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BIG BROTHER IN BLUE:

THE PRYING EYES OF THE POLICE SURVEILLANCE STATE
AND PERCEPTIONS SHAPED BY VIOLENT CRIME VICTIMIZATION

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BIG BROTHER IN BLUE:
THE PRYING EYES OF THE POLICE SURVEILLANCE STATE
AND PERCEPTIONS SHAPED BY VIOLENT CRIME VICTIMIZATION

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
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ABSTRACT

Police surveillance technologies have become increasingly prevalent in contemporary Western society, raising public concerns about privacy and the illegitimate police use of such surveillance. Still, there is little existing research concerning individual perceptions of the institution of mass police surveillance (i.e., the police surveillance state), and even less exploring the impact of violent crime victimization and police legitimacy on support for/opposition toward the police surveillance state, respectively. Using national public survey data, I employ Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) to examine how crime victimization and other sociodemographic characteristics influence perceptions of the police surveillance state, and to investigate if these relationships are predicated upon the mediative impact of police legitimacy. I find that experiencing violent crime victimization negatively shapes attitudes toward the police surveillance state overall, as compared to those having never experienced such victimization; however, when violent crime victimization influences understandings of the police as *more* legitimate, they subsequently support the police surveillance state at an increasing rate as compared to non-victims. This study highlights the significance of victimization experiences amidst a growing body of literature on public perceptions of the police and policing surveillance. The present research thus implicates the importance of amplifying diverse and vulnerable voices in discussions of equitable policing practices, and ultimately shaping governmental/departmental policies and regulating efficacious police-community relations.

KEYWORDS: police surveillance; perceptions; crime victimization; legitimacy; surveillance state; panopticon; synopticon; sousveillance; technology; body-worn cameras; aerial drones; Structural Equation Modeling (SEM); mediation

Big Brother in Blue:
The Prying Eyes of the Police Surveillance State and Perceptions Shaped by Violent Crime
Victimization

Introduction

In modern liberal democracies, policing agencies are entrusted by the state with the responsibility of securing compliance from citizens and maintaining social order, whether through voluntary/organic cooperation or, if necessary, coercion (Brown 2016). Within the criminal justice system, the police occupy a principal role, exercising overt disciplinary power while upholding an instilled formal trust that requires them to adhere to established standards of conduct and to not only enforce the law, but also operate within its rigid boundaries (Mawby 2002; Sandhu and Haggerty 2017). Among those inerrant powers engendered to the police, for instance, is that of demanding compliance via use of force – consequently, police use of force or coercive tactics as a “goal-oriented behavior” designed to ensure justice and/or protect the masses is typically housed within the realm of legitimate behavior befitting of state agents (Tedeschi and Felson 1994; Terrill 2005). However, when police employ force in a seemingly illegitimate manner, despite generally being sanctioned by the state, it gives rise to contentious public-police relationships and fosters skepticism toward governmental powers amongst informed segments of the public, particularly those who possess increasing capacities to denigrate socio-political institutions (Brown 2016).

The designation of specific policing behaviors as illegitimate or otherwise, particularly in the United States, varies, contingent upon presupposed characteristics ranging from race/ethnicity to political orientation. Drawing upon Foucault’s conception of the disciplinary branch of the state, citizens engage in circumlocutory “games of truth” that enable them to draw upon the surrounding social world and identify for whom and in what circumstances exercises of

physical power may or may not be justified (Bock 2016). Particularly, pro-law enforcement individuals may be inclined to capitulate to the better judgment of the police, engaging in victim-blaming tactics to better defend or condone police use of force regardless of circumstance (Italiano, Ramirez, and Chattopadhyay 2021). In juxtaposition, markedly anti-law enforcement individuals (typically those with prior police contact) tend to associate police as an exemplification of abuses of power and the systemic perpetuation of injustice, especially concerning well-documented racially biased policing practices (Italiano et al. 2021). These sentiments are especially prominent amidst the increasingly commonplace quasi-militarization of modern policing, where police efforts targeted toward those individuals and communities *presumed* to be criminal are increasingly normalized, typically underpinned by the racial/ethnic makeup of said communities (Lieblich and Shinar 2018). Regardless, the politicization of Western policing emergent in the 21st century sanctions the facilitation of dog-whistle, partisan understandings of what “legitimate” policing behaviors entail, leaving in its wake a nationwide discord precipitated by pro- or anti-police activism.

As contemporary policing discourse increasingly shifts to analyze the evolution of policing and the public’s seemingly diminishing perceptions of police legitimacy, citizen-led counter-surveillance (or “sousveillance”) seeks to accentuate an oppositional manifestation of power via displays of synoptic surveillance (Sandhu and Haggerty 2017). Taking various forms, including user-generated cellphone footage of use-of-force incidents, social media mobilization, and even aerial drones to capture protest event footage, synoptic (“the many watching the few”) surveillance is employed to disrupt institutional asymmetries and enhance police accountability to the communities they intend to serve (Wagborn 2016; Wood and Thompson 2018). The continuous proliferation of citizen-generated surveillance footage of police seeks to “reverse the

gaze” of state oversight, and “watch the watchers” in hopes of facilitating a greater democratization of policing, counteracting capricious exercises of force and restricting misconduct at an institutional level (Sandhu and Haggerty 2017). This improvisational, “do it yourself” mobilization situates all participatory citizens as “cop watchers,” actively engaged in the purposeful observation of and reflection on the just and legitimate role of police in a continuously diversifying society (Allan 2013; Bock 2016).

However, coterminous with the evolution of citizen-led synoptic oversight is the emergence of police-initiated *panoptic* (“the few watching the many”) oversight. Foucault’s characterization of the police as a panoptic force alludes to a “fetishization” of the constant visibility of a population’s, especially most vulnerable, citizens, where police surveillance is weaponized to efficiently exert “absolute discipline,” often unbeknownst to the public (Anthamatten 2015). While police forces employ surveillance to maintain social control, especially via visible means of surveillance that serve to remind citizens of such monitoring to enforce compliance, it also serves to counteract adversarial, anti-police narratives. For instance, the issuance of police body-worn cameras is generally supposed not only to monitor the behavior of police, but also as a means of narrative control and justification of the use of force, with non-compliant citizens characterized as combative and potentially dangerous (Parry et al. 2019; Schneider 2018). Where police surveillance may have developed as a tool for the investigation and deterrence of crime, with the continuous emergence of new omnipotent technological mechanisms (e.g., body-worn cameras, drones, facial recognition technology, etc.), a police virtual “surveillance state” has been instituted that “increasingly disregard[s] the idea that people are entitled to be free of governmental interference... absent of ...‘reasonable’ grounds for suspicion” of criminal activity (Newell 2014). Summarily, as various surveillance mechanisms

are equipped and monitored by the public to better ensure police legitimacy, so too are they weaponized by the police to manage their risk of negative exposure to the perils of a high-visibility occupation.

Within the intricate social landscape of contemporarily policed Western society, the attitudes of the public toward police surveillance assume a pivotal role. These attitudes hold the power to shape the delicate social contract that binds the state and its citizens – when the masses embrace police surveillance practices as indispensable tools for safeguarding public safety, a sense of collective security flourishes, fostering subsequent cooperation with law enforcement and alternative governmental agencies (Kochel 2017). Conversely, when police surveillance is understood as an overreaching force that encroaches upon personal liberties or facilitates potential abuses of power, it can erode communal trust and cast doubt on the legitimacy of law enforcement institutions (Rossler 2019). To maintain the fragile balance between security and individual rights, it becomes imperative to actively engage public concerns with the police surveillance state, amplifying diverse and vulnerable voices, and integrating these insights into the design and implementation of surveillance measures.

Moreover, in seeking to understand public acceptance of/opposition toward the police surveillance state, the perceptions of those most likely to encounter policing agents amidst their routine occupational contexts must be considered. When crime victims are thrust into the heart of police investigations and interactions, their encounters, whether positive or negative, inevitably influence their trust and perceptions of law enforcement, and thus potentially their perceptions of police surveillance practices henceforth. For some having been victimized, particularly violently, subsequent encounters with the police may result in a heightened sense of vulnerability and an inclination toward support for police surveillance. In such instances, police surveillance is

perceived as a means of protection, wherein increased visibility of community activities is a necessary concession to ensure personal safety and deter future victimization (Gurinskaya 2022; Kidd and Chayet 1984; Lewis and Skogan 1981).

Alternatively, others having been victimized may develop mistrust or skepticism toward police surveillance measures and/or the police generally – negative experiences with or perceptions of police behavior, such as dismissal or antagonization, can erode victims’ trust in and reliance upon law enforcement (Franklin et al. 2020). On these occasions, victims may perceive surveillance as an illegitimate extension of police oversight and control, potentially influencing opposition toward the surveillance state as intrusive or oppressive amidst concerns for privacy violations or abuses of power (Hiltner 2013; Hough et al. 2010). Altogether, unveiling how crime victims perceive police and the police surveillance state following their victimization is pivotal in upraising the legitimacy of increasingly commonplace surveillance practices so as to better align with the interests of those most impacted by enhanced police presence.

While some existing research has explored the numerous implications of increasingly commonplace police surveillance mechanisms, particularly relating to officer resistance to progressively synoptic means of surveillance (e.g., publicly available body-worn camera footage), little has focused on the perceptions of citizens to these potentially invasive policing tools in their communities. What’s further, many such analyses disregard the vital capacity of citizen perceptions of police legitimacy (or lack thereof) to shape these attitudes toward the police surveillance state, leaving the finer implications of citizen support for or opposition toward police surveillance unexplored. Moreover, while the extant research generally accounts for race/ethnicity as a requisite consideration in determining perceptions of police legitimacy,

and thus predictably lesser support for police surveillance presence, those studies that explore other individual characteristics most at risk of police contact and abuse (such as violent crime victimization) have been thus far unable to generate a solid consensus.

The current study furthers the limited extant literature on perceptions of police surveillance technology by analyzing the independent and indirect influences of sociodemographic variables, perceptions of police legitimacy, and prior violent victimization. At this juncture, this is the first quantitative analysis of public attitudes toward the police surveillance state accounting for multiple respective police surveillance mechanisms, and incorporating the functionality of police legitimacy, whilst exploring the impact of violent crime victimization. To put these matters succinctly, my research questions are as follows:

1. Does violent crime victimization generally influence individual perceptions of police legitimacy?
2. Does violent crime victimization influence attitudes toward police surveillance technology (i.e., the police surveillance state)?
3. Do perceptions of police legitimacy influence attitudes toward police surveillance technology? And how do perceptions of police legitimacy mediate the association between violent crime victimization and attitudes toward police surveillance technology?

Background

Police Surveillance and Institutional Legitimacy

Emerging multidimensional conceptualizations of police generally no longer situate perceptions of legitimacy based on rigid officer conformity to established organizational rules alone, those which often disregard inherent imbalances of power when policing marginalized

populations of color. Rather, legitimacy is increasingly developed by demonstrating evidence of mass consent of being policed by both dominant and subordinate societal groups, encompassing distributive fairness of resources and personnel, and officer respect for personal boundaries and contexts inhabited by the policed (Huq, Jackson, and Trinkner 2017). With the use of violence to ensure social control and the continuous reproduction of order as defining features of policing in the United States, growing measures of surveillance and televisual distribution can allow for socially and geographically removed viewers to view this fundamental, previously hidden aspect of policing (Brucato 2015).

Researchers suggest that modern techno-social developments, such as the proliferation of independent citizen journalism, social media, and video and/or audio recordings, have enabled the sweeping intensification of the public's exposure to the "performance" of policing (Brown 2016). Such an escalated visualization of policing may enhance perceived legitimacy and facilitate citizen compliance, optimistically spurred by repeated performances of procedurally just law enforcement behaviors (Hough et al. 2010) For instance, law enforcement body-worn cameras have emerged as a supposed one-size-fits-all solution to managing the uncontrolled visibility of police work, hoping to increase public trust in law enforcement and bolster perceptions of police legitimacy and transparency (Crow et al. 2017; Goldsmith 2010; Lawrence, Mcfield, and Freeman 2021; Maxwell and Gates 2017; Sandhu and Haggerty 2015). Similarly, proponents of commonplace police surveillance methods, such as body-worn cameras, closed-circuit television cameras, and most recently unmanned aerial vehicles (drones), claim that the popularization of video surveillance policing positively contributes to pro-police risk management (Søgaard et al. 2022). In this regard, police surveillance is purported as serving as an "objective," combating force to the proliferation of user-generated cell phone footage

showcasing potentially unfavorably police-involved incidents (Fan 2017). However, these assertions reliant upon the objectivity of such surveillance remain largely unsupported empirically.

Incident footage collected by surveillance mechanisms is habitually typified as mechanically objective, producing amoral and autonomous accounts of events that are beyond the control and manipulation of any individual officer or law enforcement institution (Brucato 2015). However, critics often cite that the common use of this footage, generally disseminated via social or television/news media sources, misconstrues the nature of such objectivity. This footage is subject to political maneuvering and contextual manipulation to allow for the making of universal claims situated upon *supposed* objectivity. For instance, research suggests that releases of body-worn camera footage when accompanied by an “official” officer or organizational statement that provides context to the situation are received as more legitimate than other sources of police-involved incidents videos, such as user-generated cell phone footage or YouTube videos of unknown origin (Schneider 2018). Similarly, previous findings also report that media exposure to body-worn camera footage at all, regardless of context, source, or officer/suspect sociodemographic characteristics, increases respondent reports of the encounters as more legitimate and more justifiable than those respondents exposed to user-generated footage of the same police-involved use-of-force incidents (Mieth, Venger, and Lieberman 2019; Parry, Moule Jr., and Dario 2019). These accounts are typically leveraged to promote the perspective of the officer or organization in support of universal claims of transparency and accountability, often in defense of police to rationalize behaviors that are “legal” but otherwise unwarranted in specific situations (Brucato 2015).

The emerging field of visual criminology explores engagement with visual representations of criminality and law enforcement amidst the increasing interest in media-disseminated “spectacles of crime” (McKay and Lee 2019). Visual criminologists identify that at the hands of the police, audio-visual surveillance tools erode contextual arrangements of specific situations by legitimating the “otherness” of the subject of the video footage, particularly as it relates to the criminalization of blackness and the deviance of young men. Findings indicate that exposure to police body-worn camera footage online is increasingly associated with upholding civilian responsibility in police-involved incidents, where spectators often contextualize ignoring officer commands using themes including the obligation to obey and cooperate with legitimate governmental authority, irrespective of relevant power relations (Parry et al. 2019; Schneider 2018).

Additionally, public viewership of police surveillance footage encourages spectatorship and voyeurism of potentially sensitive situations, and generally promotes viewer moral and emotional alignment with the officer as the director and authority figure amidst any action. This is especially true of televisual depictions, typically relying on a sweeping general fear of crime fueled by violent programming, that which accustoms viewers to policing heroics and desensitizes to the mistreatment of wrongdoers (Romer, Jamieson, and Aday 2006). These pro-police narratives are often contextualized in a manner that preys on racial prejudice, with studies asserting that television news programs generally overwhelmingly misrepresent the “crime problem” as one proliferated primarily by people of color, supplemented by the frequent occupation of police characters by White agents (Dixon 2007; Dixon and Linz 2000a/2000b; Walker et al. 2005). With autonomous surveillance cameras aiming to adopt a new viewfinder-less “gritty realism,” viewers are left without eye contact with the citizen (or victim) in the

officer-public interaction, and they often depersonalize the interaction in favor of the officer (Jones, Crozier, and Strange 2018; McKay and Lee 2019).

However, critics of mass policing surveillance (both officers and the public alike) characterize emerging measures of surveillance as also posing new challenges for the foundational assumptions of policing and governmental social control (Sandhu and Haggerty 2012). Some proffer oppositional narratives against the institution of mass policing surveillance in assuming the potential undermining of public trust, as well as inherent challenges posed to police legitimacy by necessitating such widespread surveillance in the first place. Similarly, instituting individualized measures of surveillance, such as police body-worn cameras, can uproot organizational policing structures by eroding the authority of the hierarchical chain of command, and by encouraging officer indecision in potentially dangerous situations by replicating fear of backlash to unfavorable behaviors or actions. Previous studies implicate that non-command law enforcement officers commonly meet the investiture of body-worn cameras with resentment and resistance, perceiving the devices as a cause of enhanced officer stress, as a distraction to other policing duties, and as a mechanism for the erosion of trust amidst internal police relationships (Goetschel and Peha 2017; Sandhu 2019; Smykla et al. 2015).

These findings serve counter to the presumption that officers under surveillance will actively avoid committing abuses of power in the public eye, bringing about questions surrounding the proven efficacy of police surveillance mechanisms (Søgaard et al. 2022). Few experimental studies examine the effects of police surveillance mechanisms on use-of-force incidents and police-citizen encounters, and of those that do exist, the body of evidence is sufficiently inconclusive. For instance, some researchers have found that the institution of body-worn cameras significantly reduces use-of-force incidents and civilian complaints, and

subsequently increases public-reported approval and perceived justification of use-of-force incidents (Ariel and Farrar 2012; Ariel et al. 2016a/2016b/2017; Brown 2016; Culhane, Boman IV, and Schweitzer 2016; Henstock and Ariel 2017; Jennings, Fridell, and Lynch 2014). In juxtaposition, other researchers have reported an assortment of null and escalatory effects, ranging from body-worn cameras having no effect on police use-of-force incidents or public perceptions of police-involved incidents, to an increase in officer arrests and assaults (Ariel et al. 2016a; Lum et al. 2020; Maskaly et al. 2017; Yokum, Ravishankar, and Coppock 2019).

Despite divergent findings on the efficacious implementation of police surveillance mechanisms, the broader implications of these measures on police behavior remain a subject of ongoing debate and scrutiny. In establishing public surveillance mechanisms such as body-worn cameras, unmanned aerial vehicles (drones), closed-circuit television cameras, and even facial recognition technologies, irrespective of context, police are stripped of their autonomy and discretion in decision-making processes (Taylor 2016). Expressly, officers are left unable to legitimately choose to *not* record sensitive situations, such as domestic violence incident responses, and leaving them exposed to harsh citizen reactions. This institutionalized de-professionalization of policing encourages clear-cut interpretations of law and procedure, encouraging broken-windows policing measures¹, and potentially inadvertently *reducing* police legitimacy in the process. Moreover, while the public may understand and apply perceptions of legitimacy in the context of procedural justness and fairness, the police generally subscribe to a constitutional model of policing, with a strict focus on the appropriate level of evidence that would justify their actions and behaviors, and thus framing their actions in legality rather than

¹ Broken-windows policing alludes to “zero-tolerance order maintenance strategies that... [focus on] increas[ing] misdemeanor arrests... [e.g., of street vagrants]... to control disorderly conditions associated with more serious problems, and hot spots policing interventions that use an aggressive practice of searches and seizures to deter criminal activity in specific places” (Braga, Brunson, and Drakulich 2019:545–546).

legitimacy (Tyler 2016). As such, simple surveillance measures might do little to change engrained organizational policing structures and perceptions.

Furthermore, video surveillance at the hands of the police amounts to widespread searches of unsuspecting populations, particularly populations of color, increasing perceptions of crime control measures across the board as illegitimate and an overreach of state authority. For instance, as some policing technologies (such as facial recognition software) become increasingly ubiquitous and routinized as evidentiary material during criminal trials, researchers have uncovered that people of color are disproportionately misidentified by implicitly biased algorithms, as compared to White individuals (Fleischer 2020; West, Whittaker, and Crawford 2019). What's further, instituted surveillance measures can serve to further undemocratic internal decision-making processes and to enhance the quasi-militarization of police actions. Critics consequently suggest that attempts to scientifically evaluate the effectiveness of police surveillance and its effects in reducing police use of force dismiss how "police violence is etched and shaped by interlocking oppressions," resituating the "policy problem" as one of individual misconduct, rather than that of systemic racialized violence (i.e., the performative "tech-washing" of archaic and racially biased policing strategies; Henne, Shore, and Harb 2022:403; Rossler 2019).

Attitudes toward the Police Surveillance State

Existing research intimates that perceptions of police legitimacy can drive both support for and opposition toward the adoption of police surveillance measures, especially where threats to personal privacy arise (Anania et al. 2019; Braga 2021; Heen, Lieberman, and Miethe 2017; Wang et al. 2016). For instance, available empirical evidence suggests the presence of police body-worn cameras during citizen-police encounters spurs procedurally just behaviors of officers

by deterring inappropriate inclinations, in turn enhancing citizen perceptions of police legitimacy and promoting cooperation (Braga 2021). Alternative studies provide evidence that the adoption of body-worn cameras dramatically decreases use-of-force incidents, citizen complaints against officers, and reports of citizens resisting arrest (Rossler 2019). Similarly, researchers have identified that higher reported beliefs in police legitimacy and efficacy in ensuring public safety are associated with increased support for police drone usage (Heen et al. 2017). Furthermore, business owners report perceptions of decreasing overall crime and disorder amidst the installation of city-wide closed-circuit television cameras, agreeing that the surveillance mechanism strengthens police legitimacy and public safety, and does *not* infringe on personal privacy rights (Sousa and Madensen 2015).

However, the institution of criminal justice surveillance methods without consideration for individual privacy rights and entitlements of the policed can inadvertently *reduce* compliance with law enforcement actors in backlash to an omnipotent policing presence (Hough et al. 2010). Implementing surveillance of officer interactions necessarily blurs boundaries between public and private spaces, and often increases formal social control of citizens (of color, primarily) as officers net-widen by invoking formal legal processes to avoid reprimand for disregarding minor violations (Rossler 2019). Similarly, the adoption of closed-circuit television cameras, a pervasive measure to ensure heightened police patrols across wider geographic spaces, poses a threat to police legitimacy when the technology is primarily placed into structurally disadvantaged communities where police may already be met with suspicion and resistance.

Aerial surveillance (drone) technologies, as a measure among the expanding surveillance measures in the domestic realm that serve to monitor both public and private spaces alike, are particularly fraught with enhanced public concerns for violated privacy and lack of governmental

regulation (Hiltner 2013). For one, information science researchers have found that citizen concerns for personal privacy are especially emergent when involving surveillance of vulnerable populations, such as of children and in disadvantaged neighborhood contexts (Wang et al. 2016). Additionally, when respondents were presented with situations of police using drones to search for criminals in a residential area, while most informants report this practice as acceptable, most also express their desire to receive explicit notification from the police prior to executing drone searches, similarly citing potential invasions of privacy (Wang et al. 2016).

Expectedly, support for police surveillance is evidenced to vary by the context in which the surveillance was used, and the racial/migratory identities of those being surveilled. African American respondents have been found to oppose police drone usage more so than other races/ethnicities within reactive contexts (e.g., search/rescue operations, crime scene investigation, etc.), and respondents concerned with personal privacy were predicted to oppose police drone usage within proactive contexts (e.g., neighborhood monitoring, crowd management, etc.; Heen et al. 2017). These findings are indicative of imminent racial differences in citizen privacy concerns and perceptions of legitimate police uses of surveillance. Likewise, researchers have identified an inverse relationship between heightened black-white neighborhood segregation and police surveillance measures, those which are indicative of the contribution of racial animus to the institution of police surveillance measures and can negatively impact perceptions of police legitimacy (Duxbury and Andrabi 2022). Furthermore, in conducting sentiment analyses of online perceptions of police facial recognition technology use, among the supportive commentary is the implementation of strict law-and-order tactics to ensure public safety, especially when referencing police surveillance of “migrants,” “illegal aliens,” and “violent criminals” (Bragias, Hine, and Fleet 2021). In summation, although some existing

evidence lends credence to the positive applications of police surveillance usage, its adoption cannot serve as an illusory cure-all for generational tensions between police and minority communities, suggesting the development of further policy-relevant understandings of new policing surveillance technologies whilst also ensuring the protection of individual privacies (Braga 2021).

The Role of Crime Victimization

Following the inevitable (psychological, emotional, physical, and so on) trauma of experiencing violent victimization(s), negative interactions with the police can further exacerbate the initial trauma of victimization by the infliction of a “second injury”, whether via the lack of adequate response or the presence of an unfavorable one (Aviv and Weisburd 2016; Parsons and Bergin 2010; Symonds 2010). Adverse police encounters may take the form of questioning of reliability and credibility, where police often misconstrue manifestations of trauma, including monotonous affect and fragmented recollections, and trivialize or dismiss victim experiences, and perhaps their victimization altogether (Franklin et al. 2020). These antagonistic police-involved experiences may foster resistance to formal law enforcement actors and systems, influencing inhibitions to crime reporting on the whole, as is reflected in substantial disparities between official and self-victimization reports (i.e., the “dark-figure” of victimization reporting; Biderman and Reiss Jr. 1967; Junger-Tas and Marshall 1999; Radzinowicz 1977). Particularly, in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods most subject to repeated victimization, where police are also historically typified as victimizers and community members are most subject to hyper-surveillance and patrol, resistance takes its form in “dark sousveillance” (Bock 2016; Browne 2015; Gonzalez and Deckard 2022). In other words, counter-surveillance strategies, such as cop-watcher organizations, are employed so as to disable the “police gaze” of body-worn camera

footage and amplify marginalized voices amidst systemically racist state violence (Browne 2015; Gonzalez and Deckard 2022).

Among the emerging body of research that has begun to investigate predictors of support (or lack thereof) for police surveillance mechanisms, little empirical evidence has examined the impact of previous crime victimization on perceptions of policing and police surveillance. Related policing scholarship largely alludes to a performance-based instrumental model of police performance and subsequent outcomes (e.g., crime reporting) where the ability of community police to promote safety and efficaciously reduce crime spurs support for police efforts and activities (Kwak, Dierenfeldt, and McNeely 2019; Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Tyler 2016). As such, citizens who persistently suffer from repeated victimization without legitimate police intervention may be less probable to support police presence in the affected area (Nivette 2016; Taylor, Wyant, and Lockwood 2015). Similarly, authors Abbott, McGrath, and May (2020) suggest that, especially in more disadvantaged and racially heterogeneous communities, enhanced policing efforts predict greater discomfort and fear amongst violent crime victims. In these communities, police presence serves as a visible indicator of increased criminal activity, and even the police themselves can assume the role of victimizer.

Likewise, enhanced privacy concerns and community insulation amongst crime victims have also been shown to stimulate resistance to police and affiliated surveillance. Grounded in procedural justice theory, adverse experiences with police (particularly ill treatment post-crime victimization and investigation) can generate widespread mistrust of police and governmental forces, fostering hostility and cynicism and weakening attachment to police (Berg et al. 2016; Kwak et al. 2019). Accordingly, crime victims in particular may understand elevated police presence and associated surveillance as potentially fostering technology-facilitated coercive

control² and intrusion by means of unwanted contact and via compromise of privacy/security (Dragiewicz et al. 2019). Crime victims, especially in “street-oriented” communities, may subsequently rely on personal means of retribution following their victimization rather than relying on formal investigative procedures and meet increased police presence/surveillance with resistance (Haas, de Keijser, and Bruinsma 2014). Authors Kwak et al. (2019) also find that mistrust in police significantly predicted aversion to relying on police intervention following crime victimization, particularly as communities become increasingly insulated and reliant on an alternative “code of violence.”³ Overall, the reviewed evidence implicates crime victims as having a general resistance toward intensified police presence when they perceive that presence as *illegitimate*, as victims whose expectations of protection have generally not been met evaluate the police more severely than those who have not undergone victimization (Aviv and Weisburd 2016).

Additionally, varied evidence points to the influence of past or (fear of) future victimization on attitudes toward police surveillance. For instance, according to Gurinskaya (2020), past personal and/or vicarious crime victimization does *not* significantly influence support for closed-circuit television cameras; notably, Gurinskaya conducted the aforementioned analysis solely in a Russian context, alluding to the unique remnants of Soviet-era governmental intrusion and disruption of personal privacy rights wherein surveillance is increasingly commonplace and not rooted solely in victimization concerns (Siegelbaum 2011). However, in a

² Typically surfacing in domestic violence and feminist scholarship, technology-facilitated coercive control refers to “violence and abuse... facilitated by digital media,... includ[ing] such behaviors as harassment... stalking... clandestine and conspicuous audio and visual recording,... [and] monitoring... [often] inextricably contextualized... [by] culture[al] and structural inequality” (Dragiewicz et al. 2019:4).

³ Here, codes of violence are understood as “norms with sanctions that regulate violent acts... [such as] ‘in an honor-bound subculture that emphasizes manhood and defines violations of interpersonal etiquette in an adversarial manner,... demand[ing] that a [person] be able physically to back [their] claim to dominance and independence’” following victimization or threat of victimization, without involvement of the police (Horowitz 1983; Matsueda, Drakulich, and Kubrin 2006:334, 337).

subsequent investigation, Gurinskaya (2022) established that fear of future crime victimization influenced increased support for the institution of “robocops” (remote-controlled or autonomous programmable robots deployed for use by law enforcement) for surveillance in public areas. Similarly, Lewis and Skogan (1981) report that those who have experienced prior victimization tend to overestimate perceived risks of future victimization, lending toward the presumption that crime victims may rely on police surveillance mechanisms to assuage their fears of subsequent victimization (Kidd and Chayet 1984).

Conversely, authors Heen et al. (2017) found that crime victimization predicts support for police unmanned aerial vehicle (drone) use within reactive policing contexts, but not amidst *proactive* policing contexts, suggesting that fears of future victimization may not substantially influence support for specifically premeditated police surveillance. Moreover, alternative findings suggest that the absence of neighborhood police presence, as signaled by a considerable lack of visible possible surveillance mechanisms, may be perceived as unsafe by those with previous victimization experiences, may encourage residential mobility/instability, and thus spur enhanced fear of expected subsequent victimization (James, Gallaher, Krmenek 2020; Lee et al. 2020). Here, it is evinced that police occupation within a community can impart impressions of safety, and thus the acceptance of police presence and associated surveillance may be influenced by legitimate perceptions of police.

Altogether, researchers have reached little agreement regarding the ramifications of crime victimization and fear of future victimization for attitudes toward police surveillance, with some evidence suggesting that crime victimization associated with lackluster police-involved experiences may influence negative sentiments of police surveillance mechanisms, while other findings refute such an interrelation. Nevertheless, it undoubtedly appears that conceptions

of police legitimacy mediate the association between crime victimization and attitudes toward police surveillance mechanisms.

Current Study

In the current study, I examine the influence of violent crime victimization on perceptions of police legitimacy and support for/opposition toward police surveillance technologies (or more broadly, the “police surveillance state”), respectively. Additionally, I investigate whether such perceptions of police legitimacy mediate the impact of violent victimization on support for police surveillance technologies. The existing literature on public perceptions of the police surveillance state is sparse, and this study intends to address the gaps and discontinuities by uniquely specifying police legitimacy as a mediative mechanism via which crime victimization status and other characteristics shape attitudes toward police surveillance.

To achieve these research objectives, I adopted a secondary quantitative research design utilizing national survey data, and I constructed a unique measure concurrently accounting for two unique police surveillance mechanisms (police body-worn cameras and aerial drones). Using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), I applied the specified mediation theoretical model framework to test the following hypotheses:

H₁: Having experienced a violent victimization will significantly influence individual perceptions of police legitimacy overall.

H₂: Individuals with greater perceptions of police legitimacy will exhibit greater support for police surveillance technology.

H₃: Violent crime victimization will negatively influence support for police surveillance technology at large.

H4: Violent crime victims who perceive the police to be more legitimate will exhibit a stronger *positive* attitude toward police surveillance technology, as compared to crime victims who perceive the police to be less legitimate.

Methods

Data

For this study, I used data from the *Perceptions of Trust and Procedural Justice as Sources of Receptivity and Resistance to Video Surveillance, United States and Las Vegas Metropolitan Area, 2017–2018*, publicly available for use from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR; Miethe and Lieberman 2020). This cross-sectional dataset consists of national survey data of 3,306 non-institutionalized adult United States residents.⁴ Researchers recruited respondents using the Qualtrics online survey distribution service with an overall response rate of 17.2% (Lawrence et al. 2021).⁵ Researchers from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas conducted the nationwide online survey in three waves (June 1 – 15, 2017; October 25 – December 20, 2017; and April 16 – June 28, 2018), with respondents only allowed to participate in one recruitment period.⁶ A grant awarded by the National Science Foundation (NSF) Law and Social Science Program funded data collection. This dataset is ideal for the present analysis in that it concentrates thematically on public support for/opposition towards police body-worn cameras and aerial drone video surveillance, including questions

⁴ Researchers conducted a second survey using the same online questionnaire of over 2,000 adult residents of the Las Vegas metropolitan area in 2018. I did not include this data in the current study.

⁵ Previous research implicates that any reduction of non-response bias associated with an increase in survey response rate is generally not evident when conducting multivariate analysis with a plethora of covariates in estimation (Hendra and Hill 2019; Rindfuss et al. 2015).

⁶ The inclusion of a control for wave or year in analysis produced no statistically significant effect associated with outcomes *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras*, *Support for Police Aerial Drones*, or *Police Legitimacy*.

about a wide range of sociodemographic identifiers, victimization histories, and general attitudes towards policing (Miethe and Lieberman 2020).

A typical strategy for addressing non-response bias in survey data is post-stratification variable weighting, a technique that seeks to minimize disparities between estimated population parameters and realized sample measurements (Kulas et al. 2018). However, I obtained final estimates without applying the provided post-stratification weighting variable (PSWEIGHT_GRIA), adjusting for gender, race/ethnicity, and income using 2017 U.S. Census population estimates.⁷ Following Winship and Radbill (1994), I performed the recommended diagnostic test of interacting the weight variable with each independent variable used in analysis. There were no significant interactions between the respective independent variables and the weight variable in their effects for any of the three latent outcomes, and running the model using listwise deletion with the inclusion of PSWEIGHT_GRIA and without PSWEIGHT_GRIA in the final model estimation produced similar results concerning direction and magnitude of outcomes.⁸ Thus, I concluded that using the unweighted data is appropriate for estimating the models.

Measures

Policing Attitudes

The data captures attitudes toward police body-worn cameras by asking five questions which gauge support for police body-worn cameras in various circumstances, including during: “routine traffic stops; neighborhood patrols; crime scene investigations; public crowd

⁷ Previous research suggests that survey weighting adjustments are crucial when assessing univariate distributions and descriptive statistics. However, the benefits of survey weighting when conducting more complex regression and causal analyses are often unclear, with the relationships between potentially biased variables remaining similar or unchanged across weighted and unweighted analyses (Dey 1997).

⁸ See technical appendix Tables A. and B.

management; and crime victim interviews”.⁹ The available 4-point Likert-type response categories for the five questions were “strongly oppose (1); somewhat oppose (2), somewhat support (3); and strongly support (4)”. With these variables, I created an aggregate scale measure of *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras* using Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). CFAs allow each variable to have a different contribution (factor loading) on the latent aggregate scale based on analysis of the covariance structure of the data (Brown 2015). As opposed to a summative scale of the items’ responses, the CFA latent aggregate scale approach provides more flexibility in accounting for measurement error across values of similar variables. For instance, I covaried the residual components of the responses for items 1 (“Do you oppose or support police use of body-worn cameras during routine traffic stops?”) and 2 (“... during neighborhood patrols?”) – formally, $COV(Traffic, Patrols) \neq 0$ – because I expected their residual errors to be related.¹⁰ By treating these specified variables as parts of a latent whole, I can estimate the overall latent *Support for Body-Worn Cameras* measure that is not directly observable within the survey data, but inferred from a complex amalgamation of more specific survey items with varying responses based on more nuanced circumstances. Here, I make an a priori theoretical deduction that these individual constructs are interrelated in such a way to cohesively measure overall *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras*. The resulting model fit showed to be strong following the use of Confirmatory Factor Analysis ($\chi^2 = 19.36$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.001$; Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = 0.998; Root Mean Square of Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = 0.035; Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) = 0.995; Schwarz Bayesian Information Criterion (SBIC) =

⁹ I did not include a sixth item (Support for Police Use of Body-Worn Cameras in “All Circumstances”) in formation of the latent variable; some respondents expressed lack of support for item(s) 1-5 but general support for item 6, representative of ideological inconsistencies. Instead, I used Confirmatory Factor Analysis to construct the overall support latent scale from the five subtype indicators of support.

¹⁰ As similarly routine, community-oriented policing behaviors.

-12.884).¹¹ Cronbach's alpha was 0.89, indicating sufficient internal reliability of the chosen variables. All factor loadings were high (above 0.6) and statistically significant to the $p < 0.001$ level.

Similarly, the data captures attitudes toward police aerial drones by asking seven questions which gauge support for police aerial drones in various circumstances, including during: “search and rescue operations for missing or injured people; tactical operations for officer safety (e.g., active shooting situation, bomb scares); crime scene photography (e.g., evidence gathering); international border patrol (e.g., immigration activities); crowd monitoring at large public events (e.g., sports, music concerns, protests); detecting criminal activities in open public places (e.g., patrolling high crime areas); and detecting traffic violations on highways”. The available 4-point Likert-type response categories for the seven questions were “strongly oppose (1); somewhat oppose (2), somewhat support (3); and strongly support (4)”. From these survey items, I created an aggregate scale measure of *Support for Police Aerial Drones*. I covaried the residual components of the responses for items 1 (“Do you oppose or support police use of aerial drones during search and rescue operations for missing or injured people?”), 2 (“... during tactical operations for officer safety?”), and 3 (“... during crime scene photography?”), and for items 5 (“... during crowd monitoring at large public events?”), 6 (“... detecting criminal activities in open public places?”), and 7 (“... detecting traffic violations on highways?”).¹² Model fit was strong ($\chi^2 = 32.04$, $df = 15$, $p < 0.010$; CFI = 0.998; RMSEA = 0.019; TLI = 0.998; SBIC = -73.34). Cronbach's alpha was 0.89, and all factor loadings were high and statistically significant to the $p < 0.001$ level.

¹¹ See *Analytic Strategy* for detailed criteria for determining model goodness of fit.

¹² Survey items 1, 2, and 3 seek to measure willingness to accept police aerial surveillance during expectedly routine policing operations, whereas survey items 5, 6, and 7 gauge support for/opposition toward police aerial surveillance concerning outwardly more invasive, privacy-diminishing practices.

I measured *Police Legitimacy* as a latent aggregate scale using the following items: “Do you agree or disagree that (1) people’s basic rights are well protected by the police?; (2) the police can be trusted to make decisions that are right for your community?; (3) you should accept police decisions even when you think they are wrong?; (4) the police have the same sense of right and wrong as you do?; and (5) you have great respect for the police?” (Lawrence et al. 2021). The 4-point Likert-type response categories include “strongly disagree (1); somewhat disagree (2); somewhat agree (3); and strongly agree (4). Model fit was strong ($\chi^2 = 13.57$, $df = 3$, $p < 0.010$; CFI = 0.999; RMSEA = 0.033; TLI = 0.995; SBIC = -10.635). Cronbach’s alpha was 0.88, and all factor loadings were high and statistically significant to the $p < 0.001$ level.¹³

Focal Independent Variable

Of primary concern, the data captures *Violent Crime Victimization* using a dummy indicator for having experienced a serious violent crime (e.g., assault, robbery, etc.) in the past 3 years, as compared to not having experienced such victimization.¹⁴

*Control Variables*¹⁵

While researchers cannot use Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) alone to infer causal relationships, the incorporation of covariates into the model is still necessary to minimize the

¹³ I covaried the residual components of the responses for items 3 (“Do you agree or disagree that you should accept police decisions even when you think they are wrong?”), 4 (“... the police have the same sense of right and wrong as I do?”), and 5 (“... I have great respect for the police?”) because I expected their residual errors to be related. These responses are indicative of personal morality, whereas responses 1 (“... people’s basic rights are well protected by the police?”) and 2 (“... the police can be trusted to make decisions that are right for your community?”) represent perceived police performance.

¹⁴ The data also captures *Property Crime Victimization* in a similar manner – however, in this analysis I focus on violent crime victims due to their typical heightened severity of (generally physical and mental) impact, that which may more potently influence perceptions of police, and subsequently attitudes toward the police surveillance state (Avery, Hermsen, and Towne 2020).

¹⁵ Multicollinearity in Structural Equation Modeling has the potential to lead to inaccurate estimates of coefficients and standard errors, and thus must be assessed (Grewal, Cote, and Baumgartner 2004; Mason and Perreault 1991). Multicollinearity of measures was not a concern, and all Variance Inflation Factors (VIFs) associated with the full model predictors (controls) are lower than 3, below the acceptable maximum value of 10 (Neter et al. 1996).

possibility that statistically significant relationships are due to omitted variables serving as extraneous determinants (Bollen and Pearl 2013). The data captures *Age* using a series of dummy indicators, with “Ages 30-49” and “Ages 50+” inserted into the model and “Ages 18-29” service as the reference category.¹⁶ The data captures *Race/Ethnicity*, from which I constructed a set of dummy indicators for “African American/Black” and “Hispanic/Latino”, with “Caucasian/White” serving as the reference category.¹⁷ I measured *Education* using a binary item for if the respondent reported earning a college degree, as compared to those without a college degree serving as the reference category (“Less than High School”, “High School Degree/GED”, and “Some College”). I controlled for *Gender Identification* using an indicator for female.¹⁸ I measured *Annual Household Income* using a binary item for earning less than \$30,000, compared to respondents whose households earn more than \$30,000 annually as the reference. I controlled for *Rural* community size using a binary item for living in a rural community with a population of less than 2,500 people, with urban communities with a population of more than 2,500 serving as the reference category. Additionally, the data captures political party affiliation, from which I constructed an indicator for *Republican* political party identification, compared to those identifying with the Democratic political party, as an

¹⁶ The original responses available in the survey data were: ages 18-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, and 60 and older. I conducted analyses using both these original responses and the three condensed categories, producing results nearly identical in both instances. I grouped age categories together for simplicity of interpretation based on similarity and significance of individual effects.

¹⁷ The original responses available in the survey data were: African American/Black, Asian, Caucasian/White, Hispanic/Latino, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and Other. I did not retain responses Asian, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and Other in coding due to 0 respondents belonging to these racial/ethnic categories.

¹⁸ The original responses available in the survey data were: Female, Male, Neither, or Both, with “Neither” presumably referring to gender non-binarism and “Both” referring to gender fluidity. Neither and Both were not retained in coding due to 0 respondents belonging to these gender identification categories.

independent, or responding “None” for party orientation. In my analysis, Republicanism serves as a proxy indicator for political conservatism.¹⁹

Aside from sociodemographic characteristics, I included an additional measure to control for respondents’ previous experiences with police. I measured *Police Contact* as a continuous latent scale measure using three items that capture the frequency of contact with police, both personal and vicarious, using the following items: “Have you (1) had direct face-to-face contact with a police officer?; (2) talked to family members about their experiences with police?; and (3) talked with friends or neighbors about their experiences with the police?” (Wu and Miethe 2022).²⁰ The 4-point Likert-type response categories included “never (1); once or twice (2); several times a year (3); and at least once a month (4)”. Cronbach’s alpha was 0.78, and all factor loadings were satisfactory (above 0.55) and statistically significant to the $p < 0.001$ level.^{21,22} See Table 1 for full sample summary statistics.

[INSERT TABLE 1]

¹⁹ Ideally, self-identified measures of conservatism would have been gauged via the inclusion of survey questions about attitudes and ideologies surrounding various political/cultural issues (Schreiber et al. 2013). However, while Republican political party affiliation is not a perfect proxy for conservative ideology, ideological and political polarization intensifying since the 1970s due to party realignment have prompted the increasing correlation between American Republican orientation and political conservatism (Abramowitz and Saunders 1998, 2008; Schreiber et al. 2013). This ideological polarization informs “cultural” platforms such as abortion, LGBTQIA+ issues, and military/policing policies, increasingly serving as identifiable markers of political party identification (Layman 1999).

²⁰ For concerns regarding collinearity between *Police Contact* and *Violent Crime Victimization*, see footnote 15.

²¹ While more stringent guidelines for assessing the reliability of standardized factor loadings suggest that 0.6 for all items should be the cut-off (Field 2005; Guadagnoli and Velicer 1988; MacCallum et al. 1999, 2001), others suggest that lower cut-offs are satisfactory (0.55) when assessing significance more practically, especially when analyzing smaller sample sizes (Comrey and Lee 1992; Hair et al. 1998; Stevens 1992; Tabachnick, Fidell, and Ullman 2007).

²² I measured the latent variable *Police Contact* using the minimum of three items necessary for Confirmatory Factor Analysis, producing a just-identified, unifactorial model (Bollen 1989). As such, fit indices were not reported. However, latent scale *Police Contact* contributes to a good model fit overall.

Analytic Strategy

To examine the direct and indirect effects of violent crime victimization on support for the police surveillance state, I used Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) with latent constructs and observed variables. The use of SEM allows for the simultaneous estimation of multiple structural pathways between variables of interest (i.e., the concurrent estimation of multiple regression analyses), as is ideal for complex mediation analyses, as well as the formation of latent constructs theoretically unburdened by measurement error (Kline 2005; Link, Ward, and Stansfield 2019). Per methodological standards, Figure 1 depicts latent constructs with ovals, observed constructs with rectangles, error terms with circles, and directional pathways with arrows.

[INSERT FIGURE 1]

First, I used Confirmatory Factor Analysis to form continuous latent aggregate scales of *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras*, *Support for Police Aerial Drones*, *Police Legitimacy*, and *Police Contact* from multiple observed, correlated indicators of the same underlying construct(s). Once I identified the shared variances amongst indicators, I retained these variances to produce the latent scales that are error-adjusted to produce more accurate model parameter estimates with smaller standard errors (Acock 2013; Link et al. 2019). I estimated the final theoretical model as fully saturated, including parameter estimates that are conditional on the covariation of all exogenous constructs under investigation. I omitted these covariances in figures 1. and A. for pictorial clarity. I determined model fit of the saturated models using five standard indices: χ^2 , TLI, CFI, RMSEA, and SBIC (Hu and Bentler 1999; Link et al. 2019; Schumacker and Lomax 2010; Schwarz 1978). Recommended values of these indices to establish goodness of fit are an insignificant χ^2 , a maximum of 0.06 for RMSEA, a minimum of

0.95 for the CFI and TLI, and a SBIC of less than 0 (Acock 2013; Hu and Bentler 1999; Schumacker and Lomax 2010; Schwarz 1978).²³ I estimated all models using Stata software versions 17.0 and 18.0 (StataCorp 2021, 2023).

After confirming via CFA that the measurement component of the model is sufficient, I then imposed structure on the model by specifying directional pathways estimating how the constructs are interrelated with each other. I conducted the full analysis in two stages - first, I estimated the baseline Structural Equation Model employing Jöreskog & Goldberger's (1975) Multiple-Indicators, Multiple-Causes (MIMIC) model, specifying the direct effects of violent crime victimization on support for police body-worn cameras and aerial drones, respectively. MIMIC models account for direct relationships between endogenous indicators (items used to construct latent variables), exogenous variables (controls), and latent scaled constructs, allowing for the identification and estimation of latent variable indices. Using MIMIC models as opposed to traditional observed variable modeling allows for the consideration of observable "cause" variables as crucial determinants in estimation of the latent scales, and the ability to consider error in analysis rather than assuming estimates are free of error due to measurement or omission (Finch and French 2011). Concurrent with the MIMIC model(s), I introduced a recursive (i.e., unidirectional) structural component where the latent scale *Police Contact* influences latent *Support for Police BWCs/Aerial Drones* and *Police Legitimacy*, with an additional corresponding residual error term for *Police Contact*.

Using the baseline MIMIC model(s) as a foundation, I estimated the final reported structural model that decomposes the influence(s) of violent crime victimization on *Support for*

²³ The χ^2 statistic detects significant differences between the estimated model and the observed data, with an insignificant test statistic indicative of the best possible model fit. However, the χ^2 statistic is nearly universally significant when conducting SEM with larger sample sizes, necessitating the use of alternative measures of fit to assess model fit more practically (Hu and Bentler 1999; Schumacker and Lomax 2010).

Police Body-Worn Cameras and *Support for Police Aerial Drones*, respectively, by specifying *Police Legitimacy* as a mediating variable, a mechanism through which the model's exogenous variables impact the latent scales *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras*(/*Aerial Drones*). To construct the mediation model, I employed a combination of the Multiple-Indicator, Multiple-Causes (MIMIC) models with an additional recursive structural component and a general mediation model, accounting for the exogenous variables used in estimation and allowing for the introduction of the mediative effects (Hayes 2017; Jöreskog and Goldberger 1975). I simultaneously estimated the latent CFA measurement models for *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras*(/*Aerial Drones*) and *Police Legitimacy* (eq. 3), respectively, while regressing these latent scales across all included exogenous variables of interest (eq. 1 and 2). The full theoretical mediation model is represented using the following equations:

$$\eta_{Support} = \Gamma_1(\mathbf{Victimization}) + \Gamma_2(\mathbf{Controls}) + \mathbf{y}_{PL,PC} + \zeta_{Support} \quad [1]$$

$$\eta_{PL} = \Gamma_1(\mathbf{Victimization}) + \Gamma_2(\mathbf{Controls}) + \mathbf{y}_{PC} + \zeta_{PL} \quad [2]$$

$$\mathbf{y}_{Support,PL,PC} = \Lambda_y(\eta_{Support,PL,PC}) + \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}_{Support,PL,PC} \quad [3]$$

where $\eta_{Support}$ is the CFA latent aggregate scale for *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras*(/*Aerial Drones*) (eq. 1), and η_{PL} is the CFA latent aggregate scale for *Police Legitimacy* (eq. 2). **Victimization** is the vector of the violent crime victimization indicator with the accompanying Γ_1 coefficient vector. **Controls** is a vector for my control variables and Γ_2 encompasses the accompanying coefficient vectors. $\mathbf{y}_{PL,PC}$ is a vector of my *Police Legitimacy* and *Police Contact* indicators on latent scale *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras*(/*Aerial Drones*), respectively. Additionally, the ζ vectors capture the structural model error. $\mathbf{y}_{Support,PL,PC}$ is a vector of my respective *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras*(/*Aerial*

Drones), *Police Legitimacy*, and *Police Contact* indicators, and Λ_y is a vector of the factor loadings of my latent aggregate scales *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras*(/*Aerial Drones*), *Police Legitimacy*, and *Police Contact* on each exogenous indicator used in the model. The ϵ coefficients capture the respective residual errors in the measurement model.²⁴

Mediation vs. Moderation

In the current analysis, I specify police legitimacy as a mediating mechanism via which crime victimization may ultimately influence attitudes toward the police surveillance state. Put concretely, conditions associated with violent crime victimization (e.g., the heightened opportunity of contact with police following violent victimization, and thus exposure to procedurally just treatment *or* police mistreatment; the presence/lack of police intervention so as to deter victimization; general resistance toward governmental invasions of privacy, etc.) facilitate variations in perceptions of police legitimacy, which thus predict attitudes toward the police surveillance state. The aforementioned relationship is estimated in satisfaction of Baron and Kenny's (1986) basic requirements for establishing a mediative relationship: (1) being violently victimized significantly predicts individual perceptions of police legitimacy; (2) being violently victimized significantly predicts attitudes toward the police surveillance state; and (3) perceptions of police legitimacy significantly predict attitudes toward the police surveillance state net of the influence of violent crime victimization. However, were I to instead specify police legitimacy as a *moderating* mechanism, extant respondent perceptions of police legitimacy would presumably alter the magnitude and/or sign (positive or negative) of the

²⁴ Note that estimates for parameter vectors (Γ_i) are maximized using the function $\log L(\mu(\Gamma_i), \Sigma(\Gamma_i))$, wherein the log likelihoods ($\log L(\dots)$) of the vector means (μ) and covariance matrices (Σ) for those variables that are complete in case i are accumulated throughout the entire sample and maximized via Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) estimation (Arbuckle, Marcoulides, and Schumacker 1996; Enders and Bandalos 2001).

influence of violent crime victimization on perceptions of the police surveillance state. For instance, were a violent crime victim to believe the police to be illegitimate (without necessarily defining victimization as having impacted said perceptions), their victimization may further invoke cynicism of and resistance to amplified community police presence via police surveillance mechanisms, potentially more so than violent crime victims who believe the police to be legitimate. In other words, police legitimacy as a moderator would specify under what conditions violent crime victimization will impact attitudes toward the police surveillance state, whereas police legitimacy as a mediator accounts for how or why such an influence may hold true (Baron and Kenny 1986).

In investigating the present theoretical constructs and interrelationships, designating police legitimacy as a mediator is ideal in that it allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the underlying processes which may influence subsequent variations in attitudes toward the police surveillance state, specifically those following crime victimization. Additionally, given that conditions associated with violent crime victimization may be an effectual antecedent to changes in perceptions of police legitimacy, it would be unwise to assume police legitimacy to be a static contextualizing mechanism (such as race or [generally] political orientation) and to specify police legitimacy as a moderator.²⁵ This dynamic perspective recognizes that violent crime victimization experiences can reshape individuals' perceptions of the police and ultimately governmental measures of surveillance, conclusively lending toward more pragmatic and

²⁵ For the sake of robustness, I similarly performed the multiple regression analyses while specifying police legitimacy as a latent moderator rather than a mediator, manually extracting factor scores from the respective measurement models to estimate the latent aggregate scales as linear combinations of the included indicators (see Pieters, Pieters, and Lemmens 2022). All focal independent mechanisms maintained comparable associations with the dependent constructs *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras* and *Aerial Drones* in magnitude, significance, and sign.

responsive victim-centered approaches in law enforcement practices and policy-making in promotion of procedural justice and community cooperation.

Missing Data

I applied the Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) estimation method to address missing data and retain as much information as possible, wherein the population parameters of the model(s) are determined such that they maximize the likelihood of yielding estimates produced from the available sample data (Collins, Schafer, and Kam 2001). The full Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) model output using the FIML method retained information from all 3,306 survey participants.^{26,27} This approach of accounting for missing data has distinct advantages over alternative missing data imputation methods, providing less biased approximations of standard errors and asymptotically efficient estimations of parameters (Cham et al. 2017).^{28,29}

²⁶ Models that simply drop missing cases using listwise deletion produce similar coefficients that mirror the model using the Full Information Maximum Likelihood method.

²⁷ The FIML assumption of multivariate normality is not violated, and the skewness ($<|1.5|$) and kurtosis ($<|5|$) of the Likert-type responses used in latent scale(s) formation fall within an acceptable range (Bryne 2010).

²⁸ I performed a robustness check of model estimates by employing bias-corrected bootstraps to address any potential skewness in the data. Bootstrapping is an intensive resampling procedure in which multiple samples from the given data are randomly generated based on population parameter values, with the results of the estimated models averaged to address any violations of an assumed multivariate normal distribution (Byrne 2010; Preacher and Hayes 2008). In comparison to model output without bootstraps and using Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) estimation (assuming multivariate normality of the data), the differences between models are very minimal. See appendix tables C. and D. for bootstrapped model estimates. Note that the full structural mediation model estimates using FIML estimators and bias-corrected bootstraps (Table D.) utilized only 500 samples (where Table C. utilized the standard 5,000 samples), as a result of the limited computational power and speed of this graduate student's computer... and frankly my limited patience.

²⁹ I conducted Little's Missing Completely at Random test to test the null hypothesis that the missing data in regression analyses is missing completely at random (MCAR; Li 2013). A p -value of < 0.001 indicates that the missing data is not missing completely at random. However, it is reasonably safe to infer that the missing data is instead plausibly missing at random (MAR), as the consideration of numerous sociodemographic covariates effectively ensures that the probability of the dependent variables of interest being missing is proportional to other observed characteristics, including political affiliation and education, thus ensuring the unbiased employment of FIML estimation (Enders and Bandalos 2001).

Results

An all-inclusive saturated measurement model showed good model fit according to common fit criteria ($\chi^2 = 933.90$, $df = 155$, $p < 0.001$; CFI = 0.975; TLI = 0.969; RMSEA = 0.04; Schwarz BIC = -321.956). All observed items loaded significantly ($p < 0.001$) and strongly onto their respective latent aggregate scales (see Table 2 for full factor loadings).

[INSERT TABLE 2]

Definitively, average standardized factor loadings on the latent scales include support for police use of body-worn cameras (.78), support for police use of aerial drones (.70), police legitimacy (.75), and police contact (.76). As such, the latent scale factors explain considerable portions of included item variance. Having established a well-fit measurement model, I then imposed the structure displayed in Figure 1 on the model.³⁰

[INSERT FIGURE 1]

I similarly examined fit indices to assess how the measurement model and structural relations prescribed by the model comply with the data. The theoretical model concomitantly predicting support for police body-worn cameras and aerial drones, and police legitimacy likewise showed good model fit ($\chi^2 = 1,548.86$, $df = 315$, $p < 0.001$; CFI = 0.962; TLI = 0.953; RMSEA = 0.03; Schwarz BIC = -1,003.736). I covaried the residual components for latent items *Support for Police Body-Worn Cameras* and *Support for Police Aerial Drones* because I expect their residual errors to be related as measures of support for police surveillance technologies.

³⁰ See technical appendix Figure A. for full structural path diagram incorporating the complete gamut of covariates.

Direct Effects

Interpreted model estimates are latent-standardized, acting as the standard deviation difference in aggregate scale measures dependent on the model's exogenous indicators. I report the full model estimating latent-standardized effects in Table 3.

[INSERT TABLE 3]

Police Legitimacy

As reported by the model coefficient estimates in Table 3, having experienced violent crime victimization shows a strong and significant positive impact on perceptions of police legitimacy. Specifically, in allusion to H₁, violent crime victims, as compared to those having never been a victim of a violent crime, are associated with a .41-standard-deviation increase in respondent perceptions of police legitimacy, holding additional factors constant ($p < 0.001$). Interestingly, this finding serves counter to the large body of previous research implicating a harsher response of violent crime victims to police, whether due to ineffective/re-traumatizing policing tactics following their victimization, or a failure to prevent their victimization in the first place, thus influencing less legitimate perceptions of police (Aviv and Weisburd 2016). This suggests that net of additional covariates, violent victimization may in fact promote police legitimacy as facilitated by the heightened visibility of otherwise less visible procedural duties that amount to fulfillment of the prescribed duties of a public servant (Kochel 2011). This significant finding provided justification to similarly decompose the effects of police legitimacy on support for the police surveillance state by crime victimization status going forward.

Controls behave as expected, with the model reporting several covariates having significant relationships with perceptions of police legitimacy. Of interest, identifying as a Republican is associated with a 0.45-standard-deviation increase in perceptions of police

legitimacy as compared to non-Republicans, as is consistent with previous references to generally pro-police individuals amidst the politicization of police. Similarly, those over the age of 50, compared to those ages 18-29, are expected to perceive the police as .19 standard deviations more legitimate, net of covariates. Unsurprisingly, being non-White (Hispanic/Latino or African/Black, respectively) and earning less than \$30,000 in annual income results in lesser perceptions of police legitimacy on average.

Support for the Police Surveillance State

The model presented in Table 3 reports that increasing perceptions of police legitimacy show a strong and significant positive direct association with support for police body-worn cameras, with each standard deviation increase in police legitimacy associated with a .17-standard-deviation increase in support for police body-worn cameras ($p < 0.001$). Similarly, net of other covariates and imposed pathways, each standard deviation increase in police legitimacy influences a .43-standard-deviation increase in support for police aerial drones ($p < 0.001$).

To elucidate these findings, I manually calculated the latent predicted values of support for police body-worn cameras and aerial drones, respectively, at fixed values of police legitimacy as informed by the imposed structural pathways. I then plotted the latent-standardized estimates of support for the police surveillance measures dependent on police legitimacy, holding additional factors constant. Figure 2 presents the estimated differences in predicted police legitimacy and support measures from these manual calculations, accounting for 95% confidence intervals.

[INSERT FIGURE 2]

From this graphical representation of the model presented in Table 3, we can see that increasing perceptions of police legitimacy are significantly associated with continuously increasing support

for both police body-worn camera and aerial drone usage, concurrent with H₂. What's further, the positive impact of police legitimacy on support for police surveillance measures is significantly greater in magnitude in its impact on support for police aerial drones, as compared to its influence on increasing support for police body-worn cameras. Evidently, this increasing public support for the police surveillance state with concurrently increasing police legitimacy may be associated with public suspicion of improper use of police surveillance. Similarly, public desensitization to illegitimate police use of force has been found to contribute to negative mental health consequences, such as those established by previous research for black adults following media exposure of police brutality, leading to a decreased desire to view *less* legitimate (or illegitimate) police surveillance footage out of mental self-preservation (Campbell and Valera 2020). With respect to the differential impact of police legitimacy on support for aerial drones specifically, this increasing rate of support when presented with greater perceptions of police legitimacy coincides with existing research implicating police drones as a manifestation of a more "intimate and invasive" state power, with illegitimate uses of police drones alarming the public to enhanced personal privacy concerns (Shaw 2016). In brief, individuals with higher perceptions of police legitimacy are predicted to show greater support for the police surveillance state, presumably considering such surveillance as a necessary tool(s) for maintaining public safety in the hands of a *legitimate* authority.

Moving to an examination of violent crime victimization and its impact on support for police surveillance, violent crime victims are expected to report significantly lesser support for both police body-worn cameras and aerial drones, respectively, as compared to those never having experienced a violent victimization, holding additional factors constant. To make this more concrete, violent crime victims are predicted to oppose police body-worn cameras .44

standard deviations more than non-crime victims ($p < 0.001$) and are predicted to oppose police aerial drones .29 standard deviations more than non-crime victims ($p < 0.001$), as was generally supposed by H₃. Taken together, these findings add to the growing body of literature suggesting that, without regard for the impact of police legitimacy, violent crime victims may harbor enhanced insular personal privacy concerns and generally meet governmental surveillance with suspicion and resistance.

Moreover, Figure 3 presents the predicted differences in support for the respective police surveillance mechanisms across predicted police legitimacy and violent crime victimization experiences. As I did previously with Figure 2, the calculated latent predicted values of support for police body-worn cameras and aerial drones were manually calculated at fixed values of police legitimacy and differing values of violent crime victimization. I then plotted these latent-standardized estimates, holding additional factors constant and accounting for 95% confidence intervals.

[INSERT FIGURE 3]

Here, we can see that while both violent crime victims and not violent crime victims exhibit similar changes in pattern of support for the respective police surveillance mechanisms with each standard deviation increase in police legitimacy, violent crime victims report lower support for police aerial drones and body-worn cameras *regardless* of perceived police legitimacy in their communities. These findings further advise toward the small mass of literature suggesting a prevalent crime victim opposition to invasive governmental intrusion, particularly as it relates to the most omnipresent surveillance measures (e.g., unmarked aerial drones) overseen by prospectively illegitimate and more legitimate policing forces alike.

Controls otherwise behave as expected, with the model reporting several covariates having significant relationships with support for the respective police surveillance mechanisms. Of note and concurrent with original theoretical expectations, increasing the frequency of police contact (personal and vicarious) predicts increasing support for both police body-worn cameras and aerial drones ($p < 0.001$ and $p < 0.010$, respectively). In other words, each standard deviation increase in the frequency of police contact is associated with a predicted .15-standard-deviation increase in support for police body-worn cameras and a .07-standard-deviation increase in support for police aerial drones, net of other controlled factors. These findings intimate that violent crime victims are in need of further examination as a vulnerable population with respect to citizen-police interactions, raising unique distinctions between the (positive) effects of police contact and (negative) direct effects of violent crime victimization on support for the police surveillance state. Future research should investigate the influence of specific policing behaviors while initiating citizen-police contact on support for police surveillance mechanisms.

Additionally, being female is associated with increased support for the police surveillance state (.19-standard-deviation increase in support for both latent constructs [$p < 0.001$], respectively). This is concurrent with theoretical expectations, auspiciously rooted in the enhanced victimization concerns of women, and the heightened probability of criminal justice system, and thus police, involvement for men (Kurlychek and Johnson 2019; Logan and Walker 2021). Moreover, adults 30 years or older are predicted to support the police surveillance state more so than adults ages 18-29, especially with respect to police aerial drones ($p < 0.001$, respectively).

Indirect Pathways

Moving beyond an investigation of direct effects and to a mediation approach, various indirect pathways implicate support for police surveillance measures. Foremost, having experienced violent victimization is indirectly linked to increased support for police body-worn cameras through an impact mediated by police legitimacy, where violent crime victims are associated with a .07-standard-deviation increase in support for police body-worn cameras for each standard deviation increase in police legitimacy, as compared to non-crime victims ($p < 0.001$). This process involves violent crime victimization leading to increased perceptions of police legitimacy that, in turn, leads to increased support for police body-worn cameras (i.e., violent crime victimization \rightarrow police legitimacy \rightarrow support for police body-worn cameras). Concurrently, violent crime victims are associated with a .18-standard-deviation increase in support for police aerial drones, as compared to non-crime victims, when accounting for victimization's impact as mediated by police legitimacy ($p < 0.001$), thus lending overall support to H4.

To make this more concrete, while violent crime victimization negatively influences support for the police surveillance state irrespective of police legitimacy, where violent victimization lends toward increased perceptions of police legitimacy, so too does it influence *increased* support for the police surveillance state, even more so than non-crime victims.³¹ These differential indirect effects serving opposite to the negative direct effects on the respective support for police surveillance indexes are indicative of police legitimacy as a significant mechanism through which violent crime victimization impacts support for police surveillance,

³¹ Here, alluding back to Figure 3, note how the regression intercept lines of violent crime victims' support for the respective police surveillance mechanisms illustrate a lower intercept than that of not violent crime victims, but a slightly higher slope, per the significant indirect effect via mediator *Police Legitimacy*.

dependent on other significant covariates. Summarily, this association is likely rooted in greater expectations of crime deterrence and the positive policing behaviors of more legitimate police forces, and is spurred by heightened vulnerability and concern for future victimization of those having been violently victimized. This finding that violent crime victimization has strong implications for support for police body-worn cameras and aerial drones via its impact on police legitimacy advances a limited amount of literature on the factors that contribute to support for the police surveillance state.

In brief, net of the effects of a host of covariates and coetaneously accounting for structural model measurement error, I have established strong evidence of the association between violent victimization on police legitimacy, and in turn its impact on support for police body-worn cameras and aerial drones. Results from robustness analyses reporting bootstrapped mediation estimates indicate nearly indistinguishable findings.³²

Discussion

The present research study uncovers that, in this national sample of American residents, violent crime victimization lends toward enhanced perceptions of police legitimacy, and subsequently, increasing police legitimacy is associated with greater predicted support for the police surveillance state (body-worn cameras and aerial drones alike). This positive relationship between police legitimacy and perceptions of the police surveillance state is found to be greater with respect to support for police aerial drones, presumptively due to heightened privacy concerns for the misuse of aerial surveillance that are assuaged by a more legitimate police presence (Hiltner 2013). Additionally, net of police legitimacy, violent crime victimization is negatively associated with support for the police surveillance state as compared to those who had

³² See attached technical appendix.

never been violently victimized. Most comprehensively, incorporating the mediative effect of police legitimacy, where violent crime victimization influences enhanced perceptions of police legitimacy, support for the police surveillance state is significantly higher. These findings support and contribute to the small body of existing research that describes citizen acceptance of and/or support for the police surveillance state when applied legitimately, accounting for citizen privacy rights and the demographic characteristics of those populations they surveil (Anania et al. 2019; Braga 2021; Heen et al. 2017; Rossler 2019; Sousa and Madensen 2015; Wang et al. 2016).

Qualification of Findings

Authors Barron and Kenny's (1986) landmark recommended principles for establishing mediation encourage the application of "full mediation," where, after inclusion of a significant indirect effect in mediation analysis, the direct effect loses all significance, indicating that the mediator completely explains the relationship between independent and dependent variable(s). Otherwise, where both a significant direct and indirect effect remain, the specified mediator only partially accounts for the relationship between the independent and dependent variable(s), and "partial mediation" has been established (Barron and Kenny 1986). The remaining significance of a direct effect after accounting for a significant indirect effect points to the suspected omission of one more mediators in the proposed theoretical model – however, this is not to say that the specification of police legitimacy as a mediator is erroneous or fruitless. Rather, its application can "provoke theoretical progress" by encouraging future researchers to conduct similar analyses specifying police legitimacy as a significant mediator *and* concomitantly clarifying such a relationship by accounting for additional mediating mechanisms via which violent crime victimization may influence attitudes toward the police surveillance state (e.g., community

insulation, reliance on an alternative “code of violence”, etc.; Kwak et al. 2019; Zhao, Lynch Jr., and Chen 2010:199).

Additionally, Barron and Kenny (1986) point to “complementary” mediation analyses (where the independent direct and indirect effects of an indicator on a dependent variable both significantly exist and adopt the same sign) as being “consistent,” suggesting that the intermediate variable partially explains the relationship between the independent and dependent variable(s) (Nitzl, Roldan, and Cepeda 2016; Zhao et al. 2010). In contrast, “competitive” (or “inconsistent”) mediation analysis emerges when the direct and indirect effects are opposite in sign, either where the indirect effect (-/+) “suppresses” the total effect (+/-) of the independent on the dependent variable(s), or potentially where the indirect effect “amplifies” the magnitude of the total effect.³³ Recollecting the seeming disagreement between violent crime victimization’s negative direct effect on support for the police surveillance state and its positive indirect effect as mediated by individual perceptions of police legitimacy, the present analysis reveals a partial competitive mediation supported by an a priori theoretical rationale to expect an opposite and significant indirect (mediated) effect *in addition to* a significant direct effect. On these bases, Zhao et al. (2010) assert that it is “nonsensical that only complementary mediations should be judged publishable... [as] consequence of readers’ [over]reliance on Barron and Kenny’s” statistical guidelines for establishing and interpreting mediation analyses, further urging that “reviewers should not point to the unexplained negative[/positive] direct path to deter published findings of a positive[/negative] indirect path” (199–200).

³³ See Zhao et al. (2010) pp.204–205, or Friedman and Wall (2005).

Implications

This societal interaction between police legitimacy and citizen perceptions of police and associated surveillance is generally understood to hold vast implications for the modern state of policing, including the efficacious conduction of police duties, and citizen satisfaction with governmental affairs at large (Berg et al. 2016; Hough et al. 2010; Kwak et al. 2019).

Furthermore, as previously elaborated, this study strongly suggests that violent crime victims adopt differential opinions toward police and police surveillance than compared to those never having experienced a violent victimization. This therefore reinforces the well-established body evidence concerning the diverse social mechanisms via which individual experiences and characteristics can shape attitudes toward the police surveillance state, public policy, and the American establishment overall.

Unnervingly, American governmental leaders have only just begun to ensure the equitable and transparent oversight and implementation of police surveillance technologies – for instance, President Joseph R. Biden’s 2022 Executive Order on “Advancing Effective, Accountable Policing and Criminal Justice Practices to Enhance Public Trust and Public Safety” broadly identifies the need for recommendations on promoting “accountable, constitutional, and effective law enforcement practices” concerning unspecified “advanced surveillance and forensic technologies” (Biden 2022). However, no national policy or order to date has been leveraged to uplift the perceptions and needs of those most routinely in contact with the police/in need of police intervention. In light of the complex and divergent findings concerning the relationship between crime victimization and attitudes toward police legitimacy and surveillance, understanding the nuanced dynamics of community-police interactions can inform the development of more individually targeted evidence-based policies and practices directed at

enhancing community cohesion and safety and fostering proactive police-involved relationships. For instance, New York City Police Department's Public Oversight of Surveillance Technology (POST) Act requires the department to disclose the scope and impact of employed surveillance technologies, intending to mitigate the "potential disparate impacts of... [police] surveillance technologies" and assess the equitable insurance of "individual privacy protections" via targeted use policies (NYPD 2021). One such surveillance use policy mandates that NYPD officers (in reference to body-worn camera usage) "may not record certain sensitive encounters" that may be eventually discoverable by the public, including those of violent crime victims, safeguarding against the potential retraumatization of post-victimization police intrusion via forced governmental surveillance (City of New York 2021).

In recognizing that crime victimization experiences may influence perceptions of police surveillance, policymakers can design interventions to address the underlying factors contributing to existing crime victim mistrust of police. For instance, by acknowledging that those most likely to be violently victimized are racial/ethnic minorities and LGBTQIA+ individuals, examining their attitudes toward police can illuminate how surveillance practices may disparately and negatively impact more vulnerable populations. When these most affected populations feel better supported and protected through the necessary application of appropriate surveillance measures, it may enhance perceptions of police legitimacy in the eyes of the most affected communities, encouraging greater acceptance of community police presence and individual-/group-level cooperation with criminal investigative efforts (Kochel 2017). Verily, enhanced violent crime reporting may be greatly spurred by more legitimate implementation of police surveillance, leading to more efficient and equitable allocation of resources to better deter violent victimization and allow for victim (psychological and physical) supportive measures in a

manner that is tailored to those communities, thus further mitigating concerns surrounding unjust over-policing or biased hypersurveillance practices (Kwak, Dierenfeldt, and McNeely 2019; Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Tyler 2016).

Limitations and Future Research

While this study amounts to a critical contribution to the diversifying body of research surrounding public attitudes toward police surveillance, it is not without its limited scope of applicability. For one, because the data does not accurately capture gender identity as differentiated from sex from birth and does not sample any individuals within the population who are queer/non-cisgender/gender nonbinary, at face value the present findings may not be relevant or appropriate when discussing police hypersurveillance of queer Americans (those more likely to have been violently victimized) and their contemporaneous attitudes toward the police surveillance state (Russell 2019). Such data limitations speak to the potential existence of alternative confounding influences via which violent crime victimization may influence attitudes toward the police surveillance state – for instance, repeat individual victimization facilitated by community-level conditions and characteristics may inform neighborhood reliance on an alternative “code of violence,” that which may also lend toward resistance to police and larger governmental surveillance (Kwak et al. 2019).

Additionally, the cross-sectional design of the initial data collection efforts lends some doubt to the explicit causal nature of violent victimization and changes in attitudes toward the police surveillance state. To address this limitation, future research may opt to collect data on a longitudinal basis, allowing for a more precise examination of temporal and quasi-causal influences of violent victimization on both police legitimacy and attitudes toward police surveillance. Along these lines, an experimental research design may be utilized to reduce the

potential for researcher and/or survey design bias elicited by asking direct questions about attitudes toward police body-worn cameras and aerial drones in specific circumstances. As preestablished, the growing politicization of policing and policing tools/technologies in the United States can potentially inform responses in a bimodal and skewed manner, where a controlled environment with less direct probing using markedly polarizing interview/survey items would reduce this risk. Future research exploring the complex interactions between crime victimization (or other vulnerable characteristics), perceptions of police legitimacy, and attitudes toward the police surveillance state would gain insight from utilizing qualitative or mixed methods designs in order to more precisely uncover the specific mechanisms through which victimization lends toward enhanced police legitimacy and differential attitudes toward police surveillance. While the present research is supported by previous theoretical and quantitative analyses hypothesizing these exact mechanical interactions between victimization and policing, it is not without speculation that would be best addressed by in-depth interviews with affected citizens and communities.

Consecutive studies should also more comprehensively emphasize multiple manifestations of the police surveillance state, including (but not limited to): body-worn cameras, aerial drones, autonomous policing robots, facial recognition technologies, CCTV cameras, etc. While my exploration of the police surveillance state as encompassing body-worn cameras and aerial drones thoroughly unearthed significant and cohesive relationships between the constructs of interest, to hold these findings as conclusively applicable to all mechanisms of police surveillance would disregard any potential divergent branches of the surveillance state that may be associated with lesser or greater privacy concerns elicited by citizens. Finally, as previously alluded to, further investigations should begin to uncover the nuanced differences

between support for/opposition toward the police surveillance state surfaced from police contact following victimization, versus that realized from personal or vicarious police contact in other specific circumstances.

Conclusion

This study is the first quantitative analysis of public perceptions of the police surveillance state (as multiple respective tools of police surveillance) incorporating the mediative capacity of police legitimacy, whilst also exploring the focal impact of violent crime victimization as a defining feature of a vulnerable population that shapes such perceptions. My findings supplement past analyses that suggest that support for the police surveillance state is greatly heightened when community-level police presence is seen as legitimate and their capacity to employ highly intrusive surveillance mechanisms is a necessary and legitimate function. This study implicates that understanding citizen-police interactions, particularly those involving violent crime victims, lends toward: a more equitable balance of police resources in affected communities; enhanced crime reporting; intensified trust for (or lessened distrust of) police, police surveillance, and governmental forces at large; and more proactive citizen-police interactions that contribute to effective and less biased crime control and deterrence measures.

Future research should further elaborate upon the precise mechanisms through which crime victimization fosters enhanced police legitimacy, and thus support for the police surveillance state, and how this subtype of police personal or vicarious contact differs from other manifestations of citizen-police contact. Similarly, it must further investigate how other vulnerable populations most at risk for negative interaction with police, such as people of color and queer people, experience the implementation of the police surveillance state in their communities, and unearth alternative confounding mediators via which crime victimization

informs resistance toward the police surveillance state. Optimistically, this study will spur liberally democratic policy changes and oversight in policing practices and associated technologies, better informed by diverse public opinion and rooted in the importance of legitimate policing behaviors.

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Tables and Figures

TABLE 1. Sample Characteristics

Characteristic	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean(%)</i>	<i>(SD)</i>
Violent Crime Victim	3,058	16.02	(0.37)
Age	3,306		
<i>Ages 18-29</i>		35.33	(0.48)
<i>Ages 30-49</i>		37.36	(0.48)
<i>Ages 50 and Older</i>		27.31	(0.45)
Race/Ethnicity	3,306		
<i>Caucasian/White</i>		32.18	(0.47)
<i>Black/African American</i>		33.76	(0.47)
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>		34.06	(0.47)
College Degree	3,295	33.38	(0.47)
Female	3,306	53.66	(0.50)
Less than \$30,000 (Annual Household Income)	3,306	50.60	(0.50)
Republican	3,303	19.10	(0.39)
Rural (Population < 2,500)	3,289	13.68	(0.34)

Note. Descriptive statistics for latent variables: *Support for Police Body-Word Cameras*; *Support for Police Aerial Drones*; *Police Illegitimacy*, and *Police Contact* presented in Table 2.

Source: Perceptions of Trust and Procedural Justice as Sources of Receptivity and Resistance to Video Surveillance, United States and Las Vegas Metropolitan Area, 2017–2018.

Reference Categories (in order of listing): Not a Violent Crime Victim, Ages 18-29, Caucasian/White, No College Degree, Male, Not Republican, More than \$30,000, Urban.

TABLE 2. Latent Variables Composition via Confirmatory Factor Analyses

Latent Variable and Item	Cronbach's Alpha (α)	Latent Means ^a	Factor Loadings		
			b (SE)	β	
Support for Police Use of Body-Worn Cameras ($N = 3,172$)	0.890	3.351			
<i>Support – During Routine Traffic Stops</i>			1.000 (fixed)	0.737***	
<i>Support – During Neighborhood Patrols</i>			1.002 (0.023)	0.704***	
<i>Support – During Crime Scene Investigations</i>			1.020 (0.023)	0.846***	
<i>Support – During Public Crowd Management</i>			1.021 (0.023)	0.832***	
<i>Support – During Crime Victim Interviews</i>			0.997 (0.024)	0.795***	
Support for Police Use of Aerial Drones ($N = 3,138$)	0.887	3.335			
<i>Support – During Search and Rescue Operations for Missing or Injured People</i>			1.000 (fixed)	0.600***	
<i>Support – During Tactical Operations for Officer Safety</i>			1.080 (0.030)	0.687***	
<i>Support – During Crime Scene Photography</i>			1.191 (0.037)	0.767***	
<i>Support – During International Border Patrol</i>			1.293 (0.047)	0.724***	
<i>Support – Crowd Monitoring at Large Public Events</i>			1.236 (0.046)	0.747***	
<i>Support – Detecting Criminal Activities in Open Public Places</i>			1.248 (0.046)	0.746***	
<i>Support – Detecting Traffic Violations on Highways</i>			1.123 (0.048)	0.608***	
Police Legitimacy ($N = 3,192$)	0.883	2.775			
<i>People's Basic Rights are Protected by Police</i>			1.000 (fixed)	0.865***	
<i>Police Can be Trust to Make Decisions for Community</i>			0.991 (0.018)	0.859***	
<i>You Should Accept (Even Wrong) Police Decisions</i>			0.811 (0.021)	0.646***	
<i>Police Have the Same Sense of Right and Wrong as I Do</i>			0.791 (0.021)	0.661***	
<i>Great Respect for Police</i>			0.837 (0.018)	0.761***	
Police Contact (Personal and Vicarious) ^b ($N = 3,294$)	0.783	2.009			
<i>Direct Face-to-Face Contact with Police</i>			1.000 (fixed)	0.553***	
<i>Talking with Family About Police Experiences</i>			1.786 (0.062)	0.850***	
<i>Talking with Friends/Neighbor About Police Experiences</i>			1.820 (0.062)	0.826***	
Fit Statistics	χ^2 (df)	CFI	RMSEA	TLI	SBIC
Support for Police Use of Body-Worn Cameras	19.36(4)***	0.998	0.035	0.995	-12.884
Support for Police Use of Aerial Drones	32.04(15)**	0.998	0.019	0.998	-88.734
Police Legitimacy	13.57(3)**	0.999	0.033	0.995	-10.635

Note. Unstandardized (b) and standardized (β) coefficients reported. *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.010$; * $p < 0.050$; † $p < 0.100$.

Source: Perceptions of Trust and Procedural Justice as Sources of Receptivity and Resistance to Video Surveillance, United States and Las Vegas Metropolitan Area, 2017–2018.

^aLatent means produced from separate models where factor intercepts were constrained to equal 0.

^bI measured the latent variable *Police Contact* using the minimum of 3 items necessary for Confirmatory Factor Analysis, producing a just-identified, unifactorial model (Bollen, 1989). As such, fit indices are not reported.

TABLE 3. Direct and Indirect Effects on Constructed Latent Scales in Structural Model (N = 3,306)

Path	Body-Worn Cameras		Aerial Drones		Police Legitimacy	
	β	(SE)	β	(SE)	β	(SE)
Direct Effects						
<i>Police Legitimacy</i>	0.17***	(0.02)	0.43***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Violent Crime Victimization</i>	-0.44***	(0.06)	-0.29***	(0.06)	0.41***	(0.06)
<i>Ages 30-49</i>	0.21***	(0.05)	0.32***	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
<i>Ages 50+</i>	0.44***	(0.05)	0.64***	(0.06)	0.19***	(0.05)
<i>African American/Black</i>	-0.06	(0.05)	0.06	(0.06)	-0.47***	(0.05)
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	-0.04	(0.05)	0.01	(0.05)	-0.15**	(0.05)
<i>College Degree</i>	0.07†	(0.04)	-0.01	(0.05)	0.04	(0.04)
<i>Female</i>	0.19***	(0.04)	0.19***	(0.04)	-0.08†	(0.04)
<i>Less than \$30,000 (Household Income)</i>	-0.04	(0.04)	-0.08†	(0.04)	-0.23***	(0.04)
<i>Republican</i>	-0.05	(0.05)	0.10†	(0.05)	0.45***	(0.05)
<i>Police Contact (Personal and Vicarious)</i>	0.15***	(0.02)	0.07**	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)
<i>Rural (Population <2,500)</i>	0.07	(0.06)	0.05	(0.06)	0.08	(0.06)
Indirect Effects (→ Police Legitimacy → Surveillance)						
<i>Violent Crime Victimization</i>	0.07***	(0.01)	0.18***	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Ages 30-49</i>	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Ages 50+</i>	0.03**	(0.01)	0.08***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>African American/Black</i>	-0.08***	(0.05)	-0.21***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	-0.03**	(0.01)	-0.07**	(0.02)	-	-
<i>College Degree</i>	0.01	(0.01)	0.02	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Female</i>	-0.01†	(0.01)	-0.03*	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Less than \$30,000 (Household Income)</i>	-0.04***	(0.01)	-0.10***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Republican</i>	0.08***	(0.01)	0.20***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Police Contact (Personal and Vicarious)</i>	0.00	(0.00)	0.01	(0.01)	-	-
<i>Rural (Population <2,500)</i>	0.01	(0.01)	0.03	(0.03)	-	-
$\chi^2(df)$	1548.86(315)***					
CFI	0.962					
TLI	0.953					
RMSEA	0.034					
Schwarz BIC	-1,003.736					

Notes. Latent-standardized (β) coefficients reported. *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.010$; * $p < 0.050$; † $p < 0.100$. – represent pathway not specified by model.

Source: Perceptions of Trust and Procedural Justice as Sources of Receptivity and Resistance to Video Surveillance, United States and Las Vegas Metropolitan Area, 2017–2018.

FIGURE 1.

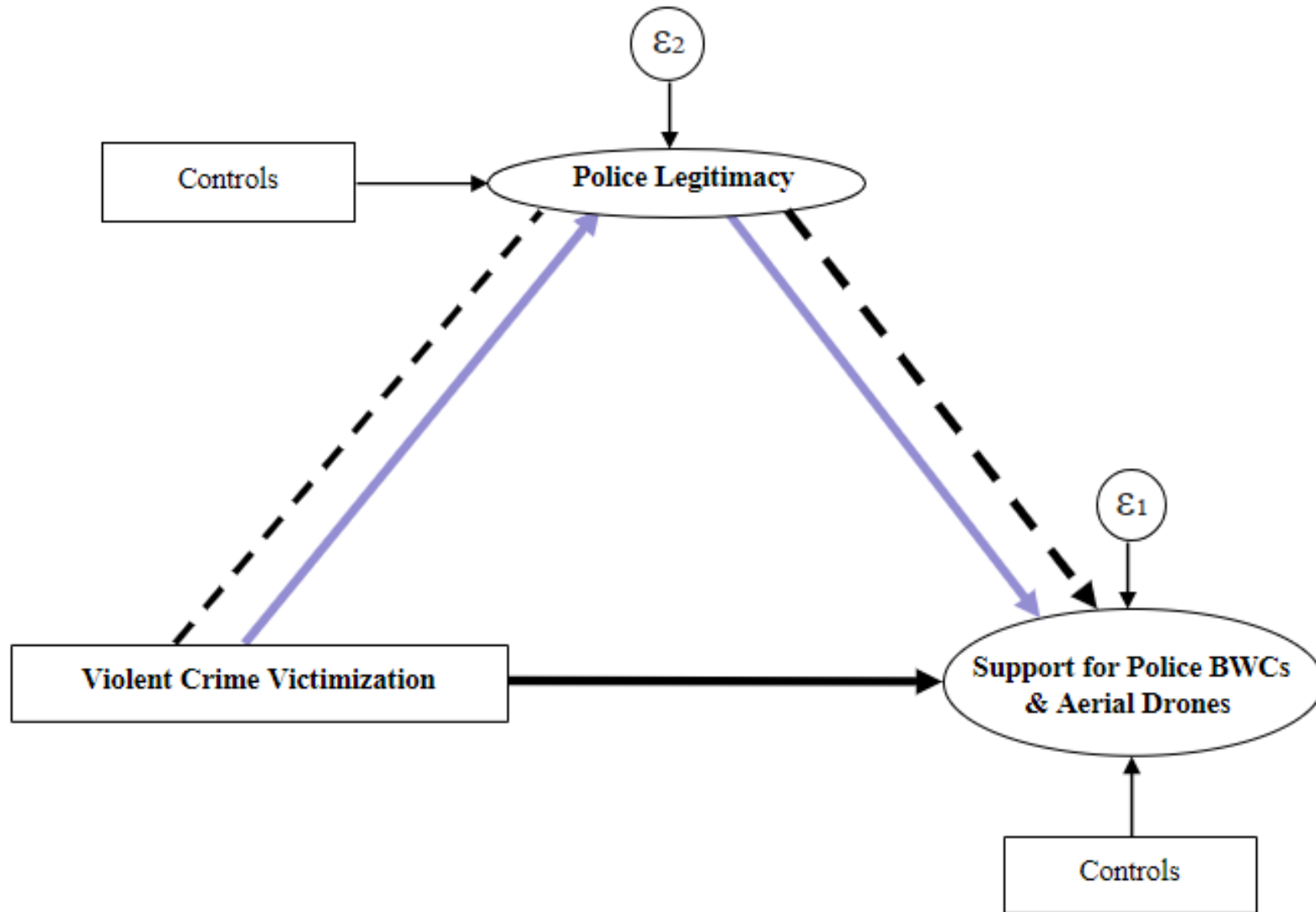
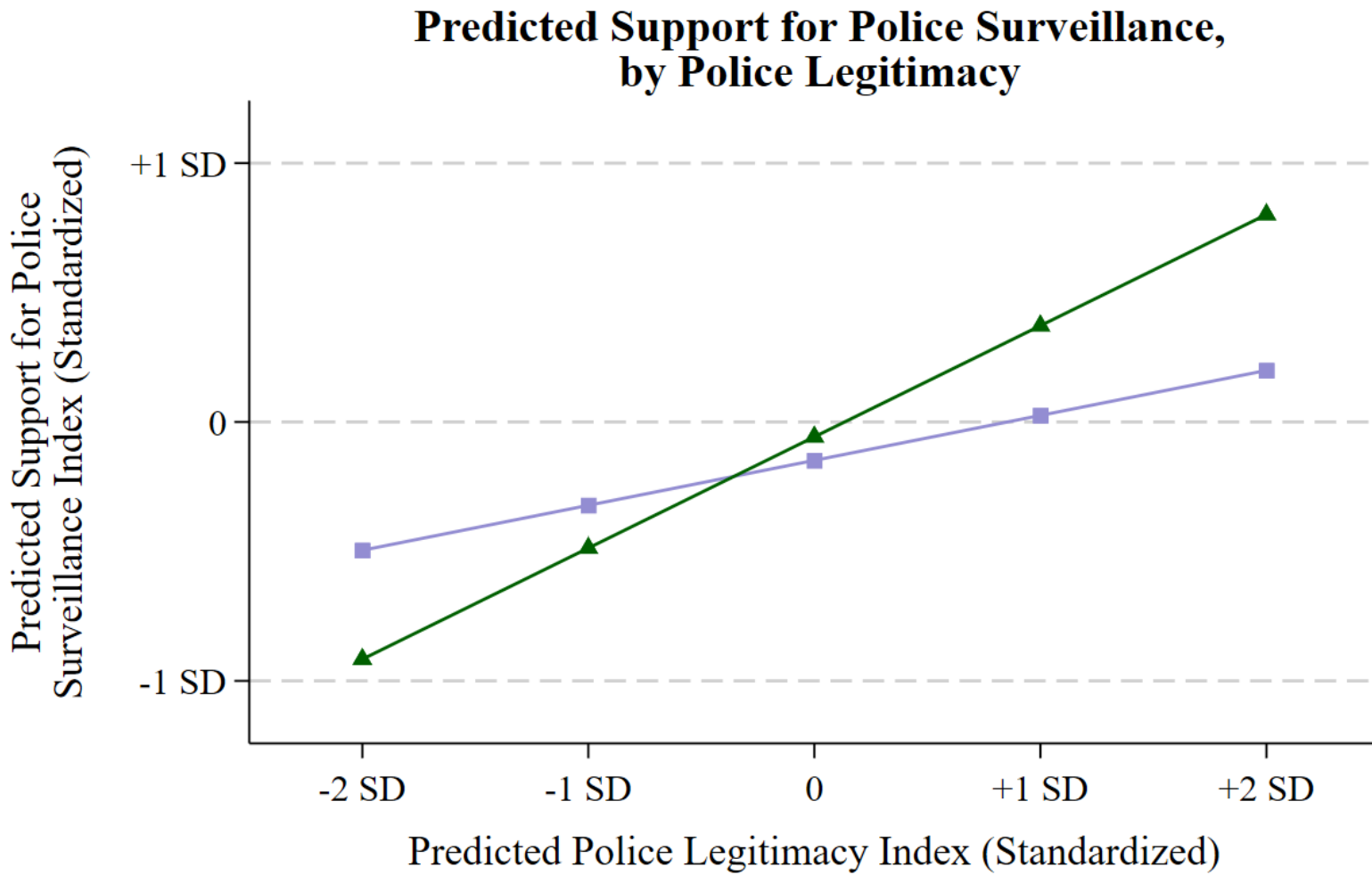


FIGURE 2.



N = 3,306
Source: *Perceptions of Trust and Procedural Justice as Sources of Receptivity and Resistance to Video Surveillance, United States..., 2017-2018*

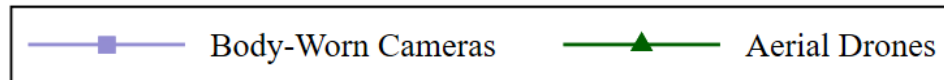
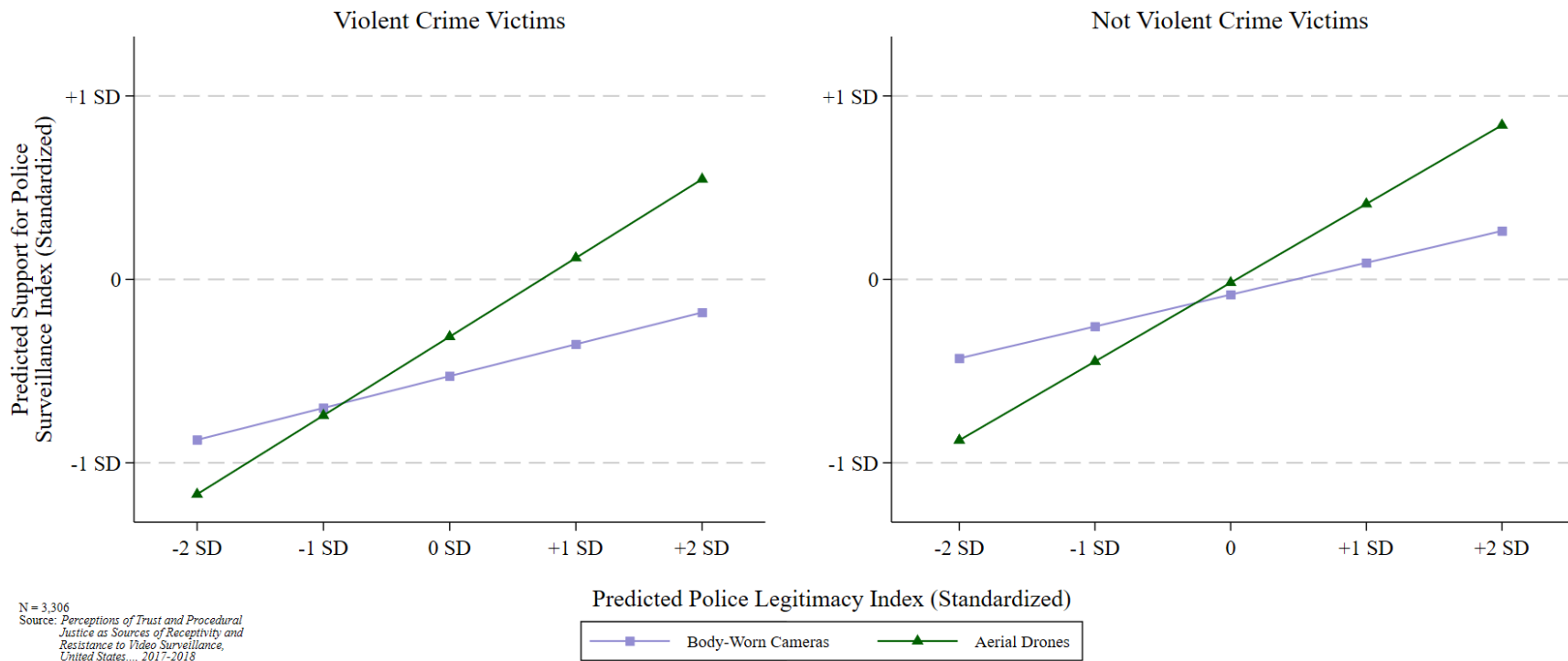


FIGURE 3.

**Predicted Support for Police Surveillance,
by Police Legitimacy and Violent Crime Victimization**



Appendix

FIGURE A.

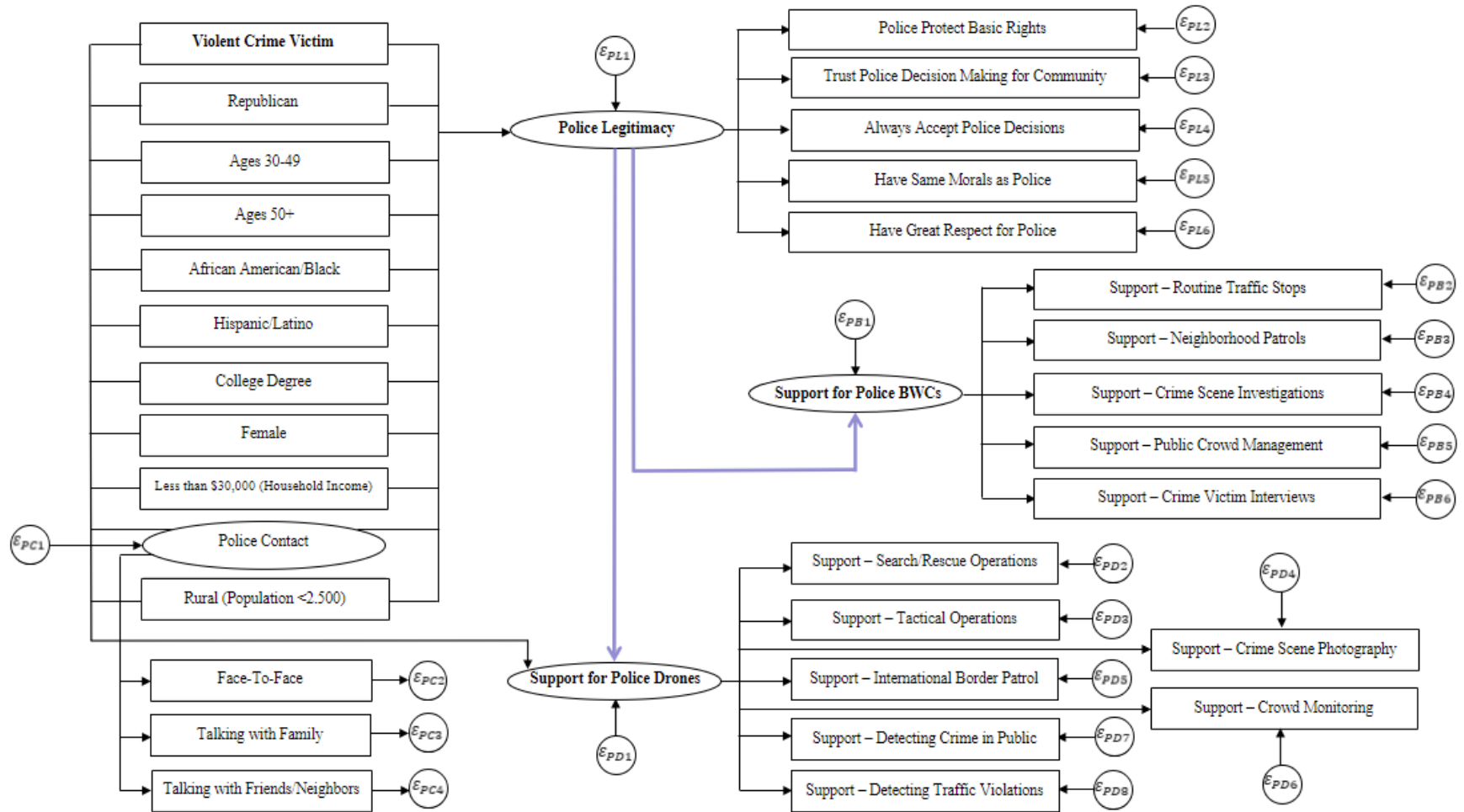


TABLE A. Full Structural Mediation Model, Unweighted (N = 2,133)

Path	Body-Worn Cameras		Aerial Drones		Police Legitimacy	
	β	(SE)	β	(SE)	β	(SE)
Direct Effects						
<i>Police Legitimacy</i>	0.17***	(0.03)	0.45***	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Violent Crime Victimization</i>	-0.54***	(0.07)	-0.39***	(0.08)	0.48***	(0.07)
<i>Ages 30-49</i>	0.21**	(0.06)	0.36***	(0.06)	0.07	(0.06)
<i>Ages 50+</i>	0.37***	(0.07)	0.67***	(0.07)	0.15*	(0.07)
<i>African American/Black</i>	-0.09	(0.07)	0.11	(0.07)	-0.46***	(0.07)
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	-0.10	(0.06)	0.00	(0.07)	-0.14*	(0.06)
<i>College Degree</i>	0.02	(0.06)	-0.03	(0.06)	0.06	(0.06)
<i>Female</i>	0.15**	(0.05)	0.20***	(0.05)	-0.07	(0.05)
<i>Less than \$30,000 (Household Income)</i>	-0.09†	(0.05)	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.19***	(0.05)
<i>Republican</i>	-0.01	(0.06)	0.11†	(0.07)	0.46***	(0.06)
<i>Police Contact (Personal and Vicarious)</i>	0.13***	(0.03)	0.11**	(0.03)	0.00	(0.03)
<i>Rural (Population <2,500)</i>	0.10	(0.08)	0.10	(0.08)	0.02	(0.07)
Indirect Effects (→ Police Legitimacy → Surveillance)						
<i>Violent Crime Victimization</i>	0.08***	(0.02)	0.21***	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Ages 30-49</i>	0.01	(0.01)	0.03	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Ages 50+</i>	0.03*	(0.01)	0.07*	(0.03)	-	-
<i>African American/Black</i>	-0.08***	(0.02)	-0.21***	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	-0.02*	(0.01)	-0.06*	(0.03)	-	-
<i>College Degree</i>	0.01	(0.01)	0.02	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Female</i>	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Less than \$30,000 (Household Income)</i>	-0.03**	(0.01)	-0.09***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Republican</i>	0.08***	(0.02)	0.20***	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Police Contact (Personal and Vicarious)</i>	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	-	-
<i>Rural (Population <2,500)</i>	0.00	(0.01)	0.01	(0.03)	-	-
$\chi^2(df)$	1058.94(315)***					
CFI	0.965					
TLI	0.957					
RMSEA	0.036					
Schwarz BIC	-1,301.100					

Notes. Latent-standardized (β) coefficients reported. *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.010$; * $p < 0.050$; † $p < 0.100$. – represent pathway not specified by model.

Source: Perceptions of Trust and Procedural Justice as Sources of Receptivity and Resistance to Video Surveillance, United States and Las Vegas Metropolitan Area, 2017–2018.

TABLE B. Full Structural Mediation Model with Poststratification Weights and Robust Standard Errors (N = 2,133)

Path	Body-Worn Cameras		Aerial Drones		Police Legitimacy	
	β	(SE)	β	(SE)	β	(SE)
Direct Effects						
<i>Police Legitimacy</i>	0.23***	(0.05)	0.49***	(0.06)	-	-
<i>Violent Crime Victimization</i>	-0.51***	(0.11)	-0.38**	(0.11)	0.31***	(0.09)
<i>Ages 30-49</i>	0.19*	(0.09)	0.46***	(0.09)	0.11	(0.08)
<i>Ages 50+</i>	0.34***	(0.09)	0.71***	(0.10)	0.13	(0.09)
<i>African American/Black</i>	-0.04	(0.08)	0.09	(0.09)	-0.52***	(0.08)
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	-0.02	(0.07)	0.01	(0.08)	-0.11	(0.07)
<i>College Degree</i>	0.03	(0.07)	-0.04	(0.07)	-0.06	(0.07)
<i>Female</i>	0.14*	(0.06)	0.17*	(0.08)	-0.05	(0.07)
<i>Less than \$30,000 (Household Income)</i>	0.03	(0.07)	-0.05	(0.07)	-0.16*	(0.07)
<i>Republican</i>	-0.02	(0.08)	0.07	(0.09)	0.49***	(0.08)
<i>Police Contact (Personal and Vicarious)</i>	0.13**	(0.04)	0.08†	(0.04)	0.08*	(0.04)
<i>Rural (Population <2,500)</i>	0.16†	(0.10)	0.14	(0.10)	-0.03	(0.09)
Indirect Effects (→ Police Legitimacy → Surveillance)						
<i>Violent Crime Victimization</i>	0.08**	(0.03)	0.17**	(0.05)	-	-
<i>Ages 30-49</i>	0.03	(0.02)	0.06	(0.04)	-	-
<i>Ages 50+</i>	0.03	(0.02)	0.07	(0.04)	-	-
<i>African American/Black</i>	-0.12***	(0.03)	-0.25***	(0.05)	-	-
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.06	(0.03)	-	-
<i>College Degree</i>	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.04)	-	-
<i>Female</i>	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Less than \$30,000 (Household Income)</i>	-0.04*	(0.02)	-0.08*	(0.04)	-	-
<i>Republican</i>	0.11***	(0.03)	0.24***	(0.04)	-	-
<i>Police Contact (Personal and Vicarious)</i>	0.02†	(0.01)	0.04†	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Rural (Population <2,500)</i>	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.05)	-	-
χ^2 (df); CFI; TLI; RMSEA; Schwarz BIC			-			

Notes. Latent-standardized (β) coefficients reported. *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.010$; * $p < 0.050$; † $p < 0.100$. – represent pathway not specified by model. Fit indices are unavailable via Stata 17.0/18.0 for structural equation model estimates using poststratification weighting.

Source: Perceptions of Trust and Procedural Justice as Sources of Receptivity and Resistance to Video Surveillance, United States and Las Vegas Metropolitan Area, 2017–2018.

TABLE C. Full Structural Mediation Model, Using Bias-Corrected Bootstraps (N = 2,133; Replications = 5,000)

Path	Body-Worn Cameras		Aerial Drones		Police Legitimacy	
	β	(SE)	β	(SE)	β	(SE)
Direct Effects						
<i>Police Legitimacy</i>	0.17***	(0.03)	0.45***	(0.04)	-	-
<i>Violent Crime Victimization</i>	-0.54***	(0.08)	-0.39***	(0.09)	0.48***	(0.07)
<i>Ages 30-49</i>	0.21**	(0.06)	0.36***	(0.07)	0.07	(0.06)
<i>Ages 50+</i>	0.37***	(0.07)	0.67***	(0.07)	0.15*	(0.07)
<i>African American/Black</i>	-0.09	(0.07)	0.11	(0.07)	-0.46***	(0.07)
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	-0.10	(0.06)	0.00	(0.07)	-0.14*	(0.06)
<i>College Degree</i>	0.02	(0.05)	-0.03	(0.06)	0.06	(0.06)
<i>Female</i>	0.15**	(0.05)	0.20***	(0.05)	-0.07	(0.05)
<i>Less than \$30,000 (Household Income)</i>	-0.09†	(0.05)	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.19**	(0.06)
<i>Republican</i>	-0.01	(0.06)	0.11†	(0.06)	0.46***	(0.06)
<i>Police Contact (Personal and Vicarious)</i>	0.13***	(0.03)	0.11**	(0.03)	0.00	(0.03)
<i>Rural (Population <2,500)</i>	0.10	(0.08)	0.10	(0.08)	0.02	(0.08)
Indirect Effects (→ Police Legitimacy → Surveillance)						
<i>Violent Crime Victimization</i>	0.08***	(0.02)	0.21***	(0.04)	-	-
<i>Ages 30-49</i>	0.01	(0.01)	0.03	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Ages 50+</i>	0.03*	(0.01)	0.07*	(0.03)	-	-
<i>African American/Black</i>	-0.08***	(0.02)	-0.21***	(0.04)	-	-
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	-0.02*	(0.01)	-0.06*	(0.03)	-	-
<i>College Degree</i>	0.01	(0.01)	0.02	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Female</i>	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Less than \$30,000 (Household Income)</i>	-0.03**	(0.01)	-0.09**	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Republican</i>	0.08***	(0.02)	0.20***	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Police Contact (Personal and Vicarious)</i>	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	-	-
<i>Rural (Population <2,500)</i>	0.00	(0.01)	0.01	(0.03)	-	-
$\chi^2(df)$			1058.94(315)***			
CFI			0.965			
TLI			0.957			
RMSEA			0.036			
Schwarz BIC			-1,301.100			

Notes. Latent-standardized (β) coefficients reported. *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.010$; * $p < 0.050$; † $p < 0.100$. – represent pathway not specified by model.

Source: Perceptions of Trust and Procedural Justice as Sources of Receptivity and Resistance to Video Surveillance, United States and Las Vegas Metropolitan Area, 2017–2018.

TABLE D. Full Structural Mediation Model, Using Bias-Corrected Bootstraps and FIML Estimators (N = 3,306; Replications = 500)

Path	Body-Worn Cameras		Aerial Drones		Police Legitimacy	
	β	(SE)	β	(SE)	β	(SE)
Direct Effects						
<i>Police Legitimacy</i>	0.17***	(0.03)	0.43***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Violent Crime Victimization</i>	-0.44***	(0.07)	-0.29***	(0.09)	0.41***	(0.05)
<i>Ages 30-49</i>	0.21***	(0.05)	0.32***	(0.08)	0.03	(0.06)
<i>Ages 50+</i>	0.44***	(0.04)	0.64***	(0.07)	0.19***	(0.05)
<i>African American/Black</i>	-0.06	(0.06)	0.06	(0.06)	-0.47***	(0.04)
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	-0.04	(0.04)	0.01	(0.04)	-0.15***	(0.04)
<i>College Degree</i>	0.07*	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.06)	0.04	(0.05)
<i>Female</i>	0.19***	(0.05)	0.19***	(0.03)	-0.08†	(0.04)
<i>Less than \$30,000 (Household Income)</i>	-0.04	(0.04)	-0.08	(0.04)	-0.23***	(0.05)
<i>Republican</i>	-0.05	(0.04)	0.10**	(0.04)	0.45***	(0.03)
<i>Police Contact (Personal and Vicarious)</i>	0.15***	(0.02)	0.08**	(0.03)	0.01	(0.02)
<i>Rural (Population <2,500)</i>	0.06	(0.07)	0.05	(0.09)	0.08	(0.09)
Indirect Effects (→ Police Legitimacy → Surveillance)						
<i>Violent Crime Victimization</i>	0.07***	(0.01)	0.18***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Ages 30-49</i>	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Ages 50+</i>	0.03***	(0.01)	0.08***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>African American/Black</i>	-0.08***	(0.02)	-0.20***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	-0.03***	(0.01)	-0.06***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>College Degree</i>	0.01	(0.01)	0.02	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Female</i>	-0.01†	(0.01)	-0.03†	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Less than \$30,000 (Household Income)</i>	-0.04***	(0.01)	-0.10***	(0.03)	-	-
<i>Republican</i>	0.08***	(0.01)	0.20***	(0.02)	-	-
<i>Police Contact (Personal and Vicarious)</i>	0.00	(0.00)	0.01	(0.01)	-	-
<i>Rural (Population <2,500)</i>	0.01	(0.01)	0.03	(0.04)	-	-
$\chi^2(df)$			1548.86(315)***			
CFI			0.962			
TLI			0.953			
RMSEA			0.034			
Schwarz BIC			-1,003.736			

Notes. Latent-standardized (β) coefficients reported. *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.010$; * $p < 0.050$; † $p < 0.100$. – represent pathway not specified by model.

Source: Perceptions of Trust and Procedural Justice as Sources of Receptivity and Resistance to Video Surveillance, United States and Las Vegas Metropolitan Area, 2017–2018.