

The Role of Police Body Cameras:
Community Attitudes during Police Encounters

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Abstract

After the deaths of many unarmed Black citizens in 2014 former president Barack Obama emphasized that the mistrust towards police was a national problem and announced a police body camera pilot program that would begin in 2015 in hope to build trust and transparency between law enforcement and the communities they serve (Landler, 2014; Department of Justice, 2015). Since then, much of the research on police body cameras has focused on its potential effects on police misconduct and has not explored the potential benefits police body cameras may have for civilians. Across two experiments we investigated whether the implementation of police body cameras could influence perceptions of police, feelings around police, and cooperation with police. In Experiment 1 we found that the implementation of body cameras could influence civilians' perceptions of police legitimacy. More importantly we found initial evidence that the implementation of body cameras could influence anticipated feelings of safety, especially for Black participants. Anticipated feeling of safety was also a significant mediator between the implementation of body cameras and future cooperation with police. In Experiment 2 we were able to replicate some of our findings from Experiment 1, such as body cameras influencing anticipated feelings of safety for Black and White participants. This research provides preliminary evidence that the implementation of body cameras can improve police-civilian interactions by potentially making a police encounter feel safer for civilians and lead to a greater willingness to help police solve crimes in the future.

Keywords: perceptions of police, body cameras, police legitimacy

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The Role of Police Body Cameras:

Community Attitudes during Police Encounters

In 2014, nearly a hundred unarmed Black civilians were killed by the police (see: <https://mappingpoliceviolence.org/>). Black civilians (armed and unarmed) were killed at more than twice the expected rate given their share of the U.S. population in 2014 compared to Whites, Latinos, and Asian Americans (Menifield, Shin, & Strother, 2018). After a bystander's video footage of Eric Garner's encounter with New York city police officer went viral on social media in July 2014, many people in the U.S. started to realize how racial minorities are *still* being treated unfairly by law enforcement (see: Goldstein & Schweber, 2014). In fact the New York Police Department emphasized that the initial police reports from that encounter failed to mention the police officer's force maneuver (chokehold) that had been banned by the NYPD, for being excessive and unnecessary to detain a civilian, since 1993 (Baker, Goodman, & Mueller, 2015). In order to hold police accountable and help build transparency between police and the communities they serve, former President Barack Obama introduced a police body camera pilot program that would begin in 2015 in several states (Landler, 2014). Since the initial program began there has been a growing literature in criminology and psychology examining the values of implementing police body cameras for both police officers and civilians during interactions.

Police use of force and accountability systems

With the deaths of Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, and several other unarmed Black civilians in the U.S., there had been a nationwide outcry for

police accountability (see: Baird, 2014; Adams, 2014; Baez, 2014). This led to both internal and federal investigations on many metropolitan police departments. A few of these police departments include Baltimore, Chicago, Ferguson, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York City, and Seattle. In general, these investigations reported the department's policies, procedures, and practices in relation to use of force and police accountability.

Internal investigations conducted by departmental chief of police found that in Los Angeles and New York City departmental procedures for documenting use-of-force cases are fragmented across forms (Von Voigt, Back, & Gonzales, 2016; Peters & Eure, 2015). Essentially, there was no centralized system that comprehensively tracked use of force reports, civilian statements, pictures, and medical treatment. In many cases the police report was completed by an officer who did not use force or was not present during the arrest. The NYPD is one of numerous law enforcement agencies in the United States that does not use special forms to document use of force cases – making it nearly impossible to accurately track use-of-force by officers (Peters & Eure, 2015).

These reports also suggest that use-of-force policies were vague and imprecise making it difficult for police officers to identify when deadly force was impractical (Von Voigt, Back, & Gonzales, 2016; Peters & Eure, 2015). Additionally, these reports emphasize how use of force related training did not adequately focus on de-escalation, specifically providing officers with alternative strategies during deadly force incidents (Von Voigt, Back, & Gonzales, 2016; Peters & Eure, 2015).

Similarly, when federal investigations were conducted on Baltimore, Chicago, Ferguson, New Orleans, Seattle, and many other police departments, by the U.S. Department of Justice following 2014, similar issues were reported. Specifically, these investigations found a pattern and practice of unconstitutional use of force, policies (i.e., stop-and-frisk) in place that disproportionately harmed racial minorities and inefficient accountability systems (i.e., police use of force reports) that let racially biased police behavior continue without departmental consequences (Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department 2015; Investigation of the Chicago Police Department, 2017). Most importantly, these reports indicated that while police departments provide a use-of-force continuum for police officers (1 = verbal direction, 2 = strong order, 3 = defensive use of hands, 4 = offensive use of hands, 5 = intermediate weapon, 6 = deadly force), training guidelines lack explicit instructions on how to navigate through the continuum in any given situation (Investigation of the Chicago Police Department, 2017). This is important because an officer may move through the continuum in a matter of seconds during a civilian interaction.

In addition to these reports, the Department of Justice also released a special report documenting police use of nonfatal force in the United States throughout the last decade. They found that Blacks were more likely to be in contact with an officer, have force threatened or used on them, and have excessive force used on them compared to Whites (Hyland, Langton, & Davis, 2015). The report also indicated that non-traffic street stops for suspicion of wrongdoing (i.e. stop-and-frisk) yielded the greatest percentage of police-initiated contact that

involved use of force – two times greater than the next type of contact, crime investigation (Hyland, Langton, & Davis, 2015). This is important because data on stop-and-frisk cases indicate that Blacks are more likely to be stopped by police and have force used on them, even though Whites are more likely to have contraband seized during police stops (Floyd, 2013). These patterns of racial disparity in police contact and force are true for both Black men and women (Crenshaw, Ritchie, Anspach, Gilmer, & Harris, 2016).

Police legitimacy literature

Through these investigation and special reports, it is obvious that there is a serious problem in the United States in regards to law enforcement policing racial minority communities. And, because of ineffective police accountability systems in place it can be extremely difficult to identify problems in police policies, procedures, and trainings that can be improved to better serve their communities. More importantly, the lack of efficient accountability systems creates an alarming concern, especially those that are being mistreated by police because they worry that police will not face consequences for their actions; and thus, potentially perceiving the law enforcement as an illegitimate system.

Police legitimacy is defined as an individual's trust and confidence in police and belief that the police will act fairly (Tyler, 2003). Police legitimacy stems from Tom Tyler's process-based model which argues that in order for police to gain immediate and long-term compliance from civilians and cooperation with police, people need to believe that the police (authority) are fair in their procedures in which they exercise (Tyler, 2003). This belief in fairness of

the law enforcement comes in five steps (process-based model): procedural elements, process-based judgments, supportive values (legitimacy), decision acceptance (immediate and long-term), and general cooperation. In essence, when police treat all people of equal quality (procedural elements), then people more likely to believe that police are procedurally just – trusting police (process-based judgments). When people have trust in police they are more likely to 1) have confidence in police and belief that the police will always follow proper procedures (legitimacy), 2) “buy in” to the police’s decision making (immediate acceptance) and comply with the polices’ decisions over time (long-term acceptance), and 3) consent and cooperate (general cooperation) with police (Tyler, 2003). While the procedural justice element can predict legitimacy, decision acceptance, and general cooperation in the process-based model, it is important to highlight that this model also indicates that legitimacy can predict general cooperation with police. Thus, the more confidence people have in police the more likely they are to comply with the police.

Consequently, racially biased policing has resulted in Black Americans (compared to White Americans) perceiving the police to be less legitimate (Aviv & Weisburd, 2016; Crow, Snyder, Crichlow, & Smykla, 2017; Goff, Epstein, & Reddy, 2013). This is important because empirical research has also shown that perceptions of police legitimacy predicts civilian’s willingness to cooperate with police (Reisig & Lloyd, 2009).

More importantly, racially biased policing has led Blacks (compared to Whites) having greater fear of the police and anticipating feeling more

anxiousness and self-consciousness about one's behaviors around the police (Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins 2008; Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff, 2015). Unsurprisingly, the racial disparity in police misconduct in America has led Black civilians to view police more negatively (e.g., police are rude), view police as less legitimate (e.g., police do not act according to procedures), and view the police as less procedurally just (e.g., police are unfair) (Aviv & Weisburd, 2016; Goff, Epstein, & Reddy, 2013). Tyler's process-based model would argue that fear and the lack of trust in police would weaken the authority and power police have in those communities. If certain groups of people have negative attitudes towards police and do not respect the police, then the police have limited moral authority over those individuals. This then becomes a vicious cycle as research shows that police officers who perceive that they do not have moral authority over a suspect are more likely to use physical authority (Richardson & Goff, 2015).

Police body-camera literature

As a result of the police misconduct and deficient accountability systems that had been disproportionately harming racial minorities, especially throughout 2014, former President Barack Obama held a speech in December 2014. During this speech Obama emphasized that the issues involving police (racially biased policing and militarized culture) was a national problem and that the Department of Justice was developing a police body camera pilot program to help build trust and transparency between law enforcement and the communities they serve (Landler, 2014; Department of Justice, 2015). In the following year 73 police departments in 32 states were funded to help purchase body cameras and develop

training and technical assistance to examine the impact of the body camera's use (Department of Justice, 2015). To date, the literature on police body cameras is scarce. These studies were conducted through both private centers/organizations and university researchers. Some researchers also decided to conduct research with law enforcement outside of the United States because of resources available and procedures (i.e., mandatory traffic checkpoints in Eskisehir, Turkey) in place in other countries. Much of these studies are in-field experiments focusing on the potential effects on police behavior, citizen complaints, and perceptions of law enforcement, but are limited to anecdotal evidence. In this paper I will provide a short review on how the use of body cameras impact police behavior, and then go in-depth on how the use of body cameras impact civilian's perceptions of police, attitudes towards police, and behaviors with police. Although the understanding of body cameras effects on police misconduct are extremely important, I will focus my literature review primarily on the civilian's perspective as it provides support for the purpose of my two experiments.

Police body-camera literature: Police behaviors.

Much of the research examining police use of body cameras and police behaviors are randomized controlled field experiments that are in collaboration with a specific law enforcement agency. One of the first body camera field-trials took place in Rialto, California. Ariel, Farrar, and Sutherland (2015) recruited 54 frontline police officers in a 12-month experiment examining the value of police body cameras. Police work shifts were randomly assigned to an experimental condition (using body cameras) or control condition (not using body cameras).

During the 12-month field-trial use of force incidents dropped nearly 35% from the previous three years in Rialto. As anticipated, researchers found that the use of force incident rate for the control condition (officers do not wear body cameras) was roughly twice that of the experimental condition (officers do wear body cameras).

In a British field-trial experiment Henstock and Ariel (2017) investigated the use of body cameras on use of force specifically during arrests. Forty-six response officers were recruited for a 6-month period in which 430 work shifts were randomly assigned to be experimental (wearing body cameras) or control (not wearing body cameras). When analyzing use of force researchers examined the officer's report which indicates what kind of force was used during the arrest: 1) verbal commands, 2) compliant handcuffs, 3) physical restraint, 4) CS spray, 5) baton, and 6) taser (Henstock & Ariel, 2017). Researchers used Odds Ratios to assess the differences in responses, in which they found a 50% reduction in the odds of force when police officers wore body cameras compared to when they did not. However, they did show that 40% more force was detected for police officers wearing body cameras for handcuffing non-combatant suspects (Henstock & Ariel, 2017). These findings suggest that the use of body cameras may reduce use of force incidents, but it is important to analyze in which situations are they being reduced.

Since situational factors may influence how body cameras reduce police use of force Ariel, Sutherland, Henstock, Young, Drover, Sykes, Megicks, and Henderson (2016) recruited 2,122 patrol officers in eight police departments and

used identical procedures as Ariel et al. (2014) to examine how the effects of police officer discretion of turning the body camera on and off impacted use of force incidents. Their results indicated that use of force rates were 37% lower (than the control condition – no body cameras) when police officers were forced to turn on the body camera at the beginning of every civilian interaction. However, when police officers used their discretion on when they should turn on/off the body camera during their shifts, use of force rates were 71% higher compared to the control conditions (Ariel et al., 2016).

These same researchers conducted a prospective meta-analysis of multi-site, multi-national randomized controlled trials to evaluate use of body cameras and police use of force (Ariel, Sutherland, Henstock, Young, Drover, Sykes, Megicks, & Henderson, 2017). Their meta-analysis used ten randomized controlled trials from eight law enforcement agencies, and each study similarly randomly assigned officers to a work shift that was either an experimental condition (wear body cameras) or control condition (do not wear cameras). Since force may be defined differently based on the law enforcement agency, researchers operationalized police force as any physical restraint on a civilian. Additionally, use of force reports were standardized so that researchers can determine the rate an officer used force during a shift per 1000 arrests per shift. Results indicated no significant difference of rates of use of force between the experimental and control conditions. Surprisingly, seven of the ten trials showed a negative effect where there was a higher rate of use of force in the experimental condition compared to the controlled condition. This is shocking because police

officers in the experimental condition were aware that they were being recorded, thus guaranteed to be caught on camera using force and would potentially face departmental consequences.

More recently, Yokum, Ravishankar, and Coppock (2017) conducted a randomized controlled trial with the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) in Washington D.C. to examine how police body cameras effected use of force incidents, citizen complaints against police, policing activity, and judicial outcomes. Use of force was measured by officer's self-reports. Complaints against police was measured by the count of complaints filed against officers through the Office of Police Complaints and MPD. Policing activity was measured by the amount of traffic tickets, warnings issued, calls for service, arrests, and injuries sustained during police-civilian interactions. Judicial outcomes was measured by whether the arrests made by MPD officers were prosecuted by the U.S. Attorney's Office. Researchers recruited police officers from each of the seven police districts in D.C., but officers were only eligible if they held a rank of sergeant or below and were assigned to patrol duty (Yokum et al., 2017). A total of 2,224 MPD officers participated in the 11-month field-trial and were randomly assigned to the experimental (body cameras) or control (no body cameras) condition; however, each district deployed their body cameras at different time periods to keep the cost of funding body cameras low. Unlike previous studies, Yokum and colleagues did not find evidence showing that the use of police body cameras can significantly reduce use of force incidents and complaints against police. Additionally, they did not find the use of police body

cameras significantly impacting police activity and judicial outcomes during the field-trial.

While much of the research specifically focuses on rates of use of force incidents, Jennings, Lynch, and Fridell (2015) investigated the use of body cameras on police officers' frequency and prevalence to responses to resistance incidents (whenever an intermediate weapon or takedown strike is used a response to resistance incident form is filled out on the officer involved) and citizen complaints. Eighty-nine Orlando police officers from seven different police districts volunteered to participate in the experiment, and were randomly assigned to either wear or not wear body cameras during their shifts. Supporting their hypotheses, researchers found that 1) police officers using body cameras had significantly lower prevalence of responses to resistance incidents and 2) citizen complaints had a significantly lower frequency and prevalence when officers were assigned to wear the body camera. Additionally, pre-post comparisons (12 months before the implementation of body cameras with 12 months after the implementation body cameras) also showed a significantly reduction in prevalence for response to resistance incidents and civilian complaints. This research provides key insight that the implementation of body cameras may significant reduce use of force incidents.

These handful of randomized controlled trial experiments provided us with plenty information on body cameras and police behavior; however, scientists are still wondering, do body cameras actually reduce police use of force? There are many reasons why researchers found inconsistent findings. As mentioned

previously, some experiments manipulated work shifts and the use of body cameras, while other manipulated which police officers used body cameras. Additionally, some experiments were strictly volunteer participation, while others were departmental collaborations – in which all officers participated. Most importantly, these field-trials took place in very different locations, which show that the effects of police body cameras may not be generalizable to all law enforcement agencies.

Police body-camera literature: Civilian’s perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors.

While the literature on police body cameras and police behavior is scarce with mixed findings, the literature on police body cameras and civilian’s perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors are very consistent. This is important because many police departments are discontinuing the use of body cameras (e.g., Boston Police Department; Sennott, 2017) because of the uncertainty of the long-term effects of body cameras on police behavior. However, as this literature grows research shows that even if body cameras do not significantly reduce use of force incidents, they may police-civilian interactions, cooperation with police, and positive perceptions of police.

In an effort to understand how police body cameras impact perceptions of police legitimacy and procedural justice, Demir, Apel, Braga, Brunson, and Ariel (2018) conducted a quasi-randomized controlled during traffic stops in Eskisehir, Turkey. This study was conducted in collaboration with Eskisehir Police Department’s Regional Traffic Enforcement Unit (RTEU), with 31 traffic police officers participating over a 22-day period. The value of collaborating with this

department is that there are eight traffic checkpoints that the RTEU is responsible for everyday in Eskisehir. Two of the eight traffic checkpoints were randomly selected to be study locations. The morning (9:30 am to 11:30 am) and afternoon (12:30 pm to 2:30 pm) time blocks were randomly assigned to either be the treatment (police wearing body cameras) or control (police not wearing body cameras) condition. Since there were three traffic teams working per eight hour shifts, researchers randomly assigned two of the three traffic teams each day to participate in the study – assigning one team to the experimental condition (wearing body cameras) and one team to the control condition (not wearing body cameras). Once drivers arrived at a given checkpoint officers were trained to notify the driver that they would be recording the interaction and then proceed by asking for basic documents (i.e., driver's license) and inspecting the vehicle. Within 200 feet of the checkpoint undergraduate research assistants approached to the slowly moving vehicle and asked drivers if they would like to participate in a brief survey. Researchers hypothesized that the presence of police body cameras would improve civilian's perceptions of police legitimacy and procedural justice during their police encounter. Researchers collected data from 624 drivers (299 experimental condition and 325 control condition). Supporting their hypotheses, their results indicated that when civilians were stopped by police that wore body cameras at the checkpoint they reported higher levels of procedural justice and police legitimacy (compared to civilians stopped by police that did not wear body cameras). After conducting a path regression researchers found that procedural justice intermediates between the body camera condition and police legitimacy.

This suggests that people believed that their police encounters were more procedurally just when police wore body cameras, which then led people to view police more legitimately. This is valuable information as it emphasizes that body cameras can be used as a tool to promote procedural just interactions between police and civilians, which can lead to civilians viewing police more positively.

In a follow-up study in Turkey, Demir (2019) used identical procedures to simply examine civilian's perceptions about the effects of police body cameras on police-civilian interactions and how being exposed to police body cameras impacted these perceptions differently. Participants were 505 drivers (262 experimental condition and 243 control condition). The majority of respondents reported that they would support police body cameras. More importantly, their results indicated that participants perceived that body cameras would help improve transparency in police, police and civilian behaviors during encounters, and reduce corruption in police and complaints against police. Overall, these results emphasize that civilians have positive views of the effects that police body cameras can have in their community. Together, Demir et al. (2018) and Demir (2019) suggest that people have positive views on the use of police body cameras (at least during common checkpoint traffic stops in Turkey) because they may lead to more procedural just interactions and greater views of police legitimacy.

Similarly, Crow, Snyder, Crichlow, and Smykla (2017) investigated how civilians perceived police body cameras, but also examined potential differences by civilian's racial background. Crow and colleagues (2017) surveyed 797 residents (over the phone) in Escambia County and Palm Beach County, in

Florida – prior to the implementation of police body cameras in either county to assess resident’s support for body cameras. Although the estimated population across both counties at the time of the study was 58.5% non-Hispanic White, the study sample had 77.5% non-Hispanic White respondents (Crow et al., 2017). Additionally, racial minorities were clustered together and categorized as non-Whites prior to analyses. This is important because while the majority of their respondents supported the use of police body cameras, non-White and younger respondents were less likely to perceive that body cameras provided benefits for community- police relations. This implies that the implementation of body cameras may be perceived to have benefits for some groups of people when interacting with police, but not all groups. Regardless of race, the majority of respondents reported that the implementation of body cameras would improve views of police legitimacy and improve resident’s behavior during police encounters. This provides further support for Demir et al. (2018) findings as it highlights how police body cameras can be used as a tool to improve views of police legitimacy. As mentioned previously, police legitimacy is important for police-community relations because research has shown that greater views of police legitimacy strongly predicts cooperation with police (Tyler, 2003).

Aiming to provide evidence between use of police body cameras and civilian’s increased desire to report crimes, Ariel (2016) conducted a field-trial experiment investigating how the use of body cameras could affect crime reporting in hotspots of crime between police districts, when keeping crime density constant. Crime density was calculated by dividing the number of

emergency incident events (911 calls) by the city's street segment length (in meters) and then multiplying that by 100 meters; thus, number of events per 100 meters. One hundred and nineteen frontline officers were recruited from one district (treatment site) out of six police districts in Denver, Colorado to participate in the 6-month police body camera experiment. Body cameras were allocated to all frontline officers and officers were required to wear them during every shift. Researchers hypothesized that the use of police body cameras would increase reporting of crimes. Ariel (2016) uses police legitimacy theory to argue that if residents perceive their local police district to be more legitimate after implementing body cameras they would be more willing to cooperate with police and report crimes. Supporting their hypothesis, results indicated that the use of police body cameras led to greater willingness for reporting crimes to police (compared to districts that did not use body cameras) but this only occurred in low crime density areas and not in hotspot street segments, where a vast majority of criminal activity took place. This research provides great insight on how the implementation of police body cameras can have positive behavioral effects for police-community relations.

While increased willingness to report crimes are important for police-community relations, it's also valuable to understand how civilians actually feel when interacting with police that wear body cameras. McClure, La Vigne, Lynch, Golian, Lawrence, and Malm (2017) conducted a randomized controlled trial with a law enforcement agency in a socially diverse city in the southwestern United States to understand how police body cameras impact civilian's satisfaction

during a police encounter and police officer's behaviors when using body cameras. Sixty police officers volunteered to participate in the trial and were randomly assigned to one of three groups during the 6-month field-trial. Officers in the control group did not wear body cameras. Officers in the treatment 1 group wore body cameras. Officers in the treatment 2 group wore body cameras and were asked to follow a script at the beginning of every interaction – informing the civilian that they would be recording the interaction. During the 6-month field-trial data was collected on officer's activities, body camera recordings were reviewed, and 384 community members were surveyed within two weeks of their documented interaction with the police officers (McClure et al., 2017).

Surprisingly, nearly half (43%) of the participants could not recall if the police officer they interacted with was wearing a body camera – even though in treatment 2 police officers were explicitly directed to inform the civilian that they were wearing a body camera. In regards to their research question, their results did support their prediction of police body cameras increasing community member's satisfaction with police. However, perceptions of procedural justice were more strongly associated with community member satisfaction with a police encounter, than the use of police body cameras. This could be explained by participants simply not remembering if the officer wore the body camera.

Additionally, researchers learned that during this 6-month trial police officers assigned to the body-camera made fewer arrests than those without the body camera; specifically, they made 0.35 fewer arrests every two weeks during the trial. Although this research focused on civilian satisfaction during police

encounters, it provides a key question that the police body camera literature lacks to address – how do civilians feel during police interactions when officers wear body cameras?

Skolarus (2018) explored whether the use of police body cameras would influence civilian's perceptions of safety during police encounters and if police officers supported the use of body cameras, through a descriptive survey. Participants were 166 citizens and 200 police officers from Tampa, Florida – both groups were recruited in public areas (e.g., International Mall). Similar to previous studies, the majority of civilian respondents (96%) supported the use of police body cameras, and believed that all patrol officers should wear body cameras. In regards to their research questions, results indicated that the majority of civilian respondents did not feel safe around police in their community (61%), but the vast majority of civilian respondents (91%) did in fact believe that the use of use of police body cameras would enhance safety between police and civilians during encounters. This suggest that the use of body cameras may lead people to feel more safe around police in their community. Interestingly, they also found that while the majority of police respondents (58%) agreed that body cameras would improve police-civilian encounters, only 37% of police respondents supported the implementation of body cameras for patrol officers (everyday street officers). Although these results are descriptive, this provides initial evidence that people may perceive police encounters to be safer when body cameras are present.

Limitations and literature advancement

Much of the literature on police body cameras focuses on police behavior, but recently more research has focused on civilian's perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors. However, the research that focuses on the civilian's perspective fails to examine racial differences in perceptions of police and how police body cameras may influence a civilian's attitudes and behaviors during a police encounter. Only a few studies have attempted to explore how a civilian's race may influence their perceptions (e.g., police legitimacy) and attitudes (e.g., fear) towards police; however, many few studies simply compare White and non-White samples, combining racial minorities all in one category (Smykla, Crow, Crichlow, & Snyder, 2016; Crow, Snyder, Crichlow, & Smykla, 2017; Ray, Marsh, & Powelson, 2017). Grouping racial minorities into one racial category is problematic because Black Americans are most commonly targets of police misconduct, compared to other racial minority groups (Down, 2016). Because of this it is important to compare Black and White Americans in regards to police, as it will offer a better understanding on how police relations differ between majority (White) and minority (Black) racial groups in America. It is also important to specifically compare Black and White Americans because research has shown evidence that both groups perceive police differently. For example, Schuck, Rosenbaum, and Hawkins (2008) and Ray, Marsh and Powelson (2017) show that Black Americans perceive police more negatively and are more fearful of police, compared to White Americans. In addition, research on stereotype threat and intergroup interactions has shown that Black Americans anticipate feeling more anxious around police, especially when reminded about negative group

stereotypes (e.g., Blacks are criminals), compared to White Americans (Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff, 2015).

We plan on adding onto this literature in five important ways. First, we want to examine if the use of police body cameras influences greater perceptions of police legitimacy and procedural justice and how that compares between Black and White Americans. Second, we want to examine whether police body cameras impact anticipated feelings of safety during police encounters, and how that compares between Black and White Americans. Third, and most important we want to assess if police legitimacy, procedural justice, and anticipated feelings of safety predict the desire to report future crimes, and how that compares between Black and White Americans. Fourthly, we will investigate these outcome variables on a national sample (via Amazon Mechanical Turk) rather than focusing on a specific community. Finally, we will examine if there are differences between the use of body cameras and helping police solve crimes in a community level (i.e., reporting a crime) and individual level (i.e., volunteering to be part of a photo lineup).

Overview of Experiment 1

In our first experiment we investigated whether a police department's body camera policy status can influence civilians' perceptions of police legitimacy and if the implementation of body-cameras would predict participant's desire to report future crimes. To do this participants read a brief article about the values of police body cameras, were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (body camera implementation, body camera no implementation), and then

responded to questions regarding their attitudes, perceptions, and anticipated behaviors with police¹. We decided to use a vignette (rather than an image of a police officer wearing a body camera) because previous research has shown that civilians typically only notice a police officer wearing a body camera when the officer informs them that they are recording (Ariel et al., 2016a).

We decided to focus on the impact of body cameras and perceptions of police legitimacy because Crow, Snyder, Crichlow, and Smykla (2017) showed that people generally believe that body cameras will improve perceptions of police legitimacy. Thus, this experiment will examine if in fact the implementation of body-cameras can improve perceptions of police legitimacy, and how that may vary based on participant's racial background. Additionally, we were interested in examining how the implementation of police body cameras would influence the desire to report future crimes because Ariel (2016) found initial evidence that residents living in a community where police wore body cameras were more willing to report crimes, but this was limited to only low-density crime locations. Nonetheless, this experiment will provide more information on how body-cameras can impact reporting future crimes and how that may vary based on participant race – which has not been investigated before.

We hypothesized an interaction effect where Black participants would initially report lower ratings of perceptions of police legitimacy (compared to

¹ When conducting the experiment we used three conditions: body camera implementation, body camera no implementation, and a control condition. In the control condition participants did not receive a vignette about police policies potentially changing by their local police chief. It was later determined that because the control condition did not receive any vignette or the anticipated safety and anxiety measures, it would be inappropriate to include them in our results.

White participants) in the body camera no implementation condition and control conditions compared to the body camera implementation condition. But, then Black and White participants would report similar high ratings of perceptions of police legitimacy in the body camera implementation condition, compared to the body camera no implementation condition and control condition. Our first prediction stems from research showing that Black Americans generally have more negative perceptions and attitudes towards police (Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008). Our second prediction stems from Crow, Snyder, Crichlow, and Smykla (2017) showing that both Whites and non-White participants believed that the use of body-cameras would improve perceptions of police legitimacy.

Although in this study Black Americans were clustered with other racial minority groups to form a non-White participant category, we anticipate that perceptions of police legitimacy will not be significantly different between Blacks and Whites, when we tell participants that their local police department is implementing body cameras.

We also hypothesized an interaction effect where Black participants would initially report lower ratings of anticipated feelings of safety (compared to White participants) in the body camera no implementation condition and control conditions compared to the body camera implementation condition. But, then Black and White participants would report similar high ratings of anticipated feelings of safety in the body camera implementation condition, compared to the body camera no implementation condition and control condition. Our first prediction stems from the research emphasized that Blacks, and non-Whites in

general, have greater fear of the police compared to Whites (Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008; Ray, Marsh & Powelson, 2017). Our second prediction stems from the research highlighting that people perceive police body cameras to improve feelings of safety during police-civilian interactions (Skolarus, 2018).

Finally, we hypothesized that police legitimacy and anticipated feelings of safety would positively predict the desire to report future crimes, but only in the police body camera implementation condition. Our police legitimacy prediction stems from process-based model arguing that if residents perceive their local police district to be more legitimate be more willing to cooperate with police (Tyler, 2003; Ariel, 2016). Our anticipated feelings of safety prediction can also arguably stem from Tyler's process-based model. One can argue that in order to comply and cooperate with police, people have to first trust that the police are acting fairly and following procedures properly. In essence, if a police is acting fair and by the books an individual should feel more safe around them compared to a police officer acting prejudice and with their own discretion.

Method

Participants

A power analysis using the GPower (Faul, Erfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) determined that a sample of at least 235 participants would give us 95% power to detect a medium effect size, $f = 0.25$, with a two-tailed alpha of 0.05.

A total of 249 people from Amazon Mechanical Turk participated. Participants were asked to include their Mechanical Turk worker IDs in the survey. Fifteen Mechanical Turk worker IDs were matched with more than one

completed pre-screening survey and were excluded from the current study. Two people were excluded for not completing the study. Accordingly, the final sample of 232 people (53.9% men; $M_{age}: 37.09$, $SD = 12.03$) were Black (109; 47%) and White (123; 53%) Mechanical Turk workers. There were no missing data from this sample.

The experiment took form in a 2 (participant race: Black, White) x 3 (body-camera policy status: implementation, no implementation, control) between-subjects design. A prescreening survey was distributed in order to recruit only Black and White people for the experiment.

Procedure

Pre-screening: Researchers posted an online advertisement about a pre-screening survey and a subsequent study on police policies and public attitudes on Amazon Mechanical Turk. The advertisement indicated that there was no compensation for participation in the pre-screening survey. The pre-screening survey first asked participants to enter their Mechanical Turk worker ID. The instructions emphasized that those who attempted to complete the pre-screening survey multiple times would be ineligible to complete the subsequent study. Next, the survey asked participants about their gender, racial background, area they lived in, highest level of education completed, employment status, and current household income. Only participants who indicated that their racial background was White or Black were informed that they were eligible to participate in the police policies and public attitudes study.

Survey: Once redirected to the study itself, participants read a consent form. Participants were informed that by selecting “I agree to participate” they would start the study. Participants were asked again to enter their Mechanical Turk worker ID and were told that those who took the survey multiple times would be rejected and not compensated. Participants were first asked to complete a demographics questionnaire and the racial centrality scale. Next, participants read an article about the potential benefits of police body cameras. Participants were then randomly assigned to either (1) read an excerpt about large metropolitan police departments implementing the use of body cameras, (2) read an excerpt about large metropolitan police departments *not* implementing the use of body cameras, or (3) not read an excerpt. Afterwards, participants in the implementation and no implementation conditions were asked to complete an anticipated anxiety and safety measure which was related to the excerpt they received. All participants were then asked to complete the following measures: community police performance, anticipated cooperation with police, perceptions of police, perceptions of body cameras, perceptions of procedural justice and perceptions of police legitimacy. Finally, participants were debriefed and compensated \$1.00 USD for their participation.

Measures

This experiment was conducted via Qualtrics. Composite scores were created for each of the continuous variables in order to analyze the results based on the mean of all the items in the measure. For certain measures items were grouped together to form subscales. Also, for certain measures items were

reversed scored in order to have each item in the appropriate direction before creating a composite score. See Table 1 for scale reliability.

Demographic: Participants indicated how racially/culturally diverse their friendship network, community, and workspace are on a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (mostly White) to 7 (mostly racially/culturally diverse). Additionally, participants indicated their gender, age, income level, political affiliation, and whether their community police department used police body cameras.

Racial centrality (*Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998*). Participants indicated what race/ethnicity they primarily identify with. Additionally, participants answered eight questions (e.g., in general, my racial group is an important part of my self-image) on a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Two items were reverse coded.

News article ("*4 Ways Body Cameras Could Help Build Trust In Your Community,*" 2016). Participants read an article describing the ways police body cameras could improve community trust with police (see in Appendix A). A timer was set on this page of the online survey so that participants could not move forward in the study until one minute had passed.

Police department excerpt: Participants in the implementation and no implementation conditions read an excerpt about metropolitan police departments (see in Appendix B).

Support for body cameras. Participants indicated at the beginning of the survey (before the police body camera article) and at end of the survey if they believe that police departments should implement the use of body cameras on a 7-

point scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). This measure was used as a manipulation check to make sure that the brief article about the values of police body cameras did not change participant's support for police body cameras and potentially impact their responses on other measures regarding perceptions of police.

Anticipated feelings (*adapted from Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff, 2015*).

Participants in the implementation and no implementation conditions indicated how likely they were to anticipate feeling scared, hostile, anxious, safety, relaxed, and secure while living in a community where a police department uses or does not use body cameras by rating each word on a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely). This scale was transformed into two subscales, one representing "anticipated anxiety" and one representing "anticipated safety."

Local police performance (*Crow, Snyder, Crichlow, & Smykla, 2017*).

Participants evaluated their community police department by answering two questions (how is the quality of police protection in your community?; how well do the police deal with the problems that really concern people in your community?) on a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (very poor) to 7 (very good) for the first question and from 1 (not well at all) to 7 (extremely well) for the second question.

Future cooperation with police (*Reisig & Lloyd, 2009*). Participants indicated how likely they were to help police officers fight crimes by answering three questions (e.g., would you report a future crime to the police?) on a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (not at all) to 7 (absolutely).

Exposure to police (*Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff, 2015*). Participants indicated if they had ever been arrested, felt like they were stopped by the police because of their racial background, or were questioned by the police because they were a suspect in a crime by selecting “yes” or “no” to each of the three questions.

Perceptions of police as prejudice (*Chow, 2012*). Participants indicated how they perceive police officers as prejudicial (e.g., police are prejudiced against people from my racial group) on a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Two items were reverse coded.

Perceptions of body cameras (*Crow, Snyder, Crichlow, & Smykla, 2017*). Participants indicated how they perceive the use of police body cameras by answering six questions (e.g., body cameras will improve police officer behavior during interactions with residents) on a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). This scale was transformed into two subscales, one representing “body camera concerns” and one representing “body camera benefits.”

Perceptions of procedural justice (*Reisig & Lloyd, 2009*). Participants indicated how they perceive decision-making of police officers by answering six questions (e.g., explain the reasons for their decisions) on a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Perceptions of police legitimacy (*Tyler & Wakslak, 2004*). Participants indicated how they perceive the quality of treatment from police by answering six questions (e.g., people’s basic rights are well protected by the police) on a 7-point

scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). This scale was transformed into two subscales, one representing “trust in police” and one representing “obedience towards police.”

Results

Descriptive statistics. The majority of participants were men (53%; 125), had received a college degree (60%; 140), self-identified as liberals (56%; 132), and reported a family income of \$50,000 or less (57%; 133). The racial diversity of our participants’ community, friendship and workplace differed by race. Specifically, Whites ($M = 2.91$, $SD = 1.03$) reported that their social networks were significantly less racially diverse than did Blacks ($M = 4.57$, $SD = 1.23$); $t(230) = 11.238$, $p < .001$. Also, Blacks ($M = 4.58$, $SD = 1.15$) reported that their race was significantly more important to their self-image than did Whites ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.13$); $t(230) = 7.08$, $p < .001$.

In regard to our police measures, the majority of participants had never been arrested (81%; 189), stopped by police (78%; 182), or even questioned by the police (84%; 195). Both Black ($M = 4.61$, $SD = 1.35$) and White participants ($M = 4.81$, $SD = 1.40$) evaluated their community’s police department’s current performance as above average. We also asked participants if their local police department uses body cameras and 21% (48) said yes, 33% (77) said no, and 46% (107) said I’m not sure. That said, both Black ($M = 5.64$, $SD = 1.23$) and White participants ($M = 5.75$, $SD = 1.15$) agreed that police body cameras would be beneficial for their communities. And while both Black and White participants disagreed that police body cameras had community privacy concerns, White

participants showed greater disagreement ($M = 2.07$, $SD = 1.18$) than Black participants ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.77$); $t(230) = 2.037$, $p < .05$.

Since we used a pro-police body camera news article prior to our experimental manipulation we decided to conduct a repeated measures t-test on support for body cameras to determine if the news article influenced participants' support for body cameras. Results show that the support for body cameras did not significantly change from before reading the news article ($M = 6.194$, $SD = 1.166$) to after reading the news article ($M = 6.198$, $SD = 1.214$); $t(231) = -0.083$, $p = 0.934$. This suggests that the news article did not impact perceptions of police body cameras prior to our experimental manipulation.

Primary Hypotheses

ANOVA for police legitimacy. To test our hypotheses we conducted a participant race (Black vs. White) x body camera policy status (implemented vs. not implemented) factorial ANOVA on perceptions of police legitimacy. Contrary to our prediction, we did not find an interaction effect for participant race and body camera policy status on perceptions of police legitimacy. However, we did find a significant main effects for participant race on perceptions of police legitimacy, $F(1, 156) = 6.015$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .038$ and body camera policy status, $F(1, 156) = 7.142$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .045$ (seen in Figure 1). These data indicated that participants generally perceived police as less legitimate when body cameras were not implemented ($M = 3.703$, $SD = 0.142$) compared to body cameras were implemented ($M = 4.239$, $SD = 0.142$). Also, these data indicated that Black participants perceived police to be less legitimate ($M = 3.725$, $SD = 0.145$)

compared to White participants ($M = 4.217$, $SD = 0.138$). Also, when controlling for participants concerns of police body cameras and their evaluation of their community police performance we found the same significant main effects.

ANOVA for anticipated safety. To test our hypotheses we conducted a participant race (Black vs. White) x body camera policy status (implemented vs. not implemented) factorial ANOVA on anticipated feelings of safety. We found significant main effects for participant race $F(1, 156) = 6.005$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .038$ and body camera policy status $F(1, 156) = 134.651$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .470$, which was qualified by a significant interaction effect for participant race x body camera policy status on anticipated safety, $F(1, 156) = 4.751$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, which can be seen in Figure 2. These data indicate that Black participants anticipated feeling less safe ($M = 2.333$, $SD = 0.219$) when police departments were described as not implementing body cameras compared to White participants ($M = 3.350$, $SD = 0.219$). However, both Black participants ($M = 5.361$, $SD = 0.228$) and White participants ($M = 5.421$, $SD = 0.211$) anticipated feeling similarly safer when police departments were described as implementing body cameras. Also, when controlling for participants concerns of police body cameras and their evaluation of their community police performance we found the same significant main effects and a marginal ($p = .056$) interaction effect.

MANOVA. We conducted a two factorial MANOVA with predictor variables being participant race (Black vs. White) and body camera policy status (implemented vs. not implemented) and our outcome variables were perceptions of police as prejudice, perceptions of procedural justice, perceptions of body

cameras having community benefits, and perceptions of body cameras having privacy concerns. We decided to conduct a MANOVA test because we wanted to understand in general how perceptions of police and police body cameras varied between groups, before we analyze our dependent variables. We did not find a significant interaction effect for any of these outcome measures, suggesting that perceptions of police and police body cameras for Black and White participants was not significantly different between the body camera implementation and the body camera no implementation conditions.

Bivariate correlations. We next examined how our police related continuous variables related to future cooperation with police for Black and White participants (see in Table 2). Specifically, we were interested in how police legitimacy and anticipated safety correlated with future cooperation. Supporting our hypothesis, we found that for Black participants future cooperation with police was significantly positively correlated with perceptions of police legitimacy ($r = .089$; $p < .01$), and perceptions of procedural justice ($r = .280$; $p < .05$). However, contrary to our hypothesis, we did not find a significant correlation between anticipated safety and future cooperation for Black participants.

For White participants we found evidence supporting both of our hypotheses showing that future cooperation with police was significantly positively correlated with perceptions of police legitimacy ($r = .559$; $p < .01$), perceptions of procedural justice ($r = .574$; $p < .01$), and anticipated safety ($r = .298$; $p < .01$). This supports previous research showing that perceptions of police

legitimacy is associated with the willingness to cooperate with police (Ariel et al., 2016). It is important to note that significant correlations related to future cooperation were very weak for Black participants and strong for White participants. This suggests that viewing police as more procedurally just and legitimate may be linked to Whites wanting to cooperate with police in the future, but that may not be the case for Blacks. Similarly, the anticipation of feeling safe around police does not seem to predict cooperating with the police in the future for Black participants as it does with White participants.

Exploratory Analyses

Mediation test for White participants. In our bivariate correlations we found that perceptions of police legitimacy and anticipated safety had significant moderate – strong correlations with future cooperation with police. We wanted to explore if police legitimacy and anticipated safety mediated the relationship body camera policy status (body camera or no body camera) and future cooperation with police for White participants. Although our bivariate correlations showed a significant positive correlation between police legitimacy and future cooperation for Black participants, the positive correlation was very weak and so we did not believe that police legitimacy would be a mediator for body camera status and future cooperation. Nonetheless, we ran a mediation test using Preacher and Hayes' (2008) method of calculating standard errors and 95% confidence intervals of the effect of implementing body cameras on future cooperation with police through police legitimacy and anticipated safety for White participants. We utilized 5,000 bootstrapped samples to estimate the bias corrected and accelerated

confidence intervals. Results show that implementing body cameras did not predict police legitimacy; however implementing body cameras did predict anticipated safety for Whites and predicted future cooperation with police. This emphasizes that anticipated safety was a significant mediator of body camera policy status and future cooperation with police, Indirect = $-.4382$, $SE = .2056$, $95\% CI = -.875$ to $-.0593$ (see Figure 3). Thus, when Whites were told that their local police department were implementing body cameras, their anticipated feeling of safety increased, which can contribute to wanting to cooperate with the police in the future. We know from prior literature that the use of body cameras can influence perceptions of police legitimacy, and that the use of body cameras can promote the desire to cooperate with police, so it's interesting that in our analyses we do not see police legitimacy as a significant mediator for body camera policy status and future cooperation.

Discussion

The present research examined whether the implementation of police body cameras could influence perceptions of police legitimacy, especially for Black participants. Contrary to our hypotheses, we did not find that the implementation of body cameras significantly influenced Black participants' perceptions of legitimacy. While we did find main effects for participant race and body camera policy status for police legitimacy our effect size was small. We did find significant correlations between perceptions of police legitimacy and future cooperation with police for both Blacks and Whites. This supports previous research indicating that citizens who perceive that police treat people fairly are

more likely to comply with police, support police, and report future crimes (Goff, Epstein, & Reddy, 2013).

Although we did not find significant changes in perceptions of police legitimacy for Black citizens we were still interested in how the implementation of body cameras may impact feelings around police. We found that the body camera policy status significantly influenced anticipated feelings of safety, especially for Black participants. This is initial evidence that the use of police body cameras may potentially improve how comfortable civilians feel around police officers, especially for Black civilians. Additionally, through exploratory analyses we found initial evidence that anticipated safety may be mediating the effects of body cameras and the willingness to cooperate with police in the future. This is valuable as it emphasizes that 1) police body cameras may lead to more positive interactions with police and 2) these positive interactions may lead to behavioral effects that can benefit police-community relations.

Overview of Experiment 2

In Experiment 1 we found that a police body camera policy status influenced anticipated feelings of safety and anxiety. More importantly, we found that the implementation of body cameras influenced anticipated feelings of safety especially for Black participants. We also found preliminary evidence that anticipated feelings of safety around police can predict future cooperation with police for both Blacks and Whites. Due to our findings for anticipated feelings of safety in Experiment 1 being exploratory and having a small effect size we wanted to replicate these results. To capture a more realistic scenario we added a

vignette that described a hypothetical police encounter during a traffic stop. We hoped that having participants imagine themselves in a potentially threatening situation with a police officer would enable them to report more accurately on how they might feel and respond to police that wear body cameras. Because this hypothetical encounter was described in the 1st person point of view, we thought it would also be important to measure participant's anticipated feelings of comfort and suspicious behaviors – which may further support evidence towards feelings of safety and/or anxiety. That said, in our analyses we combined the measures anticipated feelings of safety and comfort as well as anticipated feelings of anxiety and suspiciousness together – in order to have a complete understanding of how participants may feel during their hypothetical encounter with a police officer by indicating their feelings and anticipated behaviors.

We hypothesized that the implementation of body cameras would influence anticipated feelings of safety and anxiety, especially for Black participants. We also hypothesized that anticipated feelings of safety would predict anticipated cooperation with police for both Black and White participants.

Method

Participants

A power analysis using the GPower (Faul, Erfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) determined that a sample of at least 185 participants would give us 95% power to detect a medium effect size, $f = 0.25$, with a two-tailed alpha of 0.05.

A total of 219 people from Amazon Mechanical Turk participated. Participants were asked to include their Mechanical Turk worker IDs in the

survey. Twenty-three Mechanical Turk worker IDs were matched with more than one completed pre-screening survey and were excluded from the current study. Accordingly, the final sample of 196 people (56.1% men; M_{age} : 34.12, $SD = 9.96$) were Black (96; 49%) and White (100; 51%) Mechanical Turk workers. There were no missing data from this sample. After reviewing Mechanical Turk worker IDs we found that there were no participants who participated in both Experiment 1 and 2.

The experiment took form in a 2 (participant race: Black, White) x 2 (body-camera policy status: implementation, no implementation) between-subjects design. A prescreening survey was distributed in order to recruit only Black and White people for the experiment.

Procedure

Pre-screening: Procedures were similar to Experiment 1.

Survey: Consent and Mechanical Turk worker ID procedures were similar to Experiment 1. Participants first started the survey by completing a demographic questionnaire and measures about their perceptions of law enforcement. Next, participants were randomly assigned to read an excerpt about a police chief from their community police department deciding to either implement the use of body cameras or not implement the use of body cameras. Afterwards, participants indicated their anticipated feelings around police. Participants then read a hypothetical police encounter while they were driving home from work and responded to measures about anticipated comfortability around the police officer, anticipated suspicious behaviors and anticipated cooperation during the

hypothetical police encounter. Finally, participants were debriefed and compensated \$1.00 USD for their participation.

Measures

This experiment used the same measures as in Experiment 1 with the exception of the news article, police department excerpt, and future cooperation scale. We decided not to use the future cooperation scale because in this experiment we planned to ask participants' questions after a hypothetical police encounter concerning whether they anticipate cooperating with the police. The following measures were also used in this experiment (see Table 1 for scale reliability):

Police policies excerpt. Participants read an excerpt about a police chief for their community police department deciding to either implement or not implement the use of police body cameras (see in Appendix C).

Police encounter vignette. Participants were asked to imagine themselves in a hypothetical police encounter (see in Appendix D).

Anticipated comfort. Participants indicated how likely they would anticipate feeling comfortable during the hypothetical police encounter by answering two questions (how comfortable do you feel around the officer?; how safe do you feel in this situation?) on a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely).

Anticipated suspicious behavior (*adapted from Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff, 2015*). Participants indicated how likely they would anticipate looking nervous during the hypothetical police encounter by responding to eight

statements on a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (not at all likely) to 7 (extremely likely). The eight items were: I would look nervous; I would try to avoid looking nervous; I would smile (reverse coded); I would avoid making eye contact; I would freeze; I would be fidgeting my fingers; I would be shaking; and I would touch my hair and/or ear.

Anticipated cooperation. Participants indicated how likely they would be to volunteer to support a police officer during a crime investigation by answering four questions (how likely would you be to volunteer to be part of a photo lineup?; how likely would you be to provide a written statement?; how likely would you be to tell the officer where you were driving?; and how likely would you be to let the officer check inside your vehicle?) on a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (not at all) to 7 (absolutely).

Manipulation check. Participants were asked at the very end of the survey to indicate if in this experimenter it stated their police department implemented or did not implement the use of police body cameras.

Results

Transforming variables. We decided to transform the anticipated anxiety and anticipated suspicious behaviors measures into one variable because the anticipated suspicious behaviors measure essentially describes anxiety, but in behaviors rather than emotions. Together, this variable will include emotional and behavioral based anxiety (see Table 1 for Cronbach alpha level). Similarly, we decided to transform the anticipated safety and anticipated comfort measures into one variable as anticipated safety targets general emotions while anticipated

comfort targets feelings around the police officer specifically. Together, this variable will provide general and specific emotions/feelings during the imagined interaction (see Table 1 for Cronbach alpha level).

Descriptive statistics. The majority of participants men (81; 51%), had received a college degree (97; 62%), self-identified as liberal (91; 58%), and reported a family income of \$50,000 or less (91; 58%). The racial diversity of our participants' community, friendships, and workplace differed by race.

Specifically, Whites ($M = 3.07$, $SD = 1.32$) reported that their social networks were significantly less racially diverse than did Blacks ($M = 4.43$, $SD = 1.12$); $t(194) = 7.815$, $p < .001$. Also, Blacks ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 0.99$) reported that their race was significantly more important to their self-image than did Whites ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 1.27$); $t(194) = 7.36$, $p < .001$.

In regard to our police measures, the majority of participants had never been questioned by the police (158; 81%) or arrested (155; 79%). Additionally, the majority of participants never felt like they were stopped by police because of their race (144; 74%). White participants ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.23$) reported their local police department's performance as more positive than Black participants ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 1.37$); $t(194) = 3.532$, $p < .001$. However, most of our participants were not sure if their local police department used body cameras (103; 53%). That said, both Black participants ($M = 4.67$, $SD = 1.85$) and White participants ($M = 4.58$, $SD = 1.93$) agreed that police body cameras would be beneficial for their communities. Also, both Black participants ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 2.04$) and White participants ($M = 3.21$, $SD = 2.12$) disagreed that police body

cameras had community privacy concerns. In general, both Blacks ($M = 6.13$, $SD = 1.19$) and Whites ($M = 6.21$, $SD = 1.24$) supported the decision that police departments should implement body cameras. Also, our manipulation check indicated that 184 (93.8%) of the participants passed the manipulation check by correctly indicating what condition they were at the end of the experiment.

Primary Hypotheses

ANOVA for anticipated safety. We conducted two factorial ANOVA with predictor variables being participant race (Black vs. White) and body camera policy status (implemented vs. not implemented) and our outcome variable was anticipated feelings of safety. Contrary to our hypothesis we did not find a significant interaction effect for participant race and body camera policy status on anticipated safety, $F(1, 192) = 2.246$, $p = .136$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$. However, we did find a significant main effect for body camera policy status, $F(1, 192) = 105.186$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.354$ and a marginal main effect for participant race on anticipated safety, $F(1, 192) = 3.587$, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$, which can be seen in Figure 4. These data indicate that participants anticipated feeling safer when police departments were described as implementing body cameras ($M = 5.096$, $SD = 0.139$) compared to when police departments were described as not implementing body cameras ($M = 3.076$, $SD = 0.140$). And White participants anticipated feeling safer around police ($M = 4.272$, $SD = 0.138$) compared to Black participants ($M = 3.899$, $SD = 0.141$).

ANOVA for anticipated anxiety. For the second test our outcome variable was anticipated feelings of anxiety. Similar to Experiment 1 we did not

find a significant interaction effect for participant race and body camera policy status on anticipated anxiety, $F(1, 192) = 1.052, p = .306, \eta_p^2 = .005$. However, we did find a significant main effect for body camera policy status, $F(1, 192) = 53.73, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.219$ and a significant main effect for participant race on anticipated anxiety, $F(1, 192) = 20.624, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .097$, which can be seen in Figure 5. These data indicate that participants anticipated feeling less anxious when police departments were described as implementing body cameras ($M = 2.179, SD = 0.136$) compared to when police departments were described as not implementing body cameras ($M = 3.592, SD = 0.137$). And White participants anticipated feeling less anxious around police ($M = 2.448, SD = 0.135$), compared to Black participants ($M = 3.323, SD = 0.138$).

Bivariate correlations. We next examined how police-related continuous variables were related to anticipated cooperation with police for Black and White participants (see in Table 4). For Black participants anticipated cooperation was significantly positively correlated with anticipated safety ($r = .214$), perceptions of police legitimacy ($r = .381$), and perceptions of procedural justice ($r = .561$). For White participants anticipated cooperation was significantly positively correlated with perceptions of police legitimacy ($r = .371$) and perceptions of procedural justice ($r = .375$). This is surprising because in Experiment 1 we found that anticipated feelings of safety are significantly correlated with future cooperation, but only for White participants; here we see that anticipated cooperation was only significantly correlated with Black participants.

Exploratory Analyses

Mediation test for Black participants. In our bivariate correlations we found that anticipated safety had significant weak – moderate correlations with anticipated cooperation with police, but only for Black participants. We wanted to explore if anticipated safety mediated the relationship body camera policy status (body camera or no body camera) and anticipated cooperation with police for Black participants, similar to it had in Experiment 1 when mediating body camera policy status and future cooperation. Nonetheless, we ran a mediation test using Preacher and Hayes’ (2008) method of calculating standard errors and 95% confidence intervals of the effect of implementing body cameras on future cooperation with anticipated safety for Black participants. We utilized 5,000 bootstrapped samples to estimate the bias corrected and accelerated confidence intervals. Results indicated that implementing body cameras did anticipated safety, but did not predict anticipated cooperation with police. This point out that anticipated safety was a significant mediator of body camera policy status and anticipated cooperation with police, Indirect = $-.3519$, SE = $.2587$, 95% CI = $-.9143$ to $.1090$ (see Figure 6). Thus, when Blacks were told that their local police department were implementing body cameras, their anticipated feeling of safety increased, but that did not contribute to wanting to cooperate with the police during the traffic stop.

Discussion

This research adds onto this literature by showing that the use of body cameras have the potential to increase feelings of safety for community members, especially for Black participants. Follow-up experiments will be conducted to

further examine how the use of police body cameras may improve citizens' feelings of safety and security when around police. Surprisingly, our mediation results challenge those of our 1st experiment as anticipated safety did not contribute to the willingness to cooperate with police. This can be explained by the different constructs in experiment 1 and 2. Specifically, in experiment 1 participants responded to community level cooperation (e.g., helping the police solve a crime in your community), while in experiment 2 participants responded to individual level cooperation (e.g., willingness to volunteer in a photo lineup). These two experiments provide important information in the body camera literature in regards to community member's desire to help the police as our results highlight that feelings of safety may lead to increase support for police when they are not a target of a crime. Further research will examine how anticipating feelings of safety can predict willingness to volunteer to assist a police officer (e.g., allow an officer to check inside your vehicle; volunteer to be part of a photo lineup). To date, there is little research exploring the effects of police body cameras on perceptions of police that compare White and non-White samples. This research provides valuable information as it distinguishes differences in perceptions of police and anticipated attitudes and behaviors between White and Black samples, in regards to the use/no use of body cameras.

Even though we did not replicate the interaction effect from experiment 1, descriptive data did suggest that Black participants felt less safe in the no implementation condition ($M = 2.741$, $SD = 0.197$) compared to White participants ($M = 3.410$, $SD = 0.199$) but then Black participants felt as safe ($M =$

5.057, $SD = 0.201$) as White participants ($M = 5.135$, $SD = 0.191$) in the implementation condition.

This experiment offers greater insight on how anticipated feelings of safety may predict cooperation with police. In this experiment we asked participants questions an officer may ask a civilian to volunteer for during a police encounter, while in Experiment 1 we asked participants general questions about supporting police. These results suggest that anticipated feelings of safety may lead civilians to cooperate more with police on community level issues (e.g., reporting a crime) compared to cooperating with police on an individual level – where the participant may be perceived as a potential suspect of a crime.

General Discussion

Across two experiments we were able to find preliminary evidence that the implementation of police body cameras can influence anticipated feelings of safety and anxiety around police for both Blacks and Whites. Additionally, we found evidence that anticipated feelings of safety may be contributing to the increased desire to cooperate with police, when police wear body cameras. Similarly, we found that the implementation of body cameras can influence perceptions of Blacks and Whites and that is correlated with the desire to cooperate with the police in the future. This is important because in previous research on police legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with police, Black participants were grouped together with other racial minorities. In general, these two experiments build off of previous research by showing that (1) body cameras influence perceptions of police legitimacy – for both Blacks and Whites, and that (2)

legitimacy is positively correlated to both community level and individual level cooperation with police.

In addition to supporting previous research these experiments provided valuable information on Black citizens and police relations. The few studies that examine perceptions of police legitimacy and police body cameras focus on White and non-White samples. We were able to further examine the benefits of police body cameras and perceptions of police legitimacy by comparing White and Black samples. By doing this we were able to discover that police body cameras do have similar effects on White and Black civilians, even though Blacks are historically mistreated by policing and already perceive police less legitimately. We found that perceptions of police body camera benefits were only significantly correlated with perceptions of police legitimacy for Black participants. This suggests that the more information Black civilians have about the values and benefits from the use of police body cameras, the more likely Black civilians are to perceive police as more legitimate. Our two experiments further support this case as Experiment 1 provided a news article about the values of body cameras and perceptions of police legitimacy was correlated with perceptions of body camera benefits, while in Experiment 2 we did not provide a news article and we found no correlation between both variables.

Limitations and future directions

After reviewing our results for Experiment 1 and 2 we recognized that some effects did not replicate. Of interest, we were curious on why we didn't replicate our findings (interaction effect) from Experiment 1 for anticipated

feelings of safety in Experiment 2. We reanalyzed our data on anticipated feelings of safety, but this time we split filed our data based on gender. We found that in Experiment 1 the significant main effects and interaction effects only emerged for men. However, in Experiment 2 we found that our significant main effects only emerged for women. While we didn't find a significant interaction effect in Experiment 2 once we split file on gender we found a significant interaction effect, but only for women. Although we do not have enough power to use these findings based on gender, this offers us insight on how each experimental manipulation may have triggered different feelings for men and women. In the future we plan to use gender as an independent variable to examine potential differences in anticipated feelings of safety between Black men and women during hypothetical police encounters.

The inconsistent findings in Experiment 1 and 2 for anticipated feelings of safety's mediation effects on willingness to cooperate with the police may also be due to the differences in excerpts that mentioned the body camera policy status. In Experiment 1 the excerpt was a short paragraph emphasizing that many metropolitan police departments decided to either implement or not implement body cameras. Participants may have read this excerpt believing the information to be true, even though it was not. In Experiment 2 the excerpt was a hypothetical scenario where participants were driving to work and heard over the radio that their local police department were either implementing or not implementing body cameras. While we thought that a hypothetical scenario would bring realism to how participants were informed about a new police policy it is possible that a

hypothetical scenario was less believable than simple paragraph stating information. Before we move forward in examining the effects of body camera policy status on anticipated feelings of safety we will conduct a pilot study exploring what manipulation may potentially be most believable. Most importantly, we will investigate if participants actually find a simple excerpt with information about a body camera policy status more believable than a hypothetical scenario about being informed about the policy over the radio.

Also, reasons for the inconsistent findings in regards to anticipated safety and willingness to cooperate with police could be due to the two different constructs of cooperation in Experiment 1 and 2. In Experiment 1, future cooperation related to helping solve community problems. In Experiment 2, anticipated cooperation related to helping solve a personal problem where the participant a suspected of a crime in a hypothetical scenario. Experiment 2 puts participants in a position where they are suspected of crime. Both future cooperation and anticipated cooperation are highly important when investigating the potential benefits of implementing body cameras. In follow-up experiments we plan to include both measures, future cooperation with police and anticipated cooperation with police. We also plan to include a new measure of cooperation that addresses how participants respond to scenarios where police are described as using unnecessary force or making an unnecessary arrest. It is important to explore how compliant a civilian anticipates to be even when they believe that an officer is unjust with their actions. These three measures of cooperation will offer great insight on how body cameras may improve community - police relations.

In regards to reading materials, Experiment 1 asked all participants to read an article about the values of police body cameras prior to the manipulation. This could in fact lead to a demand characteristic where participants' attitudes towards body cameras either shifted towards support of body cameras, or strengthened their already support for body cameras. This could be detrimental as participants in the body camera no implementation condition could be frustrated that their local police decided not to use body cameras and thus their perceptions of police legitimacy may be jeopardized. However, we believe that our vignette was designed to provide an objective and valid reason in regards to local police departments deciding to implement or not implement body cameras. Because we attempted to make the reasoning for the no implementation as strong as possible (i.e., body cameras may lead to police hesitating more during tense situations because they are being observed), we believe that this potential confound is not as severe as it may seem on the surface level. Additionally, in Experiment 1 we did not provide a manipulation check, as we did in Experiment 2, in order to be confident that participants read and understand the vignette and that our findings are not due to confounds. However, in the Qualtrics survey there was a thirty-second timer in which participants could not advance the page that had the one paragraph vignette until the thirty seconds had passed. While this does not provide absolute evidence that participants used those thirty seconds to read the brief vignette, it does at least signal to the participant that the vignette is of important value and should not be ignored.

Conclusion

Overall, this research offers important information in a growing literature on how police body cameras may influence positive attitudes, feelings, and cooperation with police. While much of the attention on police body cameras is focused on police misconduct – which is extremely important – these two experiments show initial evidence that body cameras can also improve police-civilian interactions, from a civilian’s perspective. If many states are debating on whether to implement the use of body cameras or not because it is financial expensive and the research on body camera’s effects on police misconduct is not persuasive, then this research can be one reason to justify the implementation of body cameras. The fact that body cameras can potentially allow civilians to feel safer around police is extremely important, especially if safety can potentially predict an increase in cooperating with police to solve a crime in the future. Feeling safe may be the first step in improving community-police relations, especially in communities that are historically mistreated by police.

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Table 1

Continuous variable's scale reliability analysis for Experiment 1 and 2.

Continuous Variables	Number of items	Experiment 1	Experiment 2
		Cronbach's alpha	Cronbach's alpha
Perceptions of police as prejudice	7	0.897	0.864
Perceptions of procedural justice	7	0.953	0.953
Perceptions of legitimacy	6	0.844	0.836
Perceptions of body camera benefits	4	0.856	0.918
Perceptions of body camera concerns	2	0.800	0.927
Anticipated safety & comfort	3 5	0.952	0.799
Anticipated anxiety & suspicious	3 11	0.888	0.775
Racial centrality	8	0.818	0.819
Racially diverse social network	3	0.728	0.739
Local police performance	2	0.864	0.902
Future cooperation with police	3	0.914	--
Anticipated cooperation	4	--	0.793

Table 2

Bivariate correlations between the pairs of continuous variables for Black and

White participants in Experiment 1.

Black Participants								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Perceptions of police legitimacy	-							
2 Perceptions of procedural justice	.78**	-						
3 Anticipated safety	.46**	.44**	-					
4 Anticipated anxiety	-.23*	-.25*	-.62**	-				
5 Future cooperation	.08**	.28*	.06	-.05	-			
6 Perceptions of body camera benefits	.39**	.31**	.31**	.03	-.05	-		
7 Perceptions of body camera concern	-.00	.01	.44**	0.8	.26*	-.41**	-	
8 Perceptions of police as prejudice	-.00	-.01	.27**	-.10	-.02	.04	-.30**	-
White Participants								
1 Perceptions of police legitimacy	-							
2 Perceptions of procedural justice	.80**	-						
3 Anticipated safety	.37**	.40**	-					
4 Anticipated anxiety	-.26*	-.31**	-.82**	-				
5 Future cooperation	.55**	.57**	.29**	-.12	-			
6 Perceptions of body camera benefits	.07	.07	.14	-.08	-.03	-		
7 Perceptions of body camera concern	.12	.14	-.05	.24*	.31**	-.52**	-	
8 Perceptions of police as prejudice	.01	.00	.20	-.24*	.07	-.01	.07	-

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

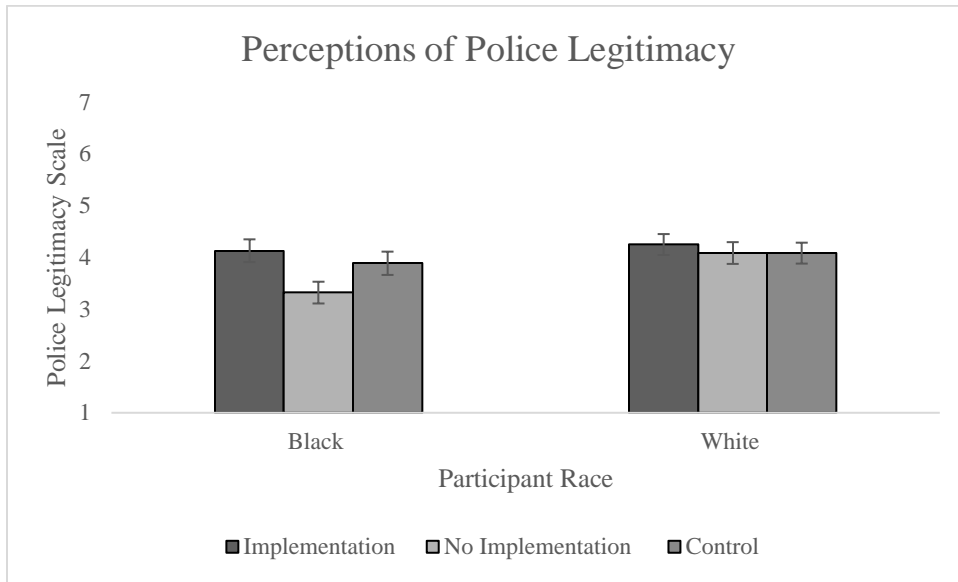


Figure 1. Perceptions of police legitimacy between Black and White participants in Experiment 1 (high numbers indicate greater belief in police legitimacy).

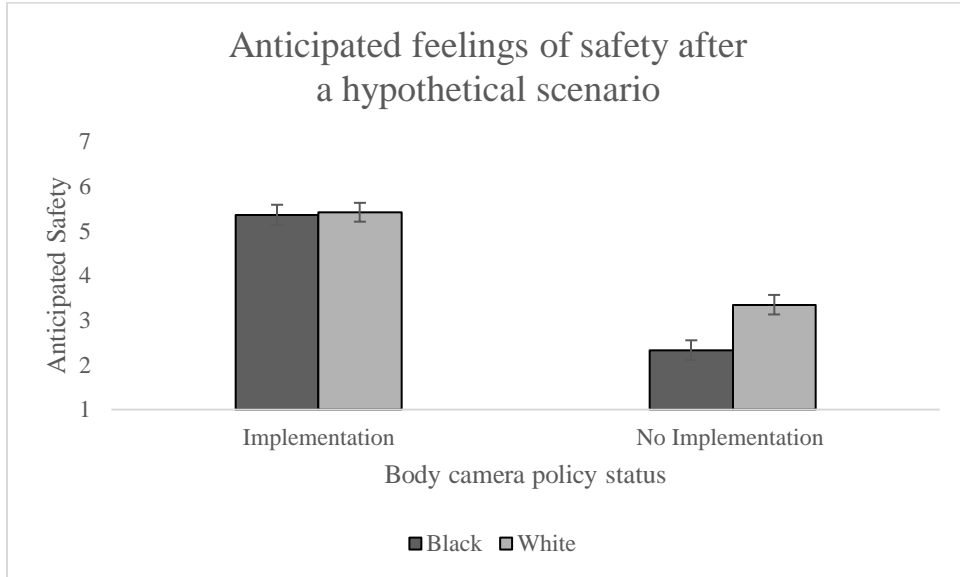


Figure 2. Anticipated feelings of safety between Black and White participants in Experiment 1 (high numbers indicate greater anticipation of feeling safe).

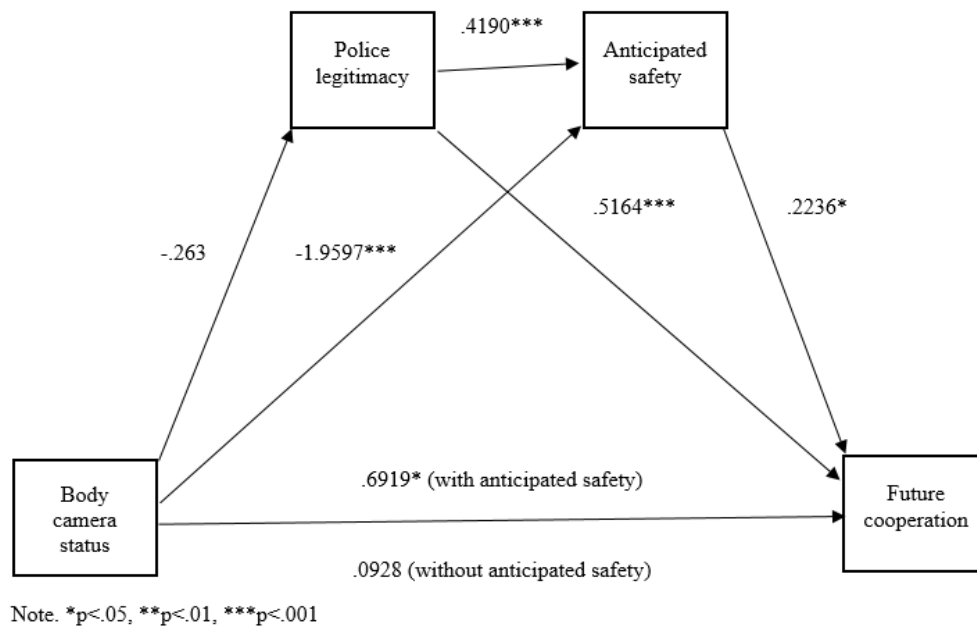


Figure 3. Mediation model 6 (two mediators) from Preacher and Hayes' (2008). When police body cameras are implemented participants have increased feelings of safety, which contributes to the desire to cooperate with police in the future.

Table 4

Bivariate correlations between the pairs of continuous variables for Black and

White participants in Experiment 2.

Black Participants								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Anticipated safety	-							
2 Anticipated anxiety	-.12	-						
3 Perceptions of police as prejudice	-.01	-.10	-					
4 Perceptions of police legitimacy	.50**	.01	.19	-				
5 Perceptions of procedural justice	.40**	-.07	.23*	.73**	-			
6 Perceptions of body camera benefit	-.14	-.06	-.27**	-.15	.02	-		
7 Perceptions of body camera concern	-.02	.56	.36**	.04	-.09	-.61**	-	
8 Anticipated cooperation	.21*	.06	.06	.38**	.56**	.11	-.15	-
White Participants								
1 Anticipated safety	-							
2 Anticipated anxiety	-.20*	-						
3 Perceptions of police as prejudice	.07	.01	-					
4 Perceptions of police legitimacy	.41*	-.07	-.07	-				
5 Perceptions of procedural justice	.33**	-.09	-.13	.83**	-			
6 Perceptions of body camera benefit	.01	.02	.55**	-.08	-.08	-		
7 Perceptions of body camera concern	.87	-.04	-.56**	.09	.18	-.72**	-	
8 Anticipated cooperation	.13	.18	.10	.37**	-.37**	.11	-.10	-

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

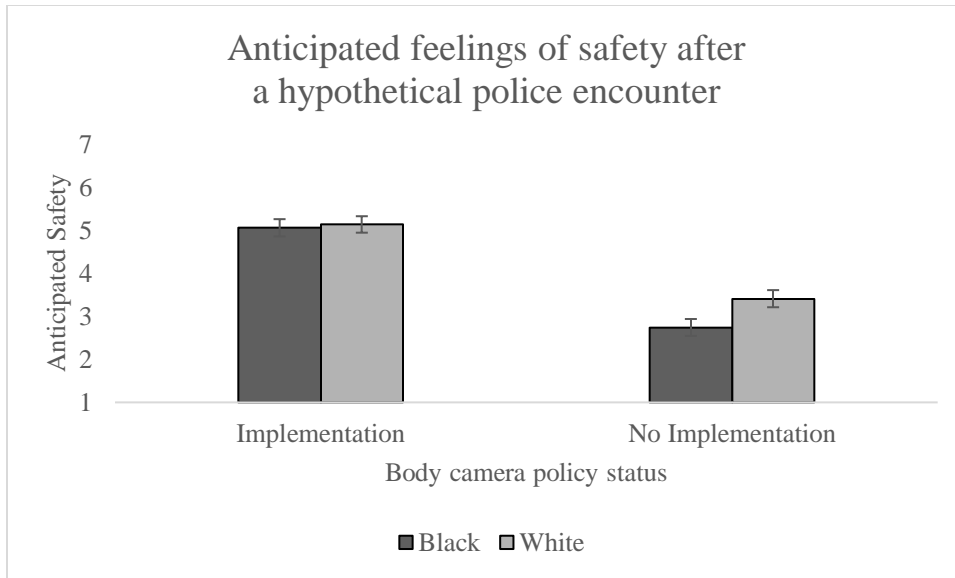


Figure 4. Anticipated feelings of safety between Black and White participants in Experiment 2 (high numbers indicate greater anticipation of feeling safe).

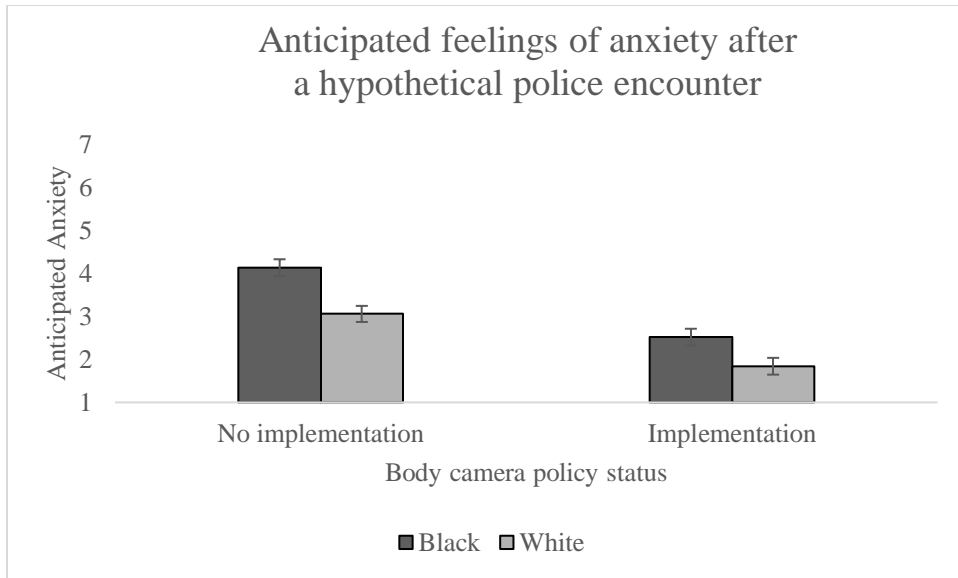
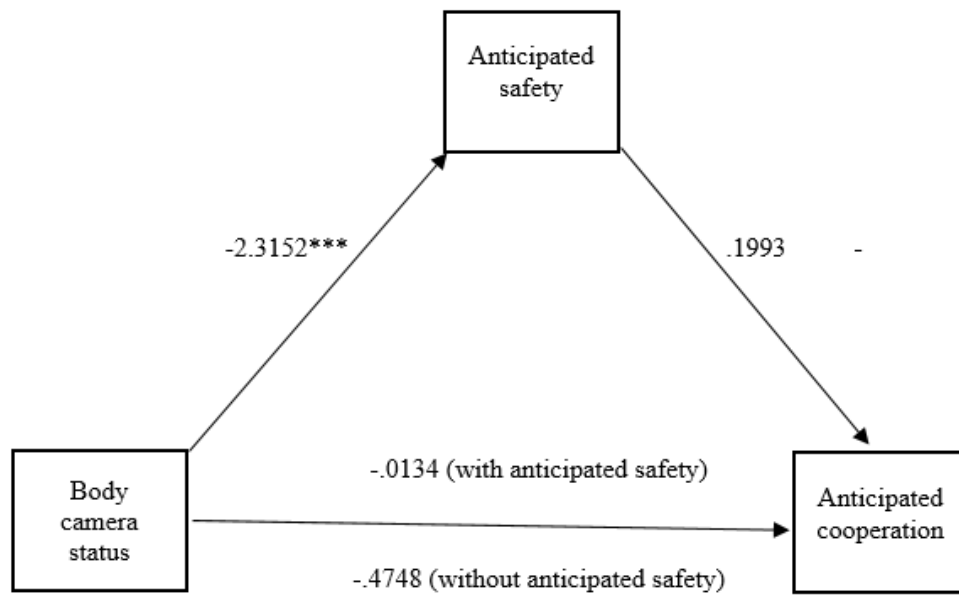


Figure 5. Anticipated feelings of anxiety between Black and White participants in Experiment 2 (high numbers indicate greater anticipation of feeling safe).



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

Figure 6. Mediation model 2 (one mediator) from Preacher and Hayes' 2008.

There is no mediation effect for anticipated safety between body camera status and anticipated cooperation.

Appendix A

News article used in Experiment 1

<https://www.policeone.com/police-products/body-cameras/press-releases/187915011-4-Ways-Body-Cameras-Could-Help-Build-Trust-in-Your-Community/>

4 Ways Body Cameras Could Help Build Trust in Your Community

Recent events across the country have brought to light how fragile a community's trust in the police can be. Unfortunately, years of service and hard, honest work can be undone in moments as single incidents disproportionately tip the scales of public opinion. And in the modern, connected world, the repercussions of isolated cases can sweep across the whole of the United States; compounding the perception that has begun to shade every department.

Body worn cameras can help build trust back into your community. Further than proving the skeptics wrong, they actually bring to the foreground the service, honor and duty police officers show every day. Here are 4 ways they help do this:

1) Body cameras reduce tensions

Did you know that 60% of Americans believe community and police tensions would be reduced if officers wore body cameras? This positive statistic was uncovered in the Reveal 2015 Policing Perspectives Report, conducted by

This means that over half of your community would immediately have an improved perception of their relationship to your department simply with the introduction of body cameras.

2) Body cameras make officers more efficient

Being able to capture video and audio evidence will alone save an officer's time transcribing detailed notes about every incident they come across – up to 22% of their shift said the . The technology's hand in deescalating aggressive encounters also leads to quicker resolution, allowing officers to be more available to help other members of the public. Furthermore, digital video

evidence is very powerful and can make the justice system as a whole more efficient, saving money and keeping officers out of court.

An increased visibility and availability encourages contact, which is helpful when building trust with the community.

3) Body cameras reduce use of force incidents

A study with the [REDACTED] Police Department found a 50% decrease in use of force incidents as a result of body cameras having an impact on the behavior of both the officer and the public. Research around the world has shown [REDACTED] is not alone and that the front facing screen on their body cameras enhances the deterrent nature of the technology, having a profound effect on interactions with the public:

"When people see themselves being recorded... – they can check their behavior because they know they're being recorded" Officer [REDACTED], [REDACTED] PD, [REDACTED]

"The devices also had a positive impact on behavior. We found once someone was aware they were being recorded, their behavior changed – in some cases, it helped defuse aggressive situations." [REDACTED], Police Chief for [REDACTED]

By diffusing situations, you may negate the need to establish control by use of force. Either the situation will not escalate to the point of needing to establish control, or the perpetrator will be more willing to cooperate.

4) Body cameras are an independent witness

Honest and hardworking police officers soon discover that body cameras are there to help them do their job. By being an unbiased witness, they provide back up for the officer in contentious situations.

Reveal's 2015 Policing Perspectives Report found that If Americans encountered a scenario in their neighborhood where an officer had arrested a suspected criminal and both were complaining the other had assaulted them, 35 percent would believe the police officer was most likely telling the truth, while, showing there is some distrust amongst Americans, one in ten (10%) would trust the person arrested.

In contentious environments, body cameras would be the vehicle whereby truth could be found. And if the camera had been rolling, it would be very difficult to fabricate a false testimony.

When your community see officers with body cameras, the 1 in every 10 people may be more likely to trust their account.

Appendix B

Police department excerpt used in Experiment 1

Implementation condition:

Many large metropolitan police departments across the United States have decided to implement the use of body-worn cameras because they believe body-worn cameras would improve police transparency and trust with their communities. Police chiefs have emphasized that the implementation of body-worn cameras would improve policing, as officers would now be videotaped during police-civilian interactions, which would lead to more appropriate responses.

No implementation condition:

Many large metropolitan police departments across the United States have decided to not to implement the use of body-worn cameras because they believe body-worn cameras [would/would not] improve police transparency and trust with their communities. Police chiefs have emphasized that the implementation of body-worn cameras would inhibit policing, as officers would now be videotaped during police-civilian interactions, which would lead to more hesitant responses.

Police policies excerpt used in Experiment 2

Implementation condition:

It's almost 9:00 a.m. on a Tuesday and you're driving to work. Since you like to stay up to date on what's happening in the world you turn on the radio to listen to Jim & Diane, your local radio talk show hosts. In between songs, Jim is having a conversation with his co-host Diane about a statement your community's chief of police just released. Jim reads the statement:

"Over the past few years the federal government, state legislature, and police departments across the USA have been discussing the potential costs and benefits of having police use body-worn cameras. Today, the city mayor and I [chief of police] have made a decision to implement the use of police body-worn cameras. We firmly believe that body-worn cameras will improve police transparency and trust with our community. After numerous discussions we agreed that the implementation of body-worn cameras will improve policing. The act of videotaping police officers during police-civilian interactions will lead to more appropriate police responses. It is our duty to serve and protect our community, and we believe that implementing body-worn cameras is the right decision. Effective immediately, all patrol police officers will be required to use body-worn cameras."

No implementation condition:

It's almost 9:00 a.m. on a Tuesday and you're driving to work. Since you like to stay up to date on what's happening in the world you turn on the radio to listen to Jim & Diane, your local radio talk show hosts. In between songs Jim is having a conversation with his co-host Diane about a statement your community's chief of police just released. Jim reads the statement:

"Over the past few years the federal government, state legislature, and police departments across the USA have been discussing the potential costs and benefits of having police use body-worn cameras. Today, the city mayor and I [chief of police] have made a decision not to implement the use of police body-worn cameras. We firmly believe that body-worn cameras will not improve police transparency and trust with our community. After numerous discussions we agreed that the implementation of body-worn cameras will inhibit policing. The act of videotaping police officers during police-civilian interactions will lead to more hesitant police responses. It is our duty to serve and protect our community, and we believe that not implementing body-worn cameras is the right decision. Effective immediately, no patrol police officers will be required to use body-worn cameras."

Police encounter vignette used in Experiment 2

A few days later you're stuck at work all day. You're exhausted and just want to go home. It's about 8:00 p.m. and you are finally able to head home. You walk to your car and put your favorite radio station on. There's light traffic and you're now just a few blocks away from your house. All of a sudden you see red and blue flashing lights in your rearview mirror. It's the police. You pull over to the side of the street. The police cruiser pulls over right behind you. You look down to check whether or not you have your seat belt on. You do. You take a peek at your side view mirror and see a police officer walking towards your car.

Once the police officer approaches your door he immediately pulls out his gun and aims it at your head. He starts yelling at you to put your hands on the wheel. You put both of your hands on the wheel. The police officer asks you to slowly open the door with your left hand while keeping your right hand on the wheel. You follow his orders and slowly open the door.

The police officer then asks you to slowly get out of the car. He puts away his gun. As you slowly get out of the car the police officer grabs you and roughly puts you against the car. He informs you that a store clerk called about a shoplifter in this neighborhood about ten minutes ago, and that your car fits the description. He starts to frisk you. The officer doesn't find any weapons on you. The officer then starts to ask you a few questions...