SPREADING AWARENESS OR INDUCING TRAUMA? EXAMINING AMERICAN POLICE BRUTALITY VIDEOS IN THE DIGITAL AGE

by

CHLOE JEANNE ANDRÉ

(Under the Direction of Allison Skinner-Dorkenoo)

ABSTRACT

Although Black (versus white) Americans have always been disproportionately assaulted by members of the police, the summer of 2020 saw increased attention to this issue. In part, this shift was a result of viral videos shared on social media depicting Black Americans being brutalized by the police officers sworn to protect them. Though these videos may be necessary catalysts for change, they may also have negative impacts on the people they are attempting to protect. Using an online sample, this study retrospectively examined emotional responses to these videos (n = 1,262), and motivations affecting video sharing amongst white social media users (n = 291). Results showed that Black (in comparison to white) participants reported significantly higher negative affect and higher empathy after viewing videos of police brutality, relationships that were mediated by linked fate. Additionally, white participants who were externally motivated to respond with antiracism had decreased reckless sharing behaviors.

INDEX WORDS: Resharing, Linked fate, Social media, Empathy, Negative affect, Black Americans, Police brutality

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CHLOE JEANNE ANDRÉ

BS, Northeastern University, 2018

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2022

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CHLOE JEANNE ANDRÉ

Major Professor:	Allison L. Skinner-Dorkenoo
Committee:	Michelle vanDellen
	Vanessa Gonlin

Electronic Version Approved:

Ron Walcott
Vice Provost for Graduate Education and Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
August 2022

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to those who have lost their life at the hands of the police and all those who have felt their loss. I hope that this work helps to create future ways to bring attention to this issue without further hurting the groups most impacted. You are just as worthy of equality, liberty, freedom, and life, and eventually we will make the rest of the country and the world recognize that.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to everyone who has supported me through this process. There are too many people to name, it really did take a village, but I'll try to get through a couple of the people who have resided in mine.

First, I want to thank my family Grandpa and Grandma, you two first introduced me to psychology, and without you I don't know that I would have seen research as a way to make change. Monma, I miss you, I hope you would have been proud of me, and Pompa you remind me of your love every time I see you. To my parents, you have supported me while I chased down this dream even without fully understanding what I was doing. Thank you both for being proud of me; it makes it easier to keep on going when things get hard knowing that you're both in my corner. My little sister, Kate, you are truly an inspiration of what members of our family can accomplish; thank you for listening to me complain and being a source of support. Maudlyn, I am who I am because of you. I am passionate about helping because of you. I hope you can see that and are proud. I carry you with me every day.

Thank you, Gabe, for making sure that I ate while I was crunching numbers on R, reminding me that I'm capable even when I felt like my research would never be finished. Thank you for being beside me. Your love made this process just a little bit easier.

I also want to acknowledge my friends. Gigi, thank you for Penguin—our conversations help me pinpoint societal problems so that I can form questions around them. Adela, you have always been my person and my editor, and I hope you understand that every piece of my writing

has your mark on it as well. Maggie and Becky, your warmth literally feels like home, your edits have that same kindness. Thank you for always being people I could depend on.

I have had so many mentors that helped me get this far. Thank you Linda, for showing me how thoughtful, clever, and creative social psychology can be. Your guidance is the reason that I'm here and why I feel confident in my place as a student and a researcher. John you let me into research when I had no experience and no drive to. Thank you for being an introduction into psychology and a trusted source in the years since. Running into you at conferences has been a highlight of my growth in academia.

I also want to thank my committee members. Thank you Michelle and Vanessa, your perspectives and encouragement are valued more than you know. Finally, I want to acknowledge and thank my advisor, Allison. You give me the freedom to explore ideas without concern about whether it's what I "should" be doing. Your support is something I feel privileged to receive and each edit you give truly makes my work better. You are the best decision I've made since entering grad school and I honestly do not know where I would be without your help.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement started in 2013 in the U.S. as a result of the murder of Trayvon Martin, an unarmed Black teenager, by a neighborhood watch volunteer (Black Lives Matter, n.d.). The purpose of this movement and organization is to expose the racism and inequality that Black people and other marginalized populations experience (Black Lives Matter, n.d.).

While BLM saw moderate support in the years after it was established, support for the movement in the United States increased during the summer of 2020 (Menasce Horowitz, 2021), coinciding with a dramatic increase in attention to police brutality. Part of this increased attention and support for BLM may be attributed to a viral cell phone video that recorded the final moments of George Floyd as he died with a police officer's knee on his neck (Buchanan et al., 2020). The attention and following protests were primarily focused on Black victims of police brutality, and social media simultaneously poured out other examples of this brutality. Many of these examples consisted of videos taken by civilians with their cell phone, often depicting police brutality against Black Americans (Buchanan et al., 2020).

The fact that there are so many instances to film should not come as a surprise, since Black (compared to white) Americans have a disproportionate number of interactions with the police, are disproportionately shot and killed by the police, and are more likely to be shot when unarmed than their white counterparts (DeGue et al., 2016; Statista Research Department, 2021). The power of filming these events is well documented and have historically garnered support

from the general public. For example, in 1991, Rodney King was filmed as he was beaten by police officers. Videos and images of this event were captured and then broadcasted across the world, leading to widespread protests. This publicity led to a civil suit where King was awarded $3.8 million for the infringement of his civil rights, although the police officers involved in the assault were cleared of any criminal wrongdoing (The Associated Press, 2017). The case of George Floyd was both similar to and different from the assault of Rodney King. In both situations, images and videos were used to prompt change. However, there were also stark differences. King survived the assault, while Floyd didn't. King's attackers went free, while Floyd's were held responsible for the murder they committed.

The rise in publicity of the video of Floyd's death, and the ease with which they can be distributed may have led to increased attention that forced the parties involved to take responsibilities for their actions. As beneficial as these social media videos may be, important questions must be asked about the possible negative impacts resulting from the widespread circulation of these videos. The first part of this study examined emotions felt when viewing videos of police brutality on social media, looked at whether racial identity plays a role in the emotion social media users felt, and explored possible mechanisms to explain these race-based differences. The second part of the study examined actions (re-sharing) after viewing videos of police brutality and emphasized white social media users' motivations for those actions. Motivations were explored with the eventual goal of manipulating them to maximize positive impact while minimizing possible harm when sharing videos.

Background

Images and videos have been integral to creating social change in the U.S. (The Associated Press, 2017). The publicization of Rodney King's beating by the police led to

international attention. When neither the law nor employers held those police officers accountable, outraged U.S. residents took the streets. These protests and riots eventually led to two of the four policemen involved in the beating being found guilty of violating King's civil rights. Then, and today, footage is a tool, used when institutions cannot be trusted to hold themselves accountable.

Some police departments have attempted to use police-body worn cameras to increase accountability and regain trust from the public. Unfortunately, these cameras remain largely ineffective, necessitating the use of viral videos. Although there is widespread support for police-body worn cameras (J. P. Walsh & O'Connor, 2019), there is little evidence to support their use. A meta-analysis examining 70 different studies found no significant or consistent effect of the use of these cameras on officer behavior or on citizens' views of the police (Lum et al., 2019). Part of the explanation for this lack of effect may be that footage captured on police-body worn cameras is notoriously hard for the public to obtain, and there are no national mandates on how police-collected footage can be used for civil cases where the police officer is at fault. This choice leaves legislation to the states, many of which have ruled that the public does not have a right to access these videos (Reporters Committee, 2022).

It is also important to note that in the rare occasion when the footage is released, the videos may actually bias viewers in favor of the police officer when compared to other kinds of video evidence (Turner et al., 2019). Due to the camera's location, viewers have the same visual perspective as the wearer of the camera (Turner et al., 2019). In comparison to the more neutral car-mounted dash cameras, Turner and colleagues (2019) found that viewers showed higher bias in favor of the police officer wearing the body camera. As with the car-mounted dash cameras rather than police-worn body cameras, videos of the Rodney King attack were from a more

neutral perspective. These videos, taken by civilians and not by the police, provided evidence of the officers' violation of King's civil rights from the perspective of a bystander rather than that of the police officer (J. P. Walsh & O'Connor, 2019).

In the present day, the unprecedented impact of the internet and technological advances of cell phones and cameras has allowed these types of videos to be widely circulated providing an impactful on-looker perspective to an even larger audience (J. P. Walsh & O'Connor, 2019). The circulation of these videos has brought awareness to and increased support for the victims of police brutality where police body-worn cameras have failed, both on a national and international scale. George Floyd's murder is an example of such a phenomenon.

The virality of this video had direct implications, with Floyd's murderer being found guilty when originally the police department had ruled Floyd's murder an accidental death (P. Walsh, 2021). However, the implications of this video went far beyond one city in Minnesota and impacted the nation as a whole. The video, and the following protests, led to change on a local level around the country. Videos of police brutality taken by civilians and posted on social media led to investigations in many communities (Kim, 2020). As a result, offending officers were put on administrative leave (Chicago, IL), suspended without pay (Buffalo, NY), or terminated from their position within the force (Atlanta, GA; Kim, 2020), all within a month of George Floyd's death. Additionally, this video seems to have had important cultural impacts on a national level. Although the BLM movement has existed since 2013, support for BLM increased 28 percent amongst registered voters in the two weeks following George Floyd's murder (Cohn & Quealy, 2020). By contrast, the last 28 percent increase took almost two years to achieve (Cohn & Quealy, 2020).

Because of the large impact of these videos, individuals and communities have advocated for the importance of filming these incidents and the necessity of sharing intimate moments of someone's brutalization for the public to consume (Campbell & Valera, 2020). However, one must also consider the possible negative impact of widespread exposure to these videos, particularly for Black Americans. Bor and colleagues (2018) found that Black Americans experienced an increased number of poor mental health days within the three months following a killing of an unarmed Black American by the police within the participants' home state. No such association was found among white U.S. residents (Bor et al., 2018). Similarly, Campbell and Valera's (2020) study examined how videos of police brutality towards Black Americans shared on social media impacted college students. Their study found that 77% of students, most of whom had historically disadvantaged racial identities (78% of the sample identified as Black or Latino), reported feelings of frustration, anger, and fear after seeing videos of police brutality on social media (Campbell & Valera, 2020). The medium through which these videos are communicated may also impact the emotional effect that they have. Ramsden (2015) found that increased consumption of violent news through social media was associated with an increase in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) symptoms. This finding is consistent with an earlier study showing that learning about a traumatic event through social media, as opposed to traditional news outlets, led to higher levels of stress (Goodwin et al., 2013).

Emotional Responses to Videos of Police Brutality

One of the mechanisms behind these disparate emotional responses to police brutality may be linked fate, the idea that one's destiny is linked with that of their entire group's and vice versa (Dawson, 1994; Monk, 2020). Originally a theory developed by political scientists, linked fate posited that strong group unity evident amongst Black Americans is a result of shared

discrimination and oppression experienced when living in the United States' racist system (Dawson, 1994). This strong group unity resulting from oppression was observed in Black Americans' voting behaviors. Black Americans tended (and today still tend) to vote for Democratic nominees, because the Democratic Party tended to do more for the Black community as a whole, whereas the voting patterns in other racial groups tended to vary based on individual differences, like education and social class (Dawson, 1994).

While originally used to describe a politically relevant heuristic (Dawson, 1994), linked fate was extended to describe protective group belonging, which is a sense of belonging that provides a buffer from poor mental health (Shelby, 2007; Simien, 2005), and group consciousness, which is an individual group member's awareness of the group as a whole (McClain et al., 2009). More recently, this extension of linked fate has been found in groups outside of race, including gender (Jenkins et al., 2021; Simien, 2005), sexuality (Walters et al., 2020), class (Gay et al., 2016), and religion (Gay et al., 2016). Furthermore, this mechanism is not exclusive to groups experiencing systemic oppression. Rather, research has shown that the perception of oppression is enough to activate linked fate. One study showed robust evidence of linked fate amongst white Americans, despite this group holding a privileged position within the country since its inception (Gay et al., 2016). This result was echoed in another study that showed that white Americans were particularly likely to feel a sense of linked fate with other white Americans if they believed that white people are often discriminated against in the United States (Schildkraut, 2017).

As described previously, linked fate is often referred to as "a protective mechanism" (Lu & Jones, 2019, p. 616), which can lead to increased positive emotions, one of the benefits of strong group identity (Yip, 2018). Although Black Americans (in comparison to white

Americans) experience disproportionate social stress, often linked to perceived racism, they also report lower levels of depression and suicide (Hughes et al., 2015). Linked fate has been used to explain this robust mental health, despite the structural and individual racism Black Americans face in the United States (Hughes et al., 2015).

Past studies focused on these positive aspects of linked fate. However, the increased coverage of crimes related to oppressed groups (e.g., LGBTQ+; Walters et al., 2020, Black Americans; Monk, 2020, Asian Americans; BBC, 2021), and the negative impact of this coverage (Monk, 2020; Walters et al., 2020), demand that more attention is paid to the negative impact of linked fate, which has often been overlooked (Yeon & Alan, 2021; Yip, 2018). Although not exploring linked fate specifically, psychological studies have shown an association between group membership and negative emotions/mental health outcomes concerning police brutality. One paper found a negative impact of police brutality on the mental health of Black Americans that was not reflected amongst their white counterparts (Bor et al., 2018). The authors did not test reasons for this disparity. However, they speculated that vicarious racism, a theory closely related to linked fate that describes experiencing racism through others (Chae et al., 2021), may explain this difference in poor mental health days. Specifically, the Black participants' emotional response could be triggered because they identify the police brutality victim as a part of their group; because of this association, Black participants felt the pain of that negative interaction and the loss of that member of their community more deeply than white participants (Bor et al., 2018). This possibility has been suggested before, although research confirming or denying this relationship is still lacking (Bor et al., 2018; Gregory, 2019).

In addition to the negative emotions associated with linked fate, increased empathy may also be associated with linked fate, which could compound the negative impact on mental health

when viewing these videos. Linked fate is the phenomenon that due to oppression, one's connection with one's group becomes intertwined. This connection leads to a particularly strong sense of group membership, wherein group members feel that their individual fates are linked with the entire group's. Though empathy can be experienced across group membership, studies have shown that individuals empathize with members of their own social group more so than others (Gutsell & Inzlicht, 2012; Tajfel, 1978). This phenomenon, known as intergroup empathy bias, is based on the idea that individuals will feel more support for their ingroup and increased empathy for their own group. Intergroup empathy bias also suggests that more support for the individuals' ingroup may decrease their ability to empathize with others outside of their own group (Fourie et al., 2017). Evidence of this bias in action was confirmed by Johnson and Lecci (2020) who tested the interaction between racial identity, empathy, and perceptions of officer racism and victim threat. White participants residing in the U.S. were asked to read a passage about a police officer killing an unarmed Black man. Those who highly identified as being white showed less empathy for the victim than white participants with low racial identification (Johnson & Lecci, 2020).

Motivations and Sharing Videos of Police Brutality

Previous research has investigated what predicts sharing behavior on social media (Chen et al., 2014; Khan, 2017), and specifically what predicts social media sharing as it relates to activism around social issues (Chon & Park, 2020). However, a large swath of this research has focused on social media sharing as a predictive factor of in person activism (Chon & Park, 2020; Korolov et al., 2016; Lee et al., 2017), as opposed to what predicts social media sharing itself.

Videos of police brutality may be important for creating change, but they may also have acute (Campbell & Valera, 2020), and prolonged negative impacts (Bor et al., 2018). There has

been some attention drawn to this issue, with a developing emphasis on how to decrease those negative impacts, and some reckless sharing behaviors have been identified.

One of those reckless sharing behaviors is posting auto-play videos. It has been posited that videos that play automatically on social media may undermine an individual's sense of autonomy as well as the active consent to be exposed to traumatic content (Hepburn, 2017). Additionally, studies have shown that high exposure to police brutality may desensitize viewers and decrease support for police reform (Williams & Clarke, 2019). Sharing videos judiciously, by sharing infrequently, avoiding sharing videos that play automatically, and including content warnings, are methods that communities and individuals have used to negate those possible impacts.

When considering why people take costly actions to benefit others, much of the literature points to empathy (Dovidio, 1991; Pfattheicher et al., 2022; Schroeder et al., 2015). Inherent in utilizing empathy is the idea that one understands another's pain (perspective taking) and then wants to relieve that person's suffering (Zahn-Waxler & Radke-Yarrow, 1990). Black Americans, through linked fate, experience a greater sense of group identity as a result of their shared oppression, which results in the idea that the outcomes between the individual and the whole group are the same (Dawson, 1994). Those experiencing linked fate also report heightened group consciousness, which has been associated with higher engagement in perspective taking and empathy (Stürmer et al., 2006). Conversely, those who do not hold that same linked fate may be less likely to engage in perspective taking, be less empathetic, and less likely to perform caring actions in attempt to relieve another's suffering. This idea is supported by recent research that found married white women (in comparison to unmarried white women), experienced lower gender linked fate which was associated with lower support for abortion rights (Ruppanner et al.,

2019). These married white women were secure in their relationship and didn't believe that the fate of other women impacted their future, which resulted in lower support for abortion rights as a whole (Ruppanner et al., 2019). However, the same study found that for Black and Latina women, support for abortion did not differ as a result of marriage or linked fate. This result suggests that linked fate may be impacted by environmental/life changes (as could be seen by married white women's decreased support for abortion when compared to unmarried white women), and that other factors may impact the way that white Americans think about and conceptualize linked fate on a national scale in comparison to Americans holding historically marginalized racial identities (Ruppanner et al., 2019). Alongside this finding, recent literature has shown that white Americans, particularly those with high racial identification, have low empathy in response to Black victims of police brutality (Johnson & Lecci, 2020).

These differences with white participants may occur because of several factors. The racial hierarchy of the United States has existed since the country was established, with white people on the top and Black people hanging onto the lowest rung of the ladder (Wilderson, 2010). This hierarchy helped build the structures that form current American society, including police departments. The modern police department descended from a group of white Americans that helped white slaveowners by hunting down and policing Black enslaved people searching for freedom; the impact of this history is apparent today (Forman, 2017; Wilderson, 2010). White Americans make up the majority of police officers (DataUSA, 2022), are less likely to fear the police (Pickett et al., 2022), and less likely to be victims of police brutality in comparison to Black Americans (The Lancet, 2021). These hierarchical differences may explain the difference in gender linked fate across marital status for white women but not women of color (Ruppanner et al., 2019). The deep-seated relationship between whiteness, racism, and the

police may explain why white Americans with high racial identity had less empathy for Black victims of police brutality (Johnson & Lecci, 2020).

Still, there is evidence that white Americans share these videos. Since over 70% of social media users in the US are white (Pew Research Center, 2021), it would be hard for these videos to become "viral" without them. Although white social media users may still choose to share videos of police brutality, their motivations to share may be something more than just empathy. Without empathy as a driving motivation of their action, they may be more likely to lack the consideration necessary to avoid reckless sharing behaviors.

Given the potential harms of sharing police brutality videos, it is important to consider how to inspire collective action but minimize the negative ramifications of exposure to this media. One component of that calculus is a consideration of how the motivations to share police brutality videos might impact when and how they are shared. It is possible that white social media users viewing videos of police brutality (who already may experience fewer negative impacts and empathy from the videos; Bor et al., 2018; Johnson & Lecci, 2020), feel external pressure to reshare them. Previous research has explored these kinds of motivations for white US residents to respond without prejudice to Black Americans, and divided these aspects into internal (IMS) and external (EMS) aspects (Plant & Devine, 1998). Internal motivation to respond without prejudice focuses on how responding without prejudice is important to oneself, whereas external motivation to respond without prejudice focuses on responding without prejudice in response to external pressure or to reduce judgment from others (Plant & Devine, 1998).

However, cultural expectations have changed in the twenty plus years since the concept of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice were developed. Today,

particularly in contemporary liberal circles, it is often not acceptable to simply respond without prejudice, there has been a new push to be actively antiracist (North, 2020). In other terms, it is no longer enough to simply avoid acting in racist ways as an individual (i.e. respond without prejudice). Rather, antiracism holds the expectation that individuals who benefit from racist systems actively do what they can to dismantle them (North, 2020).

Alongside these new expectations of action, comes the pressure for individuals to prove themselves as antiracist, and these externally motivated actions may cause harm. Previous research has shown that the kind of motivations may influence the quality of the actions that follow (Weber, 2003). This difference in motivation and the actions that follow may be relevant here when investigating how these videos can be shared to maximize activism and minimize harm for viewers. Thus, in order to more appropriately examine motivations behind white social media users' sharing behavior in the current cultural context, it may be important to consider antiracism and what motivates white US residents to act in antiracist ways.

Study Overview

There is an inherent contradiction in the issue of videos of police brutality, which has been backed by the existing literature. These videos are viewed as a necessary element to create change and improve equality and justice for Black Americans (Campbell & Valera, 2020). However, these videos may also have a negative impact on viewers (Goodwin et al., 2013; Ramsden, 2015), and this impact may be disproportionate for Black Americans, the very group the videos are meant to protect (Bor et al., 2018; Campbell & Valera, 2020). Understanding the mechanisms that underlie these emotional processes may allow future research to utilize these mechanisms to maximize efficacy of these videos and minimize harm.

I hypothesize that Black (relative to white) US residents will have a higher degree of empathic concern and negative emotions when recalling videos of police brutality seen on social media. This hypothesis would confirm the findings of the previous literature: that Black US residents experience more negative impacts as a result of police brutality perpetuated against Black Americans (Bor et al., 2018) and that white participants would have lower empathy for victims of police brutality (Johnson & Lecci, 2020). However, going beyond these previous studies, I propose to empirically test linked fate as the mechanism driving the relationship between racial identity, negative emotions, and empathic concern (see Figure 1).

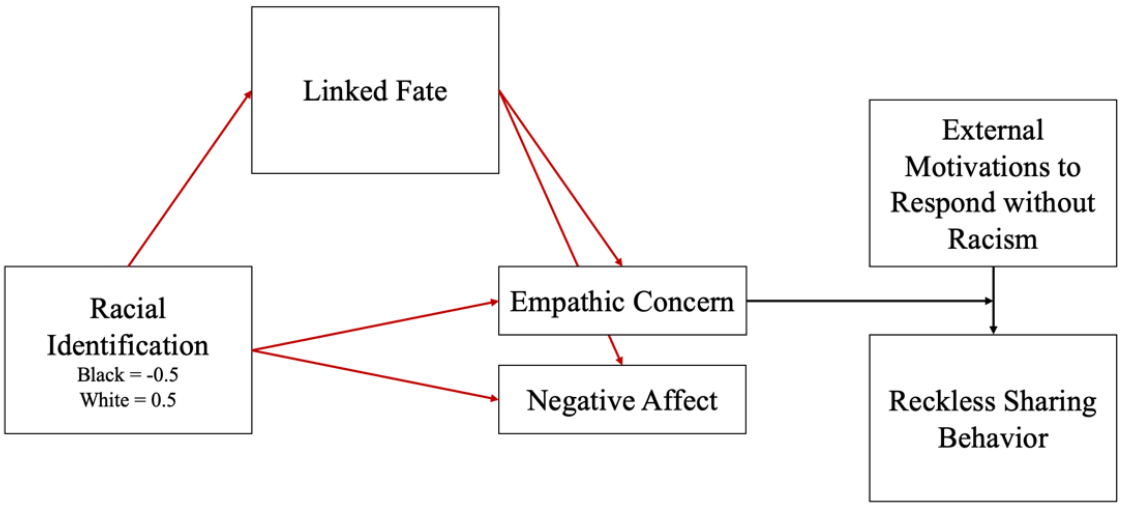


Figure 1

The Relationship Between Racial Identity, Linked Fate, and Emotional Responses to Videos of Police Brutality, Theoretical Model

Considering what motivates individuals to share these videos, particularly individuals who may not experience such strong emotions when viewing the content (i.e., white U.S. residents), is also crucial. I hypothesize that amongst white social media users who have shared a video of police brutality, external motivation to respond with antiracism would be positively associated with reckless sharing behaviors. Additionally, I propose that empathic concern may moderate this relationship, decreasing the strength of the association between the two variables (see Figure 2).

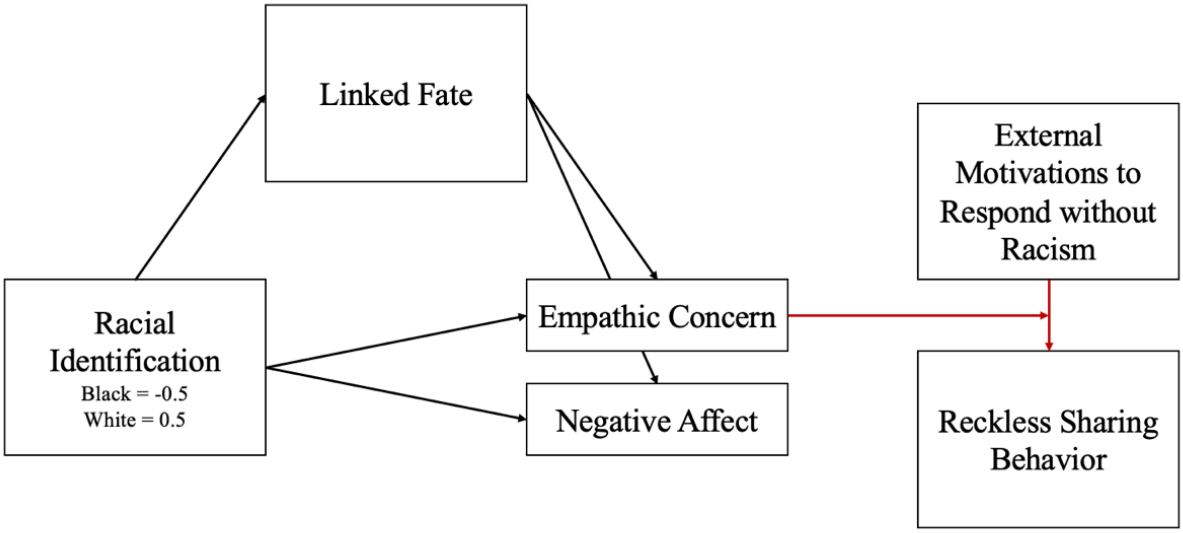


Figure 2

The Relationship Between Racial Identity, Linked Fate, and Emotions/Actions Around Viewing Videos of Police Brutality on Social Media, Theoretical Model

Finally, much of the existing work focused on racial disparities does not test the mechanism behind the discrepancy (e.g., Bor et al., 2018), or says that these disparities can be accounted for by individual differences or biases (Bowleg et al., 2022). More than simply identifying that these differences exist, this study also tries to examine whether linked fate exacerbates disparities born of existing in a racist system.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

Materials, methods, analyses, and Hypothesis 1 were all preregistered on OSF (https://osf.io/fp7a2) prior to the collection of any data.

Participants

Monte Carlo power analysis for indirect effects indicated that a sample of 1041 participants would have adequate power (80%) to detect a small effect in a mediation analysis. $r^2X*Y = 0.001$, $r^2X*M = 0.10$, $r^2M*Y = 0.10$; Schoemann et al., n.d.). To prepare for incomplete or unusable data, I over-recruited and aimed for 1,200 total participants, 600 white social media users and 600 Black social media users. These participants must have been living in the United States, must have previously seen or shared at least one video of police violence against a Black individual in the US on social media, and must have self-identified as singularly Black or white.

For this study, participants were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) with the use of a recruiting company, CloudResearch (Litman et al., 2017), to target these specific demographics. To be eligible for this survey participants must have completed 100 surveys via MTurk and received an approval rating of 95-100%. Each participant was compensated $3.00 for their participation in the study. The compensation amount was specifically chosen since it was estimated that participants would finish the survey in less than 20 minutes, allowing for a rate of $9/hr. This compensation rate is significantly above the federal minimum wage and higher than compensation often awarded for online participation in surveys.

Participant Selection

Because this study has a strong focus on identity, participants were included if they self-identified as Black or white, regardless of their ancestral racial makeup. Black participants were recruited for this study since they are subjects of the police brutality videos[1], and therefore, commonly identify as belonging to the same race as the civilians involved (Statistia Research Department, 2021).

White US residents are used as a comparison group for multiple reasons. First, they make up the majority of social media users in the US and so actions of this group are more impactful in terms of sheer numbers (Pew Research Center, 2021). Additionally, white US residents have unique benefits within this country as a result of structural racism which extends to more positive interactions with the police force (DataUSA, 2022; Forman, 2017; *The Lancet*, 2021; Pickett et al., 2022; Wilderson, 2010). Finally, this position within society may decrease empathy felt for those they consider outside of their group (Johnson & Lecci, 2020; Ruppanner et al., 2019). The combination of these factors led to white US residents being chosen as an appropriate comparison group.

Exclusion Criteria

Due to the importance of shared group racial identity, some individuals were excluded from this study. Individuals who identified as Hispanic/Latino may be either white or Black, and their racial identity may not resonate with them as strongly as their ethnic identity. Similarly, individuals who identified as Middle Eastern/Arab, although historically considered a part of the white racial group by the US government, were excluded (Revisions to the Standards for the

[1] Although, there are viral videos of police brutality perpetrated against US residents who hold racial identities outside of Blackness, this study specifically asked if participants had seen/shared videos of police brutality against Black civilians in the US.

Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity, 2003); these individuals often experience the world differently than white Americans with European ancestry due to their ethnic identity (Maghbouleh et al., 2022). Individuals who identified as having multiple races or as multiracial were also excluded; studies have shown that multiracial individuals may act and identify in unique ways when compared to their monoracial counterparts (Gonlin, 2022; Ho et al., 2017; Spencer, 2004). Additionally, participants who failed the quality check were removed from the analyses.

Included Participants

After excluding participants for failure of quality checks or screening questions, identifying as more than one racial group or a racial group outside of Black/African American or white, or being born after 2004, the final sample consisted of 1272 participants (see Table 1 for demographics)[2]. Black participants accounted for slightly less than half of the sample (49.61%), with the rest identifying as white (50.39%). The average age of the sample was 39.34 (SD = 11.92) years old, with Black participants averaging below the mean age and white participants averaging above it. Most participants identified as women (57.39%), a trend that held when independently examining both the white and the Black samples. Only 1.26% of participants identified as genderqueer across the entire sample[3], and the percent of genderqueer participants was similarly small when examining the two groups separately, although the proportion of Black genderqueer participants (1.28%) was slightly higher than the proportion of white genderqueer participants (1.24%; see Table 2 for complete breakdown of genderqueer identification). Only 85 (6.68%) participants had spent more than a year residing outside of the US. Black participants

[2] Racial identification and age should have been filtered out by CloudResearch, so code was not pre-registered to account for these exclusions.
[3] Genderqueer refers to individuals who identify themselves as neither a woman nor a man, but outside of the gender binary (Beemyn, 2016).

had a higher frequency of living outside of the US (7.29% of the Black sample) than white participants (6.08% of the white sample). Most participants leaned liberal; on a scale from 0 to 100 with 0 being extremely liberal, and 100 being extremely conservative, the average score was 39.75 (*SD* = 29.26). As a group, the white participants also leaned liberal (*M* = 41.79, *SD* = 30.02) although not as much as the Black participants (*M* = 35.64, *SD* = 26.22). When examining education, more than half of the participants held at least a bachelor's degree (51%) which was slightly higher than the percent of Black participants who held at least a bachelor's degree (48.97%) and lower than the percent of white participants with at least a bachelor's degree (53.98%). However, both groups included participants with education completion that ranged from a maximum of an eighth-grade education to completing a professional degree; (see Table 3 for complete breakdown of education completion).

Table 1

Participant Demographics

	All Participants	Black Participants	white Participants
N (*prop of total sample*)	1272	631 (*0.50*)	641 (*0.50*)
Age M(*SD*)	39.34 (*11.92*)	37.07 (*11.26)*	41.58 (*12.13*)
Gender- woman, man, genderqueer	730, 526, 16	395, 228, 8	335, 298, 8
Political Leaning M*(SD)*	39.75 (*29.26*)	35.64 (*26.22*)	41.79 (*30.02*)
Lived Outside the US > 1 yr (*prop of sample*)	85 *(.07)*	46 *(.07)*	39 (*.06*)
Education- Prop with ≥ BA/BS	.51	.49	.54

Table 2

Genderqueer Identification Across Racial Identity (n)

	All Participants	Black Participants	white Participants
Genderqueer	16	8	8
Nonbinary	13	7	6
Agender	1	0	1
Nonbinary Femme	1	1	0
Genderfluid	1	0	1

Table 3

Education Completion Across Racial Identity (n)

	All Participants	Black Participants	white Participants
Nursery School to 8th grade	2	1	1
High School Graduate, Diploma, or Equivalent (e.g. GED)	331	177	154
Trade/Technical/Vocational Training	76	35	41
Associate Degree	208	109	99
Bachelor's Degree	486	232	254
Master's Degree	143	66	77
Doctoral Degree	14	3	11
Professional Degree	12	8	4

Instrumentation

Linked Fate with Black People in the United States

To measure linked fate with Black people in the US, I used an 8-item measure, developed by Ho and colleagues (2017). Ho and colleagues' (2017) measure was selected because it

encompassed multiple facets of linked fate with the use of more items, while Dawson's scale measuring linked fate only uses two items (Dawson, 1994). The 7-point Likert-type scale was created to measure linked fate with biracial (Black/White) Americans, so the items were altered to address participants' level of linked fate with Black people in the US (e.g., "Do you think what happens to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens to you?", "Issues that affect the Black community also affect me"). Additionally, the questionnaire was altered to use more human centered language, replacing "Blacks" with "Black people." Scoring procedures followed those used by the original authors (Ho et al., 2017). The adapted measure of linked fate had an alpha of .92 (M = 4.66, SD = 1.58), indicating that the scale had a high internal consistency (Bhatnagar et al., 2014). Furthermore, the alpha score for this adapted scale was higher than the original scale's (α = .83; M = 5.20, SD = 1.08; Ho et al., 2017). The inter-item correlation of the adapted linked fate items was moderate R = .59. The full measure and instructions can be found in Appendix A.

Negative Affect

A negative affect measure was used to assess emotions felt when recalling instances respondents have watched these videos. To explore negative affect, I adapted the Negative Affect subscale of the PANAS-X (Watson & Clark, 1994). The original questionnaire asked about recalling negative emotions within a specific time frame ("at this moment", "today", "in the past few days", "in the past week", "in the past few weeks", "in the past month", "in the past year", or "generally"). For this study, the question stem was adapted to specifically ask participants to indicate the extent that they have felt different emotions (e.g., afraid, upset, scared, distressed) "when viewing videos of police violence towards Black Americans." Scoring procedures followed those outlined by the original authors (Watson & Clark, 1994). The adapted

negative affect scale had high internal consistency (α = .90; *M* = 27.98, *SD* = 9.92) and was in line with the alpha score found when the PANAS-X Negative Affect subscale was originally created and tested on multiple samples (α = .79-0.93; Watson & Clark, 1994). The inter-item correlation of the items in the adapted measure was *R* = .47. See Appendix B for full measure.

Empathic Concern for Black Victims of Police Brutality

Empathic concern for the police violence victim was measured through an adapted version of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) Empathic Concern subscale (Davis, 1980). The IRI measures empathic concern as a general trait, but the questions are adapted for this study to specifically apply to instances of police violence against Black victims. One item, "I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person," was removed, since it could not be adapted to a specific instance and instead described a general trait. Examples of the revised questions are as follows: "I often have tender, concerned feelings for the Black victims of police violence" and "The misfortune of a Black person experiencing police violence does not usually disturb me a great deal" (reverse scored). Scoring of the subscale items followed those outlined by the authors (Davis, 1980). The internal consistency of the adapted subscale was high (α = .84, *M* =4.03, *SD* = 0.99). The original subscale had a lower alpha score (α = .68 - .73; Davis, 1980). The inter-item correlation of the items of the adapted questionnaire was moderate *R* = .53. The full revised questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

Internal/External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism

Internal and External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism scales (IMAS/EMAS) were measured using an adapted measure of Internal and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice scales (IMS/EMS; Plant & Devine, 1998). These subscales each had five prompts related to internal motivation or external motivation to respond without prejudice. Participants

were given a Likert scale ranging from *1* to *9*, with *1* being "strongly disagree" and *9* being "strongly agree." The IMAS/EMAS items were randomized. The External Motivation to Respond without Racism scale (items one through five) contained statements such as "Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to actively appear antiracist toward Black people." The IMAS (items six through ten) had statements such as "I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be antiracist toward Black people." Scoring procedures for the IMAS and EMAS followed those used by the original authors (Plant & Devine, 1998).

The IMAS subscale had high internal consistency (α = .83; M = 7.01, SD = 1.84), although slightly lower than the original IMS scale (α = .84; M = 7.51, SD = 1.63)[4]. The EMAS scale also had high internal consistency (α = .88; M = 3.31, SD = 2.01), an identical alpha to the original EMS scale (α = .88; M = 3.70, SD = 2.13). The item intercorrelations for the subscales were moderate, R_{IMAS} = .49; R_{EMAS} = .60, and similar to that of the original subscales R_{IMS} = .52, R_{EMS} = .61.

When examining the combined scale, the scores remained quite similar. The IMS/EMS (α= .72), and the IMAS/EMAS (α = .73), both had moderate internal consistency. They also both had low item intercorrelation, which was to be expected given how different these two dimensions of the scale were *(*$R_{IMS/EMS}$ = .20*,* $R_{IMAS/EMAS}$ = .21. The full adapted questionnaire can be found in Appendix D.

Reckless Sharing Behavior

The Reckless Sharing Behavior scale is a novel questionnaire created for this study. The Reckless Sharing Behavior scale comprised three questions asking participants to recall the way

[4] Certain questionnaires were included in the participant survey but fell outside of the scope of this paper. The IMS/EMS was one of these questionnaires, and though not included in other analyses, reliability analyses and inter-item correlation analyses were completed to determine the internal consistency when compared to the original scale. See "Other Measures" for full list of other questionnaires that were not used

that they have interacted with videos of police brutality on social media in the past six months. In the first question (Sharing Frequency Item), participants were asked "Out of all the times you have encountered videos of police officers in the US using excessive force with a Black person on social media in the past six months, how often have you shared them?" Participants were shown a sliding scale of 0-100 with *0* being "never" and *100* being "every time." If participants selected 0, the next two questions were skipped.

Those two items consisted of: the Automatic Play item, "When sharing these kinds of videos, how often have you considered whether the videos play automatically? 0 (never) to 100 (every time)", and the Content Warning item, "When sharing these kinds of videos, how often have you considered whether the videos include a content/trigger warning? 0 (never) to 100 (every time). Participants used a sliding scale to answer these questions, and the responses of these two items were reverse scored. The final Reckless Sharing Behavior score was an average of the three items. The questionnaire was only three items and covered different areas of sharing behavior. Not surprisingly, the internal consistency was low (α = .48; M = 32.40, SD = 24.93) as was the item intercorrelation (R = .23). As a result, the analyses that examined Reckless Sharing Behavior were run with each of the three individual items (Sharing Frequency, Automatic Play, and Content Warning). See Appendix E for full questionnaire.[5]

Covariates and Demographics

In order to isolate the relationships being tested in this study, it was important to control for other variables that may affect linked fate, empathic concern, negative affect, and/or external motivation to respond without racism. Information about personal feelings about the police, age,

[5] There were open-ended questions associated with this questionnaire. However, the responses were outside the scope of this paper and are not included in analyses. The formatting as the participants saw it (including the open-ended questions) are included in Appendix F. See "Other Measures" for full list of measures taken but not used within this study.

gender, political leaning, proportion of life spent residing in the US, and education were collected and used as controls when re-testing initial relationships.

Previous research has shown that Democrats have a higher sense of linked fate with their own racial group and others than Republicans, a finding that held across different racial and ethnic groups (Cox, 2020).

When considering social media use, those who are younger use social media much more frequently (Auxier & Anderson, 2021). Additionally, the kind of social media used varies by age (Auxier & Anderson, 2021), and the content that is appropriate to share on social media may vary depending on the social media application utilized. Since the questions investigated in this study explored social media sharing frequency, age was an important covariate to investigate and control for.

Support for the BLM movement differs across education. In 2021, those who had completed a high school education or less were less supportive of the movement (51%) than those who had a post graduate education (64%; Menasce Horowitz, 2021). To accurately understand the impact that the independent variables had on aspects of sharing behavior and empathy, controlling for education was necessary.

Additionally, it may be important to account for other relationships between racial identification, linked fate, and gender, which could impact the variables being tested in this study. Gender has been shown to impact strength of linked fate for Black Americans, with Black men reporting higher rates of racial identification than Black women (Simien, 2005). Another study showed that for white and Black women, racial group linked fate was associated with political party identification (Campi & Junn, 2019).

The racist history of the United States plays an integral role in forming linked fate for Black Americans (Dawson, 1994). Those who are new to the country (even if Black) may not resonate with this group as strongly or understand the historical role that this system has played in Black Americans' fate. To account for this difference, life spent in the US was used as a covariate.

Finally, police brutality is a fraught topic. To understand whether linked fate had an impact on emotions related to the victims of police brutality, as opposed to their own feelings about the police, a questionnaire investigating personal feelings about the police was also used as a covariate.

For full demographic questionnaires included in the analyses see Appendix F. For full demographic breakdown both of the entire sample and by racial identity see Table 1.

Personal Feelings Towards the Police

The Personal Feelings About the Police subscale was originally created by Campbell and Valera (2020). This subscale consisted of four statements that asked participants to rate their agreement with the statements on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree." An example of a statement was "I trust law enforcement officers in general." Scoring procedures were the same as those used by the original authors. The subscale had high internal consistency (α = .87, M = 3.03, SD = 1.14). The inter-item correlation was moderate R = .62. The authors who created the original items did not publish analyses related to this index, so there is no reference to hold against these results (Campbell & Valera, 2020).

Racial Identity

To measure racial identity, a multiple choice, click all that apply item was used. Participants were asked to specify their ethnic/racial identity and to choose all identities (See

Appendix B for full list) that applied to them. Participants were included in the study if they selected only "White," only "African American," only "Black," or both "African American" and "Black." For analyses, participants who identified as "White" were coded as 0.5, whereas participants who identified as "Black," "African American," or "Black" and "African American" were coded as -0.5.

Age

Participants were asked what year they were born (open-ended). This number was then subtracted by the current year for an approximate age.

Gender

Participants were asked to type in their self-identified gender; this question was open-ended. Each response was then coded as either woman, man, or genderqueer. Gender was a categorical variable in all analyses.

Political Leaning

Participants were shown a scale from 0 to 100 and asked where they would consider themselves to fall on the scale "generally across all issues," with *0* being "extremely liberal" and *100* being "extremely conservative." Scores were divided by 100 for a final score between 0 and 1 and then mean centered.

Proportion of Life Spent Residing in the US

In accordance with the pre-registration, participants were asked how long (in years) they had lived in the US. This number was divided by the participants' age for a score between 0 and 1. However, when reporting results, this led to somewhat unclear findings with the mean of proportion of life spent in the US being .96 (*SD* = .08), which is how proportion of life was used in analyses. Data collection occurred between January and May of 2022. Thus, individuals who

had not had a birthday that year, but had lived inside the US for their entire life would have had a score that was less than one. In order to increase clarity of findings, for the tables, participants' life in the US was calculated by subtracting the age (year that the participant was born subtracted by the current year, 2022) by the number of years participants had resided in the US. If the number was more than 1 then the participant was counted as living outside of the US for at least a year.

Education

Participants were asked to select their highest degree or level of schooling completed. If they were currently in school, they were instructed to select the highest degree received. The item was multiple choice with options ranging from "No schooling at all" to "Professional degree." Education was a categorical variable in all analyses.

Quality Checks

As a quality check, I included four questions that were dispersed throughout the various questionnaires. The quality checks were placed in the EMS/IMS questionnaire[6], the negative affect questionnaire, white Linked Fate questionnaire[7], and the Empathic Concern questionnaire. Quality checks were phrased as follows "This is a quality check. If you are paying attention please select ____", with the selection being adapted for the specific questionnaire format. Participants who failed more than one of the four quality checks were excluded from the study. See Appendix G for full items.

[6,7] Although measures of IMS/EMS and white Linked Fate was included in the surveys for participants, it was outside the scope of this study and was not included in analyses outside of as a comparison to the IMAS/EMAS.

Other Measures

Alongside the preceding measures used in this study (see above), other measures were included in the survey pertaining to questions outside the scope of this study. The measures included in the study but not used in the following analyses comprised of the following: (a) multiple choice questions asking about liberal vs conservative leaning on specific issues, (b) Social media accounts used, (c) Zip code, (d) External/Internal Motivation to Respond without Prejudice Scales (Plant & Devine, 1998), (e) Linked Fate to White Americans (an adapted scale from Ho et al., 2017); (f) a mental health item (Bor et al., 2018), (g) Open ended responses to questions about Reckless Sharing Behavior, (h) a novel questionnaire examining Opinions on Reckless Sharing Behavior, and (i) three adapted subscales from the Adapted History of Excessive Police Use of Force Questionnaire (i.e., role of race in policing, police use of force videos, and personal encounters with the police; Campbell & Valera, 2020).

Procedures

Participants were first asked to download and then thoroughly examine the consent form before beginning the study. Participants were then asked to list the social media accounts they had and used (open-ended), as well as to select all of the content that they had seen or shared on social media from a provided list (e.g., videos of animals/pets, updates from family, videos of police force, local events, ads for products; etc.). Participants were also given the ability to write in choices if they felt that the examples did not cover the content that they consumed on social media. Participants who did not list any social media accounts, or who did not select “videos of police force” as one of the choices that they had seen or shared on social media were removed from the study. These participants received notification that they had failed to pass the screening

requirements. After consenting to participate, they filled out demographic information including questions about proportion of life spent in the US, education level and political leanings.

After completing the demographic questionnaires, participants were introduced to the other questionnaires in random order. Items within these questionnaires were also randomized. This was a conscious choice to avoid order effects from the different questions and questionnaires.

Statistical Analysis

The alpha level was set at .05, with two-tailed significance tests being used. All statistical analyses were completed with the use of R. All numerical variables were zero centered using the scale() function in R, however figures 3 and 5 used the non-zero centered means. Both categorical variables, gender and education, were designated as such using the as.factor() function in R. Data cleaning and analyses associated with Hypothesis 1 were pre-registered on OSF: https://osf.io/fp7a2.

There was slight deviation from the pre-registration. Although the pre-registration specified the use of the scale function, the use was meant to zero center the data, not to scale the standard deviations. Therefore, it was necessary to specify this in the R code as scale(#variable being centered#, scale = FALSE). Additionally, the original code did not account for the need for effect sizes or confidence intervals, so these analyses were completed using the R functions eta_squared() and confint(), respectively. Additionally, since there was some missing data in regards to the covariates, the number of observations decreased with the inclusion of the covariates in the mediation. As a result, participants with missing covariate data were removed from the mediation models that included covariates with the use of the na.omit() function, reducing the participant pool from 1272 to 1270 for these two analyses.

Hypothesis 2 is considered exploratory, for R code used in data cleaning and analyses see Appendix H.

CHAPTER 3

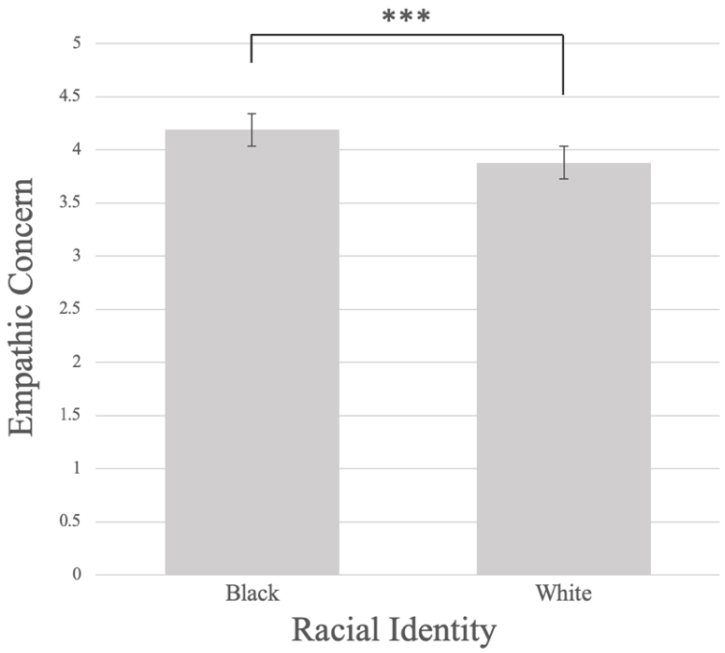
RESULTS

Emotions

Racial Identity, Empathic Concern, and Linked Fate

The Relationship Between Racial Identity and Empathic Concern

The following analysis was preregistered on OSF. To test whether racial identity predicted empathic concern for the victims of police brutality videos on social media, I conducted an ANOVA. Consistent with my hypothesis, the one-way ANOVA revealed that Black participants reported significantly more empathic concern (M = 0.16, SE = .04) for victims of police brutality than white participants (M = -.16, SE = .04), $t(1270) = -5.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 =$ .03, 95% C.I. [-0.43, -0.21] (see figure 3). The difference between the two groups was small, -0.32.



Note. Error bars show standard error *p = .05, **p < .01, ***p<.001

Figure 3

Empathic Concern and Racial Identity

To test the strength of the relationship, I then ran an ANCOVA. The covariates consisted of age, gender, education, political leanings, personal feelings about the police, and proportion of life spent in the US. The strength of the original relationship was reduced after including the covariates, $t(1255) = -0.77$, $p = .44$, 95% C.I. [-0.14, 0.06].

Mediating the Relationship Between Racial Identity and Empathic Concern with Linked Fate

The following analysis was preregistered on OSF. To test whether linked fate with Black people in the US was related to the relationship between racial identity and empathic a mediation analysis was performed (see Figure 4). Black racial identification was associated with higher empathic concern for the victim of police violence $b = -0.32$, $SE = .05$; $t(1270) = -5.88$, $p < .001$,

95% C.I. [-0.43, -0.21]. Additionally, relative to white participants (M = -.91, SE = .03), Black participants displayed higher linked fate (M = .92, SE = .05) with Black people in the U.S. b = -1.83, SE = .07; t(1270) = -25.20, p < .001, 95% C.I. [-1.97, -1.69]. Higher linked fate was associated with higher empathic concern when controlling for racial identity b = 0.30, SE = 0.02; t(1269) = 15.51, p < .001, 95% C.I. [0.26, 0.34]. The total indirect effect of racial identity on empathic concern was statistically significant (see Figure 3), z = -0.55, 1000 bootstraps, p < .001, 95% C.I. [-0.64, -0.46]. The direct effect of racial identity on empathic concern when controlling for linked fate was also significant b = 0.23, SE = .06; t(1269) = 3.71, p < .001, 95% C.I. [0.11, 0.35]. Thus, linked fate was a mediator of the relationship between racial identity and empathic concern.

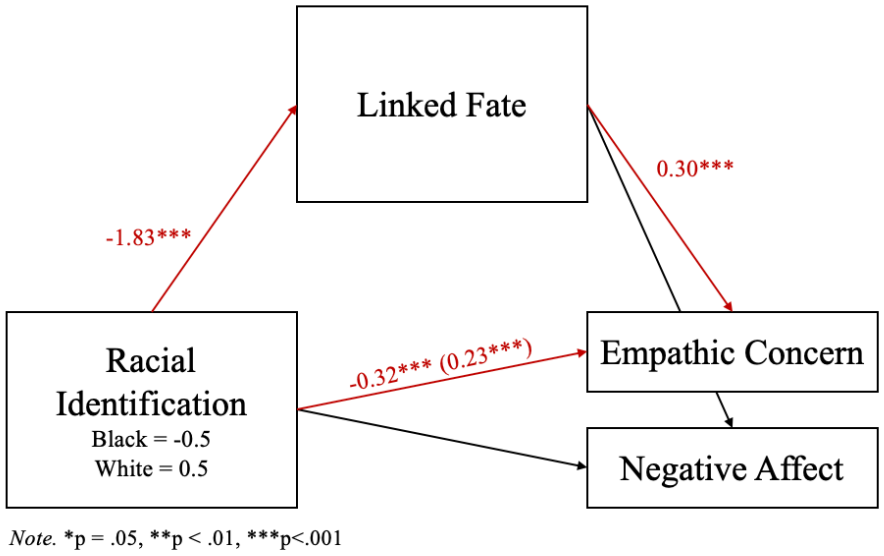


Figure 4

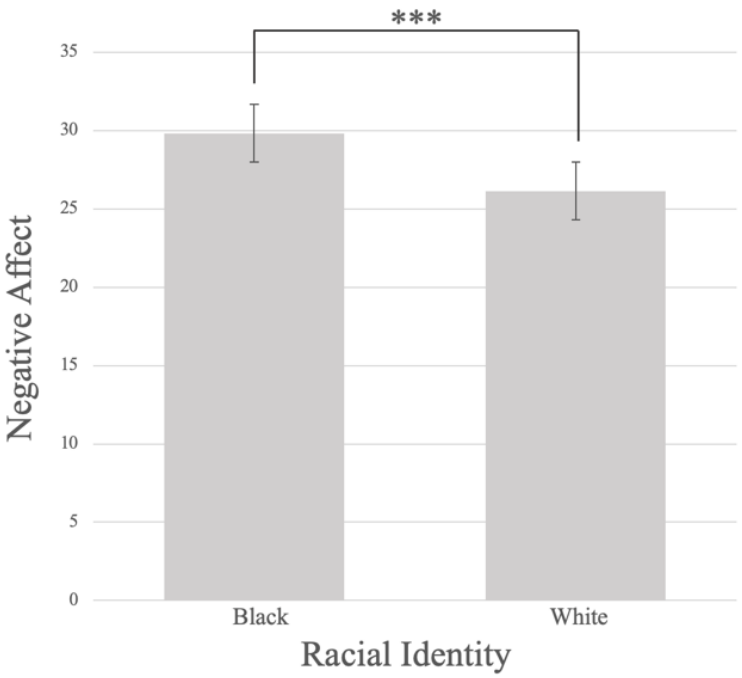
Racial Identity, Linked Fate, and Empathic Concern, a Mediation Analysis

To test the strength of this relationship, the mediation was re-run with the addition of age, gender, education, political leanings, personal feelings about police, and proportion of life spent within the US as covariates. The relationship between racial identity, linked fate, and empathic concern did not change as a result of the covariates. The association between linked fate and empathic concern remained significant $b = 0.23$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(1254) = 12.42$, $p < .001$, 95% C.I. [0.19, 0.27], as was the direct effect of racial identity on empathic concern when controlling for linked fate and the other covariates $b = 0.32$, $SE = 0.06$; $t(1254) = 5.62$, $p < .001$, 95% C.I. [0.21, 0.43]. The total indirect effect of racial identity on empathic concern was statistically significant, z = -0.42, 1000 bootstraps, $p < .001$, 95% C.I. [-0.42, -0.49].

Racial Identity, Negative Affect, and Linked Fate

The Relationship Between Racial Identity and Negative Affect

The following analyses were preregistered on OSF. To test whether Black participants have increased negative affect when recalling videos of police violence in comparison to white participants we used an ANOVA. The analysis revealed a significant difference in the mean scores of negative affect between the white and Black participants, $t(1270) = -6.97$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, 95% C.I. [-4.87, -2.73]. Consistent with my hypothesis, Black participants reported significantly more negative affect ($M = 1.92$, $SE = .40$) than white participants ($M = -1.89$, $SE = .37$; see figure 5). To test the strength of the relationship I ran an ANCOVA. Covariates included age, gender, education, political leanings, personal feelings about the police, and proportion of life spent in the US. The strength of the effect of racial identity was reduced to non-significance with the inclusion of these covariates, $t(1255) = -1.10$, $p = .27$, 95% C.I. [-1.66, 0.47].



Note. Error bars show standard error *p = .05, **p < .01, ***p<.001

Figure 5

The Relationship Between Racial Identity and Negative Affect

Mediating the Relationship Between Racial Identity and Negative Affect with Linked Fate

The following analyses were preregistered on OSF. A mediation analysis revealed that linked fate had a significant association on the relationship between racial identity and negative affect when recalling videos of police brutality seen on social media (see figure 6). Black racial identification predicted higher negative affect b = -3.80, SE = 0.55; t(1270) = -6.97, p < .001, 95% C.I. [-4.87, -2.73]. The relation between linked fate and negative affect was also significant, b = 2.35, SE = 0.20, t(1269) = 11.71, p < .001, 95% C.I. [1.96, 2.74]. The total indirect effect of racial identity on negative affect, through linked fate, was statistically significant (see Figure 5) z = -4.23, 1000 bootstraps, p < .001, 95% C.I. [-5.04, -3.56]. The direct effect of racial identity on

negative affect when controlling for linked fate was not significant $b = 0.49$, $SE = 0.64$, $t(1269) = 0.77$, $p = .44$, 95% C.I. [-0.75, 1.74].

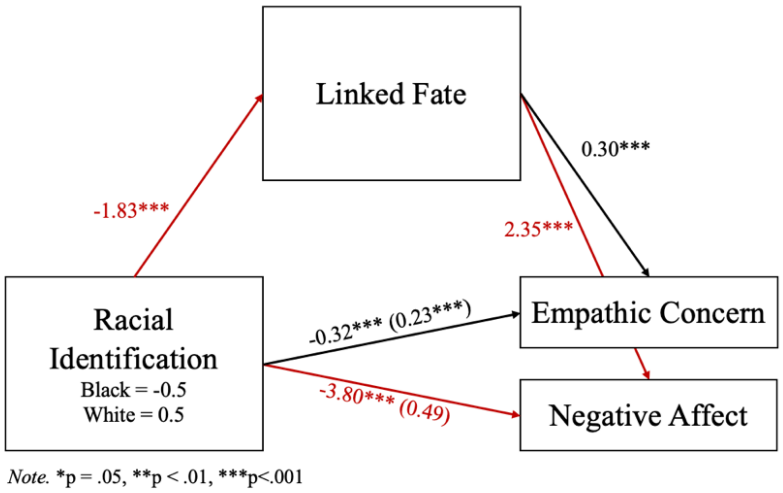


Figure 6

Racial Identity, Linked Fate, and Negative Affect, a Mediation Analysis

To test the strength of the relationship, the mediation was run while controlling for age, gender, education, political leanings, personal feelings about police, and proportion of life spent within the US. With the addition of these covariates, the mediating effect of linked fate was weakened. The relationship between linked fate and negative affect when accounting for the covariates was significant $b = 1.71$, $SE = 0.20$, $t(1254) = 8.73$, $p < .001$, 95% C.I. [1.33, 2.10]. However, the direct effect of racial identity on negative affect was also significant when controlling for linked fate and the other covariates $b = 2.13$, $SE = 0.61$, $t(1254) = 3.48$, $p < .001$,

95% C.I. [0.93, 3.32]. The total indirect effect of racial identity on negative affect was statistically significant, z = -3.15, 1000 bootstraps, $p < .001$, 95% C.I. [-3.89, -2.44].

Actions

Hypothesis 2 was exploratory and aimed to examine motivations that lead white social media users to share police brutality videos after viewing them themselves. As a result, the number of participants included in this analysis was greatly reduced, from 1261 to 292, after excluding all participants that identified as Black, and all participants who had never shared a video of police brutality on social media. Black participants were removed specifically because the motivation to respond with antiracism scale (similar to the motivation to respond without prejudice scale; Plant & Devine, 1998) was created to examine motivations for those outside of the group to respond with antiracism. White participants who had not shared videos of police brutality were removed since they had no experience sharing these videos, recklessly or not. See Table 4 for full demographic information and a comparison between non-sharers and sharers across racial identity groups. See Appendix I for complete R code used for data cleaning and analyses.

Table 4

Demographics of white participants who have shared a video of police brutality on social media

	Black non-sharers	white non-sharers	Black sharers	white sharers
N *(prop of sample)*	198 (*.16*)	349 (*.27*)	433 (*.34*)	292 (*.23*)
Age- M(*SD*)	37.21 (*10.97*)	41.47 (*12.16*)	37.01 (*11.39*)	41.72 (*12.12*)
Gender- woman, man, genderqueer	117, 77, 4	175, 170, 4	278, 151, 4	160, 128, 4
Political Leaning- M*(SD)*	40.45 (*28.48*)	45.26 (*30.51*)	38.17 (*29.72*)	43.47 *(32.76)*
Lived Outside of the US > 1 yr n (*prop of sub sample*)	13 (*.07*)	23 (*.07*)	33 (*.02*)	16 (*.01*)
Education- Prop of sample with ≥ BA/BS	.49	.53	.49	.54

Reckless Sharing Behavior and External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism

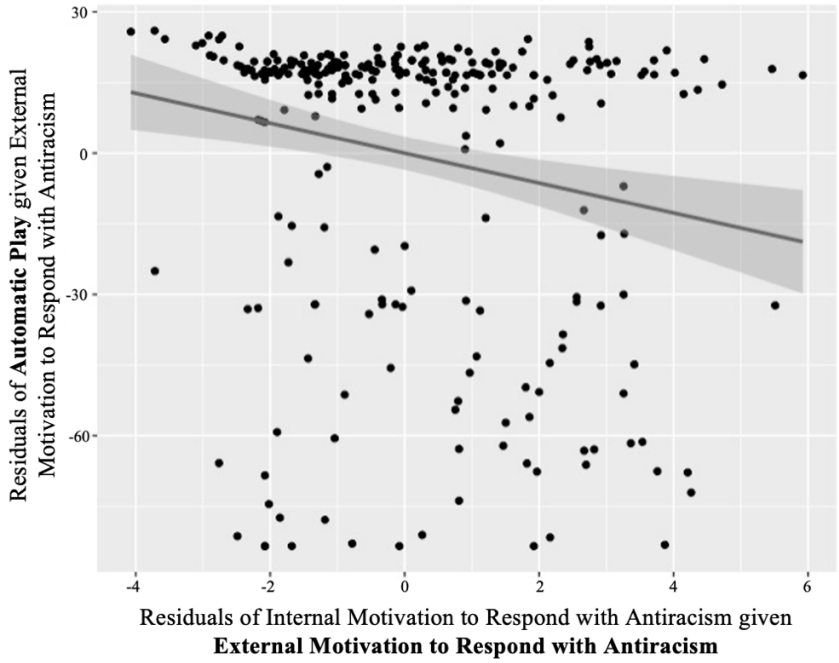
Since the Reckless Sharing Behavior scale did not have strong internal consistency, each of the three items were individually tested against external motivation to respond with antiracism. Additionally, internal motivation to respond with antiracism was used as a covariate in the following analyses to isolate the external motivations from a more general motivation to respond with antiracism, the correlation between the Internal Motivation to Respond with Antiracism scale and the External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism scale was small, R = -.08, $t(1270) = -3.02$, but significant $p = .003$, 95% C.I. [-0.14, -0.03], indicating that they were capturing different aspects of motivation.

Reckless Sharing Behavior: Automatic Play and External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism

I found that when controlling for internal motivation to respond with antiracism, higher external motivation to respond with antiracism was associated with higher frequency of

considering whether videos play automatically before sharing them, $t(289) = -3.55$, $p < .001$, 95% C.I. [-4.94, -1.41], see Figure 7.

To test the strength of this relationship, I added age, gender, education, political leanings, personal feelings about the police, and proportion of life spent in the US as additional covariates, alongside internal motivation to respond with antiracism. After controlling for these additional covariates, the relationship held with higher external motivations being associated with more consideration to whether a video plays automatically, $t(277) = -3.24$, $p = .001$, 95% C.I. [-4.81, -1.17].



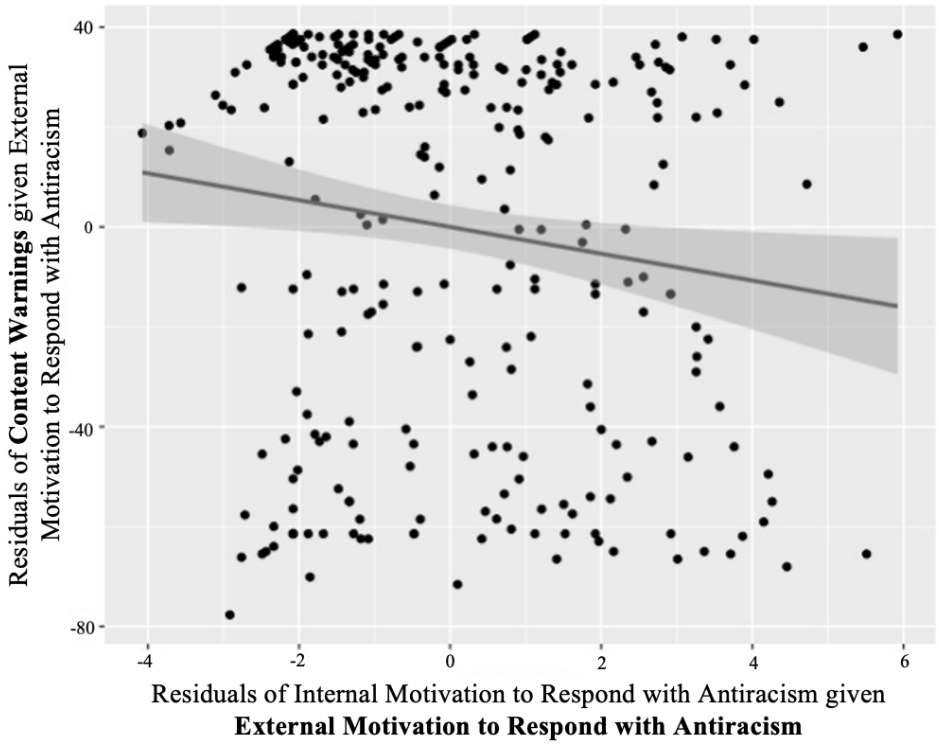
Note. Regression line indicates the relationship between External Motivations to Respond with Antiracism and Automatic Play when Internal Motivations to Respond with Antiracism is held constant.
The Automatic Play item is reversed scored where a higher score indicates less consideration to whether a video of police brutality plays automatically when re-sharing it.

Figure 7

Partial Regression Plot of Automatic Play and External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism when accounting for Internal Motivation to Respond with Antiracism

Reckless Sharing Behavior: Content Warnings and External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism

I found that when controlling for internal motivation to respond with ntiracism, as external motivation to respond with antiracism increased so did consideration of content warnings $t(289) = -2.41$, $p = .02$, 95% C.I. [-4.87, -0.50], see Figure 8. To further test this relationship, I then ran another regression using age, gender, education, political leanings, personal feelings about the police, and proportion of life spent in the US, as additional covariates alongside Internal Motivation to Respond with Antiracism. The directionality of the relationship remained the same, $t(277) = -2.01$, $p = .05$, 95% C.I. [-4.51, -0.05].



Note. Regression line indicates the relationship between External Motivations to Respond with Antiracism and Content Warnings when Internal Motivations to Respond with Antiracism is held constant.
The Content Warning item is reversed scored where a higher score indicates less consideration to whether content warnings are included in a video when re-sharing it.

Figure 8

Partial Regression Plot of Content Warnings and External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism

Reckless Sharing Behavior—Sharing Frequency and External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism

Including internal motivation to respond with antiracism as a covariate, I found no significant relationship between external motivation to respond with antiracism and the Frequency item of the Reckless Sharing Behavior scale, $t(289) = 0.43$, $p = .67$, 95% C.I. [-1.35, 2.11]. To further test this relationship, I then ran another regression, adding age, gender,

education, political leanings, personal feelings about the police, and proportion of life spent in the US as additional covariates. After controlling for covariates, the results remained non-significant, $t(277) = 0.48$, $p = .63$, 95% C.I. [-1.35, 2.22].

The Moderating Effect of Empathic Concern on the Relation Between External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism and Reckless Sharing Behavior

Reckless Sharing Behavior: Automatic Play

To examine whether high empathic concern for the victims in videos of police brutality shown online would moderate the relationship between external motivation to respond with antiracism and the Automatic Play item, a hierarchal multiple regression analysis was conducted. I added an interaction term (empathic concern and external motivation to respond with antiracism) to the relationship between external motivation to respond with antiracism and the Automatic Play item. Additionally, I removed internal motivation to respond with antiracism as a control. The interaction was not significant, $b = 0.87$, $t(288) = 1.00$, $p = .32$, 95% C.I. [-0.84, 2.58]. This result indicates that empathic concern did not significantly moderate the relationship between external motivations and how often participants consider whether a video of police brutality plays before sharing it on social media.

Reckless Sharing Behavior—Content Warnings

To examine whether high empathic concern for the victims in videos of police brutality shown online would impact the relationship between external motivation to respond with antiracism and the Content Warning item, a moderation analysis was performed. internal motivation to respond with antiracism was not included in the analysis. The interaction term was not significant, $b = -0.41$, $t(288) = -0.38$, $p = .70$, 95% C.I. [-2.54, 1.72], indicating that the interaction between empathic concern and reckless sharing behavior for white participants who

had shared videos of police brutality on social media could not be moderated by empathic concern.

Reckless Sharing Behavior—Sharing Frequency

To examine whether high empathic concern for the victims in videos of police brutality shown online would impact the relationship between external motivation to respond with antiracism and the Sharing Frequency item, a moderation analysis was performed. Internal motivation to respond with antiracism was not included in the analysis. The interaction between external motivation to respond with antiracism and empathic concern was not significant, b = -1.26, $t(288)$ = -1.50, p = .14, 95% C.I. [-2.92, 0.40].These results indicate that empathic concern not moderate the relationship between external motivations and how often they shared videos of police brutality on social media for white social media sharers.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS

This study aimed to examine whether there are significant differences in the way that white and Black US residents experience videos of police brutality on social media. I found significant differences in the way that white and Black US residents experience videos of police brutality on social media. Black participants had significantly higher negative affect and empathic concern in comparison to their white counterparts. However, these results failed to hold when accounting for covariates (e.g., age, gender, education completion, political ideology, proportion of life spent residing in the US, and personal feelings about the police). This finding confirms what other researchers have suggested, that these videos have a disproportionate impact on the Black community residing in the US (Gregory, 2019).

To more deeply understand these differences, this research studied mechanisms that could lead to the disparate results in affect and empathy. Linked fate with Black people in the US mediated the relationship between racial identity and empathic concern, with and without the addition of the covariates. Additionally, linked fate with Black people in the US mediated the relationship between racial identification and negative affect, providing empirical support for what previous social psychologists suspected but had not empirically tested (Bor et al., 2018; Gregory, 2019).

These findings indicate that linked fate is part of the puzzle, but not all of it. Recent studies have shown that class linked fate may have as much of an impact on an individual's actions as racial linked fate (Gay et al., 2016). The current study did not ask about class, self-

report measures are often unreliable (Pew Research Center, 2015). However, if class linked fate is as impactful as racial linked fate, further research should be taken into consideration in the future.

A large part of this study involved understanding the sharing of videos of police brutality on social media. To my knowledge, there are currently no published statistics on the proportion of people who reshare videos of police brutality on social media. Although this study is not nationally representative, it provides the first indication of what proportion of social media users reshare videos of police brutality. Out of all the participants, 725 (56.99%) had reshared a video of police brutality in the past six months, 45.55% of all the white participants and 68.62% of all the Black participants.

Finally, this study also investigated how motivations may predict the way in which white social media users share these videos. My results were unexpected. I found that high external motivation to respond with antiracism were associated with a decrease in reckless sharing behaviors. After controlling for internal motivation to respond with antiracism, participants who were high in external motivations were more likely to consider trigger/content warnings or whether the video plays automatically before sharing. It is possible that participants who are aware of this new expectation of antiracism are also aware of current norms that encourage and promote the use of content warnings (George & Hovey, 2020), and manual press play of triggering videos (Hepburn, 2017).

These findings indicate that external pressures reduce reckless sharing behaviors regarding how these videos are shared. Focus on education of the benefits of sharing safeguards such as content warnings and manual press play may further increase the use of these safeguards

and normalize the behavior, leading to a further increase in external pressures and an associated decrease in reckless sharing behaviors.

However, my results did not find that external motivation to respond with antiracism was associated with frequency of sharing videos of police brutality. Now that there is evidence of what does not impact sharing frequency, more focus needs to be paid to what mechanisms can activate this change. Moral judgment, elevation, and identity have been used to explain prosocial behavior (Ding et al., 2018), extending these factors to explore these sharing behaviors should be explored. Additionally, altruism, particularly across groups, and how to encourage it, should be investigated more thoroughly to try and decrease reckless sharing behaviors (Pfattheicher et al., 2022). Finally, education to increase awareness that oversaturation of these videos may lead to desensitization amongst viewers should be implemented (Williams & Clarke, 2019). This strategy may create norms where External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism can have the same impact on the frequency of sharing as it does on the use of automatic play and content warnings.

Limitations/Future Directions

Representativeness of the Sample

One of the largest limitations with this study was the sample itself. Although the sample was purposefully exclusive to Black and white US residents, other demographic factors varied from the US population as well. The sample was more educated, more liberal, and had more women than is represented in the United States (see Table 5). The higher level of education of the MTurk sample was consistent with previous literature (Heen et al., 2014; Levay et al., 2016), as was the more liberal leaning of the sample when compared to the US population as a whole (Levay et al., 2016). The younger age of participants in the sample was consistent with previous

literature (Heen et al., 2014; Levay et al., 2016). However, the higher rate of female respondents was abnormal when compared to the national population (US Census Bureau, 2020), and to other MTurk samples which report higher rates of men participating in surveys on MTurk (Heen et al., 2014; Levay et al., 2016)

Table 5

Comparing the Sample to the US Population

	US National Population°	Sample
Age (median)	38.2	39.3
Gender (female, woman)	50.8%	57.39%
Education (BA/BS or higher)	32.9%	51.49%
Political Identity- Liberal *	42%	53.61%
Political Identity-Conservative *	47%	32.78%

°US statistics were taken from the 2020 US National Census (US Census Bureau, 2020), with the exception of political identity.

*political leanings for the national sample were taken from the Gallup poll (Jones, 2021). For the sample, participants who rated their political leanings under 50 on a scale from 0-100 with 0 being extremely liberal were considered liberal leaning, those who rated their political leanings above 50 were considered conservative leaning. Those who identified at 50 were not included in the descriptive statistic for the sample.

Racial/Ethnic Identity and Groups

This study sought to determine whether Black (relative to white) US residents had stronger reactions to videos of police brutality and possible mechanisms behind that. However, future research should be used to investigate the relationship that linked fate has on other racial and ethnic groups.

Hispanic Americans[8] are a particularly interesting group for several reasons. Hispanic Americans may be white or Black or may have different ideas around racial identity all together, more strongly identifying with their ethnic identity. Although non-Hispanic Black Americans are often cited as a group that most acutely feels the impacts of police brutality (The Lancet, 2021), it is possible that statistics related to police brutality towards Hispanic Americans is underestimated. Although in 2019 the FBI developed a police use of force database, police departments are not required to report incidents; they can instead choose whether or not to report these incidents, with only 40% of police departments choosing to participate (Jackman, 2020). As a result, the most comprehensive data on police use of force incidents is compiled by news outlets (The Washington Post, 2020). Even with this comprehensive database, it is not held to the same standards as government reporting and so there may be errors, with Hispanic Americans being identified as either Black or white without consideration to their ethnic identity (Bowleg et al., 2022).

Similarly, unique groups like Asian Americans should be considered as well. Asian Americans hold a position in the United States unlike other historically disadvantaged racial groups, where today they are considered "model minorities" by many (Peterson, 1966). Although this status is known to have negative mental and emotional impacts on Asian Americans (Gupta et al., 2011), it may also work to protect them, particularly in the context of police brutality where Asian Americans experience the lowest proportion of deaths by the police compared to all other racial groups (Schwartz & Jahn, 2020). However, linked fate occurs because of longstanding oppression (Dawson, 1994), and Asian Americans have experienced a wealth of

[8] The term Hispanic American was chosen consciously. Although the term Latinx has become more popular in recent academic literature, overwhelmingly the group as a whole has voiced their preference for the term Hispanic American over Latina/é/o/x American (Bendixen & Amandi International, 2021; Caputo & Rodriguez, 2021; Lopez, 2013; Noe-Bustamante et al., 2020; Schwartz & Jahn, 2020).

systemic oppression based on their racial identification; the Chinese Exclusion Act was the first law in the US to prohibit immigration based on race and Japanese Americans were sent to concentration camps during World War II (De Leon, 2020). Considering how historical oppression and current status impact feelings of linked fate will be important moving forward.

Multiracial individuals were also excluded from this study. This group is a quickly growing population, and work has begun examining how multiracial identity impacts linked fate, and the groups that multiracial individuals felt linked to (Gonlin, 2022; Ho et al., 2017). However, there is much research left to do when exploring how linked fate can impact this group.

Research also often fails to consider Native and Indigenous Americans within the context of the US, due to their small numbers. Dawson (1994) posited that linked fate is due to systemic oppression because of one's group membership, and this group has experienced systemic oppression in the US longer than any other racial group. Research has shown that Native Americans/Indigenous Americans are killed in police encounters at a higher rate than any other racial group (Hansen, 2017). Focusing research on this population would fill a large gap in the current literature, and this extreme example of oppression could help identify patterns within other racial groups, through further identifying some of the negative implications of linked fate.

Colorism

An additional consideration that was not accounted for in this study is colorism. Studies have shown that darker skin tone can lead to worse interactions with the police amongst Black and Hispanic Americans (Monk, 2019; White, 2015) Research should also consider how colorism is related to linked fate with one's group. A recent study found that skin color was related to racial identification, with mixed-race individuals with darker skin being more likely to

identify as Black or multiracial (Gonlin, 2022). Conversely, light skinned Black people are more likely to have their Blackness questioned, in comparison to their darker counterparts (Hunter, 2007). This alienation may impact the development of their racial identity, and by extension linked fate for even monoracial individuals (Uzogara & Jackson, 2016). Colorism will be important for future research investigating linked fate and what aspects outside of oppression activate the phenomenon.

Intersectionality

There was also a general lack of consideration to the impact of intersectionality. Intersectionality is the idea that the relationship between different aspects of identity is not additive but may be multiplicative and can be unique depending on the specific intersection. For example, the instances of discrimination that a Black trans-woman experiences as a result of her identity will be different than those experienced by a Black cis-woman or a white trans-woman. Furthermore, it would not be adequate to say that combining the instances of discrimination experienced by a Black cis-woman and a white trans-woman would result in the same list of discriminatory interactions that a Black trans-woman had experienced. In this way, intersectionality tries to look at those unique intersections and how they lead to a unique experience.

Although this study controlled for various aspects of one's identity (e.g., gender, proportion of life spent in the US—a proxy for immigrant status), controlling for is not the same as understanding and accounting for the unique intersections that exist within each individual's identity. Gender, particularly identifying as a woman, was a significant covariate in multiple analyses. When considering that this study focuses on videos of police brutality perpetuated

against Black Americans that have become viral, it is hard to ignore that the majority of these videos concern Black men.

Indeed, in the summer of 2020, much of the media coverage focused on George Floyd. However, he was murdered a few months after Breonna Taylor, an EMT who was sleeping in her bed when she was shot and killed by the police that she often worked alongside (Haines, 2020). To say that gender bias did not account for this difference in coverage and concern would be naïve, with one individual going as far as to say that the police are "killing our sisters just like they're killing our brothers, but for whatever reason, [the Black community] ha[s] not given our sisters the same attention that we have given to [our men]" (Haines, 2020). The intersection of gender identity and racial identity is important in any situation but given the gender bias specifically around the coverage of police brutality against Black Americans and activism, this relationship requires further investigation.

Similarly, the intersection of racial identity and sexuality was not examined in this study, as there were no questions concerning self-identified sexuality. One recent study has shown that sexual identity can be associated with support for BLM (Swank & Fahs, 2022), and could therefore influence behaviors around sharing and emotions associated with viewing these videos. Another study found that LGB members are six times more likely to have an unwanted interaction with the police than their heterosexual counterparts (Luhur et al., 2021). Although BLM itself has been outspoken about supporting all sexual identities, attention to individuals who identify as both Black and LGBTQA+ is lacking by those outside the organization. Individuals who identify both as Black and as a sexual minority tend to receive less coverage in the media than straight Black victims, a similar trend to what is seen with Black women. Outside of the media, there is evidence of high rates of homophobia amongst some members of the Black

American community (Hill, 2013). This unique role of being Black and being a part of a group that Black Americans, and the larger world, often fail to support may impact their feelings of linked fate with the group that fails to accept them. Understanding the relationship between linked fate and intersectional identities will be vital as the world becomes both more complex and more interconnected (Gershon et al., 2019).

Defining Police Use of Force

The terms "excessive police force" and "excessive police use of force" were used throughout the questionnaires to describe negative officer-civilian interactions. This phrasing was purposefully vague to encourage participation in the study and placate individuals who strongly support police officers as a group. Excessive police use of force is subjective and could range from someone feeling like they were unnecessarily pulled over for not stopping long enough at a stop sign to someone being killed while sleeping in their bed (Bowleg et al., 2022). If excessive police force and police brutality lie within a spectrum, then differences in outcomes (such as emotional reactions and sharing behaviors) may be impacted by where the video falls on this spectrum. Defining the terms that are used in this growing area of research will be integral for pushing this area of research forward.

Final Thoughts

This study is only the second one to examine the relationship between police brutality videos on social media and racial identity and is the first to attempt to answer these questions with the use of quantitative analyses (Campbell & Valera, 2020). The ultimate goal of this work is to identify mechanisms to increase activism while protecting populations. Establishing that there are racial differences in how different racial groups process these videos is an important first step. But it is still only a first step. The results from the mediation analyses showed that

although linked fate explains the relationship between empathic concern and negative affect for Black participants, it is not the mechanism behind the reactions for white participants. Additionally, the analyses in hypothesis 2 showed that while external Motivation to Respond with antiracism was significantly associated with increased consideration to whether the video had a content warning or played automatically, there was no relationship between external motivation to respond with antiracism and sharing frequency. Further investigation into what motivates individuals to share these videos in the first place will be important. By understanding what motivates these behaviors we can work to change them.

The most important takeaway from this study is understanding that these reactions and emotions do not emerge from or occur within a vacuum. There is something at play that causes Black Americans to react with higher amounts of fear, anger, and sadness when seeing these videos than white Americans, and it is more than just linked fate. Acknowledging the long-lasting impact that racism has had, and continues to have on these groups, and working to change racist systems, is an integral responsibility of a scientist in this area.

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APPENDIX A

LINKED FATE

Adapted Linked Fate Questionnaire

A. Ho, A. K., Kteily, N. S., & Chen, J. M. (2017). "You're One of Us": Black Americans' Use of Hypodescent and Its Association With Egalitarianism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *113*(5), 753–768. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000107.supp

Participants will rate how appropriately each of these items describes their opinions and how much they agree with statements. Each of the items will be rated on a Likert-type scale. For questions one through three, answers will include numbers 1-7 with "no, not at all" above 1 and "yes, a lot" above 7. For questions four through eight, answers will include numbers 1-7 with "strongly disagree above 1 and "strongly agree" above 7. The minimum score possible for each item is 1 and the maximum score is 7. Item six will be reverse scored and the total score will be calculated by averaging the scores of the individual items (ranging 1 to 7). The higher the score the higher amount of linked fate the participant has with that racial group.

Black American Linked Fate Questionnaire

A. Directions: For items 1-3 please rate how much you believe in the following ideas on a scale from 1-7 with 1 being "no, not at all" and 7 being "yes, a lot."
    1. Do you think what happens to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens to you?
    2. Do you think what happens to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?
    3. Do you think what happens to you in this country will have something to do with what happens to Black people?

A. Directions: For items 4-8 please rate how much you agree with the following statements in regards to you personally on a scale from 1-7 with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 7 being "strongly agree."
    1. Black people in the United States and I share a common destiny.
    2. Issues that affect the Black community also affect me.
    3. What happens to me does not have anything to do with what will happen to Black people. (R)
    4. Racial progress for Black people also means racial progress for me.
    5. When the way Black people are treated in the US changes, the way that I am treated will naturally follow.

APPENDIX B

NEGATIVE AFFECT

Negative Affect

A. Watson, D., & Clark, L. A. (1994). *THE PANAS-X Manual for the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule - Expanded Form*.

Participants will rate how appropriately these words and phrases describe different feelings and emotions that the participant experienced when viewing police use of force videos in the past year. A 5-point Likert-type scale will be used. Answers will include "very slightly or not at all", "a little", "moderately, "quite a bit", and "extremely." The minimum score possible for each item is 1 and the maximum score is 5. Participant responses will be used to create a negative affect score for each participant. Higher negative affect scores will indicate more negative feelings and emotions when viewing police use of force videos.

A. Directions: This scale consists of a number of words and phrases that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then select the appropriate answer in the space next to that word. Indicate to what extent you have felt this way when viewing videos of excessive police use of force when interacting with Black U.S. residents and rate each of these emotions on a scale of 1-5 (where 1 = very slightly or not at all, 2 = a little, 3 = moderately, 4 = quite a bit, 5 = extremely)

1. Afraid
2. Nervous
3. Irritable
4. Guilty
5. Upset
6. Scared
7. Jittery
8. Hostile
9. Ashamed
10. Distressed

APPENDIX C

EMPATHIC CONCERN

Empathic Concern

A. Davis, M. H. (1980). Self Report Measures for Love and Compassion Research: Empathy INTERPERSONAL REACTIVITY INDEX (IRI). *JSAS Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology*, *10*(85), 3. http://fetzer.org/sites/default/files/images/stories/pdf/selfmeasures/EMPATHY-InterpersonalReactivityIndex.pdf

Participants will rate how well these statements describe them. A 5-point Likert-type scale will be used. Answers will include "does not describe me well" and "describes me very well." The minimum score possible for each item is 1 and the maximum score is 4. Items 2 and 4 will be reverse scored. The higher the score, the higher the empathic concern the participant has for the victim of the excessive use of police force.

A. Directions: Please rate yourself on the scale from 1-5 with "1" being "Does not describe me well" and "5" being "Describes me very well"

1. I often have tender, concerned feelings for the Black people who experience excessive police force.
2. Sometimes, I don't feel very sorry for Black people when they are experiencing excessive force from police. (R)
3. When I see a video of excessive police force directed toward a Black person, I feel protective towards that person.
4. The misfortune of a Black person experiencing excessive force from police does not usually disturb me a great deal. (R)
5. I am quite affected by videos of police force directed towards Black people.

APPENDIX D

MOTIVATION TO RESPOND WITH ANTIRACISM

Internal/External Motivation to Respond with Antiracism

A. Plante, A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75*(3), 811-832. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.75.3.811

Participants will rate the 10 items on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree). Item 7 will be reverse coded. Items will be in random order when presented to participants. Items 1-5 will be used to find the participants' final external motivation score where a higher score represents high external motivation to respond with antiracism. Items 6-10 will be used to measure internal motivation, where higher scores will represent more internal motivation to respond with antiracism.

A. Directions: The following questions concern various reasons or motivations people might have for trying to respond in *antiracist* ways towards *and for* Black people. Antiracism here is defined as **the policy or practice of opposing racism and promoting racial tolerance**. Some of the reasons reflect internal–personal motivations whereas others reflect more external–social motivations. Of course people may be motivated for both internal and external reasons; we want to emphasize that neither type of motivation is by definition better than the other. In addition, we want to be clear that we are not evaluating you or your individual responses. All your responses will be completely confidential. We are simply trying to get an idea of the types of motivations that *people* in general have for responding in *antiracist* ways. If we are to learn anything useful, it is important that you respond to each of the questions openly and honestly. Please give your response according to the scale below.
    1. Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to actively appear antiracist toward Black people.
    2. I try to express positive thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others
    3. If I didn't express support for Black people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.
    4. I attempt to appear antiracist toward Black people in order to get approval from others
    5. I try to act antiracist toward Black people because of pressure from others
    6. I attempt to act in antiracist ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me.

7. According to my personal values, not confronting stereotypes about Black people is OK. (R)
8. I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be antiracist toward Black people.
9. Because of my personal values, I believe that not confronting stereotypes about Black people is wrong.
10. Being antiracist toward Black people is important to my self-concept.

APPENDIX E

RECKLESS SHARING BEHAVIOR

Reckless Sharing Behavior

The Reckless Sharing Behavior questionnaire will have 3 main items with a sliding scale from 0 (not at all) to 100 (every time). Each of these items will have an open-ended follow up question asking participants to explain their choices. Individuals who select 0 for the first question will complete the open-ended follow up question, and then will be redirected to the next questionnaire rather than completing the other items. Items two and three will be reverse scored with a higher final score indicating a higher likelihood to engage in reckless sharing behaviors. The open-ended responses will be used for exploratory purposes.

Reckless Sharing Behavior

A. Directions: Please respond to these questions to the best of your ability concerning **your own sharing behavior**

1. Out of all the times you have encountered videos of police officers in the US using excessive force with a Black person on social media in the past six months, how often have you shared them? 0 (never) to 100 (every time)? (sliding scale)
   Please explain your selection (open ended) *Participants who selected 0 for question 1 will skip questions 2-3a*

2. When sharing these kinds of videos, how often have you considered whether the videos play automatically? 0 (never) to 100 (every time) (sliding scale)
   Please explain your selection (open-ended)

3. When sharing these kinds of videos, how often have you considered whether the videos include a content/trigger warning? 0 (never) to 100 (every time) (sliding scale)
   Please explain your selection (open-ended)

APPENDIX F

COVARIATES AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Covariates and Demographics

1. What social media accounts do you have and actively use? Please list all of them below. If you don't use any please leave the box blank. (Open ended)

2. Select the kind of content you have seen or shared on social media (select all that apply)
   __ Videos of animals/pets
   __ Updates from family
   __ Videos of police force
   __ International news
   __ Recipes
   __ Fashion hauls
   __ Local news
   __ Workouts
   __ Updates from friends
   __ Memes
   __ Local events
   __ Ads for products
   __ Other (open ended)

Age

Participant respond was subtracted from the current year (2022) for approximate age

3. What year were you born? (Open ended)

Gender

Participant responses were coded as either woman, man, or genderqueer.

4. What is your self-identified gender? (Open ended)

Political Leaning

Scores were divided by 100 for a final score between 0 and 1

5. On a scale from liberal (0 being extremely liberal) to conservative (100 being extremely conservative) what would you consider yourself?
   Participants were given a sliding scale from 0 to 100 for the following item

- Generally across all issues

Proportion of Life Spent Residing in the US

Responses were divided by participant age (see above) for a final score between 0 and 1.

6. How long (in years) have you lived in the United States? (Open ended)

Education

7. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? *(if currently enrolled, highest degree received)*
    - No schooling at all
    - Nursery school to 8th grade
    - High school graduate, diploma, or equivalent (ex. GED)
    - Trade/Technical/Vocational Training
    - Associate Degree
    - Bachelor's Degree
    - Master's Degree
    - Doctoral Degree
    - Professional Degree

Personal Feelings Towards the Police Subscale

A. Campbell, F., & Valera, P. (2020). "The Only Thing New is the Cameras": A Study of U.S. College Students' Perceptions of Police Violence on Social Media. *Journal of Black Studies*, *51*(7), 654–670. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934720935600

For the Personal Feelings Towards Police subscale participants will rate how much they agree or disagree with the following statements concerning their personal feelings towards police officers. A 5-point Likert-type scale will be used. Answers will include "strongly disagree", "somewhat disagree", "neither agree or disagree", "somewhat agree" and "strongly agree" The minimum score possible for each item is 1 and the maximum score is 5. Items 3 and 4 will be reverse scored. Higher scores will indicate more positive personal feelings towards the police. These measures may be included for exploratory purposes.

8. *Personal Feelings towards the Police*
   Directions: Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following questions concerning your personal feelings about police and police use of force on a scale from 1-5 with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree."
    1. I trust law enforcement officers in general
    2. I feel safe in encounters with law enforcement
    3. I am afraid of law enforcement (R)
    4. I fear I may be a victim of excessive police force (R)

Racial Identity

Please specify your ethnic/racial identity (check all that apply)

__ White
__ Black
__ African American
__ American Indian or Alaska Native
__ Asian
__ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
__ Middle Eastern/Arab
__ Not specified above (open response)

APPENDIX G

QUALITY CHECKS

Quality Checks

To be included in the study participants had to correctly answer at least 3 of the 4 quality checks. Participants who failed were excluded from analyses.

1. This is a quality check. If you are paying attention please select Strongly Disagree
2. This is a quality check. If you are paying attention please select 5 on the scale
3. This is a quality check. If you are paying attention please select 2.
4. This is a quality check. If you are paying attention please select 3.

APPENDIX H

HYPOTHESIS 2 R CODE

```
#Data Cleaning#
##subset##
RSBAnalysis = subset(datclean, select = c ("Race","PANAS", "Age", "Gender", "Educ",
"Poli_Gen", "PersPO", "USperc", "BLF", "RSB", "RSB_ConsidAuto", "RSB_ConsidTrig",
"RSB_Percsha", "EMAS", "IMAS", "Emp"))
RSBAnalysis = RSBAnalysis %>%
  mutate(RSBAutoRev = 100-RSBAnalysis$RSB_ConsidAuto)
RSBAnalysis = RSBAnalysis %>%
  mutate(RSBTrigRev = 100-RSBAnalysis$RSB_ConsidTrig)

##categorical##
RSBAnalysis$Gender <- as.factor(RSBAnalysis$Gender)
RSBAnalysis$Educ <- as.factor(RSBAnalysis$Educ)

##numerical##
RSBAnalysis$PANAS <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$PANAS)
RSBAnalysis$Age <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$Age)
RSBAnalysis$Poli_Gen <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$Poli_Gen)
RSBAnalysis$PersPO <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$PersPO)
RSBAnalysis$USperc <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$USperc)
RSBAnalysis$BLF <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$BLF)
RSBAnalysis$RSB_Percsha <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$RSB_Percsha)
RSBAnalysis$RSBTrigRev <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$RSBTrigRev)
RSBAnalysis$RSBAutoRev <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$RSBAutoRev)
RSBAnalysis$IMAS <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$IMAS)
RSBAnalysis$EMAS <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$EMAS)
RSBAnalysis$Emp <- as.numeric(RSBAnalysis$Emp)

##center variables##
RSBAnalysis$PANASC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$PANAS, scale = FALSE)
RSBAnalysis$AgeC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$Age, scale = FALSE)
RSBAnalysis$Poli_GenC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$Poli_Gen, scale = FALSE)
RSBAnalysis$PersPOC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$PersPO, scale = FALSE)
RSBAnalysis$USpercC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$USperc, scale = FALSE)
RSBAnalysis$BLFC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$BLF, scale = FALSE)
RSBAnalysis$RSB_PercshaC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$RSB_Percsha, scale = FALSE)
RSBAnalysis$RSBTrigRevC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$RSBTrigRev, scale = FALSE)
```

```
RSBAnalysis$RSBAutoRevC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$RSBAutoRev, scale = FALSE)
RSBAnalysis$IMASC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$IMAS, scale = FALSE)
RSBAnalysis$EMASC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$EMAS, scale = FALSE)
RSBAnalysis$EmpC <- scale(RSBAnalysis$Emp, scale = FALSE)

#Centered Subset#
Hyp2Dat = subset(RSBAnalysis, select = c("Race", "EMASC", "IMASC", "RSBAutoRevC",
"RSBTrigRevC", "RSB_PercshaC", "BLFC", "USpercC", "PersPOC", "Poli_GenC", "AgeC",
"PANASC", "Educ", "Gender", "EmpC"))
Hyp2Dat = subset(Hyp2Dat, Hyp2Dat$Race == 0.5)
library(tidyr)
Hyp2Dat1 <- Hyp2Dat %>%
  drop_na(c("RSB_PercshaC"))

#Autoplay and EMAS#
##Aut, EMAS, IMAS##
RSBSAutoEMAS<- lm(RSBAutoRevC ~ EMASC+IMASC, data = Hyp2Dat1)
summary(RSBSAutoEMAS)
confint(RSBSAutoEMAS, level = 0.95)
##Aut, EMAS, IMAS and covariates##
RSBSAutoEMASCont<- lm(RSBAutoRevC ~  EMASC+
AgeC+Gender+Educ+Poli_GenC+USpercC+PersPOC+IMASC, data = Hyp2Dat1)
summary(RSBSAutoEMASCont)
confint(RSBAutoEMASCont, level = 0.95)

#Trigger Warning and EMAS#
##Trig, EMAS, IMAS##
RSBSTrigEMAS<- lm(RSBTrigRevC ~ EMASC+IMASC, data = Hyp2Dat1)
summary(RSBSTrigEMAS)
confint(RSBSTrigEMAS, level = 0.95)


##Trig, EMAS, IMAS and covariates##
RSBSTrigEMASCont<- lm(RSBTrigRevC ~  EMASC+
AgeC+Gender+Educ+Poli_GenC+USpercC+PersPOC+IMASC, data = Hyp2Dat1)
summary(RSBSTrigEMASCont)
confint(RSBSTrigEMASCont, level = 0.95)


#Percent Shared and EMAS#
##Share, EMAS, IMAS##
RSBShareEMAS<- lm(RSB_PercshaC ~ EMASC+IMASC, data = Hyp2Dat1)
summary(RSBShareEMAS)
confint(RSBShareEMAS, level = 0.95)
```

```
##Share, EMAS, IMAS, and covariates##
RSBShareEMASCont <- lm(RSB_PercshaC ~ EMASC+
AgeC+Gender+Educ+Poli_GenC+USpercC+PersPOC+IMASC, data = Hyp2Dat1)
summary(RSBShareEMASCont)
confint(RSBShareEMASCont, level = 0.95)


#Moderations#
##AutoPlay##
inter <- Hyp2Dat1$EMASC*Hyp2Dat1$EmpC
mod = lm(RSBAutoRevC ~ EMASC+EmpC+inter, data=Hyp2Dat1)
summary(mod)
confint(mod, level = 0.95)

##Trig Warning##
inter<- Hyp2Dat1$EMASC*Hyp2Dat1$EmpC
modT = lm(RSBTrigRevC ~ EMASC+EmpC+inter, data=Hyp2Dat1)
summary(modT)
confint(modT, level = 0.95)

##Sharing##
modS = lm(RSB_PercshaC ~ EMASC+EmpC+inter, data=Hyp2Dat1)
summary(modS)
confint(modS, level = 0.95)
```