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Body-worn cameras: determining the democratic habitus of policing

Baris Cayli, Charlotte Hargreaves and Philip Hodgson

Abstract

Purpose – *This study advances our knowledge about the effectiveness of body-worn cameras (BWCs) through exploring the perceptions of English police officers in three principal areas: positive perceptions, negative perceptions and evidence-focussed perceptions. In doing so, the purpose of this paper is to shed new light on the democratising process in the habitus of policing.*

Design/methodology/approach – *This study presents a novel data set that evaluates the introduction of BWC to police officers in the East Midlands area of England. The authors conducted an extensive survey to explore the perceptions of 162 police officers about the BWCs. The authors examined the empirical data using Stata within the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu concerning the concept of habitus.*

Findings – *The authors have found that most police officers perceive that BWCs have a positive impact on policing practices and evidence collection. The positive perceptions and evidence-focussed perceptions increase the importance of BWCs; however, there are also negative perceptions regarding effective policing, administrative functionality and establishing a better relationship with the community. The authors argued that all three areas: positive perceptions, negative perceptions and evidence-focussed perceptions play a stimulating role to democratise the habitus of policing. On the other hand, BWCs do not guarantee the consolidation of democratic principles in the habitus of policing because of the authority of police to decide when, where and how to use BWCs.*

Research limitations/implications – *The research is limited to the perceptions of 162 police officers in East Midlands before they actually started using it. A future study to analyse their real-life experiences after using the BWCs may help us to compare their perceptions before using it with real-life experiences after BWCs are used. In addition, a comparative approach between countries in future research will help to explain the role of technological applications in different social geographies and legal systems.*

Originality/value – *This study offers new insights about the perceptions of police on BWCs before they started using them. The authors introduce the democratic habitus of policing as an innovative concept and explored power dynamics in the habitus of policing through BWCs. The findings provide a strong empirical contribution to determine the conditions of democratic habitus of policing. In doing so, this study develops our theoretical knowledge about the habitus concept in sociology by employing BWCs in policing activities.*

Keywords *Perceptions, Body-worn camera (BWC), Democratic habitus of policing, Evidence collection, Police–community relations, Safer communities*

Paper type *Research paper*

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Introduction

Closed-circuit television (CCTV), in-car video cameras and recently mobile hand-held devices have shaped the practices and methods of policing with the advancement of technology. However, one of the most controversial contributions of technology to police practice has been the introduction of body-worn cameras (BWCs). The mobile feature of BWCs "was really integrated with audio-visual police technology with the introduction of 'cop cams'" (Taylor, 2016, p. 128). Technological developments in policing have characterised the relationship between police officers and cameras as multifaceted and contradictory (Ariel *et al.*, 2018; Sandhu and Haggerty, 2017). The positive contribution of BWCs is apparent in the reduction of violence, discrimination and corruption, but it also includes risks such as violation of the privacy of individuals and police forces (Freund 2015; Coudert *et al.*, 2015).

However, the effectiveness of BWCs also greatly depends on the police officers using them. We still know very little about how the members of police agencies perceive BWCs before they start using them. Understanding their perceptions may play a critical role in both detecting the concerns of police and overcoming these concerns to create effective policing practices. In doing so, we can determine the democratic structure of policing practices in the use of BWCs and improve the police–community relationship. This principle guides the inquiry of the present research by identifying the perceptions of police and contextualising them within the democratic habitus of policing. To this end, we conducted a survey over three months with 162 police officers in the East Midlands area of England.

We have three principal findings in this study. First, the introduction of BWC to the police has positive perceptions, negative perceptions and evidence-focussed perceptions. The positive perceptions are related to public order, prevention of domestic violence, confidence in the police and influence over police behaviour. The positive perceptions increase public deliberation by regulating policing activities and the relationship between the community and the police within a democratic equilibrium. Second, BWCs have negative perceptions. Negative perceptions such as policing the police and using BWC against police misconduct actually help to democratise the habitus of policing by holding officers accountable. Third, the BWC's main contribution is in the collection of evidence that will influence the process of evidence presentation and its evaluation by the courts positively. The plurality of information enhances the availability of multiple sources of evidence to enable a consensus in delivering justice. Positive perceptions increase public deliberation, negative perceptions foster accountability and evidence-focussed perceptions make a plurality of different information available. Hence, public deliberation, accountability and the plurality of different information democratise the habitus of policing. We, therefore, put forth that positive perceptions, negative perceptions and evidence-focussed perceptions about BWCs help to create a democratic habitus of policing. Yet, the consolidation of democratic principles in the habitus of policing depends on the authority of police to decide when, where and how to use BWCs, as well as when, where and how to share the footage with the public, removing the option of choosing that footage selectively.

First, we introduce the democratic habitus of policing concept within a theoretical framework. Second, we present our Method section. Third, we present our findings in three subsections: positive perceptions, negative perceptions and evidence-focussed perceptions. In each subsection, we scrutinise the democratic habitus of policing through public deliberation, accountability and the plurality of information, respectively. Finally, we conclude our remarks on the subject.

The democratic habitus of policing: public deliberation, accountability and the plurality of information

"The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce habitus" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72, 1990). Bourdieu's well-known habitus concept helps us to conceive the dynamic of power in a social setting. The relationship between different agencies is determined by their positions because their positions provide "conditions/sources for actions" that are guided by habitus (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 271). The democratisation of habitus in relation to policing, therefore, depends on the actors in a social space of policing and the methods of policing. The democratic habitus of policing is a novel concept we introduce in this study signifying that the form of relationship between the community and the police needs to be democratic to promote transparency, accountability, deliberation, equality among all citizens and the plurality of information available to the public as fundamental virtues. Mouffe (2001) claimed that social spaces are structured by hegemonic power and this influences the forms of articulation in the public domain so much so that the dominance of juridical and moral discourses can be detrimental for the creation of democratic social space. To attain the democratic habitus in relation to policing lies in the control and accountability of the powerful agency in a social space to equalise the set of relationships through the norms of universal justice. Each agency whether dissident communities or police forces has its own habitus shaped by its social status. Policing is a social field and democratic policing in this

social field depends on the form of interactions with conflicting agencies in the habitus of policing. Democratic policing can be attainable when these interactions are controlled through not only immaterial instruments of democracy such as human rights, transparency and accountability but also material instruments of democracy may increase resources to attain democratic policing. BWC is a good example of material instrument to democratise the habitus of policing to increase public deliberation, make the police accountable and provide the plurality of information.

The sites of interaction between different agencies reveal the tension and power dynamics. The powerful agency shares the same habitus with other agencies. Nevertheless, the relationship between different agencies is not based on equality or non-hierarchical modes of social relationship due to other dynamics that provide the source of unequal power to agencies Authority is the pillar element in the habitus of policing and it comes to the fore as a regulative force between the police agency and citizens in a social space that they share together. What kind of habitus should shape the relationship between the police and other agencies to make the same habitus democratic and functional at the same time? This critical question not only unveils the form of habitus, but also draws attention to the methods of policing. Authoritarian and suppressive policing methods can be effective, but those methods remain mostly in the habitus of antidemocratic and unsustainable governance in the long term. Conversely, the democratic habitus of policing can make both the form of habitus and the method of policing democratic. The democratic habitus of policing is a concept in which the democratic policing methods exist also in a democratic space. BWCs under certain conditions may guarantee both the form of habitus is democratic and the policing methods are under the control of democratic governance. We argue that the democratic form of policing is based on the use of democratic policing practices in the intersections of habitus between police and citizens. Further, we claim that democratic policing practices have three pillars: embracing public deliberation; making the policing authority accountable; and providing unbiased and plural information to the public and relevant authorities.

Turning to our study, analysing the introduction of BWCs to the police may play an essential role in distinguishing the form of habitus where the police use the BWC to democratise their practices. The BWCs were noted as commodities advancing our knowledge about the rise of moral panic in society through violent interactions between police agencies and citizens (Wasserman, 2014/2015). After the violent tensions between police and protestors from Ferguson, Missouri to New York City and Oklahoma, a recent poll concludes that "74 percent of Americans believe officers should be required to wear body cameras, 80 percent said the cameras would prevent excessive force, and 77 percent said they would feel safer" (*Harvard Law Review*, 2015, p. 1796). Engaging with the public to increase democratic legitimacy influences public deliberation and creates a positive image of power (Bohman, 1996). Identifying and disciplining officers who behave inappropriately are democratic practices to hold the police accountable so the tensions between law enforcement officers and the community can be reduced (Telep, 2016). BWCs share footage for evidence collection and, in doing so, increase the number of sources through which justice institutions and the public are informed. The plurality of information creates opportunities to consult different sources through which police misconduct can be detected. In doing so, the plurality of information democratises the social space of policing and the set of relationships between legal authority and citizens. Hence, the principles and rules in the habitus of policing activities may transform the policing towards a more democratic model.

Public deliberation, accountability and the plurality of information are the key dimensions in the habitus of policing. Public deliberation aims to include the voice of passive agencies by creating "discursive participation" (Delli Carpini *et al.*, 2004; Roberts, 2004). BWCs partially create public deliberation when the footage is provided to the public. However, to attain full public deliberation we need to look at "the discrepancy between what actually occurs, and what a person believes actually occurs […] [that] must be included in the body camera debate" (Scott, 2016, p. 99).

Police autonomy can conflict with police accountability, so it may hinder the democratic habitus of policing, particularly when the police force remains the only agency to decide what kind of information can be shared with the public. Taylor (2016) stated that the positive influence of BWCs can be undermined by "police autonomy in their operation – that is, choosing what and when to record. The ability of officers to 'edit on the fly' fundamentally undermines any potential benefits the cameras introduce" (p. 129).

Public deliberation and accountability in the use of BWCs make the habitus of policing democratic. However, a democratic habitus can be still limited without the voice of multiple stakeholders. Thus, the third pillar in the democratic habitus of policing is unbiased and plural information. Plurality of information not only democratises the habitus, but it also offers a good source of evidence, as BWCs have "led prosecutions and for some increased their confidence that [the] incident they attend would lead to a conviction" (Owens et al., 2014, p. 20).

Methods

The survey was conducted between September 2015 and December 2015 with a random sample of 162 police officers who work in eight police stations in the East Midlands area of England. Two respondents did not mention their gender identities. Thus, 111 male and 49 female police officers responded to questions. Most of the respondents in our sample have been in the service for up to 20 years. Fewer have been working for more than 20 years. Therefore, most of our sample consisted of middle-aged police officers between 30 and 50 years old. Even though the majority of respondents are in service between 10 and 20 years and majority of them are male, neither the length of service nor gender played a role in the outcome of our analysis. For this reason, we focussed on other dimensions in our research. We conducted our survey in eight different police stations in East Midlands to increase the reliability of our findings. We received high response rate for 15 questions changing between 92.5 and 93.8 per cent. Our sample demonstrates less errors of estimation for East Midlands; however, our statistical generalisation might be limited in scope for the entire English police force.

We asked 18 questions. The first 3 questions explored their main ideas about BWCs. The next 15 questions endeavoured to explore their views on BWCs through three stages: positive perceptions (seven questions, $n = 150$), negative perceptions (four questions, $n = 152$) and evidence-focussed perceptions (four questions, $n = 153$). In total, 5 of these 15 questions used a five-point Likert-type scale. We assigned the value of 1 for "strongly disagree", 2 for "disagree", 3 for "neutral" (neither disagree nor agree), 4 for "agree" and 5 for "strongly agree". Hence, any score more than 3.00 results in agreement. A higher score means higher agreement with the question or statement. In addition to the Likert-type questions, the respondents could also make comments on the questions, and they could give their own views as additional comments. Some 90 of the respondents used the additional comment section to offer their opinions concerning BWCs. We combined these comments with the outcome of our statistical research in the Findings section to explore and scrutinise the perplexing results we derived from our quantitative analyses. Our data are limited in that we are measuring the perceptions of police force regarding BWC before they started using it.

Findings

The first 3 questions were devised to explore the respondents' broad views concerning the BWCs before asking more specific questions about positive perceptions, negative perceptions and evidence collection. The response to the first question confirms that 89.7 per cent of the police in this study expect a positive impact from BWCs. On the other hand, 83 per cent of the respondents do not believe that BWCs will change their behaviour on duty. Finally, 24.8 per cent of the respondents have some serious concerns about the use of BWCs. We analysed the responses to the following 15 questions in a more deliberate way as reported in the next three sections (positive perceptions, negative perceptions and evidence-focussed perceptions) to elaborate the role of BWCs in creating the democratic habitus of policing through public deliberation, accountability and plural information. Positive perceptions are the perceptions of our respondents who think that BWCs make a positive contribution to their work related to the specific question asked to them. Negative perceptions, on the other hand, influence the work of respondents negatively or create additional problems for them in the use of BWCs. Evidence-focussed perceptions are related to the perceptions that prioritise the collection and analysis of evidence through BWCs.

Positive perceptions

An overwhelming majority of respondents believe that BWCs will have a positive impact on the "prevention of antisocial behaviour [ASB] and consolidating public order" and the policing of "domestic violence". These two areas have mean scores of 4.13 and 3.85, respectively. These are the second and fourth highest means in our list. Hence, the respondents approve the use of BWCs in crime and violence prevention and the protection of public order. Positive perceptions can be created thanks to BWCs about the police and their communication skills with citizens and other agencies while carrying out their duties. Therefore, the respondents believe that BWCs will impact the relations between the police and the community positively. We found that positive perceptions of BWCs in terms of creating a more secure social environment for the police had a mean score of 3.42. The respondents perceive that the BWCs will regulate police–community relations positively through increasing confidence in the police with a mean score of 3.55, and they perceive that it will decrease the number of complaints against the police with a mean score of 3.48.

As a result, positive perceptions include preventing antisocial behaviour and domestic violence, regulating the relationship with the public through creating better communicative channels, creating a safer working environment for the police and increasing confidence in police. Some claim that BWC may play a role in reducing violence between the police and the community (White *et al.*, 2018). Hence, the respondents still find BWCs important instruments to create better dynamics between the police and the community. Yet, the positive perception depends on the context of the habitus of policing because the perceptions of police may shift based on the level of conflict and discontent of the police with the use of BWCs against their arguments (Table I).

One of the respondents argued that "it will add transparency, reduce complaints and make both the police and public accountable". The introduction of BWCs may also change the behaviours of police to foster self-control when their reactions conflict with the ethical codes of their profession.

Table I Positive perceptions

Questions	Statistic	Bias	SE
BWCs' positive impact on policing ASB and public order			
n	150	0	0
Sum	620		
Mean	4.13	0.00	0.05
SD	0.587	−0.003	0.039
BWCs' positive impact on the policing of domestic violence			
n	150	0	0
Sum	577		
Mean	3.85	0.00	0.07
SD	0.849	−0.001	0.062
BWCs will give the public more confidence in the police			
n	150	0	0
Sum	532		
Mean	3.55	0.00	0.06
SD	0.747	−0.004	0.048
The number of complaints against the police will reduce			
n	150	0	0
Sum	522		
Mean	3.48	0.00	0.07
SD	0.849	−0.005	0.042
BWCs will make the police more secure			
n	152	0	0
Sum	520		
Mean	3.42	0.00	0.06
SD	0.818	−0.001	0.043

This was the reason that one of the respondents put forth: "BWC will make me more aware of how I respond to people in a positive way". However, the development of empathy is not the only responsibility of police, because the sometimes-biased approach against the police demotivates them and they expect the same empathy from the public for themselves. In this context, one of the respondents stated: "It will show situations police officers have to deal with. People will consider their conduct if they are aware of being recorded". Supporting this claim and putting it differently, another respondent asserted that "the BWC will also let the public see exactly what we deal with day to day", and the respondent added that "people will consider their conduct if they are aware of being recorded". Therefore, the BWC is perceived as a positive regulative innovation that may influence the behaviour of police and members of public. As we see in the table, there are different scores in the positive perceptions and the only score above 4 in the positive role of BWCs is related to the antisocial behaviour and public order. In addition to this, other positive perceptions were endorsed but not at a significant level.

Turning to our theoretical concept, the democratic habitus of policing, these findings on the positive perceptions about BWCs in relation to ameliorating the relationship between the public and police force, contributing to social justice by preventing ASB and domestic violence and increasing the confidence in police, actually demonstrate that the habitus of policing is becoming more engaged with the public. This engagement creates inclusive channels to bridge the gap of trust between the police and the public. Public deliberation consists of the involvement of diverse actors in the events, occasions and issues that shape the decision-making process. From this point of view, the respondents perceive that BWCs may increase public deliberation, which is one of the pillars of creating a democratic habitus of policing. However, the respondents might have overlooked that the positive perceptions may actually be changed according to the level of tension and conflict in the habitus of policing, so the same positive perceptions can be negated when the situation that they have to deal with creates dissent among the police.

Negative perceptions

There are two main areas in which the concerns of the respondents come to the fore. First, the respondents confirmed that BWCs will increase the administrative duties of police with a mean score of 3.16. Second, there are more ethical concerns, particularly about the trust in the police by other agencies. For example, most respondents agreed that the introduction of BWCs is a way of policing the police with a mean score of 3.02. Policing the police might have been a positive perception for some respondents; however, in our survey, we explained to the respondents that this term would be used as a practice of disciplining the police, controlling them excessively and deteriorating the police morale by not trusting the words of police. Yet, 3.02 is not a high score even in this context. The main concern of police regarding the use of BWCs is that technological innovation may erode trust among the members of police force, as it might be perceived as a way of "policing the police" and "disciplining the officers". One of the respondents criticised the BWC, arguing that it might be used against them, particularly on occasions when the BWC "is not able to capture everything your eyes can see. Therefore, the full reasons of your actions will not be recorded". Similar concerns also reveal that the BWC can increase the responsibilities of police. One respondent claimed that the "Professional Standards Department (PSD) [used BWCs] against [officers] purposefully". In addition, the respondents thought that BWCs would undermine the police's role in black and minority ethnic (BME) communities, as the mean decreased to 2.96 when we asked whether the BWC would increase public confidence in the police and develop the relationship between the police and the BME communities. However, these scores are still not determinative to claim strongly that the police have solid negative perceptions.

Finally, the BWCs' positive contribution to the effectiveness of police while carrying out the job and the development of professional capacity has the lowest means in this category, namely, 2.90 and 2.73, respectively. As these two scores are below the average mean, 3.00, the respondents perceive that the BWC is not a ground-breaking technological tool that increases the development of professional capacity. In this respect, another respondent questioned, "how much we can have confidence in technology, while dealing with 'honest mistakes'; but cannot justify it against the powerful evidence of BWC?" (Table II).

Table II	Negative perceptions		
Questions	Statistic	Bias	SE
BWCs will increase administrative duties of police			
n	152	0	0
Sum	480		
Mean	3.16	0.00	0.08
SD	0.970	−0.002	0.054
BWC is a way of policing the police			
n	152	0	0
Sum	459		
Mean	3.02	0.00	0.08
SD	0.973	−0.004	0.048
Having concerns regarding how to operate BWCs			
n	152	0	0
Sum	386		
Mean	2.54	0.00	0.07
SD	0.941	0.000	0.041
BWC will improve the relationship between the police and BME communities			
n	150	0	0
Sum	444		
Mean	2.96	0.00	0.06
SD	0.767	−0.004	0.058
BWC will make me more efficient			
n	150	0	0
Sum	435		
Mean	2.90	0.00	0.06
SD	0.740	−0.006	0.047
BWC will make me act more professionally while dealing with the public			
n	150	0	0
Sum	409		
Mean	2.73	0.00	0.07
SD	0.889	−0.004	0.051

The most important outcome in the negative perceptions is related to the accountability concept, which makes the democratic habitus of policing a space of justice where the authority can be judged because of wrongdoings. Negative perceptions particularly focus on the policing the police concept; however, keeping the police responsible for their mistakes may actually increase confidence in other police officers who do their job following the regulations and not violating the rights of citizens. The negative perceptions of the role of BWCs in improving the relationship of police with the BME communities may actually provide a way to democratise the habitus of policing by both keeping the police responsible for their actions and empowering the ethnic, racial and minority communities that have mainly a disadvantageous social status in the communities we live in. Therefore, like the positive perceptions, negative perceptions may contribute to the democratising process of the habitus of policing.

Evidence-focussed perceptions

The practical use of BWC resonates formidably in evidence collection, which has the highest mean in our statistical analyses and makes evidence collection the most appreciated benefit of BWC. The principal advantage of BWC in evidence collection lies in its function of bringing indisputable proof and lessening the burden on courts and police. One of the respondents said that "the BWC will allow the courts to have a clear and accurate depiction, support prosecutions". The respondents were inclined to compare BWC with CCTV as indisputable evidence. The significant role of BWC in

evidence collection is highly valued, so much so that some respondents defined it as "the best evidence at court", while others asserted that "the BWC will relieve the police from fabricated claims of offenders and their behaviours against the police". One of the respondents offered situational examples, claiming that the BWC provides "better evidence to show drunk people the next day when interviewed". The occasions, which are "not easy to explain by words", can be also captured on video, as one of respondents stated. One of the respondents claimed that "BWC can see real time and we do not have to rely on only statements". This additional proof empowers the importance of plurality of information.

There are also disagreements among police regarding the effectiveness of evidence collection. The first major concern is the loss of discretion that may eventually reduce self-confidence among the respondents. The second concern is about the determination of place and time to use the BWC. The diversity and complexity of the cases that the respondents must deal with create a certain type of ambiance in which the video is not able to portray the entire event accurately when the offender aims to deceive by playing to the camera. One of the respondents said that "people may behave differently when they know they are being filmed". In this context, the third highest mean ($M = 4.05$) is also related to the control of BWCs. The respondents are in favour of having control of the BWC when it records. For instance, several respondents have concerns about the misuse of BWCs by the media, and one asserted that "the media portray the police in a bad light". Other respondents have similar concerns because of the "over-focussing on the actions" and the beliefs of public perceiving "footage as the only truth, but not the words of police" (Table III).

The democratic habitus of policing depends not only on public deliberation and accountability, but also on the plurality of information available to the public, which is another pillar that makes the habitus of policing a social space created by a diversity of accounts, views and information. The plurality of information with the contribution of BWCs to investigated cases means that the statements of police are not the only source of evidence. Evidence-focussed perceptions create dissent among members of police force when the media use the footage against them. However, the availability of information to the public is one of the key dimensions in a healthy democracy. This is the reason that independent media play a critical role in the consolidation of democratic systems. The democratic habitus of policing, therefore, is shaped by the plurality of information to reach a just decision on investigated cases. Even though the respondents strongly support the

Table III	Evidence-focussed perceptions		
Questions	Statistic	Bias	SE
BWC is good for evidence collection			
n	153	0	0
Sum	645		
Mean	4.22	0.00	0.06
S	0.734	−0.007	0.065
Police should have the control when the BWC records			
n	153	0	0
Sum	619		
Mean	4.05	0.00	0.06
SD	0.729	−0.002	0.046
BWC impacts on the officer's ability to use discretion			
n	153	0	0
Sum	416		
Mean	2.72	0.00	0.08
SD	0.990	−0.003	0.045
BWC will reduce the number of stop and searches			
n	153	0	0
Sum	368		
Mean	2.41	0.00	0.07
SD	0.914	−0.008	0.066

role of BWC in evidence collection, their concerns related to the discretion on when, where and how to use the BWC conflict with the conditions that pave the path to reaching plural and objective information.

Concluding remarks

The image of BWCs among the police we contacted is based on positive perceptions, negative perceptions and evidence-focussed perceptions. The positive perceptions about BWCs may increase public deliberation. The negative perceptions give priority to the concern of being policed by the BWC that is actually another factor increasing the accountability of police. Finally, evidence-focussed collection leads to a diversity of information, and providing multiple sources of information to the public increases transparency. Therefore, the three types of perception – positive perceptions, negative perceptions and evidence-focussed perceptions – shape the democratic habitus of policing by increasing public deliberation, making the police accountable and providing plural and objective information to the public to attain transparency in policing.

Policing activities can be enhanced by BWCs because of the potential impact on policing ASB, attaining public order, hindering domestic violence and providing more confidence in the police. The number of complaints filed against officers decreased significantly in other data sets thanks to the use of BWCs (Ariel *et al.*, 2014). Our research also affirms that the respondents perceive BWCs as important instrument to reduce the number of complaints against the police. On the other hand, our findings delineate another important and overlooked issue about the role of BWCs in already marginalised communities such as BME groups. Accessibility and accountability are central issues in neighbourhood policing to create safer communities (Bullock, 2010). However, even if there is a positive connection due to mediated communication between the police and BME communities, the relationship between the police and BME groups is complex and has a notorious history (Barrett *et al.*, 2014). Hence, the BWC is not perceived positively when the issue is the relationship between the police and BME groups. Yet, these negative perceptions actually democratise the habitus of policing and they may increase trust towards police among BME groups.

The second most important contribution of BWCs is in evidence collection. Our data indicate that BWCs may influence evidence collection positively, particularly in the criminal justice system. Nevertheless, unsurprisingly, the respondents would like to control the use of these devices, which diminishes the strength of the democratic habitus of policing. This is the reason that our central argument supports the view that positive perceptions, negative perceptions and evidence-focussed perceptions offer the conditions to attain a democratic habitus of policing; however, they do not guarantee the consolidation of democratic habitus of policing. The authority of police to decide when, where and how to use BWC violates the privacy of citizens. In this context, "it is very difficult to strike a balance between the privacy concerns that accompany police body-worn cameras and their alleged capacity to increase police accountability and transparency" (Bud, 2016, p. 121). The mobility of these cameras poses serious risks about the violation of privacy rights (Lippert and Newell, 2016). Unsurprisingly, adequate privacy and data protection regimes have not been designed and implemented since the integration of BWCs to the policing practices (Palmer, 2016).

As Lawrence (2015, p. 632) suggested astutely: "if requiring law enforcement to wear body cameras has even a small effect on improving relationships and creating safer interactions between officers and citizens, then it is worth considering implementation". In fact, the conditions that constitute the democratic habitus of policing exist; however, the availability of these conditions does not always make the habitus of policing democratic, so how policing is practiced becomes a principal question we need to ask rather than simply the intervention and integration of the new technological tools into policing activities. Our findings confirm that the three different forms of perceptions offer sufficient factors to attain a democratic habitus of policing. However, consolidation of the democratic habitus of policing depends on other determining motives for using BWCs not only as an additional instrument of social control, but also as an additional instrument of public justice through which we can increase public deliberation, keep the police force accountable and make multiple sources of information available to the public.

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