



**Campus Cameras:
Implementing Body-Worn Cameras in
Collegiate Police Departments**

Janne E. Gaub, Ph.D.

February 2019

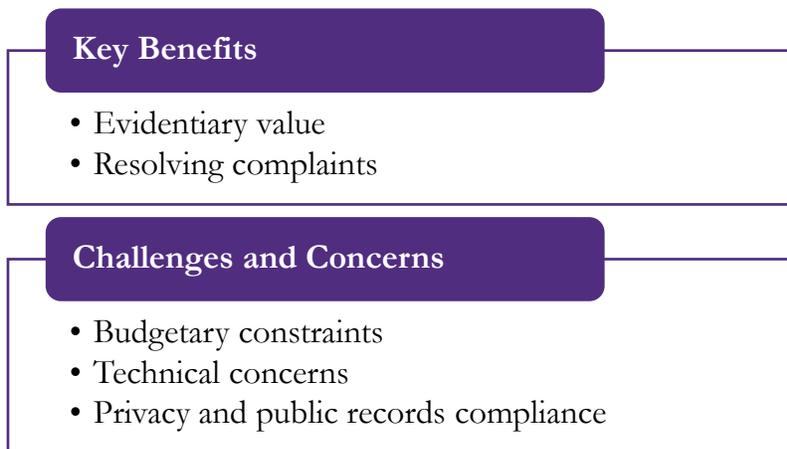
Campus Cameras: Implementing Body-Worn Cameras in Collegiate Police Departments

Executive Summary

Since 2014, many police agencies have adopted body-worn camera (BWC) programs, in many cases with little to no evidence-base to guide implementation and policy development. The research has expanded significantly since then, with well over 70 articles now published on the topic of BWCs (Lum, Stoltz, Koper, & Scherer, 2019). These studies have identified several benefits of the technology, including increased transparency and legitimacy, expedited resolution of complaints, and evidentiary value for arrest and prosecution. Likewise, BWCs still present challenges, especially related to privacy and financial constraints.

Much of the research has also focused on municipal agencies; to date, only one study has used data from officers in a college/university setting. This study uses survey data from collegiate law enforcement agencies to better understand how BWCs are used in these agencies. The survey was administered via the online survey platform *Qualtrics* and sent to the agency director on 611 college or university campuses; 126 surveys were completed (response rate of 20.6%). The survey included both open- and closed-ended questions about program goals, policy development, and perceived benefits and challenges associated with BWCs.

Findings indicate that roughly half (49%) of agencies had fully implemented a BWC program, and another 13% were in the planning phase or had partially deployed the technology. These agencies viewed the technology positively, citing benefits like evidentiary value and complaint resolution. The most notable challenges included budget constraints, technical concerns, and privacy and public records compliance.



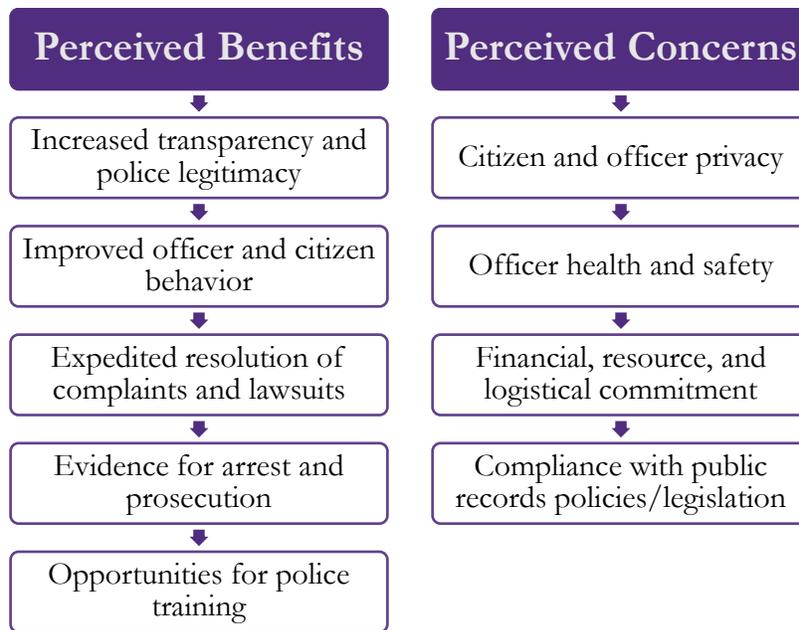
Importantly, 21 agencies did not have BWCs and had no intention of getting them in the future. The primary reason was cost, both short-term (initial setup) and long-term (maintenance and storage).

Campus Cameras: Implementing Body-Worn Cameras in Collegiate Police Departments

Janne E. Gaub

Introduction

Since 2014, the issue of police accountability and transparency has been thrust to the forefront of the national conversation. The national outcry—and in some cities, civil disorder—prompted President Obama to form the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing in 2015, which outlined more than 60 recommendations for police departments across the country to alleviate a perceived crisis in police legitimacy. One such recommendation was the implementation of a body-worn camera (BWC) program. The technology has received significant federal support through the development of a [National Body-Worn Camera Toolkit](#), a national [training and technical assistance program](#), and sustained federal funding for [grants](#). Cameras also enjoy significant support from citizens (Crow, Snyder, Crichlow, & Smykla, 2017; Sousa, Miethe, & Sakiyama, 2018; White, Todak, & Gaub, 2017, 2018) as well as external stakeholders affected by a department’s decision to implement BWCs (Todak, Gaub, & White, 2018).



This support stems from advocates’ claims related to the benefits of BWCs, described in the figure above (Miller, Toliver, & Police Executive Research Forum, 2014; White, 2014). For example, research has shown that agencies experience a range of benefits from implementing BWCs, including better evidence-gathering capabilities, a “civilizing effect” for both officers and citizens, expedited complaint resolution, enhanced citizen perceptions of procedural justice, and improved downstream criminal justice outcomes (Ellis, Jenkins, & Smith, 2015; Gaub, Todak, & White, in press; Grossmith et al., 2015; Morrow, Katz, & Choate, 2016; ODS Consulting, 2011; White et al., 2017). This full range of benefits explains the significant officer buy-in, especially once officers experience these benefits firsthand (Gaub, Choate, Todak, Katz, & White, 2016; Gaub et al., in

press; Goetschel & Peha, 2017; Jennings, Fridell, & Lynch, 2014; Pelfrey & Keener, 2016; Smykla, Crow, Crichlow, & Snyder, 2016).

Not all purported benefits of BWCs are ubiquitous, however. For example, several studies have found that cameras led to declines in use of force and citizen complaints (Ariel, Farrar, & Sutherland, 2015; Braga, Sousa, et al., 2018; Hedberg, Katz, & Choate, 2017; Jennings, Fridell, Lynch, Jetelina, & Reingle Gonzalez, 2017; Jennings, Lynch, & Fridell, 2015; Katz, Kurtenbach, Choate, & White, 2015; White, Gaub, & Todak, 2018), though others have found no significant effects for these outcomes (Braga, Barao, McDevitt, & Zimmerman, 2018; Grossmith et al., 2015; Headley, Guerette, & Shariati, 2017; Yokum, Ravishankar, & Coppock, 2017).¹ The inconsistency in findings demonstrates that local context and department history substantially influence the level to which a jurisdiction will experience these benefits.

The rapid diffusion of BWCs among municipal police departments has meant that research has focused on those agencies as well. To date, only one study has addressed the effects of BWCs on non-municipal agencies (Pelfrey & Keener, 2016), which focused on officer perceptions of the technology. This is consistent with the vast majority of policing research in general, which focuses almost entirely on municipal agencies and differences between jurisdictions in varied settings (e.g., urban/rural). While collegiate agencies – which did not begin to receive true policing powers until the civil unrest on college campuses in the 1960s and 1970s – are similar to municipal agencies in many ways, they operate in unique ways primarily because of the difference between a college campus setting and a traditional town or city setting (Sloan, Lanier, & Beer, 2000). Campus police also deal with a different set of expectations, especially regarding public safety. In particular, the fact that students pay tuition means they can take those tuition dollars elsewhere, impacting the choice of tactics or strategies implemented by campus police. Thus, campus policing often mimics a specialized assignment for community policing rather than traditional patrol (Peak, Barthe, & Garcia, 2008; Sloan et al., 2000). All of these differences could potentially impact a collegiate agency's decision to implement BWCs.

The current study was developed in order to understand the organizational decision-making involved in implementing a BWC program for collegiate law enforcement agencies. These agencies function nearly as a “jurisdiction within a jurisdiction,” as they serve the campus community (students, faculty, staff, and administrators) as well as the larger community within which they reside. This requires significant coordination with the local municipal agency (or agencies) and responsiveness to all relevant stakeholders with vastly different interests. Thus, this survey addresses the unique needs, concerns, and priorities for campus law enforcement agencies.

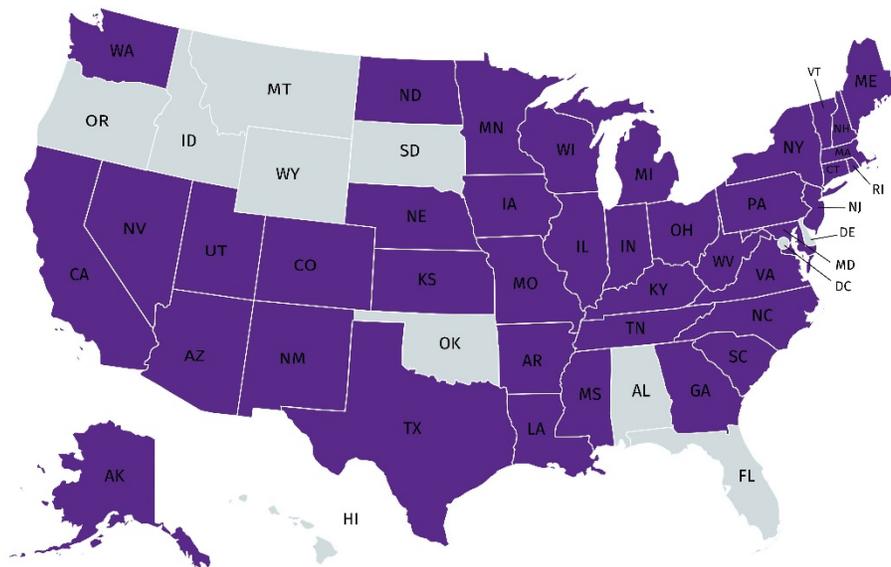
Survey Design and Methodology

To address this knowledge gap, the online survey platform *Qualtrics* was used to administer a survey to law enforcement agencies serving four-year public and private colleges and universities with more than 5,000 students. The survey included questions about the collegiate agency's BWC status (and that of the local municipal agency), program goals, the policy development process, and concerns during both the planning and implementation phases. Importantly, this is one of the first surveys to

¹ See the BWC Outcome Directories for [Use of Force](#) and [Citizen Complaints](#) for a more complete overview.

develop a set of questions specifically for agencies who have decided *not* to implement BWCs to understand the reason(s) behind that decision.

The author used the universe list methodology developed by the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (2015) for the 2011-2012 Survey of Campus Law Enforcement Agencies. First, the author compiled a universe list of eligible schools using the U.S. Department of Education's Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System. Private and public four-year institutions serving 5,000 or more students were included in the universe list (N=632). Then, the author searched each school's website for the collegiate law enforcement agency contact information; no such information could be found for 22 institutions², yielding a final universe database of 611 agencies. The survey was deployed in May 2018 and reminder emails were sent up to three times. A total of 126 agencies completed the survey for a response rate of 20.6%.³ Respondents represented agencies serving colleges and universities in 39 states (see map below). There was also significant diversity in terms of size: Agencies ranged from two to 800 sworn personnel, and campus populations were between 5,200 and 60,000 people.



Nearly half of agencies (49%) had fully implemented BWCs, and another 13% were in the planning phase or had partial implementation.⁴ Ten agencies (9%) indicated they were considering a program. Three-quarters of agencies indicated their local municipal agency had BWCs or were in the process of obtaining them (planning stage or partial/full deployment), but nearly 15% said their local agency did not have BWCs and had no intention of getting them. Fourteen of the 21 (66%) collegiate agencies that do not plan to implement BWCs reported that their local municipal agency either has

² The author looked online for email contact information; if none could be found, the agency or school was called up to three times.

³ This response rate is consistent with other internet-based surveys of law enforcement agencies/officers and is within the accepted range indicated in Nix et al. (2017).

⁴ 10 agencies did not indicate their BWC status.

or will soon have a BWC program. Respondents had mixed feelings about whether the difference would pose problems in the future, though one respondent explained the concern:

It will stand out to our community that our officers are not wearing BWCs and could appear that our department is averse to officer accountability.

Aside from patrol/security officers, agencies outfitted a range of other specialized officers or units with BWCs, including: Canine, SWAT, investigators/detectives, bike, training, traffic, and community policing.

Respondents were asked questions about program goals, policy development, and perceived benefits and challenges associated with BWCs. Particular attention was paid to responses that highlighted how their experiences—as agencies serving colleges and universities—differ from those of municipal agencies.

Results

Nearly 80% of agencies already had, were in the process of getting, or were considering a BWC program. Anecdotally, a handful of agencies noted that they had applied for or received grants to help offset the cost of implementing their BWC program. It is unclear whether these grants were federal, state, or privately-funded, but it is consistent with federal statistics; only 14 of the 338 agencies (4%) that have received federal grants through the Bureau of Justice Assistance BWC Policy and Implementation Program served colleges/universities (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2019). These respondents were exceptionally positive about the technology. Many were adamant that every law enforcement agency—regardless of size or jurisdiction type—should have BWCs:

This equipment should be considered as basic as buying a gun for an officer. There is no debate for this piece of equipment.

I believe BWC are [valuable] for the department and the university.

These are a critical tool. It is imperative they be deployed, regardless of the politics.

Other agencies were more measured in their enthusiasm, noting that it is important to manage one's expectations and acknowledge the technology's limitations:

BWCs are not a fix-all [and] the use of an in-car system is not replaced by BWCs.

Although the challenges are numerous and legitimate, BWCs are a valuable asset for departments.

Program Goals and Policy Development

Understanding the goals of a program are necessary to ensure it stays “on mission” during implementation. The most common goal at all phases of program development was transparency and accountability. This is relatively unsurprising since BWCs more generally surged in popularity in 2014 and 2015 following a series of high-profile police-citizen encounters. BWCs were touted as a solution to perceived declines in police legitimacy and tense police-community relations. Uses more

related to administrative benefits—such as officer oversight, training, and evidence collection—also rated highly across all groups.

Planning and research are keys to a successful program. It is important to get buy-in and team support. Once in place the program sells itself by producing evidence to support cases and officers.

The importance of good administrative policy is well-documented (Alpert & Walker, 2000; Halpern, 1974; White, 2000, 2001; Young & Ready, 2018). A solid written policy is essential to successful implementation of a BWC program (Gaub, White, Padilla, & Katz, 2017; White, Flippin, & Katz, 2018; White, Gaub, et al., 2018). When developing a BWC policy, agencies with some level of BWC deployment include line officers (63%), consult with nearby agencies (51-56%), and model policies from federal resources (e.g., PERF, IACP; 50-60%; see Table 1 for more detail). To a lesser extent, these agencies consulted with municipal or county prosecutors (28-36%), federal resources (e.g., BJA Toolkit; 19-25%), and state criminal justice actors (e.g., State Bureau of Investigation, Department of Criminal Justice Services; 12-19%). Privacy groups (e.g., ACLU), special interest groups (e.g., NAACP), and defense attorneys or public defenders were rarely consulted. Many agencies noted that administrative units within the school, such as University General Counsel or IT, were also included in policy development.

Like the findings of Todak and colleagues (2018), several respondents noted that reaching out to multiple stakeholders during the policy development process was imperative to their success:

We included local media, various community and campus stakeholder groups in the development and discussion of the policy and technology. This limited any policy development challenges.

Policy is key. Discussions need to take place between multiple departments (legal, HR, Risk, Compliance, Provost, Student government) and at all levels within the agency.

Others, however, noted that cross-jurisdictional agreements can make the policy development process more complicated.

Our office receives police powers from an MOU with local municipal agency which requires us to follow their policies. It was a challenge in conforming those policies to a university setting.

Several respondents reiterated the importance of researching policy issues during the development process. This can be done by contacting other agencies for advice or policy examples, using model policies, or using a collaborative approach to policy development. These recommendations, or “lessons learned,” are consistent with recommendations from the BJA *BWC Implementation Checklist* and BWC Policy and Implementation Program.

Resolving Complaints and Collecting Evidence

The use of BWCs in complaint resolution was overwhelmingly the most common benefit noted by respondents. The fact that BWCs allow supervisors to more quickly investigate and resolve

complaints against officers is a common refrain from front-line supervisors across jurisdictions (Gaub et al., in press; Smykla et al., 2016). While some departments do not necessarily see a reduction in complaints—a relatively low-frequency event for many agencies—BWCs nonetheless prove useful in resolving frivolous or unfounded complaints before they become a formalized complaint against the officer. One respondent explained it this way:

While we do not see fewer complaints, it is much easier to resolve them informally. We are able to watch video with a complainant and many times they realize their perception was not how the interaction happened.

Similarly, BWC footage has significant evidentiary value, well beyond that of the traditional police report (Gaub et al., in press; White, 2014). In higher education, evidence generated by BWC footage could be used in both a civil or criminal proceeding as well as a student conduct hearing. An arrest for assault, for example, can yield both a criminal violation handled in court and a student conduct violation handled by the institution. Footage can be shared with both entities in order to provide a better picture of what happened during the encounter.

One of the unique benefits has been the ability to share the footage directly with administrators who now have a first-hand understanding of the situation. In the past they would have read reports; BWCs allow us to share directly what was happening at the time.

Challenges of BWCs

Collegiate and municipal law enforcement agencies face many of the same challenges when choosing if, when, and how to implement a BWC program. Many challenges, such as maintaining officer buy-in, are common for all types of agencies. For example, one respondent noted, “Though officers wanted the cameras, some had trepidation about [how] the footage would be used,” and 60% of respondents with full implementation of BWCs agreed that this was a significant concern (see Table 2 for more detail). This sentiment has been documented from many municipal agencies as well (Gaub et al., 2016, in press; Jennings et al., 2014; Pelfrey & Keener, 2016). There are also some challenges that, while shared by municipal agencies, take on a different flavor because of the campus environment. Two of these will be discussed in more detail below: 1) Budget and technical concerns, and 2) privacy and public records compliance.

Budget and Technical Concerns

One of the most common reasons agencies cite for not having a BWC program is a lack of funding, and collegiate agencies were no different. The process for obtaining funding, however, can be more complex for collegiate agencies. If a municipal agency is unable to fund a BWC program with existing funds, it must obtain a budget allocation from either the city council or county board of supervisors; similarly, collegiate agencies, must receive approval from the college or university administration. But institutions of higher education—especially public universities—receive funding from several sources which can have different rules regarding their use. One respondent representing an agency in a public university explained it this way:

The best choice was determined to be [manufacturer name redacted], but they were not on the state contract. That required us to request a sole-source deviance from both the university and the state.

If short-term, upfront capital expenditures are problematic, the long-term costs (i.e., data storage) are daunting for collegiate agencies: 60% of respondents considering BWCs, 81% of respondents with partial implementation, and 72% of respondents with full implementation named long-term costs as a significant concern. The ever-changing BWC marketplace only compounds the problem:

The initial investment is high, and we're learning that it's not a one-time investment. The cameras will need to be replaced and our current vendor has doubled the price of the camera because they now have market share. If you buy completely into one type of camera it can be very difficult and pricey to adopt new and better technology as it is developed.

While municipal agencies can typically gain support from their governing bodies (and the public), collegiate agencies may have more difficulty persuading university administrators that dwindling funds should be spent on technology like BWCs; or as one respondent put it, universities are “an environment that doesn't allow many extras.” And for agencies serving universities within a larger system, there can be even more administrative hurdles to ensure that policies and procedures are aligned.

Interwoven with budgetary problems are technical concerns. Several respondents noted the lack of dedicated IT personnel for the agency, especially among smaller agencies. Combined with budgetary constraints and workload burden for daily maintenance of the technology, the administration of a BWC program can be overwhelming for small agencies.⁵

The only barrier [we have] encountered is the cost of data storage for a small agency, and the volume of workload placed on limited staff in responding to requests from prosecutors [and the] public that require extensive redacting processes. Implementation and equipment costs are secondary to the recurring cost of data storage, and workload placed on staffing within smaller agencies.

Several respondents recommended combining resources where possible. For example, finding a vendor for both body-worn and in-car camera would eliminate redundancy, and systems that integrate CAD/RMS and/or store and bundle all digital evidence can reduce workload on the backend.

I appreciate having a single system that does our body-worn and in-car cameras. This way we have only one interface for all video. We can also download other video (like campus-wide surveillance video) into our video management system. We can bundle [video with] other electronic data (voice, photos, etc.) into one bundle and label all with one case number for storage or transmission to our prosecutors. We even opted for a module that ties single incidents together (from multiple cars or persons) in our

⁵ Agency size ranged from two to 800 full-time sworn officers. Only five respondents indicated their agency (or system of agencies) had 100 or more full-time sworn officers (the standard benchmark for a “large” agency), and 90 agencies had 50 or fewer.

CAD/RMS system so Records, Investigations and others don't have to sift through multiple recordings to find data pertaining to a single incident.

Privacy and Public Records Compliance

Compliance with state, local, and administrative public records requirements has been a continuing concern for nearly all agencies. In states with liberal or “open” public records laws, BWC footage can prove to be a unique challenge. Redacting video footage is a time-consuming and labor-intensive endeavor: One study estimated the cost at \$220 per complaint, on average (Braga, Coldren, Sousa, Rodriguez, & Alper, 2017). For many small agencies, the sheer cost associated with public records compliance can make a BWC program prohibitively expensive.

Our officers and community were supportive. Our challenge was the cost of storage and the cost of compliance with Washington State’s very open public records laws.

Collegiate agencies also face some unique pressures related to privacy. One respondent in Pennsylvania explained the legal concerns related to their state’s “two-party consent” provision:

The Pennsylvania legislature and governor signed legislation which allows jurisdictions the use of BWC with immunity from the [state] wiretap act and failed to include the sworn officers with the 14 [public] universities. This creates a significant concern that the recording of students or community members in residence halls and other areas could result in officers being exposed to criminal culpability of violating the wiretap act. The state university police chiefs have asked for the new law to be amended to include [public] university sworn law enforcement officers.

While all agencies must consider the implications for privacy, colleges and universities have their own specific privacy issues. Some agencies voiced concern that BWCs could present challenges related to the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA), and those with medical schools and hospitals were concerned about violations of the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA). More generally, collegiate communities tend to take personal privacy very seriously. Differing expectations of privacy can result in confusion or conflict. In many municipal agencies, policy dictates that the BWC can record anywhere that an officer is legally permitted to be, including private areas such as inside homes. On campus, however, the concept of “private property” can be more ambiguous; for example, students do not technically own their dorm rooms, but view them as their personal space accorded protection from unreasonable search. Thus, it is important to establish a policy from the outset that considers the perspectives of many stakeholders.

The expectation of personal privacy is highly regarded in a university setting. Developing a BWC policy that addresses that and is accepted by the community and administration is difficult.

When some students learned that officers would be wearing body cameras they were concerned about the usage of video recorders in the areas of student housing. Conversations were had with student leaders to earn buy in from the students of the overall importance of BWCs.

Caveat: Agencies Without BWCs

Nearly one-fifth of agencies (18%) indicated they had considered the technology but ultimately chose not to implement it; five agencies said they were not even considering BWCs. The most common reasons for not implementing BWCs were the short-term costs associated with upfront capital (57%) and long-term costs associated with technology upkeep and data storage (67%). This is consistent with data from the 2016 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics - Body-Worn Camera Supplement (LEMAS-BWCS), in which roughly three-quarters of municipal agencies without BWCs cited cost as the primary reason (Hyland, 2018).

Almost 40% of respondents indicated that compliance with public records requirements would pose a problem and dissuaded them from adopting cameras. Nearly 25% of respondents noted that technical concerns with BWC programs (e.g., data storage security, footage redaction), community buy-in, and competition for other technology factored into their decision not to use BWCs, and one-fifth felt competition from other non-technology needs.

We've never had video of any kind, to include in-car dash cameras [...] This has never been a problem.

In discussions with all members of our community, including LGBT, women's groups, Multicultural Affairs, Student Senate, faculty, staff and members of the President's Cabinet, I continue to hear that they do not wish for the campus police to have body cams. When asked, they indicate that the relationship between the campus police and the community is such that cameras are not wanted or needed and would be a distraction. Our community does not buy into the use of the cameras.

Ultimately, many of these agencies cited reasons like those of small municipal agencies: Low crime and low rates of force and complaints (Gaub et al., 2017).

Our agency is extremely small, we have very low incident of crime, student/citizen complaints are non-existent, and it would be very difficult to justify the expense of a BWC system verses fixed security cameras on campus property. As the school size grows, this will be one of many items under consideration but currently there is no interest from the administration, faculty or student groups, [and] officers seem ambivalent.

Conclusion

Just as prior research shows many similarities between campus and municipal police, the results from this survey show similarities regarding perceived benefits and challenges of BWCs. For collegiate agencies, like many small municipal agencies, the key benefits of the technology are the evidentiary value and utility in resolving complaints. Additionally, the primary challenges experienced by campus police agencies are budgetary constraints, technical concerns, and privacy and public records compliance. However, campus agencies experience these benefits and challenges in a different way than do municipal agencies, consistent with research comparing campus and municipal police operations more generally.

Table 1: Program Goals and Policy Development

	Considering BWCs (N=10)		Planning or Partial Implementation (N=16)		Full Implementation (N=57)		Other (N=12)	
Goals of BWC Program	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Transparency/accountability	7	70%	14	88%	52	91%	4	33%
Officer oversight	5	50%	11	69%	41	72%	3	25%
Training opportunities	5	50%	10	63%	41	72%	4	33%
Evidence collection	6	60%	11	69%	47	82%	3	25%
Compliance with state/local laws regarding BWCs	1	10%	4	25%	12	21%	2	17%
Other	0	0%	1	6%	5	9%	7	58%
People/Groups Used to Develop BWC Policy	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Command staff	3	30%	14	88%	51	89%	3	25%
Line officers	2	20%	10	63%	36	63%	2	17%
Union/collective bargaining unit	1	10%	8	50%	7	12%	0	0%
Other LEAs in your geographic area (including online resources, such as their policy)	3	30%	9	56%	29	51%	4	33%
Local (municipal/county) prosecutors	1	10%	6	38%	16	28%	0	0%
Defense attorneys, including public defenders	0	0%	1	6%	3	5%	1	8%
State criminal justice actors (e.g., State Bureau of Investigation, Department of Criminal Justice Services, etc.)	1	10%	3	19%	7	12%	1	8%
Special interest groups (e.g., NAACP)	1	10%	3	19%	4	7%	0	0%
Privacy groups (e.g., ACLU)	1	10%	2	13%	4	7%	0	0%
Academic institution(s)	1	10%	4	25%	12	21%	1	8%
Model policies (e.g., those from ACLU, PERF, IACP, etc.)	2	20%	8	50%	34	60%	2	17%
Federal resources (e.g., BJA Toolkit, BWC Training and Technical Assistance website and resources)	1	10%	4	25%	11	19%	0	0%
Other	3	30%	3	19%	8	14%	5	42%

Table 2: Agency Concerns Related to BWCs

	Considering BWCs (N=10)		Planning or Partial Implementation (N=16)		Full Implementation (N=57)		Other (N=12)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Concerns During Planning Phase								
Evaluation of vendors	5	50%	9	56%	35	61%	2	17%
Security of data storage	4	40%	10	63%	43	75%	5	42%
Redaction of footage	4	40%	11	69%	23	40%	4	33%
Compliance with public records requirements	5	50%	11	69%	36	63%	2	17%
Buy-in from officers	5	50%	8	50%	33	58%	3	25%
Buy-in from external stakeholders	1	10%	3	19%	10	18%	3	25%
Buy-in from community	3	30%	5	31%	17	30%	1	8%
Use by prosecution, defense, and/or courts	1	10%	7	44%	25	44%	0	0%
Competition with other technology needs	4	40%	8	50%	27	47%	2	17%
Competition with other non-technology needs	2	20%	6	38%	18	32%	1	8%
Long-term costs (e.g., data storage)	6	60%	13	81%	41	72%	4	33%
Short-term costs (e.g., upfront capital)	4	40%	10	63%	28	49%	4	33%
Other	1	10%	1	6%	3	5%	4	33%
Concerns During Implementation								
Evaluation of vendors	2	20%	6	38%	29	51%	5	42%
Security of data storage	4	40%	8	50%	38	67%	6	50%
Redaction of footage	3	30%	10	63%	24	42%	6	50%
Compliance with public records requirements	4	40%	9	56%	27	47%	5	42%
Buy-in from officers	4	40%	8	50%	32	56%	3	25%
Buy-in from external stakeholders	0	0%	2	13%	12	21%	3	25%
Buy-in from community	2	20%	4	25%	14	25%	2	17%
Use by prosecution, defense, and/or courts	1	10%	3	19%	18	32%	1	8%
Competition with other technology needs	2	20%	5	31%	20	35%	4	33%
Competition with other non-technology needs	2	20%	4	25%	15	26%	4	33%
Long-term costs (e.g., data storage)	3	30%	9	56%	36	63%	7	58%
Short-term costs (e.g., upfront capital)	1	10%	7	44%	22	39%	6	50%
Other	1	10%	1	6%	3	5%	4	33%

About the Author

Janne E. Gaub is an Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice at East Carolina University. She earned her Ph.D. in Criminology and Criminal Justice from Arizona State University in 2015. She serves as a subject-matter expert for the Bureau of Justice Assistance BWC Policy and Implementation Program. Her research focuses on contemporary issues in policing, including misconduct, technology, use of force, and the intersection of gender and policing. Her work has been published in *Criminology & Public Policy*, *Police Quarterly*, and *Policing: An International Journal*.

References

- Alpert, G. P., & Walker, S. (2000). Police accountability and early warning systems: Developing policies and programs. *Justice Research and Policy*, 2(2), 60–72. DOI: 10.3818/JRP.2.2.2000.59
- Ariel, B., Farrar, W. A., & Sutherland, A. (2015). The effect of police body-worn cameras on use of force and citizens' complaints against the police: A randomized controlled trial. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 31(3), 509–535. DOI: 10.1007/s10940-014-9236-3
- Braga, A. A., Barao, L., McDevitt, J., & Zimmerman, G. (2018). *The impact of body-worn cameras on complaints against officers and officer use of force incident reports: Preliminary evaluation findings*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University.
- Braga, A. A., Sousa, W. H., Coldren, J., Rodriguez, D., Coldren Jr., J. R., & Rodriguez, D. (2018). The effects of body-worn cameras on police activity and police-citizen encounters: A randomized controlled trial. *The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*, 108(3), 511–538.
- Braga, A., Coldren, J. R., Sousa, W., Rodriguez, D., & Alper, O. (2017). *The benefits of body-worn cameras: New findings from a randomized controlled trial at the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department*. Washington, DC: CNA Corporation.
- Bureau of Justice Assistance. (2019). *BWC policy and implementation program sites*. Retrieved February 2, 2019, from <http://bwctta.com/bwc-policy-and-implementation-program-sites>
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2015). *Data collection: Survey of campus law enforcement agencies*. Retrieved September 20, 2018, from <https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=dcdetail&iid=247#Methodology>
- Crow, M. S., Snyder, J. A., Crichlow, V. J., & Smykla, J. O. (2017). Community perceptions of police body-worn cameras: The impact of views on fairness, fear, performance, and privacy. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 44(4), 589–610. DOI: 10.1177/0093854816688037
- Ellis, T., Jenkins, C., & Smith, P. (2015). *Evaluation of the introduction of personal issue body worn video cameras (Operation Hyperion) on the Isle of Wight: Final report to Hampshire Constabulary*. Portsmouth, England: University of Portsmouth. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004
- Gaub, J. E., Choate, D. E., Todak, N., Katz, C. M., & White, M. D. (2016). Officer perceptions of body-worn cameras before and after deployment: A study of three departments. *Police Quarterly*, 19(3), 275–302. DOI: 10.1177/1098611116653398

- Gaub, J. E., Todak, N., & White, M. D. (In press). One size doesn't fit all: The deployment of police body-worn cameras to specialty units. *International Criminal Justice Review*. DOI: 10.1177/1057567718789237
- Gaub, J. E., White, M. D., Padilla, K. E., & Katz, C. M. (2017). *Implementing a police body-worn camera program in a small agency*. Phoenix, AZ: Arizona State University Center for Violence Prevention and Community Safety.
- Goetschel, M., & Peha, J. M. (2017). Police perceptions of body-worn cameras. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 42(4), 698–726. DOI: 10.1007/s12103-017-9415-5
- Grossmith, L., Owens, C., Finn, W., Mann, D., Davies, T., & Baika, L. (2015). *Police, camera, evidence: London's cluster randomised controlled trial of body worn video*. London, England: London Metropolitan Police Department.
- Halpern, S. C. (1974). Police employee organizations and accountability procedures in three cities: Some reflections on police policy-making. *Law and Society Review*, 8(4), 561–582.
- Headley, A. M., Guerette, R. T., & Shariati, A. (2017). A field experiment of the impact of body-worn cameras (BWCs) on police officer behavior and perceptions. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 53(October), 102–109. DOI: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2017.10.003
- Hedberg, E. C., Katz, C. M., & Choate, D. E. (2017). Body-worn cameras and citizen interactions with police officers: Estimating plausible effects given varying compliance levels. *Justice Quarterly*, 34(4), 627–651. DOI: 10.1080/07418825.2016.1198825
- Hyland, S. S. (2018). *Body-worn cameras in law enforcement agencies, 2016*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Jennings, W. G., Fridell, L. A., & Lynch, M. D. (2014). Cops and cameras: Officer perceptions of the use of body-worn cameras in law enforcement. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 42(6), 549–556. DOI: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2014.09.008
- Jennings, W. G., Fridell, L. A., Lynch, M., Jetelina, K. K., & Reingle Gonzalez, J. M. (2017). A quasi-experimental evaluation of the effects of police body-worn cameras (BWCs) on response-to-resistance in a large metropolitan police department. *Deviant Behavior*, 38(11), 1332–1339. DOI: 10.1080/01639625.2016.1248711
- Jennings, W. G., Lynch, M. D., & Fridell, L. A. (2015). Evaluating the impact of police officer body-worn cameras (BWCs) on response-to-resistance and serious external complaints: Evidence from the Orlando police department (OPD) experience utilizing a randomized controlled experiment. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43(6), 480–486. DOI: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2015.10.003
- Katz, C. M., Kurtenbach, M., Choate, D. E., & White, M. D. (2015). *Phoenix, Arizona, Smart Policing Initiative: Evaluating the impact of police officer body-worn cameras*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Assistance.
- Lum, C., Stoltz, M., Koper, C. S., & Scherer, A. (2019). Research on body-worn cameras: What we know, what we need to know. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 18(1), 5–7. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467
- Miller, L., Toliver, J., & Police Executive Research Forum. (2014). *Implementing a body-worn camera program: Recommendations and lessons learned*. Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum.

- Morrow, W. J., Katz, C. M., & Choate, D. E. (2016). Assessing the impact of police body-worn cameras on arresting, prosecuting, and convicting suspects of intimate partner violence. *Police Quarterly*, 19(3), 303–325. DOI: 10.1177/1098611116652850
- ODS Consulting. (2011). *Body worn video projects in Paisley and Aberdeen: Self Evaluation*. Glasgow, Scotland: Author.
- Peak, K. J., Barthe, E. P., & Garcia, A. (2008). Campus policing in America: A twenty-year perspective. *Police Quarterly*, 11(2), 239–260. DOI: 10.1177/1098611107306840
- Pelfrey, W. V., & Keener, S. (2016). Police body worn cameras: A mixed method approach assessing perceptions of efficacy. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 39(3), 491–506.
- Sloan, J. J., Lanier, M. M., & Beer, D. L. (2000). Policing the contemporary university campus: Challenging traditional organizational models. *Journal of Security Administration*, 23(1), 1–20.
- Smykla, J. O., Crow, M. S., Crichlow, V. J., & Snyder, J. A. (2016). Police body-worn cameras: Perceptions of law enforcement leadership. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 41(3), 424–443. DOI: 10.1007/s12103-015-9316-4
- Sousa, W. H., Miethe, T. D., & Sakiyama, M. (2018). Inconsistencies in public opinion of body-worn cameras on police: Transparency, trust, and improved police–citizen relationships. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 12(1), 100–108. DOI: 10.1093/police/pax015
- Todak, N., Gaub, J. E., & White, M. D. (2018). The importance of external stakeholders for police body-worn camera diffusion. *Policing: An International Journal*, 41(4), 448–464.
- White, M. D. (2000). Assessing the impact of administrative policy on use of deadly force by on- and off-duty police. *Evaluation Review*, 24(3), 295–318. DOI: 10.1177/0193841X0002400303
- White, M. D. (2001). Controlling police decisions to use deadly force: Reexamining the importance of administrative policy. *Crime & Delinquency*, 47(1), 131–151.
- White, M. D. (2014). *Police officer body-worn cameras: Assessing the evidence*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- White, M. D., Flippin, M., & Katz, C. M. (2018). *Key trends in body-worn camera policy and practice: A three-year policy analysis of US Department of Justice-funded law enforcement agencies*. Phoenix, AZ: Arizona State University Center for Violence Prevention and Community Safety.
- White, M. D., Gaub, J. E., & Todak, N. (2018). Exploring the potential for body-worn cameras to reduce violence in police-citizen encounters. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 12(1), 66–76. DOI: 10.1093/police/paw057
- White, M. D., Todak, N., & Gaub, J. E. (2017). Assessing citizen perceptions of body-worn cameras after encounters with police. *Policing: An International Journal*, 40(4), 1–27. DOI: 10.1108/PIJPSM-07-2016-0105
- White, M. D., Todak, N., & Gaub, J. E. (2018). Examining body-worn camera integration and acceptance among police officers, citizens, and external stakeholders. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 17(3), 649–677. DOI: 10.1111/1745-9133.12376
- Yokum, D., Ravishankar, A., & Coppock, A. (2017). *Evaluating the effects of police body-worn cameras: A*

randomized controlled trial. Washington, DC: The Lab @ DC.

Young, J. T. N., & Ready, J. T. (2018). A longitudinal analysis of the relationship between administrative policy, technological preferences, and body-worn camera activation among police officers. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 12(1), 27–42. DOI: 10.1093/police/paw005