Implicate or Exonerate? The Impact of Police Body-Worn Cameras on the Adjudication of Drug and Alcohol Cases

Michael D. White*, Janne E. Gaub*, Aili Malm* and Kathleen E. Padilla*

Abstract Drug and alcohol offences represent a significant portion of police work. Officers commonly rely on subjective indicators of intoxication, and prosecutors depend on officer evidence collection, written reports, and testimony at trial. Police body-worn cameras (BWCs) have diffused widely in policing partly due to their perceived evidentiary value, but the extent to which BWCs affect the adjudication of such offences remains unanswered. The current study explores this question with 7,000 misdemeanour cases from Tempe (Arizona), filed from 2014 to 2017. The Tempe Police Department deployed BWCs from November 2015 to May 2016. Results indicate that BWCs had no impact on guilty outcomes, but cameras were associated with significantly shorter time to adjudication. We discuss the important policy implications of these thought-provoking findings.

Introduction

Drug and alcohol offences represent a significant proportion of police activity (Snyder *et al.* 2010, 2012; Myrstol, 2012; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2017) and criminal court caseloads (United States Courts, 2018), especially misdemeanour dockets (Mileski, 1971). Arrest decisions in these cases are often based on field sobriety tests and other subjective indicators of intoxication. More objective measures of intoxication, such as breath testing machines and toxicology analyses,

have limitations and can sometimes produce false positives (Jones, 2005; Short, 2009). Suspects may also allege that drugs were 'planted' by police, leading to credibility contests between police and suspects (Fan, 2017). Moreover, criminal court outcomes rely heavily on officer evidence collection, written reports, and testimony at trial. In plain terms, police and judicial decisions in such cases are often made with subjective or limited evidence that can be contested in the court.

Interest in police body-worn cameras (BWCs) has grown rapidly in the USA and abroad over

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the last decade, in large part, because of the perceived evidentiary value of the technology. In the UK, law enforcement agencies began experimenting with BWCs as early as 2005 (Goodall, 2007; ODS Consulting, 2011), and these pilot programmes were almost exclusively focused on potential evidentiary value. In the USA, the initial push for BWCs was driven by concerns over police–community relations in the wake of a series of controversial citizen deaths (e.g. Michael Brown; White, 2014). More recently, advocates of the technology in the USA have focused on the perceived evidentiary value of BWCs.

Though a few studies have examined the evidentiary value of BWCs, the topic has been given short shrift by researchers (Flight, 2018; Lum *et al.* 2019). Moreover, these studies have been either methodologically weak[1] or have focused only on domestic violence cases (Katz *et al.*, 2015). As a result, our understanding of the evidentiary impact of BWCs is underdeveloped, particularly in high volume, contested cases like drug and alcohol offences. The presence of a police BWC during drug- and alcohol-related calls could have significant benefits through video footage that either captures evidence (a failed sobriety test, drug possession) or documents police procedure (shows probable cause for search). The impact of BWCs on such cases remains an open question, however.

The current study explores this question through an examination of all misdemeanour drug and alcohol cases brought to the Tempe (AZ) City Court from 1 November 2014 to 30 June 2017 ($n = 7,201$). The Tempe Police Department (TPD) deployed BWCs to all patrol officers via a 6-month randomized controlled trial (RCT) involving two phases: November 2015 (treatment group, $n = 101$) and May 2016 (control group, $n = 99$). We employ bivariate and multivariate analyses to test the impact of police BWCs on both the likelihood of guilty outcomes (plea or trial) and time to adjudication in drug and alcohol cases. The current study sheds light on the evidentiary value of police BWCs in drug and alcohol cases, and more generally offers important insights on how cameras can influence drug and alcohol case processing and policy.

Literature review

Prevalence and problems with drug and alcohol cases

Research has consistently demonstrated that drug and alcohol cases make up a significant portion of the calls handled by police (Borkenstein, 1963). Data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)'s Uniform Crime Report show that, since 2015, police in the USA make approximately 1.6 million drug arrests annually (FBI, 2015; 2016; 2017). Arrests for driving under the influence and other alcohol offences routinely exceed 1.5 million annually (Snyder *et al.*, 2012; 2014; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2015; 2016; 2017). Chauhan *et al.* (2014) reported steadily increasing rates in misdemeanour arrests in New York City from 1980 to 2012, especially for marijuana and other drug offences (1980–2012).[2] Myrstol (2012) conducted an observational study of police in Anchorage, AK, USA, and found that approximately one-quarter of police–citizen encounters involved alcohol. Moreover, alcohol-related offences were more complex than nonalcohol calls, as they had a greater likelihood of occurring in public, involving a crime, and requiring a multiple officer response. Palk *et al.* (2007, p. 88) similarly reported that 25% of formal police–citizen encounters were drug- and alcohol-related, confirming 'that alcohol remains a major contributor to events within the community that require police attendance'.

Given the prevalence of drug- and alcohol-related encounters in police work, it is no surprise

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[1] The UK studies mentioned above (Goodall 2007). Guidance for the Police Use of Body-Worn Video Devices. London, UK: Home Office."2007; ODS Consulting) were small in scale and did not include comparison or control groups.

[2] For an illustration of the increasing focus on misdemeanour arrests, see http://misdemeanorjustice.org/.

that such offences make up a sizeable portion of the criminal court caseload. Mileski's (1971) observational study highlighted the prevalence of misdemeanour cases over felony (81% versus 14%; 5% unspecified), as well as the significant portion of cases involving drugs and alcohol (66% were misdemeanour offences against public order, the vast majority of which were alcohol-related). In 2017, approximately one-third of criminal cases in federal district courts across the USA involved drug charges (United States Courts, 2018). Data from Arizona (where the current study is conducted) indicate that nearly half of felony filings in fiscal year 2017 involved drug charges (46%), and an additional 4% involved drunk driving (Arizona Judicial Branch, 2018).

The strength of evidence in any given case is the most salient predictor of conviction (Devine et al., 2001). The evidence in drug and alcohol cases can often be contested in court, as it typically includes subjective evidence from the scene (e.g. field sobriety tests), written reports, and in-person testimony at trial. More scientific methods of evidence collection, such as breath analyser tests, also have limitations. For example, Olson et al. (2013) concluded that blood alcohol concentration (BAC) does not correlate well with outward signs of intoxication, especially among chronic drinkers. Short (2009, p. 178) stated:

> Breath testing machines, however, often malfunction, leading to incorrectly high blood alcohol readings, sample volume irregularities, and unexplained readings. False positives can result from diabetes, exposure to paint thinners, and even being on the Atkins Diet…Given the centrality of breath test results to many DUI prosecutions, these malfunctions provide concern. Further concern arises from the fact

that the reliability and accuracy of these machines cannot be independently verified.

In sum, the evidence in drug and alcohol cases is often subjective and vulnerable to challenge.

BWCs and their benefits

There are several purported benefits of BWCs, but our focus here is on evidentiary value.[3] Unfortunately, BWC researchers have focused scant attention on the issue, and experts have called for increased research, examining the impact of cameras on downstream criminal case processing (Lum et al., 2015; Merola et al., 2016; Flight, 2018). The evidentiary value of BWCs may manifest in a few different ways. For example, the presence of a BWC may increase officers' compliance with the rules governing search and seizure and the reading of Miranda rights before questioning (Harris, 2010). A BWC can lead to better report writing by officers (Dawes et al., 2015), which facilitates criminal case processing. BWCs may also influence the prevalence and investigations of citizen complaints (Stanley, 2015; Braga et al., 2017). Katz et al. (2014) reported that Phoenix officers who received complaints were significantly more likely to be exonerated if they had a BWC.

BWC evidence could similarly improve downstream court case processing by providing a more nuanced picture of what happened in an encounter (White, 2014). Fan (2017) argued BWCs can alleviate concerns associated with courts' heavy reliance on official reports and testimony at trial, which are limited by problems with human memory and credibility contests between defendants and police (see also, Todak et al., 2018). A handful of studies have examined the impact of BWCs on criminal case processing. Researchers in Scotland found BWC footage increased the likelihood of guilty pleas and led to pleas being entered

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[3] Other perceived benefits include increased transparency and accountability, improved police legitimacy, officer and citizen support, reductions in use of force and complaints, and training value. For a discussion of these benefits, see Miller and Toliver (2014); White (2014); Lum et al. (2019).

at earlier stages in the process (ODS Consulting, 2011; see also Edmonton Police Service, 2015; Goodall, 2007; see also White *et al.* 2018). A study in Australia showed BWC footage led to increased conviction rates among cases that went to trial (Queensland Police Service, 2017). Both Owens *et al.* (2014) and Morrow *et al.* (2016) reported that BWCs led to enhanced outcomes in domestic violence cases (greater likelihood of arrest, charging, and conviction).

Alternatively, the introduction of police BWCs may have no impact or even unintended effects on court case outcomes. Yokum *et al.* (2017, p. 22) compared judicial outcomes among Washington, DC cases with and without BWC footage, and concluded 'preliminary analyses did not uncover any clear benefits'. Morrow *et al.* (2016, p. 318) found the likelihood of having charges filed in cases without BWC footage declined over time, suggesting that 'police, prosecutors, and judges or jurors were less likely to further an incident or case unless a police BWC was present'. Katz *et al.* (2014) also reported that BWCs could increase time to case adjudication because of the need to review additional evidence (Katz *et al.*, 2014).

Methods and data

The TPD deployed BWCs as part of a 6-month RCT based on a phased deployment of cameras. More specifically, one group of officers received cameras in November 2015 (treatment group, $n = 101$), and the second group received cameras in May 2016 (control group during the RCT, then treatment group 2, $n = 99$). The authors obtained all misdemeanour cases processed in the Tempe City Court from 1 November 2014 to 30 June 2017 ($n = 7,201$), representing 1 year before the start of the BWC RCT, and 19-months post-BWC deployment.[4] The current study examines two hypotheses:

1. police BWCs increase the likelihood of guilty outcomes in misdemeanour drug and alcohol cases and

2. police BWCs reduce time to adjudication in misdemeanour drug and alcohol cases.

During the study period, Tempe officers initiated 7,201 misdemeanour drug and alcohol cases.[5] Table 1 presents that 32.1% of cases included drug violations, and 69.6% included alcohol violations. The majority of cases involved multiple charges. In terms of specific violations, the most common offences included driving under the influence (25.0%), possession (18.0%), underage drinking (16.2%), and public intoxication (17.2%).

Dependent and independent variables

The first dependent variable is a binary measure of case outcome: 0 = not guilty[6] or 1 = guilty (plea or verdict at trial). Nearly two-thirds of cases resulted in a guilty outcome (62.1%). We also calculated a monthly rate of guilty outcomes per 1,000 cases, measured as (number of cases resulting in a guilty outcome per month/total number of cases per month) × 1,000. The second dependent variable is a continuous measure of time to adjudication, calculated in days from the offence date to the case disposition date. Time to adjudication ranged from 0 days (cases dismissed or adjudicated immediately) to a maximum of 270 days. Any case that was still pending at 270 days was coded as '0' and was included in the case outcome analyses, but was

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[4] The Tempe City Court handles all misdemeanour arrests made by Tempe officers. All felony arrests made by Tempe officers are handled by the Maricopa County court system (and Maricopa County District Attorney). The authors were not able to gain access to Maricopa County court data.

[5] Note that many cases have multiple charges. We retained cases for the current study as long as there was at least one drug or alcohol charge; this also means that multiple charge types may be present within the same case.

[6] Not guilty includes all other case outcomes.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics

Variables	Frequency (%)
Case type[a]	
Cases with a drug charge	2,310 (32.1)
Cases with an alcohol charge	5,015 (69.6)
Specific violation[a]	
Possession	1,298 (18.0)
Driving under the influence violations	1,803 (25.0)
Under 21 violations	1,169 (16.2)
Public violations	1,240 (17.2)
Other violations	263 (2.4)
Guilty outcome	
Guilty	4,470 (62.1)
Not guilty	2,731 (37.9)
Time to adjudication, mean (SD) (days)	91.3 (82.7)
0–50	3,079 (42.8)
51–100	1,461 (20.3)
101–150	1,072 (14.8)
151–200	589 (8.2)
201–270+	1,000 (13.9)
BWC present, n (%)	
Yes	3,689 (51.2)
No	3,512 (48.8)
Defendant characteristics	
Age, mean (SD) (years)	28.2 (10.4)
Race/ethnicity, n (%)	
White	4,430 (61.5)
Black	1,029 (14.3)
Hispanic	1,013 (14.1)
Other	729 (10.1)
Officer characteristics	
Rank, n (%)	
Police officer	7,041 (97.8)
Sergeant or above	160 (2.2)
Sex, n (%)	
Male	6,160 (85.5)
Female	1,041 (14.5)
Race/ethnicity, n (%)	
White	6,155 (85.5)
Hispanic	884 (12.3)
Other	162 (2.2)
Length of service, mean (SD) (years)	5.7 (4.5)

[a]Percentages do not equal 100% because some cases include more than one type of allegation.

set aside for the analysis of time to adjudication. We applied this 270-day cap to control for time and to ensure that each case had an equal opportunity (i.e. length of time) to be adjudicated.[7] The mean number of days to disposition is 91.3 (see Table 1).

The key independent variable is whether a BWC was present during the police–citizen encounter that generated a court case (0 = BWC not present and 1 = BWC present). Note, this variable only reflects whether a BWC was present at the encounter. It does not capture whether the BWC was activated during the encounter, and this represents a limitation in the study.[8] However, the TPD BWC policy mandates activation for all formal police–citizen encounters. The policy states:

> Officers shall use the BWC to record enforcement related contacts. The BWC should be activated prior to actual contact with the subject, or as soon as safely possible thereafter, and continue recording until the contact is concluded…Enforcement related contacts include, but are not limited to traffic stops, field interviews, detentions, arrests, persons present at radio calls who are accused of crime, consensual encounters in which the officer is attempting to develop reasonable suspicion on the subject of the encounter pursuits, critical incidents, and use of force incidents (TPD, 2016, pp. 7–8).

Given the mandatory language in the policy, we argue that the 'BWC present' variable is a reasonable indicator of the availability of BWC evidence in a given case. Table 1 presents that a BWC was present in approximately 51% of cases.

[7] The 270-day cap was determined by calculating the number of days between the last day of the study period and the date data were received from the Tempe City Court (270 days).
[8] To determine whether there is actual BWC footage for each case would require access to the BWC cloud storage system (Evidence.com). The Tempe Police Department's Computer-Aided Dispatch data system is not seamlessly integrated with Evidence.com, meaning the authors would have to search individually for the presence of a BWC file for each of the more than 7,000 drug and alcohol cases in the study period.

Guilty Rate (per 1,000 cases)
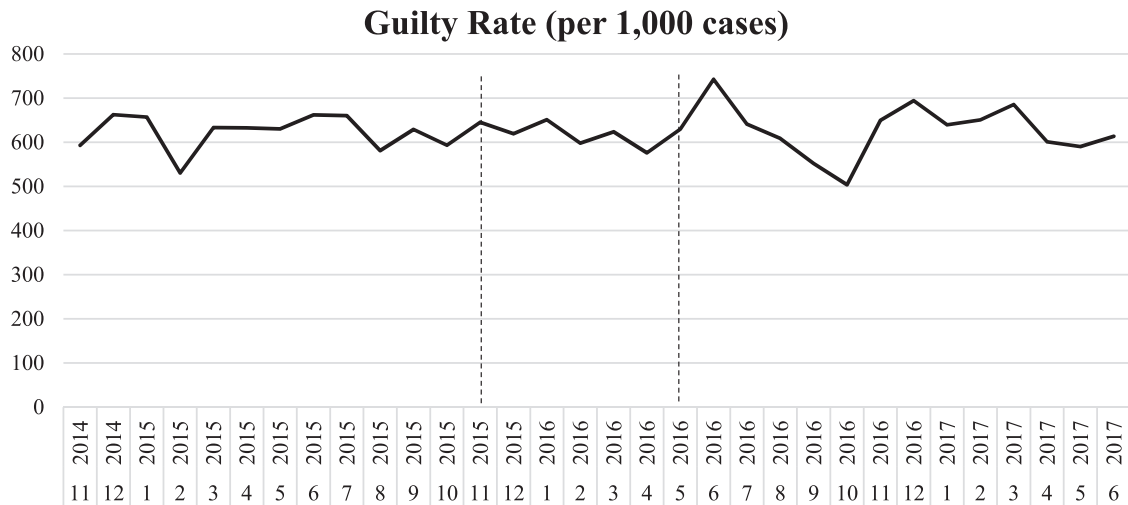
Figure 1: Monthly guilty rate (per 1,000 cases) for misdemeanour drug and alcohol offences.

We also capture the defendant and officer characteristics that could influence case outcomes. The average age for defendants was 28.2-years old (SD = 10.4),[9] and most defendants were white (61.5%). Cases were most often handled by patrol officers (97.8%) who were male (85.5%) and white (85.5%). Officers had been with the TPD for an average of 5.7 years.

Analytical strategy

We analyse the data using a three-phase approach. First, we examine trends in the key court outcomes (guilty outcomes and time to adjudication) during the study period. Next, we assess the impact of BWCs on guilty outcomes using logistic regression. *If BWCs have evidentiary value for the processing of drug and alcohol cases, then we expect an increased likelihood of guilty outcomes (H1).* We investigate the second research question using negative binomial regression. Time to adjudication is a continuous count variable representing the number of days to disposition (range: 0–270 days). Tests for overdispersion (likelihood ratio test) and goodness-of-fit (chi-square) confirmed that negative binomial regression was appropriate.[10] We model the effect of BWC presence on time to adjudication. *If BWCs have evidentiary value, we expect a reduction in time to adjudication (H2).*

Results

Trend analysis

Figure 1 shows the monthly guilty rate per 1,000 cases overall during the study period. The vertical lines represent the two phases of the BWC rollout. The monthly guilty rate is relatively stable over time, generally ranging from 550 to 650 per month (per 1,000 cases). Overall, there is about a 2% increase in the rate of guilty outcomes over the study period from 617.9 during the first 6 months to 630.0 during the last 6 months. Figure 2 shows the mean days to adjudication by month. There is a general downward trend in time to adjudication, from just over 100 days in November 2014 to

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[9] Due to skewness, all analyses use a logged age variable. The mean for the logged variable is 3.286 with a standard deviation of 0.315.

[10] Variance inflation factors for all variables in both models do not exceed 1.11.

Average Monthly Time to Adjudication (in Days)
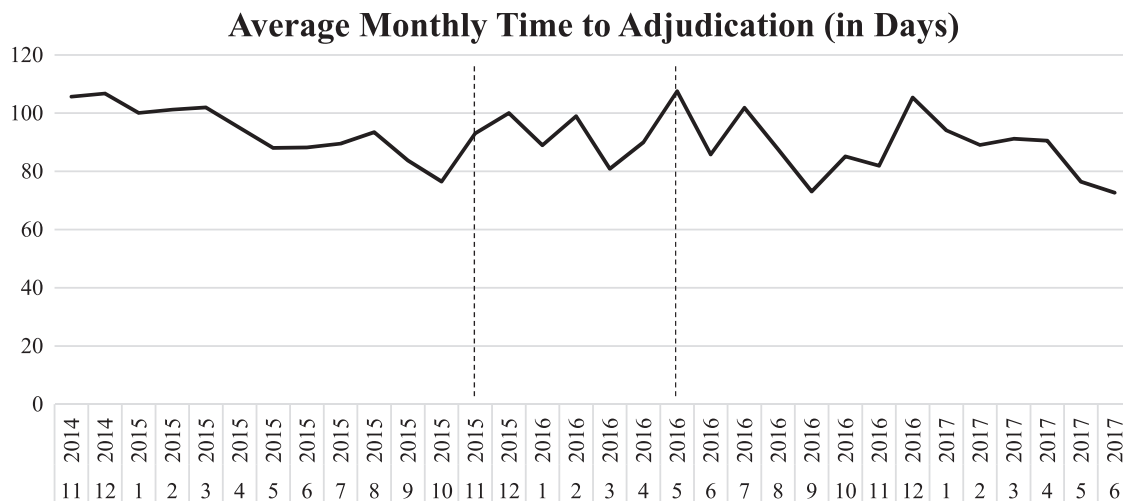
Figure 2: Monthly mean time to adjudication for misdemeanour drug and alcohol offences.

Table 2: Logistic regression of guilty outcome

Variables	OR (SE)
BWC present	0.934 (0.049)
Officer characteristics	
Treatment officer	1.025 (0.057)
Supervisor	0.839 (0.147)
Male	0.895 (0.068)
Race (Reference: White)	
Hispanic	1.165 (0.096)
Other	1.193 (0.213)
Officer tenure	1.001 (0.006)
Defendant characteristics	
Age (logged)	5.169** (0.472)
Race (Reference: White)	
Black	0.954 (0.071)
Hispanic	0.947 (0.072)
Other	1.242* (0.112)
Number of Allegations	1.330** (0.022)
Constant	0.004** (0.001)
Observations	7,201

$**P < 0.01$, $*P < 0.05$.

under 80 days in June 2017. Overall, time to adjudication drops by nearly 16% (from 101.8 days during the first 6 months to 85.7 during the last 6 months).

Multivariate analysis

Table 2 presents the logistic regression results modelling guilty outcomes for drug and alcohol cases. The key independent variable, BWC present, is not statistically significant, suggesting that the presence of a BWC at the encounter does not increase the likelihood of a guilty outcome. Several other variables are related to a greater likelihood of a guilty outcome, including the number of allegations in a case (more allegations), defendant age (older), and defendant race (other, primarily Native American).

Table 3 presents results from the negative binomial regression model of time to adjudication. The BWC present variable is statistically significant and negative, indicating that misdemeanour cases are adjudicated more quickly when a BWC is present at the police–citizen encounter. Specifically, the average time to disposition is 6.1% lower in cases with a BWC present. As the mean number of days to disposition is 91.3, this roughly translates to a reduction of 5.5 days. Several other variables are also statistically significant, including when the officer received a BWC (first phase (treatment): positive), officer race (Hispanic: negative), defendant age (negative), defendant race (Hispanic, other:

Table 3: Negative binomial of time to disposition

Variables	IRR (SE)
BWC Present	0.939*(0.027)
Officer characteristics	
Treatment officer	1.071*(0.032)
Supervisor	0.965 (0.094)
Male	0.986 (0.041)
Race (Reference: White)	
Hispanic	0.909*(0.041)
Other	0.892 (0.084)
Officer tenure	1.001 (0.003)
Defendant characteristics	
Age (logged)	0.802**(0.035)
Race (reference: White)	
Black	0.987 (0.040)
Hispanic	0.902*(0.037)
Other	0.855**(0.040)
Number of Allegations	1.136**(0.009)
Constant	1.356**(0.021)
Observations	7,201

$**P < 0.01$, $*P < 0.05$.

negative), and the number of allegations (positive).[11]

Discussion

The current study examines the impact of BWCs on misdemeanour drug and alcohol cases in Tempe, Arizona. The availability of BWC footage could 'tip the balance' in such cases, by providing memorialized evidence of the defendant's behaviour and state of mind (e.g. visible intoxication) and of the procedures followed by the officer. We tested the effect of BWCs on two court outcomes in more than 7,000 misdemeanour drug and alcohol cases: the likelihood of a guilty outcome and the time to adjudication. With regard to guilty outcomes, the presence of BWC was not statistically significant, meaning BWC did not enhance the likelihood of

a guilty outcome. The trend analysis of days to adjudication uncovered sizeable declines over the study period (nearly 16%). These results were confirmed in the negative binomial regression models, as BWC presence led to significantly shorter case adjudication time.

What is to be made of these interesting findings? How can BWCs lead to quicker case resolution, but not increase the likelihood of a guilty outcome? Perhaps, the relationship between BWCs and cases outcomes in misdemeanour drug and alcohol offences is spurious (or there is no evidentiary value). Or perhaps prosecutors and judges are not using BWC footage in such cases. Another potential explanation involves the nuanced nature of BWCs' evidentiary value, and the low threshold required to make an arrest (White and Fradella, 2016). Neubauer and Fradella (2014, pp. 34–5) note probable cause is reached when there is "independently verifiable factual information that supports the conclusion that there is a 'fair probability' that a crime occurred or that a particular person was involved in a crime". White and Fradella (2016, p. 21) presented a 'burden of persuasion continuum' that quantifies the degree of certainty one can have that an individual is guilty, given available facts, from no proof (0%) to absolute certainty (100%). They note probable cause is under 50% certainty, which means there may be many cases where an officer has sufficient evidence to make an arrest (i.e. probable cause) but the arrestee is actually innocent. Of course, prosecutors, judges, and juries then review an officer's assessment of probable cause and then make decisions about charging, and guilt or innocence under much more rigorous evidentiary thresholds.

In simple terms, the evidence from BWCs may cut both ways. BWC footage may serve to implicate some defendants (e.g. showing an inebriated

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[11] We also modeled the specific case types separately (alcohol-only cases and drug-only cases). For guilty outcome, BWC present was not significant in either model. For time to adjudication, BWC present was also not significant, suggesting the significant impact of BWCs is evident in cases with multiple, mixed offences (not cases that are exclusively drug-related or exclusively alcohol-related).

defendant), leading to guilty outcomes, but it may also exonerate other defendants (e.g. the available evidence is not sufficient to achieve a more rigorous burden of proof (beyond a reasonable doubt), leading to dismissals). In effect, BWCs give downstream criminal justice actors a visual and auditory window into what transpired during the encounter, and that window likely provides much more definitive evidence than written reports and in-person (often contradictory) testimony from officers and defendants. Sometimes this concrete evidence benefits the police and prosecution; sometimes it benefits the defendant. This is to be expected given the low evidentiary threshold required for arrest (probable cause). As a result, the BWC evidence serves to reduce time to adjudication (as all cases are handled more quickly) but the impact on the likelihood of guilty outcomes is mixed, depending on the specifics of a given case. There may also be other explanations, but few adequately explain the varied impacts on guilty outcomes and adjudication time. Additional research is needed to test the 'implicate and exonerate' hypothesis.

The policy implications of this research are fairly straightforward. Drug and alcohol cases cost police departments and cities a significant amount of money in apprehension, investigation, and case processing. They are also often the cause of criminal justice legitimacy issues. For instance, unlawful drug searches and unsubstantiated sobriety tests are perceived by the community as being unfair and will harm police legitimacy and community relations. Our results suggest that BWCs have the potential to generate savings for the courts in terms of time, resources, and money through decreased time to adjudication, as well as to increase legitimacy through enhanced reliability of evidence. These potential savings may be offset, to some degree, by the additional time required for court actors to review BWC footage. Police departments with current BWC programmes should work with their prosecutors to ensure that video footage for drug and alcohol cases is available and useful. In addition, departments without BWCs experiencing a high volume of drug and alcohol cases may want to consider BWCs. Also, the next step in assessing the evidentiary value of BWCs should involve courtroom actors, not the police. Researchers should focus their attention on prosecutor and defence counsel use of BWC footage (Lum *et al.*, 2015; 2016). Quantitative and qualitative methodologies should be employed to capture the extent to which court actors review and use BWC evidence, as well as how that evidence may affect both case processing and outcomes.

The current study suffers from a number of limitations that warrant mention. First, we examine cases in one jurisdiction in the southwestern USA. The generalizability of the findings beyond Tempe remains unknown. Secondly, the study focuses only on misdemeanour cases involving at least one drug or alcohol charge. The impact of BWCs on the likelihood of guilty outcomes and adjudication times with other types of misdemeanour and felony cases remains unknown. Moreover, though misdemeanours represent the majority of criminal cases in the court system, such cases are often seen as 'low-stakes' and rarely go to trial. Prosecutors may view misdemeanours, including those involving drugs and alcohol, as not worthy of the additional time and resources required for evidentiary review of BWC footage. This cost–benefit assessment by prosecutors may inhibit the value of BWCs for misdemeanour cases, and as a consequence, the potential evidentiary impact of the technology will likely be more pronounced for felony cases. Thirdly, our key independent variable captures only if a BWC was present in a given case, not if it was activated and generated actual video and audio evidence. Given Tempe's restrictive BWC policy on activation, we believe that our measure is a reasonable indicator of BWC evidence. However, BWC activation is a complex, contentious issue, and police departments across the USA are struggling with how to effectively and routinely monitor activation compliance among officers (White and Malm, forthcoming).

Conclusion

The current study adds to a small body of literature assessing the evidentiary value of police BWCs. Though the findings here appear mixed, we identified one potential explanation: BWC evidence may benefit both police/prosecutors and defendants. If BWCs do indeed implicate and exonerate, then the real evidentiary value of the cameras goes far beyond quicker case processing time, and the concomitant savings to prosecutors and courts. The real value of BWCs may lie in more accurate determinations of guilt or innocence. This is an intriguing possibility that requires additional research attention.

Funding

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