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An Examination Of Community Members' Reactions To Violent Viral Media And Their Perceptions Of Its Impact On Black Chicago Communities

Paviella Foster

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**AN EXAMINATION OF COMMUNITY MEMBERS' REACTIONS TO
VIOLENT VIRAL MEDIA AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF ITS
IMPACT ON BLACK CHICAGO COMMUNITIES**

Doctoral Applied Research

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
National Louis University, Chicago
College of Education

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Education

Organizational Leadership in College of Arts and Science

By

Paviella D. Foster

April 2020

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ABSTRACT

The City of Chicago has always been known for its violence and high crime rates. Traditional media has portrayed Chicago as a war zone in terrifying headlines and news stories. While traditional media has portrayed a distorted view of senseless murders and gang violence in Black Chicago communities, residents of these communities have used social media to tell their deepest truths. The existence of social media platforms has provided an outlet for Black Chicago residents to show their daily realities to connect with others. Community members upload or share violent viral media as a way of expressing their environment, their daily frustrations, and entertainment. The qualitative data for this study suggests that violent viral media is used as an escape route, a way to gain influence, and a way to inform and make others aware of their own terms and conditions. This study led to the understanding of how violent viral media changes the lens of Black Chicago communities on social media platforms, and the positive and negative impact it has on community members.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation back to God, to my loving family, my support system, and most of all my son. Sincere Jeremiah Coleman-Foster, you have been my rhyme and reason to not only live but to thrive. May you see the works of this product and know that as a little black boy in America, you have every right to LIVE.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In the last three decades Chicago has been well-known for gun violence, drugs, and murder. Although Chicago does not have the highest urban per capita homicide rate, Chicago has a history of violence and a greater number of homicides than any other city in the United States (Green, Horel, & Papachristos, 2017). With social media generating high volumes of messages and narratives, Chicago continues to be a social influence for high crime. Chicago was referred to as being a war zone and the media portrays certain areas and neighborhoods that are considered low poverty areas. These areas are known as or referred to as Black Chicago.

The media has highlighted communities such as Englewood, Chatham, Auburn, Gresham, and Fuller Park as some of the worst neighborhoods in Chicago. These neighborhoods are unsafe and tucked away from tourists. History tells us that these areas are deep support systems and the lifeblood of Chicago. Due to redlining in its history, Chicago neighborhoods are segregated, separating areas that were safe or unsafe. Redlining refers to the practice of discrimination involving mortgage and real estate that refuse to lend money to low income areas. Neighborhoods that are color-coded red, are considered areas with a high number of blacks, seen as very risky for whites to live in, creating Black Chicago.

Unlike the desirable areas of Chicago, Black Chicago was painted with a culture of corner stores, greasy restaurants, low-income housing, and street gangs. These areas get the most attention because residents share their daily experiences with the World Wide Web. With youth and young adults living in urban communities, sharing enormous amounts of their everyday lives on social media, the realities of Chicago have met the

world of Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram (Patton, Eschmann, Elasaesser, & Bocanegra, 2016). This transformation has increased the amount of social media use and transformed communities.

Social Media has become an outlet for homicidal threats, sadness, retaliation, and taunts for residents in Black Chicago. That which was once only seen on the 9 o'clock news can now be seen on social media news feeds. Social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram were once sites created to connect with family and friends have now become battlegrounds for rival gang members, and an outcry for attention. Black communities are displayed through status updates, pictures, and videos, some of which have been shared thousands of times.

In September 2009, Derrion Albert a 16-year-old Chicago high school honors student was murdered in a brawl between students. Derrion's brutal beating was recorded and published on both traditional and online media attracting national attention. This video captured on a cell phone was broadcasted on YouTube and other places spreading grief, pain, and unanswered questions (Saulny, 2009). Derrion's killing was one of the first violent viral videos in the last decade that shocked the world. Today this epidemic continues; many violent videos are aired for awareness, popularity, and entertainment. With so much negative attention and adverse feelings of Black Chicago, it is worth exploring if violent viral media has played a role in the belief of Chicago being a war zone. The attempt to bring consciousness awareness to Black Chicago and change the narrative of how others see Black Chicago through social media outlets is deserving of qualitative examination.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to better understand how violent viral media has affected community members in Black Chicago. This study will try to bring conscious awareness to the pattern of violence portrayed on social media. This study will explore how community members respond to violence in their communities and what their reactions are to violent viral content. This study will try to examine how violent viral videos have contributed to stress, fear, and increased violence in Black Chicago. Lastly, this study will try to motivate, empower, and build a culture of hope for black communities in Chicago by reshaping the narrative.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Media

It is no secret that the growing evidence of communication, and information was collected and distributed on social media outlets. Over the last few years, the internet has shifted towards user-driven technologies such as social networking and video-sharing platforms (Smith, 2009). This evolution has enabled users to create their own global communities, publish their own opinions, and redefine how the internet works (Smith, 2009). Technology has given individuals the ability to create narratives and define their own social norms. This movement has led social media platforms to be the most dominating mainstream of social access points (Smith, 2009). Social media is considered to be the largest and most diverse sampling pool as it relates to social networking; it allows individuals to see what people say and do in real time (Ray, Brown, Fraistat, & Summers, 2017). Sites like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Instagram provide a portal to entertainment, creative narratives, organization, communication, and interacting with family and friends. As of 2017, 80% of black, Latino, and White internet users have at least one social media account (Ray et al., 2017). Smith (2009) suggests that the social revolution is reorienting the economy. Mass communication controlled by professionals and feedback was virtually impossible. Now that social media has evolved it has refocused how consumers listen, perceive, interact, and communicate directly or indirectly (Smith, 2009). Social media allows users to wish a friend happy birthday, upload pictures and videos of themselves, scroll through their news feed, share and reshare opinions, and learn what has been going on in others' lives (Knowles, Haycock, & Shaikh, 2015). Social media is no longer used only to make connections with friends

and family, but it is a place for users to display and store their social lives.

Some of the most popular sites have been known to have significant impact on social relationships, communication, and cultural norms (Sung, Lee, Kim, & Choi, 2016). “Twitter is a free social networking site where users micro-blog, writing up to 140 characters per post” (DeCosta, 2017, p. 23). Constituents of twitter can have a private or open profile. This allows for other users that follow them to see and read their *tweets*. Individuals that use twitter can follow other users and receive updates on their timeline, retweet other posts, and allow popular tweets to be shared on a macros-level (DeCosta, 2017). Facebook like Twitter is another popular social networking site that has millions of users and is the most widely used in the world. Facebook users can locate family members, connect friends, share with classmates, and invite other users to be your friend (DeCosta, 2017). Facebook users can see each other’s posts, updates, and any personal information that the user has shared. Twitter and Facebook are social media sites that are used for information and communication purposes. These social media sites enable the users to express themselves, and engage in social interaction (Velasquez & LaRose, 2015). Users of these sites motivated to share their everyday lives for entertainment, archiving, communication, and attention purposes.

Social networking sites have become the platform for free daily updates, news, and entertainment. People are no longer watching traditional forms of media for their information; individuals have obtained a great deal of content from online sources. User generated sites like Facebook and Twitter are most popular because they are versatile, enabling the sharing of text, pictures, videos, audio files, and applications all for free (Joseph, 2012). Content shared is not only viewed through computer screens, but now

through smart phones and other smart devices such as tablets. Joseph (2012) suggests that this trend of being able to access social media from anywhere at any time has caused displacement of traditional models of communication leaving youth and young adults to solely depend on social media platforms for virtual communication. “Virtual communication has become universal due to wide use of social media, allowing cyber citizens more freedom to share their opinions” (Cheng, Fu, & de Vreede, 2017, p. 25).

Social media has developed a sense of instant gratification for users to communicate what is relevant in real time (Whiting & Williams, 2013). What started as browsing for fun or connecting with friends and family is used to bring awareness to violence, aggression, suicide, and loneliness. Social media is how the world connects with social situations, and real word action (Browne & Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2005). Users advertise what they hear, see, and experience on social media platforms. A high proportion of the media viewed has violence such as killings, verbal assault, or gossiping (Anderson et al., 2015). Although street corners and other physical spaces were historically used to promote violence, the surface of social media has given individuals a virtual space to express, post, and share violent content.

Urban Social Media

While Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter are more globally known for social networking; YouTube and Worldstarhiphop.com have been home for urban life videos in black communities. According to Indaco and Manovich (2016) urban social media is self-representation and urban experiences shared by individuals who are residents of *city life*. YouTube is the most successful and widely used site since 2005 for web-based audiovisual entertainment (Weaver, Zelenkauskaitė, & Samson, 2012). Users can

produce and distribute their own content; these videos are rated based on the viewing count and popularity. YouTube has been popular for the viral aspect of the site, where videos spread from one viewer to the next (Weaver et al., 2012). Most taunting or retaliation rap videos have started on YouTube first before surfacing to other social networking sites.

World Star has gained popularity over the years in the black community because of its distinction on the expression of *blackness*. World Star Hip Hop (WSHH) is an online video aggregating website that describes as a premiere online hip hop destination. While amateur rap videos are the highlight of World Star Hip Hop (WSHH), it has also been known for its new phenomenon of blacks recording each other fighting (Fowlkes, 2015). This online hub has been known to produce negative representation videos of blacks including sexual and violent content (Fowlkes, 2015). WSHH has revealed a certain identity within the black community, perpetuating stereotypes of black people as loud and aggressive (Fowlkes, 2015). While WSHH has been known to dominate in music and entertainment in the urban culture it has also seen its share of violence.

On September 4, 2012, a Chicago rapper, Lil JoJo, was gunned down while riding his bike on the South Side of Chicago. Hours before his death Lil JoJo tweeted his location (Austen, 2013). The feud between Lil JoJo, and another Chicago Rapper, Chief Keef, led to gang rivalry and had gone on months before the murder. Both individuals posted music videos to YouTube, which later surfaced to WSHH making threats, pointing firearms in the camera, and chanting gang affiliation leading to an online war and death of Lil JoJo (Austen, 2013). What started as an online beef ended with someone being killed. Patton, Eschmann, and Butler (2013) argued: “This incident and others have

surfaced as the new trend in social media, where gang violence, hip hop music, and the internet intersect that potentially lead to or exacerbate violence in urban communities” (p. 59). There are many other rivalries like this one that have gained local and national attention. Urban social media sites like WSHH and YouTube promote the vicious cycle of violence ending lives of many black men and women.

Visual Expression

With rapid changes in today’s technology the internet has transformed how individuals express themselves on social media outlets. The internet has become the most powerful free press that continues to accelerate the change in the world (Eddlem, 2013). Individuals have used social media to display their thoughts, ideas, and creativity. Eddlem states: “The internet is the new global public square where free speech and free press are merged” (p.14). Exposure to media has increased sharply due to the increase in multimedia devices. In the last decade, the ability of how news is communicated, has moved from the use of newspapers to smart phones, tablet computers, and other mobile devices. These devices allow individuals to do everything from online gaming to streaming media (Anderson et al., 2015). Communication technology has affected how adults ages 18-24 communicate interpersonally. Cyr, Berman, and Smith (2015) stated: “Text messages, e-mails, instant messaging, and social networking sites have become the new form of communication and is changing how people interact with each other” (p. 4). Social media creates a space for young adults to express themselves in different forms other than in-person communication. Individuals use social networking spaces to form a community perspective through posting pictures, videos, and status updates (Jimenez, Garcia, & de Ayala, 2016).

Social networking spaces have become popular because individuals can communicate and give voice to their reality and experiences. The original context of visual culture has evolved, more and more young adults are using pictures and videos to share integral parts of their lives. In the context of the video culture and audiovisual interactions emerging adults progressively use visuals to express cultural empowerment, constructing identity, and day-to-day phenomenon (Jimenez et al., 2016). Social media platforms have increased publicity for individuals to share the most intimate and personal parts of their lives. Things that were considered private have now surfaced to virtual spaces through posts, pictures, and videos.

Pictures have traditionally been a way that people captured moments of their lives and shared with others to connect. Sharing photos through social media platforms plays an important role in connecting people in different ways (Miguel, 2016). Pictures have always spoken louder than words. Today pictures are also used to socially interact with others, escapism, and self-expression. Social media's increase in image content has appeared over time, people not only share pictures of family vacations and fun moments, but also triggering pictures that represent violence. Over time, photo sharing has become a key feature of the online experience, allowing users to post their lifestyles, character, and desires (Sung, Lee, Kim & Choi, 2016).

Consumers of social media sites are using pictures to brand themselves despite the feeling or representation it exudes. Social media plays an important role in building feelings and attitudes, this is a necessity for active online communities and environments (Anagnostopoulos et.al., 2018). Although most of the content is not positive, once the images have been posted to social media sites it is subjected to a community with

underlying motives. Large numbers of people can like, comment, and share their thoughts and views. Based on the relevance and the connection between users the hype of images can gain traction and become viral (Varis & Blommaert, 2015). Some of the most important issues and patterns of violence in black communities are displayed and shared continuously on social networking sites despite how it reflects the user's personality and reputation.

Historically, videos have always been shared by large media organizations whose consumers had the choice to watch or turn off the TV. With the emergence of social media online video sharing the circumstances have changed (Broxton, Interian, Vaver, & Wattenhofer, 2013). Users of social networking sites can share in real time their own experiences without the approval of others. Larger organizations decided what was good enough to broadcast and what could and would not become popular (Broxton et al., 2013). The shift in how consumers once viewed videos has changed the level of engagement and how people communicate with each other. People are more likely to view videos through their social networking and, as a result those videos become popular through sharing (Broxton et al., 2013). The phenomenon of interactions through videos serves as a way for others to share and reveal their experience and environment in real time. Videos that gain traction in social media and have an influence on high levels of sharing are described as viral videos (Broxton et al., 2013). Depending on the attention a viral video gets it can bring a different meaning and information to how individuals and communities are perceived and portrayed.

Social media interactions have become popular over time since the phenomenon of viral pictures and videos. Going viral has become a new social structure in the world

of social networking sites. Being the first to post, like, or share determines the level of visibility within the user community, and to increase popularity (Varis & Blommaert, 2015). Jiang, Miao, Yang, Lan, and Hauptmann (2014) stated “Viral videos that gain popularity through the process of internet sharing are having a profound impact on society” (p. 1). Viral images are being shared and coined as ‘memes’ altering the original meaning to produce a different communicative effect (Varies & Blommaert, 2015). Due to the societal impact, viral media have been attracting attention from young users, and have become their hangout platform (Chu, 2019). This movement has dominated how individuals use the internet, publish opinions, connect, build community, and produce content.

The transition from traditional media to social media has gained attention because it gives others a space to be whomever they want to be. Individuals who are engaged on these platforms are active in not only sharing videos but, posting pictures, blogging, and connecting with others at their discretion (Smith, 2009). The level of expressive visuals and language allows users to communicate in ways that are appealing to their community and environment. Unfortunately, not all content is promoted in a positive way and used for a marketing gain. For some user’s social media is utilized to intimidate others, maintain a threatening virtual presence, and to communicate about their day to day frustrations (Wijeratne et al., 2015). This epidemic of violence in virtual spaces has spread amongst communities and neighborhoods causing social networking sites to be destructive and toxic to its consumers.

Viral Violence

The digital street has worsened, more violence in the recent years than traditional

street violence. Patton et al. (2013) stated

Recently, media outlets have reported a new national phenomenon of internet behavior, in which individuals that are associated with gangs or neighborhood friction use social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube to trade insults, and make violent threats, which can result in homicides or victimization. (p. 54)

Not only has social media platforms used to generate violence, but also has exposed viewers to aggression and the effects of media violence (Wood et al., 1991). There has been a growing proportion of violence on social media displaying people's daily lives and environments as they know it. Research shows that individuals who execute aggression through social media have normalized these violent behaviors (Patton et al., 2014). The online platform promoted to weapons, taunts, threats, police brutality, illegal substances, fights, and murder. Social networking sites have become a catalyst for violence because it is a part of people's everyday life and their reality.

The real world of violence and its effects unfolds daily on social media due to the emergence of technology and the use of cell phones. Roberts and Marchais (2018) suggested that social media has changed the way information about violence introduced, reported, analyzed, and acted upon. Uploaded pictures and videos showing violence have highlighted various forms of serious incidents. The access and ready availability to mobile phones with the capability to take pictures and record videos has made it easier for citizens to upload footage to Facebook and other social media platforms (Roberts & Marchais, 2018). Disputes or interactions with the police that often begin in person end up online with far more consequences and negative outcomes. Users that obtain this footage have immediate proof and information of violence that is available for others to see on mainstream media.

The brutal murders of black bodies by the hands of police, gang rivals, and retaliation has controlled the social media scene. The media portrayal of these events has gotten more attention over the years because of its endless cycle. While some may post and upload for other purposes, most users upload these events for awareness. Ray et al.(2017) argues that on one hand post and hashtags about these killings highlighted to bring attention to police brutality, solidarity, and activism. On the other hand, there was also a focus on how these hashtags and posts confirmed justifiable homicides. The use of hashtags, videos, and pictures amplify or heightened the attention of others to raise consciousness and uplift those who were affected by violence. Twitters hashtag response to Michael Brown’s death in 2014 revealed how powerful messages could be controlled by social media. After 10 days of political leaders trying to control the message, Michael’s killing caught the attention by the world due to 7.8 million messages on Twitter (Smith, 2015). Brown’s death was followed by many other deaths in 2014. “On October 20, 2014, Chicago Police officer Jason Van dyke fired sixteen bullets into the seventeen-year-old body of Laquan McDonald” (Andonova, 2017, p. 1). Not only did this happen in Ferguson and Chicago, but it happened in New York City (Eric Garner), Beavercreek, Ohio (John Crawford), Los Angeles (Ezell Ford), San Bernardino, California (Dante Parker), and Cleveland, Ohio (Tamir Rice) all which gained media attention in the year of 2014. These names were engraved in our memory because their killings were recorded to show the injustices in the criminal system. The tension of these videos and photos have brought widespread attention, but it is no comparison to being in the presence of the recordings involving the killings of so many black men and women (Drainville, 2018). The state of the streets, both police and community, crime has

changed the culture of social networking sites. This change has given power to the users to bring attention to the social ills of their communities and neighborhoods.

Social media has become a practical and reliable source for young people of color. These sites have become their discussion board and outlet for police and community violence, and day to day realities. High levels of social media connectivity and increased access to social media platforms poses a challenge to ethnic-minority youth living in high violence, and low-income communities (Patton, Lane, Leonard, Macbeth, & Smith, 2017). More recent research has suggested that youth who live in violent urban neighborhoods use social media to target retribution when threats and insults were targeted at them or individuals. Individuals have moved from *street code*, and there were extended threats and violence to social media which is referred to as *digital street*. Youth find leverage when making threats or promoting violence on social media to amplify the emotional intensity of their trauma and stress (Patton et al., 2017). These threats or acts of violence were grounded in how youth and young adults in high violence communities make sense of real-life experiences and events (Patton et al., 2017). Violence in cities like Chicago have become a national issue and a viral epidemic. The exposure of social problems in Chicago has gained a growing audience over the years, with more attention geared towards the violence in Black Chicago communities.

Chicago Violence

Daily exposure to violence in Black Chicago communities are no longer a social pressure but the norm for many. The climate of Chicago has been found as an urban war zone filled with poverty, marginalization, trauma, and violence (Johnson, 2016). The lack of income, productive resources, hunger, and access to education have all

contributed to the unsafe environments and neighborhoods in Chicago. Residents in these distressed neighborhoods are susceptible to social discrimination, exclusion, and pervasive violence (Johnson, 2016). Chicago has experienced countless violent crimes, some which are more serious than others. “This level of violence is relatively isolated within these communities and is not prevalent in mainstream society” (Johnson, 2016, p. 52). Some of these violent crimes make the traditional versions of media, while others never make it to any media platform. The link between neighborhood isolation and crime contributes to not only the increase in violence but limited access to jobs, political influence, resources, role models, and weakened formal and informal social controls (Graif, Lungeanu, & Yertter, 2017). Violence is a major problem in Black Chicago communities particularly because of the lack of resources and supportive services offered in poverty-stricken areas.

The integrity of these communities has been threatened because of the amount of violence that has affected the individuals and families across neighborhoods. “Violence inevitably affects a neighborhoods reputation, as repeated media reports of crime in the area remain vivid in the public memory” (Graif et al., 2017). Media reports contribute to the feeling of violence and crime within black communities (Johnson, 2016). “Many Americans hold persistent beliefs of blacks to social images, including crime, violence, disorder, welfare, and undesirability as neighbors” (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2005, p. 7). Residents of these communities take on the stigma and stereotypes of their community and neighborhoods leading to an increase in crime. *Redlining* has been a stigma that has been associated with neighborhood locations in Chicago. Redlining has been defined as a practice of classifying certain neighborhoods as risky and denying mortgages or business

loans to residents in such areas (Graif et al., 2017). These types of stigma have contributed to the disadvantages of Black Chicago communities causing a growing uneasiness to live in these areas.

Violence and mayhem in Black Chicago communities has caused residents to feel unsafe to live or even walk in. Living in violent neighborhoods can influence the stress levels, protective behaviors, and community interactions (Burdick-Will, 2016). Exposure to violent communities and neighborhoods can lead to distress and confusion. With many residents feeling unsafe and an increase of violent behaviors, police are often dispatched to protect and serve. Understanding the role of violence in urban neighborhoods like Chicago is challenging because of the historic racial segregation and hostile relationship between residents and police (Patton et al., 2016). The tension between police and youth in urban settings is rooted in lack of trust, racial, ethnic, and cultural differences, and fear, anger, and racialized policing. Since the murder of Mike Brown in 2014 cell phone footage capturing police shootings or interactions have increased. Videos like Mike Brown's video have been uploaded to social network services to bring attention to police brutality (Patton et al., 2016). Black youth are at a greater risk of aggressive risk because of oppressive social and institutional structures. According to recent data, in February 2016, a black person was killed every 32 hours by law enforcement, and more than 100 unarmed black persons were killed by officers in 2015 (Carter, 2017). Today's justice system would like to confirm the deaths of black bodies by painting the black community as violent and hyper-aggressive (Carter, 2017). In response, residents in urban neighborhoods have taken their action to social media platforms to express this disdain for the police and the current challenges with police in

urban communities (Patton et al., 2016). Exposing police brutality to social media platforms has been written to not only show their disdain for police but to show that this level of violence is a significant problem.

Black residents in urban communities use social network sites to self-reflect and garner respect from a larger audience. Social networking allows them to express themselves and to make sense of the culture around them (Patton et al., 2016). With a lack of resources and major community challenges, youth have developed their own way to overcome obstacles. Social media has changed the ways individuals access the news and supplied an immediate notification of the social ills in black communities (i.e., aggressive policing; Patton et al., 2016). Being aware of what is going on in urban communities, that are considered unsafe, are important for the resident's safety. Social media has been an influence on the daily lives but has brought attention to the victimization of and violence in Black Chicago communities. Youth using these social media platforms not only talk about their experiences but connect with a broader community that can relate to their lived experiences (Patton et al., 2016). In the more recent years blacks have used social media to discuss and bring light to social injustice against black citizens but also to highlight their emotions, love, hate, aggression, and violence.

Gakirah Barnes, a 17-year-old publicly affiliated Chicago gang member, was killed three blocks from her home in 2014. Barnes exposed her address on her Twitter account in real time, which led her killer to her exact location. Images and videos of her with semi-automatic handguns, and countless expressions of loss and grief were revealed through her Twitter account (Patton, McGregor, & Slutkin, 2018). Communities that are

high in gang activity have the most evidence linked through their social media communication. Individuals that are part of a gang use social media platforms to gain respect, express their affiliation, and promote illegal activity. Patton et al. (2018), suggests that Barnes social media account revealed her own engagement in violence. There were indirect and direct threats to known gang rivals, and boastful discussions of past violence. One of her twitter posts articulated her dislike for Chicago police officers after the killing of her friend; using the hashtag “#CPDK” an acronym for Chicago Police Department killer (Patton et al., 2016). Not only are these types of threats directed towards the police but are also directed to other community members or the gang’s opposition. Patton et al. (2016) stated that revenge and retaliation is evoked from aggression, threats, and provoking content on social media outlets. The virtual life has no boundaries, oftentimes causing people to become a victim to violence or lose their life.

Chicago Violence and Social Media

Chicago is the third largest city in the United States with many opportunities for growth and advancement. Unfortunately, what the media portrays often time is only attributed to the crime and violence in urban areas. “Social science research indicates that violence may be exacerbated by escalation on social media and the digital street” (Blandfort et al., 2019, p. 114). Threatening videos, images, and text messages have led to the exposure of violence in urban areas like Chicago. The platform of social media over the last few decades has developed and changed how individuals in urban communities connect with one another (Frey, 2018). Many young people are using these platforms to reflect on their trauma, exposure to violence, and loss. Ninety Four percent of black youth in these urban neighborhoods have access to smartphones, 79% access

YouTube, 77% utilize snapchat, and 72% use Instagram, suggesting that social media allows individuals to witness and observe social problems in an indirect way, including gun violence (Frey, 2018). Violence is a critical issue in Chicago, having things exposed to social media platforms through videos and images has intensified the culture of Black Chicago communities.

Although there are many people affected by this phenomenon of violence on social media, youth and emerging adults, has been affected the most. Social media is a way youth and young adults connect to their peers with the same shared experience, and support. However, youth who were found in gangs, navigate their experiences differently through “the digital street” (Patton et al., 2016 p. 1004). The exposure to community violence and gang life in Chicago has affected young people because of what they see in both their real and virtual life. “Marginalized youth post messages online from street corners, schools, apartment complexes and other neighborhood spaces embedded with local ecology of violence” (Patton et al., 2016, p. 2). It is suggested that Chicago neighborhoods are examined, because it has garnered extensive attention for youth violence and its high rate in gun violence (Patton et al., 2016). High stress violent neighborhoods are at risk for increased violence or conflict due to the content posted on social media outlets.

High crime neighborhoods in Chicago are particularly known for the lack of resources, economic disadvantages, and gang culture. “Chicago neighborhoods have been steeped in gang culture, resulting in turf conflict and entrenched gang-related violence that has become weaved into the social fabric of communities” (Patton et al., 2016, p. 3). Gang life has moved from the street corners and has appeared to social

media outlet by way of smartphones. Social media has been an outlet for individuals in urban communities to expose, express, and boast through videos, hashtags, and posts (Storrod & Densley, 2017). Music videos have been examples of how young people express themselves on social media. This level of violence though video has transitioned beyond the street corners and is glorified on social media platforms.

Chicago is known for its subgenre of rap, Drill music. Drill music is a well-known expression of how black Chicago youth share their experiences through video on social network sites (Green, 2018). This style of music is used to expose reality that is completely opposite from commercialized hip-hop videos (Green, 2018). Drill music has been known to cause gang feuds and retaliation amongst gang members and their oppositions. Levey (2017) suggests that drill music traffics violence and depicts a picture of how some blacks in dangerous and impoverished neighborhoods grew up. People who see these videos on social media don not see this music as a form of expression, but as a concern and harmful for residents in black communities.

Black people have been represented in mainstream media as being violent and ignorant, creating opportunities of continued oppression. Social networking sites like YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter continue to perpetuate the long and vexed relationship between the black community and the media (Smith, 2017). The challenge that media presents for blacks is that what was used for self-expression and exposure has often led to criminalization and dehumanization (Smith, 2018). Violence has been and is a serious problem for cities like Chicago, but access to social networking sites has intensified violence between local gangs and highlighted the phenomenon of digital street culture (Blevins et al., 2016). Social media has become an integral part in the lives of young

people, and those who are subscribers have become more susceptible to crime and violence (Pinkney & Edwards, 2018). However, detecting the critical issue of violence for major cities like Chicago requires more than understanding texts/posts/tweets of public aggression, loss and anger, but recognizing the impact of violent visual concepts.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Design

The qualitative method focuses on the context in which violent viral media has negatively impacted communities and has contributed to violence in Black Chicago communities. This study used grounded theory to create meaning of how violent viral media has affected Black Chicago communities. It is of interest of this study to propose that residents in Black Chicago interpret their experiences and create meaning out of their environment through the lens of social media. Also, that the dynamics of violence in Black Chicago are magnified due to violent viral content seen on social media outlets. This study also used photo and video elicitation simultaneously to understand and reflect the participant's reality, experiences, attitudes, and perceptions. This study used both pictures and videos to elicit descriptive data. The study will highlight how participants responded after viewing violent viral images and videos to determine the level of reaction and impact.

Theoretical Framework

This research looks to build a theory from the data provided by using the grounded theory approach with photo and voice elicitation. To collect data there will be interviews, images, and videos used. The process will consist of collecting data, note taking, coding, and writing. The grounded theory framework will aid in understanding the phenomenon of violent viral media and its impact in Black Chicago communities. This research will study community members in Black Chicago experiences, and patterns of their behavior. This research will use grounded theory and photo and video elicitation to find links and relationships between violence in Black Chicago communities and

violent viral media.

Participants

The number of participants included 11 individuals both male and female that completed one-on-one interviews. The participants needed to be over the age of 18, have a social media account, and living in Chicago, IL. The participants consisted of African American men and women; majority of the participants were male. More than 75% of the participants were between the ages of 20-32. All Participants used Facebook, while only four participants were active on Instagram. All participants lived on the South side of Chicago. There was one participant living in Woodlawn, two living in South Shore, and the remaining eight living in Englewood communities.

Procedure

All participants were recruited through purposeful sampling. There was an open invitation for participation through flyers, emails, and phone calls. All flyers were posted and administered by the researcher. To participate in one-on-one interviews the respondents needed to be over the age of 18, a resident of Chicago, IL, and have access to social media.

Participants met on one occasion that lasted no longer than one hour and were asked open ended questions. All interviews were audiotaped. Each interview began with questions and were simultaneously used with photo and video elicitation. The participants were shown pictures and videos halfway through the question protocol. There were four pictures that were shown through handout, one at a time, during each interview. Each picture reflected some level of violence or response to violence and all pictures were extracted from social media sites such as Facebook and Instagram.

Immediately after showing the pictures, two videos were shown that took place in Chicago, portraying gun violence and community violence. Both videos had over 400,000 views and 3,000 comments. The photos and videos were used to explore how individuals interpret and respond to violence in Black Chicago.

Informed consent was obtained only through secure mechanisms that are deemed safe by the participants. Every participant in the study was given an informed consent form. Participants were asked to fully read the instructions and were given the opportunity to ask questions prior to their participation. The consent forms included the possibility to opt out of the study at any time without any consequences to their work; participants were then asked to sign the form.

Instrumentation

There were four images and two videos that were shown halfway through the interview. Each picture and video depicted some level of violence or response to violence towards Black people and all examples were extracted from social media. The set of questions were created to help narrate the participant's story and experience. Pictures and videos were shown towards the middle of the interview to allow the participant to talk about their experiences and reflections. Pictures and videos were shown at that particular time to see if participants would respond differently based on the content provided. Photos and videos were used to help stimulate their reflection.

Having both photos and videos allowed participants to engage in dialogue about different levels of violence, and to also reflect on the differences of seeing a picture versus a video. The questions were not asked in a certain order. The questions helped to narrate the participants' understandings and individual experiences of violence in Black

Chicago, through the lens of social media. There were more questions asked about the participant's personal experience for the purpose of conscious raising.

All four photos were shown back-to-back with time for each participant to give their feedback and thoughts afterwards. The photos only represented one version of violence; African Americans being killed by police or responding to police brutality, while the videos exhibited violence in Black Chicago communities. Both pictures and videos reflected footage of killings and violence captured and shared via social media. The purpose of showing different types of visuals was to highlight how participants respond to the identified social ills in the black community both nationally and locally. The visual content was also shown to see how participants responded to a picture versus a video.

Figure 1 shows depictions of police brutality through image form. These photos were representations of viral videos capturing blacks being killed by the police and took place in other states besides Chicago, IL. The increased tension of police presented in black communities has heightened the attention of recordings of Blacks being killed on video. Some of these videos have made national news and circulated on social media platforms. Figure 2 category consists of videos displaying violent acts that took place in Black Chicago communities. These videos were captured in local areas, some which participants were from. The videos allowed participants to reflect on how they respond and interpret violent viral videos that are in Black Chicago communities.

Image 1



Image 2

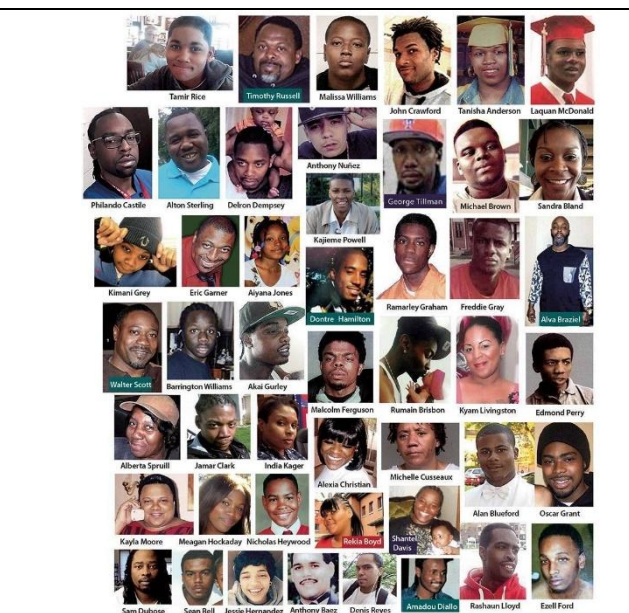
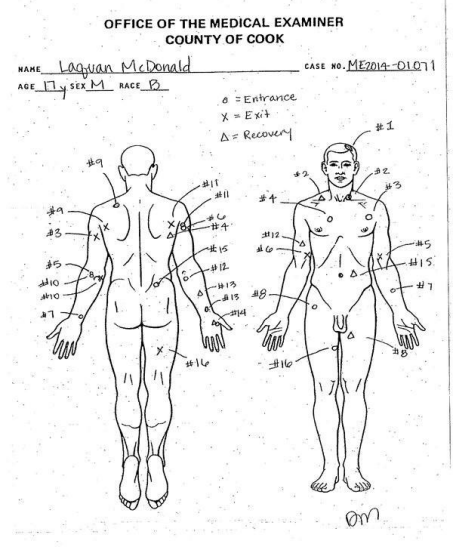


Image 3

Image 4



Figure 1. Police brutality through image form.



Figure 2. Videos displaying violent acts that took place in Black Chicago communities.

Coding

Analyzing the data from one-on-one interviews was implemented in three stages. Figure 1 shows the process in how data was collected and coded. The first stage analysis was open coding, which was used to break down, examine, compare, and categorize data to discover any themes that present themselves as critical variables. The second stage was axial coding, which was used to reassemble data, to explore and discover possible relationships, patterns, or emerging themes. This stage looks at causal conditions, contexts, interactions, and later consequences. The final stage is selective coding, which is used to collect the core category, systematically relating to other categories, validating those relationships, and filing categories that need further development.

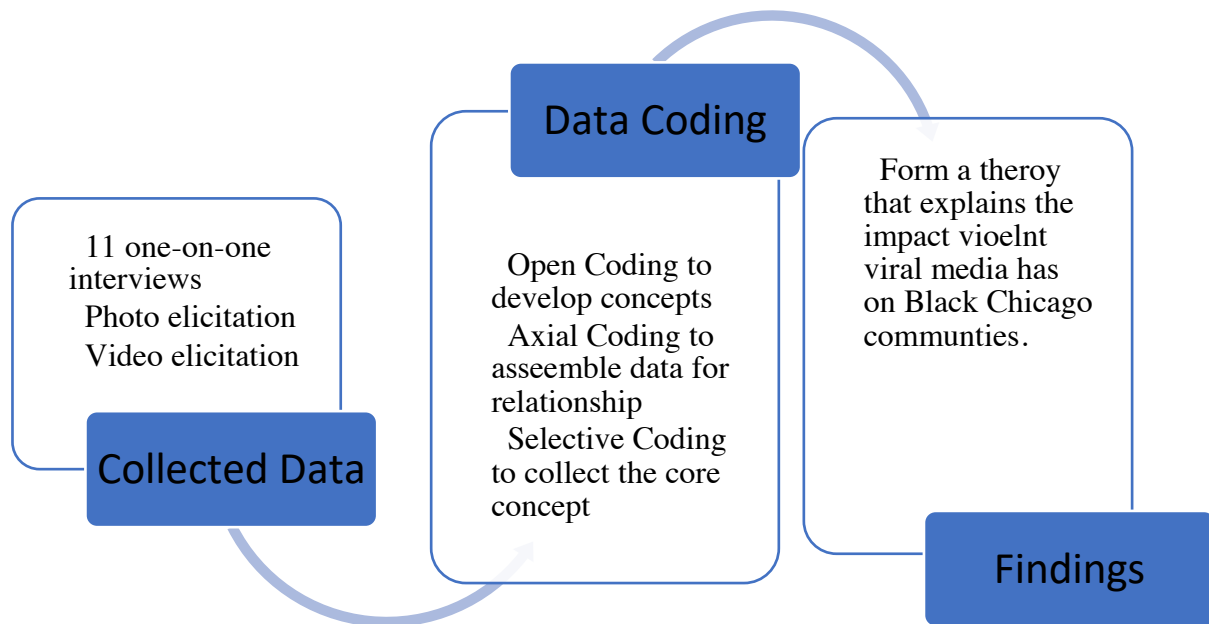


Figure 3. Coding Process

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Research Goals

- To better understand how violent viral media impacts community members in Black Chicago.
- To determine how community members, perceive violent viral media through the lens of social media.
- To better understand what community member's motives are to watch and post violent viral media.

Through a focused analysis process several themes emerged as common threads of experience shared by participants. These themes were developed during the coding process. This included stories, and experiences which brought out the participants understanding and their perception of violence in Black Chicago communities.

Participants shared their experiences, life events, and the real challenges and changes that have transpired as it relates to violent viral media being spread on social media outlets. Each question was designed to bring out the needs, challenges, and strengths of the community. The guiding concept was to raise conscious awareness, to change the lens of social media, and enhance the control of their own lives.

There are two overarching themes that produced six sub-themes, and within the subthemes there were two themes that were discussed more often than others. Within those themes there are examples of quotes that are used to prove the experiential connection that leads to the overarching themes. The two overarching themes, viral pictures (national) and viral videos (local) allows the participants to talk about their perception and also their reality as it relates to violence being in other parts of the United States and in Black Chicago communities. These two overarching themes created space for participants to tell narratives from a community and personal perspective, which led

to the six sub-themes. The six themes consist of normalcy, entertainment, clout, awareness, proof, and lack of trust. These themes were interconnected with one another showing a link and relationship to each other. Normalcy and Awareness were the most discussed themes. Clout, entertainment, proof, and lack of trust were ways community members made sense of violent viral media. Normalcy was a way a participant described being numb to violence and the way community members adapted to this normalcy was through gaining attention *clout* and entertainment.

Participants believed that certain forms of entertainment (i.e. fights and arguments) were normal to observe or upload to social media. Clout was interconnected with normalcy because each participant talked about consumers of social media wanting or appearing to want a certain image to gain attention from their audience. Awareness connected with proof and lack of trust. Violent viral videos and pictures have made blacks aware of their surroundings, what neighborhoods are unsafe, and which gangs are at war. Without this information some participants feel like they wouldn't know how to function or survive in Chicago. Community members have used these pictures and videos as proof to portray their realities, protect themselves, or to combat the inaccurate information on other media platforms. Community members feel they need this proof because of the lack of trust community members have with other rivals and police officers. Proof and lack of trust interconnected with awareness because it explains why communities watch and record violent viral videos. It should be noted that participants were asked abstract questions about their beliefs, attitudes, and values. Although these questions were asked abstractly, participants responded with story-based responses, sharing their experiences, and interpretations. A sample question and response might

read:

How do you think violent viral videos contribute to the increase of violence in Black Chicago communities? I think it increases because, you know when people see these violent videos they want to react and it just keeps the violence going because like, for example, these two girls they live next door to me. So, one girl called the girl, like she lived across the hall from me, they were fighting she knocked out her tooth out she put it on Facebook. So, because she put it on Facebook, she felt like it was embarrassing she did too much wanted to fight her again. I was like, so you don't want to fight her because she knocked your tooth out but it just like kept going back and forth like they are trying to prove points to somebody, or people on the internet to say like they tough or something.

Through these questions the researcher was able to uncover the features of *Black Chicago communities* and a better understanding of how violent viral media has affected those who are from or live in *Black Chicago*. This process included two phases, which included viewing (a) viral pictures and (b) and a viral video along with asking abstract questions. Questions were asked before showing the pictures and video to get an understanding of their feeling of violent viral media on social media before photo elicitation. The focus was to allow the participant to talk about their experiences in Chicago as it relates to content they have seen or posted on social media that showed violence.

The interconnection model in diagram 2 summarizes the themes and sub-themes related to violent viral media both nationally and locally. After each participant saw the four pictures, they were asked to give their first thought and how the picture made them feel. The pictures depicted national issues of viral violence that have happened all over the United States, while the video that were shown depicted violence in Chicago communities. Pictures were shown first to generate how participants responded to viral images that were at a national level, with one picture of a local killing. Viral videos were

shown afterwards to see if participants' responses were the same or different because it was in their city. This allowed participants to give their perspective on larger issues such as police brutality and share their experiences on community violence within their own environments. Participants were also able to talk about how they thought others viewed black communities in Chicago based on viral videos.

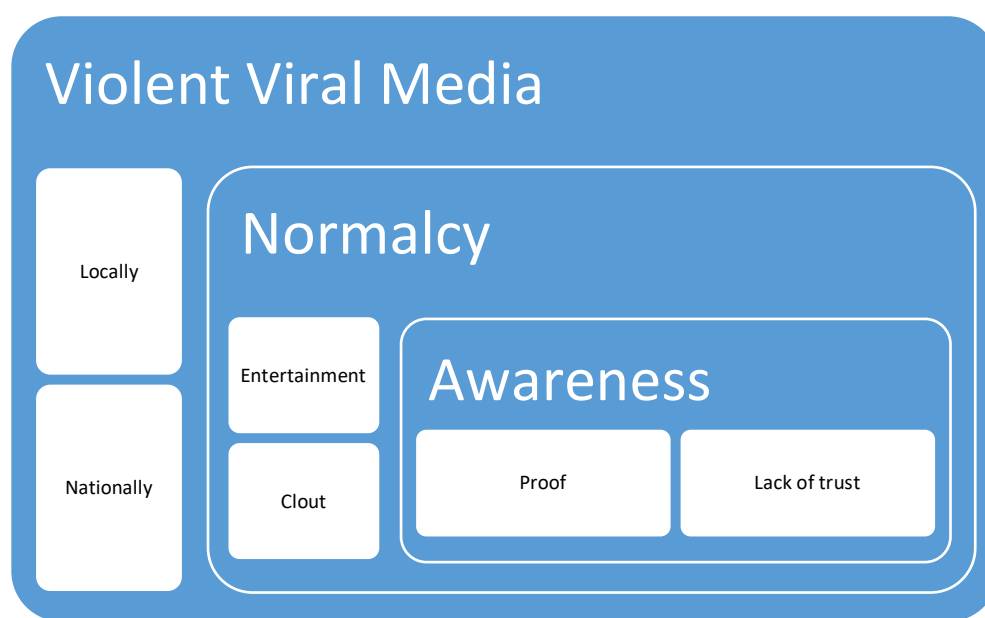


Figure 4. Trends in rival gang communication.

Earlier research has discussed the effects of social media in urban communities as it relates to word expressions (i.e., status updates, tweets, and comments). Dr. Patton's research aims at an extensive amount of knowledge about social media and youth behaviors. Patton highlights how to identify trends in rival gang communication through statuses and videos. Majority of Dr. Patton's work focused on gang related incidents that took place on social platforms and developing ways to prevent or intervene in crisis

related to community gang violence. There has been little to no research focused on how the virality of violence has affected residents in Black Chicago communities. Research has suggested that social media has had an impact on urban communities and over time has caused violence between rival gangs. Most researchers have focused their research on Chicago and have used it as a way of highlighting the homicide and crime rate. Although Chicago has been known for its violence, the perception of Chicago has also been distorted through the media through both traditional and current platforms. This research interviewed Black community members in Chicago to understand their experiences and perspective of violence as it circulates and becomes viral on social media platforms. With Dr. Patton's recommendations on how to effectively respond to potentially dangerous situations through the pitfalls of social media and the strong personal ties to the impact violent viral videos this research can provide a more in debt perspective.

Photo and Video Solicitation

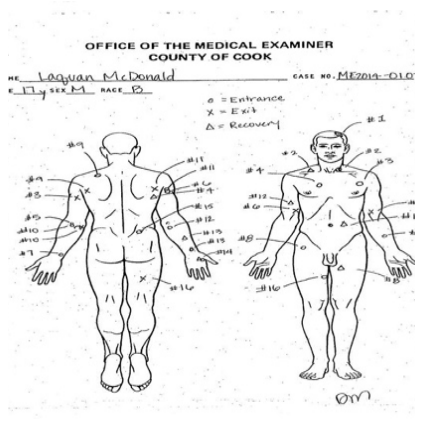
The photos and videos solicitation helped discover real life narratives of the participants. The engagement from participants shifted when viewing pictures and videos. Participants were incredibly open about how they felt when seeing content, but also had some quite different reactions when seeing both pictures and videos. Participants were able to elaborate more about their thoughts and views when seeing pictures, although one picture appeared to resonate more with them than others. This picture was of LaQuan McDonald's entry and exit wounds after a Chicago Police officer murdered him. Statements such as "16 shots, this should have been an open and shut case", "It didn't take 16 shots", and "Police got trigger happy, this is overkill". They had

common reactions to this photo because participants were able to connect more with this picture because LaQuan was from Chicago.

Viral videos were shown after the pictures to see if participants responded differently to videos versus pictures. Videos were also shown after pictures to see if participants had the same reactions to viral violence on a local level as they did on a national level. Videos appeared to give a sense of reality based on participants' responses. Participants either were aware of the violent incident, had seen the video, lived in the neighborhood, or knew someone in the video. Participants connected with the video because it was familiar but had a different reaction in response after seeing the video. There were two different videos that were shown, both considered to be viral with over 100,000 shares. Not all participants viewed the same video. The two different videos involved violence, the first video involved police and community violence, while the other video depicted gang affiliated community violence. Although both videos showed violence the gang affiliated video had a different response than the police involved video. This video was more vivid and realistic. Participants were either lost for words or took some time to share how they felt after watching the video. Statements such as: "This makes me sad, and this is triggering for me, I have no words for this video, and This is heartbreaking, I have no words." Participants had some of the same responses or lack of response when watching this video. Although their responses were limited, their stories represented personal experiences in their communities. Some participants talked about knowing the neighborhood and knowing the gangs they were a part of, but more were concerned about the sense of betrayal and how gruesome the murder was. Based on the response's videos created room for personal interpretation and

made things more realistic than seeing a picture.

Figure 5 shows how participants responded to each picture and video. The picture and video examples were categorized in pictures and videos that generated more feelings and personal experiences. Each picture and video have 3-4 quotes due to participants having the same responses. Not all participants could handle seeing the pictures and videos, while other participants reported that this is the everyday normal whether it is in person or on social media platforms.



"Too much, out of proportion"
 "It didnt take 16 shots"
 "Overkill, police got trigger happy"
 "Brutal, this is overkill"
 "No remorse, intended to kill"



"This looks like my family, so many black men"
 "Its only blacks, what they got against us"
 "This makse me think about my family"
 "There isnt any white people, only"



"He getting shot in his back, he cant see whats coming"
 "This is sneaky and racist"
 "Life lost for no reeason, cop will get off"
 "I wonder if he eeven had a gun"
 "he was no threat, police just pulled out gun"

Figure 5 continues

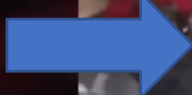
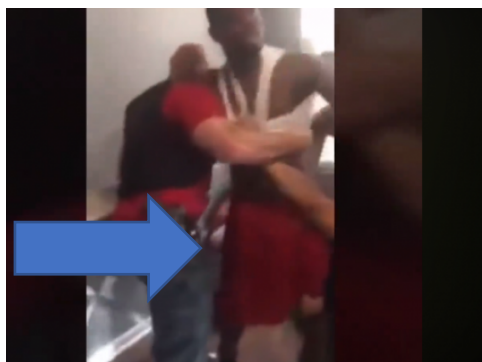
Figure 5 continued



"Fuck the police, but they looking to get killed"
"They are taking a stand, this makes me feel good"
"This is stupidity, makes it easier for them to kill us"
"Reckless, draws negative attention"



"I have no words for this video"
"This is gang retaliation, and he used his friend as a shield"
"I know where this is, they got caught lacking"



"You dont argue with the police"
"This is sad, because we see this all the time"
"This is why people fall in love with Chiraq"

Figure 5. Participants responses.

Data Analysis

The data collected during interviews revealed two major themes and seven sub-themes. The major themes appeared from the concept of showing pictures that depicted one version of violence that happened in different parts of the United States, while the video depicted violence within Chicago black neighborhoods. Participants responded differently to the pictures because they did not show anything happening, while the videos were vivid and filled with violence that participants report to see every day. Participants didn't connect much with the pictures because they did not either know about the person, hear about it on social media, or because it did not happen in their communities. Although pictures and videos were considered viral media, responses changed based on how they could connect. On a national level some participants had heard about the many stories depicted in the pictures and had seen the videos shared on their social media platforms. Majority of the participants did not talk in detail about them because it either represented police brutality which participants explained as being normal, or they expressed not knowing about the stories. The seven sub-themes appeared from both open-ended questions and photo/video elicitation.

Themes

Normalcy

Throughout each participant interview everyone talked about the normalcy of violence in Chicago. No matter what platform they saw it on or how they saw it, participants have become conditioned to violence in Black Chicago communities. Some participants talked about living on the South Side of Chicago and how they have become numb to violence. Not only is it their reality in their communities, but also in their virtual

communities. Participants talked about how although some situations are worse than others, it does not cause fear because they are conditioned to hearing it, and seeing it circulate on social media. Two participants talked about how violence has been normalized because it is all black people know. Participants discussed slavery, lynching, and even Rodney King to describe how normal violence has been in black communities. Although some participants have changed their profile content or scroll past violent viral videos, some participants watch and share the videos for other reasons such as entertainment, conversation starters, or to make others aware. Violence has become a social norm to which many Black people in Chicago have adapted. Despite the reputation their communities have, places like Woodlawn and Englewood are still considered to be home.

Because, you see it all day on your screen on your phone, on your computer, on your TV, it depends on where you live at. You hear the killings happening outside of your house. After a while it's like, I can't keep like getting shook about this like I can't keep worrying about whether or not if I walk down the street such and such is gone come shoot me or shoot somebody and accidentally hit me. Eventually you just get numb to it and be like I got to live my life I can't let that stop me from doing what I need to do or what I want to do. Just like whatever happened it happen. (Personal Communication, 2/11/20)

It's like being brainwashed; say if you watch the same thing over and over and over and over and over again it becomes a part of you right? If you post the same thing over and over again, you pick up that trait. That person's demeanor it jumps from you to me. (Personal Communication, 1/6/20)

I know I'm not okay with that I just adapted to it. Oh, they are shooting let me lay down. I just adapted. (Personal Communication, 1/28/20)

Normalcy as you can see from the previous quotes can make residents of Black Chicago communities feel powerless and numb. Residents feel as if violence is something they observe and witness every day, so it is not a shock when they see it in

their virtual communities as well. Residents have adapted to their environments and attribute their behaviors to their surroundings and what they see others do on social media. Although residents feel like they worry about the violence in both their residential and virtual communities, adjusting has been the mentality over fear.

Entertainment

Black Chicago communities have been known for hundreds of homicides a year, and high crime rates, but this has not stopped blacks from their everyday lives. Blacks have found ways to use their environments and their exposure to violence for entertainment. The trajectory of serious incidents or violence in black Chicago communities have changed. What was seen as a serious situation can be turned into viral videos, memes, jokes, and entertainment. Participants talked about entertainment being the way blacks get through tough times, and social media creates a platform for entertainment even if it is black communities in a negative light. Videos and pictures are posted to WSHH and YouTube for others enjoyment or for users to go viral. Some videos are funny while others are uploaded for attention.

Most participants said that they have watched viral videos of fights or uploaded videos of fights because it is funny. Although someone could get hurt this level of violent viral media is equivalent to watching boxing, it is for entertainment. Some participants said that individuals look for drama on social media and being the first to post a fight gives viewers something to laugh at or be a part of the excitement.

Statements such as “because a lot of black people think stuff that’s on social media is funny, they don't take the seriousness of it,” and “Some people record just because they just want to have other people laugh at it.” While most participants have found

enjoyment in watching viral videos of fights, most reported that seeing others suffer, or be murdered, does not bring enjoyment. This can be conflicting for some because although some participants enjoy watching viral videos of fights, they do not agree that all media such as murder should be posted to social media for others to see.

Some fights are entertainment fights that are not like necessarily violence in the community because boxing is an entertainment wrestling is an entertainment so to see street violence that's entertainment to them that's not something that is going to affect them psychologically (Personal Communication, 1/27/20).

It's funny, it's funny in general for. I mean for me. I think it's funny. Fights is funny not no gun violence not so much cause that's scary you can try to get away from a fight, but a gun No (Personal Communication, 1/28/20).

When it gets to social media it's blown up out of proportion and then it's no longer a crime scene. It's funny, like, Oh, go to a party. You gone end up like Kennicka. That's not funny even though it's you know it's a giggle but it's not funny (Personal Communication, 1/28/20).

The representation of violent viral media on social media platforms has affected how residents in Black Chicago communities find what is risky or funny. Viral images and videos can supply insight, but it could also be misinterpreted. Residents are not triggered by fights nor is it considered to be violent. Although residents are aware that fights could lead to death, most residents see fights as a form of entertainment. This form of entertainment is equivalent to watching boxing and wrestling; it is amusing. While fighting does not trigger fear, for some gun violence does. Recent examples of violent viral media have been interpreted as funny or taken out of context because it allows residents to find humor in negative and threatening behavior. As seen in the previous quote's entertainment can be seen as a way residents cope, adapt, or even gain attention.

Clout

It is no secret that Chicago has been painted on all forms of media as a war zone. Renaming the city to *Chiraq* is a prime example of how Chicago has developed a negative reputation. Chicago was given this name to show a comparison to Iraq during a time of war; there were more people being killed in Chicago than in Iraq. This perception of Chicago has caused individuals to glorify violence through capitalism. Participants believe that violence in Chicago gives people a name for themselves whether that's through their music videos or being the first to post on social media. Participants often referred to *clout chasing*, and social media users looking for attention. All but one participant talked about how social media is all about who carries the next trend and who can go viral. Clout chasing has been defined by participants as someone who looks for ways to be noticed on the hottest or latest trend. Violence is an ongoing trend in Black Chicago communities. Whether its posting fights, murder scenes, flaunting cash, and expensive things, or making threats through music videos individuals have used these things to create an image and name for themselves. Violence has been a way to *enhance* in Chicago. Despite how one may be affected by seeing their loved ones circulating through social media, violent propaganda sells, and everyone wants to be the next big thing. Statements such as: "Everybody want to be the big dog", (Personal Communication, 2/11/20) and "It's the way that actually being cool is perceived now, anything that is overly positive or nice in my opinion is being perceived as lame" (Personal Communication, 2/11/20) has caused users to only draw their attention to negative aspects of Black communities. Although some participants believe that the image portrayed on social media is not always a true representation of social media users,

having clout can get your attention and respect in Black Chicago communities.

Participants discussed how individuals look to get famous by posting what grabs others attention, violence and drama being the top influencers. Exposing communities like Englewood and Woodlawn has its' perks, but it also has its downfalls (ie., gang wars, retaliation, murder). Violent viral media brings excitement and attention to news feeds and timelines without these types of postings. People are unaware of what is going on in their own neighborhoods. Despite clout having a negative connotation, some participants have gained their attention by making other community members aware of the violence and corruption in Black Chicago communities.

Everybody just wants to be a part to get them brownie points and sharing videos like this is just another way to do it. (Personal Communication, 2/11/20)

So it's this self-proclaimed image and like I say clout fades but people always looking for what's the next move? What's the next hairstyle? What's the next design? (Personal Communication, 2/12/20)

It's a clout thing is like, they'll pull out the phone before they call the police, it's just something about it, it's almost, the less of the two evils though. That's why I carry two phones. I have to make a decision. Am I going to call the police or record being a video man? (Personal Communication, 1/10/20)

Image is important to residents and to their audience. Having clout in the Black community influences power and popularity. According to participants residents will do anything to obtain clout. Social media has been an influence on how residents gain clout and create trends. Ironically, clout has been a way for residents to make others aware, but on the other hand participants feel as if some residents are desperate for fame. Desperation can lead to residents posting violent viral media to gain attention or a way to control the narrative of violent acts. Unfortunately, violence is used in Black Chicago communities to maintain importance and leverage. Having clout allows residents to be a

part of something or become something. Although it can be a difficult decision to expose or publicize the social ills in Black Chicago communities, residents have also found a sense of identity in posting their truths.

Awareness

Violent viral media for some have changed how they communicate, socialize, and even live. Having these types of videos and pictures have made blacks aware of their surroundings, what neighborhoods are unsafe, and which gangs are at war. Without this information some participants feel like they would not know how to function or survive in Chicago. Majority of the participants reported that they do not watch the news because it is all negative and it does not reflect accurate information. Participants reported that they would rather get their news through social media because they feel as though they get the whole story, and ways to protect themselves.

Martin G. Johnson also known as the *Crime Chaser* on Facebook was able to interview and share his thoughts and reasons why he uses his social media platform for violence awareness. Martin described how he uses a police scanner to get to locations where there has been shootings, murders, or corruption. Martin goes live on Facebook while he is in route and he reports on the crime that has taken place and if there have been any fatalities. Martin is known for his live videos, exposing bait trucks used by Chicago Police, posting about missing men and women, and covering stories at murder scenes. Martin vowed to never show graphic videos or pictures anymore, because it became unsafe for him and black community members felt as if he was making the neighborhood look bad. Martin believes that black people need to be aware of what is going on in their neighborhoods, and how to remain safe. Martin quoted that people are

“concerned citizens and they want to know.” When asked how he felt about consumers who are triggered by his posts, he said “they have an option to delete me.”

Social media for some participants is their only source of news. With the lack of trust in local politicians, and justice systems, Black Chicago community members have taken matters in their own hands. Many are using social media as a platform to inform others of the senseless violence that is claiming the lives of black men, women, and children. Most of the participants reported that although it’s hard to hear and even see, especially if it's someone you know or close to your community violent viral media makes you pay attention and be aware of what is going on around you. One participant said that violent viral media is a form of education to aid others on how to survive real life experiences and reality. While some individuals have committed their time to advocating and sharing street news, most black community members are trying to navigate how they still are safe and positive in a place they still call home.

Just to be aware of what's going on around me, so I can understand what's going on. So I don't be lost out here. I know when it happens, I don't have to panic about it and just be like, I know what to do in this situation. (Personal Communication, 2/10/20)

Let me tell you who wants to see this, people that are concerned citizens. Okay, women, mostly women because they're concerned about the sex trafficking, I do that as well okay find a little young girl here and there, stuff like that. Homeowner's people that want a better community, to know what's going on. Those are the people that are more concerned. (Personal Communication, 1/10/20)

And another reason why we do what we do and the firm do what they do is because we were getting the newspaper, they are demonizing the people. Okay, they was demonized and so what we have done, we have changed the narrative, even though, pookey may have killed three people or done drive by two years ago, we still don't bring that up. we just say a pookey was killed on 71st and green by gunshot wound. (Personal Communication, 1/10/20)

Because people say, like, if you don't care. It makes you want to care because like you might not be aware of what's going on in your community or in your area or even with your people just in general, it kind of like give you the sense of like noticing like to pay attention to what's going on. (Personal Communication, 2/5/20)

Violent viral media has been a way residents remain safe and keep others safe in their communities. As stated in the previous quotes violent viral media serves as a purpose to inform residents of what is going on in their communities. Participants feel like they know how to protect themselves or be more aware of their surroundings after watching or viewing violent viral media. Although this can seem like a contradiction to earlier themes, participants believe that this is what community members want and need to see. Not only has violent viral media been helpful to community members, it has also changed the headlines of residents that have lost their lives to violence. While traditional media coverage has portrayed Chicago as a warzone, residents feel that the stories are inappropriate, inaccurate, and inconsiderate. Tired of seeing their communities portrayed as dramatically dangerous, residents feel obligated to change the trajectory of Black Chicago communities. Residents use social media platforms to televise the untold truths of low income and poverty-stricken areas. They not only portray the violence, but they also force the world to see a broken system and the lack of resources in Black Chicago communities.

Proof

Violent viral media involving blacks over the last six years has caught a lot of attention. Since Mike Browns' death was posted to twitter with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, blacks have found power in recording and posting their realities to social media platforms. Since then during any traffic stops or any interaction with police

has been recorded either live or uploaded later to social media sites. When asked “How has the use of cell phones and video recording attributed to violent viral media?”

participants all had the same answer: some were more elaborate than others.

Statements such as: “if the police can record us why can’t we record them,” and “phones expose our truth, and how police treat us.” It seemed at first that most of the references being made were towards exposing the police until asking if and when participants pull out their phones. It was clear that participants not only wanted to expose the police but they also wanted to entertain others, gain clout by being the first to show something, or bring awareness through their virtual communities. These three themes came up often throughout the interview to express why individuals record. According to one participant “Black people can’t go without social media; this is how you make it,” and “Everything we see is some form of propaganda.” There is power in the cell phone but there is proof in the recordings. Cell Phones have either made blacks famous through social media outlets or it has been their weapon to expose their truth.

It's not until it hits the internet that it is viral. Sharing it so that other cultures can see that this is you know, our everyday reality, you know for us as black. This is every day everyday reality where you know we got to beat the system, we got to beat poverty, we got to beat the streets. There is so much already you know that our culture is up against and then you know add the viral videos all we see is you know officers or we see kids fighting each other yeah like all that ties into you know our PTSD and trauma I was wearing body cameras before they were; before the police started wearing body cameras, we had our body cameras. (Personal Communication, 2/12/20)

I have to have you know some sort of evidence to prove that this happened to me you know. Only in certain communities you go in you see a cop, you almost got to act like you only have a phone which really you only pulling it out just in case. It's almost damn there like man I'm armed you armed. So now I'm up'n my phone because I know what you up'n now and I know what I'm up against. (Personal Communication, 2/12/20)

One might find it remarkable that residents have compared their cell phones and use of video recording to a weapon. With so many violent viral videos circulating on social media, Blacks have turned to their phones to prove their innocence and to expose the lies and lives of others. Having proof shows people things as they are, especially those that are not Black. Violent viral media is not just a way for residents to entertain others, but it is a way to share and show other cultures the realities of Black Chicago communities. Taking pictures and recording videos has more value when Blacks are faced with crime or discrimination. Chicago black residents feel they must stay armed with their phone to protect themselves and their community. Without a picture or a video, residents feel they have no voice, evidence, or case. Despite the outcome and if the video goes viral, having proof is a way for black people to feel fearless and empowered.

Lack of Trust

While it may cause some fear from those who are not from Chicago, it also has given police officers the permission to use extra force when in certain neighborhoods. Participants believe that violent viral media gives police ammunition to treat blacks a certain way, which causes a lack of trust between community members and the police. Participants believe trust has been broken because what has been highlighted and shared on social media. Police engaged in killing black folks have heightened community members where they not only feel they have to protect themselves from their opposition but also from police officers. Statements such as “Chicago police don’t care about black poor communities, they have no respect for us so we have no respect for them”, or “if you get pulled over be prepared to die.” This mindset has caused blacks in the

Englewood community to feel like they have to protect and serve their own communities, because despite if they record their truth of police brutality in their communities, police officers will still get away with murder. “I respect your turf you know just respect ours. Tupac said it best we might fight amongst each other, but I promise you this we’ll burn this bitch down you get us pissed” (Personal Communication, 2/12/20). “There's no respect for our community and mostly coming from white officers, young white officers, that's trying to make a name for themselves Englewood. Englewood is a testing ground” (Personal Communication, 1/10/20).

I'm familiar with police brutality they kill unarmed men, we run they shoot you in the back. That's what I mean, and they get away with it. That's the norm. They can do anything and still get away it. We got stuff on camera, and they still can find a way to get out of it. (Personal Communication, 1/10/20)

Black residents have lost trust in the police that are supposed to serve and protect their communities. Trust has been lost due to many reasons one being the number of viral videos of police killing black men and women. Black residents have lost respect for the police and find more comfort in protecting each other. Some of the participants believe that police in areas such as Englewood have no respect for the communities nor the residents. Some participants believe even with proof police officers will always find a way to justify their wrong doings and get away with killing Black men and women. Although residents in Black Chicago communities know there is violence amongst blacks, residents make it clear that it is unacceptable for police to use deadly force or cause division. Residents unite when it comes to holding police accountable and capturing images of poor policing in Black communities.

Perception

Violent viral media has created a negative feeling of what Black Chicago

communities represent. Between social media and traditional media these communities are exposed as dangerous and unsafe. Communities like Englewood and Woodlawn have been known for their high crime rates, gun violence, and gangs. These communities have gained more attention for the high volume of crime and gun violence represented on social media platforms. Nonmembers have ostracized, ridiculed, and persecuted Black Chicago communities and residents based on what they have experienced or witnessed through violent media. Participants explained how others perceive Chicago from the outside looking in just based on what they have heard or seen on social media outlets. Some thoughts were connected to how their friends were fearful and afraid to see them or even drop them off in certain neighborhoods. Majority of their concerns were about how white people and police officers view and categorize blacks and their communities based on what is uploaded online. Many participants believe police officers and white people find violent viral videos representing Black people predictable and funny. Statements such as: “Because if they're not doing the proper things as far as learning our culture, learning our history, not just dismissing us. Then yeah, they just going to look at us negatively.”. Violent viral media makes it easy for other cultures and people who are not from Chicago to think that Chicago is all about gun violence and gang activity. This has caused nonmembers to be afraid of visiting or even moving in certain communities in Chicago.

My friend in Washington, I wanted her to come with me down here for my birthday. She said she would never come here; she thinks its guns everywhere in Chicago. She like I'm not coming down and getting shot. (Personal Communication, 2/5/20)

It makes people scared. My mom is not from here she is from California she won't come visit me because she hears all this stuff about Chicago. She's like I'm never coming out there I don't want to die. (Personal Communication, 1/28/20)

Immediately when we told people we were moving, or I was moving to Chicago. It was like, oooh you know you gotta be careful which part; people immediately wanting to know what part of town I was going to be staying on because they went straight to the negative, you know it's such a violent city, make sure you are in a good area. You know, just make sure you're protected, it was rarely, you know we hear that Chicago is such a beautiful city, but most of the comments were negative. (Personal Communication, 2/10/20)

The reactions from non-residents of Chicago did not appear to shock or concern participants, although it did occur to be triggering for some. The normalcy around individuals talking about how dangerous Chicago is and being afraid was something they had adapted to. This feeling of Chicago has been associated with gun violence and high crime rates reported and seen on media outlets. The ongoing violence in Black Chicago communities has put a strain on how people view Chicago as a whole. This has caused a lasting impact on the nonmembers but most importantly the residents. Despite the negative feeling of mayhem and murder, residents in Black Chicago communities still find hope in a high-tension city.

With so much violence and crime in Black Chicago communities some participants still believe Chicago is a beautiful city, with much hope. Despite the negative attention, participants believe that there are positive things happening in Black Chicago communities. Participants talked about their experiences as residents of black communities and what stood out for them (ie., art shows, and festivals). Participants believe that these things do not get publicized because it does not tell the story or reflect violence in black communities. When participants described where they were from and what they enjoyed, they said it with confidence and joy. Statements such as: "I am from Chicago, Englewood to be exact" and "People don't like my neighborhood, but I'm from Jaro City, in the Woodlawn area. I live on 62nd and Rhodes, people don't like coming

over there” (Personal Communication, 2/11/20). On the other hand, some participants described feeling stuck in Chicago, because this is all they know. Statements like “I hate it here, I hate Chicago”, (Personal Communication, 2/11/20) and “Chicago makes people scared; I just think it’s normal” (Personal Communication, 2/11/20), describes how living in Chicago can be conflicting. While some participants see the different forms of violent media and choose to scroll passed it others have become desensitized to the amount of violence happening in their own communities. The normalcy of the violence has left some community members fearless, while some have left their neighborhoods because of fear and stress.

When participants were asked about internalizing violence after seeing viral media, surprisingly most reported that they do not pay attention to how they feel after seeing violent media. This was shocking because although participants do not recognize their feelings in the moment or daily when participating in the photo/video elicitation participants shared feelings of being triggered and even stressed. Not only are participants numb to violence, but they are also numb to their own pain and stressors. Black Chicago communities have been described as a place to teach you to be fearless; “when it comes to Chicago, Chicago will toughen your skin.” This way of thinking and responding to violence creates a larger systematic issue creating unknown fear and stress. Violent viral media has contributed to the feeling of Black Chicago communities, generating a negative feeling that Chicago is chaotic and deadly.

Emerging Theme

Drill Music Videos

Unlike the other subthemes there was one theme that appeared from different conversations when talking about violent viral media. This theme connected to the music participants listening to and how it portrays violence in Chicago. Drill music is a subgenre of rap, and it originated in Chicago. This style of music is violent in both its lyrical and visual content. It was noticeable that participants referred to music being an influence of violence in Chicago. Although they enjoyed the lyrics in the song, some expressed that the video content can be disturbing for others who do not understand the music or content. There has not been much research on drill music videos and its impact on violence in Chicago, but there has been research done on drill music as it related to murders and gang retaliation.

Drill music was described to be either an escape route or the cause of increased violence in Black Chicago neighborhoods. Drill music videos glamorize violence and drugs. The narratives of Drill music can be self-destructive, and chaotic, but it is a true representation of what rappers experience every day. Not all participants talked about this topic in a negative light, most of the participants enjoyed the music, and listened to it every day. Some participants took pride in the music, expressing how Chicago was the first to do drill music and videos. It should be noted that this style of music has gotten a lot of attention all over the world and continues to grow. Drill music videos are publicized to gain the attention of an audience that shares the same experience. Oftentimes the followers perpetuate the violence by sharing, tagging others, or using the lyrics to taunt others. These videos often portray guns, intimidation, violence, drugs, and

poverty. The music videos have led to beefs between rival gangs and retaliations ending in murder. Although drill music has not been identified as a reason for increased violence in Black Chicago communities, the content appears to cause controversy and incite real world crimes.

When you listen to it, you understand but when you watch the video it's just like, Damn, this is what they really about, this is what they doing out here. (Personal Communication, 2/10/20)

Like when you're not in the right state of mind and you're mad at somebody and you turn on drill music its most likely, because you want to go do something violent to the other person. (Personal Communication, 2/10/20)

You know rap culture got a big influence on what we do. (Personal Communication, 2/12/20)

I think it's good for the most part of life to turn up. Like, I feel it also is disrespectful because they mention dead people and their family members, me personally I'm not a Chief Keef fan I'm a G Herbo fan, I feel like I can relate to him because I know he actually been going through this stuff. (Personal Communication, 2/5/20)

Historically Chicago has been known for gun violence and violent crimes in isolated communities on the south and west side. The epidemic of violence over the past decades has taken place in some of Chicago's most dangerous and poor communities. The socioeconomic disadvantages of these communities have a troubling connection with violent crimes. Areas like Englewood and Woodlawn remain economically challenged because these areas are unsafe and dangerous. Chicago's violence has no structured pattern, it is random and destructive. The severity of these crimes demonizes the communities, the city, and the residents. These distressed communities have seen its share of gang wars, gun violence, and criminal activities. Black Chicago communities have been dismantled due to interpersonal cycles of drugs, retaliation, and guns. The

identities of these communities are rooted in violence, however the media's goal to inform Chicago residents has been depressing and terrifying. This has led to residents in Black Chicago communities telling their own narratives of what takes place in their communities. While residents do not have the capacity to broadcast on daily and nightly news, social media has become their platform to expose their truth and environments.

Social media has not always been known for its numerous amounts of violent viral media but more recently it has gained more exposure due to its accessibility to upload pictures, and videos. While earlier research has focused on the surge of violence as it relates to gangs and how they communicate through text on social media, this research has focused on the impact of visual content. Although word content and emojis matter it was worth exploring how members of Black Chicago communities are affected by the violence portrayed in visual content. In the interest of this study media is described as pictures and videos. The pictures and videos reflected the forefront of what is being televised on social media on a consistent basis, which is police brutality and community violent crimes. With so many videos of police engaged killings of Blacks all over the nation this elicitation was shown in picture form. This was done to gauge an understanding from participants of how they respond to a national issue, but more so how they respond when they see pictures that reflect this level of violence. Videos appear to be more realistic most times leaving a lasting impression, which is why this visual concept only reflects incidents that have taken place in Black Chicago communities. This was done to compare and contrast the difference between how participants responded to pictures and videos, what type of impact it had on the participants, and how participants responded to violence at a national and local level.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings in this study offer several lessons learned. The first lesson learned pertains to the impact violence has on residents in Black Chicago communities. The second lesson illustrates how individuals respond to different versions of violent viral media at a national and local level through photo elicitation. The third lesson explores the social norms of individuals exposed to violence on social media platforms. Finally, the last lesson discusses how individuals are using their platforms to change the trajectory of how social media portray Black Chicago communities.

The first lesson explores how violence impacts residents in Black Chicago communities. Violence has been normalized and glamorized in areas that are low in poverty, highlighting these communities in traditional media only gives one side of the story while social media platforms tell a more realistic version. Social media has a heavy influence on how emerging adults communicate. While these platforms were not built to expose violence, they have been a primary source to how individuals understand and know what is going on in their communities. Uploading visual content such as pictures and videos allow individuals to get a clear picture of their everyday reality. The impact that violence has on Black Chicago communities takes a toll on survivors, witnesses, and their communities. The effects of violence have conditioned residents to suppress their disruption, distress, and fear. Although individuals may be affected by the daily routine of violence, showing and reporting it is unheard of. Even though the visual content uploaded to sites can be frightening and terrifying, most consumers of social media will engage in watching or re-sharing because residents have been desensitized to what they see when they walk out their doors and in their virtual communities.

There is power in posting the realities of Black Chicago communities. Residents have used their cell phones to document their everyday lives. While some of the content is very explicit, consumers of social media have found this type of visual content to be informative and entertaining. Not only are consumers of social media uploading these videos, but they are sharing them for influence and attention. The pictures and videos reflect negative interactions with the police, and community violence such as fights, arguments, and homicides. Posting this type of content not only produces a negative feeling of Black Chicago neighborhoods, but it also normalizes violent behavior. Due to violence being normalized in these communities it has made it easier for individuals to scroll past pictures of individuals holding guns or doing drugs. Individuals have become accustomed to watching or recording fights, and homicides. Community members are conditioned to violence no matter where they see it, which leads to silent internalization and suffering.

The second lesson explored how individuals reacted to violent viral photo and video elicitation. Although pictures can be deceiving and say a thousand words, pictures do not speak as loud as videos. Videos were proven to have a larger shock value and impact on individuals after watching them. Unlike pictures, videos are more realistic, and reach a larger audience. Videos drive more engagement and have more leverage than pictures. Video content has generated more attention and has a better justification to how Black residents respond to violence in Chicago. Unlike the responses to violence at a national level, individuals can relate more to what reflects their reality.

For a story, picture, or video to go viral one must find interest in what is being displayed. Most often the content must grab someone's attention and keep them engaged

to even want to repost or discuss it on their newsfeed. If it does not attract your audience and keep their attention it disrupts and discredits an individual's image. Having clout allows individuals to have a certain power of influence in Black Chicago communities. With clout individuals are able to influence audiences whether it is negative or positive. Individuals that post violent content do it to get attention, raise awareness, or for entertainment. Individuals are aware of what they are watching and posting but they have an agenda. Depending on the agenda and how the content is displayed the audience can either push it or disengage. In addition to the agenda individuals find comfort in being able to express the disadvantages of Black Chicago communities.

The third lesson discusses the social norms of violent viral media. The culture of violence in Chicago has become socially acceptable. Violence has always been a concern, but how violence has been glamorized through violent viral media has caused a surge or increase in negative behavior. Not only has the content been glamorized, community members have found ways to capitalize off their everyday experiences in Black Chicago communities. Unlike those who are not exposed to violence on an everyday basis, some community members have had to find ways to express their aggression and frustration with their environments in different ways. One of those ways being drill music. Drill music has developed its own community. This type of music has incited violence, but the visual content has led to gang wars, retaliation, and death. While this type of violent viral media is a form of expression, videos like these have left a rippling effect on Black Chicago communities leaving them with pain, anger, and fear.

The last lesson projected how black community members can change the trajectory of how individuals express and expose their truths without distorting the

feeling of the Black Chicago communities. Violence alone has gained a lot of attention in Chicago; social media platforms have contributed to the negative feeling of Black Chicago communities. The narrative of Black Chicago communities starts and ends with violence. While some may be committed to showing their reality by making threats, toting guns, and asking for violence, others have found ways to keep Black Chicago communities safe and protected. Social media contributes to the idea and concept of perpetuating violence because they allow it to be uploaded and shared despite the concept. Additionally, social media has also given permission to users who expose their truth and the truths of Black Chicago communities to help minimize violence and crime. These individuals are outnumbered but have made just as much impact on individuals in Black Chicago communities.

Practical Implications

If conditions are fulfilled with this research the following results should be considered. The implied results consist of empowerment, conscious awareness, interrupting the patter of virtual space violence, culture of expressions, mindset change, and exposure. Empowerment allows community members to post freely about their experiences empowers them to find freedom in creativity. Instead of contributing to violence, posting violent viral media allows them to escape their realities. Conscious awareness assures that community members are aware of the violence in their residential communities, although they are vaguely aware of the effects after seeing the continuous spread of violence in their virtual experience. Being aware will allow community members to pay attention to how violent viral media affects them after seeing the content. Interrupting the pattern of violent viral spaces highlights that the agenda of all

community members are not to expose their realities for clout and entertainment. Some community members use this content to make others aware and to feel safe in communities they are unable to escape from. Using videos and pictures has many benefits one being a way for community members to express their thoughts and feelings. Although these pictures and videos can be perceived as negative and detrimental, community members find power in posting their truths instead of hearing and seeing it first on traditional media. Mindset Change: While others may view this level of media as detrimental to communities, the representation of violent viral media is important because of the story it tells. This shifts how a person thinks and how they perceive Black Chicago communities. The exposure to these videos and picture can encourage community members to pay attention to how they have contributed to violence in their own communities and the impact they have had in both their real and virtual lives.

Limitations and Future Research

While there has been much research done on violence being asked for through social media and its effects on black youth or emerging adults, research was limited on how it impacted the perception of the communities. Most of the research was done to show how gang violence has increased due to gangs moving their daily interaction from the streets to social media. While social media has been highlighted for their word content shared to incite violence, there was a gap that solely focused on the visual content. In most articles discussing or referring to gangs, violence, and crime uses Chicago as a blueprint to show violence is spread and how others are affected. This research looked to understand the feeling of Black Chicago through violent viral media from those who live and breathe in the communities. This not only gave voice to the

narrative of these communities, but empowered individuals to change the trajectory violent viral media has on Blacks in Chicago's most vulnerable communities. Future research should examine the emerging theme of Drill music with emphasis on the visual content and how it has been portrayed as an influence on violence versus an escape route from violence. Understanding how Black people communicate and express themselves through drill music can change the course of how other cultures understand and interpret violence in Black Chicago communities.

Conclusion

Violence in Chicago is disturbing, but some community members say it does not affect them until it hits their homes and families. It gets easier to scroll past videos and pictures that mimic the same thing, death. To survive in Black Chicago communities, you have to understand that the things people see on social media is a clear reflection of everyday reality; it's normal. Not only has violent viral media become normal, but it has served as entertainment for some community members. While some may think that posting violent viral media on social media is amusing, some believe that this is a way to gain clout and attention. Being aware of what is going on is important to community members. Not knowing what is going on triggers fears and unwanted emotions. Lastly, drill music has been a major influence on how community members communicate their truth, even though the content is a dangerous life, most participants say that the content needs to be televised. Despite the content of the pictures and videos Black Chicago community members believe this is their reality and either you will allow it to chase you away, engage in it, or it will make you stronger.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
Coding Participants Quotes

Appendix A

Coding Participant Quotes

Themes	Coding Participant Quotes
Normalization	P1Q, P1Q, P1Q, P1Q, P2Q, P2Q, P2Q P3Q, P4Q, P4Q, P4Q, P4Q, P5Q, P5Q, P5Q, P6Q, P7Q, P7Q, P7Q, P8Q, P9Q, P10Q, P10Q
Entertainment	P1Q, P2Q, P2Q, P2Q, P4Q, P6Q, P6Q, P6Q, P7Q, P7Q, P7Q, P7Q, P7Q, P8Q, P9Q, P10Q, P10Q
“Clout”	P2Q, P2Q, P3Q, P3Q, P3Q, P4Q, P4Q, P4Q, P4Q, P5Q, P5Q, P5Q, P5Q, P6Q, P7Q, P7Q, P7Q P8Q, P8Q, P9Q, P9Q, P10Q, P10Q, P10Q, P10Q, P11Q. P11Q
Awareness	P1Q, P1Q, P1Q, P2Q, P4Q, P4Q, P4Q, P5Q, P7Q, P7Q, P7Q, P8Q, P8Q, P9Q, P9Q, P9Q, P10Q, P10Q, P11Q
Emerging Theme	Coding Participant Quotes
Drill Music Videos	P1Q, P1Q, P1Q, P1Q, P2Q, P4Q, P4Q, P5Q, P5Q, P5Q, P6Q, P6Q, P6Q, P6Q, P7Q, P7Q, P7Q, P10Q, P10Q, P11Q, P11Q

APPENDIX B**Normalization**

Appendix B

Normalization

Normalization	
Quote Code	Quotes
Participants Quotes	
P1Q	<p>“There's just a lot, a lot of videos out here like that, like people getting jumped on at the redline, people just getting shot and stuff like that. It don't make me think about the situation. This is, this is sad but like I don't understand sometimes.”</p> <p>“Yeah. But I guess, like I said, it's just kind of the norm so like if it's something that I was looking at, and then like some odd reason another video will pop up underneath it and it'll be similar to the same video I just watched.”</p> <p>“Honestly in my opinion I haven't really followed up with too many of the stories, but it's just like it's gotten to the point where like I feel like Chicago violence is the norm.”</p> <p>“I think video can help contribute but the violence itself has already been normalized.”</p>
P2Q	<p>“What people see every day becomes the normal propaganda, it's a ritual, you get up look at Facebook, YouTube, twitter, and World Star”</p> <p>“You here gunshots every day, that's normal”</p> <p>“On the news that's all you hear about, the news don't show nothing good”</p>

P3Q	<p>“It’s like being brainwashed; say if you watch the same thing over and over and over and over and over again it becomes a part of you right? If you post the same thing over and over again, you pick up that trait. That person's demeanor it jumps from you to me”</p>
P4Q	<p>“It becomes socially acceptable, like a social norm. Violence is normal in Chicago and it just happens. We get so used to it that we don't we don't try to prevent it. We just allow it to happen because we can't control everyone”</p> <p>“Well, they see that we share it, so they're like oh they're okay with it. It makes it even more of a scary place because violence is normalized”</p> <p>“I understand if there is a fight or something you know, I was, you know that's different, because that's like been normal since high school people record fights all the time.</p> <p>“Yes, people have died. It's become normalized, and it was normalized before I was born so isn't even like, worse.”</p>
P5Q	<p>“I don't want to say that they condition themselves I think they just used to it like it's just something that they see and they just like, oh okay we're on to the next one.”</p> <p>“For me personally, I honestly can't really say that I feel like too much of anything, just because like, it's something that I see every day at this point it's kind of like a normalcy.”</p> <p>“Because, you see, all day on your screen on your phone on your computer on your TV, it depends on where you live at. You hear the killings happening outside of your house. After a while it’s like, I can't keep like getting shook about this like I can't keep worrying about whether or not if I walk down the street such and such as gone come shoot me or shoot somebody and accidentally hit me. Eventually you just get numb to it and be like I got to live</p>

	<p>my life I can't let that stop me from doing what I need to do or what I want to do. Just like whatever happened it happens.”</p>
P6Q	<p>“They made it normal. They normalized it. And there's nothing like there's nothing wrong with teaching your children about guns, it's about the way that you teach them about guns.”</p>
P7Q	<p>“I feel like it makes it okay because I feel like if it happens enough, which it happens all the time, then it's looked at for me like it's looked at like it's not a problem. That's how I feel. So it's like it's okay,</p> <p>“I don't think to me when I see like all these random stuff that we have out here I just think it's normal, because it happened so often and as a bummer but that's how I see stuff out here.”</p> <p>“I know I'm not okay with that I just adapted to it. Oh they are shooting let me lay down. I just adapted.”</p>
P8Q	<p>“So, it's, it's one thing where you know we hear the story about Trayvon Martin, like, I think that really shook the nation shook the country. But when we started to see it back to back to back. I think that's when, in our mental space to a certain degree became like a normal like. I mean literally the next week. Here we go again. They got another one of us. And that's sad that it would even get to that point, it should never become normal”</p>
P9Q	<p>“it's like legal help firm they post up stuff like every day. And it's like oh man another one and another one and another one, it gets to the point where you only look at it ain't nobody you know you just scroll on down you know”</p>
P10Q	<p>“because they already think that Chicago is just naturally violent so I feel like for you to live here you should, like I said, like I'm immune to it. I'm used to people dying and I'm used to hearing about people leaving and stuff so they didn't know that adjust themselves for that to be okay like the norm thing that happens here.”</p> <p>“it just like a regular routine, I guess, for people to just die or get shot. And they only, they only concern is no concern but reaction is to retaliate”</p>

P11Q	
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APPENDIX C

Entertainment

Appendix C

Entertainment

Entertainment	
Quote Code	Quotes
Participants Quotes	
P1Q	“Some people record just because they just want to have other people laugh at it.”
P2Q	<p>“niggas do that shit for entertainment, they do it to get paid”</p> <p>“People record random off-guard stuff just to see what they can get”</p> <p>“Social media bring drama, conflict, and entertainment”</p>
P3Q	
P4Q	“some fights are entertainment fights aren’t like necessarily violence in the community because boxing is an entertainment wrestling is an entertainment so to see street violence that's entertainment to them that's not something that is going to affect them psychologically.”
P5Q	
P6Q	<p>“So, inclusion is a hell of a drug. So, a lot of people, quote unquote, big shit is like funny or its cool, so they like they think it's okay to poke at a bear,</p> <p>“As far as them being like small practical jokes. They inspire people who did a lot more worst things.</p>

	<p>“Some people didn't see the joking aspect of it. Didn't see this, the seriousness and like how they received we just joking like they try to be like pumped or like, if they were really like trying to make their own book and TV series they were serious about going viral with like agony, making themselves an internet sensation because they see an opportunity that they had based off the internet. So, people didn't see the seriousness in some people didn't see the joking and it took the joke too far. The joke started to turn into people just like acting wild not giving a fuck about anything.”</p>
P7Q	<p>“when it gets to social media just taking it like it's blown up out of proportion and then it's no longer a crime scene. It's funny, like, Oh, go to a party. You gone end up like Kennicka. That's not funny even though it's you know it's a giggle but it's not funny.”</p> <p>“I don't know, it's kind of like, WWE niggas fighting I wanna see who gone win. Im talking about Yes! I want to see, I guess a fight I wanna see who gone win. I'm not really fan of the gun stuff. That's not funny to me. But fights are funny.”</p> <p>“but for the fights that I really enjoy.”</p> <p>“share it, making the meme Look, the first thing you say how can you come viral you know you can meme this put a caption, we lit. And then it just goes viral goes viral”</p> <p>“It’s funny, it’s funny in general for. I mean for me. I think it's funny. Fights is funny not no gun violence not so much cause that's scary you can try to get away from a fight, but a gun No.”</p>
P8Q	<p>“Some people don't have lives some people that's their climate, that's their life, like, it just gets them excited so well let me go on here. And to say that sometimes that stuff that they're writing or sharing. They really don't feel that</p>

	way. It is trying to get some drama or excitement going on and on their timeline Like for attention”
P9Q	“And it also depends on your mentality, how you view things, you know, if you're looking at it from a point of view okay what's going on my community on today. but if you're looking at it as an entertainment. Yeah, is this more dangerous, it's more damaging it's more damage okay.”
P10Q	<p>“they think other people hurt is funny and like I said, you might have some, shit going on or whatever and oh im finnna post this and they gone forget about my shit my shit aint gone stank.”</p> <p>“because a lot of black people think stuff that gets off of social media is funny, they don't they don't take the seriousness of it”</p>
P11Q	

APPENDIX D**Clout**

Appendix D

Clout

“Clout”	
Quote Code	Quotes
Participants Quotes	
P1Q	
P2Q	<p>“Everybody want to be the big dog”</p> <p>“You trying to be the next big thing, build a perception”</p>
P3Q	<p>“Attention, attention, or lack thereof. I think that if you need to post your every meal it’s a problem. Half of it don’t look good no way. I wouldn't post that. If you need to post yourself nude, there's a problem. Not with the gadget that you use, but the person who's doing it.”</p> <p>“But black people living like that now, so they got to show off.”</p> <p>“How many likes they got. Do you know that if you don't like a person picture, they What they say when they kick you off the page? Block you”</p>
P4Q	<p>“Everyone pulls out their phone, and when they see something happening. Like, I'm not saying you should walk away. I'm not saying you should try to go save somebody's and risk your life, but pulling out a phone to record should be the last thing.”</p>

	<p>“instead of either trying to solve, or to move away from the situation like it's starting to feel like people like to see that type of stuff they like to record that somebody needs to post this because they've seen that, that thing happen. I've seen someone get shot on 63rd and the last thing that I want to do is pull out my phone.”</p> <p>“it's normal and there's been TV shows about fights. Bad Girls Club, or reality TV shows, they're like, really put that on the front line that we just have to be okay with it because people are going to fight, like, and this is the way you have to react when you're angry. And that can affect that does affect a lot of our community because it makes people want to fight and makes people want to be in drama, it makes you like this I know when you watch it on the TV. It kind of like replays in real life because you want to be in that lifestyle so much you like I'm gone start some drama today. Let's get this hyped up and let's get this lit stuff like that, but it's also hard drugs and the community is good. People will be off of pills and something they want to find a drink and they want to fight. So, everybody just become accustomed to it because we see it every day, I could go outside right now and see it I know cuz people are always arguing about something.”</p> <p>“if it's a fight it depends on who it is. If I know them personally, I'm recording just so I can show you a few days later like you got your ass beat, but If it's like somebody I don't know, I've been tuned into the fights, to even record. And then by the time the fight ends, everybody already got their phone pulled out besides me so.”</p>
P5Q	<p>“Everybody wants to be felt like they're the tough guy they want to be the cool guy or something like that. So, when those people are the ones that are consistently being portrayed in the limelight”</p> <p>“It's the way that things actually being cool is perceived now, anything that is overly positive or nice in my opinion is being perceived a lame”</p>

	<p>“If I was to walk up or they would walk up and show me a video of somebody getting jumped by like 16 other people now everybody that’s standing right there is like man on me that’s gang that’s squad on me, those are the people everyone wants to be like, nobody wants to be the lame. So, in my opinion a lot of people a lot of people only watch those videos or share those videos because they want people to believe that that’s the type of person they are because that’s what is perceived to be cool.”</p> <p>“People honestly watch these things because they want to be knowledgeable about this, I want to have my opinion in this situation, I want people to actually feel like I know something. In other words, they clout chasing. They just want to have they want to feel like they are part of what’s going on in the moment”</p> <p>Everybody just wants to be a part to get them brownie points and sharing videos like this is just another way to do it”</p>
P6Q	<p>“Like you could have did some more positive shit to go viral but you chose not to. The shit that you did it to go viral was like. It wasn't the worst thing that you could have done. Okay, so I can't be upset with you.”</p>
P7Q	<p>“Or they just trying to be a jerk and trying to get it on camera, or for clout. because that is just like one of my friends now but I have a friend before who fought before, and she recorded on the train and she fought her off. She posted on Facebook so that's definitely for clout because it’s not that serious. but it was still good. “</p> <p>“They do anything for clout”</p> <p>“for clout because I feel, like, again, all of those are serious things that should be addressed outside of media. That's like, Okay, well Susie you want to go ahead and comment on social media he wants clout, you need, here's something else you need. That's how I feel, because all that should be behind the scenes.”</p>

P8Q	<p>“I think it's like hot topics, hot news just, you know, I guess to keep the ratings up people there or people out here, they'd rather listen and look for the negative violent news of a particular city or a particular situation. I just, I don't know why they tend to highlight that. But it's definitely highlighted.”</p> <p>“Some people don't have lives some people that's their climate, that's their life, like, it just gets them excited so well let me go on here. And to say that sometimes that stuff that they're writing or sharing. They really don't feel that way. It is trying to get some drama or excitement going on and, on their timeline, Like for attention”</p>
P9Q	<p>“Yes, more so even help me just the likes it's a clout thing is like, they'll pull out the phone before they call the police, it's just something about it, it's almost, it is less than two evils though now. That's why I carry two phones. Okay, so I have to make a decision. Am I going to call the police or help or video as me being a video man, so I've never been put in that situation, thank God.”</p> <p>“But that's what they look for that gives them proof see if they can prove to the white public that there's all these people who drink, smoke, get welfare, make babies gang bang shoot rob and steal. That's what they want to promote. They, don't want to promote young ladies such as yourself. That's going for her doctorate, they don't want that's no news, they don't give no ratings, but yet you can be a light and example to other young ladies. You know that”</p>
P10Q	<p>“If you a opposition then you a enemy, if you a opp they turn you into weed they, they disrespect your name, but if you cool with them or you on the in or on the verge like on the good side. Then you just become like this Chicago legend right. when you die yep, you become a bag of loud or you become a city or block.”</p> <p>“Some people do post it to turn the attention off themselves, and some people just post it because they be trying to be funny. You have some people that I feel they post stuff because they trying to be like Facebook famous are they</p>

	<p>trying to get this, they trying to keep posting stuff, and that'll get them to go viral and make them Facebook fans you aint getting paid to have Facebook Fans, get a job.”</p> <p>“Don't think people think before they put this stuff up there. I think people care about other people's feelings, so put it up there. They just post it, and they, they want likes, I really think is more so as they gain likes.</p> <p>“Fighting it out putting it on social media trying to get a like trying to prove they self what they say now clout they trying to get clout off the next person they want to just seem tough. I feel like social media lets like. Let me get clear what I'm trying to say I feel like social media gives people this image to be whoever they want to be, but you gotta like not notice the person in real life, be trying to. Oh, I’m about that about that. Now you know I know you in real life, you can play that to Facebook to people who don't know you, the 400 friends but not me because I know you.”</p> <p>“Some of it starts on social media some of it start in the streets. But, social media, take a big tole on a lot of it because everybody be on social media trying to prove points and be somebody extra that they not when You can just be yourself.”</p>
P11Q	<p>“So, yeah, it was a clout thing, people following the trend which is not trending in the right direction, especially when we talk about, you know, how we cultivated and, you know, collectively bring you know, our resources together.”</p> <p>“So it's, it's just that this self-proclaimed image and like I say that clout that fades and people looking for what's the next what's the next move? What's the next hairstyle? What's the next you know, design that I'm seeing all these people in and it comes from you know a lot of you know rap culture got a big influence on what we do”</p>

APPENDIX E

Awareness

APPENDIX E

Awareness

Awareness	
Quote Code	Quotes
Participants Quotes	
P1Q	<p>“Because they don’t want to see the same thing happen again, maybe they just want to see us as black people do better. Understand that violence was not really the answer to be honest.</p> <p>“Just to inform people on what is actually going on out here in the streets as far as the world,”</p> <p>“Just to be aware of what's going on around me, so I can understand what's going on. So I don’t be lost out here. I know when it happens, I don't have to panic about it and just be like, I know what to do in this situation.</p> <p>It's helping other people who haven't really understood the violence of Chicago not even being able to like be around a person who's like, violent and it's just a negative demeanor.”</p>
P2Q	“You never know who you can help when you post”
P3Q	
P4Q	“because everyone else is watching, everyone else talks about it, like you can't really not see it, because even if you don't see it somebody has seen it and they're going to inform you about it and it's going to make you curious to see what that viral video was. Oh, everybody seen this I need to catch up. Be aware of what's going on”

	<p>“So, it depends some people share and protest for the black community. Some people share it as like a way of reaching out and making awareness to the community that this has happened. Some people share and they want to argue with the police that people have different intentions of sharing, but its overall outcome of this is that these videos go viral.”</p> <p>“It's not good at all because the good that comes out of this is just the knowledge that they're doing this to affect our minds, people are putting these videos out here to affect them. That's like the only positive thing that comes out of it it makes you more woke, because if not then you're going to fall into a belief that this is a bad place, you can believe that this is a place for us to act crazy. Yeah, we're in Chicago, they're not gonna look for the murderers.”</p>
P5Q	<p>“I don't know it's to show what's happening, for the most part is for me to show people what's going on.”</p>
P6Q	
P7Q	<p>“I lied to you the last recent video I watched was a guy in Memphis, his friend had set him up and they shot him, and I watched it again because I don't know, it was entertaining but then it was like, almost kind of made me self-aware of who to be around and to watch my surroundings”</p> <p>“Well I think the intention is for self to make people be aware of what's going on out here. But I think, like the first thought that will come to my head when they posted is because they want us to see this, this bitch being crazy.</p> <p>I don't know why I did, maybe I didn't I do this a lot I share it to my page so I go back and look at it. but I did want the message to get out but no comments.</p> <p>When I think of, like, stuff that serious. There's always something else that comes out like a new song, which then takes us away from what's currently going on. And I think that's, that's a great way that they've distracted us but I'm aware of it.”</p>

	<p>“I understand like there be a lot of stuff that be going on that we were aware of but then there's something that doesn't matter to what has happened, but don't take our mind off of this so then we forget about it.”</p>
P8Q	<p>“For some people, they may watch the video to show that some things have not changed. And we don't we all post this video, and we're going to share it to get a message across.”</p> <p>“While As for other people social media. I think is more of a like here we go again like this is happening. nothing is changing, it's bringing awareness some black people really want to share it. Just over and over again to get a message across”</p>
P9Q	<p>“I would never vow to show no graphic No, no gunshot wounds coming no blood coming out like. But anyway, um, so I vowed not to show bodies so I vowed not to show bodies so that took, I took in consideration. I am also a person lost a loved one to violence in the city Chicago. So I took it in mind Okay, I had a nephew got killed shot like 8 or 9 times in the head on the city streets, and if I had seen somebody video him you know graphic did probably on some so what I do now is I consider if it's me I put myself in a place so what I do, I report what I see, and also have the scanner to back me up.”</p> <p>“Let me tell you who wants to see this. okay, people that are concerned citizens. Okay, women, mostly women because they're concerned about the sex trafficking I do it as well okay fine a little young girl here, like that. Homeowners people that want to want a better community, to know what's going on. Those are the people are more concerned. The people that have made a life of criminals. They have made. Like, they have made the life this is always going to be nothing else, they don't want to see that. Because give you an example, if just say, Ray Ray kill Pookie Ray Ray want it to go away. But when you put it on social media that means it lingers it lingers and lingers, it keeps it alive, you know, because when you kill somebody, you give them two weeks tops it's over with they burring the family and then you'll probably hear them but social media keeps it keeps it alive probably extra week or maybe months and stuff like that, the more it's out in the open. The criminal the person that committed the crime had to stay low.”</p>

	<p>“Yes, yes. Well, those that have feelings for us you know because you know for a long time. We kept saying how we were being treated in the black community by by Chicago police and now they can witness it, police brutality, the crime the murders, the sex trafficking. they could witness that now.</p> <p>And another reason why we do what we do and the firm do what they do is because we were getting the newspaper they were demonizing the people. Okay, they was demonized and so what we have done, we have changed the narrative, even though, pookey may have killed three people or don't drive by two years ago, we still don't, we don't bring that up. we just say a pookey was killed on 71st and green gunshot wound.”</p>
P10Q	<p>“It impacts it because people say, like, if you don't care. It makes you want to care because like you might not be aware of what's going on in your community or in your area or even with your people just in general, it kind of like if you like this sense of like noticing like to pay attention to what's going on. A lot of people don't be on Facebook or whatever, and people, people can show it like hey look at this and that and it just makes you pay attention and be aware like stuff happens. It can be worse.”</p> <p>“I think it just brings out awareness of like what's going on in the city, and in the community people will just be like, Oh, you heard about this or you've seen that, but they dont really get deep into like how they feel, or what they think about it, they just talking about it just to be in conversation.</p> <p>Yeah, because they do have some videos that like, like they, they record just to prove the point that black lives matter or black lives don't matter whatever the case may be. They record just to make people be aware they let them know all well this is one oh and I've stated this and that and that they doing”</p>
P11Q	<p>“Yeah it gives them the idea I won't say it takes them out their bubble fully because right you know it is more than us reposting you know it is more than just you know retweeting something when you see what happened, it becomes a shocker to you at all. My God, you know this black kid got jumped by these 6 officers you know, and it was more than just a post. So you can understand it's a lot of educational components that come from that too as well. I'm talking about real life experiences and reality.”</p>

APPENDIX F
Drill Music Videos

Appendix F

Drill Music Videos

Drill Music Videos	
Quote Code	Quotes
Participants Quotes	
P1Q	<p>“Like it's a violent version of rap. just expressing like, yeah, this is, this is a deeper violence than rap.”</p> <p>“But it be that energy. you'll accept somebody else's energy cause they throwing that out, you're listening to the music and you've seeing it from their point of view.”</p> <p>“When you listen to it, you understand but when you watch the video is just like, Damn, this is what they really about this is, this is what they doing out here.”</p> <p>“Like when you're not in the right state of mind and you're mad at somebody and you turn on drill music its most likely, because you want to go do something violent to the other person.”</p>
P2Q	“Music has an influence period, not just drill music”
P3Q	

P4Q	<p>“Drill music is like, kind of just rapping about like your own experience but like going hard on it”</p> <p>“Some drill music you can't really understand like exactly what they're saying cuz they're saying a lot of different messages in the song.”</p>
P5Q	<p>“Drill music made it sky rocket, just off the sheer fact that the people that are supporting these videos are the people who live this lifestyle day to day”</p> <p>“Look how many people have gotten on and you know made millions”</p> <p>“People believe that this is cool, this is what I should be doing, and now they out their shooting people just because the latest song that came out said I bent the block”</p>
P6Q	<p>“Chicago, having such a heavy influence of like how it has, especially since like the music scene in Chicago changed over from more of conscious hip hop to the drill wave”</p> <p>“As far as the drill movement when they influenced us like we have incredible influence. So it starts to spread like wildfire like we are the epicenter of shit like this”</p> <p>“It's spreading the bullshit and some people are actually into putting out the plans but you can't tell which ones which, which is why Chicago has no like real music scene its like, it's just now starting to develop a more positive music scene where people are coming together and actually starting to put their skills together showcase, and like showcase and broadcast what's going on”</p>

	<p>“The drill music was literally promoting a lot of senseless violence now I understand that there's a lot of shit on the back burner as far as the drill scene goes well, as far as like the ops in in all of that, like, I know that shit plays into it too.”</p>
P7Q	<p>“It's just a bunch of niggas with a bunch of guns talking about killing and gang this and folks nem just stupid extra shit”</p> <p>“This is a different way to express that stuff for me to get my attention. Really. That just seems like a bunch of dramatic shit.”</p> <p>“There was a video of Bobby Shmurda when he made that song. I forgot hot boy. I forgot his intentions was that he just killed somebody. He had a bunch of guns and he had drugs. Just like that, you know, oh they could do in a video then we could just do it, we could do it as well. Yeah, so I feel like it just makes it Okay”</p>
P8Q	
P9Q	
P10Q	<p>I think it's good for the most part of life to turn up. Like, I feel it also is disrespectful because they mentioned people dead family members. Me personally I'm not a Chief Keef fan I'm a G herbo side, and I feel like because his music I can relate to him because I know he actually been going through this stuff”</p> <p>is to get famous like they want us to share a music and tune in on it”</p>

	<p>“So, instead of just rapping like regular drill niggas want to be a trap star out in the streets, you just rather keep dissing them and that's just gonna keep causing problems then they wonder why people keep coming down and shooting at yall. Because yall steady dissing people and talking about them like they can't be quick to get a gun”</p>
P11Q	<p>“You know rap culture got a big influence on what we do”</p> <p>“You know I went to shorty and them they would start to catch their wave with the drill music you know and everything. The only thing they was doing was like you know looking for a way out it was just like I was looking for a way out how can we get from this one bedroom shack and eating chicken shack in the PJ's ya know they looking for that”</p>