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FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE-CIVILIAN INTERACTIONS

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FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE-CIVILIAN INTERACTIONS

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Science in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE-CIVILIAN INTERACTIONS

Perceptions of police-civilian interactions have been found to be impacted by the perspective in which they are viewed, with first-person perspectives eliciting negative perceptions of civilians and positive perceptions of police. However, the nature of the relationship between race and camera-perspective has not been fully explored. Black people are more likely to harmed by police at a disproportionate rate compared to White people, and consequently, have more negative perceptions of police. Three studies investigated what factors informed perceptions of police encounters, particularly when camera perspectives differed. Results showed partial support for my prediction that Black people are as not susceptible to camera perspective bias effects when making judgments of police encounters. However, I found support that White people are also not susceptible to camera perspective effects when given time to watch the videoed police encounters repeatedly. This may indicate that giving additional time to scrutinize police-interaction videos can decrease bias against civilians. Additionally, I found support that people may view civilians less harshly when they are seen defending themselves and perceive Black women less harshly in these situations. Altogether, these findings suggest that there are certain factors that decrease the likelihood that camera perspective bias will influence judgments of police encounters.

KEYWORDS: *Body-worn camera (BWCs), Dashcam, Perception, Race, Justice system*

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FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE-CIVILIAN INTERACTIONS

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CHAPTER 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

In recent years, there has been wide scale adoption of body-worn cameras (BWCs) among police departments across the U.S. in response to frequent anti-Black bias in policing (Saulnier et al., 2019). Documenting police-civilian interactions via video recordings is one attempt to hold police officers legally accountable for police misconduct when unwarranted excessive force is used (McCamman & Culhane, 2017). However, video footage of such interactions may not ensure objectivity because camera-perspective (i.e., first vs. third-person) influences how viewers interpret video footage (Lassiter & Irvine, 1986). For instance, one study found that participants who viewed video recorded interactions of police being violent with a civilian perceived the officer to be less blameworthy for harming the civilian and perceived the officer's intentions of harming the civilian to be lower when watching BWC footage (i.e., first-person) relative to footage from an officer's dashcam—or dashboard mounted vehicle camera (i.e., third-person; Turner et al., 2019). This research, however, did not account for the racialized nature of many police-civilian interactions. For instance, Black people have more negative experiences with police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002) and are less likely to have world views that ignore the way race influences people's experiences compared to White people (Bonam et al., 2019; Nelson et al., 2013). These factors likely lead Black people to have more negative perceptions of police than White people (Brunson & Gau, 2015; Levin & Thomas, 1997). Given Black and White civilians' disparate experiences and perspectives regarding policing in the U.S. (Cochran & Warren, 2012), it is important for researchers to investigate whether such factors influence the relationship between camera-perspective and judgments of actors in police-civilian encounters.

1.1 Video-Perspective and Actor Judgments

When people make judgments of an interaction, they use perceptually salient information to assess the situation. That is, they focus on a central target and deemphasize other target(s). Focusing on central targets can lead viewers to engage in *illusory causation*—making causal, attributional judgments about the behavior of the central target while failing to attend to the deemphasized target (Taylor & Fiske, 1978;

Ware et al., 2008). Differences in viewpoints between BWCs and dashcams create an instance of this phenomena, called *camera-perspective bias*. This is an extension of illusory causation whereby first-person perspectives, like BWCs, direct viewers to focus on one target, civilians, over the other, police officers. This framing causes perceptions of increased agency and responsibility for a focal target (e.g., civilians) while underestimating the role of the other target (e.g., officers; McArthur, 1980; see also Lassiter & Irvine, 1986; Taylor & Fiske, 1975; Ware et al., 2008). This tendency to overemphasize a target's agency often manifests in police video confessions, which are typically filmed facing a suspect. Research has shown that viewers are more likely to believe that a guilty confession—made under duress—is voluntary when viewing video-recorded interactions where only the suspect is visible, compared to videos where the interrogator and suspect are equally visible (Lassiter & Irvine, 1986; Lassiter et al., 2002). This pattern of results has also been demonstrated for videos of police-civilian interactions in the field (e.g., traffic stops; Turner et al., 2019). For instance, Turner and colleagues (2019) assessed the effects of camera perspectives on judgments of intentionality using police video depicting real police encounters. They found first-person perspectives (BWCs) that focused on civilians led viewers to judge civilians as having more control (e.g., intent, agency) during an encounter, whereas third-person perspectives (i.e., dashcams) capturing a civilian and officer led to more equal judgments of control between the two actors. The difference in how police and civilians were perceived in these scenes can be explained by perceptual salience. That is, viewers made causal, attributional judgments about civilians because civilians (relative to officers) were the perceptual focal point when viewing videos from the perspective of BWCs. Although third-person perspectives alleviate perceptual bias when both targets are White, this solution does not hold in situations for non-White targets. For instance, one study demonstrated that third-person (vs. first-person) perspectives did not eliminate biased evaluations of suspects when viewers evaluated interrogation videos with Black and Chinese suspects (Ratcliff et al., 2010). This finding suggests people of color are more salient to White viewers regardless of the camera-perspective. Another study found that participants who viewed recorded police-civilian encounters from first-person (vs. third-person) perspectives were more likely to justify police use of lethal or physical violence

when the civilian had darker skin (i.e., Black) compared to when the civilian had lighter skin (i.e., White; Bailey et al., 2021). In this case, racial bias *exacerbated* the camera-perspective bias, showing that people with darker skin are viewed as more guilty and, consequently, more deserving of police force, especially when viewed from first-person perspectives. The guilty assessments of Black people during interactions with police may be a byproduct of the racist association of Black people and criminality (Bailey et al., 2021; Eberhardt et al., 2004). There is clear evidence that camera-perspective influences people's judgments when viewing police-civilian encounters, such that people make more biased assessments of civilians in the BWC perspective. Furthermore, Black civilians are judged more harshly than their White counterparts in these scenarios. However, it is not clear how the race of the viewers judging police-civilian encounters factors into this assessment. To date, no work has investigated whether Black viewers demonstrate judgement patterns in line with a perceptual salience account. The well-documented disparities between Black and White people's perceptions of police indicate a likely difference in their perceptions of police behavior in interactions with civilians (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Cochran & Warren, 2012; Nadal et al., 2017; Rosenbaum et al., 2005).

1.2 Race and Attitudes of Police

Much research demonstrates substantial racial bias in policing in the U.S., whereby Black civilians are disproportionately harmed by police (Brunson & Gau, 2015; Chanin et al., 2018; Epp et al., 2017). Black civilians are more likely to be frisked, searched, arrested, and have force used against them than their White counterparts (Cooley et al., 2020; Ferrandino et al., 2015; Gelman et al., 2007; Goel et al., 2016). Police are also more likely to speak disrespectfully during routine traffic stops with Black drivers (Voigt et al., 2017) and almost twice as likely to withhold an explanation justifying the stop for Black drivers compared to White drivers (Langton & Durose, 2013). Additionally, police are more likely to stop Black (vs. White) civilians to check their records (Langton & Durose, 2013). Black drivers are also less likely than White drivers to be found with contraband (Alpert et al., 2007; Epp et al., 2017). However, police are more than twice as likely to subject Black drivers to field interviews and searches (Chanin et al., 2018; Fallik & Novak, 2012;

Lamberth, 2013; Roh & Robinson, 2009; Rojek et al., 2012; Simoui et al., 2015; Tillyer et al., 2012). Even Black police officers are more likely to be killed by fellow police officers while off duty compared to White officers (Charbonneau et al., 2017). These disparities highlight the stark reality that plagues Black people, which likely shapes the ways they perceive law enforcement. Previous research consistently demonstrates Black civilians view police as more racially biased and unfair than do White civilians (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Cochran & Warren, 2012; Gabbidon et al., 2011; Levin & Thomas, 1997; Nadal et al., 2017; Rosenbaum et al., 2005). They are also more likely to cite court-based disparity as a large contributor to the high incarceration rates among Black civilians (Buckler et al., 2011). These negative police experiences begin early, with Black youth being more likely to have negative, hostile encounters with police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002) and have negative attitudes towards police than White youth (Brick et al., 2009; Fine & Cauffman, 2015). Black youth are also more likely to feel police will target them regardless of their behavior (Brunson & Gau, 2015). In addition to disparate experiences with police, Black and White people's attitudes towards police may also be influenced by different understandings of history and societal organization. Black people are more aware of past racial injustices as well as the systemic nature of racism (Bonam et al., 2019; Nelson et al., 2013). On the other hand, White people often espouse beliefs of color evasiveness[1] (Apfelbaum et al., 2008), which is the idea that everyone has the same opportunities to prosper, and if people of color fail to succeed, it is due to their own shortcomings and not due to systemic bias (Neville, 2000). Proponents of this worldview only acknowledge explicit racial bias and argue that it is rare and an individual level issue (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). White people's positive experiences with police might engender their ability to ignore racial bias and employ color evasive rhetoric that defends those who represent the justice system. Because of this perception that systemic racism does not exist, proponents of color evasion may fail to recognize signs of police misconduct (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Nadal et al., 2017; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). Furthermore, there may be a tendency to view purveyors of justice as immune to racial bias and misconduct. Conversely, because of their experiences and worldviews that inform how they understand the intricate nature of racism

(Bonam et al., 2019; Nelson et al., 2013), Black viewers may be more adept at identifying police misconduct during police encounters. Thus, Black viewers may be less susceptible to camera-perspective bias, making their judgments less biased than White viewers.

1.3 Current Study

First- (vs. third) person perspectives are associated with positive evaluations of police and negative evaluations of civilians (Lassiter & Irvine, 1986; Lassiter et al., 2002; Turner et al., 2019). Employing a videoed police encounter utilized by Turner et al. (2019), the present study aimed to investigate whether perceptions of police encounter video were impacted by camera perspective. Specifically, I aimed to observe if patterns emerged that mirrored prior camera perspective literature. Additionally, I wanted to explore if differences in perceptions between Black and White viewers emerged. Evidence suggests that civilian race plays an attenuating role in this relationship—people see the officer's actions as more justifiable when they view a Black (vs. White) civilian from the first-person perspective (Bailey et al., 2021). However, this study did not assess how Black people evaluated these interactions. Research has indicated that race is one of the strongest predictors of perceptions of police, with Black people consistently viewing officers more negatively in encounters than White people (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch, 2006).

CHAPTER 2. PILOT STUDY: METHOD

2.1 Participants

I recruited 548 participants from the online research platform, Research Match. I excluded 31 people who self-identified as a race or ethnicity other than White or Black and 11 people who indicated that they were not able to watch the video. The final sample included 506 participants, composed of 446 White participants and 60 Black participants. Participants were composed of 79% women, 19% men, and less than 1% identified as a gender other than man or woman. These participants were mostly middle-aged (M_{age}= 53, SD = 17) and from a middle-class background (65.2%; e.g., government employee, teacher, steady employment, health benefits). Additionally, 17.8% identified as upper-middle-class (e.g., professionals such as physicians, lawyers, CEOs, owners of major industries, maybe some inherited wealth, high earned income), and 9.7% identified as lower-middle-class (e.g., skilled trade such as carpentry, small entrepreneurs, steady employment). Participants did not receive any compensation, as they were strictly volunteers.

2.2 Design

A 2 (video perspective: BWC vs dashcam) x 2 (viewer race: Black vs. White) between-subjects design was used for this study. The independent variables are video perspective and viewer race. Dependent variables include police justification, appropriateness of police intervention, civilian causality, officer causality, and police intentionality. My covariates were police legitimacy and indirect and direct hostile experiences.

2.3 Measures/Materials

2.3.1 Police-Civilian Interaction Video

Participants viewed a video depicting an officer shooting a civilian. The audio for the video was muted to avoid validity concerns. Specifically, I did not want factors such as tone of voice, external noises, and general audio quality to influence perceptions. The

video was acquired from the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS) database provided by Turner and colleagues (2019) and depicted an actual police-civilian interaction. In the video, a Black, male civilian walked toward a White, male officer and the officer proceeded to shoot the civilian. Participants were given 45 seconds to watch the video, which allowed them to watch it up to four times.

2.3.2 Video Perspective

Participants were randomly assigned to view the police-civilian interaction videos from first-person perspective (BWC) or third-person perspective (dashcam). BWCs depict a first-person perspective where the civilian is central to the viewing frame and the officer is almost completely out of frame. Dashcams depict a third-person perspective, whereby both the civilian and the officer are in the frame. Turner and colleagues (2019) conducted a systemic analysis of publicly available police interaction videos, in which they had online respondents identify how many times the officer and the civilian were visible on screen. They found fewer visual indicators of the focal actor (i.e., the police officer) in BWC footage compared to dashcam footage, supporting the account that people who view BWCs receive fewer and less frequent visual cues of the officer than those who view dashcam videos.

2.3.3 Viewer Race

Only Black and White participants were recruited for this study in the Research Match advertisement, so I used their self-identified race to categorize their racial group membership. Only participants who identify as Black or White were included in the analyses.

2.4 Dependent Variables

2.4.1 Officer Judgments

To gauge how participants perceived the officer in the interaction, they completed four measures in random order.

2.4.1.1 Justification of Officer Use of Force

Participants completed five items that gauge how much they believe the actions of the police officer in the video were *justified* (Granot et al., 2014). They rated their level of agreement on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 5 = *strongly agree*) for the following items: "The police officer was justified in the ticketing of the suspect/civilian," "The police officer initiated physical contact (reversed-scored)," "The police officer exhausted all other options before resorting to force," "The police officer used force against the civilian (reverse-scored)," and "The police officer should be reprimanded for his actions (reverse-scored)." Scores were averaged to create a composite mean score. Higher scores indicated a greater justification of the police officer's use of force. This measure demonstrated acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .80$).

2.4.1.2 Appropriateness of Officer Intervention.

Participants completed five items that gauge the extent to which they feel the officer's intervention method was appropriate for the situation (Boivin et al., 2016). They rated their level of agreement on a 4-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree) for five statements: "Officers were justified in using force against the man," "Both officers should be promoted for their good work," "The level of force used in the intervention was adequate," "The officer who used his firearm against the man should receive a formal reprimand (reverse-scored)," and "The officer who used his firearm against the man should be required to take additional training on use of force at the police academy (reverse-scored)." These items were averaged together to create a single composite mean score. Higher scores indicated stronger agreement with the police officer's intervention method. This measure demonstrated acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .89$).

2.4.1.3 Officer Intentions

Participants completed a single-item measure that assessed judgments of the officer's *intentions* during the interaction (Turner et al., 2019). This scale measured the degree to which the officers' actions were deemed intentional. Using a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale, participants indicated their agreement with the

item, “the officer intentionally shot the civilian” after viewing the police interaction video. Higher scores indicated greater judgments of intent on the part of the officer.

2.4.1.4 Officer’s Cause of Conflict

Participants completed a single item assessing the extent to which the officer is responsible for the events that transpire. This item was derived from literature concerning the influence of perceptions on causal attribution (Taylor & Fiske, 1975; Ware et al., 2008). The item reads: “How much did the officer cause the events that transpired in the video?” (1 = not at all; 5 = completely).

2.4.2 Civilian Judgments

2.4.2.1 Civilian’s Cause of Conflict.

To assess the extent to which civilians are viewed as playing a causal role in the interaction (Taylor & Fiske, 1975; Ware et al., 2008), participants completed a single item assessing the extent to which the civilian was responsible for the events in the video. This question was modeled after the question probing the officer’s causal role in the altercation. The item reads: “How much did the civilian cause the events that transpired in the video?” (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *completely*).

2.4.3 Covariates

2.4.3.1 Perceptions of Police Legitimacy

People who view the police as legitimate have more trust and confidence in police agencies (Reynolds et al., 2018). Due to this association, participants completed the Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale (APLS) to gauge their perceptions of police (see Appendix A; Reynolds et al., 2018). This scale is composed of 34 items and measures attitudes about the ability and competence of members of law enforcement. An example item reads: “Police officers usually make fair decisions when enforcing laws” (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Items were averaged to create a single composite mean score. Higher scores indicated that they view the police as more legitimate. This scale demonstrated good reliability ($\alpha = .98$).

2.4.3.2 Indirect and Direct Hostile Experiences with Police

Previous research demonstrates that perceptions of law enforcement are influenced by experiences with police, such that those who experience police victimization are more likely to make negative assessments of police (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Wu et al., 2009). To account for this factor, I measured participants' experiences with law enforcement by using a portion of the modified Classes of Racism Frequency of Racial Experiences Measure (M-CRFRE; Appendix B; Motley et al., 2022). This scale captures Black people's experiences using 12 items that measure direct hostile instances and 5 items that measure indirect hostile instances of force by the police. Because this scale is designed to measure the Black experience, it will be further modified to assess both Black and White participants' direct and indirect hostile experiences with police. To do this, I removed any example or references to any specific racial epithets. For example, the item, "I have been verbally disrespected by police using racial slurs (e.g., coon, monkey, slave, boy, the "N" word)" will be simplified to "I have been verbally disrespected by police." Participants rated whether they had encountered each experience according to a dichotomous scale (1 = *no*, 2 = *yes*). Items were averaged together to create a single composite mean score. Both the direct and indirect experiences subscales demonstrated acceptable reliability (direct-hostile racism police violence, α = .78; indirect-hostile racism police violence, α = .66).

2.5 Procedure

Participants received a link to an online experiment and were told that they would complete a study about how memory is stored in emotionally intense situations. This fabricated study intention was used in an effort to limit socially desirability bias. They were then given 45 seconds to watch a 10-second police-civilian interaction video as many times as time allotted. After watching the video, participants completed dependent measures, in random order, that assessed how they perceived the police officer's and the civilian's actions in the video. These measures included judgments of how justified, appropriate, and intentional the officer's actions were, and the extent to which the officer and civilian, independently, played causal roles in the

interaction. Participants then completed questionnaires measuring color evasive attitudes, perceptions of police legitimacy, and direct and indirect hostile experiences with police. Finally, participants completed a demographics questionnaire and were debriefed. After being debriefed, participants were given a link to free online resources that help people cope with racial trauma.

CHAPTER 3. PILOT STUDY: RESULTS

3.2 Statistical Analysis Plan

I used the statistical program, SPSS to clean the data and conduct analyses. Five Models were examined using Ordinary Least Squares Models with a model specification of linear regression (Tables 3 and 4). Using these models, I assessed all possible two-way product term interactions. Mean-centered covariates were included in each model if they correlated with the dependent variable. Model 1 regressed police justification on video perspective and viewer race, holding police legitimacy constant. Model 2 regressed the appropriateness of intervention on video perspective and viewer race, holding police legitimacy and direct hostile experiences constant. Model 3 regressed officer causality on video perspective and viewer race, holding police legitimacy and direct hostile experiences constant. Model 4 regressed police intentionality on video perspective and viewer race, holding police legitimacy constant. Model 5 regressed civilian causality on video perspective and viewer race, holding police legitimacy constant.

3.3 Descriptive Statistics

The independent variables in the present study were police justification, appropriateness of intervention, officer causality, civilian causality, and police intentionality. Means for all dependent measures by video perspective and viewer race, along with pairwise correlations are displayed in Tables 1 and 2. Overall, participants reported low scores for police justification (M = 2.01, SD = .869), and intervention appropriateness (M = 2.17, SD = .726). Additionally, they reported moderate scores for officer causality (M = 2.69, SD = 1.04) and civilian causality (M = 3.55, SD = .986). Lastly, they reported high scores for police intentionality (M = 5.24, SD = 1.78).

Table 1 Means and Standard Deviations by Viewer Race & Video Perspective (Pilot Study)

Viewer race	Black viewers			White viewers		
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
Police Justification	60	2.03	0.82	445	2.00	0.80
Appropriateness of Intervention [a]	59	2.07	0.25	437	2.18	0.67
Officer Intentionality [b]	60	4.69	1.78	445	5.31	1.75
Officer Causation	60	2.72	0.99	445	2.68	0.97
Civilian Causality	60	3.66	0.95	446	3.54	0.93
Video Perspective	1st person (BWC)			3rd person (dashcam)		
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
Police Justification	254	2.04	0.81	251	1.97	0.81
Appropriateness of Intervention [a]	249	2.18	0.66	247	2.15	0.66
Officer Intentionality [b]	253	5.21	1.74	252	5.26	1.76
Officer Causation	253	2.69	1.03	252	2.68	1.05
Civilian Causality	254	3.55	0.92	252	3.56	0.92

Note. Unless noted, variables range from 1 to 5 with higher numbers indicating more. [a] Ranges from 1 to 4 with higher numbers indicating more. [b] Ranges from 1 to 7 with higher numbers indicating more.

Table 2 Pearson Correlations of Pilot Study Dependent Measures

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Video Perspective (0 = BWC)	–									
2. Viewer Race (0 = White)	.04	–								
3. Police Justification	-.04	-.05	–							
4. Police Intervention [a]	-.02	-.12**	.86**	–						
5. Officer Intentionality [b]	.02	-.07	-.42**	-.32**	–					
6. Officer Causation	-.00	.09**	-.65**	-.69**	.26**	–				
7. Civilian Causality	-.00	-.03**	.61**	.62**	-.18**	-.77**	–			
8. APLS	-.02	-.17**	.38**	.42**	-.21**	-.40**	.36**	–		
9. DHE [c]	-.02	.19**	-.07	-.08	-.03	.17**	-.04	-.23**	–	
10. IHE [c]	.02	.70**	.01	.03	-.06	.04	.02	-.12**	.34**	–
Mean			2.01	2.17	5.24	2.69	3.55	3.17	1.06	1.23
Standard deviation			.869	.726	1.78	1.04	.986	.325	.123	.267

Note. Unless noted, variables range from 1 to 5 with higher numbers indicating more. [a] Ranges from 1 to 4 with higher numbers indicating more. [b] Ranges from 1 to 7 with higher numbers indicating more. [c] Ranges from 1 to 2 higher numbers indicating more.

3.4 Pilot Study Officer Judgments

In models 1, 2 and 3, I regressed police justification, appropriateness of intervention, and officer causality on video perspective, viewer race, and the two-way product term interaction. Model 1 controlled for police legitimacy. Model 2 and 3 controlled for police legitimacy and direct hostile experiences. Analyses did not reveal a significant main effect or interaction effect of viewer race or video perspective for Models 1-3. Specifically, there was no difference in ratings of police justification, appropriateness of intervention, and officer causality, across viewer race conditions or video perspective conditions (see Table 3).

In model 4, I regressed police intentionality on video perspective, viewer race, and the two-way product term interaction. This model controlled for police legitimacy. These analyses revealed a statistically significant main effect of viewer race. I found that White viewers saw the officer as more intending to cause harm than Black viewers, t (497) = 2.65, b = .945, p =.008, 95% CI [.243, 1.65]. Analyses did not reveal a significant main effect of video perspective on ratings of police intentionality, such that ratings did not differ between BWC and dashcam conditions. Additionally, analyses did not reveal a significant interaction effect (see Table 1).

3.5 Pilot Study: Civilian Judgments

In model 5, I regressed civilian causality on video perspective, viewer race, and the two-way product term interaction. This model controlled for police legitimacy. I did not find any main effects for viewer race and camera perspective on officer causality. Specifically, I did not see meaningful differences in assessments of civilian causality between Black and White viewers and BWC and dashcam conditions. Additionally, analyses did not reveal a significant interaction effect (see Figure 2).

Table 3 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Police (Pilot Study)

Variable	Model 1: Police Justification					Model 2: Police Intervention				
	B	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 = BWC)	-.079	0.21	-.05	-.377	[-.493,.335]	.147	0.18	-.06	-.513	[-.200, .493]
VR(0 = White)	-.028	0.17	-.01	-.172	[-.353,.296]	.259	0.14	-.04	-.569	[-.016, .534]
VP x Race	.007	0.22	.00	.030	[-.434, .447]	-.202	0.19	.06	.503	[-.570, .166]
APLS	1.03***	-0.11	.38	9.11	[.804, 1.25]	.929***	0.10	-.38	-8.90	[.742, 1.12]
DHE						.194	0.25	.08	1.93	[-.302, .689]
Constant	2.06***	.156		13.23	[1.76, 2.38]	1.95***	0.13		14.92	[2.43, 3.16]
F(df, df)	*F* (4,497) =21.58***					*F* (5,485) =21.90***				
Adjusted R^2	.14					.18				

Variable	Model 3: Officer Causality					Model 4: Officer Intentionality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 = BWC)	-.129	0.25	-.06	-.513	[-.625, .366]	.590	0.34	.17	1.30	[-.304,1.48]
VR(0 = White)	-.113	0.20	-.04	-.569	[-.503, .277]	.945***	0.46	.17	2.65	[.243, 1.65]
VP x Race	.135	0.27	.06	.503	[-.392, .661]	-.601	0.36	-.17	-1.24	[-1.55, .350]
APLS	-1.22***	0.14	-.38	-8.90	[-1.48, -.946]	-1.24***	0.48	-.23	-5.10	[-1.72, -.763]
DHE	.701	0.36	.08	1.93	[-.013, 1.42]					
Constant	2.80***	0.19		14.92	[2.43, 3.16]	4.38	0.34		13.0	[3.72, 5.04]
F(df, df)	*F* (5,494) =19.80***					*F* (4,497) =7.644***				
Adjusted R^2	.16					.05				

Note. VP = video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). VR = viewer race (White or Black). BWC= body-worn camera. DHE= Direct Hostile Experiences. APLS = Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale.

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001

Table 4 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Civilians (Pilot Study)

Variable	Model 5: Civilian Causality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 = BWC)	-.040	0.24	-.02	-.164	[-.514, .435]
VR (0 = White)	-.152	0.19	-.05	-.802	[-.524, .220]
VP x Race	.052	0.26	.026	.203	[-.452, .557]
APLS	1.13***	0.13	.370	.203	[.872, 1.38]
Constant	3.68	0.18		20.6	[3.33, 4.03]
F(df, df)			*F* (4,498) =16.31***		
Adjusted R^2			.13		

Note. VP = video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). VR = viewer race (White or Black). BWC= body-worn camera. APLS = Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale.

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001.

Figure 1 Video Perspective x Viewer Race Predicting Judgments of Officers (Pilot Study)

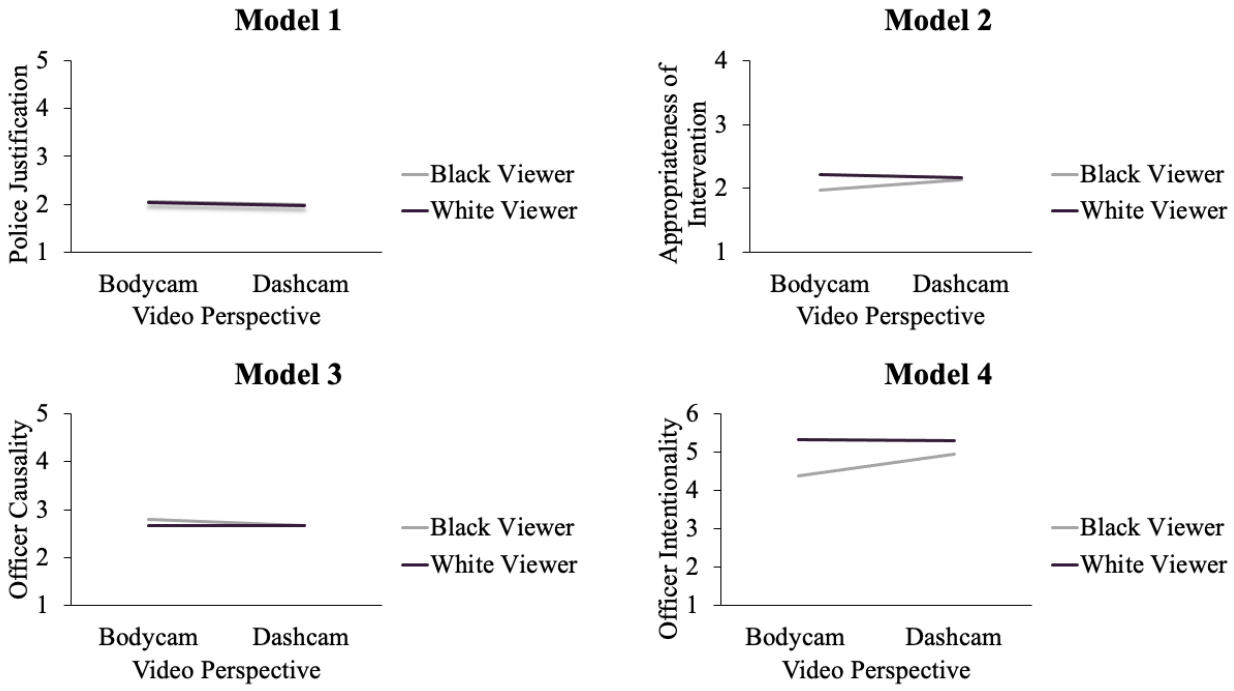
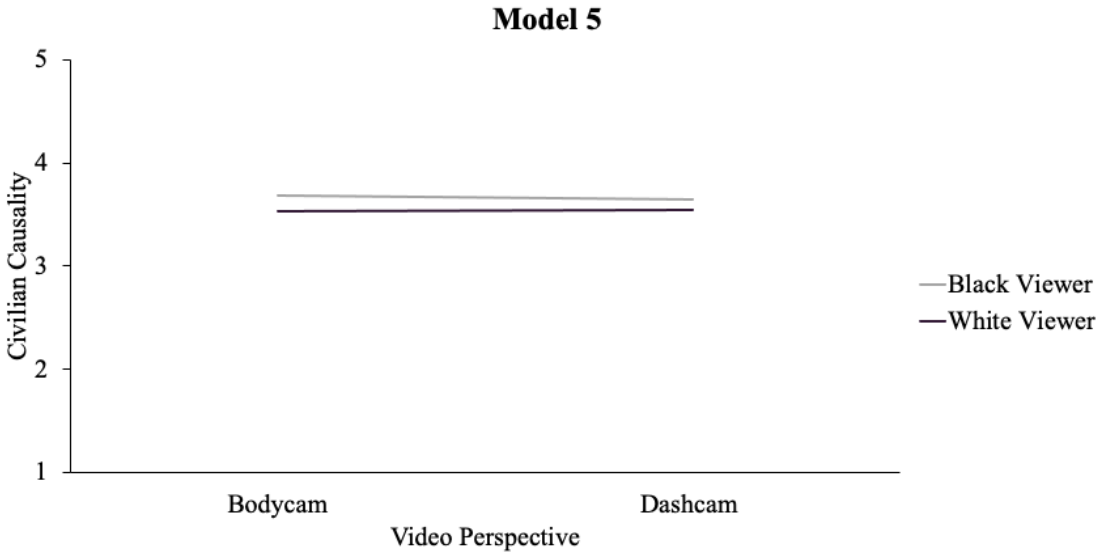


Figure 2 Video Perspective x Viewer Race Predicting Judgments of Civilians (Pilot Study)



CHAPTER 4. PILOT STUDY DISCUSSION

Research on camera perspective bias has shown that people tend to make more biased judgments against civilians, compared to officers, when they view an interaction from the first-person (bodycam) perspective compared to the third-person (dashcam) perspective (Lassiter & Irvine, 1986; Lassiter et al., 2002; Turner et al., 2019). In the present study, we aimed to replicate camera perspective bias effects as well as explore whether Black and White viewers have different perceptions of these videos. Pilot study results did not reveal an interaction between viewer race and video perspective on judgments of officers and civilians. I also did not find a main effect of camera perspective or viewer race. These patterns were expected for Black participants but not White participants. Studies testing effects among predominantly White samples have produced robust findings under many experimental manipulations (Lassiter et al., 2002). Because of this, we expected that White participants would see the officer more negatively from the first-person perspective. Perhaps, non-significant interaction findings can be partially attributed to a lack of power. Although our sample included a total of 548 participants, White participants (446) outnumbered Black participants (60) over four-fold. However, this does not account for why we did not see perceptual differences in White participants. Additionally, one of the models revealed that White viewers interpreted the officers' actions as intending to cause more harm than Black viewers, regardless of video perspective. However, it seemed that overall, people found the officer in the video as more intending to cause harm.

The videoed police encounter showed a civilian approaching an officer and the officer stepping backward before proceeding to shoot the civilian. Perhaps, it was this sequence of events that informed evaluations, as the civilian may been interpreted as the initiator of the confrontation. However, the video stimulus employed in the present study has been utilized in the literature demonstrating the existence of video perspective bias (Turner et. al., 2019). Although, in the present study, participants were permitted sufficient time to watch the video up to four times. This potentially allowed people more time to thoroughly inspect the video, which deviates from the methodology utilized by Turner et al. (2019). Perhaps, people did not rely on automatic inferences about the video

and instead were able to give more informed assessments. These potential effects warrant further investigation in a subsequent study.

CHAPTER 5. STUDY 1 OVERVIEW

Study 1 examined similar questions to the pilot study, except for a few key differences. Firstly, I did not explore the effect of viewer race in the present study. Because I did not find patterns that aligned with previous literature in the pilot study, I wanted to examine whether camera perspective bias effects could be replicated under similar methodological conditions. In study 1, I examined camera perspective effects (1) using video stimuli in which the civilian was not the initiator of conflict, (2) restricting watch time so that viewers could only watch the video once (3) adding written contextualization prior to the video, and (4) only sampling White participants. Because participants would interpret the video under these conditions, the following hypotheses are offered:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): There will be a main effect of video perspective on ratings of police officer justification when accounting for attitudes towards police and hostile police experiences. Specifically, participants would view the police officer as more justified in the bodycam condition compared to the dashcam condition.

H2: There will be a main effect of video perspective on ratings of police officer intervention when accounting for police attitudes and hostile police experiences. Specifically, participants would view the police officer's intervention as more appropriate in the bodycam condition compared to the dashcam condition.

H3: There will be a main effect of video perspective on ratings of police officer causality when accounting for police attitudes and hostile police experiences. Specifically, participants would view the police officer as less of the cause of the interaction in the bodycam condition compared to the dashcam condition.

H4: There will be a main effect of video perspective on ratings of civilian causality when accounting for police attitudes and hostile police experiences. Specifically, participants

would view the civilian as more of the cause in the bodycam condition compared to the dashcam condition.

H5: There will be a main effect of video perspective on ratings of police officer intention to harm when accounting for police attitudes and hostile police experiences. Specifically, participants would view the police officer as more intending to harm in the bodycam condition compared to the dashcam condition.

CHAPTER 6. STUDY 1 METHOD

6.1 Participants

Six hundred and twenty-five participants were recruited from Research Match. I excluded 40 people who self-identified as a race or ethnicity other than White and 10 people who indicated that they were not able to watch the video. The final sample included 575 participants which was sufficient to achieve 80% power and detect a medium effect at a significance criterion of $\alpha = .05$ (Faul et al., 2007). The sample was made up of mostly middle-aged ($M_{age} = 55$, $SD = 17$) women (74%). Additionally, the sample included 23% men and 3% identified as a gender other than man or woman. Participants were mostly from a middle-class background (64.3%), however, 18.6% identified as upper-middle-class (e.g., professionals such as physicians, lawyers, CEOs, owners of major industries, maybe some inherited wealth, high earned income), and 6.3% identified as lower-middle-class (e.g., skilled trade such as carpentry, small entrepreneurs, steady employment). Participants did not receive any compensation, as they were strictly volunteers.

6.1 Design

A between-subjects design was used for this study. The independent variable was video perspective (BWC vs dashcam). Dependent variables include police justification, appropriateness of police intervention, civilian causality, police causality, and police intentionality. The covariates were police legitimacy and indirect and direct hostile experiences.

6.2 Measures/Materials

6.2.1 Police-Civilian Interaction Video

Participants watched a video depicting an officer shooting a civilian. Prior to watching the video, participants read a short excerpt about what transpired between an officer and a civilian. They were told that a female civilian was asked by an officer to lower the volume of her explicit music. They were then told that the events that followed were captured on video and that the video would play next. In the video, a White, male officer tazes a Black, female civilian as she sits in the front driver's side of a car. The civilian then shoots the officer, and he falls backward. The audio for the video was muted to avoid validity concerns. This video was chosen after an extensive YouTube search for police interaction videos shown from first- and third-person perspectives.

6.3 Independent Variables

6.3.1 Video-Perspective

Participants were randomly assigned to view the police-civilian interaction videos from a first-person perspective (BWC) or third-person perspective (dashcam). BWCs depict a first-person perspective where the civilian is central to the viewing frame and the officer is almost completely out of frame. Dashcams depict a third-person perspective, whereby both the civilian and the officer are in the frame.

6.4 Dependent Variables

The dependent variables were identical to those utilized in Study 1. Participants rated the degree to which the officer's use of force was justified (Granot et al., 2014), the officer's intervention was appropriate (Boivin et al., 2016), the officer's actions where intentional (Turner et al., 2019), the officer was the cause of the conflict, and the civilian was the cause of the conflict (Taylor & Fiske, 1975; Ware et al., 2008). Both multi-item measures demonstrated good reliability (police justification, α =.83; officer intervention, α =.89).

6.5 Covariates

Identical to the Pilot Study, participants completed the Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale (APLS) and a portion of the modified Classes of Racism Frequency of Racial Experiences Measure (M-CRFRE). For the APLS, they rated their attitudes about the ability and competence of members of law enforcement (Reynolds et al., 2018). For the M-CRFRE, they indicated whether they had experienced indirect and direct hostile encounters with police officers (Motley et al., 2022). Both covariate measures demonstrated good reliability (APLS, α =.98; direct-hostile racism police violence, α =.79; indirect-hostile racism police violence, α =.38).

6.6 Procedure

Participants received a link to an online experiment and were told that they would complete a study about how actors are judged in intense situations. They were then shown a brief excerpt detailing what transpired during the interaction. They were then instructed to watch a 16-second video depicting a violent interaction between a police officer and a civilian. In Study 1, they were only allowed to watch the video once. Participants then completed dependent measures, in random order, that assessed how they perceived the police officer's and the civilian's actions in the video. These measures included judgments of how justified, appropriate, and intentional the officer's actions were, and the extent to which the officer and civilian, independently, played causal roles in the interaction. Participants then completed questionnaires measuring perceptions of police legitimacy, and direct and indirect hostile experiences with police. Finally, participants completed a demographics questionnaire and were debriefed. After being debriefed, participants were given a link to free online resources that help people cope with racial trauma.

CHAPTER 7. STUDY 1 RESULTS

7.1 Statistical Analysis Plan

Identical to the Pilot Study, I used the statistical program, SPSS to clean the data and conduct analyses. I conducted five separate models examining: video

perspective on judgments of police justification (model 1), appropriateness of intervention (model 2), officer causality (model 3), police intention to harm (model 4), and civilian causality (model 5; see Table 7 and 8). I predicted that viewers in the bodycam condition would make more positive evaluations of the officer (*more justified*, *more intervention appropriateness*, *more causality*, and *more intentionality*) and more negative evaluations of the civilian (*more causality*), compared to viewers in the dashcam condition. The APLS was the only covariate that significantly correlated with any of the dependent measures, so it was the only covariate included in the models.

7.2 Descriptive Statistics

Means for all dependent measures by video perspective, along with pairwise correlations are displayed in Tables 5 and 6. Overall, participants reported low scores for police justification (M = 1.34, SD = .796) and intervention appropriateness (M = 1.63, SD = .621). Additionally, they reported moderate scores for civilian causality (M = 2.67, SD = 1.14) and officer causality (M = 3.74, SD =1.11). Lastly, participants reported high scores for police intentionality (M = 4.88, SD = 1.74). I used OLS multiple regressions to examine if video perspective (BWC vs dashcam) influenced judgments of police officers and civilians during videoed interactions (see Table 7 and 8).

Table 5 Means and Standard Deviations by Video Perspective (Study 1)

Video Perspective	1st person (bodycam)			3rd person (dashcam)		
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
Police Justification	306	1.29	.798	269	1.42	.791
Appropriateness of Intervention [a]	302	1.58	.624	264	1.69	.616
Officer Intentionality [b]	302	5.09	.624	264	4.65	.616
Officer Causation	306	3.74	1.13	269	3.73	1.09
Civilian Causality	306	2.55	1.16	269	2.81	1.09

Note. Unless noted, variables range from 1 to 5 with higher numbers indicating more. [a] Ranges from 1 to 4 with higher numbers indicating more. [b] Ranges from 1 to 7 with higher numbers indicating more.

Table 6 Pearson Correlations of Study 1 Dependent Measures

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Video Perspective (0 = BWC)	–								
2. Police Justification	.07	–							
3. Police Intervention [a]	.08	.85**	–						
4. Officer Intentionality [b]	-.12**	-.43**	-.42**	–					
5. Officer Causation	.00	-.67**	-.69**	.36**	–				
6. Civilian Causality	.10*	.59**	. 62**	-.33**	-.68**	–			
7. APLS	-.03	.42**	.39**	-.29**	-.36**	.46**	–		
8. DHE [c]	-.01	-.07	-.01	.06	.039	-.05	-.22**	–	
9. IHE [c]	-.08	.05	.07	.05	-.065	.00	-.04	.32**	–
Mean		1.34	1.63	4.88	3.74	2.67	3.43	1.13	1.36
Standard deviation		.796	.621	1.74	1.11	1.14	.815	.115	.177

Note. Unless noted, variables range from 1 to 5 with higher numbers indicating more. [a] Ranges from 1 to 4 with higher numbers indicating more. [b] Ranges from 1 to 7 with higher numbers indicating more. [c] Ranges from 1 to 2 higher numbers indicating more.

Table 7 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Police (Study 1)

Variable	Police Justification					Police Intervention				
	B	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	.130*	0.06	.08	2.15	[.01, .25]	.104*	0.05	.08	2.15	[.009, .199]
APLS [a]	.414***	0.04	.42	11.2	[.342, .487]	.294***	0.03	.39	9.96	[.236, .352]
Constant	-.264	0.16		-1.66	[-.577, .049]	.470***	0.13		3.69	[.220, .720]
F(df, df)	*F*(2, 570)= 64.53***					*F*(2, 561) = 51.44***				
Adjusted R^2	.18					.15				

Variable	Officer Causality					Officer Intentionality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	-.009	0.09	-.00	-.104	[-.180, .162]	-.440**	0.14	-.13	-3.17	[-.713, -.168]
APLS	-.494***	0.05	-.36	-9.26	[-.599, -.389]	-.616***	0.09	-.29	-7.25	[-.783, -.449]
Constant	5.44***	0.23		23.7	[5.00, 5.90]	7.64***	0.37		20.8	[6.92, 8.36]
F(df, df)	*F*(2,570) = 46.37***					*F*(2,570) = 30.71***				
Adjusted R^2	.13					.09				

Note. VP = video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). BWC= body-worn camera. DHE= Direct Hostile Experiences. APLS = Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale.

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001.

Table 8 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Civilians (Study 1)

Variable	Civilian Causality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	.261	0.08	.12	3.11	[.096, .426]
APLS	.647***	0.05	.46	12.6	[.546, .748]
Constant	.068***	0.22		.306	[-.367, .503]
F(df, df)	*F*(2,570) = 83.21***				
Adjusted R^2	.23				

Note. VP = video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). BWC= body-worn camera. APLS = Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale.

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001.

7.3 Officer Judgments

Four of the models produced significant results, Models 1, 2, 4, and 5 (see Figure 3). That is, people who viewed the police interaction video from the third-person (dashcam) perspective rated the officer's actions as more justified, $t(570) = 2.15$, $b = .130$, $p = .032$, 95% CI [.011,.248], and viewed the officer's interaction as more appropriate, $t(561) = 2.15$, $b = .104$, $p = .032$, 95% CI [.009, .199]. These findings contradicted my hypotheses as well as the robust camera perspective literature findings. Conversely, in line with our original hypothesis, I found that people saw the officer as acting more intentionally, $t(570) = -3.17$, $b = -.440$, $p = .002$, 95% CI [-.713, -.168], in the first-person (bodycam) perspective compared to the third-person (dashcam) perspective.

7.4 Civilian Judgments

Model 5 produced significant results such that people who viewed the police interaction video from the third-person (dashcam) perspective rated the civilian as playing a more causal role in the interaction, $t(570) = 3.11$, $b = .261$, $p = .002$, 95% CI [.096, .426]. This finding contradicted my hypothesis that people would view civilians more poorly in the bodycam condition (see Figure 4).

Figure 3 Video Perspective Predicting Judgments of Officers (Study 1)

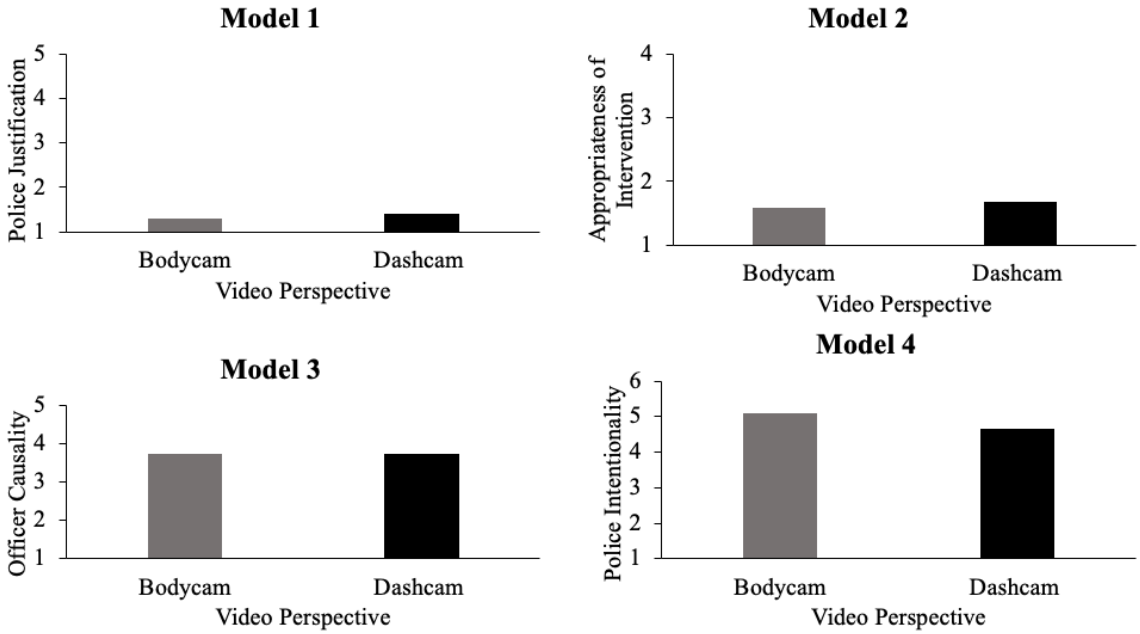
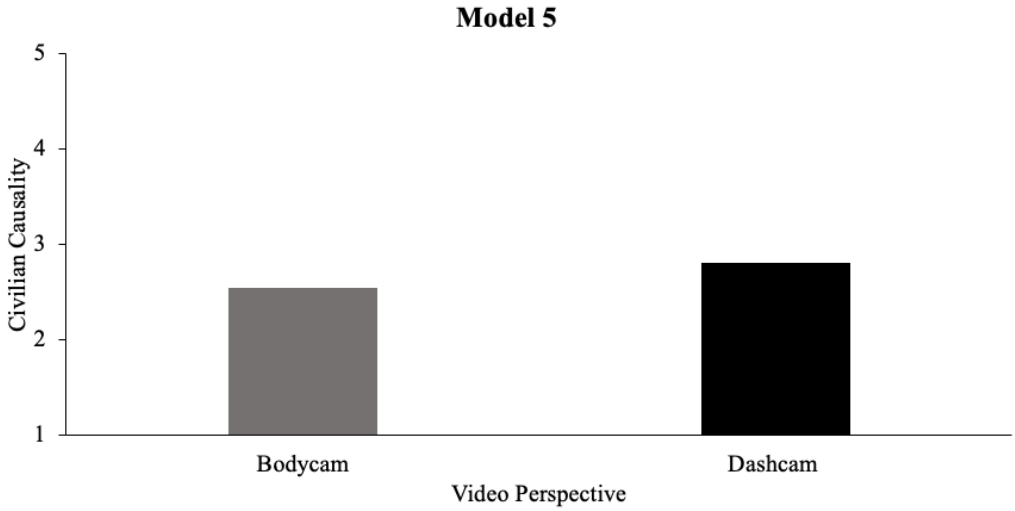


Figure 4 Video Perspective Predicting Judgments of Civilians (Study 1)



CHAPTER 8. STUDY 1 DISCUSSION

In Study 1, I aimed to expand on the pilot study by utilizing a police-interaction video in which the civilian is not seen initiating the confrontation. Moreover, I aimed to see if previous results could be attributed to the video stimulus and whether the null effects of camera perspective would reoccur under different conditions. I also explored whether adding contextual information about what happened before the video would inform evaluations. The results of this study suggested somewhat mixed findings. Only one of the models aligned with the literature—that people make more biased assessments of civilians and less biased assessments of officers when they view bodycam compared to dashcam video. In line with this account, I found that viewers rated the officers as more intending to harm in the dashcam (vs BWC) perspective. Despite this, in most of the models, I found that viewers made harsher assessments of the officer in the BWC video—viewing the officer as less justified, the officer's intervention method as less appropriate, and the civilian as less of the cause.

The effect of video perspective bias is grounded in the relative perceptual salience of each actor in the visual scene (McArthur, 1980; Taylor & Fiske, 1975). Although bodycam video has been used to capture first-person perspectives and dashcam video has been used to capture third-person perspectives, there are other factors within a visual scene that can impact the ability to manipulate perceptual salience. In the dashcam video, the civilian was obscured by her vehicle for a significant amount of time during the video. The third-person perspective should show the civilian and officer for a more comparable amount of time than the first-person perspective. Perhaps, the relative perceptual salience of the officer caused participants to see him as more of the focus of the dashcam video, compared to the civilian. Consequently, they may have made more attributional judgments about the officer— viewing him more harshly in the bodycam condition. Another possible influence could be the added context we gave before the video. We told participants that the civilian would not cooperate with the officer's instructions to turn the music down. However, literature has shown that added context that provides a rationale for the police interaction does not influence the evaluation of this interaction (Baker & Bacharach, 2016). Additionally, participants viewed the video

once, in line with previous research. This may also be the reason why Study 1 patterns were not in line with the pilot study patterns. Nevertheless, this does not completely explain the inconsistencies between the findings in the pilot study and Study 1. Subsequent studies are needed to address limitations.

CHAPTER 9. STUDY 2 OVERVIEW

The purpose of Study 2 was to compare the videos from Turner et al. (2019) with the video from Study 1. I wanted to assess whether there were apparent differences between these videos that could help explain differences in evaluations. Because the pilot study showed the video multiple times and Study 1 showed the video once, Study 2 prioritized uniformity in the length of the video presentation. Participants were only allotted enough time to view each video once. I included a video where the civilian was concealed by a car to see if this was the driving factor in guiding perceptions in Study 1. These videos varied in visual quality, racial ambiguity, and severity of violence, similar to the varied nature of real-world police encounters. In order to minimize social desirability effects, I incorporated a moral licensing task before the video stimulus, in Study 2. Research has shown that when people are allowed to establish their moral values upfront, they are more likely to answer in a way that deviates from those values afterward (Monin & Miller, 2001; Kouchaki, 2011). This is because they feel they have established their non-prejudiced beliefs upfront, so they are no longer motivated to prove that they possess non-prejudiced values.

Hypothesis 1 (H1): There will be an interaction effect of video perspective and video on ratings of police officer justification when accounting for attitudes towards police and hostile police experiences. Specifically, participants would view the police officer as more justified in the bodycam condition compared to the dashcam condition.

H2: There will be an interaction effect of video perspective and video on ratings of police officer intervention when accounting for police attitudes and hostile police experiences. Specifically, participants would view the police officer's intervention as more appropriate in the bodycam condition compared to the dashcam condition, especially when viewing the Turner videos.

H3: There will be an interaction effect of video perspective and video on ratings of police officer intervention. Specifically, participants would view the police officer as less of the cause of the interaction in the bodycam condition compared to the dashcam condition, especially when viewing the Turner videos.

H4: There will be an interaction effect of video perspective and video on ratings of civilian causality when accounting for police attitudes and hostile police experiences. Specifically, participants would view the civilian as more of the cause in the bodycam condition compared to the dashcam condition, especially when viewing the Turner videos.

H5: There will be an interaction effect of video perspective and video on ratings of police officer intention to harm when accounting for police attitudes and hostile police experiences. Specifically, participants would view the police officer as more intending to harm in the bodycam condition compared to the dashcam condition, especially when viewing the Turner videos.

9.1 Participants

Five hundred and one participants were recruited from Research Match. I excluded 66 people who self-identified as a race or ethnicity other than White and 69 people who indicated that they were not able to watch the video. The final sample included 442 participants which was sufficient to achieve 80% power and detect a medium effect at a significance criterion of $\alpha = .05$ (Faul et al., 2007). The sample was mostly middle-aged (M_{age} = 53, SD = 16.9) women (70%). Additionally, the sample included 23% men and 3.4% identified as a gender other than man or woman. Participants were mostly from a middle-class background (62%), however, 4% identified as upper-middle-class (e.g., professionals such as physicians, lawyers, CEOs, owners of major industries, maybe some inherited wealth, high earned income), and 8% identified as lower-middle-class (e.g., skilled trade such as carpentry, small entrepreneurs, steady employment). These participants did not receive any compensation, as they were strictly volunteers.

9.3 Design

A between-subjects design was used for this study. The independent variable was video perspective (BWC vs dashcam). Dependent variables include police justification, appropriateness of police intervention, civilian causality, police causality, and police intentionality. The covariates were police legitimacy and indirect and direct hostile experiences.

9.4 Measures/ Materials

9.4.1 Police-Civilian Interaction Videos

Participants viewed four videos. Three of the videos were shown in random order and the fourth video was always shown last. All the videos depicted actual police-civilian interactions. The first three videos were acquired from the PNAS database provided by Turner and colleagues (2019). In the first video, which was also used in the Pilot Study, a Black, male civilian walks toward a White, male officer and the officer shoots the civilian. The second video depicted a male officer walking around a car and shooting a gun at a civilian. The race of each person is not clear. The third video depicted a White, male officer repeatedly hitting a civilian's car with a baton, then the civilian driving away. The civilian is not seen in this video. The fourth video was the same video used in Study 1 that depicted, a White, male officer tasing a Black, female civilian as she sits in the front driver's side of a car. The civilian then shoots the officer, and he falls backward. The audio for all videos was muted.

9.4.2 Moral Licensing Task

A moral licensing task was administered at the beginning of the survey to help alleviate some of the social desirability bias that participants may display when answering various dependent measures (Monin & Miller, 2001; Kouchaki, 2011). To evoke the moral licensing effect, we gave participants the opportunity to pledge to give up a meal. We told them that in exchange for their pledge, our corporate partners would provide a meal for a hungry child.

9.4.3 Video Contextualization

Prior to watching the fourth video, participants read a short excerpt about what transpired between the officer and civilian. They were told that a female civilian was asked by an officer to lower the volume of her explicit music. They were then told that the events that followed were captured on video and that the video would play next.

9.5 Independent Variables

9.5.1 Video-Perspective

Participants were randomly assigned to view the police-civilian interaction videos from a first-person perspective (BWC) or third-person perspective (dashcam). BWCs depict a first-person perspective where the civilian is central to the viewing frame and the officer is almost completely out of frame. Dashcams depict a third-person perspective, whereby both the civilian and the officer are in the frame.

9.6 Dependent Variables

The dependent variables were identical to those utilized in the Pilot Study and Study 1. Participants rated the degree to which the officer's use of force was justified (Granot et al., 2014), the officer's intervention was appropriate (Boivin et al., 2016), the officer's actions where intentional (Turner et al., 2019), the officer was the cause of the conflict, and the civilian was the cause of the conflict (Taylor & Fiske, 1975; Ware et al., 2008) for each video. Both multi-item measures demonstrated good reliability across videos (Video 1-3 police justification, α =.86; Video 4 police justification, α =.82; Videos 1-3 officer intervention, α =.74; Video 4 officer intervention, α =.54).

9.7 Covariates

Identical to the Pilot Study and Study 1, participants completed the Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale (APLS) and a portion of the modified Classes of Racism Frequency of Racial Experiences Measure (M-CRFRE). For the APLS, they

rated their attitudes about the ability and competence of members of law enforcement (Reynolds et al., 2018). For the M-CRFRE, they indicated whether they had experienced indirect and direct hostile encounters with police officers (Motley et al., 2022). Covariate measures partially demonstrated good reliability (APLS, α = .99; direct-hostile racism police violence, α =.80). The indirect-hostile racism police violence subscale demonstrated poor reliability (α = .31).

9.8 Procedure

Participants received a link to an online experiment and were told that they would complete a study about how actors are judged in intense situations. To ensure people did not attempt to mask possible biases in their responses, participants first completed a moral licensing task before being introduced to the primary study. For the task, participants were asked if they would be willing to pledge to skip a meal in exchange for a meal donation for a hungry child. After they answered the pledge question, they watched the three videos taken from the PNAS database in random order and the acquired video last. After watching each video once, participants completed dependent measures, in random order. These measures assessed how they perceived the police officer's and the civilian's actions in the video. Specifically, these measures included judgments of how justified, appropriate, and intentional the officer's actions were, and the extent to which the officer and civilian, independently, played causal roles in the interaction. Participants then completed questionnaires measuring perceptions of police legitimacy and direct and indirect hostile experiences with police. Finally, participants completed a demographics questionnaire and were debriefed. After being debriefed, participants were given a link to free online resources that help people cope with racial trauma.

CHAPTER 10. STUDY 2: RESULTS

10.1 Statistical Analysis Plan

Identical to the previous studies, I used the statistical program, SPSS to clean the data and conduct analyses. I conducted a mixed ANOVA analysis for all five dependent measures to investigate the differences between the three videos from Turner et al. (2019)

and the video I retrieved from YouTube that was also used in Study 1. I predicted that judgments of the Turner videos would be more comparable to those associated with video perspective bias effects— where viewers in the bodycam (vs. dashcam) condition would make more positive evaluations of the officer (*more justified*, *more intervention appropriateness*, *more causality*, and *more intentionality*) and more negative evaluations of the civilian (*more causality*). On the other hand, I expected the judgments of the video from the Pilot Study to be in the opposite direction—mirroring Study 1 patterns. I also conducted a OLS regression analyses to assess the extent of the relationship between video perspective and police-civilian judgments. Firstly, I calculated the average scores across the three videos for each dependent measure, in line with Turner and colleagues (2019). After calculating these composite scores, I regressed 5 separate OLS regression analyses, regressing video perspective on each of the dependent measures. To ensure that the evaluations of one specific Turner video was not being suppressed by the other videos, I also conducted regression analyses for each individual video. All models accounted for the moral licensing task. Covariates (police legitimacy, indirect hostile experiences, direct hostile experiences) were included in each model if they correlated with the outcome variable of interest (Tables 10 and 11). Additionally, all continuous covariate variables were mean-centered.

10.2 Descriptive Statistics

Means for all dependent measures by video perspective, along with pairwise correlations for each video are displayed in Tables 9, 10, and 11. Overall, for video 1-3, participants reported moderate scores for police justification (M = 2.64, SD = .639), intervention appropriateness (M = 2.48, SD = .380), officer causality (M = 3.00, SD =.705), and civilian causality (M=3.06, SD=.708). Additionally, they reported high scores for police intentionality (M = 5.01, SD = 1.15). Overall, for video 4, participants reported low/moderate scores for police justification (M = 2.02, SD = .868), intervention appropriateness (M = 2.19, SD = .517), and civilian causality (M = 2.77, SD = 1.26). Additionally, they reported moderate/high scores for officer causality (M = 3.68, SD = 1.22) and police intentionality (M = 4.68, SD = 1.96).

Table 9 Means and Standard Deviations by Video Perspective for Videos 1-4 (Study 2)

Camera Perspective	1st person (bodycam)			3rd person (dashcam)		
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
	Video 1					
Police Justification	209	2.61	.822	210	2.31	.862
Appropriateness of Intervention [a]	196	2.51	.495	209	2.36	.543
Officer Intentionality [b]	210	4.90	1.71	210	5.42	1.64
Officer Causation	210	2.87	1.03	210	2.98	1.11
Civilian Causality	210	3.24	1.05	210	3.18	1.14
	Video 2					
Police Justification	195	2.88	.552	205	2.58	.731
Appropriateness of Intervention [a]	169	2.56	.357	186	2.43	.420
Officer Intentionality [b]	198	4.12	1.13	205	4.70	1.53
Officer Causation	199	2.95	.720	206	3.08	.877
Civilian Causality	199	2.91	.650	204	2.91	.872
	Video 3					
Police Justification	200	2.84	.662	210	2.60	.832
Appropriateness of Intervention [a]	172	2.58	.426	196	2.45	.506
Officer Intentionality [b]	199	5.33	1.56	212	5.69	1.60
Officer Causation	202	3.09	.859	211	3.03	1.10
Civilian Causality	202	2.97	.831	211	3.19	1.10
	Video 4					
Police Justification	199	1.18	.869	215	2.29	1.19
Appropriateness of Intervention [a]	191	2.15	.516	207	2.23	.516
Officer Intentionality [b]	202	5.12	1.79	213	4.26	2.02
Officer Causation	202	3.73	1.19	215	3.64	1.25
Civilian Causality	204	2.62	1.24	215	2.91	1.26

Note. Unless noted, variables range from 1 to 5 with higher numbers indicating more. [a] Ranges from 1 to 4 with higher numbers indicating more. [b] Ranges from 1 to 7 with higher numbers indicating more.

Table 10 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Primary Study 2 Variables for Videos 1-3

Video 1												
	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Video Perspective (0 = BWC)			–									
2. Police Justification	2.47	.854	-.17**	–								
3. Appropriateness of Intervention [a]	2.43	.526	-.15**	.81**	–							
4. Officer Intentionality [b]	5.01	1.15	.20**	-.49**	-.37**	–						
5. Officer Causation	3.00	.705	.06	-.62**	-.57**	.43**	–					
6. Civilian Causality	3.06	.708	.04	.58**	.51**	-.29**	-.79**	–				
7. APLS	3.26	1.00	.00	.56**	.53**	-.43**	.42**	-.31	–			
8. DHE [c]	1.15	.133	.00	-.04	-.04	.02	-.05	.02	-.21	–		
9. IHE [c]	1.37	.172	.07	-.05	-.04	.02	-.01	.09	-.02	.23**	–	
10. Moral Licensing [c] (1=no)	1.59	.492	-.05	.00	-.02	.00	-.06	-.07	-.03	.08	.03	–
Video 2												
	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Video Perspective (0 = BWC)			–									
2. Police Justification	2.73	.665	-.22**	–								
3. Appropriateness of Intervention [a]	2.50	.397	-.17**	.77**	–							
4. Officer Intentionality [b]	4.41	1.378	.21**	-.60**	-.45**	–						
5. Officer Causation	3.02	.805	.08	-.69**	-.65**	.44**	–					

6. Civilian Causality	2.91	.769	-.00	.54**	.52**	-.14**	-.57**	–				
7. APLS	3.26	1.00	.00	.46**	.49**	-.28**	-.40**	.33**	–			
8. DHE [c]	1.15	.133	.00	-.14**	-.17**	.05	.13*	-.04	-.21**	–		
9. IHE [c]	1.37	.172	.07	-.05	.00	-.02	-.03	-.05	-.02	.23**	–	
10. Moral Licensing [c] (1=no)	1.59	.492	-.05	-.01	-.01	.06	-.02	-.00	-.03	.08	.03	–

Video 3

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Video Perspective (0 = BWC)			–									
2. Police Justification	2.71	.763	-.16**	–								
3. Appropriateness of Intervention [a]	2.51	.474	-.13*	.82	–							
4. Officer Intentionality [b]	5.51	1.59	.11*	-.36**	-.29**	–						
5. Officer Causation	3.08	.966	-.04	-.69**	-.71**	.27	–					
6. Civilian Causality	3.05	.986	.12*	.57**	.58**	-.15**	-.69**	–				
7. APLS	3.26	1.00	.00	.48**	.47**	-.26**	-.39	.37**	–			
8. DHE [c]	1.15	.133	.00	-.12*	-.15**	.02	.10*	-.04	-.21**	–		
9. IHE [c]	1.37	.172	.07	-.09	-.07	.08	.10*	.01	-.02	.23**	–	
10. Moral Licensing [c] (1=no)	1.59	.492	-.05	-.05	-.08	.03	.08	-.04	-.03	.08	.03	–

Note. Unless noted, variables range from 1 to 5 with higher numbers indicating more. [a] Ranges from 1 to 4 with higher numbers indicating more. [b] Ranges from 1 to 7 with higher numbers indicating more. [c] Ranges from 1 to 2 higher numbers indicating more.

Table 11 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Primary Study 2 Variables for Videos 4

	Video 4											
	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Video Perspective (0 = BWC)			–									
2. Police Justification	2.02	.868	.04	–								
3. Appropriateness of Intervention [a]	2.19	.517	.08	.86**	–							
4. Officer Intentionality [b]	4.68	1.96	-.22**	-.43**	-.36**	–						
5. Officer Causation	3.68	1.22	-.04	-.78**	-.76**	.34**	–					
6. Civilian Causality	2.77	1.26	.11*	.68**	.68**	-.33**	-.71**	–				
7. APLS	3.26	1.00	.00	.49**	.47**	-.37**	-.46**	.51**	–			
8. DHE [c]	1.15	.133	.00	-.07	-.05	.10*	.06	.01	-.21**	–		
9. IHE [c]	1.37	.172	.07	.03	.02	.06	.00	.06	-.02	.23**	–	
10. Moral Licensing [c] (1 = no)	1.59	.492	-.05	-.02	-.09	.05	.07	-.05	-.03	.08	.03	–

Note. Unless noted, variables range from 1 to 5 with higher numbers indicating more. [a] Ranges from 1 to 4 with higher numbers indicating more. [b] Ranges from 1 to 7 with higher numbers indicating more. [c] Ranges from 1 to 2 higher numbers indicating more.

Table 12 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Police for Video 1 (Study 2)

Variable	Police Justification					Police Intervention				
	B	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	-.287***	0.07	-.17	-4.30	[.858,1.92]	-.166***	-0.16	-.16	-3.86	[-.251, -.081]
ML Task	.024	0.07	.01	.352	[-.110,.158]	-.011	0.04	-.01	-.250	[-.097, .076]
APLS	.455***	0.03	.54	14.03	[.392, .519]	.256***	0.02	.50	12.33	[.215,.297]
IHE	-.215	0.16	-.05	-1.39	[-.519, .090]	-.148	0.10	-.06	-1.49	[-.343,.046]
Constant	1.39***	0.27		5.13	[.858, 1.92]	1.90***	0.17		10.93	[1.56,2.24]
F(df, df)	*F*(4,447) = 56.53***					*F*(4,432) = 44.16***				
Adjusted R^2	.33					.28				
Variable	Officer Causality					Officer Intentionality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	.052	0.09	.02	.570	[-.128, .233]	.615***	0.62	.18	4.01	[.313, .916]
ML Task	-.002	0.09	-.00	-.02	[-.186, .183]	-.252	0.15	-.07	-1.61	[-.560, .056]
APLS	-.458***	0.04	-.43	-10.31	[-.545, -.371]	-.509***	0.16	-.30	-6.84	[-.655, -.363]
IHE						.363	0.07	.05	1.02	[-.336, 1.06]
Constant	4.39***			19.60	[3.95, 4.83]	6.38***	0.62		10.27	[5.16, 7.61]
F(df, df)	*F*(3,458) = 35.70***					*F*(4,448) = 17.57***				
Adjusted R^2	.18					.13				

Note. VP = video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). BWC= body-worn camera. APLS = Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale. IHE = Indirect Hostile Experiences. ML Task = moral licensing task.

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001.

Table 13 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Civilians for Video 1 (Study 2)

Variable	Civilian Causality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	-.079	0.09	-.04	-.840	[-.263, .105]
ML Task	-.119	0.10	-.05	-1.24	[-.308, .069]
APLS	.434***	0.05	.41	9.57	[.345, .523]
Constant	2.04***	0.23		8.94	[1.59,2.49]
F(df, df)			*F*(3,459) = 31.63***		
Adjusted R^2			.17		

Note. VP = video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). BWC= body-worn camera. APLS= Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale. ML Task = moral licensing task.

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001.

Table 14 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Police for Video 2 (Study 2)

Variable	Police Justification					Police Intervention				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	-.289***	0.06	-.22	-5.26	[-.397, -.181]	-.147***	0.15	-.18	-4.21	[-.216, -.078]
ML Task	.034	0.06	.03	.598	[-.078, .146]	.008	0.04	.00	.216	[-.063, .079]
APLS	.282***	0.03	.44	10.27	[.228, .335]	.177***	0.04	.46	10.43	[.143, .210]
DHE	-.176	0.17	-.05	-1.07	[-.500, .148]	-.177	0.02	-.08	-1.74	[-.377, .023]
Constant	2.13***	0.24		8.79	[1.65, 2.60]	2.19***	0.10		14.53	[1.90, 2.49]
F(df, df)	*F*(4,435) = 37.39 ***					*F*(4,388) =36.97***				
Adjusted R^2	.25					.27				
Variable	Officer Causality					Officer Intentionality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	.095	0.07	.058	1.31	[-.048,.237]	.592***	0.12	.22	4.79	[.349, .834]
ML Task	-.054	0.08	-.032	-.721	[-.201, .093]	.130	0.13	.05	1.03	[-.119, .380]
APLS	-.268***	0.04	-.338	-7.41	[-.339, -.197]	-.332***	0.06	-.25	-5.56	[-.450, -.215]
DHE	.295	0.22	.062	1.35	[-.135,.724]					
Constant	3.59***	0.32		11.21	[2.96, 4.22]	5.01***	0.30		16.77	[4.43, 5.60]
F(df, df)	*F*(4,442) = 16.96***					*F*(3,441) =18.78***				
Adjusted R^2	.13					.11				

Note. VP = video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). BWC= body-worn camera. APLS = Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale.

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001.

Table 15 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Civilians for Video 2 (Study 2)

Variable	Civilian Causality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	-.008	0.07	-.01	-.112	[-.149, .133]
ML Task	.026	0.07	.02	.347	[-.119, .171]
APLS	.250***	0.04	.32	7.17	[.182, .319]
Constant	2.07***	0.17		11.85	[1.72, 2.41]
F(df, df)			*F*(3,441) =17.17***		
Adjusted R^2			.10		

Note. VP = video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). BWC= body-worn camera. APLS= Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale. ML Task = moral licensing task.

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001.

Table 16 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Police for Video 3 (Study 2)

Variable	Police Justification					Police Intervention				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	-.196***	0.06	-.13	-3.08	[-.321, -.071]	-.141***	0.04	-.15	-3.39	[,]
ML Task	-.027	0.07	-.02	-.421	[-.155, .101]	-.073	0.04	-.08	-1.70	[,]
APLS	.371***	0.03	.50	11.68	[.309, .434]	.206***	0.02	.46	10.12	[,]
DHE	.188	0.21	.04	.889	[-.228, .604]	.008	0.12	.00	.068	[,]
IHE	-.203	0.16	-.06	-1.25	[-.524, .117]					
Constant	1.71***	0.31		5.60	[1.11, 2.31]	2.03***	0.18		11.21	[,]
F(df, df)	*F*(5,434) = 40.00***					*F*(4,401) = 30.76***				
Adjusted R^2	.26					.23				

Variable	Officer Causality					Officer Intentionality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	-.075	0.09	-.04	-.833	[-.251, .102]	.338*	0.35	.11	2.32	[.052, .623]
ML Task	.143	0.09	.07	1.56	[-.038, .324]	-.023	0.15	-.01	-.156	[-.315, .269]
APLS	-.362***	0.04	-.37	-8.04	[-.450, -.273]	-.381***	0.07	-.25	-5.38	[-.520, -.242]
DHE	-.192	0.30	-.03	-.643	[-.777, .394]					
IHE	.470*	0.23	.10	2.06	[.022, .919]					
Constant	3.61***	0.43		8.35	[2.76, 4.46]	6.62***	0.35		18.72	[5.93,7.32]
F(df, df)	*F*(5,437) = 15.56***					*F*(3,448) = 11.56***				
Adjusted R^2	.14					.07				

Note. VP= video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). BWC= body-worn camera. APLS= Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale. DHE= Direct Hostile Experiences. IHE= Indirect Hostile Experiences. ML Task = moral licensing task. *p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001.

Table 17 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Civilians for Video 3 (Study 2)

Variable	Civilian Causality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	.237***	0.09	.12	2.73	[.066, .408]
ML Task	-.067	0.09	-.03	-.753	[-.242, .108]
APLS	.322***	0.04	.34	7.60	[.238, .405]
Constant	2.03***	0.21		9.58	[1.61, 2.45]
F(df, df)			*F*(3, 450) = 21.99 ***		
Adjusted R^2			.12		

Note. VP= video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). BWC= body-worn camera. APLS= Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale. ML Task = moral licensing task.

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001.

Table 18 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Police for Video 4 (Study 2)

Variable	Police Justification					Police Intervention				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	.016	0.07	.01	.228	[-.125, .158]	.041	0.04	.04	.951	[-.043, .125]
ML Task	-.041	0.07	-.02	-.562	[-.186, .103]	-.095	0.04	-.09	-2.19	[-.181, -.010]
APLS	.437***	0.04	.51	12.49	[.368, .506]	.246***	0.02	.49	11.96	[.205, .286]
Constant	.659***	0.17		3.78	[.316, 1.00]	1.52***	0.10		14.77	[1.32, 1.72]
F(df, df)	*F*(3,453) = 52.17***					*F*(3, 439) =50.00 ***				
Adjusted R^2	.25					.25				
Variable	Officer Causality					Officer Intentionality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI	*b*	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	-.030	0.10	-.01	-.298	[-.229, .168]	-.883***	0.17	-.23	-5.30	[-1.21, -.555]
ML Task	.185	0.10	.07	1.79	[-.019, .389]	.104	0.17	.03	.606	[-.232, .439]
APLS	-.565***	0.05	-.48	-11.16	[-.665, -.466]	-.654***	0.08	-.34	-7.84	[-.818, -.490]
DHE	-.230	0.31	-.03	-.743	[-.837, .378]	1.05*	0.51	.09	2.07	[.052, 2.05]
Constant	5.53***	0.45		12.25	[4.64, 6.41]	5.93***	0.74		7.97	[4.47, 7.39]
F(df, df)	*F*(4,453) =33.13***					*F*(4,453) = 26.56***				
Adjusted R^2	.22					.18				

Note. VP= video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). BWC= body-worn camera. APLS = Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale.

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001.

Table 19 OLS Regression Analyses Predicting Judgments of Civilians for Video 4 (Study 2)

Variable	Civilian Causality				
	b	*SE(b)*	β	*t*	95% CI
VP (0 =BWC)	.189	0.10	.074	1.84	[-.013, .391]
ML Task	-.125	0.11	-.05	-1.19	[-.332, .081]
APLS	.633***	0.05	.51	12.65	[.535, .731]
Constant	.827***	0.25		3.32	[.337, 1.32]
F(df, df)			*F*(3,459) = 55.08***		
Adjusted R^2			.26		

Note. VP = video perspective (dashcam or bodycam). BWC= body-worn camera. APLS = Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale. ML Task = moral licensing task.

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p<.001.

10.2 Mixed ANOVA

The first three videos in the survey were taken from the PNAS database (Turner et al., 2019). To directly assess whether these videos elicited different perceptions from the video I acquired from YouTube, I calculated the average scores across the three videos for each dependent measure and compared them to video 4. To do this, I conducted a mixed analysis of variance (ANOVA) for each dependent measure. Specifically, I calculated if the video (Turner videos vs. YouTube video) impacted the relationship between video perspective (bodycam vs. dashcam) and judgments of police officers and civilians. I found significant interaction effects for models 1, 2, and 5, such that people who watched bodycam footage made more negative assessments of the civilian (vs. officer) in the PNAS (vs. YouTube) videos. People in the bodycam condition tended to see the officer in the PNAS videos as more justified (M = 2.77, SD = .044), $F(1, 362) = 15.51$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2$ =.041, 95% CI [2.69, 2.86], the intervention as more appropriate (M=2.54, SD=.030), $F(1,316) = 18.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2$ = .056, 95% CI [2.48, 2.60], and the officers' actions as less intentional (M=4.79, SD=.083), $F(1,364) = 47.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2$ = .116, 95% CI [4.63, 4.96].

10.3 OLS Regression Analyses

I regressed police justification (model 1), appropriateness of intervention (model 2), officer causality (model 3), police intentionality (model 4), and civilian causality (model 5) on video perspective. For videos 1-3, analyses revealed a main effect of video perspective for Models 1, 2, and 5. When accounting for attitudes of police legitimacy, and direct hostile experiences, I found that people who viewed the bodycam (vs. dashcam) video saw the officer as more justified, $t(351) = -5.89$, $b = -.286$, $p = .000$, 95% CI [-.381, -.190]. When accounting for attitudes of police legitimacy, I found that people who viewed the bodycam (vs. dashcam) saw the intervention as more appropriate, $t(309) = -4.68$, $b = -.152$, $p = .000$, 95% CI [-.216, -.088]. When accounting for direct hostile experiences, I found that people who viewed the dashcam (vs. bodycam) saw people saw the officer's actions as more intentional, $t(355) = 4.33$, $b = .473$, $p = .000$,

95% CI [.258, .687]. However, we did not find evidence that our moral licensing task influenced the ratings across models. Specifically, pledging to give up a meal in exchange for a food donation did not influence participant's assessments. For video 4, analyses only revealed a main effect of video perspective for Models 3 and 5. When accounting for attitudes of police legitimacy, people in the dashcam (vs bodycam) saw the civilian as playing more of a causal role, $t(414) = 2.39$, $b = .252$, $p = .017$, 95% CI [.045, .460]. When accounting for attitudes of police legitimacy and direct hostile experiences, I found that people who viewed the bodycam (vs. dashcam) saw the officer's actions as more intentional, $t(408) = -4.90$, $b = -.860$, $p = .000$, 95% CI [-1.20., .515]. I also did not find that the moral licensing task influenced participants' ratings of the dependent measures for video 4.

10.3 Differences Across Individual Videos

To ensure that the patterns revealed in our previous regression represented all three videos taken from the PNAS database, I followed up with individual regressions for all three videos (Tables 12 to 19). For videos 1 and 2, I found that people in the bodycam condition saw the officer as more justified, intervention as more appropriate, and actions as less intentional—when correlated covariates were held constant (see Figure 5). For video 3, I found that people in bodycam condition saw the officer as more justified, intervention as more appropriate, civilian as playing less of a causal role, and actions as less intentional—when correlated covariates were held constant (see Figures 5 and 6). These results suggest that judgments of the officer in the PNAS videos were perceived similarly. For video 4, I found that people in the bodycam (vs. dashcam) condition viewed the officer as acting more intentionally and the civilian as less of the cause (see Tables 18 and 19). Using these analyses, I compared evaluations of video 3 and video 4, in which the civilian was concealed by the car. I found that video 3 (PNAS) showed patterns in line with camera perspective bias effects while video 4 (YouTube) showed effects that closely mirrored Study 2—officers were seen more positively in the dashcam (vs. bodycam) video (see Tables 16-19).

Figure 5 Video Type Predicting Judgements of Officers (Study 2)

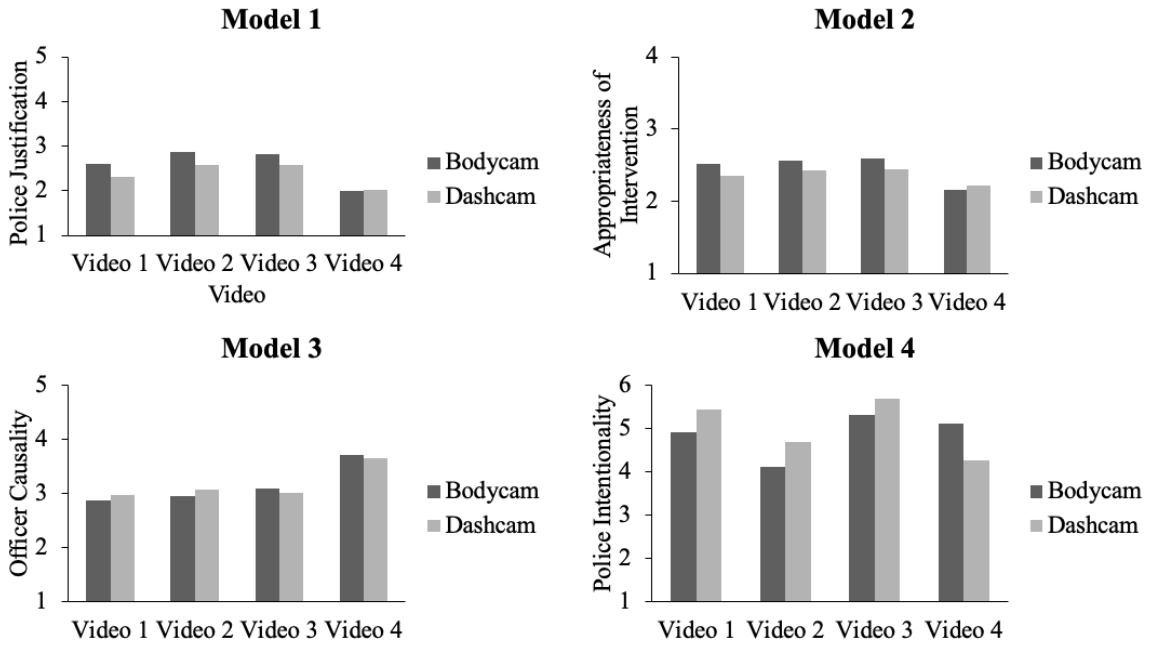
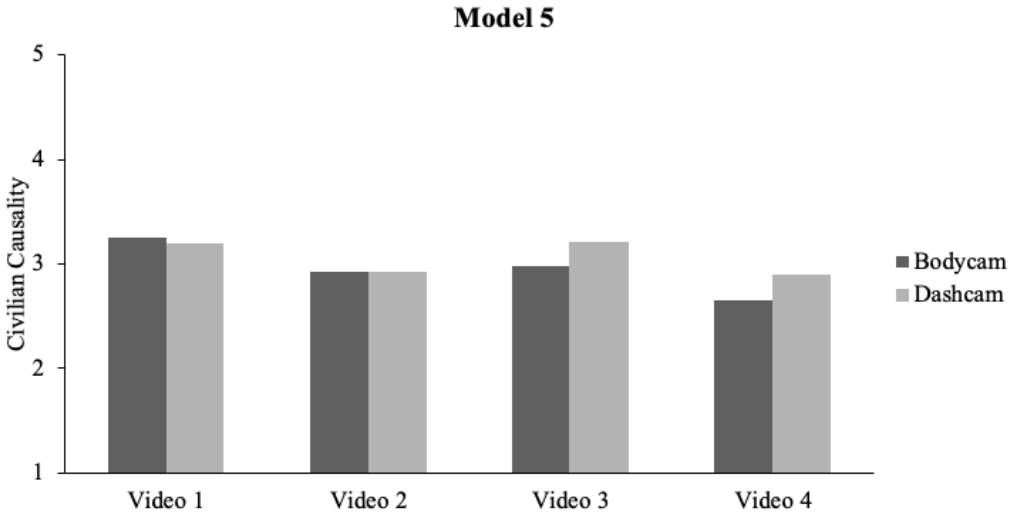


Figure 6 Video Type Predicting Judgements of Civilians (Study 2)



CHAPTER 11. STUDY 2 DISCUSSION

In Study 2, I aimed to compare judgments of police officers and civilians in the video stimuli from the PNAS database and the video stimulus from YouTube. I also included a moral licensing task to avoid social desirability effects, however, I did not find that agreeing to donate a meal to a child in need impacted judgments of police encounters. I found support for my hypothesis, such that people made more positive evaluations of the officer compared to the civilian when they viewed the Turner (vs. YouTube) video. Additionally, I saw a significant interaction effect between video (PNAS vs. acquired) and viewer perspective (first- vs third person) on judgments of police. I concluded that when people viewed the PNAS videos (vs. acquired) from the first- (vs third-) person perspective, they saw the officer's actions as more warranted. These findings imply that the YouTube video is being evaluated differently by viewers. For this video, the patterns reversed—third-person perspectives elicited more positive evaluations of the officer and poorer evaluations of the civilian. Conceivably, there are aspects of the YouTube video that made the officer seem less blameworthy.

There is evidence that the effects of camera perspective are overshadowed by the effects of racial salience—such that non-White (vs. White) civilians are not perceived positively in third-person perspectives either (Ratcliff et. al, 2010). At the same time, this study only utilized interactions among men. Research has demonstrated that black women are perceived more positively than other women when they engage in stereotype-consistent behavior (Livingston et al., 2012; Marshburn et al., 2020). Video 4, which was taken from YouTube, was the only video that featured a Black, female civilian. Perhaps, viewers saw this woman as engaging in behavior that is deemed typical and did not assess her actions as negatively. Researchers have posited that occupying dual identities can safeguard Black women from being perceived negatively in situations where they are perceived as behaving dominantly (Livingston et al., 2012). The other videos featured either a Black male civilian or the race of the civilian was not determinable. Additionally, this was the only video in which the officer is seen initiating aggressive acts towards the civilian and then the civilian is seen defending themselves. In the other videos, the civilian and officer may be seen as escalating the situation

simultaneously. Perhaps, when a civilian is viewed defending themselves, they are seen as more undeserving of police violence.

CHAPTER 12. GENERAL DISCUSSION

Three studies provide evidence that camera perspective bias does not occur under all circumstances and that in fact, certain conditions make it more or less likely that viewers will be susceptible to this bias. Previous research suggests that people tend to make more negative evaluations of civilians and more positive evaluations of the officers when shown video from first- (vs. third-) person perspectives—i.e., camera perspective bias (Lassiter & Irvine, 1986). Camera perspective bias effects have been robust within the literature—with participants who are told about camera perspective bias upfront, given time to deliberate on their evaluations, induced to focus more on what transpired, or given a confession from the civilian all exhibiting this bias in perception (Lassiter et al., 2002). Although the bulk of this literature has focused on custodial interrogation videos, recently, police encounters in the field have also been shown to be prone to these same biases in perceptions (Turner et al. 2018).

When assessing perceptions of various field videos, I found evidence that factors such as length of time exposed to videoed interaction and the race and gender of the civilian may inform evaluations of police officers and civilians in interactions. In the pilot study, White and Black viewers were shown a video showing an encounter between Black civilian and White officer. In the encounter, the officer walks towards the officer with an unidentifiable object while the officer backs away. I did not find evidence of camera perspective bias in viewers and only found minimal evidence of racial differences in evaluations. Specifically, White (vs. Black) viewers saw the officer as less intending to harm but this finding did not hold for the other three models gauging perceptions of the police officer. This raised the question of whether camera perspective effects where overshadowed by additional cues that were specific to the video. Subsequent studies solely assessed how camera perspective and selected video stimuli influenced evaluations. In Studies 2 and 3, we found that people tended to make more negative assessments of the officer (vs. civilian) when they viewed a video featuring a Black, female civilian from the first- (vs. third-) person perspective.

In the pilot study, I looked at whether the race of the person viewing a police interaction influenced assessments of the interaction. Research has demonstrated that Black (vs. White) people are more likely to view the police more negatively based on experiences with police as well as greater knowledge of racial injustice (Bonam et al., 2019; Nelson et al., 2013). Because of this, I hypothesized that Black people would be less susceptible to camera perspective bias. Inconsistent with our hypotheses, I found evidence that White viewers saw the officer as acting less intentionally across both perspectives. However, I failed to find that the race of the viewer influenced the relationship between video perspective and the judgments of officers and civilians. I reasoned that this failure may have been due to the specific stimulus used in this study. In the video, the civilian is seen initiating the interaction. However, another possible explanation may have been that watching the police encounter video multiple times altered perceptions.

In Study 1, people made more positive assessments of the officer (vs. civilian) when they viewed the video from the third- (vs. first-) person perspective. In the video, an officer is shown tasing a civilian and the civilian responds by shooting at the officer. One reason we may have seen contradicting effects in this study is that the civilian's body was concealed by the car for most of the dashcam video. Additionally, this is the only video in which a civilian is seen actively defending themselves in response to the officer's actions. In Study 2, I examined the PNAS video from the Pilot Study as well as additional videos from the PNAS database to see if they elicited different perceptions from the YouTube video used in Study 1. To minimize the effects of participant bias, we also implemented a moral licensing task in Study 2.

Study 2 showed that people tended to view the officer more positively in the Turner videos compared to the YouTube video. I hypothesized that this difference in perceptions of the YouTube video may be due to the civilian being obscured in the dashcam video, causing the officer to be more salient from the third-person perspective. However, in Study 2, we tested one of the videos from Turner et al. (2018) that also featured a video where the civilian was concealed by the car in both perspectives, and we found camera perspective bias effects in line with the literature. Nevertheless, it is also possible that because the civilian was seen defending herself in the YouTube video,

people were not as susceptible to the effects of traditional camera perspective bias. Perhaps, when the civilian was clearly seen defending herself, as seen in the bodycam video, viewers saw her as less blameworthy. Similar to Study 1, they made more positive assessments of her in the bodycam video and more negative assessments of her the dashcam. There are two notable differences in this video: (1) this is the only video that features a civilian who is a Black woman and (2) this is the only video in which a civilian is seen defending themselves. Research has found that because women are expected to be less aggressive than men, they are often met with more understanding when they engage in aggressive behaviors (Salerno et al., 2020). People tend to see women as driven by more external factors which is associated with more trust and effectiveness. However, the aforenoted study examined this under the context of police officer gender. There may be different dynamics at play when the civilian gender is considered. Additionally, the civilian in our video was a Black woman. Black women face obstacles that come from existing at the intersection of a marginalized race and gender, experiencing racism from those within their gender and racism from those within their race (Rosenthal, 2016). However, it is not possible to tease apart these identities, as this intersection creates a distinct complex experience. Potentially, viewers may have perceived her defending herself against the officer as stereotype-consistent and consequently, judged her less harshly (Livingston et al., 2012; Marshburn et al., 2020). Because we did not experimentally vary the race and gender of the civilians, we cannot conclusively contend that differences in civilian race can explain why people perceived video 4 differently than the other videos. Nevertheless, research has shown that people tend to view Black, male (vs. White, male) civilians more negatively from the first- (third-) person perspective (Bailey et al., 2021). Our only video that featured a Black, male civilian produced similar patterns. However, our videos where the race of the civilians was not clear, produced similar results. These results show that future work is needed to undoubtedly conclude that Black women are perceived better.

12.1 Limitations

There are several limitations in the three studies that must be considered. Firstly, I used actual police footage for all videos, which limited the amount of

experimental control. Factors such as differences in relative visual quality, behaviors of actors in the video, time of day, etc. cannot be ruled out as contributing to judgments. In the pilot study, I was not able to retain an ample number of Black participants to detect an effect of race. However, since we also did not see the expected patterns in our robust White sample, I did not look at differences in viewer race for following studies. In Study 1, I ascertained a police interaction video from YouTube in which the civilian is seen retaliating against the officer, however, the other videos did not show this dynamic between officer and civilian. In Study 2, I used a repeated subjects design to compare judgments across multiple videos. Although I randomly varied the order of the three Turner et al. (2019) videos, the fourth (YouTube) video was always shown last. It is possible that order effects may have been influencing perceptions. However, since this video was used in Study 1 and produced comparable effects to that of Study 2, order effects were most likely minimal. Study 1 and 2 results suggest that Black women who defend themselves might be perceived differently than men in the other videos. However, only one of the Turner et al. (2019) videos featured a civilian that participants could ostensibly discern their race. This video featured a Black man in a different situation—an altercation with a police officer where he is walking towards the officer.

12.2 Future Research

Research demonstrates that Black women experience harsher judicial outcomes than White women and experience unfair treatment at levels comparable to that of Black men (Gabbidon, 2011). Black women compose a considerable amount of police encounters that have been deemed as examples of police brutality and excessive force cases. Ostensibly, we would assume that because Black women are often the victims in police encounters, perceptions would not differ drastically from those of Black men. To conclusively address this question, future studies should attempt to directly compare police encounter videos varying (1) whether the civilian is shown defending themselves, (2) the race of the civilian, and (3) the gender of the civilian. This would allow us to see if we find support that Black women are seen more positively when showing aggression in police encounters. Using this research design will help more conclusively address the intersectional impact of civilian race on the relationship

between camera perspective bias and judgments of police encounters. Unfortunately, because of the nature of this research, it is difficult to preserve experimental control while maintaining ecological validity. Additionally, other factors may serve as a proxy for potential effects of viewer race. Research has shown that White people who highly identify with their Whiteness are more likely to see unarmed Black men as more threatening (Johnson & Lecci, 2019). Perhaps, future studies should explore whether this factor plays a mediating role in effects of viewer race and perceptions of police and civilians.

12.2 Conclusion

Overall, these studies demonstrate how there are numerous factors that inform our perceptions of interactions between police officers and civilians. While the literature has established the link between camera perspective and judgments of police encounters, these studies represented a replication and an extension of these findings. I was able to replicate the Turner et al. (2019) findings using the same videos, showing that first-person perspectives led to more biased evaluations of civilians across three videos that varied in situation. When I introduced a different video that featured a Black, female civilian, I was able to conclude that the intersections of race and gender likely shape how perceptual biases—via camera perspective influenced viewers' evaluations. These findings are important for understanding what factors likely shape public perceptions of police injustices as well as informing how best to structure evidence in courtroom settings.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale (APLS)

Rate the degree to which you agree with the following statements (1= *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*).

1. Police officers usually make fair decisions when enforcing laws.
2. Police officers usually have a reason when they stop or arrest people.
3. Police do their best to be fair to everyone.
4. Police officers treat people with respect.
5. Police officers communicate well with people.
6. The presence of police makes me feel safe.
7. Police officers are generally kind.
8. If I have a problem, I feel confident that the police can help me solve it.
9. I'm not afraid to call the police when I need to.
10. People should trust the police to help.
11. I feel that police officers are willing to listen to me when I come into contact with them.
12. I believe what police officers tell me.
13. I can rely on police officers to ensure my safety.
14. I feel relieved to see police officers when I am out in the community.
15. Police officers desire justice.
16. People become police officers to serve their communities.
17. The explanations that police officers give for a stop are typically reasonable.
18. Police officers take their duty to protect and serve seriously.

19. People become police officers to help others.
20. People become police officers because they want to maintain order.
21. Law enforcement agencies hire the best people available.
22. People should be confident that police officers are only there to help.
23. Police officers are held to higher standards than regular citizens.
24. For the most part, police do a good job maintaining order in society.
25. Police officers are respected by the communities they serve.
26. Police officers' interactions with others makes me feel like they are part of my community.
27. Police officers' goals are to protect the community.
28. Police officers are a welcomed presence at community events.
29. My community is a better place because of the police.
30. Most police officers care about the communities they work in.
31. Most police officers define right and wrong the same way that I do.
32. Police officers uphold values that are important to me.
33. The police usually act in ways consistent with my ideas about what is right and wrong.
34. The police and I have many values and beliefs in common.

APPENDIX 2. Indirect and Direct Hostile Police Experiences

Please read the following questions and answer them to the best of your ability with a yes or no.

Direct-hostile police violence racism items

1. I have been followed, stopped or arrested by police more than others

2. I have been threatened with use of force by police (e.g., thrown to the ground, pushed, grab, punched/slapped, kicked, or weapon), even though I was not doing anything illegal

3. I have been physically abused (e.g., thrown to the ground, pushed, grab, punched/slapped, kicked) by police, even though I was not doing anything illegal

4. I have had police use their weapon (e.g., Taser, pepper spray, baton, or firearm) on me, even though I was unarmed and not doing anything illegal

5. I have been verbally disrespected by police using racial slurs (e.g., coon, monkey, slave, boy, the "N" word) toward me

6. I have experienced being pulled over and having more police show up to the scene, even though I was not doing anything illegal and did not receive a ticket

7. I have called the police for help only for them to show up and treat me like a criminal, even though I was not doing anything illegal

8. I have been sexually assaulted by police (e.g., unwanted sexual groping/touching, completed or attempted forced penetration through verbal intimidation, or making sexual comments) without my consent

9. I have been with a person of my race and witnessed police threaten to use force against them (e.g., thrown to the ground, pushed, grab, punched/slapped, kicked, or weapon), even though the person was not doing anything illegal

10. I have been with a person of my race and witnessed police use physical force (e.g., thrown to the ground, pushed, grab, punched/ slapped, kicked, or weapon) against them, even though the person was not doing anything illegal

11. I have been with a person of my race who was unarmed and not doing anything illegal, and witness police use their weapon (e.g., Taser, pepper spray, baton, or firearm) on that individual

12. I have been with a person of my race and witnessed police verbally disrespect them by using racial slurs (e.g., coon, monkey, slave, boy, the "N" word) toward them

Indirect-hostile police violence racism items

1. I have noticed that the majority of unarmed individuals shot and killed by police in the videos I see in media (e.g., Television or internet) are people of my race

2. I have noticed that the majority of individuals physically abused (e.g., thrown to the ground, pushed, grab, punched/slapped, kicked, or weapon) by police in the videos I see in media (e.g., Television or internet) are people of my race

3. I have seen a video in the media (e.g., Television or internet) of police approaching an unarmed person of my race with their weapon out (e.g., Taser, pepper spray, baton, or firearm) and not arrest them

4. I have seen a video in the media (e.g., Television or internet) of police verbally disrespecting a person of my race by using racial slurs (e.g., coon, monkey, slave, boy, the "N" word) toward them

5. I have noticed that the majority of victims of police sexual assault cases (e.g., unwanted sexual grouping/touching, completed or attempted forced penetration through verbal intimidation, or making sexual comments) I see in the media (e.g., Television or internet)

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VITA

EDUCATION

M.S. in Experimental Psychology – May 2020

Missouri State University, Springfield, MO

B.A. in Psychology and Sociology – May 2018

The University of Mississippi, University, MS

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

Teaching Assistant – August 2023 - December 2023

University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Brownbag Graduate Coordinator – August 2021 - December 2023

University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Teaching Assistant – June 2021 - July 2021

University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Graduate Assistant – August 2018 - December 2020

Missouri State University Division for Diversity and Inclusion, Springfield, MO

HONORS

Lyman T. Johnson Fellowship – August 2020 - May 2023

Psi Chi International Honor Society – August 2017 - May 2018

Gamma Beta Phi National Honor Society – January 2014 - May 2018