

Trialling body-worn video cameras for City of London Police: officer perceptions and justice outcomes

A report for City of London Police

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Executive summary

The study's aims

- Explore the expectations regarding, attitudes towards, knowledge about and experience of Body-Worn Video Cameras (BWVCs) amongst officers involved in the study. Specifically, the evaluation will seek to highlight:
 - the changes to their knowledge, attitudes and beliefs after use;
 - perceived and actual advantages, and disadvantages to routine activity; and
 - technical issues arising.
- Evaluate the effect of BWVCs on the number and type of incidents reported.
- Evaluate the effect of BWVCs on the number of complaints, misconduct proceedings and sanctions against the City of London Police
- Evaluate the effectiveness of BWVCs with particular groups/specific situations (e.g. stop and search and calls for assistance).
- Evaluate the effect of BWVCs on officer incivility.
- Evaluate the impact on the speed of case prosecution.

Methodology

In order to realise the aims of this research project, the following methods were utilised:

- surveys of officers' attitudes to before and after trialling of BWVCs
- interview a smaller sample of officers before and after the trialling of BWVCs
- consult data recorded on the number of complaints made against officers for incivilities and oppressive conduct and criminal justice outcomes

Conclusions

- BWVCs are seen to be a very positive addition to officers' standard Equipment.
- BWVCs are experienced as empowering by most officers and are likely to lead to an increase in efficiencies.
- BWVC trialling reduced officers' worries that the technology might negatively impact their privacy and working conditions.
- BWVCs are already reducing complaints against officers and this is likely to continue.
- BWVCs are not a silver bullet. Given the large numbers of offenders capable of drug or alcohol induced violence, officers do not think they will reduce attacks on them or impact significantly on the overall incidence of crime.
- BWVCs have not yet streamlined criminal justice process.

1.0 Introduction

The City of London Police (CoLP) force has been awarded a grant to provide body-worn video cameras (BWVCs) to frontline operational staff. The bid included a proposal for evaluation of the effect the technology may have on the main areas of concern. There are numerous benefits envisaged in the correct use of this technology, but those that have been considered of particular importance for the CoLP are:

1. The expectations, attitudes, knowledge and experience of BWVCs amongst officers involved in the study. Specifically, the evaluation will seek to highlight:
 - a. the changes to their knowledge, attitudes and beliefs after use
 - b. perceived and actual advantages, and disadvantages to routine activity
 - c. technical issues arising.
2. Evaluate the effect of BWVCs on the number and type of incidences reported.
3. Evaluate the effect of BWVCs on the number of complaints, misconduct proceedings and sanctions against the CoLP.
4. Evaluate the effect of BWVCs on officer incivility.

The report below will focus on these aims, through collection and analysis of relevant data, alongside an exploration of the expectations, beliefs, attitudes and knowledge about the use of BWVCs among officers, and the change to these after use. This includes questions about the opinions of officers regarding time likely to be saved in prosecution processes, and conviction rates. BWVCs effects on complaints are also a key concern.

According to a recent report published by the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) the total number of complaints made against the police increased by 15 per cent during 2013-14 (IPCC, 2015). A total number of 34,863 complaints were recorded against the majority of police forces in England and Wales. Nearly a third (30 per cent) of complaints included allegations of police neglect or failure of duty, while 15 per cent cited officer rudeness (incivility and impoliteness) and a further 15 per cent cited intolerance. There are debates on whether the rise in complaints is due to increased public confidence in the police complaints procedure or increased instances of misconduct (Halliday, 2015). However, the prevalence of complaints continues to highlight the perennial problem of police-community relations and points to a need to address it.

One of the first police forces to implement the use of BWVCs in a bid to improve police-community relations was the Rialto Police Department in California. Findings from this randomised controlled evaluation produced promising results. The Rialto Police

Department experienced a 59 per cent reduction in use of force incidents and an 87.5 per cent reduction in the number of complaints to the police during the experimental period (Ariel et al, 2014:8). Moreover, the wearing of BWVCs had a positive effect on officer behaviour.

In the UK several police forces have implemented pilot studies into the use of body-worn cameras. Hampshire Constabulary and Devon and Cornwall Police trialled the use of head cameras in 2006-7 and, like the Rialto Police Department, these forces have claimed significant benefits from their use, such as deterring bad behaviour in young people, improving the rate of guilty pleas and reducing violent crimes (Craig, 2014). Essex Police have recently produced an interim report on the impact of body-worn cameras on prosecution of domestic violence (Owens *et al*, 2014). This four-month pilot study found an increase in the number of sanctioned detections (81 per cent) when officers were wearing the cameras. Officers also purported to feel more confident that their actions would result in conviction and reported increased accountability (Owens *et al*, 2014:2). The positive benefits for law enforcement in terms of detections, reduction in crime and violence, decrease in public complaints and the demonstrable improvements in rates of misconduct by both police and public are indeed promising and have shown how technology can improve the efficiency and accountability of the police.

A small number of studies have specifically looked to police officer perceptions of Body Worn Video Camera. Ellis *et al* (2015) evaluated a trial of the technology on the Isle of White and found that officers tended to be in favour of its introduction. Jennings *et al* (2014) reported similar findings from a study based in Orlando, Florida. Although both studies surveyed front line officers to establish their views, no study has yet used qualitative methods to interrogate further *why* officers might favour the introduction of BWVC.

There are different types of Body Worn Video Cameras available on the market with slight differences in function and not all police forces have opted to purchase the same make of camera. The specific technology used by CoLP officers during this trial was the *Axon 1 Body Camera*, manufactured by Taser. According to the user manual (Taser 2016) most important are two operating modes: *buffering*; and *event*. During *buffering mode* events are being continuously recorded, so as to capture the immediate period prior to an incident. When an officer attends an incident, they press a button on the camera triggering *event mode*. When they do this, recordings, beginning from 30 seconds prior to the event,

are retained. Following a shift officers should place their BWVC unit into a docking station where it both recharges and also uploads footage. Directions for use by the officers were outlined in a standard operating procedure based on Home Office (2016) guidelines, while the College of Policing (2014) have also published guidelines.

2.0 Methodology

The CoLP currently has a small cohort of officers issued with BWVCs. Given the benefits of using BWVCs, the CoLP, in conjunction with other Metropolitan Police Forces, is rolling out the use of BWVCs for its front-line staff, police community support, and street environment and support and civil enforcement teams. As part of the evaluation into the efficacy of BWVCs conducted by researchers at London Metropolitan University (LMU) on behalf of CoLP, a web survey was designed and distributed to all front-line officers employed by the force. This was done prior to training and trialling of the technology. The aim was to discover the initial perceptions of this technology held by officers who might utilise BWVCs during the trial and possible roll-out. A follow-up survey was also administered following the five-month trial of BWVCs.

This research project also involves comparing police outcomes from the five-month period of the trial to the same five-month period from the previous two years. Data was requested in regards to: counts of physical and verbal assaults on officers; incivilities against officers; aggregate levels of anti-social behaviour in the borough; numbers of stop and searches performed; reductions in officer court time; reductions in time spent evidence gathering; numbers of complaints made against officers for incivilities and oppressive conduct; and proportion of cases resolved with a guilty plea. Only data relating to the latter two variables was provided by CoLP, with other information either not accurately recorded or made available during the research project. This is discussed further in section 4.0, below.

In addition, qualitative interviews were conducted with 15 officers before and then 18 officers after the trial.¹ Face-to-face interviews were organised at the convenience of the participants and typically took place within the police station. They lasted between 20 minutes and an hour. Interviews were recorded. The interview schedule was used to structure the analysis and all the qualitative data was tabulated into Microsoft Excel, with columns representing themes and rows representing individual interviews. This approach allows all interviews to be considered either on a case-by-case basis or thematically, to ensure minimal loss of narrative material. The research ethics were informed by the consideration of the LMU Research Ethics Committee. As officers were discussing potentially sensitive information regarding the behaviour of their colleagues, protecting the

¹ Quotations from all 15 officers interviewed before the trial have been used in this report. Out of the 18 interviewed since trialling the technology, only 12 provided quotations used here. This is because the remaining six either did not use the cameras in the trial or did not make pertinent points regarding them. Interviews conducted after the introduction of BWVCs are marked with b.

anonymity of interviewees was of paramount importance, and therefore names were not attached to any written notes or tables of analysis

A consent form was included for interviewees to sign to indicate their agreement or otherwise to participate in the research (see appendix A). In addition, interviewees were asked to confirm verbally that they had received, read and understood the form inviting them to participate in the research and that they were happy to proceed. The interview schedule which covered the perception of BWVC, their use and any deficiencies in current practice and any proposed solutions is also included in appendix A.

A survey was constructed and distributed through the Google Forms application. This was sent electronically to all CoLP front-line police officers. Although 148 officers answered the survey prior to trialling the technology, a small number of respondents did not answer each question, so for some questions there were only 141, 144 or 145 responses. For the survey delivered after the trial, 149 officers responded, with all survey items receiving 149 responses.

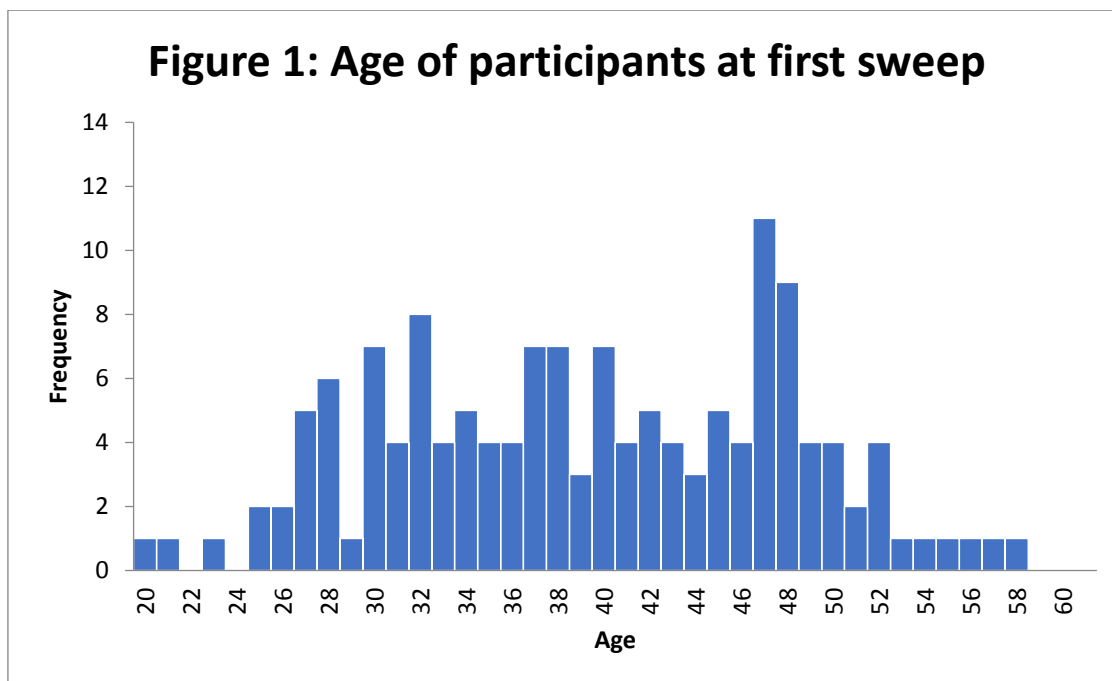
All of the questions concerning attitudes and expectation towards BWVCs were asked in a format where officers were required to choose from one of the following five responses: completely agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, completely disagree. When explaining these results, the most popular results are cited, as in some cases are indications of the spread of responses. Some median values are also reported. These represent the midpoints of participants' responses, so if the median response is "somewhat agree", it means that this is most representative of the responses of all officers. Results are compared between the surveys delivered before and after the trial, and it is shown how some viewpoints on the technology changed during this time. Responses varied in this way for a small number of variables. Before conducting this research, it was expected that rank or levels of policing experience might influence perceptions of BWVC. However, this appears not to have been the case. The results of this survey are presented below, with the effect that responses to each question are described in turn. To begin with, the report presents data describing the officers who responded.

Below, in section 3, is a summary of the officers' responses to the survey administered prior to training in and trialling of the technology. This quantitative data is fleshed out with qualitative data gathered from the interviews with officers, and also from open-ended questions from the survey. Findings are not demarcated by demographics, nor by police

role, rank or experience. Analyses were performed in order to ascertain such variations within the data. However, no significant differences of these sorts were identified. Tables with more detailed information are included at the end for reference purposes.

2.1 Officers surveyed

Respondents to the survey of were asked their age, gender and ethnicity. During the first sweep, 144 out of 148 participants (97 per cent) identified their gender. Out of these, the majority (106, 74 per cent) were male, and 38 (26 per cent) were female. 141 of the respondents (95 per cent) identified their ethnicity. Out of these, the majority (135, 96 per cent) identified as white; five (3.5 per cent) identified as Black or Black British, only one officer (.5 per cent) identified as Asian or Asian British. The mean age of the participants was 39; the spread of ages is shown below, in figure 1. After trialling BWVC technology, the survey was re-administered to the same population of officers. This time out of 149 respondents, 79.2 per cent were male and 20.8 per cent were female. 10 participants (6.7 per cent of the total) failed to give information regarding their ethnicity, however of those who did, three (2 per cent) were Asian or Asian British. The remaining 136 participants (91.3 per cent) stated that they were white.² As the two surveys were conducted almost a year apart, it should not be a surprise that the mean age for the second sweep was higher. Indeed, the mean age at the second sweep was 40.55, so just older than forty years and six months. Further distribution of ages from both sweeps of the survey can be seen in figure 1, the histograms shown below.



² We expect this sample to be a good match for the population of officers who are likely to use the technology. However, difficulties in ascertaining exactly who will wear BWVCs meant this comparison could not be made.

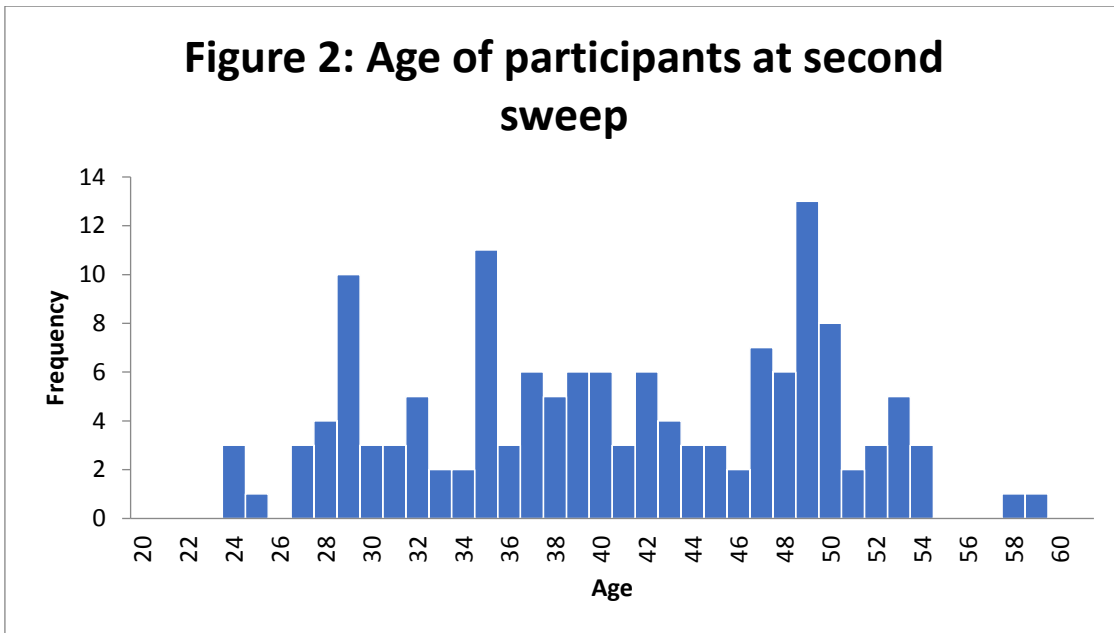


Figure 1 shows that officers tended to be in their thirties or forties, although there were also a fairly high number of officers in their twenties and fifties. The spike towards the right of the chart shows a cluster of officers between the ages of 46 and 50 years of age. Figure 2 shows a very similar picture. This should not be a surprise, as both surveys were distributed to roughly the same population of officers, albeit with one year apart.

Officers were also asked to declare their role within the CoLP, what rank they held and how many years' service they had for the police. This data is shown in table 1 below.

Table 1: Role within the police and years of service

Role	Sweep 1 Frequency (%)	Sweep 2 Frequency (%)
Shift officer	99 (66.9)	61 (40.9)
Support group	21 (14.2)	19 (12.8)
Dog handler	11 (7.4)	9 (6.0)
Firearms	1 (.7)	8 (5.4)
Mounted	7 (4.7)	5 (3.4)
ECD	1 (.7)	9 (6.0)
CID	1 (.7)	3 (2.0)
PCSO	0 (0.0)	5 (3.4)
Other	0 (0)	15 (8.1)
Missing	7 (4.7)	18 (12.1)

From table 1, above, we can see that the majority of officers (66.9 per cent) who responded to the first survey were shift officers. This was not the case during the second sweep, as only 40.9 per cent of participants identified this as their role. At the first sweep the next most populous category was support group (14.2 per cent), followed by dog handlers (7.4 per cent) and mounted officers (4.7 per cent). In the survey conducted after the trial, a smaller proportion worked in support groups (12.8 per cent), as dog handlers (6.0 per cent) and mounted officers (3.4 per cent). Considering the pre-trial survey, only one participant chose each of the options: firearms officer, economic crimes directorate (ECD) and criminal investigations department (CID). Each of these departments were better represented in the second sweep, with 5.4 per cent reporting that they were firearms officers, 6.0 per cent in the ECD and 2.0 per cent in the CID. Whereas no police community support officers (PCSOs) partook in the first round, five (3.3 per cent) did so in the second survey. Officers were also surveyed on their rank, as seen in table 2, below.

Table 2: Role within the police and years of service

Rank	Sweep 1		Sweep 2	
	Frequency (%)	Mean years in force	Frequency (%)	Mean years in force
Constable	120 (81.1)	11.6	111 (74.5)	12.8
Sergeant	22 (14.9)	15.7	24 (16.1)	19.0
Inspector	3 (2.0)	25.0	4 (4.0)	19.8
Other/Missing³	3 (2.0)	-	8 (5.4)	7.4
Total	145 (100)	12.5	149 (100)	13.8

At the first sweep of the survey, eight out of 10 respondents (81.1 per cent) were constables. Then 14.9 per cent of participants had attained the rank of sergeant, and 2.0 per cent inspector. In the survey conducted after the trial, a smaller proportion were constables (74.5 per cent), with a greater proportion of the sample being made up by both sergeants (14.9 per cent) and inspectors (4.0 per cent). Whereas at the first sweep only 2.0 per cent of participants did not give usable data for this variable, 5.4 per cent did so at the second sweep. This accounted for eight participants, five of whom were PCSOs. At the first sweep, the mean length of service an officer will have given to the force is 12.54 years; the figure stood at 13.79 at the second sweep.

³ The participants whose rank was not recorded as constable, sergeant or inspector varied between the two sweeps of the survey. During the first sweep, three participants failed to give any information on their rank or their years in service. For the second sweep of the survey, some police community support officers and a special constable also answered the survey. All of these participants were placed in the “other/missing” row in table 2.

3.0 General perceptions of BWVC

It was anticipated that the qualitative interviews would be a comparison between officers who were to use the BWVCs and those who had used them. However, qualitative interviews conducted with officers before they used BWVCs showed that although none had used the cameras that they were later issued with, some had experience of working with cameras in their policing duties. Out of the 15 officers interviewed, a third (five) had used some sort of camera or had worked closely with colleagues who had been issued them. Their experiences either related to earlier iterations of BWVCs or the use of larger hand-held cameras. Their experiences of using cameras for practical policing purposes were positive.

However, they also expressed anxieties concerning the new BWVCs which related back to operational difficulties they had previously experienced. For example, one officer had used head-held cameras in public order situations “years ago” and “found these to be cumbersome” (interview 2), while another commented: “I mean the battery is obviously an issue. If it goes off at the wrong times that could be very bad for us” (interview 5). Others were more positive and looked forward to the roll-out, as articulated by interview 12: “Erm, well I feel like I’m one of the rare ones that are actually well up for it. I think it’s a really good idea” (interview 12).

In fact, all 15 officers interviewed prior to the trial had a relatively positive perception of BWVCs. The only slight exceptions to this view were one mounted officer, who could see the evidential benefits of carrying a camera but could not see how it might work practically while on horseback, and another officer who saw the positive benefits of the cameras in evidence gathering but otherwise was blasé:

“I must admit – my first instinct is that it’s just another admin expense. Well I guess, I guess they [officers] may be a little bit more afraid to exercise their discretion, some people might be a little bit suspicious, that it’s big brother watching them.”
(interview 12b)

The other respondents ranged from the fully supportive (interview 9: “I’m 100 per cent for them. I think we should have had them a long time ago. I think it’s a brilliant thing, if you’ve got it there recorded, then that’s excellent evidence. Well I’m all for them”), to the wary (interview 3: “I would hope it would work straight away. However, there’s been a few problems with some things that we’ve been given and our computer, our IT here, isn’t great”).

Qualitative interviews were conducted with 12 officers after they used BWVCs. The views of the officers were also overwhelmingly positive, with officers now seeing BWVCs as “an essential piece of kit alongside their tablet and radio” (interview 4b), or as interview 2b put it:

“best bit of kit since I joined. I think it is. I think it’s one of the... it’s probably the... I like the new tablets actually, so I’m very sold on that as well. I think that the cameras probably are the best bit of kit that you could have since I joined eight years ago.”

Officers were impressed with BWVCs’ portability and ease of use. For example, interview 12b stated:

“Erm, well I have used it quite a bit. It works quite well with the response, and it switches on quite quickly. It records quite well, the quality is very good, also the image quality is quite good.”

They felt that it would reduce the time they had to take writing statements and improve the impact of those statements in court. For example, interview 2b mentioned that the BWVC:

“can prevent the need for long statements from victims. It enables one to feel the emotion – you can only put so much on a, on a statement. So when one investigates, like, sexual offences, things like that. And you can write 40-page statements sometimes but to have the video footage of the emotion will be superb for the case.”

Another officer in a supervisory capacity recounted that the footage had been invaluable in capturing an assault on officers and showing the level of aggression someone who had been reported for domestic violence (interview 12b).

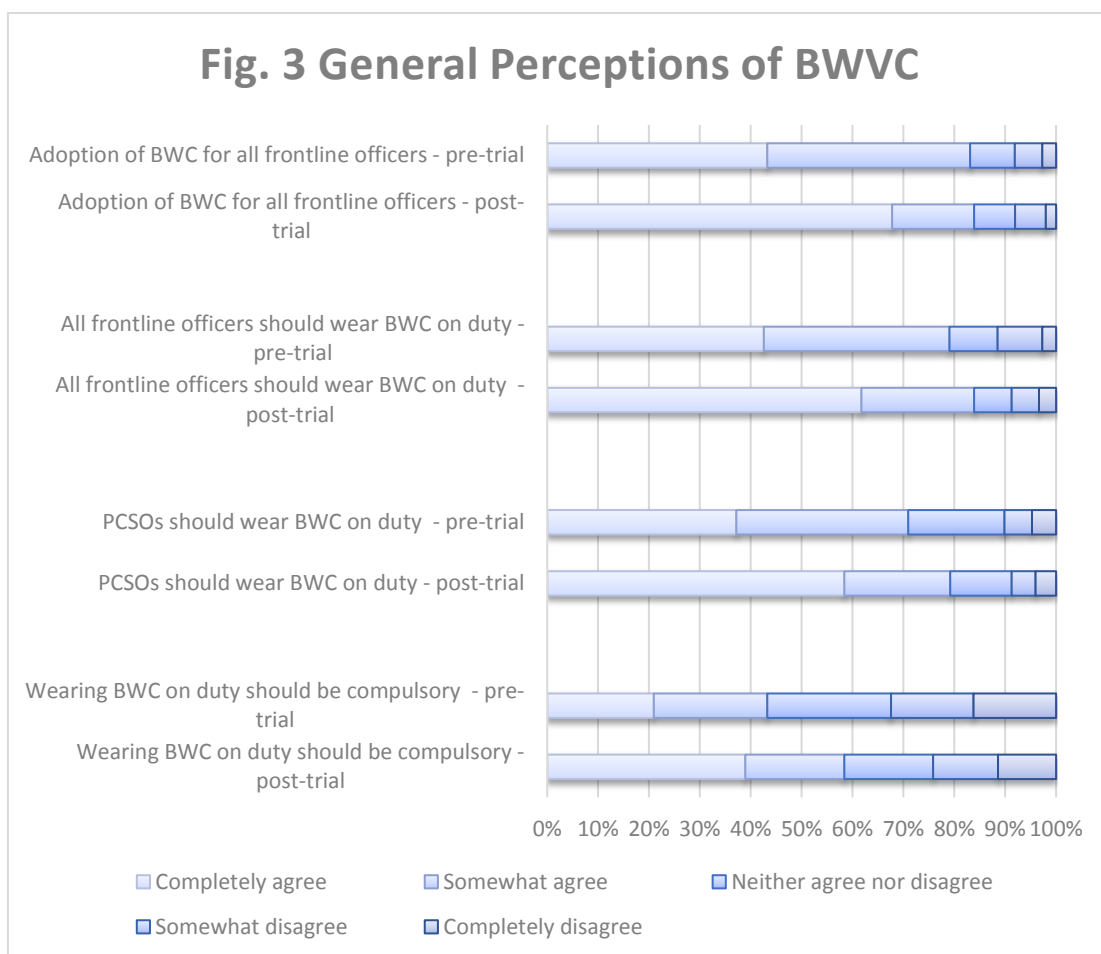
The survey asked about officers’ general perception of the technology. The first group of questions invited respondents to register their enthusiasm, or lack thereof, for the introduction of BWVCs into the CoLP force. These were posed in the surveys delivered both before and after technology trial. T-tests were used to discern whether opinions had changed on matters surveyed after the equipment had been trialled. If a significant difference is found between responses before and after the trial, that means the probability of the difference being down to chance, rather than genuine differences in perception, stands at less than 5 per cent. This is a standard method for extrapolating differences between different groups surveyed in social research (Bryman 2012).

The findings from each variable are summarised in a bullet point below. Following this, the results for each cluster of variables are presented graphically.

- Officers were asked the extent to which they agreed with the statement “this agency should adopt body-worn cameras for all front-line police officers”. Prior to the trial, a significant majority (83.1 per cent) expressed agreement with that statement, choosing either “completely agree” or “somewhat agree”. Officers were even more positive after the trial ($P<.05$), as the second survey found that 83.9 per cent of the officers chose one of the two most positive options. There was stronger growth in those who completely agreed, from 43.2 per cent before the trial to 67.8 per cent afterwards. So after trialling the technology, more than two thirds of those surveyed completely agreed that the force should adopt the technology.
- Respondents were also enthusiastic regarding whether all officers should wear the technology whilst on duty. Prior to the trial, over three quarters (79.1 per cent) chose either “completely agree” or “somewhat agree”. For this variable there was also a significant increase ($P<.05$) in officers’ agreement by the second sweep. After the second sweep, 83.9 per cent chose either “completely agree” or “somewhat agree”. The proportion choosing “completely agree” went up from 42.6 per cent to 61.7 per cent, showing strong support for the idea that all officers should wear BWVCs whilst on duty.
- Before the trial, officers also believed that PCSOs should wear this technology; however, responses were not quite as enthusiastic. Almost three quarters (71.0 per cent) of officers ticked either “completely agree” or “somewhat agree”. Compared to the two items reported above, however, a greater proportion (18.9 per cent) chose “neither agree nor disagree”. Once again respondents were significantly more likely ($P<.05$) to show agreement with this item after trialling of the technology. Post-trial, a lower figure of 12.1 per cent chose “neither agree nor disagree” and a higher proportion of 79.2 per cent chose either “completely agree” or “tend to agree”.
- Officers were ambivalent about the mandatory wearing of surveillance equipment. When asked whether “wearing BWVC on duty should be compulsory”, the highest proportion (24.3 per cent) chose “neither agree nor disagree”, with the median score also reflecting this response. There was also a significant change ($P<.05$) in participant responses between the two surveys for this variable. Now less than one in five participants (17.4 per cent) voted “neither agree nor disagree”, with “completely agree” now the most popular response, garnering nearly two fifths (38.9 per cent) of responses.

The above responses indicate officer support for the introduction of BWVCs and that officers believe they should wear them on duty, even more so following the trial of the technology. The results are also depicted in figure 2, below. The charts are split into five sections, representing the popularity of each response. The lighter regions to the left of the charts denote agreement with the statements. Lighter shaded regions to the right reflect agreement. For each variable the charts concerning data collected before the trial are placed closely above the charts reflecting opinion from after the technology trial, so changes in perception can be seen. For all four variables shown in figure 3 (below), larger lighter regions in the post-trial survey indicate greater agreement that the technology should be used.

Fig. 3 General Perceptions of BWVC



3.1 BWVC as a crime fighting tool

The qualitative response to the use of BWVC as a crime fighting tool by those who had not yet used them was (with one exception, who did not comment) completely positive, as can be seen in the table outlined below. On the other hand, none of the officers felt the cameras would be useful in training recruits. Meanwhile, officers were much more ambivalent concerning whether BWVC might influence aggressive or antisocial behaviour displayed by the public. Officers who had either used BWVCs or anticipated doing so thought the cameras would work to calm down members of the public, as interview 15 explained:

“It will improve the behaviour of the public. I think maybe if, erm, if you were going to a fight or something, or anything really, a dispute in the street, and if the public knew they were being videoed, I think it would probably make them a lot more aware of what they were doing, and maybe it would calm them down slightly. So maybe resolve a few conflict issues. Because no one wants to be caught on camera doing something.”

Others felt that more often than not, members of the public were too intoxicated to take much notice of camera deployment, as here in interview 7:

“Crime will always be there. Crime will always continue to arise. And so long as you continue to have the unlimited amount of alcohol just being pumped out, you are going to get more crime. It's not rocket science. The more pubs you have, the more alcohol, the more violent crime you're going to have. So that won't stop violent crime, the cam will not stop violent crime. It will give evidence of violent crime. It won't stop it.”

Overall, the balance of police opinion pre-camera is best expressed by interview 3:

“I'm not talking about drunk people here. I'm talking about people who are out protesting and then go over the limits of protest and start going into criminal behaviour. I think it will affect their behaviour. And I think those sort of incidents will calm – I think a lot of antisocial behaviour that we see in the street will calm down. With people thinking they're being filmed when they see a police officer, they might moderate their language a bit more and their behaviour towards the police.”

The main issue identified by all but one of the respondents interviewed prior to the trial was the way the cameras could be used to provide supportive evidence for prosecutions.

This is the key expectation and therefore the detail of how the cameras could be used to support operational policing is outlined in table 3, in the appendices below.

The officers who had used the BWVC were extremely complimentary about its effectiveness, especially in providing evidence in criminal cases which prior to its introduction would have involved the officer's account versus the member of public's account. For example, interview 2b noted its use in relation to begging, an issue in the city, going on to explain:

“And it is good for evidential purpose – this person was begging, or loitering, or whatever. That person can go to court and go, no I wasn't! So my evidence, like today, I've stopped three people because they're very problematic. They're rude, belligerent and they will tell porkies.”

Interview 4b, commented that the cameras were useful for recording motorists speaking on their mobile phones or “if you see someone say go through a red light on a bike”. Interviewees felt that it was empowering enough to improve their detection rate. Interview 9b mentioned that pre-camera, if a motorist was belligerent concerning the officer's account of going through a light, the officer might abandon efforts to punish them. With the camera, they felt on more certain grounds and could conduct their work more efficiently.

“I have actually walked away from jobs before where I think that people have gone through lights – I've stopped them, a conversation ensued, there's no proof as to why I stopped them – I know a complaint is going to start coming and I've walked away from it. It's not worth it. But with the camera, straight away I've got my evidence – that person cannot – again, when I speak to them I may not be... OK, because I don't have to. I want to see their reactions, because straight away they will come out... especially.”

In relation to the behaviour of the public, officers who had been issued the cameras expressed similar sentiments to the officers before they have been issued the cameras. Some felt that some members of the public would improve their behaviours whilst others would remain unmoved by the presence of the camera. For example, interview 1b states:

“Heightened aggression... I've recently dealt with a few, erm, disagreements shall we say. And again, as per the guidelines, for our safety if nothing else we will record. When we get there, if someone starts getting a bit aggressive, we're recording that, it's being videoed, and it will either make them completely calm

down or it actually heightens their desire to argue with you.”

However, others noted that the influence of drink, drugs or both made people oblivious to the presence of cameras, as interview 8b explains: “[BWVCs] won’t alter the behaviour of some. People have become blasé about CCTV, especially some people though when they are high and drunk, it doesn't make any difference what we do.” This sentiment is backed up by interview 9:

“Erm, I think if someone’s going to assault you, they’re going to assault you. I don’t think the camera’s got a force field, but it gives me the added protection to show evidentially and to prosecute. So yeah, I don't think it's going to give me any extra security in that respect, but the reassurance is a positive thing for me.”

However, officers who had been issued the cameras (in contrast to those who had not) were able to reference instances in which the cameras did have a direct effect on calming down potentially aggressive behaviour, such as in public order situations. At the time of the BWVC trial.

The qualitative responses from interviews were largely in line with the quantitative survey responses, outlined below:

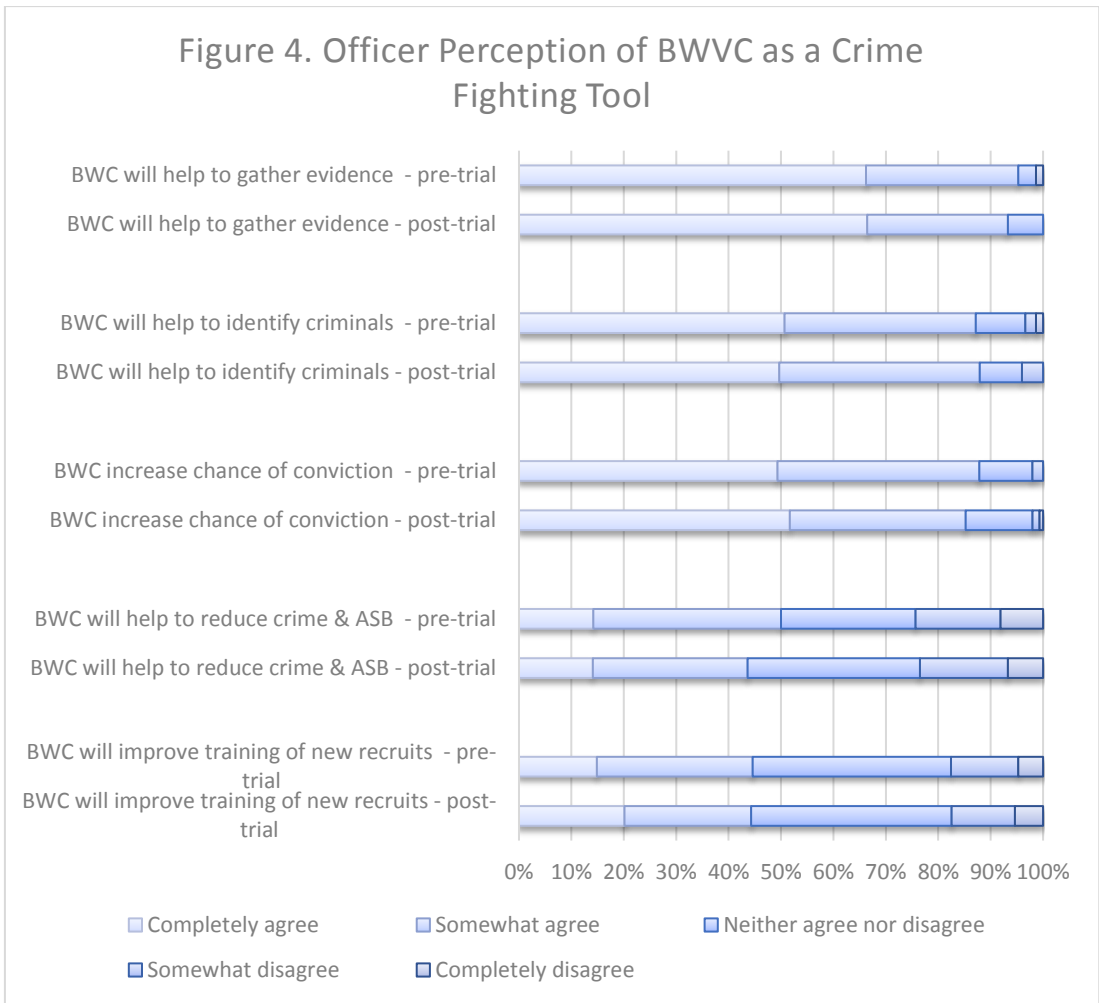
- Asked whether they thought BWVCs would help with the evidence gathering process, almost all respondents to the first sweep of the survey believed it would with 95.4 per cent of the sample choosing either “completely agree” or “somewhat agree” with the statement. “Completely agree” was the most popular response. There were no significant differences ($P > .05$) between sweeps for this, although there was a small decline in approval, with now 93.3 per cent choosing one of the two most positive options.
- Pre-trial, the majority of officers thought that BWVCs would help to identify criminals. Nearly nine out of 10 officers (87.2 per cent) chose either “completely agree” or “somewhat agree”. “Completely agree” was the most popular response. Again changes in views expressed through this variable were not significant ($P > .05$), with a similar proportion (87.9 per cent) choosing options which suggested agreement.
- Participants were also asked whether they thought BWVCs will increase the chance of conviction following an incident. Prior to the trial, 87.8 per cent of participants chose either “completely agree” or “somewhat agree”. For this item, “completely agree” was also the most popular option. There was no significant change in

response to this variable ($P > .05$), with 87.9 per cent of participants showing agreement in the second sweep.

- Prior to the trial officers were not quite so optimistic when responding to the statement “BWVC will reduce crime and antisocial behaviour (ASB)”, where “somewhat agree” was the most popular response, chosen by a third (35.8 per cent) of respondents. Responses were mixed, however: the second most popular response was “neither agree nor disagree” (25.7 per cent). Changes in responses to this variable did not reach significance ($P > .05$). “Neither agree nor disagree” continued to be the most popular option, with 32.9 per cent.
- Whilst participants were hopeful that BWVCs would improve the efficiency of CoLP, they were not so sure that it would help with training new recruits. The most popular response (and also median response) was “neither agree nor disagree”, chosen by 37.8 per cent of respondents, although 29.7 per cent of respondents did choose “somewhat agree”.

These findings show that CoLP officers see potential for BWVCs in fighting crime, but are less convinced the technology would be useful in training new recruits. These findings are further depicted in figure 4 below.

Figure 4. Officer Perception of BWVC as a Crime Fighting Tool



3.2 BWVC and public relations and officer safety

The qualitative data from officers interviewed before the BWVCs were rolled out did not pick up a great deal concerning the impact of cameras on public relations and officer safety, although interview 1 felt that it would:

“assist fellow officers in their dealing with the way they are dealing with members of the public, and it will also make them think about what they’re saying and how they are saying it as well. So that’s the first reason. Secondly, I also think that those officers who are not naturally, erm, inclined to, not be careful, but, you know, their true tendencies will come out. And that will then, hopefully, help the organisation recognise this and in a way get rid of those types of officers that we don't want”.

From the officers who had used the cameras there was a pragmatic response to how effective they were in improving public relations and officer safety. Two key points emerge from the qualitative research: first that officers thought on the whole, they will improve the way they are perceived by the public. Acknowledging that there is a legitimacy issue, officer one said that now the police were filmed this could assist in restoring confidence.

As interview 3b put it:

“People see us as more accountable if we have these, which I think is a big thing nowadays. So all the bad press we've had in the past, you know, like the football incident that happened.”

Secondly, they felt that the presence of cameras would enable them to act more decisively. This was mentioned by several officers and illustrates perhaps how much the culture of litigation has inhibited officer performance. As interview 2b explained:

“Because the officers felt, erm, more confident in the fact that, you know, what you're doing, because obviously you have got to kind of establish that what you're doing is right. Maybe you don't feel this if you haven't got a body-worn camera. There's always the, the, erm, thing of a complaint later on. Whereas if officers know they've got a body-worn camera on – I know what I'm doing is right, I know I can do the job, it's being recorded now, so now I can actually act, I can do what I want to do, you know.”

Or interview 5b:

“Because sometimes you do hold back a bit. You do – sometimes you do hold things in. No one wants to have a complaint against them, you know. Sometimes it's easy to kind of... hold back and try and, try and communicate your intentions, whereas really you should get hands-on.”

Respondents were less forthcoming regarding their whether BWVCs might make them feel safer when patrolling or when responding to emergencies. In fact, none of the respondents expected BWVCs have an impact in this regard. What does emerge as a significant expectation, which chimes with the quantitative data, is that BWVCs will reduce the incidence of complaints. Officers were clear that they were already working in an observed environment, where members of the public frequently used their phones to film their behaviour. However, some felt, as expressed below, that this footage could easily be edited to portray their actions in the worst possible way, and thereby further undermine police legitimacy:

“It's obviously an age of social media, in that as soon as you attend an incident you're, you know, the camera's in your face, the phones, whatever it is, you get them shoved in your face and you've got no comeback for that.” (Interview 5)

On the broader point of police legitimacy, officers expressed two conflicting views. On the one hand it was anticipated that the presence of surveillance equipment might add to the distance between police officers and the public – for example, reducing the amount of unguarded interaction and increasing the public’s fears of a “big brother society”. On the other hand, the expectation that BWVCs would exonerate police officers from malicious complaints was seen as something that might positively impact on their wider legitimacy.

It is the second of these points that shone through from the interviews conducted after officers had used the BWVCs. The interviews with officers who had used the BWVCs reported multiple experiences where they were extremely useful in fending off malicious complaints. Ultimately, they felt this would have a positive effect on their legitimacy. The officers mentioned actual examples of prisoners becoming violent and injuring themselves either while being taken into custody or when in custody. For example, interview 12b described a woman who resisted arrest:

“[she] then stuck her leg out as we were shutting the van door. Of course it hurt – it would hurt, and we had injured her. She accused us of trying to assault her. But the cameras captured exactly what she did, and she then did it a second time further on, again when we were trying to shut the door, she put her leg out. So she couldn't accuse us of doing anything, but it showed her quite clearly obstructing us by putting her leg out.”

In these incidents, they could then play the camera footage to their superiors to categorically prove that complaints against them were spurious. Secondly, they argued that these kinds of complaint were common:

“So, we’ve had a lot of incidents actually in the front office where cos they’re so drunk they’ve fallen over, it’s all recorded. So if they wake up the next day with an injury and say, oh the police did this to me, we’ve got our protection again.”
(Interview 10b)

“And we’ve had – cos these are the people that want to kill you, you know, destroy your family etcetera, and the next day apologise to you cos they didn’t realise what they were saying. Of course it’s with that it’s useful to show someone how they were.” (Interview 11)

Finally, supervisors (sergeants, inspectors) noted that the BWVC could assist with monitoring their staff. As officer 12b explained:

“if you are the wrong officer at the wrong time, you can generate a complaint that can drag on for a bit. Although if you have not done anything wrong you have nothing to worry about. But now, the professional standards will ask you – was your body camera on when you dealt with that incident? And you say yes, then you can send them the footage, and it will capture all of your verbals to them and theirs to you... If it was not I would want a bloody good reason why.”

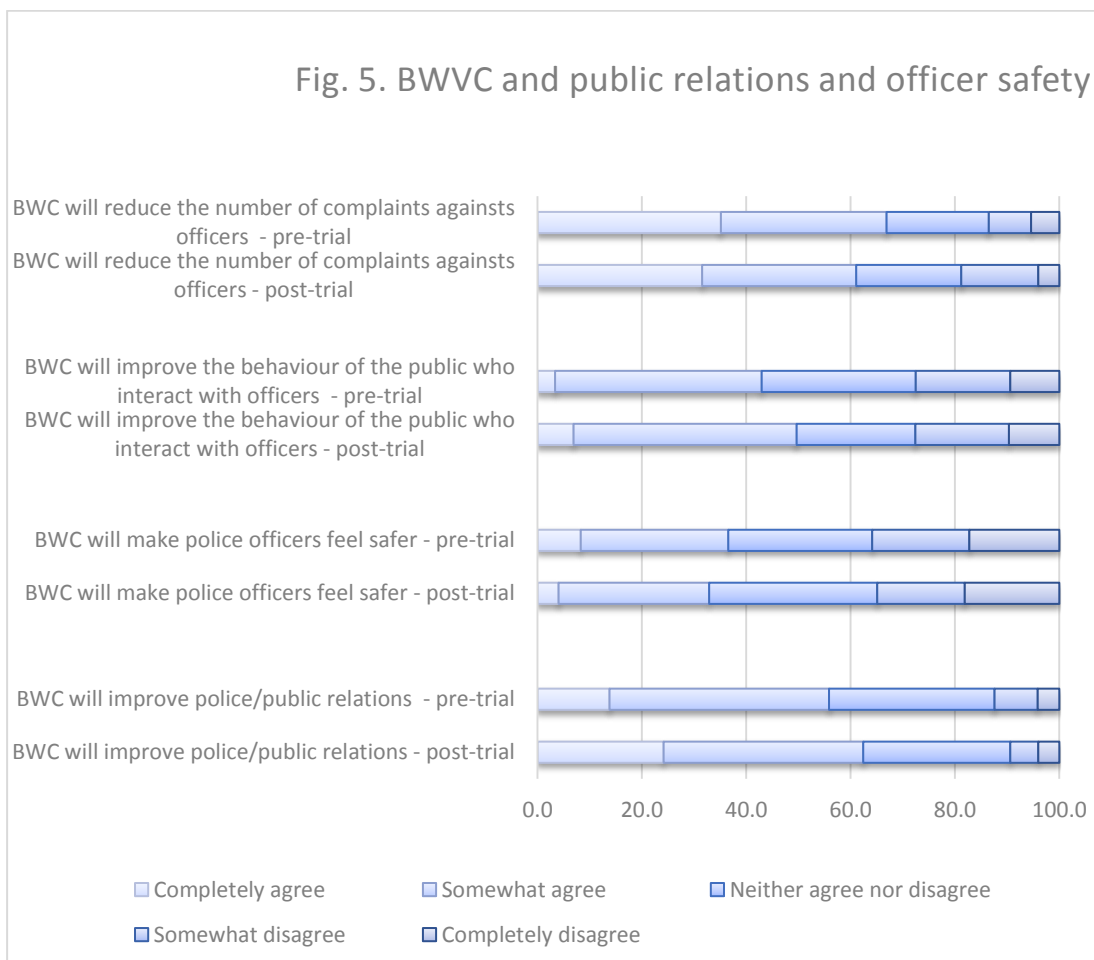
Concerning public relations and officer safety, survey responses also reflected interview responses. Both before and after the trial, officers felt this technology would aid public relations.

- At the first sweep, one third of respondents (35.1 per cent) “completely agreed” with the statement “BWVCs will reduce the number of complaints made against officers”. The second most popular was “somewhat agree” (31.5 per cent), which was also the median score. Changes in responses to this variable were non-significant ($P > .05$), with just under a third (31.5 per cent) opting for “completely agree” and a slightly smaller proportion plumping for “somewhat agree” (29.5 per cent) following the trial.
- In response to the statement “Wearing BWVCs will improve policing and public relations by increasing transparency and contribute towards the Trust and Confidence strategy”, the highest proportion (42.1 per cent) chose “somewhat agree”. This was also the median response. The next most popular response was “neither agree nor disagree” (31.7 per cent). Again, changes in participant responses between sweeps were not significant ($P > .05$). At the second sweep, “somewhat agree” was again most popular, chosen by 38.3 per cent of respondents, while “neither agree nor disagree” received 28.2 per cent.
- Nearly half of respondents (42.8 per cent) “somewhat agreed” with the statement “wearing a BWVC will improve the behaviour of members of the public who interact with police officers in the field”. Almost a quarter (22.8 per cent) chose “neither agree nor disagree”. Responses to this statement also did not change significantly ($P > .05$) between sweeps of the survey. “Somewhat agree” continued to be most popular with 39.6 per cent of participants selecting this option, while 29.5 per cent chose “neither agree nor disagree”.
- Officers were also presented with the statement “Wearing BWVCs will make police officers feel safer while on the job”. The most popular answer (28.3 per cent) was “somewhat agree”, although “neither agree nor disagree” was the next most popular

(27.6 per cent). As for all variables in this cluster, differences between sweeps were not significant ($P > .05$). Despite this, “neither agree nor disagree” was the most popular response after the trial, with 32.2 per cent of officers choosing this and 28.9 per cent choosing “somewhat agree”.

In summary, officers initially viewed the technology very positively, especially in regards to improvements in police-public relationships and the possibility of reducing complaints. Their responses were less positive regarding the potential for the technology to make officers safer on the job. It seems the trialling of the technology did not greatly influence officers’ viewpoint for these variables. The results are also depicted in figure 5 below.

Fig. 5. BWVC and public relations and officer safety



3.3 Fears and worries regarding BWVC

Whilst perceptions were uniformly positive, there were two sources of. First was the issue of privacy. There was concern that officers' small talk and private conversations could be captured, especially while at work but not actively policing, such as in the changing rooms. For example, interview 2 said that "that private jokes could result in grief", while interview 12 stated:

"I think they're worried it's going to be turned on all the time, and as police officers are human beings, we generally have a – sometimes when we're all out on patrol, we're chatting about personal stuff or whatever and they're worried that it will be recording that and it will be used against you. Some people may say, I don't know, jokes or something risqué, you know, in the confines of a police car it's fine – it's not what we would say out on the street, in the public."

Or as interview 10b said, some his colleagues would not want the BWVC on all the time as:

"you've got personal opinions of people, and they wouldn't want those opinions shared, because other people might be sensitive to them. And they don't mean to be insensitive to anyone else, so that's why they wouldn't want them on all the time."

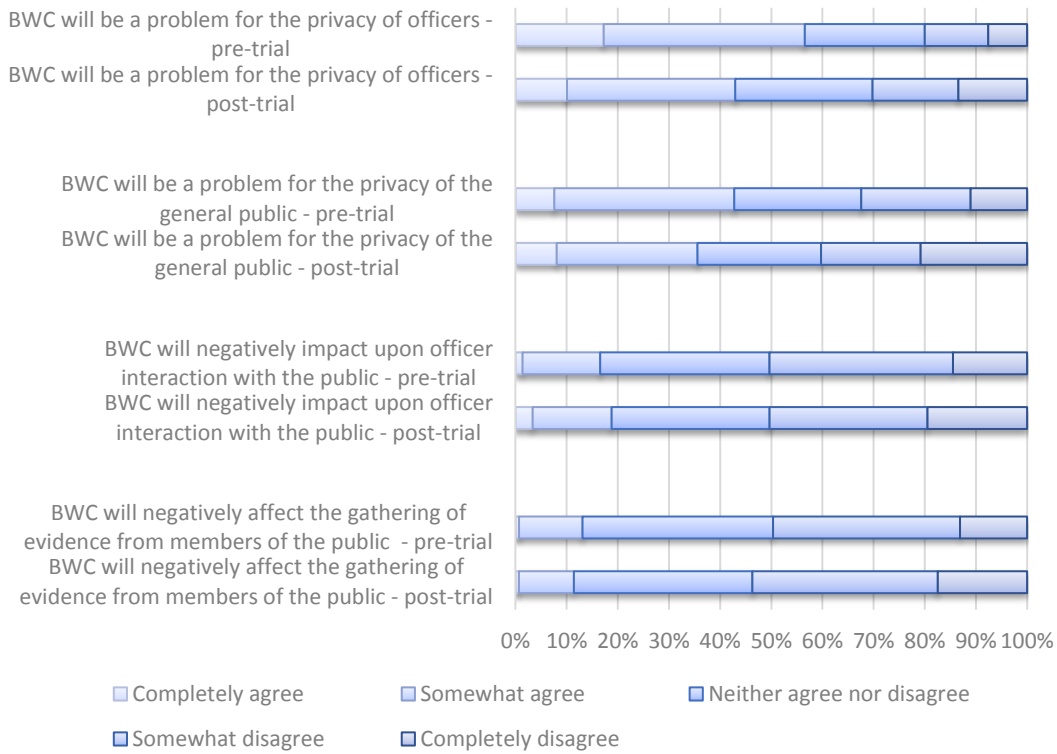
However, the fact that the cameras visibly flashed was reassuring, as officers could see if others were wearing them. Also, as one officer mentioned, the force had written and circulated a reassuring policy regarding the admissibility of evidence from cameras. Secondly, frustration was expressed that despite the quality of the camera footage it was not as yet compatible with the systems used by the Crown Prosecution Service. Therefore, footage could not just be downloaded to the courts for use. There were also some minor gripes with regards to the editing of footage and concerns about the provision of mobile chargers, as the cameras could run out of power on long shifts. However, on balance, BWVCs' provision of excellent footage, their portability and their use in evidence gathering and in preventing malicious complaints made them a very welcome addition to officers' working lives.

Participants were asked about any worries they might have regarding the scheme. Officers expressed some fears relating to privacy and anticipated difficulties protecting their own privacy and that of members of the public.

- Before the trialling of BWVCs, two out of five respondents (39.3 per cent) “somewhat agreed” with the statement that “wearing BWVC will be a problem for the privacy of police officers whilst on duty”. Around one quarter (23.4 per cent) chose “neither agree nor disagree” with the statement. Responses to this variable differed significantly ($P < .05$) between sweeps. Now 32.9 per cent completely agreed, 26.8 per cent chose “neither agree nor disagree”. So although some officers were still worried about BWVCs in terms of their own privacy following the trial, a smaller proportion of surveyed officers felt this way.
- Moreover, officers thought the privacy of members of the public would also be compromised by the introduction of BWVC. When asked whether “BWVC will be a problem for the privacy of the members of the public who are recorded”, prior to the trial one third (35.2 per cent) “somewhat agreed”, while around a quarter (24.8 per cent) chose the option “neither agree nor disagree”. Responses to this variable did not change significantly between sweeps ($P > .05$), with 27.5 per cent choosing “somewhat agree” and 24.2 per cent choosing “neither agree nor disagree”.
- Respondents before the trial did not appear worried by the statement “BWVC will negatively impact upon daily interactions with members of the public”, evidenced by around a third (35.9 per cent) choosing “somewhat disagree” and a similar proportion (33.1 per cent) going for “neither agree nor disagree”. Responses to this variable did not significantly change ($P > .05$) between sweeps. After trialling BWVCs, both “somewhat disagree” and “neither agree nor disagree” were chosen by 30.9 per cent of participants.
- Officers surveyed also tended not to worry that “wearing BWVC will negatively affect gathering evidence from members of the public”. Prior to trialling the technology, “somewhat disagree” was the most popular response with 36.9 per cent of respondents and a similar proportion (37.2 per cent) going for “neither agree nor disagree”. There was no significant change at the second sweep ($P > .05$), when 36.2 per cent chose “somewhat disagree”, and 34.9 per cent chose “neither agree nor disagree”.

The responses to these four items show that officers had mixed feelings regarding the potential negative facets of BWVC suggested to them. There were concerns over privacy, particularly of officers. As will be seen once qualitative analysis of the interviews is interpreted, many officers thought the technology might always be recording, and were worried for this reason. The findings from this group of items are depicted below in figure 6.

Figure 6. Officer Worries regarding the introduction of BWVC



3.4 Perceptions of BWVC influence on officers' own behaviour

Responses to questions on this theme show officers to be largely unconvinced that the technology will change the way they personally act on duty. Most of the variables relate to negative outcomes, so a broad lack of agreement with them suggests officers are not worried that their policing will be negatively impacted by the technology.

Discussion of this topic during the qualitative interview did not particularly add to these quantitative findings, so these are reported below in isolation.

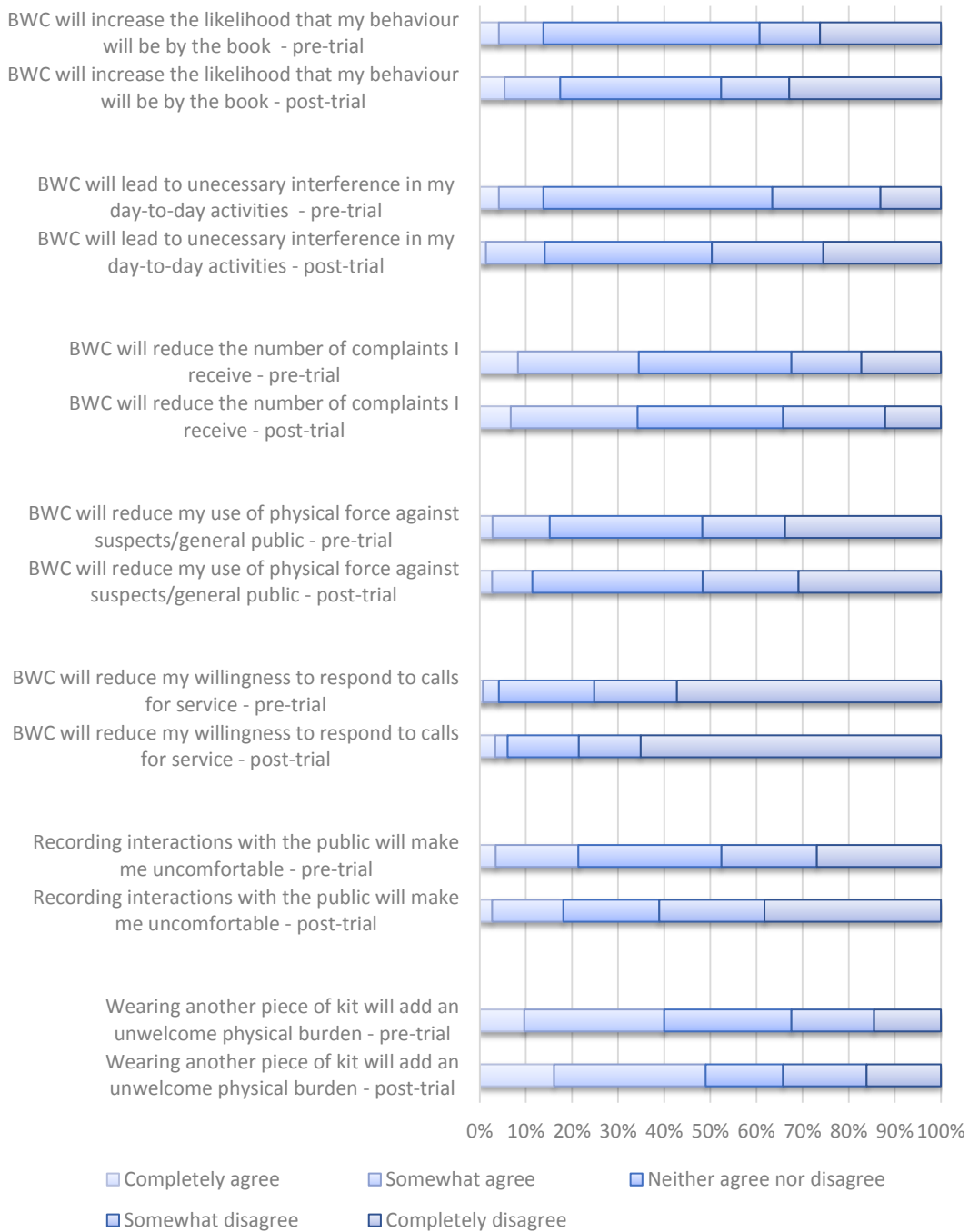
- Prior to the trial, nearly half of respondents (46.9 per cent) were unsure if BWVCs would affect their performance, choosing “neither agree nor disagree” with a statement suggesting that BWVCs would make them “more likely to act by the book”. This was also their median response. There was no significant change ($P > .05$) after the trial. In the second sweep, 34.9 per cent chose “neither agree nor disagree”, less than during the first sweep. However, although more participants chose options indicating more certainty, there was no significant change in the central tendencies of responses to this variable.
- Participants were asked how far they agreed that “wearing BWVC would lead to extra and unnecessary interference in my day to day work from my supervisors”. Before the technology was trialled, nearly half (49.7 per cent) chose the option “neither agree nor disagree”, which was also the median response. However, responses to this variable did change significantly ($P < .05$) between sweeps. At the second sweep, a third (36.2 per cent) chose “neither agree nor disagree”. At the first sweep, only 13.1 per cent “completely disagreed” with this statement, whereas a quarter (25.5 per cent) did at the second sweep. It seems as though trialling the technology allayed many officers' fears concerning this variable.
- Officers responded equitably to the statement “wearing BWVC will reduce the number of complaints that I receive”. Both before and after the trial, “neither agree nor disagree” was the median response and the most popular response. There was no significant change ($P > .05$) in responses between sweeps. Prior to the trial, 33.1 per cent of respondents chose “neither agree nor disagree”; after the trial 31.5 per cent did so. At the first sweep, “somewhat agree” was second most popular, with 26.2 per cent choosing this option; 27.5 per cent did so at the second sweep.
- At the first sweep, officers tended not to agree with the statement “wearing BWVC will reduce my use of physical force against suspects and other members of the public”, with the median response being “somewhat disagree” both before and after

the trialling of the technology. Despite this, at the first sweep “completely disagree” was most popular with 33.8 per cent of responses. Second most popular was “neither agree nor disagree”, with 32.4 per cent choosing this. Changes in officers’ responses did not reach statistical significance ($P > .05$). Despite this, by the second sweep “neither agree nor disagree” was most popular, with 36.9 per cent choosing this. “Completely disagree” was second most popular, chosen by 30.9 per cent of officers.

- Both before and after the trial, many participants also showed their disagreement with the statement “wearing BWVC will reduce my willingness to respond to calls for service”. “Completely disagree” was the most popular response, this time with a majority (57.2 per cent) of responses at the first sweep. There was no significant change in responses between sweeps ($P > .05$). Following the trial, the proportion of the sample choosing “completely disagree” increased to nearly two thirds (65.1 per cent).
- On whether the technology would make them feel uncomfortable when interacting with members of the public, prior to the trial the most common response was “neither agree nor disagree”, with just under a third of officers (31.0 per cent) choosing this. This was also the median response. There was a statistically significant change ($P < .05$) in responses between sweeps of this survey. Whereas prior to the trial the median response was “neither agree nor disagree”, after the trial the median had shifted to “somewhat disagree”. In addition, following the trial, “completely disagree” became the most popular response, with more than a third (38.3 per cent) choosing this option. It seems that trialling of the technology allayed this particular fear in the minds of a number of officers.
- Prior to the trial, one third of officers expected the wearing of BWVC to be an unwelcome extra physical burden. Here the most popular answer was to somewhat agree (30.3 per cent) which, again, was also the median response. There was no significant change ($P > .05$) in participant responses between sweeps of the study. “Somewhat agree” continued to be the most popular response, with 32.9 per cent choosing this option. “Somewhat agree” was also the median response at both sweeps, so this issue continues to be a concern for some officers.

Officers tended not agree with these suggestions of how BWVC might affect their own conduct on the job. There was most agreement however, that BWVC might reduce the number of complaints they personally receive and also that the kit might add a physical burden. These findings are further depicted in figure 7 below.

Figure 7. Perception of BWVC on officers' behaviour



3.5 Perceptions of impact of BWVC on other officers' behaviour

Overall, officers felt that BWVC would make little difference to other officers' behaviour, as they felt that they already behave well and were often subject to malicious complaints. As interview 11 outlined:

“this is an environment where people can make complaints so easily, are almost encouraged to do so, and for me I need that protection where actually I can show my side of the story and actually how I performed, because the supervisors and the, erm, Professional Standards Department – they're not working with me, they never see the incident at all. All they know is I'm a bad police officer, I'm uncivil, and things like that. Well actually now they can actually watch the footage, see how I dealt with it, and actually it will change their perspective.”

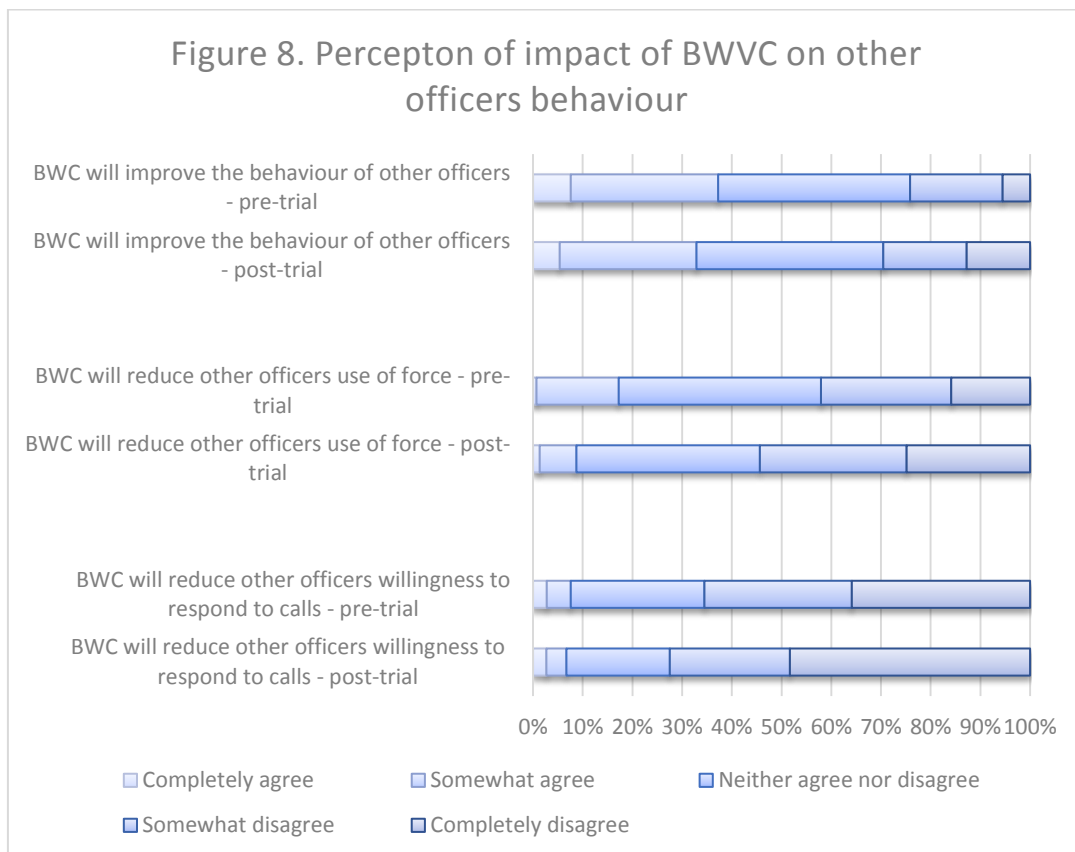
As has been discussed above, officers who had been issued BWVCs did not feel that it would make any difference to their behaviour or that of other officers other than to make them more confident in their actions.

This topic of interest was also interrogated via the survey, with the following three items showing that officers did not expect the technology to change their colleagues' behaviour.

- Officers were unsure if BWVC would improve their colleagues' behaviour in deployment, with “neither agree nor disagree” being the most common answer (38.6 per cent) and also the median response. There was no significant change ($P > .05$) between sweeps. After the trial, “neither agree nor disagree” remained most popular, with 37.6 per cent of responses.
- Prior to the trial, this was also true for whether BWVC might reduce other officers use of force against members of the public, with 40.7 per cent of respondents choosing “neither agree nor disagree”. Prior to the trial this was also the median response. However, the trialling of the technology seemed to cause a significant change ($P < .05$) to participants' responses. At the second sweep, the median response was ‘somewhat disagree’, receiving nearly a third (29.5 per cent) of responses. Despite this, “neither agree nor disagree” remained the most popular response, with over a third (36.9 per cent) of responses.

- Finally, officers disagreed that BWVC would reduce other officers' willingness to respond to calls for service, with 35.9 per cent choosing "completely disagree" and 29.7 per cent choosing "somewhat disagree", which was also the median response. There was no significant change ($P > .05$) following the trial. Despite the changes in response not reaching statistical significance, "neither agree nor disagree" was the most popular response at the second sweep, receiving 36.9 per cent of responses. The share choosing "somewhat disagree" declined to 29.5 per cent and the share for "completely disagree" moved to 24.8 per cent.

From the three items reported above, it can be seen that officers tend not to think the technology will influence their colleagues' conduct at work. These findings are further depicted in figure 8 below.



4.0 Policing outcomes

The CoLP were able to provide data regarding two sets of outcomes. Firstly, data was provided concerning the number of cases brought to trial and the proportion which were settled at the first hearing. This should show whether BWVCs have been effective in terms of adding efficiencies to the justice process. Secondly, there is data concerning the numbers of complaints made for either “incivilities” or “oppressive conduct” and how they were resolved. This might point to whether BWVC improves the behaviour of officers or prevents spurious complaints being made. Other data was sought, but was not provided. This included: counts of physical and verbal assaults on officers; incivilities against officers; aggregate levels of anti-social behaviour in the borough; numbers of stop and searches performed; reductions in officer court time; and reductions in time spent evidence gathering. In most cases this data was not routinely recorded and so was not collected during the trial period. Data protection issues also meant it was not feasible for members of the research team to view the sorts of data which were available.

An inhibitor to successful policing outcomes was that body worn technology was at the time of writing not synchronised with the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS). Indeed, as one officer remarked: “The only thing we weren't taught, which still hasn't gone live yet, is how we send data to CPS” (Officer 1b). Some officers were able to share evidence from BWVC with the CPS on an ad hoc basis. For example, in one case a respondent discussed liaising with colleagues in CID whether you were able to pass video on to the CPS. Another produced a word document which could or did direct a prosecutor to a relevant recording. Future research should look into how these processes have developed and become formalised since the trialling of the technology.

Data from the five months of the trial period (1 January-1 June 2016) is compared to the same five month periods in the years 2014 and 2015. During the trial, some officers were issued with the cameras and others were not. Out of the five shift groups A, B, C, D and E, only A, B and C were issued with BWVCs. It had been hoped that outcomes could be compared between the experimental group with cameras and the control groups without. Unfortunately, data could not be provided showing how outcomes differed by shift group, so in a descriptive fashion, outcomes from the 2016 trial will be compared with previous years. Also, due to the nature of the data provided, inferential statistics cannot be calculated. Nonetheless, the figures given, alongside findings from the survey and qualitative interviews, suggest ways in which BWVC may and may not be fulfilling their objectives.

4.1 Increasing proportion of trials settled at the first hearing

One aim of BWVC was to increase efficiencies while dispensing justice. The hope would be that evidence from recordings of incidents would encourage guilty pleas. Data was provided concerning the number of first hearings and the number of guilty pleas in the two control periods (4 January-4 June 2014 and 4 January-4 June 2015) and the experimental period, when BWVC was trialled (4 January-4 June 2016). The number of first hearings and guilty pleas are shown in table 3, below, as are the proportion of first hearings which result in a guilty plea.

Table 3: Volume of first hearing and proportion settled via a guilty plea

Period	Total first hearings	Guilty plea at first hearing	Proportion of first hearings resulting in guilty plea
Control one: 1 January- 1 June 2014	1770	207	12%
Control two: 1 January- 1 June 2015	1760	237	13%
Trial period: 1 January- 1 June 2016	1477	206	14%

As can be seen from table 3 above, it does not appear that the proportion of trials being settled by a guilty plea at the first hearing was any lower than usual during the trial period. There were fewer first hearings recorded during the trial period compared to other years. One can only speculate as regards the cause of this drop, to 1,477, when the previous two five-month periods saw respective figures of 1,760 and 1,770 cases being heard. During the trial period the number of guilty pleas was also smaller than previous years, standing at 206. Then during the matching period from 2014 there were 207 guilty pleas, while for the same period during 2015 the figure was 237. The conclusion from this is that the proportion of trials being settled at the first hearing via a guilty plea has not changed much. In the five-month period during 2014, 12 per cent were settled this way, and during 2015 it was 13 per cent; during the trial period in 2016, the figure was 14 per cent. Not enough data was provided to perform inferential statistical analyses. Indeed, one would caution against reading the increase in the proportion of trials settled via a guilty plea as evidence for the efficacy of BWVC, especially as the proportion of guilty pleas had already risen by the same small amount prior to the trialling of the technology.

Quotations from participants interviewed after the trial period may help to unravel why the predicted improvement in efficiency did not occur. As shown above, standardised procedures and technology were not in place for sending footage to the crown prosecution service, so it seems this evidence would not have been routinely available in court.

4.2 Fewer complaints made against officers

Data was also collected regarding complaints made by members of the public against officers for both incivilities and oppressive conduct. This variable was included because another aim of the BWVC scheme was to both improve the behaviour of officers in deployment and reduce the number of spurious complaints made. In their evaluation in Rialto, California, Ariel *et al* (2014) suggested that wearing BWVCs made officers more self-aware and less likely to behave improperly. Also, referring to data gleaned from interviews with COLP officers, there was a concern that spurious complaints are made by members of the public. They hoped that the presence of video evidence would prevent these being made. Ariel *et al* (2014) found that during the year before the trial period, 28 complaints were lodged, whereas during the trial period only three were lodged. Ariel *et al* (2017) reviewed BWVC trials over seven sites in the UK and USA and observed a 93 per cent decline in complaints made against police.

Table 4, below, shows the number of complaints made against CoLP officers for incivilities and oppressive conduct. The table also shows how these were resolved. Resolutions included finding that the officers had no case to answer, the complaint being de-recorded, a local resolution being made or the case still being live.

Table 4: Complaints against CoLP officers for incivilities and oppressive behaviour

Period	No. of officers	Officer location	Allegation/s	Outcome
4 January-4 June 2014	1	U/K	Oppressive conduct	De-recorded
			Incivility	De-recorded
	2	Operations	Incivility	No case to answer/no action
	3	Tactical Firearms Group	Oppressive conduct	No case to answer/no action
	2	Operations	Incivility	Local resolution
	2	Operations	Incivility	No case to answer/no action
Total	11			18% upheld
4 January-4 June 2015	1	Support Group	Oppressive conduct	No case to answer/no action
			Incivility	Local resolution
	1	Operations	Oppressive conduct	No case to answer/no action
	1	Tactical Firearms Group	Incivility	Local resolution
	1	Operations	Incivility	No case to answer/no action
	1	Operations	Incivility	No case to answer/no action
	1	Operations	Oppressive conduct	No case to answer/no action
	1	Community Engagement Operations	Incivility	No case to answer/no action
Total	10			20% upheld
4 January-4 June 2016	1	Support Group	Incivility	Live
	2	Support Group	Oppressive conduct	No case to answer/no action
	2	Operations	Incivility	No case to answer/no action
Total	5			20% live

As can be seen from table 4 above, fewer complaints were made for incivilities or oppressive conduct during the period when BWVC were being trialled compared to matching periods from the previous two years. During the period 4 January-4 June 2014, 11 such complaints were made, although this includes one incident where a single officer was accused on both incivilities and oppressive behaviour. From this period, 18 per cent were upheld, and the remainder dismissed in some way. During the second period, across

the same dates in 2015, 10 complaints of this sort were made, 20 per cent of these being upheld. Encouragingly, during the trial period only five of these sorts of complaint were made. Four have so far been dismissed, while one case remains to be resolved. The nature of the data means that it was not possible to perform complex analyses to establish how likely it was the positive result did not happen by chance. Above all, outcomes could not be compared between officers who were and were not given the technology during the trial. Despite this, in line with previous research (e.g. Ariel *et al* 2014, Ariel *et al* 2017) there is evidence suggesting that BWVC can reduce the number of complaints made against officer for incivilities and oppressive conduct.

5.0 Summary

As can be seen from the analyses above, front line officers working for CoLP are overwhelmingly positive about the introduction of BWVC. As well as welcoming it in the most general sense, officers had high hopes it might help in specific ways, such as identifying criminals and gathering evidence. This builds on the findings of Ellis *et al* (2015) who found police officers from the Isle of Wight to also be in favour of this technology, and Jennings *et al* (2014) who reported similar findings from Orlando, Florida. Notwithstanding the inability of the Crown Prosecution Service to receive the evidence, these hopes were coming to fruition. In particular, officers were using the cameras in the case of minor crimes which, pre-camera, would have come down to the officer's word against the defendant (such as minor traffic violations); the deployment of the camera meant officers were able to be more decisive.

Overall, the BWVCs were felt to be empowering additions to police officers' inventory, as they provided evidence of the officer's veracity and often of the way the public were misrepresenting their actions and actions by officers. It is therefore likely that as the cameras are rolled out, officers will be more productive in the frequency of their sanctioned detections and they will suffer fewer complaints.

The only worries expressed by a significant proportion of officers concerned privacy. However, a combination of a clear policy written by the chief superintendent and the fact that cameras clearly show when they are on seems to have mitigated this anxiety. Officers tended to disagree with items suggesting BWVCs might alter the actions or professionalism of themselves or their colleagues. Despite this, supervisors were pleased that the camera offered another level of accountability with which to survey their officers.

On top of this two conclusions can be surmised from data provided by CoLP. First it appears that, so far, BWVC have not made the dispensing of justice more efficient. Testimony from officers shows there are not the correct processes in place for referring BWVC evidence to the Crown Prosecution Service. Secondly, it can be seen that during the period where BWVC were being used, a smaller number of complaints were made for incivilities and oppressive conduct. The reasons for this are as yet uncertain.

It could be possible that BWVC altered the behaviour of officers. However, evidence from interviews with officers suggests that those involved in policing expect BWVC to reduce the number of spurious complaints being made. To conclude, BWVC are very much welcomed by serving officers. While BWVC have succeeded in reducing complaints made against officers, it is as yet to make the process of bringing offenders to justice more efficient.

Future research should aim to interrogate a greater number of measures which might indicate the efficacy of this technology. This includes: counts of physical and verbal assaults on officers; incivilities against officers; aggregate levels of anti-social behaviour in the borough; numbers of stop and searches performed; reductions in officer court time; and reductions in time spent evidence gathering.

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Appendix 1: Interview pro-forma⁴

Intro

Start with pre-amble about confidentiality, how results will be reported, right to withdraw, taping etc.

Tell me about your experience as a Police officer

- Day to day business
- Previous forces
- Time at CoLP
- Rank
- Role
- Any previous experience with BWV
- When do you anticipate using BWV at work?

Perceptions of BWV

What do you think about BWV?

- Hopes
- Fears
- Areas you expect benefit
- Areas you expect problems
- Overall assessment of the scheme

If officer doesn't have much to say, probe:

- Gathering evidence
- Identifying offenders
- Increasing likelihood of conviction
- Reducing complaints
- Improve conduct of Police
- Improve behaviour of public and reduce assaults on officers
- Improve trust and confidence of public in police
- Help training
- Reduce crime and ASB
- Over-supervision and doing things by the book
- Make interactions with members of public uncomfortable
- Likelihood of using force
- Likelihood of responding to calls

Feelings about the roll-out

Do you feel ready to go with this?

⁴ Formatting and abbreviations differ in some places during the appendices. This is because research tools are placed here in the form that officers received them during the data gathering process.

- Training
- Expectations for technology
- Practical problems envisaged

If officer doesn't have much to say, probe:

- Health and Safety
- Physical burden
- Privacy concerns for officers or members of public

Final comments

As we're coming to the end of the interview, would you like to summarise your view on the scheme?/have you got anything more you would like to add?

- Positives negatives

Appendix 2: Consent form and information sheet

CoLP body-worn camera evaluation

You are being asked to participate in a research study. Before you agree to take part it is important that you understand why the research is being carried out and what it will involve. Please take some time to read the following instructions carefully and be sure to ask any questions if you are uncertain or would like more information.

This research has been commissioned by City of London Police to evaluate the body-worn camera (BWC) scheme being piloted this summer. The study will focus on changes in Policing outcomes through the use of this technology. In particular, the study will look at:

1. Explore the expectations, attitudes, knowledge and experience of BWCs amongst officers involved in the study. Specifically the evaluation will seek to highlight:
 - a. The changes to their knowledge, attitudes and beliefs after use;
 - b. Perceived and actual advantages, and disadvantages to routine activity; and
 - c. technical issues arising.
2. Evaluate the effect of BWCs on the number and type of incidences reported.
3. Evaluate the effect of BWCs on the number of complaints, misconduct proceedings and sanctions against the CoLP.
4. Evaluate the effectiveness of BWCs with particular groups/specific situations (e.g. stop and search and calls for assistance).
5. Evaluate the effect of BWCs on officer incivility.
6. Evaluate the impact on the speed of case prosecution

In order to gather a wide range of experiences, and knowledge, on this issue we are asking front line officers whose work might be affected to talk about their perceptions and beliefs around the scheme. We are particularly interested in hopes and fears you might have regarding this scheme.

Your views are important to the study, but it is up to you to decide whether or not you would like to take part. There is no pressure for you to do so. If you agree to take part you will be asked to sign the consent form (below). If you do consent, but find that do not want to continue, you can withdraw at any time without giving an explanation.

There are no right or wrong answers. This is not a test. It is just important to be as honest as you can. What you say is important to us and so the interview will be tape-recorded. You will be asked your age but not your name or any other identifying details. **All the answers that you give will stay absolutely private and confidential. They will not be passed on to your superiors or managers.** The recordings from the research will be destroyed at the end of the study.

The report that is produced from this research will used internally by the Police, may be published in specialist journals and also might be made public. Your responses will not be recognisable by other people. Where quotes are used they will be anonymised in order to secure individual/group identity. If you would like to take part in the study please sign the consent form attached.

If you would like further information contact James Morgan, Criminology Department London Metropolitan University, Holloway Road, London, N7 8DB. Phone 0207

Thank you.

Participant Consent Form – CoLP BWV Evaluation study

Consent statement

	Yes	No
I have read the information sheet?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research and am satisfied questions by the answers given?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am clear about the purpose of the study and willingly volunteer to be involved in this study?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am aware that I can withdraw from the interview at any time without providing a reason for doing so?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am aware of what participating in this study will involve?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I agree to participate

Signature

Date.....

Tick this box if you would like to receive a summary of the results by e-mail

E-mail: _____

Appendix 3: Supplementary tables

The tables below contain the data used in the analyses above.

Pre-trial survey data

Table 3: Officer Perceptions of BWVC prior to trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
I think this agency should adopt body-worn camera for all front-line police officers	64 (43.2)	59 (39.9)	13 (8.8)	8 (5.4)	4 (2.7)	148 (100)
All front line police officers should wear BWVC on duty	63 (42.6)	54 (36.5)	14 (9.5)	13 (8.80)	4 (2.7)	148 (100)
All PCSOs should wear BWVC on duty	55 (37.2)	50 (33.8)	28 (18.9)	8 (5.4)	7 (4.7)	148 (100)
Wearing BWVC on duty should be compulsory	31(20.9)	33 (22.3)	36 (24.3)	24 (16.2)	24 (16.2)	148 (100)

Table 4: Officer perceptions of BWVC as a crime fighting tool prior to trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
BWVC will help to reduce crime and ASB	21 (14.2)	53 (35.8)	38 (25.7)	24 (16.2)	12 (8.1)	148 (100)
BWVC will increase the chance of conviction following an incident	73 (49.3)	57 (38.5)	15 (10.1)	0 (0.0)	3 (2.0)	148 (100)
BWVC will help to identify criminals	75 (50.7)	54 (36.5)	14 (9.5)	3 (2.0)	2 (1.4)	148 (100)
BWVC will help to gather evidence	98 (66.2)	43 (29.1)	5 (3.4)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.4)	148 (100)
BWVC will reduce the number of complaints made against officers	52 (35.1)	47 (31.8)	29 (19.6)	12 (8.1)	8 (5.4)	148 (100)
BWVC will improve the training of new recruits	22 (14.9)	44 (29.7)	56 (37.8)	19 (12.8)	7 (4.7)	148 (100)

Table 5: Perception of BWVC for aiding public relations and officer safety prior to trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Median	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		N (%)
Wearing BWVC will improve policing and public relations by increasing transparency and contribute towards the Trust and Confidence strategy	20 (13.8)	61 (42.1)	46 (31.7)	12 (8.3)	6 (4.1)	2	145 (100)
Wearing BWVC will make police officers feel safer while on the job	12 (8.3)	41 (28.3)	40 (27.6)	27 (18.6)	25 (17.2)	2	145 (100)
Wearing a BWVC will improve the behaviour of members of the public who interact with police officers in the field	10 (6.9)	62 (42.8)	33 (22.8)	26 (17.9)	14 (9.7)	2	145 (100)

Table 6: Worries regarding the introduction of BWVC prior to trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Wearing BWVC will be a problem for the privacy of police officers whilst on duty	25 (17.2)	57 (39.3)	34 (23.4)	18 (12.4)	11 (7.6)	145 (100)
BWVC will be a problem for the privacy of the members of the public who are recorded	11 (7.6)	51 (35.2)	36 (24.8)	31 (21.4)	16 (11)	145 (100)
Wearing BWVC will negatively affect gathering evidence from members of the public	1 (.7)	18 (12.4)	54 (37.2)	53 (36.9)	19 (13.1)	145 (100)
BWVC will negatively impact upon daily interactions with members of the public	2 (1.4)	22 (15.2)	48 (33.1)	52 (35.9)	21 (14.5)	145 (100)

Table 7: Perception of impact of BWVC on officers' own behaviour prior to trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Wearing BWVC will increase the likelihood that my behaviour will be beyond the book	6 (4.1)	14 (9.7)	68 (46.9)	19 (13.1)	38 (26.2)	145 (100)
Wearing BWVC will lead to extra and unnecessary interference in my day to day work from my supervisors	4 (4.1)	14 (9.7)	72 (49.7)	34 (23.4)	19 (13.1)	145 (100)
Wearing BWVC will reduce the number of complaints that I receive	12 (8.3)	38 (26.2)	48 (33.1)	22 (15.2)	25 (17.2)	145 (100)
Wearing BWVC will reduce my use of physical force against suspects and other members of the public	4 (2.7)	18 (12.2)	48 (32.4)	26 (17.9)	49 (33.8)	145 (100)
Wearing BWVC will reduce my willingness to respond to calls for service.	1 (.7)	5 (3.4)	30 (20.7)	26 (17.9)	83 (57.2)	145 (100)
Wearing BWVC and recording interactions with the public will make me feel uncomfortable	5 (3.4)	26 (17.9)	45 (31.0)	30 (20.7)	39 (26.9)	145 (100)
Wearing another piece of kit (BWVC) will add an unwelcome physical burden when working	14 (9.7)	44 (30.3)	40 (27.6)	26 (17.9)	21 (14.5)	145 (100)

Table 8: Perception of impact of BWVC other Officers' behaviour prior to trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree N (%)	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Wearing BWVC will improve police officers behaviour in deployment	11 (7.6)	43 (29.7)	56 (38.6)	27 (18.6)	8 (5.5)	145 (100)
Wearing BWVC will reduce other officers' use of force against members of the public.	1 (.7)	24 (16.6)	59 (40.7)	38 (26.2)	21 (14.5)	145 (100)
Wearing BWVC will reduce officers' willingness to respond to calls for service.	4 (2.8)	7 (4.8)	39 (26.9)	43 (29.7)	52 (35.9)	145 (100)

Post-trial survey data

Table 9: Officer Perceptions of BWVC post-trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
I think this agency should adopt body-worn camera for all front-line police officers	101 (67.8)	24 (16.1)	12 (8.1)	9 (6.0)	3 (2.0)	149 (100)
All front line police officers should wear BWVC on duty	87 (58.4)	31 (20.8)	18 (12.1)	7 (4.7)	6 (4.0)	149 (100)
All PCSOs should wear BWVC on duty	92 (61.7)	33 (22.1)	11 (7.4)	8 (5.4)	5 (3.4)	149 (100)
Wearing BWVC on duty should be compulsory	58 (38.9)	29 (19.5)	26 (17.4)	19 (12.8)	17 (11.4)	149 (100)

Table 10: Officer perceptions of BWVC as a crime fighting tool post-trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
BWVC will help to reduce crime and ASB	21 (14.1)	44 (29.5)	49 (32.9)	25 (16.8)	10 (6.7)	100 (149)
BWVC will increase the chance of conviction following an incident	77 (51.7)	50 (33.6)	19 (12.8)	2 (1.3)	1 (0.7)	149 (100)
BWVC will help to identify criminals	74 (49.7)	57 (38.3)	12 (8.1)	6 (4.0)	0 (0.0)	149 (100)
BWVC will help to gather evidence	99 (66.4)	40 (26.8)	10 (6.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	149 (100)
BWVC will reduce the number of complaints made against officers	47 (31.5)	44 (29.5)	30 (20.1)	22 (14.8)	6 (4.0)	149 (100)
BWVC will improve the training of new recruits	30 (20.1)	36 (24.2)	57 (38.3)	18 (12.1)	8 (5.4)	149 (100)

Table 11. Perception of BWVC for aiding Public Relations and Officer Safety post-trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Wearing BWVC will improve policing and public relations by increasing transparency and contribute towards the Trust and Confidence strategy	36 (24.2)	57 (38.3)	42 (28.2)	8 (5.4)	6 (4.0)	149 (100)
Wearing BWVC will make police officers feel safer while on the job	6 (4.0)	43 (28.9)	48 (32.2)	25 (16.8)	27 (18.1)	149 (100)
Wearing a BWVC will improve the behaviour of members of the public who interact with police officers in the field	8 (5.4)	41 (27.5)	56 (37.6)	25 (16.8)	19 (12.8)	149 (100)

Table 12: Worries regarding the introduction of BWVCs post-trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Wearing BWVC will be a problem for the privacy of police officers whilst on duty	15 (10.1)	49 (32.9)	40 (26.8)	25 (16.8)	20 (13.4)	149 (100)
BWVC will be a problem for the privacy of the members of the public who are recorded	12 (8.1)	41 (27.5)	36 (24.2)	29 (19.5)	31 (20.8)	149 (100)
Wearing BWVC will negatively affect gathering evidence from members of the public	1 (0.7)	16 (10.7)	52 (34.9)	54 (36.2)	26 (17.4)	149 (100)
BWVC will negatively impact upon daily interactions with members of the public	5 (3.4)	23 (15.4)	46 (30.9)	46 (30.9)	29 (19.5)	149 (100)

Table 13: Perception of impact of BWVCs on officers' own behaviour post-trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Wearing BWVC will increase the likelihood that my behaviour will be beyond the book	8 (5.4)	18 (12.1)	52 (34.9)	22 (14.8)	49 (32.8)	149 (100)
Wearing BWVC will lead to extra and unnecessary interference in my day to day work from my supervisors	2 (1.3)	19 (12.8)	54 (36.2)	36 (24.2)	38 (25.5)	149 (100)
Wearing BWVC will reduce the number of complaints that I receive	10 (6.7)	41 (27.5)	47 (31.5)	33 (22.1)	18 (12.1)	149 (100)
Wearing BWVC will reduce my use of physical force against suspects and other members of the public	4 (2.7)	13 (8.7)	55 (36.9)	31 (20.8)	46 (30.9)	149 (100)
Wearing BWVC will reduce my willingness to respond to calls for service.	5 (3.4)	4 (2.7)	23 (15.4)	20 (13.4)	97 (65.1)	149 (100)
Wearing BWVC and recording interactions with the public will make me feel uncomfortable	4 (2.7)	23 (15.4)	31 (20.8)	34 (22.8)	57 (38.3)	149 (100)
Wearing another piece of kit (BWVC) will add an unwelcome physical burden when working	24 (16.1)	49 (32.9)	25 (16.8)	27 (18.1)	24 (16.1)	149 (100)

Table 14: Perception of impact of BWVC other officers' behaviour post-trial

	1 Completely agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Completely disagree	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Wearing BWVC will improve police officers behaviour in deployment						
Wearing BWVC will reduce other officers' use of force against members of the public.	2 (1.3)	11 (7.4)	55 (39.9)	44 (29.5)	37 (24.8)	149 (100)
Wearing BWVC will reduce officers' willingness to respond to calls for service.	4 (2.7)	6 (4.0)	31 (20.8)	36 (24.2)	72 (48.3)	149 (100)

Supplementary participant quotations

Table 15: Officer quotations regarding BWVCs and evidence for prosecutions prior to BWVC trial

Interview Number	Quotation
Interview 1	I think it will actually mean that prosecutions are, erm, greatly increased.
Interview 2	Gave examples of times when prosecutions have been due to BWV.
Interview 3	An evidence-gathering tool..... Because, it shows what you see and it shows what's happening in front of you. So you're not just relying on what you remember from the incident, you've got it in pictures. It's very impactful as obviously in hearings it's there for other people to see what's happened through the eyes of the police officer. So ultimately if you give any evidence it's very impactful, so I think it's a great idea
Interview 4	The sort of secondary side, it can really help us if anything goes to court you can just show the video footage, and they don't even have to speak to the officer
Interview 5	Preserve crime scene, the camera, enter, then at least you've got footage of exactly what the crime scene is. The scene was like when you arrived.
Interview 6	The goods will be obviously be better evidence. There's no doubt it will be. We have all had trouble in proving that someone is drunk, violent, or abusive. That is usually what we deal with on Friday, Saturday, Thursday, Wednesday nights even. And they make the claim some will do and say no I wasn't. And the body camera will be brilliant because the statements will be - they are good, but they will be in doubt. You know. It's one word against the other's. And you're not being difficult, but with the body camera it will be good to have the footage of someone who you think, yeah, this is a good thing to back up what I'm saying
Interview 7	So it's good evidence, the best evidence is from a full video, with audio, it's the best evidence you can get
Interview 8	And the week before we had fifty people fighting in a nightclub and when they came out of the night club there were patches of, say fifty here, fifty there. And there's five police officers on duty. So we couldn't do anything that night. Again if the police had a camera on, if somebody did get hurt or assaulted, we could go back and look at it next day and think, well, we'll go round their house. You can't do a lot without that.
Interview 9	Because I think that, one, evidentially. And, red lights – it would be excellent for us if you had video evidence of them doing it, rather than just saying, you went through a red light. Also outlines advantages of sending video through to coroner's court and using video for Critical Incidents. gain it's all evidence
Interview 10	Nothing offered
Interview 11	It could be good in situations where there can be, you know, little or no doubt that the person has behaved in a way that the police officer said that you did behave
Interview 12	I think evidentially it's amazing, a bit of kit so when I go to court and it shows someone being very violent or abusive, or whatever it is, it, you know, I've got that on camera. It's better than I can describe it; I think the footage speaks for itself, and I still think it's good for evidence, because it might capture something that some CCTV cameras don't catch.
Interview 13	One of the reasons is court procedure which I go through a lot of. It's recorded, the incident is recorded, it will help a lot with the court procedure and our evidence as well. usually if something happens you have to look for CCTV or any other witnesses. But if you've got that recorded, it's, then it will

	be a lot easier to play that back in court.
Interview 14	Could just purely be evidential in a public order situation. For me I think the plus side will be for demonstrations. because it will enable you – you don't see everything. And your camera might pick up a trouble hotspot that..... we may need that for our evidence.
Interview 15	I mean I think it helps like if you were trying to – it has advantages if you were trying to write a statement about something, because then you've got, then you'll have a picture of what's actually happened, so I guess it would negate having to write too much in a statement. And also it would probably jog your memory a bit. And also if, for example, something went to court, then I guess if you've got that actual record of what happened, it might help the prosecution. So that's something that would, I think, be advantageous for them

Table 16: Officer quotations regarding BWVCs and evidence for prosecutions post-trial

Interview Number	Quotation
Interview 1b	That evidence at the time was gathered on the BWC. That to me – and again the comment from CID was that is an excellent piece of intelligence gathering. That shows you how good it is
Interview 2b	BWC would definitely assist. Because it's effectively having an ABE interview – that's achieving best evidence interview.
Interview 3b	I think it just helps when – if you say to people the next day, like a drunk that's assaulted someone, or just been abusive to the police, and they get a ticket. If they're thinking about not taking the ticket...
Interview 4b	I've used it frequently to document offences, erm, and then label up the offences and save it in case it is ever contested, but I haven't had anyone contest it.
Interview 5b	Admit the offence on the camera, which someone has done recently on a building site. Basically to explain to you, I said you are being video and audio-recorded, you know, you are under caution, and you have the right to a solicitor. Don't say anything to me now, because it could be used against you in the courtroom. And so basically the whole event is on the camera which was used against him for an admission.
Interview 6b	Erm, so it's been quite successful. I've used it mostly on house searches and stopping vehicles. So where you're seizing exhibits and searching someone's home... because it's quite personal when you're searching someone's home. And then it obviously again is protection for me, because they can see that, one, I'm not removing anything – and if I do see something, it's all
Interview 7b	complaints: I saw it as a really useful tool for capturing the evidence; just simple things like when you end up in the magistrate's court and, you know, cos you – if you've done a cyclist for going through a red light, and they tell the magistrate, oh well, it was orange when I was going through, and actually the traffic was really heavy, so I couldn't stop.
Interview 8b	And you're always being challenged – well no, my client didn't say that... whereas actually if you've got it captured evidentially on a video, then they can't say they didn't say it, or they were pressurised into making admissions or anything.
Interview 9b	Right. Yeah. A But if we turn up with something that - it's being recorded, then they won't give us false details or tell us something which is not quite accurate.
Interview 10b	So for example, we have had to deal with a really volatile male. He was an ex-paratrooper, who had assaulted his girlfriend. And he had to be restrained by 4 or 5 of my colleagues. He head-butted one of them. All caught on the camera perfectly, I got it on mine and one of the officers also caught it, of him properly landing a head-butt on him. Without that, and it captured all his verbals, it captured all perfectly.