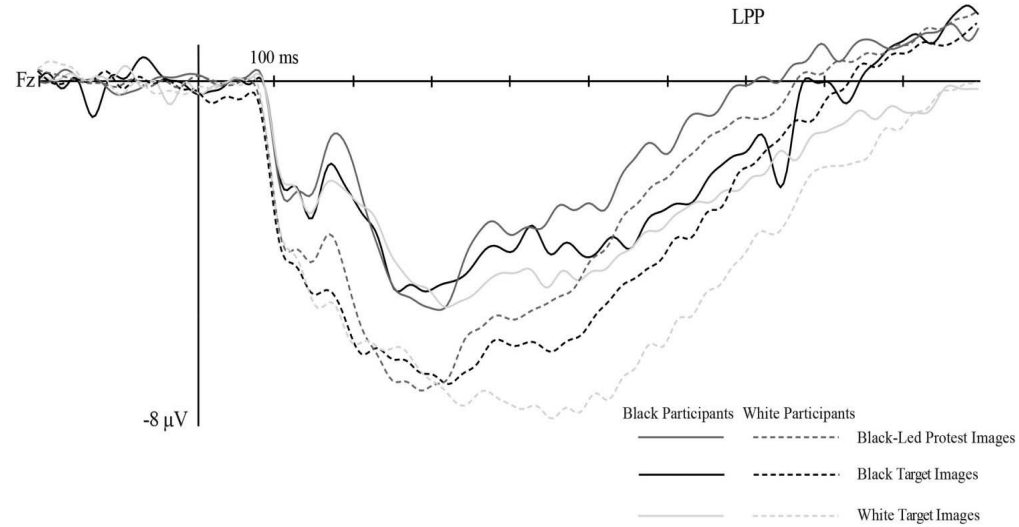
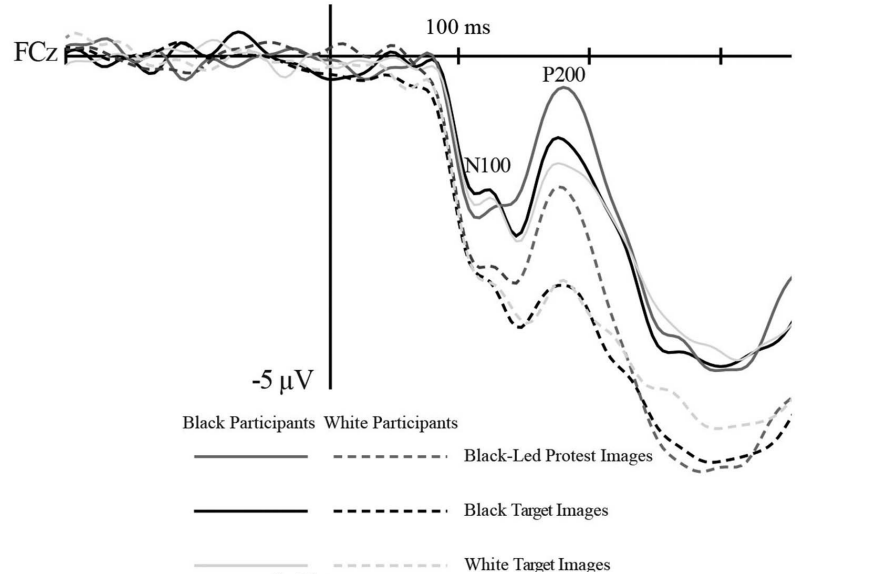
Protesters, police clash in dozens of cities
Protesters were seen clashing with police in dozens of cities across the country on Monday, as anger over the death of George Floyd spread nationwide.

Bou Zeineddine, F. & Leach, C.W. (2021). Feeling and Thought in Collective Action on Social Issues: Toward a Systems Perspective. *Social & Personality Psychology Compass*, 15(7), 1-18.

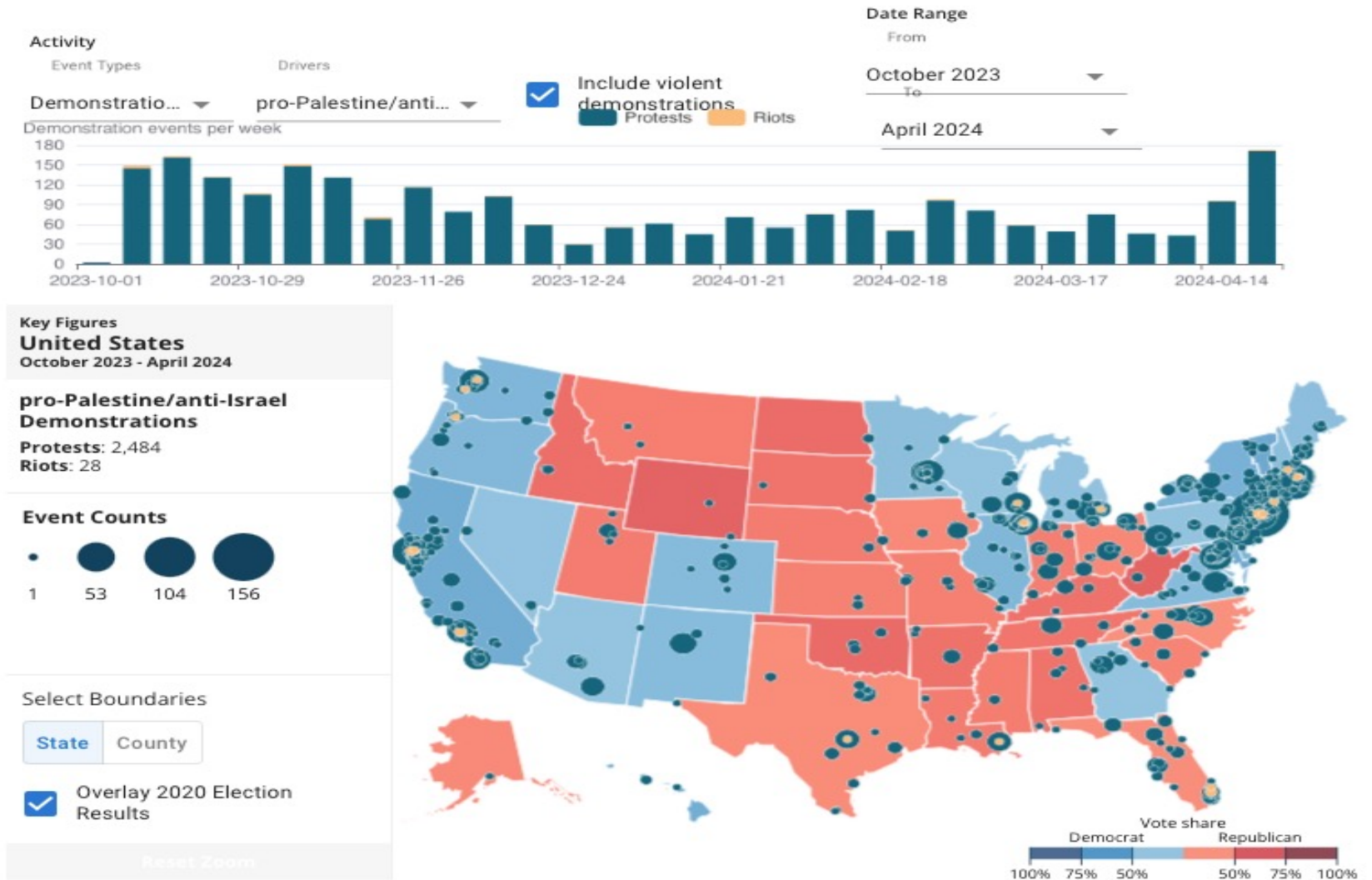
Leach, C.W. & Bou Zeineddine, F. (2021). A Systems View of Emotion in Socio-political Context. *Affective Science*, 2, 353-362.



Results Summary



An Age of Protest



Twitter Corpus of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement and Counter Protests: 2013 to 2021

Salvatore Giorgi,^{1,2} Sharath Chandra Guntuku,² McKenzie Himelein-Wachowiak,¹
Amy Kwarteng,¹ Sy Hwang,² Muhammad Rahman,¹ Brenda Curtis¹

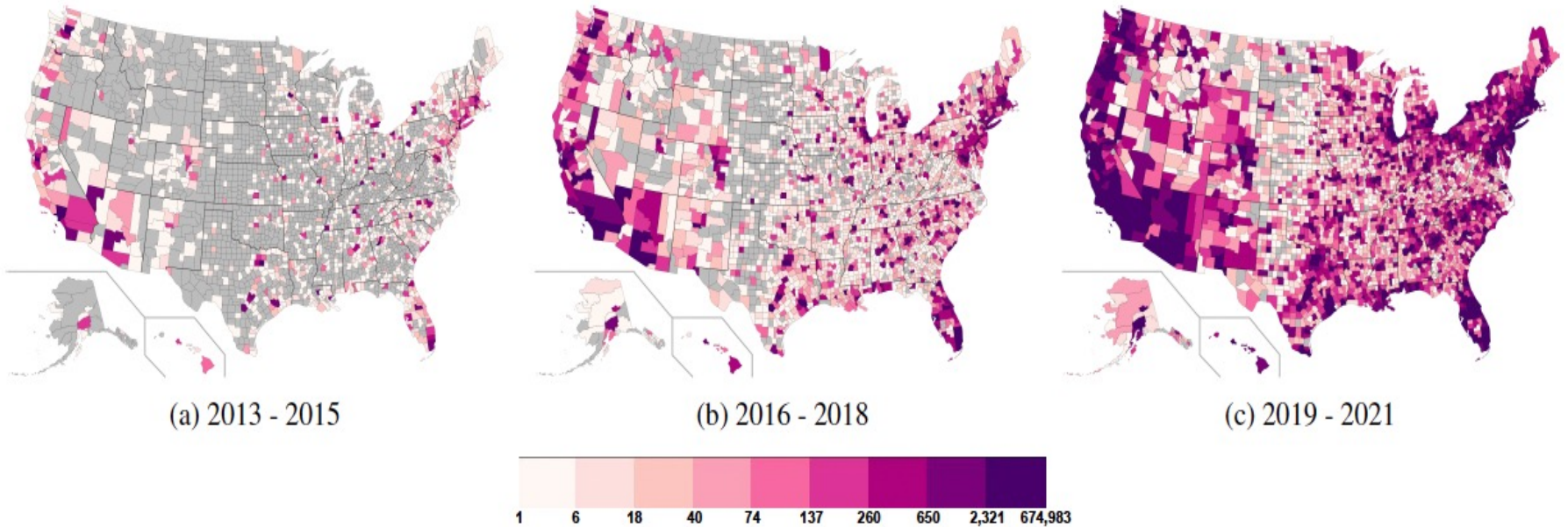


Figure 2: Distribution of *BlackLivesMatter* tweets across the United States for three 3-year periods: 2013 to 2015, 2016 to 2018, and 2019 to 2021. Tweets are mapped to U.S. counties from latitude/longitude coordinates or self-reported user location. Counties grouped into 9 quantiles: darker shades indicate higher tweet density, lighter shades indicate lower tweet density, and grey areas contain no tweet data.

Twitter Corpus of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement and Counter Protests: 2013 to 2021

Salvatore Giorgi,^{1,2} Sharath Chandra Guntuku,² McKenzie Himelein-Wachowiak,¹
Amy Kwarteng,¹ Sy Hwang,² Muhammad Rahman,¹ Brenda Curtis¹

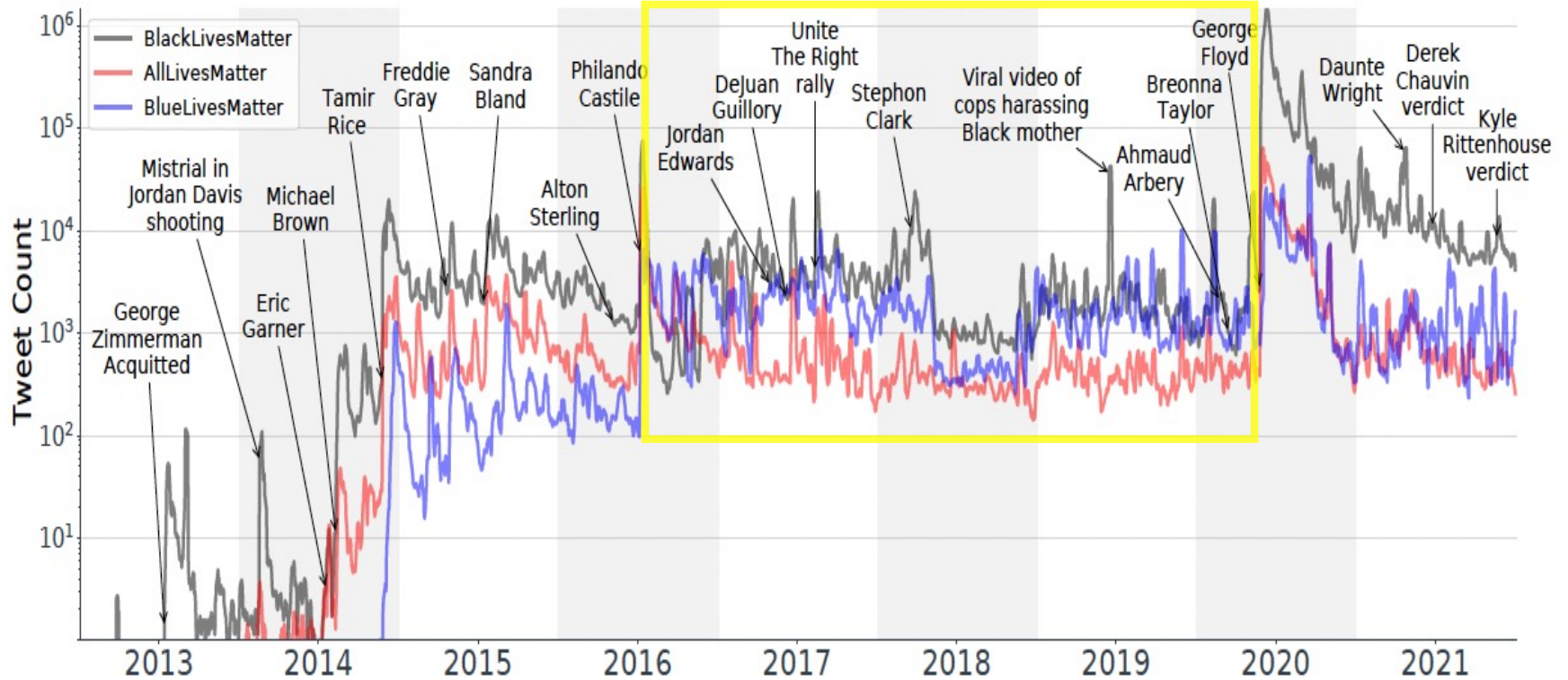


Figure 1: Seven day moving average of monthly tweet count from 2013 to 2021 of all three keywords. We include annotations for high profile events associated with the BLM movement.

“Black Lives Matter protests shift public discourse”

Zackary Okun Dunivina,b,1, Harry Yaojun Yanb,c, Jelani Inced, and Fabio Rojas

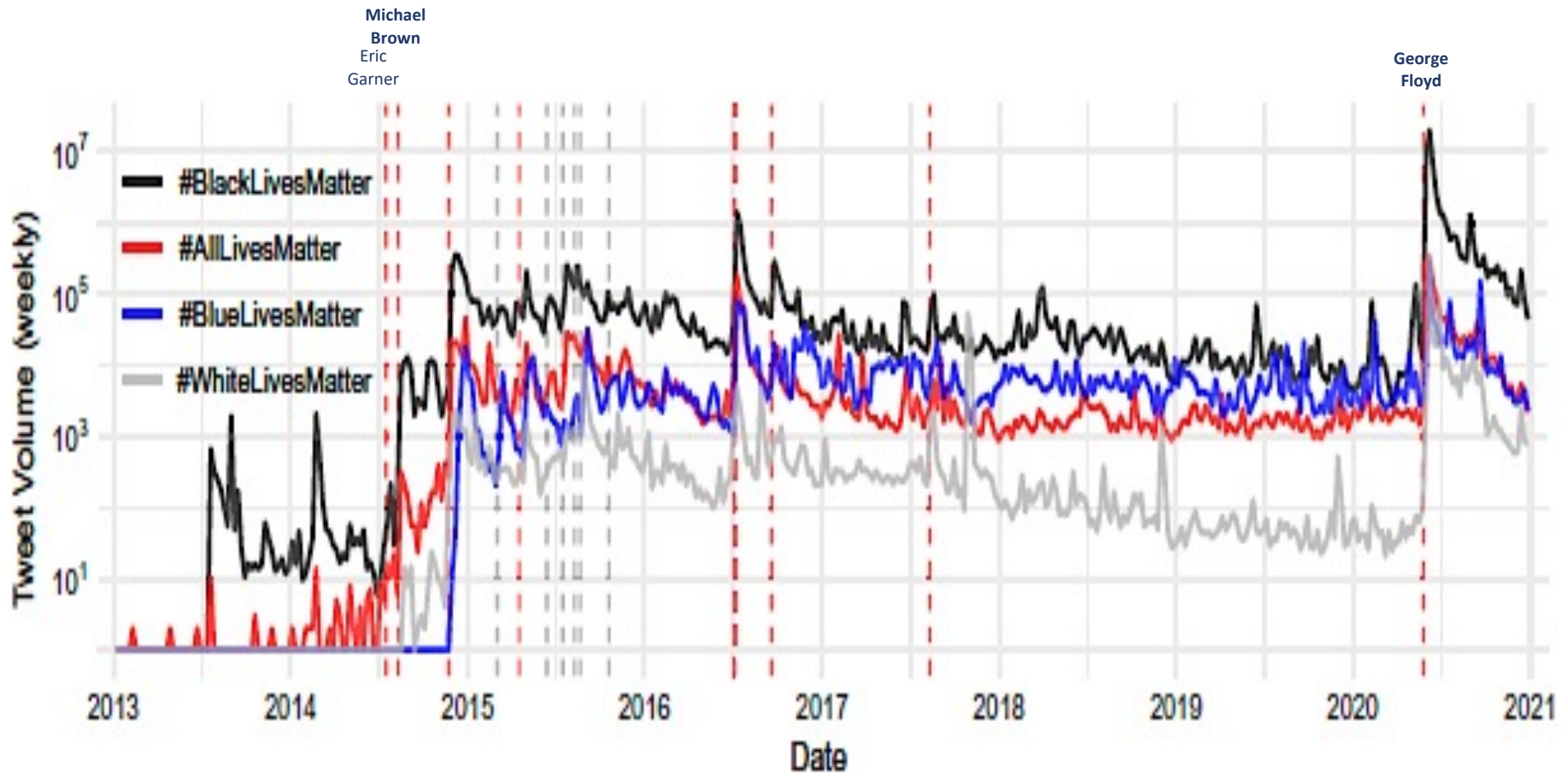


Fig. 6. Weekly hashtag volume for #BlackLivesMatter and three opposing terms. Major and minor protest events are indicated by red and gray dashed lines, respectively.

Online news coverage of the 2014 killing of Michael Brown

in Ferguson, MO (10 days: 3,284 articles, 5,490 featured images, 66 sources)

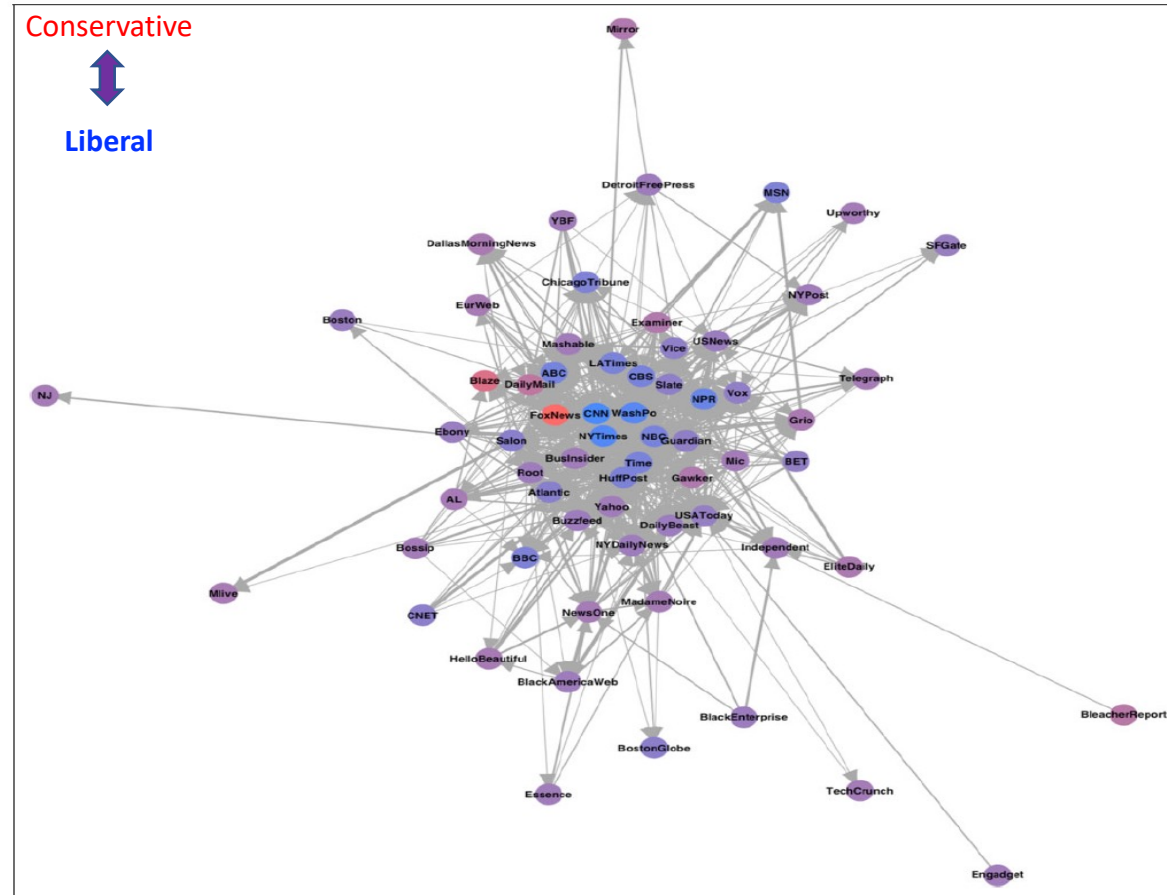
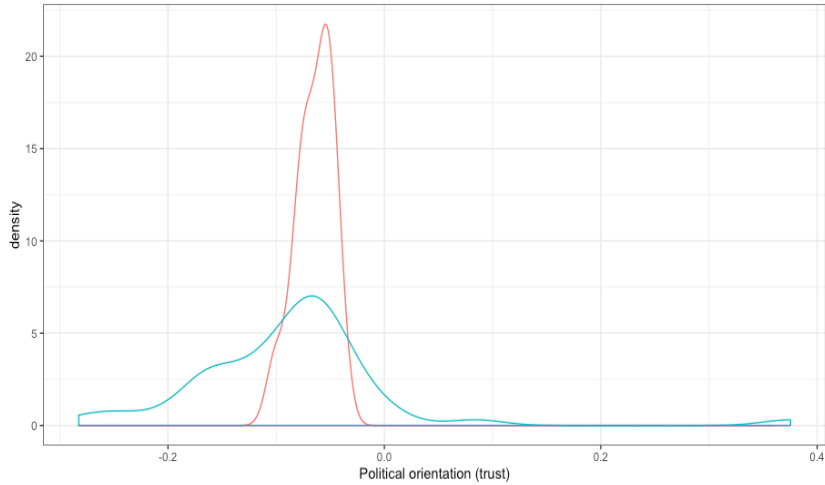


Figure 2. The subnetwork of 64 sources for which political leaning data were available, colored by proportion of conservative users from red (highest proportion of conservative users) to blue (lowest proportion of conservative users). Internal hyperlinks (an article linking to another article from the same source) are not pictured, nor are hyperlinks from or to sources outside the 64-source subset.

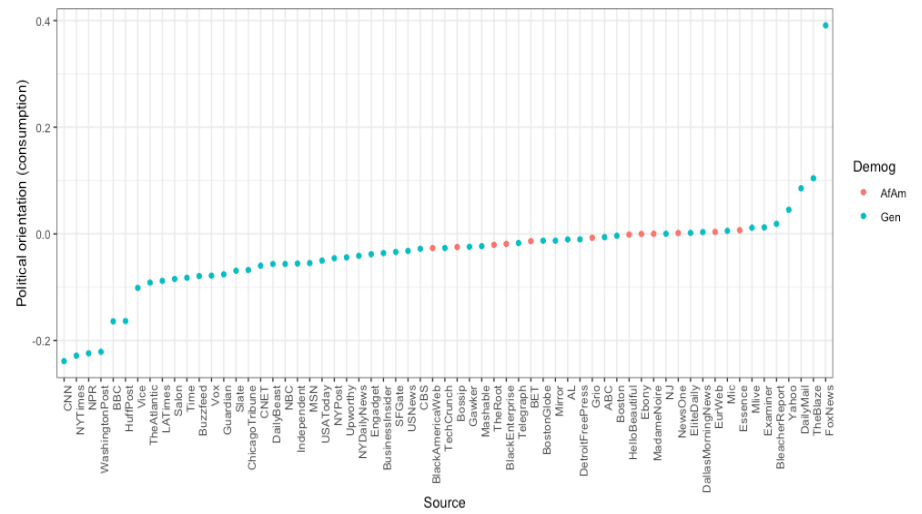
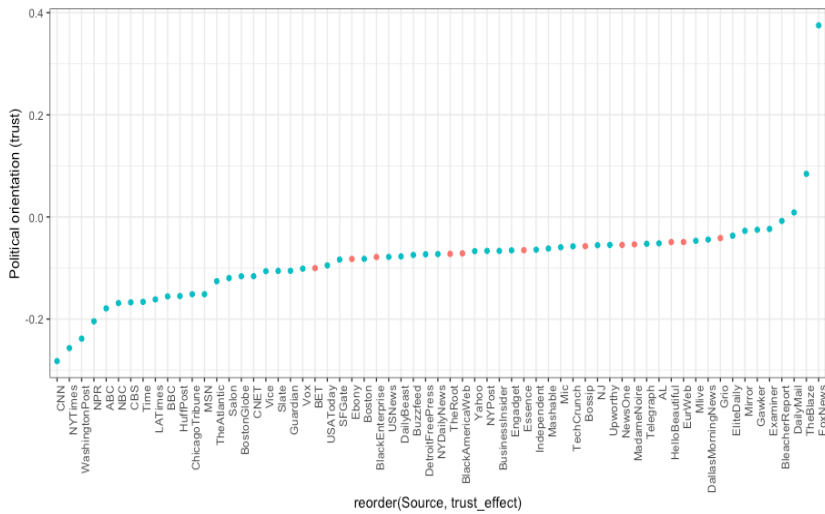
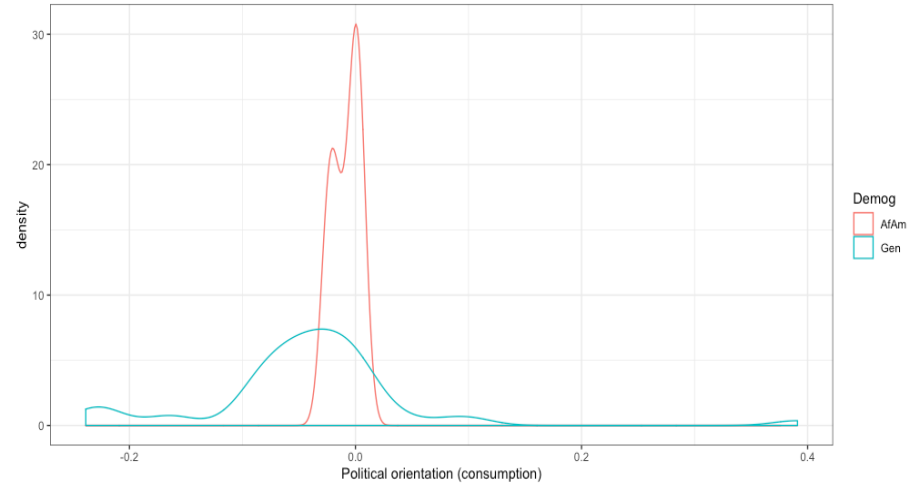
Online news coverage of the 2014 killing of Michael Brown

in Ferguson, MO (10 days: 3,284 articles, 5,490 featured images, 66 sources)

Distribution of political orientation (trust-based measure) by audience type



Distribution of political orientation (consumption-based measure) by audience type



“Beyond the Hashtags” dataset (June 1, 2014 and May 31, 2015)

40.8 million tweets; 4.43 million users

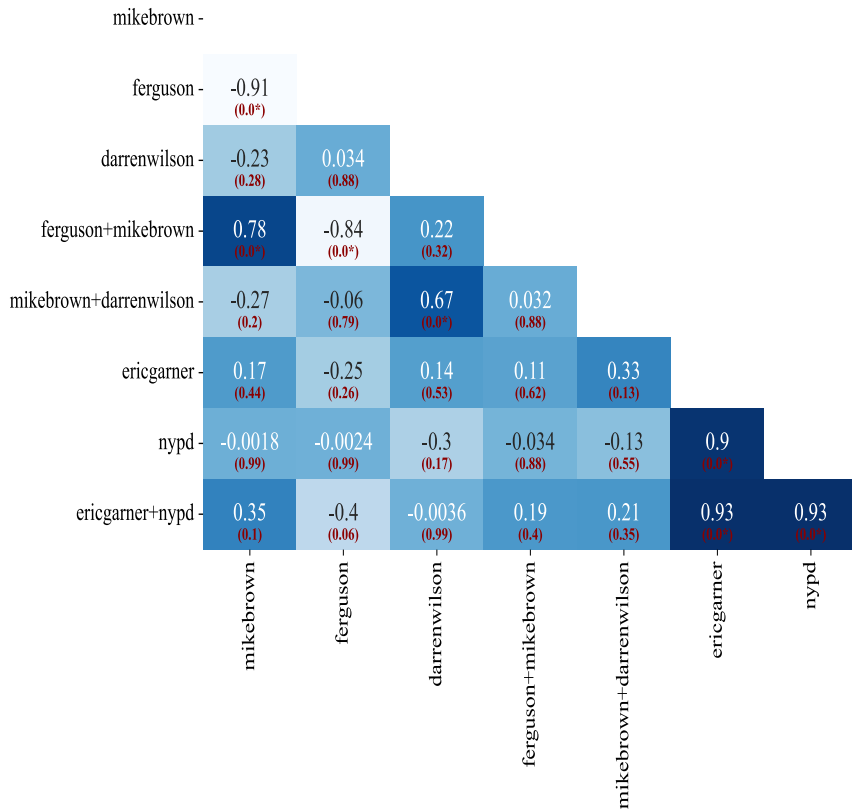
- Used 45 keywords (e.g., Ferguson) for content RE: Black Lives Matter and police killings of Black people under questionable circumstances (e.g., Eric Garner, 7/17/14; John Crawford, 8/5/14; Tyree Woodson, 8/5/14; **Mike Brown 8/9/14**; **Ezell Ford, 8/11/14**; **Dante Parker, 8/12/14**; **Kakieme Powell, 8/19/14**).

Table 3: Twitter keywords and relevant metadata

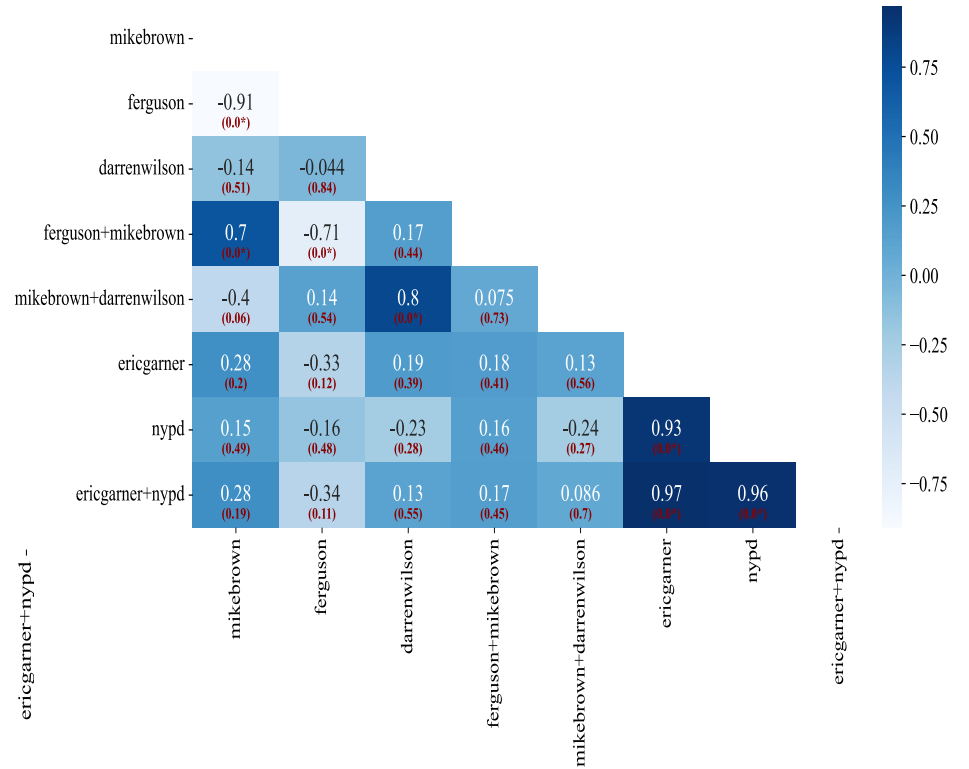
KEYWORD(S)	DATE KILLED	LOCATION	NUMBER OF TWEETS
#ferguson	N/A	N/A	21,626,901
“michael brown”/“mike brown”/ #michaelbrown/#mikebrown	Aug 9, 2014	Ferguson, MO	9,360,239
#blacklivesmatter	N/A	N/A	4,312,599
“eric garner”/#ericgarner	July 17, 2014	Staten Island, NY	4,286,350
“freddie gray”/#freddiegray	Apr 19, 2015	Baltimore, MD	2,559,316
“walter scott”/#walterscott	May 4, 2015	North Charleston, SC	1,083,316
“tamir rice”/#tamirrice	Nov 22, 2014	Cleveland, OH	1,001,971
“black lives matter”	N/A	N/A	445,514
“john crawford”/#johncrawford	Aug 5, 2014	Beavercreek, OH	331,793
“tony robinson”/#tonyrobinson	Mar 6, 2015	Madison, WI	245,020
“eric harris”/#ericharris	Apr 2, 2015	Tulsa, OK	200,641
“ezell ford”/#ezellford	Aug 11, 2014	Los Angeles, CA	184,141
“akai gurley”/#akaigurley	Nov 20, 2014	Brooklyn, NY	150,966
“kajieme powell”/#kajiemepowell	Aug 19, 2014	St. Louis, MO	102,524
“tanisha anderson”/#tanishaanderson	Nov 13, 2014	Cleveland, OH	27,130
“victor white”/#victorwhite	Mar 3, 2014	New Iberia, LA	27,048
“jordan baker”/#jordanbaker	Jan 16, 2014	Houston, TX	21,565
“jerame reid”/#jeramereid	Dec 30, 2014	Bridgeton, NJ	14,651
“yvette smith”/#yvettesmith	Feb 16, 2014	Bastrop County, TX	13,266
“phillip white”/#philipwhite	Mar 31, 2015	Vineland, NJ	6,756
“dante parker”/#danteparker	Aug 12, 2014	Victorville, CA	5,713
“mckenzie cochran”/#mckenziecochran	Jan 28, 2014	Southfield, MI	1,931
“tyree woodson”/#tyreewoodson	Aug 5, 2014	Baltimore, MD	1,914

Twitter on Aug 2014 shooting of Michael Brown

(a) Fraction of original tweets



(b) Fraction of all unique tweet authors



Pearson correlation coefficient



Twitter Network, Aug - Nov 2014

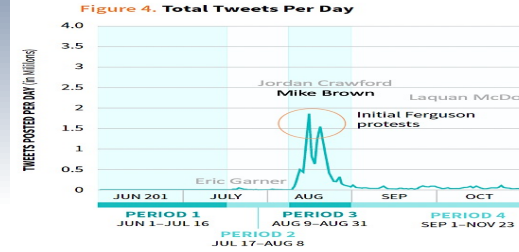


Figure 8: Social network diagram for period 3 (Aug 9-31)

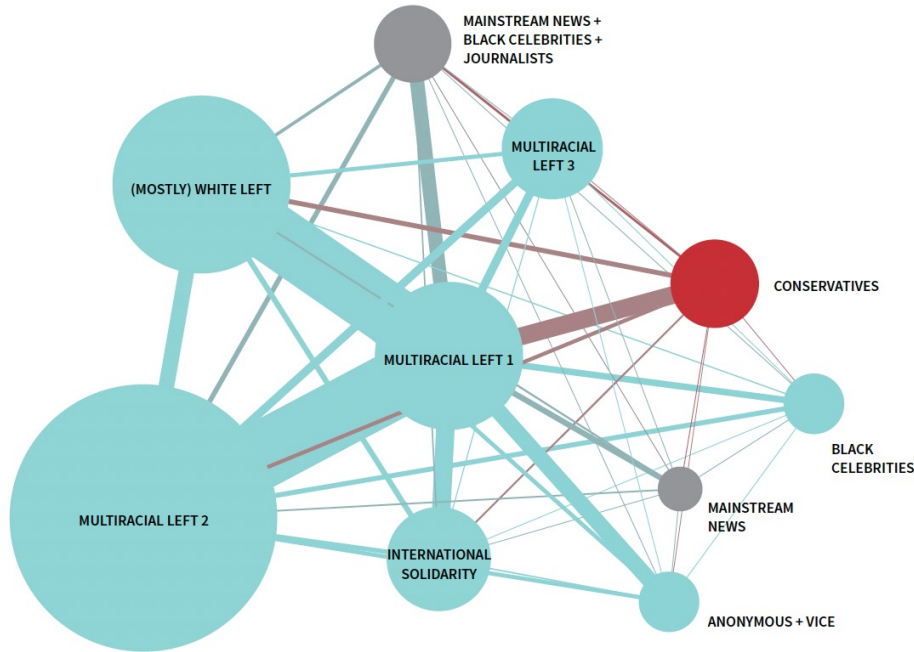
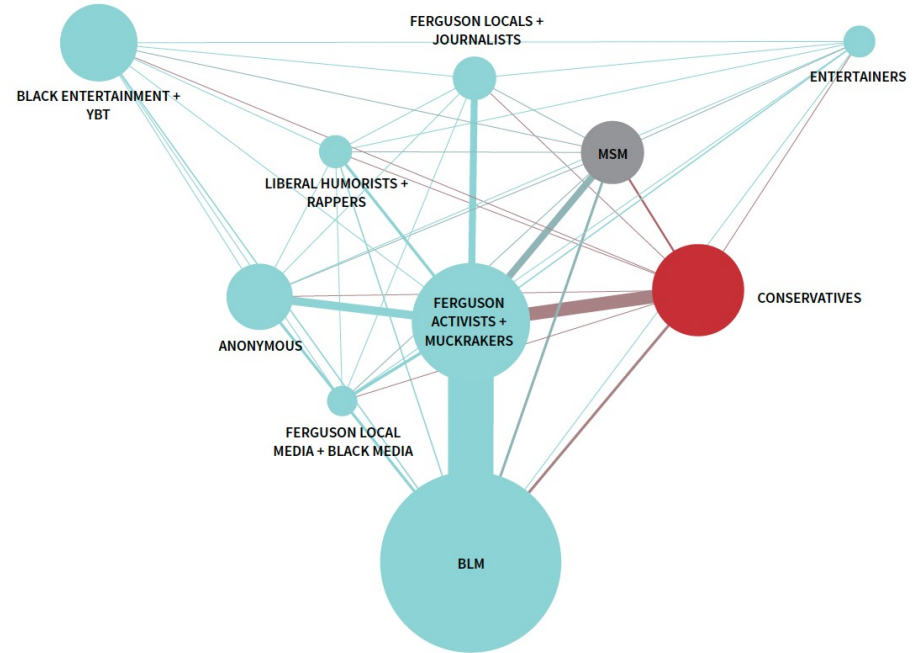


Figure 10: Social network diagram for period 4 (Sep 1 – Nov 23)



ANONYMOUS + VICE	BLACK CELEBRITIES	CONSERVATIVES	INTL SOLIDARITY	(MOSTLY) WHITE LEFT
@youranonnews (74238)	@talibkweli (16630)	@barackobama (32225)	@fergusonunity (43859)	@ryanjreilly (75953)
@alicesperi (18708)	@common (6057)	@foxnews (16377)	@newsweek (16730)	@wesleylowery (50379)
@vicenews (16565)	@rickyrozay (3439)	@youtube (13275)	@bbcworld (13575)	@nytimes (42369)
@140elect (14251)	@nelly_mo (3336)	@abc (12983)	@cassfm (12987)	@pdpj (34718)
@crypt0nymous (13071)	@join_____us (3289)	@thereal (10615)	@rt_com (12063)	@chrishayes (34181)

MAINSTREAM NEWS	MAINSTREAM NEWS + BLK	MULTIRACIAL LEFT 1	MULTIRACIAL LEFT 2	MULTIRACIAL LEFT 3
@the_blackness48 (15373)	@cnn (64970)	@nettaaaaaaaa (27010)	@antoniofrench (122424)	@jackfrombklm (40964)
@time (15200)	@cnnbrk (22247)	@msnbc (26916)	@shaunking (61264)	@Natedrug (21251)
@huffpostpol (13052)	@ijessewilliams (16958)	@govjainixon (26905)	@theanonmessage (53716)	@theyeofcontrol (20115)
@blackvoices (12528)	@rolandmartin (14536)	@elonjames (23143)	@michaelskolnik (53093)	@occupyoakland (12164)
@motherjones (7543)	@donlemon (12927)	@awkward_duck (21330)	@occupythemob (41536)	@cmclymer (11490)

ANONYMOUS	BLACK ENTERTAINMENT + YBT	BLM	CONSERVATIVES	ENTERTAINERS
@youranonnews (19344)	@voice (10195)	@deray (54067)	@msnbc (8473)	@youtube (5311)
@occupythemob (7485)	@complexmag (8967)	@shaunking (48323)	@chris_1791 (7283)	@therealmikeepps (682)
@bipartisanship (5996)	@bet (6218)	@theanonmessage (20253)	@waynedupreeshow (6008)	@disetv (506)
@youranonglobal (5414)	@freetopher (4190)	@nettaaaaaaaa (18560)	@gatewaypundit (5090)	@t_h_e_f_a_c_e (486)
@breenewsom (5268)	@unclerush (2920)	@michaelskolnik (15175)	@foxnews (4975)	@worldstar (314)

FERGUSON ACTIVISTS + MUCKRAKERS	FERGUSON LOCAL MEDIA + BLACK MEDIA	FERGUSON LOCALS + JOURNALISTS	LIBERAL HUMORISTS + RAPPERS	MAINSTREAM NEWS
@bassem_masri (13572)	@kodacohen (8436)	@antoniofrench (18372)	@thedailyedge (7794)	@cnn (18331)
@ryanjreilly (10811)	@cheathamkmov (7036)	@sarhkendzior (10615)	@talibkweli (6249)	@cnnbrk (6306)
@handsupnited_ (10523)	@cornelwest (4875)	@wesleylowery (8215)	@vibemagazine (2014)	@ksdknews (5919)
@musiccoverpeople (9258)	@bigboi (4211)	@vicenews (7168)	@thefinalcall (1521)	@yamiche (5110)
@opferguson (7973)	@blackvoices (4071)	@alicesperi (3052)	@rwwatchma (1426)	@nytimes (4852)