Conversations About Crime: Re-Enforcing and Fighting Against Platformed Racism on Reddit

QUNFANG WU, Syracuse University, USA
LOUISA KAYAH WILLIAMS, University of Michigan, USA
ELLEN SIMPSON, University of Colorado Boulder, USA
BRYAN SEMAAN, University of Colorado Boulder, USA

With the emergence of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), people are being exposed to an increased volume of crime-related information, which induces fear. While the fear of crime has been explored around people's experiences with crime, little is known about how people frame their conversations about crime online. In this study, we explore how citizens talk about crime on Reddit. By collecting crime conversations from the subreddit r/baltimore, we find that, on the surface, redditors discuss topics such as comparing crime rates in Baltimore with other cities in an effort to destigmatize the depictions of Baltimore as a city rife with crime. On a deeper level, we find that through their conversations about crime, redditors are engaging in discourse frames that both re-enforce and fight against platformed racism. On the one hand, some redditors perpetuate racially coded language that is rife with anti-Black stereotypes, framing their conversations using old and new racism to cover their racism and discrimination against Black people. On the other hand, others push back against platformed racism by drawing attention to individual racism and systemic racism, and situating crime in root, societal causes. We then discuss how platformed racism operates in online conversations, and develop the concepts of weaponized identity and digital gentrification, which we argue are ways in which people, through their engagements in digital platforms, continue to perpetuate white hegemonic power structures in society. Finally, we discuss implications for how to design to support the fight against platformed racism in sociotechnical systems like Reddit. As a content note and warning, this paper discusses racist content which may be upsetting or harmful to some readers.

CCS Concepts: • **Human-centered computing** → **Empirical studies in collaborative and social computing**; • **Social and professional topics** → **Race and ethnicity**.

Additional Key Words and Phrases: Platformed racism; color-blind racism; new racism; anti-Black stereotypes; marginalization; marginalized identity; fear of crime; counter narrative; Reddit; Baltimore; online discourses; content analysis

54

Authors' addresses: Qunfang Wu, qwu114@syr.edu, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, USA, 13244; Louisa Kayah Williams, louisakw@umich.edu, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA, 48109; Ellen Simpson, ellen.simpson@colorado.edu, University of Colorado Boulder, Boulder, CO, USA, 80309; Bryan Semaan, bryan.semaan@colorado.edu, University of Colorado Boulder, Boulder, CO, USA, 80309.

1 INTRODUCTION

Crime, or unlawful acts, are broad ranging [75]. They comprise everything from violent acts, such as murder, terrorism, school shootings, or armed robbery, as well as non-violent acts like speeding or tax fraud [75]. According to the Pew Research Center, despite recent statistics indicating that crime rates have decreased across the United States (US), people's fear of crime has increased [92]. The fear of crime is a negative emotional reaction people have towards crime or the anticipation of being the victim of crime [57, 73]. Anxiety associated with the fear of crime can be debilitating and impact people's ability to engage in everyday routines.

One potential explanation for this increased fear is that today, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have emerged whereby people share crime-related information and engage in conversations about crime. Platforms such as Nextdoor, Citizen, Amazon Neighbors, Reddit, and Facebook groups may be increasing people's awareness of crime in ways that can impact their behaviors and psychological well-being. Such platforms afford users sustained opportunities to be exposed to or to actively engage in conversations about crime. People can engage members of their hyper-local communities — community that is smaller and more concentrated, such as amongst members of a neighborhood or, more broadly, at the city, state, national, and global levels, which can all contribute to the fear of crime. With the advent of increasingly affordable devices for surveillance (e.g. Ring Doorbell) and video-recording (e.g. cell phone captured confrontations), people can share videos of perceived and actual crimes as they happen. This at once enables people to record criminal activity, but to also generate counter narratives of perceived crimes to combat narratives of perceived crime and institutionalized racism. Moreover, ICTs enable people's ability to be connected with others, engaging in crime-related conversations about everything from gun violence to sharing personal stories of sexual assault. All of these ICTs create a heightened awareness of crime.

Beyond an increased awareness of crime, the conversations occurring about crime through ICTs, such as Reddit, can also be problematic. These conversations can perpetuate and reinforce biases and stereotypes of crime that tend to associate crime-related activities with individuals from specific racial backgrounds and geographic locations within cities [107, 118]. In other words, these crime conversations can be a vehicle for the reinforcement and propagation of institutionalized racism, painting the picture that crime is a "Black activity" [107, 118]. These conversations about crime may thus exhibit the characteristics of platformed racism. Platformed racism is defined as how sociotechnical systems like Reddit enable the construction and propagation of racist ideologies [113].

These conversations present a great risk to society. The ways in which people frame these conversations can manifest as hate speech that reinforces narratives that continue to or further marginalize people of color, or push them to the boundaries of society, based on certain characteristics of their self-identity, or their self-concept [155]. These characteristics include aspects like their race, skin color, and socioeconomic status. Previous work by CHI and CSCW scholars has focused on designing systems for crime prevention [19, 51, 54, 55, 84, 95, 123, 124], and our work builds on this work by focusing on how sociotechnical systems like Reddit either re-enforce or challenge platformed racism [12, 96, 124, 134]. This signals a critical need to better conceptualize and understand how people frame their conversations about crime online, so that we can design sociotechnical mechanisms (e.g. community rules and norms) to better support the moderation and detection of racism in online conversations to create equitable space. This paper aims to address this gap.

This paper takes a mixed methods approach. Since crime carries many definitions, we focus our work on violence and property crime. We first use emotion analysis to identify and construct a dataset comprising online conversations about crime characterized by a high level of anxiety. We

then use content analysis on our generated dataset to better understand how people frame their crime-related discourses online. Here, we examine crime-related discourse from the *r/baltimore* subreddit on Reddit. We chose r/baltimore due to the widespread crime-related narratives that shape public perceptions of the city of Baltimore, Maryland in the US. To frame this analysis, we develop a conceptual lens that brings together the phenomenon of the fear of crime and diffused racialized stereotypes [73, 116], framing and systemic racism [15, 49], and collective action [145], to describe the discourse frames being employed by members of r/baltimore.

Our findings are two-fold: first, we find that on the surface, users (redditors) compare crime rates in Baltimore with other cities in an effort to destigmatize the depictions of Baltimore as a city rife with crime; and secondly, we find that through their conversations about crime, redditors are engaging in discourse frames that both re-enforce and fight against platformed racism. On the one hand, some redditors perpetuate racially coded language that is rife with anti-Black stereotypes, framing their conversations using old and new racism to obfuscate their racism and discrimination against Black people. On the other hand, others push back against platformed racism by drawing attention to systemic racism and situating crime in root, societal causes. Please note that all of the quotes used in this paper are presented as summaries or were paraphrased by the research team. Drawing on the work of Fiesler and Proferes [64], presenting our data as summaries or through paraphrasing is critical and ethical for protecting the identities of Reddit users whose conversations are included in our dataset. We then discuss how platformed racism operates in online conversations, and develop the concepts of weaponized identity and digital gentrification to highlight how people continue to perpetuate white hegemonic power structures in society through their engagements with digital platforms. Finally, we discuss implications for how to design to support the fight against platformed racism in sociotechnical systems like Reddit.

CONTENT WARNING: The content presented in this paper is racist and can thus be upsetting or harmful to some readers.

2 RELATED WORK

2.1 The Relationship Between the Fear of Crime and Racism

Gray and colleagues define the fear of crime as "a diffuse anxiety about risk" [73]; people have a generalized fear or anxiety that can become a burden in their daily lives. In an attempt to understand what contributes to people's fear of crime, scholars have started to measure people's fear across a range of characteristics, such as gender, age, race, socioeconomic status, crime rate, police presence, social distrust, physical cues, and more [1, 61, 104, 137, 159, 163, 171]. The findings in these studies illustrate that these fears can re-enforce systemic biases, especially against people of color [116, 143].

The fear associated with crime, then, is often directed at and continues to marginalize people of color, especially Black people, by the white majority [116, 143, 164]. Marginalization is the process of exclusion through which individuals or groups of people are pushed to the periphery of society by the systemic denial of their place within social spaces, the minimization of their voices, and the denial of their identities [141, 155]. Both individuals and groups can be marginalized by various dimensions of their identity, or self-concept [155], such as race, gender, or class. This marginalization can occur along multiple interconnected dimensions of identity rather than just one dimension due to historical, political, and social contexts that define one's day to day existence [30, 32].

As described by Patricia Hill Collins [30], the intersections of identity characteristics, such as race, age, and sex, can impact individuals in different ways, such as when connected with socioeconomic status and/or geography. For example, in drawing on Feminist perspectives, there exist binaries, such as man/woman, that reinforce power in societal systems and arrangements [77]. While women, broadly speaking, are marginalized in social systems, the experiences of an individual who is a White

Woman is markedly different from someone who is a Black Woman, where Black people experience everyday marginalization by virtue of being born Black. Taken further, the experiences of someone who is a Black Woman from an affluent neighborhood would be different from the experiences of a Black Woman from a lower socioeconomic status. This creates a matrix of domination, whereby these interconnections generate societal oppression and marginalization [30, 32].

While Patricia Hill Collins developed the matrix of domination to allow people to understand, recognize, and importantly, acknowledge their systemic privileges in society, people use their privilege in service of maintaining power in society. This is illustrated through how marginalization is normalized through a process of cultural hegemony — a system of ideas, practices, and social relations embedded within both institutional and private domains of society serving as mechanisms of social control. Through this process, people are categorized as a form of power whereby some identities are considered normative while "Othering" non-normative identities [92]. In the US, the institution of race-based slavery and the Jim Crow system of legalized segregation based on skin color was enforced until the 1960s [6, 120]. However, the power structures of white patriarchal supremacy are embedded into the very systems of society [167] and are represented in all existing power structures within the US to this day [77, 152]. These power structures have created a matrix of domination that has controlled perceptions of people as well as opportunities in society. They have informed the cultural discourses and the narratives that have come to dominate society both implicitly and explicitly.

One such cultural discourse that best embodies this domination over people's perceptions and opportunities is that crime is often associated with Black people [125]. This narrative is ever-present in American popular media and culture and is reinforced in narratives of White criminals as stand ins for finding redemption through human compassion, while Black people – criminal or otherwise – are, as James Baldwin [7] puts it, "forbidden – and on pain of death – to trust, or to use, our common humanity." In other words, entertainment media crafts narratives that disproportionately depict Black people as criminals – monstrous and inhuman, and uses their stories as tropes that deny them the chance to share common human traits with the rest of the story's characters. Baldwin's comment on pain of death, moreover, shows how Black characters – along with other people of color, and queer characters – disproportionately are killed in popular media, with their deaths being used to further the narratives of white characters [7, 138].

Beyond entertainment media representations, the narrative which denies Black people their humanity has been shown by others to exist in how policing and judicial systems are mediated through anti-Blackness [26, 97]. There is a long history of violence and oppression of Black people by the police, where the police force has discriminated against Black individuals and communities [34]. For example, Black people are more likely to encounter "walking while Black" (being stopped and searched by police) and "driving while Black" (being stopped while operating a vehicle by police) [34]. Moreover, prior work has shown how white people are more accepting of police forces than Black people, who have perpetually been harmed by and through police brutality and other unjust practices [50]. This is further exemplified in the technological tools the justice system uses in order to track and predict crime [37], predict recidivism among convicted criminals [4], and produce harsher sentences for Black people [56].

The biased media stories and technological tools indicate a need to understand how these ICTs perpetuate the racially charged fear of crime in digital spaces.

2.2 The Fear of Crime in Digital Spaces

Beyond the crime-related information and narratives that are disseminated via news media networks, people use myriad digital platforms, such as Facebook or Nextdoor, to engage in crime-related discourses with other members of the public through information dissemination and conversation,

as a means for crime prevention [52] and building awareness of crime locally or more broadly [87]. For example, Masden [110] found that on Nextdoor, users developed functional communications such as crime reports within their neighborhoods to monitor crime and deter criminals. Similarly, in a series of studies by Erete and colleagues [51, 53–55], the authors investigated the uses of ICTs, such as CCTV cameras, community forums, and social media platforms, in enabling better crime prevention. They found that residents from racially-mixed and majority black neighborhoods preferred to have their information anonymized by a moderator prior to being shared more broadly online or with local authorities, whereas residents from majority white neighborhoods did not have this concern [55]. These studies explored community members' communication needs and preferences to prevent crimes, highlighting differences in geographic and racial experiences.

Yet, ICTs can mediate people's fear of crime in problematic ways. Recent scholarship has explored how ICTs help people mediate their fear of crime [12, 96, 123, 124, 134]. People's fear of crime is related to the perceived probability of risks [87]. When people perceive something as risky, they often seek information and communicate with others to reduce ambiguity and restore a sense of order — what Karl Weick and Kathleen Sutcliffe call collective sensemaking [162]. Scholars have explored the extent to which people can come together, online, to engage in collective sensemaking around crime events [127]. For example, in an exploration of Twitter use, Powell and colleagues [127] described how the greater public came together to collectively make sense of and respond to crime incidents, in this case, the disappearance of a child. Yet, although these public discourses were constructive in that people were reflecting on law and order, the specific attention on crime incidents contributed to an increased awareness of crime; this awareness strengthened people's fear of crime on a societal level [127]. Emergent discourses reflect people's increased negative emotion to how anyone could be the victim of random violence at any time [127].

Other scholars have explored how people engage in disclosure behavior–making inner parts of themselves known to the outside world–related to crime on social media [134]. For example, Sachdeva and colleagues performed a lexical analysis for Indian residents' posts and comments on the Facebook page of the Bangalore City Police [134], developing a list of keywords (i.e., "fear," "concern," "worried," "trouble," "notice of," and "issue") for crime-related disclosures as a means for better understanding public crime narratives and how to further build community policing [134]. It is important to note, however, that this prior work explores the online relationship between the police and the public, whereas, in the context of the US, the relationship people have with the police is different [168]. These studies illustrate that there is a lack of understanding related to how online discourses contribute to people's fear of crime.

Popular media press has reported conversations about crime that take place on social media platforms and online community spaces also perpetuate these dominant anti-Black narratives [107, 118]. This is best illustrated by Ariadna Matamoros-Fernández, who conceptualizes the racist ideologies that are both perpetued and reinforced by sociotechnical systems as "platformed racism" [113]. According to Matamoros-Fernández, sociotechnical systems, such as Reddit, can unintentionally support the construction of hostile and racist community spaces that perpetuate harmful narratives. In adopting this perspective, then, people online can engage in conversations that continue to reinforce the systems of white hegemonic power that dominate how American society is constructed; these spaces can sustain the anti-Black ideologies and practices that mediate the social and political institutions of the US.

2.3 Platformed Racism Through the Frame of Structural Racism

Less is known about how racist ideologies are perpetuated in online conversations, such as on Reddit. This is important when considering that people are moderating these spaces and working to make them civil and equitable [29, 69, 111], and that digital spaces should be open to people

from different publics. What makes these conversations potentially difficult to understand or detect as racist is in how users are deploying racial frames in their conversations. To explore this phenomenon, in our work we define frames as mental structures that shape the way people perceive the world [102]. Framing is thus not only words or language, but more about the ideas and world views that words and language convey [102]. For example, racism is often framed in subtle and non-racial ways, rather than through blatant individual prejudiced behaviors and attitudes [15].

In the context of racism, racial frames are shaped and deployed through long-standing and historical structural, or systemic racism. Systemic racism is "the foundational, extensive, and inescapable hierarchical system of US racial oppression that has been devised by white [people] to subordinate people of color" [49]. Whiteness is a construction of a societal need to rationalize the systemic inequalities created by the colonial system [59]. When explored through a US historical lens, the ways in which frames have been shaped and influenced by and through structural racism have evolved over time. We will herein refer to these racial frames as "old" and "new" racism [13]. It is also important to highlight that old racism is still alive and well, but the distinction between the old and the new is used to clarify the primary difference in how racial frames have evolved over time.

Old racism refers to the racial oppression devised by white people to subordinate people of color since the colonial era. To rationalize inequality and maintain white privilege and power, white people developed a white racial frame [59] during the Jim Crow era to depict people of color as biologically and morally inferior. For example, Black people were considered inhuman or subhuman, and racial slurs and dehumanizing language were used by white people against Black people. White people established numerous racist stereotypes to subordinate Black people and maintain the racial hierarchy, such as "Black people are violent and criminals," and "Black people do not have real families" [59]. In the context of online conversations, it could be the case that people use language such as animal or monster to refer to Black people. Although the language people use to frame their conversations may not be overtly racist, it reveals the racial frame extended from Jim Crow racism.

Today, scholars have worked to distinguish between Jim Crow racism and present day, new racism, highlighting how the white racial frame is "no longer racist" for most white people. Rather, the concepts of "post-racism" and "color-blindness" have been used to conceptualize the current version of the white racial frame, highlighting how new racism manifests in present day society and social systems [14, 15, 35, 49, 59]. Specifically, we draw on the work of Bonilla-Silva who defines new racism as "the post-civil rights era set of arrangements, mechanisms, and practices (the racial structure) responsible for the reproduction of White privilege at all levels" [14]. Different from old racism that focuses on individual prejudices and attitudes towards people of color, new racism is shaped by and through systemic privilege that benefits white people as a whole–it is subtle, institutionalized, and non-racial. Since new racism is subtle and covert, white racial frames are rendered "reasonable" and "moral," using color-blindness to conceal racist ideologies [14]. We note that the term "color-blindness" is ableist, and use it here because it is defined this way in the literature.

Bonilla-Silva [15] articulated four central frames of new racism. These include: "abstract liberalism," "naturalization," "cultural racism," and "minimization of racism." The first frame, abstract liberalism, applies the ideologies of political liberalism and economic liberalism to explain racial phenomena abstractly. For example, racial frames adopting abstract liberalism often articulate arguments through the lens of "equal opportunity." Here, people argue how everyone should have an equal opportunity to get a job, as a subtle way in which to argue against affirmative action. The second frame, naturalization, attributes racial matters to natural phenomenon. For example, racial

frames adopting naturalization may describe racial segregation, such as in schools or neighborhoods, as a natural process whereby others seek to live with others like them as a covert way of not addressing systems of oppression that create segregation. The third frame, cultural racism, argues how racial inequality is caused by the "bad cultures" of people of color rather than racial discrimination. For example, racial frames adopting cultural racism may argue that "People of color use welfare to take advantage of the system." The final frame, minimization of racism, is one that minimizes structural racism, arguing that racism and racist structures do not exist, nor impact and influence the life conditions of minorities. For example, racial frames adopting minimization of racism might argue that "There is discrimination, but there are plenty of jobs out there."

Taken together, through their interactions in online spaces, people may be deploying racial frames that are deeply embedded in old and new racism. Our work is motivated by the call to action developed by Bonilla-Silva encouraging more systematic analyses of institutionalized racism [16]. This is especially important considering how during Donald Trump's presidency, racial framing scholarship returned to a focus on old racism [16], and that scholars have also found that new white racial frames differed between the "backstage" and "frontstage," where backstage perspectives (framing done in private or less public spaces) were often mediated by old racism and front stage perspectives (framing done in more public spaces) were mediated by and through new racism [59].

2.4 Fighting Against Platformed Racism: Collective Discourses as Online Social Movements

Conversations about crime in online platforms can contribute to platformed racism and thus serve as white hegemonic practices that continue to uphold the power structures in society. However, these same spaces can also support and enable collective action that pushes back against platformed racism. How are people engaging in online discourses to revise and push back against these dominant, racist narratives?

To develop the conceptual frame through which we can interrogate this question, we focus on how collectives come together in acts of resistance — also known as social movements — as a means for developing counter narratives to combat the dominant ideologies that people often draw on when talking about crime. Social movements, broadly construed, are a type of group activity that involves a range of actors, comprised of different constellations of individuals and organizations, in an effort to enact social change or challenge extant authorities [145]. Specifically, we focus on the collective narratives, or collective action frames, being constructed by and through members of the public as a means of re-framing dominant discourses and ideologies held by others [145].

Recently, the internet has increasingly become a site through which people come together to engage in social movements [21]. Yet it these movements are fragile as networked movements create a connected, rather than, collective movement [9, 156]. Despite the fragility of these networks, people are now able to organize and sustain social movements using a range of Internet-enabled technologies, such as Twitter and Facebook, irrespective of geographic location [71, 154].

CSCW and CHI scholars have explored how collectives come together to curb the spread of misinformation during crisis [83, 146]. Moreover, CSCW and CHI scholars have explored the varied and nuanced ways in which ICTs are used to sustain social movements [100, 169], and how people use social media, predominately Twitter, for expressions of solidarity and support in the context of social movements [147, 148].

Through the use of social media, people can come together to develop counter narratives that push back against dominant ideologies and actions. Research has explored the construction of counter narratives in the context of social movements [2], political participation [33, 140], and identity change [48], however less is known about how people generate counter narratives that

push back against the pervasive racist ideologies that often mediate online conversations. Our work aims to address this gap.

There is a stream of scholarship that has explored the #BlackLivesMatter (BLM) social movement on platforms like Twitter [5, 142, 149, 157]. These studies demonstrate how social movements connect and establish community and cultivate racial activism. Beyond studies that explore race explicitly, other scholars have explored the experiences of marginalized populations in online communities, such as through the lenses of toxic masculinity [111] and harassment [10, 91, 113]. The work of Blackwell and colleagues, for example, focuses on the mechanisms of online harassment, arguing that most tools for mitigating online harassment do not take into account the experiences of vulnerable groups [10, 11]. To address this, the authors developed HeartMob, a tool to tag and classify the language of harassment in online contexts [11].

2.5 Towards Equitable Online Spaces: Crime Conversations as a Mechanism for Uncovering Institutionalized Platformed Racism

Beyond explorations of race in the context of social movements, there exists a dearth of studies exploring race and racism in HCI [119]. More broadly, scholars have explored race in a range of contexts, such as healthcare informatics [74, 82] and online community governance (e.g. Reddit) [43–45]. A growing body of literature exists exploring the intersection between race and technology (e.g., [31, 35, 40–42, 51, 54, 78–80, 119, 128]), seeking more inclusive and equitable designs to support marginalized and underrepresented minority groups.

Our work builds on prior scholarship by exploring the construction and perpetuation of racial frames in online conversations–a common category of online practice mediated by and through sociotechnical systems such as Reddit. Our work pays analytic attention to how institutionalized racial frames are constructed and combated in online crime conversations in an effort to better support the moderation and detection of racism in online spaces more broadly.

3 METHOD

In this section, we discuss how we chose the subreddit r/baltimore as the site for our inquiry, how we collected data, and how we analyzed this data using a mixed-methods approach. Figure 1 provides an overview of our methodology, from research site selection through data analysis.

Fig. 1. Methodological Flow Diagram
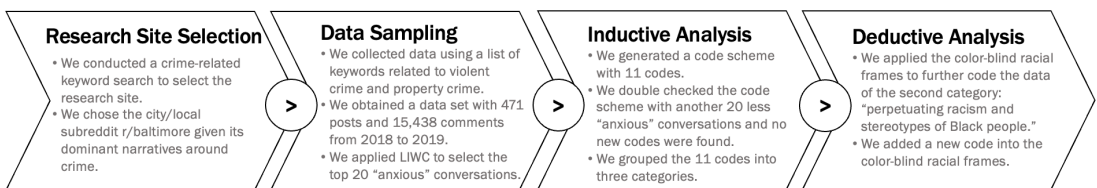
3.1 Research Site: Reddit

Reddit is one of the largest and most frequently visited online community platforms today. Redditors can create discourse communities (subreddits) on myriad topics. Within subreddits, redditors can engage in a variety of conversations through text, hyperlinks, and images. Other redditors can comment on the content that is produced within and across subreddits.

Reddit regulates the site through a range of rules and moderation mechanisms. Reddit applies three-levels of rules to regulate user behaviors: site-level policies, Reddiquette ("an informal expression of the values of many redditors"), and subreddit-level rules [63]. The moderation work on Reddit is enforced by volunteer moderators and redditors [103, 115]. Particularly, redditors can upvote or downvote a post or comment. All posts, recomments, and redditors receive a karma score, which is roughly calculated based on the formula of upvotes minus downvotes. A higher karma score prioritizes the post's or comment's visibility based on Reddit's post-sorting algorithm. Thus, the karma system acts as a user moderation mechanism, which reflects the values of the majority of redditors as they are the ones assigning karma points to posts and thus shaping what becomes observed and seen in user feeds.

According to redditors' self-reported data [136], the gender and ethnicity distributions skewed male and white on Reddit. About two-thirds of redditors were male in the US in 2017, and about 70% of Reddit users were white non-Hispanic in the US in 2016.

Researchers have explored various discourse behaviors on Reddit, such as in the context of science communication [93], support seeking and provision [3, 98], political debate [43], around issues of platform toxicity, such as misogyny [111] and the interplay between content moderation and combating misinformation in spaces of public scholarship[68], and many other topics.

3.1.1 Research Site Selection. Our primary goal was to better understand the construction of racial frames in conversations about crime. Thus, we first searched multiple subreddits in an effort to identify where crime-related conversations were or could be taking place. Specifically, we searched for subreddits that were: (1) specifically focused on crime (e.g., *r/crime*, *r/RBI*[1], *r/CrimeScene*), (2) city/local subreddits with high population densities and demographic diversity whereby we could potentially observe crime-related conversations (e.g., *r/baltimore*, *r/nyc*, *r/LosAngeles*, *r/ChicagoSuburbs*), and (3) support seeking and provision subreddits where crime-related conversations could also be taking place (e.g., *r/AskReddit*, *r/Anxiety*, *r/mentalhealth*, *r/travel*, *r/studyAbroad*).

After identifying subreddits, we engaged in an exploratory analysis whereby we manually searched for crime related posts and comments within these subreddits using general keywords often associated with crime, such as "crime," "criminal," "assault," "robbery," and "theft." Based on this effort, we recorded the number of search results that returned for each subreddit based on these criteria. The research team analyzed the top ten search results (posts and comments) from the keyword search results for each respective subreddit to observe the extent to which conversations about crime were taking place. Results revealed that crime-related conversations were sparse in support seeking and provision subreddits. In contrast, conversations about crime were prevalent in (1) subreddits specifically focused on crime and (2) city/local subreddits, though the nature of these conversations varied greatly. The majority of conversations taking place in specific crime-related subreddits focused on crime events happening outside of the US or discussing the details of crime scenes and investigations. Based on these findings, we eliminated crime-related subreddits from our study.

Having focused our attention on city/local subreddits as a potential site for exploring conversations about crime, we drew upon the political deliberation literature in making this decision. Crime conversations are highly political, and deeply rooted in the power relationships and structures of society. These conversations reflect and determine how people come to view others. Scholarship on online political conversation has focused on online space dedicated primarily to politics, such as Facebook groups devoted to specific Presidential Candidates in the US. Andrew Chadwick, in critiquing this approach, has asserted that we should focus our attention on the discourses that

---

[1]Reddit Bureau of Investigation

emerge in non-political spaces, or "third spaces," as the online political conversations may more closely resemble what naturally unfolds in offline contexts [22]. For example, paying attention to emergent political conversations in more generalized online forums or on an individual's Facebook newsfeed, more closely reflects how these kinds of conversations emerge in our everyday lives. This approach has been used in other CHI and CSCW studies of political discourse [99, 140], and we employ it here. Thus, we targeted city/local subreddits as users can actively engage in discourses related to a broad range of issues, one of which is crime, to better understand the emergence of crime conversations relative to people's everyday concerns and interactions.

Ultimately, the focus of our work is on one of these particular subreddits: r/baltimore. We chose r/baltimore because the dominant narratives around Baltimore in both news and entertainment media are of a city that is unsafe and indeed synonymous with crime at times [117]. This subreddit was initially created on Jun 11, 2008, and has 54,000 subscribed users. Our initial analysis revealed that crime related content was actively being produced and discussed on r/baltimore.

3.2 Data Collection and Data Sampling

Data collection took place in October of 2019. Crime refers to a broad range of illegal activities. In an effort to formally identify crime-related posts in r/baltimore, we reviewed previous work that studied the "fear of crime." They mainly studied people's fear of crime towards violent crime (e.g., murder, assault) and property crime (e.g., burglary) [28, 133, 172]. Thus, in this study, we focused on violent and property crimes and did not include other crimes such as tax fraud, speeding, wage theft, etc. We referred to the FBI's Unified Crime Reporting (UCR) [58] for definitions of violent and property crime. The UCR is a crime categorization scheme that categorizes crime across four primary violent crimes (murder and non-negligent manslaughter, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) and four primary property crimes (i.e., burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson) in the US (See Table 1). Upon reviewing the definitions of the eight types of crime created by the FBI, we generated a final list of keywords to inform our search.

In using this list, we collected posts and comments through searching on these keywords using the Reddit PRAW API. For each keyword, we randomly selected 10% posts to verify whether the content was related to the crime definitions. Based on these findings, we eliminated some keywords from our list. We found that the keyword "attack" was heavily used in conversations about a ransom/hostage situation in 2018 that took place in Baltimore. In an effort to ensure our data was not skewed in favor of focusing on this particular event, we eliminated "attack" from our search. Similarly, the keyword "kill" was used as a synonym for "stop" or "fail" in user posts (e.g. "Company [X]'s sales were killed by the release of a competitor product."), and we thus excluded these two words from our list of keywords. Moreover, we also merged categories that had the same keyword and yielded the same results. Specifically, we merged "larceny-theft" and "motor vehicle theft" since they shared the same keywords (i.e., thief, theft, steal) and created redundancy in our data set when searched separately. Finally, we also identified gaps in this typology, and in an effort to identify posts that talked about crime in general, we also included "crime" and "criminal" in our keyword list.

Through this process, we generated a dataset comprising 958 unique posts with 27,434 comments. This dataset included all posts and comments that met our search criteria from when r/baltimore was initially created up through the end of October 2019. The keywords and counts of posts for each category of crime are demonstrated in Table 1.

In an effort to make the data analysis manageable, the final dataset we used was based on all posts from January 2018 to October 2019. In total, our analysis was based on 471 posts and 15,438 comments, which comprised 49% of the entire dataset. These posts were generated by 2,548 unique

Table 1. Crime Types, Keywords, and Counts of Posts in r/baltimore

Type	Sub-Type	Keywords	# of Posts (2008-2019)	# of Posts (2018-2019)
Crime in General	-	crime, criminal	141	136
Violent Crime	Aggravated Assault	assault	99	49
	Robbery	robbery, robber, rob, mugging, mugger	215	83
	Rape	rape, raper, rapist	73	23
	Murder	murder, murderer	122	104
Property Crime	Larceny-theft & Motor Vehicle Theft	thief, theft, shoplifting, shoplifter, pocket-picking, steal	218	61
	Burglary	burglary, break-in, burgle, burglar	140	34
	Arson	arson, arsonist, pyromania, incendiarism	18	4

Note: Since some posts can be searched by multiple keywords, the counts of posts have overlap.

user accounts (top-level posts were created by 233 unique users and comments were generated by 2,423 unique users).

Given that at the outset of our work the primary goal was to better understand and unpack the ways in which online conversations contribute to people's fear of crime, we wanted to generally understand how the fear of crime was disclosed in crime-related posts and comments. The fear of crime is an emotional reaction people have to crime or potential crime. It was important to identify, from our dataset, posts that illustrated this fear. To address this, we applied the tool Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) as a kind of "fear" emotion analysis [126]. LIWC is a lexicon-based linguistic analysis tool and has been widely utilized for sentiment and emotion analysis in the CHI and CSCW community [8, 36, 86, 135, 170]. This tool calculates the likelihood that a corpus of text, such as a news article or Reddit post, falls into certain categories based on the words being used in that text. In the context of our study, we applied LIWC to measure whether or not posts could be classified along the lexical dimensions for determining "Anxiety" that were previously developed [126]. We chose "Anxiety" based on the definition of the fear of crime, where it is defined, more broadly, as diffuse anxiety about crime.

We should note, Reddit allows users to re-post content from external websites, such as from news networks (e.g. CNN and Fox News) or social media platforms (e.g. Twitter). Amongst the 471 posts used for our analysis, 329 (70%) were posts from external websites while 142 (30%) were original posts created by redditors. For the 329 posts from external websites, we could only collect the article titles and hyperlinks using the Reddit PRAW API. For those posts with only hyperlinks and titles, we thus chose to calculate "Anxiety" scores based on the comment threads for those posts so as to understand the anxiety present within the conversations on Reddit. We calculated the average "Anxiety" score of all comments for each post and selected the 20 posts with the highest "Anxiety" scores. We observed that redditors might cite content from the post, other redditors' comments, or other sources, which did not reflect their own perception of the fear of crime, we did not exclude this kind of content when calculating the "Anxiety" score as we think it also reflected how the fear of crime was shared and discussed in conversations about crime. This dataset was used as the initial data to understand how these conversations contributed to people's fear of crime.

3.3 Content Analysis

We conducted two rounds of content analysis. We first conducted an inductive analysis to understand the crime-related conversations that were contributing to people's fear of crime, and to allow for

the emergence of content categories more broadly. We found that people were generating posts mediated and shaped by racial frames that were deeply racist. Specifically, emergent findings highlighted how original posts and comments exhibited both old and new racism. To refine our analysis, we conducted a deductive analysis drawing on the concepts of old and new (or color blind) racial frames [15]. Using this dual inductive and deductive approach, our findings extend previous work on racial frames as the inductive phase allowed for the emergence of content categories that have not been identified in existing literature.

3.3.1 Inductive Analysis. The first and second authors analyzed the initial dataset. Employing an inductive content analysis approach over three iterations, the two coders used an approach derived from grounded theory [70]. For each post, they first read the post to understand the background information, and then they read all its comments as back and forth conversations. They coded both posts and comments. When posts were linked to external news articles, the coders analyzed the content of those articles as well for additional context.

For the first iteration, both researchers worked together, meeting over the video conferencing software Zoom, on an initial set of 10 posts and 430 comments, and developing an initial coding scheme with descriptions. In the next phase, the coders worked independently on an additional 10 posts and 228 comments but came together to discuss their codes and resolve differences. This resulted in new and collapsed codes. At this stage, the researchers finalized the coding scheme and descriptions. With this approach, our Cohen's kappa values [101] for inter-coder reliability exceeded 70 percent for all categories (inter-coder agreement yielded a mean score of .88).

This analysis was generative of eleven primary codes. Here, we provide the naming ontology used to define the eleven codes, as well as code counts (e.g. how many times each code was tagged), definitions of codes, and sub-code examples for each larger code:

- Stereotypes of marginalized groups (39): stereotypes about people of color, panhandlers, LGBTQ, and other marginalized groups, e.g., profiling Black suspects
- Severe punishment of Black criminals (65): supporting severe punishment and opposing temperate sentencing to Black criminals, e.g., heavy sentencing to prevent repeat offenses, tempering the justice system
- Distrust of police (70): questioning police misconducts or showing negative emotion to police, e.g., argue law enforcement culture leads to less change, list police misconducting behaviors
- Crime trends or facts in Baltimore (17): providing crime statistics, crime incident facts, or other factual information about crime in Baltimore, e.g., add details to the video evidence, mass shooting cases in Baltimore
- Destigmatizing Baltimore (49): providing reasoning or facts to destigmatize the crime stereotypes of the city (but not stereotypes of people of color), e.g., benefits of Baltimore outweigh negatives, people outside of Baltimore have wrong impressions
- Drawing attention to racism (50): pointing out racist or racism tone and content in the posts or comments, e.g., suggest justice system be demographics/race blinded, prove the comment is racism
- Root societal causes of crime (20): explaining the root, societal causes of crime such as systemic racism and poverty, e.g., why wealth inequality led to violent crime, long-term solution: rehabilitate
- Explaining the criminal justice system (68): providing knowledge about the US criminal justice system such as laws, sentencing, and bail, e.g., argue 2-degree assault is a misdemeanor, explain penalty difference between juvenile and adult

- Misinformation in social media (37): discussing, correcting or criticizing misinformation about crime disseminated on Reddit, Facebook, and other social media platforms, e.g., argue gang initiation news is fake, be critical about info on social media like Facebook
- Information or emotional support (27): answering questions about crime or providing emotional support for victims or vulnerable people, e.g., against victim blame, provide precautionary tips
- Others (117)

Finally, we conducted a validity check whereby we randomly selected another 20 posts with lower "Anxiety" scores from the dataset (i.e., 471 posts). We examined if the code scheme could be generalized to less "anxious" data, finding that while our coding scheme could be applied to these posts as well, especially those posts that did exhibit racism, there was far less racist content in this "less anxious" dataset than our initial dataset. Given that this step in our process was used solely to validate our coding scheme, we do not include this less anxious dataset in our study and the findings reported in this paper.

Through a collaborative process of axial coding, we combined our codes to produce the coding scheme, which yielded three primary inductive content categories: (1) destigmatizing Baltimore's image, (2) perpetuating racism and stereotypes of Black people, and (3) constructing counternarratives to fight against online racism. These primary themes became the focus of the paper.

3.3.2 Deductive Analysis. After completing our initial inductive analysis, in drawing on the literature on racial frames we re-examined our content using deductive analysis. Specifically, we drew upon the concepts of old and new racism, and found that in the broad category focused on "perpetuating racism and stereotypes of Black people," redditors were perpetuating both old and new racism. The first and second author collaboratively went through all of the posts (original posts and comments) comprising this category after our inductive analysis and assigned all of the content based on the codes of old or new racism. For posts that fell into the category of new racism, a secondary code was assigned based on Bonilla-Silva's typology of new racism, or color-blind racial frames [15]: "abstract liberalism," "naturalization," "cultural racism," and "minimization of racism."

Through this analysis, we identified posts that were shaped by old racist frames, using racially coded language (e.g., animal, monster) to dehumanize Black people. We also identified posts that fell into three of the four primary categories of new racism, which included abstract liberalism, cultural racism, and minimization of racism. The racial frame of naturalization was not found in the dataset. Moreover, we also extend this typology to include a fifth previously unidentified category of new racism, which we dub "neoliberal white righteousness." We define this category as one where people make judgments on social issues such as mass incarceration and social programs through the lens of white moral superiority (supremacy). Through the frame of neoliberal white righteousness, we observe how people argue for the righteousness of systemic inequality and policies that privilege white people and place Black people and other minorities at a disadvantage.

Finally, in drawing on the work of Fiesler and Proferes [64], our data is presented as summaries or through paraphrasing of quotes conducted by the research team. This is a critical and ethical research practice that was used to protect the identities of redditors whose conversations were included in our data set.

3.4 Limitations

We have several limitations to this study. Firstly, this work only addresses content in r/baltimore, thus we cannot guarantee our findings are universal to conversations about crime beyond the specific context of this particular subreddit. We view r/raltimore as a starting point given that

the composition of Black or African-Americans in Baltimore is 60% as opposed to other places (e.g., 27% in Chicago). In future work, we aim to expand our exploration to other cities that are geographically distributed (e.g. the South, the MidWest, the West) so as to better understand the impacts of geographical racism. Moreover, we did not capture user posting data beyond this particular subreddit - so we cannot determine if users who were engaging in overtly racist behaviors did so in other subreddits. Moreover, we were unable to trace user posts to determine if the users posting anti-racist content were the same users who were actively trying to rehabilitate Baltimore's images. Second, our study does not investigate how racialized stereotypes influence redditors' fear of crime and how counter narratives aid to mitigate the harmful impacts on their fear of crime. It will be interesting to study the two questions in the future. Thirdly, based on Reddit's design, comments can be deleted by redditors or moderators. Our study does not look into the actual moderated content of crime-related conversations.

3.5 Researcher Positionality Statement

This study went through several iterative drafts in order to ensure our positionality would not potentially impact the research. The first author is an Asian woman and not an American citizen, and the second author is a first-generation Black woman who grew up in Baltimore, Maryland when she immigrated to the US. The third author is a white American queer woman from the North East. The fourth author is an Iraqi-American, cisgender, heterosexual man, from a minority group within Iraq. The first and second authors served as the primary coders of the data, with the second author providing commentary and contextual knowledge of Baltimore as a city. The third author served as an impartial third reader of the coding scheme that was developed, and provided input and feedback in the discussion and results. The fourth author served a dual mentorship and collaboration role, helping shepherd, shape, guide, and contribute to the work from its original inception through the analysis and paper writing. As many of the racial frames discussed here directly negatively impacted members of Baltimore's Black community, it is important to note that three of the authors are not black, and the locus of their privilege as non-Black individuals in the context of the US should not be ignored. The second author provided an insight as to how institutional and cultural oppression in relation to white supremacy, racism, and classism affect the Black identity and experience of Black people in the US, which as a result creates biases rooted in systemic inequality and gentrification of Black culture.

4 RESEARCH SETTING: STEREOTYPES OF BALTIMORE

Anti-Blackness is endemic in American society, particularly around issues of crime. One city which best exemplifies these inequities is Baltimore, Maryland. Black or African-American people account for about 60% of the population in Baltimore while white people account for about 31% [158]. Baltimore has a long history of racial segregation [60, 122]. Further, media depictions of Baltimore, such as those in HBO's *The Wire*, reinforce the narrative of a segregated city rife with crime and poverty.

"The culture of the city lays out the narrative paths of poor Black men and poor white men in Baltimore," writes D. Watkins [161] in his reflection on Danny Hersl, a Baltimore police officer convicted on federal racketeering charges. Geographical racial segregation accumulates racial inequities in many other aspects of Black people's lives, in Baltimore and elsewhere, such as the quality of and access to health care, the physical health of Black people, the accessibility of investment funds for business development, infrastructure for transportation and social support, education quality and more [60]. Watkins' [161] reflection shows how the geographic distance between himself and Hersl, both born poor in East Baltimore, were set down particular narrative paths based on geography and skin color. This geographical story of the "Black Butterfly" pattern of segregation in Baltimore [60]

is also demonstrated in the continued and disproportionate harms of drug use and death within the Black community [106]. "Many of us hustled because we lacked options, but we knew it was a bad choice," writes Watkins [161]. With Baltimore having the second highest poverty rate in the state of Maryland [109], there is an income and educational disparity between Black and white people in Baltimore [62, 108, 165]. Further, in Black neighborhoods, education resources are distributed more to youth detention facilities rather than basic education infrastructure for Black students [62]. These disparities help to reinforce the structural underpinnings of Baltimore's racial history while contributing to the reasons why Baltimore is so often associated with narratives of crime.

In addition to the cultural narratives around crime in Baltimore, the city has a long history of police brutality and violence toward Black residents. Black neighborhoods are over-policed [161] and data show that Black people are six times more likely to be arrested in Baltimore than white people [130]. Following the death of Freddie Gray, a Black man was killed while he was in police custody, on protests broke out across the city [72, 122]. The April 2015 protests were nationally televised and discussed at length on social media, with #FreddieGray trending alongside #blacklivesmatter; another name in a long string of hashtagged names of Black men and women killed by police [94]. In this case, the civic unrest and protest following this episode of police violence toward an unarmed Black man further intertwined the narratives of Baltimore and crime. The protests were associated with the #BlackLivesMatter movement, which has been met by white fragility and fear in online spaces [20, 67]. In these discourses, protesters, particularly if property is destroyed or tear gas is used to control crowds, are equated with being criminals in news media (e.g. the narrative frame shifts from "protest" to "riot" in news media reports).

On the r/baltimore subreddit, there is a great deal of discussion that aims to combat these stereotypical and dominant narratives that have come to define the city of Baltimore.

5 CONVERSATIONS ABOUT CRIME AS RE-ENFORCING AND FIGHTING AGAINST INSTITUTIONALIZED PLATFORMED RACISM

By engaging in conversations about crime, redditors were working on two fronts. Firstly, they were mitigating both their own fears of crime, as well as the fears of crime held by others. They accomplished this by talking about the subject matter in ways that constructed counter-narratives to this fear. Secondly, through constructing these counter-narratives, redditors were actively working to develop a revised narrative of Baltimore. Most of these conversations were being produced by people who had once lived or presently live in the city itself.

As we previously established, Baltimore is synonymous with crime in both American popular culture and general public perception. In r/baltimore, Black criminals or suspects were disproportionately discussed as compared to crime perpetuated by white criminals or suspects. From our dataset, 50% of posts discussed Black criminals or suspects and most of them were negative in tone in reference to Black perpetrators. Only one post discussed a protest against the problematic conviction of a Black criminal. In contrast, no posts discussed white criminals or suspects explicitly. Moreover, redditors also retitled original news articles when sharing them on r/baltimore. For example, the news title "A dismembered body found in Baltimore leads to arrest, more questions" was revised to be "Disturbing in many ways, it appears the arrested is a serial killer who only served 11 years for a previous double homicide." This practice moved posts from being potentially neutral to being interpreted and biased by a given poster's ideology. In sum, the disproportionate presence of articles about Black perpetrators and the editorialized and biased titles perpetuated stereotypes of crime in Baltimore as a Black activity.

Beyond the depictions of Baltimore mediated by traditional media and other representations, some r/baltimore users thought social media community spaces, especially Facebook, had reinforced the narrative and stereotype of Baltimore as a city where crime takes place. Some of the conversations

on r/baltimore reflected that social media both increased awareness and contributed to overall anxiety about crime within the city itself.

Facebook neighborhood groups, to some r/baltimore users, were "fear factories" that pushed crime news to group members. Another user echoed this sentiment, discussing how social media platforms (Reddit, Twitter, and Facebook) acted as a magnifying mechanism for crime. The constant exposure to crime incidents on social media increased people's perception of their own likelihood of being victims of violent crime. One redditor explained:

> The presence of violent crime information on social media such as Reddit, Twitter, and Facebook makes people feel that they are very likely to be a victim of crime. The conversations on social media continue to perpetuate this image of Baltimore as a city rife with crime. As a place that is unsafe and full of risk. Yet, the violent crime incidents are few compared to the number of residents in the many neighborhoods comprising Baltimore. (17 points[2])

The tone used in r/baltimore when discussing crime facts and statistics oscillated between flippant and judgemental. Some comments exhibited high anxiety about crime, especially towards drug trafficking, shootings, and homicides; crimes that the city of Baltimore is normally associated with in popular entertainment media.

Yet, we find that redditors on r/baltimore were coming together to collectively revise these dominant public perceptions of Baltimore as a city. By revising the public perceptions of crime in Baltimore, people were also, in turn, destigmatizing Baltimore's image. In order to realize this goal, sharing personal experiences of living in Baltimore, reframing crime statistics as a mechanism for destigmatization, and clarifying biases embedded in news and social media in stories about crime. These activities served as counter narratives to the dominant ideologies mediating public perceptions of Baltimore.

For example, a specific kind of collective action emerged amongst redditors. By engaging in these conversations, local redditors were actively working towards reframing and revising people's attitudes and beliefs about the city of Baltimore. Redditors would disclose their personal connections to Baltimore (e.g. what neighborhood they live/lived in and would push back against misconceptions of Baltimore. Interestingly, redditors were more likely to engage in this behavior when they observed or perceived that these conversations were being dominated by non-local redditors. Here, the disclosure of one's identity as a resident of Baltimore provided a kind of authenticity and credibility when correcting false narratives. One local redditor, for example, argued that those who disseminated crime stories on Reddit were actually not living in Baltimore and therefore their information was not authentic. The comment received 10 points.

Beyond providing more authentic accounts and perspectives based on their experiences living in Baltimore, redditors also sought to destigmatize the city's image through comparison. We observe a phenomenon whereby redditors compared crime in Baltimore with other cities, even when no comparisons were made in original posts. These comparisons presented statistics as a means of demonstrating what they perceived as incorrect perceptions of crime in Baltimore; that crime in Baltimore was not as bad as people perceived, and fell in line with crime rates in other cities. One redditor highlighted how crime in Baltimore has been on the decline from 2000 to 2010, noting the rate of decline was 43% compared to 11% nationwide. The comment received 10 points.

By engaging in these practices, Redditors on r/baltimore were collectively mitigating people's fear of crime while destigmatizing Baltimore's image. However, on a deeper level, we find that many of these conversations were not actually related to developing an awareness of crime in the traditional sense. Rather, many of the conversations exhibited institutionalized platformed racism.

---

[2]The comment score is upvotes minus downvotes.

Specifically, we find that many of these conversations served to re-enforce and perpetuate old and new racial frames. Redditors framed their conversations through "old racism" in 30% of posts and framed their conversations through "new racism" in 40% of posts. At the same time, a few redditors sought to challenge and push back against platformed racism through the development of counter narratives challenging the racist ideologies that had come to dominate r/baltimore. There was a clear disparity between the number of redditors who destigmatized stereotypes of the city Baltimore and the number of redditors who re-enforced anti-Black stereotypes, which was reflected by the upvotes and downvotes both sides received. We illustrate the ways in which people perpetuated and countered institutionalized platformed racism in the sections that follow: (1) Perpetuating and Countering Old Racism and (2) Perpetuating and Countering New Racism.

5.1 Perpetuating and Countering Old Racism

In this section, we first illustrate how people were drawing on racial frames shaped through old racism. Next, we illustrate how people were generating counter frames to fight against old racism.

5.1.1 Old Racism: Racial Frames as Dehumanizing. In conversations on r/baltimore, criminals or suspects were portrayed as brutal and impenitent. The majority of persons discussed in these conversations were Black or were perceived to be Black by posters. Redditors employed racial frames that were shaped by old Jim Crow racism through the dehumanization of criminals or suspects, while the same language was rarely used in discussions of criminals or suspects who were white. These narratives reinforced and perpetuated stereotypes of Black people and created a negative atmosphere on the subreddit.

An example of this is seen in the discussion of an incident where Black teenager Dawnta Harris was convicted of felony murder, first-degree burglary, and auto theft for killing a white police officer [160]. Harris was waiting outside a home where the other three Black teenagers were conducting burglary. According to evidence caught on camera, the police officer asked Harris to get out of a stolen Jeep. Harris opened the door, hesitated, and then closed the door and drove over the police officer. When discussing this crime, redditors used language such as "thug" and "animal" to describe Harris. The language choice actively dehumanized Harris with the use of the word "animal" while also implicitly commenting on Harris as a criminal with the word "thug." While Harris's race was not explicitly mentioned, these comments are implicitly racist. Words like "thug" have a long history of anti-Black racism as perpetuated by white people in the US [144].

This use of dehumanizing language was also seen in commentary over a separate incident where three Black teenagers carjacked a pregnant teacher and stole cars at three schools:

> How can we even see these 'monsters' as teen girls? Considering they can get pregnant, you would think they would be more aware of how they were harming a pregnant women. (2 points)

Here, the use of the word "monster" was also laced with a sense of the redditors setting the Black teenagers as others to themselves. By situating the perpetrators of the crime as subhuman, members of r/baltimore were implicitly framing the teenagers' racial identity as something inhuman, continuing to perpetuate stereotypes about Black people in relationship to crime. When other members in the r/baltimore community pointed out the use of racially coded language, some redditors still insisted on its use. In a discussion of the Harris case we described previously, one redditor called these teenagers "criminal pieces of shit" and said whoever defended them were easily duped. The comment received 7 points.

The hostile reactions to users pointing out the use of stereotypes and racism also demonstrated how willing people were to lean on them in the context of crime conversations. Additionally, it

showed how redditors were unable to react to being challenged on their biases beyond ad hominem attacks on individuals attempting to have a more nuanced discussion about the crime at hand.

In the Harris case, three other Black teenagers were with Harris at the time of the crime. All three were also facing felony burglary charges for their involvement with the crime. Harris confessed to the murder, which led to the three other teenagers being charged with felony burglary. In discussing other teenagers involved in the Harris case, one redditor showed little sympathy toward them and particularly emphasized the criminal record one of the three teenagers had, characterizing them as a "violent sociopath" for having a previous violent crime record. The redditor enthusiastically suggested that this teenager should receive a life sentence without parole, while hoping that the other two teenagers would testify against their counterpart as part of a potential plea deal. The comment received 15 points.

In extreme cases, some redditors not only used racially coded language but also proclaimed that it was fair to use such language to describe perpetrators of crime. These blatantly racist comments received high upvotes from other redditors and were not removed by moderators. In contrast, any comments that called attention to narratives framed through old racism received high numbers of downvotes. For example, in one case, the original poster attached a video that recorded two Black teenagers stealing a scooter in a public space, where one of them littered during the theft. Commenters used dehumanizing language to describe the two teenagers, such as "youngster" and "some of the worst human beings." These responses did not explicitly call attention to the race of the teenagers although the details of the video clearly featured their skin color, but rather projected the inferior and subhuman evaluation of the broader group the teenagers belonged to. All of these racist comments received high upvotes.

When one redditor pointed out one of the comments had "a racist undertone," the comment immediately received push back and was severely downvoted (-17 points). In response, two redditors expressed how their racist frames were fair and moral, and received support from other redditors through upvotes. One comment openly expressed a kind of self awareness in how redditors had carte blanche to behave like racists, and even used the phrase "code purple" sarcastically, highlighting the ways in which racial frames were normalized on the platform (10 points). In this case, the use of "code" is related to standardized emergency codes, such as code red which means fire and code blue which means medical emergency. Only here, the community was co-opting code purple as a racist frame whereby people with Black skin color are often referred to as "purple."

5.1.2 Counter Frames as Rehumanizing: Fighting Jim Crow Racists. While many of the comments on Reddit were racist and exhibiting platformed racism, there were also redditors who sought to draw attention to the racist behavior of individuals on the subreddit. In particular, they were attempting to fight against posts that were framed through old racism. Redditors were trying to push back against racism in an effort to move from language that was dehumanizing and subhuman to one that was more humanistic and compassionate.

We return to the conversations the Harris case discussed in the previous section, with several people were referring to Harris as "cold-blooded" or an animal. Through the dehumanization of Harris, people were at once perpetuating harmful stereotypes and biases of Black people, while simultaneously justifying the extreme actions and perspectives people held. Yet, other redditors sought to draw people's attention to this language, highlighting how these conversations and people's beliefs were mediated by deeply held old racism. These conversations, in many ways, mirrored historical anti-Black activities and ideologies, only here the mob was digital and wholly online. We see how the digital mob pushed racist rhetoric in crime conversations across the board, where people were quick to dehumanize and judge Black members of society unfairly.

Yet, we also continue to see a smaller subset of redditors who worked to counter and revise the harmful attitudes and perspectives that dominated these conversations about crime. They employed narrative strategies to challenge the ideologies being presented by the digital mob that continued to dehumanize Black people. For example, in the context of the Harris murder, one redditor challenged the use of the word "cold-blooded" in describing Harris. In this context, cold-blooded was being used to liken Harris to an animal; an animal that was emotionless and unable to make rational and reasoned decisions, but rather only acting on an instinct of violence. Rather, this redditor argued that the murder of the police office was a consequence unanticipated by Harris.

However, this redditor's comment received 3 downvotes and based on the conversation that emerged around this particular comment, it was clear that others were not persuaded by the argument. For example, another redditor responded that Harris was still cold blooded even it was not premeditated murder (1 point).

To counter old racism, one redditor also drew a parallel between the language used and discourses of this subreddit to "lynchings of years past." In the context of US history, lynchings were killings that took place outside of the judicial system without a fair trial, and they were often executed by a mob [65]. Lynchings have happened across history and cultural contexts, though in the US, lynchings disproportionately affected African Americans [65]. In the context of r/baltimore, this particular redditor likened the activities of the members of this subreddit to lynchings of the past; here, members of this subreddit were at once drawing on their own internalized racism and acting as an anti-Black digital mob, using racialized rhetoric as a kind of weapon to continue to justify harmful actions and attitudes towards people who are Black.

While we identified racial frames that were shaped by old racism, these overt and blatant comments comprised a small portion of our dataset. In most cases, redditors drew upon racial frames as guided and shaped by new racism, which we describe in the sections that follow.

5.2 Perpetuating and Countering New Racism

Here, we first illustrate the ways in which people were drawing on racial frames shaped through new, color-blind, racism. Next, we illustrate how people were generating counter frames to fight against new racism.

5.2.1 New Racism: Racial Frames as Color-Blind. We draw on racial framing through the lens of new racism [13] to highlight how conversations about crime were deeply mediated by institutionalized and structural racism. Specifically, we identified that these conversations were guided and shaped by three of the four racial frames identified by Bonilla-Silva [13], including: abstract liberalism, cultural racism, and minimization of racism. In addition, our analysis identified a fifth frame, which we dub neoliberal white righteousness.

Abstract liberalism. Abstract liberalism is a racial frame that applies the ideologies of political liberalism and economic liberalism to explain racial phenomena abstractly, such as in denying racial segregation and affirmative action policies. People often draw on this framing mechanism to argue how people have the freedom of choosing where to live and who to interact with, and that all people have equal opportunities in obtaining jobs or accessing education.

In the context of racial segregation, people employing this frame argue that residential segregation is not racial discrimination; rather, it is simply about people choosing where to live based on their individual preferences and income. One way in which this has manifests more systemically is through gentrification: a process of renewal and revitalization that is often practiced in urban environments [121]. In conversations about crime, some redditors explored gentrification as "the best solution" to reduce crime in certain neighborhoods. They argued that gentrification would serve to move people who caused violence (mainly referring to Black people) to other communities,

where they would be "moralized" and "rehumanized" by their good neighbors. The comment received 13 points.

The goals of gentrification can be seen as a pro-social activity. Many of these projects are about revitalizing urban spaces that are impoverished in an effort to create jobs, safe environments, and more. The conversations advocating for gentrification and reconstruction plans to resolve crime in "bad" neighborhoods, however, rarely mentioned, recognized, or articulated the side effects of gentrification on Black communities. In this way, the racial frame of abstract liberalism provides the mechanisms through which people turn the resolution of crime into an economic issue, without working to resolve the broader systemic injustices that have created everyday inequity.

In fact, the practice of gentrification is inherently tied to the broader set of white hegemonic ideologies and practices that have continued to create power imbalances in society. In an effort to renew these spaces, these projects often push the very people who were meant to be assisted out, thus serving to only create greater power divisions and shifting the location of a problem as opposed to solving the root causes themselves [31]. This is best illustrated by a comment made by a redditor who encouraged people to recognize the negative effects of gentrification: that gentrification is usually followed by unaffordable space and resources that pushed Black people out of gentrified areas, and forced Black people to assimilate their culture into white culture. The redditor also pointed out that people used "white man's burden" as the reason to support gentrification and desegregation. In the end, the redditor argued that gentrification was a new form of imperialism (1 point).

While it can be argued that the advocating for gentrification in "bad" neighborhoods would promote racial desegregation in the long run despite its negative influences, redditors held varying opinions on gentrification more broadly, where in many cases they were opposed to it. In these cases, redditors often described their opposition to gentrification through the example of educational infrastructure in mixed-race versus more homogeneous communities. Here, they drew upon the racial frame of abstract liberalism to justify their positions. For example, one post highlighted a significant population decline in the city of Baltimore during 2018, illustrating how poor public schools and unaffordable private schools in Baltimore were the potential reasons that propelled young parents to leave the city. One redditor blamed the admission standards of public schools, which deprived young families of attending these schools. The redditor explained that young parents had the right to choose good schools with good teachers and with no problematic children. At the same time, the redditor attributed the cycle of poverty to desegregation. As a whole, this entire comment was framed through the lens of abstract liberalism as a way in which to directly deny racist and systemic injustices. The comment received 17 points.

The incongruity of user opinions towards gentrification reflects a deep embedded white privilege that have come to dominate and shape the platform's norms.

Cultural racism. Cultural racism is a racial frame that argues how racial inequality is caused by "bad cultures" of people of color rather than racial discrimination. In our data, we see redditors attributing rampant crime witnessed in Baltimore to what they identified as a larger, endemic, problem in Black culture. Redditors viewed Black culture as immoral and hostile toward law enforcement, leading to criminal behaviors. Through a frame of cultural racism, they attributed the generational aspect of criminal acts to Black culture, rather than issues of systemic racism. For instance, in Harris' case, one argued that:

> They don't value life at all. This is part of their cultural upbringing and education. I don't think it can be fixed. (24 points)

For people of color in the US, criminal is synonymous with their race, culture, or creed, provided they are not white and Christian. This redditor's assertion that culture is what creates criminality

ignores the systemic forces at play in cities like Baltimore, where racism is designed into the very geography of the city [60]. Instead, redditors turned to racist stereotypes and stigmatize Baltimore's Black community as a monolithic entity to justify their opinions about crime.

Yet, there is an aspect of cultural shame attached to being overtly racist. In order to mask their cultural racism, redditors might not make the connection between crime and Black culture directly. Instead, they used "Baltimore culture" in their discussions of crime in Baltimore. However, given the racial demographics of Baltimore, comments around Baltimore culture did not evoke anything other than commentary around Baltimore's Black residents. For example, in the aforementioned post of two Black teenagers stealing a scooter, one redditor said that the quality of people living in Baltimore was worse than the country on average, and it was the cause of bad schools and crime. This comment implicitly stigmatized the morality of Baltimore's Black population. It received 16 points.

Under the same post, another redditor commented that these immoralities of Black teenagers were inherited from their parents, which further demoralized the Black community, while also drawing on a cultural racial frame that positioned Black people's education from family as immoral and Black culture as inferior.

Minimization of racism. In addition to abstract liberalism and cultural racism, some redditors used the racial frame of minimization of racism, which rationalizes how discrimination is no longer a central factor impacting the life conditions of minoirites [15]. In minimizing racism, redditors engaged with this racial frame to argue that racism did not play a primary role in the issues that plagued contemporary society. Through this argument, discussion of race in relationship to crime was unnecessary and could be considered, in popular vernacular "playing the race card."

A direct instance is that some redditors denied the minority status of Black people, thus denying the underlying white supremist ideologies that had created a systemic subordinate status for Black people. For instance, when a redditor initiated a comment *"Our city is racist"* to criticize rampant racist comments, one redditor refuted their racist ideology by citing the racial demographics of Baltimore: Black or African American people are the majority racial group, 62.8% of the population (-1 points). However, the social structure still privileges white people and oppresses and represses Black people in every aspect of daily life.

Even though some redditors had been able to recognize and bring attention to institutional or systemic racism, through a minimization of racism, they tried to form the view that institutional racism is a thing of the past and no longer influences the everyday experiences of People of Color. For example, one redditor dismissed the impact of institutional racism on Black people in the present-day US and refused to use institutional racism to defend Black criminals:

> Institutional racism is a thing of the past. Do not use institutional racism to defend people who commit violent crime in this city at present (4 points)

Through the racial frame of minimization of racism, redditors also used "reverse racism" to defend racism in their comments. Reverse racism or reverse discrimination is the inherently racist concept against affirmative action that provides social and economic advantages to Black people and harms the interests of white people [27]. For example, in a post that the original poster recalled a mugging experience, when redditor A pointed out that a comment dehumanized the natives, redditor B used reverse racism to deny racism in the comment. Redditor B called redditor A "the snowflake," a word used to describe someone who was very sensitive and claimed non-existent racism.

Reverse racism was used in many other comments to either defend white people for being unequally treated in crime reporting or defend those who are being accused of racism in their posts.

Moreover, we also observe how redditors mentioned they had Black friends or had positive interactions with "good" Black people, which was another way in which racial frames were shaped by and through the minimization of race and racism [13]. For instance, in an effort to minimize racism, one redditor criticized the behavior of US-born Black community members, while also making clear that they had Black immigrant friends. In the narrative, the redditor tried to frame that race should not be the excuse for theft to justify their non-racial position to US-born Black thieves. However, the end of the comment, claiming that being born in the US is a privilege, overlooked and minimized the systemic racism that had come to shape the everyday experiences of Black people in the US. This comment received 15 points.

In a response, a white immigrant redditor showed agreement and continued to use the minimization of racism frame to justify their institutionalized racism. The redditor argued it were values not color that could differentiate people. This comment received 12 points.

As this final comment illustrates, this conversation continued to use minimization of racism as a racial frame in that it also ignored how Black immigrants also experienced the same institutions of racism even if they had "a big difference in values."

Neoliberal white righteousness. We also find that redditors concealed their racism through a new category of new racism we dub "neoliberal white righteousness." This racial frame is one where people make judgments on social issues such as mass incarceration and social programs through their white moral superiority (supremacy). Through the frame of neoliberal white righteousness, we observe how people argued for the righteousness of systemic inequality and policies that privileged white people and placed Black people and other minorities at a disadvantage.

The racial stereotypes led to a lack of questioning over how suspects of color – in particular Black suspects – were treated by the criminal justice system in Baltimore. Redditors even made convictions of Black suspects as mediated by and through their own "righteousness." For example, in an incident where a Black man randomly stabbed five people and was shot to death by the police, most redditors agreed that shooting the suspect was the right way to control the man. In this case, a redditor questioned whether it was necessary to shoot the suspect in question, and if the suspect was experiencing mental health problems, he might not be sentenced to death. This comment received push back from other redditors. One redditor expressed how the suspect was not innocent regardless of any conditions and that the r/baltimore community was far too lenient on the accused criminals while ignoring the victims of these crimes. At the point of the discussion happening, the Black perpetrator was apparently not sentenced. The redditor assumed the suspect was guilty and used their white moral superiority as justification of violent police retribution to acts of violence.

> He stabbed people and he paid for this with his life. He is not innocent even though he had mental health issues. In fact, I think he should have been rehabilitated if he was mentally ill. We are far too lenient with bad people. It is not fair to the victims. (3 points)

When being questioned about their racist comments, they used neoliberal white righteousness to conceal their racist ideology, through the view that criminals are criminals so they do not deserve respect.

We also see the application of neoliberal white righteousness through conversations about the reformation of the criminal justice system to reduce violence. However, when redditors expressed how reformation measures, such as mass incarceration or more severe sentencing for Black people, were examples of systemic and institutional racism, others opposed these ideas. Redditors argued that these reformations were all about social justice and not about race. For example, in one post where the original poster asked about the crime rate in Baltimore, redditors engaged in a long discussion about how to improve safety in neighborhoods. One comment suggested rehabilitating

"bad" neighborhoods by building larger jails and putting problematic youth into jails. The comment received 19 points.

When being questioned about the improper tone in the comment, the redditor listed criminal acts in neighborhoods such as car jackings and pointed out how victims might experience life change due these acts. The redditor used the word "garbage" in the sentence to describe criminals to justify his subsequent claims about how people in these neighborhoods deserved harsher treatment. This argument was shaped through neoliberal white righteousness to conceal systemic racism. The comment received 8 points.

We also observe that redditors called for severe punishment for people who were Black and had criminal records, especially when compared to the punishment being levied towards white criminals. Redditors argued criminal records were evidence suggesting greater potential of repeating offenses in the future, which perpetuated neoliberal white righteousness. These severe punishments include calls for "life-long prison," and more. In the following example, the redditor suggested using algorithms to profile criminals and decide how to sentence them, whereas we know from prior work that algorithms used in the justice system are constructed against Black people [26, 97] and produce harsher sentences for Black people [56]. This highlights how algorithms and their construction could serve to maintain the systems of white hegemonic power that have come to dominate the social systems comprising the US, and how redditors similarly wished to design and create systems that continued this dominance over others who were not white:

> Thuggy Thugface earns another chance because cruel and unusual punishment is not allowed. These criminals are more likely to commit crimes after being released. We should use algorithms to profile criminals and determine who should be given another chance and who should not be given anotehr chance. If the criminals reach a certain threshold, we should remove them from society forever. Then many lives will be saved in Baltimore like this guy and his daughter. (4 points)

5.2.2 Counter Frames Against Institutionalized Racism: Drawing Attention to White Privilege and Power. While many of the comments on Reddit exhibited platformed racism as framed by new racism, there were also redditors who were actively working to generate counter frames to revise these narratives. Redditors were pushing back against new racism in an effort to draw attention to how other members of the subreddit were blind to their own institutionalized power and privilege.

In continuing with the Harris murder case, other redditors underscored systemic racism and injustice by arguing that crime is not a born, racial trait. Through the use of comparative examples, for example, one redditor highlighted how anyone, irrespective of race, gender, socioeconomic status, and more, was capable of crime in the shared article. Here, the article reflected how the majority of school shootings had been engaged in by white teenagers as a means of creating a counter narrative, pushing back against the dominant racial frame of the subreddit:

> It's good that the author compared people's reaction to the school shootings by white teenagers and our reaction to Harris' case. Our personal reaction should not be affected by a perpetrator's race. We should work together to make a less biased and more equal criminal justice system. (12 points)

However, ensuing discourses were mediated by and through the systemic racism that had come to dominate these conversations about crime. Other redditors disagreed with the comparison, and continued to justify their own biases against Black people. One redditor thought people overreacted to the school shootings but were too lenient with crime conducted by Black teenagers in Baltimore. People feared being labeled racist.

We see these kinds of interactions in the majority of crime conversations on r/baltimore. For example, in the aforementioned where a redditor disagreed with the "racist" assertion by mentioning that Black or African American is a dominant racial group in Baltimore. In an attempt to challenge the dominant ideology of the subreddit, one redditor reminded people that racism is not directly associated with racial composition. This particular individual drew upon the concept of "institutional racism" as defined on Wikipedia to describe how people's attitudes and beliefs were being shaped.

Moreover, members of r/baltimore also explored the root causes of crime. Here, they listed and explored several factors contributing to crime, such as poverty, education, and neighborhood environments, as a means of highlighting systemic injustices when discussing crime related activities, incidents, and behaviors. In this view, then, redditors were aiming to push crime conversations away from a central focus Black members of society, to one that situated crime more broadly in root, societal causes.

One example of these conversations manifested around people's perceptions of crime and incarceration. In the context of crime, and specifically juvenile crime, it is often the case that Black juveniles are tried as adults more often than white juveniles when committing the same crimes [81]. As a parallel to the treatment of Black juveniles by the court system, the members of r/baltimore were also advocating that Black juveniles receive the same punishment as adult criminals. However, other redditors expressed outrage at this notion and, in attempting to push back against this dominant ideology, aimed to identify the root causes of crime amongst Black members of the community. Specifically, redditors called attention to poverty and socioeconomic status, and how those factors were often highly correlated with juvenile crime irrespective of race. In the context of the city of Baltimore, redditors also highlighted how many people, especially those who are Black, grow up in impoverished neighborhoods that are dominated by drug-related activity, and how these environments played a role in shaping those members, and perceptions, of the community. One redditor, for example, argued that in order to address juvenile crime, it was more important to fix the root causes (e.g., high unemployment, limited resources for health care, and environment rife with violence and drugs) rather than continuing the perpetual cycle and putting more and more Black juveniles in prison. The comment received 38 points.

Whereas many conversations centered around exploring a broad range of root causes, such as policing and poverty, redditors also expressed concern about the viability of fixing these long-lasting and historical issues. Yet, in these conversations, redditors identified what they considered to be one of the most severe root causes of crime, and one that was most challenging to solve of all—the ways in which white privilege and white patriarchy have come to shape our social systems and people's beliefs and attitudes.

While we see that redditors were pushing back against patriarchy and privilege, we also see that in discussions on how to address root causes, many of the proposed solutions were mediated by the same white-centric policy that people wished to solve. However, some redditors made compromises when countering racial narratives. Rather than pointing to systemic racism, they countered racism by situating themselves in a "middle" place with the purpose of avoiding furious opposition (e.g., high downvotes). For example, returning to the discussion of Harris' sentencing, one redditor first expressed concerns related to a chronic problem with repeat juvenile offenders in Baltimore and called for people's actions for just sentencing. Then, the redditor showed the opposing attitude towards extreme punishments and sentencing Harris as an adult. Next, the redditor turned the gear again expressing concerns about the "catch and release" games and public wellness. The comment held an ambiguous opinion towards the sentencing. The redditor did not give a clear answer about how to help with just sentencing and how to stop the repeat offender issue.

Other than the "fencing sitting" comments, some redditors sought to articulate and explicate the root causes behind white people's beliefs and attitudes towards Black people. However, in their

argument, race is not a center factor that influences the inequality and oppression that Black people are experiencing in everyday life. For example, one redditor believed the root cause was wealth inequality and referenced the scholar Richard Wilkinson's research, which explores how wealth inequality is a primary source of social problems. In his work, Wilkinson [166] describes how the greater wealth inequality between citizens of any given nation, despite how wealthy a nation might be, the more severe the social and societal issues that plague them. He specifically describes how the unequal distribution of wealth creates a split culture, where those with wealth dehumanize and think of those without wealth as "lesser than." Using this theory, the redditor explained a Black perpetrator's shooting behavior as a result of wealth inequality. In response to the above argument, another redditor agreed with as the root cause but denied the racial factors involved in crime.

6 DISCUSSION

It is important to stress that the authors, in conducting this study, perhaps naively sought out to understand the ways in which online community spaces contribute to people's fear of crime. The first author, for example, has worked extensively on designing sociotechnical systems to help people report crime and create safety in their lives, such as on college campuses. Thus, the current study was a natural extension of the previous work.

Our study contributes a deep understanding of how online discourses perpetuate harmful, racist views. While it was phenomenologically about crime, on a deeper level, these conversations about crime highlight centuries-old systemic and institutionalized racism against Black people. Drawing on the concepts of old and new racism, we highlight how people's racial frames are deeply and systemically racist, underscoring how institutionalized racism continues to dominate and shape people's perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, and actions in relation people of color.

To build upon these findings, we first connect our work to the work on platformed racism by discussing how racism operates on platforms like Reddit. We then broaden from our conversation on platformed racism to discuss how people in digitall spaces are weaponizing identity and engaging in a kind of digital gentrification, which we argue are ways in which people, through their online interactions, continue to perpetuate white hegemonic power structures in society. We then discuss how we can better design sociotechnical systems to combat institutionalized platformed racism.

6.1 Platformed Racism in Online Discourses

Platformed racism is created by platform governance through its policies, moderation of content, and "often arbitrary enforcement of rules" [113]. It is important to understand how old and new racism is generated and disseminated on platforms and how policies, algorithms, and designs of platforms contribute to it [131].

On Reddit, policies and designs support racism in both overt and covert ways. Adrienne Massanari [111] examines how Reddit's design, algorithm, and politics support anti-feminist and misogynistic activism. She describes the environment and culture of Reddit as "toxic technocultures" [111]. For example, Reddit's karma system is one of the main design affordances that support toxic technocultures. The karma score reflects the perspectives and views that come to perpetually shape these spaces. While Massanari [111] uses this metric to describe how toxic technocultures can create a lack of safety, especially for redditors who identify as women, in our work, we extend this to include how these same structures can come to perpetually enforce racist ideologies and perspectives.

Another critical factor of toxic technocultures is Reddit's policies around offensive content. Reddit's policies toward racist content and redditors expressing racist ideas are ambiguous and passive [131]. This induces more and more racist content on Reddit. For instance, Reddit announced that they banned the subreddit r/coontown in 2015. The announcement explained that the ban

was because "a handful of communities that exist solely to annoy other redditors, prevent us from improving Reddit, and generally make Reddit worse for everyone else" [132]. Reddit's announcement did not call out racism as one of the explicit reasons for the ban, despite the subreddit's name being clearly attached to a racist slur against Black people. As Massanari criticized, "this becomes part of a troubling pattern where in Reddit administrators introduce new content rules only when forced (usually by unfavorable media coverage), and often the rules are vague and not applied consistently" [112]. Uneven enforcement that is focused more on protecting Reddit's image (and thus people's engagement with the platform) rather than on the needs of Black, Indigenous, and other People of Color (BIPOC) individuals to be able to engage safely in a space without encountering old and new racial frames demonstrates how little attention Reddit pays to the racist content that appears on their platform.

When people engage in conversations about crime on Reddit, too, we find that redditors apply old and new racial frames as a matter of course. This language is applied to criminals and suspects of crime who appear to be or are Black while it is not applied to criminals of other racial and ethnic groups. Moreover, redditors apply color-blind frames to defend or deny their internalized racist ideologies in explaining many racial matters related to crime (e.g., segregation, gentrification, education), which shapes racial narratives in a more covert way. While the rules of r/baltimore clearly outline a policy on racism that is to be enforced by moderators [129], the use of racially coded language is not identified as racist by the moderators. Redditors in r/baltimore are required to:

> 1. Follow Wheaton's Law: Keep it civil. Racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, dehumanization, discrimination, insulting, trolling, slap-fighting, bullying, etc. are not allowed. Constructive criticism is okay. Personal attacks are not. Posts that are found to have been subjected to brigading or which generate an inordinate number of reports may be subject to locking. Additionally, users who frequently demonstrate a pattern of engaging in uncivil conduct are subject to warnings, timeouts, or bans.
> 2. Follow Wheaton's Law (Baltimore): Users who demonstrate a pattern of extreme negativity towards Baltimore or it's residents are subject to ban. User who solely participate in r/baltimore in order to denigrate the city and/or it's residents without adding substance to the discussion. For example, on posts which inquire as to where to live, comments such as "why would you move to Baltimore" and "In The County" (though this subreddit is welcoming to County residents) are not constructive and are not helpful to anyone.

Here, the rules layout an explicit policy against racism, dehumanization, and discrimination. Yet our findings show that when confronted with the use of racially coded language in discussing crime (e.g. the use of "thug," "animal," and "monster"), the r/baltimore moderators do not enforce their own policy, and the community barely self-polices. This could be a sign of their own implicit bias against Black people when moderating and participating in discussions about crime. Moreover, moderators do not have a clearly opposed stance to color-blind racism. Although we did not know those comments that had been removed by moderators, we identified pervasive racial narratives framed through new, color-blind, racism. The use of color-blind racism allows redditors to talk about racism without any words about race, or easily negate their racial narratives.

Moreover, the lack of attention paid to racist ideology amongst moderators could also be tied to the labor of moderation; it may not be intentional. In the work by Dosono and Semaan [44], the authors argue that moderation is an emotional and affectively taxing endeavor. As such, in the context of r/baltimore, the moderators are perhaps simply unable to keep up with the demands of moderation, or maybe, given the volume of information produced on Reddit, the meta-moderation

tools (e.g. auto moderators) at their disposal may not be accurately flagging these posts as the language used is not explicitly racist. From work on machine learning, for example, we know that it is difficult to train data models and algorithms to tag implicit inferences, such as sarcasm [17]. Conversely, however, it is also important to point out that the very tools being designed to tag content are also being designed by people [167], which suggests that perhaps people's implicit biases might be embedded into content tagging tools as well — the tools being used to moderate may also be shaped through the frames of old and new racism.

In returning to Reddit's karma system, it actively enforces implicit biases to old and new racism through how it is shaped by the behavior of the majority or dominant group. Although members of the r/baltimore community are actively working to construct counter narratives that combat the anti-Blackness of the larger r/baltimore community, comments that use racially coded language usually receive higher upvotes and more replies and therefore are listed higher than those that do not. These implicitly racist comments receive more exposure by being sorted as the default "best" – when they are in fact merely comments that have received the most engagement from other redditors. In contrast, comments that are counter narratives to push back against the anti-Blackness of the community receive more downvotes. These comments will be either automatically collapsed (meaning that their text will not be shown) by the Reddit algorithm or more likely to be removed by moderators. Here, the implicit bias becomes explicit, as r/baltimore moderators actively remove comments which seek to combat old and new racial frames, which further contributes to Reddit's content algorithm's bias of these posts. Platformed racism is enforced by both human and technological tools, wherein the human intervention (by moderators, the community) embodies a distinct, and overt, racist character in relation to conversations about crime.

These design attributes function in concert with and exacerbate platformed racism in several ways, which we describe in the following sections with two concepts: weaponized identity and digital gentrification.

6.1.1 Weaponized Identity. HCI and CSCW scholarship is increasingly focused on the relationships between sociotechnical systems and identity [18, 43, 48]. Scholars in our field have looked at the concept of identity in relation to a range of sociotechnical phenomena, e.g. algorithmic systems [38, 39], identity work [43, 45], and to a lesser degree race [139, 153].

Based on our work, we argue that identity can also be weaponized, when people use body and body image as a weapon against others. We dub this concept weaponized identity. To further develop this idea, we draw upon the work of Sonya Renee Taylor [151]. Taylor [151] develops the concept of bodily terrorism. Terrorism, she argues, "is defined as intense, sharp, overmastering fear. Terrorism is the inflicting of such fear on an individual or group." In building on this idea, Taylor then defines bodily terrorism as violence that is associated with body hatred. Here, she uses the idea of bodily terrorism to illustrate how there have come to be "normative" and "non-normative" bodies, where normative bodies are white and thin, and non-normative bodies are "black," "big," and "fat." Construction of a concept of normative bodies positions it so there are bodies that matter, and bodies that do not; bodies are a vehicle through which white, cisgender and heterosexual power operates [151]. These normative and harmful body image narratives are reinforced by popular media and have come to define how we think about others in today's society.

In our study, we see redditors reproducing societal narratives of white supremacy in their discussion of crime in Baltimore. These conversations frame crime as non-normative and inhuman while using racially coded language to implicitly convey that the perpetrators of these crimes are Black or are expected to be Black by redditors. These conversations weaponize both white and Black identity in a way that continues to perpetuate systems of oppression that are centuries old in the US. In this way, when redditors position Black bodies and identities as animals, monsters, subhuman,

and inhuman, they are perpetuating longstanding structures of white power and privilege through the way in which they are portraying Black bodies and identities as something to be feared and lesser than.

Moreover, the weaponization of identity is enforced through Reddit's platform affordances around visibility (e.g., upvoting, karma) and platform policy (e.g., community moderation rules and enforcement) rewarding posters who engage in conversations about crime in ways that perpetuate structures of white supremacy in American society. Contributing to these normative and harmful identity narratives and being rewarded for it by Reddit's system incentivizes this behavior. In discussing how it was that there was no unity between the Black and white working class following the American Civil War, W.E.B. Du Bois famously argued that there was a psychological wage to whiteness, whereby white people were paid "in part by a sort of public and psychological wage. They were given public deference and titles of courtesy because they were white. [...] The police were drawn from their ranks, and the courts, dependent upon their votes, treated them with such leniency as to encourage lawlessness. [...] The newspapers specialized on news that flattered the poor whites and almost utterly ignored the Negro except in crime and ridicule" [47]. In the conversations we read in r/baltimore, this system of power has been recreated and scaffolded by Reddit's infrastructure and the design of the r/baltimore community. In these online crime conversations, we continue to see violence towards Black bodies in the verbal degradation of Black identity and the demonization of Black criminals and suspects of crime. Hundreds of years of white supremacy and anti-Blackness have perpetuated racial inequalities and using black bodies as a weapon through which to maintain the power structures of society. We see these same power structures mirrored and enabled through the various sociotechnical mechanisms and conversations on Reddit.

6.1.2 Digital Gentrification. Moreover, in weaponizing white identity against Black individuals in discussions of crime, we have further come to see the counter narratives redditors produced in order to rehabilitate Baltimore's image in the eyes of other redditors as a form of digital gentrification. Gentrification, understood broadly, is "the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential and/or commercial use" [105]. It is a process by which space is lost to working-class communities - many of which are communities of color. Historically, models of urban residential locations indicated that as people had the means to do so, they would move away from the urban centers. This concept, known as "white flight" had a distinct racial character, where white individuals would leave urban areas for the suburbs and leave central cities populated by increasingly impoverished Black and Brown communities [66]. According to Lees and colleagues [105], gentrification is the "leading edge of neoliberal urbanism" in that it is a part of a larger, global, process of neoliberal regeneration and renaissance. Living in urban areas is considered desirable, and is sold as a bill of goods to white people as a way of participating in a goal of 'revitalizing' a city – oftentimes ignoring the process of displacement of communities of color which goes hand in hand with that.

Part of this process is the creation of narratives that a community space belongs to a particular community. On r/baltimore, redditors created radicalized counter-narratives regularly that framed Baltimore as a place for people who did not commit crimes. While demographic information is not readily available for r/baltimore specifically, based on available Reddit demographic data [136], it is safe to assume that the majority of individuals participating in these discussions are white, or were willing to engage in conversations that reproduced societal notions of white supremacy. This data is largely self-reported, and therefore not necessarily accurate, but the point stands that many of the individuals discussed in crime conversations on r/baltimore are unlikely to participate in these conversations themselves. Thus, these crime conversations serve a dual purpose, as they

are exclusive conversations that heavily favor a gentrifying population of Baltimore – that is, white people. While they discuss crime, redditors are also creating narratives of place for white individuals out of the counter-narratives of crime. They are the well-meaning individuals who are rehabilitating Baltimore's image and revitalizing Baltimore in the eyes of the larger Reddit community.

We consider this on r/baltimore to be an example of digital gentrification, which we define as *the ways individuals engage narrative construction in neoliberal processes of revitalization and regeneration of urban areas in digital spaces.* Baltimore is presented in discussions of crime on Reddit as rife with violence and criminal activity. The users who are actively using their "safe" identities to create counter narratives around Baltimore are engaging in an act of revitalization of the city's image without critiquing the anti-Black commentary which is emerging from other r/baltimore community members. This, too, is an example of weaponized identity, where their identities as residents of Baltimore are not questioned as the overall assumption of the subreddit is that they are white and therefore their voices are worthy of being heard and their presence in Baltimore as residents is desirable.

6.2 Design Implications: Dismantling Obfuscated Platformed Racism

While platformed racism is present on all platforms [85, 113, 114], our findings show how Reddit's community policies and algorithm contribute to the obfuscation of racism within conversations about crime. As Hamilton explains, "platforms obfuscate and minimize the existence of online racism (a key tenet of colorblind racism) and abdicate their responsibility to moderate content" [76]. Platformed racism is easily obfuscated when platform governance is ambiguous to harmful content. Drawing on the concept of obfuscated platformed racism, we discuss design implications to dismantle racism involved in conversations about crime. Specifically, online platforms like Reddit need to (1) articulate rules, and (2) contextualize algorithmic detection, to fight racism, especially obfuscated racism.

6.2.1 Developing Rules to Fight Racism. Based on our work, findings underscore the need to develop rules that forbid racism, especially when considering that a lot of racist speech is subtle and covert. The vague rules around racism on r/baltimore fail to address racist language and color-blind racism in conversations about crime. Specifically, we observe that moderators in r/baltimore rarely step into conversations about crime where coded racial language is being used or when people are being overtly racist, not to say color-blind racism. Moderators on r/baltimore mostly clarify misinformation. Sometimes moderators warned people of inappropriate behaviors, however, did not directly address racism. There are currently 10 moderators in r/baltimore, only two of these moderators show up in our data set of conversations about crime. This brings up questions of how moderators modify content based on subreddit rules and what are their stance and availability to do so.

Our findings and observations suggest articulating rules to fight racism, especially racism that is expressed in a covert way. Reddit moderation rules and norms have been studied in HCI and CSCW [25, 44, 63, 88, 90]. Chandrasekharan and the colleagues [25] find that hate speech of the form of racism and homophobia is widely regarded as a norm violations across Reddit. They call the norm a "hidden rule," which can guide moderators to create rules for their own subreddits [25]. In Fiesler and colleagues' study [63], they coded rules of 100,000 subreddits, where hate speech is one of the main rules but racism is not explicitly defined in rules. This indicates a great need to address racism explicitly in rules around hate speech in many subreddits.

Rules around racism need to guide not only redditors but also moderators. The rules also need to protect counter narratives against racism to make sure those alternate perspectives are not suppressed by either being removed or hidden by moderators or algorithms.

6.2.2 Contextualizing Algorithmic Detection. Since the language used in most conversations about crime was racially coded, it is important to develop mechanisms that situate these conversations in context such that they can be readily interpreted, both by humans and machines, as racist. To develop this idea, we first draw on definitions of context in HCI, more broadly. As traditionally conceived, context was defined as the setting where action unfolds; it was believed to be a static entity. The work of Suchman [150], however, illustrated how context is not stable nor predetermined, but rather constructed by the activities of the people embedded within a given social setting or space. In building on this perspective, Dourish [46] argues that context is emergent and produced through interactions; people who are present in a social space actively produce the rules and norms that govern any given interaction. For example, let us consider a social space like a home environment. If only one person is at home, that single individual may feel comfortable taking a shower or using the restroom with the door open. When others are present in this same space, the context shifts. If that same individual has colleagues over for dinner, for example, they will likely act more in line with the shared norms and expectations that are generated within the workplace, such as wearing formal attire and eating properly at the dinner table.

In the case of the conversations about crime taking place on Reddit, the context of interaction is one whereby people have developed and reproduced shared interactional norms through which racist conversations use coded, often obfuscated language. Without delving into these conversations, and analyzing them ourselves in context, it would have been difficult to detect many of these conversations as being racist. A human observer, or especially an algorithmic system designed to detect racist speech, may have trouble recognizing or flagging these as racist conversations, given their coded nature. For example, many of the words being used by redditors would not seem problematic out of context. This suggests that we need to design algorithmic systems to more accurately interpret speech within context.

Studies have investigated how to detect harassment and hate speech on Reddit [23, 24, 89]. The continued development of tools to adequately identify and remove hate speech, and in the case of our study, obfuscated racism is even more important when considering many of these conversations are happening within and across subreddits that are not specifically devoted to crime, such as on r/baltimore. This calls for specific analytic attention to be paid to the development of content tagging systems and general policies that takes into account both explicit and obfuscated anti-Black content.

Crime-related conversations can take place anywhere on Reddit (as demonstrated by our data collection approach). However, the racist ideologies being propagated, especially against BIPOC, are not properly moderated nor accounted for. Tools that automatically detect content that exhibits harassment may, as presently constructed, be unable to detect racism, which has been articulated within prior scholarship. For example, HeartMob, which was a tool developed to allow humans to tag speech that exhibited harassment, found that people might mislabel racist language [11]. Similarly, Jhaver and colleagues [89] illustrated how automated tagging systems might hide racist content, as given the way in which the affordances of systems like Reddit work, much of this content may not be readily visible and thus included in the datasets used to train such systems (e.g. as we previously described with the karma system). Thus, we must consider the interrelationship between platform affordances, governance structures, and the people comprising any community or sub-community (e.g. the users), in re-thinking the design of both human and machine systems to address racism online.

7 CONCLUSION

We started our work with the goal of understanding how people talk about crime in online spaces. Specifically, we sought to understand how, through online discourses, people were contributing to the generalized "fear of crime." Through our analysis of online conversations on the subreddit r/baltimore, however, we found that these conversations about crime came to exhibit institutionalized platformed racism. Through their conversations on Reddit, redditors were at once complicit in perpetuating centuries-old white hegemonic ideologies and practices and pushing back against these same ideologies and practices in the same, bounded online space.

Our study contributes to conversations in our community exploring the experiences of the marginalized, as well as how sociotechnical systems like Reddit can serve as sources of marginalization. This study made one thing painfully clear: racism is still alive and well, especially on Reddit. In illustrating how racism is often color-blind in these online spaces, we hope that other scholars in our community will continue to build upon this work, in service of pushing back against racism and the racist ideologies that have continued to plague society for centuries.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES

[1] Richard E Adams and Richard T Serpe. 2000. Social integration, fear of crime, and life satisfaction. *Sociological perspectives* 43, 4 (2000), 605–629.

[2] Ban Al-Ani, Gloria Mark, Justin Chung, and Jennifer Jones. 2012. The Egyptian blogosphere: a counter-narrative of the revolution. In *Proceedings of the ACM 2012 conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work*. ACM, 17–26.

[3] Nazanin Andalibi, Oliver L Haimson, Munmun De Choudhury, and Andrea Forte. 2016. Understanding social media disclosures of sexual abuse through the lenses of support seeking and anonymity. In *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI conference on human factors in computing systems*. 3906–3918.

[4] Julia Angwin, Jeff Larson, Surya Mattu, and Lauren Kirchner. 2016. Machine bias. ProPublica. https://www.propublica.org/article/machine-bias-risk-assessments-in-criminal-sentencing Accessed by 5/30/2020.

[5] Ahmer Arif, Leo Graiden Stewart, and Kate Starbird. 2018. Acting the part: Examining information operations within# BlackLivesMatter discourse. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 2, CSCW (2018), 1–27.

[6] Lee Artz and Bren Ortega Murphy. 2000. *Cultural hegemony in the United States*. Vol. 7. Sage Publications.

[7] James Baldwin. 2011. *The devil finds work*. Vintage International.

[8] Natalya N Bazarova, Yoon Hyung Choi, Victoria Schwanda Sosik, Dan Cosley, and Janis Whitlock. 2015. Social sharing of emotions on Facebook: Channel differences, satisfaction, and replies. In *Proceedings of the 18th ACM conference on computer supported cooperative work & social computing*. 154–164.

[9] Lance W Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg. 2012. The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. *Information, communication & society* 15, 5 (2012), 739–768.

[10] Lindsay Blackwell, Tianying Chen, Sarita Schoenebeck, and Cliff Lampe. 2018. When online harassment is perceived as justified. In *Twelfth International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media*.

[11] Lindsay Blackwell, Jill Dimond, Sarita Schoenebeck, and Cliff Lampe. 2017. Classification and its consequences for online harassment: Design insights from heartmob. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 1, CSCW (2017), 1–19.

[12] Jan Blom, Divya Viswanathan, Mirjana Spasojevic, Janet Go, Karthik Acharya, and Robert Ahonius. 2010. Fear and the city: role of mobile services in harnessing safety and security in urban use contexts. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. ACM, 1841–1850.

[13] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. 2006. *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

[14] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. 2016. Down the rabbit hole: Color-blind racism in Obamerica. *The myth of racial color blindness: Manifestations, dynamics, and impact* (2016), 25–38.

[15] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. 2018. *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

[16]   Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. 2019. "Racists," "Class Anxieties," Hegemonic Racism, and Democracy in Trump's America. *Social Currents* 6, 1 (2019), 14–31.

[17]   Mondher Bouazizi and Tomoaki Otsuki Ohtsuki. 2016. A pattern-based approach for sarcasm detection on twitter. *IEEE Access* 4 (2016), 5477–5488.

[18]   Danah M Boyd and Nicole B Ellison. 2007. Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship. *Journal of computer-mediated communication* 13, 1 (2007), 210–230.

[19]   AJ Brush, Jaeyeon Jung, Ratul Mahajan, and Frank Martinez. 2013. Digital neighborhood watch: Investigating the sharing of camera data amongst neighbors. In *Proceedings of the 2013 conference on Computer supported cooperative work*. ACM, 693–700.

[20]   Nikita Carney. 2016. All lives matter, but so does race: Black lives matter and the evolving role of social media. *Humanity & Society* 40, 2 (2016), 180–199.

[21]   Manuel Castells. 2015. *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the Internet age.* John Wiley & Sons.

[22]   Andrew Chadwick. 2008. Web 2.0: New challenges for the study of e-democracy in an era of informational exuberance. *Isjlp* 5 (2008), 9.

[23]   Eshwar Chandrasekharan, Chaitrali Gandhi, Matthew Wortley Mustelier, and Eric Gilbert. 2019. Crossmod: A cross-community learning-based system to assist reddit moderators. *Proceedings of the ACM on human-computer interaction* 3, CSCW (2019), 1–30.

[24]   Eshwar Chandrasekharan, Umashanthi Pavalanathan, Anirudh Srinivasan, Adam Glynn, Jacob Eisenstein, and Eric Gilbert. 2017. You can't stay here: The efficacy of reddit's 2015 ban examined through hate speech. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 1, CSCW (2017), 1–22.

[25]   Eshwar Chandrasekharan, Mattia Samory, Shagun Jhaver, Hunter Charvat, Amy Bruckman, Cliff Lampe, Jacob Eisenstein, and Eric Gilbert. 2018. The internet's hidden rules: An empirical study of Reddit norm violations at micro, meso, and macro Scales. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 2, CSCW (2018), 1–25.

[26]   Cassandra Chaney and Ray V Robertson. 2013. Racism and police brutality in America. *Journal of African American Studies* 17, 4 (2013), 480–505.

[27]   Robert S Chang. 1995. Reverse racism: Affirmative Action, the family, and the dream that is America. *Hastings Const. LQ* 23 (1995), 1115.

[28]   Michael L Chataway, Timothy C Hart, Ross Coomber, and Christine Bond. 2017. The geography of crime fear: A pilot study exploring event-based perceptions of risk using mobile technology. *Applied geography* 86 (2017), 300–307.

[29]   Danielle Citron and Jurecic Quinta. 2018. Platform Justice: Content Moderation at an Inflection Point. *Aegis Series*. Stanford: Hoover Institution (2018).

[30]   Patricia Hill Collins. 2002. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment.* routledge.

[31]   Eric Corbett and Yanni Loukissas. 2019. Engaging gentrification as a social justice issue in HCI. In *Proceedings of the 2019 chi conference on human factors in computing systems*. 1–16.

[32]   Kimberlé Crenshaw. 1989. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *u. Chi. Legal f.* (1989), 139.

[33]   Clara Crivellaro, Rob Comber, John Bowers, Peter C Wright, and Patrick Olivier. 2014. A pool of dreams: facebook, politics and the emergence of a social movement. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. 3573–3582.

[34]   CST Edition. 2019. 'Walking while black' gives way to a different crime — 'driving while black'. https://chicago.suntimes.com/2019/12/20/21031714/stop-frisk-driving-while-black-cpd-chicago-police-department-traffic-stops-editorial-lori-lightfoot Accessed by 7/14/2021.

[35]   Jessie Daniels. 2013. Race and racism in Internet studies: A review and critique. *New Media & Society* 15, 5 (2013), 695–719.

[36]   Munmun De Choudhury, Sanket S Sharma, Tomaz Logar, Wouter Eekhout, and René Clausen Nielsen. 2017. Gender and cross-cultural differences in social media disclosures of mental illness. In *Proceedings of the 2017 ACM conference on computer supported cooperative work and social computing*. 353–369.

[37]   Martin Degeling and Bettina Berendt. 2018. What is wrong about Robocops as consultants? A technology-centric critique of predictive policing. *AI & SOCIETY* 33, 3 (2018), 347–356.

[38]   Michael Ann DeVito, Jeremy Birnholtz, Jeffery T Hancock, Megan French, and Sunny Liu. 2018. How people form folk theories of social media feeds and what it means for how we study self-presentation. In *Proceedings of the 2018 CHI conference on human factors in computing systems*. 1–12.

[39]   Michael Ann DeVito, Darren Gergle, and Jeremy Birnholtz. 2017. " Algorithms ruin everything" # RIPTwitter, Folk Theories, and Resistance to Algorithmic Change in Social Media. In *Proceedings of the 2017 CHI conference on human factors in computing systems*. 3163–3174.

[40]   Tawanna R Dillahunt and Alex Lu. 2019. DreamGigs: Designing a Tool to Empower Low-resource Job Seekers. In *Proceedings of the 2019 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. 1–14.

[41] Tawanna R Dillahunt, Sylvia Simioni, and Xuecong Xu. 2019. Online grocery delivery services: An opportunity to address food disparities in transportation-scarce areas. In *Proceedings of the 2019 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. 1–15.

[42] Tawanna R Dillahunt and Tiffany C Veinot. 2018. Getting there: Barriers and facilitators to transportation access in underserved communities. *ACM Transactions on Computer-Human Interaction (TOCHI)* 25, 5 (2018), 1–39.

[43] Bryan Dosono and Bryan Semaan. 2018. Identity work as deliberation: AAPI political discourse in the 2016 US Presidential Election. In *Proceedings of the 2018 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. 1–12.

[44] Bryan Dosono and Bryan Semaan. 2019. Moderation practices as emotional labor in sustaining online communities: The case of AAPI identity work on Reddit. In *Proceedings of the 2019 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. 1–13.

[45] Bryan Dosono and Bryan Semaan. 2020. Decolonizing Tactics as Collective Resilience: Identity Work of AAPI Communities on Reddit. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 4, CSCW1 (2020), 1–20.

[46] Paul Dourish. 2004. What we talk about when we talk about context. *Personal and ubiquitous computing* 8, 1 (2004), 19–30.

[47] William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. 2017. *Black Reconstruction in America: Toward a history of the part which black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880*. Routledge. 700–701 pages.

[48] Brianna Dym, Jed R Brubaker, Casey Fiesler, and Bryan Semaan. 2019. "Coming Out Okay" Community Narratives for LGBTQ Identity Recovery Work. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 3, CSCW (2019), 1–28.

[49] Sean Elias and Joe R Feagin. 2016. *Racial theories in social science: A systemic racism critique*. Routledge.

[50] Matthew K Elicker. 2008. Unlawful Justice: An Opinion Study on Police Use of Force and How Views Change Based on Race and Occupation. *Sociological Viewpoints* 24 (2008).

[51] Sheena Erete and Jennifer O Burrell. 2017. Empowered participation: How citizens use technology in local governance. In *Proceedings of the 2017 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. ACM, 2307–2319.

[52] Sheena Lewis Erete. 2012. Crime prevention technologies in low-income communities. *XRDS: Crossroads, The ACM Magazine for Students* 19, 2 (2012), 24–26.

[53] Sheena Lewis Erete. 2013. Empowerment through community crime-prevention technologies. *interactions* 20, 6 (2013), 27–31.

[54] Sheena L Erete. 2015. Engaging around neighborhood issues: How online communication affects offline behavior. In *Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing*. ACM, 1590–1601.

[55] Sheena L Erete, Ryan Miller, and Dan A Lewis. 2014. Differences in technology use to support community crime prevention. In *Proceedings of the companion publication of the 17th ACM conference on Computer supported cooperative work & social computing*. ACM, 153–156.

[56] Ronald S Everett and Roger A Wojtkiewicz. 2002. Difference, disparity, and race/ethnic bias in federal sentencing. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 18, 2 (2002), 189–211.

[57] Stephen Farrall and David Gadd. 2004. Research note: The frequency of the fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology* 44, 1 (2004), 127–132.

[58] FBI. 2012. Offenses Known to Law Enforcement. https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2018/crime-in-the-u.s.-2018/topic-pages/offenses-known-to-law-enforcement Accessed by 10/10/2019.

[59] Joe R Feagin. 2020. *The white racial frame: Centuries of racial framing and counter-framing*. Routledge.

[60] Features. 2019. "The Black Butterfly" Racial Segregation and Investment Patterns in Baltimore. https://apps.urban.org/features/baltimore-investment-flows/ Accessed by 5/30/2020.

[61] Kristin M Ferguson and Charles H Mindel. 2007. Modeling fear of crime in Dallas neighborhoods: A test of social capital theory. *Crime & Delinquency* 53, 2 (2007), 322–349.

[62] Kondwani Fidel. 2018. Education Behind The Bars of Poverty: Conditions of Learning Environments in Baltimore and Beyond. https://medium.com/@KondwaniFidel/education-behind-the-bars-of-poverty-conditions-of-learning-environments-in-baltimore-and-beyond-4046ad281117 Accessed by 5/30/2020.

[63] Casey Fiesler, Joshua McCann, Kyle Frye, Jed R Brubaker, et al. 2018. Reddit rules! characterizing an ecosystem of governance. In *Twelfth International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media*.

[64] Casey Fiesler and Nicholas Proferes. 2018. "Participant" perceptions of Twitter research ethics. *Social Media+ Society* 4, 1 (2018), 2056305118763366.

[65] National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. [n.d.]. History of Lynchings. https://www.naacp.org/history-of-lynchings/ Accessed by 10/11/2020.

[66] William H Frey. 1979. Central city white flight: Racial and nonracial causes. *American Sociological Review* (1979), 425–448.

[67] Ryan J Gallagher, Andrew J Reagan, Christopher M Danforth, and Peter Sheridan Dodds. 2018. Divergent discourse between protests and counter-protests:# BlackLivesMatter and# AllLivesMatter. *PloS one* 13, 4 (2018).

[68] Sarah A Gilbert. 2020. "I run the world's largest historical outreach project and it's on a cesspool of a website." Moderating a Public Scholarship Site on Reddit: A Case Study of r/AskHistorians. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 4, CSCW1 (2020), 1–27.

[69] Tarleton Gillespie. 2018. *Custodians of the internet: Platforms, content moderation, and the hidden decisions that shape social media.* 1–288 pages.

[70] Barney G Glaser and Anselm L Strauss. 2017. *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* Routledge.

[71] Benjamin Gleason. 2013. # Occupy Wall Street: Exploring informal learning about a social movement on Twitter. *American Behavioral Scientist* 57, 7 (2013), 966–982.

[72] David A Graham. 2015. The mysterious death of Freddie Gray. *The Atlantic* (2015).

[73] Emily Gray, Jonathan Jackson, and Stephen Farrall. 2008. Reassessing the fear of crime. *European journal of criminology* 5, 3 (2008), 363–380.

[74] Andrea Grimes, Martin Bednar, Jay David Bolter, and Rebecca E Grinter. 2008. EatWell: sharing nutrition-related memories in a low-income community. In *Proceedings of the 2008 ACM conference on Computer supported cooperative work.* 87–96.

[75] Frank E Hagan. 2009. *Crime types and criminals.* Sage.

[76] Amber M Hamilton. 2020. A Genealogy of Critical Race and Digital Studies: Past, Present, and Future. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* (2020), 2332649220922577.

[77] Donna Jeanne Haraway. 1991. A Cyborg Manifesto. Simians, Cyborgs, and Women. *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature. New York: Routledge* (1991), 149–181.

[78] Christina Harrington, Sheena Erete, and Anne Marie Piper. 2019. Deconstructing community-based collaborative design: Towards more equitable participatory design engagements. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 3, CSCW (2019), 1–25.

[79] Christina N Harrington. 2020. The forgotten margins: what is community-based participatory health design telling us? *Interactions* 27, 3 (2020), 24–29.

[80] Christina N Harrington, Katya Borgos-Rodriguez, and Anne Marie Piper. 2019. Engaging low-income African American older adults in health discussions through community-based design workshops. In *Proceedings of the 2019 chi conference on human factors in computing systems.* 1–15.

[81] Michael Harriot. 2018. Minor Damage: The Criminal Injustice of Black Youth Tried As Adults. https://www.theroot.com/minor-damage-the-criminal-injustice-of-black-youth-tri-1829311474 Accessed by 10/11/2020.

[82] Donovan Hill, Jasmine Blunt, Terrence Pugh, Monika Monk, Ji-Sun Kim, Woodrow W Winchester, D Scott McCrickard, Paul Estabrooks, and Felicia Doswell. 2011. Mobile technologies for promoting health and wellness among African American youth. In *International Conference on Universal Access in Human-Computer Interaction.* Springer, 36–45.

[83] Linlin Y Huang, Kate Starbird, Mania Orand, Stephanie A Stanek, and Heather T Pedersen. 2015. Connected through crisis: Emotional proximity and the spread of misinformation online. In *Proceedings of the 18th ACM conference on computer supported cooperative work & social computing.* 969–980.

[84] Aarti Israni, Sheena Erete, and Che L Smith. 2017. Snitches, Trolls, and Social Norms: Unpacking Perceptions of Social Media Use for Crime Prevention. In *Proceedings of the 2017 ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing.* ACM, 1193–1209.

[85] Andrew Jakubowicz, Kevin Dunn, Gail Mason, Yin Paradies, Ana-Maria Bliuc, Nasya Bahfen, Andre Oboler, Rosalie Atie, and Karen Connelly. 2017. Racism and the Affordances of the Internet. In *Cyber Racism and Community Resilience.* Springer, 95–145.

[86] Sue Jamison-Powell, Conor Linehan, Laura Daley, Andrew Garbett, and Shaun Lawson. 2012. "I can't get no sleep" discussing# insomnia on twitter. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems.* 1501–1510.

[87] Madeleine Jarrett-Luck. 2015. *Reconceptualising Fear of Crime: Emergence of Crime Awareness.* Ph.D. Dissertation. Bond University.

[88] Shagun Jhaver, Darren Scott Appling, Eric Gilbert, and Amy Bruckman. 2019. " Did You Suspect the Post Would be Removed?" Understanding User Reactions to Content Removals on Reddit. *Proceedings of the ACM on human-computer interaction* 3, CSCW (2019), 1–33.

[89] Shagun Jhaver, Iris Birman, Eric Gilbert, and Amy Bruckman. 2019. Human-machine collaboration for content regulation: The case of Reddit Automoderator. *ACM Transactions on Computer-Human Interaction (TOCHI)* 26, 5 (2019), 1–35.

[90] Shagun Jhaver, Amy Bruckman, and Eric Gilbert. 2019. Does transparency in moderation really matter? user behavior after content removal explanations on reddit. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 3, CSCW (2019), 1–27.

[91] Shagun Jhaver, Sucheta Ghoshal, Amy Bruckman, and Eric Gilbert. 2018. Online harassment and content moderation: The case of blocklists. *ACM Transactions on Computer-Human Interaction (TOCHI)* 25, 2 (2018), 1–33.

[92] Gramlich John. 2019. 5 facts about crime in the U.S. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/10/17/facts-about-crime-in-the-u-s/ Accessed by 5/30/2020.

[93] Ridley Jones, Lucas Colusso, Katharina Reinecke, and Gary Hsieh. 2019. r/science: Challenges and Opportunities in Online Science Communication. In *Proceedings of the 2019 CHI conference on human factors in computing systems.* 1–14.

[94] Barron Justine. 2020. Freddie Gray, Five Years Later, The Appeal. https://theappeal.org/freddie-gray-five-years-later/ Accessed by 5/30/2020.

[95] Cristina Kadar and Irena Pletikosa Cvijikj. 2014. CityWatch: the personalized crime prevention assistant. In *Proceedings of the 13th International Conference on Mobile and Ubiquitous Multimedia.* ACM, 260–261.

[96] Naveena Karusala and Neha Kumar. 2017. Women's Safety in Public Spaces: Examining the Efficacy of Panic Buttons in New Delhi. In *Proceedings of the 2017 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems.* ACM, 3340–3351.

[97] Michael Keith. 1993. *Race, riots and policing: Lore and disorder in a multi-racist society.* Ucl Press London.

[98] Yubo Kou and Colin M Gray. 2018. What do you recommend a complete beginner like me to practice?: Professional Self-Disclosure in an Online Community. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 2, CSCW (2018), 94.

[99] Yubo Kou, Xinning Gui, Yunan Chen, and Kathleen Pine. 2017. Conspiracy talk on social media: collective sensemaking during a public health crisis. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 1, CSCW (2017), 1–21.

[100] Yong Ming Kow, Yubo Kou, Bryan Semaan, and Waikuen Cheng. 2016. Mediating the undercurrents: Using social media to sustain a social movement. In *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems.* 3883–3894.

[101] Klaus Krippendorff. 2004. Reliability in content analysis. *Human communication research* 30, 3 (2004), 411–433.

[102] George Lakoff. 2014. *The all new don't think of an elephant!: Know your values and frame the debate.* Chelsea Green Publishing.

[103] Cliff Lampe and Paul Resnick. 2004. Slash (dot) and burn: distributed moderation in a large online conversation space. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on Human factors in computing systems.* 543–550.

[104] Jodi Lane and James W Meeker. 2003. Ethnicity, information sources, and fear of crime. *Deviant Behavior* 24, 1 (2003), 1–26.

[105] L Lees, T Slater, and E Wyly. 2008. Gentrification Routledge. *New York* (2008).

[106] German Lopez. 2019. The opioid epidemic is increasingly killing black Americans. Baltimore is ground zero. https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/3/22/18262179/baltimore-opioid-epidemic-overdose-addiction-treatment Accessed by 5/30/2020.

[107] Sarah Lustbader. 2019. Spotlight: Neighborhood Crime Apps Stoke Fears, Reinforce Racist Stereotypes, and Don't Prevent Crime. Retrieved February 25, 2020 from https://theappeal.org/spotlight-neighborhood-crime-apps-stoke-fears-reinforce-racist-stereotypes-and-dont-prevent-crime/

[108] Jordan Malter. 2015. Baltimore's economy in black and white. https://money.cnn.com/2015/04/29/news/economy/baltimore-economy/ Accessed by 5/30/2020.

[109] Maryland Alliance for the Poor. 2018. Maryland Poverty Profiles. https://mda.maryland.gov/about_mda/Documents/SNAB/Maryland-Poverty-Profiles_2018_1-15-2018_T.pdf Accessed by 5/30/2020.

[110] Christina A Masden, Catherine Grevet, Rebecca E Grinter, Eric Gilbert, and W Keith Edwards. 2014. Tensions in scaling-up community social media: a multi-neighborhood study of nextdoor. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on Human factors in computing systems.* 3239–3248.

[111] Adrienne Massanari. 2017. # Gamergate and The Fappening: How Reddit's algorithm, governance, and culture support toxic technocultures. *New Media & Society* 19, 3 (2017), 329–346.

[112] Adrienne Massanari. 2020. 14 Reddit's Alt-Right: Toxic Masculinity, Free Speech, and/r/The_Donald. *Fake News: Understanding Media and Misinformation in the Digital Age* (2020), 179.

[113] Ariadna Matamoros-Fernández. 2017. Platformed racism: The mediation and circulation of an Australian race-based controversy on Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. *Information, Communication & Society* 20, 6 (2017), 930–946.

[114] Ariadna Matamoros-Fernández and Johan Farkas. 2021. Racism, Hate Speech, and Social Media: A Systematic Review and Critique. *Television & New Media* 22, 2 (2021), 205–224.

[115] Nathan J Matias. 2016. The civic labor of online moderators. In *Internet Politics and Policy conference. Oxford, United Kingdom.*

[116] Daniel P Mears and Eric A Stewart. 2010. Interracial contact and fear of crime. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 38, 1 (2010), 34–41.

[117] Christopher Metzler. 2019. FACT: Baltimore Is Now More Dangerous than 99.2% of Cities in the U.S. News. Retrieved February 10, 2020 from https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/fact-baltimore-now-more-dangerous-992-cities-us-

70141.

[118] Rani Molla. 2019. The rise of fear-based social media like Nextdoor, Citizen, and now Amazon's Neighbors. Retrieved February 25, 2020 from https://www.vox.com/recode/2019/5/7/18528014/fear-social-media-nextdoor-citizen-amazon-ring-neighbors

[119] Ihudiya Finda Ogbonnaya-Ogburu, Angela DR Smith, Alexandra To, and Kentaro Toyama. 2020. Critical Race Theory for HCI. In *Proceedings of the 2020 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. 1–16.

[120] Michael Omi and Howard Winant. 2014. *Racial formation in the United States*. Routledge.

[121] John J Palen and Bruce London. 1984. *Gentrification, displacement, and neighborhood revitalization*. Suny Press.

[122] Yvette N Pappoe. 2016. Remedying the effects of government-sanctioned segregation in a post-Freddie gray Baltimore. *U. Md. LJ Race, Religion, Gender & Class* 16 (2016), 115.

[123] Sangkeun Park, Sujin Kwon, and Uichin Lee. 2018. CampusWatch: Exploring Communitysourced Patrolling with Pervasive Mobile Technology. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 2, CSCW (2018), 134.

[124] Eric Paulos and Elizabeth Goodman. 2004. The familiar stranger: anxiety, comfort, and play in public places. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on Human factors in computing systems*. ACM, 223–230.

[125] Mark Peffley, Todd Shields, and Bruce Williams. 1996. The intersection of race and crime in television news stories: An experimental study. *Political Communication* 13, 3 (1996), 309–327.

[126] James W Pennebaker, Ryan L Boyd, Kayla Jordan, and Kate Blackburn. 2015. *The development and psychometric properties of LIWC2015*. Technical Report.

[127] Anastasia Powell, Caitlin Overington, and Gemma Hamilton. 2018. Following# JillMeagher: Collective meaning-making in response to crime events via social media. *Crime, Media, Culture* 14, 3 (2018), 409–428.

[128] Yolanda A Rankin and India Irish. 2020. A Seat at the Table: Black Feminist Thought as a Critical Framework for Inclusive Game Design. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 4, CSCW2 (2020), 1–26.

[129] r/baltimore. 2020. r/baltimore Rules. https://www.reddit.com/r/baltimore/ Accessed by 10/15/2020.

[130] Kevin Rector. 2019. Baltimore State's Attorney Mosby: Flawed criminal justice system is black Americans' biggest civil rights issue. https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-racial-injustice-20191116-gy7qpqp55zeihaddfkkdgr23ji-story.html Accessed by 5/30/2020.

[131] Reddit. 2020. Reddit Content Policy. https://www.redditinc.com/policies/content-policy Accessed by 10/15/2020.

[132] r/spez. 2015. Content Policy Update. https://www.reddit.com/r/announcements/comments/3fx2au/content_policy_update/ Accessed by 10/14/2020.

[133] Vincent F Sacco. 1993. Social support and the fear of crime. *Canadian J. Criminology* 35 (1993), 187.

[134] Niharika Sachdeva and Ponnurangam Kumaraguru. 2015. Social networks for police and residents in India: exploring online communication for crime prevention. In *Proceedings of the 16th Annual International Conference on Digital Government Research*. ACM, 256–265.

[135] Niharika Sachdeva and Ponnurangam Kumaraguru. 2017. Call for service: Characterizing and modeling police response to serviceable requests on Facebook. In *Proceedings of the 2017 ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing*. 336–352.

[136] William Sattelberg. 2020. The Demographics Of Reddit: Who Uses The Site? https://social.techjunkie.com/demographics-reddit/ Accessed by 10/12/2020.

[137] Brittney K Scarborough, Toya Z Like-Haislip, Kenneth J Novak, Wayne L Lucas, and Leanne F Alarid. 2010. Assessing the relationship between individual characteristics, neighborhood context, and fear of crime. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 38, 4 (2010), 819–826.

[138] Kira Schacht. 2019. What Hollywood movies do to perpetuate racial stereotypes. DW.com. https://p.dw.com/p/3DYxY 10/14/2020.

[139] Ari Schlesinger, Kenton P O'Hara, and Alex S Taylor. 2018. Let's talk about race: Identity, chatbots, and AI. In *Proceedings of the 2018 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. 1–14.

[140] Bryan C Semaan, Scott P Robertson, Sara Douglas, and Misa Maruyama. 2014. Social media supporting political deliberation across multiple public spheres: towards depolarization. In *Proceedings of the 17th ACM conference on Computer supported cooperative work & social computing*. 1409–1421.

[141] David Sibley. 1995. *Geographies of exclusion: Society and difference in the West*. Psychology Press.

[142] Ellen Simpson. 2018. Integrated Alone: The Use of Hashtags in Twitter Social Activism. In *Companion of the 2018 ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing* (Jersey City, NJ, USA) *(CSCW '18)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 237–240. https://doi.org/10.1145/3272973.3274064

[143] Wesley G Skogan. 1995. Crime and the racial fears of white Americans. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 539, 1 (1995), 59–71.

[144] Calvin John Smiley and David Fakunle. 2016. From "brute" to "thug:" The demonization and criminalization of unarmed Black male victims in America. *Journal of human behavior in the social environment* 26, 3-4 (2016), 350–366.

[145] David A Snow. 2004. Framing processes, ideology, and discursive fields. *The Blackwell companion to social movements* 1 (2004), 380–412.

[146] Kate Starbird and Leysia Palen. 2011. Voluntweeters: Self-organizing by digital volunteers in times of crisis. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on human factors in computing systems*. ACM, 1071–1080.

[147] Kate Starbird and Leysia Palen. 2012. (How) will the revolution be retweeted?: information diffusion and the 2011 Egyptian uprising. In *Proceedings of the acm 2012 conference on computer supported cooperative work*. ACM, 7–16.

[148] Bogdan State and Lada Adamic. 2015. The diffusion of support in an online social movement: Evidence from the adoption of equal-sign profile pictures. In *Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing*. 1741–1750.

[149] Leo Graiden Stewart, Ahmer Arif, A Conrad Nied, Emma S Spiro, and Kate Starbird. 2017. Drawing the lines of contention: Networked frame contests within# BlackLivesMatter discourse. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 1, CSCW (2017), 1–23.

[150] Lucy A Suchman. 1987. *Plans and situated actions: The problem of human-machine communication.* Cambridge university press.

[151] Sonya Renee Taylor. 2018. *The body is not an apology: The power of radical self-love.* Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

[152] The New York Times. 2019. The 1619 Project. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/1619-america-slavery.html Accessed by 7/9/2021.

[153] Alexandra To, Wenxia Sweeney, Jessica Hammer, and Geoff Kaufman. 2020. " They Just Don't Get It": Towards Social Technologies for Coping with Interpersonal Racism. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 4, CSCW1 (2020), 1–29.

[154] Daniel Trottier and Christian Fuchs. 2014. *Social media, politics and the state: protests, revolutions, riots, crime and policing in the age of Facebook, Twitter and YouTube.* Routledge.

[155] Dan Trudeau and Chris McMorran. 2011. The geographies of marginalization. *A companion to social geography* (2011), 437–453.

[156] Zeynep Tufekci. 2017. *Twitter and tear gas: The power and fragility of networked protest.* Yale University Press.

[157] Marlon Twyman, Brian C Keegan, and Aaron Shaw. 2017. Black Lives Matter in Wikipedia: Collective memory and collaboration around online social movements. In *Proceedings of the 2017 ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing*. 1400–1412.

[158] U.S. Census Bureau. 2015. US Cities: Demographics. https://public.opendatasoft.com/explore/dataset/us-cities-demographics/information/ Accessed by 11/23/2020.

[159] Mark Visser, Marijn Scholte, and Peer Scheepers. 2013. Fear of crime and feelings of unsafety in European countries: Macro and micro explanations in cross-national perspective. *The Sociological Quarterly* 54, 2 (2013), 278–301.

[160] Tyler Waldman. 2019. Jury Convicts Teen In Death Of Baltimore County Police Officer. https://www.wbal.com/article/386665/124/jury-convicts-teen-in-death-of-baltimore-county-police-officer Accessed by 9/16/2020.

[161] D. Watkins. 2020. Only A Mile and A Big World Separated Us: An All-American Story of Two Boys from the East Side of Baltimore. Highline, The Huffington Post. https://www.huffpost.com/highline/article/daniel-hersl-baltimore-police/ Accessed by 5/30/2020.

[162] Karl E Weick and Kathleen M Sutcliffe. 2011. *Managing the unexpected: Resilient performance in an age of uncertainty.* Vol. 8. John Wiley & Sons.

[163] Ronald Weitzer and Charis E Kubrin. 2004. Breaking news: How local TV news and real-world conditions affect fear of crime. *Justice Quarterly* 21, 3 (2004), 497–520.

[164] Kelly Welch. 2007. Black criminal stereotypes and racial profiling. *Journal of contemporary criminal justice* 23, 3 (2007), 276–288.

[165] Who.int. 2019. In Baltimore schools, disparities in and out of the classroom affect student performance. https://www.baltimoresun.com/audio/podcasts/roughly-speaking/bs-md-roughly-speaking-baltimore-schools-disparities-affect-performanc-20190830-ln5fqninzjcxfj4qaxhiml5hmq-story.html Accessed by 5/30/2020.

[166] Richard G Wilkinson. 2005. *The impact of inequality: How to make sick societies healthier.* The New Press.

[167] Langdon Winner. 1980. Do artifacts have politics? *Daedalus* (1980), 121–136.

[168] Yuning Wu, Eric G Lambert, Brad W Smith, Sudershan Pasupuleti, Karuppannan Jaishankar, and Jagadish V Bhimarasetty. 2012. An exploratory comparison of policing views between Indian and US college students. *International Criminal Justice Review* 22, 1 (2012), 68–82.

[169] Volker Wulf, Kaoru Misaki, Meryem Atam, David Randall, and Markus Rohde. 2013. 'On the ground' in Sidi Bouzid: investigating social media use during the tunisian revolution. In *Proceedings of the 2013 conference on Computer supported cooperative work*. 1409–1418.

[170] Diyi Yang, Zheng Yao, Joseph Seering, and Robert Kraut. 2019. The Channel Matters: Self-disclosure, Reciprocity and Social Support in Online Cancer Support Groups. In *Proceedings of the 2019 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. 1–15.

[171] Yue Yuan and Susan McNeeley. 2017. Social ties, collective efficacy, and crime-specific fear in Seattle neighborhoods. *Victims & offenders* 12, 1 (2017), 90–112.

[172] Jihong Solomon Zhao, Chris Gibson, Nicholas Lovrich, and Michael Gaffney. 2002. Participation in community crime prevention: are volunteers more or less fearful of crime than other citizens? *Journal of crime and justice* 25, 1 (2002), 41–61.