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# Specialized Police Units: NYPD Anti-Crime and the Effect of Body-Worn Cameras

## Abstract

The use of body-worn cameras (BWC) by law enforcement organizations has continued to expand across the United States. The ability for BWC to bring about transparency, trust, and accountability between police and citizens has been touted as one of the significant benefits of BWC deployment. The assignment of BWC to uniformed officers has been a topic of multiple empirical studies. However, there has been a paucity of research directly focused on officers assigned to specialized plain-clothes enforcement, also known as anti-crime teams. These officers carry out a unique mission and purpose compared to their uniformed colleagues. The author utilized a quantitative methodology approach to conduct a correlational study of archived arrest data for the sample group. Participants completed an online survey which was used to collect descriptive data and perceptions for each respondent regarding BWC. This study examined the perceptions of BWC by anti-crime officers and identified if the assignment of a BWC has any effect on their collective arrest activity. The results from this study identified that BWC do have an effect on arrest activity by specialized anti-crime officers. Annual arrest by the officers exhibited a significant decrease. However, perceptions of the BWC were positive overall by study participants. Results from this study will aid law enforcement executives as they consider the deployment of BWC to officers in specialized plain clothes units as well as policy considerations for this specific group.

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NYPD Anti-Crime and the Effect of Body-Worn Cameras

By

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Submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree  
Ed.D. in Executive Leadership

Supervised by

Dr. Anthony Chiarlitti

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Ed.D. Program in Executive Leadership

Ralph C. Wilson, Jr. School of Education

St. John Fisher College

December 2020

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## **Dedication**

Indian scientist and politician Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam once said that “dreams are not what you see when you sleep, but the very thing that doesn’t let you sleep.”

This doctoral journey has contributed to many sleepless nights and anxiety filled days, but has fulfilled my dream of obtaining my Doctor of Education, Ed.D., which has made every moment worthwhile. My success is a product of the love and support which has surrounded me throughout this process. There is no way I could have dedicated this dissertation to one person in my life. I am because of those who have lifted me up and pushed me forward.

I must first acknowledge God, the grand architect of the universe who has continually placed individuals in my path, who have helped to guide me to where I am today. To my parents, Rudolph B. Hall Sr., and Barbara Hall, you have continuously been an inspiration and role models for me throughout my life. Your dedication to God, family and work ethic have provided the road map for my success. Watching you both as you have navigated life as a couple for over 55 years has humbled and encouraged me beyond words.

To my wife Annette, my children, Anissa, Trey, Jaiden, and Romel, you all have pushed me to where I am today. You may not have realized it, but you are all my inspiration. Annette your drive, “Boss Lady mentality,” dedication and spirit have kept me grounded and allowed me to dream of the unthinkable, so thank you. To my children, four distinct personalities, four amazing people, and four sources of energy for my

dreams, as I watch each of you grow into young adults, I am so proud of the astonishing character each of you possesses. Who you are as individuals is what drives me collectively, and I thank you.

I would like to acknowledge my committee members Dr. Chiarlitti and Dr. Rothman. Thank you for your support and guidance. To Dr. Kishon Hickman, your encouragement and support throughout this journey cannot be quantified in words. I am forever indebted to you and humbled by the man you are. Dr. Tanya Meisenholder, thank you for your support from the beginning and throughout my journey. Lending me your ear and counsel throughout this process has been a tremendous part of my success.

To my siblings, extended family, friends, and colleagues, you may not have directly contributed to my research but each in your own way have been a part of my success. Whether it may have been lending me your ear to bounce off an idea, sending me an article or two concerning my research topic, or just giving me something to laugh at, you all have helped me throughout this journey and I simply say a sincere thank you to each of you. Finally, thank you to my SJFC cohort, and specifically team DRAKE. Your support, kind words, intelligent minds, and fierce spirits have helped guide me throughout this process.

## **Biographical Sketch**

Rudolph B. Hall Jr. has recently taken a position as Assistant Chief of Special Investigations and Prosecution Unit with the New York State Attorney General's office. Prior to this assignment Mr. Hall has held a myriad number of roles and responsibilities within the New York City Police Department for over 20 years. Recently he retired with the rank of Sergeant Special Assignment while assigned to the Force Investigation Division.

Mr. Hall has also taught as an adjunct professor at John Jay College since 2014, where he continues to teach introduction to criminal justice and use of force in policing. Mr. Hall attended Bentley College in Waltham, MA, where he earned his Bachelor's degree in Marketing in 1998. He would go on to attend John Jay College and earn his Master's degree in Public Administration in 2016. In 2018, Mr. Hall came to St. John Fisher College, Iona campus to begin his doctoral studies in the Ed.D. program. Under the direction and guidance of Dr. Anthony Chiarlitti and Dr. Phillip Rothman, he would go on to earn his Ed.D. degree in 2020 while focusing his research on the impact of body worn cameras on specialized police officers assigned to plain clothes units in the NYPD.

## **Abstract**

The use of body-worn cameras (BWC) by law enforcement organizations has continued to expand across the United States. The ability for BWC to bring about transparency, trust, and accountability between police and citizens has been touted as one of the significant benefits of BWC deployment. The assignment of BWC to uniformed officers has been a topic of multiple empirical studies. However, there has been a paucity of research directly focused on officers assigned to specialized plain-clothes enforcement, also known as anti-crime teams. These officers carry out a unique mission and purpose compared to their uniformed colleagues.

The author utilized a quantitative methodology approach to conduct a correlational study of archived arrest data for the sample group. Participants completed an online survey which was used to collect descriptive data and perceptions for each respondent regarding BWC. This study examined the perceptions of BWC by anti-crime officers and identified if the assignment of a BWC has any effect on their collective arrest activity. The results from this study identified that BWC do have an effect on arrest activity by specialized anti-crime officers. Annual arrest by the officers exhibited a significant decrease. However, perceptions of the BWC were positive overall by study participants. Results from this study will aid law enforcement executives as they consider the deployment of BWC to officers in specialized plain clothes units as well as policy considerations for this specific group.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Anti-police protests and calls for criminal justice reform have been a continual focus of attention in media and social media outlets across the United States (Maguire, Nix, & Campbell, 2017). In acknowledgement of the rift between communities and the police, on December 18, 2014, President Barack Obama signed Executive Order 13684 establishing the Task Force on 21st Century Policing (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015). The task force was created in hopes of identifying best practices for effectuating change and healing amongst police and the communities they serve (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015). One of the key recommendations offered by the President's Task Force on 21<sup>st</sup> Century policing (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015) was the adoption of body-worn cameras (BWC) by police agencies. Research on BWC technology has identified that the presence of BWC has a significant impact on the reduction of police use of force and complaints filed against officers (Barak, Farrar, & Sutherland, 2015; Farrar, 2013).

Some community members as well as police officers believe that the presence of a body camera will lead to the accurate documentation of evidence during an arrest or adversarial encounters (Gaub, Todak, & White, 2018; Ray, Marsh, & Powelson, 2017). Procedurally justified encounters between police and citizens occur when those citizens view police decisions and actions as fair and treat people with respect (Demir, Apel, Braga, Brunson, & Ariel, 2018). Although BWC have been offered as a potential tool to reduce use of force and complaints against officers (Farrar, 2013), there is inconclusive

evidence to determine if there will be any change in interactions or stops of pedestrians by officers.

In many police agencies, specialized and plain-clothes officers are tasked with K-9 assignments, gang units, Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT), and investigations. In New York City the utilization of specialized plain-clothes units, referred to as anti-crime teams, are directly tasked with proactive enforcement in communities throughout New York City. Often this group of officers has been accused of engaging in citizen contacts and stops of Black and Latino men, more than any other ethnic group (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Spitzer, 2000). Traditionally, these anti-crime officers are directed to patrol in areas where there is a significant spike in violent crimes, property crimes, or numerous complaints from citizens regarding criminal activity. Since their inception in 1971, when Police Commissioner Patrick J. Murphy created street crime/anti-crime teams in response to the growing number of violent crimes plaguing New York City streets, these officers have operated under the same conditions for over 40 years (Winfrey, 1980).

The specialized nature of their assignment typically requires these officers to engage suspects based on their own observations, previous complaint reports, and/or criminal intelligence which has been gathered. These types of assignments are unlike those conducted by uniformed patrol officers who often respond to calls for service from citizens for a wide range of complaints which may or may not be of a criminal nature. Performance for anti-crime officers is traditionally measured by the quantity and quality of their arrests for major felony crimes (R. Harrison, personal communication, August 1, 2019). Within the law enforcement community there continues to be a focus on the same categories of indicators to determine the effectiveness of an officer. One indicator

measures the level of enforcement activity; for example, the number of arrests effected, citations issued, or *Terry* stops conducted (Sparrow, 2015). In the United States, a *Terry* stop allows police to detain a person when there is reasonable suspicion of involvement in a criminal activity.

High profile encounters between police and citizens, specifically Black men, have dominated national and local media headlines over the past few years. Feelings of unfairness when dealing with the police are a driving sentiment of a lack of trust within Black and Latino communities (Ray et al., 2017). Many of these inimical interactions occur between anti-crime officers and residents of these communities (Spitzer, 2000). Because of that lack of trust, many encounters between police and citizens have turned hostile and, in some cases, deadly (Ray et al., 2017). The 2014 homicides of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri and Eric Garner in Staten Island, New York, the 2015 murder of Walter Scott in North Charleston, South Carolina, the 2016 killing of Keith L. Scott in Charlotte, North Carolina, and many other incidents, all sparked national outrage. In each of these cases, as well as many others, unarmed Black men were killed at the hands of police. A common thread in each of these incidents, excluding the killing of Keith L. Scott, was the fact that the officers involved were not equipped with a BWC. The only video documentation of these encounters was provided by citizens recording with personal cellular telephonic devices. The potential of BWC to impact these relationships and interactions continues to drive the importance of research on BWC.

Pagliarella (2016) suggested that there was more outrage amongst White Americans over the killing of Eric Garner than Michael Brown simply because there was a video of the former incident, whereas there was no video evidence in the case of

Michael Brown. In the case of Keith L. Scott, Mecklenburg County district attorney R. Andrew Murray determined that Scott was in possession of a firearm and refused to obey the officer's commands to drop the weapon; no charges were brought against the police officer who fired the deadly shot. There was body camera video of the incident which was shared with the family; nonetheless, civil unrest persisted throughout the city of Charlotte (Fausset & Blinder, 2016). While testifying before the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, Professor Michael White explained that police leaders, as well as community members, should temper their expectations on the impact of BWC. "In cities like Ferguson [Missouri], where the relationship between police and the community is defined by long-standing anger and distrust, BWC, on their own, cannot alter that relationship" (U.S. Department of Justice [USDOJ], 2015, p. 43).

Relationships between the police and community have historically been adversarial for centuries, similar to the relationship in specific communities today (Ray et al., 2017). "During the period of the ... [English] monarchy the police came to represent the underground aspects of tyranny and political repression, and they were despised and feared even by those who ostensibly benefitted from their services" (Bittner, 1970, p. 6). Feelings of apprehension and animosity towards police by members of certain communities persist today (Brunson & Wade, 2019). However, unlike decades past, today BWC offer the potential to alleviate feelings of mistrust amongst the community and police officers.

The use of BWC by police officers has been touted as a device to achieve several positive outcomes, including reduction in complaints against police officers, enhancing police transparency, trust, and the potential to reduce police use of force (Ariel, Farrar, &

Sutherland, 2015; Braga, Sousa, Coldren, & Rodriguez, 2018; Jennings, Fridel, Lynch, Jetelina, & Reingle Gonzalez, 2017). Empirical studies have offered that some officers view the presence of BWC as a surveillance tool of management, restricting their discretion (Drover & Ariel, 2015). Similar research found that officers made fewer arrests when assigned a BWC, but issued more citations (Ready & Young, 2015). Conversely, recent research has identified that officers who have been assigned BWC have demonstrated an increase in arrest activity and citations issued as compared to their colleagues who are not assigned BWC (Braga et al., 2018). Additional research identified that there were not any significant differences in whether an officer made an arrest or not, when assigned a BWC (Owens, 2014).

Numerous empirical studies have focused on officer behavior, perceptions, and performance when assigned a BWC, but researchers have not directly focused on specialized plain-clothes officers and the potential impact of body cameras. In addition, Fouche (2014) identified that demographic variables such as age, education, and years of service with their respective agency may have a direct impact on officer acceptance and perceptions of BWC. The researcher identified that officers who were between 21 and 25 years of age, possessed a Bachelor's degree and had 2 or fewer years of service with their department expressed the most support for BWC.

The correlation between officer race and acceptance of BWC has not been a primary focus of many studies. Ray et al. (2017) acknowledge that non-Whites held less optimism in the ability of BWC to change officer behavior. However, officer perceptions of BWC based on their race, requires further vetting by researchers. It remains unknown if an officer's race may have any correlation to acceptance of BWC, and specifically,

does race matter amongst officers assigned to anti-crime teams? Conceivably, fear of termination from the agency based on actions observed via BWC, and belief of disparate treatment may foster acceptance or rejection of BWC. Kane and White (2009) identified that officers in the New York City Police Department (NYPD) were more likely to be separated from the department involuntarily for misconduct if they were non-White (Black, Hispanic, or Asian) compared to their White counterparts.

Although multiple studies have identified various results, they all affirm the need for further scholarship and research around the effect of BWC and specifically, the effect on anti-crime officers (Braga et al., 2018; Owens, 2014; Ready & Young, 2015). Scholars have suggested that officer demographic information such as age, race, education level, and time of service as a police officer may affect their respective acceptance of BWC and the perceived utility of the device (Fouche, 2014; Jennings, Fridel, & Lynch, 2014; Wooditch et al., 2020). Koper (2015) asked, “If BWC do change officer proactivity, what will be the ramifications—for better or worse—for police effectiveness and legitimacy?” (p. 7).

Affecting arrest of individuals for perceived criminal actions which violate state laws is a significant part of a police officer’s job and identity (Solomon & McGill, 2015). Bittner (1970) amply sums up the complexities:

Since the requirement of quick and what is often euphemistically called aggressive action is difficult to reconcile with error-free performance, police work is, by its very nature, doomed to be often unjust and offensive to someone. Under the dual pressure to “be right and to do something,” policemen are often in a position that is compromised even before they act. (p. 9)

BWC offers an opportunity to review contemporaneous actions by police, moments, hours, and in some cases, days after the incident has taken place. The adoption of BWC has amplified the ability of the media, public, and other external stakeholders to assess often controversial police citizen interactions.

The notion of the police as effective crime fighters, as well as the use of aggressive and intrusive police practices was challenged in New York City in 2008, when a federal class action lawsuit was brought against the NYPD and the City of New York for violations of the constitutional rights of Black and Latino persons (*Floyd v. City of New York*, 2013). The petitioners in this case alleged unconstitutional practices by members of the NYPD. Accusations of stops and frisks of individuals without reasonable suspicion of any criminal activity were well documented by the department's own records (*Floyd v. City of New York*, 2013). Many of these stops were carried out by members of anti-crime teams, as well as patrol personnel. During courtroom testimony the subject of BWC was raised inadvertently by the city's policing expert, James K. Stewart, who under direct questioning by Judge Scheindlin admitted that he believed BWC were a good idea and had been recommended in Las Vegas, Nevada; he also stated that BWC were being utilized in Phoenix, Arizona (*Floyd v. City of New York*, 2013). Stewart has an extensive background in police related matters, previously he was the Chief of Detectives for Oakland, California Police Department, and Director of the United States National Institute of Justice and Senior Fellow at CNA, Analysis and Solutions (Beres, 2015).

In her opinion and remedial order, United States District Court Judge Shira Scheindlin stated:

I found the City of New York liable in the Floyd case for violating the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendment rights of the plaintiff class because of the way the New York City Police Department has conducted stops and frisks over the past decade. (*Floyd v. City of New York*, 2013, p. 1)

Judge Scheindlin also stated in her liability opinion that:

The use of body-worn cameras by NYPD officers would address several the issues raised in the complaint. In evaluating the constitutionality of individual stops, I explained the difficulty of judging in hindsight what happened during an encounter between a civilian and the police. The only contemporaneous records of the stops in this case were UF-250s [NYPD document] and short memo book entries – which were sometimes not prepared directly after a stop, and which are inherently one-sided. Thus, I was forced to analyze the constitutionality of the stops based on testimony given years after the encounter, at a time when the participants’ memories were likely colored by their interest in the outcome of the case and the passage of time. The NYPD’s duty to monitor stop and frisk activity is similarly hamstrung by supervisors’ inability to review an objective representation of what occurred. (*Floyd v. City of New York*, 2013, p. 26)

The landmark decision in *Floyd v. City of New York* (2013), initiated significant changes within the NYPD, requiring revamping of training and documentation of pedestrian stops between police and community members. Most significantly, Judge Scheindlin required that the NYPD conduct a BWC pilot program for 1 year which would be under the purview of a court appointed monitor. Judge Scheindlin named Peter Zimroth, federal monitor to the NYPD, to ensure that her remedial order was adhered to

and that the department institutes all recommended changes (*Floyd v. City of New York*, 2013).

Former NYPD Police Commissioner William Bratton embraced the idea of BWC early on and viewed the technology as a necessary tool to deal with allegations of police use of excessive force as well as other complaints by the public (Campbell, 2014).

Bratton, who advocated for the use of BWC while serving as Chief of Police for the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), believed that the future of policing would require officers around the country to wear video cameras on their bodies in order to record encounters with the public (Campbell, 2014; Paybarah, 2015). According to the Bureau of Justice, law enforcement agencies across the country and globally are utilizing BWC as a tool to improve evidentiary outcomes, enhance safety and improve interactions between police and public (Bureau of Justice Administration [BJA], 2019). Beginning in 2015 the federal government, under the Obama administration, began the process of funding law enforcement entities via federal grants for the sole purpose of body camera adoption (BJA, 2019).

### **The Assignment of Body-Worn Cameras**

New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio and NYPD Police Commissioner James O'Neill quickly embraced the idea of BWC, and in February 2019 the agency completed its rollout of BWC to every member of the department assigned to patrol related functions, including officers assigned to anti-crime teams (NYPD, 2019b). The assignment of BWC to officers assigned to anti-crime teams was unique in its application. The role of these officers differs greatly from their uniformed colleagues.

Anti-crime teams have become extremely important for the NYPD in the fight to eradicate violent crimes throughout the City of New York. These officers are tasked with a focused mission of proactively identifying individuals who facilitate violence in communities throughout the New York City area and effecting arrest of these individual perpetrators. In May 2019, the NYPD removed 135 illegal guns from city streets, which ostensibly would or may have been used to take human lives. Anti-crime teams make up approximately 3.5% of the police department's total personnel, but were credited with removing 62 (45%) of the illegal firearms recovered via arrest during May 2019 (Delamota, 2019). Based on data provided, the impact of anti-crime teams on communities who suffer from violent crimes the most, is clear.

A lack of economic resources, violence, and crime have set the stage for the necessity of anti-crime teams. Although these communities have an essential need for the presence of these officers, interactions with the police often have the potential to become adversarial. The deployment of anti-crime teams with BWC could be a tool which may ease tensions in these communities (Mommel, 2017). The ability of BWC to offer transparency in interactions with officers make them an essential tool for law enforcement moving forward. However, the question remains as to whether the presence of a BWC will change or affect anti-crime officers' decision-making about enforcement activity. Multiple empirical studies have identified that the assignment of a BWC and patrol officers' perceptions may have a direct impact on their individual behavior (Hickman, 2017; Jennings et al., 2014; Ready & Young, 2015). Similarly, qualitative research on perceptions of BWC by officers assigned to specialty units acknowledge that

the presence of a body camera may impact their behavior as well as civilians they interact with (Gaub et al., 2018).

As police departments continue to deploy BWC globally, the longitudinal effect cameras may have on officer behavior remains unknown, and even less is known about the effect on officers assigned to specialized units (Gaub et al., 2018). A growing number of empirical studies have identified that the application of BWC offers an initial impact on uniformed police officer behavior with respect to arrest, civilian complaints, use of force, etc. (Ariel et al., 2015; Braga et al., 2018; Headley, Guerette, & Shariati, 2017; Lum, Stoltz, Koper, & Scherer, 2019). However, there is a lack of research concerning the impact of BWC when assigned to officers in specialized units, specifically is there any change in their enforcement activity and officer perceptions?

### **Problem Statement**

During the month of December 2017, the NYPD began deploying BWC beyond the court mandated pilot program, to officers assigned to anti-crime teams and uniformed patrol. While much is being learned concerning BWC usage by uniformed patrol officers, what remains unknown is how BWC will affect anti-crime officers who are continually engaged in high risk, often dangerous proactive policing. The work these officers volunteer to carry out is of extreme importance to the communities they serve and the police department. If BWC initiates a reluctance by these officers to engage in proactive enforcement, there may be significant consequences for some of the most vulnerable communities in the City of New York. Research has revealed that BWC may usher behavioral changes by officers (Farmer, 2016). However, the effect, if any at all on

anti-crime officer's behavior and their perceptions of the effect of BWC, could bear a significant impact on the fight against crime.

Anti-crime officers are tasked with proactive enforcement and effecting arrest of criminals for various types of crimes. Scholars have not engaged in quantitative research with this unique population to determine if there is any correlation between the assignment of BWC and anti-crime officer's arrest activity, as well as their perceptions of individual behavioral changes due to the presence of a camera. Increased or decreased arrest activity and behavioral changes by these officers may have significant effects on the greater society. Results from this study will be of importance to the law enforcement community and police executives. Many police agencies across the United States have not implemented separate policies governing their BWC program for officers assigned to specialized plain clothes units such as anti-crime teams. For example, to date, Mesa and Phoenix, Arizona police departments, as well as the NYPD to name a few, have yet to create departmental policy for BWC usage specifically for their plain clothes enforcement teams. If research reveals the presence of BWC has affected the ability of these officers to fulfill their mission, discussions should be initiated to determine if policy changes or camera deployment should be reevaluated.

### **Theoretical Rationale**

Scholars have utilized multiple theoretical frames in police settings and private industry (Hickman, 2017; Cheng, Li, Zhai, Qingguo, & Smyth, 2014). This study will focus on the effect of body-worn cameras on police officers assigned to anti-crime teams within the New York City Police Department, specifically if there was any change in their arrest activity and perceptions.

The correlation between the technical acceptance model (TAM) and the deterrence theory provide the foundation of the theoretical framework for this research. The TAM has been touted as one of the foremost models to explain technology adoption and acceptance within an organization (Godoe & Johansen, 2012). The theory is based on research conducted by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) in which the researchers identified the theory of reasoned action (TRA) (McFarland & Hamilton, 2004); building on their work, Fred Davis, a researcher in the information systems field, introduced the TAM in 1989 (Christensen, 2013). Over the past 3 decades the TAM has been tested through empirical means and has grown to encompass a wide range of variables (Christensen, 2013). The TAM has been commonly used as a model for understanding technology acceptance and usage by individuals (Godoe & Johansen, 2012). There are two main factors of the TAM: the perceived ease of use and perceived usefulness (Davis, Bagozzi, & Warshaw, 1989).

The idea of deterrence theory was first introduced by 18th century philosophers, Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham (Beccaria, 1995). The deterrence theory proposes the idea that the certainty of punishment is more effective than the severity of the punishment (Nagin, 2013). Researchers Cheng et al. (2014), have identified that perceived detection influences inappropriate behavior, acting as a deterrent. Similar to Beccaria, Bentham believed that human nature is led by two goals: (a) the attainment of pleasure, and (b) the avoidance of pain. Bentham identified that humans find maximum happiness when the sum gains of pleasure outweigh those of pain or discomfort (Paternoster, 1973). Both scholars provided the foundation for what modern day theorists offer as the deterrence theory: our fear of apprehension and/or pain may deter bad

behavior. Scholars have offered that the presence of BWC recording the actions of police officers and those they encounter may act as a deterrent to inappropriate behavior (Ariel et al., 2015).

### **Effect on Civil Litigation**

The ability to offer transparency in police-citizen encounters, including use of force and false accusations against police officers, have made the adoption of BWC an intriguing device for all stakeholders (Sousa, Coldren, Rodriguez, & Braga, 2016). There is a growing body of empirical evidence which suggests that body-worn cameras offer important benefits to police organizations and the communities they serve (Ariel, Sutherland, Henstock, Young et al., 2016; Memmel, 2017; Todak, Gaub, & White, 2018). One such benefit would be in the area of civil litigation involving police activities. In fiscal year (FY) 2017, the City of New York paid out \$675.6 million in tort claim settlements and judgements, 6% more than fiscal year 2016. The number of tort claims filed against the NYPD declined in FY 2017, but cost the city \$308.2 million, the largest annual payout in New York City history (Stringer, 2017). Research has identified that litigation expenses for local and state agencies cost taxpayers a significant amount of money; both frivolous and justified complaints against the police, and the jury verdicts, as well as out-of-court settlements, are financially burdensome for any organization or municipality (Ramirez, 2014; Roy, 2014).

Law enforcement practitioners acknowledge that civil litigation cases often revolve around use of force by officers (Ramirez, 2014), and wrongful conviction claims (Stringer, 2017). Farrar (2013) asserts that the implementation of BWC would undoubtedly impact litigation claims and decrease the number of complaints filed against

police officers, which inherently may impact officer perceptions of the utility of BWC. Scholars have offered statistical evidence that the introduction of BWC has a direct impact on officer incidents of using force and complaints filed against them (Braga et al., 2018; Farrar, 2013; Sousa et al., 2016). What remains unknown is what the effect of BWC will be on police officers assigned to anti-crime teams in a large municipal police organization.

### **Statement of Purpose**

The purpose of this study was to determine if the assignment of BWC to police officers assigned to anti-crime teams in the NYPD have any effect on their arrest activity and perceptions of BWC. Additionally, this study attempted to identify if officers' demographic data and time of service with the NYPD has any impact on their personal perceptions of BWC. The results from this research adds to the current literature on BWC and assists law enforcement executives in policy decisions moving forward.

### **Research Questions**

The following research question guided this study:

1. Does wearing a BWC affect the arrest activity of officers assigned to anti-crime units?
2. To what degree do anti-crime officer's believe that BWC affects their individual behavior regarding proactive enforcement?
3. To what degree do anti-crime officers believe that wearing a BWC affected a fellow anti-crime officer's behavior regarding proactive enforcement?
4. Is there a correlation between years of service with the department, race, and perceptions of the effect of BWC?

## **Significance of the Study**

This study attempted to determine if the deployment of BWC to police officers assigned to anti-crime units had any effect on their arrest activity and perceptions of BWC. Much of the empirical research thus far has been focused on officers who are assigned to patrol related duties and are required to wear a department issued uniform (Braga et al., 2018; Farrar, 2013; Headley et al., 2017). However, 21st century policing encompasses police officers who perform a host of general law enforcement assignments. For many agencies, officers assigned to specialized plain clothes teams are charged with very specific high risk work while being responsible for making a substantial number of arrests (Gaub, White, Johnson, Leon, & Petti, 2017; Gaub et al., 2018).

There has been research which suggests that when officers have been assigned BWC, there has been an increase in officer individual enforcement activity and elevated issuance of summonses and arrests compared to when they were not assigned BWC (Braga et al., 2018). Braga et al. (2018) offered that there may be a trade-off with BWC; as officer behavior exhibits a reduction in use of force incidents when a body camera is present, a decrease in citizen complaints have become a natural by-product. The reduction of use of force and complaints may improve public perception of police.

Conversely, research on the potential for BWC to instigate negative outcomes have been documented as well. Adams and Mastracci (2019) found that the application of BWC and lack of organizational support can exacerbate an officer's feeling of burnout and a lack of commitment to their work and the organization. The possibility of BWC to increase formal enforcement activity of police officers (citations and arrests), especially in Black and Latino communities where tensions between the police and citizens remain

high, may undermine any positive feelings achieved. Research results revealed from this unique population of police officers will add to the literature currently available. The potential effect on public safety if officer behavior changes because of introducing BWC reinforces the appropriateness of this study.

In large organizations like the NYPD, there are a host of plain clothes units tasked with proactive enforcement similar to anti-crime teams. Specialized units tasked with vice, gang, and narcotics enforcement traditionally operate in plain clothes and maintain a narrow enforcement focus. Within the NYPD, these units have yet to be supplied with BWC; results from this study will assist executives in their respective decision making regarding deploying BWC to these officers. Data gleaned from this study will not only aid the NYPD, but other large and medium size police agencies across the United States as well.

### **Definitions of Terms**

*Arrest* – The act of using legal authority to deprive someone of his or her freedom of movement, by taking or detaining a person for probable cause to believe they have broken an established law (Legal Information Institute, 2019).

*Body-Worn Camera (BWC)* – a video recording system utilized by law enforcement to record police officers' interactions with the public or to gather video evidence at crime scenes.

*Citation* – Also referred to as a summons is an official document issued by a police officer or other entity who has the lawful authority to do so on behalf of the court to require a person to appear in court for an observed violation of the law or some other specific purpose (Britannica, 2019).

*Command* - also referred to as a *precinct*, both terms are synonymous, these are physical structures which operate as a base of operations for assigned personnel.

*Community* – a social unit that shares common values and is situated in a given geographical area.

*Large Police Organizations* – Are defined as agencies responsible for serving a population of 500,000 or more, as of 2016 there were 32 police departments classified as large agencies (Governing, 2016).

*Police Officer* – a person who is a sworn officer of a law enforcement organization employed by the county, town, municipality, or state and has the authority to effect summary arrest, issue citations and any other law enforcement actions deemed permissible by state law.

*Proactive Policing* – Enforcement action by police officers which is typically initiated by observations or other criminal intelligence, as opposed to acting solely on complaints of citizens via 911 calls and responding to incidents (Muhlhausen, 2018).

*Quality Arrest* – For the purpose of this study, a quality arrest is an arrest for violent crimes and or felony crimes of significance. Misdemeanor arrest may be considered quality if the apprehension addresses a specific identified condition.

*Taser* – also known as a conducted electrical weapon (CEW) is a gun that fires electrified darts to stun and immobilize a person or animal.

*Use of Force* – physical restraint by a member of law enforcement to gain control of an unruly person or situation, or the amount of effort required by the police to compel compliance by an unwilling subject, can constitute simply placing a hand on the suspect, the use of a taser (CEW) or deadly physical force (Miller, 2012).

*Violent Crime* – According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), violent crimes are defined as murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Violent crimes are also defined as those offenses which involve force or threat of force (FBI, 2019).

## **Chapter Summary**

The adoption of body-worn cameras by police agencies has been met with a host of mixed opinions, feelings, and expectations. Multiple empirical studies have identified the ability of BWC to reduce officer use of force, citizen complaints, and improved procedural justice (Braga et al., 2018; Demir et al., 2018; Farrar, 2013). Relationships between the police and Black and Latino communities have been marred by a history of distrust and tension (Meacham, 2018). In many of these communities, where anti-crime officers are often engaged in high risk enforcement activities, the approval of police actions and behaviors are often highly criticized and scrutinized by residents and media alike. The ability of BWC to potentially offer transparency in confrontational encounters between police and citizens continue to make this technology a potential game-changing tool (Jennings et al., 2014).

Civil litigation became the instigator for the NYPD adoption of BWC from a small pilot of 54 cameras in 2015 to a full patrol deployment of over 20,000 cameras in 2019. Support for BWC in New York City began with the agency's top executive, Police Commissioner William Bratton, who explained that he believed BWC were an undeniable part of the future of policing (Campbell, 2014). Proactive plain clothes policing units referred to as anti-crime teams are a significant part of the NYPD's fight to combat violent street level crimes. The assignment of cameras to these officers was a

significant undertaking, members of these teams are often engaged in stops of pedestrians which may become adversarial. Members of these teams are tasked with a much different mission than uniformed patrol officers, inherently making their experience with BWC dissimilar to other police officers.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature relevant to the research questions and problem statement which guided this study. Chapter 3 outlines the research methodology utilized for this study. Chapter 4 highlights the data analysis and findings from this study, and Chapter 5 provides implications of the research, and recommendations for the future.

## **Chapter 2: Review of the Literature**

### **Introduction and Purpose**

The advent of body-worn camera technology has for the first time, allowed researchers and practitioners to have a better understanding of the often complicated and at times, emotionally charged interactions between police and citizens (Makin et al., 2018). Makin et al. (2018) explained that policing is an emotional and demanding position; at times the emotions of the officer may spill over into individual police-citizen encounters and may become stressful for the members of the community as well.

Often researchers will refer to the Rodney King story as a pivotal moment in our history, an incident that reminds us of the enormous power that police officers have (Davis, 1994). Rodney King led police on a chase down a California highway in 1992. Once he finally came to a stop and was removed from his vehicle, Rodney King was repeatedly beaten by Los Angeles police officers; this assault was one of the first involving the police captured on video camera (Davis, 1994). The researcher suggests that police officers behaving badly has been captured on video recording long before Rodney King became part of the national conversation. Disturbing images of African American men and women being attacked by police dogs, batons, and water hoses, because of their civil protest for equality have been well documented for over 60 years.

To understand the benefits and intrusion of electronic surveillance in the public domain, we must understand the balance between effective law enforcement and privacy interests in relation to protected Fourth Amendment constitutional rights. Electronic

surveillance techniques date back as far as the Civil War, with the advent of relatively sophisticated communications for the time, electronic surveillance was used successfully as an intelligence gathering tool by government agents (Goldsmith, 1983).

The operation of the telegraph required that messages be written before transmission and then there was a process of passing the message between multiple operators. The telegraph companies of the era established a policy of keeping a copy of every message transmitted, thereby creating a treasure trove of personal and sensitive information (Agur, 2013). With multiple levels of human intervention, Fourth Amendment privacy protections were susceptible to violation by government entities as well as others. The mere interception of a private message by government agents or anyone else made the sacredness of our Fourth Amendment protections perilously vulnerable to violations.

Much like public apprehension of allowing access to private wire transfers during the 19th century (Agur, 2013), practitioners, academics, and citizens today worry about privacy violations current police technology may instigate (Ray et al., 2017). The efficacy of this intrusion is still debated as we enter the new era of police surveillance with BWC. Legal scholars have debated as to what measures law enforcement and government oversight will put in place to safeguard retention policies and access to potentially sensitive recordings of citizens via BWC (Pagliarella, 2016). Over 2 decades ago, this discussion centered around capturing images of citizens on closed circuit television (CCTV) and in-car dashboard cameras utilized by police. Today the technological advancement of BWC has become even more intrusive than the aforementioned CCTV and in-car camera.

In the late 1990s, the nation saw a proliferation of civil litigation filed against state police and highway patrol agencies throughout the United States, alleging racially motivated traffic stops of Black and Latino members of the community (Westphal, 2004). To assist law enforcement agencies and specifically the police accused of biased actions amongst other complaints, “the Department of Justice’s (DOJ) Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) created the In-Car Camera Incentive Program” (Westphal, 2004, para. 3). Beginning in 2000, federal grants were dispersed to multiple law enforcement agencies to outfit department vehicles with in-car cameras; “by the end of 2003, 47 states and the District of Columbia had received more than 21 million dollars in federal assistance for the purchase of in-car cameras” (Westphal, 2004, p. 60). In-car cameras are typically mounted in the interior of the police vehicle and positioned towards the front windshield in an effort to offer an accurate account of traffic stops and some encounters with civilians which may take place directly in front of the police vehicle (Westphal, 2004).

Closed circuit television (CCTV) is a significant part of our culture and in communities in the Western world, the use of CCTV has grown over the past few decades (Welsh & Farrington, 2009). Cameras recording our movements as we shop in department stores, travel through airports, and traverse city streets have become the norm for our society. Research conducted by Welsh and Farrington (2009), identified that in the United Kingdom, on average, citizens are captured on camera 300 times per day; in our society we have relinquished some of our rights to privacy for the assumption that we are safer for it (Ariel, Sutherland, Henstock, Young, & Sosinski, 2018).

Scholars have suggested that the presence of CCTV has had a modest effect on decreasing crime and criminal behavior (Ariel et al., 2016; Ariel et al., 2018; Welsh & Farrington, 2009). Ariel et al. (2018) opined that “the purported effects of CCTV are a function of awareness and probability of apprehension” (p. 8). In order for the benefits of camera surveillance to be realized there must be a realization by the bad actor that he or she is being recorded and what the repercussion of their actions on camera may be (Ariel et al., 2018). Many municipalities have spent significant amounts of taxpayer monies on the procurement of CCTV cameras. In New York City alone, \$25 million dollars was spent during the fiscal year 2007 to install cameras in buses and subway stations throughout the city. In a meta-analysis conducted by Welsh and Farrington (2009), of 44 different studies on the effectiveness of CCTV cameras at varying locations, there was an overall reduction in crime of approximately 16%, half being directly correlated to vehicle thefts in car parks. Unfortunately, there was nil effect on violent crimes against people, for example, assaults, robberies, and similar crimes.

Recently the rise of the citizen journalist has added to the recording of human actions captured on video; increasingly, encounters between the police and citizens have garnered the most visceral responses from the public. Many Americans, approximately 95%, own a cellular telephone device of some kind and the majority of those devices have the potential to record any encounter or incident in the public domain (Pew Research Center, 2018). The possibility of a personal camera recording any police-public encounter should remove any feelings or thoughts of anonymity by all involved parties, however as a society we consistently observe individuals misbehaving in public on video recordings (Ariel et al., 2018; Yao & Flanagan, 2006).

In 2008, a phenomenon known as critical mass was a recurring problem in New York City. A large number of bicyclists would gather and effectively take over city streets, instantly becoming a nuisance for pedestrians and motorists alike. During one critical mass ride, a NYPD officer arrested a rider and stated that the suspect attacked him with his bicycle and used the bike as a weapon, causing injuries to the officer's arm. Unbeknownst to the officer, a citizen standing out of view recorded the incident on his cell phone, the video totally exonerated the cyclist and refuted the officer's statements, leading to the officer's subsequent indictment (Harris, 2010). This event and many others like it, have furthered the level of distrust between communities and the police.

### **Potential Intrusion of Technology**

Facial recognition technology has been discussed in the law enforcement community for the past 2 decades as a potential tool for more effective policing (Kanchwala, 2019). The technology utilizes a camera to pinpoint facial features on the human face, thereby creating a map. A collection of the data gathered would be compared to pre-recorded facial images stored in a database in an effort to identify a match between the two images (FaceX, 2019). The pervasive and intrusive nature of surveillance cameras, BWC, and facial recognition have slowly become acceptable by the populous as citizens become desensitized to the presence of video cameras in our society (Ariel et al., 2016).

Research on facial recognition has been in existence for over 50 years and gained significant financial support in the 1980s when the Department of Defense backed studies into the technology (Kanchwala, 2019). In 2001, facial recognition technology was loaned to the Tampa, Florida Police Department for a 1 year trial, which did not yield

significant results. During that time period the technology was used by the department for the first time in a public space at the NFL Super Bowl in January, 2001. Thousands of spectators were subject to facial scans in an effort to identify potential terrorist suspects and known criminals (Bonsor & Johnson, 2001).

Phillips et al. (2018) conducted a study of three separate and distinct groups in an effort to identify the most accurate measure of facial identification. All three subject groups were tasked with identifying and comparing facial matches under realistic scenarios. The groups were categorized as *super recognizers* – individuals who are not trained but possess strong skills in facial recognition. The second group consisted of professional forensic facial examiners, and third was the use of facial recognition software (Phillips et al., 2018).

Participants referred to as super recognizers performed well in their ability to identify and match individual faces. However, professional forensic facial examiners are extremely adept at determining if two facial images are indeed a match and outperformed the previous group. This group of experts were able to identify digital images of targets with an accuracy matched only by the facial recognition software. Researchers concluded that the optimal use of the technology would involve a collaboration of software and human forensic facial experts (Phillips et al., 2018).

The enthusiasm surrounding BWC as a tool for increased transparency, accountability, and behavior modifiers are well placed. The technology has the ability to meet all of those anticipated goals. Similarly facial recognition software offers hopes of efficient policing and crime control. Recently, technology vendors have endeavored to incorporate the two technology applications into one law enforcement tool (Ringrose,

2019), essentially allowing artificial intelligence to capture and recognize faces in real time, and turning police officers into mobile surveillance machines. According to the Bureau of Justice and Statistics (BJS), approximately 21% of the population of the United States over the age of 16 years old, experienced some form of contact with the police during the calendar year of 2015 (Davis, Whyde, & Langton, 2018). With the use of this technology every one of these encounters has the potential to become a constitutional rights violation.

Constitutional rights advocates have expressed deep concern over the evolving technological capabilities available to law enforcement and specifically the police. BWC equipped with facial recognition software would inherently turn the innocent passing of an officer by a member of the public into a police encounter (Ringrose, 2019). “A 2016 U.S. Department of Justice–funded study found that at least nine out of thirty-eight BWC manufacturers currently include some form of facial recognition in their camera technology or are planning for its possible future inclusion” (Ringrose, 2019, p. 60).

Research has identified that facial recognition software has demonstrated significant error rates when identifying Black faces (Ringrose, 2019). Datasets which may be underrepresented with certain demographic features can trigger the targeting of select groups.

At least 117 million Americans are included in law enforcement face recognition networks. A yearlong research investigation across 100 police departments revealed that African-American individuals are more likely to be stopped by law enforcement and be subjected to face recognition searches than individuals of

other ethnicities. False positives and unwarranted searches pose a threat to civil liberties. (Buolamwini & Gebru, 2018, p. 2)

Of note, the BJS identified that in 2015 the police were equally likely to initiate contact with Blacks and Whites (11%) each, and less likely with Hispanics (9%) (Davis et al., 2018), but it should be noted that Blacks and Hispanics only make up approximately 13.4% and 18.1% of the U.S. population respectively, while Whites constitute approximately 60% of the U.S. population (U. S. Census Bureau, 2018). The propensity for officers to engage with Blacks at a higher rate than their White counterparts relative to population size, raises serious concerns when adding facial recognition into these encounters. Black citizens are much more likely to be falsely identified by facial recognition and possibly subjected to constitutional violations.

The balance between constitutional freedoms, an effective criminal justice system, law and order, all while introducing intrusive technological advancements are a meaningful challenge. The intrusiveness of BWC, CCTV, and other similar technologies have been addressed by the Supreme Court in multiple cases. In *Katz v. United States* (1967) the court clearly established that what a person consciously exposes to the public, i.e., their face, cannot be protected under the Fourth Amendment privacy aegis. Similarly, the Supreme Court acknowledged that a person cannot have a reasonable expectation that others will not know the sound of his voice, any more than he can reasonably expect that his face will be a mystery to the world (*United States v. Dionisio*, 1973).

Although the preceding cases have been cited to address and support the use of technology in capturing video and audio evidence for criminal prosecution, both cases are

over 40 years old. New case law and precedent are consistently being challenged and created in regards to intrusive law enforcement techniques. Recent criminal cases involving the use of force by police officers and recording evidence of criminal activity by BWC, have come before the courts at the state and federal level. In *Van Pelt v. Palma* (2018) the 2<sup>nd</sup> circuit, U.S. District Court upheld the defendant's motion to utilize BWC video as evidence that the accused officers did not use excessive force, contrary to assertions made by the plaintiff. Consistent with previous decisions, federal courts have also allowed statements which were made by suspects/defendants and were captured on BWC to be allowed as evidence even when the presence of the camera was unknown by the suspect or defendant (*United States v. Lloyd*, 2018; *Van Pelt v. Palma*, 2018).

The intrusive and prying nature of BWC and a host of other law enforcement technological tools have significant ramifications for the public who are supposed to benefit from these applications. Beyond the public concern, officers who are tasked with wearing BWC face a significant impact on their privacy and working conditions. As technological advancements continue to allow for more transparency, lack of privacy, and anonymity, officer behavior may significantly change. There is an assumption that BWC will identify bad actors amongst police officers, reduce use of force complaints, and possibly effect arrest activity (Ariel et al., 2015). However, there is still limited research on the effect of this intrusive technology on professional police officers who may fear criticism of proactive actions observed on camera, the negative connotations if they fail to record an arrest, and/or discontinuance of recording during an encounter. These concerns and fears may have an impact on officer activity after BWC deployment.

## **Body Camera Research**

The implementation of BWC is a new tool for the law enforcement community; with that in mind the researcher utilized a date range of 1998 to present day to primarily select empirical literature for this study. The process of selecting 1998 as the starting date range was solely based on identifying the first known police agency to utilize BWC, the Escondido, California, police department. As an evolving technological tool, studies regarding BWC could not be retrieved from one sole database. The researcher utilized various criminal justice journals, department of justice websites and academic databases as a resource to identify relevant studies. The researcher excluded qualitative studies that were solely focused on citizen response or perceptions of BWC. An extensive review of the literature revealed that there is a dearth of empirical studies directly focused on the effect of BWC on officers assigned to specialized units. This study adds to the current body of literature regarding the effect of BWC on officers assigned to specialized units, specifically anti-crime teams.

The introduction of body-worn cameras as a tool for police officers in their daily task is a relatively recent phenomenon. In the past decade, BWC technological advancement has exploded onto the law enforcement scene (Gimbel, 2016). Much like its predecessor – the in-car camera, BWC have become the latest technological advancement purported to possibly reduce the number of citizen complaints and police use of force (White, Gaub, & Todak, 2017). Additionally, BWC have been identified as a possible tool to improve transparency and public trust in police actions (Sousa et al., 2017). Empirical research has offered that BWC may potentially dissuade friction between Black and Latino communities of color and the police (Braga et al., 2018). The

Bureau of Justice Administration (2015), identified BWC as one of the tools available to law enforcement for improving community trust, transparency, and accountability. In 2016, 47% of the 15,328 law enforcement agencies in the United States reported that they were utilizing BWC in some capacity; in contrast 69% reported using dashboard cameras (Hyland, 2018). Lum (2015), cautioned that the relatively new device should be further researched, and police agencies should proceed with caution.

### **The First Body-Worn Camera**

Prototypes for BWC were first introduced to the law enforcement community in 1994 (Stockton, 1999). The initial application of BWC in policing can be traced back to an early pilot conducted by the Escondido Police Department, San Diego County, California, on February 27, 1998; they became the first law enforcement agency in the United States to receive the COPCAM(R) System 5, developed by SEMCO (Newswire, 1998). COPCAM was the first mobile camera assigned to police officers, which allowed for the dual recording of audio and video away from the police vehicle. The device interfaced with the in-car camera system and allowed the officer to switch between his BWC and his in-car camera as well as a third covert camera strategically placed in the rear of the vehicle to record prisoner movements (Newswire, 1998). Multiple companies have created miniature cameras for law enforcement purposes before the COPCAM, these devices were primarily utilized for covert purposes, for example, undercover police operations (Stockton, 1999). The COPCAM was the first camera manufactured for police officers, to be worn on their uniform and as a tool for daily police patrol operations (Stockton, 1999). The COPCAM device possessed technical limitations in its use; the camera was unable to record more than a half mile away from the patrol vehicle, negating

the potential benefits of wearing the camera (Newswire, 1998). According to Sergeant Craig Miller of the Escondido, CA, Police Department, his agency discontinued use of the COPCAM after approximately 1 year because of the *bulky* size of the equipment. BWC, unlike their predecessor the in-car camera and COPCAM, allow officers to move away from their patrol vehicle and continue to record video and audio seamlessly (USDOJ, 2015).

Vicente and Fisher (2007) conducted a qualitative study commissioned by the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary, in the United Kingdom (UK). The focus of their research was a 6-month pilot on the use of body worn digital recording devices, referred to at the time as *head cameras*, being worn by police officers. Early research identified that residents believed head cameras may influence the reduction of violent crimes and 62.6% of respondents, mainly women, stated that they felt safer knowing officers were wearing cameras (Vicente & Fisher, 2007). Following this initial research, the Plymouth Basic Command Unit commenced a 17-month BWC pilot with 300 officers (Police and Crime Standards Directorate, 2007). The pre and post data analysis from 2005/2006 compared to 2006/2007 identified that cameras may have had an impact on the Plymouth criminal justice system. After the assignment of BWC, research identified a 12.8% reduction in stabbings and slashings, 1.2% reduction in violent crime, and an increase of 26.9% in criminal charges filed (Smykla, Crow, Crichlow, & Snyder, 2015). Similarly, there was an increase of 7.3% in the number of violent crimes prosecuted and a reduction of 22.4% in officer time spent on paperwork. The officers who participated in the study observed an overall 14.3% reduction in citizen complaints against police officers. This research demonstrated early on, the potential for body camera technology to be a

promising device for enhancing public support of police work, and ultimately police legitimacy like its predecessor the in-car camera (Groff & Wood, 2015).

The Victoria Police Department in British Columbia, Canada, became the first agency in North America to implement BWC (Laur, LeBlanc, Stephen, Lane, & Taylor, 2010). On July 1, 2009, the department initiated a trial program of BWC and in-vehicle video cameras which lasted until October 30, 2009. The pilot program consisted of 20 police officers assigned to foot and/or bicycle patrols who were responsible for testing four different BWC. Officers who were assigned cameras during the short trial period reported no civilian complaints filed against them. Laur et al. (2010) suggested an important observation was made at the completion of the trial which differed from the Plymouth study; officers reported spending more time completing paperwork when video was involved compared to the period before they were assigned cameras. The presence of the video recording offered an additional source of evidence which required officers to review in order to ensure accuracy of reports. However, in response to surveys, 80% of officers who used the equipment felt that video provided a more accurate account of incidents.

Research results demonstrated a decrease in public hostility towards officers and reduction in aggressiveness. The charging approval rate against criminal suspects during the trial period when cameras were present was at 93% compared to 84% during the same year without the device (Laur et al., 2010). At the conclusion of the Victoria Police Department research the agency concluded that BWC were the best option for the organization and community which they serve.

Organizational Development and Support (ODS) Consulting commenced research on pilot BWC in Renfrewshire and Aberdeen, Scotland in 2011. In Renfrewshire only three BWC were deployed in 2006-2007; 3 years later the number of cameras assigned increased to 38. The study focused on the first 8 months of the larger deployment, June 2009 to January 2010. In Aberdeen, the pilot program was initiated on June 1, 2010 and began with 18 cameras, which eventually increased to 39 (ODS, 2011).

Farrar (2013), conducted a mixed methods randomized control trial for 1 year with officers assigned to the Rialto, California Police Department. This research was seminal in the United States as one of the first to study the effects of BWC on police officer's behavior. Utilizing previous research on social behavior, Farrar (2013) believed that individuals who are aware that their actions are being watched or recorded will adopt behavior which is deemed socially acceptable. This theory is in contrast to research results utilizing CCTV cameras, where the behavior modifying effects were minimal (Welsh & Farrington, 2009). Civil behavior by individuals interacting with the police will potentially decrease the need for police use of force, arrest, and possibility of excessive force.

The experimental group in the Rialto study was assigned high definition, visible BWC; Farrar (2013) endeavored to note the use of force by this group compared to the control group who were not assigned BWC. The effect of BWC on citizen complaints against officers were also measured (Farrar, 2013). Farrar (2013) identified that the control group experienced twice as many incidents with use of force compared to their colleagues in the experimental group. During a qualitative analysis of BWC videos – over 6,776 video files were viewed, three significant facts were identified.

First, results of the analysis study revealed that overwhelmingly, when body camera equipped officers used force they did not utilize any weapons. In the majority of these incidents of force which were recorded, the suspect resisted and engaged in physical confrontation with the arresting officer. Secondly, when officers did utilize a conductive electronic weapon (CEW/taser), in every case the suspect was belligerent and initiated physical contact with the officer (Farrar, 2013). Finally, the control group initiated physical contact with suspects more often than their experimental group colleagues, identifying that the use of BWC had a restraining effect on officers when it came to the use of force.

The findings suggested a more than 50% reduction in use of force by officers assigned to wear a BWC and over a 90% reduction in complaints against all officers (Farrar, 2013). The research findings offered significant results, which if applicable to other police departments would undoubtedly offer a tremendous opportunity to change controversial police-citizen encounters. Within the law enforcement community there has been debate over the Farrar (2013) study; critics have asserted that the research was flawed in the sense that the findings cannot be easily transferable to large organizations (Ariel, Sutherland, & Henstock, 2016; Ariel, Sutherland, Henstock, Young et al., 2016; Reddit, 2014). The Rialto police department employs 115 sworn police officers and 42 non-sworn personnel; comparatively this agency would be considered a mid-size department when compared to other police departments across the United States (Farrar, 2013).

Jennings et al. (2014) offered a different approach to BWC research compared to Vicente and Fisher (2007) and Farrar (2013). Jennings et al. (2014) focused their

qualitative study on officer perceptions of the technology. At the time of the study there was little to no empirical evidence on what police officers thought of the BWC. The data were based on surveys administered to Orlando, Florida police officers ( $n=95$ ) who were already part of a randomized experiment on the impact of BWC on law enforcement (Jennings et al., 2014). The results revealed that overall, police officers were open to the idea of BWC and supportive of the cameras being issued to officers. Approximately 43% of officers agreed that wearing cameras would foster a *by the book* behavior from other officers. Conversely, only 19.8% of respondents believed that BWC would have any effect on their own behavior. Consistent with the Vicente and Fisher (2007) study, when we look solely at gender, female officers in the Jennings et al. (2014) study agreed with female UK residents that BWC may make them feel safer.

The research initiated by Vicente and Fisher (2007), did not focus on BWC as a device for increased transparency and accountability (Sousa et al., 2017). The technology was looked at as solely a tool for recording evidence and citizen-officer interactions. Unlike Vicente and Fisher (2007), the Farrar (2013) study offered a deeper look into the potential for BWC to dissuade abusive behavior by police officers, reduce agitated responses by citizens when confronted by officers, and decrease complaints against these very officers. This study was squarely focused on uniformed officers, much like other empirical research, there was no inclusion of plain-clothes anti-crime teams or similarly situated units (Farrar, 2013).

Fouche (2014) conducted a qualitative study with the University of Georgia Police department, the results of which identified that the acceptance of BWC by police officers was dependent on external variables. Fouche (2014) found a correlation between

demographic data and feelings towards the BWC. Respondents who identified themselves between the ages of 21 to 25 (16%) showed the most support for BWC along with officers who possessed a Bachelor's degree or higher (51%), and those with 2 or fewer years of law enforcement experience (22%) (Fouche, 2014). The difference in agreement toward BWC by demographic calculus may be applied to the technology acceptance model. The TAM explains that the perceived usefulness and ease of use directly impact the acceptance of new technology by individuals (Davis et al., 1989). Younger officers who have utilized technology in their personal lives before becoming police officers may be more willing to embrace new forms of technology in their professional lives. Newly assigned officers may also be more energetic toward accepting BWC when compared to their experienced colleagues due to generational differences, as well as technological comfort level and current job satisfaction (Fouche, 2014).

Obasi (2017), engaged in similar research as Fouche (2014), studying law enforcement officers assigned to a sheriff's office in the southern United States and their perceived ease of use and usefulness of BWC technology. The researcher utilizing quantitative research also attempted to identify if officers' gender and years of experience played any part in their acceptance of body camera technology. The researcher distributed questionnaires to 120 officers and received completed questionnaires from 88 respondents. Fifty-three percent of the participating officers were female, unlike many other studies where respondents were typically male, and 57% of the officers involved had between 3 and 10 years of experience (Obasi, 2017). Results from the research indicated that 85% of respondents found the body camera easy to use, 70% disagreed that BWC were cumbersome, and 80% did not believe it took much mental effort to use the

device (Obasi, 2017). Respondents believed that the camera was helpful in critical aspects of their job (84%), and only 55% acknowledged that they believed the camera made it easier to do their jobs. The overwhelming majority (94%) of respondents believed that cameras were beneficial. Data identified that the more years of service an officer possessed, the less likely they were to fully accept body camera technology, and gender failed to be significantly correlated to any of the independent variables (Obasi, 2017).

Researchers, Gaub, Choate, Todak, Katz, and White, (2016) offered a different approach to understanding officers perceptions of BWC, unlike previous studies where user perceptions were based on their experience wearing the camera (Fouche, 2014; Jennings et al., 2014). The researchers identified officer perceptions before being assigned BWC and their perceptions after having experienced working with the camera. The study compared officer perceptions between three police departments in the western United States, between 2013 and 2015 pre and post BWC implementation (Gaub et al., 2016). The authors of the study surveyed police officers in Tempe, Arizona (treatment group ( $n = 102$ ), Phoenix, Arizona (treatment group,  $n = 56$ ), and Spokane, Washington (treatment group,  $n = 80$ ) (Gaub et al., 2016). Officers in each city were provided with anonymous surveys pre and post deployment.

Pre-deployment responses identified that across all three departments, approximately 78% to 80% of respondents believed that BWC would produce more accurate accounts of incidents and improve the digital collection of evidence (Gaub et al., 2016). There was a perceived belief among officers, 47% to 64%, that BWC would generally be effective in responses to domestic violence cases, especially in prosecutions

when victims were unwilling to testify (Gaub et al., 2016). Officers in all three departments expressed concern over the comfort and ease of use of the BWC; less than half of the respondents believed that the BWC would be easy to use. In Phoenix, only 27.5% of officers believed in ease of use (Gaub et al., 2016).

Of the three agencies studied, Phoenix officers were the most skeptical of BWC's ability to change citizen behavior, and believed that officers would be more inclined to avoid citizen contact – 64.6%, compared to only 23.8% of Tempe respondents. Gaub et al. (2016) identified that only 16.4% of Phoenix officers believed that the advantages of BWC outweighed the negatives; conversely 77.6% of Tempe officers believed in the advantages over any disadvantages. Spokane respondents consistently fell in between Phoenix and Tempe in their responses. Phoenix officers expressed significant displeasure with the idea of BWC, with only 10.8% believing the agency should adopt the technology and 8.2% believed BWC should be deployed nationwide. Many of the respondents explained that they were concerned that the presence of a BWC would cause officers to hesitate when engaged in dangerous situations; the prevalence of video footage negates the word of an officer and they also believed that the public has misguided perceptions regarding what BWC can offer (Gaub et al., 2016).

Post-deployment responses by officers exhibited an increased acceptance of the technology and more favorable opinions. Spokane officers identified a 16% increase in the belief that officers were receiving BWC well, however there was a 11% decrease in preconceived notions about BWC, specifically that BWC would aid in domestic violence cases (Gaub et al., 2016). Perceptions that citizens would be more cooperative and officers' would act in a more professional manner, both declined 11.4% and 10.7%

respectively (Gaub et al., 2016). This is unlike the Jennings et al. (2014) study where respondents offered a more favorable view of BWC. Overall respondents believed the body camera was relatively easy to use and did not find it challenging or difficult to record and or upload videos, which was consistent with findings in other empirical studies (Gaub, et al, 2016; Obasi, 2017). Based on the TAM model, officer buy-in and acceptance will be a driving force to realizing the ultimate benefits of BWC (Davis et al., 1989; Gaub et al., 2016).

Comparable to Gaub et al. (2016), Owens, (2014) initiated research which studied the impact of BWC on the criminal justice outcomes of domestic violence incidents in Essex, England. Police officers in the Essex study held preconceived notions that body camera video would aid in successful prosecution, specifically in domestic violence cases where at times, there is a lack of support and cooperation from the victim. A total of 70 officers were assigned BWC and responded to 2,761 domestic incidents over the 4 month trial (Owens, 2014). The researchers did not analyze victims' feelings toward officers after encountering a BWC officer, but instead just focused on criminal sanctions, if any, and whether the camera played any part. Findings indicated that there were not significant differences in whether an arrest was affected if a BWC was present or not; however there was an increase in the seriousness of charges filed when a BWC was present – 81% compared to 72% in the control group.

Headley et al. (2017) conducted a qualitative BWC study with the Hallandale Beach, Florida Police Department. The study focused on officer perceptions and behavior, specifically was there a *de-policing* effect with the implementation of BWC. The researchers explained de-policing as the internal fear of this external device, which

negatively impacts officer job performance by inhibiting the undertaking of normal duties. Similarly, Chiarlitti (2016) conducted research on police officers' fear of civil litigation and the paralyzing effect civil suits may have on officer behavior, thus creating a de-policing effect. Scholars are continuously attempting to understand if the application of BWC may stoke some of the same fears and impact officer actions (Headley et al., 2017).

Study participants were provided with a survey which attempted to gauge officer receptiveness and overall satisfaction with the BWC implementation process. Secondary administrative data were obtained in an effort to identify any change in officer behavior once assigned a BWC (Headley et al., 2017). Results revealed that the addition of BWC did impact officer behavior but did not negatively affect officer job performance, there was no significant evidence of officer de-policing; however there was a decrease in arrest activity by officers assigned a BWC and the controlled group officers without a BWC, 16.1% and 8.9% respectively (Headley et al., 2017). The researchers did acknowledge that the reductions in arrest activity did not reach any statistical significance and could be assumed to have happened by chance. Contact with citizens by officers who were assigned BWC and documentation of those contacts increased by 27.3% and officers who did not have BWC exhibited a decrease in citizen contact of 9.6% (Headley et al., 2017). The discrepancy in data may be attributed to a heightened sense of awareness by officers assigned BWC and a focus on documentation because these interactions have been captured on video.

Hickman (2017), conducted a unique study within the New York City Police Department on officer perceptions of BWC. Hickman (2017) focused on two officer

partner teams within the NYPD. Hickman's quantitative research identified partners who were assigned to work together, but only one officer was assigned to wear a BWC. The target group of officers ( $n = 82$ ) responded via surveys and offered their respective perceptions regarding when only one officer was assigned a BWC in a two partner team. Respondents were officers who volunteered to wear a BWC and their partners who did not volunteer, nor wore a BWC. All participants were required to complete their survey online (Hickman, 2017). The researcher attempted to answer four specific questions: what are the perceptions of BWC by officers wearing the camera and their non-body camera partners; did the presence of the camera affect either officers' behavior; did the presence of the camera impact the relationship between the two officers; and is there any impact between years of experience and perceptions of the body camera. In similar research Fouche (2014), identified there was a correlation between years of experience and perceptions of BWC. Younger officers (between the age of 21 and 25) were more receptive to the technology than their more experienced colleagues.

Hickman's (2017) research offered interesting results. Approximately 20% of respondents who were not assigned a camera felt that the department should not adopt BWC for officers. Conversely 52.5% of officers who did wear the camera believed that all officers should be assigned a body camera. A small percentage of officers who were assigned cameras stated that they were not comfortable wearing the device (12.5%). However, the non-camera wearing partners expressed their comfort with their partner wearing a camera (60.47%) (Hickman, 2017). When asked if they believed the camera made them a better officer 45% of the respondents disagreed, but 40% of officers who wore the camera agreed that it did make them feel safer (Hickman, 2017).

Ramos (2017) conducted a qualitative study with a Southern, California police agency that consisted of 20 personal ride-alongs and 9 in-depth interviews, in an effort to understand officers' perceptions of BWC. Respondents acknowledged that there was a feeling that the tables have been turned; previously the police were tasked with watching civilians and with the advent of BWC officers are now the ones being watched (Ramos, 2017). Officers also explained that they had concerns of being scrutinized by administrators and civilians alike, and because of that the camera has made them change their behavior (Ramos, 2017). Behavioral changes by officers who were assigned BWC have also been observed in quantitative studies as well (Braga et al., 2018; Headley et al., 2017).

In 2014, research was conducted on the impact of BWC to police officers assigned to the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department (LVMPD). A quantitative randomized controlled trial of 400 police officers was initiated and resulted in findings that supported the theory that BWC impact police officer behavior (Braga et al., 2018; Farrar, 2013). In 2011, LVMPD started a small pilot test of BWC; at the time the agency was under a significant amount of criticism and scrutiny around their policies and use of force incidents. In 2013 the department adopted a BWC program and officially rolled out cameras to their first 200 officers (Braga et al., 2018). It is important to note that when the Braga et al. (2018) study commenced, the organization had experienced some contact with BWC for almost 3 years.

The results of the Braga et al. (2018) study identified that BWC did have an effect on officers' use of force, civilian complaints, and enforcement activity. Research has identified that overall complaints against officers and use of force were rare events in

comparison to the amount of citizen contacts police engage in (Ariel, Sutherland, Henstock, Young et al., 2016; Brandl, Stroshine, & Frank, 2001; Farrar, 2013; Young & Ready, 2016). In the 1 year period preceding the study, 45.4% LVMPD officers assigned to the treatment group and 52% of officers assigned to the control group did not experience a single complaint (Braga et al., 2018). Similarly, 68.8% of treatment officers and 73.7% of control group officers did not generate a single use of force report during the preceding 1 year period (Braga et al., 2018).

During the body camera intervention period, the number of treatment group officers who generated at least one complaint decreased by 16.5% compared with the number of controlled group officers who received at least one complaint which decreased by only 2.5% (Braga et al., 2018). During the treatment period, officers who were assigned a BWC and engaged in at least one use of force incident decreased by 11.5%. When equated with officers who remained in the control group, the non-camera wearing officers saw a 1.0% increase in at least one use of force incident (Braga et al., 2018). The researchers also identified that officers who were assigned BWC affected more arrests and citations than their non-camera colleagues (Braga et al., 2018). This was unlike Hallandale, Florida where research revealed a decrease in arrest activity when assigned a BWC (Headley et al., 2017). Further research is needed to determine what the impact of this increased, or in some cases, decreased enforcement will be on the communities served by these officers and specifically economically disadvantaged communities.

In 2015, quantitative research conducted by White, Gaub, and Todak (2018), with the Spokane, Washington Police Department, explored the impact of BWC on complaints of officer use of excessive force and officer injuries, using over 3 years of department

data, pre and post BWC deployment. Post body camera deployment, the number of body camera officers who received a complaint decreased by 78%, similar to the Farrar (2013) study. Incidents of use of force decreased by 8%, but officers who remained in the control group without a body camera experienced an increase in use of force incidents by 17% (White et al., 2018). However once the members of the control group were assigned BWC, their use of force declined by 50%. The members of the treatment group demonstrated a change in use of force as well. After the RCT was complete this group of officers exhibited an increase in the use of force by 27%. The reason for the increased incidents of use of force remains unclear. One possible reason could be attributed to a departmental policy change. Beginning in January 2016, the agency leadership instituted a new use of force policy which required officers to document a wider spectrum of reportable force. This unforeseen variable may have contributed to the increased use of force reported (White et al., 2017).

In 2017, Willits and Makin initiated a unique research program surrounding BWC and use of force. In an effort to further understand negative emotionality between civilians and police and its role as an instigator for use of force, the researchers utilized BWC video to identify where and how these interactions go wrong. In furtherance of this research Willits and Makin (2017) utilized BWC videos to understand what can become predictors for use of force by police, how use of force is applied, and for how long and with how much intensity. Practitioners have explained that the duration and level of force applied is directly correlated with the level of resistance offered by the suspect (Miller, 2012). Willits and Makin (2017) believed these interactions encompassed much more important nuances and cannot be simply explained without further research. BWC offer a

contemporaneous account of these interactions and are invaluable to decipher how, if at all, they can be improved.

Hedberg, Katz, and Choate (2017), compared the effects of BWC on police officers assigned to a treatment group with cameras and their colleagues in the control group who were not assigned BWC. The researchers attempted to identify if there was any reduction in complaints against officers and change in resistance behavior by citizens. Hedberg et al. (2017) also utilized data to estimate the effect of the cameras if they were used in full compliance with department policy. The setting for the study was the Phoenix Police Department, a large agency of approximately 3,000 sworn officers, similar to the size of LVMPD.

Findings revealed that the mere presence of BWC had an effect on complaints against officers, with the likelihood of a complaint being filed reduced by 62% (Hedberg et al., 2017). There were multiple variables for why there was such a significant reduction in complaints, the mere presence of cameras and the assumption of being recorded may have had a civilizing deterrent effect on citizens interacting with officers (Hedberg et al., 2017). Researchers offered another potential variable, those officers who neglected to activate their recordings may have anticipated increased scrutiny if the interaction escalated and the use of force became necessary. If they failed to adhere to policy and record the event, this awareness of intense scrutiny may have motivated the officer to change his behavior in order to deescalate the situation (Hedberg et al., 2017). Findings further indicated that activation and compliance with policy was relatively low, with cameras being activated in approximately 32% of incidents. However officers did activate more often in certain instances, such as domestic violence (47%) and violent

offenses (39%) (Hedberg et al., 2017). The overall conclusions from their research revealed that BWC had no effect on the rate of arrest or resistance, but can have a significant impact on complaints filed against officers.

Young and Ready (2016) conducted an experiment with a large metropolitan police department in the Southwestern region of the United States. One hundred officers were selected from five patrol districts which were geographically situated in close proximity to each other. The officers were selected to take part in an experimental evaluation. The officers were separated into two groups, 50 assigned to the treatment group and 50 in the control group without cameras. Of the 50 officers in the treatment group, half volunteered to wear BWC and the other half were randomly selected. The officers included in this experiment engaged in 1,475 police-citizen encounters over the 9- month period under review.

Young and Ready (2016) attempted to look at two different policy conditions; how will camera usage affect officer behavior when they are mandated to operate under strict policy guidelines, as opposed to when officers are given discretion. Research results revealed multiple findings, most important to this study and analogous with previous research from Ready and Young (2015), officers were more likely to affect arrest in situations which internal policy dictated as mandatory, irrelevant of the presence of the BWC. Also, Ready and Young (2015) explained that their research identified that officers who were assigned BWC were less likely to engage in stop and frisks and make arrest, similar to findings of Braga et al. (2018).

## **BWC and Specialized Units**

As BWC continues to rapidly expand across the law enforcement landscape, the use of this technology and empirical studies have solely been focused on patrol officers. There currently is a dearth of empirical research on the effect of BWC on officers assigned to specialized units. This lack of research may be due to small police departments' unwillingness to incorporate the strategic use of specialized plain-clothes officers. Decreasing crime rates compared to years past may have made the need for specialized anti-crime teams obsolete in some policing agencies. Conversely, many midsize to large police departments may maintain a hesitancy to share any data with researchers regarding their organization and specialized units, for fear of criticism.

In the context of this research study, patrol officers are uniformed police officers who are responsible for enforcing laws, settling disputes between parties which may not be criminal, and documenting incidents via reports in their respective geographical area of employment. The current research study involved the effect of BWC on a specific group of anti-crime police officers not assigned to such general police duties. In the milieu of this research, anti-crime officers are assigned to units that are defined as investigative units, canine (K9), gang, special weapons and tactics (SWAT), and anti-crime teams (Gaub, White, Johnson, Leon, & Petti, 2017).

Grossmith et al. (2015) conducted a randomized control trial in the United Kingdom with the Metropolitan Police Services (MPS), spanning 10 boroughs between May 2014 and April 2015. Interesting results were identified which may not be generalizable for officers in other roles or agencies, but should be utilized for informational purposes for agency executives when considering the assignment of BWC

with specialized police units. The research included five emergency response teams (ERT), two of which were provided with BWC. Similar to specialized units in American police forces, the ERT are highly trained and tasked with responding to dangerous and sometimes rapidly unfolding events (Grossmith et al., 2015). These officers often utilize tactical gear which may differ from the uniforms of patrol officers, but traditionally do not work in plain clothes.

Throughout the life of the research, a total 814 officers were randomly assigned to wear cameras and captured a total of 48,281 recordings totalling 12,212 hours of videos. Across both control and treatment groups these officers conducted 11,300 stop and searches of pedestrians, received 261 complaints, and prepared 64,355 reports for criminal activity; 16,191 were related to violent crimes (Grossmith et al., 2015).

The results identified a reduction in civilian complaints, although it did not reach statistical significance. Officers explained that they believed the presence of the BWC changed individuals behavior during encounters. The impact of BWC on civilian complaints has been identified in multiple studies, the evidence is compelling, cameras do have the ability to reduce citizen grievances of officer behavior (Ariel et al., 2018; Barak et al., 2015; Braga et al., 2018).

The number of stops and searches of individual suspects by officers who wore a BWC did not change during the life of the study. Officers acknowledged that the presence of a camera did not change how they conducted stops. However, there was a small decrease in arrests which resulted from a search when the officer was part of a team assigned to wear BWC (Grossmith et al., 2015). During interviews, some officers believed that the presence of a BWC allowed them to feel more confident if challenged;

the video footage helped support their justification to search an individual, providing evidence they would not have had before cameras.

Research results identified no change in the number of arrests for violent crimes across both groups; what was observed was the reduction in the number of charges against a suspect when there was a BWC present. Officers who were assigned to BWC teams did exhibit an increase in their arrest rate, which corresponds with results from other studies (Braga et al., 2018; Grossmith et al., 2015).

To date there has been one published study in the United States which solely analyzed the effect of BWC on police officers assigned to specialized teams. Gaub et al. (2018), utilized qualitative data from 17 focus groups with 72 officers assigned to specialty units in two midsize Western police departments. The setting for the research took place in Spokane, Washington and Tempe, Arizona. Both agencies issued policies governing their respective BWC programs. In each policy there was no information or guidance directly targeted at specialty units (Gaub et al., 2018). The respective policies did share other commonalities as well, specifically activation, deactivation, supervisor and officer review of BWC footage.

Participants were asked a series of questions during focus group sessions; transcripts of all answers were coded to provide insights into specific areas of focus (Gaub et al., 2018). Respondents identified similar feelings as patrol officers regarding BWC and their usefulness. Overall, the specialty unit officers believed the cameras were beneficial in capturing evidence, dissuading frivolous complaints, and encouraging individuals to behave civilly. Officers explained that they had begun to utilize their BWC videos for training purposes, when new members joined the team videos have become an

ancillary training tool from which all members learn (Gaub et al., 2018). Officers who were assigned to work in plain clothes faced unique challenges. Many of the officers stated they repeatedly had trouble mounting the camera while working. Multiple respondents explained that they activated their cameras when they were going to make contact with a citizen or perceived a problem. However, they feared that in the heat of the moment they might not have time to turn on the camera, or they might simply forget. The officers questioned how an incident would be perceived by the media, public, and community if the camera was not activated; they also claimed that the camera did not always tell the entire story even if it is activated (Gaub et al., 2018).

Respondents believed that patrol officers have a much easier time determining when to activate their BWC. The role of a patrol officer requires a response to calls for service by citizens. Once the officer arrives and exits their vehicle they know that they must start recording (Famega, Frank, & Mazerolle, 2005; Gaub et al., 2018). Conversely, officers assigned to specialized units and specifically plain clothes units, often engage with citizens or suspects at less than probable cause to arrest. These interactions may begin and end with no enforcement action by the officer or escalate to physical contact and arrest. A key component of specialized police units is the utilization of unique tactics and human source development also referred to as confidential informants. Respondents explained that they believed the use of cameras may hamper their efforts in these areas to the detriment of the public they serve (Gaub et al., 2018). However, officers believed that the presence of a BWC would have no effect on their respective arrest activities.

## Chapter Summary

The ability to record audio and video from the beginning of an encounter to its conclusion is a revolutionary tool in policing. Scholars have surmised that the presence of a BWC will aid in the correction of bad behavior by police officers when dealing with members of the community (Crow, Snyder, Crichlow, & Ortiz Smykla, 2017). Empirical studies have identified changes in officer behavior after the introduction of BWC into their work environment. Conversely, there have been similar studies which identified that the application of BWC have not initiated significant changes regarding officer behavior. However, a review of the available literature has identified that there is a dearth of empirical studies directly focused on specialized plain-clothes policing units and what if any effect BWC may have on these officers' behavior. To date there is only one qualitative study which targeted this unique population of officers.

The advancement of cellular technology has allowed every citizen to become an independent journalist with the ability to record audio and video interactions between police and citizens. Over the past decade multiple incidents of police officers behaving inappropriately or utilizing questionable tactics have been recorded independently via personal cell phones. Often these videos have gone viral across the Internet and led to strong criticism, if not outright condemnation of law enforcement personnel. In response to the wave of citizen voyeurism BWC have been offered to document the full encounter between police and citizens, which are often complicated and highly stressful.

Farrar (2013), conducted a mixed methods randomized control trial for 1 year with officers assigned to the Rialto, California Police Department. This research was seminal in the United States as one of the first to study the effects of BWC on police

officers' behavior. Results revealed that officers who were assigned BWC exhibited more restraint with regard to use of force when compared to their colleagues who were not assigned a BWC. The findings demonstrated a 50% reduction in use of force by BWC officers and 90% reduction in complaints against officers by civilians. This study was held as evidence of the potential effect BWC could have for any police agency and officer behavior. However, the results of the Farrar (2013) study were not conclusive of the impact BWC may have on officer behavior, recent empirical studies have discovered mixed results.

Jennings et al. (2014), conducted a study of Orlando, Florida police officers' perceptions of BWC. Respondents' overall perceptions of BWC were positive and offered their beliefs that the cameras would foster a by the book behavior by officers. Similar in findings, Fouche (2014) conducted an empirical study of the perceptions of officers assigned to the University of Georgia police department. The officers involved in the study exhibited an acceptance of BWC, but their feelings appeared to be correlated with demographic variables. Young college educated officers with less than 2 years of law enforcement experience were the most optimistic towards BWC.

Researchers Gaub et al. (2016) offered a different approach to understanding officers' perceptions of BWC, looking across three different agencies and identifying officer perceptions before BWC adoption and post camera deployment. Overall, respondents believed that BWC would provide more accurate accounts of incidents and improved digital evidence before ever wearing a camera. Post deployment perceptions of BWC identified an increase in officers' perceptions and favorable opinions. Unlike previous studies where the population under review were only uniformed patrol officers,

this study focused on officers assigned to specialized plain-clothes units, similar to anti-crime teams. Respondents expressed much of the same concerns and affirmations as their uniformed patrol colleagues. However, the group under review identified other issues which were unique to their assignment. The mounting of the camera while working in plain clothes was a concern for multiple officers. Many of the specialized unit officers expressed their belief that at times, it was complicated to know when they should and should not activate their BWC, unlike uniformed patrol officers who activate whenever they respond to a call for service in most cases. Although the respondents identified multiple ways they believed wearing a BWC could hamper their ability to carry out their assignment, the majority believed that the presence of a camera would play no part in affecting their arrest activity.

Chapter 3 provides details on the research methodology. The research context is discussed and information on participants is shared.

## Chapter 3: Research Design Methodology

### Introduction

The advancement of technology in the policing industry has been touted as a cure for many of the ills that plague police citizen encounters, body-worn cameras, more than any other device, have been offered as an antidote to render increased police legitimacy in the eyes of the public (Ready & Young, 2015). Distrust of police has been well documented. In a 2016 survey, results identified that 75% of Whites believe the police in their community do a good job, conversely only 33% of Blacks shared similar sentiments (Morin & Stepler, 2016). Brunson and Wade (2019), engaged in qualitative research with 50 young Black men from two violence plagued New York City communities, in which multiple respondents explained that lack of trust in the police affect their willingness to assist officers in solving crimes in their communities. Surprisingly, the young men who took part in the study were some of the most at risk of being victims of gun violence and ostensibly would benefit from police assistance the most.

BWC are a revolutionary tool to allow for transparency and administrative review of these encounters to determine the justness of an officer's actions. In general there is public support for deployment of BWC on officers, however there is mixed public opinion on the ability of the cameras to increase transparency of police work and arrest (Sousa et al., 2017). Additionally, it remains unclear what effect BWC will have on police officer actions when the device is present and specifically, what if any effect does it have on anti-crime officers.

Honig and Johnson (2016) hypothesized that cameras may not affect officer behavior to the extent stakeholders believe, although the presence of a camera may thwart an inappropriate comment or lack of professionalism, but when an officer is required to use force or make an arrest, he or she will revert back to their training and utilize the amount of force necessary regardless of the BWC. The popular opinion amongst policing experts is that the BWC will provide transparency (Buolamwini & Gebru, 2018; Sousa et al., 2017; USDOJ, 2015). However, research in the private sector has identified that increased transparency does not always lead to effective and equitable behavior. Bernstein (2014) studied private businesses who adopted an approach of transparency in the workplace. The research results indicated that individuals did not respond well to consistent observation and scrutiny; the efforts to create an open working environment actually created a less effective workforce. Clearly, the private business world and public policing are drastically different settings, but human beings still remain the same in many ways regardless of profession. As our world of social media and digital devices continues to grow and transparency becomes more advanced with devices like BWC, “we spend more time acting, trying to control others’ impressions and avoid embarrassment particularly at work” (Bernstein, 2014, para. 7).

The review of the literature has identified a significant lack of research focused on specialized plain clothes police units and the assignment of BWC. Primarily, empirical studies conducted thus far solely focus on the effect of cameras on officer use of force, citizen complaints, and in some cases, arrest rates. Patrol officers are overwhelmingly the population under review in the majority of studies; these officers work in uniform, respond to calls for service, and traditionally do not possess specialized training of any

kind beyond their police academy training. Uniform patrol officers are not tasked with developing informants or focusing their enforcement actions on specific criminal groups or activities (violent street gangs, narcotics sales, etc.) in the same way as anti-crime officers. In many cases when patrol officers are not responding to calls for service they offer an omnipresence for the communities they serve (R. Harrison, personal communication, August 1, 2019).

There is no scientific data which has conclusively proven that officers who are assigned to specialized units face more dangerous situations than their uniformed colleagues. According to the Encyclopedia of Law Enforcement, police officers as a whole, are victims of non-fatal assaults more than any other profession (Kaminski & Klinger, 2004). In 2004, police officers were murdered at a rate second only to cab drivers when compared to other professional industries (Kaminski & Klinger, 2004). Nonetheless, plain clothes officers who are tasked with proactively engaging with suspects of violent crimes can reasonably be expected to encounter intensely dangerous situations at a rate a higher than the average officer. Scholars have yet to fully understand what effect BWC will have on these interactions or how these officers perceive BWC effect on their behavior.

In December 2017, the NYPD began deploying BWC, expanding a court mandated pilot program, to officers assigned to anti-crime teams and uniformed patrol officers. What remains unknown is how BWC will affect anti-crime officers who are continually engaged in high risk, often dangerous proactive policing, and what their individual perceptions are since being assigned a body camera. The work these officers volunteer to carry out is of extreme importance to the communities they serve and the

police department. If BWC initiates a de-policing effect by this unique population of officers there may be significant consequences for some of the most vulnerable communities in the City of New York. The potential effect on community safety if officer behavior changes because of introducing BWC reinforces the appropriateness of this study.

### **Research Context**

The NYPD is the primary agency responsible for all law enforcement matters within the five boroughs of New York City, maintaining a force of approximately 36,000 sworn officers (NYPD, 2019a). According to Bloomberg News, as of 2018, New York City has an estimated population of 8.4 million residents (Tanzi, 2019). There are approximately 4 million people in the borough of Manhattan alone on any given day (Moss & Qing, 2012). To protect and provide public safety to a municipality the size of New York City the NYPD maintains a total of nine housing bureau commands, 12 transit districts and 77 precincts to make up their patrol force. These numbers do not include specialized units assigned duties beyond patrol related functions. The Housing Bureau is tasked with patrolling and enforcing laws inside of and around New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) locations. The commands are identified as Patrol Service Areas (PSA) followed by a number from one to nine, for example, PSA 1, PSA 2, PSA 3, etc. Similarly, the Transit Bureau is made up of 12 individual commands which are identified as Transit Districts (TD) followed by a number, for example, TD # 1, TD # 20, TD # 32, etc. Officers assigned to transit districts are responsible for patrolling and enforcing laws within the subway system of New York City, on platforms, inside of train cars, and/or anywhere inside of a transit facility. A Patrol Service Bureau command in the NYPD is

identified by a number, for example, 073 precinct, 044 precinct, 067 precinct, etc.

Personnel assigned to each precinct are responsible to enforce the law and respond to calls for service from residents within the geographical area under the jurisdiction of their respective command, along with many other non-enforcement responsibilities. Primarily, officers assigned to the patrol service bureau are not tasked with carrying out enforcement actions in NYCHA or transit locations.

Within each of the three bureaus the patrol force primarily encompasses uniformed officers. However, in each command regardless of bureau, there are officers assigned to anti-crime teams. These officers are tasked with proactive enforcement, typically based on their observations or prior intelligence gleaned from credible law enforcement sources, unlike uniformed patrol officers who primarily respond to calls for service from the public.

In response to a federal court mandate issued by Judge Shira Scheindlin, the NYPD initiated a BWC pilot program in April of 2017 (*Floyd v. City of New York*, 2013). The pilot program required that the agency deploy BWC to all members of the department working in uniform and plain clothes, assigned to work the third platoon (3 pm to 11:35 p.m.) in 20 identified commands in the housing and patrol service bureaus across the City of New York. The members who were assigned BWC ranged in rank from police officer, detectives assigned to patrol related functions, sergeants, and lieutenants (NYC.gov, 2019). The pilot was scheduled to ensure each of the identified commands utilized BWC for 1 full year. At the conclusion of the pilot an analytical study was conducted by a member of the federal monitor's team to determine if the

application of BWC had any effect on measurable outputs (Zimroth, 2018). The results of this study have not been released to date.

The roll out of this pilot concluded in November 2017 which allowed the department to move beyond the approximate 1,000 cameras that were deployed for the Phase 1 mandatory body camera pilot and begin phase 2 of their BWC deployment (NYC.gov., 2019). Phase 2 of the NYPD BWC program began the process of deploying BWC to every member of the department working any tour, assigned to patrol related functions, including officers assigned to anti-crime teams. In December 2017 the 023 precinct became the first command in the city of New York to outfit all their personnel including anti-crime officers with BWC. In January 2018, the department began training and deploying BWC to multiple commands per month. In February 2019, the department completed its roll-out of BWC to all 98 commands (transit, housing, patrol) across the city of New York (NYPD, 2019c).

### **Research Design**

This study analyzed archived arrest data with a correlational quantitative design, along with a survey-based research methodology for police officers assigned to anti-crime teams in the largest municipal police force in the United States. Additionally, the researcher developed and administered an online survey (Appendix A) to the members of the population under review ( $N = 61$ ) evaluating their perceptions of BWC. The rationale for the use of an online survey by the researcher was meant to allow respondents to answer as honestly as possible offering their perceptions of BWC while additionally providing their personal demographic information. Surveys were sent to participants' NYPD e-mail accounts via Survey Monkey. The researcher ensured that the

participants' personal information from the survey remained confidential, as well as any other police department identifiers. All participants were provided a statement of informed consent (Appendix B) and asked to acknowledge their willingness to participate in the provided survey (Appendix C).

McCusker and Gunaydin (2014) asserted a quantitative researcher explores relationships between variables and uses a correlational design. The researcher utilized a quantitative methodology for this research to determine if there is any statistical relationship between the use of BWC by anti-crime officers and their respective arrest activity. A survey was designed based in part on Jennings et al. (2014) research to capture real data on the perceptions of officers. Jennings et al. (2014) utilized survey questions to capture officer perceptions of BWC in the Orlando, Florida police department. The researcher received permission from Jennings et al. (2014) to use the survey instrument as a template (Appendix D), which assisted in the creation of survey questions for the sample population under review. Additionally, the researcher obtained approval from the NYPD to conduct the research study. See Appendix E.

To measure the statistical effect of BWC on arrest activity the researcher used a paired *t* test as the statistical tool to test for the difference between two variables from the same population. Similar analysis of arrest activity has been performed with Las Vegas Metro, Nevada, Hallandale Beach, Florida, and Denver, Colorado police departments (Ariel, 2017; Braga et al., 2018; Headley et al., 2017). It is important to acknowledge that in each of these previous studies the subject officers were assigned to uniform patrol related assignments and the researchers analyzed additional variables as well, for example, civilian complaints, use of force, citations issued, etc. Comparable research has

identified an increase in arrest activity when BWC were assigned to patrol officers (Braga et al., 2018). Conversely, using a similar statistical approach there have been empirical studies that identified a decrease in arrest activity by officers when BWC were assigned (Ariel, 2017; Headley et al., 2017).

### **Research Participants**

The NYPD instituted a staggered process for deploying BWC to their personnel; because of this model the researcher was limited in the process of selecting the population under review. All anti-crime officers were not trained and provided cameras simultaneously. In addition, the researcher had to consider the diverse working environments of each anti-crime officer. Depending on their respective bureau and command, the types of crimes they investigate, and effect arrest vary greatly across the multitude of communities in New York City. To try to account for some of the disparities the researcher excluded officers who are assigned to the housing and transit bureaus. All officers assigned to the sample group were provided with the Viewu LE 4-model body camera (NYPD.gov., 2019).

The population of officers under review received their BWC either in December 2017 (023 PCT), or during the months of January through the end of June 2018. All members of the population were assigned to anti-crime teams within their commands during the period under review; they primarily work in plain clothes and conduct proactive enforcement. These officers are assigned to a team with at least one other officer or may have as many as five other officers on their team. Every precinct has at least one anti-crime team, some commands may have as many as three teams. Members of an anti-crime team most often hold the rank of police officer, although there are some

members who have earned the rank of detective. Typically, these members have remained on their anti-crime team for a prolonged period of time and have proven to be effective in their assignment. Traditionally anti-crime teams are individually supervised by a member of the agency in the rank of sergeant. However, a supervisory officer in the rank of lieutenant will be responsible for all anti-crime teams and any other specialized units within the command.

The population under review accounts for 258 officers across 26 commands who received their BWC during the identified period between December 2017 and June 2018. The sample for this analysis was identified by the officer's date of assignment to their anti-crime team. To be considered for inclusion in the sample the officer must have been in an anti-crime assignment for at least 1 year without a BWC and remained in this role for 1 year with a BWC. The sample under review comprised 61 officers from the overall population.

### **Research Questions**

The following research questions guided this study:

1. Does wearing a BWC affect the arrest activity of officers assigned to anti-crime teams?
2. To what degree do anti-crime officer's believe that BWC affects their individual behavior regarding proactive enforcement?
3. To what degree do anti-crime officers believe that wearing a BWC affected a fellow anti-crime officer's behavior regarding proactive enforcement?
4. Is there a correlation between years of service with the department, race and perceptions of the effect of BWC?

## **Instruments Used in Data Collection**

Officers who are assigned to plain clothes anti-crime teams are primarily evaluated by the amount and quality of their arrests for major felony crimes (R. Harrison, personal communication, August 1, 2019). The precinct in which each officer is assigned has an array of crime conditions which must be addressed and are unique to the command. Because every community and command is unique the researcher could not judge the quality of arrest for each officer. What may be viewed as an outstanding apprehension in one precinct may be an everyday occurrence in another. However, the researcher looked at the number of arrests initiated by the sample population before BWC intervention and after the application of BWC. Specifically the researcher analyzed the data in an effort to determine if there was any change in arrest frequency.

A correlational design was utilized to measure the two variables to determine the statistical relationship between the two, with little or no control of extraneous variables. The dependent variable in this study was the monthly arrest activity and the causal relationship with the independent variable, BWC. Correlation research design typically allows for greater external validity than experimental research. Because there was no manipulation of any variables by the researcher, the results are more likely to reflect relationships that exist in the real world (Price, Jhangiani, Chiang, & Leighton, 2017).

The researcher provided survey questions via Survey Monkey to all sample participants. The questions were crafted from survey questions utilized by Jennings et al. (2014) in their study of Orlando, FL police department officers. However, the questions for this study were designed specifically for anti-crime officers and their individual perceptions. For the purposes of this study, the survey utilized a five-point Likert scale,

which was used to measure the participants' level of agreement and attitudes on questions related to the effect of BWC. A Likert scale is often used to allow an individual to express how much they agree or disagree with a particular statement (McLeod, 2019). A point system was assigned to each response, a score of 1 indicates the respondent strongly disagrees and a score of 5 identifies that the respondent strongly agrees. The survey consisted of specifically designed questions for anti-crime officers and their perceptions of the effect of BWC on their personal behavior as well as their colleagues. "In surveys, answers are of interest not intrinsically but because of their relationship to something they are supposed to measure. Good questions are reliable, providing consistent measures in comparable situations and valid" (Fowler, 2012, p. 86). Validity has been described as the ability of an instrument to measure what it intends to measure and whether the means of measurement are accurate (Winter, 2000).

According to Hassan, Schattner and Mazza (2006), conducting a pilot study is an essential step in a research project. A pilot study has been defined as a pre-test of a particular research instrument (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001) as well as a small study to test research protocols and data collection instruments (Hassan, Schattner, & Mazza, 2006). A pilot study may allow for the researcher to determine if proposed research methods or instruments are too complicated or inappropriate (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). Additionally, pilot testing can assist to ensure that the research instrument can be used properly and the data gleaned is consistent (Fowler, 2002).

To aid in ensuring validity the researcher piloted a test survey to six volunteer anti-crime officers. Each volunteer was provided with a pre-test of the online survey and requested to provide feedback on the appropriateness of the questions and the time

required to take the survey. Secondly, the volunteers were asked to provide any alternative language if necessary to ensure the questions were clear to the respondent. The result of the pre-test pilot was an online survey which was uniquely designed to capture anti-crime officers' perceptions of BWC effect on their respective behavior. Demographic questions were included in the survey to capture specific information about each respondent. Additionally, in order to further enhance the validity and reliability of the survey questions, the researcher convened a panel of subject matter experts on policing related matters. The panel consisted of six professionals affiliated with higher education and police agencies across the United States, with an average of 20 years experience in the criminal justice field. Five of the six subject matter experts possessed terminal degrees, three were associated with higher education institutions in the northeastern area of the United States and one in the northwest. One of the subject matter professionals held the title of deputy commissioner with a large police department in the northeastern section of the United States and another was a lieutenant within the same agency. Another member of the panel of experts was the CEO of a consulting firm for policing related matters and was a retired captain from a large police department located in the western section of the United States. Relevant recommendations suggested by this panel with regard to survey questions were addressed.

### **Procedures for Data Collection and Analysis**

The arrest data collected for this study was provided by the New York City Police Department. The researcher collected arrest data for all participants involved in this study for a full 12-month period before being assigned a BWC. Additionally, the researcher collected arrest data for all participants for a full 12-month period post assignment of a

BWC. In order to gauge perceptions of participants towards BWC, all participants were provided surveys via survey monkey to be completed online.

A paired *t*-test was performed to determine if there is statistically significant evidence that the mean difference between the paired observations is different from 0. In this observational study, the paired observations are each individual officer's number of arrests, both before and after the implementation of the BWC. The hypothesis is that there is no difference between the arrest for before and after implementation. The objective of the paired *t*-test was to prove that there is in fact a difference in arrest activity from the year before to the year after. This is another way of saying you can reject the null hypothesis, therefore proving there is a statistically significant effect. Additionally a paired-sample *t*-test was conducted to compare the number of arrests by officers before and after the implementation of the BWC. Data from the survey responses were analyzed utilizing SPSS V. 26. Additionally the data collected was analyzed utilizing an ANOVA, correlation matrix, regression, and various descriptive test. All data will be kept in a secured, confidential file and will be destroyed 3 years later.

### **Summary**

Lynch, Sabol, Planty, and Shelly (2002) examined the effect of aggressive arrest policies by police agencies on the ability and willingness of community members to engage in informal social networks in order to form collective efficacy for their neighborhoods. Results indicated that residents living in communities with high arrest rates participated in voluntary community based organizations less than those who lived in communities with decreased arrest activity (Lynch et al., 2002). Conversely, the

reduction of arrests by police could be construed as a lack of personal investment in the communities they serve and leave residents with a sense of mistrust. There has been research which has acknowledged that the relationship between police and communities they serve have significant value, although there may not be a direct impact on crime or disorder (Weisburd & Majmundar, 2018). Any variables such as the presence of BWCs deployed on police officers which may affect these relationships could be significant.

As law enforcement agencies continue the trend of body camera adoption and deployment, empirical studies have yet to clearly identify what effect cameras may have on officers assigned to anti-crime teams. In light of the dearth of empirical studies focused on this specific population of officers, this study assessed the effect of BWC on individual anti-crime officer's arrest activity. This research also examined officer's perceptions of BWC and the effect on their behavior as well as fellow officers assigned to anti-crime teams in New York city. Data analysis and findings are presented in Chapter 4, and a discussion of the findings appears in Chapter 5.

## Chapter 4: Results

### Introduction

The purpose and mission driving this study was to examine if the assignment of body-worn cameras to police officers assigned to anti-crime units in the New York City Police Department had any effect on their respective arrest activity. Additionally, this study endeavored to identify the perceptions of BWC by this specific group of officers and the potential effect on other non-uniformed units in the NYPD. Any change in anti-crime officer's behavior may have a significant impact on proactive policing strategies by the NYPD as well as future BWC deployment to other specialized units. Anti-crime officers carried out a unique mission, much different from their uniformed colleagues. These officers primarily worked in plain clothes and utilized independent observations and intelligence from secondary sources amongst a host of other techniques to conduct proactive enforcement. Their work and methods have often been criticized by community members and those who have long called for criminal justice reform (Grymes, 2020). The Police Commissioner of the NYPD, Dermot Shea, identified that he believed some of the tactics employed by this group of officers may be outdated and it is time to look towards a new approach in the fight against crime (Watkins, 2020). However, the impact these officers have made on reducing crime and removing illegal firearms from New York City streets has been well documented (Delamota, 2019).

To understand NYPD anti-crime officers' perceptions of BWC the following precepts were measured: (a) does wearing a BWC have any effect on officer's arrest

activity; (b) to what degree do anti-crime officers believe that wearing a BWC had an effect of their behavior with regard to proactive enforcement; as well as fellow anti-crime officers behavior; and (c) is there any correlation between years of service with the department, race, and perceptions of the effect of BWC.

Officers' perceptions of BWC have varied across agencies and assignments. There have been those who believe BWC would have little impact on their individual behavior. Research conducted by Jennings et al. (2014) identified that over 80% of respondents believed BWC would have no impact on their individual behavior. Additionally, Hickman (2017) conducted similar research with the NYPD, where officers exhibited positive feelings towards BWC, contrary to what many may have suspected. However, one of the only previous studies conducted with police officers assigned to specialized policing units similar to anti-crime teams, identified that these officers felt apprehensive towards wearing a BWC in the performance of their duty (Gaub et al., 2018).

Multiple empirical studies have examined the potential for BWC to reduce use of force, civilian complaints, and in some cases reduce/lower arrest activity (Ariel, Sutherland, & Henstock, 2016; Braga et al., 2018; Farrar, 2013). In similar studies officer perceptions of the usefulness and acceptance of BWC were measured (Fouche, 2014; Hickman, 2017). Unlike previous studies, this current study was one of the first to examine specialized policing units from a quantitative lens, and identify the effect BWC may have on their individual arrest activity and perceptions of BWC. Understanding how BWC impacts officers in practical terms as well as their views, will potentially assist executives in their policy and deployment decisions in addition to providing further data

to the academic community. This chapter is organized to reflect the inclusion parameters for this study, arrest activity for participants pre and post BWC intervention, and participant perceptions of BWC and its effect.

### **Participant Demographics**

The established criteria for inclusion in this study incorporated a purposeful sample of anti-crime officers, who were in their anti-crime role for a consecutive 12-month period before being assigned a BWC, and remained in their assignment for a consecutive 12-month period post BWC intervention. The sample group of participants were assigned a BWC at some point between December 2017 and June 2018. This study utilized archived arrest data for all participants provided by the NYPD. The collected archival arrest data encompassed calendar years 2016, 2017, 2018, and 2019. The next step involved identifying the exact date when each participant received his or her BWC.

The researcher utilized the NYPD BWC deployment timetable as a guide to identify when each participant received their BWC. The BWC deployment timetable was created as a joint effort between the NYPD's Risk Management Bureau, Information and Technology Bureau, and the Police Commissioner's Office of Project Management. From the date of BWC intervention the researcher examined arrest data for each member of the sample group for the previous consecutive 12-month period which may have overlapped multiple calendar years. Additionally, the researcher examined arrest data for all participants over the subsequent consecutive 12-month period post BWC intervention; this data also overlapped 2 calendar years.

The sample group does not fully reflect the composition of all uniformed personnel assigned to the NYPD (Appendix F) but does fall within the established

criteria. The researcher identified arrest activity for each participant for the previous 12-month period before being assigned a BWC and compared it with their respective arrest activity for the following 12-month period. The target population represented personnel from 18 precincts across the five boroughs of New York city. A total of 42 precincts were included in the review, all of which maintained some form of a BWC program during the time period indicated. However, 20 of the precincts were part of a pilot BWC program under the purview of the federal monitor and only issued cameras to a third of their command staff. Of the remaining 22 police precincts, four did not have anti-crime officers who matched the established criteria. The arrest data which was analyzed encompassed the month of January 2017 through the end of June 2019.

Appendix G, represents precincts across the city of New York which received full BWC deployment during the period under review. Excluded from this image are transit districts and precincts responsible for servicing New York city Housing Authority, also referred to as Police Service Areas (PSA). Any precinct which was in the midst of a partial deployment denoted only one shift out of three where officers were required to wear a BWC and the BWC assignment of anti-crime officers in these precincts were intermittent at best. Full deployment identifies that all officers within the precinct were assigned a BWC including anti-crime officers.

### **Research Questions**

The following research questions guided this study:

1. Does wearing a BWC affect the arrest activity of officers assigned to anti-crime teams?

2. To what degree do anti-crime officer's believe that BWC affects their individual behavior regarding proactive enforcement?
3. To what degree do anti-crime officers believe that wearing a BWC affected a fellow anti-crime officer's behavior regarding proactive enforcement?
4. Is there a correlation between years of service with the department, race and perceptions of the effect of BWC?

### **Data Analysis and Findings**

The overwhelming majority of respondents had been with the department between 6 and 10 years (70%). See Figure 4.1. The large representation within this study of officers who fall within 6 to 10 years of service was not an anomaly for anti-crime officers. Officers assigned to the NYPD remain probationary police officers until they have completed 2 years of service, including 6 months of recruit training in the academy. In many precincts officers would not be assigned to an anti-crime team until they have completed their respective probationary period, which would account for the smaller representation of officers in this study with 1 to 5 years of service (7.5%). The number of respondents who identified that they had served with the department for 11 to 15 years (15%), 16 to 20 years (5%) and over 20 years of service (2.5%) would be expected to be relatively low. For many officers, by the time they have reached 10 years of service they may have sought promotional opportunities to a supervisory rank, discretionary promotion to detective or look to seek other opportunities within in the department.

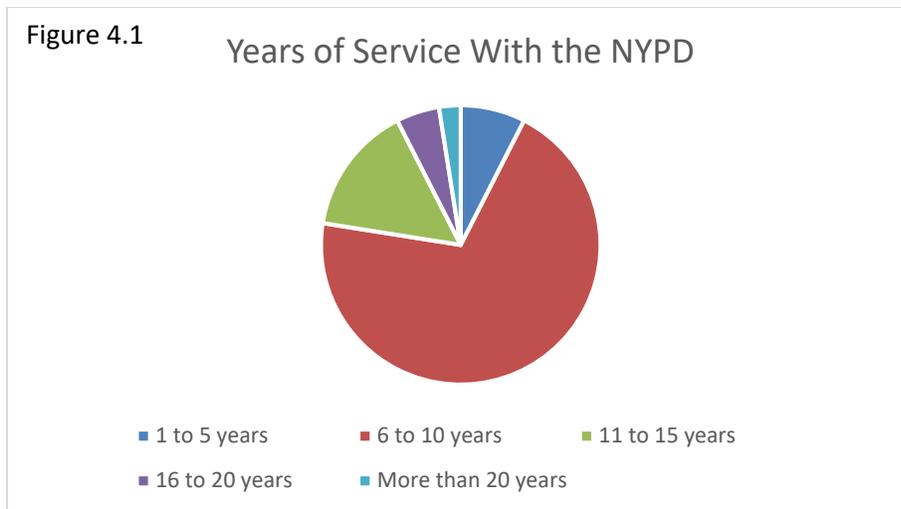


Figure 4.1. Years of Service with the NYPD for all Respondents.

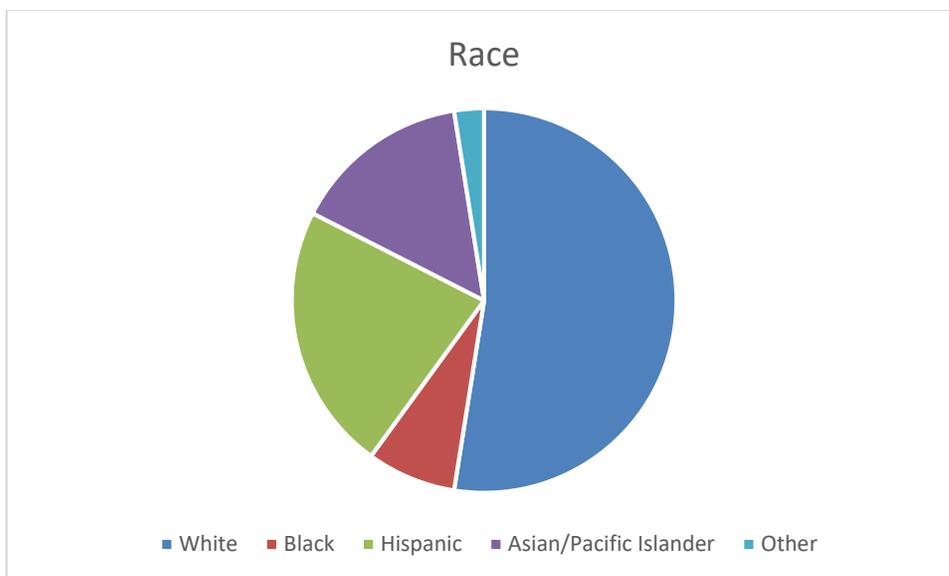


Figure 4.2. The Racial Make-up of all Respondents in this Study.

White officers made up 52.5% of all respondents, which was reflective of the population of White officers in the NYPD (49.3%), according to the data in Appendix F. Hispanic officers accounted for 22.5% of respondents and overall made-up 27.8% of the population of the NYPD. See Figure 4.2. Black and Asian/Pacific Islander respondents accounted for 7.5% and 15% respectively. However, according to Appendix F, Black

officers made-up 15% of the department population and Asian officers accounted for 7.8%. Surveys were administered to each participant utilizing survey monkey via their respective NYPD e-mail account. There were a total of 42 participants, 69%, who responded to the survey. Any and all identifying information of any participant remains confidential. It is important to note that the researcher did not design the survey to be homogeneous across all questions, results were not meant to measure the same thing. Survey questions were designed to gauge officer perceptions of varying tenets with regard to the effect of BWC on their behavior as well as fellow officers. The validity of the survey questions was measured by a panel of law enforcement and academic experts on police related matters.

The primary metric used to evaluate anti-crime officers effectiveness is the number and quality of arrest they effectuate (R. Harrison, personal communication, August 1, 2019). These officers as a rule, do not respond to calls for service from the public unless there is a violent crime alleged and they rarely issue summonses. Making arrests is a significant function of their daily task. In order to identify if BWC had any effect on anti-crime officer's arrest activity the researcher utilized archived arrest data provided by the NYPD for each of the participants.

## **Analysis and Findings**

**Research Question 1.** Does wearing a BWC affect the arrest activity of officers assigned to anti-crime teams?

$H_0$ : The null hypothesis states that the intervention of BWC will have no affect on anti-crime officers' arrest activity.

H<sub>1</sub>: The alternative hypothesis suggests that the assignment of BWC will have an affect on anti-crime officers arrest activity.

Table 4.1

*Number of Arrest Made by Officers pre-BWC and post-BWC*

Body-Worn Camera Deployment	<i>n</i>	Mean	<i>sd</i>	<i>t</i> -crit	df	P	Decision
Pre Body-Worn Camera	61	19.75	12.62	5.112	60	.059	Reject
Post Body-Worn Camera	61	12.92	9.58				

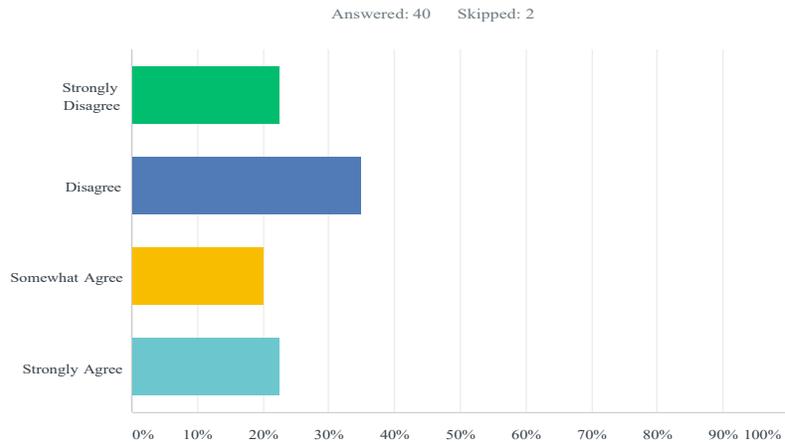
Table 4.1 identifies the statistical analysis of the archived data which revealed a significant change in arrest activity for the sample group. A paired-sample *t*-test was conducted to compare the number of arrests by police officers before and after the implementation of BWC. There was a significant decrease in the number of arrests pre introduction of the independent variable BWC ( $M=1205$ ,  $SD=12.62$ ) compared to post implementation ( $M=788$ ,  $SD=9.58$ );  $t(60)= 5.112$ ,  $p = 0.05$ . These results suggest that the implementation of body-worn cameras may influence the number of arrests made by anti-crime police officers. Specifically, the results suggest that when police officers are equipped with body-worn cameras, their respective number of arrests decreases. Furthermore, the researcher can say with 95% confidence that there was an average decrease of 6.84 arrests per officer between the year before and year after BWC introduction, and thus the null hypothesis is false.

Interestingly, the most significant decrease in arrest totals took place in the confines of the 123 PCT, which is located in Patrol Borough Staten Island (PBSI). One

officer effected 44 fewer arrests post BWC intervention. Important to note here were the significant increases in crime that several of the police precincts experienced during this time period. According to the NYPD Compstat data the 123 PCT (PBSI) saw a 45% increase in four of the seven major crime categories from 2018 to 2019 (NYPD Compstat, 2020). The seven major crime categories that the NYPD tracks are murder, rape, robbery, felony assault, burglary, grand larceny, and grand larceny auto (NYPD Compstat).

Additionally, three other officers produced significant decreases in arrest activity, one officer in the 45<sup>th</sup> precinct Patrol Borough Bronx (PBBX) made 35 fewer arrests after being assigned a BWC. According to NYPD data, the 45<sup>th</sup> precinct expressed an average increase of approximately 17.3% in four of the seven major crime categories from 2018 to 2019 (NYPD Compstat, 2019). The third and fourth most significant changes in arrest activity was observed between officers in the 108<sup>th</sup> precinct, Patrol Borough Queens North (PBQN) and 107<sup>th</sup> precinct Patrol Borough Queens South (PBQS), which experienced a decrease of 29 and 22 arrests respectively. As officer arrest activity appears to have decreased, criminal complaints trended upwards. The 108<sup>th</sup> precinct experienced an average increase of 32.9% and the 107<sup>th</sup> precinct reported an average increase of 33.2% in four of the seven major crime categories (NYPD Compstat).

### 3. Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?



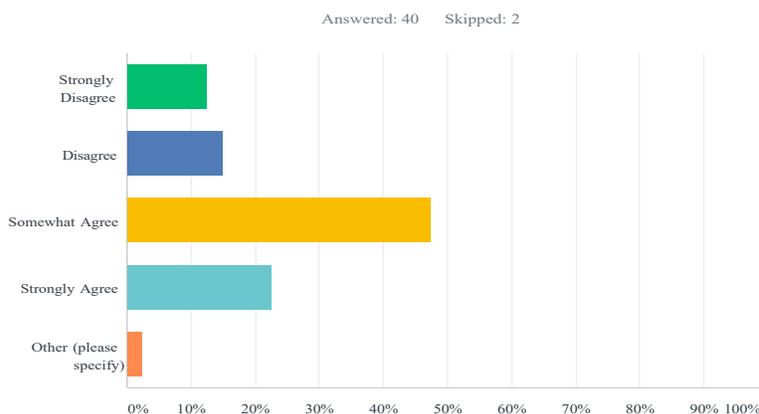
*Figure 4.3.* Question 3, Do You Believe Wearing a BWC Affected Your Monthly Arrest Activity?

Figure 4.3 outlines survey question and responses based on participants’ perceptions of the effect of BWC on their individual arrest activity, results were mixed across respondents. Survey responses revealed that 22.5% of anti-crime officers strongly disagreed that BWC had any effect on their arrest activity. Similarly, 35% of officers disagreed that BWC had any effect on the amount of arrest they made. By contrast, 20% and 22.5% of respondents somewhat agree and strongly agree respectively that BWC had an effect on their individual arrest activity. The archived arrest data which was examined by the researcher clearly identifies that overall anti-crime officers made less arrests when assigned a BWC.

**Research Question 2.** To what degree do anti-crime officers believe that BWC

affects their individual behavior regarding proactive enforcement?

6. Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?



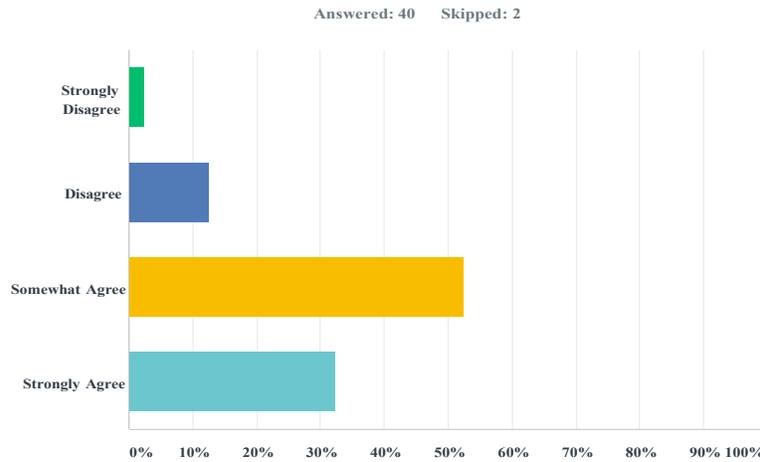
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
Strongly Disagree	12.50% 5
Disagree	15.00% 6
Somewhat Agree	47.50% 19
Strongly Agree	22.50% 9
Other (please specify)	2.50% 1

*Figure 4.4.* Question 6, Officers Are Less Likely to Engage in Proactive Stops or Contacts with Citizens Based on Reasonable Suspicion When Assigned a BWC?

Figure 4.4 identified that survey results revealed that 47.5% of anti-crime officers believed that wearing a BWC made them somewhat hesitant to engage in proactive stops of citizens based on reasonable suspicion. Another 22.5% of officers expressed that they strongly agreed that wearing a BWC made them reluctant to engage in these stops on less than probable cause for an arrest. Unlike the majority of officers, 27.5% disagree and strongly disagree that the assignment of a BWC had any effect on their willingness to engage citizens in stops for reasonable suspicion of criminal activity.

**Research Question 3.** To what degree do anti-crime officers believe that wearing a BWC affected a fellow anti-crime officer’s behavior regarding proactive enforcement?

## 2. Do you believe BWCs change Anti-crime officer's behavior?



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly Disagree	2.50%	1
Disagree	12.50%	5
Somewhat Agree	52.50%	21
Strongly Agree	32.50%	13
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>40</b>

Figure 4.5. Question 2, Do You Believe BWC Change Anti-crime Officer's Behavior?

Figure 4.5 indicates the the overwhelming majority of survey respondents believed that BWC changed anti-crime officers behavior. According to sample group participants who answered the survey questions provided, 85% somewhat or strongly agreed that BWC had an effect on anti-crime officers behavior. The reduction in arrests by this group of officers of approximately 6.8 arrests per officer, signals that the presence of a BWC undoubtedly has an effect.

**Research Question 4.** Is there a correlation between years of service with the department, race, and perceptions of the effect of BWC? The collected data was analyzed utilizing *t* test, ANOVA, regression, and correlational analysis of survey respondent's answers to survey questions (Appendix H)). The correlational analysis was conducted utilizing Pearson's correlation coefficient, which measures the strength of

relationship between two variables. Results may identify any value, from -1, which would indicate that as one variable changes the other changes in the opposite direction by the same amount (Field, 2018). Pearson may also reveal a value of 0, which would indicate that as one variable changes the other does not change at all. Additionally, a Pearson’s correlation coefficient may identify a value of +1, which would indicate that as one variable changes the other changes in the same direction by the same amount (Field, 2018).

Table 4.2

*Correlations Between Officer Perceptions of Personal and Fellow Officers’ Activity*

		How strongly do you believe BWCs should be assigned to all plain-clothes Anti-crime officers?	Do you believe BWCs change Anti-crime officer's behavior?	Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?	Do you believe wearing a BWC has assisted you in the prosecution of your arrest?	Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?
	Pearson Correlation	-.360*	.387*	.443**	-.281	1
Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?	Sig. (2-tailed)	.022	.014	.004	.079	
	N	40	40	40	40	40
Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?	Pearson Correlation	.019	.281	.537**	-.181	.175
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.909	.083	.000	.269	.285
	N	39	39	39	39	39

Statistical analysis revealed multiple significant correlational relationships between variables. Table 4.2 identifies that anti-crime officers responses indicated that there is a positive relationship between perceptions that officers are less likely to engage

in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion and their individual arrest activity will be effected by wearing a BWC.

Table 4.3

Correlations Between Officer Perceptions of the Utility of BWC

		Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?	BWCs will reduce the number of civilian complaints Anti-crime officers receive	BWCs will not help Anti-crime officers at all	Does wearing a BWC affect your willingness to use force when justified to do
How strongly do you believe BWCs should be assigned to all plain-clothes Anti-crime officers?	Pearson Correlation	.019	.402*	-.501**	-.126
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.909	.010	.001	.439
	N	39	40	40	40
BWCs will reduce the number of civilian complaints Anti-crime officers receive	Pearson Correlation	-.059	1	-.593**	-.261
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.722		.000	.104
	N	39	40	40	40

Conversely, Table 4.3 revealed that there is a strong negative relationship between perceptions that BWC will not help anti-crime officers and the belief that BWC should be assigned to all plain-clothes anti-crime officers. Additionally, there was a significant negative relationship between respondents perceptions that BWC will reduce the number of civilian complaints anti-crime officers receive and the perception that BWC will not help anti-crime officers at all. Interestingly, there was also a significant negative relationship between officers beliefs that BWC have assisted them in prosecution of arrests and the inability of BWC to help anti-crime officers at all.

Table 4.4

*Descriptives Data Based on Officer Race*

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
How strongly do you believe BWCs should be assigned to all plain-clothes Anti-crime officers?	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	2.8333	.98319	.40139	1.8015	3.8651	1.00	4.00
	Black (Non-Hispanic)	3	2.3333	1.52753	.88192	-1.4612	6.1279	1.00	4.00
	Hispanic	9	2.7778	.83333	.27778	2.1372	3.4183	1.00	4.00
	Other	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.	3.00	3.00
	White (Non-Hispanic)	21	3.0476	1.02353	.22335	2.5817	3.5135	1.00	4.00
	Total	40	2.9000	.98189	.15525	2.5860	3.2140	1.00	4.00
Do you believe BWCs change Anti-crime officer's behavior?	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	3.3333	.81650	.33333	2.4765	4.1902	2.00	4.00
	Black (Non-Hispanic)	3	3.0000	.00000	.00000	3.0000	3.0000	3.00	3.00
	Hispanic	9	3.1111	.60093	.20031	2.6492	3.5730	2.00	4.00
	Other	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.	3.00	3.00
Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	2.3333	1.50555	.61464	.7534	3.9133	1.00	4.00
	Black (Non-Hispanic)	3	1.6667	.57735	.33333	.2324	3.1009	1.00	2.00
	Hispanic	9	2.6667	1.00000	.33333	1.8980	3.4353	1.00	4.00
	Other	1	1.0000	.	.	.	.	1.00	1.00
	White (Non-Hispanic)	21	2.5238	1.03049	.22487	2.0547	2.9929	1.00	4.00
	Total	40	2.4250	1.08338	.17130	2.0785	2.7715	1.00	4.00
Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	2.8333	.75277	.30732	2.0433	3.6233	2.00	4.00
	Black (Non-Hispanic)	3	1.6667	.57735	.33333	.2324	3.1009	1.00	2.00
	Hispanic	9	2.7778	.83333	.27778	2.1372	3.4183	2.00	4.00
	Other	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.	3.00	3.00
	White (Non-Hispanic)	21	2.4762	.74960	.16358	2.1350	2.8174	1.00	4.00

Table 4.4 provides descriptive data for survey respondents and the correlation between race and perceptions. Overall race did not play a role in respondents' perceptions of BWC ability to change officer behavior. Similarly, across races, officers believed BWC should be assigned to all plain-clothes anti-crime officers. This perception was expressed relatively equally across all races. However, officers who identified as Black disagreed more than any other identified race that BWC would have an effect on their respective arrest activity. Black anti-crime officers also disagreed more than any other race that they would be better at their assignment if not required to wear a BWC. White anti-crime officers expressed the most agreement with the belief that BWC make officers less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens for reasonable suspicion of criminal activity.

Table 4.5 identified that years of service with the department provided differences between officers and their perceptions of BWC. The majority of respondents ( $n=28$ ) who have between 6 to 10 years of service with the department agreed that BWC should be assigned to all plain-clothes anti-crime officers. One officer who identified that they have over 20 years of service strongly agreed that BWC should be assigned to plain clothes anti-crime officers. Conversely, anti-crime officers who have 1 to 5 years of service and 11 to 15 years of service disagreed that anti-crime officers should be assigned BWC. Overall respondents agreed that BWC change anti-crime officers behavior. Of the total number of respondents ( $n=40$ ) the majority were in agreement that BWC did not affect their individual arrest activity. However, arrest data which was reviewed as part of this study identified that there was a significant change in arrest activity by officers under review.

Table 4.5

*Descriptive Data Based on Officer Years of Service with the NYPD*

		95% Confidence Interval for Mean							
		<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Deviation</u>	<u>Std. Error</u>	<u>Lower Bound</u>	<u>Upper Bound</u>	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Maximum</u>
How strongly do you believe BWCs should be assigned to all plain-clothes Anti-crime officers?	1 to 5 years	3	2.3333	1.15470	.66667	-.5351	5.2018	1.00	3.00
	11 to 15 years	6	2.5000	1.37840	.56273	1.0535	3.9465	1.00	4.00
	16 to 20 years	2	3.0000	.00000	.00000	3.0000	3.0000	3.00	3.00
	6 to 10 years	28	3.0000	.90267	.17059	2.6500	3.3500	1.00	4.00
	More than 20 years	1	4.0000	.	.	.	.	4.00	4.00
	Total	40	2.9000	.98189	.15525	2.5860	3.2140	1.00	4.00
Do you believe BWCs change Anti-crime officer's behavior?	1 to 5 years	3	3.6667	.57735	.33333	2.2324	5.1009	3.00	4.00
	11 to 15 years	6	3.3333	.51640	.21082	2.7914	3.8753	3.00	4.00
	16 to 20 years	2	2.5000	.70711	.50000	-3.8531	8.8531	2.00	3.00
	6 to 10 years	28	3.1071	.78595	.14853	2.8024	3.4119	1.00	4.00
	More than 20 years	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.	3.00	3.00
	Total	40	3.1500	.73554	.11630	2.9148	3.3852	1.00	4.00

Years of service with the department did not demonstrate significant differences in the perception that BWC have assisted in the prosecution of arrest (Appendix H). There was one outlier, officers who identified as having 11 to 15 years of service with the department disagreed that BWC assisted with the prosecution of their arrests. Surprisingly, officers who identified as having 1 to 5 years of service and 6 to 10 years of service with the department also disagreed that they would be better at their assignment without a BWC.

Anti-crime officers who identified as having 16 to 20 years of service with the department expressed more agreement than their colleagues with less time in service that the BWC will reduced the number of civilian complaints an anti-crime officer will

receive. All respondents believed that BWC will undoubtedly help anti-crime officers regardless of the amount of years they have served with the department.

### **Summary of Results**

The introduction of BWC has been touted as a tool to provide transparency and trust amongst law enforcement and communities. It is a piece of equipment that offers the potential to reduce police use of force as well as civilian complaints against police officers. These beliefs and perceptions have held true in many instances as we continue to watch the deployment of BWC across the nation (Braga et al., 2018; Farrar, 2013). What still requires further scholarship is the impact of BWC on officer arrest activity and individual perceptions, specifically officers assigned to specialized plain-clothes anti-crime units.

This study identified that BWC did indeed have an effect on anti-crime officers arrests activity. Overall this study identified a decrease in arrests by 6.8 per officer, per year when assigned a BWC. Sample group officers who expressed the largest decrease in arrests compared to the prior year (pre-BWC) also worked in commands where there were increases in multiple categories of the seven major crime statistics the NYPD tracks. Although, over half of the officers perceived BWC had no effect on their arrests activity, statistical results identified that there was a change in arrest behavior.

Approximately 70% of officers believed that wearing a BWC made them hesitant to engage in proactive enforcement and 85% of respondents somewhat agreed or strongly agreed that BWC change anti-crime officers behavior. Across all races the majority of officers believed that BWC should be assigned to anti-crime officers. However, race did make a difference amongst anti-crime officers when they analyzed the effect of the BWC

on their own behavior. Black anti-crime officers did not believe that they would be better at their assignment if not required to wear a BWC. Likewise Black officers did not believe that their arrests activity would be affected by wearing a BWC. Conversely their White counterparts acknowledged more than any other race of anti-crime officers in this study that they believed wearing a BWC would make them somewhat hesitant to stop a pedestrian on reasonable suspicion of criminality.

Years of service with the NYPD did not prove to be a strong determinant of officer perceptions of BWC. There were mixed responses across respondent groups based on their years of service. Officers who identified as having between 1 to 10 years of service with the department disagreed that they would be better at their assignment without a BWC. Conversely, anti-crime officers who have 1 to 5 years of service and 11 to 15 years of service disagreed more than any other group that anti-crime officers should be assigned BWC. Veteran anti-crime officers who identified as having 16 to 20 years of service with the department identified more agreement than their colleagues with less time in service that the BWC will reduced the number of civilian complaints an anti-crime officer will receive.

The overall findings of this study have identified there is a correlation with decreased arrest activity amongst anti-crime officers and the assignment of BWC. However, officer perceptions of BWC and the potential benefits appear to be somewhat favorable. Based on responses by sample group participants it would suggest that anti-crime officers may be more agreeable to wearing BWC than the researcher initially believed. Although there is a level of agreement to the benefits and effect of BWC, this

group of officers surprisingly did not identify the impact of wearing a BWC on their own arrest activity.

## **Chapter 5: Discussion**

### **Introduction**

The final chapter of this study summarizes the results of this research involving NYPD anti-crime teams and the potential implications of BWC on specialized plain clothes officers in other units of the NYPD. The researcher was provided access to archived arrest data for the participants of this study ( $n=61$ ) who were assigned to anti-crime teams across the city of New York during the period of review. The period of review encompassed the 12-month period pre-BWC deployment and the subsequent 12-month period post BWC deployment. Furthermore, all participants were sent surveys via Survey Monkey to their respective NYPD e-mail account, to glean descriptive data and their perceptions of BWC. This chapter endeavors to identify the overall theme of this research and potential policy considerations for future deployment of BWC to officers in specialized plain-clothes units in the NYPD and beyond. Additionally, this chapter will explain research limitations and recommendations. Results from this study can provide some insight on the potential for BWC to change officer arrest activity and potential effects on other specialty police units.

In 2014 President Barack Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing identified a host of recommendations on improving policing in the United States of America. At the forefront of these recommendations was the adoption of police body-worn cameras. In 2018 it was estimated that approximately 10,500 police agencies across the nation have adopted some semblance of a BWC program (Miller, 2019). BWC

have been offered and promoted as a device to provide transparency and accountability in policing. As recent police killings of Black men across the country have sparked debate, outrage, and emotional pain, BWC have often been present during each of these encounters. The ability of BWC to reduce use of excessive force and provide transparency in police citizen interactions has been challenged and debated multiple times over.

The assignment of BWC to specialized plain clothes anti-crime officers in the NYPD was a novel endeavor within the law enforcement community. There has been no other identified police agency with such a robust deployment of BWC to plain clothes officers. The researcher has posited that the effectiveness of BWC technology to meet the expected outcome of change in officer behavior will strongly rest on officer acceptance of the technology and motivation to follow departmental policy and guidelines regarding BWC. NYPD executives and New York City lawmakers have expressed outward support for BWC and the potential benefit to officers and community members alike. The unique mission and assignment of anti-crime officers made the application of BWC to this group an unconventional and unique process. This specialized group of officers have historically been engaged in high risk work and are credited with making a significant contribution in the reduction of crime throughout the City of New York. This population of officers have been engaged in proactive enforcement more than any other group of officers in the NYPD. Over the last 49 years, members of the NYPD who have been assigned to anti-crime teams have been at the forefront of crime fighting in New York City. Through their efforts in the removal of thousands of illegal firearms from New

York City streets, these officers have undoubtedly saved thousands, if not millions of lives.

At the commencement of this study anti-crime teams were fully operational. However, since the completion of the study and the analysis of the data, all NYPD anti-crime teams have been disbanded. NYPD Police Commissioner Dermot Shea explained that he had significant concerns and reservations over some of the tactics and methods anti-crime officers employed as well as the high number of officer involved shootings they were part of (Watkins, 2020). There is an internal agency belief within the NYPD that anti-crime officers' actions which may not have comported with constitutional policing and were captured on BWC, may have also played a role in the decision to disband anti-crime teams. However, the disbandment of these teams does not diminish the importance of these findings which may well be transferrable to other plain-clothes units within the NYPD and nationally to other police agencies.

Most significantly, since the unit has been disbanded, the city of New York has experienced a sharp increase in gun violence and homicides with calls from many different sectors to reinstate the unit (Norman, 2020). Recently, Eric Adams, one of the most prominent Black politicians in New York City, stated that the NYPD needs to bring anti-crime teams back (Mulraney, 2020). The mayoral candidate explained that “the plain clothes unit whose job was to get guns off of the street may have needed reform but should not have been eliminated” (Mulraney, para. 2). Furthermore, Adams stated “now bad guys believe they can do whatever they want” (Mulraney, para. 3). Should the unit be reinstated, these findings will indeed remain significant.

This study attempted to answer four questions which were unique to this population of officers:

1. Does wearing a BWC affect the arrest activity of officers assigned to anti-crime teams?
2. To what degree do anti-crime officer's believe that BWC affects their individual behavior regarding proactive enforcement?
3. To what degree do anti-crime officers believe that wearing a BWC affected a fellow anti-crime officer's behavior regarding proactive enforcement?
4. Is there a correlation between years of service with the department, race, and perceptions of the effect of BWC?

The data gleaned from this research did indeed provide answers to these questions. The results from this study have identified that BWC do appear to have an effect on anti-crime officers arrests activity and their individual perceptions of how the BWC effects them personally.

Recent empirical research supports the fact that the presence of BWC can have implications of changes in officer behavior. Huff (2020) identified that officers in the Phoenix, Arizona police department were influenced by the presence of BWC. These findings indicted that officers assigned BWCs were associated with a likelihood of lower proactivity, but increased likelihood of arrest and use of force when equipped with a BWC. Similarly, research with the Las Vegas Metro Police Department identified increased arrest activity after the intervention of BWC as well as reduction in use of force (Braga et al., 2018). Conversely, Hallandale, Florida police officers were studied, and the officers who were assigned BWC exhibited a reduction in arrest activity by 16.1%

(Headley et al., 2017). To date the only study which has endeavored to study officers assigned to specialized policing units acknowledged that officers expressed concern and apprehension over wearing a BWC during their assignment (Gaub et al., 2018).

There remains a dearth of research, specifically on officers assigned to specialized units and the effect of BWC. The officers in the sample group for this study were assigned to anti-crime teams in the NYPD and worked across the five boroughs of New York City. However, results may be relatable to officers in other agencies who encompass similar roles. Many scholars and practitioners have focused on uniformed patrol officers and the impact of BWC on their behavior, activity, and perceptions, but the researcher suggests that there is no more vulnerable group in policing than those assigned to specialized units. Most police agencies who have adopted BWC programs have instituted policies which apply to all members of the agency. However, specialized, and plain-clothes officers are often asked to fulfill a mission different than the fellow members of their agency. It would stand to reason that a one size fits all approach to BWC assignment and policy would not be the most effective approach.

This study endeavored to fill some of the gaps in the literature surrounding this unique group of officers, while also providing law enforcement executives with actionable data for potential policy changes and program design for their own BWC plan of action. Beyond anti-crime officers, the NYPD maintains a host of plain-clothes units, from violence reduction teams, vice, narcotics, and long term investigative units that represent thousands of officers who may be required to wear a BWC in the foreseeable future. The quantitative lens through which this study viewed anti-crime officers and the

resulting analysis and findings may assist any future policy and deployment decisions by NYPD personnel.

The methodology employed for this study was appropriate based on the time constraints the researcher faced, the novel population of officers, and the temporal deployment of BWC. Utilizing arrest data for sample participants pre and post BWC intervention for 1 full year with and without a BWC allowed the researcher to take on a practical examination of arrest activity and the effect of BWC. Officer responses to survey questions which were administered via Survey Monkey to their respective NYPD accounts allowed for confidential and honest responses. Officers' responses to the questions provided allowed for a deeper understanding of their individual perceptions as well as group perceptions of BWC.

### **Implications of Findings**

The research questions which guided this study were employed to gauge anti-crime officers' perceptions of BWC and the impact on their behavior regarding their assignment as well as fellow anti-crime officers. There is a belief amongst some of the respondents that wearing a BWC may make them hesitant to engage in proactive stops of citizens, although most believe the camera will have no effect on their arrest activity. Archived arrests data does not support that perception and clearly indicated a change in arrest behavior by most of the participant officers.

Based upon an exhaustive review of available literature at the time of this research, this study is currently the only quantitative study which has examined the impact of BWC on specialized plain-clothes officers. As a part of this study anti-crime officers were asked if they believed anti-crime officers should be made to wear BWC.

Often these officers are part of controversial and adversarial encounters with members of the public. They have been accused of stops of members of the community, specifically Black and Latino men, on less than reasonable suspicion, the legal standard required to stop a pedestrian (Spitzer, 2000). Many may assume that these officers would be averse to wearing cameras and the criticism which may ensue from supervisors, media, and critics around their stops and sometimes frisk of citizens for weapons. Survey results revealed that over 77% of respondents believed that all anti-crime officers should be required to wear BWC. Additionally, 85% of respondents believed that wearing a BWC does change anti-crime officer's behavior. Based on survey findings there appears to be a sense of acceptance of BWC amongst anti-crime officers in the NYPD.

### **Limitations**

As is often the case with empirical studies, findings from this research cannot instinctively be applied to all police agencies across the country. The NYPD is the largest police force in the United States, comprised of approximately 36,000 sworn officers. Of the approximately 18,000 federal, state, county, and local agencies across the country, the most common type of agency is the small town police department that employs 10 or fewer officers (Governing, 2016). Naturally, the findings from this study may not be applicable to small agencies, but may be germane to larger police forces. Policing is much more like an art than a science in the sense that each agency has a wide host of responsibilities and operates under multiple extraneous variables which are often unique to their jurisdiction and community.

The many diverse boroughs and neighborhoods that make up the New York City landscape bring about a multitude of challenges for the NYPD and their personnel.

Beyond the diverse working conditions each member of the sample group may have encountered, the population under review had to be limited to officers assigned to the Patrol Services Bureau. This study did not include anti-crime officers who are tasked with patrolling within the New York City Transit System or New York City Housing Authority. The differences in the working environment of transit officers and those who are tasked with patrolling NYCHA property is significantly different from their colleagues assigned to PSB. Because of these differences this study focused only on officers assigned to PSB.

Over the course of the past 3 years there has been substantial changes in policing, and specifically the NYPD. The researcher could not account for every external variable which may have affected anti-crime officers arrest activity. Changes in departmental policy, increased oversight, improved training, and media attention focused on officer actions; all may have played a part in reductions of anti-crime officer arrest activity. In addition to an analysis of archived arrests data, all participants ( $n=61$ ) were supplied with a survey to be completed via Survey Monkey.

Each member of the sample group received their survey through their department e-mail on May 20, 2020. Within the first 2 days there were a total of 21 responses, however the world changed for the law enforcement community and all citizens on May 25, 2020. The murder of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer was viewed by millions of people across the world. That one fateful encounter would go on to spark national outrage and protest across the United States of America and fuel the call for police reform. New York City and the NYPD, like many other municipalities, were forced to manage multiple protest and demonstrations across the five boroughs. In

response to these protests, on May 30, 2020, NYPD Police Commissioner Dermot Shea would order the cancellation of all days off for members of the department and ordered all personnel to work 12-hour tours. This order would remain in effect until June 15, 2020. Even more significant for the purposes of this study, on this very same day Commissioner Shea would announce that he dissolved all anti-crime teams across the city, except those officers assigned to the Transit Bureau. This unprecedented step sent shock waves through the NYPD community and policing overall. A perfect storm of unpopular sentiment towards police officers, changes to work schedules, and the disbanding of anti-crime units all led to a challenge to achieve 100% compliance with survey responses. After three follow-up e-mails there were a total of 42 anti-crime officers who did respond to the survey.

**Sample size limitations.** This study examined anti-crime officers who fit the established criteria and worked in precincts that were assigned BWC between December 2017 and June 2018. In total there were 258 anti-crime officers who received BWC during this period, however, there were only 61 officers who fit the established criteria. Fowler and Lapp (2019) explained that “larger sample sizes typically are more representative of the population you’re studying, but only if you collect data randomly and the population is heterogeneous” (para 3). Further, “If your population of interest is homogeneous, you may need only a small sample” (Fowler & Lapp, 2019, para 3). The members of the sample group shared commonalities due to the established criteria, the homogeneity of participants reinforced the appropriateness of this sample group. The small sample group equated to 21.4% of the overall population; the significance of this

population identifies that many of the anti-crime officers have relatively minimal time in their anti-crime assignment.

This study lacked a focused qualitative component, although the research was guided by a problem statement and research questions, further scholarship is needed to examine respondents' opinions and feelings towards BWC. A qualitative study may allow for a more concentrated examination of why anti-crime officers answered in the manner that they did. Additionally, a qualitative study will allow for anti-crime officers to discuss their feelings and opinions towards BWC in light of the dissolution of anti-crime teams across the city of New York.

### **Recommendations**

**BWC and training.** BWC can change user behavior as well as citizen actions and reactions to encounters with officers. The ability to capture real time audio and video data of interactions between officers and members of the community make BWC a unique tool. BWC data may provide significant benefits beyond evidentiary purposes. Law enforcement executives and supervisors alike, for the first time in the history of an organized police force, can observe officer behavior when they are not physically present. Beyond the identified changes in officer use of force, arrest activity, summons activity, and overall behavior, BWC video can become a significant tool in the training and retraining of police officers. For most police agencies, BWC programs provide a treasure trove of video data of real encounters between police and citizens. The researcher strongly believes in the ability of BWC video data to aid in training on a wide host of topics, from use of force, tactical approach, implicit bias, and constitutional policing.

**Recommendations for proactive policing.** This study identified that the assignment of BWC to officers assigned to specialized plain-clothes anti-crime units may cause a significant reduction in arrest activity. Historically specialized police units have been a significant driver of crime reduction across the United States (Lamm Weisel & O'Connor Shelley, 1998; Namgung, 2013). As we imagine policing in the future, recent events have made a strong call for change and criminal justice reform. What that change will look like remains unclear for many police executives. This study may aid in the decision-making process for leaders, providing an understanding that there may be significant reductions in arrest activity once BWC are issued to plain clothes officers. Reduction in proactive crime fighting and arrests may precipitate increases in criminal activity and undoubtedly impact vulnerable communities of color, more than any others. Policing executives would be wise to engage in proactive strategies in anticipation of a reduction of proactive policing and increase in criminal activity after the assignment of BWC to their specialty units.

**Recommendations for BWC policy.** Most police agencies have not adopted assignment specific policies. Typically, police agency internal guidelines and policies are applicable to all members of the agency regardless of assignment. Specifically, police agencies like the NYPD have applied the same requirements and prohibitions guiding BWC usage for all members of the department. This philosophy is counterproductive, asking officers who perform different and distinct functions to follow the same guidelines will not set personnel and the department up for success. Utilizing data from this study as well as other empirical studies, police executives would be wise to take a deeper dive into their internal policies and craft BWC guidelines for their respective specialized units

unique to their assignment. Despite the fact that the NYPD recently disbanded their anti-crime teams, there remains a host of specialized proactive plain-clothes units within the NYPD. One can reasonably anticipate that given the stated desire for increased transparency in policing, the department will have to determine if BWC should be assigned to these officers in the future. If BWC are assigned to officers assigned to proactive units like narcotics, violence reduction, organized crime task force, training, and policy must reflect the unique nature of their assignment.

The survey provided to all respondents incorporated closed ended questions gauging their perceptions. However, there was one question which allowed for open ended responses, allowing respondents to openly express their opinions regarding BWC (Appendix I). One of the overriding issues officers identified was the loss of discretion. Many anti-crime officers explained that in the past they would overlook minor violations observed. The focus of these officers is squarely on serious criminal behavior, and traditionally would not issue a summons for relatively minor violations of the law which they may observe. However, with the assignment of BWC many of these officers explained that they were hesitant to allow a civilian to walk away once their BWC captured behavior that by law should be addressed with a summons or arrest. Policy makers would be derelict in their responsibilities to not address officer discretion in their respective BWC policy.

Additionally, officers expressed concern over BWC being used as a tool to punish officers for minor infractions. Respondents explained that they believed supervisors who may not have the experience to understand what they do, will often watch their BWC video and make determinations about officers' actions and seek to issue some form of

punishment for what they believe is unlawful or inappropriate actions. Clear guidelines should be stated in department policy on how BWC videos can and will be used by supervisors in review of officer performance.

**Recommendation for further study on race and BWC.** Results from this study identified that Black anti-crime officers and female officers did not feel that BWC had a significant intrusion on their ability to perform their job. White male officers did not exhibit quite as much confidence as their colleagues, acknowledging that they did feel some apprehension when wearing a BWC to carry out their assignment as they have in the past. Further research and examination are required to understand if this was due to sample size or can the feelings these officers expressed be applied to a larger group of specialized police officers. A qualitative study of a large group of anti-crime officers or specialized policing unit officers, segregated into distinct populations based on identified race, would lend to further understanding of the results revealed in this study.

**Recommendation for future research.** The adoption of BWC has become a central issue in many of the conversations around police reform across the United States. Advocates assert that every police officer should be made to wear a BWC. Ekins (2016), identified that 89% of Americans support police body cameras. A central concern with BWC deployment is cost. A recent survey indicated that 59% of Democrats, 52% of Independents and 38% of Republicans acknowledge that they would be willing to pay higher taxes for police BWC (Ekins, 2016). Similarly, multiple studies have identified that overall police officers are in favor of wearing BWC as well (Gaub et al., 2016; Hickman, 2017; Jennings et al., 2014). Community support and officer acceptance have created an opportune environment for further BWC adoption, deployment and scholarship.

Future research should pick up where this study left off, examining if the presence of BWC will continue to influence specialized police officers arrest activity. The established criteria utilized for this study limited the number of participants who could be included. Further study should be given to a larger sample size and identify if perceptions and arrest activity remain consistent with what was found in this study. Additionally, as the NYPD and other police departments prepare to issue BWC to other specialized units, research should be initiated with officers before they are assigned a body camera, gauging their perceptions from a position of being a non-camera officer, similar to research conducted by Hickman (2017).

A collaborative research project should be engaged between law enforcement and local district attorney's offices. Many of the sample group participants – 75% believed that having a BWC assisted them in the prosecution of an arrest. Conversely, some officers expressed frustration with prosecutors who were hesitant and, in some cases, outright resolute to decline to prosecute cases where there was not any BWC video or the video failed to capture the entire incident. During the early adoption of BWC, some prosecutors' and courts were reluctant to admit BWC footage into evidence (Todak et al., 2017). Over the past few years body camera footage has become a strong component of evidence in many arrests. Further scholarship is required to examine the effect of BWC on external stakeholders in relation to the police, and the role video data has played in the prosecutorial process.

## **Conclusion**

This study was conducted to examine the perception of a unique population of officers who are often neglected as the subject of empirical studies on the effect of BWC.

Officers assigned to specialized units have often been tasked with some of the most high risk assignments that have the greatest impact on crime reduction. The very nature of many of these assignments places these officers in adversarial situations with members of the community. As police reform and transparency in law enforcement currently drive many of the conversations across the country today, the ability of BWC to impact anti-crime officer's behavior remains a key topic of discussion.

Anti-crime officers assigned to the NYPD demonstrated an overall acceptance of BWC. Similar to the findings of Hickman (2017), in his study of BWC deployment, NYPD officers expressed an understanding of the benefits of BWC and the need for cameras in policing. Individually some officers expressed concern that the camera would make them hesitate when they would ordinarily engage in stops of civilians for reasonable suspicion of criminality. This study identified that 85% of anti-crime officers believed that BWC changed anti-crime officer's behavior. Perhaps in future research scholars will endeavor to specifically identify in what way did officers believe their behavior as well as that of colleagues was changed due to the BWC.

The officers under review often make the most arrests in their respective precincts. The proactive aggressive nature of their assignment is measured by the amount of arrests they effect. Although over half of the respondents (57.5%) did not believe wearing a BWC had any impact on their arrest activity; data from this study revealed that there was indeed a change in officer arrest activity. On average officers who participated in the sample group made 6.8 fewer arrest for the year when tasked with wearing a BWC. Beyond the identified change in arrest activity by anti-crime officers, it remains unknown

how the disbandment of anti-crime teams by the department will affect the communities these officers serve.

This study identified a split amongst officers on whether they would be better at their assignment if not made to wear a BWC. Over half of the respondents (52.5%) disagreed that they would be better at their assignment without a BWC. However, there was an intriguing finding revealed from this study. White male officers tended to feel they would be better at their assignment if not made to wear a BWC, which was in contrast to their Black male counterparts and female officers. Similar findings were also revealed regarding arrest activity and reluctance to stop citizens. Although many respondents did not believe BWC effected their arrest activity, data identified that there was a change in the number of arrests. Conversely, 70% of anti-crime officers believed that the presence of a camera made them less likely to engage in a stop for reasonable suspicion. Many of the arrests anti-crime officers make are generated from stops of citizens which lead to probable cause for an arrest. If there is an unwillingness to stop individuals this would help in explaining why there was such a significant reduction in arrest activity.

Surprisingly, 70% of respondents believed that they would not hesitate to use force when justified to do so because of the presence of a BWC. Farrar (2013) identified a reduction in use of force by almost 90% by Rialto, California police officers when assigned a BWC. Based on officer responses, the majority of anti-crime officers in this study believe they only use force when it is justified to do so and wearing a BWC would not dissuade their actions. As officer use of force continues to be a key focal point for many critics of police actions, BWC will remain a central point for future dialogue. What

remains unknown is how BWC deployment will shape the perception of police officers as we enter what looks to be a new era in policing.

The benefits and impact of BWC are being felt across the nation. Some have expressed that the inability of body cameras to change police behavior, and the impact that proponents touted as a direct benefit of BWC have fallen short (Lockhart, 2019). Conversely, others have explained that there isn't a change in police behavior when being assigned a BWC because most officers do their jobs correctly and when they have to use force, make a stop or any other requirement of their job, they just do it (Matsakis, 2020). Both points of view may be valid in their individual context, however, cameras have not necessarily led to complete trust in law enforcement and officer's actions.

Findings from this study are similar to Hickman (2017) in that anti-crime officers assigned to the NYPD share similar feelings of acceptance of BWC like their uniformed colleagues. Much like Gaub et al. (2018), specialized police officers interviewed in two midsize Western police departments expressed some of the same apprehensions as officers in this study. The utility of BWC for specialized plain-clothes officers drives the importance of careful planning and decision making by agency executives as implementation of BWC continues to expand.

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## Appendix A

### Survey

#### Anti-Crime Body-Worn Camera Survey PREPARATION AND SELECTION

1. How strongly do you believe BWCs should be assigned to all plain-clothes Anti-crime officers?

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

2. Do you believe BWCs change Anti-crime officer's behavior?

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

3. Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

4. Do you believe wearing a BWC has assisted you in the prosecution of your arrest?

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

5. Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

6. Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

7. BWCs will reduce the number of civilian complaints Anti-crime officers receive

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

8. BWCs will not help Anti-crime officers at all

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

9. Does wearing a BWC affect your willingness to use force when justified to do so?

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

10. Please use the space below if there is any other information you would like to share about your experience wearing a BWC as an Anti-crime officer:



**Anti-Crime Body-Worn Camera Survey**  
**DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION (OPTIONAL)**

11. What is your gender?

- Male  Transgender Female  
 Female  Other/Not Listed  
 Transgender Male

12. How long have you been a member of the NYPD?

- Less than 1 year  11 to 15 years  
 1 to 5 years  16 to 20 years  
 6 to 10 years  More than 20 years

13. What is your race/ethnicity?

- White (Non-Hispanic)  
 Black (Non-Hispanic)  
 Hispanic  
 Asian/Pacific Islander  
 Native American  
 Other

14. Do you have prior military service experience?

- Yes  
 No

15. What is your highest education level achieved?

- College Study - No Degree
- Associates Degree (AA)
- Bachelor's Degree
- Master's Degree
- Terminal Degree (MD, PhD, JD, etc.)

16. Which of the following best describes your assignment?

- Patrol Services Bureau
- Detective Bureau
- Housing Bureau
- Transit Bureau
- Transportation Bureau
- Community Affairs Bureau
- Intelligence Bureau
- Counterterrorism Bureau
- Special Operations Bureau
- Training Bureau
- Personnel Bureau
- Internal Affairs Bureau
- Chief of Department
- Support Services Bureau
- Information Technology Bureau
- Crime Control Strategies
- Deputy Commissioner, Legal Matters/Legal Bureau
- Deputy Commissioner, Management & Budget
- Risk Management Bureau
- Other

## Appendix B

### St. John Fisher College Institutional Review Board

#### Statement of Informed Consent for Adult Participants

##### Effect of BWC on Anti-crime Officers

#### SUMMARY OF KEY INFORMATION:

- You are being asked to be in a research study on the effect of BWC on police officers assigned to anti-crime teams in the NYPD. This study will also examine officers' perceptions of BWC. As with all research studies, participation is voluntary.
- The purpose of this study is to identify if the deployment of BWC to officers assigned to anti-crime teams has any effect on their arrest activity. The researcher will endeavor to understand if there is any correlation between participants descriptive data and perceptions of BWC.
- Approximately 61 police officers will take part in this study. The results will be used for the completion of the researcher's doctoral dissertation.
- If you agree to take part in this study, you will be involved in this study for approximately 10 to 15 minutes, which will be the amount of time it should take you to complete the provided survey.
- If you agree to participate in this study, you will only be required to answer survey questions and nothing more will be asked of you.
- I believe this study has no more than minimal risk. You would be required to spend no more than 10 to 15 minutes taking the survey, and that would be the extent of your involvement.

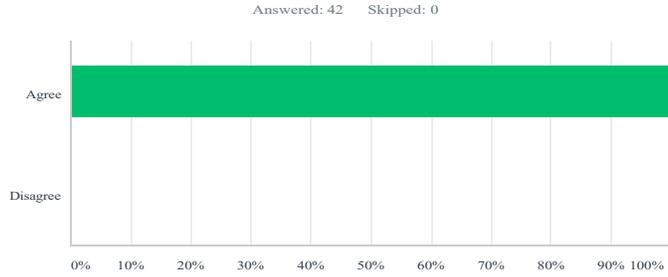
You may not directly benefit from this research; however, we hope that your participation in the study may inform the larger law enforcement community as agencies continue to expand BWC adoption.

# Appendix C

## Consent

Anti-Crime Body-Worn Camera Survey

Q1 Electronic Consent: Clicking "Agree" below indicates that:- I have read the above information.- I voluntarily agree to participate.- I am at least 18 years of age.If you do not wish to participate in the study, please decline participation by clicking the "Disagree" button below.



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Agree	100.00%	42
Disagree	0.00%	0
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>42</b>

## Appendix D

### Permission to Use Survey

**From:** "Jennings, Wesley G" <[jenningswj@txstate.edu](mailto:jenningswj@txstate.edu)>

**Date:** December 10, 2019 at 15:47:20 EST

**To:** "HALL, RUDOLPH" <[RUDOLPH.HALL@nypd.org](mailto:RUDOLPH.HALL@nypd.org)>

**Subject: Re: Survey Questions**

Hi Sergeant Hall,

Thank you for reaching out. Very glad to hear that we have some overlapping research interests, and the topic of your research project definitely sounds interesting and one that would provide a welcomed contribution to the literature.

You are certainly welcome to use/adapt any of the survey questions that we have from our article. The questions are embedded in the text/tables/figures and also in the Appendix.

Best wishes with your research!

--Dr. Jennings

## Appendix E



POLICE DEPARTMENT  
Tanya T. Meisenholder  
Deputy Commissioner, Equity and Inclusion  
One Police Plaza, Room 1100A  
New York, NY 10038

April 23, 2020

Saint John Fisher College  
Institutional Review Board  
3690 East Avenue  
Rochester, NY 14618

Dear Members of the Institutional Review Board,

I am writing this letter to provide my support for the doctoral dissertation proposed by Sergeant Rudolph B. Hall. Sergeant Hall's research on the policies and training related to the use of body-worn cameras by plainclothes enforcement personnel will provide a much needed focus on an understudied segment of law enforcement personnel. Sergeant Hall's research will be a valuable resource and provide insight to police leaders and agencies beyond the NYPD as the greater law enforcement community continues to expand the use of body-worn cameras.

The NYPD began use of body-worn cameras in January 2015 through a pilot that concluded in March 2016. Wide-scale use of body-worn cameras by all personnel assigned to patrol duty began in December 2017. This full deployment also included plainclothes anticrime officers who conduct proactive and focused policing. Professionally, Sergeant Hall has evolved from being a leading proactive plainclothes enforcement officer himself to a leading subject matter expert in the NYPD on body-worn cameras. His research in the intersection of two areas of his expertise will be of great value to the NYPD in its continuous review of policy and training. More importantly, however, Sergeant Hall's work will be a trailblazing resource for police agencies across the law enforcement landscape related to the use of body-worn cameras.

Thank you for considering Sergeant Hall's dissertation proposal. In addition to my full support, Sergeant Hall is well-respected and held in high regard by other leaders in the NYPD. Please do not hesitate to contact me should you require any additional information.

Regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Tanya T. Meisenholder".

Tanya T. Meisenholder, Ph.D  
Deputy Commissioner, Equity and Inclusion

COURTESY • PROFESSIONALISM • RESPECT  
Website: <http://nyc.gov/nypd>

## Appendix F

### NYPD Personnel (2019)

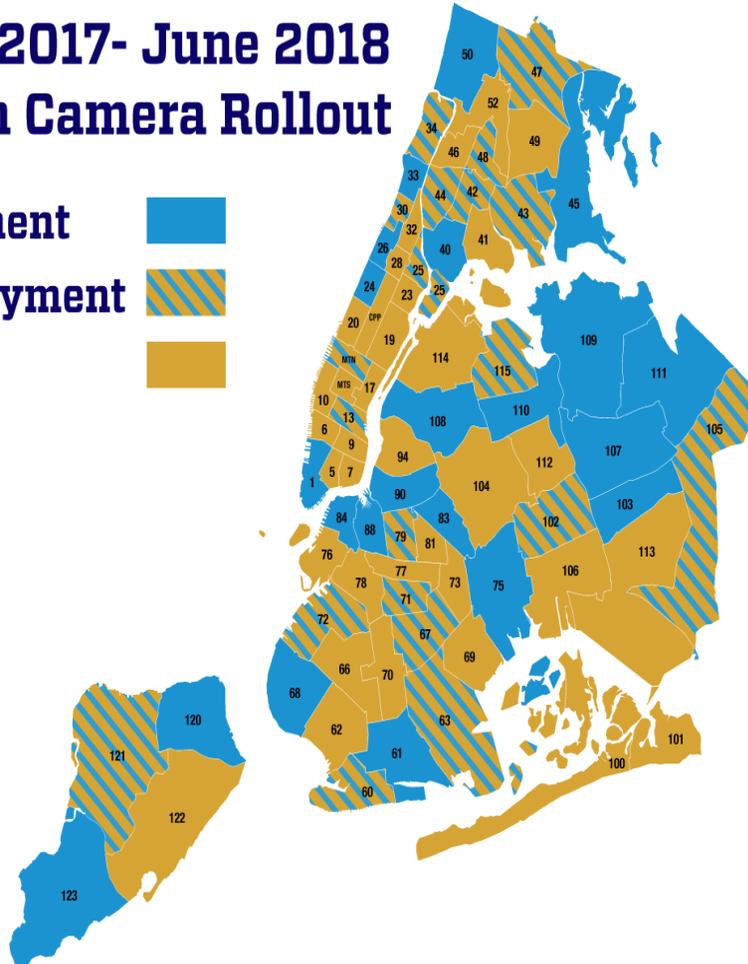
<b>NYPD Personnel</b>	White		Black		Hispanic		Asian		
<b>Rank</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Totals</b>
Chiefs	9	1	2	N/A	1	1	1	N/A	15
Assistant Chief	20	1	1	2	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	26
Deputy Chief	50	2	7	2	6		N/A	1	68
Inspector	101	6	7	3	11	N/A	2	N/A	130
Deputy Inspector	128	8	11	5	15	3	3	N/A	173
Captain	229	13	29	11	41	9	21	2	355
Lieutenants	1,025	87	132	57	254	44	100	9	1,708
Sergeants	2,283	227	425	270	868	266	337	21	4,697
Detectives	2,656	252	647	218	1,199	273	197	23	5,465
Police Officers	9,594	1,361	2,412	1,313	5,312	1,900	1,946	175	24,013
<b>Totals</b>	<b>16,095</b>	<b>1,958</b>	<b>3,673</b>	<b>1,881</b>	<b>7,709</b>	<b>2,496</b>	<b>2,607</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>36,650</b>

## Appendix G

### Body-Worn Camera Rollout

# December 2017- June 2018 Body-Worn Camera Rollout

- Full deployment 
- Partial deployment 
- No cameras 



## Appendix H

### Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
How strongly do you believe BWC should be assigned to all plain- clothes Anti- crime officers?	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	2.8333	.98319	.40139	1.8015	3.8651	1.00	4.00
	Black (Non- Hispanic)	3	2.3333	1.52753	.88192	-1.4612	6.1279	1.00	4.00
	Hispanic	9	2.7778	.83333	.27778	2.1372	3.4183	1.00	4.00
	Other	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.	3.00	3.00
	White (Non- Hispanic)	21	3.0476	1.02353	.22335	2.5817	3.5135	1.00	4.00
Total		40	2.9000	.98189	.15525	2.5860	3.2140	1.00	4.00
Do you believe BWC change Anti-crime officer's behavior?	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	3.3333	.81650	.33333	2.4765	4.1902	2.00	4.00
	Black (Non- Hispanic)	3	3.0000	.00000	.00000	3.0000	3.0000	3.00	3.00
	Hispanic	9	3.1111	.60093	.20031	2.6492	3.5730	2.00	4.00
	Other	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.	3.00	3.00
	White (Non- Hispanic)	21	3.1429	.85356	.18626	2.7543	3.5314	1.00	4.00
Total		40	3.1500	.73554	.11630	2.9148	3.3852	1.00	4.00
Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	2.3333	1.50555	.61464	.7534	3.9133	1.00	4.00
	Black (Non- Hispanic)	3	1.6667	.57735	.33333	.2324	3.1009	1.00	2.00
	Hispanic	9	2.6667	1.00000	.33333	1.8980	3.4353	1.00	4.00
	Other	1	1.0000	.	.	.	.	1.00	1.00
	White (Non- Hispanic)	21	2.5238	1.03049	.22487	2.0547	2.9929	1.00	4.00

	Total	40	2.4250	1.08338	.17130	2.0785	2.7715	1.00	4.00
Do you believe wearing a BWC has assisted you in the prosecution of your arrest?	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	3.1667	.75277	.30732	2.3767	3.9567	2.00	4.00
	Black (Non-Hispanic)	3	2.6667	1.52753	.88192	-1.1279	6.4612	1.00	4.00
	Hispanic	9	3.0000	1.11803	.37268	2.1406	3.8594	1.00	4.00
	Other	1	1.0000	.	.	.	.	1.00	1.00
	White (Non-Hispanic)	21	3.2857	.78376	.17103	2.9289	3.6425	2.00	4.00
	Total	40	3.1000	.95542	.15106	2.7944	3.4056	1.00	4.00
Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	2.8333	.75277	.30732	2.0433	3.6233	2.00	4.00
	Black (Non-Hispanic)	3	1.6667	.57735	.33333	.2324	3.1009	1.00	2.00
	Hispanic	9	2.7778	.83333	.27778	2.1372	3.4183	2.00	4.00
	Other	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.	3.00	3.00
	White (Non-Hispanic)	21	2.4762	.74960	.16358	2.1350	2.8174	1.00	4.00
	Total	40	2.5500	.78283	.12378	2.2996	2.8004	1.00	4.00
Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	2.8333	1.16905	.47726	1.6065	4.0602	1.00	4.00
	Black (Non-Hispanic)	3	2.0000	1.00000	.57735	-.4841	4.4841	1.00	3.00
	Hispanic	9	2.6667	.86603	.28868	2.0010	3.3324	1.00	4.00
	Other	1	1.0000	.	.	.	.	1.00	1.00
	White (Non-Hispanic)	20	3.1000	.78807	.17622	2.7312	3.4688	1.00	4.00
	Total	39	2.8205	.94233	.15089	2.5150	3.1260	1.00	4.00
BWC will reduce the number of civilian complaints Anti-crime officers receive	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	3.0000	1.26491	.51640	1.6726	4.3274	1.00	4.00
	Black (Non-Hispanic)	3	2.3333	1.52753	.88192	-1.4612	6.1279	1.00	4.00
	Hispanic	9	2.6667	1.11803	.37268	1.8073	3.5261	1.00	4.00
	Other	1	2.0000	.	.	.	.	2.00	2.00
	White (Non-Hispanic)	21	2.9524	.97346	.21243	2.5093	3.3955	1.00	4.00

	Total	40	2.8250	1.05945	.16751	2.4862	3.1638	1.00	4.00
BWC will not help Anti-crime officers at all	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	2.0000	1.26491	.51640	.6726	3.3274	1.00	4.00
	Black (Non-Hispanic)	3	2.0000	.00000	.00000	2.0000	2.0000	2.00	2.00
	Hispanic	9	1.8889	.78174	.26058	1.2880	2.4898	1.00	3.00
	Other	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.	3.00	3.00
	White (Non-Hispanic)	21	1.8571	.72703	.15865	1.5262	2.1881	1.00	4.00
	Total	40	1.9250	.79703	.12602	1.6701	2.1799	1.00	4.00
Does wearing a BWC affect your willingness to use force when justified to do	Asian/Pacific Islander	6	2.1667	1.16905	.47726	.9398	3.3935	1.00	4.00
	Black (Non-Hispanic)	3	1.3333	.57735	.33333	-.1009	2.7676	1.00	2.00
	Hispanic	9	2.0000	1.00000	.33333	1.2313	2.7687	1.00	4.00
	Other	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.	3.00	3.00
	White (Non-Hispanic)	21	2.1905	.92839	.20259	1.7679	2.6131	1.00	4.00
	Total	40	2.1000	.95542	.15106	1.7944	2.4056	1.00	4.00

### Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
How strongly do you believe BWC should be assigned to all plain-clothes Anti-crime officers?	Female	2	3.0000	1.41421	1.00000	-9.7062	15.7062
	Male	37	2.8919	.99398	.16341	2.5605	3.2233
	Transgender	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.
	Male						
	Total	40	2.9000	.98189	.15525	2.5860	3.2140
Do you believe BWC change Anti-crime officer's behavior?	Female	2	3.5000	.70711	.50000	-2.8531	9.8531
	Male	37	3.1351	.75138	.12353	2.8846	3.3857
	Transgender	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.
	Male						
	Total	40	3.1500	.73554	.11630	2.9148	3.3852
Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?	Female	2	2.5000	2.12132	1.50000	-16.5593	21.5593
	Male	37	2.3784	1.03686	.17046	2.0327	2.7241
	Transgender	1	4.0000	.	.	.	.
	Male						
	Total	40	2.3750	1.03686	.17046	2.0327	2.7241

	Total	40	2.4250	1.08338	.17130	2.0785	2.7715
Do you believe wearing a BWC has assisted you in the prosecution of your arrest?	Female	2	3.5000	.70711	.50000	-2.8531	9.8531
	Male	37	3.0811	.98258	.16154	2.7535	3.4087
	Transgender	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.
	Male						
	Total	40	3.1000	.95542	.15106	2.7944	3.4056
Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?	Female	2	2.0000	1.41421	1.00000	-10.7062	14.7062
	Male	37	2.5676	.76524	.12580	2.3124	2.8227
	Transgender	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.
	Male						
	Total	40	2.5500	.78283	.12378	2.2996	2.8004
Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?	Female	2	2.0000	1.41421	1.00000	-10.7062	14.7062
	Male	36	2.8611	.93052	.15509	2.5463	3.1760
	Transgender	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.
	Male						
	Total	39	2.8205	.94233	.15089	2.5150	3.1260
BWC will reduce the number of civilian complaints Anti-crime officers receive	Female	2	2.0000	1.41421	1.00000	-10.7062	14.7062
	Male	37	2.8919	1.04838	.17235	2.5423	3.2414
	Transgender	1	2.0000	.	.	.	.
	Male						
	Total	40	2.8250	1.05945	.16751	2.4862	3.1638
BWC will not help Anti-crime officers at all	Female	2	1.5000	.70711	.50000	-4.8531	7.8531
	Male	37	1.9189	.79507	.13071	1.6538	2.1840
	Transgender	1	3.0000	.	.	.	.
	Male						
	Total	40	1.9250	.79703	.12602	1.6701	2.1799
Does wearing a BWC affect your willingness to use force when justified to do	Female	2	2.0000	1.41421	1.00000	-10.7062	14.7062
	Male	37	2.1081	.96563	.15875	1.7862	2.4301
	Transgender	1	2.0000	.	.	.	.
	Male						
	Total	40	2.1000	.95542	.15106	1.7944	2.4056

### ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
How strongly do you believe	Between Groups	1.592	4	.398	.387
BWC should be assigned to	Within Groups	36.008	35	1.029	

all plain-clothes Anti-crime officers?	Total	37.600	39		
Do you believe BWC change Anti-crime officer's behavior?	Between Groups	.306	4	.077	.129
	Within Groups	20.794	35	.594	
	Total	21.100	39		
Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?	Between Groups	4.537	4	1.134	.963
	Within Groups	41.238	35	1.178	
	Total	45.775	39		
Do you believe wearing a BWC has assisted you in the prosecution of your arrest?	Between Groups	5.814	4	1.454	1.708
	Within Groups	29.786	35	.851	
	Total	35.600	39		
Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?	Between Groups	3.606	4	.902	1.555
	Within Groups	20.294	35	.580	
	Total	23.900	39		
Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?	Between Groups	7.110	4	1.778	2.269
	Within Groups	26.633	34	.783	
	Total	33.744	38		
BWC will reduce the number of civilian complaints Anti-crime officers receive	Between Groups	2.156	4	.539	.453
	Within Groups	41.619	35	1.189	
	Total	43.775	39		
BWC will not help Anti-crime officers at all	Between Groups	1.315	4	.329	.490
	Within Groups	23.460	35	.670	
	Total	24.775	39		
Does wearing a BWC affect your willingness to use force when justified to do	Between Groups	2.862	4	.715	.765
	Within Groups	32.738	35	.935	
	Total	35.600	39		
How strongly do you believe BWC should be assigned to all plain-clothes Anti-crime officers?	Between Groups				.817
	Within Groups				
	Total				
Do you believe BWC change Anti-crime officer's behavior?	Between Groups				.971
	Within Groups				
	Total				
	Between Groups				.440

Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?	Within Groups	
	Total	
Do you believe wearing a BWC has assisted you in the prosecution of your arrest?	Between Groups	.170
	Within Groups	
	Total	
Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?	Between Groups	.208
	Within Groups	
	Total	
Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?	Between Groups	.082
	Within Groups	
	Total	
BWC will reduce the number of civilian complaints Anti-crime officers receive	Between Groups	.769
	Within Groups	
	Total	
BWC will not help Anti-crime officers at all	Between Groups	.743
	Within Groups	
	Total	
Does wearing a BWC affect your willingness to use force when justified to do	Between Groups	.555
	Within Groups	
	Total	

### Group Statistics

Do you have prior military service experience?		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Do you believe BWC change Anti-crime officer's behavior?	No	35	3.1143	.75815
	Yes	5	3.4000	.54772
Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?	No	35	2.3429	1.10992
	Yes	5	3.0000	.70711
Do you believe wearing a BWC has assisted you in the prosecution of your arrest?	No	35	3.1714	.98476
	Yes	5	2.6000	.54772
Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?	No	35	2.4857	.74247
	Yes	5	3.0000	1.00000
	No	34	2.8235	.93649

Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?	Yes	5	2.8000	1.09545
BWC will reduce the number of civilian complaints Anti-crime officers receive	No	35	2.9143	1.01087
	Yes	5	2.2000	1.30384
BWC will not help Anti-crime officers at all	No	35	1.8571	.80961
	Yes	5	2.4000	.54772
Does wearing a BWC affect your willingness to use force when justified to do	No	35	2.0857	.95090
	Yes	5	2.2000	1.09545

### Group Statistics

	Do you have prior military service experience?	Std. Error Mean
Do you believe BWC change Anti-crime officer's behavior?	No	.12815
	Yes	.24495
Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?	No	.18761
	Yes	.31623
Do you believe wearing a BWC has assisted you in the prosecution of your arrest?	No	.16645
	Yes	.24495
Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?	No	.12550
	Yes	.44721
Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?	No	.16061
	Yes	.48990
BWC will reduce the number of civilian complaints Anti-crime officers receive	No	.17087
	Yes	.58310
BWC will not help Anti-crime officers at all	No	.13685
	Yes	.24495

Does wearing a BWC affect your willingness to use force when justified to do	No	.16073
	Yes	.48990

### Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means	
		F	Sig.	t	df
Do you believe BWC change Anti-crime officer's behavior?	Equal variances assumed	.112	.740	-.809	38
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.034	6.433
Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?	Equal variances assumed	4.186	.048	-1.279	38
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.787	7.206
Do you believe wearing a BWC has assisted you in the prosecution of your arrest?	Equal variances assumed	1.697	.201	1.260	38
	Equal variances not assumed			1.929	8.338
Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?	Equal variances assumed	.812	.373	-1.390	38
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.107	4.651
Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?	Equal variances assumed	.000	.999	.051	37
	Equal variances not assumed			.046	4.899
BWC will reduce the number of civilian complaints Anti-crime officers receive	Equal variances assumed	.688	.412	1.429	38
	Equal variances not assumed			1.176	4.712
BWC will not help Anti-crime officers at all	Equal variances assumed	.188	.667	-1.444	38
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.935	6.809
	Equal variances assumed	.008	.927	-.247	38



		95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		Lower	Upper
Do you believe BWC change Anti-crime officer's behavior?	Equal variances assumed	-1.00078	.42936
	Equal variances not assumed	-.95128	.37985
Do you believe wearing a BWC affected your monthly arrest activity?	Equal variances assumed	-1.69724	.38296
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.52158	.20729
Do you believe wearing a BWC has assisted you in the prosecution of your arrest?	Equal variances assumed	-.34637	1.48922
	Equal variances not assumed	-.10671	1.24957
Do you believe you would be better at your assignment if you were not required to wear a BWC?	Equal variances assumed	-1.26304	.23446
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.73572	.70714
Officers are less likely to engage in proactive stops or contacts with citizens based on reasonable suspicion when they are assigned a BWC?	Equal variances assumed	-.90323	.95029
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.30999	1.35705
BWC will reduce the number of civilian complaints Anti-crime officers receive	Equal variances assumed	-.29767	1.72624
	Equal variances not assumed	-.87675	2.30532
BWC will not help Anti-crime officers at all	Equal variances assumed	-1.30374	.21802
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.21013	.12442
Does wearing a BWC affect your willingness to use force when justified to do	Equal variances assumed	-1.05032	.82175
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.44776	1.21919

## Appendix I

### Anti-Crime Body-Worn Camera survey open ended responses

#	RESPONSES	DATE
1	another tool for the job to punish officers which has happened time and time again even for minor things	6/10/2020 1:59 AM
2	Less likely to work in the grey area	6/9/2020 6:51 PM
3	The cop is always wrong. Even if a body cam shows justified use of force, if it LOOKS ugly then the cop is wrong. Furthermore, it is more difficult to give a guy a pass if the body cam caught the guy breaking a law. Discretion is tricky	6/8/2020 11:43 PM
4	Bodyworn cameras should not be the tell if a case is kept or DP	6/4/2020 4:53 AM
5	pros are it proves we are not lying. negative part is some might think twice before using force to protect themselves and others.	6/3/2020 9:32 PM
6	.	6/3/2020 7:09 PM
7	Without a doubt wearing a body camera has changed Anti-Crime police work forever. It makes a police officer do everything by the book. That may sound shady to people but doing everything by the book is not always beneficial for everyone, the perpetrators included.	6/2/2020 7:37 PM
8	Na	5/31/2020 12:52 PM
9	The BWC has helped Anti-Crime Officers. Before BWC there was speculation of how Officers conducted car stops, stops of individuals, and how the public was treated. Being in Anti-Crime for three years, I was able to experience both having the camera and not. I prefer having the BWC.	5/31/2020 12:13 AM
10	It has helped more than hurt	5/30/2020 12:24 PM
11	I do not believe I conducted myself any different when wearing a camera as far as use of force or my interactions. If you are confident with the laws and can articulate your actions the BWCs only help. Speaking candidly with my partner to discuss our next actions i always felt weary about on camera. Officers who are not sure of their levels will always have trouble with 250s with or without a camera. As far as CCRBs go all the complaints i ever received were false so i feel it will not help with the number of complaints, but it could the outcome.	5/29/2020 8:26 PM
12	N/A	5/29/2020 4:44 PM
13	the camera dies to fast	5/29/2020 4:12 PM
14	I do not believe there has been a significant difference in the way I police since wearing a BWC. However, wearing a BWC has made me more self-aware on stops, which in turn has made me a better police officer.	5/29/2020 9:27 AM

15	The Only issue I have is if the camera does not show something to the ADA's it did not happen when it did it just did not capture it.	5/28/2020 4:07 AM
16	I think an anti-crime officer should have a bwc but different guidelines on how and when they should use it should be at their discretion... they were here for our "safety" they're being used to discipline officers at this point and now a body camera stat only means there will be a certain number of videos wanted... this job just unfortunately can't help itself	5/27/2020 8:42 PM
17	None	5/27/2020 7:51 PM
18	The BWC is not the issue, outside of accidentally being left on, they are not that bad. The issue is the amount of administrative/clerical work that is "required" to be done for a stop. A busy Saturday night in ENY or Brownsville with an uptick in gang related gun violence and officers being at legitimate level 3 stops, but then having to do a tedious report for each stop. Takes time off the street and kills momentum.	5/27/2020 3:08 PM
19	None	5/27/2020 2:50 PM
20	wearing a bwc in anti-crime has been bittersweet. while I do think it has helped in arrest cases and preventing/eliminating unnecessary civilian complaints, I do believe it is also a hinderance. Many stops are not being done simply because it does not look good on camera. Nothing illegal is being done but the actions/conversations would not be understood by anyone who does not do what we do (civilians/ houseouse/bosses who forgot where they came from)	5/22/2020 9:38 PM
22	AT FIRST, WHEN I ACQUIRED THE BWC, I WASN'T TO ENTHUSE BY IT. I PERSONALLY DISAGREED WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE USE OF BWC'S BECAUSE IT LIMITED MY DISCRETION. AFTER ALL, AS AN ANTI-CRIME OFFICER, I FELT THAT MY FOCUS SHOULD BE ON SERIOUS CRIME. FOR INSTANCE, IF I STOP SOMEONE AND THEN END UP FINDING OUT THAT THIS PERSON HAS AN ACTIVE WARRANT THAT ISNT NECESSARILY IN REGARD TO A SERIOUS CRIME, THE RIGHT THING TO DO IS ARREST THIS PERSON. WITH THE BWC ACTIVATED, I AM SUPPOSED TO ARREST THAT PERSON. WITHOUT THE BODYCAM ACTIVATED I WOULD NORMALLY ALLOW THIS PERSON TO WALK AWAY AND TELL THEM TO TAKE CARE OF IT. ALSO WHEN IT COMES TO PETTY OFFENSES WHERE SOMEONE MIGHT HAVE SOME WEED ON THEM, MY DISCRETION IS OUT THE WINDOW BECAUSE OF THE BWC. DISCRETION IS VERY LIMITED WHEN WEARING BWC'S AND I FEEL THAT IT GOES AGAINST ONE OF THE REASONS WHY BWC'S WERE ISSUED. I UNDERSTAND ITS SUPPOSED TO PROMOTE TRANSPARENCY AND "PROTECT THE PUBLIC" FROM BAD COPS, BUT FOR ME, IT LIMITED MY DISCRETION, AND AT TIMES, TOOK ME OFF THE STREETS TO PROCESS AN ARREST THAT WASN'T NECESSARILY CRIME RELATED. THAT'S MY ONLY NEGATIVE WITH BWC'S. THE POSITIVES DEFINITELY OUTWEIGH THE NEGATIVE THOUGH. BWC'S ABSOLUTELY HELPED ME WITH PROVING MY CASES AND ALLOWING THE DA'S OFFICE TO SEE WHAT HAPPENED FOR THEMSELVES. THE DOUBT THAT SOME DA'S HAD WAS ERASED AND THEY WERE ACTUALLY MORE INCLINED TO PROSECUTE WHICH WAS AWESOME FOR ME. BWC'S ALSO SERVE TO DEESCALATE SITUATIONS THAT WOULD OTHERWISE ESCALATE AND BECOME AN ISSUE. SINCE MY INITIAL PERCEPTION ON BWC'S, I HAVE TOTALLY EMBRACED THEM AND AM HAPPY THAT THEY HAVE BEEN	5/21/2020 7:24 PM

	IMPLEMENTED. I HONESTLY FEEL THAT IT MADE ME A BETTER COP BECAUSE I WAS ABLE TO VIEW MY VIDEOS AND MAKE ADJUSTMENTS WHICH ACTUALLY HELPED ME BECOME A BETTER OFFICER. HOPE THIS HELPS AND GOOD LUCK ON YOUR DISSERTATION.	
3	I like the camera	5/21/2020 4:00 PM
24	It helps	5/21/2020 11:25 AM
25	I think overall it shows how some individuals really behave at the time of the stop/arrest.	5/21/2020 8:06 AM
26	IN MY OPINION, BWC ARE NOT TERRIBLE HOWEVER, THEY DO MAKE PLAIN CLOTHES OFFICERS SECOND GUESS HOW THEY INTERACT WITH THE PUBLIC IN CERTAIN SITUATIONS I.E. "USE OF FORCE" CAUSING OFFICERS TO HESITATE, MAKING OUR JOB A LITTLE MORE DANGEROUS THAN IT SHOULD BE. IN MY OPINION NO OFFICERS SHOULD HAVE TO WEAR THEM. THEY HAVE NOT PREVENTED ANYTHING THUS FAR. ***GOOD LUCK WITH YOUR DISSERTATION.	5/21/2020 8:03 AM
27	It has not gotten me in trouble with perps or the community, but it has gotten me negative crafts from less knowledgeable bosses who must review my videos. The job has found a way to ruin what could be a useful tool.	5/21/2020 7:20 AM
28	Wearing a BWC while doing surveillance on a subject is difficult. While trying to blend in with the rest of the crowd and effect an arrest and pulling out your camera all at the same time is not tactically safe. There should be a better solution to this like smaller more compact cameras for plain clothes officers.	5/20/2020 11:53 PM
29	When doing surveillance on foot, I feel the BWC is noticeable and a bit hard to blend in. The subject/s you are trying to follow will notice you are wearing one and will hinder your chance of getting the job done.	5/20/2020 11:53 PM
30	Wearing a bwc is the best thing NYPD did. Bwc allows a/c officers to be protected against biased policing	5/20/2020 11:23 PM
31	The large black device (BWC) attached to your outermost garment defeats the purpose. There needs to be a better application for plain clothes work...	5/20/2020 10:26 PM
32	In my experience, wearing a BWC makes an anti-crime cop more hesitant to make a stop.	5/20/2020 10:15 PM
33	I believe that bwc provides accountability on both ends. When utilized the way it is supposed to it is	

a

great tool for anti-crime officers and the community. However they can be used to micromanage stops and even when the facts are not fully seen or clear on camera or even when it's just random audits or checks that result in any discipline creates hesitation for the cops that use them to work proactively. I have been lucky enough to be a part of a precinct who

has not done those things and have for the most part benefitted from the cameras and was once comfortable with using them in ever stop. I unfortunately also have been a part of a precinct where the camera is used to Monday morning quarterback stops for absolutely no reason. And it changes my mentality and my officer's mentality to work in a proactive unit. Nothing is worse than having staff tell us what is right and wrong when they themselves are clueless of what the law grants us the right to do. This is coming from someone who has attended every training Sgt Rudy hall has given including multiple focus groups. I have learned so much through all his courses and has given me the confidence to be successful in my positions. Utilize the bwc for what they were created for. Nothing more.

34	Having a BWC has made proactive policing significantly more unforgiving because of the number of eyes that are now observing and passing judgement on what we are doing on the street. With that said, it has forced me personally to become even more intimately familiar with the laws and legal precedents that drive the “tools” in the law that enable us to do what we do, and has made me more confident in my work in the end, to the point where I do not even give the camera a second thought once I turn it on.	5/20/2020 8:34 PM
35	Wearing a BWC has drastically changed the way Anti-Crime operates. Arrests have plummeted.	5/20/2020 7:57 PM
36	They make it a big deal if bwc is not on, but they do not account for certain situations and our safety is first	5/20/2020 7:28 PM
37	As an anti-crime police officer being in plainclothes it strongly stops my ability from walking around and watching suspicious people or cars. Being told to have it strapped to your clothes in plainclothes is ridiculous it is bad enough that perps see our unmarked vehicles from far away. To have to be required to having that cameras makes people know we are cops no matter how much we try and fit in. I have 10 years on the job and 3 years in anti-crime and I was 100 times better and felt comfortable without a camera. No, it does not help with better prosecuting a perp because they still get out and CCRB's still happen and no matter what stay on your record.	5/20/2020 7:11 PM
38	The patrol boro bosses and ICOs tend to believe you are attempting to hide something if there is a little delay in activating your cameras.	5/20/2020 6:05 PM
39	The forgetting to turn on in the heat of the moment	5/20/2020 5:33 PM
40	The days of catching someone doing something minor and letting them go for future information or gain is over. If it is caught on camera it must get dealt with according because there will be some supervisor who watches it and will expect something done in regards.	5/20/2020 5:27 PM