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# PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT POLICE USE OF BODY-WORN CAMERAS

by

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A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

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This thesis, submitted by Deanne Paulsen in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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This thesis is being submitted by the appointed advisory committee as having met all of the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies at the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.

Dr. Wayne Swisher

Dean of the School of Graduate Studies

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Deanne Paulsen July 21, 2016

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To my amazing Parents and Family, who supported me when even I thought I would fail

#### **ABSTRACT**

There has been a significant increase in media attention about encounters between police officers and the public which have ended badly, sometimes in injury or death. These events have increased public concern about police conduct. Because of these events and the adverse publicity they have generated, many police departments have begun using body-worn cameras. The police use of body-worn cameras raises many important issues such as their effects on privacy and police-community relations. Because police departments have just recently begun using body cameras, there has been limited research on them.

Consequently, the current study examined whether the public favors the use of body-worn cameras, how they view their possible positive and negative effects, and how they believe the police should use body-worn cameras. Participants were found to strongly support the use of body-worn cameras, though there was much less consensus among participants about how they should be used.

#### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION

Recently, there has been a large increase in media attention devoted to incidents where police officers used force, especially when this force has resulted in serious injury or death to the public. Much of the media coverage implies that police misconduct caused these incidents and the serious injuries and deaths that resulted from them. The media attention to these incidents has increased the public's concern and scrutiny of the police and their use of force. For example, the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri and the death of Freddie Gray while in police custody in Baltimore, Maryland garnered national attention. These and other incidents have fueled a national debate about police conduct and the use of force especially with incidents involving minorities (Ho, 2014; James, 2014; Mateescu, Rosenblat & Boyd, 2015; Rutkin, 2014). It is often difficult to determine what actually happened in these incidents. Even the long and expensive legal process that inevitably ensues after these tragic incidents often fails to reveal the truth about them.

Because of increased public concern about police conduct and their use of force, several solutions have been proposed to solve this controversy. One proposed solution, which has received widespread support, is the mandatory use of body-worn cameras by police officers. For example, President Obama has authorized the expenditure of \$75 million in federal funds over three years to

police departments for the purchase of body-worn cameras (The White House, 2014). Many police departments already use body-worn cameras, and many departments have mandated their use (Ho, 2014; Harding, 2014).

Police officers usually wear body-worn cameras on their torso, shoulder, helmet or glasses so the camera is positioned to record what the officer is seeing and hearing. However, these camera positions may produce problems. If the camera is worn on the torso or shoulder it only records what is directly in front of the officers. When an officer turns his or her head from side to side, the camera may not pick up what the officer is seeing. When the camera is worn on the officer's helmet or glasses, there tends to be a lot of movement which may blur the video (Mateescu, Rosenblat & Boyd, 2015).

Nonetheless, as discussed below, body-worn cameras may have many potential benefits for both the police and the public (ACLU, 2013). If police departments are to successfully implement body-worn cameras, they must proactively address the public's and officer's concerns about their use (TCP, 2007). Police departments who choose to use body-worn cameras face the challenge of adapting this emerging technology to their needs without infringing upon the rights of the public or the rights of police officers.

Use of video recording has become much more prevalent in the criminal justice system. For instance, eyewitness interviews and suspect interrogations are frequently recorded. Similar to body-worn cameras, recording of interviews is not mandatory in many jurisdictions in the United States, but has become more widespread. Other countries also record eyewitness interviews and suspect

interrogations. For example, England and Wales have mandatory recording policies for interviews and interrogations (West Yorkshire Police, 2015). Police departments who record interviews and interrogations generally strongly support their use (Kassin et al, 2011).

Many researchers and legal scholars recommend mandatory recording of police interviews and interrogations. Frequently, mandatory recording policies of interviews and interrogations were instituted after accusations of police wrongdoing (Gudjonsson & Pearse, 2011; Kassin et. al, 2011). Many of the same reasons that justify mandatory recording of police interrogations and interviews also justify the mandatory recording of police-public interactions.

For example, when Eric Garner died in police custody in New York City, it was alleged that a police officer caused his death by using an illegal chokehold. New York City is divided into 78 police precincts and the precinct where this incident occurred has one of the highest rates of police misconduct in the city (James, 2014). Because of allegations of police misconduct, many police departments require the recording of interviews and interrogations. Similarly, many police departments have begun using body-worn cameras because of allegations of police misconduct.

## **Advantages of Police Body-Worn Cameras**

Proponents of body-worn cameras cite many benefits from police using body-worn cameras. Although some of these benefits have empirical support, many others have not been tested (White, 2014). One of the potential benefits of the police using body-worn cameras is that they may reduce the use of force by

police officers and members of the public (Harris, 2010). Ariel, Farrar, and Sutherland (2015) tested this hypothesis with the Rialto Police Department in Rialto, California. Specifically they hypothesized body-worn cameras would reduce the use of force by both officers and the public, and also the number of complaints filed against the police, if members of the public knew the police were using body-worn cameras. They evaluated whether force was used in an incident rather than the amount of force to have a more objective measure. They also reviewed the number of complaints filed against the police during the year-long study.

The researchers distributed body-worn cameras during shifts instead of to specific officers which allowed all the officers in the department to use the cameras at some point during the study. This also lessened the effect an officer's partner had on an officer's behavior because officers had different partners during the study and sometimes patrolled alone during different shifts. The data from the study was compared to the data for the three years before the department began using cameras. During the year-long study, there were a total of 25 use-of-force incidents and 17 of these incidents occurred when a police officer was not wearing a body camera. During the study, there was a total of three complaints filed, compared to 24 complaints the previous year. The authors concluded the body-worn cameras reduced the incidents where police officers used force and reduced the number of complaints filed against the police (Ariel, Farrar & Sutherland, 2015).

Another possible benefit is that body-worn cameras may improve the public's behavior and help protect officers from false complaints (Harris, 2010). The U.K. Home Office, which is analogous to the U.S. Department of Justice, studied police officers' use of body-worn cameras which led to its publication of "Guidance for the Police Use of Body-Worn Video Devices" in 2007 (hereafter "U.K. Guide"). The U.K. Guide discusses the results of a pilot study of police body-worn cameras in Plymouth City. The researchers found a 40% reduction in public complaints against police officers for use of force and incivility in Plymouth City after the police department began using body-worn cameras. The study also revealed another potential benefit of body-worn cameras; protecting officers from false accusations. In one case discussed in the study, the video from a police body-worn camera showed that the complainant's claim of police misconduct was false (Police and Crime Standards Directorate, 2007).

Marks (2013) also describes an incident where a man threatened an officer in the U.K. but later denied making the threat. If the officer had not been wearing a body camera, the outcome of the case would have been determined solely on the basis of the testimony of the officer and the man who made the threat. Because the incident was recorded, the man was successfully prosecuted for threatening the officer (2013). These cases demonstrate the potential for body-worn cameras to protect officers from false allegations and to protect them from threats made by the public.

Another potential benefit of police body-worn cameras is they can provide a more accurate account of events. There have been many cases of suspected

police misconduct which were not resolved due to conflicting testimony (Harris, 2010). Police body-worn cameras may provide a more accurate account of events. For example, a body-worn camera can record victim or witness statements or injuries which provides more accurate evidence than written accounts (TCP Committee, 2015). The U.K. Guide points out that body-worn cameras record evidence in real time and with greater accuracy than any other method of preserving evidence. This capability is particularly useful in incidents where officers discharged their firearms (Police and Crime Standards Directorate, 2007).

Another possible benefit is that body-worn cameras can support an officer's version of events contained in their police reports and statements. Police officers have expressed concern that they are frequently watched and recorded by the public (Harris, 2010). Police body-worn cameras provide an additional source of information about an incident that may be more complete and accurate than a cell-phone recording by a member of the public. There are mobile applications created for the public to share their cell-phone videos of police officers such as "Cop Recorder" (Rutkin, 2014). Police officers need their own, more complete video to counterbalance what is being recorded by the public. The police already use security cameras, CCTV, and dash cameras to obtain video of crimes. Bodyworn cameras are a way to extend this ability by providing the police with a first-person account of encounters with the public (Police Research Forum, 2014).

Additional potential benefits of body-worn cameras are that they may produce more plea bargains, a reduction in officer court time, and decreased court

costs (TCP Committee, 2015). For example, video from body-worn cameras may cause more defendants in criminal trials to plead guilty rather than go to trial, and thereby reduce the time officers spend in court and preparing to testify (Marks, 2013). The study in Plymouth in the U.K. Guide revealed that bodyworn cameras reduced officers' court time and the time officers spent on paperwork, which allowed officers to spend more time on the street (Police and Crime Standards Directorate, 2007). In 2013, New York City spent approximately \$152 million settling claims of police misconduct. In contrast, body-worn cameras for the New York Police Department are estimated to cost less than \$5 million and may significantly reduce citizen complaints of police misconduct (James, 2014). Drover and Ariel (2015) found officers viewed bodyworn cameras more favorably when the officers learned that they increased the number of guilty pleas and reduced officer's court time. Increased guilty pleas from the use of body-worn cameras would also reduce court costs (Coppola, 2010).

Police body-worn cameras may also improve evaluations of police officers and the training of police officers. For example, videos from police body-worn cameras can be used to evaluate new officers' performance and determine if further training is required (TCP Committee, 2015; Police Research Forum, 2014). Body-worn cameras may permit supervisors to closely observe officer performance in the field and correct behavior before it becomes a problem. There is, however, little empirical data to support this benefit (White, 2014).

## **Negatives of Police Body-Worn Cameras**

Implementation of body-worn cameras in a police department is difficult. Moreover, while body-worn cameras have many advantages as was previously discussed, their use also raises important concerns. Accordingly, the main issue for the public and police departments is whether their potential advantages outweigh their potential costs.

One of the main concerns about the police using body-worn cameras is that they can violate the privacy of both the public and police officers. For example, when they are used to videotape the inside of a person's home or videotape a police officer on a lunch break, in the locker room, or while off duty (White, 2014). They also raise other important constitutional questions. Unlike earlier video technologies, body-worn cameras are portable and can be used in more places (ACLU, 2013). They record both audio and video and can record close-up images (Police Research Forum, 2014). They frequently capture images of bystanders to an investigation. Consequently, they can have a chilling effect on the exercise of an individuals' freedom of speech and association.

After terrorists used burqas to disguise themselves, France banned clothing that concealed a person's face from being worn in public (Proseus, 2012). This ban particularly impacted the Muslim community. Muslim girls were not allowed to wear their hijabs, religious headscarves, to public school. Muslims have also been viewed with increased suspicion in the United States following the bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993 (Proseus, 2012) and the September 11, 2001 attacks (Schwartz, 2010). Suspicion and discrimination against Muslims

have increased during the 2016 presidential campaign because of incendiary rhetoric from certain candidates (Staff, 2015; Hasan, 2015). Along with the increase in Islamophobia there may also be a resurgence of other older prejudices against other groups such as Jews or African-Americans (Schwartz, 2010). Police body-worn cameras could be used to target minorities and political groups and to violate their constitutional rights.

Harfield (2014) discusses the harm which can result from videotaping individuals without their consent. The images could be used against an individual or to misrepresent them. Because the images were taken without consent, the autonomy of the individual is infringed upon and their privacy harmed. As such, he discusses several factors which should be considered before videotaping an incident such as the reason for recording and who is going to have access to the recording. He argues that recording of individuals should only occur if the public benefit outweighs the harm to the individual. This would mean that the officers could videotape an incident even if the person or persons being videotaped objects to the videotaping if it is necessary for the investigation and its benefits to the community outweigh its harm to the individual.

Nonetheless, he asserts there are times when officers should not activate their cameras such as when a witness to a crime does not want to be recorded (Harfield, 2014). Therefore, an important issue with police body-worn cameras is whether their use provides sufficient benefit to the community to offset the harm they cause to individuals. Privacy concerns can also arise if the video becomes public. Mateescu, Rosenblat & Boyd (2015) describe how embarrassing dash

camera video has been put online. The risk to privacy is even greater for bodyworn cameras, which can be used in homes and other private areas.

The use of body-worn cameras may discourage members of the public from providing information to the police. Witnesses may be concerned that if the police videotape them the suspect will learn what they did and retaliate. The public may also be concerned about how police body-worn cameras will impact their privacy and who will have access to a video after it is recorded. As previously stated, Mateescu, Rosenblat and Boyd (2015) described several incidents where embarrassing videos from police dash cameras were put on the internet. The public and the media may demand access to police videos, and the police may have to give relevant videos to criminal defendants (Police Research Forum, 2014). Video from police body-worn cameras may re-traumatize victims and witnesses of violent crimes and accidents.

Furthermore, police body-worn cameras can record in places where there is a high expectation of privacy such as people's homes, bathrooms, and locker rooms. As previously discussed, body-worn cameras frequently record bystanders to crimes. Although some police departments have attempted to address some of these concerns, by limiting where recording can take place, it is unclear how effectively these privacy issues can be addressed. The police need the public to provide information about crimes to effectively do their jobs.

Accordingly, when a department decides whether to use body-worn cameras, they need to consider how the cameras will affect their relationship with the public,

and how they can minimize the harmful effects of body-worn cameras (White, 2014).

Another major concern about body-worn cameras systems is that they may make the prosecution of criminal cases more difficult when there is no video (Ariel, Farrar & Sutherland, 2015; TCP, 2015). Jurors may come to expect videos in all criminal cases, and question the credibility of police officers when there is no video to corroborate their testimony. Consequently, body-worn cameras in many instances may undermine rather than support the credibility of police testimony and hurt police instead of help them (Harris, 2010). Additionally, problems may arise when a camera malfunctions, an officer forgets to activate his or her camera, or a police officer turns off the camera either accidentally or intentionally. Questions may arise as to why the camera was deactivated. This may not only harm the officer's criminal case, but may also subject the officer to disciplinary action from his or her department (Mateescu, Rosenblat & Boyd, 2015; TCP, 2015). If a police department chooses to use body-worn cameras, it needs to develop specific policies concerning when the camera should or should be used, and how to properly document why a camera was turned off.

Undoubtedly there will be future technological advances that will greatly increase body-worn cameras' capabilities. Currently, the police can use facial recognition software with video from body-worn cameras. Al-Obaydy and Sellahewa (2011) determined that high definition video is fairly accurate at facial recognition even at a long distance and that standard definition video can be accurate in facial recognition at a close distance. Video from body-worn cameras

frequently captures bystanders as well as suspects to crime. Concerns have been raised about when, how, and with whom facial recognition software should be used (Police Research Forum, 2014). Other technologies such as license plate recognition software can also be used with body-worn camera video. Although these technologies can be helpful in criminal cases, such as an officer recording a suspect's face or car, they can also be used to investigate innocent bystanders who appear in the videos. Consequently, police departments would need to closely monitor the use of video from body-worn cameras to insure they are not misused (Harfield, 2014; TCP, 2007).

Another major concern about body-worn cameras is they may undermine the trust between police officers and their supervisors. Some officers may fear supervisors will closely monitor their behavior and use the video from body cameras to discipline them (Ariel & Drover, 2015). Officers may believe that they are required to use body-worn cameras because their supervisors do not trust them to properly perform their jobs or exercise discretion appropriately. If a police department makes body-worn cameras mandatory, they need to address the concerns of the officers using them (Mateescu, Rosenblat & Boyd, 2015).

Another potential problem is that body-worn cameras can impose a significant administrative burden on a police department. Body-worn cameras produce a large amount of video that must be processed, stored, maintained, accessed, and secured. In addition, body-worn cameras and the equipment for processing and storing videos needs to be maintained, updated, and replaced. The time and resources necessary to use body-worn cameras tends to increase over

time (Ariel, Farrar & Sutherland, 2015). It is frequently difficult to implement body-worn cameras in a police department and to obtain officer compliance with departmental regulations concerning body-worn cameras.

Ariel's and Drover's (2014) study of the West Midland Police in England demonstrated some of the administrative burdens that result from the use of bodyworn cameras. Their study was similar to the study of the Rialto Police Department in California, with one important difference. Unlike the Rialto study, Ariel and Drover were observers only. The West Midland police, not the researchers, determined how the body cameras were distributed and used. Their study revealed some of the practical problems in using body-worn cameras, such as placing them in the correct docking station so the video could be downloaded and getting officers to comply with departmental regulations for body cameras. Although the police found simple solutions to some problems, other problems were much more complex and difficult to solve (Ariel & Drover, 2015).

Another potential problem is that body-worn cameras can be expensive.

Depending upon the quality of the camera, they can range in price, from \$70-\$1000 (White, 2014). A report prepared for the New York Police Department estimated that body cameras would cost between \$450 and \$900 per camera and that equipping 15% of the police force with body-worn cameras would cost almost \$5 million (James, 2014). Departments should determine what goals they are trying to achieve by using body-worn cameras and evaluate whether those goals could be achieved with other less costly means. Some critics of body-worn cameras argue that the money for the cameras could be better spent on community

programs such as job training and interventions for disadvantaged youth (TCP, 2007).

There are other problems with body-worn cameras. For example, the batteries for the cameras require charging more frequently than the batteries used in dash cameras so body-worn cameras cannot be activated for an entire shift. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, there are many additional costs associate with the use of body-worn cameras besides purchasing them such as maintenance, repair, video storage, and redacting images from videos (White, 2014).

## **Use and Discretion of Body-Worn Cameras**

If a police department decides to use body-worn cameras, it must make several important decisions about how to use them. For example, when to activate the cameras and who can access the video from them. To help police departments make these decisions, police and other organizations have developed guidelines for the implementation of body-worn cameras. These organizations include the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS), The Constitution Project (TCP), and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). While these organizations differ on some important guidelines, they agree on many guidelines for the use of body-worn cameras. Nonetheless, even for the guidelines where they agree, there is little research on the public's opinions about these guidelines and their actual effectiveness.

The first important decision a police department must make about its use of body-worn cameras is when they should be activated. The two most frequently

proposed guidelines for the activation of body-worn cameras are the following: First, they should be continually activated during an entire shift without interruptions so every public interaction is recorded (Grewal, 2015; IACP, 2015; Police Research Forum, 2014; TCP, 2015; White, 2014). The first proposed guideline ensures that every interaction with the public is recorded and nothing is missed including interactions that suddenly become hostile or violent. However, the continuous activation of police body-worn cameras raise important privacy concerns for both the public and police officers such as recording of bystanders to an interaction or recording officers on a lunch break (ACLU, 2013). Moreover, it also raises practical concerns such as the limited battery life of a body-worn camera.

The second frequently proposed guideline is that body-worn cameras should be activated for every law enforcement-related call for service (Grewal, 2015; IACP, 2015; Police Research Forum, 2014; TCP, 2015; White, 2014). The second guideline has a similar rationale as the first guideline, but would eliminate many of the privacy concerns of the first guideline by not recording casual conversations with the public or recording police officers during a lunch break or in locker rooms. The disadvantage of this guideline is that even casual conversations can turn hostile and violent, and officers may not have time to activate their cameras in such a circumstance.

Although police and other organizations did not propose them, other possible guidelines for the activation of body-worn cameras include recording only potentially hostile interactions with the public or interactions that have the

potential for violence, or giving officers complete discretion to decide when to activate their cameras. In situations where police officers have discretion, it is generally recommended that if an officer is uncertain whether to record an interaction they should err on the side of caution and record it (TCP, 2015).

Another important decision about body-worn cameras is whether police officers should be required to inform the public they are being recorded, and if the police should obtain an individual's consent before recording him or her. Several organizations have proposed that the police inform the public that they are being recorded unless it is unsafe, impractical, or impossible to do so (Grewal, 2015; IACP, 2015; Police Research Forum, 2014; ACLU, 2013). Although these organizations recommend the police inform the public that they are being recorded, they do not recommend requiring police officers to obtain the public's consent except in certain circumstances. For example, they recommend that the police obtain consent from crime victims to record them to protect them from retraumatization (Grewal, 2015; IACP, 2015; Police Research Forum, 2014; TCP, 2015). Their guidelines also state that the police should obtain consent prior to activating a camera in a home unless they have a warrant (ACLU, 2013).

The guidelines of these organizations also give police officers some discretion in determining if they should record unwilling crime witnesses. For instance, COPS recommends officers be permitted to turn off their cameras to obtain the statement of a witness who is unwilling to speak on camera if the value of the evidence is low and the risk to privacy is high (Police Research Forum, 2014).

In addition, these organizations recommend that certain types of witnesses (e.g. confidential informants and undercover officers), and certain types of situations (e.g. restrooms, locker rooms, and strip searches) should never be videotaped (Grewal, 2015; IACP, 2015; Police Research Forum, 2014; Mateescu, Rosenblat & Boyd, 2015; TCP, 2015). Some organizations also recommend that body-worn cameras should not be used to gather information protected by the First Amendment (ACLU, 2013; TCP, 2015). These guidelines may help alleviate concerns of some individuals about body-worn cameras. However, because there are no surveys of the public about these issues it is unknown what the public thinks about these organizations' guidelines. Moreover, public support for police use of body-worn cameras is essential to their successful implementation.

These organizations also recommend that when officers are allowed to deactivate their cameras, they need to document the reason for the deactivation. There have been different recommendations for how police officers should document this decision. For example, a police officer could use his or her camera to record their reason for its deactivation or document the time and reasons for the deactivation in their report of the incident (Grewal, 2015; IACP, 2015; Police Research Forum, 2014; TCP, 2015). Another recommendation is that police officers should only be permitted to deactivate their camera when they obtain supervisor approval for the deactivation. This recommendation, however, could create problems. For example, if a supervisor is difficult to reach or takes a long time to approve the request. A clear procedure for documenting the deactivation

of police body-worn cameras could help allay public concerns about such occurrences and also enhance the evidentiary value of police testimony when there is no videotape to corroborate the officer's testimony.

Another important decision that police departments need to make about body-worn cameras is whether the public should have access to video from them. Open records laws, which allow public access to certain state records, were created before the invention of body-worn cameras. Moreover, video from body-worn cameras may contain more private information than other types of public records or may be inappropriate for public viewing for other reasons (ACLU, 2013; TCP, 2015). For example, the police may deny the public access to video that is part of a criminal investigation or that compromise an individual's privacy rights (Police Research Forum, 2014; Mateescu, Rosenblat & Boyd, 2015).

In contrast, in highly controversial cases such as the Michael Brown and Freddie Gray cases, police departments may wish to proactively release videotape to counter media reports that the police acted improperly. However, the proactive release of video from controversial cases may also negatively impact a criminal investigation, so these decisions must be made carefully. If a department decides to release a video, redaction or blurring of nonrelated parts of the footage may be necessary (TCP, 2015). To protect privacy and conserve department resources, some organizations have recommended the deletion of video after a specified time. For example, it has been recommended to delete video from a criminal case once the case has been definitively resolved. It has also been recommended that non-evidentiary video should be deleted shortly after it is downloaded, usually

between 60-90 days (Grewal, 2015; IACP, 2015; Police Research Forum, 2014; ACLU, 2013).

Several organizations have recommended that police departments have mandatory disclosure rules for parties involved in litigation (Grewal, 2015; TCP, 2015). For example, Ho (2014) discussed one attorney's difficulty in obtaining video from a police body-worn camera for a family whose son had been shot. Instituting a mandatory disclosure policy for videos relevant to litigation would help insure that litigants have access to information that may be important for their cases and would increase the likelihood that cases are justly resolved. On the other hand, it could be argued that a mandatory disclosure rule for video related to litigations is unnecessary because discovery rules in civil and criminal cases are adequate to determine when a police department is required to give a litigant access to a video.

Another important issue pertaining to police body-worn cameras is whether an officer should be allowed to review a video from their body-worn camera before making a report. Eyewitness testimony is frequently unreliable (Wells et. al, 2000). Letting police officers view a video from their body-worn camera may increase the accuracy of police reports and police testimony. However, there is concern that viewing the video will alter an officer's memory of the incident and that police officers could unintentionally or intentionally alter their testimony to conform to the video.

One possible solution to this dilemma is to have officers make their initial report and statement without viewing the video. However, if there is an

administrative review or court proceeding about the incident, the police officer would be permitted to review video to increase the accuracy and credibility of their testimony. This recommendation would ensure police officers will still be held accountable for their initial report and will require officers to explain the discrepancies between their report and the video (Police Research Forum, 2014). However, there are also problems with this possible solution. For example, in a criminal case a defense attorney could use the video to impeach the credibility of the officer who wrote the police report. Consequently, it is important to have data on what the public thinks about this recommendation or other possible recommendations for handling this important issue.

As mentioned above, police officers are concerned that their superiors will use the video from body-worn cameras to look for reasons to discipline them (Harris, 2010; White, 2014). One recommendation to counter this concern is that supervisors should only be permitted to review videos in limited circumstances such as when an officer is on probation, or allegations of misconduct have been made against an officer, or similar circumstances (Grewal, 2015; IACP, 2015; Police Research Forum, 2014; ACLU, 2013; TCP, 2015). Another recommendation about the use of video to review officer performance is that only an internal auditing team, not supervisors, be permitted to review videos regularly and randomly to evaluate officer performance (Grewal, 2015; IACP, 2015; Police Research Forum, 2014; TCP, 2015). Police departments need to make the important decision about who will be permitted to view video from body-worn cameras to evaluate officers' performance. Moreover, they need to ensure that

police officers and the general public support their decision on this important issue.

These recommendations discussed above are reflected in many U.S. police department policies about body-worn cameras. Each police department in the U.S., however, determines if and how they will implement a recommendation. Moreover, when police departments adopt a recommendation they frequently do not all implement it in the same manner. Some of the police departments that have implemented policies for the use of body-worn cameras include the Burlington Police Department (2014), Grand Forks Police Department (2014), Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department (2014), Minneapolis Police Department (2014), Rialto Police Department (2013), and Seattle Police Department (2014). The policies of these police departments impose some limits on the use of body-worn cameras and give their officers some discretion in how they use them.

### **Public Opinions about Body-Worn Cameras**

While there is limited research on body cameras, there is more extensive research on how the public views police action that affects their privacy. For example, Slobogin and Schumacher (1993) had participants rate the intrusiveness of police searches and seizures in 50 different scenarios. The researchers hypothesized that participants would rate scenarios as more intrusive if the participant was the subject of the search rather than someone else, if the search was unrelated to a specific crime, and if the search involves people who appear guilty. Their hypotheses were confirmed. The researchers offered several

explanations for these results such as participants find a search less intrusive if the scenario implied the defendant was guilty of the crime and was dangerous, and if the search did not affect the participant's privacy rights (Slobogin & Schumacher, 1993).

There has been little research investigating the opinions of the public and the police about the use of body-worn cameras. The studies of the Rialto Police Department and the West Midlands Police Force only addressed officers' concerns which arose during the programs. For example, when problems occurred for the researchers in Rialto, California the chief of the police worked with the researchers and officers to resolve the problem (Ariel, Farrar & Sutherland, 2015). In their study of the West Midlands Police Force, the researchers found that when officers had provided continuous feedback about the body-worn cameras and the problem they encountered in using them, the officers were much more supportive of their use (Drover & Ariel, 2015). In these two pilot studies, police officers did raise some concerns about the body-worn cameras, however, the purpose of these studies was not to survey officers about body-worn cameras. Consequently, the surveys only addressed officers' concerns about body-worn cameras that arose during the course of their research.

Ellis, Jenkins, and Smith (2015) surveyed the police and the public on the Isle of Wight in England before and after all the police officers in the local police department began using body-worn cameras. Most of the public and police officers who participated in the survey believed that body-worn cameras would improve officers' ability to collect evidence and obtain convictions. To a slightly

lesser degree, both groups believed that the cameras would reduce assaults on police officers and the public. The two groups differed, however, concerning who would benefit most from body-worn cameras. The police officers believed the public would benefit most from the cameras while the public believed the police would be the primary beneficiaries of body-worn cameras. Overall, both the police and the public favored the use of body cameras (Ellis, Jenkins & Smith, 2015).

While this study provided some useful information about the public's and police officer's beliefs about body-worn cameras, there are several important areas it failed to address. For example, the survey did not address in detail participants' beliefs about the effects of body-worn cameras on privacy, police discretion in the use of body-worn cameras, or if officers should be permitted to view video before writing their reports, etc.

Mateescu, Rosenblat, and Boyd (2015) discussed the need for information about what the public thinks about many key issues about body-worn cameras such as police officer discretion to deactivate them, obtaining consent before videotaping, how the video from body-worn cameras should be used, etc.

Although several organizations have proposed guidelines for their use, their guidelines sometimes differ. Moreover, each police department must decide for itself if it will use body-worn cameras, and how it will use them. As noted above, departments with body-worn camera policies frequently disagree on how they should be used. Moreover, to successfully implement body-worn cameras, police departments need the public's support. Accordingly, they must consider the

public's beliefs about whether to use and how the body-worn cameras should be used. The present study seeks to help fill this gap in the scientific literature about body-worn cameras.

## **Current Study**

The purpose of the present study is to further explore the public's opinions about whether police departments should use body-worn cameras, the advantages and disadvantages of their use, and how the police should use them if they decide to purchase them. As previously described, police and legal organizations have made recommendations for body-worn cameras and a few studies of the public about them have provided some insight, but there is a dearth of research about the public's views of body-worn cameras.

The following hypotheses are made about the present study:

Hypothesis I: Based on prior research it is hypothesized that the public will generally have positive views of police body-worn cameras but will believe the police benefit more from them than the public.

Hypothesis II: It is hypothesized that the public will rank the benefits that most directly affect them as the most important benefits of the police using body-worn cameras such as improving officer behavior, reducing police officers' use of force, etc. Similarly, it is hypothesized that they will rank as the most significant disadvantages of police body-worn cameras those disadvantages that directly affect them such as their effect on the public's privacy, their cost, etc.

Hypothesis III: The public will favor police officers having little discretion in the use of body-worn cameras.

Hypothesis IV: The public will view the use of body-worn cameras as more appropriate when they are used in a mosque rather than a church, when the police inform worshipers that they are videotaping the service, and when the suspect is present rather than absent during the videotaping of the religious service (Slobogin & Schumacher, 1993).

#### **CHAPTER II**

#### **METHOD**

## **Participants**

Participants were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk and received 50 cents for their participation. There were a total of 504 participants; however, 113 were excluded from the analysis. Participants were excluded if they failed two attention checks in the questionnaire or if they responded to the last question in the questionnaire that their data should not be used in the study. Participants were also excluded if their answers indicated a response set or if they completed the survey in less than five minutes or took longer than 30 minutes to complete the survey. Based on pilot study, five minutes was deemed too short to complete the study and longer than 30 minutes indicated that the participant did not complete the questionnaire in one sitting. A total of 391 participants (169 men and 222 women) were included in the analysis. Participants ranged in age from 18-87 years old (M = 38.55, SD = 13.15). The majority of participants were Caucasian (n = 314), followed by African-American (n = 25), Asian-American (n = 25), = 21), Latin-American (n = 14), "other" (n = 7), and Biracial (n = 4), and one participant did not indicate his race.

Participants were recruited from across the United States. Most participants were from the South (n = 137), followed by the Midwest (n = 90), the West (n = 83), and the North East (n = 81). Participants reported the following

religious affiliations: Christian (n = 199), no religion (n = 143), other (n = 35), Jewish (n = 8), Muslim (n = 2), and four participants did not indicate their religion. Most participants described their political perspective as Moderate (n = 105), followed by Moderate-Liberal (n = 102), Liberal (n = 80), Moderate-Conservative (n = 67), and Conservative (n = 35). Two participants did not indicate their political perspective.

Participants reported the following levels of education: Did not complete high school (n = 4), high school graduate (n = 53), associate degree (n = 25), some college but no degree (n = 90), bachelor degree (n = 139), some post graduate education but no degree (n = 23), master degree (n = 46), and doctoral/law degree/medical degree (n = 9). Two participants did not indicate their educational level. Participants' most frequent type of employment was in white collar/professional positions (n = 173) followed by blue collar positions (n = 76), homemaker (n = 42), unemployed (n = 30), student (n = 29), retired (n = 28), and disabled (n = 12). One participant did not indicate his or her occupation.

Two participants reported that they had previously been a police officer.

No participants were currently police officers. A total of 52 participants reported they had been arrested for a crime; 32 participants reported they had been convicted of a crime and 6 participants reported the crime was a felony.

#### **Materials**

Participants answered a questionnaire about police body cameras (see Appendix A). In the first section of the questionnaire, participants used five-point Likert scales with labels of 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree to evaluate statements about the possible positive and negative consequences of police using body-worn cameras. In the second section of the questionnaire, participants rated six possible benefits of police body-worn cameras from the most important possible benefit to the least important possible benefit. They also rated six possible negative consequences of the police using body-worn cameras from the most harmful to the least harmful. In the third section of the questionnaire, participants used five-point Likert scales to evaluate statements about how the police should use body cameras.

In the fourth section of the questionnaire, participants read a brief vignette and rated on nine-point Likert scales six questions about the appropriateness of the police behavior in the vignette. In the vignettes, police officers received a tip that two bombing suspects were present at a house of worship. The vignettes varied whether the house of worship was a mosque or church, whether the police officers informed the worshippers they were recording the people attending the service, and whether the suspects were present at the service. The vignettes examined whether the participants' views of the appropriateness of police behavior depended on whether the house of worship was a mosque or church, whether the worshipers were informed they were being recorded, and whether the suspects were present.

#### **Procedures**

The questionnaire was put online using Qualtrics. After consenting to the study, the participants completed the questionnaire (see Appendix A).

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the eight possible vignettes in the questionnaire that varied whether the videotaping occurred in a mosque or church, the worshippers were informed or not informed of the videotaping, and the suspects were present or not present during the videotaping. After completing the questionnaire, the participants were debriefed.

#### **CHAPTER III**

#### **RESULTS**

# The Public's Views on Police Use of Body Cameras.

Hypothesis I stated that that the public would generally have positive views of police body-worn cameras, and would believe that the police would benefit more from them than the public. The participants showed a surprisingly strong favorable attitude toward police body-worn cameras. A total of 93.4% (n = 365) of the participants favored their use, and 72.89% (n = 283) supported their use even if meant their taxes would increase. In addition, 81.59% (n = 319) of the participants indicated that recent events had increased their support of police body-worn cameras. Furthermore, 75.45% (n = 295) of the participants believed that the public favors the use of body-worn cameras. Consequently, even the participants in the survey underestimated the strong support for police body-worn cameras. In sum, the first part of Hypothesis I was supported. The vast majority of participants favored the police using body-worn cameras.

The results, however, did not support the second part of Hypothesis I. The first section of the questionnaire was analyzed to determine if the participants believed that body cameras would benefit the police more than the public. A large percentage of participants tended to agree with all the potential advantages of police body cameras whether they benefited the police or public more. For example, 87.78% (n = 344) and 81.33% (n = 318) of participants believed that

body-worn cameras would increase the safety of the public and the police, respectively. Similarly, 79.03% (n = 309) and 89.77% (n = 351) of participants indicated that body-worn cameras would improve the behavior of the public and the police, respectively. 93.61% (n = 366) of participants indicated body-worn cameras would help address the concerns of the public, such as police use of force and racial profiling, and 72.89% (n = 285) indicated that the criminal justice system would benefit from their use. More specifically, 92.84% (n = 363) of participants reported that body-worn cameras would help train police, and 89.00% (n = 348) reported that their use would increase the accuracy of police reports (see Table 1).

The participants also tended to disagree with the possible negative consequences of the police using body-worn cameras. 68.03% (n=266) of the participants reported that they did not have significant privacy concerns about the use of body-worn cameras. 82.86% (n=324) and 78.52% (n=307) of participants indicated that body-worn cameras would not undermine trust between the police and the public, or between the police and their supervisors, respectively. In addition, 76.73% (n=300) of participants indicated that the use of body-worn cameras would not create an unreasonable burden on the police. A slight majority of participants, 52.17% (n=204), indicated the money for cameras would not be better spent elsewhere such as on job training, violence prevention, and other community programs. Almost half of the participants (49.62%, n=194) indicated that the credibility of officer testimony would not be hurt in cases where there was no video (see Table 1). Thus, the results did not support the

second part of Hypothesis I that the police would benefit more from body-worn cameras than the public.

## **Ranking of Potential Positives and Negatives of Police Body Cameras**

Hypothesis II stated that the participants would rank the potential benefits of police body-worn cameras that most directly affect them as most important. Similarly, it was hypothesized that the participants would rank the potential disadvantages of police body-worn cameras that directly affect them as the most significant. The different potential benefits and disadvantages of police body-worn cameras were presented randomly to the participants so that their order of presentation would not affect participants' rankings of them. Participants' rankings for each of the six potential benefits and for each of the six potential disadvantages of police body-worn cameras were reverse coded and then summed to give a total score for each item.

Participants ranked the potential benefits of police body-worn cameras in the following order from the most important to the least important: (1) They will improve police officers' and citizens' behavior when they interact; (2) They will reduce the number of incidents where police use force; (3) They will reduce and resolve citizen complaints against the police; (4) They will increase officer safety; (5) They will improve the criminal justice system; and (6) They will help police departments evaluate and improve officer performance (See Table 2).

The three highest ranked benefits were the benefits that most directly affect the public. The participants' responses to the statements in section I of the questionnaire support the conclusion that the participants believe the potential

benefits of body-worn cameras will likely occur. For example, 89.77% (n = 351) and 79.13% (n = 309) of the participants agreed that body-worn cameras would improve police and public behavior, respectively. Also 93.61% (n = 366) of the participants strongly agreed or agreed that body-worn cameras would help address the public's concerns about police use of force and racial profiling (See Table 1). So the participants indicated they agreed these benefits would occur and also that they were important.

Participants ranked the potential disadvantages of police body-worn cameras in the following order from the most to the least important: (1) They will violate citizen's privacy; (2) The public will be less likely to share information with the police; (3) The cost of body-worn cameras; (4) They will hurt the credibility of police officers' testimony in court when there is no video; (5) They will create an unreasonable administrative burden on the police; and (6) They will undermine the trust between police officers and their superiors (See Table 3).

The three highest ranked disadvantages were the disadvantages that most directly affect the public. However, the participants' responses in section I of the questionnaire indicated that only a small percentage of the participants believed these potential disadvantages of body-worn cameras would occur. For instance, only 18.41% (n=72) of the participants indicated that they had significant privacy concerns about police body-worn cameras. A total of 72.38% (n=283) of the participants indicated that the police should use body-worn cameras even if it meant their taxes would increase. Only 15.60% (n=61) of the participants responding that money for body-worn cameras would be better spent on

community programs such as job training and violence prevention. So while cost was considered the third most important negative consequence of body cameras, it was not considered to be very important overall. Furthermore, in the vignettes, only 29.41% (n = 115) of the participants responded that the police were violating the worshippers' right of privacy even when the police officers did not warn the worshippers that they were videotaping them. In sum, the results support Hypothesis II that the participants would rank the potential benefits of police body-worn cameras that most directly affect them as most important. In addition, the results suggest that participants believe that the potential advantages of police body-worn cameras far outweigh their potential disadvantages.

## Police Discretion and How the Police Should Use Body-worn Cameras

Hypothesis III stated that the public wants the police to have little discretion in determining when they activate their body-worn cameras. In evaluating this hypothesis, the first question in section III of the questionnaire addressed participants' opinions about a general policy when police officers should be required to activate their body-worn cameras. Participants' most common response was that police officers should be required to activate their body-worn cameras at all times when working or engaged in police activities (42.71%, n = 167). The second most common response was that body-worn cameras should be activated when an officer responds to a call for service such as when investigating a burglary or conducting a traffic stop (30.43%, n = 119). The third most common response was that police should be required to turn on their body-worn cameras at all times (23.02%, n = 90). Few participants (2.56%, n = 119).

10) were willing to give police officers complete discretion in determining when to activate their cameras.

Moreover, most participants (89.51%, n = 350) strongly agreed or agreed that if in doubt, a police officer should record an incident. Other participants' responses also indicated that police officers should have limited discretion in deciding when to activate their cameras. For example, 89.26% (n = 349) of participants indicated the camera should remain active until the encounter with the public is concluded; 78.26% (n = 306) of participants responded that an officer should document when he or she turns off the camera; and 82.10% (n = 321) of participants answered that a supervisor should take custody of a camera after a serious incident. In short, the third hypothesis was confirmed that the public believes the police should have little discretion determining when their body-worn cameras are activated.

However, a plurality of the participants indicated that there was one circumstance when police officers should have the discretion to turn off their cameras. Close to one-half of the participants (45.78%, n = 179) agreed that police officers should be permitted to turn off their camera if the victim or witness to a crime was unwilling to speak to them if they were being recorded.

Some other important responses emerged from the survey about how the police should use body-worn cameras. Half of the participants (51.15%, n = 200) indicated that police officers should minimize recording of bystanders. 75.96% (n = 297) of participants indicated the police need to clearly inform the public when they are videotaping them; 76.98% (n = 301) of participants believed that cameras

should not be used to gather information that violates a citizen's First Amendment rights. In addition, 69.31% (n = 271) of participants indicated that the police should be prohibited from recording in places where there is a reasonable expectation of privacy without warrant. 82.61% (n = 323) of participants supported mandatory disclosure of the video in cases of litigation, and 44.50% (n = 174) agreed that officers should be permitted to review video of an incident before making a statement. Surprisingly, only 36.06% (n = 141) of participants endorsed the police having a policy that limited the retention and viewing of video from body-worn cameras. Only a slight majority (53.45%, n = 209) favored making videos available to the public on request (See Table 4).

# Effects of Religion, Warning, and Presence of Suspects on Police Body-worn Cameras

Hypothesis IV stated that the public will view the use of body-worn cameras as more appropriate when they are used in a mosque rather than a church, when the police inform worshipers that they are videotaping the service, and when the suspects are present rather than absent during the videotaping of the religious service. A 2 [Place: Mosque vs. Church] x 2 [Inform: Inform vs. Not Inform] x 2 [Suspects: Present vs. Not Present] MANOVA was conducted.

Using Pillai's trace, the MANOVA revealed there was a significant main effect for the variable Inform, V = .225, F(5,371) = 25.398, p < .001,  $\eta_p^2 = .255$ . There were no other significant main effects or interactions (p > .05). Univariate ANOVAs were conducted on the dependent variables for Inform. There were six questions about the vignette, but question five was eliminated because it did not have a linear relationship with the other dependent variables and in retrospect was

confusing. A Bonferroni correction was applied to account for the multiple ANOVAs conducted. Questions one (p = .008), four (p < .001), and six (p = .001) were significant, and question three (p = .022) was marginally significant.

Question one asked whether the police acted properly in recording the service and used a

9-point-Likert scales with labels of 1= Acted Improperly and 9 = Acted Properly. There was a significant difference in participants' responses,  $(F(1,375) = 7.09, p = .008, \eta_p^2 = .019)$  depending on whether the police informed the worshipers that they were videotaping the service (M = 7.09, SD = 2.35) or did not inform worshipers of this fact (M = 6.43, SD = 2.51). Participants in the Inform group gave significantly higher ratings of police actions than the participants in the Not-Informed group. However, the majority of participants in the Inform group (77.49%) and Not Inform group (66.50%) agreed that the police acted properly in videotaping the service.

Question four asked whether the police needed to inform the worshippers they were videotaping the service. It used a 9-point Likert scale with labels of 1 = No, police did not need to inform worshippers and 9 = Yes, police needed to inform worshippers. There was a significant difference in responses (F(1,375) = 62.866, p < .001,  $\eta_p^2 = .144$ ) between participants in the Inform group (M = 6.73, SD = 2.65) and the Not Inform group (M = 4.47, SD = 2.89). Participants in the Inform group indicated that police needed to inform the worshippers of the recording while participants in the Not Informed group indicated that police did not need to inform the worshippers that they were videotaping the service.

Moreover, only a slight majority (51.15%, n = 200) of all the participants indicated that the police needed to inform the worshippers of the recording.

Question six asked how the vignettes would have affected participants' trust in the police if it were a real event using a 9-point Likert scale where 1 = decreased my trust and 9 = increased my trust. There was a significant difference  $(F(1,375) = 11.852, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .031)$  between participants in the Inform (M = 5.76, SD = 2.17) and Not Inform (M = 5.03, SD = 2.00) groups. Participants in the Inform group showed a higher rating of trust in the police than participants in the Not Inform group. Overall, 84 (21.48%) of participants reported a decrease in trust, 129 (32.99%) an increase in trust, and 177 (45.27%) no change in their trust.

Question three asked if the police violated the worshippers' right of privacy. It used a 9-point Likert scale with labels of 1 = violated right of privacy and 9 = did not violate right of privacy. There was a marginally significant difference in responses (F(1,375) = 5.296, p = .022,  $\eta_p^2 = .014$ ) between participants in the Inform group (M = 6.04, SD = 2.70) and participants in the Not Inform group (M = 5.39, SD = 2.78). Participants in the Inform group gave significantly higher scores than the Not Inform group indicating that they were more likely to believe the police did not violate the worshippers' right of privacy. Overall, 212 (54.22%) of the participants responded that the police did not violate the worshippers' right of privacy.

## **Demographic Variables Effects on the Use of Body-Worn Cameras**

Six demographic variables were evaluated to determine their effects on the vignette questions and four other questions from the questionnaire. The six

demographic variables were Age (18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66-75, 76-87), Race (Caucasian, Non-Caucasian), Religion (Christian, Non-Christian, No Religion), Political Perspective (Conservative, Moderate, Liberal), Education (Less than 4 Years College, 4 Years College, More than 4 Years College), Arrested for a Crime (Yes, No).

The demographic variables effects on the six questions concerning the vignette were examined. Using Pillai's trace, the MANOVA revealed no significant main effects of demographic variables on the questions about the vignette and six multivariate interactions (p > .05). The significant multivariate interactions were followed up with independent ANOVAs, the alpha level was adjusted to p < .01 to account for the multiple tests. Only one significant interaction between Religion and Political Perspective (V = .199, F(20,804) = 2.110, p = .003,  $\eta_p^2 = .050$ ) remained. It was significant for question three, right of privacy (F(4,202) = 3.868, p = .005,  $\eta_p^2 = .071$ ). The Moderate Christians' responses (M = 6.426, n = 55) significantly differed from the responses of the Moderate Non-Christians (M = 3.944, n = 12, p = .026). The Moderate Christians were significantly more likely to believe than the Moderate Non-Christians that the police violated the worshippers' right of privacy in the vignettes.

The same six demographic variables were also tested for their effect upon four other questions from the questionnaire: (1) Whether the participants favored police use of body-worn cameras, (2) Whether the participants had significant privacy concerns about police body-worn cameras, (3) Whether they should be used to gather information protected by the First Amendment and (4) Whether

recording in places where there is a reasonable expectation of privacy should be prohibited without a warrant. These four questions were selected because of their relevance to the vignette.

Using Pillai's trace, the MANOVA revealed no significant main effects of the demographic variables on the four dependent variables (p > .05). There were, however, two significant interactions. First, there was a significant interaction between Age and Education, V = .301, F(40,824) = 1.674, p = .006,  $\eta_p^2 = .075$ . The significant multivariate interaction was followed up with independent ANOVAs. The alpha level was adjusted to p < .01 to account for the multiple tests. There was a significant difference on whether the participant favored or disfavored the use of body-worn cameras (F(10,206) = 2.484, p = .008,  $\eta_p^2 =$ .108). The 56-65 year olds who had less than four years of college (M = 1.017, n= 21) were more likely to favor the use of body-worn cameras than 56-65 year olds with four years of college (M = 1.300, n = 12, p = .016) interactions. Second, there was a significant interaction between Race and Religion V = .084, F(8,408)= 2.244, p = .024,  $\eta_p^2 = .042$ . The significant multivariate interaction was followed up with independent ANOVAs. The alpha level was adjusted to p < .01to account for the multiple tests. There was a significant interaction on whether the participant favor the use of body worn cameras (F(2,206) = 7.721, p = .001, $\eta_p^2 = .070$ ). Caucasian Christians (M = 1.058, n = 158) were more likely to favor the use of body-worn cameras than Non-Caucasian Christians (M = 1.083, n = 40, p = .049).

#### **CHAPTER IV**

#### **DISCUSSION**

It was hypothesized that the participants would favor the use of body-worn cameras. However, what was not anticipated was the large percentage of participants (93.4%) who favored their use. Furthermore, participants tended to agree or strongly agree with the potential benefits and tended to disagree or strongly disagree with the potential negatives. This was seen across all the potential benefits and disadvantage of the police using body cameras. In sum, participants strongly supported the use of body-worn cameras and believed their advantages greatly outweighed their disadvantages.

However, participants showed much less consensus about how the police should use body cameras. For example, there was no clear agreement among the participants about when police officers generally should be required to activate their cameras. The most common response was that the police should be required to active their cameras at all times when working or engaged in police activities (n = 167, 42.71%). This policy would mean that officers would generally be required to activate their cameras whenever they were on duty and during the entire shift. The next most common response was that officers should be required to active their cameras when an officer responds to a call for service or encounters a member of the public while on duty. (n = 119, 30.43%). This response would require officers to activate their cameras for instance when responding to a

burglary, talking to a witness, etc. If this policy applied, officers could turn off their cameras when doing paperwork, while on break, or having lunch. Not only did the participants lack consensus about when the police should be required to activate their cameras, but it may be the participants did not fully consider or understand the implications of these policies for police officers. For instance, the policy that was favored by the most participants would require police officers to activate their cameras during lunch and bathroom breaks.

There were several other instances where a majority of participants did not agree how the police should use body cameras. For instance, whether an officer should be allowed to review video about an incident before making a statement about the incident. The most common response was that the police should be permitted to review the video before making a statement but only 44.5% of the participants gave that response (See Table 4).

This was also true of participants' responses about whether the police should limit the time videos from body cameras are retained and limit the viewing of body camera videos to a need-to-know basis. The most common response was to agree that retention and viewing of videos should be limited but only 36.06% of participants gave this response. For several other issues about how the police should use body-worn cameras such as minimizing recording of bystanders, video being available to the public on request, and not recording another officer unless they are under investigation, only just over 50% of participants agreed on these issues (See Table 4).

In short, while the vast majority of participants agreed that the police should use body-worn cameras and that their advantages clearly outweighed their disadvantages, there was much less agreement on how the police should use body-worn cameras. This may be because there has been much discussion in the media about the benefits of body-worn cameras but not much discussion about how they should be used. Therefore, the participants may have been cognizant of the potential benefits of police body-worn cameras, but not previously given much thought to how the police should use body-worn cameras. Police departments should be aware of the lack of public consensus about how they should use body-worn camera and work with their communities in establishing policies for their use. Otherwise they risk losing the strong public support for them.

However, in some areas there was a strong consensus about how police body-worn cameras should be used. A majority of the participants agreed or strongly agreed that if the police were in doubt if an encounter should be recorded, then it should be recorded (89.51%); police officers should keep their cameras activated during an encounter with the public until the officer leaves the scene (89.26%); the police should be required to disclose videos relevant to litigation (82.61%); and a supervisor should take physical possession of an officer's camera if a shooting or other serious incident occurred (82.10%). These results are congruent with participants' responses to the potential benefits of body-worn cameras described in section one and the ranking of the benefits of body cameras in section two of the questionnaire. The public indicated that they

believed body-worn cameras would improve behavior of the public and police, reduce the use of force by police and help resolve conflict.

The results of the vignette were surprising. Overall, there was significant support for the police using their body cameras in the vignette. This result occurred even though there was no mention in vignette that the police had a warrant to videotape the services and even though the police may have been violating the worshipers' First Amendment and privacy rights. Furthermore, there were no significant differences in the participants' responses to the vignette whether the religious services occurred in a mosque or church. For example, whether the videotaping occurred in a church (50.4%) or a mosque (49.6%), the majority of participants (61.12%) believed the worshippers' First Amendment rights were not violated. These responses appear contrary to the participants' responses in section III of the questionnaire where 76.98% of participants answered that police should not use body-worn cameras to gather information protected by the First Amendment. However, most participants (71.87%) responded that the police acted properly in videotaping the religious service in the vignettes, and 54.22% of participants indicated the police did not violate the worshippers' right of privacy.

In addition, prior research indicated that whether the suspects are present affects participants' views of the legality of police action (Slobogin & Schumacher, 1993). However, the presence or the absence of the bombing suspects in the vignettes did not have a significant effect on participants' responses to the questions about the vignette. In short, the majority of

participants supported the police videotaping the religious service whether it occurred in a mosque or church or the suspects were present or absent.

It maybe that the potential dangerous in the vignettes overwhelmed the privacy concerns of the participants. This hypothesis is supported by comments made by the participants about the vignettes such as: "Safety trumps privacy." Consequently even though the participants may have believed that privacy is important as indicated by their responses in section I of the questionnaire, the potential danger of the vignettes may have outweighed their concerns about privacy in the vignettes. Participants' responses to the vignettes also did not appear to vary whether the vignette concerned a church and a mosque. The religious beliefs of the worshippers may not have affected participants' responses because safety was their predominant concern.

Another surprising result from the vignettes was that participants in the Inform group stated that the police needed to inform the worshippers that they were videotaping the service, while the participants in the Not Inform group stated the police did not need to inform the worshippers that they were videotaping the service. This result appears contrary to results in section III of the questionnaire where 75.96% of participants indicated that police needed to clearly inform members of the public that they were recording them. In contrast, in the vignette, only 51.15% of participants indicated that police needed to inform the worshippers that they were recording them. Once again, this difference may have resulted from the participants' beliefs that public safety outweighed the privacy concerns of the worshippers.

Surprisingly, the demographic factors also had little effect on the vignettes. There was no main effect of Gender, Age, Race, Political Perspective, Religion, Education, or Arrested for Crime. Research indicates that males and minority groups, particularly African Americans, generally have less favorable attitudes towards the police than other groups (Spizman & Miller, 2013). However, the research is not conclusive on whether males or females have more favorable attitudes about the police. The sample in the current study only had 25 (6.40%) African Americans, and even fewer members of other minorities. Consequently, the present study could not determine the effect of race on participants' views of the vignettes. The only significant interaction of demographic variables in the vignettes was between Religion and Political Perspective, and only for the right of privacy. The Moderate Non-Christians (n =12) believed the police did violate the worshippers' right of privacy while the Moderate Christians (n = 55) believed that the worshippers' right of privacy was not violated in the vignettes. The Non-Christian religious groups may have a greater expectation of privacy in a house of worship than the Christian religious groups.

The demographic factors also had little effect on the other four questions related to the vignette from other sections of the questionnaire. Again there were no significant main effects, and only two significant interactions. One interaction was between Age and Education and concerned whether participants favored the use of body-worn cameras. The 56-65 year olds with less than four years of college (n = 21) were more likely to favor the use of body-worn cameras than 56-

65 year old with four years of college (n = 12). This result suggests that education may affect participants' view of body-worn cameras but only in older adults, and the samples sizes were small.

The second interaction was between Race and Religion which affected whether participants favored the use of body-worn cameras. Caucasian Christians (n = 158) were more likely than Non-Caucasian Christians (n = 40) to favor bodyworn cameras. This result suggests that race may affect participants' views of body-worn cameras (Spizman & Miller, 2013). Non-Caucasians constituted 20.10% of the Christian religion group, which may explain why race affected their responses but not other responses in the survey where there was a small number of minority participants.

## **Limitations of Study and Future Directions for Research**

There are several limitations to the present study. The sample was not representative of the U.S. population in several respects. The vast majority of the participants was Caucasian (80.30%). Few of the participants (13.30%) had been arrested for a crime and even fewer (8.18%) had been convicted of a crime. This low rate of criminal involvement with the police could have affected their views on the police use of body-worn cameras, because individuals who interact more with police officers could have a different views on the use of body-worn cameras. This sample was also more highly educated than the U.S. population. 35.55% had a 4-year college degree and 19.95% had at least some graduate education, which means that over half the sample had a four year college degree. The sample had slightly more females (56.78%) than the U.S. population. Some

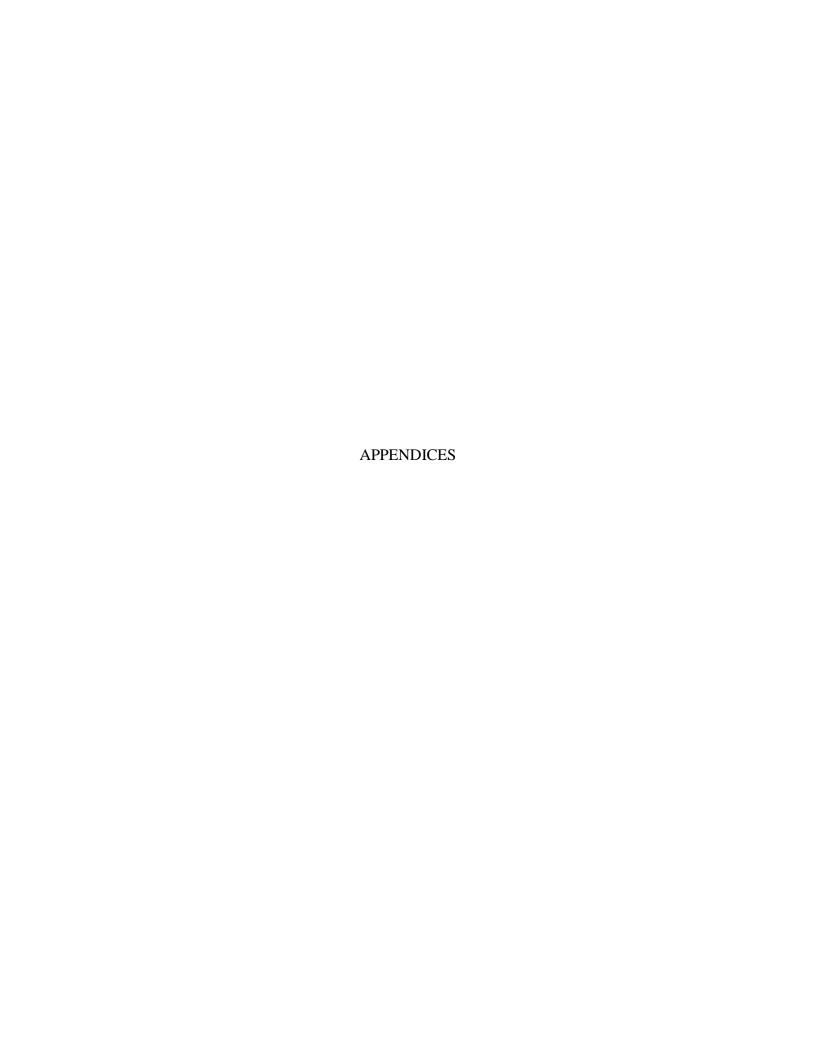
research indicates that females tend to have more favorable attitudes toward the police than males, but the research is inconclusive nor could this fact alone account for the high rate of support for police body-worn cameras found in the present study (Spizman & Miller, 2013).

Future research about body cameras should include samples, with a large percentage of minorities particularly those minorities who have frequent conflictual encounters with the police such as African-American males. The present sample views on police body-worn cameras may have been influenced by their limited encounters with the police and their lack of fear of being targeted by the police because of their of minority status. It would be beneficial to examine police officers' opinions about body cameras. It may also be useful to present the vignette in a different form to see if it would affect participants' response. For example, if it was presented as an actual police video of a religious service and with more details. More research is also needed on how the public believes police should use body cameras.

## **CHAPTER V**

## **CONCLUSION**

As media attention has increased the public's concern about police use of excessive force, many individuals and organizations have proposed police bodyworn cameras as a potential solution to this problem. Very little is known about whether the public favors the use of police body-worn camera and how it believes the police should use body-worn cameras. The current study attempted to answer these important questions. It found that participants overwhelmingly supported their use, believe their advantages substantially outweigh their disadvantages, but that there is substantial less agreement about how they should be used. There is still much more to be learned about body cameras if police departments are to use them effectively and maintain public support for their use.



# Appendix A Questionnaire about Body Cameras Given to Participants

Thank you for helping with this survey about police body cameras!

Body cameras are small video cameras and voice recording devices some police departments use to record interactions with the public and to collect evidence. Their purpose is to attempt to record what police officers see when they interact with the public or go to a crime scene. They are usually attached to an officer's clothing, helmet, or sunglasses.

The microphones of a body camera can be sensitive, and the camera can record persons with whom the police officer is not interacting. Accordingly, police officers sometimes inadvertently record bystander conversations and the actions and speech of persons associating with the person with whom they are talking. Some body cameras have the ability to capture close-up images. Consequently, any information recorded on a police body camera has the potential to be linked to databases containing other personal information (e.g. facial recognition software, predictive analytics systems, and patterns recognition software).

This study is important because it may help police departments and communities evaluate people's attitudes toward body cameras, determine if the police should use them, and how they should use them if they decide to acquire them. Your responses to the survey are completely confidential and anonymous.

## Section I – General Pros and Cons of Police Body Cameras

Please use the scale below to rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about police body cameras:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

- 1) Body cameras will improve how police officers interact with the public.
- 2) Body cameras will undermine the trust between police officers and the public.
- 3) Body cameras will improve how the public interacts with police officers.
- 4) Body cameras will undermine the trust between police officers and their superiors in their department.
- 5) Body cameras will increase the safety of the public in their encounters with the police.
- 6) Body cameras will increase the safety of police officers in their encounters with the public.

- 7) The use of body cameras will hurt the credibility of police officers in criminal cases when there is no video to corroborate the officer's version of events.
- 8) Body cameras will help police departments to better address public concerns such as the belief among some members of public that the police use racial profiling and excessive force.
- 9) The criminal justice system will benefit from body cameras, for example by increasing the number of guilty pleas and reducing court costs.
- 10) It is estimated that body cameras cost between \$70 and \$1000 per camera. Additional costs include training, storing and managing videos, camera maintenance, etc. I support the use of body cameras even if it means my taxes will increase. For police officers: I support the use of body cameras even if it means police budgets will have to be cut in other areas.
- 11) Please select strongly agree on this item.
- 12) The money for body cameras would be better spent on job training, violence prevention, youth counseling programs, and other community programs.
- 13) Body cameras will increase the accuracy of police reports and police testimony in court.
- 14) The use of body cameras will create an unreasonable administrative burden on police departments (e.g., downloading the video, storing recorded data, training, etc.)
- 15) Video from body cameras can play an important role in training police officers and teaching them how to best handle an incident.
- 16) Recent events, such as the controversies surrounding the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri and the death of Freddie Gray in Baltimore, Maryland have increased my support for the use of body cameras.
- 17) I have significant privacy concerns about the use of body cameras.
- 18) I believe most police officers favor the use of body cameras.
- 19) I believe most citizens favor the use of body cameras.
- 20) After considering the positives and negatives of police body-worn cameras,
  - a. I favor their use.
  - b. I do not favor their use.

# Section II – Ranking the Positives and Negatives of Police Body-Worn Cameras

A. For the following six possible benefits of police body cameras, please rank them in order of importance. Please rank them from 1 to 6 with 1 being the **most important** possible benefit and 6 being the **least important** possible benefit of the police using body cameras. Please make sure that you carefully read and

consider all 6 possible benefits before ranking them. You may use each number
only once.
They will increase officer safety.
They will improve police officers' and citizens' behavior when they interact
They will help police departments evaluate and improve officer performance.
They will reduce the number of incidents where the police use force.
They will reduce and resolve citizen complaints against the police.
They will improve the criminal justice system.
B. For the following six possible negative consequences of body cameras, please rank them in order of importance. Please rank them from 1 to 6 with 1 being the <b>most harmful possible</b> negative consequence and 6 being the <b>least harmful</b> possible negative consequence of the police using body cameras. Please make sure that you carefully read and consider all 6 possible negative consequences before ranking them. <b>You may use each number only once.</b>
The cost of body cameras.
They will hurt the credibility of police officers' testimony in court when there is no video.
The public will be less likely to share information with the police.
They will create an unreasonable administrative burden on the police.
They will violate citizen's privacy.
They will undermine the trust between police officers and their superiors.

# Section III - Police Officers' Use of Body Cameras

Where applicable, please use the scale below to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about how police officers should use body cameras.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

- 1) Please indicate what you believe is the best general policy about when police officers should be required to turn on their body cameras:
  - a) Police officers should be required to turn on their body cameras at all times when they are working and engaged in police activities.
  - b) To ensure there is a record of what happened when unexpected problems arise with the public, body cameras should be used in ALL police encounters with the public. This would include use during informal

- conversations with people (e.g., a person asking an officer for directions or engaging in casual conversation with a store owner).
- c) Officers should be required to turn on their body camera when responding to a call for service (e.g., responding to a burglary) and during all police-related encounters and activities with the public except if turning the camera on would be unsafe, impossible, or impractical.
- d) Police officers should have complete discretion to determine when to turn on their body camera.
- e) Other: (Please describe when police should be required to turn on their body cameras)
- 2) When a member of the public, such as a crime victim or witness, is unwilling to discuss a crime on camera, a police officer should have the discretion to turn off their body camera.
- 3) Officers should be required to clearly inform citizens that they are recording both images and sound unless doing so would be unsafe, impractical, or impossible under the circumstances.
- 4) When in doubt about whether to record, a police officer should record the encounter.
- 5) Police officers should minimize the recording of innocent bystanders or innocuous interactions with the public.
- 6) Recording in places where there is a reasonable expectation of privacy (e.g. homes, locker rooms, bathrooms, etc.) should be prohibited unless the police have a warrant.
- 7) Police body cameras should never be used to secretly gather information that is protected by the First Amendment such as protected speech, the nature of a person's associations, or the exercise of a person's religious beliefs.
- 8) Once activated, the body camera should remain active until the conclusion of the encounter or the officer has left the scene.
- 9) Officers should be required at the time of the incident to document in writing or on camera the reasons for not turning on or turning off a camera in situations that are required to be recorded.
- 10) Please select strongly disagree for this item.
- 11) Police officers should be allowed to review video from their body cameras prior to making a statement about any incident in which they were involved.
- 12) In a civil or criminal case involving an incident that is recorded, there should be mandatory disclosure of the video to the parties involved in the case.
- 13) A supervisor should take custody of a police officer's body camera at the scene of a shooting or any serious incident in which the officer was involved.
- 14) Police departments should limit retention of videos from body cameras and the viewing of body camera videos to a need-to-know basis.

- 15) With certain limited exceptions, video from body cameras should be made available to the public upon request.
- 16) Police departments should prohibit recording other police officers during routine, non-police-related activities (e.g. eating lunch) unless recording is required by a court order or is authorized as part of an administrative or criminal investigation.
- 17) Please select the following statement that best reflects your opinion about when and whom you believe should review body camera video.
  - a. Body camera footage should be routinely reviewed by supervisors to look for misconduct and monitor officer performance.
  - b. Body camera footage should only be reviewed by supervisors for certain types of incidents such as a citizen complaint, officer-involved shooting, etc.
  - c. Body camera footage should be reviewed periodically by an internal auditing team not supervisors who are not in the officer's direct chain of command.
  - d. Other: (Please describe by whom and when you think videos from police body cameras should be reviewed)

## **Section IV – Vignette**

Please read the following brief vignette and then answer the questions about the vignette using the scales below.

Police officers received a tip that some bombing suspects will be present at a mosque (church) during prayer services. They use their body cameras to videotape the prayer services to determine if the suspects are present and (do not) inform the people present at the service that they are recording the services. It turns out, the suspects are (not) present.

1) Did the police act properly in filming the service?

Acted			Neutral				Acted 1	Properly
Improper	rly							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2) Did the police violate the worshiper's first amendment rights (i.e., freedom of religion, freedom of association)?

Violated	1 <sup>st</sup>						Did Not	t Violate
Amendm	ent			Neutral			1 <sup>st</sup> Am	endment
Rights								Rights
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3) Did the police violate the worshipers' right of privacy?

Violated of Priva	U			Neutral	_	Did Not Violate Right of Privacy		
	1		1	1	1	1	1	Tiivacy
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4) Did the police need to inform the worshipers they were recording the service?

They Did Note to Inform V				Neutral		to :	They D Inform Wors	id Need shippers
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5) Did the police minimize the recording of innocent bystanders during the incident?

Did not Minimize Recording Bystanders			Neutral		Did Minimize Recording Bystanders			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6) How would this vignette affect your trust of the police if it were a real event?

Decrease My Trust			No Change			Increase My Trust			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

7) If there is anything else you would like to tell us about police body cameras or this survey, please do so here.

# Section V – Demographics

To help us better interpret the results of this survey; please provide the following information in the last section of the questionnaire.

Please indicate your gender:     Male
Female
2. Please indicate your age:
3. Please indicate where you currently live:
West
Midwest
South
North East
4. Please indicate your race:
Caucasian
African-American
Asian-American
Latin-American

Native American
Biracial
Other (specify)
5. Diagon in diagta years naligious offiliation.
5. Please indicate your religious affiliation:
Christian
Muslim
Jewish
Other: (please specify)
None
6. Please use the following scale to describe your political perspective.
Conservative Moderate Liberal
1 2 3 4 5
7. What is the highest level of education you completed?
Did not complete high school
High school graduate
Some college, no degree
Some conege, no degree 2-year associate degree
2-year associate degree 4-year college/Bachelor
Some post graduate
2-3 year post graduate/Master Doctoral/Law Degree/Medical Degree
Doctoral/Law Degree/Medical Degree
8. Have you ever been arrested for a crime?
Yes
No
9. Have you ever been convicted of a crime?
Yes
No
10. Was the crime a felony?
Yes
<del></del>
No
N/A
11. What is your current employment status?
Employed; white collar/professional
Employed; blue collar
Student
Homemaker
Retired
Unemployed
Disabled

12. Are you currently or have you ever been a police officer?
I am currently a police officer
I have been a police officer, but am not currently
I have never been a police officer
13. It is vital to our study that we only include responses from people that devote
their full attention to this study. Otherwise, years of effort (the researchers' and
the time of the other participants) could be wasted. You will receive credit for the
study no matter what you answer to this question. In your honest opinion, should
we use your data in our analyses of this study?
Yes
No

Appendix B Tables

Table 1. Responses from Section One of the Questionnaire Regarding the Potential

Benefits and Negatives for the Use of Body Cameras

	SD/D	Neither	SA/A
Improve police behavior	12 (3.07%)	28 (7.16%)	351 (89.77%)
Undermine trust police/public	324 (82.86%)	29 (7.42%)	38 (9.72%)
Improve public behavior	18 (4.60%)	61 (15.6%)	309 (79.03%)
Undermine trust police/supervisor	307 (78.52%)	52 (13.30%)	30 (7.67%)
Increase safety of the public	19 (4.86%)	27 (6.91%)	344 (87.78%)
Increase safety of the police	24 (6.14%)	49 (12.53%)	318 (81.33%)
Hurt credibility where no video	194 (49.62%)	93 (23.79%)	104 (26.60%)
Address concerns of the public	10 (2.56%)	15 (3.84%)	366 (93.61%)
CJ System will benefit	36 (9.21%)	69 (17.65%)	285 (72.89%)
Support, even if taxes increase	46 (11.76%)	59 (15.09%)	283 (72.38%)
Money better spent elsewhere	204 (52.17%)	123 (31.46%)	61 (15.60%)
Increase accuracy of reports	8 (2.05%)	34 (8.70%)	348 (89.00%)
Create unreasonable burden	300 (76.73%)	51 (13.04%)	40 (10.23%)
Help train police	8 (2.05%)	20 (5.12%)	363(92.84%)
Recent events increased my support	27 (6.91%)	44 (11.25%)	319 (81.59%)
I Have significant privacy concerns	266 (68.03%)	52 (13.30%)	72 (18.41%)
Most police favor body cameras	115 (29.41%)	124 (31.71%)	152 (38.87%)
Most citizens favor body cameras	22 (5.63%)	74 (18.93%)	295 (75.45%)

SD/D = Strongly Disagree/Disagree

Neither = Neither Agree nor Disagree

SA/A = Strongly Agree/Agree

Table 2. Frequency of Rankings of the Possible Benefits from Section Two of the Questionnaire

	1	2	3	4	5	6
They will improve police officers' and citizens' behavior when they interact	74	101	73	63	45	30
They will reduce the number of incidents where the police use force	107	61	55	52	59	53
They will reduce and resolve citizen complaints against the police	54	59	80	69	70	53
They will increase officer safety	62	64	52	60	82	68
They will improve the criminal justice system	60	56	51	65	65	92
They will help police departments evaluate and improve officer performance	29	44	75	80	67	93

Table 3. Frequency of Rankings of the Possible Negatives from Section Two of the Questionnaire

	1	2	3	4	5	6
They will violate citizen's privacy	125	68	49	50	37	57
The public will be less likely to share information with the police	58	96	78	63	58	36
The cost of body cameras	88	63	58	63	56	61
They will hurt the credibility of police officers' testimony in court when there is no video	63	56	73	63	70	62
They will create an unreasonable administrative burden on the police	38	56	66	66	70	92
They will undermine the trust between police officers and their superiors	17	47	65	84	97	80

Table 4. Responses from Section Three of the Questionnaire Regarding the Discretion and Use of Body Cameras

	SD/D	Neither	SA/A
Turn off for crime victim or unwilling	135 (34.53%)	77 (19.69%)	179 (45.78%)
Need to clearly inform of recording	58 (14.83%)	35 (8.95%)	297 (75.96%)
If in doubt, record the encounter	10 (2.56%)	31 (7.93%)	350 (89.51%)
Minimize recording of bystanders	101 (25.83%)	89 (22.76%)	200 (51.15%)
Prohibit recording w/o warrant	62 (15.86%)	57 (14.58%)	271 (69.31%)
Not gather info on 1 <sup>st</sup> Amendment	39 (9.97%)	51 (13.04%)	301 (76.98%)
Camera active until officer leaves	12 (3.07%)	30 (7.67%)	349 (89.26%)
Document when camera turned off	28 (7.16%)	55 (14.07%)	306 (78.26%)
Officer review video before statement	129 (32.99%)	86 (21.99%)	174 (44.50%)
Mandatory disclosure in litigation	10 (2.56%)	57 (14.58%)	323 (82.61%)
Supervisor take camera after incident	20 (5.12%)	50 (12.79%)	321 (82.10%)
Limit retention and view to need-to-know	123 (31.46%)	126 (32.22%)	141 (36.06%)
Video be available to public on request	92 (23.53%)	87 (22.25%)	209 (53.45%)
Not record officer unless investigation	94 (24.04%)	71 (18.16%)	225 (57.54%)

SD/D = Strongly Disagree/Disagree

Neither = Neither Agree nor Disagree

SA/A = Strongly Agree/Agree

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