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Whose Interests Are At Heart?: Understanding Police Subculture and Officer Perceptions of Body-Worn Cameras in San Diego County

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ABSTRACT

Police body-worn cameras have been implemented across the country in hopes of providing transparency and accountability of law enforcement officers. This research explores whose interests are being served by the use of body-worn cameras by law enforcement officers in San Diego County while also looking into how body-worn cameras are addressing the militaristic subculture of the institution of law enforcement. Current literature focuses on police subculture, the Age of Ferguson, and the benefits and limitations of body-worn cameras. Critical Race Theory and Foucault's theory of the panopticon are used to inform the findings. Data was triangulated through interviews, ride-along observations, and primary document analyses. Findings suggest that police perceptions and use of body-worn cameras reinforced a militaristic subculture due to the lack of overall resources and training as well as the continued use of discretion.

KEYWORDS: body worn cameras, critical race theory, discretion, interest convergence, lack of resources, Michel Foucault, panopticon, police, subculture.

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INTRODUCTION

Michael Brown, an 18-year-old black teenager was shot six times by Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri. He was unarmed when he was shot with some witnesses claiming his arms were up in surrender (BBC 2014). His death sparked protests nationwide, calling police brutality and use of deadly force against people of color into question. The United States Department of Justice (2015a) found the Ferguson Police Department disproportionately targets the black community with higher rates of stops, use of force, citations, and arrest rates. Still, the officer that shot Mike was never indicted (BBC 2014).

Eric Garner, a 43-year-old black father was unarmed when he was choked to death in Staten Island, New York. He repeated "I can't breathe" eleven times before losing consciousness. The medical examiner ruled his death a homicide. The entire incident was caught on camera, but no charges were brought against the officer who committed the chokehold even though the department had banned its use. The officer continues to work for the New York Police Department (Voorhees 2014).

Sandra Bland, a black 28-year-old woman, was found hanging in her jail cell three days after being arrested in Texas. The reason she was pulled over? Not signaling a lane change. She was ordered out of her car after police claimed she was argumentative and uncooperative. The state-trooper was caught on dash-camera footage with his stun-gun pointed at Sandra saying "I will light you up." The arresting officer was fired from the force for lying about the way Sandra was removed from her car. Sandra's family has since settled a wrongful death suit. Still, no officers have been

held responsible for the excessive force against her or the incidents that led to her death (Sanburn 2015).

John Crawford III, a black 22-year-old father of two young sons, was shot by officers in a Walmart in Ohio. He had picked up a BB gun off the shelf that had been for sale and was walking around the store. His death was captured on surveillance footage. He was facing perpendicular to the officers when he was shot. No officers were indicted for John's death (Balko 2014).

Alton Sterling, a black 37-year-old father was selling CDs outside of a store in Baton Rouge, Louisiana when he was shot by a police officer. Bystander footage showed both officers holding Alton down, with one kneeling on his chest and the other on his thigh. Within seconds, three shots went off at point-blank range with another three following closely after. No officers have been held responsible for Alton's death (Shoichet, Berlinger, and Almasy 2016).

A day later, Philando Castile, a black 32-year-old man was shot by a police officer in Minnesota. He had told the officer he was carrying a licensed concealed handgun and was reaching for his wallet when he was shot. His girlfriend, who was in the car with him, captured the incident on her cell phone and posted it live to Facebook (McLaughlin 2016). Before his death, Philando had been pulled over an average of once every three months for minor infractions such as tinted windows, failing to signal, and not wearing a seatbelt (Corley and Peralta 2016).

Tamir Rice, a black 12-year-old boy was shot by a police officer while playing in a park in Cleveland, Ohio. Someone had called 911 reporting that a juvenile

was playing with what was probably a toy gun. The dispatcher asked the citizen making the call whether the juvenile was black or white twice. The dispatcher announced the race of Tamir over the radio, but not the fact that the gun was probably a toy (Diversi 2016). When the officers arrived, the officer in the patrol car closest to Tamir shot and killed him before the other officer could even exit the vehicle. The entire event lasted less than 2 seconds between time of arrival and the shooting of Tamir. The incident was captured on surveillance footage and neither officer was ever indicted (Fantz and Shoichet 2016).

As all of these news stories were circling around me, I was living peacefully in Southern California. I come into contact with many law enforcement officers and was discussing the potential of a ride-along with a regular officer I saw where I worked. He agreed to the ride-along and had all of the necessary paperwork filled out and approved. He was as excited as I was, smiling and telling me stories about different stops he has made. His language changed when we started talking about the location of the ride-along. He said, “there are a lot of *bad black people* down there.” I was confused as to how he could label an entire race as being “bad” so easily while disregarding the fact that white people commit more crimes. I was sitting in the front of the police cruiser on the day of the ride along, checking out the gadgets that surrounded me when the first call came: a citizen reported an armed black man that approached him and made a threat in the grocery store. We arrived at the store within a minute. Once parked, I was unsure if I should come along. The officer told me where

his shotgun was in case I was asked to retrieve it. He exited the cruiser. I exited. Instantly, his hand was on his gun. I was worried. Within seconds, his gun was out of his holster and I grew more afraid. I wondered if I was about to witness the next story that would end up on the news: black man shot by police.

Nothing ever came out of that call. No one was ever found and the victim did not want to find the suspect and press charges. I constantly look back to this incident. Would the officer have unholstered his gun so quickly if the suspect were described as white? What if we actually found the suspect? Then what would have happened, taking the history of police brutality and excessive use of force against people of color into account?

I began to look at the statistics of police brutality and use of deadly force. This proved to be difficult because there is no official data collected on police involved deaths. Websites like The Guardian and The Washington Post have ongoing collections of news stories and statistics related to police-involved deaths. The Guardian (2016) found that in 2016 in the United States there had been 1,092 people killed by the police. This is a rate of 3 people killed by the police every day. Breaking down the numbers by race, Native Americans are killed at a rate of 3.2 times more than white people while black people are killed at a rate of 2.4 times more than white people. Latinos are also killed at a rate slightly higher than white people. These numbers show a disproportionate use of lethal force by the police against communities of color. Although use of force by police is an American problem, I started to look more locally at the state of California. I was shocked to find that Californian police have

killed more people than police in any other state. By the end of 2016, police in California had killed at least 160 people, and that is just what has been accounted for in unofficial reports. Police use of force is not just an issue facing the country, but also an issue we are facing locally in California.

Following the ongoing police killings of unarmed black men and women across the country, the Black Lives Matter movement has created a campaign to end police violence in the US by expanding the use of body-worn cameras. The Black Lives Matter movement called for all police to adopt cameras because of their effectiveness of holding officers accountable. Some of their demands include requiring officers to record their interactions with the community, storing footage externally with civilian oversight, and allowing civilians the opportunity to have their footage released publicly (Campaign Zero).

Departments across the country are implementing body-worn cameras in hopes of holding officers accountable and exposing racialized practices. Accusations against the police are tracked by these departments to see how the cameras influence police and public responses when they know they're being watched. More officers than just the one I was talking to portray entire races of people as "bad." Police subculture calls for race-based stereotypes in which people of color are often targeted. The purpose of this thesis is to address how law enforcement officers in San Diego County perceive body-worn cameras and their benefits and limitations. Further, this thesis will look at police subculture. How do officers act, talk, and perceive different situations when they are wearing body cameras? In this thesis, I critically outline the

research that has been done so far and add a new perspective that addresses the effectiveness of body-worn cameras on changing police ideology and who benefits from their implementation.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Police in the United States overwhelmingly use excessive force on residents, especially those of color. The Department of Justice has only recently begun to keep information on arrest-related deaths. We have to mostly rely upon collections of news articles about police-involved deaths that are collected by organizations like The Washington Post and The Guardian. Only one person has ever been fatally shot by police during Iceland's entire existence as a nation, compared to three fatal shootings by law enforcement agents in a single city in California over the course of five months (Lartey 2015). In 2015, police killed over 1,100 people in the United States. People of color represented half of those killed. While black people make up 13% of the population, they make up 26% of those killed by the police (Lartey 2015). There is nothing new about law enforcement officers disproportionately killing people of color. Advancing technology is used to capture and share evidence of officer-involved shootings. Bystanders increasingly use cell phones and cameras to capture police shooting, tazing, and choking people of color across the country. Video footage of an incident increases the likelihood that an officer will be charged for killing someone.

Police-involved deaths rarely lead to indictments or convictions of murder or manslaughter. In 2014 and 2015, not one officer was convicted on murder or manslaughter charges in police-involved deaths (Ferner and Wing 2016). With over one thousand police killings last year, not a single officer was ever convicted or held responsible. Since 2005, there have only been 13 officers who have been held accountable and convicted (Ferner and Wing 2016). Convicting an officer is extremely rare. The chances only slightly improve when autopsies show the victim was shot in the back, dash-cam footage is used as evidence, or other officers turn on those charged (Kindy and Kelly 2015). As James McKinely Jr and Al Baker (2014) state, “The balances tips toward the police from the start.”

Communities of color are increasingly questioning the racism that permeates the United States. The movement grew after the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. Laws in the United States are based on ideologies and rules that are chosen by individuals with power within society (Gunders 2000). There is an assumption that if individuals experience forms of racism, the law can be used to protect them from their oppressors (Spade 2011). But what happens when the oppressors are the people who hold power? The simmering distrust and numerous deaths of unarmed black and brown people by officers prompted the Obama Administration to address the issue. The question that was asked is “What can be done to prevent more deaths of unarmed people across the nation and how can officers be held accountable for race-based practices?” It seems it is impossible to hold anyone accountable without proof of what happened, moments before a death. Technological advances through

bystander cell phone footage has been used to provide evidence of what happens during an interaction, but still this footage often lacks the initial encounters. There is a need for the implementation of body-worn cameras in law enforcement agencies across the country (Campaign Zero).

The Department of Justice and the Black Lives Matter Movement have demanded that all officers begin to use body-worn cameras. The Department of Justice provided $23.2 million for the implementation of body cameras across the county which allowed research to begin to explore the impact of the cameras and decide if they are effective at increasing transparency and promoting accountability for both the public and law enforcement. Police departments in Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, Detroit, Las Vegas, Orlando and San Bernardino, among others, have received grants from the Department of Justice to implement the use of body-worn cameras (United States Department of Justice 2015b).

Although no departments in San Diego County were included in the Department of Justice's study, many have implemented and studied the use of body-worn cameras on their own. Research by the San Diego Police Department (2015) found that body-worn cameras have a positive influence on both the police and the community. They have the potential of building trust between both groups and creating better relationships between officers and the people they are working to protect. After a year of body camera use in the city of San Diego, the SDPD found that complaints decreased 23% while allegations by the public decreased 44%. Use of force was also found to have decreased 8% (San Diego Police Department 2015).

Despite this promising data, there are still problems with the implementation of body cameras. One issue has been the requirement for officers to turn their cameras on manually. In the city of San Diego for example, department policy requires officers to turn on their cameras before making contact with the public (SDPD 2015). It is against policy to "forget" to turn them on. However, two officers in 2015 did not turn on their cameras in an interaction that led to a police-involved shooting, which left the suspect dead in the street in the Gaslamp District. The officers told investigators that they did not have time to turn on the cameras before contact was made, in the chase that followed, and during any period of time when the suspect turned back towards the officers before he was shot and killed (Chen 2015). Officers have historically used the phrase "I feared for my life" when legitimizing their actions that led to a death of a citizen. Now officers are able to claim "there was no time to turn on the camera" or "I forgot," so far without any punishments. Both statements legitimize decisions they make when using discretion that leads to the death of civilians. The San Diego Police Chief defended the officers' actions and inability to turn on the camera, noting that officer safety concerns trumps the use of the cameras in any situation (Chen 2015). Although department policy requires the cameras be turned on before any contact is made, this is defended when safety is factored into the equation. Claiming safety concerns is effective at defending oneself against the failed use of a body camera. The SDPD camera policy has since changed to require officers to turn on their cameras on the way to a call, rather than when they get to a scene (Arcega-Dunn

2015). Still, as long as the cameras must be turned on and off manually, problems of transparency and accountability will remain.

Limited research on the effects of the cameras has been done, especially because the use of body-worn cameras is relatively new. The discretion that police have in using body cameras as well as the discretion of showing the footage publicly has decreased the accountability that they are supposed to provide. There are ongoing studies to see how effective the cameras are with providing accountability and transparency. The implementation of body cameras may be able to hold individual officers accountable for their actions. However, the research has ignored the fact that police actions are often shaped by police culture, which fundamentally includes racialized practices (Ariel et al. 2014). The body-cameras are expected to change individual actions rather than the institution that has legitimized race as an acceptable means to stop, question, arrest, and even kill community members. Law enforcement departments are using body-worn cameras to find the “bad apples” within police departments without acknowledging that the police departments are “bad orchards” filled with race-based practices.

This thesis contributes to the literature by addressing the perceptions law enforcement officers have about the culture they work within and the usage of body-worn cameras. Culture is looked at to see how officers act around, talk to, and address the community and each other. Knowing how police perceive the use of body-worn cameras and seeing how they work while wearing cameras is important to better understand if body-worn cameras are making any institutional changes to police culture.

This is important to see if body-worn cameras have the potential to change the institution of the criminal justice system by addressing police culture that has led to a disproportionate amount of police brutality against people of color.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the last few years, there has been an increase in media coverage of police brutality and use of force against people of color. Names of black men and women and incidents of brutality have been turned into hashtags ranging from #MikeBrown and #TamirRice to #7Minutes (for how long Eric Garner was left laying on the ground after he was killed while officers stood around) and #16times (in reference to a black teenager being shot 16 times for carrying what witnesses say was a sandwich) (deHahn 2014). Although the mainstream attention to police brutality is new, the brutality itself is not. New technology in the form of cell phones with cameras and social media has increased the visibility of police brutality.

The following literature explores the transition from police brutality to the search for a solution through the implementation of body cameras. The first section explores police subculture and how it shapes the everyday experiences of law enforcement officers. Although there are some variations to the culture, “traditional” law enforcement culture is critically discussed. The next section looks at how the use of discretion has allowed officers to profile individuals based on their race, creating a dichotomy of good and criminal between white communities and communities of color. This will lead to a discussion of the current state of police brutality and how

technology has increased its visibility. Next, the implementation of body-worn cameras by the police will be analyzed. Benefits and concerns of body-worn cameras will be discussed. The final section will look at the limitations of the research and expose an important gap in the literature that needs to be addressed.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN USE OF FORCE AND MILITARISTIC POLICE SUBCULTURES

Jermier et al. (1991) defines culture as assumptions and patterns of meaning that are shared by large organizations and groups of people. Subcultures are groups that share patterns among themselves within a dominant culture and exist within the larger culture. Subcultures are shaped by assumptions, patterns of behavior, ideologies, beliefs, and values (White 2014). The structure of an organization can shape the culture and practices of the individuals within a subculture. Mission statements and standards of conduct shape which behaviors are deemed acceptable and which are not (Jermier et al. 1991).

Police represent a subculture within the American culture (Liederbach and Travis III 2008). Steve Herbert (1998) found the subculture of policing focuses around six internalized values that shape police behavior which include law, bureaucratic control, machismo, safety, competence, and morality. These values work together to give officers the ability to define their experiences and determine acceptable responses and behaviors. Jermier et al. (1991) describe a variety of possible cultures within departments, ranging from a militaristic crime-fighting culture to officers that act in a more in a peace-keeping manner. There is a possibility for a guardian-like

subculture that allows officers to act as social workers instead of militarily as crime fighters. A guardian-like subculture includes officers with higher educational backgrounds and less authoritarian practices. Although there are different styles within police subculture, the official or traditional culture of policing is militaristic and can be seen through the use of "uniformed dress, a rigid rank hierarchy of authority, unending rules, and an authoritarian command system" (Jermier et al. 1991:173).

The militaristic approach creates a specific subculture of policing. The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015) found that policies are created to attempt to draw law enforcement away from the militaristic approach and closer to a guardian-like subculture, which emphasizes social work and service rather than law enforcement. Officers are more likely to follow the subculture of their department than to follow department rules and policies. Emphasis is put on the informal values than the formal values and rules of departments. Woody (2005) states that to be accepted by coworkers, keep their jobs, and receive promotions, individual law enforcement officers need to fit into the subculture of the department. Dodd's research (1967) found that culture is something that is taught to new officers from their more experienced colleagues. The culture is passed down in a continuous cycle as new officers join a department. It is something that is taught informally by those with more experience to those with less experience (Herbert 1998).

Police subculture affects the use-of-force by law enforcement officers (Ariel et al. 2014). Officers that follow the traditional militaristic subculture of policing are more likely to use coercion and excessive force (Terrill, Paoline III, and Manning

2003; Woody 2005). Police tend to favor aggressive actions and excessive force against community members when the traditional ideology of policing is held. Officers that go against the traditional subculture do not use as much force as their traditional counterparts. Terrill et al. (2003) and Herbert (1998) found the militaristic subculture creates a "we versus they" outlook in which officers look at their job as a constant battle between them and the public. Constant fear of injury and suspicion of the public leads to isolation and separation between officers and the community. Dodd (1967) and Woody (2005) found that in minority and impoverished areas, there is an even greater divide between law enforcement and the community due to the idea that officers stand to protect the interests of the dominant society, which is white and middle/upper class. Culture not only reflects the behaviors and beliefs of law enforcement officers, it also shapes the possibilities of reform (Herbert 1998). The culture that shapes ideologies, beliefs, and actions of officers also affects how likely a department will change for the betterment of the community. A department needs to reform its entire culture rather than only reforming formal policies and guidelines.

DISCRETIONARY PRACTICES AND INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION

Police act as street level bureaucrats. They are government employees who deliver public policy and grant access to government benefits and rights. Michael Lipsky describes police as people who "hold the keys to a dimension of citizenship" (2010:4). They hold the power to determine if someone will be labeled as a criminal or not. Further, they determine peoples' freedom within society. As street-level

bureaucrats, police must act in response to human behavior and they are provided the use of discretion to make split-second decisions (Lipsky 2010).

Discretion is characteristic to the work of street-level bureaucrats. Police lack time as a valuable resource. They have to act suddenly without thinking about the outcome or effect of their actions. Sometimes, these split-second decisions decide whether a community member will live or die (Brucato 2015). Not only do police hold the keys to citizenship, they also hold the keys to life for many people within the community. Discretion gives police the ability to decide when and how the use of force should be applied and to whom. Ariel, Farrar, and Sutherland (2014) found that police use more force in situations that include communities of color. Departmental leadership, subculture, and history all shape the amount of force that officers use (Brucato 2015).

Mental shortcuts are created when making decisions because of how much information has to be processed in a very short period of time. Race-based profiling is one shortcut that is often used in law enforcement (Lipsky 2010). Through practices and cultures, populations with certain characteristics are labeled as criminals more so than other populations (Spade 2011). Race is one way that police profile "criminals." Racism can infiltrate an entire social structure and be used to meet the needs of white beneficiaries or those in power (Neubeck and Cazenave 2001; Spade 2011). Racism has infiltrated the criminal justice system.The presence of a person of color can be used to justify the use of force by police (Driscoll 2016).

The criminalization of communities of color is slavery reconfigured, connecting color to criminality. False narratives are used to justify the silencing and exploitation of black people while continuing stereotypes that label entire communities as lawbreakers (Asim 2016; President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing 2015). Stereotypes and false narratives allow law enforcement to claim "probable cause" to classify people of color as suspect, enabling them to profile suspects based on their race (Brucato 2014). Communities of color already have a great deal of mistrust in the police. When police profile and use excessive force, the divide between themselves and the public grows (Ariel et al. 2014). Communities of color, especially black and Latino communities, express greater mistrust and more negative interactions with the police than white communities (Herbert 1998). Confidence in the police among people of color has been declining while the overall confidence in the police has remained mostly neutral in recent years. A federal task force to investigate the relationship between the police and community has only been around since 2014 (President's Task Force of 21st Century Policing 2015).

Individuals, like police, often claim their blindness to race when making decisions. However, claiming to be colorblind does not change how racism shapes institutions. Bonilla-Silva (2014) states that colorblind ideologies reinforce the oppression of people of color. By claiming to be blind to skin color, individuals ignore how race shapes their decisions and use of discretion and can actually make oppression, in the form of racism, even more violent and deadly (Crenshaw 2013). Michelle Alexander describes how "discrimination is an inevitable by-product of discretion" (2012:111).

The use of discretion allows officers to use conscious and unconscious beliefs and stereotypes when choosing whom to stop, question, search, arrest, or use force against. Claiming to be colorblind ignores the hegemonic narratives of the country and how racial inequality has been interwoven into institutions and laws since the first blacks were traded as slaves (Asim 2016; Diversi 2016). Acknowledging that race is a characteristic that is used when making decisions is the first step to addressing and changing the problem of excessive brutality against people of color.

Racism is a fluid and adaptable practice that can change within institutions (Bonilla-Silva 2014). The color line continues to exist in the United States because of the way that racism can adapt to meet the needs of society (Neubeck and Cazenave 2011). The civil rights movement did not effectively change conditions for people of color because of how racism is embedded in US law and written into the Constitution (Spade 2011). Historically, blacks have been killed to make sure that they never gain power over white people, further reaffirming white supremacy in the United States (Davis 1983). The racist killings of people of color continue today through adapted forms of racism that exists in this post-civil rights era. Law enforcement officers act within a larger structure of oppression. The institution of policing has historically justified brutality against people of color to benefit the interests of those in power: white and middle/upper class communities (Diversi 2016).

INCREASING THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY IN THE AGE OF FERGUSON

The “Age of Ferguson” has been born out of this new age of racism (Driscoll 2016). The public uses cameras and smart phones to record police abuses of people of

color (Stanley 2014). Police have a history of using cameras and surveillance as a means to protect themselves. Cameras have the opportunity of producing an unbiased picture of what happens in an interaction. Dash cameras have a similar history as body-worn cameras. In the 1990s when lawsuits of racial profiling were being filed against law enforcement, the Department of Justice created an incentive program for officers to install and use cameras to provide unbiased accounts of officer-public interactions (Wetphal 2004). Today, community interactions with police include more than traffic stops. The next generation of police cameras has turned toward cameras worn by officers.

The Age of Ferguson refers to this current time in which technology is allowing the public to record police actions, causing national discussions of race and police culture. It is creating a dialogue to address the racialized subculture that infiltrates the criminal justice system while acknowledging and attempting to change the militaristic subculture of policing and race-based practices (Driscoll 2016). In 2013, a judge in New York addressed the issue of racism within the police department by ordering the use of body-worn cameras. Requiring officers to record encounters with the public would hold them more accountable for their actions and change the flawed police practices of using race as a predictor of criminality (Ariel et al. 2015; Stanley 2013; White 2014). The interpretation of evidence is dependent upon the point of view from which it is recorded. The public has already been recording police from the outsiders' perspective. Footage from the outsiders' perspective has made it difficult for police to

combat claims of misconduct. Body-worn cameras allow the police to show their side of the story (Brucato 2015).

THE INTRODUCTION OF BODY-WORN CAMERAS TO LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

Law enforcement officers have been performing their own technological revolution in conjunction to the increased use of cell phones and other portable devices by the public (Stanley 2014). White (2014) found that visibility of police actions is possible through the use of body-worn cameras. Cameras allow knowledge of the law and actions of police to be observed through actual occurrences rather than solely through speculation (Agustina and Clavell 2011). The recent acceleration of technology has pushed police to adapt to changing times and incorporate new technology into their own routines before they become "out-tech'd" (Nunn 2001; Tanner and Meyer 2015). The Age of Ferguson allows for visual records to be made at any time by anyone, whether it is the public or law enforcement.

Law enforcement officers have embraced the use of body-worn cameras as a means to handle complaints and show the police perspective of incidents (Brucato 2015). Officers expect a positive outcome through the use of body-worn cameras. A study conducted in Orlando, Florida found that most officers have positive perceptions of body-worn cameras because they are expected to better the behavior of citizens while also potentially making officers behave more "by-the-book" (Jennings, Fridell, and Lynch 2014). Another study, conducted in Mesa, Arizona found that 77% of officers believed the cameras would positively impact the behavior of officers,

making them behave more professionally (White 2014). The American Civil Liberties Union also has positive opinions of the use of body-worn cameras, believing that they will provide accountability of law enforcement officers (White 2014). Relationships between the public and the police are expected to improve due to the dialogue body-worn cameras are expected to begin about transparency and accountability within the community. The cameras have the opportunity to better educate and connect both populations (President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing 2015).

Benefits of Body-Worn Cameras

Body-worn cameras have the potential to be beneficial to both the police and the public if used in an effective way (Stanley 2013). Body-worn cameras have a number of possible benefits that would likely reduce police brutality and killings of unarmed people of color, if used in a fair and reasonable way. Studies conducted in Rialto, California, San Francisco, Oakland, and Arizona, among others have found that body-worn cameras increase transparency while improving the behavior of both the police and citizens (Ariel et al. 2014; Brucato 2015; Jennings et al. 2014; White 2014). Body-worn cameras call police power into question whenever the cameras are on (Stanley 2014). They have also been found to reduce use of force by officers and complaints and allegations against officers by the public (Ariel et al. 2014; Kitzmueller 2014; White 2014; Stanley 2013). Body-worn cameras have a dual purpose of accountability and transparency of both the public and police. Police use the cameras as a means to exonerate themselves from false claims by the public while the

public views the cameras as a protection against abuse and excessive force (Brucato 2015; Drover and Ariel 2015).

Research on body-worn cameras has shown the cameras can be greatly beneficial to many police departments. A study conducted in Phoenix, AZ found that the cameras greatly improved the ability of law enforcement officers to write accurate reports when officers were allowed to watch the video prior to writing. 100% of officers reported an improvement to their reports (Heegaard, Brave, Pactow, Weston, and Ho 2015). When departments allow their officers to use video footage caught on body-cameras, their reports become more accurate and this can reduce conflicting accounts and save time from committing unnecessary investigations (Brucato 2015). Another study in Rialto, CA found the use of force by law enforcement decreased when officers wore cameras (Ariel et al. 2014). In Burnsville, Minnesota, law enforcement officers have shown videos to drivers during traffic violations to encourage guilty pleas, therefore saving court time (Brucato 2015).

Limitations with Body-Worn Cameras

There are a handful of concerns and problems with the implementation of body-worn cameras. Of these include privacy of citizens and officers, the point-of-view of the cameras, and the discretion of turning on and off the cameras (Ball 2005; Brucato 2014; Heegaard et al. 2015; Stanley 2013; White 2014). The ability of officers to use the videos caught by the cameras when writing their reports allows them to provide a narrative of what is shown on video rather than providing information from their own memory and experiences. This provides law enforcement the opportunity to

shape their side of a story based on visual evidence that is often not offered to the public or defendant (Brucato 2015). What is caught on camera cannot be treated as the only representation of what happens in an incident. The videos caught on camera represent a particular point-of-view, specifically, the officer's point of view in which a dichotomy of good and bad is created (Flyberbom 2016; Gunders 2000). The subjects in the video are mostly seen in a negative light of disapproval, as either law-breakers or potential law-breakers (Gunders 2000). The cost of mounting cameras on officers is cheap in comparison to the requirement of keeping records of all the videos. Extra personnel are needed to keep track of the footage, which can be costly (Collins, Lipton, and Kanade 2000). There are concerns about the manipulation, constant monitoring, and loss of footage captured from body-worn cameras. The potential of tampered footage and cameras is a concern among many agencies (Kitzmueller 2014; Stanley 2013).

Many police departments have embraced the use of body cameras because of their alleged ability to produce transparency of police conduct (Brucato 2015; Drover and Ariel 2015). The Black Lives Matter movement expected body cameras to check police power while police have been using it to legitimize their own actions (Stanley 2014; Campaign Zero). The criminal justice system values digital evidence over officers' testimonies. However, body camera footage remains property of law enforcement agencies. Police use cameras to prove their case, while restricting access to attorneys and the larger community (Brucato 2015).

A concern with the cameras is that officers need to turn them on manually. Cameras fail to hold officers accountable if they are not turned on in a reasonable time, or even at all (Stanley 2013). Officers have historically used the phrase "I feared for my life" when legitimizing their actions that led to a death of a citizen. Now officers claim, "there was no time to turn on the camera" or "I was concerned about my safety," without any consequence. Both statements legitimize decisions they make when using discretion that may lead to the death of community members. Although department policy requires the cameras be turned on before any contact is made, this is defended when safety is factored into the equation. Claiming safety concerns is effective at defending oneself against the failed use of a body camera. As long as the cameras must be turned on and off manually, problems of transparency and accountability will remain.

LIMITATIONS OF PRIOR RESEARCH

There are limitations to the research on police body-worn cameras. Current research does not answer how the cameras have decreased complaints and use of force (White 2014). Although there has been a correlation between the cameras and decreased complaints, causation has been minimally discussed. What is it about the cameras that have made them positively affect the use of force and citizen complaints in the research that has been conducted? What is the direct relationship between body-worn cameras and use of force?

There are many reforms that need to be implemented to reduce police brutality against people of color and body-worn cameras only represent one small part. The

cameras cannot solely change the entire criminal justice system or the militarized subculture of law enforcement agencies. Reform cannot take place by only implementing body-worn cameras (Ariel et al. 2014; Feeney 2015). Many aspects of police culture need to be addressed. How informal structures such as subculture shapes police practices has not been studied. Campaign Zero (2015) asked law enforcement across the nation to require the use of body-worn cameras to hold police accountable for inappropriate practices. Body-worn cameras were supposed to provide transparency of police brutality against communities of color. Research has not addressed how body-worn cameras are going to change the institutionalized racial structure or police subculture.

Police brutality and police killings of unarmed people of color across the United States are justified by the racialized subculture of the criminal justice system. Race permeates law enforcement settings and body-worn cameras were expected to address this issue. Rather, the urgent push for body-cameras is being used to find the "bad apples" within police departments without acknowledging that the police departments are "bad orchards" filled with racially unjust practices. No amount of body-worn cameras will be able to address or change the militarized subculture within law enforcement and the criminal justice system. By ignoring race issues, law enforcement officers are continuing color-blind racism, which further oppresses communities of color. Body-worn cameras may be reducing use of excessive force and complaints about officers, but no research has been done to address if cameras are reshaping the

militarized subculture of law enforcement. This research examines how law enforcement officers perceive the use of body-worn cameras. The question of how officers are shaped by the subculture of their departments is also considered. Further, my study looks at current policies and guidelines about body-cameras and how they are attempting to change the racialized structures that the Black Lives Matter movement and Campaign Zero were attempting to address when they made a call for the implementation of the cameras across the country. More specifically, I look at law enforcement officers' actions and perceptions of body-cameras to study how subculture shapes their everyday practices.

THEORY

In this section, I draw from Michel Foucault's panoptic theory of power and Critical Race Theory's (CRT) concept of interest convergence, as theorized by Derrick Bell. First, Foucault's panopticon is used to understand how the idea of being watched can lead to self-surveillance of police officers and the community, therefore altering their behavior. Then, Bell's concept of interest convergence will be used to show how body-worn cameras are implemented to benefit the self-interests of the elite, while making no civil rights advances for communities of color. Further, the importance of using narratives as a means to acquire information will be discussed.

FOUCAULT'S THEORY OF POWER AND THE PANOPTICON

Michel Foucault, a French philosopher and social theorist, studied the relationships between social control and power in social institutions. In his classic work *Discipline and Punish* (1979), Foucault described discipline as a mechanism of

power. Discipline works by controlling and organizing the space, time, and activities of individuals. By organizing these three things, the thoughts and behaviors of social actors can be controlled. Officers experience this type of control and adjustment to behavior from the time they enter a law enforcement academy. The space they work in is confined, whether it is to a vehicle or a particular beat within the city. Time is controlled starting in the academy by requiring certain schedules that recruits must follow. When on patrol, time is of the essence with how quickly they must respond to calls, how long they spend on scene, and how quickly they must turn in reports. Activities are regulated to specific job requirements including patrolling particular areas and completing reports and required trainings.

Foucault also studied how self surveillance acts as a form of discipline among individuals. Foucault borrowed Jeremy Bentham's concept of the panopticon and coupled it with Marxist conflict theory, creating a new theory about surveillance and power within society. The panopticon, as described by Jeremy Bentham, is a building with a tower at the center. The outer ring of the building contains cells that people are incarcerated or held within. Each cell has two windows, one facing the central tower, and one facing the light of the outside world. There is no way for those in the outer building to see into the tower to know if someone is watching. However, the central tower has the view of every cell that surrounds it. There is a power dyad of those who are seen in the outside building and those who do the seeing from the central tower.

Discipline allows for power to be constructed in three ways through the use of the panopticon. First, power is constructed at a low cost. To have one central tower

watching over an entire organization of people is cost effective. Second, the panopticon is a machine that acts in a capitalistic way. The more the technology increases, the greater the output of surveillance. Third, due to its invisibility, the use of the panopticon offers little opportunity for political resistance. Discipline also brings social power to its maximum intensity. The use of this machine of surveillance creates an economic gain. There is no limit to the amount of people who are within the central tower of surveillance. The more people that are known to be within the central tower, the more those on the outside feel they are being watched and the more likely they will abide by the rules.

The panopticon does not have to be in the form of a building to carry the same effects. Although the original panopticon was a model for prisons, mental institutions, and schools, it can now be used to study law enforcement's use of cameras. Police agencies across the nation have begun the use of panoptic methods through increased surveillance, dash cameras, and more specifically, body-worn cameras. Body-worn cameras act as the central tower in the original blueprints of the panopticon. They are worn by police officers to watch and record the actions of the community. Anyone who is stopped or questioned by police with body-worn cameras instantly take the place as the individuals in the outside cells of Bentham's panopticon. They can see the cameras (the central tower) but do not know if they are being surveilled (recorded).

Body cameras are a form of the panopticon. The camera acts as the central supervisor while they capture everything that goes on around them. They enact a form

of self-surveillance of the community because it is never known if someone is watching on the other side. The public can always be seen. Power is given to those who control what the body cameras capture as well as who sees the footage after it is filmed. Although the cameras were supposed to make police actions transparent, the panoptic use of the body cameras has perhaps given more power to law enforcement. The invisibility of the use of cameras guarantees social control over the public. If community members never know if their actions are being captured, the power of those who control the body cameras increases. The use of these cameras is increasing. The idea behind the cameras is the more that are in use by officers, the greater the likelihood that they are capturing what they need to, in hopes of reducing abuse and false complaints.

Although the panopticon is typically used to watch the public, body cameras have the capability to flip the panoptic surveillance to watch the watchers. The panopticon was originally constructed to surveil the public and not those holding power within the central tower. The implementation of body cameras has turned the panopticon inside out in the hopes of holding law enforcement officers accountable and provide transparency for their actions. Body-worn cameras use panoptic concepts to have the public and police both self-surveil themselves. If the cameras are recording officer-involved interactions, their behaviors may be altered. Through this reversal of the panopticon, police become a second building between the central tower and outer

building. Their behaviors are surveilled by those with control over the footage captured by body-worn cameras. Officers must perform self-surveillance over their actions and behaviors with the community and each other.

CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Currently, there is insufficient research on police body-worn cameras through a race perspective. Critical Race Theory (CRT) studies the implications of race and power and how the two together can lead to inequality. The influence of racial dynamics on beliefs, values, and behaviors is acknowledged to understand how inequality is caused. CRT acknowledges the white-over-color hierarchy in our society and attempts to change it (Delgado and Stefancic 2001). CRT follows a list of basic tenets that include the propositions that race and racism are social constructions, there is a racialized hierarchy that places white people at the top and people of color at the bottom, and advances are only made when they benefit the white elites along with people of color. One of the five tenants of Critical Race Theory is *interest convergence*, coined by Derrick Bell. Interest convergence states that society will only advance toward racial equality when the interests of suppressed converge with the interests with those in power (i.e. the dominant white interests). It is only through white self-interest that communities of color, especially black communities, make any civil rights advances.

Derrick Bell's concept of interest convergence can be used to explain the implementation of body-worn cameras. After Michael Brown was shot and killed by a white police officer, his family made a call for body-worn cameras to be implemented

by all law enforcement officers across the country. It was hoped that body-worn cameras would be used to hold officers accountable for their actions and show the unequal treatment and use of force against people of color in the United States. Rather, the research on body-worn cameras has been used to showcase the actions of police officers while simultaneously showing how use of force has been reduced (Ariel et al. 2014; Brucato 2015; Drover and Ariel 2015; Heemsbergen 2016; Jennings et al. 2014; San Diego Police Department 2015; White 2014). When video footage is released, it often benefits the officers involved and is used to justify their actions. The footage captured by body-worn cameras has rarely been used to explain the racial inequality in the use of force by officers like they were intended to do. Departments are implementing body cameras to benefit themselves rather than to make civil rights advances like the original call to action was meant to do.

The perspective that body-worn cameras capture is important to the concept of interest convergence. Perspective changes the ability to empathize with characters involved within an incident, whether it is from the point of view of the police, community members, or a bystander. Footage that is captured from the perspective of the police makes it easier to attribute actions to the limitations of their environment. Adam Benforado (2016) describes this concept in his research on body and dash-cam footage. From his work, he determined that perspective creates bias. Therefore, body-worn cameras from a police perspective creates a bias in which their actions are empathized with more often without seeing the entire picture of an incident. Body-worn

camera footage naturally benefits law enforcement officers who are wearing the cameras over the community members with whom they interact.

Critical Race Theory uses narratives to create knowledge. CRT uses words and stories through narratives to understand the social world. Value is placed upon narratives and how individuals construct meanings within their experiences. Being silence always constructs meanings. Being silent or refusing to act out against oppression perpetuates inequality and oppression (Bell 2016). Lee Ann Bell (2016) describes oppression as detrimental to both the advantaged and marginalized groups. Although CRT focuses highly on counter-narratives, or stories of marginalized groups, to unveil how oppression works within society, those who are advantaged also have an important role to play in exposing how privilege works from within. The stories of the advantaged can expose oppression and racism from within the institutions that they work. To better understand the perceptions of police, Critical Race Theory can be used to capture narratives of law enforcement officers and the dominant narratives of society. By looking at the narratives of those who work within the institution, we can better understand the stories and realities of the advantaged in the police-community relationship.

METHODS

My social position and identity has positively affected my abilities to connect to, converse with, and understand the experiences of officers. I am a white woman that grew up in a law enforcement household with many members of my family retired from or currently in law enforcement. I myself spent a lot of time within various

hiring processes with various departments within the county. Rebecca Horn (1997) found that trustworthiness is key to gaining access to law enforcement sites since they are founded on a culture of secrecy. The connections and relationships I have made with law enforcement officers have proven my trustworthiness. I come in contact with officers daily and we discuss everything from the calls they go on to how their children are doing in school and at their sporting events. I am comfortable around law enforcement officers as I have been surrounded by them all of my life.

Law enforcement is a male-dominated space and my gender aided in my quest of understanding officer perceptions and law enforcement culture. Women are often viewed as powerless, non-threatening, and naïve. Rebecca Horn (1997) found that officers are more likely to share information with women, especially when they come off as naïve. From her research with law enforcement, she also found that officers are more likely to share stories they think are shocking or impressive to women. Male officers often acted and spoke in a manner to impress and show their masculinity. They did not talk about their feelings or beliefs but were quick to respond to questions. Female officers were very open with me about personal stories. They shared personal anecdotes thoughtfully prepared their responses to my questions. They were calmer and quieter than their male counterparts.

During my data collection, I had the goal of interviewing ten officers within San Diego County and observing some of these ten participants through ride-alongs. Finding participants who were willing and able to sit down and discuss their daily

work and perceptions of body-worn cameras proved to be more challenging than expected. The climate of secrecy limited my ability to access enough officers for interviews. Many officers had to ask permission before talking to me or simply never responded to my requests. Snowball sampling was unsuccessful as participants were not willing to connect me with other officers, or when they did provide contact information, I was unable to connect and reach these contacts. Each officer made it clear that everything they said was based on their own experiences and perceptions and should not be taken as words coming from their individual departments. Although I originally planned on conducting in-depth interviews and experiencing ride-alongs, I could not gather enough participants. Instead, I decided to triangulate data between in-depth interviews, ride-along observations, and analyses of primary documents. Each of these three steps are outlined in the following section as well as a discussion of the analysis of information through the process of coding. Finally, ethical concerns are discussed.

INTERVIEW PROCESS

The first portion of data collection involved intensive interviews. These interviews were used to explore how law enforcement officers' perceptions of body-worn cameras affect their experiences and ideologies within the police subculture as well as addressing what they think is beneficial and concerning about their usage. Topics of police culture were also addressed. I used open-ended, semi-structured interviews to acquire data. I collected information about participants' backgrounds and perceptions

and opinions of body-worn cameras. Intensive interviews allowed for more engagement between participants and myself. Interviews allowed me to listen to their answers and then come up with follow-up questions to better understand their perceptions and ideas as well as experiences. The initial interview questions provided background information on the officers and the types of training they have received. These questions included:

Where did you grow up? In San Diego County?
What is your educational background?
Where did you attend high school/college?
If you went to college, what did you study?
What made you get into law enforcement?

After asking about their background, participants were asked about their perceptions and experiences at work and then with body-worn cameras.

What does your job entail?
What are the most difficult problems you face as a law enforcement agent?
What was the training like when your department introduced body cameras?
What was your immediate reaction when you found out you would be wearing body-worn cameras?
Do you see any possible benefits to wearing the cameras?
What are some of your criticisms to wearing body-worn cameras?
Overall, do you see them as being more beneficial or problematic?
Who do you see as benefiting from the use of body cameras?

Interviews are important to the practice of phenomenology. Interviews allow participants to share their interpretations and experiences more freely. I came to an understanding of how local law enforcement officers perceive their jobs and the use of body-worn cameras. Irving Sideman (2006) describes the practice of interviewing as a way to know the experiences of participants while also putting their conscious

thoughts into words that can be reflected on. In an attempt to understand law enforcement officers' perceptions and experiences, the interviews all led in different directions. Participants were able to express and interpret their experiences in their own ways.

None of the participants agreed to being recorded during the interviews. Instead, I took in-depth notes of what participants shared. Some of these notes were taken as direct quotes. Often during interviews, we would go back on various topics and officers would restate their experiences and ideas, especially when specific law enforcement lingo was used.

I interviewed four officers who work in five different departments within the county. All officers were white, two were men, and two were women. Two participants referenced that they held bachelor's degrees. One of these participants held a degree in Criminology from a local university while the other mentioned she had received her degree in an unrelated field. One participant held an associate's degree in Criminal Justice and the last did not mention any educational background. Three of the interviewees had attended POST training and the fourth had undergone intensive trainings for his current positions.

Fred is a young San Diego native and holds an AA degree in Criminal Justice. He is a newly hired detention officer with a well-funded department and also works as a community services officer at a local community college police station. His position as a detentions officer, transporting suspects from his department jail to the county jail, requires the use of body-worn cameras during all interactions with the

community. We talked on two different occasions. The first interview lasted about 20 minutes and was done while he was on duty at the community college. The second interview took place at a mom-n-pop coffee shop for just over three hours. We met for this interview in a city outside of where he works or lives.

Eve is from a small town that she described as a "retirement town." Although she holds a bachelor's degree, it is not related to her occupation in law enforcement. She also received a minor in business. While attending college in Colorado, she realized she did not want to use the degree she had received. Through help from a career counselor, she went on a ride along with a Colorado Law Enforcement agency and was hooked. She currently works within a local department and participated in the testing phase of her department's research into body-worn cameras. She had the opportunity of trying different cameras throughout the testing phase. Her department is currently waiting on funding to officially purchase and use cameras. I interviewed Eve at a Starbucks, located outside of the city she works in, for just over an hour.

Anthony is currently a police officer with over 20 years of law enforcement experience. When I interviewed him, he donned a military-style haircut, a clean shave, and an assertive demeanor. He did not mention any educational background but had attended POST training and currently takes part in regular trainings throughout the year. He took part in a three-month-long testing phase within his department that is currently waiting on official word if they will be using body-worn cameras. The interview with Anthony took place during Coffee With A Cop, a community event connecting officers and community members.

Lisa was the final interview participant and is from a small town in Texas. She always knew she wanted to get into law enforcement. As a young girl, one of her greatest role models was the local female officer who Lisa watched help save her sister's life and showed great care in her family, especially her brother. She looked up to this officer and wanted to be just like her. Lisa holds a bachelor's degree in Criminology from a local university. She attended a POST academy in which she trained from the start on how to use body-cameras. From day one of her hiring, she has been required to wear and use body-worn cameras during any interactions with the community. Lisa was able to meet at a Starbucks outside of the city she works or lives within. We spoke for over an hour about her experiences and perceptions.

RIDE-ALONG OBSERVATIONS

Observing behavior is the practice of watching people in their everyday lives, acknowledging their routines, actions, and behaviors (Emerson et al. 2011). I observed the work of law enforcement officers by participating in ride-alongs. I was able to see firsthand how officers work, what routines they follow, and how they talk and act while "on the clock" whether it's with the public or fellow officers.

I participated in three ride-alongs with three different departments of the county. I signed up through two departments that offer ride-alongs for community members. After completing background checks, I was able to spend four-hour blocks riding in patrol vehicles with two police officers. In addition, Lisa, an officer who I had interviewed, was able to set me up on a ride-along with her through her department where we spent five hours together. All three of the officers I observed in my

ride-alongs were white. Two were men and one was a woman. Two had bachelor's degrees in Criminology with just over a year of on-the-job experience each. The third had some general education college experience and over 5 years job experience in law enforcement. Only two of the officers I observed had body-worn camera experience and were required to use body cameras through departmental guidelines. The third officer had no experience with body-worn cameras.

During the ride-alongs, I took notes on my cell phone of various incidents as well as what officers specifically said both to each other and to community members. In some experiences, I was unable to take notes throughout the ride and instead wrote in-depth field notes immediately following the observations. By not taking notes actively, I was able to stay more engaged with conversations between myself and officers and their different actions and behaviors.

The first ride-along was with a young man named Robert who had just over a year of experience as a police officer. He holds a bachelor's degree in Criminology from a local university. He had attended a few different colleges before he realized he wanted to get into law enforcement. He was from the same department as Anthony and is currently waiting on the official decision on whether they will implement body-worn cameras. We spent four hours together, split between us cruising around the city and part of the time transporting a suspect to the local jail.

The second ride-along observation was with Matt, who worked within the same police department as Fred. Matt had some college experience but realized that school was not for him. He spent a portion of his young adulthood as a lifeguard at

beaches and pools in Southern California before he was hired in Riverside where he attended POST training. He spent over five years there before he transferred to his current department, where he has been for just under a year. Matt and I spent four hours together in which we went on many calls. The time was mostly spent driving around the city, but after an arrest, we spent the rest of the time in the city jail and police headquarters.

My third ride-along was with Lisa, who I had previously interviewed. We met outside of her department at the start of her graveyard shift. I spent approximately 5 hours through the night, riding next to her in the front seat of her Crown Vic. We spent the entire night responding to calls within her beat.

PRIMARY DOCUMENT CONTENT ANALYSIS

The third step in my data collection involved gathering primary documents from local departments for my content analysis. I searched through the websites of San Diego Departments for documents related to body-worn camera policies and procedures. I located body camera procedures for both San Diego Police and Carlsbad Police.

I collected primary documents from department websites. The San Diego Police Department has their body-worn camera procedures online on their website as well as their yearly budgets. The Carlsbad Police Department also has their body-worn camera procedures posted online. I was able to access a sample schedule for a law enforcement academy on the San Diego Sheriff's website.

DATA ANALYSIS

After completion of the observations and interviews, I analyzed my data using field notes and coding. On the same day as each ride-along, I wrote field notes of what I observed and jotted down during the observations. These field notes included observations of officer behaviors, interactions, and discussions, as well as direct quotes while they are talking to other officers, the public, or myself. Once coded, common themes from different interviews were organized together to better understand the experiences within law enforcement culture and perceptions that officers have.

Coding is the practice of applying a word or short phrase to summarize qualitative data whether it is from interviews, written responses, photos, or other digital media. It is the bridge between data and ideas or themes. Coding is an analytic tool to make meaning out of qualitative data (Saldana 2016). By coding the observations and interviews, I decoded the meanings that officers portrayed and discussed while on the job or talking about their perceptions and experiences. Different meanings were labeled and categorized to better analyze their perceptions and behaviors.

I analyzed policy and procedure manuals for body-worn camera usage from the San Diego Police Department and the Carlsbad Police Department. I read through for examples of discretionary use of cameras and footage. I also did an analysis of the San Diego Police Department's budget, analyzing the breakdown of money spent, especially looking at the percentage spent on training officers. Finally, I analyzed a

training schedule of a POST law enforcement academy from the San Diego Sheriff's Department. Hours spent on learning various topics were calculated and analyzed.

ETHICAL CONCERNS

To abide to ethical standards, I took many precautions. Participation in interviews was completely voluntary. Officers who participated in ride-alongs, with the exception of Lisa, had been assigned to participate in a ride-along with me as a community member. All participants of interviews were provided information about what the research would be studying and they were able to decline to participate or answer any questions at any point. All participant identities have been kept confidential through pseudonyms and no distinguishing characteristics were used in describing officers. Department and city names have not been used to promote confidentiality. "San Diego County" has been used to reference all departments within the county rather than solely the county Sheriff's Department.

For each interview, participants were able to choose a site where they would feel most comfortable and all were asked for permission to record their interviews. All participants declined to be recorded, so permission to record notes was asked for instead, to which each participant agreed. All notes, field notes, recordings of interviews, and transcriptions have been and will continue to be kept on a password-protected computer. I am the only person with access to the computer. No identifying information will be kept on any of these documents. At the conclusion of each interview, officers were provided the opportunity to receive a one-page summary of my

thesis work, outlining the findings at the completion of the study. Each interview participant requested a summary of the findings at the conclusion of the study.

On ride-alongs I was required to sign a liability waiver that took any responsibility off of the departments if anything were to happen to me. For my own safety, I stayed in the patrol vehicle in any situation in which I felt unsafe, until I felt it was safe to exit and observe. Each officer went over specific guidelines for while I was in their vehicle. I was invited to exit the vehicle at anytime with the officer. In many instances, they even waved to me to follow them when going on calls that required us to exit their cruisers.

FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

Police perceptions and use of body-worn cameras reinforced a militaristic subculture due to the lack of overall training and the use of discretion. Three major themes came about during the course of the interviews, observations, and primary document analysis: (1) there is a lack of resources available in law enforcement which leads to a limited understanding of social justice topics, having a negative effect for low income communities and communities of color, (2) there is increased use of discretion through the use of body-worn cameras that benefits law enforcement officers, and (3) the militarized police state is being reinforced through the use of body-worn cameras.

The lack of resources for officers often led to a lack of understanding of social issues. The militarized police subculture, which values masculinity and assertive or

sometimes aggressive tactics, was found to be reinforced. Although many of the participants entered law enforcement with the hope of bettering the community and helping people, current policies were found to strengthen the militaristic culture already in place. Although many participants discussed ways they wished they could more actively take part in a more guardian style subculture, they still carried traits of a militaristic police subculture, characteristic of the institution of law enforcement. Furthermore, I found that the reinforced militaristic subculture often reduced the opportunity for officers to personalize their interactions with community members.

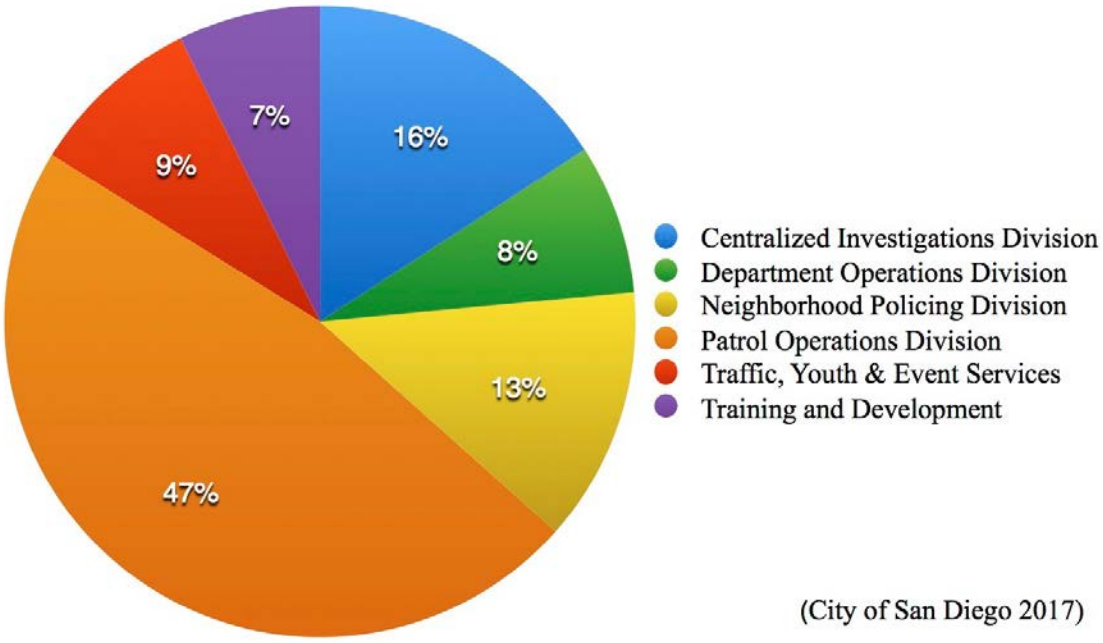
In this findings section, first I explore the lack of resources that all of the participants discussed. This lack of resources led to a lack of training, which influenced officers' understanding of social issues. Then, I discuss how the discretionary use of body-worn cameras is being used to the benefit of law enforcement officers, falling in line with Derrick Bell’s concept of interest convergence. Finally, I detail how the militaristic subculture of policing is being reinforced by the lack of resources and body camera policies currently in place, which can be explained by Michel Foucault’s theory of power and the panopticon.

LACK OF RESOURCES

The lack of resources within law enforcement departments affects the use and impact of body-worn cameras. There is a lack of money, time, and training for law enforcement officers. Limiting these resources has a greater impact in low income communities and communities of color than in white middle and upper-class communities due to the limited understanding and training regarding social justice issues.

Nearly all of the participants shared a common theme of a lack of resources within their departments. The budget breakdowns do not provide enough resources for those who are actively patrolling our neighborhoods. In the San Diego Police Department 2017 budget, 13% of the budget is being spent on the neighborhood policing division and 47% of the budget is being spent on the patrol operations division. Only 7% of the budget is spent on training and development of personal. There is a limited portion of the budget being spent on actively training law enforcement officers.

CHART 1: SAN DIEGO POLICE DEPARTMENT 2017 BUDGET BREAKDOWN



(City of San Diego 2017)

A lack of resources has led many departments in San Diego County to push back the implementation of body-worn cameras. For example, the San Diego Sheriff's Departments have been talking about the use of body cameras since early 2015. They tested various cameras through early 2016. Now, in spring 2017, there is still no official word of when they will implement body-worn cameras. Only Carlsbad Police,

Escondido Police, Chula Vista Police, and Coronado Police are officially using body-worn cameras. Other departments are still either going through testing or waiting on funding to provide their officers with body-worn cameras.

"You Learn As You Go": Limited Emphasis on Training

The training that law enforcement officers go through is very limited. For example, the San Diego Sheriff's Department has a schedule of what a regular academy looks like for new deputies. It includes approximately 950 hours of training time. The schedule is broken down to include topics such as physical training, first aid and CPR, and classes pertaining to various laws. There are classes on sex crimes, laws of arrest, crimes against people and property, search and seizure, laws of arrest, and rules of evidence, to name a few.[1].

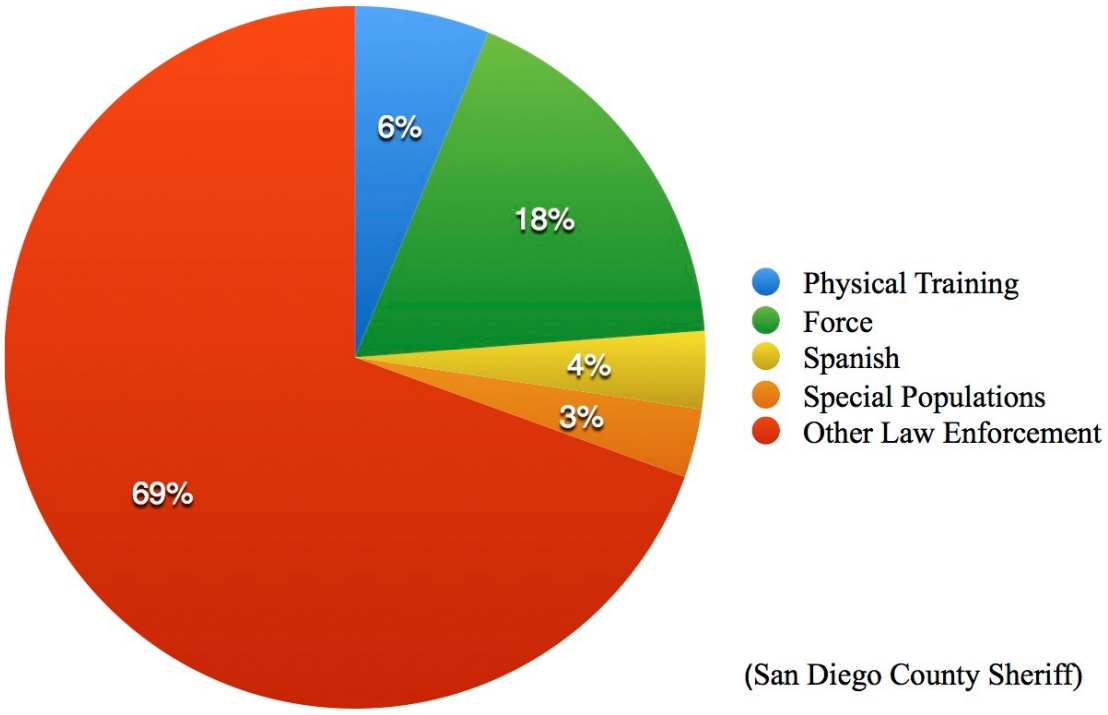
The schedule breakdown puts a greater emphasis on force and control rather than interactions with the community. Nearly 24% of the academy is spent on the physical aspects of law enforcement. Approximately 60 hours are spent on physical training and 170 hours are spent on classes pertaining to force and control including segments on use of force, arrest and control procedures, and firearms training. Meanwhile, only 3.2% of the time, or 30 hours, are spent learning about special populations. This training often included one or two 2-3 hour sessions on a single topic. It included 6 hours spent learning about mental illness, 4 hours on the disabled, 4 hours on hate crimes, 2 hours on the LGBT community, and 2 hours on elder abuse. It was not until Day 26 that any mention of cultural diversity was mentioned in the schedule,

[1] See Appendix C

whereas physical training occurs by Day 3 and "arrest and control" training begins on Day 7. On Day 8, there is time allotted for firearms training.

Eve and Lisa described how the academy is mostly about learning "how to be a cop" and what the laws are. They described how it was mostly about learning the codes

CHART 2: SAN DIEGO SHERIFF'S TRAINING SCHEDULE BREAKDOWN



(San Diego County Sheriff)

and policies rather than how to interact with people. In the San Diego Sheriff training guide, approximately 70% of the time is spent on codes and rules of enforcement. They learn about criminal law, crimes against property, landlord/tenant disputes, arson laws, crimes against people, investigations, sex crimes, death cases, and child abuse investigation. Eve described it as an "academy bubble", you are there to learn the technicalities of being a cop, especially all of the various laws you are supposed to

enforce. Lisa described the academy as a place where she learned about firearms, settling disputes, traffic laws, sex crimes, and robbery. She talked about how some time was spent on community relations, but only about 8-10 hours throughout the academy, broken up into two-hour segments over the course of a few days.

Under Michel Foucault's (1979) theory of power, discipline is used to exert power and control over social actors. Power is constructed by controlling the space, time, and activities of others. Law enforcement academies are an example of Foucault's theory of discipline and power to regulate the thoughts and actions of officers. Thoughts and behaviors are regulated by controlling the space that officers have to work in, the schedule they have to follow, and the types of activities they have to do. This process starts in the academy through the strict rules and schedules and continues on after the academy as well. Power through discipline begins the process of shaping officers into a militaristic subculture of policing.

Most of the training that officers go through is in the field, especially during their "phase" training. Lisa described how most of her learning took place once she got out of the academy and into the field. "We learn about what to do on a homicide call, I know the steps, but it's going to be different when I see my first dead body." What officers learn while in the academy does not fully sink in until they are in the field experiencing actual events.

Phase training takes place directly after successful graduation from the academy. Eve described how most of what you learn as an officer isn't in the academy, but out in the field, especially during phase training. "You learn as you go how to

deal with people." It's during phase training that you finally get out of the "academy bubble" and can interact, both with officers with more experience than you and with the community. Following suit with the militaristic subculture, many officers learn mostly from those who have more experience and can help guide them while on real calls outside of the academy. This is one way police subculture is passed down from more experienced officers to those newly in the field. A hierarchy is created within law enforcement between those with more experience and those without. Rigid hierarchies are characteristic to militaristic subcultures. To fit-in, do well, and advance within the job, officers must actively align themselves with the traditional subculture of law enforcement (Woody 2005).

Law enforcement officers also receive ongoing training throughout their careers. Fred described how his department offers special incentives to take part in various trainings and classes. For example, there are special incentives within his department to learn another language. Anthony described how he attends 40 hours of mandated training every year through his department. More recently, he has attended trainings on defense tactics and interacting with special populations. His training on defense tactics centered on defending himself against people who attempt to fight against cops. It included how to fight against people who came after him with sticks or using different fighting styles such as MMA or boxing. Recent trainings on special populations revolved around how to interact with autistic children and suicidal servicemen. Anthony mentioned the proximity to military bases when it comes to the

people he interacts with. PTSD and suicide awareness are growingly important topics in his various trainings.

"We Do A Lot of Band-Aid Police Work": Limited Interactions With The Community

Interactions between law enforcement officers and the community are limited mostly to when officers are in uniform and on a call, which was seen to create a divide between law enforcement and the community. Each participant was actively against living and working in the same area. Many participants mentioned how their departments cautioned against them living where they worked. Lisa stated that she "likes going to the store and not recognizing anyone that [she's] arrested." Many participants shared similar statements. They do not like coming across people they may have arrested in the past. Eve mentioned personal safety for her reason against living and working in the same area and did not want to put her family at risk.

There were limited interactions between officers and the community. The findings reinforced those from Terrill et al. (2003) that state that officers who follow the militaristic subculture are more likely to view the community as outsiders, which causes a divide between officers and the community. Interactions are more likely to be kept to a minimum when officers follow the traditional subculture. Lisa described how community building was not really encouraged. She took it upon herself to take part in events such as "Shop-With-A-Cop" in which she adopted a family that she helped with Christmas shopping. "My job is to do my job and patrol and go home." She described how her supervisors were blown away by her drive to take part in a community building event.

A special unit is often tasked with the job of community building. Tyler's job on patrol "is just go, go, go … we do a lot of band-aid police work." He does not have the opportunity to connect with the community or come up with long-term solutions to various problems. He can only receive a call, stabilize a situation, and go on to the next one. Community relations officers or neighborhood policing teams have the task of connecting with the community and attempting to come up with long term solutions. They put on events, like Coffee with a Cop, or attend council meetings. Sometimes, they meet with members of the community to discuss potential solutions to ongoing problems. Another department had a community meeting organized specifically for gang reduction, intervention, and prevention. However, these neighborhood/community units are only a small portion of officers within each department. More often than not, officers are only on patrol, constantly being called to various incidents, placing "bandaids" on them, and gong to the next one.

The lack of resources dedicated to community building and understanding of cultural diversity has a negative effect on communities of color and low income communities. As Terrill et al. (2003) state, a "we vs. they" outlook only creates a divide between the community and law enforcement, especially communities of color. The divide between officers and the community causes distrust and fear between both groups, rather than bringing them together. Various participants discussed the lack of training around cultural diversity. Fred attempts to connect with the community on a regular basis and stated "there should be more diversity training." He shared his love for the community he works in, saying "I want them to be comfortable…I don't want

to arrest anyone." He shared how he tries to understand different cultures through the diverse Latino music he hears and he always has stickers in his vest to hand out to children.

"Our Radios Are Always Busy": Limited Personnel and a Lack of Time

A lack of staffing was a common theme amongst all participants. Tyler described how he never has enough time because there are not enough people working in the field. Throughout all of my ride-along observations, I was constantly reminded that departments were hiring. There is a current demand for new officers. In Tyler's department, many of the officers are older and retiring, or soon to be retiring. Lisa also referenced how she never has time between calls because "We're always going… our radios are always busy." Even Matt, who described his department as "very well funded" did not have any time between calls. During our ride-along, we were constantly going, responding to one call after another. Immediately after arresting someone and finishing the paperwork for the arrest, we were back on the street. Lisa, Tyler, and Anthony all described how they would often have to wait for their partner to arrive at calls before they could confront a situation. Eve stated that busy stations are unable to connect with the community or do as much; they are too busy and need more people. Lisa described the ease of working in two-person team in which her partner and her shared a car. But all of the participants described how this is not usually the case and they are usually riding one to a car.

"It's Not About Race": Lack Of Understanding Of Social Issues

The lack of resources and training of law enforcement officers led to a lack in understanding of how race and class, among other factors, can influence individuals with whom the officers interact. Fred described his views on race and crime saying "It's not about race, it's about crime and crime-ridden areas." He shared his opinion that "white privilege doesn't exist anymore." A lack in training, due to the lack in resources, has reinforced color-blind ideologies and a disregard of social justice topics. Anthony shared similar feelings, discussing how low the rates are of officer use-of-force in the United States. He did not understand why body-worn cameras were being implemented for something that "rarely" happens.

Eve shared that "the majority of cops are not bad, [they] aren't racist." However, Bonilla-Silva (2014) states the lack of understanding of institutional discrimination and racism within the criminal justice system is a form of color-blind racism. Discrimination has changed from an overt practice to being covert and hidden from the direct sight. San Diego State University (Chanin, Welsh, Nurge, and Henry 2016) conducted a study of racial profiling in the city of San Diego and found there are disproportionate practices by the police among communities of color and white communities. Their research shows the disproportionate rate of stops and searches leading to higher rates of contact between the police and black and Latino communities, even though these communities were found less often to have contraband. Bonilla-Silva (2014:3) suggests that "color-blind racism serves today as the ideological armor for a covert and institutionalized system in the post-civil rights era." And the beauty of this

new ideology is that it aids in the maintenance of white privilege." Officers displayed color-blind ideologies and the minimization of racial dialogue, displaying their limited understanding of social justice issues pertaining to communities of color. Many participants explained there is not a racism problem within their departments. Minimizing or being blind to racism is in itself a form of institutionalized racism. Racism is capable of adapting and changing to meet the needs of those with power (Neubeck and Cazenave 2011).

On the ride-along with Matt, we were called to a small apartment complex. As we drove up, Matt described the call to me. There was a family dispute and the mother had called the dispatchers about something the father had done. Matt explained how there was not enough information to know what was really going on because there was a notation about the caller only speaking Spanish and not having an adequate translator. As we drove to the apartment complex, Matt joked, saying "They sent the whitest people to handle this call. None of us even speak Spanish." We met Matt's partner, Sarah, and his Sergeant (Serg). Sarah is a young white woman with red hair and a petite build. "Serg" is an older white man with a quiet demeanor. Matt, is white and over six feet tall with a bodybuilder physique. As we walked to the apartment, Matt asked Sarah and Serg why they sent the whitest people on this call. Sarah stated she was actually half Mexican and could speak Spanish.

Once at the apartment, we saw a family all huddled together inside. A young boy was clinging to the father, and two other boys were standing next to them with their mother. The father came outside and stood with Matt and I while Sarah and Serg

went inside to talk to the mother and three young boys. The father tried to speak to us, and Matt asked if I knew Spanish because he didn't. After I shook my head no, he said to the father "¿Habla inglés? No hablo español." The father shook his head and continued to speak to us in Spanish. Tyler kept saying he didn't understand him, smiling and letting out a few laughs. The father's eyes were red and puffy, as if he had been crying. He was looking around and jittery. Sarah and Serg came out of the apartment and Sarah began to talk to the father. She was calm and spoke to him respectfully, trying to calm him down. Serg explained to Matt and I that the incident had been in regards to the father punishing one of his sons for wearing earrings. Sarah told the father he was not in trouble and that he just needed to be more careful in the future of how he disciplined his children.

As we all left the apartment, Sarah described how the family was scared more than anything. They were worried the father was going to be taken away and deported by immigration officers. They talked about how the youngest son had been clinging to his father when we arrived. Matt laughed and said "He probably thought he was saying goodbye to his father for the last time. Do you think he thought he was ever going to see him again?" Matt disregarded the fear the family was facing about having their father taken away. Sarah, Serg, and Matt all laughed at how the family thought they were going to call immigration over the father disciplining his son.

Back in the car, Matt explained how diversity makes his job difficult. He said "It's tough because they have a different culture. In Mexican culture, it's okay for fathers to punish their kids by hitting them. That doesn't work here." Matt describes

how the father had punished his son for wearing earrings that made him appear gay to his classmates. Not only did he think the earrings made his son gay, he was disappointed that his son did not stand up for himself when he was made fun of at school. Matt described how the laws here do not equate with Mexican culture and it makes it difficult to do his job and protect or interact with people when they do not understand the culture and laws of this country.

Talk of diversity within the community was rare among participants. Matt and Fred were the only ones who recognized the challenge of working in a diverse community. Fred explained how he attempts to stay aware of the mixed population he works with. He explained that the majority of those he comes across are Latino and that "It's an insult to call someone Hispanic." He shared how he works with a population that has many Guatemalans and to call someone Hispanic takes away a portion of their identity. Although there are incentives to learn various languages, Fred has yet to do so.

Military or College?: Personal Backgrounds Shape Actions and Experiences

Participants with college degrees in Criminology also struggled to understand social justice topics around inequality due to race and class. Tyler and Lisa both stated that their college degrees do not help them on the job. Tyler described the college he went to for his Criminology degree as full of "cop haters." He and his partner both described how they would have rather gotten degrees in Business as a backup plan instead of in Criminology or Criminal Justice. Lisa described how her degree in

Criminology did not teach her anything about being a police officer, but she did explain that she sometimes refers back to various social theories to attempt to understand why people commit various crimes.

A lack of understanding can also be traced to the backgrounds of various officers. Lisa described how nearly everyone in her academy was either prior military or a college graduate. Matt described how many of the people working in his department had been in the Special Forces. He mentioned that some officers were previously Navy Seals and Army Rangers. In his trunk, he had a sticker that read "God Protect Our Troops, Especially Our Snipers." San Diego County is full of military bases, surrounded on the West, East, and North. There is a large military population and many prior military personnel have entered into law enforcement. Tyler, however, stated how his department has turned away form hiring too many prior service members. "The military guys seemed to have some issues transitioning from military to civilian life, so they don't really hire as much military as they used to."

Many other departments do value the experience of the military and continue to hire those with that experience. Without military experience, departments often look instead for a college degree, however, as Eve, Tyler, and Lisa all pointed out, departments often do not look at what field your degree is in. Lisa described how almost everyone in her academy had either a Criminal Justice or Business degree. Without any educational background in community relations or active experience connecting with the public, many officers simply never receive training to understand how to bring communities together. This reinforces the strain between law enforcement and

the community, continuing the "we vs. they" mentality and racialized practices through color-blind ideologies.

DISCRETIONARY USE OF BODY-WORN CAMERAS AND FOOTAGE

Many officers shared how department guidelines require the usage of cameras during particular situations. Although there are policies in place as to how and when cameras may be used, participants continually referenced their ability to use discretion with body-worn cameras. Discretion is used at all stages of body-worn cameras usage. Officers use discretion to decide when and where to record with the cameras. The discretionary usage of footage is also problematic. Drawing from Michelle Alexander's (2012) discretion and discrimination framework, it was seen that the discretionary power of body-worn cameras and their footage reinforces a militaristic subculture, which protects law enforcement officers, rather than the community.

"As Soon As Possible": Turning On and Off Body-Worn Cameras

Written policies allow for the use of discretion when determining when to use body-worn cameras. Carlsbad Police Department's (CPD) policy states

> Members should activate BWC's in a reasonable effort to comply with this policy…There are many situations where [body-worn camera] use is appropriate. Members should activate the BWC any time the member believes it would be appropriate or valuable to record an incident.

CPD goes on to list various instances when BWC's should be activated including anytime enforcement or investigative actions may take place. According to the policy, there is never a time that *requires* officers turn on their camera. Whenever officers feel it is necessary and safe to use their cameras, they are instructed that they *should* turn them on.

The San Diego Police Department lists specific times when police are required to use body-worn cameras. Their procedure lists specific times when officers should and should not be recording. All officers are required to keep their camera in "Buffering/Standby Mode" while they are on duty and they "shall use the Event Mode to record enforcement related contacts... prior to actual contact with a citizen, or as soon as safely possible thereafter, and continue recording until the contact is concluded."

> Enforcement related contacts include the following: Traffic stops, field interviews, detentions, arrests, persons present at radio calls who are accused of crimes, and consensual encounters in which the officer is attempting to develop reasonable suspicion on the subject of the encounter.

At any time in which an officer takes part in an enforcement related contact, they should have their body-worn camera on and recording. The first section of their procedure states "Officer safety and public safety take precedence over recording events." This effectively allows officers to claim their safety was at risk at anytime in which they were unable to begin recording with their body-worn camera. This was seen in an incident in the Gaslamp district that led to an officer-involved shooting and death of a suspect. Two officers wearing body-worn cameras had never turned on their cameras. Since then, the policy has been updated so officers "should begin recording in the event mode while driving to a call that has the potential to involve an enforcement contact." SDPD saw a fault in their previous policy and added this as a way to make sure officers are actively using their cameras rather than being given discretion which could lead to misuse.

Matt described how he uses discretion during our ride-along. He shared that if a call comes in and he doesn't tell the dispatcher that he is participating, he does not need to turn on his camera, especially if there are already other officers on scene. If the dispatcher does not know he is participating in the enforcement or investigation of a particular incident, essentially, he was never there. The computer system connecting him to the dispatcher is the ultimate source of which officers were in various incidents. By not connecting himself to a call, he said it has the potential of saving him time if a case goes to court and officers start to be subpoenaed. Even if he is on site for a call, if he never made it official through the system, he won't risk having to be subpoenaed.

"A Detective For Police": Accountability And Recording

During my observation with Matt, a call came in for a pursuit of a Hispanic male. Officers had tried to stop him but he took off, leading them on a vehicle pursuit that ended in a foot chase. During the foot chase, an officer had tackled the suspect. Matt decided to go see what was going on, but decided against letting the dispatcher know he was headed there, saying that it will keep us free if something else happens, and besides, there were already at least ten other officers on scene. As we approached the site where the pursuit had ended, an ambulance came down the street, sirens blaring. Although I was listening to what was being said by the dispatcher over the radio, I was unsure of what specifically was going on with the suspect. Matt had a separate earpiece in which connected him to far more communications than what I could hear

through the car. Matt told me that the suspect was claiming the officer who had tackled him had broken his arm.

We pulled into a parking lot and there were at least eight other cruisers and a sea of police officers. Paramedics rushed to the man who was laying on his stomach with officers surrounding him. Already, there was a community member with a camera filming what was going on. We stood off to the side while paramedics went to help the suspect and check his vitals. Matt asked other officers for details of what had happened. He took the opportunity to catch up with some of the other officers and after a couple minutes, we walked back to the car. “Did you see the news is already there filming, hoping to catch us doing something?” He shared that it is always like that; there are always people with cameras filming him. When I asked if he had turned on his body camera, he said because we weren’t *officially* at the scene, it wasn’t necessary. “Besides,” he pointed to the crowd of officers, “they should already have their cameras recording.”

Matt showed how loose guidelines allow him to use discretion of when and where to use his body-worn camera. He cited the use of official documentation as a way of getting around having to turn on the camera. If it is not officially in the system, he is not required to turn on the camera. He also placed responsibility on other officers saying that if they have their cameras on, that is good enough.

However, Fred, another officer within the same department but with just over a year of experience shared a different story, saying his department’s policies around body-worn cameras were strict but necessary. “There are some rules and laws you

have to follow." He viewed body-worn cameras as "a detective for police." If you don't use your camera, you can get written up, suspended, or even lose your job. Eve described how she was trained to use the camera. Emphasis was placed on various scenarios of how to turn on and off the camera as well as when to turn it on and off. She shared how her department made sure she knew her safety was the priority and that she "wasn't going to get dinged for not turning on or off [her] camera." The emphasis on officer safety without adequate guidelines of turning on or off body-worn cameras gives officers greater use of discretion, which has the potential of being used in inappropriate and unequal ways.

Failing to begin recording body-worn cameras reduces the accountability and transparency they are supposed to provide of law enforcement officers. The cameras do not turn on automatically; officers are required to manually turn them on to begin recording. Foucault's theory of the panopticon (1979) cannot be reversed to benefit the public if officers do not record their interactions with the community. Rather, by having control over the ability to turn them on and off, officers maintain power over community members. Officers are aware of when those above them are possibly watching them based on when they physically begin recording with the cameras. Self-surveillance is limited to their choosing of when they decide to use the cameras.

"Recordings Remain Property of The Department": Law Enforcement Control over Footage

The use of discretion of who can view footage captured on body-worn cameras has negative consequences for the community. All of the participants described

how footage stays within the hands of other law enforcement officers. Footage is captured and kept within the department. Many participants described how they had access to footage through an app on their cell phones until they docked their cameras back at the department. They had to view footage when uploading it to classify and label it, connecting to it the correct reports. Fred explained that he had access to any footage until it was downloaded to the database back at the department. Policies from Carlsbad Police and San Diego Police state officers have access to footage as long as it is in the database.

All participants saw value in being able to view the footage while writing reports. Lisa described how it is helpful to watch footage to write reports verbatim. She explained, “If it’s not in the report, it didn’t happen,” even if the footage captured it. Therefore, it worked to her benefit to use body-camera footage to make her reports as clear as possible. Eve described how she was able to use footage to write reports but preferred to go with her own perceptions first to get the clearest picture of what happened. She recognized that cameras only provide one point of view and that what she thought, felt, and remembered about an incident provided another point of view.

Local department policies state that officers are welcome to use footage for writing reports. The San Diego Police Department’s body-camera procedure states, “Officers should review digital evidence prior to completing reports to assist in priming their recollection… Officers shall review digital evidence prior to providing testimony at hearings, trial, or depositions." The San Diego Police Department allows and

recommends that officers view the footage before writing reports or providing testimony. The Carlsbad Police Department also encourages officers to review footage before writing reports saying, “When preparing written reports, members should review their recordings as a resource and shall be granted access to review them.”

Once footage is uploaded to the database at department headquarters, it is most likely to stay in the hands of law enforcement officials. For example, the Carlsbad Police Department’s policy states, “All recordings made by members acting in official capacity shall remain the property of the department.” Footage stays within the department unless required for use in trials. Only the chief or sheriff has the power to release footage to the public. However, officers continue to have access to the footage.

The lieutenants and sergeants are responsible for going through footage, making sure officers are following procedures and policies. Whenever there are complaints against officers, they go from the bottom up, first to the sergeant, then lieutenant, then captain, and then the chief or sheriff. There are committees responsible for reviewing complaints whether they are for misconduct or use of force. Participants described how these committees are made up only of people within law enforcement. No civilians can take part in the committees as they are currently set up. The community will never see footage unless it plays out in trial or it is publicly released by the department or District Attorney.

Officers supported the fact that footage stayed within the department and was reviewed by people with law enforcement experience. Cameras show the point of

view of an officer. Many officers thought that only someone who has been in their shoes has the ability to decide how they would have acted in any particular situation. For example, Eve explained how those in law enforcement are trained to think a certain way about different situations and therefore, are best equipped to watch and judge footage. She stated that only those with the same training experience as those on patrol are capable of deciding what is acceptable and not. She continued, saying, "Honestly, it's a lot different watching a video, sitting comfortably in an office." Even those who do have the same experiences and trainings are limited in their judgments. "You don't know what's going on in that [officer's] head, you're only seeing a camera perception." Making judgments purely from body-worn camera footage disregards the importance of emotions, feelings, and adrenaline that an officer is experiencing in any given situation. Anthony shared similar sentiments, stating he supported the fact that officers were the ones who were tasked with judging whether other officers acted inappropriately or not. He agreed that footage should stay within the hands of the department.

Members of the community do not have the same amount of access to body-camera footage as those in law enforcement. Some officers described how they would sometimes show footage immediately to suspects to prevent complaints. Otherwise, the community very rarely gets to view footage. It is only released to the community if the Police Chief, Sheriff, or District Attorney decides to release it. Policy guidelines in Lisa's department state that footage cannot be released to the public until a trial is

complete, “unless someone at the top allows it to be.” However, anyone can request access to footage that involves them.

Limiting the community’s access to body-camera footage reduces the opportunity for accountability and transparency. Adam Benforado (2016) describes the problem of perceptions, especially through the use of video footage. Cultural cognition greatly influences how people see and experience different events. It is “our shared backgrounds and experiences [that] shape how we perceive seemingly objective facts…identities and affiliations act as tinted glasses, filtering out certain details and bringing other into sharp focus” (96-97). If footage continues to stay within the hands of law enforcement officers, they will continue to have a particular perception of what occurs within that footage. With footage staying within the department and complaint committees made of only those within law enforcement, the community does not get any insight to the actions and behaviors of officers. Eve stated that she thought departments need to be more open with the public. Change will happen when relationships are formed between officers and the community. Keeping the public in the dark and preventing access to footage prevents transparency and accountability of law enforcement agencies.

REINFORCED MILITARISTIC SUBCULTURE

The use of body-worn cameras was found to reinforce a militaristic police subculture, even when participants actively attempted to take part in a guardian-like style that places emphasis on social work rather than enforcing the law (Jermier et al. 1991). The use of body-worn cameras reinforced the emphasis on procedures and

rules while also expanding the authoritarianism of law enforcement departments. Body-worn cameras make if difficult for officers to move away from a militaristic style towards a community-oriented style.

Participants often discussed why they got into law enforcement; they wanted to be a mentor, they wanted to protect people, get bad guys off of the streets, or help and protect children. Each participant described how they wanted to be a positive influence on their community. Fred stated "I try to be a positive influence, I try to be that guiding light." Eve described how she felt after her first ride-along. She saw how the officer she rode with interacted both with the community and other officers, and wanted to experience those same interactions. Lisa described how she hoped to be a role model for someone else like she had experienced as a child. The lack of resources and use of police body-worn cameras take away law enforcement officers' opportunity to personalize with community members, reinforcing the militaristic subculture and preventing the possibility of a guardian-like style.

"We're a Police Officer, Not A Human": The Uniform Supersedes the Person

The militarized subculture of law enforcement officers takes away the individuality that officers can express while on the job. Britz (1997) states that, "police subculture is so salient to law enforcement personnel that individual differences are quickly overwhelmed." Individual characteristics are secondary to the militarized subculture that officers work within.

According to the officers, the uniform and badge overpower characteristics such as race, class, gender, sexuality, or educational background. Lisa described how

sometimes she would go get Starbucks while patrolling her beat. Sometimes, people would pay for her drinks. She stated “They aren’t buying me coffee, they’re buying my coffee because of the uniform.” Her uniform dictates how the community sees and responds to her. “As long as we have a uniform on, we are a police officer, not a human.” Eve described similar feelings about being seen as an officer rather than a person who worked within law enforcement. She described how people have shifted their perceptions of law enforcement officers, especially more recently with the constant media attention on police-involved deaths. “I don’t want people to think I hate them just because I’m a cop…we’re not the bad guys…we need to move away from that.” Eve described how the “we vs. them” mentality works both ways between her and the community. She described how she wishes people were not afraid of her as a person. She doesn’t want children to be afraid to call 911 when they need help. Eve described her hope to work in a more guardian-like style to protect and help people.

Law enforcement officers work within a structure that takes away their personal identities and morphs them all into one group that is seen as a single organic structure. The community sees the uniform of law enforcement officers rather than the individual identities that make officers human. The community interacts with the uniform rather than the people wearing the uniform. The militarized subculture of law enforcement agencies shapes all interactions associated with officers, whether it is how officers act or how the community acts with officers. It is a dichotomous relationship that is shaped both ways by the militarized subculture.

"People React to 'Sit The Fuck Down'": The Censorship of Personalization

The use of body-worn cameras had a negative effect for many officers when it came to personalizing their experiences with the community. The control that officers have over the cameras allows them to know when their actions are potentially going to be watched and judged by their sergeants back at the station. Due to the knowledge of being watched, officers discussed how they had to change how they act around the community when the cameras are recording. Each participant discussed ways they try to positively influence people, especially those they are arresting.

Many of the participants had personal reasons for choosing law enforcement for their career. As previously discussed, they hoped to make the community a safer and better place. They wanted to help people, protect people, and serve the community. Many of them described a guardian-like mentality about why they joined law enforcement. The use of body-worn cameras was found to limit their ability to be personable and connect with those they interacted with. Lisa stated "I feel like sometimes, you can't be human." She described how she wished she could share her experience of growing up with a female role model in law enforcement. She wished to share her story of how her role model cared about her siblings and tried to make sure they were on the right path and not getting into trouble. She was limited to what she could share with people when her camera was recording. Everything she says while the camera is recording has the ability of being seen and heard by her chain of command. Everything can be used if taken to court. She discussed how she could not share her experiences or why she was in law enforcement.

Language is a powerful tool that officers use when interacting with the community. Eve shared how she likes to change her language depending on whom she is interacting with, but while using a body-worn camera, she had to watch what she say. She especially had to refrain from using derogatory language. Sometimes, "people only react to 'sit the fuck down!' instead of just 'sit down.'" Language can be a tool to connect with groups outside one's own. Recognizing what people respond to and using a particular verbiage can be more effective to the work of officers. Derogatory language had to be reduced while cameras are recording. Similarly, the use of humor was a common theme among participants. Humor allows officers to deal with the stressors of the job. Officers often made jokes between each other about various situations. Matt and a fellow officer joked about an arrest that was made in which a woman had sexually assaulted her boyfriend, stating it is not often that sexual assault is charged against women. Tyler's partner joked with a suspect that was arrested for domestic violence, laughing that it was obvious the man had been using drugs or alcohol. When body-worn cameras are recording, the jokes had to be kept to a minimum. Again, anything that was recorded had the opportunity to be reviewed by the chain of command. Saying something inappropriate on camera could have detrimental effects for officers.

The Expansion Of The Panopticon

The use of body-worn cameras was able to expand the panoptic setup of law enforcement transparency. Law enforcement officers represent those within the described "central tower" of the panopticon while the community represents those

within the outer cells (Foucault 1979). Body-worn cameras were expected to bring about greater transparency and accountability of officers, effectively reversing the panopticon to allow greater insight to what occurs within the "central tower," or insight into those who hold power within society. The cameras were expected to possibly reverse the panopticon to allow the community more visibility of what officers do on the job. However, the panopticon did not reverse through the use of body-worn cameras. Instead, the cameras create another layer within the panopticon, expanding on Foucault's theory of power and surveillance.

Whereas Foucault's (1979) original theory of the panopticon references a dyad between those seeing and being seen, body-worn cameras introduce a new concept of individuals who hold a place within both regions of this power relationship. The central tower still exists and includes those who have access and control over body camera footage. The central tower pertains to officers within law enforcement departments that control the storage and dispersal of body camera footage. The outer building, circling around the central tower, consists of the community and people without control over body camera footage. However, the implementation of body-worn cameras creates a third layer between the two. Within this middle layer are the officers, somewhere between being watched by the chain of command and watching the community. They have control over when cameras are recording, but when recording, their actions are also being recorded and monitored. They represent those who are seeing while also being seen.

The panopticon is not reversing to effectively regulate the criminal justice system or provide complete transparency. The central tower still consists of those within law enforcement departments as the footage typically stays in control by a select group of officials within the department. A reversal of the panopticon would require the community to have access to body-camera footage and make decisions about what the cameras portray. Accountability is kept within the hands of those already with power: high-ranking officials within law enforcement agencies. This research adds to Foucault's theory of the panopticon by including a layer between the central tower and outer cells. It creates a third relationship between the watchers and the watched. The use of body-worn cameras fails to provide accountability and transparency through their current usage because the control of the footage stays within the hands of law enforcement.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Body-worn cameras have the potential to enhance the relationship between law enforcement and the community. There are many recommendations that can be made to law enforcement agencies when it comes to bettering their relationship with the community and reducing their police use of force. The following steps should be made to demilitarize law enforcement: (1) resources need to be adjusted to bring law enforcement together with the community, (2) more training needs to be focused on diversity and special populations, rather than use of force and control, (3) guidelines

need to be put in place to reduce the use of discretion and officers must be held accountable for not following these guidelines, and (4) control over body-worn cameras needs to be decentralized from law enforcement agencies.

LAW ENFORCEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

The current practices within law enforcement agencies reinforce a militaristic subculture. Departments need to move away from this model if they hope to actively help and serve communities. A militarized police force divides communities and creates distrust between police and the people. Instead, departments need to be reorganized, starting with changing how resources are dispersed and including a change in how officers are trained. Policies should be created to require the usage of body-worn cameras and the community needs to have a more active part in the justification of police actions.

Adjust Resources

Resources within law enforcement agencies are being divided up in a manner that does not benefit the communities they are meant to serve. Many officers discussed how they never have enough time or people to get jobs done adequately. They often have to wait for other officers to show up to calls before they can address a situation. Officers are constantly responding to calls, requiring quick decisions to be made between them and the dispatchers about where they are most needed. A lack of working personnel leads to a constraint of time for those who are working. If officers are constantly responding to calls, they never have the opportunity to actively engage in problem solving or community building between them and those they are meant

too serve. Resources must be restructured to benefit the relationships between law enforcement and the community and take them away from "band-aid policing." More time should be spent building relationships within the community. Further, money should be shifted towards greater training for officers.

It is no wonder that officers were unaware of the social characteristics that shape how people behave when only 3.2% of their training focuses on special populations such as various cultures, the LGBT community, diversity, the elderly, and people with mental illnesses. Eve and Fred both stated that more needs to be done to address mental health issues in the United States. They saw mental health as a predictor to drug use and abuse that leads to increased crime rates. They shared that more money needs to be spent on helping those with mental illnesses and drug addictions. Money should be shifted to help these populations get real help because rehabilitation does not exist as it should in jails or prisons.

The limited training on diversity and culture of various populations is problematic to the work of law enforcement officers. I found that officers were unaware of the struggles that communities faced. Only a small portion of the budget is being allotted for training purposes. The San Diego Police Department only spends 7% of their budget on training. During the academy, there is a greater emphasis on physical training than understanding and connecting to the community. Academy schedules should be restructured to focus more on interacting with the community and understanding the various social forces that shape individuals' lives.

Denying or misunderstanding the implications of race and diversity has detrimental effects for communities of color. Racial inequality has transitioned to color-blind ideologies, which Bonilla-Silva (2014:3) describes as the “ideological armor for a covert and institutionalized system in the post-civil rights era.” It serves as a framework to maintain white supremacy and racial boundaries between whites and communities of color. Law enforcement officers have a valuable opportunity in the dismantling of this system if they are trained and taught about institutionalized racism, especially within the criminal justice system. Bonilla-Silva (2014) states that instead of being color-blind or “nonracist", people should practice being *anti-racist* and strive to understand the workings of racism. Racialized practices can better be broken down with training and understanding of their influence upon communities of color.

Similar to the recommendations of San Diego State University’s study (Chanin et al. 2016), it is recommended that officers across San Diego County take part in anti-oppression training, in which they learn how they have the opportunity to dismantle the structural forms of oppression that shape the communities in which they serve, especially communities of color. San Diego County need to acknowledge racial disparities and the ways in which race shapes law enforcement practices. Through acknowledgement, training sessions can be created to better prepare officers to interact with the communities in which they work. These training should ongoing and focused especially on community building and cultural diversity.

Departments should hire officers with a background in understanding of social interaction and cultural diversity. Hiring should focus on creating a diverse police

force that mimics the communities in which they serve. For example, it is beneficial to have officers with an understanding of black culture serving black communities. Departments should also focus on hiring people with a greater understanding of social behavior, focusing on individuals with backgrounds in psychology or sociology. Changing training and hiring practices can have a beneficial effect on the relationship between officers and the community, moving away from militiaristic styles.

Reduce Discretion

Michelle Alexander (2012) states that the use of discretion leads to discrimination. Discretion allows officers to act in a variety of ways in response to similar situations. Ariel et al. (2014) found that officers use more force in situations involving communities of color. Discretion allows the varied use of force among different communities. Officers are allowed the use of discretion in how they use body-worn cameras. The manual nature of recording with body-worn cameras allows officers control over when they know they are potentially being watched. Policies and guidelines offer a buffer that does not effectively hold officers accountable for their actions or failure to act. The procedure to use body-worn cameras is loose in its description of when officers are required to record. Each policy that was analyzed stated that safety supersedes the use of cameras. If an officer claims they were worried about their safety, they are given a pass for not using their cameras.

Discretion is necessary to the work of law enforcement officers. Completely eliminating discretion is not only not possible, it would create robotic interactions between officers and community members, which is already evident with the usage of

body-worn cameras. The opportunity to always be watched is minimizing the personalization that officers wish to have. Reducing the use of discretion will continue the impersonalization of interactions . However, allowing discretion of when officers should or should not use their cameras can create discriminatory behaviors of when officers decide to use their cameras based on the individuals they are interacting with. The discretion officers have in deciding when they *should* use their cameras should be reduced to require officers to record every interaction, regardless of how big or small. Failing to turn on a camera must result in accountability. In each interview, officers discussed the simplicity to turning on their body-worn cameras. During the ride-alongs, officers had to use their hands to type on their laptops to acknowledge their participation in calls. Turning on body-worn cameras to begin recording was shown to be simpler than letting dispatch know they were responding to a call. Officers should not be allowed to have any discretion of whether or not their cameras are turned on. If an officer is wearing a body-worn camera, they must be held responsible for recording every incident in which they come in contact with the community.

Decentralizing Power Over Body-Worn Cameras

Allowing law enforcement personnel full control over body-worn camera footage takes away the opportunity of providing transparency or accountability of officers. Although there are committees who are tasked with analyzing footage and deciding if officers act in a justified manner, these committees were found to include only those with law enforcement experience. Community members could not take part in these groups and therefore, the community is actively kept out of the process

of holding officers accountable for their actions. Law enforcement personnel are given the task of deciding if other officers act in a justified manner. This provides increased power to law enforcement agencies rather than providing some power to communities.

If body-worn cameras are expected to increase accountability and transparency, it is recommended that the community is able to actively participate in the viewing of footage and deciding if actions are justified. Law enforcement personnel have a single perception of actions while the community sometimes has a different perception. No single perception should be valued over another. Rather, these groups need to begin to come together and work as a team to address issues of discrimination, excessive use of force, and holding officers accountable for their actions. Further, the community needs to hold power within these committees to hold officers responsible for their actions. They should have the opportunity to decide whether an officer acted in a justifiable manner and if not, they must be given the power to hold those officers accountable.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Research should continue focus on the subculture of law enforcement departments and how they are affected by police-body worn cameras. This research was limited because of my limited access to willing participants. Secrecy and the "Code of Silence" are part of the militaristic subculture and greatly limited the understanding and access to law enforcement departments. Many officers referenced the requirement for approval from their command before participating in any discussions. Future

research should draw from a greater sample of officers from more departments within the county of San Diego. Although I was able to triangulate data, there was a limited number of willing participants. To better understand police subculture, the effect of police unions on departments should also be dissected. There are far more parts that shape the institution of law enforcement including the ability of unions having greater control of shaping practices within each department. Even if departments hope to transition towards a more guardian-like style, the ways in which unions have influence over department procedures and policies should be further addressed.

Research into police subculture should be studied across the nation. It would be beneficial to conduct longitudinal research into the impacts of body-worn cameras. Their use is still relatively new in practice, especially in San Diego County. As more departments begin to implement body-worn cameras, it would be beneficial to study the short term changes as well as the long term consequences of having body-cameras. Perceptions of the community in regards to the effects of body-worn cameras should also be studied.

SIGNIFICANCE

This study added to the growing research of police body-worn cameras, police subculture, and the militarization of law enforcement. The use of body-worn cameras in San Diego County reinforces the militaristic police subculture and addresses individual actions instead of the structure of the larger institution. The data showed that officers would have rather worked in a guardian style subculture but were limited by the structure of the larger institution. Lack of resources, limited training on diversity,

the use of discretion, and the control over body camera footage by law enforcement agencies reinforces a militaristic subculture that creates a divide between officers and the community.

Derrick Bell's concept of interest convergence effectively explains the current practices and procedures with body-worn cameras. Body-worn cameras were implemented in hopes of producing accountability for racialized practices by law enforcement officers. Instead, they are being used to justify actions of officers without allowing the community any say in the outcomes of officer actions. Bell states that the interests of the oppressed will only be acknowledged when they coincide with the interests of those in power. Body-worn cameras are being implemented in hopes of addressing the racialized nature of law enforcement but their actual usage coincides with the interests of the officers rather than the community as a whole. The implementation of body-worn cameras has a greater benefit for law enforcement officers than the community. Bonilla-Silva (2014) stated that racism is fluid and ever-changing. By focusing on the interests of officers over the interests of communities of color, institutional racism will continue to shift to meet the needs of a white hegemonic discourse within the criminal justice system. The interests of the community need to take precedence over the interests of officers if we hope to address structural forms of racialized practices.

Lack of funding and limited training on diversity creates a system in which officers are unaware of the various ways communities are affected by social issues.

Body-worn camera policies allow for discretionary usage of the cameras and discretion breeds discrimination (Alexander 2012). I found that power stays concentrated in law enforcement with the current policies in place in various departments. All of these findings act together to reinforce a militaristic subculture that is characteristic of a "we vs. they" mentality between officers and the community, especially communities of color. In these settings, it is likely that officers will continue to act in unfair and excessive manners when interacting with low income communities or communities of color.

Police in the United States killed over one thousand people last year alone. This far exceeds the rates of police-involved deaths in various countries around the world. Iceland became an independent nation in 1944 and in its entire existence, police have only killed a single person. The subculture and training that officers experience in the United States together shape how they think and behave while doing their job. There are issues seeded deeply within the criminal justice system and body-worn cameras alone cannot reform the entire institution.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

LAW ENFORCEMENT PERCEPTIONS OF BODY-WORN CAMERAS CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

Jordan Grasso, a graduate student in Sociology at California State University San Marcos invites you to participate in a research study of law enforcement officers' perceptions of body-worn cameras. Doing so will help to better understand how they are being implemented and how they aim to shape the culture of policing in regards to relations with the public. You were selected as a possible participant because of your experience with body-worn cameras while working within the County of San Diego. Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY:
If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to take part in an interview. During the interview, I will ask about your perceptions and practices with body-worn cameras and police-community relations. Interviews will be scheduled at a time and place that is convenient to you. The interview will last approximately one hour and you may decline to answer at any time. Further, you may decide to end the interview at anytime. You will be asked for permission to audio tape your interview and you may decline without any consequence. Neither your name or any identifying factors will be used in this study, for protection of your identity. At the completion of the interview, you may ask questions. You will be given the option of acquiring a one-page summary at the completion of the study as well as a link to the full findings once it is available publicly online.

RISKS AND INCONVENIENCES:
There are minimal risks and inconveniences to participating in this study. These include:
- Confidentiality: Officers are at risk of their names being connected to their interviews.
- Personal identifying data: Participants names will be collected on consent forms and written down prior to interviews to specify their pseudonyms. This puts officers at risk of names being leaked as participants.
- Supervisors/Peers become aware of participation: Participants may feel their job will be put in jeopardy if their peers become aware of their participation and their name gets linked to specific remarks.
- Breaking department guidelines: Participants may feel that answering a particular question would be considered breaking department guidelines or sharing information they are not allowed to share.
- Time: Interviews will take up 30-90 minutes. This may be inconvenient to the lives of participants.

SAFEGUARDS:
To minimize these risks and inconveniences, the following measures will be taken:
- Confidentiality: All officers will be identified by pseudonyms. All departments will also be identified as a single department, under the pseudonym of "Sunset Department". Through

the use of a singular department pseudonym, no officers will be identified or misidentified with connections to any departments within County borders.

- Personal identifying data: The files and consent forms containing officers names and transcripts of interviews will be kept in a locked file cabinet, only accessible to the researcher. All audio files will be stored on a password protected computer only accessible by the researcher.
- Supervisors/Peers become aware of participation: If a supervisor/peer becomes aware of participation, participants will still be safeguarded through the use of pseudonyms. No identifying characteristics of officers or their departments will be used during the course of the research to keep their identities and remarks confidential.
- Breaking department guidelines: Participants will have the opportunity to pass on any questions they might feel would put their job in jeopardy. Further, they will be reminded of the confidentiality of their identities but they do not have to answer any questions they feel uncomfortable answering. The ability of participants to choose a location also gives them an opportunity to choose a safe space away from others to further keep the interview private and confidential.
- Time: Participants have the opportunity of choosing a time that works best for them. Once the interview begins, participants will have the opportunity to stop the interview at any time. Participants will also have the opportunity to reschedule if the time of the interview conflicts with other life duties. Officers will also pick a location that works best for them for the interview.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your responses will be confidential. The results of this study may be used in reports or presentations but your name will not be used. Pseudonyms will be used to protect your identity and no identifying factors will be used.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION:

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your current or future relations with California State University San Marcos.

BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY:

There are no direct benefits to participation in this study, however, your participation will help further the research of body-worn cameras. Furthering the research on body-worn cameras is important in order to better assess their abilities within law enforcement departments.

CONTACT INFORMATION AND SIGNATURES:

If you have questions about the study, please call me at (760) 696-6874 or e-mail me at grass006@cougars.csusm.edu. You may also reach the research advisor at rswan@csusm.edu. You will be given a copy of this form for your records. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this research or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the IRB Office at irb@csusm.edu or (760) 750-4029.

PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT:

By signing below, you are giving consent to participate in the study. Please check the option that applies to you before signing:

☐ I give permission for my participation in the study.

☐ I give permission for my interview to be audio recorded.

☐ I do not give permission for my interview to be audio recorded.

_____	_____	_____
Participant Signature	Printed Name	Date

This document has been approved by
the Institutional Review Board at
California State University San Marcos
Expiration Date: December 6, 2017

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

What is your ethnic and/or racial background?

What is your typically perceived race by other officers/the public?

Where did you grow up?

What is your educational background?

If you went to college, what did you study?

When did you become an officer in your department?

What made you get into law enforcement?

What kind of training have you had on diversity and community relations?

What does your job entail? Tell me about your typical day.

Your work requires interactions with people of different cultures. How does that affect your job?

What are your immediate reaction when you found out you would be wearing body-worn cameras?

What was the training like when your department introduced body cameras?

Do you see any possible benefits to wearing the cameras?

What are some of your criticisms to wearing body-worn cameras?

Who do you see as benefiting from the use of body cameras?

Overall, do you see them as being more beneficial or problematic?

APPENDIX C: SAN DIEGO SHERIFF SAMPLE CURRICULUM CLASSES

English Skills
Study Skills
Spanish
Administration of Justice
First Aid / CPR
Emotional Survival
Physical Training
Intro to Criminal Law
Arrest and Control
Crimes Against Property
Firearms
Media Sensitivity
Sex Crimes
Ethics
Community Partnership
Crimes Against Persons
Landlord Tenant Disputes
Arson Laws
Family Orientation
Auto Theft
General Criminal Statutes
Person / Property Investigation
Death Cases
Victimology
Cultural Diversity
Tactical Communication
Crimes Against Children
Hate Crimes
Missing Persons / Child Abduction
Crimes Against The Justice System
Crime Prevention
Elder Abuse
Child Abuse Investigation
Intro to Traffic
Rules of Evidence
Report Writing
Victim Assistance
Search and Seizure
Intro to Problem Solving
Traffic Direction
Probation & 4th Waiver Searches
Use of Force
Patrol Techniques
Community Policing
Weapons Violations
Use of Force Civil Liability
Alcohol Violations
Fingerprinting
Domestic Violence Laws
Custody Procedures
Handling Physical Evidence
Vehicle Operations
Mental Illness
Crime Scene Search
Working with Disables
Telecommunications
Gay & Lesbian Population
Mental illness
Juvenile Law Processing
Domestic Violence Dynamics
Robbery Investigation
Community Partnership
Interviewing
Domestic Violence Investigation
ABC Laws
Strangulation
Stalking
Controlled Substances
Cites and Warnings
Building Searches
Street & Motorcycle Gangs
Vehicle Pullovers
Handling Disputes
Community Mobilization
Hazardous Materials
Officer Safety & Field Tactics
Court Room Testimony
Tactical Shoot
Chemical Agents
Unusual Occurrences
Traffic Collision Investigation
Arson & Explosives
High Risk Vehicle Stops
Crimes in Progress
Crowd Control