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Viral Videos of Police Use of Force: Exploring Police Officer Responses

Colleen Kadleck

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DECEMBER 2019

University of Nebraska Omaha

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Viral Videos of Police Use of Force

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Colleen Kadleck
School of Criminology and Criminal Justice
University of Nebraska at Omaha

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College of Public Affairs and Community Service
Urban Research Grant Report*

Submitted by

Colleen Kadleck, Ph.D.

School of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of Nebraska Omaha
310 Nebraska Hall
901 N. 17th St
Lincoln, NE 68588-0561
402-472-6751
ckadleck@unomaha.edu

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Executive Summary

     Recordings of police interacting with citizens have been making news, sparking protests and calls for reform in many parts of the United States. This study examined police officer perspectives concerning citizens capturing video during police-citizen encounters as well as several related concerns such as the use of body cameras on duty.

   Methodology

- The data collection consisted of eleven meetings/focus groups with 29 different participating officers and sergeants using a survey and a focus group method.
- Comparison of study participants to the police department as a whole suggests that participants are older, more educated, and not representatives of all shifts. Specifically, more officers from second and third shifts participated.
- Our sample of officers and sergeants does appear to represent the gender, race, and ethnicity distribution of the police department.
- The focus groups and interviews resulted in 9011 separate "contributions" by speakers in nearly 24 hours of recorded conversation. These recordings were manually transcribed into 1,257,959 characters of text.
- Each focus group transcript was then subject to review for accuracy. The text was coded by speaker, by question/content area as well as by substantive nature of response and analyzed by topic area.

   How often are police recorded by citizens?

- Given how ubiquitous cameras are, it might be expected that officers are constantly recorded. Our survey results suggest that officers are recorded about once a week.
- At the same time, officers told us in focus groups that they assume they are always being filmed and act accordingly.

   Who films the police?

- Our results suggest citizens filming officers fit into one of three roles: bystanders (the largest category), attached observers, or suspects/drivers.
- Officers didn't notice differences by gender or race but did mention that filming seemed more common among younger people.
- Officers also described people who were intoxicated, people who identified as sovereign citizens, and people who had frequent (sometimes negative) relationships with the police as likely to film encounters.

When do citizens film police?

- Focus group discussions pointed to relationships between neighborhood, situation, and characteristics of those who film.
- For example, downtown locations with bars tended to have more intoxicated individuals in public, more fights, and more bystanders who would film fights and police interventions.
- Citizens were also likely to film during traffic stops (either as stopped drivers or passengers).
- Officers also indicated other factors were related to filming, specifically: lights and siren use, multiple officers being on scene, yelling by officers or citizens, an accident or police tape.

Body-Worn Camera Use by Police

- Officers explained that body-worn cameras can provide protection for officers against frivolous complaints by citizens, additional information about crime scenes, about encounters with citizens, and can be used to assist report writing and preparation for court. On a related note, several officers expressed concerns about the expectations that prosecutors and jurors had about the availability of video.
- Officers had some concerns about body-worn cameras, including the potential for camera footage to be used as part of a "fishing expedition" to look for policy errors or officer misconduct to punish officers, concerns about the costs related to cameras and related equipment and how this might impact the ability of the department to hire more officers, the time needed to use and maintain equipment, concerns about the limitations of technology, and whether technical concerns might be interpreted as officer misconduct.

Training related to Citizens Filming

- While officers did not identify any specific training related to citizens filming, most officers emphasized departmental messages about the rights citizens had to film and the need for officers not to interfere or to confiscate cameras.
- Few officers identified training needs that were specific to being filmed by citizens, but some officers suggested training that may overlap with other training topics, like officer safety.

Viral Video Effect—Do Officers Change their Behavior Because of Cameras?

- On the one hand, officers repeatedly emphasized that it did not concern them that they were being filmed by citizens.
- Officers emphasized the good relationship between the local police and community in discussing the influence of viral videos.
- Officers noted that viral video had changed citizen behaviors in some cases, or that citizens had referred to viral videos in encounters.
- Officers expected that police officers in other communities, particularly those with high profile viral video incidents would reduce the number of proactive encounters to reduce their risk of being included in a viral video incident.
- One concern officers shared specific to viral videos was the possibility of an officer following police department policy in an encounter and still be identified in a viral video, being judged by the media and the community and losing their ability to work in law enforcement as a result.

Future Research

- This study examined the experiences of a relatively small number of officers. A more comprehensive study could use the current research to build a survey instrument to examine the experience of being filmed by citizens with a larger sample.
- Officers report that bystanders and other individuals who might be filming are not always salient to them during many police-citizen encounters. As expected, officers tend to be more focused on the immediate interaction with citizens. A series of observations or ride-alongs would allow for an examination of how many citizens really are filming.
- An observational study could also allow for a second set of focus groups with citizens who are filming the police to examine their perspectives, motives, prior experiences with the police, as well as their expectations about the utility of filming, and if those recordings are distributed.
- Several officers indicated that they searched for video on YouTube, WorldStar, and social media platforms. Future research could examine what sorts of videos are uploaded to these services and what kinds of police-citizen encounters are captured.

Introduction

Over the last several years, viral videos of police use of force have led to protests and investigations across the country, and concerns about the impact on police officers in the form of the "Ferguson" effect (Dewan, 2017). One concern raised in the media about these videos is that viral videos may change officer behavior. Officers who fear being filmed during a use of force incident or other potential viral video may reduce their effort, potentially leading to an increase in crime[1] (Kaste, 2015). Another is that viral videos may affect the legitimacy of police. Citizens who see videos of police officers using force against citizens, particularly if the video suggests that force was inappropriate or excessive, may question not just the work of the involved officers, but change their future behavior during police citizen interactions. On a broad scale, if citizen distrust of police grows, and the relationship between the police and the community suffers, then the ability to gain information from the public, which is essential for police work, also suffers.

At the time this study was developed, there were no existing examinations of officer perspectives of viral videos, the Ferguson effect, or the effect of viral videos on police-citizen encounters. This study sought to fill that gap and use exploratory methods to build a foundation for future quantitative work. In part because the existing literature on officer perspectives in this area is sparse and because the study touches on areas outside of traditional criminal justice research, specifically related to images and interpretation of images, this report introduction strays from traditional practices of reviewing the existing literature. Instead, the introduction briefly touches on a few issues relevant to understanding the study and the resulting findings.

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1. Recent data from New York City suggests that dramatically reducing police-initiated stops did not result in an expected spike in crime (Sexton, 2018).

The overview begins with a discussion of viral videos of police-citizen encounters, beginning with the Rodney King beating and continuing to the impact of viral videos shared in social media. More recent concerns about the "Ferguson" effect are detailed. A short examination of the fundamentals of the research literature addressing the analysis and understanding of images, particularly moving images follows. The introduction ends with a discussion of the current study, including research questions.

Viral videos of police-citizen encounters

The first viral video of police behavior is likely the Rodney King video. While this particular video pre-dates the social media "viral video" under consideration here, the video itself is important in several respects. First, it was captured by a bystander. Second, the police were unaware of the video at the time. Third, the video captured police use of force against an African American suspect. Fourth, the effects of the video and how officers were treated in response to the video had profound impacts on the community in the short- and long-term, including riots that "left more than 50 dead, thousands hurt, and more than $1 billion in property damage" (Schuppe, 2016). George Holliday filmed the video on March 3, 1991 and provided a look at police violence that many people watching in their homes had not seen before (Schuppe, 2016).

More recently, the impact of viral videos has spread to cities across the country. More than 88 cities experienced protests related to police videos in 2016 (Lee, Mykhyalyshyn, Omri, and Signhvi, 2016), including in the study city. In addition to protests, the videos have led to calls for reform, threatened police legitimacy, and revealed officer misconduct. As David Harris, a law professor, explained to NBC News, "there's a bystander taking video of what went on— and without that video, the incident would have really been passed up by the public. No one would have known about it, or challenged what the police said about it" (Schuppe, 2016).

Importantly, videos can also be shared, communicated to others who can act.

Citizen use of smart phones to record the police is important for two reasons. First, most smartphones and modern cellular phones that are not labeled as "smart" phones have the capability to capture video. Second, the video can easily be uploaded or shared to social media and reach a large audience quickly. Recent research by the Pew Research Center about smartphones indicates that "67% of smartphone owners use their phone to *share pictures, videos, or commentary about events happening in their community,* with 35% doing so frequently" (Smith & Page, 2015: 24). The researchers found that younger adults were more likely to share than older adults.

Since news media also use social media to share and find new stories, a single video uploaded once can be amplified by many individuals and organizations. These videos have impacts far beyond the original jurisdiction and police agency, as they are seen by police officers and citizens across the country. A viral video in particular is one that many people see, often remember, and the events within those videos becomes a short-hand for talking about the police, about their behavior toward citizens, and the response of the larger community and criminal justice system to those behaviors. The video and events captured within become a narrative that police and citizens alike refer to in order to understand police and the criminal justice system. Perhaps the most influential viral policing moment in recent years concerns the events in August, 2014, in Ferguson, Missouri, even though the police-citizen encounter was not captured on video.

Ferguson Effect

One formulation of the "Ferguson Effect" identifies the effect of viral videos and related criticisms and scrutiny of police after the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri as

causing a reduction in proactive police work, which in turn would lead to increased crime (Lantigua-Williams, 2016). Essentially, police officers are perceiving proactive encounters as potentially risky because they can result in negative, or potentially violent encounters with citizens or other behavior that would lead to negative attention/media coverage and community response. In order to avoid that scrutiny, officers are deciding not to intervene to protect themselves and that the proactive work officers do not do leads to increases in crime. One reason this study was designed was to address whether or not officers were making these choices in their own work and whether viral videos had changed encounters with citizens in other ways. It is also important to note that the Ferguson Effect, or de-policing, refers to police-initiated interactions and is not a wholesale refusal to engage in law enforcement work. A tendency for all or most officers to engage in "de-policing" or a reduction in their efforts would clearly be cause for concern. However, this is not the only potential outcome. It may be that some officers may be more likely than others to decide that reducing their proactive interactions with citizens[2] or their behavior in certain situations.

Another way to think about the Ferguson effect is to recognize that the viral videos likely also alter citizen behavior. Instead of calling the police for help, citizens who see viral videos and lose confidence in the police, or learn to fear police-citizen encounters, may not call the police or provide assistance to the police (Lantigua-Williams, 2016). As with police officer responses, a Ferguson Effect at the citizen level would not necessarily mean a full-stop on calls for service, and some communities may be more impacted than others (Lantigua-Williams, 2016). A Ferguson Effect focused on citizen responses might also be found in the responses to police-

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2. In our work reported here, most examples of officers reducing their effort focused on "going the extra mile" or approaching citizens proactively when officers feel there might be cause for concern/reason to believe a citizen is suspicious.

citizen encounters or how citizens interact with the police, in terms of filming the police more because of a lack of trust. In this way, what might be interpreted as a change in police behavior might actually be a change in citizen behavior. In other words, citizens who have concerns about police behavior may be less likely to reach out to police for help. If citizens are hesitant to reach out to police for help or to provide information, crime may increase as a result.

While our focus in this study is understanding officer perspectives, most of our conversations also address the use, meaning, and interpretation of images. The next section outlines some fundamental concepts used in the study of images, particularly those related to officer observations discussed in the findings of this report.

Research literature on images

While a full examination of the literature on the interpretation of images, particularly video, is beyond the scope of this report, there are several concepts that are helpful in considering the role of images in policing, both in terms of body-worn cameras as well as citizen-made videos of police-citizen interactions. A good starting point is consideration of how we understand images and interpret them. It is often assumed that seeing is a mechanical process, relying mostly on the structures in our eyes to recognize and understand the reality in front of us. However, the interpretation of images and what we see, or rather notice, around us is far more complex (Elkins, 1996). What we attend to in images and in our daily life is a small percentage of what our eyes "see" in front of us. For example, human beings in conversations tend to pay attention to the face of the person who is talking while ignoring other stimuli in the environment. Well-directed films also imitate a human gaze, with a close up of a person's face during an emotional exchange. We would find it odd if the director instead focused on the speaker's shoes or ears. Even if the speaker's ears or shoes were available to be seen, most people would not consider

them to be salient.

This leads to our second observation about images and that is to note that we learn how to interpret them. In other words, images themselves are not self-contained packets of meaning for viewers to consume, what we see and what we understand about images come in part from the context of those images (Becker, 1995). We might understand a picture of a person crying as sad or potentially overwhelmed with joy, if that person is at a wedding. Images, then, are important for what we see, and what we don't see in terms of context. It is also important to understand images as choices.

As Mulvey (1975) persuasively argues, who holds the camera matters and that the ability to shape what others see is a form of power. The choices that are made in capturing an image give us one (often limited) perspective about what we can see and what is shown to be important. These choices necessarily limit what we can know from an image. For example, an issue officers raised repeatedly had to do with the timing of citizen decisions to film police-citizen encounters. Officers argued that citizens often omitted early attempts to de-escalate situations, only recording parts of situations that might mislead the viewer to think officers may have begun their encounters using force instead of seeing earlier attempts to resolve the situation peacefully. Another relevant illustration here is the decision by citizens to film, that this decision in itself expresses a citizen's view that capturing an image in a situation may be an advantage or a challenge to the police narrative about a situation.

A last, and related, observation about images concerns the ability of images to hold multiple meanings or interpretations—referred to as polysemy. Perhaps the most famous of these is the rabbit/duck picture below.[3] This means, among other things, that it is probably unreasonable to

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3. This image also illustrates the mental processing required to understand and make sense of what we see.

expect that multiple individuals will view one image and draw the same conclusions or that there is only one conclusion to draw from an image. Because understanding images is a learned behavior, and because individuals have different experiences, we could expect two individuals to look at the same image but potentially draw different conclusions or find different aspects of images to be relevant.
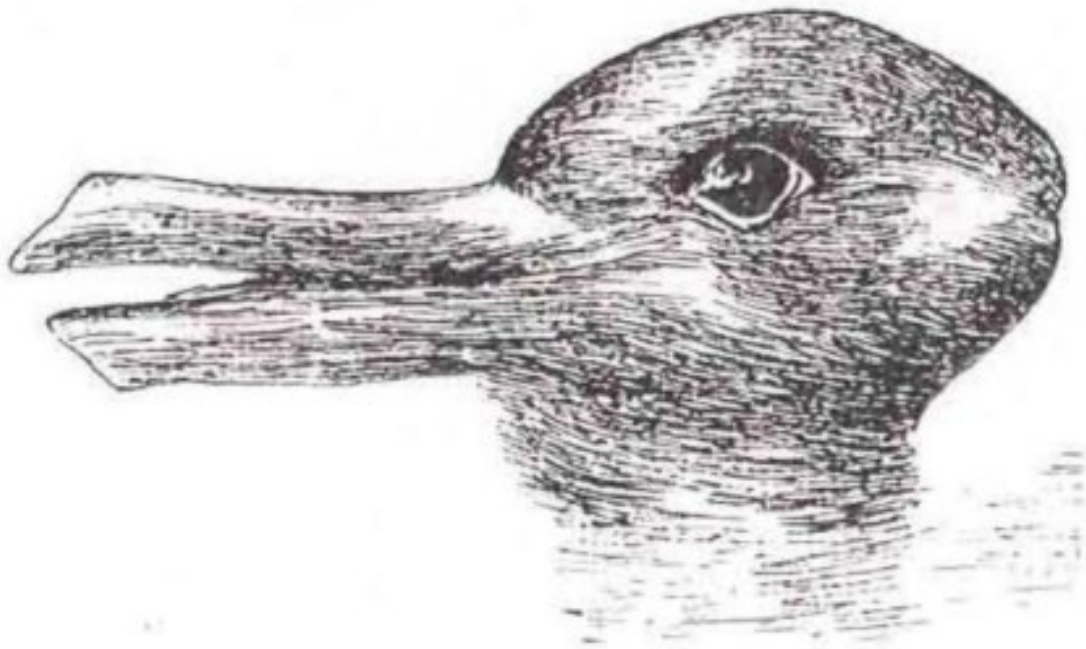
Figure 1: Duck/Rabbit from https://www.illusionsindex.org/i/duck-rabbit

These concepts help us discuss and understand the issues raised by officers in terms of being captured on video. Officers repeatedly addressed issues of context in discussing their concerns about video as well as how an individual's motivations might serve as a "context" for understanding a video of a police-citizen encounter. In addition, the qualitative approach used in analyzing the focus groups collected in this study focuses on understanding the concepts related to being filmed and their connections. Having a language related to images helps describe officer

perspectives more clearly in later sections.

<u>Officer Perspectives and Research Questions</u>

Some solutions to the perceived lack of legitimacy in police agencies have focused on addressing concerns raised in viral videos by essentially increasing the number of videos of police officer behavior by the introduction of body-worn cameras. The expectation seems to be that an increase in the surveillance of officer behavior will deter those who might behave inappropriately as well as provide accountability for officers who do.

Less work has addressed the way officers think about being filmed while working or asking officers about their own experiences being filmed by citizens. This study fills the gap with a mixed methods approach to understanding filmed police-citizen encounters from the perspective of officers. This study is the first to look specifically at officer perspectives on being filmed by citizens and the impact that filming has on police-citizen encounters as well as officer decision-making. In addition to asking officers how often they are filmed by citizens, usually by smartphone, while on duty, the research team also asked officers questions about these encounters, the use of body-worn cameras by police officers, concerns officers have about the use of video generally, training provided as well as the viral video effect. Specifically, our research questions address:

1. How often are police officers filmed by citizens?

2. What are officer perceptions of being filmed by citizens? In other words, what are their thoughts and concerns about being filmed? What is a typical situation? How does being filmed by citizens affect police-citizen interactions?

3. What do officers think about body-worn cameras?

4. What training do officers receive about citizens filming interactions? What training might

be needed?

5. What do officers think about the "viral video" effect?

Because there were no existing studies directly addressing the research questions listed above at the time of the study, the survey (Appendix A) and focus group questions are exploratory. Particularly in the focus group setting, the research team structured discussions around the questions provided in the Appendix B and at the same time, followed up on observations and thoughts provided by officers to get additional detail, to better understand the ideas discussed, and asked questions that seemed relevant. The following section discusses the methods used to recruit officers and sergeants for the study as well as the protocols we followed to collect and later analyze the data.

This section describes the study methodologies used to collect and analyze data as well as relevant information about the study site and sample. The research presented here is exploratory and the research team attempted to recruit as widely as possible. The data was collected in a midwestern city of about 270,000 residents. At the time of the study, the police department studied employed 260 sworn officers and 51 sergeants. The study location had not implemented widespread use of body worn cameras by officers. However, some officers reported in focus groups that traffic units had body-worn cameras and some participants reported that they had personally purchased their own camera equipment for use on duty. Officers have cruiser camera systems and in our focus groups officers reported widespread use of audio recording of police-citizen encounters.

Description of recruitment practices

In order to recruit officers to participate in the study, a graduate student presented information about the study at roll call. This required being present at the police department at many different hours to reach as many officers as possible. This recruitment technique has the added advantage of having the research team in the same room as potential subjects to answer questions. However, not all officers were present in the room as the department also has audio only roll call broadcasts to some officers at stations other than the downtown headquarters.

Officers and sergeants who were interested in participating let their supervisor know and the police department handled logistics and scheduling. The research team was provided with only the numbers of participants and the time of the focus group. No identifying information was provided to or collected by the research team. The focus groups took place over a period of three weeks in September, 2016.

Confidentiality of officers

The research team protected the identity of participating officers in a number of ways. Officers were asked to select a pseudonym in focus group discussions, which were audio-taped. Officers were referred to by their pseudonyms in discussions. These pseudonyms were used in the transcripts produced from the focus group meeting recordings and in this report. In a few instances officers used their actual names in discussions—these names were changed in the transcripts. When officers were asked for their consent to participate in the study, no signatures or paperwork was collected—officers were asked to provide consent by raising their hands or verbally providing consent. No officer who attended a focus group meeting declined to provide consent.

Data Collection

The data collection consisted of eleven meetings/focus groups with 29 different participating officers and sergeants. There were eight different focus group meetings and three meetings where only one officer attended and those meetings consisted of the focus group questions being delivered as individual interview questions. Our focus groups were conducted as early as 5:30AM and late in the evening to match shift change schedules of officers.

These focus groups and interviews meetings were used to collect survey information about participants and how often they have been filmed by citizens. The focus groups and interviews resulted in 9,011 separate "contributions" by speakers in nearly 24 hours of recorded conversation. These recordings were manually transcribed into 1,257,959 characters of text. The conversations were recorded verbatim, including each "um" and capturing some non-verbal communication as well. For example, if a number of officers were nodding their heads to indicate agreement with a statement, the research team made efforts to add this information to

the recording. Each focus group transcript was then reviewed statement by statement for accuracy, which involved listening to the recording and making sure the transcript accurately captured the conversation. Further information about the extensive coding process which followed is provided in later sections of the report.

<u>Representativeness of Respondents</u>

Our partner police department provided aggregate information about officers we used to evaluate the representativeness of our sample. As a qualitative research approach, focus group methods are not necessarily representative, however, it is helpful to get a sense of who the participants are in considering the feedback gathered. In other words, the idea is not necessarily to collect information that generalizes to other police agencies or even to claim that the conversations in the focus groups represent the views of all officers in the agency. At the same time, information about participants can be helpful in the interpretation of the resulting themes and issues identified.

Table 1 provides a comparison between the participants in the focus groups and the sworn officers employed at the time of the focus group study. The table examines the age distribution, gender distribution, race, ethnicity, and education level of officers. Again, while the research team goal was to obtain participation from a representative group of officers, given our small numbers, such representation is a challenge. Our interest here is to examine whether our sample officers are *significantly different from officers employed by the department* in terms of these variables. We used simple statistical tests to evaluate whether the characteristics of study participants were similar to the characteristics of police officers employed by the police department.

Table 1: Comparison of Participants to Sworn Officers in Department

	Department		Study Participants	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Age				
21-25	29	9.4	1	3.4
26-30	57	18.4	6	20.7
31-35	57	18.4	8	27.6
36-40	48	15.5	6	20.7
41-45	54	17.5	2	6.9
45-50	40	12.9	6	20.7
50+	24	7.8	0	0.0
Male	265	85.8	26	89.7
Female	44	14.2	3	10.3
Race				
White/Caucasian	291	94.2	28	96.6
African-American	4	1.3	1	3.4
Native American	2	0.06	0	0.0
Asian/Pacific Islander	4	1.3	0	0.0
Ethnicity				
Hispanic	8	2.6	1	3.6
Non-Hispanic	301	97.4	27	96.4
Education				
High School	88	28.5	1	3.6
Some College	0	0.0	5*	17.9
Two-Year Degree	22	7.1	2	7.1
Four-Year Degree	194	62.8	16	57.1
Master's Degree	5	1.6	4	14.3

*Some participants reported having some college education. However, the department does not have records of officers with this level of educational attainment.

The data presented in Table 1 were analyzed using a difference of proportions test (Blalock, 1979) variables for interpretation purposes. If, for instance, we were unable to recruit any male officers to participate, we would want to take that into consideration in our discussion of results. These tests suggest that participants are older, more educated and not representative of all shift schedules, specifically more officers from second and third shifts (not all data shown). Our sample does appear to represent gender, race and ethnicity distribution in the police department. In other words, there was not a statistically significant difference between our sample and the police department in terms of these variables. In evaluating the officer perceptions in the findings section, it is important to keep the sample characteristics in mind. Specifically, that our officer perceptions are more heavily weighted toward the perceptions of older, more educated, and likely more experienced officers.

Description of Instruments & Data Collection Methodology

Officers who participated in the study arrived[4] at the police department classroom either before or after their shift for the day[5]. This allowed us to draw participants from different shifts which increased participation, reduced the strain on the department and reduced the number of focus groups that we organized. Participants were greeted, asked to select a pseudonym for their name tag and made aware of the food available for the focus group. It is important to note that officers are required to wear name tags identifying them when in contact with the public. We did not note the names of participants in any research materials or use those names in focus group discussions. In the rare circumstances where officers referred to each other by their actual names as opposed to their pseudonyms, we substituted the pseudonyms in the transcripts for analysis.

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[4]The police department handled arrangements for officer/sergeant sign up and reserved the rooms. As researchers, we knew only the number of expected participants, but not the names of participants.
5. Officers were provided overtime pay for participation in the study.

We reviewed the informed consent document (Appendix C) and obtained consent by asking officers to raise their hands if they agreed to participate in the study. No officers or sergeants who came to the meetings refused to complete or participate. We also explained that we were using a digital recorder to capture the discussion.

<u>Survey Questions</u>

Once we obtained consent from participants and answered any questions, we moved to the surveys. Officers were asked to complete a brief survey (Appendix A lists the survey questions) on a computer in the classroom. We used Google Forms to create the survey and collect the data. Participating officers were asked a series of questions about their experiences being filmed by citizens in the last month. This time frame was used to provide a more meaningful frame than broader questions about "ever" being filmed by citizens. It also provides a way to compare across officers with varying lengths of service. Slightly more than 75 percent of officers reported being filmed by citizens in the last month. It is important to note that these are situations in which officers are *aware of being filmed*. It may also be the case that citizens filmed these officers without their knowledge or that officers were captured on private security video. When asked about the experience of other officers, 86.2 percent of officers reported knowing about another officer who had been filmed in the last month. This suggests, as we expected, that being filmed by citizens is something officers discuss with each other. This means the experiences of one officer being filmed may affect the perceptions of other officers as well. This component of the data collection generally took about five minutes. When the survey was finished, officers usually prepared a plate of food prior to the focus group discussion.

<u>Focus Group Questions</u>

 The focus group questions were based on three sets of questions: engagement questions, exploration questions and exit questions (see Appendix B for questions). Our approach in collecting data was to focus on *collecting experiences* and not *evaluating experiences*. Officers rarely contradicted each other directly, although some did remark at times that their experiences were different from other participants (this was particularly true for female officers). The engagement questions asked officers to described the most recent experience they had being filmed by citizens. We asked officers to tell us about that experience (e.g., the type of call, what happened, where it was, etc.). The engagement questions allowed each officer to participate and to hear the experiences of other officers. We then asked officers to think about being filmed by citizens more generally, and asked a series of questions about being filmed by citizens: what types of calls, who films them, what do citizens say about motives, officer concerns, how cameras have affected their interactions with citizens. It is important to note that we also supplemented this set of questions with additional follow up questions as discussions developed. For example, officers remarked that younger people tended to film them. We asked follow up questions to get a sense of what specific ages (e.g., usually 18-30). In addition, we asked questions about body-worn cameras and training associated with being filmed by citizens. The next question addressed the "viral video" effect, sometimes called the Ferguson effect, which describes a situation where crime rate increases because police officers have decided not to engage with citizens because of concerns related to being filmed and resulting community or police department reaction. The last set of questions asked officers and sergeants to consider if there were issues or concerns related to the topics we discussed that were overlooked. This was also a time during the focus group when officers asked questions about the study, offered

suggestions for future work, and made other observations about policing.

Most focus group sessions took the entire two-hour time frame for the discussion. In some meetings, we went over the time frame as officers were able to stay. All focus groups were recorded and transcribed. One focus group recording was interrupted for about fifteen to twenty minutes. The research team kept notes about major themes and new ideas offered in each session and information for follow up study in addition to recordings. The notes for this recording do not reveal any new themes compared to the other focus groups.

Our analysis started with a regular review of our notes of each session as well as follow up research as needed. For example, in one focus group, a participant referred to a citizen videotaping an arrest and saying they were going to put it on Worldstar HipHop[6] a video platform featuring music videos that also allows users to submit video, much like YouTube. At times officers referred to well-known local cases to make a point in the discussion. The research team searched for, read, and archived news stories about these cases to enable better understanding of discussions. This was particularly helpful early in the process, as cases were often mentioned by multiple groups. This reinforces the idea that higher profile cases are powerful in shaping officer opinion, a notion discussed later in the report. Many officers referred to Officer Darren Wilson shooting Michael Brown in our focus groups, although the situation varied significantly from the research questions in that no viral video of the shooting in this case exists. The situation, the media coverage, the reaction of the police department, the reaction of the community and the effects on Officer Wilson's career were mentioned several times.

The second stage of our analysis was transcribing and checking the extensive transcripts of

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[6] The web address for Worldstar (http://www.worldstarhiphop.com) says: Worldstar HipHop is home to everything entertainment & hip hop. The #1 urban outlet responsible for breaking the latest urban news!)

our focus groups. During our sessions we collected 23 hours, 49 minutes and 30 seconds of discussion. These discussions were transcribed in 1,257,960 characters, approximately 628,980 words into about 1600 pages of text. After transcription, each text was reviewed and corrected as needed. After the transcriptions were created and double-checked, each one was read into MAXQDA software for coding and analysis. Initial coding included adding variables for speakers (and associated variables for each speaker) as well as broadly coding each of the 9,011 separate speaker contributions into the topic areas represented in the focus group questionnaire. Then, each questionnaire section was reviewed and coded again to capture the variety of responses. For some repeated contributions, auto-coding functions in MAXQDA were used.

In order to capture the communications in focus groups comprehensively, however, auto-coding functions are inadequate. The meaning of speakers is not easily sorted into a limited number of keywords. For example, an officer discussing a violent encounter with a citizen might use any of the following words: fight, resisting, hit, slap, punch, kick, stab, shoot, fire, point (if referring to a gun), brandish, etc. The codes used in capturing officer responses were created by first reviewing the relevant segments, capturing themes related to the responses, then analyzing those themes for related ideas and creating a coding structure. Then the segments were reviewed again and coded as needed to capture additional relevant details.

Figure 1 indicates the structure of the coding for one question asking officers about their concerns about being filmed by citizens. As the figure shows, there were 271 responses by officers focused on the issue of concerns about being filmed. These concerns cluster into six areas: situational concerns, media concerns, being "the next viral video," concerns specific to being filmed, concerns about citizen behavior during or after being filmed, and departmental concerns. The figure also indicates the concerns mentioned most frequently focus on officer
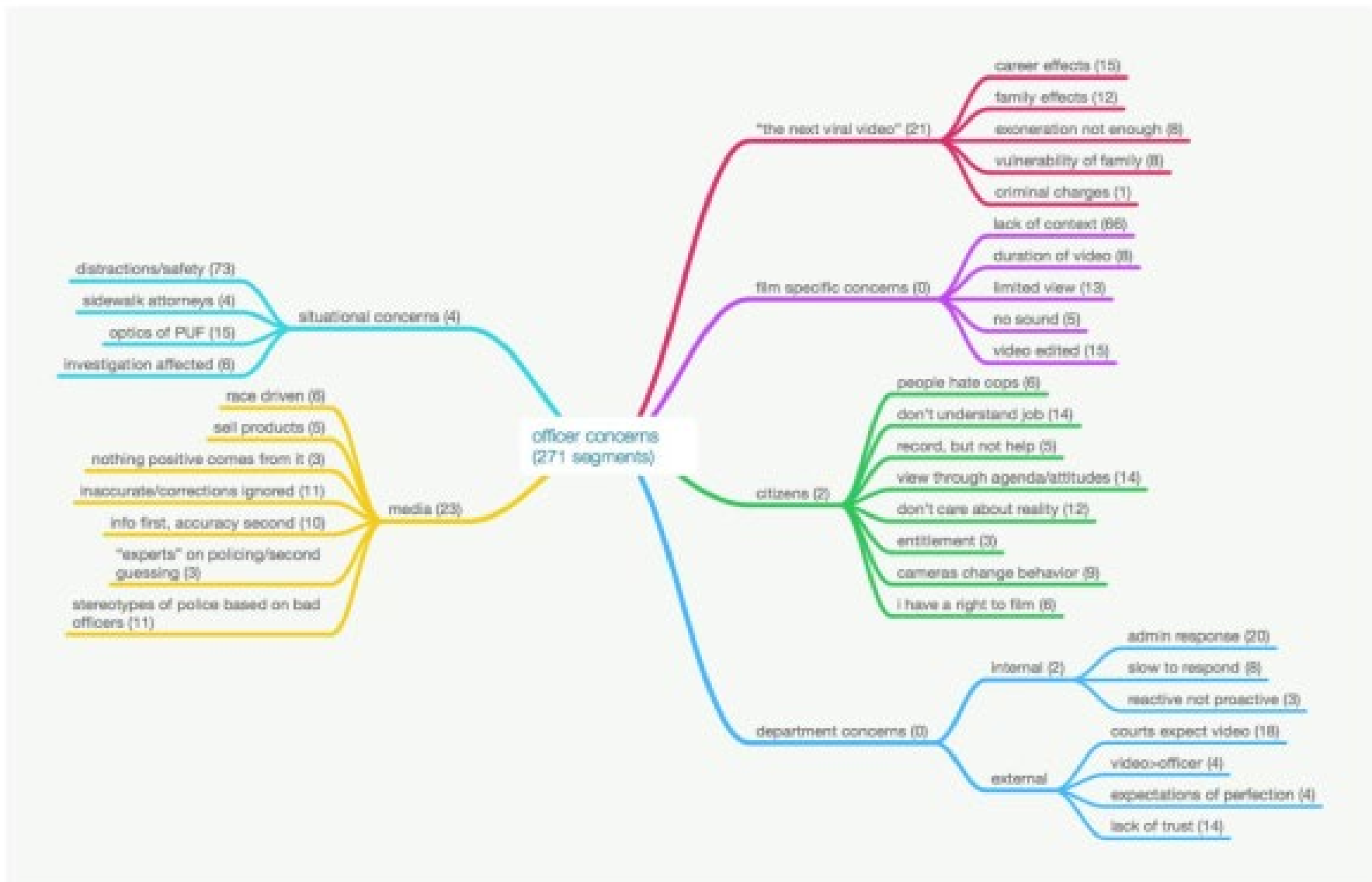
the next viral video (21)
- career effects (15)
- family effects (12)
- exoneration not enough (8)
- vulnerability of family (8)
- criminal charges (1)

film specific concerns (0)
- lack of context (66)
- duration of video (8)
- limited view (13)
- no sound (5)
- video edited (15)

situational concerns (4)
- distractions/safety (73)
- sidewalk attorneys (4)
- optics of PUF (15)
- investigation affected (6)

media (23)
- race driven (6)
- sell products (6)
- nothing positive comes from it (3)
- inaccurate/corrections ignored (11)
- info first, accuracy second (10)
- "experts" on policing/second guessing (3)
- stereotypes of police based on bad officers (11)

officer concerns (271 segments)

citizens (2)
- people hate cops (6)
- don't understand job (14)
- record, but not help (5)
- view through agenda/attitudes (14)
- don't care about reality (12)
- entitlement (3)
- cameras change behavior (9)
- i have a right to film (6)

department concerns (0)

internal (2)
- admin response (20)
- slow to respond (8)
- reactive not proactive (3)

external
- courts expect video (18)
- video>officer (4)
- expectations of perfection (4)
- lack of trust (14)

Figure 1: Officer Concerns about Being Filmed by Citizens

safety, the lack of context in videos, as well as how the video will be interpreted by police administrators. More detail about this figure is provided in the findings section. The figure is presented here to illustrate for the complexity of the responses to even simple questions and the work involved in coding and describing officer responses in a systematic way.

The very rich qualitative data give us a good sense of what officers think and provide ample opportunities for officers to explain their ideas in detail. However, this methodology does not allow quick analysis in the same way survey methodology does. The process of reviewing, analyzing, coding and summarizing qualitative data is a time-consuming process.

For the purposes of this report, the major questions asked in the focus group questions were coded and analyzed. It is important to note that this analysis overlooks some of the data collected. In other words, officers told us many things not specifically limited to the focus group questions because we asked follow-up questions about related issues or concerns or asked for clarification. At times officers provided specifics about departmental services or resources to provide context for their responses (e.g., many officers expressed concerns about "another password/another system" to access as part of their work in discussing the use of body-mounted cameras, for instance). In other words, the research reported here represents the major themes and questions we asked during the focus group but does not represent the entirety of the rich data collected. The next section presents the results of the survey data collection and the focus group questions.

Findings

This section of the report is divided into two parts that correspond with our multi-method approach. First, the results of the survey about officer experiences being filmed by citizens are described. These results address our first research question below. Second, the results of the focus group analysis are presented by research question, addressing officer perceptions of being filmed with a focus on their concerns about these situations. We also describe officer perspectives on body-worn cameras and training related to being filmed by citizens. The last question addresses a concept sometimes called "the viral video effect" or the "Ferguson effect" which suggests video might change officer behavior and affect crime rates.

The analysis of the focus group contributions is more complex and requires more interpretation work and explanation. As noted in the methodology section, officers and sergeants may make the same point or reference the same idea using very different words or examples. This means summarizing what is said is more difficult than counting the use of specific words or looking for whether officers agree/disagree with particular statements. The task of analyzing the focus group results is to examine common themes and explore the ideas officers shared. Some officers raised concerns or steered the conversation in different directions (e.g., discussing the influence of officer and citizen race in media evaluations of the salience of officer-involved shootings) while other groups of officers raised different concerns. A limitation of the focus group method, then, is that while the same general questions are asked of all groups, the responses to those questions and the related follow-up questions can differ across groups. In addition, not all members of the focus group contribute their views on each question, even after prompting from the research team.

This study evaluated the following research questions.

1. How often are police officers filmed by citizens?

2. What are officer perceptions of being filmed by citizens? In other words, what are their thoughts and concerns about being filmed? What is a typical situation? How does being filmed by citizens affect police-citizen interactions?

3. What do officers think about body-worn cameras? What do officers see as the benefits and costs of their use?

4. What training do officers receive about citizens filming interactions? What training might be needed?

5. What do officers think about the "viral video" effect? In other words, do concerns about being filmed alter officer behavior, and potentially crime rates?

Survey Results

As noted in the methods section earlier, some of the survey questions ask about age, work shift, race and ethnicity and other individual level variables. The answers to those survey questions and the implications of the results are addressed in the methodology section of this report and Table 1 presents the statistical results and analyses comparing the characteristics of the respondent officers and sergeants to the characteristics of the sworn officers in the department. This section addresses the officer responses about their experiences being filmed by citizens, or research question 1 above. The survey asked officers three questions about their experiences: whether or not the officer had personally been filmed by a citizen during a police encounter in the last month, whether or not the officer knows of another officer in the department who has been filmed by a citizen during a police encounter in the last month, and the number of times officers reported being filmed in the last month. The last question proved to be a challenge as officers did not always provide a single number—officers often provided ranges as an

estimate. As later focus group results make clear, officers report being filmed by people who are involved in a police-citizen encounter, by people who are attached to a person involved a police-citizen encounter, *and* bystanders who are not involved, but able to view the police-citizen encounter from a distance. As we discuss later, this last group of citizens is less salient to officers. In other words, because they are not involved in the police-citizen encounter and are not the immediate concern of the officers, many officers explained that they may not be aware of recordings being made of their actions *at the time the recording is made* but some officers report looking for these recordings online either for the documentation of a criminal case or because they are interested in determining whether those recordings exist.

This is an important finding in itself—specifically that officer perceptions about being filmed are in part based on incomplete information about whether or not they are being filmed in the first place. As discussed later in the focus group results, some officers report expecting that they are filmed in every encounter and so our question might have asked them for information they don't think to "collect." In other words, if officers expect they are always filmed, being filmed isn't salient because it is expected to be a common event. At the same time, the data we collected in the survey contradicts this assumption that officers are *always being filmed* or at least, that officers are always *aware* of being filmed.

In addition to the statistical results, what follows are officer descriptions of being filmed.[7]

Anybody that has a phone seems to film anymore. (Mark)

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7. For clarity purposes, crosstalk and short statements indicating listening/understanding like, "uh huh" or "okay" are edited out. Otherwise, officer statements appear verbatim. Names provided are pseudonyms. Officer statements are presented in brackets to make it easier to recognize different conversations/contributions.

I think it's primarily when you're involved in the public. I guess it doesn't happen in houses, but in the public, I mean pretty much all the time. (Ian)

Anybody involved with alcohol. (Bill)

...we performed a high risk traffic stop on a car, and there was a number of people but at the time I didn't know at all, but after the fact, there were several videos and photographs that were shared through social media and through YouTube. (Joe)

Table 2 presents the results of the survey questions concerning officer experiences being filmed by citizens. The table shows that majority of officers have been filmed by citizens in the last month, but not all (75.9 percent reported being filmed). If being filmed by citizens were likely in all circumstances for all officers equally, we would expect that all or nearly all officers would report being filmed. When asked about whether they were aware of another officer in the department being filmed by a citizen in the last month, most officers indicated yes (86.2 percent). While most officers did report either being filmed or knowing about another officer being filmed by a citizen, it is important to note that not all officers did (and later focus group responses suggest filming behavior may vary by neighborhood or circumstance).

In addition, we summarized how often officers reported being filmed in the last month. On average, officers reported being filmed about 5 times a month. While less than five percent of officers reported being filmed 10 or more times a month or provided a range of numbers (e.g.,

Table 2: Officer Experiences Being Filmed by Citizens

	N	Percent
Have you been filmed by a citizen during a police encounter in the last month?		
Yes	22	75.9
No	7	24.1
Do you know of another officer in your department who has been filmed by a citizen during a police encounter during the last month?		
Yes	25	86.2
No	4	13.8
Average number of times officer filmed in last month	5 or fewer*	

*Some officers provided ranges with high and low estimates—the majority, (about 90% of officers reported five or fewer instances per month); two officers estimated 10 or more

reported far 10-15), most officers fewer instances. In fact, 86.2 percent of officers reported being filmed 5 or fewer times per month.

Taken together, the results of the survey are a bit surprising in that officer responses suggest police officers are not filmed as much as the research team expected, or indeed, *as often as the officers themselves suggested in the focus group discussion*. As noted earlier, because officers may not be engaged with the citizen who is filming (e.g., the citizen filming is a bystander at a distance from the interaction, or someone inside a building), officers may not be aware of all of the circumstances in which they are being filmed. If nothing else, our findings suggest officers are aware of being filmed by citizens and that situation is routine but not a daily occurrence for most officers. Clearly, a small number of officers experience this situation more frequently or on nearly a daily basis at work, however, most do not.[8]

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8. Another indicator that filming is uncommon is evident in examples officers provided of the last time or a recent example of being filmed. Many officers referred to situations that had occurred months earlier. While this may reflect officers selecting interesting or memorable situations as opposed to everyday situations, it does suggest filming is not an everyday occurrence.

Focus Group Results

As noted in the methodology section of this report, focus group data and analyses do not result in easily summarized findings, compared to survey methodology. In other words, in the survey section of the data collection, each officer was asked exactly the same questions and given the same set of response options. Summarizing these results involves tabulating the most common response. In the focus group analysis, the end product is a better understanding not just of the ideas and concepts that are important to understanding officers being filmed by citizens, but looking for connections between those ideas. As noted in the discussion of Figure 1, officer concerns are not merely a list of concerns, but a set of ideas that more or less cluster into different types of concerns (e.g., concerns related to the filming situation itself, concerns about media use of any recording gathered, concerns about the nature and limitations of film evidence, etc.).

The real work in analyzing focus group and narrative data in this study has focused on identifying and understanding the concepts officers shared and making meaningful connections between these ideas. In other words, the analysis was focused on looking for themes and patterns in responses to understand the concepts officers were describing in addition to capturing officer thoughts and examples and explanations. The analysis attempts to take into account not just what officers said but at times, how common those sentiments were. In addition to describing the concepts officers used in discussing being filmed by citizens and looking for relationships between the concepts, this report also includes relevant examples of officer contributions to illustrate the ideas and connections between ideas. Quotes from officers will use the officer's selected pseudonym for identification purposes.

Filming Situations and Factors Related to Filming

The first set of research questions addresses the experiences officers have being filmed by citizens as well as officer concerns about these situations. We also asked officers if being filmed changes their behavior or the behavior of citizens. To better understand who films officers as well as understand the situations where filming is more likely, we asked officers to give examples and asked officers if they thought they were more likely to be filmed by particular types of citizens. In the focus group questioning, we asked officers to think about age and sex as potential characteristics and some officers offered other characteristics. We asked about a typical situation where they had been filmed in the past and what sorts of police behavior attract citizen attention and filming. Based on officer responses, it appears the answers to these questions are not independent from each other. In other words, officers told us that in part, whether or not they were filmed seemed to depend on what neighborhood they were in, what sort of call they were responding to, and these factors were then related to the role of the person filming the officer as well as the characteristics of citizens who were filming. Figure 2 contains a graphic depicting the relationships several officers described in examples. One of our findings relates specifically to the roles of citizens who film officers.

Most officers told us that there were filmed by either bystanders (50 contributions in focus groups address this topic), attached observers (25 contributions), or individuals suspected in criminal behavior (53 contributions). One officer reported being filmed while taking a report from a property theft victim—the other officers expressed surprise at this and the officer explained both that victims don't often film and that it appeared the citizen may have had mental health concerns.

Figure 2: Officer Descriptions of Being Filmed by Citizens
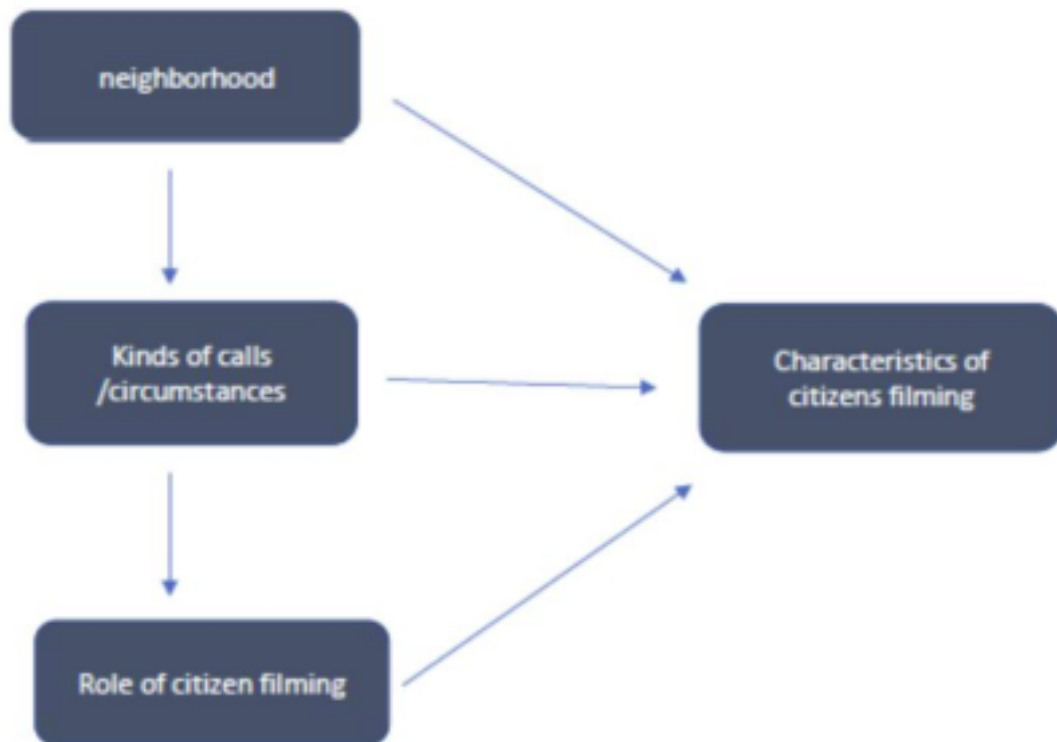
Citizen Roles

While officers did not use these specific terms to describe citizens, the pattern of officer responses sort into three main roles. Bystanders were often individuals who were in the area at the time of the police-citizen encounter but were not involved in that encounter and were often at a distance. Officers reported that bystanders would take out their phones to record but do little else (e.g., stand silently, not explain their motivation in filming).

> *...yeah, and, all of the sudden now, even though they may be not even directly related to the incident. (Hellcat)*

It's mainly, what I've seen is bystanders, it's usually not the person getting arrested. (Chris)

I think anytime you have a congregation of officers at whatever reason, um you'll see people not so much interacting but they'll be across the street with their phones out. (Brad)

I was in an accident, and people were walking by and recording us and the accident scene. (Bob)

Almost always bystanders. (Bob)

Almost always, I would agree. (Timmy)

Attached observers were people who were somehow related to or friends with a person involved in the police citizen encounter, usually the citizen involved in a police-citizen interaction as a suspect or as a driver in a car being pulled over by the police. An attached observer could be a passenger who filmed the traffic stop, a relative filming an arrest, or at times, a citizen "looking out for" someone being taken into custody. Attached observers are more likely to engage in behaviors beyond merely filming with a smart phone. At times attached observers indicated that they were filming for the suspect's protection or they thought the police were doing something

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they should not be doing. These two groups made up the majority of the situations officers described to us in examples and in our focus group discussions.

it could be family members, it's somebody who's at least associated with the person (Hellcat)

You know, whereas these young college students, that think that every contact with LPD or with any police officer is worthy of CNN, I think they're much more apt to just bring out the phone and maybe after they've had five friends arrested for MIP, they think oh well, whatever, it's just a pair of handcuffs, it's not that cool. So it's kind of novelty, maybe. To some extent. (Sam)

Research Team: What about other people with the person you are interested in talking to? Or potentially arresting?

JT: Oh sure, that's like the person's backup

Bill: The family's gonna get you out of whatever problem you created by videotaping whatever

There's never just one person recording either, I mean it's the bystanders, or this guy's got friends, or if this girl's got friends. Their friends will be recording. (Timmy)

The last group of citizens who record officer behavior are people directly involved in the police encounter as suspects or as drivers stopped by police. Officers told us this behavior was less common, as individuals interacting with the police are understandably focused on that interaction. At the same time, two subgroups of citizens were identified as being more likely to

film during a police-citizen encounter: individuals who identify as sovereign citizens as well as individuals who have had repeated, often negative, contacts with the police.

> *That spurred a thought that there is two types of it seems like there are two types of people that record though and I don't think it's I don't think it's normally the person who is getting arrested to begin with or that is the subject of that initial um, stop or contact. It seems like we pretty much have their attention and maybe on traffic stops if they are alone you know that and then we leave go back and then have time to think and then get their phone out.*
> *(Spencer)*

> *The same people who complain that they're being picked on, even though they are the ones being called on and/or drawing attentions to themselves. They're you know cause yes, there are certain people who are—um, paid more attention to—and not just because we're bored and we want to pay attention to them. They you know, you know, um basically have a big neon sign above their head saying "I'm in the middle of something stupid. You know, come talk to me."And those people are the same ones that call in complaints because they're being harassed, you know, they're gonna they will film or try to. (Hoss)*

> *And, typically or at least from my experience, when the person being contacted is the one filming, um, they're usually very vocal in letting you know that they're filming you and why they're filming you, um, and it's typically that you can't do this, and it's usually not very friendly words coming out. (R)*

> *Um, your "frequent fliers," the people that I know their first, their middle, and their last name and their birthday. Um, because I've talked with them so many times um chances are since I've talked with you that many times, you probably have done some stuff that you probably shouldn't have. (Ian)*

Based on the officer accounts, citizens who film tend to fit into three different roles in police citizen encounters: bystanders, who are not directly involved and are the most common; attached

observers, who are not necessarily involved in the encounter, but have some relationship or concern for the individual who is directly interacting with the police; and suspects or drivers who are directly interacting with the police because of suspected criminal behavior or traffic violation. Only one person who was identified as a crime victim was described filming a police encounter and officers listening expressed surprise at this. It is not clear if victims rarely film or if this is related to the generally positive police-citizen relations in the study site.

Bar Break as an Example of the Role of Neighborhoods

One way to illustrate the patterns we found linking neighborhood, type of police-citizen encounter, and citizen filming behavior is to specifically examine one of the more common examples of officers being filmed by citizens—what officers called "bar break." On the weekend, drinking is common in the downtown area[9] (location). The bars downtown draw large crowds of young people and many college students that disperse at the close of the bars (characteristics of individuals filming). This is a time and place where many people are out on the street, so there are many people who might fulfill the "bystander" role in the event of any police-citizen interaction. The people who are downtown tend to be younger and tend to be intoxicated. The large crowds and drinking behavior (and fights which are common and are often filmed) draw a larger officer presence (also a common situation in which citizens choose to film). The noise of bar break also tends to attract camera attention. In these situations, bystanders appear to be filming, according to officers, to "catch" officers engaged in wrongdoing or to protect individuals involved in police encounters or to capture video to upload to social media (or, potentially, both). Officers also noted that many individuals having police contact at bar

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[9] For residents of the study city, this is common knowledge. Downtown drinking and bar break were very frequently mentioned in the focus group discussions.

break would claim to be either law students, criminal justice students, or related to lawyers. In some ways, the claim to legal knowledge here is similar to the use of a camera in a police interaction, as it appears to be an attempt to "level the playing field" or to challenge officer behaviors.

Typically when someone's getting arrested, or there's any type of use of force involved, the cameras or the phones come out immediately. Those are the ones that you see downtown most often is you get the college kids downtown, get some alcohol involved, and couple guys square off or something, officers intervene, and next thing you know, they're using force and people are screaming "police brutality" and they're filming anything and everything. So, we had one not too long ago downtown where that happened. And the officer actually Tased the guy after they broke up a fight and people were screaming stuff about the incident. (Brian)

Depending on what you're responding to, a downtown fight is gonna get a big response because they know there's lots of people, lots of alcohol, things can turn very quickly. If you're going to, 17th and G for two people fighting, fifteen officers aren't going because it's two people. There may be 4 or 5 that show up, because they work that area and they're close, and they're in service, but it's a different feel than a huge crowd after game day where there's a fight at 14th and L. You're gonna get a much bigger response because of the potential of what could happen. (Mark)

And that is a good point, I've I've had them say that um they'll if it's somebody who doesn't know the person who you're engaged with, they will yell at that person, like, "Don't worry I'm recording this! Like if they do something wrong, I've got it on video." Um, and so, again they're just waiting to catch a cop doing something that they're not supposed to. Uh, but unfortunately again, what most people don't understand I guess the rules of engagement or you know, um, and most of them again haven't watched the whole thing play out. They they didn't hear you say, "Turn around, put your hands behind your back, you're under arrest." Um, they haven't seen that. Um and so now all of the sudden you've got your hands on this guy's arm and you're getting ready to control him and it's like holy crap, this guy wasn't doing anything. Downtown especially you would get I don't know—what—I'd say at least 75% of the time uh people like, "he didn't do anything wrong." And whether they were outright lying just to help whoever it was, and a lot of its us versus them, like uh citizens versus cops like we don't want to see this guy get in trouble, so, even though I just saw him punch the other guy I'm just gonna tell the cops that he didn't say, didn't do anything. But, uh, most of the time, you get somebody saying, "He didn't do anything wrong. He didn't, he was just standing

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there." Um, and so, um whether they are lying or whether they just showed up, again their perception's off because they've been drinking, um now they think they're doing what's right because here's this lowly citizen who is innocent of doing any wrongdoing and now it's just the bully cops that are picking on him. And so, by God, we're gonna do what's right by the citizen and get this whole contact on video. (Jack)

Yeah, I agree. When I worked downtown that was the most I've seen pull their camera, cell phone videos, whatever cameras out, um, the only other times I can remember is if we're just making arrest and people don't agree with it, and they weren't even violent arrests, they were just, the suspect was completely cooperative but the family wasn't having it and they pulled out their cell phones and started filming us, so. (Sam)

In my experience the majority of them are, it comes back to the right before that they always press—preface it with, oh I have rights. This is against my rights. And then they start videotaping, so they're implying that I'm breaking their rights and I'm going against the law. And that's when I see them videotaping. Cell phones coming out. (Doogie)

The only like concern that I would every have with somebody filming is when they get when they're it's one thing if you're standing off on the sidewalk and recording it but if you're going to come and instigate people while you're filming it um. And I see that a lot is um, at least on the videos that I watch. Um, and I've seen uh it happen downtown here to some officers where the filmers are instigating the person being filmed, like, Uh, it's okay, I got you, this is all on film! Like it's uh it's okay to act out because I'm filming you and the police can't do any, like we're going to get the police in trouble type of thing, um, which is not how it goes, but it's it becomes a safety concern I think for police officers when they're becoming part of the problem instead of just being a neutral bystander that is just filming if you're coming up and instigating somebody to keep continue their poor behavior or if you're coming up and distracting us from a problem that we need to address, and now we're distracted because this guy won't stay back or he's getting right in our faces with the camera, it's something that we have to address and then they think we're violating their rights or don't want to be filmed or...(Jeff)

> *I think where I've experienced that associate or close friend filming has been in the larger crowd setting that I described downtown at the bars, or sometimes at, maybe a loud house party or maybe a vehicle stop where there are several associates with the person being contacted, um, and it almost seems like in the group setting that that person wants to be, I don't know, acknowledged by their friend, that I'll be your spokesperson, I'm taking care of you when you when this is happening, that kind of a thing (R)*

> *I as soon as I flipped him over and he split his lip, he said, "You just broke my jaw!" and um, so then, I don't think that the recording started until well after that, but and I think that the recording was mostly because people were like, this is funny, because the guy is still like, doing the "Go Big Red!" chant and everything and blood is like going everywhere and like spraying out of his mouth um. But there was somebody there that had their phone out and they were like, "don't worry, I got this whole thing on video" and I was actually looking on YouTube and Google for months after that because I was I was thinking this out of you know I don't know if this is going to come back negatively on me or not but I could see this getting a ton of views on YouTube just because (Spencer)*

These examples illustrate the connections between a neighborhood and factors related to filming. The downtown neighborhood includes many bars and a state university campus. Because this neighborhood is home to many bars and (particularly young) patrons of bars, it is a place that has not just drinking behavior, but groups of bystanders to film the drinking behavior and fighting that can result. The police predictably respond to these situations and citizens are arrested or fighting with officers which also draws citizen attention and filming. Typical residential neighborhoods may have crime, but they don't appear to have the collection of elements found downtown: regular drinking behavior, large crowds of younger people (who tend to film more), behaviors and situations that draw attention and filming behavior (drinking, related crime and violence and at times large police responses).

Traffic Stops as an Example of the Role of Situations

Another common scenario described by officers is being filmed during a traffic stop. Traffic

stops are less tied to neighborhood factors than bar break, as traffic stops can happen throughout the city. Traffic stops, according to officers, often involve filming by either the passenger (an attached observer) or, if alone, the driver. These situations don't have many of the other precursors to filming described by officers (heavy police presence, lights or sirens or other noise/yelling). In these situations, filming isn't triggered by the sense that something is about to happen as much as a potential precaution or sometimes an attempt to level the power differential between officers and citizens. Officers in our focus groups indicated that citizens in these situations sometimes silently filmed or held up their phones while others told officers, "I'm filming you/this."

Um, the last time that I recall, I believe it was the summer a couple months ago, um, we performed a high risk traffic stop on a car, and there was a number of people but at the time I didn't know at all, but after the fact, there were several videos and photographs that were shared through social media and through YouTube. (Joe)

Um on traffic stops, a lot of times, they get pulled over, they're in a car or somebody who's driving, they'll start recording. Um, the lights, uh you know major incidents, um, and maybe it's not even our involvement, maybe it's fire or something like that (Andy)

Sam: On that note, the sovereign citizen crowd that kind of thinks that laws don't apply to them. Um, they may be another group, like in my limited contacts with them, they're quick to pull their phone because they think even a traffic stop is a violation of their rights. (Sam)

Hellcat: Oh. Um, it was a traffic stop, it was probably about actually, beginning of August, I wanna say right around in there, um, traffic stop, two people in the car, um, standard violation of speed, and uh, then registration issue. Um, pretty typical stop, no, bad precursors, no, nothing made the hair go up on the back of my neck or anything, um, walk up uh, male driver, male passenger, male passenger has their phone out. And it's just up like this. Now, could be that they were on it, could be that they were um, texting at one point in time, but it seemed odd. And it stayed there. And it stayed there, it stayed like this. He sat in the passenger seat like this. The back of the phone. So, I assumed that probably, probably being recorded and that's okay. I have no issue with it. Went through my standard spiel, I'm officer so and so, I pulled you over because of this, I need to see your driver's license and registration and proof of insurance, and there was very little um talking by the person holding the the phone, um, the driver said well what if, do I have to give you that? Well yeah, you kind of do.

You know? Sorry. You kind of do. It's kind of the law. And he goes, okay. And they were probably, late teens, I wouldn't quite say early 20s yet, maybe bordering 20, 21, college age. And uh, doesn't—not that it matters, mixed race of people. Doesn't matter who, but, different ethnicities for both the driver and the passenger.

Um, driver was slightly argumentative, nothing that even meets some of the other arguments that I've been faced with. Um, but pretty much so complied with everything I asked, um, it didn't bother me, I didn't acknowledge that I was being recorded, didn't care. Um, the contact itself was very benign, um, even if it was a little you know, I mean, he was a little argumentative on various different things, he said that, things like that, he said that, you're just, you're just picking on me. No, I'm not picking on you, I'm picking on the way you drive.

I was driving past a vehicle, like, head on, so I was I had to flip around them to conduct a traffic stop because they had a headlight out. And when I approached the vehicle, um, it was a female in the driver's seat and a male in the passenger's seat. The male and the female both had bizarre behavior and um, by that I mean, they looked very nervous so everybody looks different when they look nervous but he was not making eye contact and usually the passenger will look over at the police officer out the window. So he was just looking this way and I was very polite, I was probably even, too, I come off as too friendly sometimes, but um, so, I was just Hi, how are you guys, what is going on this evening and just nothing. Just kinda stone cold, they don't want to be there right now. So I'm like okay, is she suspended, do they have warrants, what's going on? So, uh, because of their behavior, it kinda made me a little bit concerned and so I called another officer over there so, I had the other officer talk to the passenger and see if he would give us his information so I could run him, make sure he didn't have a warrant, well, when I got back up there, um, she started recording me, she's like, You can't pull him out of the vehicle just because he's the passenger and um, she's like, I know police officers, they don't allow this! You just did this because he's black and I said, no, that's not how it goes, it was your behavior, but she cut me off every opportunity, I tried to explain it and so, usually people pull their video cameras out when the contact isn't going so well and up until that point I had been trying to make it go well. (Scout)

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Most recently, um, it was a traffic stop. The officer pulled over a vehicle I believe it was a failed to signal or traffic stop or failed to signal a turn. When they contacted the vehicle, they saw a baggie of marijuana in the center console of the vehicle since they searched the vehicle. Well, the officer, regardless asked, hey would it be alright if I searched your vehicle? Nope, you can't search it, no you can't do anything. Well, you have probable cause to search the vehicle, so he pulled them out the car and said hey, I'm not going to cuff you, I'm going to search your vehicle. They want to speak to a supervisor; they're upset; they're arguing, yelling, well, a passenger in the vehicle is recording the contact saying, illegal search of my car, you're doing this wrong, I want to speak to a supervisor, yada yada yada. Hence, I got called over. So I show up and I have to explain to them about three different times the reason why we can search the vehicle and why it was a legal stop and they're just generally being argumentative, confrontational, believing their right in what they're believing, but you kinda have to give them the realization of here's the reason why, slow your kinda slow things down, kinda walk them through the process. Even then they didn't agree, I'm like well, if you disagree maybe you can always contact a lawyer, show them the recording, what I've told ya and we agreed to disagree on it, but it was generally the last contact I had. (Jon Snow)

Timmy: I mean, when on a traffic stop I've had a few that are a little more voice inflection confrontational. When they are recording me when —hey I'm Officer Timmy, and uh, I uh – almost jacked that one up, didn't I? I stopped you for not stopping at that (inaudible), or whatever. And then all of the sudden, all the sudden they start yelling at you. I'm recording! Okay, well sir, you did violate that, and you know, if I can get your—you don't have any right! And they'll start yelling, trying to provoke me into—when you're being yelled at, to me I get yelled at all the time, I don't care—but um, that's a provoking thing to a lot of people. Getting yelled at is not what anybody wants to have done to them, so, I've had a lot of—I wouldn't say a lot—I've had several incidents where I was being recorded on a traffic stop where people are yelling at me for pulling them over for whatever reason. Um, whether it's to antagonize me or get me to change my mind or whatever it is. Um, or the reason is

Bill: I think it's increased the public's belief that impropriety is occurring. You know, that—I would say that if you surveyed people 20 years ago, how much police interaction do you think is inappropriate versus today? I think the number would be a lot lot higher. So I think all the videos have said, well, now they're looking for impropriety at every contact.

Traffic stops are important for understanding citizen filming of police. These situations include face-to-face interactions with citizens in a way many situations with bystanders do not. Citizens are close enough to have conversations with officers (and indeed, traffic stops include verbal

interactions). At the same time, officers report that they are not always told whether or why a citizen might be filming the traffic stop. Filming appears to be a non-verbal type of confrontation that does not require, but may include, citizens directly engaging or communicating that they do not approve of officer behavior or register their concerns. These situations are less likely to have bystanders, depending on the neighborhood of the stop. These situations are more likely to be filmed by drivers themselves or by attached observers in the car at the time of the stop.

Factors Related to Filming the Police: Situations

It is not surprising that when officers were asked to describe situations in which citizens reach for their cameras that many of these situations are not the everyday citizen experience with the police but something more likely to be seen in a film or on television. Citizens seem to infer from these factors that something unusual was likely to happen, or already happening. When asked about what situations seem more likely to be filmed, officers mentioned these factors the most: situations with a lot of citizens (28 mentions), fights (22 mentions), arrests (12 mentions), or noticeable police encounters either because of sirens (1 mention), cruiser lights (13 mentions), officers or citizens yelling or making noise (20 mentions) or larger numbers of officers in one location (20 mentions) or perimeters/yellow tape (5 mentions).

If it's just a person, an officer and a person contact, one-to-one or similar, um, it doesn't seem to be as entertaining or as interesting. But when there are 6 police cars in one block or something, then, I think people tend to think there's something worth capturing. (Joe)

I mean a bank robbery is a serious felony, um, and there'll be an officer showing up, you can have a fight with two or three people and it isn't a serious felony and you're gonna have 7 or 8 cops showing up. Just depends on who's close and where it's happening at, so I think it

At the same time, many officers said they simply assume they are always being recorded, whether they are aware of it or not. Officers specifically said that especially in situations where they are in public or involved in a confrontation with a citizen, it might not be possible to be aware of all potential citizens on scene or those who might be filming from inside a building or nearby.

The situations in which citizens decide to film the police mirror situations you might see involving police on television or in film. These are not the typical calls for service but situations with many citizens or officers present, situations that involve arrests or violence, that draw attention with lights or sirens, yellow tape or yelling. Citizens appear to take these cues that something dramatic or interesting is happening. These are situations that might also attract more

bystander attention from citizens in the area and even in residential neighborhoods where citizens might leave their homes to become bystanders.

Factors Related to Filming the Police: Who Films the Police

Focus group discussions of who films the police took place in two forms. To begin our discussions with officers, we asked each officer to describe the last time they remembered being filmed while working. The examples officers used here were coded to capture citizen characteristics and officers were specifically asked if they had noticed any characteristics of individuals who filmed them, for example, did men film more often than women? Most officers who answered had not noticed whether men or women had filmed them more often. The most common response was that there was no difference. Five officers said they were more likely to be filmed by men and four officers said they were more likely to be filmed by women.

I could think about it. But, I would say it's about the same (R)

Uh huh. I don't think so I. I can think of men and women that have recorded me and and it just seems like especially downtown it's like everybody has their phone out. I mean, everybody has it out. It doesn't matter if they are male or female. (Spencer)

There was a much broader consensus among officers concerning age. Officers overwhelming said that individuals who filmed were more likely to be younger, and when asked for specifics, officers said 30 or younger, or described individuals who filmed as "the social media generation" and argued that younger people were more likely to document their interactions with others with photos or videos.

but um, the social media generation, I think that's part of it (Sam)

I would say there's not a lot of old people (Olivia)

I think through—just to throw an age out there, I'd say 30 and under, I would say is your majority. I would say maybe mid-30s (Brad)

Bill: between the ages of 18 and 30.

Timmy: Yeah, I agree. I was gonna say 20s. Anywhere in the 20s, so

JT: Yeah

Timmy: Generally, the more over 30 group is usually grown out of their silly stage—not all of 'em, but, but then you're under the 20 age. You're generally aren't out in scenarios that are gonna—they sometimes are, not generally speaking.

Officers also volunteered that people who are intoxicated are more likely to film. Individuals who had more police contacts or more negative experience with police were also identified as being more likely to film officer interactions.

I would say most of the time it's arrests—a lot of the—or the contacts downtown, it seems like there's all—more alcohol involved and it's more likely when that's the case (Mark)

I would say that the most often that I've been filmed, like, um, these are not the typical people that my partner and I deal with, but college females, um when their girlfriends are getting arrested cause they're drunk on a [football] Saturday or something, immediately those cell phones are out, and those are like the least controversial arrests (Sam)

Um, anyone who is intoxicated. (Ian)

The research team asked about racial/ethnic differences in filming. Most officers did not report noticing a difference in who filmed. Instead, some officers explained that it was the mix of the officer/citizen race that was more important. Specifically, that if a white officer was interacting with a black citizen, that the citizen (or others) may be more likely to film the interaction. Some examples provided by officers included African American citizens filming and others implied race was important.

Mark: we had a shooting, well last year, maybe a year and a half ago where it was all white, it was all marshals, and the person who shot was a white male, that got zero media attention whatsoever. None. Which surprised the heck out of me. But then on the flip side, uhm, if a white officer shoots somebody, there's going to be all kinds of media attention on that. Why did it happen and what was the background? And all this. But that that shooting got no attention, and that guy was killed. So the media propagates a lot of the things that take place and they can hype up a lot of things that—

Brian: they also don't report a lot of the statistics. And I know we had an officer who sent out a bunch of statistics on a study I can't remember where it was out of, um, but it shows that officer involved shootings there's—we shoot and unfortunately we kill a lot of white people. Way more than minorities. But that doesn't ever seem to enter into the discussion, ever, when that happens.

Race relations is what we should be talking about, because they go hand in hand with videos I think. But people are so fearful to talk about race relations and what we as a White officer thinks about when we encounter a Black male, or what that Black male feels when he sees a white officer. We, nobody every wants to talk about that, and it's like, that's what we should be talking about. Even with our minority officers on the department, what is it you see when White cops are contacting minorities? Do you see a difference? But everybody is so scared to talk about that for fear of being labeled a racist, but those feelings are out there and those feelings go hand-in-hand with the cameras and why people are filming a lot of times. Is a lot of minorities feel that white officers are prejudiced, we're racist, and we're doing things only because they're black. But we don't ever really seem to want to touch on that subject because it's so sensitive and people feel they have to be so politically correct about it. (Mark)

Um, somebody—we had a guy, that ran from us, had a warrant, so we had a perimeter set up. I mean those happen all the time but this is more specific than that, but um, and, someone made a traffic stop within our perimeter of a car we thought might have been involved. So I went up to that car and the person that was pulled over was an African American, and a group of African American men were walking down the sidewalk the other direction and saw it, and so they stopped and were video-taping, and it—there were a lot of cops on this traffic stop because we had this perimeter set up so there were like 400 cops in the area. And so it was really quick, and a whole bunch of cops showed up, so then they were yelling things about "this is what it's like to be black in America" and "look how many cops are here" they're obviously—you know—something like that. (Olivia)

Officers reported that many different types of people filmed the police. Overall, while all citizens were seen as potentially filming the police, the typical citizen officers described as filming police-citizen encounters was young (under 30), more likely to be someone who had experienced negative police contacts in the past, more likely to be intoxicated, and while officers did not indicate race was a factor, some noticed that in situations in which the officer was white and citizens were minority group members, involved citizens and bystanders might be more likely to film.

Citizen Motivations Vary by Role

According to police officers, most people who film police-citizen interactions are bystanders. Officers also indicated that bystanders do not always disclose their motivations for filming or are too far away from officers for conversations about motivations to take place. Sometimes citizens appear to film because they see other people filming. Seeing someone else capture the encounter appears to be a cue that encourages filming by others. This type of situation, however, requires multiple bystanders and our research suggests that police calls with multiple bystanders are more common in some neighborhoods than others. This situation is particularly common downtown on weekends, where multiple bars are located as discussed in an earlier section.

Bill: Recording is contagious

Timmy: Once one comes up

Bill: Once one comes up, everybody is like, "oh yeah!"

Timmy: My last one was probably about a month or two now, um, it was a bar fight that I just responded to and everybody and their brother was filming and getting in the way. Um, most of them anymore seem to back up when you tell them, but they're all recording, so. Probably ten or 15 recording when you're at a bar.

In addition to bystanders who may not interact with police, officers report that citizen roles are sometimes unclear in interactions. A person on the sidewalk near a police-citizen encounter may be a bystander or a friend or family member—someone we refer to here as an attached observer. Officers report that citizens appear to film to protect others based on what citizens say during the filming situation. Some examples below illustrate how citizens who know each other

(attached observers) and bystanders will film police-citizen interactions to provide protection or

potential evidence for the involved citizen, acting in a way that is consistent with an attached

observer. Traffic stops were commonly mentioned as situations in which a passenger (and

sometimes the driver) would film the encounter.

People um, people will say something like, "it's alright, I got it all on video!" or something like that. It's hard to tell, and, that's not always the person a person that knows them beforehand. I've heard I've heard people say, afterwards or after someone says something like that, you know, "well, how do I get ahold of you?" or something like that you know what I mean, so it's not always, um well you know it's not always that person but even people that say, "it's okay, I got it on video" you know, even that can even be the random the random bystander um that's that just happens to be recording and then they um will offer it to a suspect and you know I always a lot of times there has literally been nothing that has happened you know like someone's just complied and we've handcuffed them. (Spencer)

It can be used as an intimidation factor, too. They're trying to intimidate us sometimes into doing something maybe different than what they want us to do. Um, and a lot of times, too, they're getting the camera out after the fact, they're just catching a small portion of what happened, they didn't get the whole thing. And that's probably I would say more the source of frustration sometimes for officers is they would much rather have, I think, the whole thing filmed, I would. (Brian)

Sometimes it just depends, I mean there are people where you could be contacting them just to let them know that their that the family member or somebody is now deceased, and they record the entire contact. Cause they're distrusting the police or whatever reason. I think that's the most prevalent situation, you know, where it's more adversarial, um, but I have a unique position where I get a lot of information from the public, a lot of feedback, and there are a lot of things that are being recorded that I don't think people necessarily even know but a lot of times it's it's a matter of wanting to create some kind of record, whether there's some underlying intention to allege something later down the road, or, I'm not really sure (Joe)

Well I don't know if it's that they're trying to protect themselves. I don't know if I would say protect themselves—I think maybe that's why they are doing it, I don't know what they are trying to protect themselves from. I don't know what they've been in my experience, I don't know what the police have done to wrong them [here]. I have no idea. Um, but, they're holding the cameras out still like they've been wronged or that the [local] Police Department is way out of control (Timmy)

It is beyond the scope of the research questions addressed here, however, the research team followed up on the issue of citizens having different viewpoints on what officers could do than officers. In other words, we asked about where citizens would learn/acquire opinions about what officers were allowed to do and not allowed to do and the potential role of the media in creating unreasonable expectations for officers more generally. The results of these discussions are being prepared into a research article and will be shared upon acceptance for publication.

Some citizens might film for the protection of themselves or others, however, officers suspected citizens were filming to capture events/post online, particularly if they were bystanders. Most officers reported that when bystanders filmed, they held up their phones and said nothing—meaning, in other words, that the officers were inferring the motivation of the citizens. There were few examples of citizens directly stating that they were going to film officers or police-citizen encounters in order to upload that video to YouTube or other social media sites.[10]

You can tell when that crowds there, they follow em, they follower certain entertainment groups. And you can hear them scream the WorldStar in the video. (Bill)

I think that they have different motives. If it's somebody who's filming a fight downtown, they

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10. Social media sites were mentioned over 100 times in our focus group discussions.

probably want or sometimes I see them on YouTube later, so I am guessing the motive is to
post it on YouTube or post it on a personal Facebook page and get a lot of hits (Scout)

The two comments I get pretty frequently are either a) they're gonna post it, like you know
those websites out there that have specifically people fighting, so, they're gonna post it or I've
again, had the racial thing, have people flat out say, "I'm recording this cause I'm gonna get it
on camera when you shoot this use whatever term you want." You know, that's, and this isn't
the it's rarely the subject we're dealing with, it's always a bystander if you will but I've had
people flat out say that I'm doing this almost as a warning, like I'm gonna, I'm videotaping so
you can't do this. You know, you can't do anything out of line. (Carl)

I think if there's force used, some type of force or fight. For whatever reason, the public thinks
that's something they should record, and everything gets posted now, whether it's YouTube,
Facebook, I was there and this is what I saw. And I think that instant access to information
people are more likely to just want to post that. Even if it has nothing—it's just, hey, I was
there, you know (Brian)

Our discussions suggest that the role that citizens play in a police-citizen encounter is linked

to their likely motive in filming in a police-citizen encounter. Some citizens who are suspects or

drivers who have been pulled over are filming the interaction for their own "protection" or to

document what they perceive to be a violation of their rights, or to try to "level the playing field"

in an encounter where they have less power. Citizens who are attached observers might film for

similar reasons. Bystanders motivations are more difficult to discern, as few have conversations

with officers, although as the examples above suggests, sometimes citizens express their

motivations to capture police-citizen encounters in order to post the video on social media.

Officer Concerns about Being Filmed by Citizens

Officers reported a large number of concerns about being filmed by citizens *while at the*

same time often remarking that they didn't care if citizens filmed them while they were working. This may seem inconsistent, however, officer concerns about being filmed appeared to be less about whether their behavior was filmed than the potential for that behavior to be *misunderstood*, as will be addressed in some detail later in this chapter. In capturing officer concerns, our focus in coding was to record the many different types of concerns as well as grouping them logically to compare across some of the themes in the discussions we had. Figure 1 graphically depicts the coding of 271 separate officer comments/concerns discussed in the focus groups. The figure branches out into areas of concern, some of which officers more or less generically addressed as concerns—the best example of this involves references to "the media" and officer comments that the media was biased or unhelpful or unfair as well as more specific concerns about how the media handled situations in which officers were filmed by citizens. While about 23 comments generally addressed the media, another 10 segments addressed the idea that the news media tries to be first as opposed to accurate in reporting. Officers also objected to the portrayal of officers in viral videos as somehow suggesting that the problematic officers were representative of all officers or that the representations of officers engaged in violence or corruption in one community might harm officers working in other communities or set back the larger cause of policing. Some officers argued that media coverage of officer behavior seemed racially driven, offering as evidence an officer-involved shooting in Lincoln and media inquiries following the news of the shooting. Officers argued that the racial make-up of the officers was more important than other characteristics of the shooting.

> *Yeah, in my experience, filling in for duty command, often times the media they'll ask in a situation, the race of the people involved, the race of the officer. (Joe)*

One thing I, uh, just what, something he said kind of brought up an idea of when that guy got shot by the Capitol, back in like May I think? Um, the I was like one of the first ones on scene there when we were tending to his injuries and there was photographs of us you know citizens taking a bunch of photographs, they were in the paper, within minutes, um and one of the first things I heard after that was, like the national news like CNN leaving messages at dispatch, and they were asking, what's the race of the shooting officer? What's the race of the person that got shot? And that was within, within an hour of the shooting. Um, those kinds of messages were being, and I was like oh my gosh, you know, and luckily you can't—I mean that's about as clean of a shooting as you could hope for, you know, guy wanted for weapon related charge and he's running carrying a gun through crowded streets of people, I mean, he's clearly a danger to the public and and the race of anybody doesn't matter in that situation. But, um, but I think our department handled that very well um and so I think that maybe it added to our credibility with the media, like, you know, yes it was a black person shot by a white officer, but it was a justified shooting, uh you know, he didn't even, he wasn't fatally wounded so it wasn't an overuse of force. He was shot until he wasn't a threat. And then you have pictures of probably four or five of us like, actively tending to his injuries. You know within seconds of it happening, um so I think that's just another example of you might, some officers might be fearful of like recording or massive media attention and all that, but I think in that situation it may have played in our favor and it may have given us kind of a boost as far as you know separating us from like the Ferguson departments or whatever, look they have a track record here of of acting properly and doing well. (Sam)[lightly edited]

Officers had several concerns related to situations in which citizens film officer behavior. Some specifically referred the potentially misleading presentation of police use of force techniques, with officers arguing that some techniques essentially look worse on camera than they feel to citizens.

Jack: And again, we're reactive, it's up to the person, if they want to put their hands behind their back and let us cuff them up then that's how it goes. But if they wanna fight, then that's how it's gonna go. Uh, and we're gonna win. Um

Michael: We have to win. That's really what it comes down to.

Jack: Yeah. Uh, cause we don't know, we're not out there to kill people but we don't know what this guy's gonna do. Um and, that's—we might get to it in an upcoming question—but that's the worst thing about us being videotaped is it's never gonna look pretty. Um, a boxing match or an MMA fight never looks like a ballet, and neither will our confrontations with

Officers also made the argument in some cases that filming situations might be harmful to ongoing investigations or, when uploaded to social media, might alert family members to the identity of individuals involved in fatal accidents before the police could make official notifications.

*Um, in the same vein, just like I said with the maybe not such like a big media type of attraction but even the small things like my example with the guy who recorded my conversation with him over, it was a homicide investigation and some of the, and we like, especially in investigations like that um little details that get out to others can taint an investigation so the the police departments hold things close to, investigative details close to their vests because of, like I said, we don't want false confessions from people or um, anything else so, so it's har--I guess like I said, I asked him just to keep it to himself, um, which I think he did, but I guess that's a concern as well on like major investigations, now if it's a drunken bar fight downtown and an officer has to use some force and that gets filmed, that's not going to really taint that investigation terribly but other, like bigger things that citizens capture, could, so. Yeah. That's and that's something we deal, uh, as with criminal investigations or we work the crime scene and then the very next step is **or sometimes all we're doing is to notify the next of kin and it's so hard to beat social media. I'd say, eighty percent of the time, they already, the family already knows by the time an officer gets to their door to tell them, because it goes through social media.** Maybe not the vid-like a video or anything but word or news gets through social media immediately, it spreads so. And families can get upset about it, so. Why didn't you tell me first? We did tell you, we are officially telling you first but (Jeff) [minor edits]*

The most common situational concerns involved citizens who were filming distracting officers or being a concern because they were too close to an officer. Citizens who are filming at times seem to be more focused on the camera/video being captured than on the effect of their actions on officers. One example officers gave of this had to do with a shooting situation captured on film by a citizen who was clearly in the line of fire but did not appear to realize it at the time.

> *I think it's completely true and there's evidence um recent news from the shooting in San Diego, did you guys follow that at all? Where the police shoot a guy that was taking a shooting stance with an object, didn't actually have a gun. And the still shot that the police released was from cell phone video from a witness. And if you look at it, look where that woman—look where she's standing. If that suspect had a gun, she's in the line of fire from the suspect. She would have gotten shot. So maybe she would have been standing there without a cell phone, but she—I think she wanted to make sure she got it but she's in the line of fire. You're gonna get shot. So, I think it's a disconnect, yeah. (Bill)*

Other concerns about situational factors related to other citizens becoming involved in police-citizen encounters by loudly giving (often incorrect) legal advice to citizens who were interacting with the police—officers at times referred to individuals who would give legal advice, tell citizens that officers either could not do something, or that the citizen did not have to listen to the officer as "sidewalk attorneys" or similar terms.

> *You can attribute it to the the typical sidewalk attorney that you know is telling the uninvolved party that you don't have to stop for them when we're in the midst of investigation and this guy is walking off and it essentially emboldens the guy to continue walking instead of listening to what we're telling them to do. When we're well within our right to force them to stop because we're in the midst of this investigation. So, I, like he said, I don't think necessarily think per se the camera is the instigator, it may embolden people more, but it's getting the voice involved of the guy behind the camera I mean, it's probably a two-fold problem to be honest with you because the same thing happens even when a a camera isn't there and an uninvolved party is playing the the sidewalk attorney saying, I know exactly what you can and can't do and you don't have to listen to 'em, just keep walking (Steve, lightly edited)*

Officers expressed concerns about potentially being in the next viral video to make the rounds on social media. While officers said they don't often think about being in the next viral video while making choices in police-citizen interactions, some interactions in particular bring

the possibility of being in the next viral video to mind.

I almost had to shoot a 12-year-old black male, in a park—in a park, and the only thing that I was thinking of, when I had my—when I was drawing out on him, was "oh my God, this is going to be all over the news. This is going to be so viral." (Doogie)

Officers also worried about the career ramifications of being an officer in a viral video. This fear extends not just to inappropriate behavior, but *situations in which officers feel they have done everything correctly or as their training indicates*. Some officers mentioned the problems of media attention and political involvement ending not only their employment at one agency, but ending their careers as law enforcement officers permanently. This was an important factor, officers said, *whether or not the officer had acted appropriately*. In essence, officers were making the argument that they could make decisions consistent with department policy and the law and still lose their jobs and never work in law enforcement again.

One example officers turned to repeatedly involved Darren Wilson shooting Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. While this shooting was not captured on video, this situation was referred to by officers 29 times in our discussions. One of the examples below is longer than our usual example but shows the discussion of how career consequences also flow into family concerns and illustrates officer thinking about situations where videos go viral, specifically that whether their actions conform to policy or not, the outcome for officers may include the end of a career and uprooting their families, as well as threats. These concerns are developed further in the next section.

Having to move, change your name. I mean seriously, you look at like, well take Ferguson for example, that guy isn't gonna work in this country. You know, his if you have something, if

you're involved in a situation that's blown so big nationally, even if you are exonerated or found to be not in the wrong, if if you're vilified in the media i.e. by the general populace, how can you, you can't do your job, you can't live, I mean, you can't have a family, that those are huge concerns. And that's a reality. Because it repeatedly happens when people are thrust in that limelight. (Carl)

CK: Well I mean, what about the consequences of being the in the video with a million hits. Like what,

Hellcat: your career is done

Doogie: you're ruined

Hellcat: your career is done.

Doogie: if you did everything right

Hellcat: if you did everything right, it shouldn't be that way but still

Doogie: if you did something wrong, you should be worried about that video being out but even if, and it doesn't—the way the United States is now, if you, if you're out there, it doesn't—there's enough people that believe all, everything that's been transcribed into that that they don't care I mean, there's been officers

Hellcat: you're convicted in the court of public opinion

Doogie: There's been officers that have been, you know, found not guilty of the charges, and and they're still people going after them. There's, you're gonna have to live a life that is going to be really rough for quite a while. And that's unfortunate for doing the right thing.

Hellcat: I mean Missouri is a perfect example for that.

CK: So they're—the consequences to your career and would you be able to stay here? In Lincoln do you think

Doogie: yeah I think, I don't, I don't personally if it happened I think you'd have to move away.

Hellcat: I don't know, because you can't put yourself—until you're in that situation I don't know how you could say. What am I gonna do?

Officers were also concerned about the effect of being in a viral video on their family members as well as how vulnerable family members might be to someone seeking to harm them. Officers noted that the location of their homes is visible in county property search engines, although they noted this information is not available in the nearest large city. Officers felt this easy access to finding their homes, and by implication their family members, put them at risk not just in the situation of a viral video but also if a suspect followed through on a threat to hurt the officer or a family member. Officers said these types of threats and comments are not unusual.

However, one person records what I say in an open and honest way, it's on YouTube and my family's threatened, my kids might be in danger at school, um, I might be targeted as being racist or whatever. And not that I am or not that I'm not—I mean it's just the point is, if you want an open and honest conversation, I felt like I really was kind of hung out to dry there. That if one person in that room recorded anything I said it could twisted in any way, and then the fallout of that is now I'm all over media, my name is all over media, they can find out where I live, where my kids go to school, where—and it was a very hot time, so, what is the fall out of this? And I felt so unprotected and I felt more unprotected by my own management more than anything. But, um, that was where you say—what are the repercussions of it? Well repercussions are you get me in a bad moment, and then my career is over or people want to hurt me or people, there's all kinds of crazies out there that can take one little clip and turn that to be that we're these really awful people when we're not. And if they got the full picture of what it was, and that's what I kind of said in that meeting, too, is you can't when I wear this uniform, I am not a person anymore. I'm a police officer. And while I still have a heart and all these things, I can't represent anything. (Olivia)

Um, we we've had officers threatened by defendants who have been put in jail, I mean they've had their lives threatened, and their families threatened, and all we wanted was our names

It should be noted, and it is striking, that while most officers were concerned about being included in a viral video, only one officer voiced concerns about criminal charges stemming from said involvement.

Officer concerns about being filmed by citizens also tapped into an array of concerns related to the nature of video, particularly video captured by citizens. The most commonly voiced concerns specifically focused on issues of context. Officers were concerned that video taken by citizens (and even video taken by officer-mounted or cruiser-mounted equipment) may not "tell the whole story" or provide an accurate depiction of events. Officers noted that these videos often lacked information about events prior to cameras being activated, particularly in the case of citizen-initiated videos. Officers noted that while a citizen may decide to capture an officer involved in a physical confrontation with a citizen, the video of this altercation would not usually include the efforts made to de-escalate the situation, attacks by citizens on officers, threats made by citizens, or other relevant information that an officer involved in the situation would be considering in making his/her choices

Officers noted that even if a longer, more complete video depiction was available, many citizens only want to see the physical altercations or fights, and would likely not watch the entire video.

Officers blamed the media, as well, for editing or showing very short, unrepresentative video clips that might make officer behaviors look worse than they are (particularly if the entire situation was included) in the original video.

Michael: Absolutely. Like I said, I mean, they don't capture everything. They don't capture beginning of the fight, or they the angle is wrong and they they don't see the weapon that we see and the video shows, 'Hey, they just executed this guy." Um

Jack: Or what's being said, you know.

Because some video doesn't have good sound and without knowing what is said by officers and citizens, the behaviors and actions captured on film might be misleading

Sometimes they're spinning it in their own mind, the way they—they didn't get the whole snippet, they just got, sorry, the whole scenario, they got a little snippet, and they saw the police had to fight with this guy. So, that's brutality, but what they don't know is that they told the guy he's under arrest and he said, "I'm gonna kick both your asses," and all the sudden the fight's on. (Brian)

Officers also had concerns related to citizens. Some of these concerns were related to citizen behavior while filming police-citizen encounters and other concerns relate to the later reception of viral videos of police-citizen encounters. A few officers (5 mentions) noted that while citizens will film them during a fight or struggle with a citizen, very few will help an officer who needs it

under those circumstances. Some (9 mentions) indicated that they believed that having cameras present changed citizen behavior, usually noting that individuals would act up for the cameras, which officers explained usually involved not following officer directions.

Brad: and you're sitting there filming 'em, and you fail to render aid. I think that should be a law violation.

Olivia: I do. I think that those videos come out and they show all those people sitting there videotaping instead of

Brad: yup, assisting

Olivia: Helping. Cause how many videos—like that should be the bad part, like look at all those people not helping those cops. Maybe the cops wouldn't have had to use as much force if you had helped

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Related observations also stressed a sense of entitlement or specifically a sense that the ability to film is a right—officers perceived citizen understanding of this to mean that officers could not ask citizens to move, usually move back away from a police-citizen encounter because this could prevent filming. Officer descriptions of citizens seemed to suggest that citizens felt officers could not do anything to make filming more inconvenient for citizens.

And you can order them to the end of the day to get back, "I have the right to be here. I can be here." And they don't understand that I have I can give you a lawful order that you need to stand back because as they get closer, they are interfering with my job to take this guy into custody, and so they are actually committing a crime, and uh the greatest thing that I've said to people is, they're like, "Well I, I can be here." "No you can't sir, you're failing to comply." And I said, "You're interfering with our uh our ability to make this arrest." And you can't tell me what to do. "Well I appreciate you recording this because you are now recording yourself committing a crime and I do appreciate that, so, um make sure you bring that to court with ya." (Jack)

In terms of the reception of the viral videos, while a couple of officers noted that while watching

viral videos of police officers using force against citizens, they themselves had judged the officer's behavior—even though study participants admitted they "knew better" than to think the video contained all the relevant information or showed a complete narrative. Some officers noted that citizen perceptions of viral videos were biased against the police.

Mark: But we all cringe when we see something, even if I don't see the whole thing, where an officer shoots somebody and you're like, "oh my God, you've got to be kidding me. Why did he do that?" And you're making up your mind before you even know what happened. Because I remember seeing White officer shoot a black male while his girlfriend was filming in the car, and I was like "holy shit. Why did he shoot that guy?" And I'm thinking it right away, and I'm like, that's bad for all officers, because I don't want to see that happen. Because we get bunched together

Brian: Again, we didn't see what happened before that.

Mark: We're police officers, and we're doing the same thing.

This bias in viral videos could take several forms, either that citizens hated police (6 mentions) and would see the information through that lens, or through the lens of an agenda or set of attitudes about police (14 mentions) or that citizens didn't care about the reality of the situation (14 mentions), they wanted to believe what they saw when videos depicted officers engaged in what appeared to be inappropriate violence against citizens.

Joe: But, there's some people that have their mind made up, and I think that's kind of the human affect. I think it's true

Brian: or they have an agenda

Downtown especially you would get I don't know—what—I'd say at least 75% of the time uh

people like, "he didn't do anything wrong." And whether they were outright lying just to help whoever it was, and a lot of it's us versus them, like uh citizens versus cops like we don't want to see this guy get in trouble, so, even though I just saw him punch the other guy I'm just gonna tell the cops that he didn't say, didn't do anything. But, uh, most of the time, you get somebody saying, "He didn't do anything wrong. He didn't, he was just standing there." Um, and so, um whether they are lying or whether they just showed up, again their perception's off because they've been drinking, um now they think they're doing what's right because here's this lowly citizen who is innocent of doing any wrongdoing and now it's just the bully cops that are picking on him. And so, by God, we're gonna do what's right by the citizen and get this whole contact on video. (Jack)

While officers reported that they had concerns about viral videos from sources outside the police department, some officers explained that the most important factor in determining how worried officers might be about viral videos was related to the internal processing of viral video concerns. Specifically, officers had concerns about how the police department had handled videos in the past and there was a sense that videos had been used essentially as a weapon to punish officers by command staff. Officers were quick to point out that this sense that videos would be used to punish officers (phrases like "fishing expedition" or "Big Brother" were used to describe a process of reviewing old officer video to look for policy violations that could be written up to punish officers who were disliked or had displeased command staff) was something from the past.

Hoss: Well and to actually, you know, some of the reluctance for filming and recording was um

Ken: they would use it against us

Hoss: arbitrary punishment. You know, if you wanted to come after somebody, you would start reviewing all of their cruiser video or you know, start reviewing—going back and just nitpicking a single person

Ken: Yeah

DS: Are you saying from the administration?

Officers said they felt this practice was not happening now, that officers had the support of the new chief. Other officers referred to seeing these same behaviors in other police departments they had worked at earlier in their careers. Officers essentially said that viral videos will affect them to the extent that it is made to affect them by the police agency. If officers feel that they have the support of the police department, then there is less concern. Officers also indicated that they were sometimes concerned that video was out in media outlets or on social media and that the department was not always "on top of" or quick to respond to videos. Some officers said even if an investigation was necessary before the police department could specifically address the officer's actions in a video, it would help them to have the department respond quickly to videos before the video had circulated widely or made its way to media distribution.

Andy: That type of response to um managing um not only the narrative but managing actively

managing perceptions um and the perspectives of the citizens in your city. I just don't think we as a department have ever had that mindset. We're progressive in a lot of different ways but in terms of information flow and again sort of managing the perspective of our citizens, I just don't think we've done a very good job of that.

Olivia: And look, I'm just gonna ask this really quick, cause, would you say that—I think that for me that has caused more of an issue like you guys say um does it change our behavior? The management's answer is what changes our behavior. Not the public's perception. Because we know that the public doesn't live our life and doesn't know what we do. But when our management, other cops, their response I think changes our behavior more than what the public's perception is.

Officers also had concerns about the use of video not specifically within the police department but more in the context of their work as law enforcement officers. The main concern was that courts seemed to be expecting video as evidence. Officers explained that at times there were situations in which the quality of existing video (which officers do not control) put cases at risk, even with officer testimony.

I've had charging decisions change because of the quality of video. (Bill)

Um charging prosecutor did um, we get the video and it was a really crappy video because the video system's old and grainy and um, cause you can see the outline of the figure but you couldn't positively identify the defendant, despite the fact that he was caught outside the store with the merchandise, and blah blah blah. The prosecutor was like, "well, the video is just horrible, I just dunno if I can use it." I don't care—then don't use it. That fact alone was enough for the prosecutor to not to want to prosecute it because the video was horrible (Bill)

Traffic stops are big. I had a DUI on private property that I worked one time and they were throwing a fit that there wasn't video because of the way the vehicle was parked in the stall, I couldn't get my vehicle turned to get video. And I didn't, there was no really great way to get it. (JT)

Officers interpreted the demand for video as a lack of trust. Some asked why officer testimony was not sufficient and video was needed, or claimed that video was seen as more reliable than officer testimony.

> *The trust needs to come back to us. Otherwise, I mean, you might as well just get rid of us. Because, if we can't go in and testify without video, there's no point in us doing this. (Michael)*

> *Well it's happening in this agency, it's almost like they don't take your word for it if you don't have video and there could have been. (Bill)*

As officers noted, while they have access to cruiser video, most officers do not have body-mounted cameras. Yet the perceived demand for video remains. The expectation of documentation in a video is so strong that lacking video evidence appears to cast suspicion on officers. Some officers suggested that the lack of trust mentioned earlier in situations without video goes deeper to suggestions/assumptions of officer misconduct if video is not available.

> *There's camera's in so many places now, that if we didn't record this event, then we must have done something wrong or were lying about it (Bob)*

> *I mean you have to turn them on, they're not automatic, and you gotta hot scene, and you're running up there and you're doing whatever. You don't have that second, or you don't think about that second to click your camera on. So then well, "now you didn't turn your camera on because you were gonna hide something." Or you did something before. (Andy)*

Officers also expressed concern that video might raise expectations for officer behavior.

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and the thing that sucks with especially now, recently, especially in the last year or so, is our profession is so scrutinized and they think that we always need to be you know, uh, church-going baby-hugging uh people, and that's just not how it is. (Brad)

Body-Worn Cameras

We asked officers two general questions about body-mounted cameras. As noted earlier in the report, most officers did not have body-mounted cameras at the time of the study. Officers did have the ability to capture video using cruiser cameras and most officers also used audio recording as part of their work. We asked officers what they saw as the benefits or reasons for the use of body-mounted cameras as well as the costs or potential disadvantages of the use of the cameras. Table 3 below describes the most commonly mentioned benefits and costs mentioned in the focus group.

Table 3: Officer Perceptions of Body-Worn Cameras

Benefits of Body-Worn Cameras

Video can exonerate officers when complaints are filed	30
Video is useful for court/as evidence	31
Could encourage officers to stay in check	7
Could "weed out" bad cops	3
Video could be used for officer supervision/counseling/training	12

Body-Worn Camera Concerns

Turning cameras on/off*	37**
Another system to use/adds more time on technology	17
Video has to be off for officer privacy, report writing, venting	26
Concerns about citizen/witness/victim privacy	17
Cost of equipment/storage of video	18
Complaints about arbitrary video-related punishment in the past	15
Changes citizen behavior/cooperation with police	12
Cameras will capture policy violations by officers	12
Monday morning quarterbacking of video	9

*technical concerns, hot calls, policy, blamed for technical concerns

**in some instances the number of mentions exceeds the number of officers because we are evaluating how often the issue was mentioned, not the number of officers who mentioned a particular issue

Body-Worn Camera Benefits

Cameras were seen as having several benefits. We had 114 coded segments about the benefits of body-mounted cameras. Officers were very interested in cameras. It seemed on the whole that officers wanted cameras *for their own protection* against what they considered to be frivolous complaints.

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the audio though I think is critical because like you said, sometimes people it's not a physical interaction that happens, that people complain about, sometimes it's not what the officer did, sometimes it's not what the officer said, and how the officer made the person feel—the audio can lend a lot of credence to what realistically transpired, the tone of the officer, the nature of the interaction that took place.(Joe)

Um, well, fortunately I was able to exonerate him from a complaint a couple of weeks ago, because he had his body camera on. Um, and it was awesome, uh cause everything the guy said was right there on video clearly not going down, um and it was in the hallway of a of an apartment complex so you know, he wouldn't have had to say anything but um, cause, they didn't step into his residence. But, so that was—it was awesome. Um, and it made my job so much easier, um, to get it on paper and show it upstairs and be like, "yeah, he didn't do anything wrong." (Jack)

But like if something like that came up, um, I would, that would be my biggest thing it for, or my biggest reason to really want one of those cameras, is to be able to say, no it's on the camera, like, you know, I might have said a sarcastic comment. But I was not rude, I didn't call anyone a name, I didn't, I'm not dropping racial slurs or, you know, stuff like that. Cause that, just the protection aspect, is probably the biggest thing. (Sam)

Officers wanted the ability to use camera footage in court as part of testifying.

Cameras also had the benefit of providing real-time evaluations of officers that could be used to improve policing. Officers thought having cameras could encourage good behavior by officers (at the same time, officers also said they usually acted as though they were being recorded *whether or not they were being recorded*).

I personally think that it, it again, it keeps you in check. It keeps you, it keeps you from saying that one sarcastic comment that you just wanna get out. And instead you just shut your mouth, and so I think it's good. (Jack)

Personal accountability is the key right there. I think a lot of your, a lot of your backlash for not wearing the cameras is people who don't want to be held accountable. Um you know, um, yes, yes you can get yourself in trouble if you do something stupid, yes, there's no way to excuse your way out of it anymore. Um, or just ignore it, pretend like it didn't happen. (Hoss)

Having video footage of officer behavior was also seen by a few as a tool that could be used to identify and remove officers who were not behaving professionally.

Um, the benefit, I mean, if there are some cops, if there's recordings of the entire shift, I guess one benefit would be, if there are cops, and I don't think this is unheard of especially in major um big cities that there's a cop that's out of line or does something that he or she should not, then hopefully one benefit is that it weeds out those kind of officers. (Joe)

Video footage could also be reviewed by supervisors and officers to improve individual officer

performance as well as potentially inform training.

Body-Worn Camera Concerns

Officers also had apparently considered and evaluated the potential costs of body-mounted cameras. We had 176 coded segments about camera concerns. One concern raised about video more generally applies here and that is that video cannot provide a full view of a situation, even if it provides the officer's perspective. Cameras can capture a part of a situation and at times, that part is potentially misleading. One officer illustrated this idea:

that it will be 100% accurate and tells the entire story. Realistically they don't, the audio though I think is critical because like you said, sometimes people it's not a physical interaction that happens, that people complain about, sometimes it's not what the officer did, sometimes it's not what the officer said, and how the officer made the person feel—the audio can lend a lot of credence to what realistically transpired, the tone of the officer, the nature of the interaction that took place. (Joe)

Most of these concerns centered on the specific use of the camera and the policies regarding when, and if, the camera could be turned off while the officer was on duty. Officers in this department use a wide array of technology in doing their work and argued that cameras, like any other technology, may malfunction or not work at times. Officers were concerned about suspicions being raised when technical issues arise and potentially being blamed for technical problems.

Well, I've seen I've seen some of the policies I don't know if they are just examples or other agencies or other agencies are using this kind of this kind of policy but basically some of them are, if you get a call for service, you gotta turn the camera on right away, no matter where you are and you have to have it on the whole time, you have to get there, tell peop--everyone that is there that you're recording, so that if you contact ten different people, you're telling someone you're recording ten different times, um, it just seems all so robotic, like, it's not the way that we do business, you know that we're going there it's not going to lend itself well, to hopefully being able to communicate well with these people and then and get the information that we need and the right information and the correct information. (Spencer)

Right, and not only that but technology has its limits. Okay? And and technology fails at the most inopportune times. Um, we were talking about the MACH programs on our computer system, mine uh only works about two-thirds of the time. Um, the rest of the time, I get error messages when I try to sign in and it's not working, and okay, can the department come back and say, well you didn't have your MACH system on. Well that's because it's not working. I emailed the tech guy. I had nothing but problems with my MDT. Technology sometimes fails, and so are the body cams. And so it's not always going to be well you just didn't want to turn it on because you had something to hide. No but you know, the last 7 fights that I've been have taken its toll on it, and it's not working right anymore (Ken)

It has a history of malfunctioning, we might not have any control of that. But I, you know as well as I do, if something malfunctions, the first thing they're gonna look at is, what did you do to cover this up? I personally do not want to be part of trying to explain why this thing that I have virtually no control over—malfunctioned. Batteries go out, I mean our radio batteries, we have subs get out of property—they don't work. (Michael)

well that leads back to the frustration, you know I said before why why are you second guessing us so much? Just because we didn't video tape it, or the person, the officer didn't turn his camera on right away, or the camera wasn't at the right angle, or whatever. Automatically you're lying. I mean it was never like that before, you know. You actually had some integrity with the public and and still, in [study city], we're still sitting very good, and our response (Andy)

They're all separate systems. They're all separate log ins. They're all separate, none of them are linked together whatsoever, so it's a separate log in, a separate system a separate procedure to check in to make sure that they work and it's just it's a pain in the butt, to get everything going (Jon Snow)

Another issue centered around privacy concerns. Specifically, officers were concerned about their privacy while on the job. Officers generally agreed that recording police/citizen interactions was important for their own protection from complaints but raised issues related to recording conversations between officers in patrol cars, on scene, and even in police buildings or while writing reports.

1: There's report room talk that I don't want

Jon Snow: ((laughs)) Exactly

DS: That's something that's come up is just like, sometimes we just need to vent in the middle of our shifts

DS: With other people I'm working with and I don't want that recorded, you know? It's just, it's just they don't want anything that would never say to a citizen that they might say to another cop to be recorded. (Crosstalk edited out)

Yeah I think so, because and again, you need that downtime, you need to vent, you need to walk away from you know, uh a bad situation and you need vent to your coworkers to to get to get stress out so you can go take the next call. (Jack)

And you talk a certain way in the car or a certain way to the cops that you don't do out in the public, but if the public had access to everything we say. And I'm not saying there aren't racist and other stuff going on, because we are human, but I'm just saying, even I—I'll get certain calls and I'm like, "MotherFUCK I'm tired of going back to this place. This stupid bastard!" Well, that comes out, oh jeez, he's disrespecting this guy. Officers provided an example of one of these private officer interactions that made the news and was, in their estimation, both misinterpreted by the courts and the public and costly in terms of the view of the police in the community. (Michael)

CK: We've also heard about like recording when you're back here doing report writing and it probably wouldn't be a good idea.

Mark: that'd be a horrible idea

Joe: I mean if you want to just eliminate the human component, then, you can do that

Brian: You'd have a lot of burnout

Joe: cause you wouldn't be able to be human. You wouldn't be able to vent period.

Officers made the argument that being recorded constantly would be inappropriate and invade their privacy while using the restroom or answering a personal call at work. Interactions with other officers, they explained, which are not available for public consumption might be inappropriate. Officers explained that these conversations were a coping mechanism and a way to deal with the often difficult circumstances they encountered in their work. These conversations relieved stress and built relationships and, they argued, are likely part of most professions. One situation in particular was raised as an example of how the interactions of officers (apart from citizens) might be misinterpreted and cause problems both in the criminal justice process as well as cost the department in terms of its perception by the public.

Doogie: look how costly that um video was that Narcs took personally to their case. Do any of you guys remember that? The big—you guys remember that? that video that came out in court. One of the narcs officers took on his cell phones. Look how badly that turned out. That had nothing to do with their case at all. They'd served a warrant and when they cracked into a safe, they found, I think it was just a ton of drugs and everything that they'd been hoping

Sam: quarter of a million dollars, I think

Doogie: yeah, and then they started cheering and one of em was saying some lyrics to a, to a song, and

Sam: it was from a TV show. It was a quote from a TV show.

Doogie: yeah, and they're chanting it, and it got brought up in court. And it did not go well. It ruined it pretty much ruined that whole case. Just done.

CK: The officer behavior after?

Doogie: yeah. Well it was, it was his behavior during the search warrant. There was nobody, there was absolutely nobody but the—LFR was there because they were cutting the safe open, and then there was just the police there to assist.

Chris: it was basically a, a personal cell phone

Doogie: a personal cell phone, yeah

Chris: so he took the video of him on his phone.

Doogie: cause he wanted to see

Chris: of them opening the safe and celebrating, there's no suspects there, just only officers, but somehow it got discovered during trial. And, I don't think it was ever tagged in as evidence

Doogie: it wasn't, and they brought it up

CK: How did they get it then?

Doogie: word of mouth

Hellcat: discovery

CK: But if it's not tagged in then how did they?

Sam: I think somebody tagged it in

Doogie: no, nobody tagged it in, they had to tag it in later

Hellcat: I think if it exists, they can still do it

Doogie: they were asking if there was any other video and somebody had it, somebody was being honest and said, yes there is another video

CK: So it was probably in a report, just mentioned

Doogie: nope, it was never. It was never mentioned, I think he just, the defense attorney was asking an open-ended question, are there any other videos? Well somebody wasn't gonna lie, and they said yeah there's another video. And it was just the officers, had nothing I mean for the most part it pertained nothing to the case, cause

CK: Can I ask you what the quote is?

Doogie: What's that?

CK: Can I ask you what the quote was from the TV show.

Doogie: What was the quote? I can't

Hellcat: Fuck your couch.

This relatively involved example[11] and discussion is included to illustrate how officers think about and talk about the effects of filming as well as the issue of officer behavior while on the job *but not in the presence of citizens*. In this case, from the officers' perspective, they lost a case based on a video that was unrelated to the case. The important part of the video was that it made the officers involved look unprofessional. At the same time, it appears that officers expect to be able to act differently when they are with each other and not with citizens. Some of this can be a coping mechanism (some officers referred to frustrations of repeated returning to the same addresses to handle calls being misinterpreted as bias, for instance) or the use of language that would be seen as inappropriate. The seeming celebration at finding money in the safe (and the resulting use of language that might shock or confuse citizens unfamiliar with the reference to a television show) might appear as though officers were happy to find evidence of a crime or

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11. This situation refers to a case that happened in 2014. The family involved sued the Lincoln/Lancaster County Narcotics Task Force in 2016 after a 2015 tort claim against the city and county was denied a year earlier (Pilger, 2016).

celebrating a crime or suggesting bias against the citizens being charged.

Some officers expressed concerns about the privacy of citizens who might be captured on body-camera footage as witnesses or victims. Other officers dismissed these concerns, even though they had expressed a need for their own privacy at work.

CK: Well and, um, what about talking to victims?

Joe: The, that's an interesting balance between documenting police contacts and not doing something that upsets somebody, for personal or privacy reasons, whether that's the interior of their home um

Brian: They may be embarrassed by what's on there

Joe: yeah

Brian: if it plays in court

So, the ACLU you know, raising Cain about videos, well we want privacy, we want you to videotape everything but we want the privacy. They can't decide on, well, when. I mean when is it a privacy issue, when is it not a privacy issue? Cause if you're inviting us over, no one invites the cop over to tell us how great a day they are having, there's something bad going on. And when that bad thing is going on, that means our lives are in danger, and everybody else that is there. Somebody is calling us to fix their problem. So, we want the camera there for protection to show what happened and what's going on, and sorry if I video tape you in your house, or they say, well it's made public knowledge and your camera is showing my big screen tv and all this stuff, now somebody's gonna come over and burglarize my house. Because your footage on the news, in me in my house showed everybody what I have inside my living room. Okay, well, you can "what if?" all day long. (Andy)

I'm sorry, but our body cam being released in court, that stalker's already got your layout of your house, cause if they're a good stalker they've tried to look. I mean, you know what I mean? And I don't mean that to sound cruel, but it's like, I'm not gonna not video, get good evidence, to put someone away because you're feelings are hurt because i—you know what I mean? It's like

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Brad: and really honestly

Olivia: trying to protect you.

Brad: what are the odds of that happening? And maybe, it might be less than 1 percent

Olivia: yeah

Brad: and and and and then, all the other situations, I show up, you say, I want you to turn that camera off, I turn it off and then at that point, all of the sudden a breaks out because they start wanting to kick my ass. And I can't turn on, or get it turned back on, but all of the sudden, the only thing you see is me kicking their ass. Well what happened between the 10 minutes that you showed up between that and what happened between that. No, bullshit. You want it on, you wanna see that policy we carry, we have to wear it, it's gonna be on the whole time.

CK: The whole time you're interacting with those citizens though? Not the whole time you're on shift?

Olivia: No, I don't think you could do it the whole time you're on shift

Brad: I don't think

Some officers noted that systems recording and storing video evidence are expensive and this expense may prevent the department from hiring more officers. A few officers, particularly officers who had experience working with confidential informants said that videos can alter citizen behavior in ways that may impede investigations. Citizens who otherwise might provide information if their identity is concealed may be more hesitant if an officer is recording them.

There are a cluster of related concerns about the use of body-mounted cameras that center on the use of that information by the department. Officers noted that in the past, they were either aware of, or party to, situations in which the administration of the police agency or supervisory personnel had used recordings in a way that officers found inappropriate. Specifically, officers said that if an officer fell out of favor with a supervisor that the officer could expect that the supervisor would go back and review old recordings "looking for" mistakes the officer made that

could be used to write the officer up.

Related to this, officers worried that the individuals reviewing the video maybe department personnel who were high-ranking but had not worked on the streets in many years. Officers were worried that command staff might second guess their work without an appreciation for the stresses and sometimes split-second decision-making which characterizes answering calls, but not administrative work. Officers also cautioned that filming officers means that officers will be recorded making policy mistakes.

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people people thought the in car cameras were gonna you know, and yeah, me included, gotten in trouble because you did something and the camera caught it. You know, um, I did something wrong, I did something wrong, I didn't try to hide it, it is what it is. I think, but I think the vast majority of video is gonna help you more than hurt you. (Brad)

I think another huge uh negative would be the Monday quarterbacking would get even worse. Um, it's it's real easy to sit there in the safety of a chair behind a desk watching a video when you're life isn't in danger or your uh you're not getting assaulted and watch something and be like, "well you should have done it this way." "well no shit I should of. But that guy should have just put his hands behind his back, too." Um, and, I mean when your adrenaline is is dumping and and I you know, you're in fear of your life or your safety, um you know it's it's kind of a free for all, um it's they teach us PPCT and the proper way to take people down, and in the mix of it you go to street brawling unless you're really into martial arts, in which case you probably go to martial arts and not what's the approved tactic (Jack)

The demand for perfection is gonna go up. Like, now if we're not monitored, we may be able to fudge here or there, just remain within the lines of the law, of course, but we can do police work a thousand different ways, now if the expectation is gonna be, you're gonna do it this way and this way only when you have a video to prove that, people are gonna be getting in trouble. (Carl)

Overall, officers seemed very accepting of the use of body-mounted cameras. They clearly saw

multiple benefits for officers, for the criminal justice system, and for citizens. At the same time, officers raised important logistical and policy concerns related to how cameras would be used, concerns about privacy, and concerns about how the department would use the captured video.

Training

When asked specifically about training related to being filmed by citizens, most officers remarked that the department did not offer specific training about the topic. Upon reflection, some officers noted that the department had been clear about conveying information about citizens filming officers in other ways, specifically through department communications in email form. Many officers remarked that the department explained that citizens are allowed to film officers. Our discussions with officers suggested that there was no confusion related to this issue.

Our discussion also addressed any training needs. Most officers did not identify specific training needs. Some suggested that if training was needed, it could be provided via video training updates as opposed to in-service trainings. Some officers noted that there were potentially opportunities for training related to citizens filming, specifically related to obtaining video evidence from citizens and to managing citizens who were filming and potentially getting too close to a police-citizen encounter. Other officers noted that while some of the existing training addresses officer safety in a way that could be applied to citizens filming and potentially situations in which citizens get too close to obtain better quality video

Some officers suggested that training efforts would be better aimed at citizens, to communicate to citizens that they were required to listen to officers and follow orders from officers who ask them to move back while filming.

the real training needs to go, and this is gonna be stupid because it's never gonna happen —

but we need to train the public to comply with what we're telling them. There have been many instances where community activists have gone through these simulated shooting stuff, and they're shooting people that we would never shoot. And they're like, "That guy should have listened to me." Well, no shit! But we have to wait until something virtually happens to us, and they're coming out of those trainings saying, "Yeah, I understand now what you guys are going through." And it's kind of resetting, setting their mindset in a different way. I don't know how you're gonna train us to deal with crowds. (Michael)

The discussion of obtaining video evidence requires more explanation. In the focus groups, it became clear that some officers had held specialized investigative positions in their past employment or currently and this seemed to inform their understanding of how to obtain video evidence. Other officers appeared to have less experience with this process and wanted guidance about how to obtain video and under what circumstances video evidence might be needed. Other officers said obtaining video was either simple or routine. These officers tended to have more experience or were more comfortable talking with citizens about video. Other officers noted that there are different methods for obtaining video from citizens and appeared to be able to convince citizens to provide video in a number of different ways.

Some officers mentioned a specific scenario in which officers obtained a phone from a citizen and were told to give it back. For some officers, this created confusion about standards for collection of video evidence. Most officers seemed comfortable handling video evidence and situations where citizens might be capturing police-citizen interactions on video.

The Ferguson Effect

One major concern addressed in the focus group relates to the notion of the viral video or Ferguson effect (sometimes also referred to in the research literature as "de-policing"). More specifically, this notion describes a situation where officer behavior changes in anticipation of potential involvement in a viral video. The idea is based on the idea that viral videos and the resulting reaction to these videos by police agencies and communities will act as a deterrent to

officers engaging in proactive police encounters. The reduction in proactive police activity then contributes to a rise in the crime rate.

The Ferguson effect—the suggested relationships between officers being filmed, officer behavior changes, and crime—are based on a number of assumptions. Officers are assumed to view proactive encounters as risky professionally. In other words, this view of policing appears to also assume that officers regularly engage in behavior that, if filmed, would be objectionable to either the police department they work for or the larger community. It is also assumed that proactive police encounters (really, the only encounters that are "elective" encounters for officers) will reduce crime. It could also be argued that de-policing may be found in officers putting forth less aggressive effort in reactive, or citizen-initiated encounters as well. However, since citizen-initiated encounters are likely to be calls for service, officers would still be dispatched to respond—it is expected that their effort might be reduced to reduce risk to the officer.

In our focus group discussion, we asked officers about the viral video effect using the following question: What are your thoughts about the "viral video effect," the idea that crime rates may be increasing because of police officers have changed their behavior in response to being filmed by citizens? In discussion, we sometimes clarified, if asked, that this viral video effect might be referred to by other names, mentioned above, and that our interest was in that sequence of effects. In other words, as an officer, do you think officers change their behavior because of the possibility of being filmed by citizens?

Our discussions of videos of police-citizen encounters were wide-ranging and complex, and frankly, sometimes heated. Officers clearly considered how video would impact their work, their careers, how video would be handled in the context of the police department, how the media and

social media use video, and how communities react to video.

Our discussion of the viral video effect was also complicated by way officers thought about the topic. On the one hand, officers repeatedly noted that in the study community, the police and community have a good relationship overall. Officers also repeatedly noted that they felt supported by the current police administration. At the same time, officers noted that videos from *other communities* and other police agencies might affect the way citizens here in the study community view their work or anticipate their interactions with local police. Officers also made reference to *other police officers*, in other agencies as likely candidates for the viral video effect. Specifically, officers mentioned officers at agencies that had experienced high profile incidents of alleged officer misconduct followed by charges or heighted media exposure related to the incident. Officers had examples from departments all over the country, detailing what officers were alleged to have done, as well as how their departments responded to incidents. Most officers were aware of recent incidents and it became clear that while officers complained about the media and sharing of videos online, they were also consumers of those videos. In some cases, officers found themselves judging the behavior of other officers *knowing* they had incomplete information and with a full awareness of their own concerns about not wanting to be judged without proper context or with a limited video representation of events.

<u>Survey Results</u>

The survey results presented here give us a sense of how often police officers notice that they are being filmed by citizens. On average, police officers involved in the study told us that they were filmed about five times a month. Since officers also told us that they have a tendency to assume that they are always potentially being filmed by citizens, this finding seems to contradict the experience of officers in the field. At the same time, this finding may reflect officer's understanding that they may not always be aware of who is filming them and officer experience finding videos after the fact on social media. In fact, one example described by officers involved a situation in which officers were unaware they were filmed until the video was being circulated on Facebook. At the very least, this finding suggests that more work on prevalance of filming is needed.

<u>Focus Group Questions</u>

Our focus group data suggests a number of findings related to officer perspectives on being filmed by citizens, who films the police, the situations that include filming, the benefits of body-worn cameras, the concerns officers have about body-worn cameras and being filmed by citizens, the training officers receive about citizens filming, and what officers think about the viral video effect or Ferguson effect.

Officers told us that there were patterns in who films them. First, they noticed that citizens seem to fit one of three roles: bystanders (the group most likely to film), attached observers who had some relationship to an individual or individuals interacting with the police, and the individuals who are interacting with the police either as a potential suspect or a stopped driver.

Individuals who filmed the police tended to be younger, intoxicated, or have a history of negative experiences with the police. Officers did not notice differences by race or gender in filming behavior.

The motivations of individuals filming seemed to vary based on their role in the situation. For example, bystanders seemed to capture police-citizen interactions that had characteristics of being a spectacle: many officers present, sirens, lights, or other indicators that something interesting was going to happen. Bystanders seemed to be trying to capture these unusual events, potentially to share on social media. Attached observers were motivated less by spectacle and more by the current police-citizen interaction of a friend, family member, or in some cases another person on the sidewalk. The motivation for filming in these situations appeared to be for the perceived protection of the individual who was interacting with the police. Many traffic stops also appeared to share this motivation of "protection" or having their own video account of events as they transpired. Citizens directly interacting with the police during a traffic stop or during an arrest situation were less likely to film, although officers did report it on occasion. Only one account of a victim filming police was shared during the focus groups and the victim in question was described as unusual. This may be related to the generally good relationship the police agency has with the community and it would be interesting to know if this behavior is rare overall or if it is related to community context or perceptions of police by citizens.

Several situations seemed to be related to citizens deciding to film the police. Many of these are expected: situations with lights and sirens or other noises like yelling, multiple officers being on scene, or an accident. Citizens were more likely to film during traffic stops or when a fight occurs. Some neighborhoods seemed to produce conditions that were favorable to filming, specifically downtown areas where bars are located. At "bar break" these neighborhoods include

young people who are intoxicated and large numbers of bystanders to the fights that predictably occur. Traffic stops were repeatedly mentioned as examples of situations in which officers recalled being filmed either by a passenger or driver. Some neighborhoods appeared to have fewer filming situations—either because attached observers decided not the film or because there were no bystanders to film. Officers noted that without lights, sirens, or other noise to attract citizen attention, neighbors might not be aware of police presence or the "opportunity" to film.

Body-worn camera use was generally supported by officers. The main benefit of body-worn cameras was identified as the use of camera footage to dispute or disprove frivolous complaints against officers. Officers also reported that their own use of audio recordings of citizen encounters had convinced many that video recordings would also be beneficial in writing reports and preparation for court testimony. Officers also noted that many prosecutors or jurors expected video of events and body-worn cameras could provide that footage in instances where cameras installed in cruisers were inadequate or where security video was unavailable.

In addition recognizing the benefits of body-worn cameras, officers expressed a number of concerns related to the use of body-worn cameras, specifically related to their day-to-day use. Officers correctly noted that camera systems, storage and retrieval of video, and repairs/replacement of equipment would be costly. These costs, officers explained, might limit the numbers of officers who could be hired or prevent implementation of other technology, or needed upkeep of other equipment. Some officers referred to agencies that had implemented body-worn cameras and then decided the costs were prohibitive. Officers were concerned, too, that technological failures might be interpreted instead as failures of officer judgment or as officer misconduct. Officers wondered what policies would be used to determine when cameras were turned on and when they were turned off. One concern officers noted had to do with the use

of camera footage to punish officers. Specifically, officers recounted experiences in the past where supervisors had used a review of cruiser camera footage to "look for" policy violations by officers in order to write them up. These targeted reviews, officers said, were not a result of a policy as much as a dislike of certain officers who were selected for a review in order to find mistakes. To be clear, officers did not think this was a current practice, but that this had happened in other agencies and under a prior chief. While officers noted that any consistent recording might uncover mistakes, the issue was less about avoiding accountability for mistakes than a concern about the fairness of targeted reviews that appeared motivated by animosity toward individual officers instead of a general policy to improve and monitor police work in general.

Officers reported that they had received no specific training related to being filmed by citizens. It is important to recall that our focus group officers tended to be older than the average officer in the department, so few of the participating officers had recently attended academy training. Officers unanimously told us, however, that they had clearly received the message that citizen filming of police was legal and that they understood taking a camera away from a citizen who was filming police-citizen interactions was inappropriate. Some officers, particularly those with less investigative experience, were more likely to have questions about who to obtain video evidence from citizens and when such evidence was necessary. Most officers did not have these questions and recounted experiences working with citizens to collect video evidence.

Officers sent mixed messages about being filmed. On the one hand, the overwhelming majority of officers reported that being filmed by citizens did not bother or concern them. At the same time, the discussion of these situations revealed a number of related concerns. The research team came to understand that what officers mean here is complex and situational. Having a

camera pointed at them while they are working does not seem to concern officers except in limited situations they see as potentially "viral" encounters and these encounters are not limited to those that are being filmed. These situations also concern officers for other reasons. One example, noted earlier, details a situation in which an officer said he "almost had to shoot a 12 year old black male, in a park—in a park, and the only think that I was thinking of, when I had my—when I was drawing out on him, was "oh my God, this is going to be all over the news. This is going to be so viral." The officer wasn't referring here to a video as much as the shooting of a young black male and the news coverage that would be expected to follow. Another officer explained that he had arrested a man who was injured and yelling during his arrest. The officer looked for video of the incident online afterward. These two examples both have the potential for or actual use of force against a citizen. These situations are more likely to get media attention and officers noted that when a police officer shoots a citizen, they "hear" that news media call the police agency asking for the race of the citizen and the involved officer(s). If the citizen is white, officers note, there is little if any concern about the incident. While race was not directly raised often in the discussions, the racial make up of the police-citizen interaction seemed to be noted as an important lens for media interest in a case. Officers seemed to use this lens as well in their encounters and whether they were seen as potentially "viral" encounters.

For the most part, officers reported that being filmed didn't change their behavior, or did so in limited ways. Officers might rethink their language or tone of voice in an interaction with a citizen, but not change whether or not they interacted with citizens at all. Some officers explained that they could see how officers in other police agencies, particularly those agencies that had fired or charged officers, might choose to reduce "going the extra mile" to reduce risk to themselves. Officers said at the time of the focus groups they felt well-supported by their current

chief and were not concerned about more or less being "hung out to dry" if a video came to light. Officers repeatedly noted that other officers, in other agencies, had been punished or fired *even when they followed the law and applicable departmental policies* and this seemed to concern them the most. Officers worried that their careers and their livelihood might be lost in situations in which they did, as some put it, "all the right things." Officers saw these situations as potentially created by the media or the community and out of the control of the police department in some cases.

Future Research

There are a number of different ways that future research could build on and extend the work reported here. First, the research could be repeated in a larger department or a department that does not have the strong relationship with its community to see if the context of the community alters the findings reported here. Officers told us the reaction of the police department to viral videos was more important than the reactions of the community in their evaluation of whether a video might a harm them professionally. Because the police and the community have a good relationship, there may be fewer organizations and groups that might mobilize in response to a viral video. A police department that has more community concerns may also face more community activism in general and be more responsive to those concerns in an effort to rebuild legitimacy and trust.

The focus groups reported here allowed for a deeper discussion of officer perspectives and concerns but is limited in terms of generalizability. Future work could use this understanding to look at the prevalence in other jurisdictions or with larger samples of officers in the form of surveys as opposed to focus groups. These surveys would also allow greater comparisons across

officer groups to explore differences in perspectives. The officers included here tended to be highly educated and some reported reviewing research about body-worn cameras. Officers with less education and with less interest in research may have different views about the use of cameras by police. A larger sample would also allow for a more comprehensive, more generalizable understanding of the concerns examined here.

This study focused on officer perspectives about being filmed by citizens but does not include the perspectives of citizens. Future work could both observe and identify individuals who film police by recruitment during ride-alongs. Researchers could follow up with an online survey or short interview to capture citizen motivations in filming police and address the future use of those films. If citizens plan to share videos on social media platforms as officers assume, it would be interesting to know what sorts of videos are uploaded and what percentage of videos that are created are shared with others or used as part of a complaint. An observational study could also systematically examine the characteristics of individuals who film, situations in which citizens film the police, and other factors related to filming.

Another approach would be to repeat much of the work here but with a group of citizens who have filmed the police (or a group who have filmed the police and uploaded the video to a social media platform). A focus group would allow for a deeper understanding of the motivations of citizens, their perspectives on filming the police and body-worn cameras, their prior experiences with the police, the function or utility of filming the police, and how recordings are distributed to others. Officers in focus groups said that some bystanders indicated their motivations or challenged officer behavior in some way during filming, but that other bystanders, and in some cases attached observers, did not offer an explanation for filming. In other words, a focus group with citizens who record would provide the opportunity to understand filming as nonverbal

behavior.

Since videos of police-citizen interactions are uploaded to social media platforms, these videos themselves could be systematically examined as well. As part of this study, the research team collected a number of videos capturing police-citizen encounters. Our preliminary work suggested that in addition to individual videos that are uploaded, some users will combine videos from multiple jurisdictions together, often to make a point about police behavior. While individual videos often include information about where and when the video was made, the compilations of videos often include small sections of videos from multiple jurisdictions (sometimes multiple countries based on the police cars and uniforms) and multiple years. Examination of individual videos might allow more insight into the geographic distribution of filming and allow researchers to contact users who upload video for follow up surveys or interviews.

One last issue that is briefly mentioned in the report is that police often need to address citizen expectations about the use of investigative techniques, especially forensic technology, in answering calls for service. Citizens appear to obtain at least some of these expectations about officer approaches to investigation through television, documentaries, and movies about crime and investigations. It would be interesting to follow up with officers about how often this happens and what techniques officers use to educate citizens and explain what a typical investigation might look like. It would likewise be interesting to further probe how citizens develop their expectations about officer behavior, particularly since we noted here that officers report citizens challenging officer behavior as inappropriate without a full understanding of the law or police department procedures.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Survey Questions

Appendix B: Focus Group Questions

Appendix C: Informed Consent Document

Viral Videos of Police Use of Force

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study. We appreciate your time and input. Answers to the following questions will help us understand our findings. We want to compare characteristics of focus group participants to officers in the Lincoln Police Department to see how well these focus groups "represent" all officers who could have participated.

1. Age

- ○ 21-25
- ○ 26-30
- ● 31-35
- ○ 36-40
- ○ 41-45
- ○ 45-50
- ○ 51-60

2. Sex

- ○ Male
- ○ Female

3. Race

- ○ White/Caucasian
- ○ African American
- ○ Asian
- ○ Biracial
- ○ Other

4. Ethnicity

- ○ Hispanic
- ○ Non-Hispanic

5. Education

- ○ High school
- ○ Some college
- ○ Two YearDegree
- ○ Four Year Degree
- ○ Master's Degree
- ○ Other:

6. Shift

- ○ First
- ○ Second
- ○ Third

7. Team

○ Northwest

○ Northeast

○ Southwest

○ Southeast

○ Center

○ Other:

8. Have you been filmed by a citizen during a police encounter during the last month?

◯ Yes

◯ No (please skip to question #10)

9. Think back over the last month, how many times have you been filmed by a citizen during a police encounter?

Your answer

10. Do you know of another officer in your department who has been filmed by a citizen during a police encounter during the last month?

◯ Yes

◯ No

Submit

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Google

Forms

Engagement Questions:

Let's start by going around the room to see how many of you have experienced being filmed by a citizen. And, if you could, please tell us how recently that experience was—in the last week, last month, etc.

Exploration Questions:

Think back to your own experiences being filmed by citizens.
    What types of situations (answering a call, stopping a citizen, traffic stop)?
    Who tends to film?
    What do citizens say about their motives in filming?
    How does being filmed affect your choices as an officer?
    What are your concerns as an officer in being filmed?
    How have smartphones/cameras affected your interactions with citizens?

What are your thoughts about wearing a body mounted camera as an officer?
    What do you see as the benefits?
    What do you see as the costs?

What sort of training do you have related to citizens filming?
    What sort of training would be helpful in handling these situations?

What are your thoughts about the "viral video effect," the idea that crime rates may be increasing because of police officers have changed their behavior in response to being filmed by citizens?

Exit Question: Is there anything we have missed in our discussion? Topics we should have addressed, but have not yet?