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Cameras in Corrections: A Report to Queensland Corrective Services

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Glossary

BWC	Body-worn camera
CCO	Custodial corrections officer
CCTV	Closed circuit television
CCCQ	Crime and Corruption Commission Queensland
DCI	Deputy Commissioner Instruction
LBV	Load bearing vest
QCS	Queensland Corrective Services
ROC	Removal of Clothing
UQ	University of Queensland
VPC	Violence Prevention Co-ordinator

Executive summary

Background

Body worn cameras (BWC) have received much attention in policing in recent years, with some demonstrated success in reducing officer use of force, crime rates, and court costs. However, their use in other settings, such as correctional facilities, is less well understood. This study explored custodial officers' experiences and attitudes toward the use of BWCs following their recent introduction in Queensland correctional facilities. As no research has yet been conducted in this area, it is difficult to identify or respond to any concerns regarding the use of BWCs, or to design adequate training protocols to introduce and govern the use of this technology. This study provides information regarding officers' perspectives on the introduction of BWCs in correctional facilities, implementation challenges and usage practices, as well as the perceived impact of BWCs on officer-prisoner interactions and officers' feelings of safety.

Aims

This study had four key aims:

1. To gain an understanding of custodial officers' attitudes and concerns regarding the use of BWCs in a correctional setting;
2. To identify implementation challenges and/or areas of improvement for BWCs and their use in corrections;
3. To identify whether, in the presence of BWCs, officers' behaviour and/or interactions with prisoners is altered; and
4. To explore the influence of BWCs on officers' feelings of safety and security.

Together, these aims help to inform areas for consideration to ensure the optimal use of this technology in a correctional setting.

Methods

We conducted a mixed-methods study of custodial officers' perceptions on the use of BWCs in prisons in Queensland. In the first phase of this study, a state-wide survey of custodial officers was conducted. A total of 548 survey responses were received. The second phase of research involved follow-up interviews (N = 34) with a sample of custodial officers from nine centres, as well as other corrective services staff involved in the BWC roll-out, including individuals working in violence prevention and ethical standards, as well as intel staff, who are responsible for viewing the BWC footage. Through surveys and interviews, we gathered a more comprehensive understanding of officers' experiences and perceptions of BWCs in a correctional setting.

Key findings

Officer attitudes

- Custodial officers are largely supportive of the introduction of BWCs, and perceived others in their centre to share these views. Female officers and officers who had more

experience with the cameras were generally more supportive of BWCs. Age and education were not related to BWC support.

Implementation challenges

- Officers' experiences of the BWC roll-out were varied across centres. One of the most prevalent comments was that the number of cameras provided was inadequate.
- Most officers had not personally viewed any BWC footage. Therefore, officers often said they did not know where to best position the cameras to capture usable footage.
- Varied practices existed across centres regarding officer access to BWC footage. The majority of officers want access to BWC footage for reporting purposes; however, there was some acknowledgement that this could be difficult to implement.

Officer behaviour and interactions with prisoners

- Most officers felt confident in knowing when to activate their BWC and believed their use of the cameras followed the DCI. Interviewees explained the key reason officers did not activate their BWCs during an incident was that they had forgotten.
- Officers did not support the practice of recording all interactions with prisoners due to the potential negative impact on their ability to build rapport.
- While most officers felt that BWCs would improve transparency and accountability, they were less likely to agree that BWCs prevent officer misconduct. Many were undecided as to whether BWCs change custodial officers' procedurally just behaviour.

Perceptions of job security and physical safety

- Most officers felt BWCs improved job security by protecting them against false allegations. Some were apprehensive of management's intentions for using BWC footage, but these concerns were mostly alleviated following experience using BWCs.
- Almost half of officers reported feeling safer when wearing a BWC. Female officers were more likely to report feeling safer. Despite many feeling safer, relatively few officers believed that BWCs had an effect on prisoners' aggressive behaviour.

Cameras in Corrections

Background

Body worn cameras (BWCs) have received much attention in policing in recent years, with some demonstrated success in reducing officer use of force, crime rates, and court costs (Cubitt, Lesic, Myers, & Corry, 2017). However, their use in other settings, such as correctional facilities, is less well understood. This study aims to explore custodial officers' experiences and attitudes toward the use of BWCs following their recent introduction in Queensland correctional facilities. No research has yet been conducted in this area, making it difficult to identify or respond to any concerns regarding the use of BWCs, or to design adequate training protocols to introduce and govern the use of this technology (Tankebe & Ariel, 2016). This research aims to provide information regarding officers' perspectives on the introduction of BWCs in correctional facilities, implementation challenges and usage practices, as well as the perceived impact of BWCs on officer/prisoner interactions and officers' feelings of safety.

BWCs in the Policing Context

Over the past decade, technological advances and increased calls for transparency and accountability have seen the proliferation of BWCs in policing (Cubitt et al., 2017). BWCs are small video and audio recording devices that are typically attached to an officer's clothing, either in the chest area, shoulder, or collar (Miller & Tolliver, 2014; Sousa, Miethe, & Sakiyama, 2015). When activated, this device is designed to record an officer's activities, communications and other interactions with those around them (Sousa et al., 2015).

In the context of policing, the use of BWCs is commonly believed to achieve several aims, including to reduce officer use of force, to enhance police legitimacy and transparency, and to improve the quality of evidence collection (Ariel, Farrar, & Sutherland, 2015). Proponents of BWCs also argue that this technology can have a 'civilizing effect', whereby both officers and citizens ensure they behave appropriately in an encounter because they are aware they are being observed and recorded (Gaub, Choate, Todak, Katz, & White, 2016). BWCs can also serve as an effective training tool to improve officer performance, with some agencies using footage of actual incidents to provide scenario-based training to officers and to identify areas where additional training is needed (Miller & Tolliver, 2014). Due to these purported benefits, there has been enthusiasm amongst stakeholders for the quick and widespread adoption of this technology in policing (Crow, Snyder, Crichlow, & Smykla, 2017).

However, beyond the anecdotal evidence regarding the benefits of BWCs, the scholarly literature on the effectiveness of BWCs in the context of policing is still relatively limited (Crow et al., 2017). There are some indications though that this technology may be an effective law enforcement tool. For example, in the first randomised controlled trial involving BWCs, Ariel and colleagues (2015) reported that the likelihood of officer use of force halved with the introduction of BWCs. In a later study, Ariel et al. (2017) reported that the use of BWCs reduced the incidence of citizen complaints against police by 93 per cent.

Further, a review by Cubitt and colleagues (2017) noted that while the quality of evidence around BWCs was relatively weak there were some encouraging signs that this technology reduces use of force incidents, crime rates for certain crime types, and court costs.

Studies have also explored the attitudes of police officers toward the use of BWCs, with mixed findings. In a study in Orlando, Florida (conducted *before* the introduction of BWCs in that jurisdiction), more than half of police officers (62.6%) agreed that BWCs should be adopted, while 77 per cent agreed they would feel comfortable wearing a BWC (Jennings, Fridell, & Lynch, 2014). Few officers (18.7%), however, said they would feel safer wearing a BWC (Jennings et al., 2014). A later study by Gaub and colleagues (2016) measured officers' views toward BWCs both before and after their implementation in three separate US police departments. There, prior to the introduction of BWCs, most officers across the departments agreed that BWCs had some evidentiary value as they would provide a more accurate account of incidents involving citizens and improve the quality of evidence regarding those incidents (Gaub et al., 2016). Officers were commonly concerned, however, about issues of comfort and ease of use of BWCs. Following the introduction of BWCs, officers in two of the three jurisdictions held increasingly positive views on BWCs, while satisfaction with BWCs decreased in the third jurisdiction (Gaub et al., 2016).

Beyond officer concerns, there are also several practical issues associated with the use of BWCs, including the significant financial costs of implementing a BWC program and storing recorded data, policy and training requirements to provide officers guidance as to the use of this technology, and procedures to ensure recordings are not accessed or used for improper purposes (Miller & Tolliver, 2014). In addition, the use of BWCs raises issues of privacy concerning those being filmed, including officers (Miller & Tolliver, 2014). As a result of these issues – which are also relevant in contexts beyond policing – some scholars argue that the decision to implement a BWC program should not be taken lightly (Gaub et al., 2016; Miller & Tolliver, 2014).

BWCs in Corrections

Given the significant threat prison violence poses to both prisoners and custodial staff, corrective services agencies globally have implemented several interventions to reduce its occurrence – including installing closed-circuit television (CCTV) and providing custodial officers with BWCs (Beales & Marsh, 2016; Ministry of Justice, 2017). When evaluating the effectiveness of CCTV cameras in improving prisoner misconduct, Allard, Wortley and Stewart (2008) uncovered mixed results. While CCTV presence was associated with fewer incidents of planned and non-violent behaviour, it had less impact on unplanned and violent misconduct. However, BWCs may offer a more effective method of monitoring prisoner behaviour than CCTV as they offer both audio and video recording and can capture close-up and moving images, rather than being limited to a particular line of sight (Cubitt et al., 2017; Miller & Tolliver, 2014).

Based on a general theory of deterrence, and research on BWCs in policing (e.g., Ariel et al., 2015; Henstock & Ariel, 2017), the use of BWCs by custodial staff would be expected to act to deter undesirable behaviour through increased surveillance, or awareness of surveillance (e.g., see review in Ariel et al., 2015). In turn, this would reduce the likelihood of prisoner on prisoner violence, prisoner on staff violence, and officer use of force due to the increased chance of getting caught (Ariel et al., 2015). The evidence collected by

BWCs is also assumed to reduce the number of complaints against correctional staff (e.g., as per Ariel et al.'s (2017) findings in the policing context). However, whether this technology is achieving these goals largely depends on its utilisation in practice.

Yet, limited research to date has considered the impact of BWCs in corrections. This is problematic, since the adoption of BWCs in correctional facilities could lead to unexpected implementation challenges or other unintended consequences for officers and prisoners alike (Lum et al., 2015). Indeed, evidence from the 'what works' literature more broadly shows that even well intended interventions with a strong theoretical basis like BWCs may not work in practice (Cullen, Jonson & Nagin, 2011; MacKenzie, 2013; McCord, 2003).

Further, like many operational reforms, decisions about the introduction of BWCs are typically made by those in an organisation's upper levels of management (Gaub et al., 2016). Despite this, it is the officers who are relied upon to implement the technology (Gaub et al., 2016). The commitment or 'buy in' by those using BWCs is thus imperative to the effectiveness of a BWC program, since the benefits of this technology can only be achieved with officer support (Gaub et al., 2016; Miller & Tolliver, 2014). Indeed, as Jennings and colleagues (2014) recognise, officers who negatively view the use of BWCs may actively undermine the effective implementation of this technology, while officers who support the use of BWCs "can produce an effective implementation that may even enhance the value" of this technology (p. 550).

There are several factors that are likely to influence how custodial officers view the use of BWCs, including the implementation process, administrative policies regarding the use of this technology, and an officer's experiences (either personally or vicariously through colleagues) of using this technology (Gaub et al., 2016). In addition, an officer's compliance with processes governing the use of BWCs will also likely be related to the officer's attitudes about BWCs and the benefits they perceive of using this technology (Gaub et al., 2016). As a result, it is imperative to the success of a BWC program that an organisation understand how its officers view the use of this technology and their willingness to use BWCs as part of their role (Gaub et al., 2016).

Introduction of BWCs in Queensland

In response to high rates of violence in correctional facilities, BWCs were introduced across several Queensland prisons in 2017 by Queensland Corrective Services (QCS) on a trial basis as a method for supporting prisoner and officer safety (Crime and Corruption Commission Queensland (CCCQ), 2018; Queensland Government, 2017). There are now approximately 150 BWCs in use across correctional facilities in Queensland, including in both privately operated and public facilities (CCCQ, 2018). The use of this technology in a correctional setting is governed by the Deputy Commissioner Instruction (DCI) titled "Body Worn Camera, Deployment and Use". Under the DCI, the general manager of each correctional facility is responsible for deciding where BWCs will be deployed within the facility (CCCQ, 2018). The DCI also states that an officer must activate their BWC to record interactions that occur during, for example, an operational incident, use of force incident, or other circumstance where the officer considers that the prisoner's behaviour suggests the interaction ought to be recorded (CCCQ, 2018).

The BWCs issued to correctional facilities in Queensland have been described as high-quality digital video recorders, with a field of vision of up to 120 degrees (CCCQ, 2018). The cameras are equipped with automatic tuning and noise reduction to enhance the quality of the BWC footage (CCCQ, 2018). The BWCs also operate with a buffering system, whereby up to two minutes of visual footage (but not audio) is captured by the BWC prior to its activation by an officer (CCCQ, 2018).

It has been suggested that the purported benefits for police officers of wearing a BWC will “apply equally to other public sector officers who have access to BWCs” (CCCQ, 2018, p. 3), including custodial officers. However, whether this technology yields similar benefits to the policing context largely depends on its utilisation in practice. The proposed research will therefore explore whether custodial officers support the use of BWCs and how this technology affects their perceptions of safety. Additionally, this research will explore implementation challenges which may present a barrier to the effective use of BWCs. By examining the use of BWCs in Queensland correctional facilities, this research will provide insight into how BWCs are currently being utilised and identify areas for improvement, thus contributing to making the prison environment safer.

Aims of this Research

This study had the following four key aims:

1. To gain an understanding of custodial officers’ attitudes and concerns regarding the use of BWCs in a correctional setting;
2. To identify implementation challenges and/or areas of improvement for BWCs and their use in corrections;
3. To identify whether, in the presence of BWCs, officers’ behaviour and/or interactions with prisoners is altered; and
4. To explore the influence of BWCs on officers’ feelings of safety and security.

Together, these aims help to identify areas for improvement and inform recommendations to ensure the optimal use of this technology in a correctional setting.

Methods

The overarching aim of this research was to better understand how custodial officers in Queensland (and other relevant QCS staff) view the use of BWCs in a correctional environment. As neither quantitative nor qualitative methods alone could sufficiently uncover the complexities of officer and staff views on the use of BWCs, this study used a mixed-methods research design (Ivankova, Cresswell, & Stick, 2006). Simply put, a mixed-methods design is one that combines both quantitative and qualitative data within a single study (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998).

This section first sets out the data collection and analysis procedures relating to the first research phase, involving the quantitative analysis of survey data. This is followed by a summary of the procedures for the second research phase, relating to the qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews.

Research Phase 1: Survey of Queensland custodial officers

To begin, a state-wide survey of custodial officers across Queensland was conducted. The survey was open to all currently employed custodial officers in Queensland. A link to the survey, administered online using the Qualtrics platform, was distributed via email by QCS to all currently employed custodial officers in Queensland. Paper-based surveys were also made available, where practicable, to correctional facilities in Queensland for officers if they preferred this method over the online survey. The survey was available for completion for a period of approximately 4 months.

The survey was designed to take approximately 15 minutes to complete. In addition to collecting demographic information, officers were asked questions relating to:

- their willingness to use BWCs;
- the perceived benefits of BWCs in correctional facilities;
- any concerns or dissatisfaction regarding wearing a BWC;
- their thoughts on the adequacy of training or information provided regarding BWCs;
- how comfortable they feel wearing a BWC;
- their feelings of safety while wearing a BWC; and
- their perceptions of the effect of wearing a BWC on prisoner/custodial officer relations.

Through the survey we aimed to obtain a broad understanding of custodial officers' views on BWCs and their introduction in correctional facilities in Queensland. Specifically, this part of the study was designed to answer the following research questions:

1. Do custodial officers support, or view as necessary, the introduction of BWCs in Queensland correctional facilities?
2. What are the key perceived implementation challenges resulting from the introduction of BWCs in correctional facilities?
3. Does the use of BWCs affect officers' feelings of safety when carrying out their duties?
4. Do officers feel that the use of BWCs has altered their own behaviour or their interactions with prisoners?

At the conclusion of the survey, officers were asked to indicate their interest in participating in an interview to further discuss their views and experiences of BWCs. Those who were interested were directed to a separate web page, where their contact information was collected. For those participants completing a paper-based survey, information about the interviews was provided on the last page of the survey.

A total of 548 survey responses were received. An overview of the demographic characteristics of survey respondents is provided in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Demographics of survey participants.

	Total	
	n	%
Gender		
Male	348	75.3
Female	96	20.8
Other	2	0.4
Prefer not to say	16	3.5
Age group		
18-24 years	3	0.7
25-34 years	110	23.9
35-44 years	132	28.7
45-54 years	135	29.3
55-64 years	70	15.2
65 years and over	10	2.2
Educational achievement		
Did not complete year 12	44	9.6
Completed year 12	74	16.1
Advanced Diploma, Diploma or Certificate	271	59.0
Bachelor's Degree (or higher)	70	15.3
Current place of employment		
Arthur Gorrie Correctional Centre	30	5.5
Borallon Training & Correctional Centre	58	10.6
Brisbane Correctional Centre	53	9.7
Brisbane Women's Correctional Centre	33	6.0
Capricornia Correctional Centre	22	4.0
Capricornia Low Custody Centre	2	0.0
Helana Jones Centre	0	0.0
Lotus Glen Correctional Centre	30	5.5
Lotus Glen Low Custody Centre	4	0.7
Maryborough Correctional Centre	28	5.1
Numinbah Correctional Centre	1	0.2
Palen Creek Correctional Centre	1	0.2
Southern Queensland Correctional Centre	7	1.3
Townsville Male Correctional Centre	62	11.3
Townsville Female Correctional Centre	34	6.2
Townsville Female Low Custody Centre	11	2.0
Townsville Male Low Custody Centre	8	1.5
Wolston Correctional Centre	47	8.6
Woodford Correctional Centre	53	9.7

Note. Figures may not add to N=548 due to missing values

Research Phase 2: Interviews with custodial officers and other QCS staff

The second phase of research involved follow-up interviews with a sample of custodial officers from nine centres across Queensland and other relevant QCS staff (N = 34) to clarify and elaborate on the survey results. Through these interviews, we aimed to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of officers' experiences and perceptions of BWCs and the impact of this technology in how they carry out their duties.

Participants were recruited primarily from the sample of individuals who completed the online or paper-based survey and indicated their interest in being interviewed. Further recruitment of interviewees also occurred through word of mouth when the research team were on site at the correctional facilities. In addition to custodial officers, interview participants also included other corrective services staff who were involved in the implementation of BWCs, including General Managers of correctional facilities and other individuals involved in violence prevention, ethical standards and corrective service investigations. Intel staff, who are responsible for viewing the BWC footage, were also interviewed.

Interviews were conducted in person (n = 27) or by telephone (n = 7), depending upon the interviewee's availability and preferences. On average, interviews lasted for 35 minutes. Interviewees had a range of corrections experience, with some interviewees having worked in this area for one year and others for upwards of 30 years. On average, interviewees had 10 years' corrections experience. Both male (n = 24) and female (n = 10) staff were interviewed and most interviewees had experience wearing a BWC (n = 23), while the remaining interviewees (n = 11) were in positions where this was not required.

This part of the study was guided by the following research questions:

1. In what ways do the presence of BWCs affect an officer's feelings of safety whilst carrying out their duties?
2. Does the presence of a BWC affect a custodial officer's interactions with prisoners, including an officer's use of procedurally just practices?
3. What factors influence an officer's use of their BWC, including the decision to begin recording an interaction involving prisoners?
4. From the perspective of custodial officers, how might the use of BWCs in correctional facilities be improved?

All interviews were audio-recorded (with the permission of interviewees) and transcribed. A thematic analysis of interview transcripts was carried out using NVivo to identify key themes arising from our discussions with interviewees.

Findings

The findings from this study are presented in the following six themes: (1) Support for BWCs; (2) Implementation and training; (3) Ease of use and functionality; (4) Decision-making regarding BWC activation; (5) Officer-prisoner interactions: Safety and security; and (6) Officers' identified areas for improvement.

1. Support for BWCs

Like many operational reforms, decisions about the introduction of BWCs are often made by those in an organisation's upper levels of management and, at least in the policing context, sometimes with little or no consultation with operational users (Gaub et al., 2016). However, it is the officers as operational users who are relied upon to implement the technology (Gaub et al., 2016). The commitment or 'buy in' by those using technology like BWCs is imperative to the effectiveness of such a program, since the benefits of this technology can only be achieved with officer support (Gaub et al., 2016; Miller & Tolliver, 2014). Thus, when examining BWCs in corrections, it is vital to examine officer attitudes towards them.

1.1 Officer attitudes

As can be seen in Figure 1, most officers were supportive of BWCs, with less than 7% of survey respondents having any level of disagreement (either somewhat disagreeing, disagreeing or strongly disagreeing, hereafter "disagreed") with this statement. Further, most officers somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed (hereafter "agreed") that the advantages of wearing BWCs outweighed the disadvantages (65% agreed). They also perceived high levels of support (over 55% agreement) among centre management and other custodial officers. Additionally, few officers agreed that BWCs were distracting or the cause of additional stress (23% and 25% agreement, respectively).

Likewise, all interview participants asked (n = 32) indicated that they thought BWCs are useful for corrections officers. A range of reasons for BWC utility were described by interviewees, including use in conjunction with other equipment for safety (e.g., radio, duress - I05), to protect staff, and their ability to keep all persons (prisoners and staff) accountable. As one officer put it:

That it's just a, as we say, CYA, cover your arse, and that's what it's about. It's about, you know, justifying your actions and then the camera can help you do that.
(I02)

However, in terms of the impact of BWCs on experiences in their job, officers tended to be more mixed in their views. A large proportion of officers (over 30%) were non-committal about whether they felt that wearing a BWC made it easier to do their job, improved their job performance, or improved their job satisfaction.

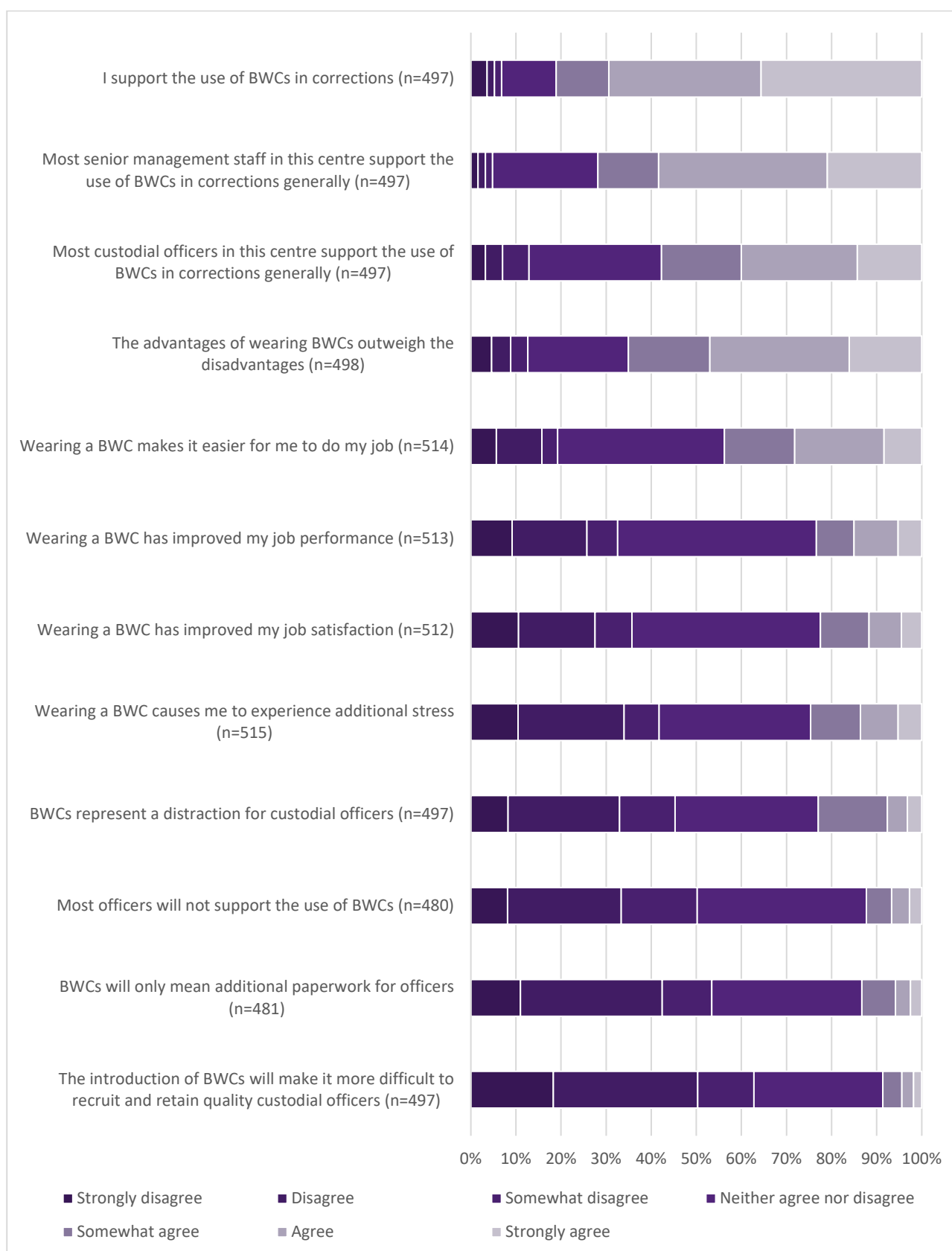


Figure 1. Officer attitudes towards BWCs

1.2 Attitudes by officer characteristics

A variety of officer characteristics were examined to see the relationships with officers' general attitudes towards BWCs (see Appendix A). Age and level of general education were not associated with any of these attitudes. However, gender (comparing males and females) and amount of experience with BWCs showed similar patterns, whereby women and officers with more experience with BWCs tended to be more positive about a variety of aspects of BWCs.

On average, female officers tended to have higher support for the use of BWCs in corrections, and greater belief that most officers support the use of BWCs. Female officers also tended to agree more that the advantages of wearing BWCs outweigh the disadvantages, and disagreed more than male officers that BWCs were a distraction or cause them to experience additional stress. Male and female officers did not differ, however, in their views on the impact of BWCs on job performance, satisfaction, their ease of doing their job, or their perceptions of centre management support.

Similarly, experience with BWCs (i.e., how long an officer has been wearing a camera for, from never (0) to more than 2 years (5)) was significantly related to a number of attitudes towards BWCs. The more experience an officer had with BWCs, the more positive their attitudes towards BWCs were. These relationships were statistically significant for all aspects except perceptions that job performance and satisfaction were improved when wearing a BWC (i.e., experience did not affect these attitudes).

1.3 Benefits and drawbacks

Interviewees were asked to elaborate on what they saw were the benefits and drawbacks of the cameras. Officers frequently identified the audio capabilities of BWCs as a real advantage. For instance, this officer compared BWCs to the CCTV cameras already prevalent in the centres:

It captures the incident. It's going to capture the audio of what's being said by the prisoner to the officer. That's massive. And the fact that it's mobile. It's with you where you look, where you're going, that camera's capturing it. So it's just so much more controlled than what a CCTV is ever going to be. Unless you've got CCTV everywhere and cost expenditure of that is just ridiculous. (I11)

Evidence regarding incidents and prisoners' behaviour was also highlighted by many officers as a key benefit. One officer detailed the benefit of using the cameras in the procedure for collecting urine samples by providing evidence that officers had followed correct procedures:

So, they'll use every excuse under the sun to try and get out of it [urine test]. "The officers didn't give me guidelines, the officer didn't follow that procedure, the officer didn't offer me the five containers", there's so many things that the officer has to do. ... Now, I can just go and watch the footage prior to the hearing and yes, done that, done that, done that. ... Now, [prisoners] don't even – they know that I've watched the camera footage, it's great. (I17)

Officers who had the job of reviewing BWC footage also indicated that they felt it allowed for a more efficient review of incidents within the centre:

I think it allows a better centre review ... And a better decision process here before it goes up to Ethical Standards or something like that. ... Whereas before we would just be relying mainly on officers' reports and the CCTV, which doesn't have any voice recording so it's just, he said she said sort of stuff. With the cameras you can actually hear what's going on and being said. (I28)

Drawbacks of BWCs typically surrounded practical issues such as weight and discomfort (see section 3.1), and some officers indicated they did not feel as though there were enough cameras (see section 2.2). However, a number of officers also worried that the extra scrutiny from having BWCs may lead some officers to hesitate in using force when it may be necessary or that it might impact on officers' ability to develop rapport with prisoners (see section 5.4):

People are hesitant to use force when it might be necessary, but they're hesitant to use it because they're concerned that they'll be on camera and it will be, you know, looked at the wrong way. (I02)

Others identified human error as a key drawback. As BWCs are an additional piece of equipment in the custodial officers' ever-growing toolkit, some officers were concerned that officers who accidentally turned on/left their cameras on in inappropriate situations, or who forgot to activate their camera may be penalised by management for these mistakes:

I think the biggest drawback is... Human error, you forget to activate it and then QCS wants to roast you for it. It's human error. If you forget, I can just see them saying it's policy to turn it on, but if you make a mistake... I think that's the biggest drawback. (I04)

This mistrust was also highlighted by an officer in a managerial position as a key area that needed to be addressed:

The negative was that it was another level of scrutiny the staff were going to come under. We're already under enormous scrutiny anyway, in terms of because we're operating within a high security correctional facility, and they were concerned it may be used for other than what it was intended for, from an industrial perspective. (I33)

However, other officers identified this fear of management's use of cameras as only being a concern early on and by some (typically older) officers, but that it was not a widespread issue.

2. Implementation and training

For a BWC program to be most effective, it will require the support of the custodial officers who will be using this technology. To secure officer support, it is imperative to ensure there is ongoing communication between management and officers about the reasons for the roll-out of the BWC program, the goals of the program, and the benefits and challenges of introducing this technology into a custodial environment (Miller & Toliver, 2014).

2.1 Communication and roll-out of BWC program

To gauge whether Queensland custodial officers felt they were well-informed about the implementation of the BWC program, the survey included several questions regarding officers' views on the communication they received regarding the BWC roll-out and their perceptions of the fairness of the roll-out process (see Figure 2).

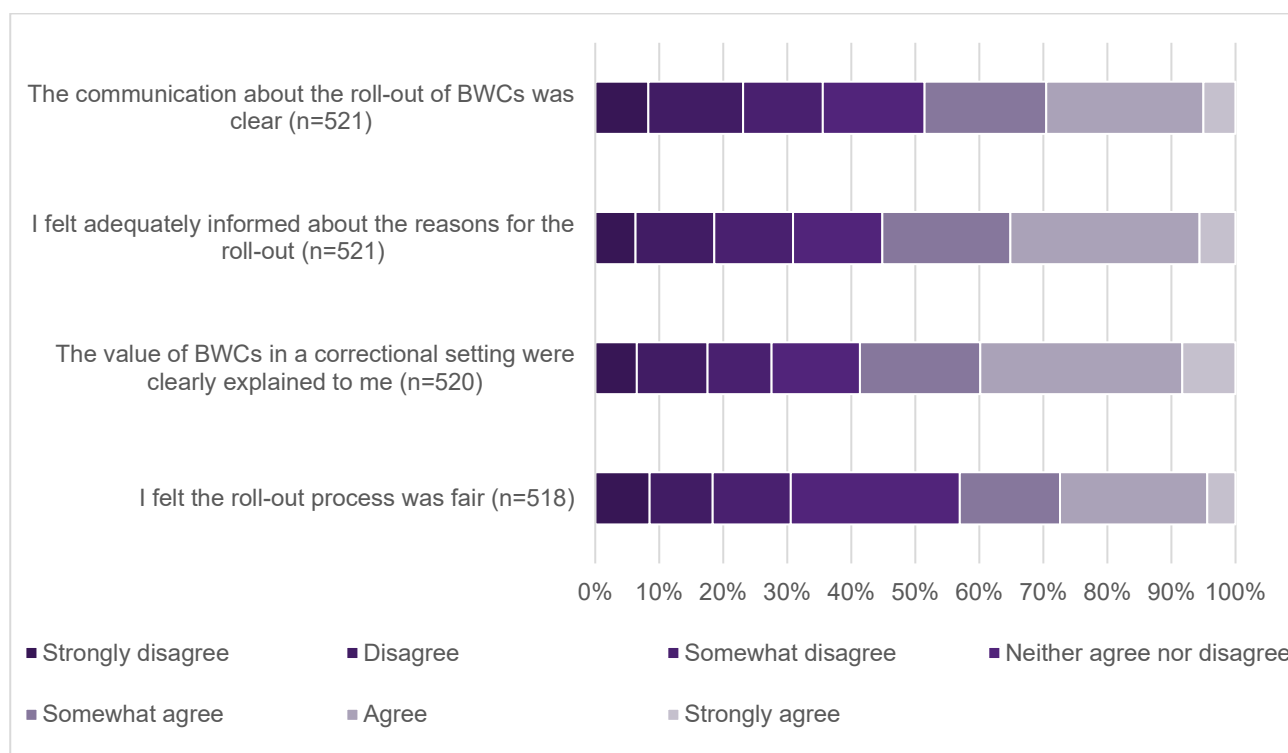


Figure 2. Communication and fairness of BWC roll-out

As Figure 2 shows, officers were fairly divided in their views about the communication they received in the lead up to the introduction of BWCs in their centre. Almost one-half (49%) of officers agreed that the communication about the roll-out was clear, while over one-third (36%) disagreed. The same proportion of officers agreed (49%) and disagreed (36%) that the roll-out process was 'fair'. Further, 55% of officers felt they were adequately informed about the reasons for the roll-out of BWCs and a slightly greater proportion (59%) agreed that the value of BWCs in a correctional setting had been clearly explained to them.

Custodial staff who participated in an interview were also mixed in their views about the adequacy of communication regarding the BWC roll-out. Several staff stated they had been informed by email about the intended roll-out of the BWC program, with some commenting that the roll-out was a 'long time coming'. Some staff, though, appeared better informed than others about the implementation process and rationale for introducing BWCs in a custodial environment, as the Violence Prevention Co-ordinator (VPC) at one centre highlighted:

I think the information regarding how they were going to be used was okay, but that's coming from my position [as a VPC] where I probably had a little bit more information about why they were coming as well. So overall, I believe the rollout was okay. (I28)

Despite most staff feeling fairly well-informed about the BWC roll-out, some staff voiced their views that the implementation process would have benefited from increased transparency. In one officer's view, this transparency may have increased officer support for BWCs:

I think if the procurement and the passage of information about the trial process is more open and transparent instead of whispers across the agency, it would have been better. I think if there would have been a person involved in that procurement-trial process from each centre that could locally disseminate that information and keep people updated, then people feel part of the project, not the project being forced upon them.... You take some ownership of it then, especially if you get your staff involved. (I03)

Some staff also felt that the roll-out of the BWC program could have been better executed, with the arrival of the BWCs preceding that of the load bearing vests (LBVs) (an issue discussed further at section 3.2 below). Several officers, for example, expressed their view that the roll-out process was piecemeal and poorly planned. As one officer explained, "There hasn't been really any preparation other than the fact they had to get [the BWCs] in, got them all set up, and then [said] these are what you're wearing" (I06).

2.2 Number of BWCs provided to custodial facilities

As of November 2018, there were 150 BWCs in use across QCS-operated custodial centres in Queensland (CCCQ, 2018). The number of BWCs varies per centre, with some facilities having the use of approximately 30 BWCs (as they were the sites of the initial roll-out), while other centres currently operate with only 10 BWCs.

When asked whether a sufficient number of BWCs had been provided to their centre, the majority of officers (63%) in the survey disagreed. This issue was also raised by the majority of staff during interviews, with many voicing their view that a greater number of BWCs were needed.

Interviews with higher level QCS staff confirmed that the BWCs were expensive to purchase and maintain. Costs were also incurred to store the data. These costs were an important factor in deciding how many BWCs are provided to each centre. Despite this,

senior management at one centre acknowledged there were plans for additional BWCs to be provided to all centres across Queensland. As they explained:

Every facility across the state has been asked for the number of cameras that they require. Essentially so every post in the centre that has direct contact with prisoners can wear a body worn camera, and that's what we've asked for. (I33)

Issues associated with the limited number of BWCs at some centres are discussed further in section 3.3, with respect to the battery life of these devices and the availability of BWCs for officers working the nightshift.

2.3 Adequacy of training on use of BWCs

Several questions were included in the survey to gauge officers' views on the adequacy of the training they had received on the use of BWCs. Officers were also asked whether they were aware of the policies (whether they be QCS or centre-specific) dictating their use of the BWCs as part of their role (see Figure 3).

The survey results showed that almost one-half (48%) of officers disagreed that they had received adequate training on the use of BWCs, while 60% disagreed they had received training on how to best capture an incident using their BWC. Officers were fairly evenly split in terms of their familiarity with the policies regarding the use of BWCs as part of their role, with 44% agreeing they were aware of the policies on using BWCs and 41% disagreeing.

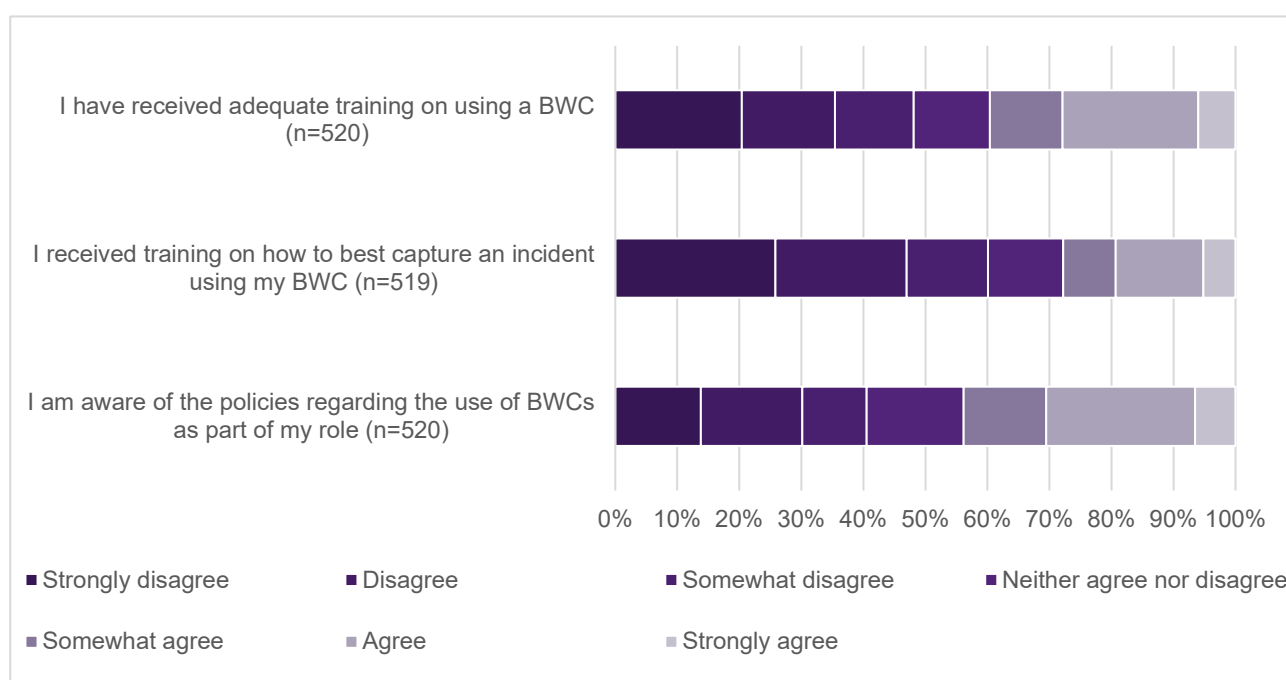


Figure 3. Officers' views on adequacy of training for BWCs and knowledge of policies

Interviews with custodial staff revealed that a majority of interviewees agreed that the training provided both in the lead up to the introduction of the BWCs, as well as following the roll-out period, was insufficient. Many officers said they had received no formal training on the BWCs and had relied on 'word of mouth' instructions from other officers:

No formal training at all. When I picked up the camera for the first time, I asked the supervisor on duty there at the gatehouse, 'how does this work?' (I01)

Someone gave me a bit of a five-minute intro to it. There was no official training. I actually didn't know how to turn it on until I had to turn it on for my first incident, because what they... how they explained it was different to actually doing it. (I04)

Other centres, though, adopted a more formalised approach to training staff on the use of BWCs:

When the cameras first got rolled out in our centre, initially, there was a group of staff members that were trained to train the custodial staff. That training got rolled out through our staff training coordinators for a matter of weeks to capture the cohort. (I03)

We were just given demonstrations on where to wear them, how to activate them, how to turn them off and docking them and with how the footage is then downloaded. We were shown footage and how it all looks and what's captured. (I25)

However, while most interviewees voiced their desire for additional or more in-depth training, most felt they had been adequately prepared for the BWC program roll-out. One area, though, where several officers felt additional training was still required was in relation to how to best capture an incident using their BWC. As one officer explained:

Because with my height, there's no way if there's a prisoner up here [pointing above], that it's going to be getting the incident. So, it would be nice to know what the vision is. I haven't got a clue what the vision is. Is it a wide vision? Are they getting it all? Am I too small? You know what I mean? For instance, should I wear this higher? Or lower even? There's no feedback on any of that, which I think is a bit disappointing really. (I05)

The issue of the field of vision captured by the BWC was raised by several officers and could perhaps be addressed using BWC footage as part of officer training (a matter discussed further at section 6.2).

2.4 Administrative workload

Another consideration relating to the implementation of a BWC program concerns officers' perceptions as to whether the addition of this technology has added to their administrative workload. In this regard, our survey respondents held mostly positive views. Based on survey responses, almost half (46%) of officers disagreed that the introduction of BWCs had added substantially to their workload, while just over a third of officers (36%) neither agreed nor disagreed with that statement (perhaps suggesting they had not noticed an increase in their workload or did not hold strong views either way). Similarly, 53% of

officers disagreed that BWCs would only result in additional paperwork, while a third (33%) neither agreed nor disagreed with this view.

Interviews with custodial officers highlighted that collecting and returning their BWC at the beginning and end of their shift represented somewhat of an inconvenience. As one officer explained, *“I feel like it’s just an extra piece of equipment to put on every day.... Just one extra thing that I have to think about, put on, sign out, sign back in the end of the day”* (I09). Other officers, though, recognised that incorporating the BWCs into their role took little effort:

They get charged at night. We pick them up in the morning. We sign them back in at night at the end of our shift. I haven’t run out [of battery] yet. They download them for us, if there’s footage that needs to be. (I14)

The increase in administrative workload appears to have been primarily experienced by the intel and other staff who are responsible for reviewing the footage captured by the BWCs. Interviews with intel staff from centres across Queensland revealed that while the introduction of the BWCs had increased their workload, additional resources to manage that workload had not yet been allocated to them. As one interviewee explained when asked if the implementation of the BWC program had added to their workload:

It has. And the other issue is that if there’s an incident, the officers just dock the cameras and then run down here and ask for the footage, which then puts extra workload on us. (I15)

While agreeing that the introduction of BWCs had added to their workload, another staff member recognised that the BWCs made some aspects of their job easier, including to quickly identify instances where false allegations were made by prisoners against officers.

Each centre appears to have taken a slightly different approach to managing the BWC footage. To manage the increased workload, some centres have adopted a policy of only reviewing BWC footage following an incident or a request from management or ethical standards. Other facilities have adopted an approach of reviewing, for example, a certain proportion of all BWC footage captured during a prescribed period. In one centre, where procedures require 10% of all BWC footage to be reviewed by a relevant staff member, staff described a significant impact on their workload. This workload had become, in their view, unmanageable:

The procedure then changed to 10% [of footage to be reviewed] and intel are meant to do it. Intel have not looked at one single clip of the centre...I honestly believe it needs a dedicated role, someone that independently watches it, reviews it, forwards it on, yes. (I17)

Despite the increase in workload, intel and other staff emphasised that they were supportive of the introduction of BWCs in a correctional setting, believing that this technology offered many benefits to officers. However, many felt that increased resources were needed to ensure the technology could work to its greatest potential.

3. Ease of use and functionality

Broader research on the adoption of new technology by organisations consistently shows that the perceived usefulness and ease of use of technology leads to more supportive attitudes amongst employees, which in turn may increase their acceptance and use of that technology (for a review, see Yousafzai, Foxall, & Pallister, 2007). It is important, then, to gauge custodial officers' views on whether BWCs are an easy to use and useful technology for their role.

3.1 Comfort and ease of use

Survey participants were asked whether they felt it is comfortable to wear a BWC and if the BWCs are easy to use. Participants were also asked about their preferred uniform attire when wearing a BWC and if they felt the BWCs provided at their facility had an adequate battery life (see Figure 4).

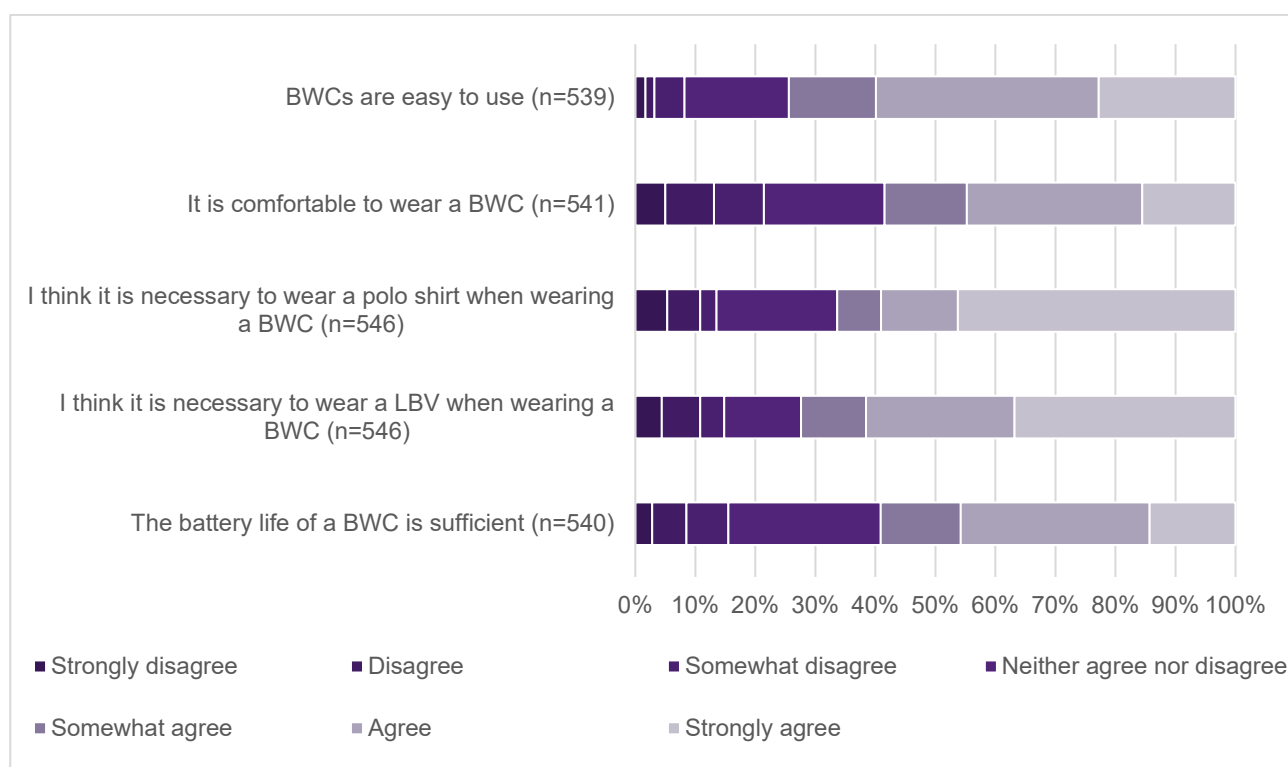


Figure 4. Perceptions of comfort, ease of use, and battery life

As Figure 4 illustrates, the majority of custodial officers agreed that BWCs are both comfortable (58% agreement) and easy to use (74% agreement). Custodial officers who participated in an interview also commonly stated that the BWCs used by their facility were user-friendly and easy to operate, as the following interview extracts demonstrate:

It is a very simple system, a tap-on tap-off type of thing, so it's not that hard. (I12)

Given what we already do and use and some of the other equipment, they're quite simple and quite user-friendly and easy. (I25)

No interview participants reported having difficulty operating their BWC. However, both phases of this study suggested that the more frequently an officer had used a BWC, the more likely they were to believe this technology was user friendly (survey correlation =.40, $p<.001$).

3.2 Attire when wearing a BWC

Related to an officer's level of comfort when wearing a BWC were officers' views on the necessity of wearing an LBV and/or polo shirt when equipped with a BWC. As Figure 4 shows, almost three-quarters of officers (72%) agreed it was necessary to wear an LBV when wearing a BWC. Following union concerns raised on behalf of custodial officers, officers were not required to wear a BWC until LBVs were provided. The roll-out of LBVs began in June 2018, with 1,350 LBVs provided to correctional facilities across Queensland (QCS, 2018; Queensland Government, 2018).

Interviews with officers revealed that the lack of availability or insufficient number of LBVs in several centres meant they continued to wear a BWC attached to their uniform shirt – using either a clip mechanism or magnet. Several issues were identified with this practice. One female custodial officer, who worked at a privately-run centre where LBVs were not provided, described her physical discomfort when attaching the BWC onto the chest of her uniform shirt:

Just getting [the BWC] to sit on my shirt is pretty big. Because it can be quite uncomfortable, depending where it is, and if I end up with a clip-on one, typically I'll end up just clipping it on sideways between my breasts, and I suppose then if anyone had to watch that footage, they'd have to tilt their head to the left to be able to watch it the correct way up. But I'm not going to be uncomfortable all day just so the footage will be facing the right way. (I09)

Safety concerns regarding the wearing of a BWC without an LBV were raised by another officer, who described an altercation with a prisoner that occurred whilst their BWC was attached to their shirt:

They advised us to wear [the BWC] on our shirt and I remember the first day I used it. I went to activate it in the middle of a fight. I had a prisoner trying to assault me. And the first thing that happened was the camera went flying off the top landing and smashed on the ground ... so it was, yes, dense, useless. (I08)

However, while the survey showed majority support for the use of LBVs amongst custodial officers, interviews with officers and other staff also revealed a mixture of views about the utility and comfort of wearing an LBV. Several officers explained they would prefer not to wear an LBV as they found the LBVs to be uncomfortable to wear, too hot (particularly in north Queensland), or a hindrance to their duties. One officer raised concerns that the LBVs could disadvantage them during an altercation with a prisoner, explaining:

Although you can put all your accoutrements on your load-bearing vests, it raises your centre of gravity, and it provides grab points for prisoners. So, in a use of force situation responding to an incident, it provides something for the prisoner to grab hold of. (I03)

However, while many of the officers interviewed agreed that the LBVs could be quite uncomfortable and hot to wear, they tended to feel that the advantages of the LBVs regarding weight distribution outweighed their level of discomfort. Several officers noted that their comfort could be further improved if LBVs were provided in a wider variety of sizes.

In relation to attire, the survey also revealed that two-thirds of officers (66%) agreed that BWCs were best worn with a polo shirt – a practice not introduced in Queensland, where officers wear a standard issue uniform shirt. Officers felt strongly about the necessity for polo shirts, with almost half of survey respondents (46%) strongly agreeing it is necessary to wear a polo shirt when wearing a BWC.

3.3 Battery life

Survey respondents were also asked whether they believed “the battery life of a BWC is sufficient”. As Figure 4 shows, just over half of all custodial officers (59%) agreed that the battery life of the BWCs currently deployed in their centres were sufficient.

Interviews with officers and other staff revealed mixed views about the battery life of the BWCs used by their centre. Several officers expressed concerns that the battery life of the BWCs was insufficient (despite lasting for approximately 12 hours). Some also described occasions where the battery of their BWC did not last for their entire shift:

I did 14 hours yesterday, and at the end of my shift, probably an hour before I finished, my battery went flat. ... I mean, that's pretty good, but if I had have gone to a hanging or something at 8:30 last night, my camera was flat, and I had to turn it off, so it wouldn't have been any use to me then. (I09)

Indeed, issues concerning the BWC battery life may pose a specific concern for officers who work the night shift, where the limited number of cameras poses an operational issue when those cameras need to be recharged following the day shift. As one officer explained:

...our problem here is we've only got a small amount of cameras that we're probably using at night as well as during the day for some of the night shift staff. So maybe the battery life could be a little longer on them. (I24)

When asked whether their BWC battery had gone flat during their shift, the officer answered in the affirmative. Other officers, though, felt that the battery life of the BWCs was sufficient (or at least vastly improved from earlier BWC models that had been trialled at their facility).

4. Decision-making regarding BWC activation

Given that no blanket policy exists that directs officers to have their camera recording during all interactions with prisoners, the decision as to whether or not to activate a BWC requires custodial officers to exercise their discretion. Officer discretion on whether and when to activate a BWC has been a contentious issue in policing BWC research (e.g., Ariel et al., 2016). Decisions about BWC activation are not always straightforward and often require officers to be aware of policies, priorities, and even privacy concerns during dynamic and sometimes volatile or sensitive events (Edmonton Police Service, 2015). Thus, an understanding of officers' decision-making regarding activating their BWC was explored in both phases of this study.

4.1 Officer discretion and confidence

The majority of survey respondents felt confident in knowing when to activate their BWC (see Figure 5). Only 18% of officers agreed that they had difficulty knowing when to turn their BWC on and off and the majority reported abiding by the DCI when using their BWC (54% agreeing). There was a general lack of agreement (23% agreeing) that BWCs reduce officers' discretion. Some gender differences were identified¹ (see Appendix B, Table 6). For example, female custodial officers were significantly more likely to agree that they abide by the DCI regarding their BWC use and less likely to believe that BWCs will reduce officers' discretion. Frequency of BWC use was significantly associated with increased confidence in knowing when to activate a BWC. Officers who use BWCs more frequently as part of their work were significantly less likely to report issues with knowing when to turn their camera on, less likely to believe BWCs reduce officer discretion, and more likely to follow the DCI regarding BWC use (see Appendix B, Table 7).

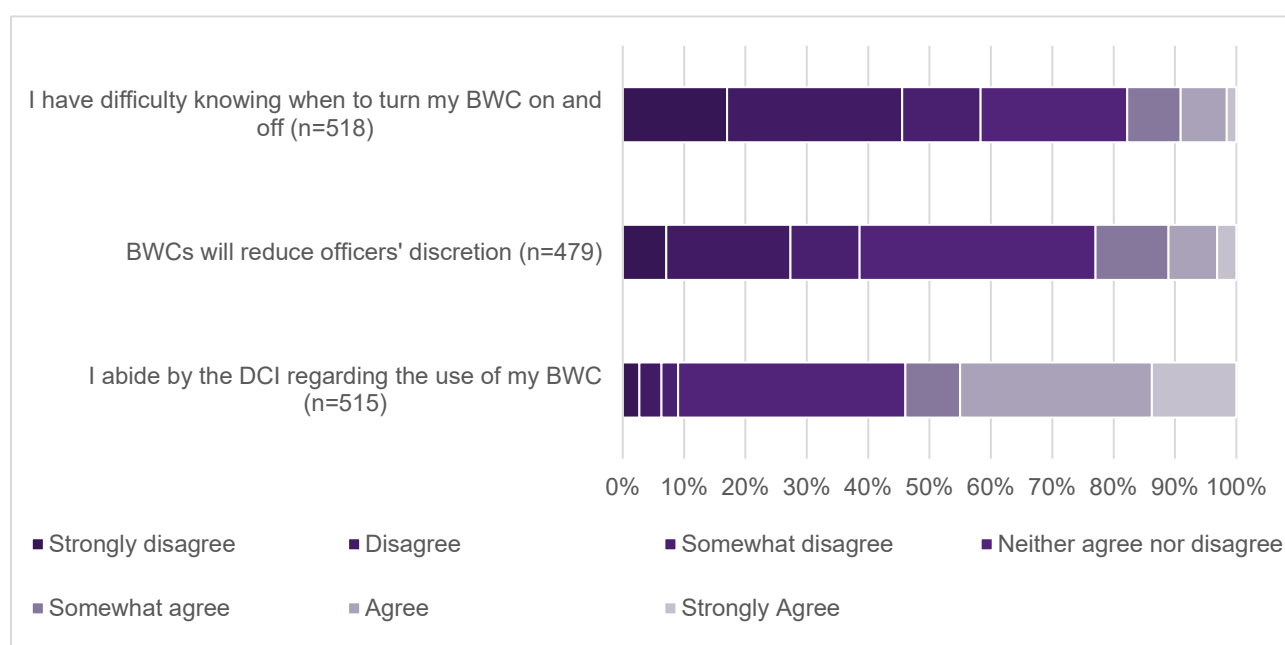


Figure 5. Confidence in activating BWC and alignment with the DCI

¹ Age and education variables were also examined in Section 4 and Section 5 however were not statistically significant.

Similar sentiments regarding confidence were repeated in the interviews. Almost all interviewees said they felt confident knowing when to activate their BWC. When asked where their confidence comes from, staff commonly referred to their common sense, sound judgement, and experience working in a corrections environment.

4.2 Likelihood and rationale for activation

Despite officers' confidence in the appropriate use of their BWCs, interviews with officers and other staff revealed a large degree of variation in the instructions provided to staff across centres regarding when it is appropriate to activate BWCs. In some units within certain centres, officers reported being required to record all interactions with prisoners. In other centres, officers are given much more discretion in determining when to activate their camera. While variation in centre practices do exist, the DCI outlines when officers should activate their BWC camera. Instances where cameras should be activated include when:

Responding to operational incidents, use of force incidents, or at times, where a corrective services officer reasonably considers there to be a need to record the interaction – e.g. where a prisoner's demeanour becomes elevated following a request of direction issued by the officer. (DCI, 2017, p. 2)

As part of the survey, custodial officers were asked whether their use of their BWC aligns with the DCI. As reported above, over half of the respondents (54%) agreed that they abide by the DCI (Figure 5). However, it should also be noted that a further 37% neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement – perhaps representing custodial staff who are less familiar with the policy and thus unsure as to whether their actions align with the direction.

In the interviews, several staff were able to recall the instructions laid out in the DCI:

First, if you're responding to an incident, turn the camera on. On the way to the incident, turn it on. If you believe there is going to be an incident, turn it on. Or if you believe that your conversation with the prisoner may indicate something of a different nature, it needs to be recorded, turn it on. (I24)

However others felt unsure of the exact policy, suggesting that the DCI was a bit vague, there were some grey areas not covered by the policy, or that they could not remember reading the email which attached the policy.

As another means of evaluating officers' compliance with the DCI, custodial officers were presented several scenarios within the survey and asked whether they would activate their BWC in those circumstances (see Table 2). Perhaps unsurprisingly, the overwhelming majority of officers indicated that they would activate their BWC in the case of a riot (97%). Additionally, most officers said they would activate their camera in most other scenarios where custodial staff were potentially at risk. For example, in the case of a prisoner attacking a custodial officer (97% would activate) or a prisoner threatening a custodial officer (96% would activate). Staff less frequently reported they would activate their BWC in non-violent scenarios, for example, a verbal disagreement between prisoners in the gym (74%) or in cases where custodial officers were threatening prisoners (70%).

Table 2. Officers' reported activation of BWC in different scenarios

Scenario	Percentage of officers who would activate BWC
A riot	97%
A prisoner attacking a custodial officer	97%
A prisoner threatening a custodial officer	96%
An interaction between a custodial officer and a prisoner where the prisoner's behaviour begins to escalate verbally and/or physically	95%
A violent altercation between two prisoners in the yard	94%
A fight in a medical unit	93%
A prisoner doing drugs in the bathroom	89%
A custodial officer physically restraining a prisoner	87%
The discovery of contraband in a cell	84%
A verbal disagreement between prisoners in the gym	74%
A custodial officer threatening a prisoner	70%
A custodial officer addressing a prisoner's behaviour	70%
A private conversation between prisoners complaining about custodial officers	38%
Custodial officers conducting a removal of clothing search	12%
An officer in close vicinity of a doctor's or nurse's consultation with a prisoner	8%
None of the above	2%

The DCI instructs officers not to use their BWCs in certain areas of the prison or during certain procedures (DCI, 2017). For example, the DCI states that recordings should not take place in locations of the prison where there is a "reasonable expectation of privacy" (such as change rooms, toilets etc.). Nevertheless, 89% of officers indicated that they would activate their camera in an instance where a prisoner was doing drugs in the bathroom. For other scenarios, the majority of officers complied with the policy. For example, the DCI stipulates that officers do not activate their camera in medical units *unless* the officer is responding to an incident (DCI, 2017). When asked whether they would activate their BWC in a medical unit if a fight broke out, 93% of staff agreed. However, 8% of respondents indicated they would record in close vicinity to a medical consult, which is in violation of the DCI. While the DCI instructs staff not to activate their

cameras during removal of clothing (ROC) searches – 12% indicated that they would use their camera in this scenario.

While several staff recognised that there are areas in the prison where they should not activate their camera (such as medical units), some felt that they would rely on their discretion and switch their camera to record in an unsafe situation – regardless of the policy:

I know you're not meant to have it on while they're doing medical consults and what not, but I think I would still have it on if I was going into a potentially dangerous situation. I know that the deputy commissioner's put out that instruction in saying that this is what we should do and this is what... I will always put my body-worn camera on if I can justify its actions and justify my actions. It's great to have that deputy commissioner's instruction out to say how we're to do it. But if I feel it's the way that we should operate, and if I feel, at the time, that I can justify my actions and I'm authorised, I'll press it. I'll have the argument if it was right or wrong later. (I02)

While most staff acknowledged it is inappropriate to film prisoners during ROC searches, in some centres, staff admitted to keeping the camera rolling in order to record the audio. In these cases, staff said they ensured they faced the camera in another direction to protect the prisoner's privacy:

Well, I know within our guidelines for the use of body-worn cameras, we're not supposed to take body-worn camera footage of prisoners when we're doing removal of clothing searches. Because we've got to think about the dignity of the prisoner when they're doing these planned events... I have left my body-worn camera rolling even though we're doing a removal of clothing search... The staff's safety and my safety and the recording of the incident, in my opinion, overrides the privacy concerns of the prisoner. However, what I do when I do this, because I don't turn my body-worn camera off... because it also shows continuity of the footage, as opposed to turning it on and off, which is no continuity. I just turn my body to the side so the camera's not directly pointing at the prisoner being ground-stabilised and with the ROC being conducted, but the audio is still picking up. (I03)

4.3 Cues for activation

In centres without policies requiring mandatory camera activation for all prisoner interactions, officers are required to use their discretion to determine when it is appropriate to activate their camera. Interviewees were asked what behavioural cues they rely on when deciding whether or not to activate their camera. For many officers, their decision making around BWC activation relies on physical and verbal cues by prisoners:

I think you can usually tell by the prisoner's body language, nine out of ten [times]. The unit that I'm in, I've gotten to know the prisoners. I manage that unit. So, I know the live wires in there who can potentially tip. You can see it in their body language. A lot of the time, they go very rigid, the fists start to clench, or they start pacing up and down. You can see that indication. If you know that you don't have a rapport with that prisoner, then you're not going to be able to calm the situation down. That would be my indicator to start recording. (I05)

Some officers also explained that they tend to activate their cameras prior to an interaction with a prisoner in cases where they know they are delivering potentially upsetting news. A number of staff also mentioned using the cameras outside of incident responses (for example, during interviewing). In these cases, officers drew on their knowledge of a prisoner's past behaviour (and tendency to lodge vexatious complaints) in determining the appropriateness of activating their camera.

4.4 Reasons for failing to activate

Several interviewees recognised that, at times, they had failed to activate their BWC during an incident. For these custodial officers, the main reason they reported for not activating their BWC was because they forgot in the heat of the moment, rather than a reluctance to use the technology itself. As one VPC explained:

I believe most of them know when they should be doing it, but whether or not they remember to do it at that time because they have a number of things going at once, so to have them pressing record is the main problem we face at the moment. (I28)

In response to this challenge, several centres now routinely issue officers a reminder over the radio to activate BWCs when a code is called. Staff recognised that this strategy was helpful to ensuring BWCs were activated during incidents. According to a senior manager at one centre, the rate of BWC activation during incidents had increased since introducing these reminders.

5. Officer-prisoner interactions: Safety and security

BWCs were introduced as a method for supporting prisoner and officer safety (CCQ, 2018; Queensland Government, 2017). For instance, in 2017-2018, 315 prisoner-on-officer assaults were recorded in Queensland custodial facilities – an increase from 134 in 2013-2014 (QCS, 2018). Research on BWCs in policing which considers the function of BWCs under a general theory of deterrence (e.g., Ariel et al., 2015; Henstock & Ariel, 2017) suggests that the use of BWCs by custodial staff would be expected to act to deter undesirable behaviour, including violence, through the ‘civilising effect’ of increased surveillance, or awareness of surveillance (e.g., see review in Ariel et al., 2015).

Further, research also indicates that the way that authorities (such as custodial officers) interact with those they hold authority over (such as prisoners) can have significant implications for the willingness of prisoners to cooperate or comply with the authority (e.g., Mazerolle, Antrobus, Bennett, & Tyler, 2013; Tyler, 1990). Specifically, research into legitimacy suggests that if interactions are perceived to be procedurally fair (treating people respectfully, fairly, giving them voice), perceptions of legitimacy are higher, which leads to greater compliance and cooperation (e.g., Tyler, 2003). In a prison setting, this legitimacy is important for ensuring that officers are able to maintain order in the prison without the need for use of force.

One reason for the introduction of BWCs may be to increase accountability and transparency in the goings on of the prison, both in terms of collecting evidence regarding incidents, as well as the behaviour of prisoners and officers. From literature in the policing space, evidence collected by BWCs is also assumed to reduce the number of complaints against correctional staff (e.g., Ariel et al., 2017). Thus, within this study, a series of questions were posed to officers about the impact of BWCs on their own or other officers’ behaviour and the behaviour of prisoners.

5.1 Officer behaviour

In terms of officer behaviour and use of procedural fairness, as can be seen in Figure 6, the majority of survey respondents agreed that BWCs improve transparency (67%) and accountability (69%) in prison work. However, views were more mixed regarding whether BWCs help to prevent officer misconduct and the role BWCs play in officers’ behaviour being ‘by the book’, with less than half (46% and 27%, respectively) of officers agreeing with these statements and approximately a further third neither agreeing nor disagreeing (32% and 41%, respectively). Female officers were more likely than male officers to agree to these statements (see Appendix C, Table 8).

Similarly, a significant minority of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed that BWCs changed custodial officers’ behaviour in relation to key principles related to procedural justice (i.e., listening to prisoners’ views (45%), treating prisoners respectfully (44%), or ensuring fair treatment (49%)). Respondents were more likely to disagree with these statements (30-39%) than to agree (15-24%), indicating that many officers did not feel that BWCs changed their behaviour in this regard.

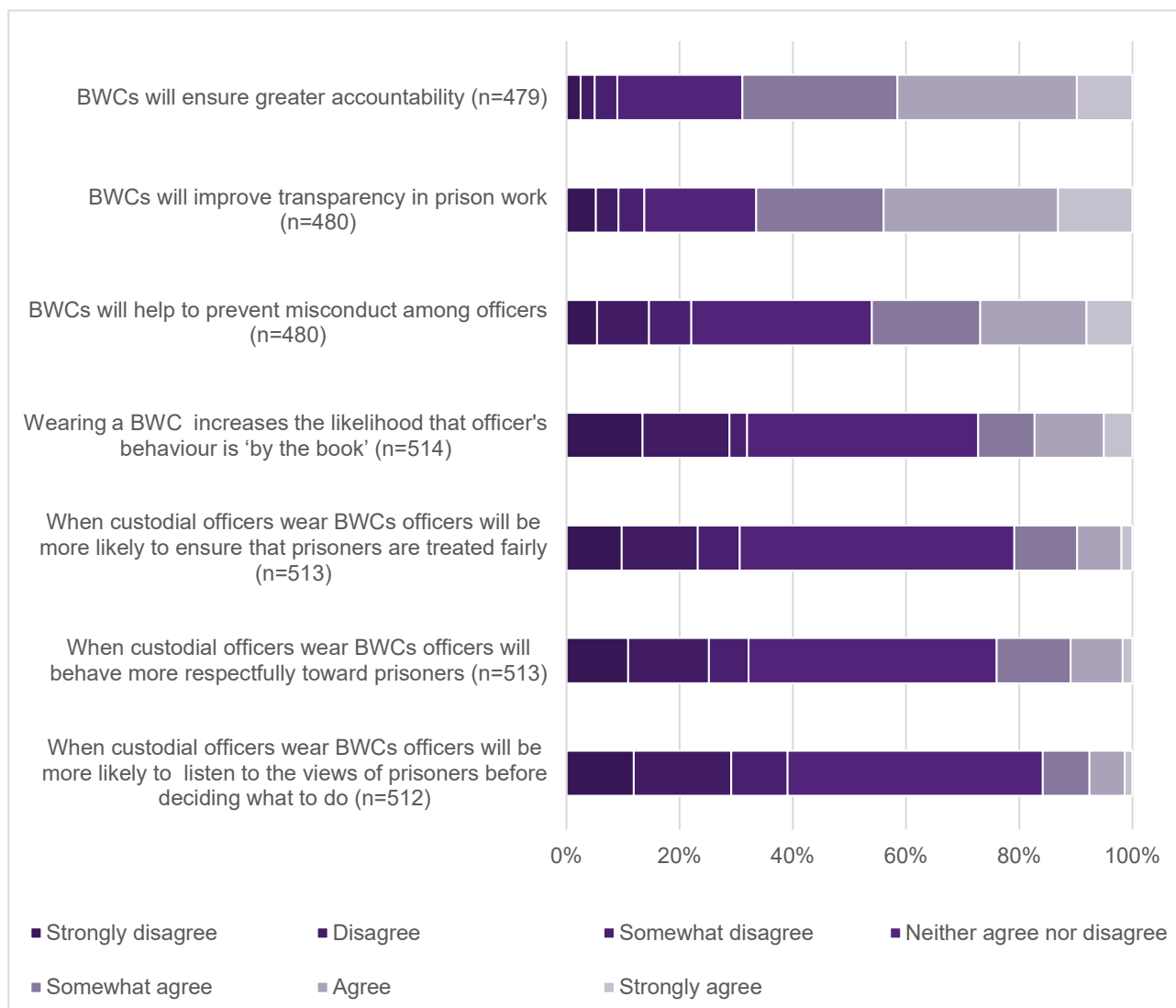


Figure 6. Perceived effect of BWCs on officer behaviour

There are two potential reasons for this lack of agreement: 1) BWCs were not an impetus for a change in behaviour, or, 2) officers feel that they act in a procedurally just manner, regardless of whether BWCs are present or not.

In an attempt to provide further illumination on this topic, interviewees were also asked about whether and how their behaviour changed when wearing a BWC. As in the survey, when asked whether they had noticed a change in their own behaviour, responses from officers were mixed.

A number of officers noted they were more conscious of the language they used or what they said, and they noticed similar changes in other officers:

I try not to swear, but in the environment I work in, it comes out, and I'm very conscious of that now that the body cameras are around, and although it might be acceptable in the environment, it's not really very good, it's not really very professional. And so I try to, I'm just much more conscious of not swearing. (102)

People who tend to swear a lot naturally will try not to as much. (I07)

Others suggested that since wearing the BWCs they have felt more accountable for their actions, and some indicated that they tended to communicate more when the camera was on for posterity:

You know, let's actually talk to the prisoner and say 'right, this is what we're going to do, you're going to raise to your feet, we're going to walk you, you know, in this direction to this area, do you understand?' That way you get that two-way communication between yourself and the person that you're talking to. ... It just creates more of a dialogue between yourself and the prisoners. (I08)

Many officers, however, said that they had not noticed changes in their own or other officers' behaviour. Reasons given for this lack of change typically centred on the fact the officers felt that they should be acting appropriately regardless of the presence of the BWCs. Officers frequently described attempting to interact with prisoners in a respectful manner:

No changes in my behaviour because I'd like to think... I haven't changed just because I'm wearing a camera. The way that I would manage an incident, the way I speak to the prisoners and the way I speak to staff hasn't changed at all. (I03)

5.2 Impact on job security

Although many officers did not feel their own behaviour had undergone significant change, most did feel that the introduction of BWCs improved their sense of the security of their jobs. The majority of survey respondents agreed that BWCs would protect officers against false allegations (79%) and that the cameras would improve the accuracy of accounts of officer-prisoner interactions (68%). However, officers reported mixed views in terms of management's intentions to use the footage (see Figure 7). Over one-third of officers (35%) in the survey agreed that BWCs were a tool for management to monitor their performance, while just over one-quarter agreed that the introduction of BWCs was an indication of management's lack of trust in officers (27%) and an invasion of officer privacy (27%).

Perceptions of job security varied by gender and frequency of BWC use. Overall female custodial officers were generally less sceptical of management's intentions regarding the use of BWC footage (see Appendix C, Table 9). Female respondents were significantly less likely to agree that BWCs show how little management trusts officers, or that BWCs are a tool for management to measure performance. Female staff were also less concerned that BWCs will invade officer privacy. Compared to male officers, female respondents were significantly more likely to agree that BWCs will improve the accuracy of accounts of officer-prisoner interactions.

Likewise, officers who use BWCs more frequently as part of their work were less suspicious of management's intentions regarding the use of BWC footage. Specifically, as frequency of BWC use increased, agreement that BWCs show how little management trusts officers or are a tool to measure performance decreased (see Appendix C, Table 10). Greater frequency of use was also significantly associated with fewer concerns that

BWCs will invade officer privacy. Officers that use BWCs more frequently are more likely to agree that BWCs protect officers against false allegations and improve the accuracy of accounts of officer-prisoner interactions. Together these findings suggest that more frequent exposure and familiarity with BWCs helps alleviate officer concerns regarding management's intentions while also further reinforcing the benefits of BWCs in bolstering job security.

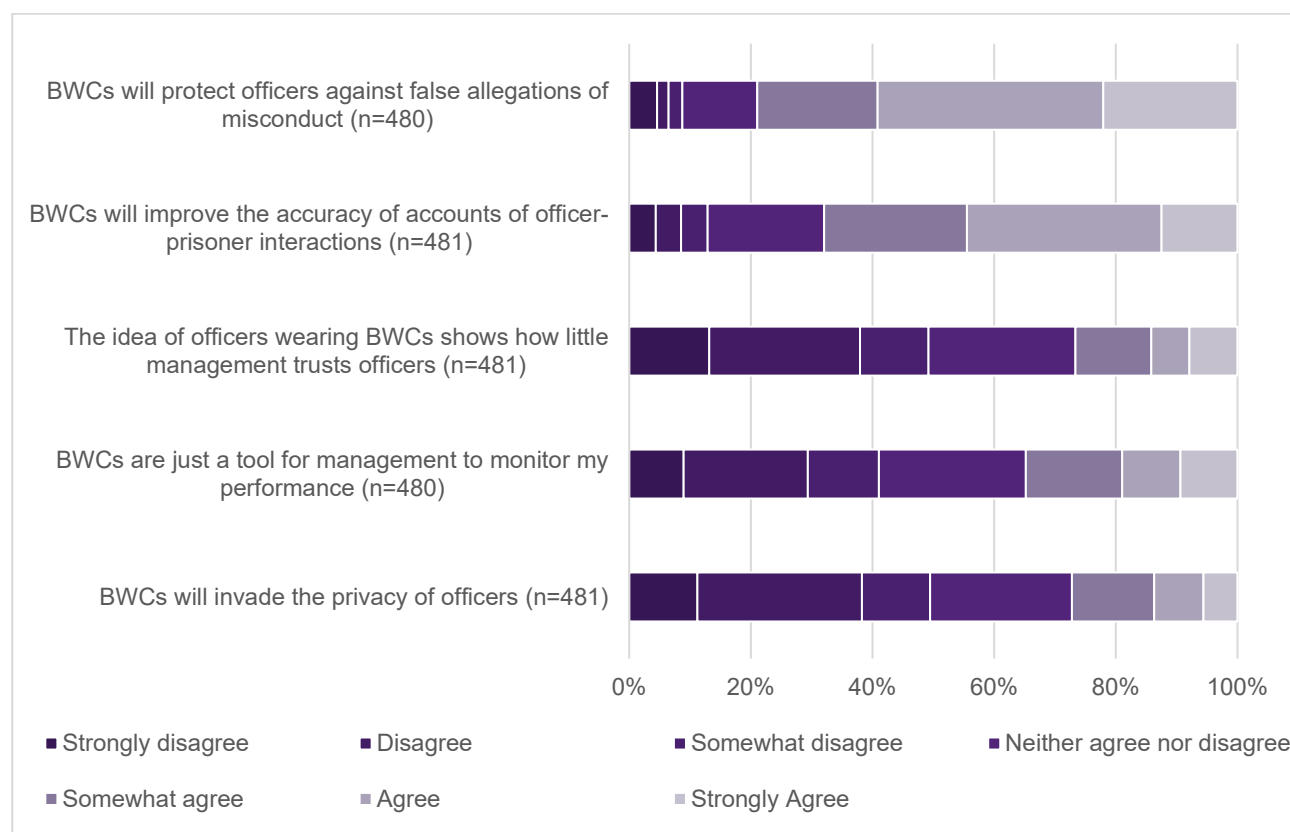


Figure 7. Officers' views of BWCs impact on job security

When asked why QCS introduced BWCs into custodial facilities, most interviewees spoke about a need to reduce the number of vexatious complaints by prisoners and protect staff from false allegations. Nevertheless, several interviewees expressed some initial concerns amongst staff that the BWCs would be used to monitor officers:

...it was certainly very negative prior to [the BWC] arrival. Because of course, some people, including some of the union delegates, believe it's Big Brother watching us, and the management team are out to look at CCOs and catch them out and manage their behaviour and how they speak to prisoners. (I03)

Many interviewees felt that officers' concerns had mostly been alleviated following the arrival of the BWCs, once they saw that management were not using this technology for performance management purposes. As the VPC from one centre explained, "There's no intention of going, sitting down and watching everything just to try to catch people out. Once people understood that, I think the majority of them were okay" (I28).

The majority of custodial staff felt that the introduction of BWCs had improved their job security and provided peace of mind knowing that their interactions with prisoners were recorded:

As long as you're doing the right thing, your body worn camera is going to be your first port of call as evidence to essentially save your job. (I10)

I think it gives you a little bit more peace of mind if anything does happen that you have the backup that it's recorded, if you have to go to court or anything like that. (I21)

One officer recounted an incident in which BWC footage had provided evidence to support his version of events, and had effectively saved his job:

So what's happened with me is I was in an incident whereby a prisoner made a claim that [he] was assaulted so I was suspended and stood down for a period of eight months. I've only just returned to work and the only reason that I returned to work is that some footage came to light that showed I didn't actually do what I was accused of. So real big fan of body cameras sitting right here. Because without that, I would have lost my job. (I11)

While CCTV cameras have long been used in correctional facilities, several interviewees recognised the benefits of BWCs over CCTVs (as discussed in section 1.3), with a number pointing directly to the ability of BWCs to assist them in providing clearer evidence regarding incidents with prisoners. For many, BWCs were seen to offer more accurate accounts of prisoner-officer interactions given the BWCs capture audio, which many felt was advantageous for backing up their version of an event.

5.3 Perceptions of safety and prisoner behaviour

Several questions were included in the survey to directly gauge feelings of safety amongst custodial staff following the roll-out of BWCs. Overall, the survey results showed relatively mixed views on whether wearing a BWC increases officers' feelings of safety or improves prisoner behaviour.

A significant minority of officers agreed that wearing a BWC makes them feel safer (45%) – while a further 31% neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (see Figure 8). Feelings of safety varied by gender and frequency of BWC use. Specifically, female custodial staff were significantly more likely than male staff to report feeling safer wearing a BWC (see Appendix C, Table 11). Additionally, officers who wore BWCs more frequently were significantly more likely to report feeling safer while wearing a BWC (see Appendix C, Table 12).

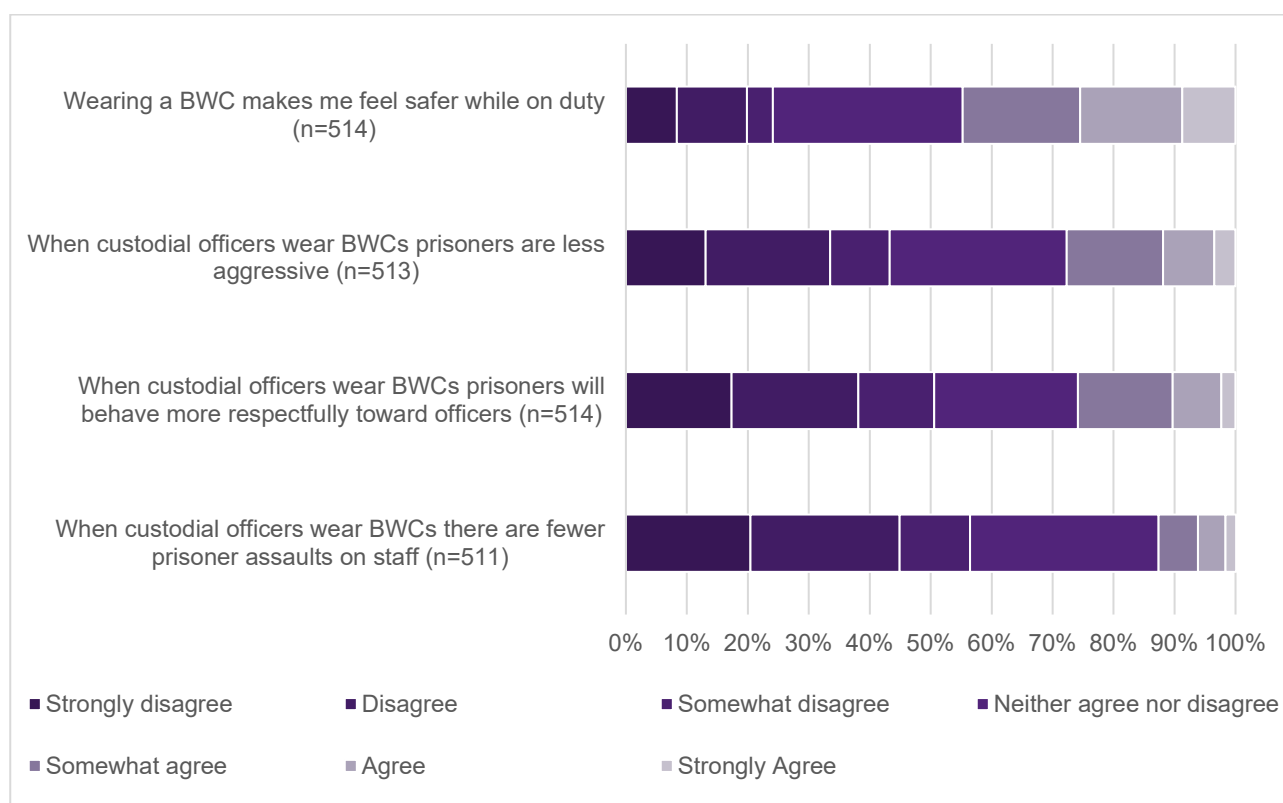


Figure 8. Officer safety and prisoner behaviour

Despite the increased accountability felt for officer behaviour, as Figure 6 shows, relatively few officers believed the presence of BWCs had a civilising effect on prisoner behaviour. The majority of custodial officers *disagreed* that when staff wear BWCs there are fewer assaults on staff (56%) – with an additional 31% providing a neutral response. Similarly, over half disagreed that prisoners are more respectful when staff wear a BWC (51%). Further, most felt that BWCs did not reduce aggressive behaviour amongst prisoners (43% disagreeing with the statement, 29% providing a neutral response).

Similar findings emerged from interviews with officers. While many interviewees believed BWCs were introduced by QCS to improve officer safety, the majority said they did not feel safer wearing a BWC. Several staff recognised that a camera alone would not protect them from an assault:

It's just a camera, it's all after the fact, all it's going to do is prove what happened. Doesn't make me feel any safer... If somebody wants to kick off then they're going to move pretty quick, and the camera's not going to save me. It's not going to jump out of my chest and stop ... Like an airbag. So, I don't think I feel safer. (I23)

Custodial staff also had mixed views on whether BWCs impact prisoner behaviour. Some staff questioned the utility of deterrence strategies with a prison population:

Nine times out of ten that's not a deterrent for them; they'll just keep going with the behaviour. They'll just keep carrying on, swearing, being abusive towards you. Very rarely... Because I think they've already escalated ... They won't go, 'oh'... I think if

you get them before they start to rise then it might work, but generally they're already elevated, they're going to keep going. (104)

However, several staff discussed the potential deterrent effect of BWCs on prisoner behaviour, particularly in the early stages of an escalating incident:

Once you put that camera on and you tell them that you're taping, it can change their behaviour. It can be a key trigger for them to think, 'oh, now the supervisor's turned up and he's got the camera'. It can change their behaviour. If they're set on that assault or set on that poor behaviour, sometimes it doesn't change it at all. But I think, can it have a positive influence on changing a prisoner's poor behaviour? Yes, it can. Not all the time, no. (103)

A handful of officers alternatively felt that activating a BWC during an incident may have a backfire effect, further inciting a prisoner:

...from my experience prisoners get a lot more agitated if you're seen to turn it on, because they take that as a threat, like 'now you're filming me', it's a big drama. And then they arc up about that rather than the other issue that started it. And sometimes they can play up more because it's on. (107)

While many did not believe the cameras improved officer safety or reduced the likelihood of assault, several interviewees recognised changes in prisoner behaviour and their interactions with officers:

It does have an impact on their demeanour and you do see them thinking about their responses a lot more and how they're going to talk to you. It definitely does change their interaction. (125)

Well, for me, personally, it's about that initial interaction. You can interact with a group of prisoners, talk to them as normal, and if, by any chance or by any means, a prisoner then sort of elevates a little bit to a point where you think, 'you know what, I think I need to activate my camera'. I'll then say 'all right, well, I'm just letting you know my camera's activated'. That can usually diffuse a situation quickly. (108)

Some felt that while the cameras initially impacted prisoner behaviour, the effect had diminished over time as prisoners have become more used to the camera presence. Others argued that the cameras were unlikely to have any additional impact on prisoner behaviour given the long-standing presence of CCTV cameras in Queensland prisons.

5.4 Importance of rapport

The majority of survey respondents did not agree with the idea that BWCs should be on whenever they were interacting with prisoners (52%) or that prisoners should be notified when BWCs were recording (67%) (see Figure 9). Less than one in five (17%) officers agreed that BWCs improve officer-prisoner relationships. In relation to officer-prisoner relationships, a sizable number of officers (38% and 39%, respectively) neither agreed nor disagreed about BWC effects, indicating that they had no strong feelings either way.

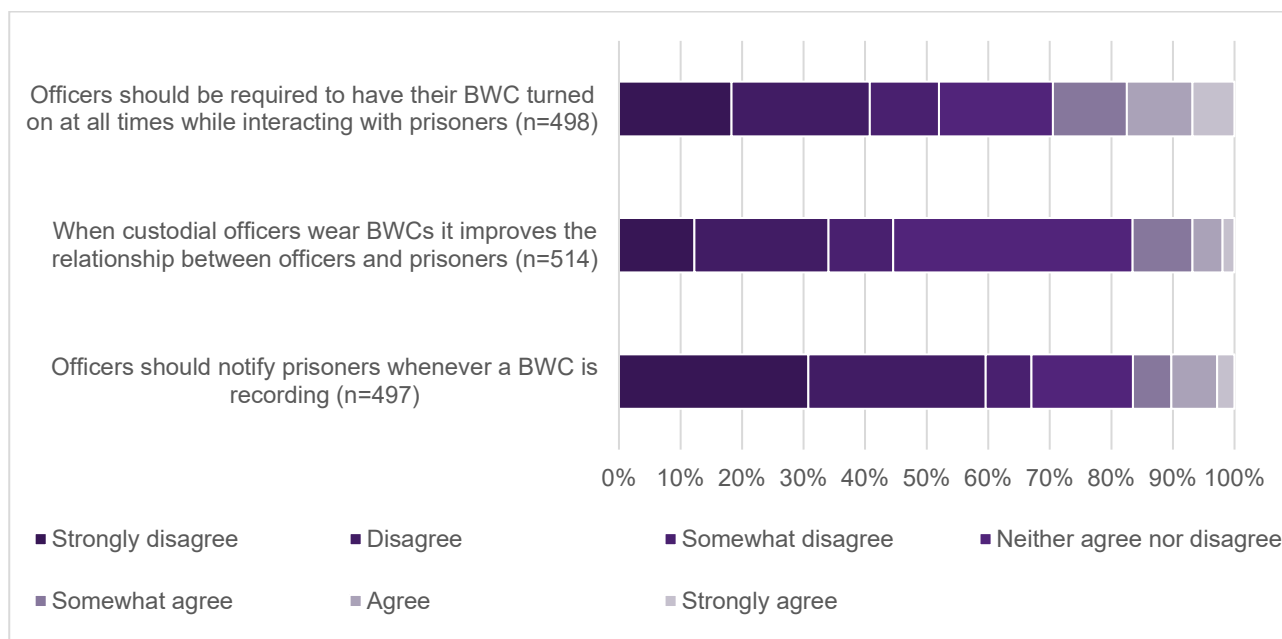


Figure 9. Custodial officers' views on turn on policies and impact of BWCs on rapport

Interview respondents overwhelmingly indicated that prisoners were aware of the BWC recording given the red flashing ring around the lens, so many did not see the need to inform them. Officers did acknowledge that notifying prisoners that they were turning the BWC on could potentially assist in deescalating the situation (though it should be noted, some officers felt it could have the opposite effect if the incident was already escalated, as described above).

When asked whether BWCs should be recording all the time, many officers were not supportive of this idea. Two key reasons were identified. On a practical level, officers felt that recording all interactions with prisoners would be a drain on the camera battery and too difficult to go through all the footage:

Because then you end up with tens of hours of footage every day from all the different stuff. And just, like we've got cameras there now and everything just gets lost in the wherever it is. It just sits on a hard drive somewhere and never gets looked at. So I think it would probably need to be good footage, worthwhile footage to video so it doesn't get ignored. (102)

The other main reason officers were opposed to having their BWC recording all the time surrounded their perceptions that this would damage the rapport and relationships they worked hard to build with the prisoners. They often explained that recording all interactions would interfere with their ability to discuss issues that the prisoners were facing as prisoners would be less likely to speak freely with them:

I mean a lot of prison is about interpersonal relationships, and building rapport, and learning how to navigate different relationships, and different prisoners. And I don't know whether integrating that [BWCs on all the time] would make them feel threatened, or intimidated, or like it's... It's already us versus them in their heads, and I feel like that would just escalate that even more. (107)

Officers also felt that this rapport could be taken out of context if all interactions were recorded:

I treat all prisoners as if they were anybody, because I'm not here to judge them, and I think that everybody is one mistake away from being exactly where they are. And I think that the way that some of us might talk to prisoners might be misinterpreted by people sitting in an office that don't know that prisoner, and that don't know me. (I09)

However, a couple of officers noted that using the cameras more frequently would also allow positive incidents to be captured and utilised for training (training is further discussed in section 6.2):

The idea of having cameras on all the time, I think, gives us the opportunity to identify and highlight really good interactions with prisoners, rather than just the negatives. So you could use that potentially to go, wow that was a really great interaction with a prisoner. I think we should be showing and sharing this information with people and that could be used as a training tool. (I18)

6. Officers' identified areas for improvement

Given that they are at the frontline of prison operations, officers are well positioned to identify areas for improvement for BWCs and their use. Officers identified two central ways that the use of BWCs and the footage they captured could be better utilised in a correctional environment. These areas of improvement are detailed below.

6.1 Officer access to BWC footage

The majority of survey respondents (86%) felt officers should have access to the data recorded by their BWC (see Figure 10). This was an area where officers felt strongly, with 47% of officers strongly agreeing with this statement. Most officers (81%) believed BWCs would improve evidence gathering in incidents involving prisoners, however only one-quarter of officers (26%) agreed that wearing a BWC makes it easier for them to write accurate reports. This is likely because in many centres, officers are currently unable to access their footage or the current process is not timely.

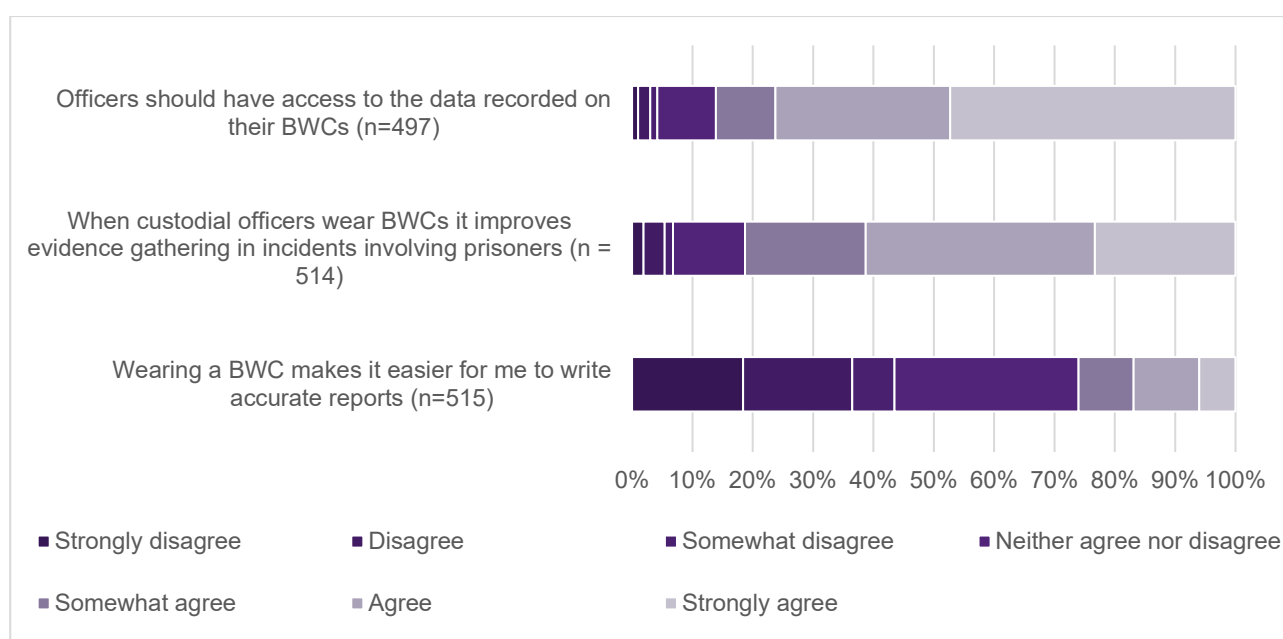


Figure 10. Officer access to BWC footage and ease of report writing

The issue of officer access to footage was also raised by many interviewees, with staff having somewhat mixed views on the desirability of this practice. Some staff, for example, felt strongly that officers should not have access to the BWC footage, particularly *before* they were required to write an incident report. For these interviewees, incident reports were to be written to the best of the officers' recollection:

I've been to so many use of force situations, and you write your report in good faith. So, when you go in and you write your report half an hour after the incident – when the incident's been stood down, you've been medically assessed – and you write your report in good faith, that's the standard that we should have. (103)

Other officers, while generally supportive of having access to their BWC footage, recognised the operational difficulties that would result from this practice – since most centres required staff to complete a written statement as soon as practicable following an incident, whilst also continuing with their usual duties. This was reported to be potentially difficult as the footage was often not available on a same-day basis – typically because intel staff could not facilitate the viewing of the footage because of workload issues or because an incident occurred during the weekend, when intel staff were not working.

Most officers, though, felt strongly that they should be provided the opportunity to view the footage captured by their BWC before writing an incident report. For many, the burdens associated with reviewing the BWC footage, including the increased demand on intel staff, would be offset by more accurate incident reports. Some felt this was particularly important for cases that were likely to result in legal proceedings. Officers also commonly described the ‘tunnel vision’ they experienced during a serious incident, which meant that their ability to recall the specific details surrounding an incident was sometimes poor. As one officer described:

Well, in a time of panic, when you've got your mind going at 1000 miles an hour and trying to cover all the aspects of an officer assault or a prisoner assault or a riot or whatever might be going on, you don't recall properly all the relevant details. I think it's good to have that clarification [from the BWC footage] because these things can end up in court and you've got to be absolutely spot on. (I01)

But reviewing footage was seen as important for additional reasons beyond assisting with report writing. Some officers expressed that there would be greater support for the use of BWCs if officers were provided the opportunity to review their footage. For some, access to the footage would help to dispel some of the misconceptions surrounding the footage, including, for example, the length of the buffering period prior to the BWC's activation. For others, access to the footage would provide an opportunity for increased transparency and greater trust between management and officers.

Interviews with custodial staff revealed that some centres already had processes in place to allow officers to view their BWC footage (particularly as it related to a specific incident in which they were involved). However, there appears to be no consistent practice across centres in Queensland, with many officers stating that they were not permitted to view their BWC footage. As a senior manager from one centre explained, this should not be the case, since a direction had been given to all centres that officers were entitled to access the footage captured by their BWC:

...there shouldn't be any difference across any facility because there's been clear direction given by Custodial Operations and that's been negotiated between the two parties, being Queensland Corrective Services and Together Union. At a centre level, we've made it very clear to our staff that if they want to review BWC footage before writing their report, they can. They just need to simply approach their intelligence advisor and they can view the footage. (I33)

There appears, though, to be some misunderstanding as to what the relevant policy direction allows. For instance, a member of QCS senior management explained that while this policy did allow officers to view their BWC footage, this viewing was to occur only *after* the officer had prepared an incident report. They explained the reasoning for this decision,

saying it was important for an incident report to capture an officer's recollection of an incident, particularly with respect to the use of force:

But use of force you'd need time, date, place. Who, what, where, when, why. Sometimes how. What happened beforehand, what happened afterwards. So, you want an officer's recollection of that, not what they saw on a video. Because if you give them the video first, they're just going to tell you what they saw, as [opposed to] what they did, and what they remembered. ... It's based on, essentially, cognitive interviewing process. (I34)

Interviews with intel staff from three centres concurred with this view, believing that the BWC footage offered no real benefit to officers since the primary purpose of the incident reports was to obtain an officer's perceptions and recollections of an event. As one explained:

You can't describe a feeling or a nuance, or a change in dichotomy. [The BWC footage] doesn't capture that ... We can get the facts anywhere. It's those little bits and pieces that are hard to capture. (I16)

Intel staff also voiced concerns that viewing the BWC footage could alter an officer's perceptions or versions of an event. Intel staff were not opposed, however, to the use of BWC footage for staff training and development, an issue discussed in section 6.2 below.

6.2 Use of BWC footage for training purposes

A second key area identified by officers for improvement relates to the increased use of BWC footage for officer training and development. In the survey, most officers agreed (83%) that BWC footage should be used for staff training and development. This was an area where officers felt strongly, with 41 per cent of officers strongly agreeing that BWC footage ought to be used for this purpose.

This issue was also commonly raised by interviewees, with many feeling that BWC footage was a valuable training tool for the professional development of custodial staff. In particular, the BWC footage was seen as providing an opportunity for officers to review their own performance and to provide 'teachable' moments to other officers:

[BWC footage] is one of the best training tools you can do, when you go back and review an incident, and you're reviewing and watching your performance and you're learning. It's not critiquing because we can always perform better. It's very easy to be a lounge chair warrior. However, when you can sit back and you can watch that footage and look and review, you can see where possibly you could've made a better decision or made a different decision, and maybe did something slightly different, what would have improved the outcome. (I03)

While some staff described how BWC footage was already used for training purposes in their centre, it was apparent that no consistent approach was taken across Queensland. Indeed, many officers felt the BWC footage was underutilised in their centre:

Why can't they just put [the BWC footage] on the afternoon brief and say: 'this is the incident, you can see everyone what was happening'. I think that would be a good tool, a training tool. They could use that sort of footage with [control and restraint]

training and say, this technique was applied, and you could see on the camera how it failed because of this. (I04)

Others, though, recognised the potential privacy issues associated with the use of BWC footage for officer training:

Definitely if you're in a training course they don't show footage. They don't want to do that, [because] it is confidential, what happens in a prison, to an extent. And if there's an officer in that situation they'd have to have permission from [that officer], and from the prisoner... unless they blur their faces or something. But then you lose so much, so much of why you have [that footage for training] anyway. You're losing that interaction between them because the faces are blurred. (I07)

QCS senior management confirmed there was scope for the BWC footage to be used more often for staff development, but identified a lack of information sharing between centres in Queensland as inhibiting this from occurring:

I think, centre to centre, we have this particular thing in Queensland about information sharing, and invasion of privacy, which kind of hinders people doing their best. We can't share this, because it identifies this person. Well, you actually can.... But it is this general, 'oh, we don't share things'. But centre to centre, I mean if something's happening here, then another part of the organisation should be able to learn from it. That would require the centre to have reviewed it first, and then briefed either up, so it's shared across, or briefed in – it just depends on how they want to do it. (I34)

Given that several centres noted that they had introduced innovative and creative practices to increase BWC usage amongst staff – for example, instructing staff over the radio to activate their cameras when a code is called. All centres would benefit through additional information sharing. In future, there may be scope for creating a BWC cross-centre “working group” to share ideas and innovations with BWCs across the organisation.

Key findings and areas for consideration

This research was guided by four key aims. To begin, this study aimed to provide an understanding of custodial officers' attitudes toward the use of BWCs in a correctional setting. Better understanding the attitudes and concerns of officers can help QCS (and other corrective service agencies considering the introduction of a BWC program) to identify and address specific issues that officers may have in order to maximise their support for BWCs (Snyder, Crow & Smykla, 2019).

Second, as custodial officers are at the frontline of prison operations, they are well positioned to identify implementation challenges or areas for improvement for BWCs and their use. Drawing from officers' views on these challenges and how they can be overcome can help QCS to ensure the optimal use of BWCs into the future.

BWCs were introduced as a method for increasing officer safety (CCCQ, 2018; Queensland Government, 2017). The third aim of this study, therefore, was to explore whether, from the perspective of officers, this technology is successful in improving perceptions of safety. Finally, this research sheds light on officers' decisions around when it is appropriate or necessary to activate their BWC. It also provides valuable information about whether, in the presence of BWCs, officers' behaviour and interactions with prisoners is altered.

This section summarises the key findings from this study and offers some areas for consideration. Finally, we conclude with avenues for future research.

Key Findings

Officer attitudes

- Custodial officers are largely supportive of the introduction of BWCs, and perceived others in their centre to share these views.
- Survey results indicate that female staff were generally more supportive of BWCs across a range of measures, however age and education were not related to BWC support.
- Officers who had more experience with BWCs were more supportive of their use in corrections.

Implementation challenges

- Officers' experiences of the BWC roll-out were varied across centres. Many officers reported that the implementation and training process was relatively ad hoc; however, they generally felt sufficiently prepared.
- One of the most prevalent comments from officers (across both research phases, and across centres) was that the number of cameras provided was inadequate and could be increased.

- Most officers said they had not viewed any BWC footage. A lack of this knowledge through training meant that officers often did not know where to best position the cameras to capture usable footage.
- An ongoing issue for officers was uncertainty regarding their ability to access BWC footage, particularly prior to completing an incident report. Varied practices existed across centres. The majority of officers want access to BWC footage for reporting purposes; however, there was some acknowledgement that this could be difficult to implement.

Officer behaviour and interactions with prisoners

- Most officers felt confident in knowing when to activate their BWC and believed their use of the cameras followed the DCI. Some staff reported they did not strictly follow the DCI when they felt the benefits of capturing an interaction warranted BWC use.
- Interviewees explained that the key reason why officers did not activate their BWCs during an incident was that they had simply forgotten, rather than an active choice not to.
- While most officers felt that the introduction of BWCs would improve transparency and accountability, they were less likely to agree that BWCs prevent officer misconduct.
- Many officers were undecided as to whether BWCs change custodial officers' behaviour in relation to the key principles related to procedural justice.
- Officers did not support the notion of recording all interactions with prisoners due to the potential negative impact on their ability to build rapport.

Perceptions of job security and physical safety

- Most officers recognised the benefits of BWCs in improving their job security by protecting them against false allegations.
- Some officers (about one-third) were apprehensive of management's intentions for using BWC footage. Both phases of research showed these concerns were mostly alleviated following experience using the cameras.
- Almost half of officers reported feeling safer when wearing a BWC. Female officers were more likely to report feeling safer.
- Despite many feeling safer, relatively few officers believed that BWCs had an effect on prisoners' aggressive behaviour.

Future research

We identify several key areas for future research into BWCs in corrections. While our study focused on officer perspectives of BWCs, future research should also consider the prisoner point of view. To date, no research has explored the impact (or lack thereof) that BWCs may have on prisoner behaviour, perceptions of procedural justice, and safety. Understanding prisoner views will provide a well-rounded view on the use of BWCs in corrections, from both parties who are most affected by the introduction of this technology.

As outlined in the DCI, BWCs were introduced to help reduce the increasing number of incidents in prisons, particularly staff assaults (DCI, 2017). While our study includes officers' perceptions of safety, it is unclear whether the number of officially documented incidents has declined. Future research should evaluate whether the deployment of BWCs is linked to a reduction in prisoner on staff assaults. This will help to demonstrate whether BWCs are achieving their primary aim.

Another key reason for introducing BWCs in Queensland was to reduce the number of frivolous and/or vexatious complaints made against custodial staff (DCI, 2017). However, whether BWCs have had this impact is not yet known. Future research should evaluate whether the number of complaints by prisoners has significantly reduced following the introduction of BWCs in Queensland centres, and furthermore, whether complaints are resolved faster when BWC footage is available.

Finally, in order for the benefits of BWCs to be fully realised, they must be activated at the appropriate time. According to custodial staff, the main reason for failing to activate their BWC was that they simply forgot. While activation rates may increase as officers become more accustomed to having access to the cameras, future research should develop and evaluate strategies to improve BWC activation.

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Appendix A: Additional analysis for findings section 1

Table 3. Officer attitudes by gender

	Male M (SE)	Female M (SE)	t	p
I support the use of BWCs in corrections	5.71 (0.08)	6.03 (0.11)	-2.38 *	
Most custodial officers in this centre support the use of BWCs in corrections generally	4.83 (0.08)	5.38 (0.13)	-3.25 **	
Most custodial officers will not support the use of BWCs	3.36 (0.08)	2.86 (0.12)	3.17 **	
The advantages of wearing BWCs outweigh the disadvantages	4.99 (0.09)	5.39 (0.12)	-2.66 **	
BWCs represent a distraction for custodial officers	3.59 (0.08)	2.96 (0.12)	4.33 ***	
Wearing a BWC causes me to experience additional stress	3.60 (0.09)	3.22 (0.16)	2.00 *	
Wearing a BWC has improved my job performance	3.85 (0.08)	3.64 (0.16)	1.19	
Wearing a BWC makes it easier for me to do my job	4.41 (0.09)	4.55 (0.14)	-0.76	
Wearing a BWC has improved my job satisfaction	3.71 (0.08)	3.59 (0.15)	0.68	
Most senior management staff in this centre support the use of BWCs in corrections generally	5.44 (0.07)	5.56 (0.12)	-0.77	
The introduction of BWCs will make it more difficult to recruit and retain quality custodial officers	2.86 (0.08)	2.48 (0.12)	2.65 **	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Male $n = 346$ -348, Female $n = 94$ -96.

Table 4. Correlations between officer attitudes and length of time wearing a BWC

	Experience (Correlation coefficient)	p
I support the use of BWCs in corrections	.17	***
Most custodial officers in this centre support the use of BWCs in corrections generally	.18	***
Most officers will not support the use of BWCs (reversed)	.19	***
The advantages of wearing BWCs outweigh the disadvantages	.17	***
BWCs represent a distraction for custodial officers (reversed)	.20	***
Wearing a BWC causes me to experience additional stress (reversed)	.17	
Wearing a BWC has improved my job performance	.05	
Wearing a BWC makes it easier for me to do my job	.13	**
Wearing a BWC has improved my job satisfaction	.05	
Most senior management staff in this centre support the use of BWCs in corrections generally	.21	***
The introduction of BWCs will make it more difficult to recruit and retain quality custodial officers (reversed)	.21	***

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $n = 497$ -515; Note: Time wearing BWC recoded to be measured on scale from 0=never to 5=more than 2 year. A larger correlation coefficient represents a stronger relationship.

Table 5. Correlations between officer attitudes and officer age and education.

	Age (Correlation coefficient)	<i>p</i>	Education (Correlation coefficient)	<i>p</i>
I support the use of BWCs in corrections	-.07		.00	
Most custodial officers in this centre support the use of BWCs in corrections generally	-.06		-.02	
Most officers will not support the use of BWCs (reversed)	.00		.06	
The advantages of wearing BWCs outweigh the disadvantages	-.06		.01	
BWCs represent a distraction for custodial officers (reversed)	-.07		-.01	
Wearing a BWC causes me to experience additional stress (reversed)	-.03		-.05	
Wearing a BWC has improved my job performance	-.04		-.04	
Wearing a BWC makes it easier for me to do my job	.00		.02	
Wearing a BWC has improved my job satisfaction	.01		-.03	
Most senior management staff in this centre support the use of BWCs in corrections generally	.03		-.01	
The introduction of BWCs will make it more difficult to recruit and retain quality custodial officers (reversed)	-.05		.03	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $n = 497-515$; Note: A larger correlation coefficient represents a stronger relationship.

Appendix B: Additional analysis for findings section 4

Table 6. Officer discretion and confidence by gender

	Male M (SE)	Female M (SE)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
I have difficulty knowing when to turn my BWC on and off	3.10 (0.09)	2.86 (0.15)	1.27	
BWCs will reduce officers' discretion	3.71 (0.08)	3.33 (0.14)	2.21	*
I abide by the DCI regarding the use of my BWC	4.91 (0.07)	5.24 (0.15)	-2.06	*

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Male $n = 346$ -348, Female $n = 94$ -96.

Table 7. Officer discretion and confidence by frequency of BWC use

	Frequency (Correlation coefficient)	<i>p</i>
I have difficulty knowing when to turn my BWC on and off	-.20	***
BWCs will reduce officers' discretion	-.22	***
I abide by the DCI regarding the use of my BWC	.23	***

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $n = 479$ -518; Note: "Frequency" measured on a scale of 1=never to 5=always. A larger correlation coefficient represents a stronger relationship.

Appendix C: Additional analysis for findings section 5

Table 8. Perceptions of officer behaviour by gender

	Male M (SE)	Female M (SE)	t	p
BWCs will ensure greater accountability	5.06 (0.07)	5.20 (0.12)	-0.95	
BWCs will improve transparency in prison work	4.90 (0.08)	5.42 (0.12)	-3.47 ***	
BWCs will help to prevent misconduct among officers	4.34 (0.09)	4.73 (0.14)	-2.16 *	
Wearing a BWC increases the likelihood that officers' behaviour is 'by the book'	3.75 (0.09)	3.65 (0.18)	0.53	
When custodial officers wear BWCs officers will behave more respectfully toward prisoners	3.69 (0.08)	3.77 (0.15)	-0.44	
When custodial officers wear BWCs officers will be more likely to listen to the views of prisoners before deciding what to do	3.43 (0.8)	3.52 (0.14)	-0.53	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Male $n = 346$ -348, Female $n = 94$ -96.

Table 9. Perceptions of job security by gender

	Male M (SE)	Female M (SE)	t	p
BWCs will protect officers against false allegations of misconduct	5.42 (0.08)	5.65 (0.11)	-1.71	
BWCs will improve the accuracy of accounts of officer-prisoner interactions	4.98 (0.08)	5.34 (0.12)	-2.56 **	
The idea of officers wearing BWCs shows how little management trusts officers	3.57 (0.10)	2.91 (0.15)	3.72 ***	
BWCs are just a tool for management to monitor my performance	3.97 (0.10)	3.23 (0.16)	3.70 ***	
BWCs will invade the privacy of officers	3.56 (0.10)	2.98 (0.16)	3.17 **	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Male $n = 346$ -348, Female $n = 94$ -96.

Table 10. Correlations between perceptions of job security and frequency of BWC use

	Frequency (Correlation coefficient)	p
BWCs will protect officers against false allegations of misconduct	.18	***
BWCs will improve the accuracy of accounts of officer-prisoner interactions	.14	**
The idea of officers wearing BWCs shows how little management trusts officers	-.16	***
BWCs are just a tool for management to monitor my performance	-.15	***
BWCs will invade the privacy of officers	-.14	**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $n = 480$ -481; Note: "Frequency" measured on a scale of 1=never to 5=always. A larger correlation coefficient represents a stronger relationship.

Table 11. Perceptions of physical safety by gender

	Male M (SE)	Female M (SE)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Wearing a BWC makes me feel safer while on duty	4.20 (0.09)	4.69 (0.15)	-2.56	*
When custodial officers wear BWCs prisoners are less aggressive	3.56 (0.09)	3.60 (0.15)	-0.22	
When custodial officers wear BWCs prisoners will behave more respectfully towards officers	3.31 (0.09)	3.39 (0.16)	-0.41	
When custodial officers wear BWCs there are fewer prisoner assaults on staff	2.93 (0.08)	3.20 (0.14)	-1.47	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Male $n = 346$ -348, Female $n = 94$ -96.

Table 12. Correlations between perceptions of physical safety and frequency of BWC use

	Frequency (Correlation coefficient)	<i>p</i>
Wearing a BWC makes me feel safer while on duty	.15	***
When custodial officers wear BWCs prisoners are less aggressive	.00	
When custodial officers wear BWCs prisoners will behave more respectfully towards officers	.01	
When custodial officers wear BWCs there are fewer prisoner assaults on staff	.03	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $n = 511$ -514; Note: "Frequency" measured on a scale of 1=never to 5=always. A larger correlation coefficient represents a stronger relationship.

Appendix D: Survey Codebook

1. When did you start wearing a BWC as part of your work as a custodial officer?

	Less than 1 month	Between 1-6 months	Between 6-12 months	Between 1-2 years	More than 2 years	Unsure	Never	Total
Values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
<i>n</i>	27	147	150	83	34	13	94	548
%	4.9	26.8	27.4	15.1	6.2	2.4	17.2	100
Mean: 3.67	Mode: 3		Standard Deviation: 1.84					

2. How often do you wear a BWC while on duty at work?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Total
Values	1	2	3	4	5	
<i>n</i>	84	113	148	106	97	548
%	15.3	20.6	27	19.3	17.7	100
Mean: 3.03	Mode: 3		Standard Deviation: 1.313			

3. When you are wearing a BWC, how often do you turn on the camera?

	Many times a shift	A few times a shift	About once a shift	Less than once a shift	About once a week	Less often	Never	Total
Values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
<i>n</i>	92	132	76	60	16	53	114	543
%	16.9	24.3	14	11	2.9	9.8	21	100
Mean: 3.72	Mode: 2		Standard Deviation: 2.208			Missing: 5		

4. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements

4. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements								
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. BWCs are easy to use								
<i>n</i>	9	8	27	94	78	200	123	539
%	1.7	1.5	5	17.4	14.5	37.1	22.8	100
Mean: 5.44	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.367			Missing: 9		
b. It is comfortable to wear a BWC								
<i>n</i>	27	44	45	109	74	158	84	541
%	5	8.1	8.3	20.1	13.7	29.2	15.5	100
Mean: 4.79	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.715			Missing: 7		
c. The battery life of a BWC is sufficient								
<i>n</i>	15	31	38	137	72	170	77	540
%	2.8	5.7	7	25.4	13.3	31.5	14.3	100
Mean: 4.92	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.543			Missing: 8		
d. A sufficient number of BWCs have been provided to my centre								
<i>n</i>	163	107	73	77	50	58	17	545
%	29.9	19.6	13.4	14.1	9.2	10.6	3.1	100
Mean: 2.97	Mode: 1		Standard Deviation: 1.834			Missing: 3		
e. Using a BWC adds substantially to my administrative load								
<i>n</i>	73	116	59	194	42	42	18	544
%	13.4	21.3	10.8	35.7	7.7	7.7	3.3	100
Mean: 3.39	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.578			Missing: 4		
f. I think it is necessary to wear a load bearing vest when wearing a BWC								
<i>n</i>	24	35	22	70	59	135	201	546
%	4.4	6.4	4	12.8	10.8	24.7	36.8	100
Mean: 5.41	Mode: 7		Standard Deviation: 1.769			Missing: 2		
g. I think it is necessary to wear a polo shirt when wearing a BWC								
<i>n</i>	29	30	15	110	40	70	252	546
%	5.3	5.5	2.7	20.1	7.3	12.8	46.2	100
Mean: 5.42	Mode: 7		Standard Deviation: 1.861			Missing: 2		

5. The following questions focus on training and information you have received on using a BWC

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. The communication about the roll out of BWCs was clear								
n	43	77	65	83	99	128	26	521
%	8.3	14.8	12.5	15.9	19	24.6	5	100
Mean: 4.16	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.749				Missing: 27	
b. I felt adequately informed about the reasons for the roll out								
n	33	64	64	73	104	154	29	521
%	6.3	12.3	12.3	14	20	29.6	5.6	100
Mean: 4.4	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.707				Missing: 27	
c. The value of using BWCs in a correctional setting were clearly explained to me								
n	34	57	52	72	98	164	43	520
%	6.5	11	10	13.8	18.8	31.5	8.3	100
Mean: 4.55	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.738				Missing: 28	
d. I felt the roll out process was fair								
n	44	51	63	137	81	119	23	518
%	8.5	9.8	12.2	26.4	15.6	23	4.4	100
Mean: 4.18	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.652				Missing: 30	
e. I have received adequate training on using a BWC								
n	106	78	66	64	61	114	31	520
%	20.4	15	12.7	12.3	11.7	21.9	6	100
Mean: 3.7	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 2.002				Missing: 28	
f. I received training on how to best capture an incident using my BWC								
n	134	110	68	63	44	73	27	519
%	25.8	21.2	13.1	12.1	8.5	14.1	5.2	100
Mean: 3.19	Mode: 1		Standard Deviation: 1.943				Missing: 29	
g. I am aware of the policies regarding the use of BWCs as part of my role								
n	72	85	54	81	69	125	34	520
%	13.8	16.3	10.4	15.6	13.3	24	6.5	100
Mean: 3.96	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.922				Missing: 28	
h. I have difficulty knowing when to turn my BWC on and off								
n	88	148	66	124	45	39	8	518
%	17	28.6	12.7	23.9	8.7	7.5	1.5	100
Mean: 3.08	Mode: 2		Standard Deviation: 1.574				Missing: 30	
i. I abide by the DCI regarding the use of my BWC								
n	14	18	14	191	46	161	71	515
%	2.7	3.5	2.7	37.1	8.9	31.3	13.8	100
Mean: 4.95	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.447				Missing: 33	
j. BWC footage should be used for staff training and development								
n	13	17	8	52	49	171	211	521
%	2.5	3.3	1.5	10	9.4	32.8	40.5	100
Mean: 5.81	Mode: 7		Standard Deviation: 1.466				Missing: 27	

6. The following questions focus on whether the introduction of BWCs has changed how you do your job.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. Wearing a BWC has improved my job performance								
<i>n</i>	47	85	35	226	43	50	27	513
%	9.2	16.6	6.8	44.1	8.4	9.7	5.3	100
Mean: 3.76	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.566			Missing: 35		
b. Wearing a BWC has improved my job satisfaction								
<i>n</i>	54	87	42	214	55	37	23	512
%	10.5	17	8.2	41.8	10.7	7.2	4.5	100
Mean: 3.65	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.547			Missing: 36		
c. Wearing a BWC causes me to experience additional stress								
<i>n</i>	54	121	40	173	57	43	27	515
%	10.5	23.5	7.8	33.6	11.1	8.3	5.2	100
Mean: 3.57	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.643			Missing: 33		
d. Wearing a BWC makes me feel safer while on duty								
<i>n</i>	43	59	22	160	99	86	45	514
%	8.4	11.5	4.3	31.1	19.3	16.7	8.8	100
Mean: 4.27	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.685			Missing: 34		

	e. Wearing a BWC increases the likelihood that my behaviour is 'by the book'							
<i>n</i>	69	79	16	210	51	63	26	514
%	13.4	15.4	3.1	40.9	9.9	12.3	5.1	100
Mean: 3.75		Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.686			Missing: 34	
	f. Wearing a BWC makes it easier for me to write accurate reports							
<i>n</i>	95	93	36	157	47	56	31	515
%	18.4	18.1	7	30.5	9.1	10.9	6	100
Mean: 3.5		Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.812			Missing: 33	

7. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. When custodial officers wear BWCs it improves the relationship between officers and prisoners								
<i>n</i>	63	112	54	200	50	25	10	514
%	12.3	21.8	10.5	38.9	9.7	4.9	1.9	100
Mean: 3.34	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.456			Missing: 34		
b. When custodial officers wear BWCs it improves evidence gathering in incidents involving prisoners								
<i>n</i>	10	18	7	61	103	195	120	514
%	1.9	3.5	1.4	11.9	20	37.9	23.3	100
Mean: 5.52	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.36			Missing: 34		
c. When custodial officers wear BWCs prisoners are less aggressive								
<i>n</i>	67	105	50	149	81	43	18	513
%	13.1	20.5	9.7	29	15.8	8.4	3.5	100
Mean: 3.53	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.639			Missing: 35		
d. When custodial officers wear BWCs officers will behave more respectfully toward prisoners								
<i>n</i>	56	73	36	225	67	47	9	513
%	10.9	14.2	7	43.9	13.1	9.2	1.8	100
Mean: 3.68	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.477			Missing: 35		
e. When custodial officers wear BWCs prisoners will behave more respectfully toward officers								
<i>n</i>	89	107	64	121	80	41	12	514
%	17.3	20.8	12.5	23.5	15.6	8	2.3	100
Mean: 3.32	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.658			Missing: 34		
f. When custodial officers wear BWCs there are fewer prisoner assaults on staff								
<i>n</i>	104	125	59	158	33	23	9	511
%	20.4	24.5	11.5	30.9	6.5	4.5	1.8	100
Mean: 2.99	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.522			Missing: 37		
g. When custodial officers wear BWCs officers will be more likely to ensure that prisoners are treated fairly								
<i>n</i>	50	69	38	249	57	40	10	513
%	9.7	13.5	7.4	48.5	11.1	7.8	1.9	100
Mean: 3.69	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.413			Missing: 35		
h. When custodial officers wear BWCs officers will be more likely to listen to the views of prisoners before deciding what to do								
<i>n</i>	61	88	51	231	42	32	7	512
%	11.9	17.2	10	45.1	8.2	6.3	1.4	100
Mean: 3.45	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.419			Missing: 36		

8. Please indicate in which of the following scenarios you think an officer should turn on their BWC. Tick all that apply

	%
A custodial officer addressing a prisoner's behaviour	70
An interaction between a custodial officer and a prisoner where the prisoner's behaviour begins to escalate verbally and/or physically	95
Custodial officers conducting a removal of clothing search	12
An officer in close vicinity of a doctor's or nurse's consultation with a prisoner	8
A violent altercation between two prisoners in the yard	94
A verbal disagreement between prisoners in the gym	74
A prisoner threatening a custodial officer	96
A custodial officer threatening a prisoner	70
A prisoner doing drugs in the bathroom	89
A fight in the medical unit	93
The discovery of contraband in a cell	84
A custodial officer physically retraining a prisoner	87
A prisoner attacking a custodial officer	97
A private conversation between prisoners complaining about custodial officers	38
A riot	97
None of the above	2

9. Please also indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. The advantages of wearing BWCs outweigh the disadvantages								
<i>n</i>	23	21	19	111	90	154	80	498
%	4.6	4.2	3.8	22.3	18.1	30.9	16.1	100
Mean: 5.02	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.565				Missing: 50	
b. BWCs represent a distraction for custodial officers								
<i>n</i>	41	123	61	158	76	22	16	497
%	8.2	24.7	12.3	31.8	15.3	4.4	3.2	100
Mean: 3.47	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.484				Missing: 51	
c. The introduction of BWCs will make it more difficult to recruit and retain quality custodial officers								
<i>n</i>	91	159	62	142	21	13	9	497
%	18.3	32	12.5	28.6	4.2	2.6	1.8	100
Mean: 2.84	Mode: 2		Standard Deviation: 1.417				Missing: 51	
d. Officers should be required to have their BWC turned on at all times while interacting with prisoners								
<i>n</i>	91	112	56	92	60	53	34	498
%	18.3	22.5	11.2	18.5	12	10.6	6.8	100
Mean: 3.43	Mode: 2		Standard Deviation: 1.870				Missing: 50	
e. Officers should notify prisoners whenever a BWC is recording								
<i>n</i>	153	143	37	82	31	37	14	497
%	30.8	28.8	7.4	16.5	6.2	7.4	2.8	100
Mean: 2.72	Mode: 1		Standard Deviation: 1.727				Missing: 51	
f. Officers should have access to the data recorded by their BWC								
<i>n</i>	5	10	6	48	49	144	235	497
%	1	2	1.2	9.7	9.9	29	47.3	100
Mean: 6.01	Mode: 7		Standard Deviation: 1.282				Missing: 51	
g. I support the use of BWCs in corrections								
<i>n</i>	18	8	8	60	58	168	177	497
%	3.6	1.6	1.6	12.1	11.7	33.8	35.6	100
Mean: 5.70	Mode: 7		Standard Deviation: 1.477				Missing: 51	
h. Most custodial officers in this centre support the use of BWCs in corrections generally								
<i>n</i>	16	19	29	146	88	128	71	497
%	3.2	3.8	5.8	29.4	17.7	25.8	14.3	100
Mean: 4.89	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.486				Missing: 51	
i. Most senior management staff in this centre support the use of BWCs in corrections generally								
<i>n</i>	8	8	8	116	67	186	104	497
%	1.6	1.6	1.6	23.3	13.5	37.4	20.9	100
Mean: 5.41	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.320				Missing: 51	

10. The following statements relate to your opinions on BWCs.

10. The following statements relate to your opinions on BWCs.								
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. BWCs will only mean additional paperwork for officers								
<i>n</i>	53	151	53	160	36	16	12	481
%	11	31.4	11	33.3	7.5	3.3	2.5	100
Mean: 3.15	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.438				Missing: 67	
b. BWCs will reduce officers' discretion								
<i>n</i>	34	97	54	184	57	38	15	479
%	7.1	20.3	11.3	38.4	11.9	7.9	3.1	100
Mean: 3.64	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.468				Missing: 69	
c. BWCs are just a tool for management to monitor my performance								
<i>n</i>	43	98	56	116	76	46	45	480
%	9	20.4	11.7	24.2	15.8	9.6	9.4	100
Mean: 3.84	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.762				Missing: 68	
d. The idea of officers wearing BWCs shows how little management trusts officers								
<i>n</i>	64	119	54	116	60	30	38	481
%	13.3	24.7	11.2	24.1	12.5	6.2	7.9	100
Mean: 3.48	Mode: 2		Standard Deviation: 1.767				Missing: 67	

	e. BWCs will invade the privacy of officers							
<i>n</i>	54	130	54	112	65	39	27	481
%	11.2	27	11.2	23.3	13.5	8.1	5.6	100
Mean: 3.48	Mode: 2		Standard Deviation: 1.703			Missing: 67		
	f. Most officers will not support the use of BWCs							
<i>n</i>	39	121	81	180	27	19	13	480
%	8.1	25.2	16.9	37.5	5.6	4	2.7	100
Mean: 3.30	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.371			Missing: 68		
	g. BWCs will ensure greater accountability							
<i>n</i>	12	12	19	106	131	152	47	479
%	2.5	2.5	4	22.1	27.3	31.7	9.8	100
Mean: 5.04	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.311			Missing: 69		
	h. BWCs will protect officers against false allegations of misconduct							
<i>n</i>	22	9	11	59	95	178	106	480
%	4.6	1.9	2.3	12.3	19.8	37.1	22.1	100
Mean: 5.40	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.487			Missing: 68		
	i. BWCs will improve the accuracy of accounts of officer-prisoner interactions							
<i>n</i>	21	20	21	92	113	154	60	481
%	4.4	4.2	4.4	19.1	23.5	32	12.5	100
Mean: 4.99	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.504			Missing: 67		
	j. BWCs will improve the transparency in prison work							
<i>n</i>	25	19	22	95	108	148	63	480
%	5.2	4	4.6	19.8	22.5	30.8	13.1	100
Mean: 4.95	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.551			Missing: 68		
	k. BWCs will help to prevent misconduct among officers							
<i>n</i>	26	44	36	153	92	90	39	480
%	5.4	9.2	7.5	31.9	19.2	18.8	8.1	100
Mean: 4.39	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.567			Missing: 68		
	l. Using BWCs will improve public trust in corrective services							
<i>n</i>	38	41	23	158	89	86	46	481
%	7.9	8.5	4.8	32.8	18.5	17.9	9.6	100
Mean: 4.37	Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.651			Missing: 67		

11. Feelings about working as a custodial officer in your current correctional facility

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. I am proud to be working as a custodial officer in this correctional facility								
<i>n</i>	17	9	9	40	50	127	118	370
%	4.6	2.4	2.4	10.8	13.5	34.3	31.9	100
Mean: 5.57	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.569			Missing: 178		
b. I am satisfied with my job								
<i>n</i>	18	19	27	40	64	131	71	370
%	4.9	5.1	7.3	10.8	17.3	35.4	19.2	100
Mean: 5.14	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.659			Missing: 178		
c. I find real enjoyment in my job								
<i>n</i>	21	28	18	60	72	98	73	370
%	5.7	7.6	4.9	16.2	19.5	26.5	19.7	100
Mean: 4.95	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.734			Missing: 178		
d. I hold my unit in high regard								
<i>n</i>	17	10	15	67	58	127	76	370
%	4.6	2.7	4.1	18.1	15.7	34.3	20.5	100
Mean: 5.23	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.563			Missing: 178		
e. I feel a strong sense of belonging to this organisation								
<i>n</i>	34	37	39	67	61	90	41	369
%	9.2	10	10.6	18.2	16.5	24.4	11.1	100
Mean: 4.40	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.823			Missing: 179		
f. I feel the organisation deserves my loyalty								
<i>n</i>	30	28	30	85	72	94	31	370
%	8.1	7.6	8.1	23	19.5	25.4	8.4	100
Mean: 4.48	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.690			Missing: 178		
g. I feel that my values align with those of management in this organisation								
<i>n</i>	35	34	37	76	71	87	30	370
%	9.5	9.2	10	20.5	19.2	23.5	8.1	100
Mean: 4.34	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.754			Missing: 178		

h. The decisions of my supervisor are equally fair to every officer								
<i>n</i>	45	30	33	69	69	97	27	370
%	12.2	8.1	8.9	18.6	18.6	26.2	7.3	100
Mean: 4.31		Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.820			Missing: 178	
i. My supervisor takes account of my needs when making decisions that affect me								
<i>n</i>	28	35	34	72	68	103	29	369
%	7.6	9.5	9.2	19.5	18.4	27.9	7.9	100
Mean: 4.47		Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.718			Missing: 179	
j. My supervisor usually gives me an explanation for the decisions s/he makes that affect me								
<i>n</i>	33	39	40	61	62	106	29	370
%	8.9	10.5	10.8	16.5	16.8	28.6	7.8	100
Mean: 4.39		Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.791			Missing: 178	
k. I feel that my supervisor treats me with respect and dignity								
<i>n</i>	16	23	21	70	66	134	40	370
%	4.3	6.2	5.7	18.9	17.8	36.2	10.8	100
Mean: 4.92		Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.569			Missing: 178	
l. Decisions by my supervisor are always based on facts, not personal biases								
<i>n</i>	31	37	34	81	50	100	37	370
%	8.4	10	9.2	21.9	13.5	27	10	100
Mean: 4.43		Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.784			Missing: 178	
m. I often feel inclined to openly question my supervisors' directives								
<i>n</i>	33	75	49	107	52	43	11	370
%	8.9	20.3	13.2	28.9	14.1	11.6	3	100
Mean: 3.66		Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.584			Missing: 178	
n. I feel like it's not always necessary to follow the policies of the department								
<i>n</i>	97	147	32	63	12	12	7	370
%	26.2	39.7	8.6	17	3.2	3.2	1.9	100
Mean: 2.49		Mode: 2		Standard Deviation: 1.443			Missing: 178	
o. I often feel inclined to openly question my department's policies								
<i>n</i>	44	84	38	111	50	29	14	370
%	11.9	22.7	10.3	30	13.5	7.8	3.8	100
Mean: 3.49		Mode: 4		Standard Deviation: 1.618			Missing: 178	

12. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. Prison officers should always be fair to prisoners								
<i>n</i>	2	5	9	38	58	219	135	466
%	0.4	1.1	1.9	8.2	12.4	47	29	100
Mean: 5.88	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.087			Missing: 82		
b. People who break the law do not deserve to be treated with respect								
<i>n</i>	110	193	53	80	11	11	7	465
%	23.7	41.5	11.4	17.2	2.4	2.4	1.5	100
Mean: 2.46	Mode: 2		Standard Deviation: 1.340			Missing: 83		
c. Prison officers should treat everyone with the same level of respect regardless of how they behave								
<i>n</i>	30	62	73	79	63	103	56	466
%	6.4	13.3	15.7	17	13.5	22.1	12	100
Mean: 4.32	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.809			Missing: 82		
d. It is important for prison officers to take the time to explain their decisions to prisoners								
<i>n</i>	19	26	38	70	126	146	41	466
%	4.1	5.6	8.2	15	27	31.3	8.8	100
Mean: 4.85	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.509			Missing: 82		
e. Prison officers have a duty to treat all prisoners fairly regardless of gender, ethnicity, or sexual orientation								
<i>n</i>	3	1	3	33	44	216	166	466
%	0.6	0.2	0.6	7.1	9.4	46.4	35.6	100
Mean: 6.06	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: .993			Missing: 82		
f. Most often I try to take charge of situations by listening and talking to the prisoners involved in those situations								
<i>n</i>	2	6	6	51	82	218	100	465
%	0.4	1.3	1.3	11	17.6	46.9	21.5	100
Mean: 5.71	Mode: 6		Standard Deviation: 1.085			Missing: 83		

13. Is there anything else you would like to add about your views on the use of BWCs in corrections?

154 responses (themes covered in interviews).

14. Gender

	<i>n</i>	%
Male	348	75.3
Female	96	20.8
Other	2	0.4
Prefer not to say	16	3.5
Missing	86	
Total	548	100

15. Age

	<i>n</i>	%
18-24 years	3	0.7
25-34 years	110	23.9
35-44 years	132	28.7
45-54 years	135	29.3
55-64 years	70	15.2
65 years and over	10	2.2
Missing	88	
Total	548	100

16. Highest level of educational achievement

	<i>n</i>	%
Did not complete year 12	44	9.6
Completed year 12	74	16.1
Adv. Diploma/Diploma/Certificate	271	59
Bachelor's degree or higher	70	15.3
Missing	89	
Total	548	100

17. Employment at correctional facilities

	Since January 2016		Current placement	
	<i>n</i> (selected)	%	<i>n</i> (selected)	%
Arthur Gorrie Correctional Centre	35	6.4	30	5.5
Borallon Training and Correctional Centre	59	10.8	58	10.6
Brisbane Correctional Centre	62	11.3	53	9.7
Brisbane Women's Correctional Centre	46	8.4	33	6.0
Capricornia Correctional Centre	26	4.7	22	4.0
Capricornia Low Custody Centre	4	0.7	2	0.4
Helana Jones Centre	0	0	0	0.0
Lotus Glen Correctional Centre	32	5.8	30	5.5
Lotus Glen Low Custody Centre	5	0.9	4	0.7
Maryborough Correctional Centre	32	5.8	28	5.1
Numinbah Correctional Centre	2	0.4	1	0.2
Palen Creek Correctional Centre	2	0.4	1	0.2
Southern Queensland Correctional Centre	8	1.5	7	1.3
Townsville Male Correctional Centre	72	13.1	62	11.3
Townsville Female Correctional Centre	49	8.9	34	6.2
Townsville Female Low Custody Centre	22	4	11	2.0
Townsville Male Low Custody Centre	13	2.4	8	1.5
Wolston Correctional Centre	58	10.6	47	8.6
Woodford Correctional Centre	55	10	53	9.7
No response provided	111	20.3	108	19.7



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