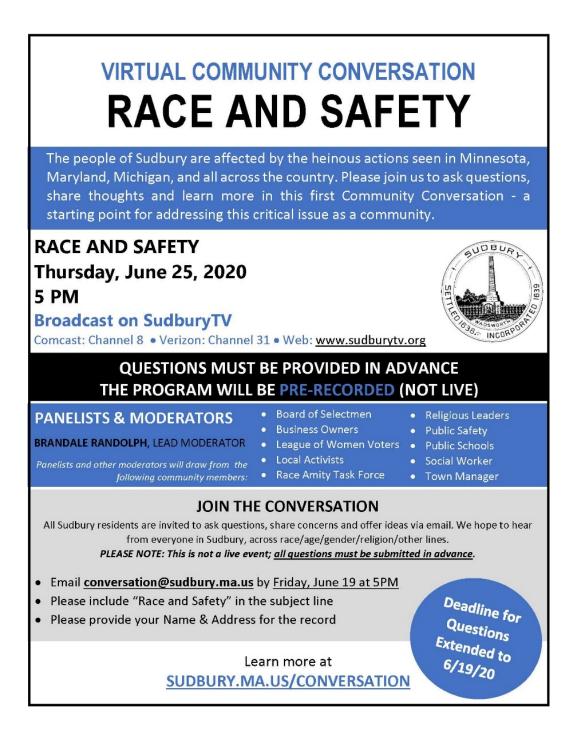# Community Conversation on Race and Safety Resident Questions

The attached questions were submitted in response to the call for questions as below:

VIRTUAL COMMUNITY CONVERSATION
RACE AND SAFETY

The people of Sudbury are affected by the heinous actions seen in Minnesota, Maryland, Michigan, and all across the country. Please join us to ask questions, share thoughts and learn more in this first Community Conversation - a starting point for addressing this critical issue as a community.

RACE AND SAFETY
Thursday, June 25, 2020
5 PM
Broadcast on SudburyTV
Comcast: Channel 8 • Verizon: Channel 31 • Web: www.sudburytv.org

QUESTIONS MUST BE PROVIDED IN ADVANCE
THE PROGRAM WILL BE PRE-RECORDED (NOT LIVE)

PANELISTS & MODERATORS

BRANDALE RANDOLPH, LEAD MODERATOR

Panelists and other moderators will draw from the following community members:

- Board of Selectmen
- Business Owners
- League of Women Voters
- Local Activists
- Race Amity Task Force
- Religious Leaders
- Public Safety
- Public Schools
- Social Worker
- Town Manager

JOIN THE CONVERSATION

All Sudbury residents are invited to ask questions, share concerns and offer ideas via email. We hope to hear from everyone in Sudbury, across race/age/gender/religion/other lines.
PLEASE NOTE: This is not a live event; all questions must be submitted in advance.

- Email **conversation@sudbury.ma.us** by Friday, June 19 at 5PM
- Please include "Race and Safety" in the subject line
- Please provide your Name & Address for the record

Deadline for Questions Extended to 6/19/20

Learn more at
SUDBURY.MA.US/CONVERSATION

EMAIL #1

Please talk about white privilege.
Please explain why "All lives Matter" is not the same as Black Lives Matter.

I suggest you include youth leaders in our community - maybe the high school kids who organized the protest.

I also suggest you invite a few Metco kids to participate. They're part of our community even if they don't live here.

Thanks

EMAIL #2

Hi there,

I'm happy to hear we're having a town conversation on race. My question is the following:

What is the Sudbury Police Department *specifically* doing to actively train its force in anti-racism continuously, from now on? I recently learned that METCO students' parents are all-too-frequently pulled over in Sudbury when picking up their kids from school — a small anecdote, but it speaks to the simple fact that we are clearly not immune to systemic racism here.

EMAIL #3

Here are my questions for your forum on the 25th. My questions are, "How do we experience racism in Sudbury? Is it in terms of housing, asking a question to someone about where they're from, 'why do you eat with your hands?', etc? and "What are we doing to educate elementary school-age students about the impacts of modern day racism? How can we do more and raise awareness?"

Headed to Curtis in the fall!

EMAIL #4

Thanks for the opportunity to share my thoughts.

I'd like to understand what is being done to address the findings from the LS racial climate survey. My children feel traumatized by their experiences at LS in a way that breaks my heart as a mother. While I also believe that the middle school and elementary schools have challenges as well, I believe that the situation at LS is urgent. I was going to share my children's experiences, but they are captured perfectly in the report below.

When Bella Wong summed up the tough times of 2020 in her last email to the community, she failed to mention the brutal murder of George Floyd. When she discussed the matter in an email, her focus was on her beloved Boston. We have a lot of work to do and my sense is that we need new leadership at the helm to take us there. I am tired of waiting for Bella Wong to step up and make the changes that are needed while our children suffer the impact that follows them through their life.

https://doc-0k-cc-docs.googleusercontent.com/docs/securesc/0h8jq93t48k5cc18ovl61er15a3jfc9k/e2t2s4c93fp9anhk22efk4vd9l40klsf/1592591925000/15895136064765837349/17251570287917034061/1YU5g3-ZunZjUZ8MGqos_Z0kRoYol0zqk?e=download&authuser=0&nonce=s9u9c5aset08o&user=17251570287917034061&hash=2pspqd3daa1v2i4rpqocd82lldtmhbbf

PLEASE SEE ATTACHMENT: StudentFocusGroups

EMAIL #5

I very much appreciate that Sudbury is trying to take an active role in regards to race and safety with the community conversation, but I need to express some concerns in the format of this conversation.

I think this would be more meaningful if this was a live conversation rather than a prerecorded discussion of emailed questions. I also think that there should be a panel of various leaders already in place rather than selecting a panel based on the questions.

I feel like we are losing the trust of an open dialogue when a recorded conversation and the panelists themselves are based on a specific selection of emails and that discussion is broadcast with no means of direct public discussion. To me this is more of a panel discussion on selected concerns rather than a town conversation.

I know that these are first steps and I very much appreciate the efforts. I am just hoping that there will be more opportunities for live discussion moderated by people with experience on the issues.

Thank you for taking the time to read my concerns.

EMAIL #6

Dear Moderators,

Thank you for participating in the Community Conversation on Race and Safety.

Below are five questions on my mind as I think deeply about Race and Safety in Sudbury.

1. Do statistics support that SPD treats white and non-white people equally, in terms of traffic stops and use of force?

2. I personally feel confident that the Minneapolis police behavior that killed George Floyd would not happen in Sudbury. Am I naive - what supporting data can Chief Nix offer to make us confident that Sudbury is different and that would not happen here?
3. Are SPD officers routinely armed while on duty? If so, please comment on the differences between Sudbury, MA and the United Kingdom where most police officers are not routinely armed.
4. Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging can be described by analogy: Being invited to a party, getting pulled out onto the the dance floor, and feeling comfortable dancing like no one is watching. Describe what happens in majority white SPS and LS classrooms in particular to promote Inclusivity and Belonging for our underrepresented non-white population.
5. At LSRHS, how are reports of racial and anti-semitic bias and discrimination handled? I've heard that they get swept under the rug, and offenders are protected. What are the consequences for students and staff who exhibit bias and discrimination, however "small"? Please provide statistics on the number of reported incidents, and an comment on the how many such incidents may go unreported.

EMAIL #7

To Whom It May Concern~

I am a Black female resident of Sudbury. I was told of the the broadcast on the 25th. I am hoping these questions can be addressed.
Please find below my list of questions/concerns.

1) Why is there no transportation for the Metco students home after a game or activity ? The students can go to school , learn, try out for a team but not truly participate to the fullest and bond with their teammates from Lincoln/Sudbury because they can't stay for a game or competition or social event if it runs after the late bus. Why has this been "OK" for so many years ? These children are forced to either miss the chance to participate (and connect with others) or hope they get an offer to stay over someone's house out here or get a ride from a LS parent. Completely unacceptable and speaks that they don't matter on the same level .

2) Why is there no platform for the parents from LS and Boston to connect ? When COVID19 happened there are Facebook groups where parents tried to figure out a plan for the students' graduation . Some Metco parents found out about it and were upset because they did not know if this as they are not Sudbury residents. I know the school sets something up, but there needs to be a group for Elementary, Curtis and LSRHS where parents can connect and share ideas. Maybe even so playdates can be set up as ALL the kids need to bond starting at a younger age so they grow up with an appreciation of each other and learn to be compassionate and empathetic to differences and struggles. (Myself and another parent out here are happy to set this up and I have reached out to the Metco head and directors of our schools out here to see if they feel there might be an interest from the Metco parents.)

3) Why is there no pairing at the beginning stages of a LS student and a Metco student? This would help create a bond at a younger age and open up the circle of friendship to a Metco child . After 6th grade, the Boston students tend to cling to each other and what they know and not branch out to meet others unless it is through a team (then see the challenge again in question 1).

4) Why are there so few sports teams that have captains chosen that are from Metco ? I believe if a child shows leadership they should be highlighted for it. AND, the Boston students need to see their face acknowledged as a leader on their team.

These questions come from what the students have shared with me over the years when they have stayed at my home or we have driven them to their homes. They are questions coming from the parents as well. And, they are observations on how things could be improved.

If you have a moment , please read the speech by Tiauna Walker and Neandra Fernandes - Class of 2017. Their voices were heard yet not much has changed. This rings loud and clear to the Boston children that they just aren't as important as the kids that live out here. If we are offering them a chance for a better education and growth, then we need to do it 100% or not at all! I did not realize how little support the Metco students had until my daughter started a sport at the HS and we were lucky enough to get to know some of the kids (I believe there are others who have no idea of the inadequacies and then some who don't care because it does not affect them personally.) . These children are amazing and things need to change. I understand some of their feelings of being an outsider, because I was the only black girl in my high school when I was growing up. It was difficult and took years to get beyond. That was 35 years ago. This is 2020... we can do better.

 I run my own business and work 6 days a week so I have been unable to attend many events, but I am hoping to be able to be more involved and help in any way I can .

Thank you for your time. I look forward to the broadcast.

EMAIL #8

Hello,

We recently moved to Sudbury this year. I live with my wife and two boys.

I wanted to start by thanking you for opening up these conversations. I truly feel if we are to transform our world we must start locally and these conversations get the ball moving. As you may have seen, the recent survey at our middle school shows that many of our African American students do not feel safe(please see my wife's email for the numbers). This survey is of great concern and looking at the article from 2017 about Metco students(50 Years Later   50 Year Later) in our community only further shows we have to look at how we are working for inclusion and true acceptance. When African American student's yearbook quote is, " I don't feel safe at this school" we should be very concerned.

Having under 1% African American people in our community for well over 20 years should raise a red flag and make us reflect on the question of, WHY? What can we do to open our doors to reflect what the global world looks like today in our community. Being in education for over 20 years I truly feel this needs to start in our schools. Black history month needs to be more robust and making sure kids have more meaningful and deep relationships with all types of people is the only way for true respect and understanding of all people. Safety comes when you feel comfortable and proud to be you, and when you do not, you never feel safe. Thank you again for starting these conversations.

EMAIL #9

Good afternoon,

Thank you for having this conversation. I have been a resident of Sudbury for the past 6 years. Regarding the subject of racism, I would like to say a few words. Sometimes racism is not explicit; it might indirectly be found through certain practices. For instance, in the public sector of Sudbury, I have seen minimal diversity. Whether these being our Schools and the School staff, the PWD, police and fire departments, and our public offices, I have seen very little diversity and I'm unaware of any steps being taken to work on this. Please let me know if there is work being done in this regard.

EMAIL #10

I'll start with a short biography. I was born in the Soviet Union, came to the United States at age seven, spent four years in the Philadelphia public school system, went to high school in a middle-class suburb, college in a big city, came here for work thirteen years ago and have lived in a number of places around Greater Boston before moving to Sudbury a few years ago with my wife to start a family. The point is I did not grow up fully insulated or privileged and have had exposure (some cursory, some not) to many kinds of people in many kinds of places.

The moral I drew from all of that is that the American Experiment is predicated on the idea that because we are all from somewhere different, because any two people can find some ancestral grudge between them if they look far back enough (or not that far back at all), and because we all need to keep on living together, we must all actively work to see the humanity in people who do not look like us or sound like us and actively work to suppress the all-too-human instinct to see enemies lurking around every corner. Bigotry only exists in society when individual members of society suffer a lapse in concentration and fail to make that effort.

That's why I believe that assigning blame to "systemic racism" for the grief that inevitably results from that failure is missing a big part of the problem. It's easy to blame a faceless system, but it's much harder to understand and accept that social systems flow from individual actions and that any lasting societal betterment can only come from the sum total of individual efforts, that the only person anyone can really control is themselves, and it's much harder work to keep our heads and do the right thing and resist doing something that sounds good but does little good, or worse, sounds good and does damage in the long term.

The worst thing a society can do to its citizens is to explicitly condition their fates on other people's bad behavior, and we must all be diligent to ensure that that's not what we're doing, that's not what we're allowing to happen, and that's not what we're advocating that our government do to others.

Projecting those principles on the present moment, that has to mean that police cannot be harassing or assaulting citizens, but that's not all. It means we all need to do our part to facilitate good police- public interactions and we need to enable good, dependable people (perhaps my children, or yours) to become

good and diligent police officers. To that end, we must not create a perception, a reality, or a self-fulling prophecy that police work and police-public interaction entails a mandatory walk through a minefield.

In that spirit, I'll move on to my questions. I would like to understand the possible outcomes from implementing some or all of the ideas floating around out there, such as the 8CantWait proposals. Specifically:

1. Why are choke holds used now, and what alternatives would be used realistically in place of choke holds? Would a ban on choke holds be enforceable? Be noticeable given the volume of arrests in Sudbury? Would a ban increase the risk of escalating physical altercations?

2. Same question for requiring verbal warnings before using deadly
force: how enforceable can it be and what sort of training requirements would be necessary to implement this requirement that are not present right now?

3. Lots of folks speed and lots of folks don't have their cars up to snuff. I'm pretty sure I've gone weeks driving around town with a broken turn signal or headlight and nothing happened. A co-worker of mine got pulled over (in a different town) because there was a typo or record mismatch in the RMV's records. What is the criterion for initiating a vehicle stop, and how often does it happen in Sudbury?

I ask these questions so that we may all better understand the potential efficacy as well as the worst-case outcomes of some of the proposals floating out there. I would also like to point out that given the low population density and what I assume is an attendant low volume of crime and need for police in Sudbury, I suspect there would be little effect on average from doing nothing or from doing something drastic. But as I hope we've all learned from the ongoing pandemic, worst-case scenarios are best not dismissed as unlikely, lest we get caught flat-footed.

EMAIL #11

I found Chief Nix's Community Statement on the Police Department web page very helpful. There was mention of postings that would be available in the future on the Police Department FaceBook page. I'd like to request that information posted by any departments of the Town on their FaceBook page also be put on the Town website.

Is there language in the Police Union contract that deals with the maintaining of records of members that have had incidents of misconduct? I tried to check the contract online, but for the last two contracts, I only found an MOA with the changes from the proceeding contract. I would like the Town to provide updated copies of the full contract on the website. If they are available and easily accessible, would you let the public know where.

Are records kept on the demographics of traffic stops and arrests?

Do the school and the town employees including the Police and Fire Departments, etc. have regular, on-going training in implicit bias and how it may affect their interactions with students and the public. If there are these trainings, are all employees required to attend?

EMAIL #12

Hello,

Given that systemic racism is largely the reason that many communities are resistant to building/developing more affordable housing, what can Sudbury do to convince the majority of residents to commit to building or transforming much more housing into actual affordable housing (not just to meet 40b)?

EMAIL #13

Hello,

My family is fairly new to town, our first year in SPS interrupted by COVID. We have 2 boys in elementary. I'm very hopeful that we come up with ways quickly to create an inclusive and equitable environment for BIPOC/POC students in SPS, the results of this survey are not acceptable.
In the Connectedness Survey given to Curtis Middle School students, the percentage of African-American students reporting they felt welcomed by adults at our school was only **54%**, this is a 41% decrease from the year prior. Similarly, the amount of African-American students that felt welcomed by students at our school dropped 17%. African-American students also found the discipline system of the school more unfair than any other racial group, with 69% agreeing. **25%** of African-American students at Curtis reported that another student had hit or threatened them in the **last month.**
I'd like to know how we plan to change the results from HALF of the African American students at Curtis Middle School not feeling welcome by the ADULTS in their school. This means teachers and administration. We must do A LOT better. Would like to start a conversation on how.
I would like to hear from BIPOC/POC families about their experience with SPS and Sudbury in general. Listen to what can be done to make things better. Can we set up a specific meeting for just that?
I also wonder how families in Sudbury are willing to participate in making the educational experience of students traveling from all parts of Boston, as well as students and families of color living in Sudbury a much more inclusive and equitable one? How schools are willing to create ally programs, shift curriculum in all classrooms to include Black authors, history, poets, leaders, educational programs and bridging programs for our partnership with METCO?

Thank you

EMAIL #14

Hello,
I am a White woman who has lived in Sudbury for almost 15 years. I am a stay-at-home Mom to four children, including two school aged - one heading to middle school and one heading to high school. Sudbury LEADING on racial justice, anti-racism and eradicating implicit bias that unfairly oppresses our Black neighbors and friends is very important to me and is a priority for me, my husband and our four children. We consider ourselves allies.

I am very happy to that our Town is hosting this event. And, with my Ally hat on, I would like to say that I hope the organizers will reach out to the breadth and wealth of voices, talent, experience, etc. we have amongst our Black families in town. If this has not already happened, I fear it is perpetuating the practice of taking over the microphone of Black people. Including Sudbury residents who have DIRECT experience, as stewards of this mission, as residents, as families in the school system and as business owners serving the Sudbury community is essential to making this event inclusive, relevant and meaningful. Please ensure the panel includes such Sudbury residents. If you are interested or need suggestions on community members, please let me know.

I also feel that the topic of race is bigger than Safety. I absolutely support having a session that specifically addresses Safety, but there is so much more our town needs to be addressing and leading on. My hope is that this is the first of many such forums.

Questions I would like to have addressed around Safety include:
1. As Black residents of Sudbury, what are your personal experiences feeling Safe? How do any fears around Safety affect your daily life?
2. Do your children feel safe in school? What can Sudbury do better to ensure all Black children feel safe?
3. What kind of explicit training does our police and fire department undertake around implicit bias, white privilege and de-escalation?

Thank you very much and I look forward to watching on the 25th.

EMAIL #15

Dear Town of Sudbury,

We are all college-aged residents of the town who have been through the SPS system and attended LSRHS as well. We want to voice some concerns relating to the educational side of our experience and address gaps we identified from our schooling. We also have some questions about the town's initiatives more broadly. We would be happy to discuss further if there is interest, but would like to remain anonymous in the context of the community address next week:

*We recognize our suggestions and questions for LSRHS might not be under the town's jurisdiction, but please let us know who we should reach out to should we wish to voice these concerns further. While LS is shared between Lincoln and Sudbury, the large majority of the students are from Sudbury, and their needs should be addressed in this statement regardless so that the town can hold LS accountable.

1. How is LSRHS addressing its own lack of diversity and the way it manifests in problematic student culture?

The LS student body has repeatedly demonstrated insensitivity and disregard for matters of diversity. Look no further than First Adventure, the orientation program for incoming first-year students for which LSRHS faculty explicitly told student leaders not to refer to a section of the school as "Little Africa." This instance alone illustrates how pervasive the issue is: faculty knew about it. Therefore, the administration was aware of the problem as well. Rather than addressing the root of the problem, the administration

simply told First Adventure leaders to gloss over it. The administration needs to hold students accountable for fostering a culture that is covertly hostile to Black students, and a failure to do so merely perpetuates the problem.

In 2016, LS rolled out the Diversity Workshop, a half-day training for all 9th grade students to learn about and grapple with issues concerning diversity. In the workshop, students focused on setting discussion norms, recognizing their identities, and at the very end, addressing some common microaggressions. 11th and 12th grade students co-hosted the sessions with a staff or faculty member and led the students through the series of activities. While this initiative was a good first-step, we were told it was, just that, a first-step. To our knowledge, no follow-up workshop has been implemented and little efforts have been made beyond this one-day affair to continue these critical conversations. Further, as former Diversity Workshop facilitators, we can attest to this space being one of the most diverse student groups we have been a part of at LS. Through our courses, we rarely ever had a Black, Latinx, and/or Hispanic student represented in our upper-level coursework.

At the Diversity Workshop, other leaders who identified as Black, Latinx, and/or Hispanic, mentioned how faculty often discouraged them from taking higher level or more rigorous classes. The class recommendation system is flawed and often gate-keeps qualified and high-achieving students from taking more difficult courses. Further, many of these students came through the METCO program. Some barriers to the same classroom experience for METCO students include their inability to come before and after school for extra help from teachers due to bus schedules. We hope, especially now with COVID-19 and the shift to remote learning, that more consideration has been put in to offer extra help sessions that can be accessed by these students. LS must do more to advocate for their METCO students who are also predominantly BIPOC students.

2.   What are some actionable steps that LSRHS is taking to address the lack of diversity amongst its faculty and staff?

When thinking about various departments across LS, like the English department, the courses are often designed to address issues of race. Some of these courses are "Making and Remaking Race," "Race, Power, and Identity," and "Post-Colonial Literature." However, they are taught by white teachers, and there does not seem to be diverse faculty in the department. This also results in a significant portion of the class being dedicated to the white experience and discomfort around issues of race as opposed to focusing on the experience of minorities and their lived experiences. There is a clear bias based on the lived experiences of the teachers who run these courses. There must be more push to uplift narratives of affected peoples and not just talk about the discomfort of white people in having critical conversations around race. Additionally, the requirement for students at LS include taking 1 World and 1 British/American class, but courses like "Irish Literature," "Russian Literature," "The Novel," and "Western Literary Traditions" (might be renamed) fulfill the World requirement, but focus primarily on the Western canon, and again do not seem to be encompassing the world. Further, when books such as Joseph Conrad's "Heart of Darkness" are taught in courses like "The Novel," the teacher may focus on light-and-dark imagery and not address the racist undertones throughout the novel. Counter-analyses such as Chinua Achebe's "An Image of Africa" and more diverse discourse cease to happen at current. We believe at the very least, the requirement of 1 World and 1 British/American course needs to be amended so students can be exposed to different lines of thinking.

Further, teachers in the History Department are not from diverse racial backgrounds (with the exceptions of Phillip James and Caroline Han) and subjects like "World History," "Ancient Civilizations,"

(which spent over half the year focused on Greece and Rome, dedicated little time to Persia and Egypt, and neglected to talk about any other civilizations in China, India, Africa, or the Americas), and "World Crises" (course addressing current geopolitics in the world and often addressing issues around the war on terror) are taught exclusively by white instructors. Further courses like "African History," rarely were offered due to a lack of departmental support and student interest. These courses must be prioritized and offered yearly to support student needs and continue to decolonize history. Narratives of history are subjective and while we are lucky to say our classes and teachers were all open to diverse discourse on topics we learned about, the omission of certain topics altogether lends itself to biases that still need to be addressed.

Further, the staff in the clinical counseling office were also all white, making it even more difficult for BIPOC students to approach them with concerns about race. We often found ourselves discussing current issues around race with art instructor Shea Justice due to this gap in support. We hope that LSRHS will make efforts to include more diverse staff and faculty to support the needs of their student body.

3.   How are topical issues of race addressed to younger students in elementary schools for example?

While we believe race should be addressed at the high-school level, we believe it must also be addressed in elementary schools and at ECMS as well. Younger children are more impressionable and by high-school, students have largely formed their friend groups and cliques that are too often, very homogenous. BIPOC children learn about race from a young age as it is both salient and largely a part of their existence, and it is unfair to shield predominantly white students from race at a young age just because it is not their direct concern. We hope SPS considers some critical ways in which race can be addressed and brought up to students early on. One suggestion we have for elementary schools is incorporating documentaries such as "A Class Divided," to the curriculum. This film is about an Iowa school teacher who divides her class based on eye color and awards certain privileges to one group such as extended recess and shorter lunch lines in one week and switches the roles the following week. Documentaries such as this one address discrimination and inequality in a digestable way that can appeal to young students, convey the sentiments, and help facilitate discussions around learned biases and how to unpack them.

4.   How does the town hope to further facilitate conversations and encourage dialogue for families at home?

It is our hope the younger generations of school-aged residents are not the only ones engaging in such dialogue. How is anti-racist work being supported by and available to all residents of the town? Some suggestions we have include increased programming initiatives at the Parks & Recreation Center or anti-racist book clubs that can be run by the Goodnow Library. Further, are there spaces for discourse at large?

5.   How can the town and future votes and legislation be used to encourage more diversity?

Several of the town elections addressing new construction often seeking to build town houses get shot down. Residents seem to prioritize the construction of single-family homes. However, this continues to result in housing options only available to those of high socio-economic status. As a result, families who may want to move to Sudbury for their strong schools may not have the option to give the high cost of housing. Ensuring and prioritizing more affordable housing options is one way to increase diversity of residents in the town.

6.   What are some ways in which Sudbury PD has responded or hopes to change going forward?

While we find the Sudbury PD members to be approachable community members, we recognize not everyone has the same relationship with law-enforcement officials. As such, we would love to know what measures are being taken by Sudbury PD to re-evaluate their position with residents of the town

and address their own biases in the department. We also want to know how diverse the police team is and if that is currently a shortcoming, how they plan to address the lack of diversity.

Our police interact strongly with student residents, ranging from assisting with prom-posals to presenting as guest speakers for the D.A.R.E. program at elementary schools. We hope Sudbury PD continues to foster strong relationships with residents, but given residents are predominantly white and unopposed to such interactions, we want to know how Sudbury PD can be more cognizant of these types of interactions moving further, especially considering current national mobilization on the Black Lives Matter movement.

Please do not hesitate to respond with further questions or comments. We would be happy to address any of the aforementioned points further as you see fit.

EMAIL #16

Hi,

I'm the mother of a bi-racial child who will soon be learning to drive. My child has a history of anxiety, and I'm frankly afraid of her driving in this or neighboring towns and getting pulled over as a new young driver. I want her to always feel protected by the police in her town, not that she has to be fearful of ever being targeted or treated differently by them. My daughter is careful and thoughtful, but we all know that adolescents often learn by making mistakes, and I want to know that my daughter will be viewed with the same protective, caring, and forgiving attitude that a white teenager can most likely presume s/he is viewed.

I want to know whether the data you track on police interactions includes race, and I want to know specifically what anti-bias training your officers receive. How do you ensure that this training is ongoing?

EMAIL #17

1. What is Sudbury Public Schools doing to address the results of the 2018-19 Curtis Connectedness Survey, where African-American identifying students disproportionately reported feeling unwelcome by adults, being called names by others, and believing the discipline system to be unfair?

2. Why are Sudbury Police planning to invest in body-worn cameras if, according to a 2019 George Mason study, "BWCs have not had statistically significant or consistent effects on most measures of officer and citizen behavior or citizens' views of police"?
(PDF of study attached to this email)

PLEASE SEE ATTACHMENT: GMU study

EMAIL #18

To whom it may concern,

I really appreciate that y'all have taken the time to create a space where members of our community can discuss our role in racism. I'm not sure what format y'all are looking for, so I hope it's okay that I've decided to go with a bulleted list!

- I feel that we are beginning this conversation by asking the wrong question. In the words of Ravi Simon, the questions we should be asking are "how severe is racism in Sudbury?" and "what can we do to alleviate its harms?" The time for debating whether or not racism is an issue is over (and honestly never should have been in the first place). Now, it is vital that we focus on not whether or not we are racist, but how we are and the ways in which we can self-reflect and grow.

- Why are there resource officers in SPS and LSRHS? Why did we as a community decide to put them there, what is their role, are they meeting the goals of their presence, and why do they remain there? I propose that we remove all resource officers from our public schools.

- I am concerned by the level of pardoning I have seen for the SPD by members of our community. By focusing on our police as a non-existent 'exception', I feel that we are taking energy away from analyzing the role of police in our community.

- Why is there not already a community oversight committee for the SPD? We have an entire committee for a garden. I think that one for the SPD is long overdue.

- What opportunities exist for us to learn more about the current practices and policies of the SPD? I have explored their website, but it appears to be lacking. It is very poorly organized and a significant amount of information is missing. I was able to find an application for the Citizens Police Academy, but this opportunity is not accessible for all and should not be the only opportunity.

- What plans do SPS and LSRHS have for creating a more representative and historically complete curriculum - particularly in regard to race?

- I think it is incredibly important for individuals of our community to self-reflect on, learn about, and explore our relationship with race - particularly white people. One way this could be initiated is by the creation of white affinity groups. While I have yet to be a member of one, these groups seem to provide an open environment for individuals to learn about and discuss race without the responsibility to educate falling on BIPOC.

- Sudbury is a predominately white town. What efforts have been, or are being, made to identify and combat the reasons for this?

- I think that it is important to recognize that racial issues are not new and acknowledge that they will not be easily solved. My hope is that our community's efforts to address racism will not be short-lived and will not move on when the media does. Unlearning and addressing racism is a life-long process that many of us are only just beginning. We are all in different places right now, and I hope that we will be able to learn from each other and create meaningful change.

EMAIL #19

> Thank you for offering this conversation.

1) What to you think about the creating a "Peace Officer Standards and Training,"

And more specifically about the key provision " to create uniform training requirements and a certification process for officers — with the ability to de-certify violators"

2) The Community-Statement-6-12-20 is fantastic. I especially appreciate the initiative for domestic violence, CR4J and the diversion programs. The questions Is whether the list under Professional Responsibilities in priority order? If is so, should life and property be co-equals?
   1) The protection of life and the safeguarding of property;

Question #19 (if you run out of other questions) if we are doing as well as I think we are, what can we do to support surrounding communities?

EMAIL #20

Police:
- How often are employees' affiliations with alt-right groups checked? Who does it? How deep do they check?
- How many hours of firearms training does each officer receive per year? How much does this cost?
- How many hours of training does each officer receive for social issues, such as dealing with domestic abuse reports? Also, cost?
- How many traffic stops are for black people compared to white?
- When was the last time an officer reported an abuse or misconduct of another officer?
- Has Sudbury ever hired an officer who was fired from a different town?
- Has Sudbury ever fired an officer who then went on to work for another town's dept?
- How many officers have attended Dave Grossman's Killology seminars?
- How large is the overtime budget? How much do officers make on overtime? What are common reasons for officers receiving overtime?
- Would officer's consider changing the rules of when they can receive their pension after being found guilty of crimes? The officer who murdered George Floyd can still receive over a million dollars from his pension.
- Does Sudbury participate in the 1033 program? If so, would you pledge to stop and possibly give back equipment?

Town:
- Has the town ever hired an independent firm to review all aspects of our police dept?
  - How are you sure that any race related training the police dept receives is being followed properly?
- What if we decreased the officer count and added more social workers, and expanded their roles and responsibilities? AFAIK, there is only a single full-time social worker covering the entire town.
- What would a 10% decrease in the police budget look like?

Schools:
- How much do schools pay the police dept?
- How will schools be changing their curriculum to cover race more in depth?
- How have the schools been reviewed to ensure that racism training that staff receive is being implemented and followed?

- Do the schools teach why the METCO program exists, and the history behind it? As well as the history of race and schools in MA?
- Are all sports and activities welcoming to all students? And if asked, would students respond as you have? Would teachers respond as you have? Would coaches respond as you have? Would parents of students respond as you have? What has the school done to ensure that sports and activities are welcoming to all?

Thank you for taking these questions, and hopefully answering them.

EMAIL #21

Here is what I think: white people in Sudbury take part in and benefit from all kinds of structural and generational racism. Here is what I think we could be doing so much better around....

1. If we are going to have a METCO program in town, let's welcome our Boston students as our own. Let's not have to seek out funding to support busses for sports or to attend events. Let's ask our Boston students what they want and need before we decide on their behalf. If METCO is here to integrate our student population, but the program doesn't take into account that many of these students are also low income (and certainly lower than a critical mass of sudbury residents), then are we really integrating the schools? If we see Boston students as "other" and not as "us" and don't advocate that they have the same access to all that resident students have access to, then aren't we, in fact, participating in and contributing to a racist structure?

2. Implicit and overt bias is definitely at play in town. Because I want to be careful about confidentiality, I won't provide examples where we expect so much less from our Boston students than they are potentially capable of. When coaches tell a young, black male with an athletic build and skill to match, that they don't play xxxx like a Sudbury kid (in a not so fond way), then what is that saying to that student?

3. My own racism has manifested in the fact that I have found myself not speaking up when I hear something because the person is someone who I know to be a nice, contributing member of our community. But if we associate racism as something to which only "bad" ppl contribute, then we miss opportunities to assertively speak out and educate our friends. I'm ready to change that.

4. I have friends who won't visit me here in Sudbury and we have hosted Boston students here who won't leave our yard to walk somewhere or exercise, because they don't trust the community. They don't feel like they are safe because we don't have a critical mass of people of color in our neighborhood. What has been said is, "your neighbors don't want to see me walking around."

5. Most importantly, what I know about our town is that we have a lot of ppl who really care about race but who don't know how to talk about it. As white ppl, we haven't been taught a language to use nor have we been given permission to talk about this. Many of us have been afraid of offending ppl which really doesn't do anything but perpetuate racism. Ugh.

My daughter wanted to go to a prom party at a house that backed up to the woods with her male friend who is black. We had to have a conversation about all sorts of things that a parent might discuss, but

what I stressed more than anything was that if she made choices that might get her in trouble with the police, she was actually risking his life. If typically kids run into the woods if there is a police presence, she absolutely could not do that with him. I was terrified that he could be shot. To have these conversations was painful and it's also the reality. So it's easier for our teens to just not invite their friends from Boston. They are often faced with having to deal with their racist friends from Sudbury or just not include their friends from Boston.

I could go on, but I think the point is, that we absolutely exist within a racist culture and to challenge that would mean we've been complicit in it. No one wants to feel that. But it's time. I'm so glad you are having this conversation. I'd like to see more opportunities for affinity groups to have conversations about race. Let's make it ok to talk about this and ok to be uncomfortable about it. I used to run from discomfort because I felt ashamed at participating in a racist structure...but I think I also believed at some level that while it wasn't right, I was powerless. But that's not really true. What's true is that living here was a choice and I benefit from maintaining the racist systems that are such a part of the fabric. I don't feel powerless anymore. I feel like I can do something. I can talk about it. It is abundantly clear that it is time. I know we have plenty of ppl who have blind spots and shadows around racism. If they are willing to do the work, I hope they'll show up and participate. In so doing, they'll shine a light and reveal these shadows that keep them (and my own, too) stuck.

Thanks so much for holding this forum.

I apologize if there are errors in this. I didn't expect to write this much and I'm on my phone.

Please reach out if I can be helpful in making this happen.

EMAIL #22

Thank you for offering this conversation.

One of the salient issues is that the police are asked to deal with mental health issues and I have heard Chief Nix address this directly. What is the current thinking on this and should it be reconsidered?

EMAIL #23

Asking if racism is an issue in Sudbury seems inherently to answer itself; there is systemic racism in this country that cannot be avoided, even (especially!) in a majority white town. Asking if perhaps Sudbury is so privileged as to have escaped the problems of the country is ironic! Was this question intended to be provocative or genuine? We all have been socialized with biases that do not disappear just because there may not be racially motivated violence in the town limits. One is racist unless one is actively working to be antiracist in all ways and, even then, one likely slips. I find myself intensely distressed by this question because to me it prompts thoughts of sentiments like "oh I don't see race" and other naive and unhelpful statements in solving this national crisis. The existence of this majority white town in which a bussing program is still in existence answers the question. That we can sit back and ponder the question is a privilege a majority black community would not have. I strongly would have preferred the headline to this conversation to be something like, "in what ways is racism at work in Sudbury, where are our blind spots, and how can we combat it?"

EMAIL #24

Why aren't our public schools actively teaching anti-bias education (beginning in kindergarten)?

This method of education addresses some of the major biases in society (racism, sexism, ableism, ageism, religious intolerance, classism, heterosexism). It helps children understand and celebrate differences, consider the effects of bias, stereotypes, and labels in our culture and on each other, and learn to be proactive, ethical, and independent critical thinkers.

*This wording is partly taken from the mission statement of the school where I teach. I am happy to speak further on anti bias education if there is interest. I have shared my thoughts with my children's school administration and am still waiting for any kind of response.

EMAIL #25

Hello,

I have several questions for the Race and Safety event:

First:
What is the city of Sudbury doing to ensure that racial injustice is addressed in our community and in the world? It is great to say and agree that Black Lives Matter, but as a town with plenty of social and economic capital, it's important to, as the phrase goes "put your money where your mouth is."

Another:
Is Sudbury considering adjusting the funding for the police department to divert funds to efforts that address the root cause of crime, rather than focusing on policing? For example, domestic violence response force members, mental health counselors, crisis managers, rather than expecting the police to do everything?

Another:
What is the training program for Sudbury police officers? How many hours, what specific programs? Is there significant training in de-escalation before putting hands on someone?

Another:
Has there been statistical analysis done to measure if Sudbury is unnaturally "white" compared to similar communities in the area? Have we looked into experts and researchers who can assess whether the town is unwittingly biased in attracting racial demographics to town?

Another:
Has the city looked into the educational programs in Sudbury public education to ensure that the material covered particularly in history/social studies/government isn't telling a skewed view of history. For example, are students taught the REAL history of Christopher Columbus, as a genocidal colonist who committed grave harm against the native population, or are they taught that he sailed the ocean blue in

1492 and "discovered" America? Does the history of America taught in our schools include major negative impacts of white folks on black and brown people?

Another:
Can Sudbury announce Juneteenth a town holiday and grant students the day off and/or have marketing around town celebrating the end of slavery?

I appreciate taking the time to read my questions and I look forward to hearing the responses on the 18th.

EMAIL #26

Thank you for organizing this important public forum. I'll be brief.

The entire nation witnessed an extremely rare moment of complete UNITY when the video first emerged of George Floyd's last minutes alive.
It was difficult to watch. But let me repeat, there was National UNITY condemning the actions of Officer Chauvan.

And then the media manipulation, hidden agendas and raw emotion took over. Sadly, we all know what happened next. Countless, innocent, minority
lives were taken and/or ruined.

As educators, you have the ultimate responsibility to instruct our soon to be voting young people about the Constitution, our Rights, and what we can and cannot do in the name of "peaceful protests". Due process is a cornerstone of our judicial system but had the 3rd precinct in Minneapolis not been vacated,
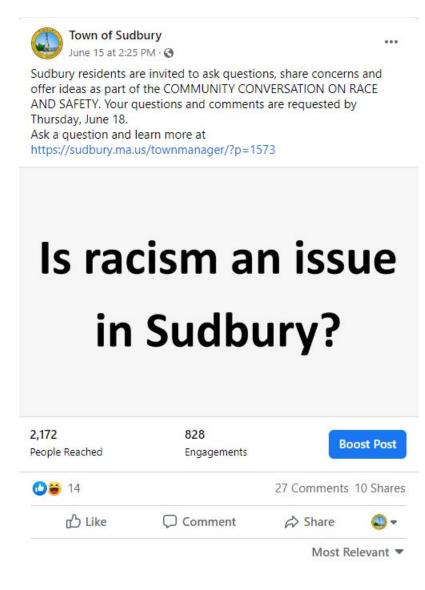I'm pretty sure we would have seen a mob lynching on Facebook Live.

And what about the idea of critical, not emotional, thinking ?

My question is this: How do we know that the murder of George Floyd was racially motivated?
Please, no lectures about systemic oppression and institutionalized racism. I am looking for motive.

EMAIL #27

I would like to suggest that the town coordinate a race relations social (to hold at least 3x a year) and include a featured speaker to address the topic.
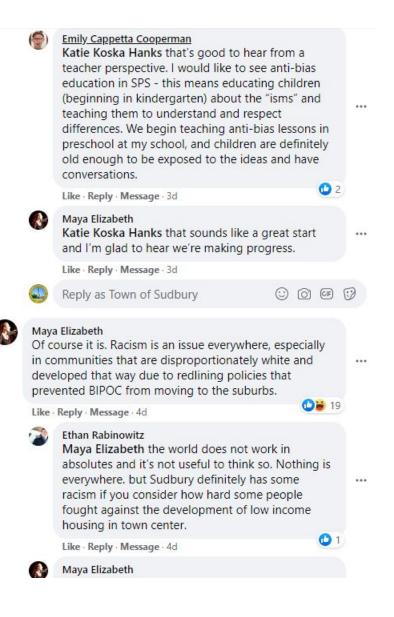
The following Facebook post is referenced in some of the questions received.

Town of Sudbury
June 15 at 2:25 PM · 🌐

Sudbury residents are invited to ask questions, share concerns and offer ideas as part of the COMMUNITY CONVERSATION ON RACE AND SAFETY. Your questions and comments are requested by Thursday, June 18.
Ask a question and learn more at
https://sudbury.ma.us/townmanager/?p=1573

Is racism an issue in Sudbury?

2,172
People Reached

828
Engagements

Boost Post

👍😄 14   27 Comments 10 Shares

👍 Like   💬 Comment   ↪ Share

Most Relevant ▼

Debbie Blicher
Of course it is. This is a mainly white town. Nothing is being done to change that.

Like · Reply · Message · 3d   😀😆 8

> **Peter Tocci**
> If that did change, your house would be on the market, I am sure.
>
> Like · Reply · Message · 1d

> 🙂 Reply as Town of Sudbury   ☺ 📷 GIF 😀

Stephen Ip
Just ask students at school · · ·

Like · Reply · Message · 2d

Sarah Abramson
This question is deeply offensive and really speaks to a lack of understanding of systemic racism and how it works. I hope the Town will undergo serious reflection, training and transformation such that it would not ask such a rhetorical question in the future.

Like · Reply · Message · 2d   👍 1

Jackson Rhodes
It's a town of mostly white folk. I don't think it's a question...look what happens when affordable housing is brought in

Like · Reply · Message · 2d

Cheryl Davin
We don't live in a bubble so yes. Just look at the findings at the high school. That school is full of smart, passionate, kind and creative teachers and students and still racism is present. If our kids exhibit it, we must too.

Like · Reply · Message · 3d

Ravi Simon
This is the wrong question to be asking. The questions we should be asking are "how severe is racism is Sudbury?" and "what can we do to alleviate its harms?"

Like · Reply · Message · 3d · Edited   👍 22

Ravi Simon
This is the wrong question to be asking. The questions we should be asking are "how severe is racism is Sudbury?" and "what can we do to alleviate its harms?"

Like · Reply · Message · 3d · Edited   👍 22

> **Peter Tocci**
> Can you give us some examples of racism?
>
> Like · Reply · Message · 3d   👍 1

Reply as Town of Sudbury   😊 📷 GIF 🙂

Peter Tocci
No. Stop trying to make it an issue.

Like · Reply · Message · 4d   😆 2

> **Ravi Simon**
> And you'd know, because?
>
> Like · Reply · Message · 3d   👍 7

> 💎 Top Fan
> **Ray Schmidt-Gross**
> **Peter Tocci** You just did. All the way from AZ.
>
> Like · Reply · Message · 3d   👍😆 4

> **Debbie Zupan Howell**
> And that's exactly why the answer is 'yes'.
>
> Like · Reply · Message · 3d   👍 8

> **Peter Tocci**
> **Ray Schmidt-Gross** all de way from South Afrika
>
> Like · Reply · Message · 3d

> **Peter Tocci**
> **Ravi Simon** huh? Just because I'm in Arizona now lol... 👌
>
> Like · Reply · Message · 3d

> 💎 Top Fan
> **Ray Schmidt-Gross**
> **Peter Tocci** and proud of it. We learned lessons you can't even begin to understand.

Peter Tocci
Ray Schmidt-Gross

Like · Reply · Message · 3d

Reply as Town of Sudbury

Maya Elizabeth
The fact that I attended the lauded Sudbury public schools for grades 1-12 and never learned about the Tulsa massacre or black Wall Street, let alone anything significant about the history of racism in America beyond "slavery > civil war > whitewashed civil rights movement" is a pretty damning critique of subconscious racial bias in Sudbury, although that's fairly consistent with white-majority public schools across America so it's not particularly shocking. We don't learn the racist history of the US because the textbooks and curriculum are written mostly by white people who don't understand its importance, and that leads to a big blind spot (that old useless chestnut 'I don't see color') when it comes to our own internalized racism, even if we try not to be racist.

👍 12

Like · Reply · Message · 3d

Katie Koska Hanks
Maya Elizabeth that is changing! The new Social Studies curriculum standards that have recently been adopted by Massachusetts is much more honest and inclusive.

👍❤ 2

Like · Reply · Message · 3d

Emily Cappetta Cooperman
Katie Koska Hanks that's good to hear from a

Emily Cappetta Cooperman
Katie Koska Hanks that's good to hear from a teacher perspective. I would like to see anti-bias education in SPS - this means educating children (beginning in kindergarten) about the "isms" and teaching them to understand and respect differences. We begin teaching anti-bias lessons in preschool at my school, and children are definitely old enough to be exposed to the ideas and have conversations.

Like · Reply · Message · 3d   👍 2

Maya Elizabeth
Katie Koska Hanks that sounds like a great start and I'm glad to hear we're making progress.

Like · Reply · Message · 3d

Reply as Town of Sudbury   ☺ 📷 GIF 😀

Maya Elizabeth
Of course it is. Racism is an issue everywhere, especially in communities that are disproportionately white and developed that way due to redlining policies that prevented BIPOC from moving to the suburbs.

Like · Reply · Message · 4d   👍😂 19

Ethan Rabinowitz
Maya Elizabeth the world does not work in absolutes and it's not useful to think so. Nothing is everywhere. but Sudbury definitely has some racism if you consider how hard some people fought against the development of low income housing in town center.

Like · Reply · Message · 4d   👍 1

Maya Elizabeth

Maya Elizabeth

Ethan Rabinowitz please excuse my slightly hyperbolic use of 'everywhere' but it's very hard to find places not impacted by racism. I guess islands never contacted by the mainland might not have developed judgements based on skin tone, but racism has definitely permeated basically everywhere else in the world to one degree or another, especially if they have been exposed to advertising. We're in agreement on Sudbury including that specific incident, but I'm curious where you think racism isn't an issue?

Like · Reply · Message · 4d   😆 1

Ethan Rabinowitz

Maya Elizabeth Africa? (Although the first slave traders were black African king's). We're obviously talking about racism from whites to minorities but whites are not the majority everywhere in the world. I'm not saying that most places don't have racism. I just see absolutes being used so frequently to exaggerate and it distracts from the actual facts and discussion

Like · Reply · Message · 3d   😆 1

Maya Elizabeth

Ethan Rabinowitz I'm sure you're not really claiming that Africa doesn't have racism? You know there are white people in Africa too, right? They don't have to be the majority to still instill racial discrimination. And like, South Africa is one of the most well-known racist states in recent history? But even beyond that, people in Africa can still feel the effects of racism, whether, including colorism, which is how white-over-black racism manifests as lighter-skin preferences even in black and brown communities. It's also why skin-whitening creams are so well-advertised in Asia.

But like someone said below, this is the wrong question. Racism is an issue in Sudbury. The question is to what degree and what can we change to lessen its effects.

Like · Reply · Message · 3d   👍 8

Karl Oliszczak
It's an issue everywhere in the world 🌎. Sudbury I believe strives to end racism in its schools much better than any other place in my experience with the programs it has. Sudbury is a safe place to live I believe for any race that pursues life, libert... **See More**

Like · Reply · Message · 4d · Edited   👍 2

Doris Constantinides Christelis
Racism is an undeniable reality in America. Sudbury is in America.

Like · Reply · Message · 4d   👍😆 17

Write a comment...

LINCOLN-SUDBURY REGIONAL HIGH SCHOOL
Sudbury, Massachusetts

School Climate Needs Assessment
Summary Report *
December 20, 2018
CONFIDENTIAL

Cole Civil Rights and Safe Schools Consulting

Richard W. Cole, Attorney-At-Law
Cole Civil Rights and Safe School Consulting
P.O. Box 320376
Boston, MA 02132
Tel: (617) 553-8400
Email: *rcole.bostonlaw@rcn.com*
Website: *www.colecivilrights.com*

LINCOLN-SUDBURY REGIONAL HIGH SCHOOL
School Climate Needs Assessment Report [1]

By: Richard W. Cole, Attorney-At-Law [2]
Cole Civil Rights and Safe Schools Consulting

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In or about September 2018, Leslie Patterson, an Associate Principal at Lincoln-Sudbury Regional High School, contacted Richard W. Cole, Attorney-At-Law, Cole Civil Rights and Safe Schools Consulting, to explore the feasibility of him performing a school climate needs assessment for the High School. On October 22, 2018, the Lincoln-Sudbury Regional High School, through Associate Principal Leslie Patterson, executed an "Agreement for Consulting Services" with Richard W. Cole to retain him as a consultant to conduct an independent school climate needs assessment at Lincoln-Sudbury Regional High School.

In an effort to provide the Lincoln-Sudbury Regional High School with the most effective assistance, Richard Cole recruited independent consultants Joye Whitney[3] and Steven Flythe[4] to assist in performing the school

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[2] Richard W. Cole is a nationally known civil rights attorney, former Assistant Attorney General and Civil Rights Division Chief at the Massachusetts Office of Attorney General. As principal of *Cole Civil Rights and Safe Schools Consulting*, he offers a broad range of training, counseling and technical assistance to educators and schools on policy development, civil rights, race relations, equity, transforming school climate and culture, effective harassment and bullying investigations, and in successfully addressing harassment, bullying, and hate crimes in schools and in cyberspace. He co-chaired the national initiative that resulted in the acclaimed U.S. Department of Education publication in 1999, "*Protecting Students from Harassment and Hate Crime-A Guide for Schools.*" From 2005-2007, he developed and co-chaired the Massachusetts Attorney General's "Safe Schools Initiative," an innovative statewide collaboration with over 70 partners from education, law enforcement, health, civil rights and prevention to provide the training and technical assistance schools need to make them safe from harassment, hate crimes and bullying. He was lead trial and appellate counsel in *Comfort v. Lynn School Committee*, successfully defending in the federal courts the constitutionality of the student assignment plan used by the City of Lynn, Massachusetts to racially integrate its schools. He has led many hundreds of workshops and presented at numerous conferences for the U.S. Department of Education and for leading state, regional, and national educational associations and organizations. He has also published extensively. For more information, see *www.colecivilrights.com*.

[3] Consultant Joye Whitney is a former Research and Evaluation Associate *at the Education Alliance at Brown University,* in Providence, Rhode Island, with a specialty in school improvement. She has conducted qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis in support of educational research and evaluation projects across the Eastern States. Ms. Whitney has also participated as a site visitor for intensive field work activities including conducting interviews, focus groups and classroom observations. She has also assisted in the development of protocol and survey designs, synthesizes research to identify key themes and findings, and has contributed to technical reports required by contract specifications.

[4] Consultant Steven Flythe is an experienced facilitator of professional development sessions at conferences and schools. He is skilled in the design, implementation, coordination and evaluation of large-scale collaborations involving multiple stakeholders. He helped design and launch the City of Cambridge's Office of College Success. He is the former Director of Educator Network, The Right Question Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, consulting with school districts and schools, and designing and facilitating for them professional development workshops on integrating student-centered practices in schools.

climate needs assessment of the High School, and to help consultant Cole conduct and facilitate the student focus groups and to conduct the interviews of the "School Admin Team" and "Key Faculty Advisors and Racial Climate Task Force Members" on November 29, 2018, and December 3, 2018, respectively.

NEEDS ASSESSMENT GOALS

In contracting with the Lincoln-Sudbury Regional High School, consultant Cole identified the following goals for the needs assessment: "[T]o provide critical data and information to the Lincoln-Sudbury Regional High School to help it develop an action plan that promotes its core values and expectations of equity and equal access to all its programs and activities. The goal is to ascertain student perspectives, observations, experiences and recommendations about school climate and culture, with an emphasis on race, color and national origin-related issues, including on equity, access, inclusion, race relations, discrimination and discriminatory harassment."

NEEDS ASSESSMENT METHODOLOGY

The school climate needs assessment relies, in substantial part, on qualitative data collected through focus groups of students, along with interviews of the District/School administrative team and a small number of "Key Faculty Advisors and Racial Climate Task Force Members." The needs assessment also relies in part on a review of selected documents and data, including the "Student Equity Survey, Fall 2018."

The most important part of the school climate needs assessment was gathering confidential feedback from students, broadly representative of the student population by grade, race, ethnicity, gender and the community in which they reside. When designing the student focus groups, consultant Cole applied professionally recognized needs assessment protocols, including the random selection of student focus group participants to ensure a representative sample. Through the student focus groups, the consultants gathered information about student perspectives, observations, experiences, and recommendations about school climate and culture.[5] The interviews of school personnel enabled the consultants to learn about the school's policies, programs, and practices, and to ascertain the views of administrators and key faculty members about the school's climate and culture.

STUDENT FOCUS GROUPS

The consultants asked questions related to school climate and culture to eighty-seven (87) male and female students who participated in ten (10) student focus groups on two separate days. To promote student candor on issues relating to race relations, equity, inclusion, discrimination and discriminatory harassment, consultant Cole had a number of the student focus groups disaggregated by race, ethnicity and gender. Approximately thirty-four (34) white students and fifty-three (53) students of color (African-American, Asian, Latino, biracial and multiracial students) participated in the student focus groups, including twenty (20) METCO students, predominantly African-American, but also Latino and Asian, who reside in Boston.

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[5]. School administrators provided parents and guardians of student participants with advance notice of their teenager's selection in a focus group, with the absolute right to opt out of participation.

LINCOLN-SUDBURY REGIONAL HIGH SCHOOL
School Climate Needs Assessment Report
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

KEY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS
KEY STRENGTHS

1. The District and School Admin Team welcomed the consultants' assistance and worked cooperatively in helping ensure an effective needs assessment process. They also demonstrated a strong commitment to identifying the school's strengths and challenges and in planning needed changes to address school climate and race-related concerns at the High School. The interview of "Key Faculty Advisors and Racial Climate Task Force Members" enabled the consultants to learn about the high level of engagement and commitment these faculty members have in addressing issues in the school's climate and culture.

2. Although some students expressed significant fear of gun violence based on highly publicized school shootings around the country, almost all students feel a strong sense of safety from fights, physical violence or intimidation. Overall, the climate within the school is calm, orderly, structured, and secure.

3. Most students do not report observing or experiencing openly malicious or hostile forms of harassment, with the intent to cause harm, or physical confrontations based on race or ethnicity, or other personal characteristics. Students do not report a significant amount of bullying, except some cyberbullying.

4. Most students, regardless of race, gender or grade, identified at least one adult in the school with whom they feel comfortable and trust to turn to for help or support for school-related or personal problems. Students most often identified a current teacher and/or guidance counselor, with some, their coaches. For METCO students, they consistently identified the METCO Director and METCO staff.

5. Many students, across racial lines, expressed appreciation for the academic focus, curriculum choices, and high level of education in the high school. Many students assert that they are doing well academically.

6. Most students have an overall positive view of their education at the school, saying that many teachers are welcoming and treat them based on the way they act rather than based on their race. A number of students across racial lines expressed appreciation about how many teachers try to help them and expressed appreciation for faculty members who actively support students' academic needs or serve as club advisors. Some students identified teachers who go way out of their way to assist students academically.

7. Most students say that there are no rigid social cliques in the school. Many students say they feel comfortable in interacting with and making friends with students from a range of social affinity groups.

8. METCO students uniformly expressed high regard and great appreciation for the support they receive from the new METCO Director. METCO students also voiced very positive views of the METCO staff.

9. The school provides a wide range of opportunities for students to informally meet and build relationships with each other through numerous extra-curricular clubs, sports teams and activities. Many high school students participate in an array of clubs, teams and extra-curricular activities.

10. The attractive physical plant and facilities in the school is an important positive school climate factor.

Taken together, these strengths provide a solid basis for Lincoln-Sudbury Regional High School's success in responding effectively to the key challenges it faces.

KEY CHALLENGES
A. <u>Current Climate and Culture</u>
1. Most students, across racial lines, do not feel a sense of school identity. Most students say that they are isolated from students in other academic levels. Most students also identify clear lines of separation across grade levels, with little interaction between students in different grade levels. Most students report that they have few opportunities to interact with and become friends with students from other grades, except on sports teams or certain clubs. Many students say that the school culture pressures students against socializing with students from other grades at tables in the cafeteria, with few exceptions.

2. A number of students say there is no real student voice in the school.
.
3. A number of students commented that administrators "are distant," that students do not have any connection to district or school administrators, that district and school administrators do not have a significant physical presence in the school, that they do not engage with or develop personal relationships with students, and that most students have no interaction with their associate principal.

4. A number of students stated that there is no recognized voice of administrative leadership, and that although there are some school-wide email communications, that administrators have not effectively established or communicated school-wide norms and expectations, including in promoting inclusion of students of color, through assemblies or other school-wide programs.
.
5. Many students asserted that the school was too academically competitive. Many students also complained about the failure of faculty to take into account the amount of homework they require for completion, without coordination among teachers. For METCO students, who wake up early and do not arrive home until late, homework has resulted in significant stress and at times, a lack of needed sleep.

6. A significant number of students of color, particularly black METCIO students, say they do not feel connected to the school. Some METCO students were unable to identify one positive aspect of their school experience.

7. Some white students expressed unhappiness about what they describe as pressure to conform; to be "too politically correct," where neither the school adults or students (of color) want or allow opposing views, and where "if you are vocal you will be judged as a racist and will be socially excluded."

B. <u>Current Context and Extent in Which Harassment Occurs</u>

8. Many students report that a number of students say degrading and demeaning words, often based on stereotypes related to a student's race, ethnicity, sexual orientation or other legally protected identity characteristic through so-called 'jokes' and banter between student acquaintances or friends about other students' core identity characteristics. They also report that at times students engage in this behavior with the intent to debase or humiliate others. A number of students talked about the harassment of LGBT and transgender students. A few self-identified biracial students say that some students make fun of them, call them "Oreo," and make other offensive remarks, because they are biracial. Many black students say that white students believe that because they know or are friendly with a black student or student of color they have 'permission' to use the "n" word or make 'friendly' derogatory or demeaning jokes or comments based on stereotypes. Many students do not recognize the effect of inappropriate joking and stereotyping based on race and ethnicity and other core identity characteristics, or the impact of this behavior on bystanders.

9. Some students across racial lines report that "most things happen to non-white students." As one white student described it, confirmed by comments by other students, across racial lines, "one of the big problems is that nothing really happens until something bad happens. This is what always happens when things happen - -. An email goes out but that's it."

10. A number of students say that they are not aware that any consequence ever occurs for inappropriate or discriminatory behavior. Some students report that faculty do not effectively intervene when observing or made aware of inappropriate behaviors.

C. <u>Inclusion and Race Relations</u>

11. A number of black students experience some level of alienation from resident white students and have little or no personal connection with other non-black students of color, even those in METCO. A number of black students say that many white students do not understand or feel comfortable interacting with them.

12. A number of METCO students, particularly black female students, do not feel welcome and accepted by white students, even those who have some white friends or acquaintances. Some believe that many resident white and Asian students feel superior to them. A number of black or self-identified biracial students of color stated that even though they attended Sudbury or Lincoln schools at the elementary and/or middle school level, they still feel a sense of social isolation from white resident students.

13. Black students who are residents of Sudbury and Lincoln say they tend to get grouped with the METCO students by the white resident students, with some just assuming they are from Boston. Some report that resident white students will say certain things about the METCO students and think that because they are

from Lincoln or Sudbury that's it's okay with them. One student of color who attended the Lincoln or Sudbury schools for years described how former close white student friends "won't even acknowledge" him/her when crossing paths in the halls, and "that happens a lot" to resident students of color.

14. Most Asian and Latino students indicated that they feel comfortable with resident white students.

15. Approximately one-third of METCO students first attend schools in Lincoln/Sudbury as freshmen in the high school, making their academic and social transition into the school community more challenging.

16. Many white and Asian students commented on the social separation of many African-American students in the school, as reflected by their sitting separately together and congregating together in groups. Some white students expressed resentment about how the black students cluster together in groups in the school.

17. One white student described race relations in the following way: "The METCO students typically hang-out with their own group of friends. The resident students group themselves by race. It's a tight knit group, despite how hard the school tries to unite us."

18. Many black students expressed frustration and some anger about white student' "social appropriation," "mimicking," and "acting black." "They want to be like us," yet they "judge us," saying "we are ghetto, too loud, or where we live is scary." Also, they "want to adopt our culture and listen to our music and then try to repeat language in the songs," and then feel they can use the 'n' word with us, which creates tension.

19. We heard repeated stories of differential treatment of black students by staff, who say, for example, that security follows, monitors, and asks them questions about what they are doing and where they are going at the end of the school day, while white students roam the halls without security's intervention. Black students also report being stared at or followed by a lunch lady, and report, for example, an incident in the cafeteria where a group of white students were "horsing around" and "making a mess" and yet the adults blamed the black METCO students.

20. In discussing the school's diversity program, a number of students said, across racial lines, that a lot of white students do not want to participate, that "a lot of students just don't care," that they "don't take it seriously at all," that they "do not care about what's being discussed," or that it's viewed as an opportunity to miss class. A black student reported that during the program a resident white student said, "it's no big deal using the 'n' word. She said she replied that "it's a big deal to us" (i.e., other black students).

D. <u>Educational Equity and Academics</u>

21. Reportedly, there is a disproportionate underrepresentation of African-American students in accelerated or advanced classes. Also, a number of African-American students describe experiencing feeling of racial isolation in their classes, being the only black student, or attending class with only one or a few other black students. Although a number of black students have white friends, many say they are experiencing racial

isolation in their classes and indicate they do not receive enough school-wide adult support regarding their racial identity.

22. Most students, across racial lines, say that many teachers show favoritism to students who perform better academically. They say that teachers often treat differently and with less interest students who do not do as well academically, who do not actively participate in class, or who they perceive as not working hard enough. A number of students across racial lines also said that some teachers lack skills in how to raise issues related to student performance. A number of students complained, across racial lines, of teachers making performance-related comments to students in front of the whole class, humiliating and embarrassing them, and violating their dignity, rather than making such comments in private.

23. A number of male black students say that their teachers are not conscious of how they treat black males differently; showing favoritism to others, exhibiting less energy and less focus on them, with inappropriate blaming, A few said some teachers treat them as "if they were dumb." Some black male and female students described how some teachers have confused them with other black students, grade them less favorably, or discipline them for something they did not do, sometimes based on that confusion. Some described how in certain classes they are not expected to know the correct answers. For example, one black student described a teacher who expressed surprise when s/he was asked a hard question and answered correctly, with the teacher saying, "my God good for you," and where, s/he said, a white student would be expected to know the answer. Some black students feel that when teachers affirmatively ask them whether they need help, while not similarly asking white students, they perceive it as implicitly saying they're not smart enough; that they need special help because they're black, rather than interpreting the offer in a positive way.

24. Some black students describe feeling devalued, where for example, teachers and administrators will listen to students from all racial backgrounds, but will in the end do what the white students want them to do. As one black student stated, "you could say something and have a white student who says something and they'll go with what the white student says." Some black students say that although they generally feel welcome in the school, they do not believe that "the staff care if I am here as compared to some of the other students." Another stated, "If I was a teacher, I would want to know why a student is quiet or why they don't seem happy. I feel more invisible" (than white students).

25. A number of black students, particularly black female students, say that they are uncomfortable being "put on the spot" when they are the only or one of few black students in a class, by being asked questions or asked to comment on an issue in class for the perceived purpose of serving as a representative of their race.

26. A number of Asian students describe being unfairly stereotyped as being "naturally smart," or for example, being "proficient in math," just because they are Asian (e.g., "Asians are insane at math"), rather than being recognized for their effort, hard work and commitment to excellence.

27. Students repeated stories of teachers, in scheduling assignments, homework and tests, immediately before or following a Jewish holiday, disregarding pleas from Jewish students to take into account their lack of time or availability, due to their preparation for or observance of a Jewish holiday.

28. Student club leaders report that the school is only able to provide 45 minutes of structured time for students to participate in clubs and Wednesday is the only time that all clubs can meet. Some clubs meet for only 30 minutes at 7:20 in the morning. At times the schedule means non-resident students can't attend.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Enhance administrative relationships with students and increase administrative visibility and leadership with students in promoting equity, inclusion, positive race relations, and school climate and culture.

2. Redesign 9th grade diversity program to effectively focus on culture and pressure to racially separate.

3. Build school-wide identity and allegiance with school-wide assemblies and activities.

4. Work with coalition of diverse students to effectively promote student voices.

5. Focus professional development training on issues raised regarding teachers and educational equity.

6. Provide training to school leaders, faculty and staff on their responsibilities under L-S policies on discrimination, including discriminatory harassment and retaliation.

7. Through the Racial Climate Task Force, develop effective equity-centered strategies, practices, policies, programs and curriculum to promote educational equity, inclusion, positive race relations and cultural proficiency.

8. Promote an increase in classroom discussions, co-led by trained students, regarding issues of concern, particularly where it overlaps with curriculum content.

9. Organize a 'Student Social Justice Advisory Committee' with diverse club leaders, to regularly meet with administrative leaders to promote equity, inclusion, and positive race relations and to develop workshops for and by students to promote student education and leadership.

10. Address issues of concern about school security and lunch staff.

11. Develop strategies to help black and other students of color students who are experiencing racial isolation and who make a request for such support or who the school identifies as needing such assistance.

12. In an appropriate time interval, perform a follow-up racial climate audit, to assess progress in addressing the core issues addressed by this school climate needs assessment.

CRITICAL: *CRIMINOLOGY*
& Public Policy

RESEARCH ARTICLE
RESEARCH ON BODY-WORN CAMERAS

Research on body-worn cameras

What we know, what we need to know

Cynthia Lum | Megan Stoltz | Christopher S. Koper | J. Amber Scherer

George Mason University

Correspondence
Cynthia Lum, Department of Criminology,
Law and Society, George Mason University,
4400 University Drive, MS 6D12, Fairfax,
VA 22030.
Email: clum@gmu.edu

Research Summary: In this article, we provide the most comprehensive narrative review to date of the research evidence base for body-worn cameras (BWCs). Seventy empirical studies of BWCs were examined covering the impact of cameras on officer behavior, officer perceptions, citizen behavior, citizen perceptions, police investigations, and police organizations. Although officers and citizens are generally supportive of BWC use, BWCs have not had statistically significant or consistent effects on most measures of officer and citizen behavior or citizens' views of police. Expectations and concerns surrounding BWCs among police leaders and citizens have not yet been realized by and large in the ways anticipated by each. Additionally, despite the large growth in BWC research, there continues to be a lacuna of knowledge on the impact that BWCs have on police organizations and police–citizen relationships more generally.

Policy Implications: Regardless of the evidence-base, BWCs have already rapidly diffused into law enforcement, and many agencies will continue to adopt them. Policy implications from available evidence are not clear-cut, but most likely BWCs will not be an easy panacea for improving police performance, accountability, and relationships with citizens. To maximize the positive impacts of BWCs, police and researchers will need to give more attention to the ways and contexts (organizational and community) in

which BWCs are most beneficial or harmful. They will also need to address how BWCs can be used in police training, management, and internal investigations to achieve more fundamental organizational changes with the long-term potential to improve police performance, accountability, and legitimacy in the community.

1 | INTRODUCTION

Body-worn cameras (BWCs) are one of the most rapidly diffusing technologies in policing today, costing agencies and their municipalities millions of dollars. In 2013, the Bureau of Justice Statistics Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2013) revealed that almost a third of agencies had "utilized video cameras on patrol officers." The Major Cities Chiefs and Major County Sheriffs associations surveyed their members in 2015 and found that 19% had adopted BWCs, whereas an additional 77% stated that they planned to adopt them in the near future (Lafayette Group, 2015). The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP, 2014) has already developed model policies for this technology, signaling its widespread use and importance in law enforcement. At the time of this publication, the Bureau of Justice Statistics had just released its first body-worn camera supplement to the LEMAS, which reports that as of 2016, 60% of local police departments and 49% of sheriffs' offices had fully deployed their BWCs (Hyland, 2018). It would likely not be an exaggeration to estimate that the number of U.S. law enforcement agencies today (end of 2018) that currently use BWCs has more than likely doubled since 2013.

The rapid adoption of BWCs in the United States has been propelled by highly publicized events in this decade involving (often) White police officers killing (often) unarmed Black individuals. Arguably the first pivotal event of this era did not involve a police officer but an armed individual posing as a neighborhood watchman, who killed an unarmed Black youth—Travon Martin—in 2012. This was followed by the shooting of Michael Brown in 2014 by a Ferguson, Missouri, police officer and then the death of Freddie Gray in Baltimore City Police Department custody in 2015. Many of these officer-involved shootings have made national headlines, and in some cases, they have led to the conviction and imprisonment of officers (see Blinder's [2017] coverage of the sentencing of a North Charleston police officer who had shot unarmed Michael Scott). Although most, if not all, of these events were caught on citizen cell phone cameras, the idea that greater accountability for police actions could be obtained had previous events been filmed became a prominent source of citizen demands for BWCs (see general discussions by Braga, Sousa, Coldren, & Rodriguez, 2018; Maskaly, Donner, Jennings, Ariel, & Sutherland, 2017; Nowacki & Willits, 2018; White, 2014).

These events were watershed moments in American policing that spurred on the rapid adoption of BWCs. They reflect, however, long-incubating concerns in the United States about police authority and racial minorities as well as about police–community relations. These concerns include law enforcement's use of stop-question-and-frisk (see Gelman, Fagan, & Kiss, 2007); increases in their use of misdemeanor arrests since the mid-1990s (see Harcourt & Ludwig, 2006; Lum & Vovak,

2018); the consistent incongruent perceptions of treatment between Whites and non-Whites in traffic and pedestrian stops (see Gallup Organization, 2014; Langton & Durose, 2013); and police use of force (see Worden, 2015), especially within Black and Hispanic communities. Many of these issues were embodied in the report and recommendations of President Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015), in which the Task Force described the influence of both current and historical context on these issues. In culmination, this context fostered enough public and political will to generate an urgent call for BWCs in this decade. This demand was matched with a prepared supplier; technology companies had already been developing both BWCs and other similar surveillance devices (e.g., in-car cameras, license plate readers, and closed-circuit televisions). Connecting this supply with the demand was the initial $20 million investment in BWCs by the U.S. Department of Justice (2015; administered by the Bureau of Justice Assistance) followed by continued investment in BWC acquisition and training by federal,[1] state, and local governments.

Because the rapid adoption of BWCs was driven by public protest, law enforcement concerns, a historical backdrop, government funding, and the development of portable video technology, it should not be any surprise that BWCs were quickly adopted in a low-research environment (Lum, Koper, Merola, Scherer, & Reioux, 2015). The first review of BWCs was conducted by White (2014), who discovered only five evaluation studies had been completed as of September 2013, even though almost a third of U.S. agencies had already adopted BWCs. In other words, agencies had already begun rapidly adopting BWCs without clear knowledge about whether the technology could deliver on the high expectations of them (i.e., to increase police accountability, reduce the use of force, reduce disparity, and improve community relationships). A low-information environment is not unusual in the world of police technology adoption. Most technologies are not only adopted without research knowledge but also continue to be adopted with very little growth in evaluation research about their effects. License plate readers, for example, are a case in point (see discussion in Lum & Koper, 2017: 111–124).

The importance of scientific inquiry (and not just of technical research) about police technologies like BWCs, however, cannot be overstated. Most importantly, if law enforcement—and ultimately, citizens—intend to invest heavily in BWCs, then BWCs should do what we expect them to do. Unfortunately, researchers have consistently found that police technology may not lead to the outcomes sought, and often it has unintended consequences for police officers, their organizations, and citizens (Chan, Brereton, Legosz, & Doran, 2001; Colton, 1980; Koper, Lum, Willis, Woods, & Hibdon, 2015; Lum, Hibdon, Cave, Koper, & Merola, 2011; Lum, Koper, & Willis, 2017; Manning, 2008; Orlikowski & Gash, 1994). The reason for this is that technology is often filtered through—and shaped by—human factors (e.g., officers' reactions to and uses of technology) as well as through an agency's organizational, procedural, and cultural ways (Lum et al., 2017; Manning, 2008; Orlikowski & Gash, 1994). Without the results of rigorous research and evaluation, law enforcement leaders are left to rely on best guesses, hunches, notions about "craft," and "group think" about the impact of technologies like BWCs (see discussion by Lum & Koper, 2017). Research knowledge about technologies, if minded, not only can moderate these forces, but also it can help law enforcement agencies anticipate unintended consequences, optimize their use of already acquired technologies, or decide whether to invest in a specific technology.

Fortunately, researchers have taken a major interest in studying BWCs in the last 5 years and have tried to keep up with its rapid adoption. For example, by November 2015, Lum et al. (2015) found that completed studies about BWCs had grown to more than a dozen, with 30+ additional studies underway. Most of the studies included in both White (2014) and Lum et al.'s reviews were focused on the impact that BWCs had on officer behavior as measured by complaints and their use of force, as well as on officer perceptions about BWCs. Maskaly et al. (2017), in a review of police and citizen outcomes more specifically, found 21 empirical studies as of January 2017, which led them to conclude that

police are generally receptive to BWCs and that the cameras can exert positive effects on police behavior. Our current review, which includes all empirical studies found or accepted for publication through June 2018, consists of 70 published or publicly available studies of BWCs.[2] Additionally, many of these studies are rigorous outcome evaluations, which are unusual in police technology research.

Here we review, analyze, and comment on this current state of empirical research in the context of this significant era of policing in which we find ourselves. To be as inclusive as possible, we searched all relevant library and research databases available[3] for publicly available reports and articles (whether published by a journal, press, organization, or the authors themselves on the Internet, or in thesis or dissertation form). We used multiple keywords (and their variants) in these searches (i.e., body-worn cameras, body worn video, body cameras, officer video, body cams, police, and video) and included any study or article that included empirical analysis (whether qualitative or quantitative). Additionally, since 2015, we have been collecting information from ongoing research projects through criminal justice conferences and symposia, grant awards from both government and nongovernment sources, and from colleagues in the field, which helped to identify studies that did not initially emerge in our database search.

Our definition of "empirical research" is broad and inclusive, and it consists of any study in which either qualitative or quantitative data were collected to study BWCs. For example, we did not limit ourselves to only outcome evaluations of BWCs. A large proportion of BWC research is not evaluative, but descriptive survey research that can lend important insights into perceptions of BWCs and their use. We did exclude theoretical, hypothetical, opinion/editorial, or legal writings in which no systematic scientific study or data collection was attempted. Because of the breadth of this research, we emphasize that we do not present a systematic meta-analysis or meta-aggregation of BWC research here.[4] The empirical research on BWCs employs a variety of methods and perspectives, and our intention in this article is to draw out tendencies and hypotheses from this research for policy as well as for scholarly audiences. Thus, we not only report on the findings of this evidence-base but also highlight broader debates and discussions that are provoked by the research that law enforcement agencies and researchers should consider.

2 | TRENDS OF BWC RESEARCH

In total, we found approximately 70 publicly available empirical research articles[5] as of June 2018 in which research findings related to BWCs and the police were reported. We denote these articles in our reference section with an asterisk (*). This body of research reflects, approximately, a 14-fold increase in research since White's (2014) review, a 5-fold increase since Lum et al.'s (2015) assessment, and more than a 3-fold increase since Maskaly et al.'s (2017) review. Furthermore, we found at least 111 substudies of various outcomes within these 70 publications. More than one third of the studies were conducted by researchers at Arizona State University (15 of the 70 studies) or by Barak Ariel and his colleagues (12 of the 70 studies), but the remainder were carried out by numerous researchers from many different institutions. The BWC research also took place in diverse locations. For example, although 52 (74%) of these studies were conducted in U.S. jurisdictions, 14 (20%) were implemented outside of the United States, and 4 (7%) were multisite trials conducted across multiple countries. At least a quarter of the studies were carried out in cities and towns with populations smaller than 250,000 people. Finally, the BWC research we found did not just appear in peer-reviewed journals; a third of the studies are grant reports, unpublished manuscripts, or technical reports by law enforcement agencies.

Building on Lum et al.'s (2015) typology of BWC studies, we grouped these studies into six areas of research shown in Figure 1 (studies may fall into multiple categories). These categories are as
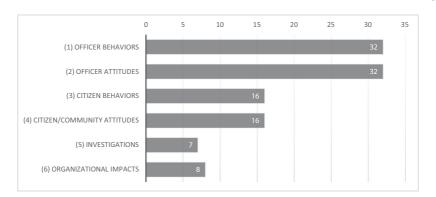
FIGURE 1   Frequency of body-worn camera studies by general outcome studied

follows: (1) the impact of BWCs on officer behavior, (2) officer attitudes about BWCs, (3) the impact of BWCs on citizen behavior, (4) citizen and community attitudes about BWCs, (5) the impact of BWCs on criminal investigations, and (6) the impact of BWCs on law enforcement organizations. As Figure 1 shows, the most common types of research on BWCs focus on how BWCs impact officer behaviors as well as on officer attitudes and perceptions about BWCs.

Table 1 lists the more specific subcategories of topics initially presented by Lum et al. (2015: Table 2, 14–17) and each study that corresponds with that subarea. Studies are listed multiple times if multiple outcomes or aspects of BWCs were examined. Because so few studies have been conducted on the impact of BWCs on police organizations, we collapse Lum et al.'s multiple categories in that area into a single grouping. We now present a narrative review of this research across these six categories.

3 | IMPACT OF BODY-WORN CAMERAS ON OFFICER BEHAVIOR

One of the greatest expectations of BWCs by citizens and perhaps by police supervisors and leaders is that BWCs can change police officer behavior, and a sizeable portion of BWC research—at least 32 studies—has been focused on officer behavior.[6] For example, BWCs are theorized to have a deterrent effect on excessive use of force and unconstitutional actions by officers (see Ariel, Farrar, & Sutherland, 2015, and Ariel et al., 2017, for extensive discussions of the application of deterrence and self-awareness theories to BWCs). BWCs are also believed to moderate possible negative interactions (i.e., rudeness and disrespect) that officers may have with citizens (either initiated by an officer or citizen). Researchers in this area primarily have measured this impact by examining complaints made against officers as well as reports of officers' use of force.[7] In some studies, however, scholars have also examined the impact that BWCs have on other types of officer behaviors such as the use of arrest and citations, or their proactive activities.

Methodologically, the research in this area has been rigorous. In 14 studies, scholars have used randomized controlled experiments to evaluate these effects, and in at least 10 more, they have used strong quasi-experiments or, in one case, systematic social observations. Although many of these studies comprise some amount of contamination, attrition, and design challenges, it is important to emphasize that the level of believability of these findings is fairly strong.

TABLE 1 Subareas of BWC studies with citations

1. Impact of BWCs on officer behavior	
1a. Impact on officer behavior as measured by complaints	Ariel (2016a); Ariel et al. (2015); Ariel et al. (2017); Barela (2017); Braga, Barao, et al. (2018); Braga, Sousa, et al. (2018); Edmonton Police Service (2015); Ellis et al. (2015); Goodall (2007); Goodison and Wilson (2017); Grossmith et al. (2015); Headley et al. (2017); Hedberg et al. (2016); Jennings et al. (2015); Katz et al. (2014); Mesa Police Department (2013); Mitchell et al. (2018); Peterson et al. (2018); Sutherland et al. (2017); Toronto Police Service (2016); White, Gaub, et al. (2018); Yokum et al. (2017)
1b. Impact on officer behavior as measured by use of force reports	Ariel (2016a); Ariel et al. (2015); Ariel et al. (2016a); Braga, Barao, et al. (2018); Braga, Sousa, et al. (2018); Edmonton Police Service (2015); Headley et al. (2017); Henstock and Ariel (2017); Jennings et al. (2015); Jennings et al. (2017); Peterson et al. (2018); Rowe et al. (2018); Sutherland et al. (2017); Toronto Police Service (2016); White, Gaub, et al. (2018); Yokum et al. (2017)
1c. Impact on officer discretion related to arrests or citations	Ariel (2016a); Braga, Sousa, et al. (2018); Goodall (2007); Grossmith et al. (2015); Headley et al. (2017); Hedberg et al. (2016); Katz et al. (2014); McClure et al. (2017); Peterson et al. (2018); Ready and Young (2015); Rowe et al. (2018); Toronto Police Service (2016); Wallace et al. (2018); Yokum et al. (2017)
1d. Impact on officer's proactive behaviors (i.e., problem solving, field interviews, stop and frisk, community policing, etc.	Grossmith et al. (2015); Headley et al. (2017); Peterson et al. (2018); Ready and Young (2015); Wallace et al. (2018); White, Todak, et al. (2018)
1e. Impact on officer-citizen interactions using other measures (e.g., observations)	Koen (2016); McCluskey et al. (2019); Rowe et al. (2018)
2. Officer attitudes about BWCs	Edmonton Police Service (2015); Ellis et al. (2015); Fouche (2014); Gaub et al. (2016); Gaub et al. (2018); Goetschel and Peha (2017); Goodall (2007); Gramaglia and Phillips (2017); Grossmith et al. (2015); Guerin et al. (2016); Headley et al. (2017); Huff et al. (2018); Hyatt et al. (2017); Jennings et al. (2014); Jennings et al. (2015); Katz et al. (2014); Koen (2016); Kyle and White (2017); Lawshe (2018); Makin (2016); McLean et al. (2015); Newell and Greidanus (2017); Obasi (2017); Owens and Finn (2018); Pelfrey and Keener (2016); Ready and Young (2015); Rowe et al. (2018); Smykla et al. (2015); Tankebe and Ariel (2016); Toronto Police Service (2016); White, Todak, et al. (2018); Young and Ready (2015)
3. Impact of BWCs on citizen behavior	
3a. Impact on an individual's compliance with police	Ariel et al. (2016b); Ariel et al. (2018); Barela (2017); Grossmith et al. (2015); Headley et al. (2017); Hedberg et al. (2016); Katz et al. (2014); McCluskey et al. (2019); Toronto Police Service (2016); White et al. (2017); White, Gaub, et al. (2018)
3b. Impact on citizen's (victim or witness) willingness to call the police	Ariel (2016b); Edmonton Police Service (2015); Toronto Police Service (2016)
3c. Impact on citizen's willingness to cooperate in investigations	Edmonton Police Service (2015); Grossmith et al. (2015); Toronto Police Service (2016)
3d. Impact on crime and disorder when officer is present (deterrence)	Ariel (2016b); Ellis et al. (2015); Goodall (2007); ODS Consulting (2011)

(Continues)

TABLE 1 (Continued)

4. Impact of BWCs on citizen and community attitudes about police or cameras	
4a. Impact on citizen satisfaction with specific officer encounters	Goodison and Wilson (2017); McClure et al. (2017); Toronto Police Service (2016); White et al. (2017)
4b. Impact on citizen satisfaction with police more broadly (confidence, legitimacy, trust) and general support for BWCs	Crow et al. (2017); Culhane et al. (2016); Ellis et al. (2015); Goodison and Wilson (2017); Kerrison et al. (2018); Owens and Finn (2018); Plumlee (2018); Sousa et al. (2018); Taylor et al. (2017); Todak et al. (2018); Toronto Police Service (2016); White et al. (2017)
4c. Impact on attitudes related to privacy and willingness to talk to police	Crow et al. (2017); Edmonton Police Service (2015); Grossmith et al. (2015); Taylor et al. (2017); Toronto Police Service (2016)
4d. Impact on fear of crime and safety	Goodall (2007); Toronto Police Service (2016); White et al. (2017)
5. Impact of BWCs on criminal investigations, such as crime resolution, intelligence gathering, or court proceedings and outcomes	Ellis et al. (2015); Goodall (2007); Merola et al. (2016)[a]; Morrow et al. (2016; see also Katz et al., 2014); ODS Consulting (2011); Owens et al. (2014); Yokum et al. (2017)
6. Impact of BWCs on police organizations (training systems, policies, accountability, supervision, management, budgets, resources)	Adams and Mastracci (2018); Braga, Sousa, et al. (2018); Culhane et al. (2016); Edmonton Police Service (2015); Koen (2016); Nowacki and Willits (2018)[b]; Phelps et al. (2018); Toronto Police Service (2016);

[a]Merola et al.'s (2016) study is a national survey of prosecutor viewpoints about BWCs. It is included in this review because of its empirical relevance to this area.

[b]Nowacki and Willits (2018) examined organizational characteristics associated with adoption of BWCs (not the impact of BWCs on police organizations).

3.1 | Impact of BWCs on complaints

Although we discovered two early empirical studies of BWCs (Goodall, 2007; ODS Consulting, 2011), the two earliest outcome evaluations of the impact of cameras on officer behavior were the 2012 Rialto (California) Police Department experiment, carried out by then-Chief William (Tony) Farrar in collaboration with Barak Ariel at the University of Cambridge (see initially Farrar, 2012; Farrar & Ariel, 2013; then subsequently Ariel, Farrar, & Sutherland, 2015),[8] and the Mesa Police Department (2013) quasi-experiment, analyzed by researchers at Arizona State University. Since the Rialto and Mesa studies, evaluation research on the impact that BWCs have on officer behavior has grown. In total, in 22 of the 32 studies in this area, scholars have used complaints against officers to measure BWC impact on officer behavior (see Table 1:1a), and in at least 18, they have employed experimental or quasi-experimental designs to test such effects between groups of officers, beats, or shifts with and without BWCs. In these studies, researchers have mostly found that officers wearing BWCs receive fewer reported complaints than do those that are not wearing the cameras (see Ariel, 2016a [for complaints related to use of force but not to misconduct]; Ariel et al., 2017; Braga, Barao, McDevitt, & Zimmerman, 2018; Braga, Sousa, et al., 2018; Ellis, Jenkins, & Smith, 2015; Goodall, 2007; Goodison & Wilson, 2017; Grossmith et al., 2015; Hedberg, Katz, & Choate, 2016; Jennings, Lynch, & Fridell, 2015; Katz, Choate, Ready, & Nuño, 2014; Mesa Police Department, 2013; Peterson, Yu, La Vigne, & Lawrence, 2018; Sutherland, Ariel, Farrar, & De Anda, 2017). The exceptions to this finding are

in the minority. Nonsignificant impacts of BWCs on complaints against officers were discovered by Ariel et al. (2015); Edmonton Police Service (2015); Headley, Guerette, and Shariati (2017); Toronto Police Service (2016, whose results were unclear); White, Gaub, and Todak (2018, although noting a downward trend in complaints for the treatment group); and Yokum, Ravishankar, and Coppock (2017).

The more important concern for police agencies and researchers is *why* reports of complaints decline when officers wear BWCs. Perhaps the effect may be a result of a real change in officer behavior given that they know they are being recorded (Ariel et al., 2017), leading to citizens complaining less about them. The research findings on officer perceptions of BWCs in the next section, however, reveal a more complex story. Officers themselves believe that BWCs reduce specific types of complaints—frivolous, malicious, or unfounded—because citizens now realize they are being recorded. Thus, the decline in complaints seen in experimental and quasi-experimental studies may indicate a reporting effect or a change in citizen reporting behavior rather than an effect on officer behavior or even on the quality of police–citizen interactions (which may remain unaffected if the reporting hypothesis holds true). Another possibility is that officers may be informally negotiating complaints by showing potential complainants or supervisors video footage of the encounter, which may discourage citizens from pursuing complaints for reasons unrelated to whether the complaint is legitimate. Goodall (2007) and Koen (2016), for example, observed these types of exchanges.

The use of complaints as a measure of officer behavior or officer–citizen interaction could itself be problematic. Complaints are rare events relative to the large number of police–citizen interactions that occur daily. Complaints (like use of force reports) reflect the tail end of the distribution of police–citizen interactions. Other measurement approaches—such as systematic social observations, ethnographies, and even analysis of BWC footage itself—may provide further clues into the wider impacts of BWCs on everyday citizen–officer interactions. For example, McCluskey et al. (2019), through systematic social observations of officers in the Los Angeles Police Department, asserted that BWCs seem to have a direct impact on increasing the procedural justice experienced by citizens from officers. Whether changes in behavior improve police–citizen interactions may be a matter of perception, however. For example, in their ethnographic study, Rowe, Pearson, and Turner (2018) observed exchanges between officers and citizens becoming more "constrained and scripted" and "stilted and artificial" (p. 2018: 88).

3.2 | Impact of BWCs on use of force

In addition to complaints as a measure of officer behavior, in 16 studies in this area, researchers examined the impact of BWCs on officers' reported uses of force (see Table 1:1b). As mentioned, concerns about police accountability with their use of force, especially deadly force and among racial and ethnic minorities, was a primary impetus behind the push for police to be outfitted with BWCs. Like those examining complaints, many of these studies have been carried out using rigorous evaluation methods. The findings from this area of research are more equivocal, however.

For example, the findings from four experimental studies (Ariel et al., 2015; Braga, Sousa, et al., 2018; Henstock & Ariel, 2017; Jennings et al., 2015) and one quasi-experimental study (Jennings, Fridell, Lynch, Jetelina, & Reingle Gonzalez, 2017) show that officers wearing cameras use force less than do officers not wearing cameras. Additionally, in a follow-up to the original Rialto study conducted by Sutherland et al. (2017), the authors found sustained effects of BWCs on lowering use of force over time. The results of another four randomized controlled trials and an additional four quasi-experimental studies, however, show no statistically significant differences in the use of force

by officers wearing cameras compared with their non-BWC counterparts (Ariel, 2016a; Braga, Barao, et al., 2018; Edmonton Police Service, 2015; Headley et al., 2017; Peterson et al., 2018; Toronto Police Service, 2016; White, Gaub, et al., 2018; Yokum et al., 2017). The direction of the effects of these nonsignificant findings was not consistent across studies, and the findings have been equivocal in both U.S. and non-U.S. studies.[9]

Ariel et al. (2016a) recently provided one nuanced explanation to these mixed findings. They discovered that when officers have more discretion in turning on their cameras, they tend to exhibit greater uses of force than officers who have less discretion regarding their BWCs. In most of the use-of-force studies reviewed earlier, researchers did not track activation and therefore it was not clear to what extent Ariel et al.'s nuance is salient. If activation is related to use of force in these ways, however, consistently training, reinforcing, and supervising the implementation of mandatory policies may be needed to secure a positive effect of BWCs on reported uses of force (see generally White, Todak, et al., 2018; see also specific discussions on activation by Headley et al., 2017, and Roy, 2014 [later reported as Young & Ready, 2018]).

In total, these study findings do not reveal a definitive conclusion that BWCs can reduce officers' use of force. Furthermore, as with official complaints, reports of uses of excessive force are infrequent relative to more minor forms of force regularly used (i.e., handcuffing or restraining). Agencies also have various thresholds and accountability mechanisms for when a use-of-force report must be written, which could lead to variations in findings across sites. As with complaints, this may challenge whether use-of-force reports are the best measure of the impact of BWCs on police officer behavior.

3.3 | Impact of BWCs on arrest and citation behaviors

In addition to complaints and use of force, researchers have examined whether BWCs change the arrest and citation behavior of the police. For example, the wearing of BWCs might increase the use of arrests or citations if officers feel their discretion is limited or monitored (see discussions in Ariel et al., 2017; Koen, 2016; Rowe et al., 2018). Fourteen studies have been aimed at examining the impact of BWCs on officer arrest and citation behavior (see Table 1:1c). In total, the findings from these studies show no clear pattern of outcomes related to arrests and citations. For example, Ready and Young (2015) found that officers wearing BWCs made fewer arrests but gave more citations. Ariel (2016a) and McClure et al. (2017) also found that BWC-wearing officers made fewer arrests. Braga, Sousa, et al. (2018) and Katz et al. (2014), however, discovered that arrests increase for BWC-wearing officers compared with non-BWC officers, as does the Toronto Police Service (2016). Finally, neither Grossmith et al. (2015) nor Wallace, White, Gaub, and Todak (2018) found any significant impact from BWCs on arrests stemming from violent crimes or calls for service, respectively. These mixed findings occur within both randomized controlled experiments as well as quasi-experimental research. In their ethnographic research, Rowe et al. (2018) reported officers with BWCs feeling constrained in their discretion to not arrest, especially when there is evidence of an assault (i.e., they felt that had to carry out the arrest).

3.4 | Impact of BWCs on proactivity

Much less is known about the impact of BWCs on various types of police proactivity, which can encompass a wide range of activities when police are not responding to citizen-initiated calls for service. Proactivity can include activities such as problem-solving, stop-question-and-frisk, traffic enforcement, community policing and engagement efforts, directed patrol, or the use of misdemeanor

arrests to reduce disorder (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine [NAS], 2017). Some of these activities are controversial (for example, the use of stop-question-and-frisk), whereas others involve fewer enforcement actions (for example, community engagement strategies). Wallace et al. (2018) framed this discussion of the impact of BWCs on proactivity in terms of whether BWCs caused "de-policing" or "camera-induced passivity" of officers. Perhaps BWCs make officers more fearful of scrutiny, which leads them to "pull back" on engaging more proactively with the public. Because of the wide range of proactive activities, there are likely different opinions about whether the intent (or expectation) of BWCs should be to constrain police proactivity or whether the declines in proactivity would be considered positive or negative.

We found only six studies (three randomized experiments, two quasi-experiments, and one multivariate analysis) in which scholars empirically spoke to this question (Table 1:1d). In total, their results are not definitive. The findings of three studies seem to indicate that BWC-wearing officers may initiate more field encounters and contacts overall (Headley et al., 2017; Ready & Young, 2015; Wallace et al., 2018). Focusing specifically on stop-question-and-frisks, Ready and Young (2015) found that officers were less likely to carry out these searches when BWCs were worn, but Grossmith et al. (2015) found no such effect (neither Headley et al. nor Wallace et al. differentiate contacts from stop-and-frisks). Peterson et al. (2018) found no significant impact of BWCs on the levels of traffic stops by officers (also discovered by Headley et al., 2017). Peterson et al. also reported that for both officers with and without cameras, "subject stops" declined over time, and they declined significantly more for officers with cameras. White, Todak, et al. (2018) also found that BWC deployment did not have a significant impact on officer levels of proactivity (as measured using officer-initiated calls for service).

The authors of these studies, in the context of the broader research on proactive police activities, emphasized an important point for researchers and law enforcement officials alike. The question for researchers to pursue that might be operationally helpful to law enforcement is not whether proactivity has overall increased or decreased but which specific types of proactivity have increased or decreased (and why). As the NAS (2017) report indicated (see also reviews by Braga, Welsh, & Schnell, 2015; Lum & Koper, 2017; Lum & Nagin, 2017), some proactive activities can be effective in reducing crime without causing community backlash; some can be effective in improving citizen satisfaction (although not reducing crime); and some can be ineffective and degrade police–citizen relationships. Additionally, some types of proactivity may be controversial but also effective if used in targeted, constitutional, and very specific ways (such as stop-question-and-frisk or focused deterrence). An important question for researchers to tackle is how BWCs impact these different types of proactivity, in light of what we know about the differential impacts of various types of proactive activities.

3.5 | Impact of BWCs on disparity

One of the most important questions about BWCs that has yet to be tackled by any empirical research is whether BWCs have any impact on disparate outcomes in policing and, relatedly, whether BWCs impact 4th Amendment compliance by officers (Lum et al., 2015). The hypothesized impacts of BWCs in increasing the fairness and constitutionality of officer actions were significant reasons behind the push for, and acquisition of, BWCs in law enforcement. Yet, we know nothing about these effects beyond speculation. More generally, we do not know much about the impact that any policing intervention (e.g., specialized training, accountability adjustments, supervisory strategies, or technological advances) has on criminal justice disparity. Such research should be a priority for policing scholars.

4 | OFFICERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD BODY-WORN CAMERAS

One of the largest bodies of research on BWCs (at least 32 studies of all published or publicly available studies) has been focused on examining officer attitudes about cameras (Table 1:2). Agencies have been open to this type of research as leaders have been concerned about how BWCs might be perceived (and implemented) by their officers. Research in this area has been descriptive and focused on officer perceptions about BWCs or on their specific uses within agencies. Some of the studies have taken place within broader experimental studies described previously, whereas others have been stand-alone surveys conducted of sworn personnel within or across jurisdictions.

The methodological rigor of these surveys has varied, and we leave a methodological analysis of this research area to a forthcoming systematic review (see Endnote 6). To summarize, these studies—which most often have occurred within a single agency—have varied in terms of how representative their samples are to the population of officers in that agency, the validity of the questions used, the issues raised, and whether changes or variations in perceptions are measured either before or after cameras are acquired or between officer groups. Some studies have missing information that might help to assess the strength of the survey methodology, such as statistical testing comparing characteristics of respondents with nonrespondents or with the agency population more generally. Sometimes response rates have been less than 50%, whereas other scholars have used samples of convenience.

Despite methodological challenges, the findings from this body of work illuminate some themes for law enforcement and provoke hypotheses for further testing for researchers. For example, one consistent theme that has been reported in many of these studies is that once officers start using cameras, they feel positive (or at least neutral) about BWCs, or they become more positive about them over time (see, e.g., Ellis et al., 2015; Fouche, 2014; Gaub, Todak, & White, 2018; Grossmith et al., 2015; Jennings, Fridell, & Lynch, 2014; Jennings et al., 2015; Koen, 2016; McLean, Wolfe, Chrusciel, & Kaminski, 2015; Smykla et al., 2015; Toronto Police Service, 2016; White, Todak, et al., 2018). Additionally, Young and Ready (2015) have found that officer receptivity to BWCs may also be influenced by participating in shared events with other officers who are wearing BWCs. Overall, the most likely reason for the positive (or improved) feelings for BWCs is that officers see BWCs as protecting themselves from the public, in particular, from frivolous complaints or one-sided stories about officer conduct (Fouche, 2014; Goetschel & Peha, 2017; Koen, 2016; McLean et al., 2015; Owens & Finn, 2018; Pelfrey & Keener, 2016). Granted, some survey results have indicated that some officers believe BWCs would improve their behavior or performance (see Edmonton Police Service, 2015; Gramaglia & Phillips, 2017; Jennings et al., 2014, 2015; Makin, 2016; McLean et al., 2015; Tankebe & Ariel, 2016; White, Todak et al., 2018). In contrary studies, however, officers have been found to be skeptical of such an effect (Pelfrey & Keener, 2016), especially after experiencing BWCs (Headley et al., 2017).

Another value that officers see in BWCs is in improving the quality and availability of evidence they might need to charge individuals with crimes (Gaub et al., 2018; Goodall, 2007; Jennings et al., 2015; Katz et al., 2014; Pelfrey & Keener, 2016; White, Todak, et al., 2018).[10] Some officers also use BWC footage to help them write reports that are more consistent with the interactions they had with citizens, rather than rely on their memory.

The positive perceptions of BWCs discovered in these surveys are in some ways surprising. The notion that officers grow increasingly positive about a technology intended to increase their accountability in light of negative circumstances could be construed as indicative of a significant incongruence between citizen and police perceptions and expectations about this technology. Officers may perceive that BWCs do not necessarily increase their accountability or change their behavior but

rather, the accountability of citizens with regard to frivolous complaints or citizen behavior (see a more general discussion of police and video by Sandhu, 2017, who shows similar findings). This point was also indirectly confirmed by Merola, Lum, Koper, and Scherer (2016) who found that most BWC footage used by prosecutors was not used to prosecute police misconduct but citizen misconduct. Put simply, officers and citizens both seem to believe that BWCs can protect them from each other. These conflicting expectations may reflect a larger dysfunction within police–citizen relationships that BWCs may illuminate but not remedy.

The collective survey results also reveal important nuances that illustrate a more complicated picture of the receptivity of BWCs by officers. For example, the study findings that do not paint a positive outlook of BWCs by officers often tie negative reactions to specific concerns. As an example, Katz et al. (2014) discovered that resistance to BWCs was partially connected to technical difficulties (i.e., the long time it took to download data) or to how it impacted their work or workload (i.e., lengthening the time to complete reports), a finding consistent with other police technology literature (see review in Koper et al., 2015). Both the officers in Katz et al.'s and in Newell and Greidanus's (2018) surveys complained that BWC footage might be used against them and that it might make officers more hesitant in their duties (see also Edmonton Police Service, 2015; McLean et al., 2015). Gaub, Choate, Todak, Katz, and White (2016) reported significant variation across different departments regarding officer perceptions of BWCs. Although over time each agency's officers reported improved perceptions of BWCs, they also became more cynical about the impact that BWCs would have on citizens (also found by Headley et al., 2017, as well as by White, Todak, et al., 2018). Officers also raised concerns in these surveys about cameras restricting their discretion or reducing their engagement in the community.

Additionally, broader organizational and social network factors may be at play in officer receptivity to BWCs, although this evidence is far from conclusive. For example, Kyle and White (2017) found that attitudes toward BWCs may be conditioned by several factors—most interestingly, officer perceptions of organizational justice. In other words, the greater the level of organizational justice that an officer perceived from his or her organization, the more positive view he or she had about BWCs. Relatedly, Tankebe and Ariel (2016) also found that officers who were more committed to their agencies were less cynical about cameras and less resistant to BWCs. In a replication of Kyle and White (2017) in a different agency, however, Lawshe (2018) did not find that perceptions of organizational justice impacted officers' views of BWCs. Similarly, Huff, Katz, and Webb (2018) found no relationship between perceptions of organizational justice and receptivity or resistance to wearing BWCs. Nor was receptivity to BWCs related to an officer's past levels of self-initiated activity, use of force incidents, or citizen complaints.

5 | IMPACT OF BODY-WORN CAMERAS ON CITIZEN BEHAVIOR

At least 16 studies were aimed at examining the impact of BWCs on citizen behavior (two were focused on citizens' perceptions of their behavior but are included). Although much less examined than the impact of BWCs on officer behavior, the researchers behind these studies tried to measure how BWCs impact citizen compliance to police commands or their physical response to police actions, which were often measured by reports of resisting arrest or assaults on officers. Within this area, we also discuss studies that were focused on the willingness of victims or witnesses to call the police and to cooperate in criminal investigations. Furthermore, we consider studies in which scholars tried to assess whether BWCs deter criminal and disorderly conduct among citizens more generally.

5.1 | Impact of BWCs on citizen compliance with police

In 11 of these studies, researchers investigated the impact of BWCs on an individual's compliance with police. In two studies, they used multisite randomized controlled experimental designs to test this impact (Ariel et al., 2016b, 2018), in one they used an experiment in a single agency (White, Gaub, et al., 2018), in six they used quasi-experimental designs of varying quality (Grossmith et al., 2015; Headley et al., 2017; Hedberg et al., 2016; Katz et al., 2014; Toronto Police Service, 2016; White, Todak, & Gaub, 2017), in one they used a systematic social observation study (McCluskey et al., 2019), and in one researchers used a weak pre- and postdesign (Barela, 2017). These researchers applied measures such as assaults on officers, reports of resisting arrest, or reported officer injuries (see Table 1:3a).

The results of these studies vary. The findings from three studies seem to show that wearing BWCs increases assaults on officers (Ariel et al., 2016b, 2018 [although these assaults did not always lead to injury]; Toronto Police Service, 2016). Ariel et al. (2018) try to explain this "paradoxical" effect: Overall assaults went down in the agencies examined, yet officers wearing cameras had higher odds of being assaulted than did their control counterparts (not wearing BWCs). They hypothesized that once officers become aware of being observed by BWCs, this inhibits their ability to function in ways that avoid being assaulted in high-stress situations. In six studies, however, scholars found no significant differences between officers with and without BWCs in terms of assaults upon them or reports of resisting arrest (Grossmith et al., 2015; Headley et al., 2017; Hedberg et al., 2016; Katz et al., 2014; White et al., 2017; White, Gaub, et al., 2018). Indeed, White et al. (2017) were skeptical of a "civilizing effect" of BWCs on citizen behavior.

5.2 | Impact of BWCs on citizen willingness to call and cooperate with the police

Aside from compliance by individuals who encounter the police, we know much less about other ways that BWCs may impact citizen behavior. For example, one concern raised about BWCs is that they may reduce people's willingness to call the police due to worries about personal privacy (Lum et al., 2015). This hypothesis continues to remain untested (see Table 1:3b, 3c). Ariel (2016b) indirectly examined this question, finding that people within low-crime places seem *more* willing to call police when the police have BWCs, but this effect was not found in high-crime places (although there was no evidence that citizens were aware that BWCs were being used in both types of areas).

Furthermore, in only one study—Grossmith et al. (2015)—did researchers examine whether BWCs impact citizens' willingness to cooperate in criminal investigations using proxy measures for cooperation. They found no differences in these proxy measures between cases handled by officers with and without BWCs. Understanding willingness both to call the police for help and to cooperate with investigations seems urgent today for some agencies who have experienced declines in their detection and clearance rates of serious violence. If victim and witness cooperation is an important factor in this decline, then understanding whether BWCs will further negatively impact cooperation for agencies that are struggling to solve cases will be an important consideration for agencies trying to improve case clearance.

In two studies, scholars use surveys to hypothesize about these effects. We include these studies in Table 1:3c, but we caution the reader about drawing causal inferences from them. For example, in the Toronto Police Service (2016) study, scholars found, when interviewing individuals retroactively, that they did not feel BWCs would impact their willingness to talk to the police as a victim, although they

might be less comfortable in an investigative or enforcement situation. The Edmonton Police Service (2015) also found from a public survey that people may be willing to provide incident information to an officer wearing a BWC, but they may not be willing to have an informal chat with the police. In both of these studies, scholars did not gauge whether BWCs have these effects in practice (although in the Toronto study, they did try to gauge this retroactively). What is needed, for example, is a study aimed at comparing areas and officers with and without BWCs and the levels of 911 calls for service over time, or a test in which police dispatchers ask individuals when they call whether they would like officers to respond with or without BWCs activated. Studies focused on examining BWC impacts on investigations might prove harder to design.

5.3 | Impact of BWCs on citizen crime and disorder

Finally, in four studies, scholars examined the impact of BWCs on crime and disorder more generally, which could be interpreted as an indirect measure of the influence of BWCs on citizen behavior. In three studies in the United Kingdom, researchers hypothesized that visible BWCs may reduce antisocial behavior or other crimes when officers with cameras are present (Ellis et al., 2015; Goodall, 2007; ODS Consulting, 2011). Small declines in crime and disorder after BWCs were seen, but these studies employed weak designs. Furthermore, it is not clear whether or why BWCs would create additional deterrent effects beyond those of officer presence. In stronger quasi-experimental study, Ariel (2016b) reported no general deterrent effects of BWCs on crime.

6 | IMPACT OF BODY-WORN CAMERAS ON CITIZEN AND COMMUNITY ATTITUDES ABOUT THE POLICE OR THE CAMERAS

We located 16 studies in which researchers assessed citizen and community attitudes about BWCs or how BWCs might impact citizen and community attitudes about the police. These studies were aimed at examining general support for BWCs by citizens and communities or citizen satisfaction with specific encounters with officers wearing cameras.

6.1 | General support for BWCs by citizens

First, many study findings (as well as widespread media coverage) indicate that citizens have supported police agencies acquiring BWCs and have high expectations for them with regard to making the police more accountable and increasing citizen confidence in the police (see Table 1:4b). This support also extends to those most likely to encounter BWCs—detained suspects of crime (Taylor, Lee, Willis, & Gannoni, 2017) as well as to numerous stakeholders (i.e., lawyers, city council members, business owners, and activists) who might be affected by police use of BWCs (Todak et al., 2018).

Nevertheless, this support comes with important caveats. For example, Crow, Snyder, Crichlow, and Smykla (2017) found that community support can be contingent on a community member's background and concerns about the police. In their study, non-White and younger respondents saw fewer benefits of BWCs (see also a similar finding by Sousa, Miethe, & Sakiyama, 2018). Kerrison, Cobbina, and Bender (2018) in their interviews of Black residents in Baltimore City also found those residents were skeptical of the use of BWCs and video by the police to secure police accountability, despite interviewees' general support for more video footage. Furthermore, Crow et al. (2017) reported that those

who perceived the police to be more procedurally fair and had more positive perceptions of police performance saw more benefits of BWCs (also found by Merola & Lum, 2014, for license plate readers), whereas those with greater fear of crime saw fewer benefits (but see, in contrast, Plumlee, 2018[11]). The challenge is that those who see fewer benefits may be more likely to have an interaction with an officer wearing a camera. More broadly, this reflects a consistent finding in research: There are disparities between the legitimacy afforded to the police by various groups, which does not seem to be remedied by BWCs.

6.2 | Impact of BWCs on specific citizen–police encounters

Some studies were aimed at examining citizen satisfaction with specific encounters with officers wearing BWCs (Table 1:4a). We note that measures of citizen satisfaction could be approximate measures for officer behavior or even citizen behavior or feelings in response to seeing a camera. Here, the findings are less optimistic. For example, Goodison and Wilson (2017), in their randomized controlled experiment, found no significant differences in citizens' perceptions of police legitimacy, satisfaction with the interaction, or views of police professionalism between those who interacted with officers wearing or not wearing BWCs. These findings suggest that citizens' satisfaction and perceptions are likely conditioned by officers' actions and how they treat and speak to people, not just whether they are wearing BWCs, which in this case does not seem to have changed officers' behaviors. (This is somewhat contrary to the findings of McCluskey et al., 2019, discussed earlier). Interestingly, Goodison and Wilson suggested that their combined findings of a reduction in citizen complaints against officers wearing cameras but no effect on citizen perceptions may indicate a weak relationship between measures of complaints and perceptions of police encounters.

Related to this issue is whether citizens even realize an officer is wearing a camera. Just as officer self-awareness may be affected by BWCs, so too might that of citizens, but this would require citizens to know that they are being filmed (which could have positive or negative effects as discussed later in this article). McClure et al. (2017) found that many citizens who interact with police cannot remember whether officers were wearing BWCs (also discovered by White et al., 2017). This issue is further confounded by additional interventions that officers with BWC are using to improve citizen satisfaction with a specific encounter. For example, McClure et al. reported that officers' use of procedural justice scripts, rather than their wearing of BWCs, may be what creates greater satisfaction in citizens' interactions with police officers (as also hinted at by Goodison & Wilson, 2017). This may also be the case in Mitchell et al.'s (2018) study of traffic officers and complaints; all officers assigned to BWCs were given procedural justice scripts to relay to citizens stopped, which may be what caused the decline in complaints those officers received.

6.3 | Impact of BWCs on attitudes regarding privacy or fear

The findings regarding citizen privacy concerns about BWCs are similarly unclear. Crow et al. (2017), Grossmith et al. (2015), and Toronto Police Service (2016) all found that survey respondents are generally unconcerned about privacy (although the respondents in the Toronto study also said they might be less likely to chat informally with officers wearing BWCs). The Edmonton Police Service (2015) discovered that citizens were concerned about their privacy when asked in a survey but less concerned when confronted with BWCs at checkpoints. The arrestees of Taylor et al.'s (2017) study had disagreements about whether police should be able to record people, raising concerns about what the police would do with videos that were captured.

Often juxtaposed against privacy concerns are concerns about fear. White et al. (2017), for example, reported that most citizens that knew they were being recorded expressed strong agreement that BWCs made them feel safer and more confident in the police. Goodall (2007) also found that victims felt safer when officers had BWCs. As mentioned previously, though, these general feelings might mask variations across different race, ethnicity, age, or gender groups.

7 | IMPACT OF BODY-WORN CAMERAS ON CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS

Improving accountability for police misconduct has been a primary motivation for advocates of BWCs. Prosecutors, however, rarely bring cases against the police (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993), and it remains to be seen whether this will change much as a result of BWCs. In their study of the use of BWCs in the courts, Merola et al. (2016) found that nearly all (93.0%) responding prosecutors' offices in jurisdictions that use BWCs use them primarily to prosecute citizens. Not surprisingly, 80.0% of responding prosecutors in Merola et al.'s survey support BWC use by the police, and 63.0% feel cameras will assist prosecutors more than defense attorneys. Only 8.3% of the respondents who were located in jurisdictions in which BWCs were available had ever used BWC footage in a case brought against an officer. Therefore, it is not surprising that we currently do not know the impact of BWCs on the investigation of officer actions.

Instead, the seven[12] policing studies in this area were aimed at examining whether BWCs can assist with the investigation and resolution of crimes and whether BWCs can increase the rate of guilty pleas, charges filed, or convictions against suspects. As mentioned, officers perceive these to be benefits of BWCs. The findings from three studies in the United Kingdom (Ellis et al., 2015; Goodall, 2007; ODS Consulting, 2011) revealed that BWCs may increase detection and clearance of criminal investigations, as well as the rate of guilty pleas. Conclusions from these studies should be taken cautiously, however, given the weaknesses in their research designs. Nevertheless, the findings from stronger studies also reveal that BWCs have investigative benefits. Owens, Mann, and Mckenna (2014), using an experimental design, found that issuing officers BWCs could increase the proportion of detections that resulted in a criminal charge for domestic violence incidents (although they were unable to determine the impact of BWCs on guilty pleas and sentencing). Morrow, Katz, and Choate, in their recent study on intimate partner violence (2016; see earlier Katz et al., 2014), found that BWC footage can make it easier for officers to pursue prosecution even without victim cooperation and that cases may be more likely to be charged or result in a guilty plea or verdict at trial.[13]

8 | BODY-WORN CAMERAS AND POLICE ORGANIZATIONS

A final area of research that has been the least examined is the impact that BWCs have on police organizations. In studies on police technologies, scholars have found that technologies often have unintended consequences on police organizations and may not deliver on their expectations (Chan et al., 2001; Koper et al., 2015; Lum et al., 2017; Manning, 2008). For example, proponents of BWCs have high expectations of them for police organizations, believing that they can improve training, tighten accountability structures and disciplinary systems and practices, or sharpen supervisory practices. But skeptics argue that BWCs place undue financial burdens on agencies with regard to maintaining the technology and hiring personnel to process videos. Some survey research findings indicate that officers fear that BWCs may further damage their relationships with supervisors and command staff or create a "robotic" culture among officers.

At the time of this review, the actual—as opposed to the perceived—effects of BWCs on law enforcement organizations were still not well understood. In Table 1:6, we highlight some studies that serve as starting points for these conversations. For example, in terms of whether BWCs can impact police training, Phelps, Strype, Le Bellu, Lahlou, and Aandal (2018), in their quasi-experimental study using BWCs for replay and decision-reflection, found little difference between groups using BWCs and those not using BWCs in terms of police identity, reflective thinking, peer learning, or attitudes toward training. They did find, however, that officers who trained with BWCs were more likely than a non-BWC control group to say that they had identified mistakes during their training, and to recall more instances of learning and reflection. Much more research is needed to understand whether BWC footage can help officers either in-field or academy training to learn and retain concepts and skills better, and whether that learning then has effects on their behavior (a question for training more generally). Koen (2016) found modest evidence that BWCs could be used for training in his study of a small agency, and BWCs were also found to be used for training by the Toronto Police Service (2016). Nonetheless, it was not clear whether BWCs had been successfully (i.e., consistently, systematically, or mandatorily) incorporated into training in either of these studies, or whether such training with BWCs affected officers' behaviors as a result (Koen, Willis, & Mastrofski, 2018). Finally, we also do not know to what extent BWCs are currently being used for training.

In regard to workload and costs, the Toronto Police Service (2016) found officers with BWCs had an increased number of arrests but a decline in discretionary warnings, the former requiring more work than the latter. At the same time, they also found that the time it took for an agency to investigate a complaint against an officer declined for officers wearing BWCs, implying cost-savings. Similar cost–benefits were also reported by Braga, Coldren, Sousa, Rodriuez, and Alper (2017),[14] who estimated that the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department could potentially garner a net annual savings of around $4 million per year in costs associated with investigating complaints. We do not know, however, the impact that BWCs have on disciplinary and accountability systems more generally, such as on processes related to officer misconduct or officer-involved shootings, all of which have implications for agency costs.

Related to workload is how BWCs might impact officer burnout, an issue specifically examined by Adams and Mastracci (2018). They reported that officer burnout is greater for officers who wear BWCs, and that cameras can reduce officers' perceptions of how much their organizations support them. Nevertheless, positive perceptions of organizational support can mitigate burnout potentially caused by BWCs.

Perhaps more important to point out is that technologies often do not reform organizations insomuch as organizations shape (or inhibit) the use of the technology (Lum et al., 2017; Manning, 2008). Both citizens and police leaders might expect BWCs to strengthen the accountability infrastructure in policing (i.e., procedures for complaints and discipline; supervision, mentorship, and oversight; or recording and accounting of actions). The introduction of BWCs, however, may not achieve this goal if the existing accountability mechanisms in the agency are weak. For example, mentorship and supervision by first-line supervisors of line officers are important components of a healthy accountability structure that can foster a dynamic and transformational learning environment. Yet, if an agency does not value such mentorship or supervision, or does not have tangible ways to strengthen the officer and first-line supervisor relationship in these ways, then it is unlikely that BWCs can improve this organizational weakness. The inability of BWCs to impact accountability structures may already be seen in findings that cameras are primarily used by the police (and prosecutors) to increase the accountability of citizens, not officers. The unintended consequences frequently seen from technology are often the result of technology being filtered through the existing values, systems, and cultures of the organization, not hoped-for ones.

9 | DISCUSSION

Body-worn cameras are one of the most rapidly diffusing technologies in law enforcement. Unlike many other adopted technologies, researchers have taken a high level of interest in BWCs, and they have tried to keep up with the adoption through extensive research and analysis of both the impacts of BWCs and how BWCs are perceived by officers and communities alike. In total, we examined 70 empirical studies in this review in which scholars spoke to the impact of BWCs on officer and citizen behavior, officer and citizen attitudes, investigations, and police organizations.

What is the picture that seems to be emerging from this research? In general, officers seem supportive of BWCs, particularly as they gain more experience with them. Increasingly, officers value BWCs as a tool for their protection (against false or exaggerated accusations of wrongdoing), for evidence collection (which may be bolstered by prosecutors' support for BWCs), and for accurate reporting. It may be fair to say, however, that BWCs have not produced dramatic changes in police behavior, for better or worse. Although early findings indicated BWCs reduce the use of force by officers, more recent findings have been mixed, perhaps in part as a result of variation in agency policies regarding how the devices should be used. A more encouraging finding is that BWCs seem to reduce complaints against officers. The question remains, then, as to whether and to what degree these changes reflect citizens' reporting behaviors or improvements in officers' behavior or their interactions with citizens. On a related note, it is not clear from available evidence that BWCs improve citizens' satisfaction with police encounters, as might be expected if BWCs were having substantial effects on police behavior. In sum, BWCs may curb some of the worst police behaviors but have little impact otherwise.

Similarly, fears of depolicing from the use of BWCs have not been realized. Arrests seem as likely to increase as to decrease with the use of BWCs, perhaps suggesting that adoption of the cameras leads to more formal and legalistic responses to citizens in some contexts. Otherwise, BWCs do not seem to have discouraged most proactive field contacts or officer-initiated activities. But this issue is complex; citizens may want some types of police proactivity to decline (for example, stop-question-and-frisks or misdemeanor arrests for recreational drug use) but may want other types of proactivity to increase (problem-solving, community engagement, targeted patrol in high crime places). From an evidence-based perspective, it would seem most appropriate to hope that BWCs do not cause police to stop carrying out proactive activities that can prevent and reduce crime and that do not create negative reactions from citizens. But some proactive activities might do both; therefore, expecting BWCs to resolve this challenge is overly optimistic.

For their part, citizens are also generally supportive of police using BWCs. Nonetheless, it is not clear that BWCs improve their views of police or their behaviors toward police. One exception is that BWCs may discourage citizens from filing complaints against police in some contexts (perhaps depending on the seriousness of the officer's misconduct), but this will not necessarily translate into citizens having more positive views of police. BWCs also might exacerbate an already challenged relationship between citizens and the police, especially if citizens expect cameras to be used to increase police accountability and transparency, but officers primarily use them to increase the accountability of citizens.

Overall, then, perhaps anticipated effects from BWCs have been overestimated. If true, this should not be surprising, given the mixed and modest effects that technologies often have more generally in policing (Chan et al., 2001; Koper et al., 2015). Several caveats are in order, however. Although the number of BWC studies is large overall, the number available to evaluate any particular outcome is still often small, and findings are thus subject to change. As the evidence base grows, the use of more sophisticated meta-analyses of results will also provide better estimates of average effect sizes and contextual factors associated with desired and undesired outcomes.

Furthermore, the research evidence is still lacking on many important questions. For example, will BWCs affect legality and disparity in police actions? Will they change citizens' willingness to report crime and cooperate in police investigations? Are there differential impacts of BWCs on different groups of people or officers? Perhaps most importantly, the effects of BWCs on police organizations are still unknown. If BWCs are to produce substantial changes in police behavior and performance, these changes are most likely to come through their effects on processes in police organizations, particularly those pertaining to training, supervision, and investigation of police misconduct. Determining how BWCs affect the processes and outcomes of internal police investigations is particularly central to assessing whether BWCs achieve the purpose that was arguably the main driver of their adoption (i.e., improving transparency and accountability in the investigation of serious police misconduct, particularly surrounding the use of deadly force). These changes will come slowly, if at all, and will require long-term attention from the field. Nevertheless, they may be the most consequential for police–community relations and police legitimacy in the long run.

In the meantime, agencies will almost certainly continue to adopt BWCs. Given the ubiquity of personal video and audio recording devices, more and more police agencies are likely to conclude that they need to have their own recording of events for police–citizen encounters that go bad. There is also likely to be a growing expectation among the public that adopting BWCs is a marker of a responsive, transparent, and legitimate police organization. This will put considerable technical and financial strains on police (and prosecutors) that will also need further attention in cost efficiency analysis. Nevertheless, the behavioral changes in the field may be modest and mixed, at least in the short run.

ENDNOTES

[1] See the Body-worn Camera Toolkit at the following URL: bja.gov/bwc/.

[2] In some cases, we did not include a study that was technically empirical but of poor methodological quality to be included. For example, this might include a survey of 10 individuals in which no sampling frame or design was provided.

[3] These included Criminal Justice Abstracts, National Criminal Justice Reference Service, ProQuest, Google Scholar, Social Science Citation Index, and all criminal justice-related databases available in the George Mason University library system.

[4] We have been contracted by the Campbell Collaboration to conduct systematic reviews (which will include meta-analyses) of the specific areas of BWC research discussed in this article. In that review, we will present deeper analysis of the various methods (and methodological challenges) of each article as well as of the context and location of each research study to examine how relationships between study design, location, timing, and methodological approach contribute to the findings of BWC research.

[5] This estimate is an approximation. In some studies, scholars pooled multiple analyses together. Other studies, which we list as distinct because they are published in different outlets with different outcomes, were conducted by the same authors and may have some overlap. Some later studies were peer-reviewed publications of portions of previous reports or unpublished documents. In these cases, we used the most recent, peer-reviewed article, except when an earlier report had findings that were not present in the later peer-reviewed article.

[6] We distinguish these studies from those that were aimed at examining officers' reflective perceptions of the impact of BWCs on their behavior, which are included in the next section.

[7] Michael White, Janne Gaub, and their colleagues have developed a handy online resource that summarizes studies in which the impact of BWCs on complaints and use of force has been examined. These tools are located at bwctta.com/resources/bwc-resources/impacts-bwcs-use-force-directory-outcomes and bwctta.com/resources/bwc-resources/impact-bwcs-citizen-complaints-directory-outcomes.

[8] This study was based on Farrar's master's thesis at Cambridge University in the United Kingdom, which we cite as Farrar, 2012; Farrar & Ariel, 2013. Further citations regarding this study, however, refer to the peer-reviewed article: Ariel et al. (2015).

[9] For example, in two non-U.S. studies, scholars found that BWCs were associated with declines in use of force (Ariel et al., 2016a; Henstock & Ariel, 2017), and in another two studies, they found nonsignificant effects (Edmonton Police Service, 2015; Toronto Police Service, 2016). Ariel et al. (2016a) showed both declines and increases in use of force, depending on the protocols followed.

[10] Todak, Gaub, and White's (2018) findings also seem to indicate that some of the external stakeholders that they interviewed also saw the evidentiary value of BWCs.

[11] Interestingly, Plumlee (2018), in his study of university students' perceptions of BWCs, found somewhat contrary findings to Crow et al. (2017). Plumlee found that those students who perceive *greater* inequity in minority-citizen and police officer relations (perhaps suggesting *less* procedural fairness) feel BWCs can be *more* beneficial. This finding, however, was also conditioned on the student's major; interestingly, criminal justice students were much less likely to see positive benefits of BWCs than were noncriminal justice majors.

[12] We include Merola et al.'s (2016) study in this category because of its empirical relevance to this area. Merola et al., however, conducted a nationwide survey of prosecutor offices and their perceptions about BWCs (with regard to investigations and other issues) and not a test of the effect of BWCs on investigations.

[13] Yokum et al. (2017) also examined the effects of BWCs on judicial outcomes. As this analysis lacked data to determine this outcome, however, we do not report those findings here.

[14] Braga, Sousa, et al.'s (2018) study is the peer-reviewed publication of the Braga et al. (2017) report, and it is used in this article. Nevertheless, only Braga et al. (2017) reported the cost–benefits analysis, which is why we cite to the non–peer-reviewed report here.

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AUTHORS' BIOGRAPHIES

Cynthia Lum is professor of criminology, law and society at George Mason University (GMU). She is also the director of GMU's Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy. Professor Lum's research interests including evidence-based policing and law enforcement organizations, crime prevention, and evaluation research. Her recent book, with Christopher Koper, is *Evidence-Based Policing: Translating Research into Practice* (Oxford University Press).

Megan Stoltz is a doctoral student in criminology, law and society at George Mason University (GMU). She received her master's degree in forensic psychology from Marymount University. She is a research assistant at GMU's Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy. Her interests include evidence-based crime policy, legal psychology, and the intersection of mental health and the criminal justice system.

Christopher S. Koper is an associate professor in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University and the principal fellow of Mason's Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy. He specializes in issues related to policing, firearms policy, program evaluation, and evidence-based crime policy. He is the co-author (with Cynthia Lum) of *Evidence-Based Policing: Translating Research into Practice* (Oxford University Press).

J. Amber Scherer is a doctoral candidate in the Criminology, Law and Society Department at George Mason University (GMU). She is also a research associate in GMU's Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP). Mrs. Scherer's research interests include evidence-based policing, investigative effectiveness, evaluation research, and psychology in the criminal justice system.