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Exploring Body Worn Cameras: Prison Officer Perceptions of Safety and Accountability

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Introduction

Her Majesty's Chief Inspectorate of Prisons (HMCI¹) annual report, published in 2018,¹ considers that the current state of prisons in England and Wales is a direct result of the large decline (27 per cent) in staffing levels between 2010 and 2015. This equates to 6,609 prison officers leaving the Prison Service without being replaced². Since these reductions, assaults between prisoners and towards staff have continued rising, whilst inspections have revealed unsanitary conditions. Most specific to this study, is HMCI's concerns regarding the safety of local prisons that hold those who are on remand or recently sentenced. Levels of violence in local prisons are considerably higher due to the constant churn of new prisoners, inevitably worsening issues of gang violence and harmful group behaviour³. Additionally, local prisons are inherently overcrowded, traditionally designed as single cell prisons, the majority are now expected to share cells to continue serving the courts effectively⁴.

An overarching aim of using Body Worn Camera's (BWC's) in prisons is to promote positive relationships between prisoners and staff, whilst ensuring that evidence is captured first-hand. Reducing the opportunity for assaults on staff and increasing the likelihood of appropriate sanctions were clear catalysts for the introduction of BWC's. BWC implementation in prisons began in 2017 and are now a recognised part of prison officers Personal Protective Equipment (PPE). Within prisons, a 'discretionary' filming technique is

adopted, affording officers the decision of when and where to activate their BWC — PSI 04/2017 recommends BWC activation during all reportable incidents. A pilot evaluation⁵ of BWC's across 23 prisons in England has found that overall, staff perceptions of their implementation is positive, with 79 per cent reporting that BWC's had a positive impact. However, this evaluation also found a negative impact from BWC use in regards to their effects on staff/prisoner relationships. Additionally, this evaluation highlighted that prison officers felt fearful of reprimand following the monitoring of BWC footage by managers. Although most participants within this evaluation described feeling physically safer, there was a perceived vulnerability and mistrust of management viewing BWC footage.

Perceptions of Safety

The recent implementation of BWC's in prisons is a strategic attempt to increase safety and reduce violence in prisons. All prisons governed by Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) are required to use BWC's during reportable incidents, particularly those involving the use of force on a prisoner, to gather an accurate reflection of the events taking place before, during and after the incident⁶. Additionally, BWC's are used as a de-escalation tool, assisting in conflict resolution. This tactic is framed around the 'Five Minute Intervention' model, a technique used by trained officers to transform everyday conversations into rehabilitative interventions, challenging criminogenic behaviour and encouraging positive outlooks⁷.

1. HM Chief Inspectorate of Prisons. 2018. Annual report for 2017-18. HC1245
2. Institute for Government. 2019. Performance Tracker 2019: Prisons. Table 3 and 4. Retrieved from: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publication/performance-tracker-2019/prisons>
3. Maitra, D.R. 2020, "If You're Down With a Gang Inside, You Can Lead a Nice Life": Prison Gangs in the Age of Austerity", *Youth Justice*, vol. 20, no. 1-2, pp. 128-145.
4. Prison Reform Trust (2015) Bromley Briefings Summer 2015, Prison Reform Trust, London
5. Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (2020) Body Worn Video Camera (BWVC) Pilot Evaluation. Conducted by Laura Pope, Dr Helen Wakeling, George Box, Sharon Avis, Dr Rosie Travers, Dr Ruth Mann and Rachel George. Ministry of Justice Analytical Series 2020.
6. PSI 04/2017. Body Worn Video Camera's. Security Management. National Security Framework
7. Justice Committee. 2016. Prison Safety. Sixth report of session 2015-16. House of Commons

Dissecting BWC use in prisons from a practical perspective, HMPPS adopts a 'discretionary' process when utilising BWC's. They are individually controlled and their use ultimately lies with the prison officer wearing the BWC. This discretion within the utility of BWC's has been found by Ariel⁸ as potentially harmful. In a multi-site randomised control study of BWC use within UK Police Service, it was found that in trials where BWC use was discretionary, use of force increased by 71 per cent. It was suggested that selective activation during a heightened interaction can escalate aggression levels in a suspect, which is then mirrored by the officer in an attempt to re-gain control of the situation.

BWC's use in public services has received global controversy. Despite seeking to promote transparency, accountability and safety of the public and police officers in the United States (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK), there are contradictory positions on the utility of BWC's. Whilst their use reduces violence, discrimination and corruption, BWC's carry risks of violating privacy and increasing hostility amongst the public towards police officers⁹. Recent research highlights the importance of internal acceptance of the new technology for the benefits of BWC's to be experienced¹⁰. These factors are directly affected by officers' initial perceptions of BWC's; including the planning and implementation processes adopted by senior management, administrative policy regarding their use, as well as their own and their colleagues' experiences of this technology in the field. Mostly, research describes positive officer perceptions of BWC's post-implementation, with a high level of acceptance and buy in from frontline staff¹¹. Research conducted by Ariel in 2016 found that using BWC's did not significantly reduce use of force incidents. However, this

study noted that 'compliance' and 'discretion' — officers turning their BWC off during their shift increased use of force on some occasions. In trial groups of police officers who adopted continuous filming, use of force decreased by 37 per cent, however officers did not have the discretion to turn their BWC's off¹².

Maintaining Accountability

The implementation of BWC's arguably breeds hostility and distrust in those entrusted in keeping society safe and secure. This highlights the importance of improved accountability through the implementation of BWC across public services. Research suggests that police officers are concerned about the potential for trust to be eroded between officers and their senior managers¹³. This heightened suspicion and mistrust is widely noted in the modern-day culture of surveillance, whereby intrusive techniques and preventative approaches supersede traditional methods of crime control¹⁴. Overall, research supports that those with first-hand experience of BWC's are supportive of their use in law enforcement, paying attention to their ability to reduce citizen complaints and increase safety. However, those with little or no experience using BWC's tended to remain sceptical of their potential benefits.

London's Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) began trialling BWC's in May 2014. This trial equipped Emergency Response Teams across 10 London boroughs with BWC's. Teams within each borough were randomly assigned to wear BWC's or to not wear BWC's. This study of BWC implementation within the MPS found that using BWC's significantly reduces complaints relating to interactions with members of the public¹⁵. This was particularly so in respect of allegations

BWC's carry risks of violating privacy and increasing hostility amongst the public towards police officers.

8. Ariel, B., Sutherland, A., Henstock, D., Young, J., Drover, P., Sykes, J., Henderson, R. (2016). Report: Increases in police use of force in the presence of body-worn cameras are driven by officer discretion: A protocol-based subgroup analysis of ten randomized experiments. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 12(3), 453-463
9. Freund, K. 2015, "When cameras are rolling: privacy implications of body-mounted cameras on police", *Columbia Journal of Law & Social Affairs*, Vol. 40 No. 1, pp. 91-133.
10. Katz, C. M., Kurtenbach, M., Choate, D. E., White, M. D. (2015) Evaluating the impact of police officer body-worn cameras, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance, Smart Policing Initiative.
11. Roy, A. 2014. *On-officer video cameras: Examining the effects of police department policy and assignment on camera use and activation* (Unpublished master's thesis). Arizona State University, Tempe.
12. Ariel, B., Sutherland, A., Henstock, D., Young, J., Drover, P., Sykes, J., Henderson, R. (2016). Report: Increases in police use of force in the presence of body-worn cameras are driven by officer discretion: A protocol-based subgroup analysis of ten randomized experiments. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 12(3), 453-463
13. Freund, K. 2015, "When cameras are rolling: privacy implications of body-mounted cameras on police", *Columbia Journal of Law & Social Affairs*, Vol. 40 No. 1, pp. 91-133.
14. Zedner, L. (2007) Pre-Crime and Post-Criminology? *Theoretical Criminology*, 11(2), 261-281
15. Grossmith, L. Owens, C. Finn, W. Mann, D. Davies, T and Baika, L, 2015, *Police, Camera, Evidence: London's cluster randomised controlled trial of Body Worn Video*. College of Policing and the Mayor's Office for Police And Crime (MOPAC).

of oppressive behaviour and incivility. The probability of an officer from the control group — whom was not wearing a BWC — receiving an allegation or complaint regarding their behaviour was 2.55 times higher than for an officer in the treatment group who was wearing a BWC. Additionally, the pilot evaluation of BWC's in prisons found that staff were supportive of BWC's positive effects regarding evidence-collecting and securing adjudication results following incidents of misconduct across the prison population. However, some participants within this study expressed that BWC implementation in prisons could have been more transparent, and that a swift roll-out fuelled suspicions amongst staff regarding the aims of BWC implementation.

Methodology

This research intends to identify the use of BWC's within prisons. At the time of data collection, BWC's had been implemented for approximately 24 months as PPE for all operational staff. Further, this study seeks to explore staff perceptions of BWC's in the prison they work in, focussing upon safety and staff accountability. This research also seeks to highlight any barriers to using BWC's, considering the potential for resistance, particularly when discussing a new implementation of technology.

Primary Research Question

- 1: *'Are Body Worn Camera's used by operational staff on a regular basis?'*

Secondary Research Questions

- 2: *'What are staff perceptions of their personal safety when wearing Body Worn Camera's?'*
- 3: *'What are staff perceptions of their accountability when wearing Body Worn Camera's?'*
- 4: *'Are there any barriers to wearing/using Body Worn Camera's?'*
- 5: *'Is there a resistance to wearing Body Worn Camera's amongst staff?'*

This study considers the impact of BWC's on perceptions of Prison Officer safety and accountability. Empirical research, supported by HMPPS, was conducted in a local prison (Prison A) between January — April 2019. A cross-sectional study was completed, considering the 'newness' of BWC's, as well as assuming they will become a permanent fixture across the modern-day prison estate. This research adopts a mixed-methods approach, using predominantly qualitative methods to retrieve rich data sets. Quantitative methods will present statistics highlighting

the use of BWC's in Prison A, to better frame the collection of opinions and perceptions from staff regarding their effectiveness.

Operational staff at all ranks were recruited to participate in semi-structured interviews. Using a random sampling technique, the 224 (approximately) staff at the establishment were represented by a sample of 10. Once participants gave their consent to be involved in the study, they partook in a semi-structured interview to gather data surrounding their perceptions of BWC's particularly in respect of safety and accountability in their role. Interviews were analysed using Thematic Analysis, offering the flexibility required to maintain an exploratory approach. Participants were fully briefed on the aims of the research and gave informed consent to take part. All participants received a debriefing, outlining support agencies such as the Employee Assistance Programme to approach for advice and guidance around wellbeing in the workplace.

Findings and Discussion

To answer Research Question 1: *'Are Body Worn Camera's used by operational staff on a regular basis?'* statistics demonstrated that there is a difference between the number of individuals trained to draw BWC's and the number of BWC's drawn daily. This suggests that although staff are trained to wear BWC's, there is a proportion of staff who do not wear them, contrary to policy expectations.

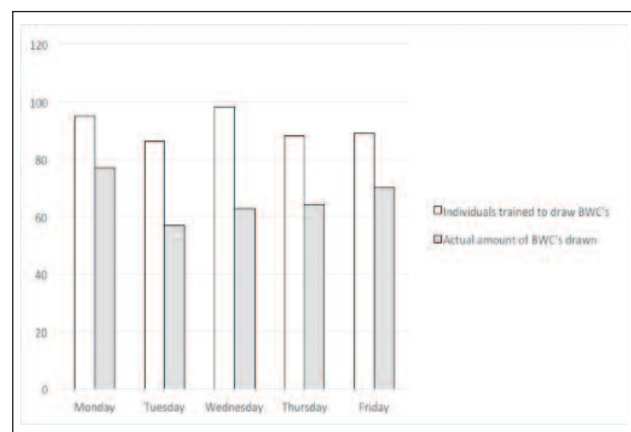


Figure 1: Comparing rates of individuals trained to draw BWC's with the number of BWC's drawn

Statistics were also obtained regarding the amount of 'use of force' incidents where a BWC had been deployed. The graph below maps the use of BWC's during incidents from April 2018 — April 2019. This graph shows that the use of BWC's in use of force incidents has steadily increased over time. This suggests that staff are becoming more likely to deploy BWC's during use of force incidents.

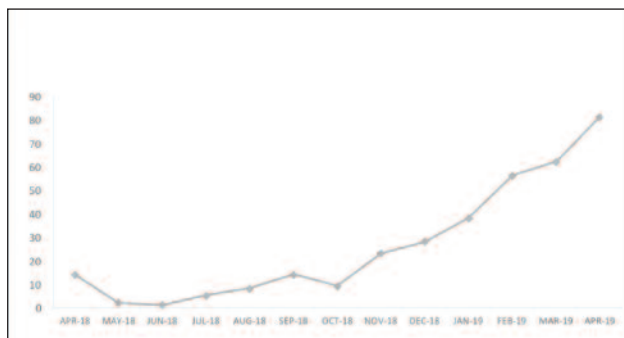


Figure 2: Use of force incidents where a BWC is activated

Staff Perceptions of their Personal Safety

Positive Perceptions of Personal Safety

Firstly, the theme ‘BWC’s improve safety in prisons’ was identified, referring to BWC’s as ‘protecting staff and prisoners from harm’ and ‘improving staff safety’. Participants in this study hold a belief that their personal safety has improved with the implementation of BWC’s, even though the use of this equipment is discretionary. The clear finding is that staff are using BWC’s in the belief that it will reduce violent incidents and therefore the potential for assaults on both staff and prisoners. The potential of BWC to reduce violence has been demonstrated in the work of Farrar and Ariel¹⁶, who identified a 59 per cent reduction in use of force incidents within 12 months of implementing BWC’s, in a policing context, however, this was when filming was continuous and mandatory rather than at the discretion of the operator.

This high level of acceptance and buy-in from frontline staff regarding BWC implementation supports previous research regarding implementing BWC’s in a US police department¹⁷. However, Ariel’s¹⁸ multi-site study of BWC’s in the police service found that discretionary filming may have a provocative impact, holding the potential not only to be ineffective at reducing violence, but resulting in the escalation of incidents. The findings identified by Ariel are not consistent with the sentiment articulated by participants who took part in this study. This presents

The clear finding is that staff are using BWC’s in the belief that it will reduce violent incidents

an interesting perspective in terms of the *perception* of the participants who took part in this study, versus the *reality* of the outcomes identified by Ariel.

Whilst the contention here is that the use of BWC may cause prisoners to more carefully consider their actions whilst on camera, questions remain as to whether perceptions regarding the utility of discretionary filming are accurate. The HMPPS policy of discretionary BWC use suggests an implied power dynamic that staff have over prisoners, whereby the decision to record is an overt intervention, intended to resolve issues of violence and unruly behaviour. This could subsequently be counter-productive, due to the use of the camera being seen as staff perceiving a threat and actively seeking a resolution — with the unintended consequence of the incident then further escalating. Ariel found that continuous filming is effective due to its civilising influence on all parties. Having BWC’s constantly recording diminishes power imbalances between staff and prisoners by ensuring all parties are equally surveyed, thus BWC’s are not utilised as a power resource.

Negative Perceptions of Personal Safety

The second distinct theme is ‘BWC’s do not improve perceptions of safety’. Within this, participants voiced opinions such as ‘Does not feel safer unlocking with a BWC’, referring to unlocking a landing of prisoners and ‘Does not reduce assaults, the same as CCTV did not’. This suggests that staff feel BWC’s are not effective at reducing violence or assaults on prison staff. This links to ‘BWC’s are not effective at de-escalation’. Within this, participants discussed how ‘BWC’s are only effective at de-escalating minor incidents’ and ‘BWC’s don’t improve compliance, they just speed up gaining compliance’.

The theme ‘BWC’s instigate more violence’ is also present, including codes such as ‘Deploying BWC’s escalates prisoners’ aggression levels’ and ‘Prisoners acting up to BWC’s’. Instead of de-escalating and assisting with gaining compliance, prisoners can become more aggressive when a camera is switched on, perceiving this action as escalating rather than de-

16. Farrar, W. A. and Ariel, B. 2013. “Self-awareness to being watched and socially desirable behavior: A field experiment on the effect of body-worn cameras and police use of force” Police Foundation, Washington, DC (2013)
17. Katz, C. M., Kurtenbach, M., Choate, D. E., White, M. D. (2015) Evaluating the impact of police officer body-worn cameras, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance, Smart Policing Initiative.
18. Ariel, B., Sutherland, A., Henstock, D., Young, J., Drover, P., Sykes, J., Henderson, R. (2016). Report: Increases in police use of force in the presence of body-worn cameras are driven by officer discretion: A protocol-based subgroup analysis of ten randomized experiments. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 12(3), 453-463

escalating. This supports Ariel's findings which noted that discretionary filming — the model adopted within HMPPS — can inflame a situation and thus provoke an incident. Ariel's findings suggest that this process of 'selective activation' aggraves a heightened situation, thus adopting 'discretionary filming' has the potential to cause violent incidents within prisons. This links to 'BWC's create barriers between staff and prisoners'. This barrier could be a result of 'prisoners acting up to the camera' as well as 'Wearing a BWC can lead to robotic communication which escalates incidents'. The latter refers to staff speaking to prisoners differently when a BWC camera is deployed. These findings challenge that of Farrar and Ariel who reported both perceptions of safety improvements and reportable statistics of a reduction in use of force incidents only where BWC filming was continuous. It could be suggested that this difference in findings can be explained through the distinct differences between continuous and discretionary filming. In prisons, staff activate their BWC's at their own discretion, deciding when to start and end the recording. Whereas BWC's used in the police service can adopt a continuous filming approach, which Ariel found civilises interactions between the police and the public.

Generally, police officers are public servants, offering support and assistance to citizens and answering calls for help. However, prison staff are seen as punitive enforcers who generally manage and look after some of society's most challenging and complex people.

Staff Perceptions of their Accountability

Two distinct themes emerged from the data. Opposing each other, were themes of 'negative accountability' and 'feeling positive about increased staff accountability'. It came to light that some staff felt that BWC's increased accountability in a negative way, whereas others perceived BWC's to increase staff accountability in a positive way. Previous research found that officer acceptance of BWC's was directly related to the implementation processes adopted by senior management¹⁹. It could be suggested from this research

that a transparent implementation with a focus on officer buy-in would be necessary to enhance prison officer's views surrounding accountability.

Negative Accountability

The theme of 'negative accountability' can be linked to 'BWC's improve accountability perhaps too much'. This relates to staff perceptions that BWC's could be used to discipline or reprimand staff for their conduct. As one participant argued; 'BWC's are also going to get prison officers in trouble' highlights concerns staff have regarding BWC footage. This might

be through saying something deemed as wrong or inappropriate, or conducting themselves in a manner which could be deemed as questionable. This links directly to 'using BWC footage to reprimand staff'. Within this, participants discussed 'Recalling punitive sanctions when swearing on camera' and 'There is far more pressing issues than saying the word f***'. This quote highlights that staff believe punitive sanctions for swearing on camera are unnecessary and swearing on camera itself is a low priority when dealing with violent incidents in prison. Additionally, staff also recall 'Punitive sanctions used when staff genuinely forget to turn on their camera'. Staff perceptions around their

reprimand following BWC footage can be linked to the recent HMPPS pilot evaluation of BWC implementation. Within this, participants demonstrated a fear of reprimand or punishment for how they behaved on camera, with one participant discussing managers watching BWC footage 'just to catch them out'.

Positive Accountability

As well as perceptions of 'negative accountability' regarding BWC's, the second prominent theme within this section of analysis was 'feeling positive about increased staff accountability'. The coded data demonstrated that 'feeling more accountable in a positive way' was a perception held by staff. This highlights how being more accountable for your actions enables reflection and allows you to think about

'BWC's create barriers between staff and prisoners'. This barrier could be a result of 'prisoners acting up to the camera' as well as 'Wearing a BWC can lead to robotic communication which escalates incidents'

19. Gaub, J.E., Choate, D.E., Todak, N., Katz, C.M. & White, M.D. 2016, "Officer Perceptions of Body-Worn Cameras Before and After Deployment: A Study of Three Departments", *Police Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 275-302.

how to effectively manage a situation, suggesting that it is a positive thing that BWC footage is reviewed. This links to 'feeling positive about management checks on footage'. Some Prison Officers hold the belief that reviewing footage would only occur with justification to do so, maintaining confidence that management checks on footage would not negatively affect them. This positive perception of staff accountability links to 'improving professional conduct in staff'. This includes perceptions such as 'Improving professionalism during incidents' and 'Deterring staff from using unnecessary force'. This participant perceives increased accountability in a positive light, as staff act more professional when a BWC is activated, and staff 'think more about what they are doing'. In relation to this, 'BWC footages creates an accurate picture of incidents', discussing the accuracy of visual and audio recordings and the positive effects this has in investigations. A participant highlighted the positive outcomes associated with audio and visual accuracy of BWC's:

'It's a line I use a lot 'by the way the camera is on, and this will tell a better truth than you or I, what choices would you like to make?' and that has a, tends to have a dramatic impact.'

This demonstrates that BWC's allow an accurate picture of incidents to be recorded, holding both staff and prisoners accountable for their actions. Additionally, this suggests that staff feel confident regarding this accurate picture of an incident, relating back to the theme 'feeling positive about increased staff accountability'. Not only are staff more accountable for their conduct, staff perceive BWC's to 'protect staff from false allegations' and 'disciplinary action' as observed:

'...and if a situation does become violent it can also protect me from false allegations.'

This demonstrates that some staff perceive BWC's as positive due to the protection it affords them from malicious allegations — feeling positive about being more accountable when using a BWC. This is supportive of Farrar and Ariel's work which identified that an 87.5 per cent reduction in complaints made by members of the public in the 12 months after BWC implementation. Additionally, the study exploring BWC

implementation in MPS found that emergency response teams who were assigned BWC's generally received less complaints. This magnifies the findings of Ariel's multi-site study that state continuous BWC filming, and notifying the public of such reminds all involved to adhere to the 'rules of conduct' and as such, civilises interactions. Applying these findings to the prison environment, prison officers feel protected from malicious allegations when incidents are recorded, demonstrating support for continuous filming.

Barriers to using BWC's

Two key themes were identified. Firstly, local barriers included perceptions surrounding 'collecting/returning BWC's out of shift times' and 'location of BWC's as a barrier to their use'. These can be described as physical barriers to drawing a camera due to time constraints experienced by prison staff. The category 'collecting/returning BWC's outside of shift times' included opinions that 'It takes too long to go and get a BWC and return it at the end of a shift' and 'Staff are expected to collect a BWC in their own time'. - 'Locations of BWC's as a barrier to their use' were discussing, including 'BWC location is reducing their deployment'. This demonstrates that the location of BWC's that is where they are collected from and returned to

acts as a barrier to their use. Another set of local barriers to BWC use can be taken from 'lack of knowledge surrounding BWC guidelines' and 'lack of informative training to use BWC's'. The former surrounding a lack of knowledge, includes perceptions such as 'Uncertainty about using BWC's when prisoners are not dressed'. This suggests that staff are not confident to use BWC's in certain situations, as they lack the appropriate knowledge surrounding when a BWC can be used. This links to a 'lack of informative training to use BWC's'. This links to HMPPS' pilot evaluation, which found that positivity around BWC's improved in staff who had more experience and knowledge of them, suggesting that informative training and using them during incidents improves perceptions of BWC's.

The second theme regarding barriers to BWC use is more general and could be applied to other prisons. The first category within this theme is 'BWC's create barriers between staff and managers.' Within this,

This positive perception of staff accountability links to 'improving professional conduct in staff'. This includes perceptions such as 'Improving professionalism during incidents'

participants discussed 'Feeling that managers do not trust staff in their decision-making' and 'Feeling that their integrity is insulted by being made to wear a BWC' were present. This demonstrates that staff perceive the introduction of BWC's as negative. Participants held the opinion that managers should trust the decision-making of prison officers. This echoes the findings of the HMPPS pilot evaluation which suggested that some staff felt fearful that managers (and the general public) may judge their behaviour on camera.

An additional barrier to general BWC use can be taken from the category 'poor attachments of BWC's act as a barrier to their use', referring to the physical device and how it attaches to a member of staff. This includes perceptions that 'BWC's do not stay attached to shirts' and discussions around the 'limits to where BWC's can be attached — only white shirts.' A participant described their experience of wearing a BWC:

'There have been times where I've ended up in a restraint and my camera has dropped from the 4's landing to the 2's landing... There's not always room to clip it onto your uniform unless you are wearing a white shirt with no jumper or jacket over the top there is nowhere really to clip it on.'

This suggests that staff feel BWC's are poorly designed. They do not stay attached to shirts, especially during incidents where force is used. Additionally, staff feel they are limited to where they can attach cameras to. These points act as barriers to BWC use, particularly in the winter months when staff are wearing jumpers over their white shirts.

Staff Resistance to BWC's

Two key themes were identified. Firstly, the theme of staff being 'supportive of BWC's' and secondly 'resistance to BWC's is more prevalent in staff with longer service'. The first theme to be discussed — 'supportive of BWC's' included discussions that 'staff are becoming more willing and confident to use BWC's'. A participant described this increase of confidence in BWC's:

'I think that in the beginning the perception of the BWC's were negative. I feel that staff felt it would be used against them more than a

tool to assist them and protect them. But as time went on and usage has become mandatory part of the uniform I feel that staff are more willing and more confident in wearing them.'

This demonstrates that when BWC's were a new implementation, there were negative perceptions of them and staff were resistant to this change. However, staff have gained confidence in their use and have since become more supportive of BWC's in a prison setting. This supports the findings from HMPPS's pilot evaluation of BWC implementation which found that as time went on, staff became more positive about the BWC implementation across the 23 prisons.

Additionally, 'newer staff only know the prison service with BWC's, so there is more consistent use' was identified through the data analysis. This highlights that newer staff cannot recall working without BWC's, therefore there is little resistance from them to use BWC's. This links to the second theme 'resistance to BWC's is more prevalent in staff with longer service' whereby staff who can remember working in the prison before the BWC implementation show more resistance to their mandatory use. This suggests that staff with

longer service feel that BWC's have created a barrier between staff and management, breaking trust in 'shop floor staff'. This perception of BWC's shows that there is the potential for resistance against BWC use from staff who have served in the prison service before the BWC implementation. Exploring barriers between staff and managers further, 'managers do not wear BWC's' is relevant. Within this, participants 'Highlighted a lack of management using BWC's' and 'Referring to managers not wearing BWC's but enforcing their use — 'double standards',' suggests that there is a negative culture surrounding BWC use, particularly by managers. This staff perception may fuel resistance to BWC use and explain why some members of staff perceive BWC's as a tool used by managers to reprimand or discipline staff.

Conclusions

The primary aim of this study was to explore the use of BWC's, and to identify whether operational staff were wearing them within the prison in question. This study found that the majority of prison staff are

An additional barrier to general BWC use can be taken from the category 'poor attachments of BWC's act as a barrier to their use

wearing BWC's, however on a daily basis, statistics suggest that not everyone who is trained to use BWC's are drawing them. This finding is different to that of BWC use in the MPS. The BWC trial in the MPS began in 2015 and since then, every officer has been individually assigned a BWC, thereby mandating use by every operational police officer in London. Within the interviews conducted on prison staff, it was suggested that *'there aren't enough of them'* referring to the amount of BWC's available to draw within the establishment. It could be suggested that the rate of prison officers wearing BWC's would increase if the system of individually assigning a camera to everyone was adopted to mirror that of London's MPS. Additionally, this study found that the rate of BWC usage during 'use of force' incidents was increasing steadily over time. Referring to the study conducted in relation to the MPS's BWC implementation, where it was found that BWC did not increase arrest rates, but instead did the opposite. Comparing this to a prison

environment, it could be suggested that these rising statistics do not mean there are more 'use of force' incidents, instead staff are becoming more willing to use BWC's during incidents.

In conclusion, this study is very much coherent with previous research. Most staff believe that to a degree, their safety is improved by wearing a BWC. Additionally, most staff are supportive of the improved accountability that BWC's offer them, particularly in regard to protecting their professional standards. Although there is little resistance to BWC's from staff, there are notable barriers to their use. To extend this research, it could be argued that expanding the sample to include multiple prisons may result in gathering more findings, particularly surrounding perceptions of safety which may differ in other establishments. Additionally, this study focussed on data from a qualitative approach. Further research may benefit from studying statistical data surrounding BWC use to draw comparisons with use of force statistics and rates of staff assaults.



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