HM Prison &
Probation Service

Use of Force

An Exploratory Analysis of Use of Force in Prisons

2018 – 2023

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His Majesty's Prison and Probation Service is committed to evidence-based practice informed by high-quality social research and statistical analysis. We aim to contribute to the informed debate on effective practice with the people in our care in prisons, probation and youth custody.

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1. Summary

1.1   Introduction

Prisons are intense places to live and work. The fine balance of managing safety, security and rehabilitative support depends on officers maintaining control and trust, and their ability to communicate with people who have complex lives and needs. On occasion, people in prison can behave, or threaten to behave, in such a way that prompts prison officers to consider using force to protect themselves, the prisoner, or others around them.

When a prison officer uses force, they are required to use specific techniques and only the equipment approved for use in the environment in which they work. In adult prisons, approved professional practices are set out within the basic training curriculum for every prison officer. Using force with prisoners is sometimes necessary and it represents a manifestation of the authority vested in officers. Even where justified, using physical force causes a degree of harm to both prisoners and staff, and so it is right that all force is subject to scrutiny, and that professional practice is underpinned by an effective process for complaint and investigation.

Data pertaining to the Use of Force (UoF) in HM Prison and Probation Service's (HMPPS') prisons are not yet routinely published; therefore, this research offers a first, unique opportunity to investigate this topic. The research aims to describe the current state of UoF across prisons in England and Wales, noting areas of good practice, and identifying areas requiring improvement.

1.2   Methodology and aims

This report presents the findings from a largely exploratory analysis of UoF in all the prisons in England and Wales from April 2018 to March 2023. The findings are drawn from data pertaining to the recorded uses of force experienced by men and women aged 18 and over. The quantitative data on UoF incidents was taken from Management Information systems and further augmented by interviews (62) and focus groups with prisoners and staff (15) of all grades from seven establishments, and observations from attendance at local UoF committee meetings.

The aims of this research were:

1. To explore and understand the scale of force within HMPPS prisons including types of force, who experiences force, why force is used, what techniques are used, and the associated injury and hospitalisation rates associated with force.

2. To examine the patterns of force, including whether personal characteristics (e.g. age, ethnicity), location (e.g. region) and establishment-level factors (e.g. levels of planned versus unplanned force) influence the amount and severity of force experienced by prisoners.

3. To investigate how officers and prisoners perceive force, including their understanding of UoF, their perceptions of the legitimacy of force, how force impacts and is impacted by officer-prisoner relationships, and the consequences of this for trust and communication.

4. To statistically explore how multi-level factors such as organisational pressures, establishment cultures, and individual decision making can influence and be influenced by force.

1.3   Limitations and interpretation of findings

There are several notable limitations to this research that should be considered when interpreting the findings. The analysis is largely descriptive in nature, and the variables have been examined in isolation due to the exploratory first-time nature of this research. It is probable that an enhanced picture will emerge when we are able to consider some of these variables in combined, multi-factor analyses in the future.

The means of routine UoF data collection has evolved over the course of this research; the introduction of a new reporting system, the Digital Prison Service (DPS), combined with improved availability of data and methods of analysis within HMPPS led to more reliable and complete data; this in turn enabled a wider range of analyses over time as data quality was enhanced. This does mean that there are some variations in how the data are presented in this report as data collection and reporting techniques have evolved over time and transitioned between various HMPPS data platforms.

The statistical analysis undertaken here identified correlations in the weak to moderate range – suggesting other factors, not captured in this study, will be influencing the behaviours of interest; that what we report here is just one part of a complex picture.

Analyses has been conducted on large sample sizes. It is possible that the large sample sizes bring findings that are statistically significant but are not of a magnitude to be meaningful in an operational/practical way; to determine meaningfulness, the differences between groups and variables should be considered.

The interviews were conducted across seven establishments, and both the staff and prisoners were selected for the interview based on opportunity determined by regime and their availability and willingness to be involved. Therefore, it is unlikely that the people we spoke to in this research were fully representative of all staff and prisoners.

1.4   Key findings

Positive examples of sites pro-actively seeking feedback, evidencing a willingness to change and improve their governance, and individual staff taking their responsibilities seriously were found across the estate. Constructive initiatives such as establishments providing additional support to staff to highlight learning from UoF incidents, involving prisoners in forums to discuss force, and staff being able to anonymously put forward UoF incidents for review, were observed at some sites. Several areas of concern were also observed. Notably, that the force a prisoner experiences appears to be linked with their age, gender, and ethnicity. Proportionally, women tend to experience some of the highest rates of force overall, and black men face elevated rates of certain techniques (including batons and Pelargonic Acid Vanillylamide Spray known as PAVA).[1] The number of incidents, techniques used, use of Body Worn Video Cameras (BWVC) and the proportion of force that is planned, varies across establishments and regions, as does the quality of local assurance.

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[1]   PAVA spray is an irritant spray dispensed from a hand-held cannister in a liquid stream. It contains a highly concentrated synthetic version of the irritant found in peppers.

Higher rates of force at establishments were found to correlate with higher rates of staff resignation rates and staff sickness absence and were inversely related to prisoner engagement in purposeful activity. These conditions, compounded by operational and resourcing pressures (e.g. delays to officers receiving training, no protected funding for UoF Co-ordinators), appear to be associated with increased force, although further research is needed to understand the causal links. Nevertheless, this research suggests wider initiatives regarding officer and prisoner wellbeing and regime delivery, could play a significant role in supporting an establishment to better manage their force.

From the fieldwork at seven sites, researchers found that there appears to be some disconnect between officers' and prisoners' perceptions of force, which may relate to a lack of trust and open communication between staff and prisoners with consequences for both officer and prisoner wellbeing and mental health. Support provided to prisoners after force, whether from healthcare or in the form of a debrief from officers, does not appear to be always timely or consistent. Staff interviewed wanted to see more support for officers following emotive incidents (e.g. preventing self-harm, using a baton), and better training around responding to prisoners with mental health and neuro-diverse needs.

Tackling some of these deep-rooted issues linked with UoF requires a systemic approach that draws on a range of prison functions as well as external expertise. Alongside the findings highlighted above, the report also concludes that:

- From an analysis of incident data, responses to assaults and/or fighting may need particular attention, given that it is these incidents which tend to see worse outcomes for mixed or black ethnicity men.
- For young men assault and fighting appear to be the pre-cursor to force, whereas for young women, the pre-cursor to force appears to be self-harm.
- Staff in multiple sites talked about the lack of time available to complete good quality UoF paperwork and appreciated the value of having a full-time UoF Co-ordinator.
- Staff, particularly officers, called for more frequent and realistic refresher training.

1.5 Conclusion

A combination of organisational, establishment-level, and individual factors may all be resulting in some force which may lack legitimacy or fall outside policy. While this exploratory research provides insights into the scale and nature of force, it also raises further questions regarding specific aspects of this. For instance, due to the limitations of the data available to date, it is clear, from this research, that further work will be needed to improve HMPPS' understanding of the sequencing of injuries (e.g. the extent to which injuries are sustained before or during force), the relevance of intersectionality regarding disparities within force (e.g. the interaction between age, gender, ethnicity, and other protected characteristics), and a more detailed understanding of the events or circumstances leading to using force (e.g. a more comprehensive breakdown of what constitutes non-compliance). Improving routine data collection, in particular to include information on disability and neurodiversity, is also much needed.

HMPPS may need to consider a dual strategy to (a) address and be proactive with the issues that are likely causing prisoners to engage in problematic behaviours; and (b) better prepare officers to respond to these emotive situations using communication and de-escalation skills wherever possible. Force can be traumatic for prisoners and officers, who can also experience some force (such as baton use or force in response to self-harm) as a significant emotional burden. Stressing this potential shared benefit for both prisoners and officers in reducing the need for force may be particularly helpful in creating a shared goal and fostering cooperation to achieve this outcome.

When force is used legitimately, as a last resort, staff need to be supported throughout the process. One key way to do this may be to ensure local expertise is resourced to meet the individual needs of the establishment (e.g. UoF Co-ordinators), and that national support, in the form of multi-disciplinary teams (e.g. psychology, data and analysis, subject matter experts), are available to help facilitate change, capture learning that can be shared across the organisation, and set an evidence-led programme of work to tackle some of the issues highlighted.

2.   Introduction

This report brings together several strands of research concerning Use of Force (UoF) conducted by the HMPPS Evidence-Based Practice Team from April 2018 to March 2023. The research was resourced due to recognition that the monitoring and evaluation of UoF data at a national level was limited and needed to be improved given the impending roll-out of Pelargonic Acid Vanillylamide Spray (PAVA – see Annex A for a glossary) in the adult male estate in 2019.

To put this exploratory study into context from 2018/19 to 2020/21, individual data returns were collated which routinely provided date, establishment and prisoner details, reasons for UoF and limited intervention tactics, although records were not standardised and sometimes incomplete. From 2021/22, new availability of the Digital Prison System (DPS) UoF report system provided a centralised system with more complete, standardised, and detailed data which became accessible from December 2023 evidencing a significant improvement in data reporting and ability to analyse.

Further to this, prior to the start of this project, there had been little research conducted on UoF in prisons in England and Wales. There is a UoF field of research that exists in other settings such as policing and secure hospitals (Bradford et al., 2017; Cowman & Bowers, 2009; Kyprianides et al., 2021; Valtis et al., 2023; Yesberg et al., 2022), however the types of force used by the police, hospital staff and prison staff, as well as the settings and varied countries in which this has been studied means these findings may not be entirely relevant to the HMPPS. Consequently, there was, and continues to be, a need for prison-specific UoF research within HMPPS. Although, exploratory and mainly descriptive in nature, this research is the first step in understanding the UoF in prisons across England and Wales and is important both for capturing positive aspects of HMPPS' UoF culture, as well as for improvement, and the promotion of evidence-based practice for UoF (see primary research aims).

2.1   Evidence review

HMPPS has developed the LACES model (Lawful, Accountable, Considered, Equal, Setting the Standard) to set out professional standards within UoF. This section provides an outline of LACES, and a brief literature review of research associated with professional standards surrounding UoF and describes how this informed the primary research questions for this programme of research. Details of the LACES content are set out below.

Lawful. As set out in the UoF policy,[2] each UoF can only be justified and lawful, if it is necessary, reasonable in the circumstances, proportionate to the seriousness of the circumstances, and the individual(s) uses no more force than is necessary. While this research does not pass comment on the lawfulness of force, it does focus on perceptions of the legitimacy of force through interviews with prisoners and staff.[3] Procedural Justice (PJ) principles explain that the extent to which authority is perceived as legitimate will impact trust and co-operation. Perceptions of illegitimate displays of power by those in authority can lead to increased violence, trigger feelings of anger, hostility, defiance, and aggression (Beijersbergen, Dirkzwager, Eichelsheim, & Van der Lann, 2015; Butler & Maruna, 2009; Day, Brauer, & Butler, 2015; Reisig & Mesko, 2009;).

Accountable. Within an organisation, promoting systematic frameworks for internal and external accountability (e.g. incident forms, committee meetings, officer-supervisor debriefs, sharing data) may go some way to help reduce illegitimate force (Prenzler, Porter & Alpert, 2013). High-quality scrutiny and assurance processes could ensure officers and organisations are both accountable for and well-supported in their UoF practice. Research has found that officers wearing Body Worn Video Cameras (BWVCs) use force less than those who do not wear them, and that there can be sustained effects on lowering UoF over time (Lum, Stoltz, Koper, & Scherer, 2019). Although the degree of discretion that is used in whether cameras were turned on impacted their effectiveness (Ariel et al., 2016). Another facet of accountability is

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[2]   See Use of force in prisons: PSO 1600 - GOV.UK (www.gov.uk)

[3]   When minimum standards are not met there are channels for official disciplinary investigation, criminal enquiry and Prison and Probation Ombudsman (PPO) investigations.

for an officer to have a meaningful conversation with the individual who has experienced force when it is safe and appropriate to do so, providing prisoners with a voice in the assurance process. In line with PJ principles, these steps may protect and repair relationships, ensure prisoners understand they are being treated fairly, and increase confidence in local assurance processes. While these steps are outlined in guidance, there is no routine feedback on the degree to which prisons are adhering to these principles. As such, understanding the use of BWVCs, local assurance processes, and organisation-level assurance measures are central to the aims of this research.

Considered. While UoF is often categorised as spontaneous, often there is an opportunity to resolve conflicts before force is needed. Attempting to do so before engaging in force means officers can establish clear boundaries and exercise authority in a predictable and reasonable way, which is thought to engender trust between prisoners and officers (Hulley, Liebling & Crewe, 2012; Liebling, 2011). Carefully considering all options before resorting to force is crucial for the wellbeing of prisoners and staff as findings have shown that force may be associated with long-term negative mental health effects for individuals who are exposed to it. Moreover, individuals with mental health needs are more likely to experience force than those without, leading to a cyclical relationship between force and mental health (Rossler & Terrill, 2017). Currently, little research explores under what conditions force is most likely to be 'considered' and what scenarios may result in potentially inappropriate force. This research will seek to understand if specific incident types, or interactions with prisoners with particular characteristics or in certain circumstances, leads to poorer outcomes for both prisoners and officers (e.g. increased injuries).

Equal. Experiences in the criminal justice system from the point of arrest to the point of exit are affected by environmental, situational, social, and personal factors. Force is significantly more likely to involve men, those from ethnic minority backgrounds, those with mental health difficulties, and those with lower socio-economic status (Bolger, 2015; HMICFRS, 2021). In relation to ethnicity, there are long standing concerns regarding disparities in UoF. His Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP) recently highlighted strained relationships, particularly between officers and black prisoners (HMIP, 2022). Many unconscious social biases can lead to discrimination,

and evidence suggests that good intentions are not enough to remove these (Legault, Gutsell & Inzlicht, 2011). Instead, encouraging inter-group contact and minimising emotionally driven responses may help improve decision making (Soll, Milkman & Payne, 2015) and reduce biased or impulsive decisions (Kahnemann, 2011).

Setting the Standard. Studies from within law enforcement agencies show robust governance can prevent inappropriate UoF (Engel, 2003; Lee, Jang, Yun, Lim, & Tushaus, 2010; Lee, Vaughn, & Lim, 2014). Managerial controls, training, and quality supervision are all ways that have been reported to help prevent unreasonable UoF (Lim & Lee, 2015). These activities are all facets of High Reliability Organisations (HROs) that operate in complex, high-hazard domains for extended periods without serious accidents or catastrophic failures (Roberts, 1990). HROs create an environment in which potential problems are anticipated, detected early, and responded to early enough to prevent catastrophic consequences. This can be achieved through the promotion of user-friendly technology, a 'no blame' culture, and a top-down commitment to learning (Hopkins, 2021). This research attempts to understand force by considering individual decision making, establishment level processes (e.g. committee attendance) and wider organisational-level issues (e.g. staffing levels).

Additional operational considerations. Alongside research questions derived from a review of existing evidence, there are also several questions this research aims to answer to allow HMPPS, and stakeholders, to better understand the scale and nature of force being used. To this end, this research will also set out data on overall uses of force, the proportion of force that is planned, techniques used, and injuries and hospitalisation rates following force.

2.2   Primary research aims

1. To explore and understand the scale and nature of force within prisons including levels of force, who experiences force, why force is used, what techniques are used, and injury and hospitalisation rates associated with force.

   2. To examine the patterns or consistency of force including whether personal characteristics (i.e. age, ethnicity), location (i.e. region, estate), and establishment-level factors (i.e. Body Worn Video Cameras (BWVC), proportion of planned force) impact the amount and severity of force experienced by prisoners.

   3. To investigate how officers and prisoners perceive force including their understanding of UoF, their perceptions of the legitimacy of force, how force impacts and is impacted by officer-prisoner relationships, and the consequences of this for trust and communication.

   4. To explore how multi-level factors such as organisational pressures, establishment cultures, and individual decision making can influence and be influenced by force.

3.   Methodology

3.1   Overview

The start of this exploratory research coincided with the roll-out of PAVA (see glossary, Annex A), but was designed to explore the breadth of UoF techniques. As such, this report covers all UoF incidents in prisons for adult men and women including the private estate, within England and Wales, between April 2018 and March 2022[4] (see Annex B for information on data sources). A mixed-methods approach was applied.

The full quantitative data sample included 160,897 reported uses of force across 121 prisons between April 2018 and March 2022. Due, however, to data progression and the transition between data platforms, analysis has focused on subsets of this data period to evidence findings that became of particular interest throughout this report.[5] (See Annex B for a summary of the statistics). For some of the analysis, the data up to April 2023 were included to provide some additional context. Data analysis techniques included Pearson's Correlation Coefficient to test for association between variables and Pearson's Chi Square Goodness of Fit test and ANOVA to explore predicted frequencies of an event between groups and to test for differences between the groups.

Fieldwork was conducted to gather qualitative data at seven sites between August and December 2022; a total of 62 semi-structured interviews and 15 focus groups were carried out to explore staff and prisoner views on UoF (see Annex B for the breakdown of data sources and Annex E for an example interview guide). These prisons were selected to provide a range of prison category, prison type, size, geographical spread, PAVA rollout status, and variation in UoF figures. Due to an

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[4]   The report does not include uses of force on those under 18 years of age, force at Immigration Removal Centres (IRCs) or force experienced whilst outside of an establishment (e.g. while attending court).

[5]   The latest data is accessed via the dashboard and can be more easily broken down into smaller subsets of age, whereas the older data had to be broken down into groups manually. Thus, this report includes various ways of breaking down the data analysis (e.g. YAs vs 26+ and smaller subsets of age groups).

initial focus on learning from the PAVA roll-out, all seven prisons included in the study were closed men's prisons who were eligible for PAVA.[6]

The transcripts and notes from the interviews/focus groups were subject to thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013) allowing for both inductive and deductive development of the key themes. Those taking part in an interview or focus group were told the aims of the research, gave their informed consent, and were informed of their right to withdraw from the evaluation.

At each of the fieldwork sites the researchers attended and observed the UoF committee meeting which is routinely held by every prison to review local trends and incidents. Our research compares this to the expectations for these meetings as set out in guidance to prison sites (see Annex H). Where possible, prisoner case-notes were reviewed to identify the context as to why force was used. All data are anonymised and reported in the findings section of this report.

As different strands of research were conducted across the five years, dates are provided on graphs, tables, and in the text to indicate the period to which the data relates.

3.2   Limitations of the research and interpretation of findings

While efforts have been made to ensure the accuracy of the administrative data presented in this report, it should be noted that the (UoF) data is not regularly published and is therefore not subject to the rigorous quality assurance procedures associated with other measures published on gov.uk (see Annex B for detailed information). For the quantitative analyses presented throughout this report, the data quality is variable in terms of completeness, consistency, and accuracy. Several entry errors, gaps in reporting, and inconsistencies were noted. Consequently, readers should take the figures presented throughout the entire report to be an *indication* of levels of force rather than a precise output given the uneven quality of

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[6]   Due to the focus on PAVA, our research did not conduct fieldwork in the women's estate, however findings from the quantitative data analysed suggest the women's estate needs tailored research and support going forward.

Management Information data analysed, including inconsistencies that are found between local and national reporting systems.

The method of analysis is largely descriptive and basic, and the variables have been examined separately due to the exploratory nature of the research. There is real need then for further work where more sophisticated, multi-factorial analyses of data can consider the relative influence of each factor. Ongoing progress in data collection and management will enable HMPPS to undertake fuller reporting and more complex investigation than has been possible to date.

The statistical analysis undertaken here identified correlations in the weak to moderate range – suggesting other factors, not captured in this study, will be influencing behaviours of interest; that what we report here is just one part of a complex picture.

Analyses has been conducted on large sample sizes. It is possible that the large sample sizes bring findings that are statistically significant but are not of a magnitude to be meaningful in an operational/practical way; to determine meaningfulness, the differences between group variables and variables should be considered.

Fieldwork was significantly delayed due to COVID-19, as such the scale of the work was revised to fit into the time available, leading to seven sites being involved in the fieldwork. It is possible that COVID-19 may have impacted on the findings and may in part explain why UoF appears to increase in the latter years covered in this research as prison regimes opened once more after lockdown. It is unlikely that the people we spoke to in this research were fully representative; both staff and prisoners interviewed were generally selected based on opportunity, determined by the regime and their availability and willingness to be involved. Participants were not randomly selected. Moreover, due to the initial focus on PAVA, no prisons in the women's estate were visited – a gap that future research will want to fill.

4.   General overview of force

4.1   Use of Force Tactics and Techniques Used[7]

In the five years to March 2022 (the time period most aligned with the research timeframe), force was reported to be used 160,897 times across 121 establishments in the adult estate (approximately 40,000 uses each year).[8] The rates of force each year were generally stable, with lower rates during the covid period covering covid restrictions (20/21 and 21/22).[9] The techniques used as part of force from April 2021 to March 2022 were categorised and assessed (see Table 1). An analysis of establishments with over 100 uses of force (n=91) nationally, showed planned force tends to represent between 5% and 20% of an establishment's recorded force. Most force was found to be responsive (i.e. spontaneous or unplanned), with planned force typically accounting for 12–14% of force each year. Whether force is planned has implications for the choice of techniques available to officers, and so further research may be needed to understand what drives this variation between sites and the impact on the use of specific techniques. The techniques used varied according to the reason for the UoF. For example, 70% of baton uses and 84% of PAVA uses were when officers reported that they were responding to assaults or fighting; these techniques were used far less frequently when officers reported that they were preventing self-harm (5% of baton use, 2% of PAVA use).

Indicators of culture and organisational issues at establishments were found to be associated with levels of force. For example, data from April 2022 to March 2023 showed a statistically significant correlation between UoF rates at establishments[10]

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[7]   For this section, the researchers focused on sub-samples of the overall data set across establishments.

[8]   Average of 40,228 uses, with a standard deviation of 2,151. Alternative sources, including considering the Digital Prison Service return put this figure at 160,052 uses. This highlights a discrepancy of over 800 cases, and a further reminder to treat these figures as an indication rather than precise outcome. Such differences over the four year period appear to stem from the late inclusion or removal of incidents (possible duplicates or those entered in error), sites only using one system and not updating the alternative system, and differences in the way the systems mark entries as either submitted (a UoF has been recorded) or completed (a UoF has been recorded and all staff have finished their statements).

[9]   Since the end of 2022/23 (January 2023), UoF has seen a sustained increase; it was on a slight downward trend until this point.

[10]   A total of 97 establishments.

(per 1,000 prisoners relating to spontaneous force) and rates of staff sickness absence (r = .24, p =.02, n = 95), and band 3–5 officer resignations (r = .49, p <.001, n = 94). UoF rates were also negatively associated with purposeful activity for prisoners (r = -.57, p <.001, n = 97). Overall, these findings were weak to moderate, and although this study cannot attribute causation, it is important to note their co-occurrence.

Table 1: UoF techniques used between April 2021 – March 2022 from 121 prisons. Data obtained from the Performance Hub, with a review from the DPS

Technique	Number of Uses	Proportion of all force (%)
Control and Restraint	21,687	50.5
Handcuffs	14,887	34.7
Personal Protection (SPEAR)	5,393	12.6
Other[11]	502	1.2
PAVA deployed[12]	323	0.8
Baton used[13]	150	0.3
Total	42,942[14]	100

[11] The guidance to officers completing the form states: "It is accepted that there are some uses of force which are not fully captured in this form. Incidents where force was used but the technique is not specified in the form must still be included in the numbers." This may explain why some force is captured without a technique specified or as "other".

[12] Data sourced from manual returns suggests this figure to be 387. If this revised figure is used PAVA would represent 0.9% of force. The figures represent when PAVA and batons have been deployed (not drawn only incidents).

[13] The Digital Prison Service system records this figure to be 223 uses, which equates to 0.5% of force.

[14] This number is likely higher than the number of recorded uses of force for the year, as multiple techniques can be used during one incident e.g. batons can be used following PAVA use.

5.   Who experienced force?

Collecting accurate data regarding protected characteristics is challenging. Aside from gender, ethnicity and age, available data, particularly regarding disabilities and neurodiversity, do not appear to be complete or reliable. From exploring case notes, we found several instances where references to disabilities, learning difficulties, and neurodiversity were mentioned, but not recorded on the main prison database. From July 2023, greater monitoring of force by protected characteristics has been made possible through the inclusion of UoF on the HMPPS Equalities Monitoring Tool. However, for this research, only ethnicity, gender and age could be considered.

5.1   Gender

Women experience the highest rates of planned force[15] and, apart from men located in South Central prisons, the highest rates of spontaneous force.[16] Figure 1 outlines the differences between regions in the rates of all prisoners involved in spontaneous force per 1000 prisoners.

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[15] Women's estate rate for planned force: 127 per 1000 prisoners compared to next highest rate 126 per 1000 prisoners (South Central) and average rate of 77 per 1000 prisoners. Calculated by the HMPPS performance hub.

[16] When considering unplanned (spontaneous) force by group/region (2021/22). Only including force on those 18 and over.

Figure 1: Rates of all unplanned force per 1,000 prisoner average population per region/group (2021/22)[17]

Region/Group	Rate
South Central	791
Women's Estate	764
Public – Wales	748
London	585
Sodexo	560
Contracted – Wales	558
West Midlands	553
Devon and North Dorset	444
Long Term and High Security	432
Tees and Wear	430
East Midlands	426
Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk	412
Kent, Surrey and Sussex	412
North Midlands	403
Hertfordshire, Essex and Suffolk	384
Avon and South Dorset	355
Greater Manchester, Merseyside and Cheshire	341
Cumbria and Lancashire	318
Yorkshire	285
Serco	269
G4S	226

5.2   Age

Of the 153,464 records available from April 2018 to March 2022, the average age of an adult prisoner experiencing force was 31.32 years (SD = 9.21), with a range of 18 to 94. Across the four years, 66 prisoners aged 80 or over experienced force (0.04%). PAVA and batons were each used on just once occasion on a person in this

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[17]   Sodexo, Serco and G4S run privately contracted prisons.

age group. The oldest person to encounter force during the evaluation period was a 94-year-old man in December 2020 who experienced "more than one C&R technique" due to his "threatening behaviour".

For men, the age of those experiencing force varied according to events preceding force. Men who experienced force after involvement in an assault (mean age = 28.53, SD = 9.00) were younger than men who experienced force following all other events, including self-harm (mean age = 31.58, SD = 8.79), and non-compliance (mean age = 31.84, SD = 9.44).[18] Men, categorised as Young Adults (YA), aged 18 to 25 years of age, were significantly more likely to experience force due to their involvement in an assault, and less likely to experience force due to non-compliance and self-harm, compared to prisoners aged 26 and over. YA men were also more likely to experience batons and PAVA, and less likely to be involved in planned force.[19]

For women, the age of those experiencing force also varied according to preceding events. Women who experienced force following self-harm (mean age = 28.14, SD = 7.88) were younger than women who experienced force for all other reasons, including assaults (mean age = 33.99, SD = 10.17), and non-compliance (mean age = 33.43, SD = 10.44).[20] YA women were less likely to experience force due to their involvement in assaults than women aged 26 and over. Perhaps most strikingly, the proportion of YA women who experienced force after self-harm (24% of all force for this age group), was twice that of women aged over 26 years of age (12% of all

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[18] A one-way ANOVA indicated statistically significant differences; $F_{(6,144,043)} = 695.93$, $p<0.001$. Bonferroni corrections were used for all post-hoc comparisons when comparing 'force following assaults' with 'force following non-compliance' and 'force following self-harm'.

[19] A series of Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Tests were performed to determine whether age (25 and under, 26 and over) was associated with different outcomes. We found differences for whether the force was planned $X^2_{(1;151,353)} = 952.99$ $p < 0.001$, baton use $X^2_{(1;151,353)} = 40.83$, $p < 0.001$, PAVA use $X^2_{(1;151,353)} = 287.45$ $p < 0.001$, and the reason provided by staff for using force $X^2_{(6;151,353)} = 5668.28$ $p < 0.001$.

[20] A one-way ANOVA indicated statistically significant differences; $F_{(6,9413)} = 66.78$, $p<0.001$. Bonferroni corrections were used for all post-hoc comparisons when comparing 'force following self-harm' with 'force following non-compliance' and 'force following assaults.

force).[21] In summary, for men, youth appears to be associated with higher rates of force following assaults and fighting, while for YA women, there appears to be a similar pattern but the pre-cursor to force appears to be harm to self rather than others.

5.3 Ethnicity

Black and mixed ethnicity prisoners experienced more force than expected (given their representation within the prison population which is approximately 13% and 5%). Some differences were found in the proportion of force experienced by ethnicity depending on the gender of the prisoner; as such the remainder of this section provides separate analysis for men and women (see figures 2 and 3 below).[22]

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[21] Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Tests revealed no differences in planned force between YA and non-YA women X^2 (1;9,544) = 1.75 p = .19, but significant differences were found when considering the reason provided by staff for why force was used (i.e. assault, self-harm): X^2 (6;9,544) = 239.75 p < 0.001.

[22] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test revealed significant differences in the proportion of force experienced by prisoners of differing ethnicities (white, black, Asian, mixed, other, unknown) depending on gender (male, female): X^2 (5;160,897) = 1164.80 p < 0.001.

Figure 2: The representation of men of different ethnicities within the prison system (right) and the proportion (%) of force experienced by this group (left) (2021/22)
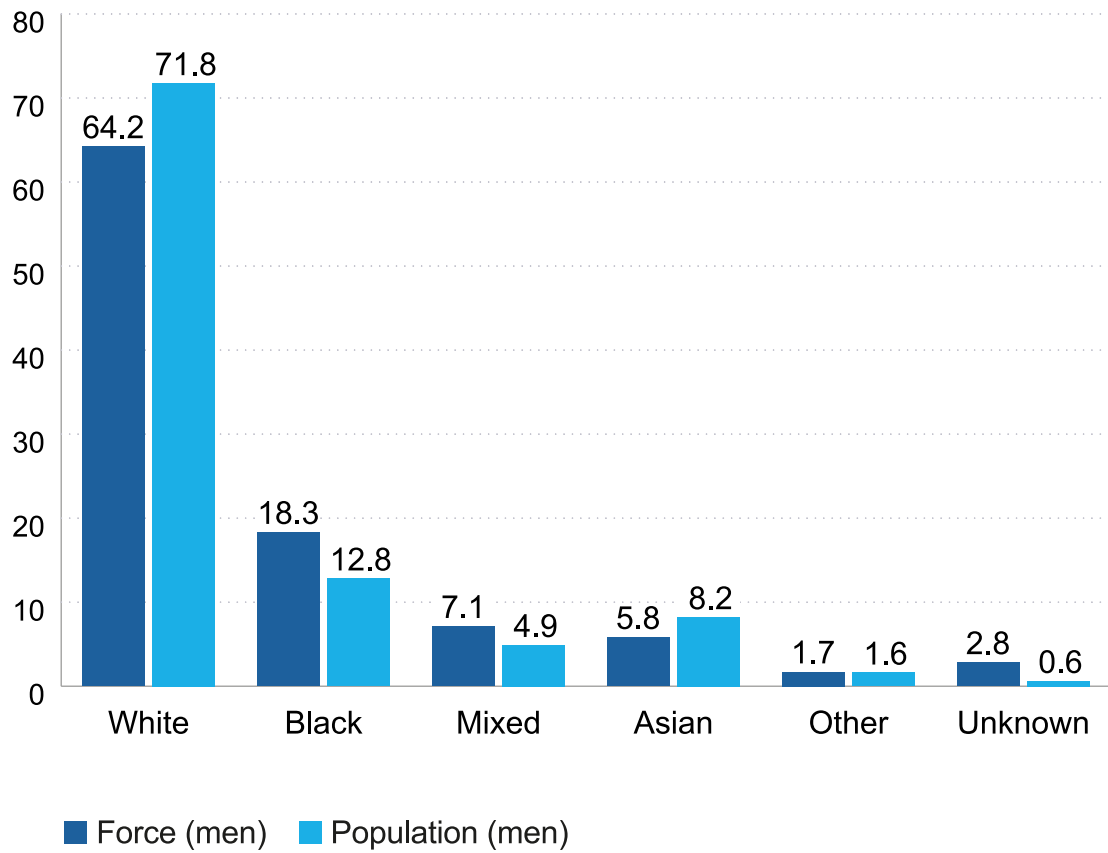
Figure 3: The representation of women of different ethnicities within the prison system (right) and the proportion (%) of force experienced by this group (left) (2021/22)

Legend: Force (women) ■ Population (women)
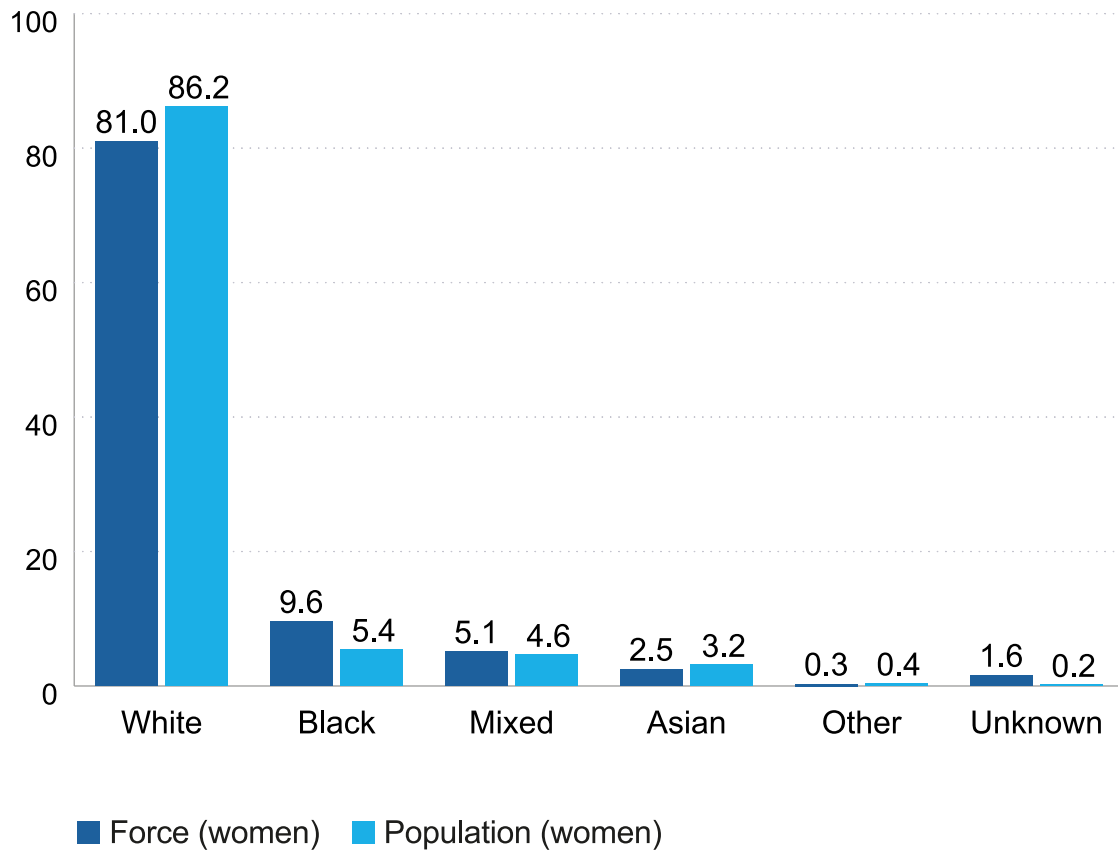
Black and mixed ethnicity women prisoners experienced greater planned force (16% of all force) compared to white women (10%).[23] White women were more likely to experience force after self-harm (18% of force) compared to black (3%), mixed (3%) or Asian (5%) women. Conversely, black (22% of force) and mixed (26%) ethnicity women were more likely to experience force due to assaults or fighting than white women (15%).[24]

For men, differences were present in planned force rates by ethnicity, with Asian men experiencing a smaller proportion of planned force (approximately 11% compared to

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[23] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test revealed a significant association between the proportion of planned force experienced by women depending on their ethnicity: $X^2 (5;9,544) = 32.15$ p < 0.001.

[24] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test revealed a significant association between the reason given by officers for using force and the ethnicity of the women experiencing force: $X^2 (30;9,544) = 364.28$ p < 0.001.

an average of 14%).[25] When considering the reasons provided by officers for initiating force, significant differences were found for black men compared to other prisoners in relation to self-harm (1.6% compared to 5% for white men), and due to involvement in assaults (37% compared to 22% for white men).[26]

For men, the use of high-impact techniques such as PAVA and batons also varied by ethnicity.[27] Batons and PAVA were experienced by black prisoners (0.8% and 0.7% of force respectively) at proportionately more than double the rate of white prisoners (0.4% and 0.2% respectively) and these techniques, or at least the circumstances in which they are used, appear to be an important factor in ethnic disparities in the overall UoF (see figure 4).[28] For further analysis on assaults/fighting, see Annex C.

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[25] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test revealed a significant association between the proportion of planned force experienced by men depending on their ethnicity: X^2 (5;151,353) = 75.51 p < 0.001.

[26] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test revealed a significant association between the reason given by officers for using force and the ethnicity of the men experiencing force: X^2 (30;151353) = 3596.21 p < 0.001.

[27] Two Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Tests revealed a significant association between baton use experienced by men depending on their ethnicity: X^2 (5;151,353) = 67.57 p < 0.001 and a significant association between PAVA use experienced by men depending on their ethnicity: X^2 (5;151,353) = 185.27 p < 0.001

[28] Data on all PAVA uses from April 2019 to March 2023 can be found in Annex G.

Figure 4: The proportion (%) of men in the prison population (dark blue), who experience PAVA (light blue), who experience batons (green), and other force (pink) by ethnicity (2021/22)
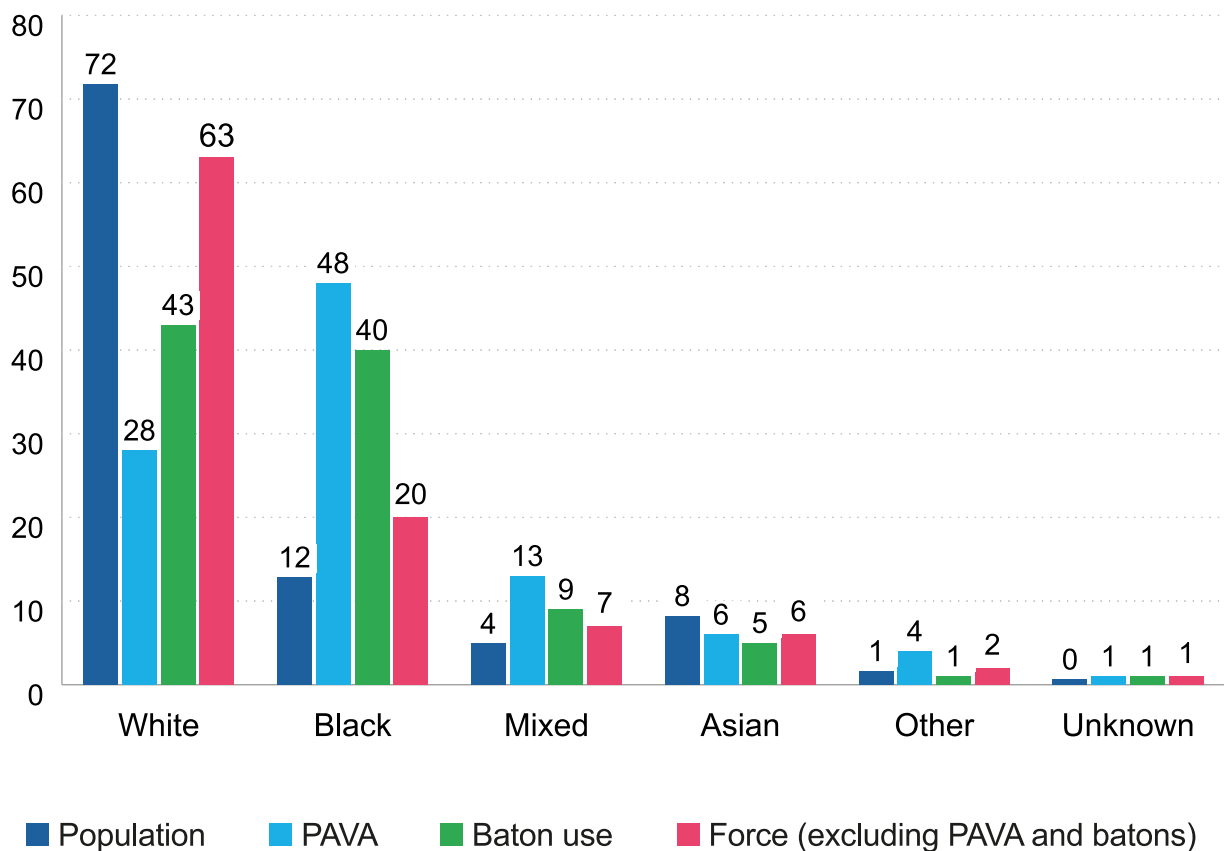
5.4 Additional analysis completed for age and ethnicity

Given the findings relating to disparities in both age and ethnicity, additional analysis was completed to consider rates per 1,000 of the average male prison population to provide further clarity. This analysis considered the follow-up period of April 2022 to March 2023. Taking the population average for the year, and the number of unique individuals involved in force, we found elevated rates of force for Black, Mixed, Other and White Gypsy/Irish Traveller ethnicity groups (see Figure 5). Completing the same analysis for PAVA and Baton uses uncovered more pronounced disparities (see figures 6 and 7). While PAVA rates were higher across all groups, it is Baton uses that lead to greater disparities: black prisoners are over 8 times more likely to experience Baton use than white prisoners.

Figure 5: The rates per 1,000 of the average male prison population to experience force by ethnicity (2022/23)

All force (per 1,000 of average population to experience force)
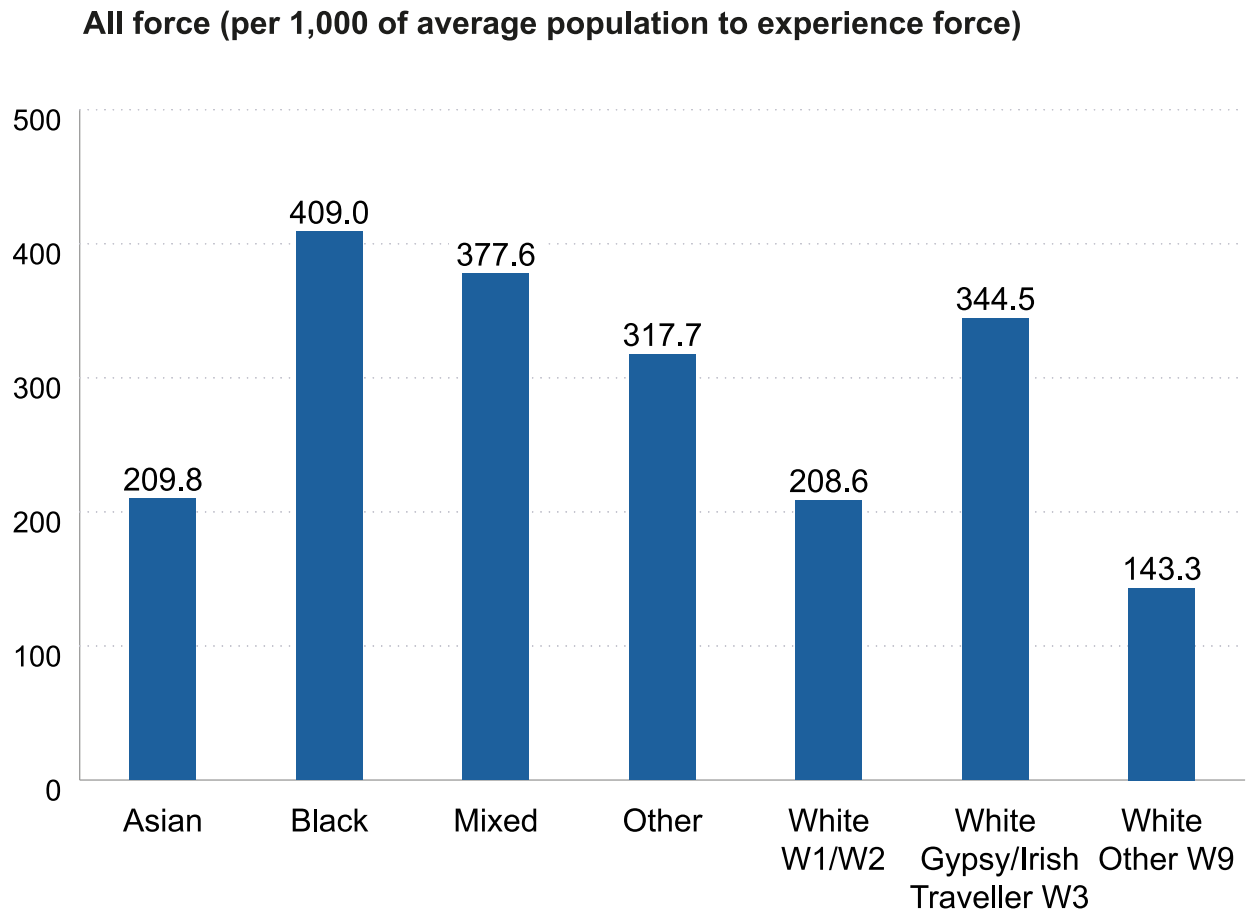
Figure 6: The rates per 1,000 of the average male prison population to experience baton use by ethnicity (2022/23)

Baton (per 1,000 of average population to experience force)
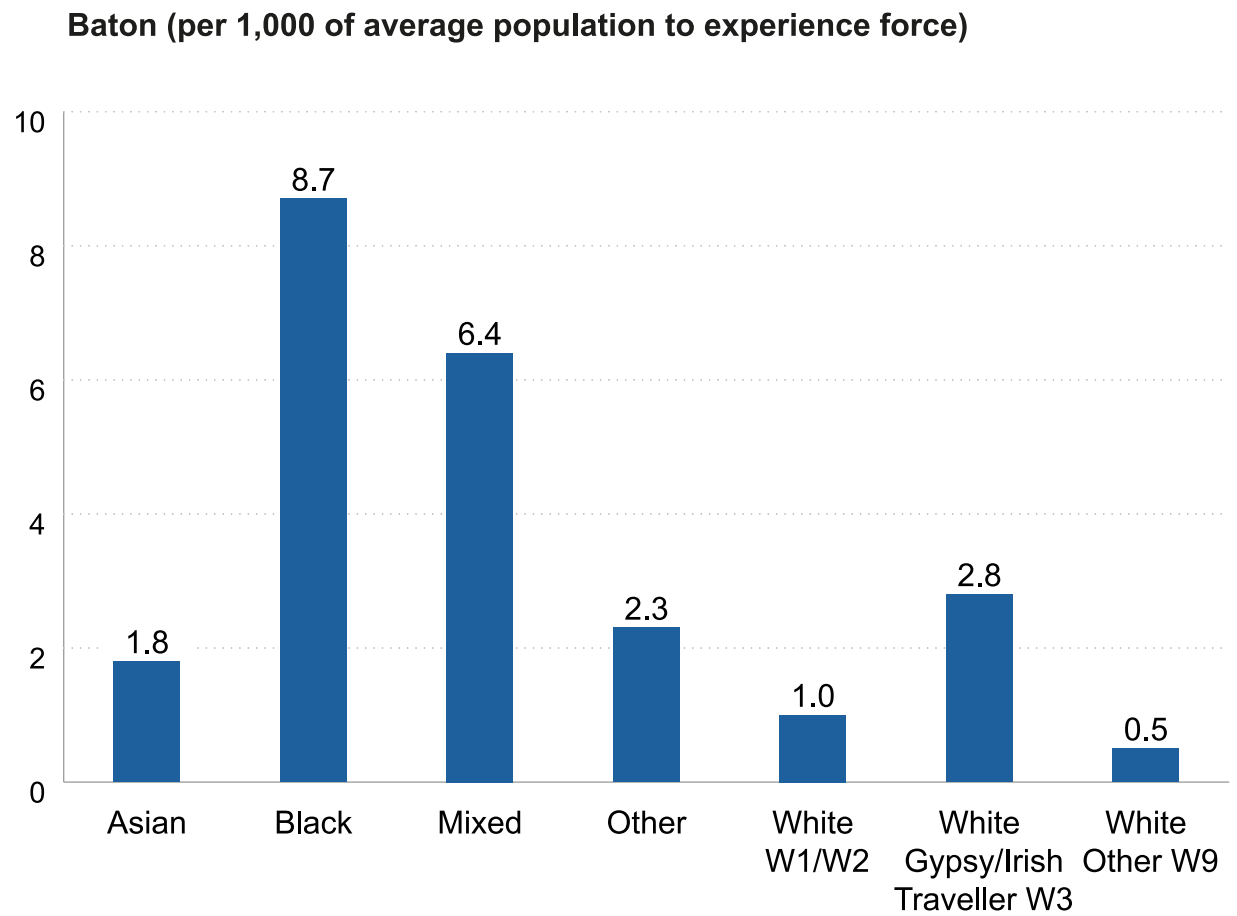
Figure 7: The rates per 1,000 of the average male prison population to experience PAVA by ethnicity (2022/23)

PAVA (per 1,000 of average population to experience PAVA)
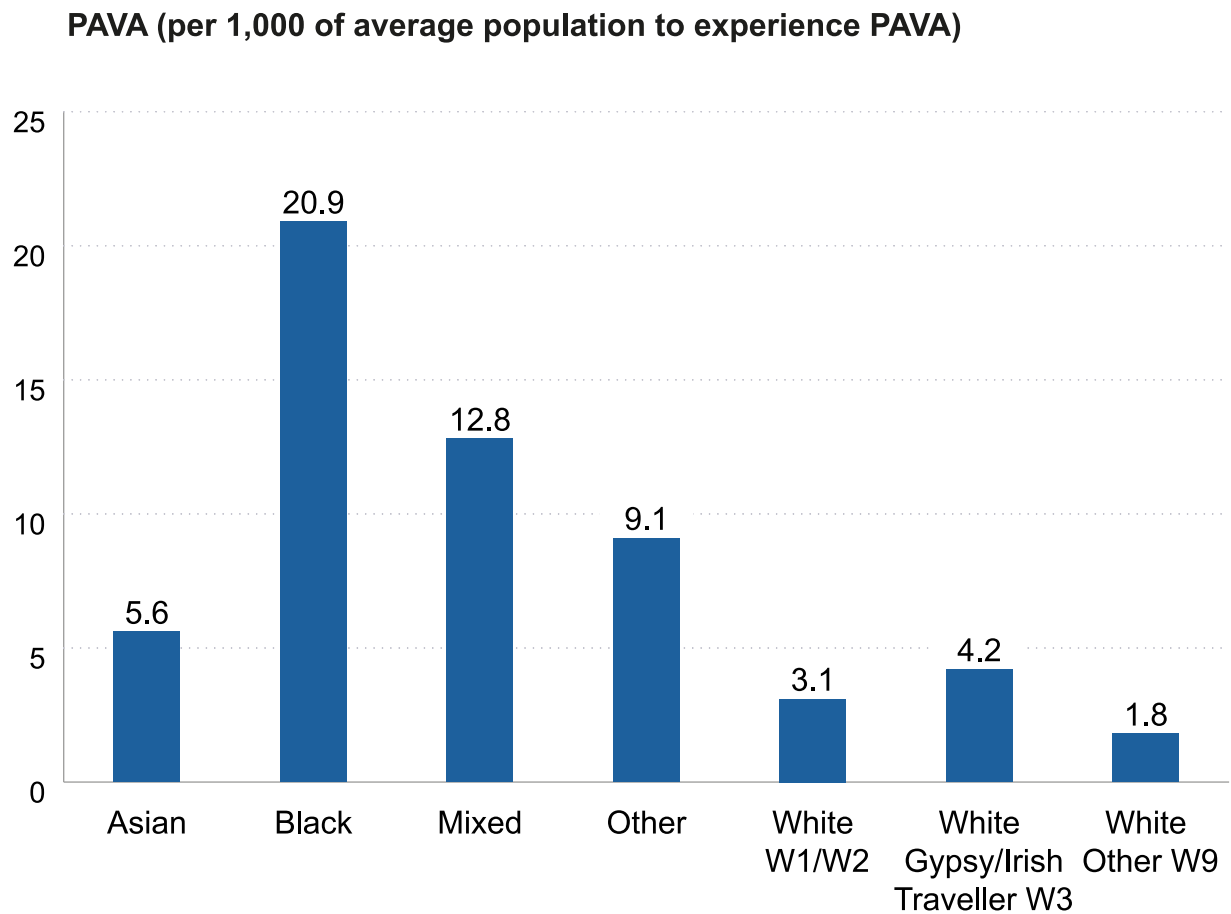
Similar analysis was completed considering different age ranges (Figure 8). This shows a decline in the likelihood of experiencing force with age. An interesting feature of this data is that for the 18–20 years-old age group, more unique individuals had experienced force than the average population figure for the year. This may possibly be due to a flux of people within this age range entering and leaving the system within the year in question and experiencing force. Once again, disparities are more pronounced when considering PAVA and Baton use (see figures 9 and 10).[29]

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[29] The latest data is accessed via the dashboard and can be more easily broken down into smaller subsets of age, whereas the older data had to be broken down into groups manually. Thus, this report includes various ways of breaking down the data analysis (e.g. YAs vs 26+ and smaller subsets of age groups).

Figure 8: The rates per 1,000 of the average male prison population to experience force by age (2022/23)

All force (per 1,000 of average population to experience force)
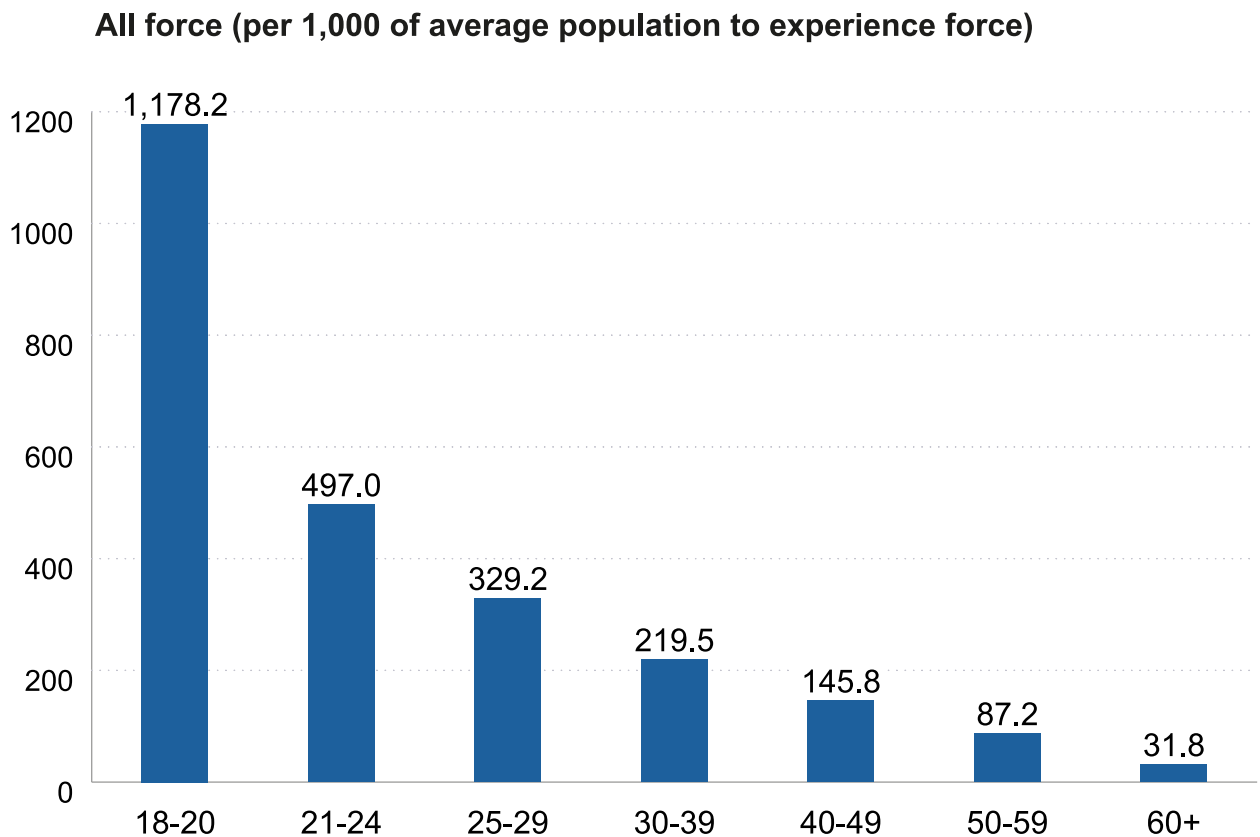
Figures 9 & 10: The rates per 1,000 of the average male population to experience baton use (left) and PAVA use (right) by age

Baton (per 1,000 of average population to experience baton)

PAVA (per 1,000 of average population to experience PAVA)
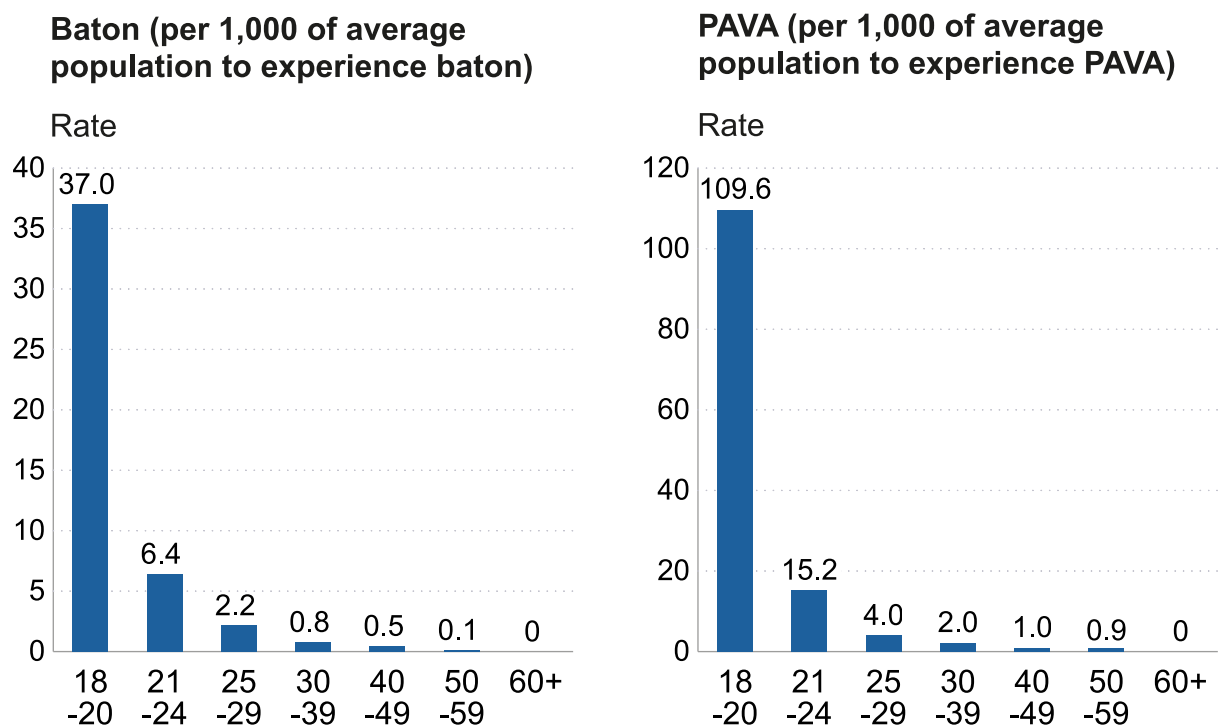
5.5   Repeated experience of force

Between April 2021 and March 2022, 19,106 unique individuals experienced force: ranging from once to 148 times in the year. 61% of all prisoners who experienced force did so once (n=11,552), while 1% (n=209) experienced force more than 10 times. 166 prisoners experienced up to 20 uses of force in a year, a further 37 experienced up to 50 uses of force per year, and three prisoners experienced over 65 uses of force in the year. Experiencing repeated force appears to be more common for women; 5% of women who experience force did so more than 10 times, while the equivalent figure for men was 2%. However, although women experience repeated uses of force more so than men, this tends to result in fewer injuries (see section 'health outcomes following force').

Annex F provides details of three prisoners who experienced force more than 65 times in the year and a table highlighting the frequency of force by gender. In summary, while all three prisoners (two men and one woman) experienced multiple uses of force, the nature of the force (e.g. planned, spontaneous) and the reasons provided differed between cases. However, the case notes suggested that each prisoner had needs regarding neurodiversity or mental health considerations (e.g. ADHD, depression) and all posed a risk to themselves or others (e.g. taking hostages, risk to women). Another common feature of all these cases is that the prisoners moved establishments multiple times during the year.

6. Why is force used?

Officers are required to record a reason for each UoF. This means the following data are subject to the officer's view of how to categorise the incident. Considering the available data from April 2018 to March 2022, six categories were deduced from 269 unique responses. From the data returns in place at the time it was not possible to accurately differentiate between force initiated due to violence between prisoners (such as fights) or violence towards staff members. Therefore, incidents referred to as 'assaults' in this report, may include either or both scenarios.[30]

Table 2: Reason provided by officers for using force between April 2018–March 2022 from 121 prisons. Data obtained from the Performance Hub, with a review from the DPS

Reason	Frequency N	Percentage of force %
Assaults/Fighting[31]	57,818	36%
Non-compliance	59,205	37%
Escorting	10,288	6%
More than one reason	10,172	6%
Preventing self-harm	7,622	5%
Other	15,792	10%
Total	**160,897**	**100%**

Differences were found in the reasons given by officers when comparing force experienced by women and men. Figure 11, provides a more detailed breakdown of this, separating threats to assaults from assaults. This shows that while non-compliance was the most cited reason for using force in both estates, assaults preceded relatively more force for men, while self-harm preceded more force for women. Taken together, assaults (including attempted assaults), non-compliance, and preventing self-harm led to 78% of force experienced by men and 88% of force

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[30] Recent changes to recording have been made to offer officers a greater choice of drop-down options for describing why they decided to use force, so national data will be able to make this distinction going forward.

[31] This includes attempted assaults/fighting which accounted for 16,880 cases.

experienced by women. Non-compliance was most often cited during instances where staff reported that a prisoner was refusing to go to their cell.

Figure 11: The force (%) used on women (dark blue) and men (light blue) by reason given (presented as a percentage of all force)
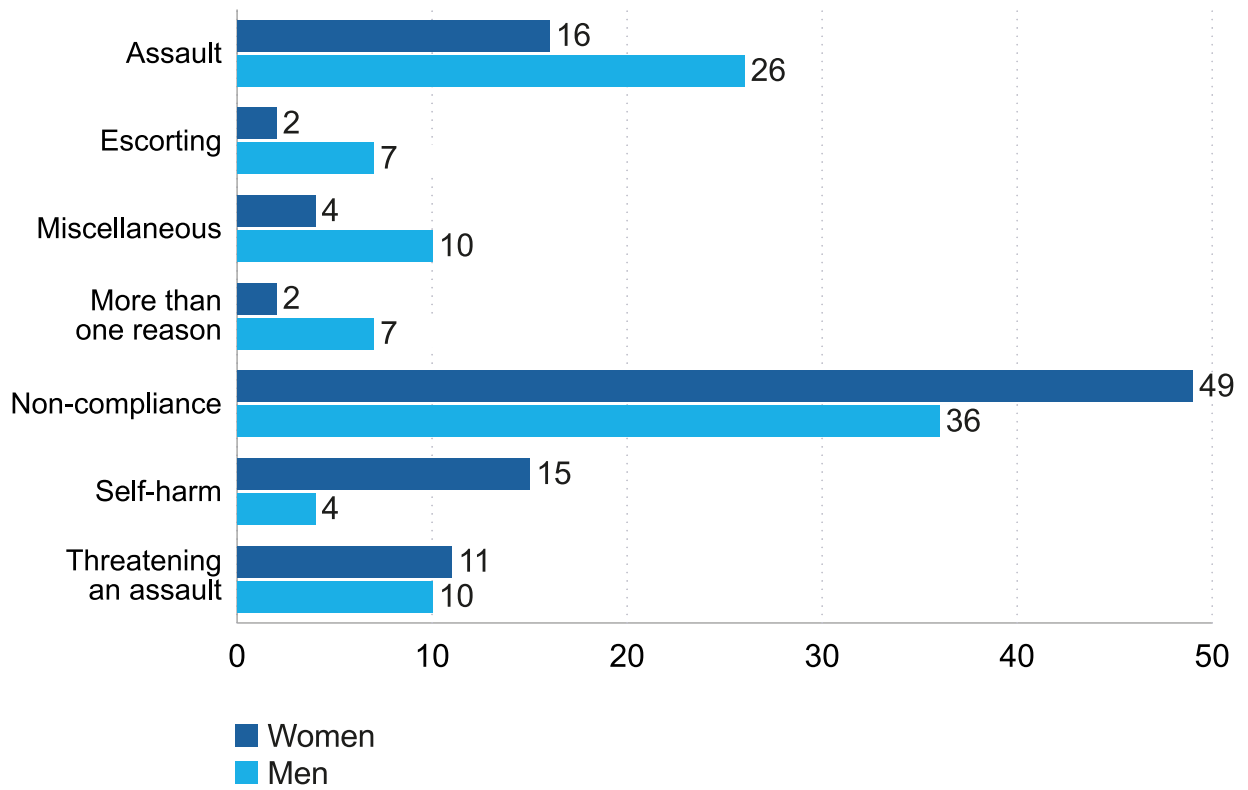
7. Governance and adequate scrutiny

A host of studies from different settings within law enforcement agencies show managerial controls can prevent illegitimate UoF; within the prison service, guidance outlines the assurance process following UoF. At a local level this includes performing a debrief with the prisoner and associated forms, having these reviewed by a UoF Co-ordinator, and, where appropriate, referring the incident to the establishment's UoF committee meeting. Alongside reviewing completed forms, UoF Co-ordinators are asked to review relevant footage from CCTV or BWVC as part of the evidence-gathering phase.

From reviewing 38,603 records from the year to March 2022, BWVC was available in 51% of cases. When comparing establishments that had over 200 uses of force, we found considerable variation in BWVC capture rates, from in excess of 85% to levels below 20%. There was a statistically significant difference in the capture depending on whether the force was planned or spontaneous.[32] When force was planned, BWVC footage was present in 68% of cases, compared to only 49% of cases where force was spontaneous.[33] The reason officers gave for using force was also related to whether footage was captured;[34] slower-paced and potentially less emotive incidents such as escorting a prisoner had higher rates of BWVC capture (64%) than other incident types such as preventing self-harm (53%) and force relating to non-compliance (53%). The incident type with the least BWVC footage available was assaults (46%); arguably a more fast-paced and emotive environment where it may be more challenging for an officer to remember or find time to start recording.

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[32] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test revealed a significant association between the proportion of force captured on BWVC and whether the force was planned or spontaneous: X^2 (1;38,603) = 637.83 p < 0.001.

[33] It is unclear whether this figure also considered handheld camera footage during planned incidents. It appears there are many cases where staff are using BWVC during planned force, despite policy stating this should be handheld video camera footage.

[34] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test was performed to determine whether the proportion of force captured on BWVC differed between incident types (e.g. assaults, preventing self-harm, etc.). The proportions were found to differ by incident type: X^2 (6;38,603) = 354.03 p < 0.001.

BWVC capture was significantly higher in the men's estate (52%) than the women's estate (42%).[35] Furthermore, a significant association was found between BWVC footage and the ethnicity of the person who had experienced force.[36] Other ethnicity prisoners were captured by BWVC less frequently than we would expect given their involvement in force, but overall, all ethnicity groups were captured on BWVC on between 45% and 54% of occasions force was used.

Table 3: BWVC capture rates following force by ethnicity from 121 prisons between April 2021 and March 2022. Data obtained from the DPS

Ethnicity	White	Black	Mixed	Asian	Other	Unknown
BWVC (%)[37]	52%[a]	50%[a, b]	53%[a]	48%[b, c]	45%[c]	54%[a, b]

At each fieldwork establishment, a monthly UoF committee meeting was observed. The researchers compared the meeting to the guidance outlined in the Good Governance Tool Kit (GGT).[38,39] In summary:

- Rarely did all recommended personnel attend UoF Committee meetings. Some sites stated that they would like to include prison officers more routinely but struggled to achieve this due to limited staff resource.
- At some of the observed meetings there was little discussion around *why* force was happening. Some sites made good links between trends in the data and activity in the prison and suggested interventions to reduce violence; at others it appeared the data were less well-understood.

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[35] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test was performed to determine whether the proportion of force captured on BWVC differed by gender: X^2 (1;38,603) = 89.35, p < 0.001

[36] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test was performed to determine whether the proportion of force captured on BWVC differed across prisoner ethnicity: X^2 (5;38,603) = 31.68, p < 0.001

[37] Groups that share a letter with other groups do not significantly differ from one another regarding what percentage of force is captured on BWVC (e.g. both Black and Asian ethnicity prisoners share the letter [b]), however the percentage of force captured on BWVC for significantly different groups that have different letters (e.g. There is a significant difference between White (52%[a]) and Other (45%[c]) ethnicity prisoners).

[38] Please see Annex G for observations from the committees summarised against the recommendations made in the guidance.

[39] The Good Governance Toolkit compliments the LACES approach to UoF assurance to support sites in their UoF assurance processes and adherence to the UoF Policy Framework and legal obligations, encouraging procedurally just/fair outcomes.

- Breakdowns of force by protected characteristics were included in all data presentations, although the quality of data reporting and subsequent discussions varied between sites.
- Prisoner representation was seen in only one of the seven meetings. One further site held separate focus groups with prisoners to discuss UoF.

8. Health outcomes following force

Due to how injuries and hospitalisations are recorded, it has not been possible from the data available to assess whether the injuries or hospitalisations are caused by officers using force, or whether previous actions in the UoF event (e.g. assaults, self-harm) had already caused injuries *before* any officer intervention had occurred. The official guidance for officers completing the forms is that they should only record injuries sustained due to force and not due to the incident preceding force, but it is not always clear if this advice has been followed. This is a clear limitation of this work and, given the number of injuries and hospitalisations to both prisoners and staff, this is something that should be investigated through further research.

Analysis of 38,603 records found that men reported injuries more than women following force;[40] a larger proportion of men[41] and officers within the men's estate[42] required hospital compared to women in prison and officers working in the women's estate (Table 4).

Table 4: Health outcomes for staff and prisoners in the men's and women's estate from 121 prisons between April 2021 and March 2022. Data obtained from the Performance Hub, with a review from the DPS

	Men's estate (N, %)		Women's estate (N, %)	
Staff Hospitalisations	761	2.1%	16	0.6%
Staff Injuries (non-hospital)	1397	3.9%	107	4.0%
Prisoner Hospitalisations	190	0.5%	5	0.2%
Prisoner Injuries (non-hospital)	1236	3.4%	70	2.6%

A summary of the factors that are associated with statistically significant differences in injury and hospitalisation rates for staff and prisoners in the men's and women's estates are outlined below. Due to the relatively small number of women who

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[40] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test was performed to determine whether prisoners reporting an injury that did not require hospital differed across the male and female estates: X^2 (1;38,603) = 4.937, p = 0.026.

[41] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test was performed to determine whether prisoners requiring hospital differed across the male and female estates: X^2 (1;38,603) = 5.718, p = 0.017.

[42] A Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test was performed to determine whether officers requiring hospital differed across the male and female estates: X^2 (1;38,603) = 27.403, p < 0.001.

experienced injury or hospitalisation, some adjustments have been made to make the analysis possible (e.g. non-white ethnicities grouped together for this analysis), however due to each category having fewer than five cases, factors related to hospitalisations for staff and prisoners in the women's estate, are not outlined.

For staff in the men's estate, hospitalisations are associated with spontaneous rather than planned force, responding to an assault compared to other reasons, when a baton is used, or when PAVA is used. The same factors, apart from PAVA use, is associated with injuries to staff. For prisoners, hospitalisation appears to be associated with assaults more than other incident types, while injuries appear to increase when force is spontaneous rather than planned, involvement in assaults, experience baton use, and when PAVA was used during the incident.

For staff in the women's estate, involvement in an assault and spontaneous force, both appear to be linked with higher injury rates. For women in prison, the same factors also appear to be associated with injuries. Interestingly, in the men's estate, white prisoners report more injuries, while in the women's estate it is those from ethnic minority backgrounds who report most injuries.

Taken together, injuries and hospitalisations appear to be somewhat reduced when force is planned, and when staff are responding to incidents other than assaults. Injuries to prisoners increase when high-impact techniques are used, but for officers this seems to only be associated with baton use. Injury rates are impacted by both gender and ethnicity, as it appears to be white men and women from an ethnic minority who are reported to receive a greater proportion of injuries. Further research is required to better understand this. Avenues for exploration include whether these groups are more likely to injure themselves compared to other groups (e.g. increased involvement in self-harm), and/or feel more comfortable reporting injuries compared to other groups. Prisoner injuries in the men's estate occur at elevated rates when Batons and PAVA are used. This may sometimes be a result of the seriousness of the preceding events rather than a consequence of the techniques, however, further research is required to better understand the sequencing of injuries to both prisoners and staff during incidents.

9.   Staff perceptions of force

The following sections summarise the key findings from the interviews and focus groups at seven prisons across the men's estate. Thematic analysis was completed on the transcripts and notes from the fieldwork, with multiple researchers coding, validating, and writing up each of the themes. The following section provides a summary of the findings.

9.1   Using force

Staff explained force as a means of gaining control in a safe way, as a method of maintaining safety, and as a way to help prisoners understand boundaries.[43] Force was generally regarded as an effective way of stopping an incident, with some staff recalling that even reaching for handcuffs or PAVA can be an effective visual deterrent.

Most staff appeared acutely aware of the impact using force could have on prisoners, discussing both physical repercussions (e.g. injuries from batons can be life changing) but also acknowledging consequences for prisoners' mental health (e.g. experiencing PAVA or time in segregation will have a psychological impact on prisoners). Staff also recognised that force can be traumatic for staff, and while many spoke about physical aftercare from healthcare, some staff raised concerns about a propensity to dwell on incidents and reported that some staff may be unable to handle the psychological impact of violence.

Force was perceived to be more difficult for certain groups, such as staff with a smaller-build (e.g. shorter, thinner) and newer staff who have not yet had exposure to incidents and a chance to practise their skills. Indeed, some newer members of staff talked about UoF being unpleasant and acknowledging that it can be scary before the moment control is regained. Staff described apprehension before using force for the very first time, and the concept of it feeling 'easier over time;' they talked about

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[43] Using force to 'help prisoners understand boundaries' would likely constitute a breach of policy, depending on the precise nature of the officer's interpretation of the meaning of this. Further clarification and understanding of staff's use of force when responding to non-compliance should be explored.

being unsure when to step in and use force, and afterwards sometimes feeling emotional and self-critical. Staff raised responding to self-harm incidents as particularly problematic as were those incidents involving batons. Staff reflected that they found it difficult to use force for incidents involving prisoners with severe mental health issues and felt that additional training and additional care for staff was needed. Staff felt that when their own mental health was strained, support was not always forthcoming.

Staff at different sites talked about baton use and were conscious of the potential harms. Many reflected that batons were most likely to cause life-changing injuries compared to other UoF techniques. Staff often stated that they felt more comfortable using PAVA compared to a baton; even officers who had not yet received PAVA training voiced a preference for PAVA over potentially ineffective or harmful contact with a baton. The staff members who had used a baton talked about it feeling awful and described hitting someone with a baton as an unnatural action that plays on your mind afterwards.

In contrast, staff who had used PAVA described how it has enabled them to manage large incidents when physical force could be difficult and allowed them to keep a safe distance. PAVA was described as something which diffuses a situation automatically and the quickest and easiest option when outnumbered by prisoners. Many officers claimed it to be more effective than restraints alone, and with fewer staff required, and more effective if outnumbered. Yet, some senior managers raised serious concerns that the PAVA roll out had been prioritised over the Keyworker scheme roll out. Many believed that having an effective Keyworker scheme was crucial and that there should have been greater emphasis on communication rather than increased UoF options.

Numerous members of staff at five sites described Rigid Bar Handcuffs (RBH) as a 'game changer' and the best tool provided. Officers felt that handcuffs automatically de-escalate situations, help move from aggression to standing and walking, and work well for handling aggressive, unpredictable, and volatile prisoners. Staff suggested RBH were perceived positively by prisoners, because their use is more transparent than Control and Restraint (C&R) (which can look 'messy') and so there is less

likelihood of being accused of wrongdoing, and their actions less likely to be perceived as heavy-handed or malicious.

Staff at nearly all sites acknowledged some shortcomings in the immediate response after force was used, with healthcare staff acknowledging that they do not always get called following incidents. Staff were able to explain several reasons why prisoners may not have access to healthcare following incidents including staff not engaging with healthcare unless there is a clear injury, nurses requiring a time-out between incidents, or nurses having to wait until it is safe to visit a prisoner. Poor communications between operational staff and healthcare staff were also highlighted, possibly contributing to a backlog of healthcare paperwork at some sites.

Staff discussed how their actions following UoF can help to prevent or repair any damage to staff-prisoner relationships. This was described as mainly informal follow-up conversations rather than formalised debriefs; staff perceived that prisoners usually appreciated it when someone would check in, resolve any disagreements, and attempt to prevent any enduring animosity. Staff in multiple sites talked about the lack of time available to complete good quality UoF paperwork. They often felt rushed to get it done on time and were not given specific time out to complete it, being expected to complete the paperwork alongside daily tasks. Staff, in sites which had been resourced, appeared to value having a full-time UoF Co-ordinator. Co-ordinators were seen as valuable in creating time and expertise to review footage, provide a reflective space, timely feedback, and learning recommendations.

9.2   Capability and training

Feedback about the New Officer Apprenticeship[44] training was largely negative; it was described as unrealistic, lacking depth, and failing to prepare staff for the role. It was felt that including more realistic scenarios and more practical training in Five Minute Interventions (FMI) would improve both staff-prisoner rapport and prisoner safety. The structure, length, and consistency of the programme was criticised by staff. Overall, the content of the UoF refresher training (which takes place once per year) was spoken about more positively and was described as enjoyable,

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[44]   The initial course officers take when joining the service.

informative, and involving more realistic scenarios. Staff, particularly officers, called for more frequent refresher training stating that twice-a-year sessions would help maintain skills and increase confidence in using force. At sites that did not already do so, showing examples of good practice via BWVC footage was suggested, as was the need for feedback from senior managers to encourage staff. Good practice to promote staff learning at a local level included a locally run refresher session for new staff tailored to the prison, a mentor scheme, access to training areas at lunchtime, and including newer staff in planned restraints for them to gain experience.

> It scares me when you have inexperienced people on an incident.
> Currently the mix of experience is wrong, there needs to be more
> buddying and coaching done. (Officer)

In relation to PAVA, operational staff described the training as good, suggesting that it increased their confidence, whereas some healthcare staff at sites where PAVA had been introduced were yet to receive any training. Suggested improvements included: training at a local level, observing good practice, regular feedback following incidents, and a rotation of working in different areas of the prison including the segregation unit. Staff appeared invested in engaging in training opportunities, but it was acknowledged that training can only prepare an officer so much. Indeed, staff described there being less time to think in real situations compared to training and some officers described experiencing 'tunnel vision' and loss of hearing during restraints. Other potential learning opportunities were discussed such as additional refreshers for new staff to address any learning points as soon as possible and staff being able to request to practise UoF skills with Co-ordinators. The benefits of immediate sharing of learning and feedback were recognised by staff as was properly resourcing the UoF Co-ordinators for ensuring effective learning and assurance.

9.3   Communication with prisoners

Staff felt that good staff-prisoner relationships were dependant on staffing levels; retention was felt to affect staff-prisoner relationships as prisoners prefer the stability of interacting with the same staff members. Staff also pointed out that lower staffing

levels can lead to staff burnout and lack of time to have conversations. Staff felt that good relationships with prisoners are needed to break down barriers and resolve issues and recognised that a good rapport with prisoners made their jobs easier. Other staff perceived the benefits of good relationships in more practical terms including increased intelligence on weapons or drugs, and prisoners informing staff that an incident is about to happen. Staff at one of the local prisons also recognised the potential for staff to encounter prisoners in the community after their release, emphasising the need for good relationships whilst in prison.

> A lot of prisoners are local, people say hello on the outside, it's worth maintaining relationships…. there's not a prisoner in here I'd be worried about walking past in XXXXXXXX city centre. (SMT)

It was felt by some officers that the ability to communicate and resolve situations without force does not come naturally to everyone, but that life experience (not necessarily restricted to within prisons) increases officers' effectiveness at avoiding the need for force through verbal communication. That said, some officers said that using force did not change their relationships with prisoners because it "isn't personal." Some officers felt that prisoners know that UoF is justified, is used to maintain safety, and that no grudges are held.

> The prisoners are very used to having force used on them. They've become accustomed to it. It doesn't affect relationships, there's no grudges. (Officer)

9.4 Communication between staff members

In several of the evaluation sites, staff reported a shift in the relationships between operational colleagues. Staff at several prisons explained that they felt that staff mentality had shifted over time from protecting each other to looking after oneself. In some sites officers stated they felt that there was a lack of teamwork and accountability on the wings and in two prisons there was mention of a divide between more experienced staff and newer officers. A lack of good staff relationships was felt to be detrimental, as trust in colleagues was felt to increase feelings of staff safety.

Some staff described feeling concern over being detailed with certain colleagues as they did not feel well supported during incidents.

Operational staff at several sites also spoke about their relationships with Senior Management Team (SMT) members of staff. Operational staff felt support from SMT could be better and more personable. At one prison, staff felt that increased scrutiny from SMT implied a lack of trust in operational staff. While officers appreciated the need for scrutiny from their SMT, it also appeared to cause fear and concern:

> There was a point where there were a few suspensions as a result of
> using force. This led to an attitude of staff not wanting to use force – you
> don't always know if you're going to get in trouble, it doesn't feel consistent
> as to whether you would get suspended or not. (Officer)

Operational staff were found to have varying levels of awareness of the assurance processes which took place at their sites, from no awareness of a UoF committee meeting or scrutiny, to a minority who were aware that incidents and footage would be reviewed. Feedback for staff after using force varied across sites, and there was a perception that feedback was only received if it was negative. Officers explained that a lack of feedback, or waiting for feedback, was anxiety-provoking.

10. Prisoner perceptions of force

Much like the previous section, the following sections summarise the key findings from the fieldwork, this time focusing on the views provided by prisoners.

10.1 Experiencing force

Prisoners provided mixed reports as to whether force had been explained to them. Many explained that their awareness of force generally came from witnessing force and experiences in the community, rather than proactive and purposeful communication about UoF in prisons; particularly around what tools officers may carry and under what circumstances force may be used. While some prisoners described that the 'types of force' and 'when force could be used' had been clearly explained to them, many prisoners said that they could not recollect any communication around UoF, either at induction or a later date. During the interviews, prisoners tended to talk about 'UoF' as restraint, getting 'twisted up,' batons, handcuffs, violence, pain, and being "beaten up."

Some prisoners explained force as being a means for officers to get prisoners to "submit," singling out batons as looking particularly intimidating. Those who had experienced batons commented that they had not expected the pain to be as bad as it was. Negative experiences communicated included head injuries from a baton strike and suffering long lasting effects. Comparisons between PAVA and batons were frequently made, and although prisoners did not like either, there appeared to be some consensus that if they were to experience either, PAVA was preferable to batons. Some prisoners questioned why staff have batons and did not feel they were needed given staff now have PAVA.

That said, when questioned about PAVA, those who had experienced it described the effects as overwhelming and painful. Prisoners described feeling unable to breathe, and how the effects lasted more than one hour after exposure. From prisoners' accounts at different sites, exposure to fresh air after an incident, and timely access to healthcare, seemed inconsistent.

> My face felt like it was on fire, I couldn't see. I was just left on my own.
> (Prisoner)

Following force, prisoners described not seeing healthcare after fights and many prisoners said that they were not informed of aftercare processes or that the response was inadequate (e.g. being provided with a laminated paper outlining aftercare but not being able to read it due to the impact of PAVA). When asking prisoners about debriefs after force, the findings were mixed. Some talked about debriefs happening consistently often in an informal manner, whereas others laughed at the idea of any communication after force.

Prisoners at multiple sites felt strongly about the links between experiencing force and their mental health, identifying UoF as both traumatic and distressing. Prisoners were clear that force adds further stress and anxiety within a wider environment that already has a negative impact on their mental health. Prisoners, particularly at one site, stated they felt staff "don't care about mental health" and exacerbate issues further, alleging that staff use force illegitimately on prisoners suffering mental health issues. Prisoners describe staff who "beat up prisoners" if they are seen to be "kicking-off" due to mental health needs. Prisoners at several sites suggested that staff require more training on how to interact with prisoners with mental health needs.

10.2 Relationships between prisoners and staff

Most prisoners felt that having a good relationship with staff was the key to creating a safe environment, to help to resolve issues, and foster trust. At the prisons we attended, pockets of prisoners felt that some staff were easy to talk to, respectful and approachable. Indeed, there were groups of prisoners who vehemently praised individual staff members who they described as 'excellent' for listening and taking their concerns seriously.

However, staff were sometimes also portrayed as having no interest in talking, listening, or helping prisoners, and some prisoners felt that there was often no attempt from many staff to have a good relationship. Prisoners felt that their relationships with officers were dependent on individual staff members, their

personality, attitude, and approachableness, rather than it being a foundational part of the role of *all* prison officers. Prisoners perceived that certain officers would make excuses to avoid listening to their issues.

The disparity between staff and prisoner views was particularly apparent at one site where staff felt that their relationships with prisoners were largely positive, explaining that they were professional and 'let prisoners know when they've crossed the line.' The prisoners' view was that staff were disrespectful and goaded prisoners for a reaction, leading to some prisoners feeling scared of staff.

> It seems to me they like this culture, they like prisoners to be scared of staff. (Prisoner)

Prisoners felt their relationship with officers was affected if force was perceived to be excessive, unreasonable, or unnecessary, especially if pain or injury had been caused. Some prisoners felt that using force often caused animosity and in some cases retaliation.

> You can't just break my bones or attempt to break my bones and then pretend it's all fine afterwards. (Prisoner)

Prisoners spoke about how their frustrations with staff and how they are treated often led to incidents where force is likely to be used; staff failing to respond to requests was mentioned as something that could increase tensions and lead to increased violence. Prisoners from five of the seven fieldwork sites described staff at their site as quick to use force rather than attempting resolution via alternative methods. At one prison, prisoners perceived staff to run the prison through coercion, with a group telling us that they were more scared of officers than of other prisoners. Staff perceptions of the UoF culture at this prison were at odds with what we heard from some of the prisoners there; they described themselves as 'authoritative, firm, but fair' and did not perceive a force-first culture.

> It's not restraint in here it's just outright violence, it's as simple as that, under the guise of restraint. (Prisoner)

Whether prisoners trusted staff to use force appropriately appeared to be dependent on their previous experiences, including whether they knew the officer. Illegitimate force was not always attributed to the physical act of force but appeared to be influenced by who it was used on, and the consistency of treatment. Prisoners spoke negatively about targeted force with specific mention of force being biased towards younger people and those with learning difficulties. Prisoners from four sites, including white prisoners, spoke of targeted force towards ethnic-minority individuals describing it as 'disgusting.' At least one prison had held forums with prisoners to further explore the issue.

> They'll go for the black guy first. (Prisoner)

Bullying was also raised by prisoners as an issue, especially post-incident. At one establishment, prisoners explained that officers had told them to 'watch their backs,' and that staff deliberately tried to wind them up about the incident. They explained that they feared that making a complaint about the incident would make them a target. Some prisoners also felt that the UoF was inconsistent across wings because the tolerance of officers differed.

> Once that train is going, it depends who is there, some officers are good guys, do exactly what needs to be done, some are excessive, they put their knee on your neck or in the small of your back. It's like they're waiting for some excitement. (Prisoner)

At one prison, prisoners were particularly passionate about poor practices. At this prison prisoners felt that unless a severe injury was sustained, staff were not investigated for using force. Prisoners alleged that officers colluded and fabricated information to imply that the prisoner provoked the incident, including falsely claiming that prisoners tried to attack them (an attempted assault). Prisoners reported that these incidents regularly occur in CCTV blind spots and that staff purposefully block cameras or turn them off to ensure there is no BWVC footage available.

> You can see the camera, see them moving it, and the staff will then say
> he's being resistant and will then use excessive force when the camera
> isn't on them. (Prisoner)

An investigation of data from that site revealed that force used in response to an attempted assault accounted for over 20% of all force at the site compared to an average of 11% across other sites and assaults accounted for 48% of all force compared to 29% nationally. However, BWVCs were used more than average at this site (nearly 60% of incidents), although the quality of footage was not assessed.

At other sites, prisoners also felt that staff stuck together, particularly around incidents where force was used. Some prisoners described that having an issue with one member of staff became a wider issue because other staff would hold the issue against the prisoner also.

> In this jail if you upset that officer, every officer hates you, don't they?
> They do stick together, you know, they're a team unit, if you piss someone
> off on X wing, Y wing officers will hate you, so if you get moved onto that
> wing you're already starting on a bad foot. (Prisoner)

11. Discussion

This exploratory research set out to be the first step in understanding the scale and nature of the force used within adult prisons in England and Wales. It aimed to shed light on the perceived fairness and consistency of force at a national, regional, and establishment level utilising available data, complemented by interviews and focus groups with staff and prisoners across seven establishments. In terms of the research questions posed, the data provided some insight into the scale of force, the cohorts of prisoners who most often experience force, the reasons given by officers for why force is used, the techniques used, and associated injuries and hospitalisations. Further work will be needed to better understand the sequencing of injuries (e.g. the extent to which injuries are sustained before or during force), the relevance of intersectionality regarding disproportionate force (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity interactions), and more detailed understanding of the reasons given for using force (e.g. a more comprehensive breakdown of what constitutes non-compliance).

The research revealed some inconsistency in force at many levels; by personal characteristic (e.g. age, ethnicity), location (e.g. region, estate) and in the governance and management of force (e.g. use of BWVC, quality of UoF committees). These issues appeared to be echoed in the interviews with both staff and prisoners, with the additional importance of relationships and communication also highlighted. This section brings together the findings outlined in this report and discusses their impact on the prison service and those in its care.

11.1 Environment

The research identifies that prisoners experience differing amounts of force depending on the prison and region in which they are placed, and the culture at their establishment. We found parts of the prison estate are using more force than others, largely due to high levels of force at specific sites within that region. We found that, in 2021/22, nine establishments had rates of spontaneous force in excess of 1,000 prisoners involved per 1,000 prisoners in their care, and that the women's estate had the highest levels of planned force and second-highest levels of spontaneous force.

Sites with higher levels of force also fared worse on several other measures of prison performance including the retention of officers, the amount of time prisoners engaged in purposeful activity, and the rate at which staff had taken sickness absence (some of these are well known challenges, see MoJ Annual Prison Performance Ratings 2022/23).[45] The causal direction of this relationship cannot be confirmed by this research, however, feasibly there could be a cyclical impact where worsening conditions and increased force create a cycle of poor outcomes for both prisoners and staff. Indeed, previous research supports these links by documenting that the likelihood of being involved in an assault or engaging in threatening behaviour towards other prisoners is linked with environmental conditions, such as prisoners being subject to a restrictive regime (Jiang & Fisher-Giorlando, 2002) or being less involved in programmes and structured routines (McGuire, 2018; Meade & Steiner, 2013; Pérez, Gover, Tennyson & Santos, 2010; Steiner & Wooldredge, 2009). Research also suggests that lower levels of stewardship in prisons can lead to higher rates of assaults and fighting (Lahm, 2009) and that safer prisons tend to have stable staffing levels allowing officers to develop effective relationships with a range of prisoners and better understand their needs (Drago, Galbiati & Vertova, 2011).

While causation cannot be attributed from this research, we hypothesise that there is likely a cyclical relationship by which enhancing the everyday experiences of staff and prisoners so everyone feels seen, cared for, and treated fairly could lead to an improved culture at the establishments, providing officers the time and space to create better relationships, and that these conditions may encourage officers to remain in their roles, bringing stability that might relieve some of the frustrations faced by prisoners, and ultimately reduce the need for force. Future research may want to consider interventions that shape the culture at sites with the highest rates of force so as to improve prison regime delivery and staff and prisoner wellbeing through procedurally just practices such as improving communication and perceptions of fairness.

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[45] Annual Prison Performance Ratings 2022/23 - GOV.UK

11.2 People

Alongside regional and establishment factors, our research found that it is marginalised groups which tend to experience elevated rates of force or more severe force. From the available data we find women, younger adults, and mixed or black ethnicity prisoners to be most impacted. Our research shows that there appears to be different reasons as to why these groups are experiencing force; assaults, self-harm, or non-compliance are given by officers as pre-cursors to nearly 80% of the force in men's estate, and 90% in the women's estate. In women's prisons, officers appear to be resorting to force most frequently following non-compliance (44% of all force) with a further one in five uses of force following self-harm. In the men's estate, officers cite non-compliance and assaults as the reason they have used force in more than two-thirds of cases. Given the pre-cursors of force, it seems that a dual strategy may be needed to:

a)   address and be proactive with the issues that are likely causing prisoners to engage in these behaviours (e.g. frustration, anxiety, anger, trauma, particularly linked to self-harm and aggression to others), and,

b)   better prepare officers to respond to these emotive situations with enhanced communication skills. This could also include considerations around recruitment of officers to better reflect the community (e.g. proportion of women officers in the women's estate, greater representation of black prison officers) and opportunities for officers to specialise in key areas (e.g. neurodiversity training).

Interventions that focus on both the *root causes of prisoners' behaviour* and the *response of officers to challenging behaviours* may provide both prisoners and officers agency to enact change. Certainly, providing the opportunities for prisoners to take on pro-social roles as volunteers or engaging in 'active citizenship' (Edgar, Jacobson, and Biggar, 2011) may help provide prisoners with a chance to contribute to prison life and shape their daily routines, not simply the passive and often aggrieved recipient of the prison regime. Future research would benefit from monitoring whether purposeful activity such as this could have a direct impact on the UoF at the establishment.

Future research should also utilise local expertise to ensure that any initiative is relevant to the establishment given the contrast in the reasons provided for using force in the men's and women's estate. Factors such as the concentration of force in an establishment (i.e. how many unique prisoners experience force), and the severity of force (i.e. use of batons and PAVA) may also need to influence the design of preventative activities.

Responses to assaults and/or fighting may need particular attention, given that it is these incidents which tend to lead to more force on black or mixed ethnicity men. Our research indicates that officers are more likely to use high-impact techniques when responding to these incidents, and that more black and mixed men are experiencing more high-impact techniques. Research may be needed to better understand, even in situations where it is deemed necessary for some level of force to be initiated, why the *type* of techniques used appears to differ depending on the ethnicity of the prisoner. Indeed, this research signals that prisoner behaviour does not fully account for the levels of PAVA or Baton use experienced by black men in prison.

As set out by HMIP (2022), strategies need to be implemented to improve relationships between officers and black prisoners. The evidence suggests that relations between groups can be enhanced by promoting greater contact between these groups, under specific conditions which allows participants to understand what they have in common over what might be different. This has been shown to be successful when: groups interact on an equal footing, an organisation supports the contact, and participants work collaboratively towards a common goal (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). Some urgency must be placed on initiatives such as these, given that the recent and current disparities have led to some groups such as the Prison Reform Trust (2023), to argue that the extent and persistence of ethnic disparities suggest that UoF (specifically PAVA use) constitutes indirect discrimination.

Principles around increasing interactions and staff and prisoner groups working collaboratively are likely also to be beneficial in other settings such as in the women's estate, and sites with high rates of force. Adapting initiatives to the needs of specific groups, for example considering psycho-social maturity when designing initiatives with YA men and gender-responsive services for YA women will also likely impact

rates of force. Organisationally, embedding the regular monitoring of UoF in response to new initiatives, even those not traditionally directly associated with force, (e.g. an initiative which increases the availability of counselling services within a prison, or provides opportunity for spending more time in green spaces), may provide a richer understanding of how interventions may impact force through impacting prisoner and staff wellbeing.

11.3 Health

Currently, injury rates for prisoners following baton and PAVA use are between 4–6 times the injury rates when these techniques are not used. Further investigation is needed to clarify if this is due to the technique, or, whether these rates reflect the serious nature of the incidents that prompted officers to use batons or PAVA in the first place.

Alongside physical health, there is a psychological cost of using force. In our research, some prisoners explained that they felt that some staff did not care for their mental health, used force on prisoners with mental health issues, and required more training on this matter. Staff also stated that they would sometimes ruminate on incidents, and were apprehensive about using force, especially if they had not needed to do so before (or for a long time). A growing body of evidence demonstrates the link between exposure to force and poor mental health outcomes (e.g. De Vyler et al., 2017; Geller, Fagan, Tyler & Link, 2014; Hirschtick et al., 2019) and it may be that training, recruitment, and offers of support need to be modified to ensure there is sufficient expertise regarding mental health in prisons for both staff and prisoners.

11.4 Governance and transparency

Through highlighting the varied nature of UoF across establishments, this research also identifies the importance of local governance in taking effective action to encourage learning, reward good practice, and where necessary, consider corrective actions including disciplinary procedures where necessary. Our research shows that these processes are not consistent across the estate, particularly regarding the availability of footage for incidents and the composition of UoF committees. Of note

was how effective committees could be when there was dedicated local resource with the time and expertise to analyse data, prepare footage and paperwork, and feed back to staff any learning points following force. Investment in local expertise, in terms of both protected time and training (e.g. in interpreting data), may be beneficial so initiatives can be designed and tailored to the needs of the establishment. Currently, while sites have a nominated UoF Co-ordinator, time for these roles does not appear to be protected and often these duties must fit alongside other priorities. As the Co-ordinator for force is classed as a duty, rather than a protected role at the prison, there is also no prescribed job description or consistent process by which to appoint these individuals, resulting in people with varied time and skills filling the role.

This matters because a lack of supervision at a local level may impact rates of force. Studies from different settings within law enforcement agencies show managerial controls can prevent illegitimate UoF (Fridell, & Lim, 2014; Paoline & Terrill, 2007). A lack of confidence in local governance places additional pressure on national resource to ensure that local governance is robust. While much of the research considers national trends, specific cases have been identified that may demand further attention, such as the UoF on older adults (e.g. prisoners over 80 years of age), those experiencing repeated force (e.g. over 50 uses of force within a year), and incidents resulting in the hospitalisation of officers or prisoners. Currently, there is no systematic method to identify these cases at a national level, which would allow for further learning and assurance to take place. This inhibits open learning, knowledge transfer, and may result in a failure to ensure learning is incorporated into training and policy. The development of such systems may also help to instil greater external confidence in HMPPS's ability to understand and manage force.

A further step to instil greater confidence and increase transparency would be with the routine publication of force statistics. Improved data reporting processes can ensure effective assurance, governance, and public transparency (HMICFRS, 2021; MacDonald, Kaminski & Smith, 2009; Payne-James et al., 2013). Furthermore, an additional benefit of publishing the data is that this may also improve the quality of the returns. Increased quality assurance through the publication process, will likely reduce the number of errors and inconsistencies within the data, and may encourage investment in streamlining the reporting process. Consideration should also be given

to more assessable ways to be transparent with the public. Models such as Case Progression Panels used by Immigration Enforcement within the Home Office, or Reasonable Grounds Panels used for reviewing police stop and search incidents (see Shiner & Thornbury, 2019) could be trialled.

11.5 Relationships

A wealth of evidence demonstrates the importance of good relationships between officers and prisoners on the health of the institution and the individuals within it (Farrier, Baybutt & Dooris, 2019; Kougiali, Einat, & Liebling, 2018). Research shows that trust can be built when officers demonstrate care by being courteous and responding to requests (Hulley, Liebling & Crewe, 2012), have clear boundaries and exercise authority in a predictable and reasonable way to maintain good order and safety (Liebling, Crewe & Hulley, 2011), and are motivational and encouraging (Crawley, 2004).

Our observations relating to the quality of relationships brought a mixed picture. While some officers felt confident in their relationships, others appear not to recognise the potential impact using force can have on relations; further there appear some risk that for some using force becomes normalised. There appears to be some disconnect between some staff and prisoners regarding the impact of force on officer-prisoner relationships, with some staff minimising the impact of force, while prisoners described the increased stress and anxiety after force. Several of the prisoners we spoke to described staff they could trust and talk to, but others stated this was not their experience. From interviews and focus groups with prisoners, it appears that whether, and the extent to which, force is used is seen to rely as much on which staff are involved than on the situation itself. Research shows discretion can lead to increased force, and that more prescriptive policies may contribute to addressing this (Terrill & Paoline, 2017).

Our findings also suggest, in some limited circumstances, prisoners view force as inappropriate and illegitimate. Instances of officers not using cameras, avoiding CCTV, being unwilling to listen, showing a lack of care, and/or targeting marginalised groups were also raised during the fieldwork. Evidence relating to procedural justice,

suggests that the quality of staff-prisoner relationships, including the degree to which prisoners felt fairly treated, is associated with reduced prison misconduct (Bosma, van Ginneken, Sentse & Palmen, 2020). International evidence from England and Wales, Slovenia, Holland and North America, concludes that stronger perceptions of unjust treatment are associated with higher rates of prison rule-breaking and prison violence (Beijersbergen, Dirkzwager, Eichelsheim, & Van der Lann, 2015; Butler & Maruna, 2009; Reisig & Mesko, 2009). Consequently, the inconsistent treatment described by prisoners from officers, or perceptions of unfair treatment, may be contributing to higher levels of violence and force.

12. Enabling change

Reason (2000) outlines a model (the "Swiss cheese" model) that may be useful in understanding how these many factors can contribute to a poor outcome (Figure 12). The premise of the model is that humans are fallible, and errors are to be expected, even in the best organisations. Therefore, defences, barriers, and safeguards occupy a key position, including administrative and assurance processes to limit these mistakes. Ideally, each of these safeguards or defences would be intact, however, Reason visualises these as slices of Swiss cheese, having many holes (representing errors and idiosyncrasies) that may appear in different places of the organisation. The model argues that the presence of 'holes' in any one part of the system does not normally cause a bad outcome, however when the holes in many layers momentarily line up, it presents an opportunity for a poor outcome.

Figure 12: Reason's 'Swiss cheese' model (2000)
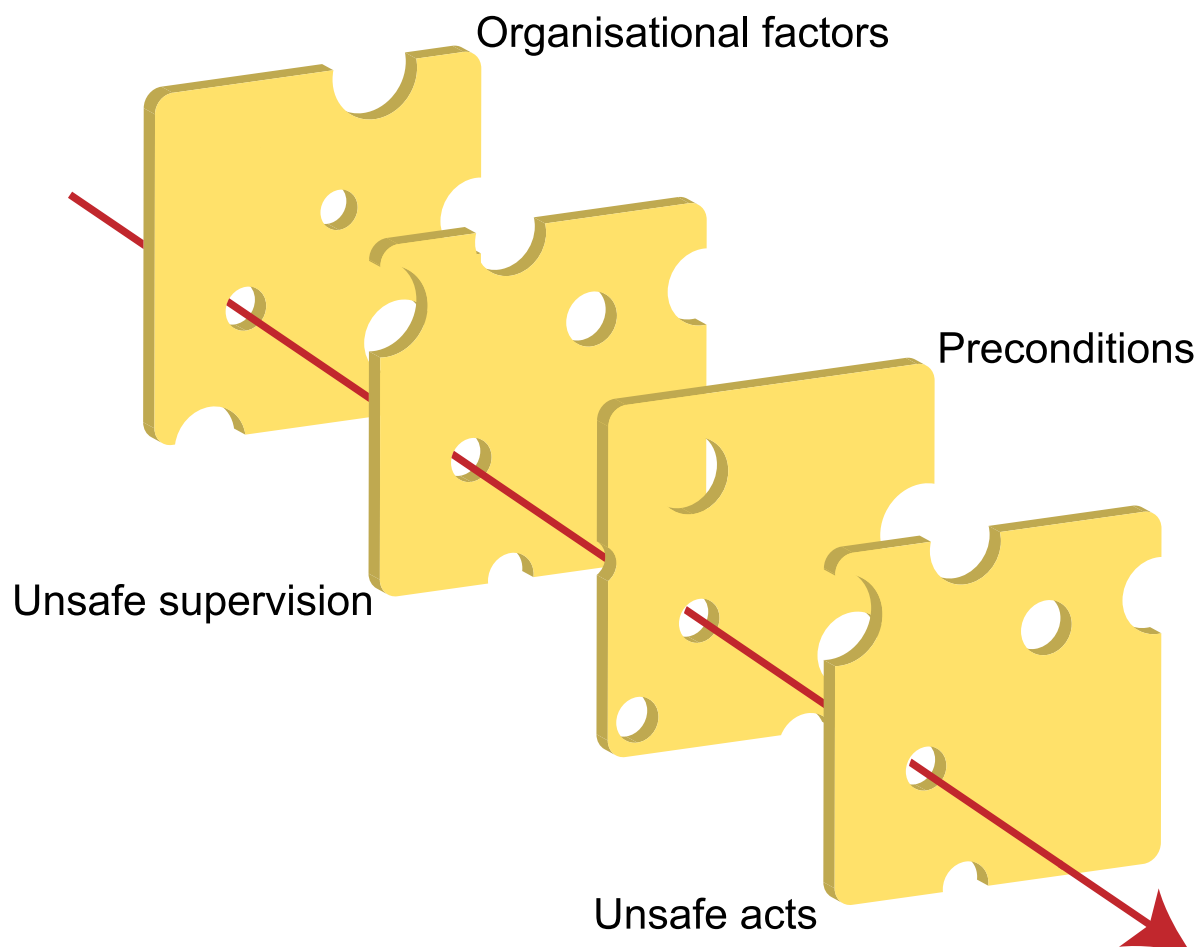
In terms of UoF, it is possible to see how organisational factors (e.g. staffing levels, regime delivery), unsafe supervision (e.g. inconsistent local assurance, use of BWVCs), pre-conditions (e.g. a group of new staff anxious about their first UoF) and individual acts or decisions (e.g. relying on 'gut instinct' rather than policy) could lead to inappropriate force (Figure 13).

Figure 13: Reason's 'Swiss cheese' model adapted for UoF

Organisational factors

- Lack of staff
- High sickness rates
- Lack of purposeful activity

Preconditions

- Fear of progression
- Nervous about first ever use
- Dwelling on using force on someone self-harming

Unsafe supervision

- Lack of national oversight of all force
- Out-of-date training
- Lack of BWVC (Body Worn Video Cameras)

Unsafe acts

- Makes uniformed decision to use force out of policy
- Relies on 'gut instinct' and uses force disproportionately
- Wants to sort the situation immediately
- Technical error

This model may help those designing interventions to better consider how difficulties at multiple levels of an organisation can coincide to result in illegitimate UoF. Different interventions will be needed depending on the precise nature of the issue (or issues), so carefully diagnosing what may be causing illegitimate force will be critically important to ensure that any intervention has the best chance of success.

13. Conclusion

This exploratory research is the first to outline the scale and nature of force in adult prisons in England and Wales and limitations to this research should be considered when interpreting the findings. Mainly, the researchers took an exploratory and descriptive approach to analysis, some of the statistical associations were found to be weak to moderate, and the quality of the Management Information data analysed varied significantly. Therefore, readers are advised to take figures as an approximation of force. However, data progression, more specifically, improved availability of data and methods of analysis could enable more complex analysis in future research.

Despite these limitations, this research is the first step to understanding UoF across the adult estate. Issues relating to staff and prisoner wellbeing and the prison regime were found to be associated with force, with further differences at establishments regarding BWVC use and scrutiny processes contributing to inconsistent governance. Groups such as women, black and mixed-ethnicity prisoners, and younger adults were all found to experience higher levels of force, with the type of incident impacting the likelihood of certain techniques being used. Interviews with prisoners and staff regarding everyday practice and communication, suggests that a lack of trust between some officers and prisoners may be both a contributor to, and consequence of, perceptions of illegitimate force.

A combination of organisational, establishment, and individual issues may all be contributing to inappropriate uses of force. To tackle some of the deep-rooted issues linked with force, initiatives may need to draw upon cross-team working involving a range of colleagues from safety and security, diversity and inclusion, regime management and rehabilitative services, occupational development, data science, and external expertise. Given the current variability of UoF across the estate, it seems important to ensure that local expertise is utilised and supported to ensure the individual needs of the establishment are met, while national support is likely sometimes also needed to help facilitate change and capture learning that can be shared across the organisation. This research emphasises the need for continued efforts to promote better relationships between officers and prisoners; in doing so,

alongside promoting a robust professional standard for officers using force (i.e. LACES), it should be possible to minimise force and engender a positive environment for rehabilitation and education.

14. Pointers for practice considerations

Since the analysis period of this exploratory research, HMPPS has started to take action to address some of the issues evidenced within this report (see Annex D). Pointers for practice considerations are as follows:

1. Create an agency-wide response to disparities found in Use of Force. The research indicates that while the use of specific techniques and scenarios may benefit from review (i.e. the use of batons, force in response to fighting/self-harm), a wider approach considering staffing levels, retention rates, purposeful activity engagement, and other outcomes where disparities may exist (e.g. incentives, adjudications, segregation) may be needed.

2. Continue to improve and streamline data collection processes and increase quality assurance procedures to enable the publication of Use of Force data.

3. Improve the ability of local establishments to review and learn from force. Consider ring-fencing resource for a Use of Force Co-ordinator at every establishment and/or leads for each region/group to enhance local expertise in diagnosing and tackling issues arising from force, and to share and reinforce good practice.

4. Consider commissioning a review into how to improve safeguards and standards within Use of Force such as an agreed mechanism to escalate cases where an individual experiences high levels of repeated force and/or where force meets a certain threshold (e.g. number of injuries, hospitalisation). The review could also consider how other systems (e.g. healthcare, BWVC) could better align to ensure data and evidence is more consistently captured.

5. Develop training and support to be responsive to the needs of officers, support data literacy, and improve assurance and governance. Ensure sufficient emphasis on procedural justice and encouraging staff to look beyond the behaviour to understand the person. This should include a focus on mental health and neurodiversity. Frequently collate feedback and update packages and policy regularly to reflect the latest evidence.

6. Consider conducting further research to understand the causes of injury and hospitalisations, specifically the sequencing of injuries when PAVA and/or Batons are used.

7. Collate current data regarding Use of Force and associated factors (e.g. training, quality assurance outcomes, national deployments) and standardise how these are shared and scrutinised within the organisation and discussed with external stakeholders.

8. Promote initiatives that adopt a holistic view when aiming to tackle issues associated with force following the principles of High Reliability Organisations (such as the Swiss Cheese model). Ensure approaches are taken to address:

   a. the root-causes of prisoners' behaviour (e.g. self-harm, fighting)

   b. the ability of officers to support prisoners without resulting in force (e.g. neurodiversity training, building relationships).

   c. Adequate post-force response including support for those involved, healthcare visits and an opportunity to restore relationships.

9. This research is an important first step in helping us to better understand UoF across the estate, however it has its limitations due to its exploratory and descriptive nature. There is a need for further research to assess how the individually assessed factors mediate one another. For e.g. the consideration of repeated uses by age or ethnicity, breaking down the data by different category of prisons, and data by index offence (e.g. are those serving a sentence for violence more likely to be subject to UoF).

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Annex A
Glossary of terms

Control and Restraint: A system of restraint using prescribed techniques, contained within the UoF curriculum, involving a minimum of a three-officer team (during research period), and, as of January 2024, involving a minimum of a two-officer team.

F213: This is a form used by HMPPS to record any injuries to prisoner, except those that are self-inflicted (these are recorded on an F213SH). Following any UoF incident, the prisoner must be assessed by a medical professional, and this should be recorded on an F213.

Five Minute Interventions: Five Minute Interventions (FMI) support prison staff in their everyday communication with prisoners, helping to build positive relationships and supporting rehabilitation and change, enabling the prisoner to learn useful skills for life and in preparation for release.

Keyworker scheme: As part of the Offender Management in Custody (OMiC) framework each prisoner is assigned a dedicated Key Worker. The Key Worker will support the prisoner through their custodial journey, regularly meeting with the prisoner to build a constructive relationship to encourage rehabilitation and ensuring that the sentence plan is achieved.

Management information: Data and information that has not been verified through formal evidence assurance processes.

National Tactical Response Group: A dedicated group based at two national training centres. Their role is the delivery of the approved UoF curriculum to local instructors and the delivery of operational training. They operate a 24/7 national response to serious incidents at all establishments.

PAVA: Pelargonic Acid Vanillylamide. PAVA spray is an irritant spray dispensed from a hand-held cannister in a liquid stream. It contains a highly concentrated synthetic version of the irritant found in peppers.

Rigid-bar handcuffs: Rigid Bar Handcuffs have a moulded grip that fits snugly in the hand and provides greater control with speed of application. Issued to all operational unified grades in adult prisons.

Planned force: Planned incidents allow for incident management strategies to be implemented, where the risk is not immediate. These situations allow for management structures, such as the command suite, to be activated and utilising negotiators to resolve the situation without the need for force. A UoF supervisor will assess the situation, preparing staff and ensuring that appropriate personal protective equipment (PPE) can be used. Healthcare can be informed, if there is any member of healthcare staff on duty, alerting the staff of any medical concerns and attending the scene to provide oversight. The incident should be recorded on camera.

Spontaneous force: The force used on incidents where there is no opportunity to plan a resolution and when immediate action is required to prevent harm, prevent an escalation of violence and to restore order. These incidents do not allow for incident management structures to be implemented, due to the risk of staff not intervening.

SPEAR: Spontaneous Protection Enabling Accelerated Response, based on the body's natural flinch reaction to protect itself when faced with danger. SPEAR aims to heighten awareness of potential volatile situations, providing staff with increased confidence to diffuse situations and mechanisms to not succumb when faced with violence.

UoF Curriculum: The training techniques contained within the instructors' manual. All have been medically assessed and follow a sequential delivery model. The UoF Curriculum has been designed to allow accredited instructors to deliver the prescribed content and techniques to staff. Only instructors accredited by National Tactical Response Group (NTRG) are authorised to deliver training. All operational staff must successfully undertake initial training and receive annual refresher training.

UoF policy: Please see Use of Force Policy Framework - GOV.UK (www.gov.uk).

Annex B

Methodology

All data in this report were collected between April 2018 and March 2023 after approval from the National Research Committee (NRC).[46]

Data sources

Data relating to incidents where force is used, including prisons, reasons provided for using force, techniques, injuries, hospitalisations, use of BWVCs and the percentage of planned force are all taken from the HMPPS' Performance Hub and the Digital Prison Service (DPS). Data concerning the drawing or deployment of PAVA (see Annex A glossary) are taken from a separate source as, during the roll-out, PAVA uses were manually collated.

Additional information was also reviewed to gain a contextual understanding of the current functioning of each prison. See Table 5 for a breakdown of qualitative data sources.

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[46] Anyone undertaking research-related activity that involves staff and/or prisoners in prison establishments, the Probation Service or within HMPPS Headquarters must formally apply for research approval to the National Research Committee. Reference number 2020-061.

Table 5: Qualitative data sources for each prison visited as part of the fieldwork for this research

Prison	Number of interviews	Number of focus groups	Prisoners involved	Staff involved	UoF committee observed	HMIP reports	IMB reports	Performance Hub data
A	11	1	5	10	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
B	5	7	16	18	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
C	1	1	0	7	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
D	13	0	6	7	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
E	13	2	7	11	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F	5	4	13	11	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
G	14	0	6	8	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Total	62	15	53	72	7	7	7	n/a

Quantitative data

Where possible, analysis was conducted on data relating from April 2018 to March 2022;[47] however, for some variables (e.g. injury rates) only the final year of data was available This is because certain variables were not captured on the system before this date.

Some data, such as ethnicity data, are self-declared by the prisoner, while some data are required and therefore data were cleaned to remove entry errors (e.g. 'escortin') and inconsistencies (e.g. 'Control & Restraint,' 'C and R'). On several occasions, the researchers were required to categorise entries to ensure the data remained meaningful. For example, when providing the reason to justify force, 269 unique entries were condensed into six groups. This was largely due to discrepancies within the spelling, wording or acronym used within a response, although occasionally this process required more detailed consideration (e.g. 'failed to follow my order' to be categorised within 'non-compliance').[48]

Sample characteristics

The average age of the prisoners in the quantitative data sample was 31.32 years old (n = 153,464), with an age range of 18 to 94 years old. 29% of the sample were aged 18–25 and 71% were aged 26 and over. Table 6 shows a breakdown of the sample by ethnicity. Note that ethnicity data are self-reported by the prisoner.

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[47] Most of the analysis was conducted on data relating from April 2018 to March 2022, however, follow up analysis that covered 2023 was completed for some of the data.

[48] Authors cross-checked these categorisations in a similar manner to those described in the stages of checking codes for thematic analysis.

Table 6: The ethnicity of individuals in the quantitative data sample (%). Data obtained from the Performance Hub

Ethnicity	Percent (%)
Asian	5.6
Black	17.8
Mixed	7.0
Other	1.6
White	65.2
Unknown	2.8

Limitations and interpretation of findings – quantitative data

We note that the data sources (local logs, performance hub returns, and the DPS) *rarely* produce identical outputs due to entry errors, multiple staff reporting the same incident, establishments deleting local files, and establishments changing designation (e.g. private to public). Further, the same source may return different outputs if the data are taken at different times/dates due to sites updating their figures and/or removing duplicated entries or those added in error. Some additional analysis completed in 2023 for seven of the 121 establishments suggested differences between the systems used to record force ranging from nine to 132 discrepancies per site per year (up to a 6% variation). Caution must be taken when interpreting the findings throughout this report.

Qualitative data

Semi-structured interviews and focus groups with staff and prisoners aimed to explore perceptions of UoF including: the impact of force on staff-prisoner relationships, the introduction of PAVA, and views on prison safety. Alongside speaking with prisoners, the research team requested to speak to operational staff of different grades and experiences, such as Band 3 Prison Officers, the UoF Co-ordinator, Healthcare staff, and Senior Management. See Annex E for a full interview guide.

Annex C
Findings and further analysis

For all statistical tests carried out throughout the report, the assumptions were fulfilled due to the data being normally distributed.

To investigate findings relating to ethnicity further, a separate return completed by prisons regarding prisoner involvement in assaults or fighting was analysed. Figures 14 and 15 (below) appear to show similar rates of involvement in fighting/assaults and involvement in force for most ethnicity groups. However, black men and mixed ethnicity women still seem to experience more force than expected given their involvement in assaults and fighting. If these returns are accurate, this would suggest that while a substantial proportion of force faced by prisoners may appear to be linked to increased involvement in assaults/fighting, this is not wholly the case for black men and mixed ethnicity women.

Figure 14: A representation of the proportion of the national prison population and involvement in assaults/fighting, force by ethnicity for men (2021/22)
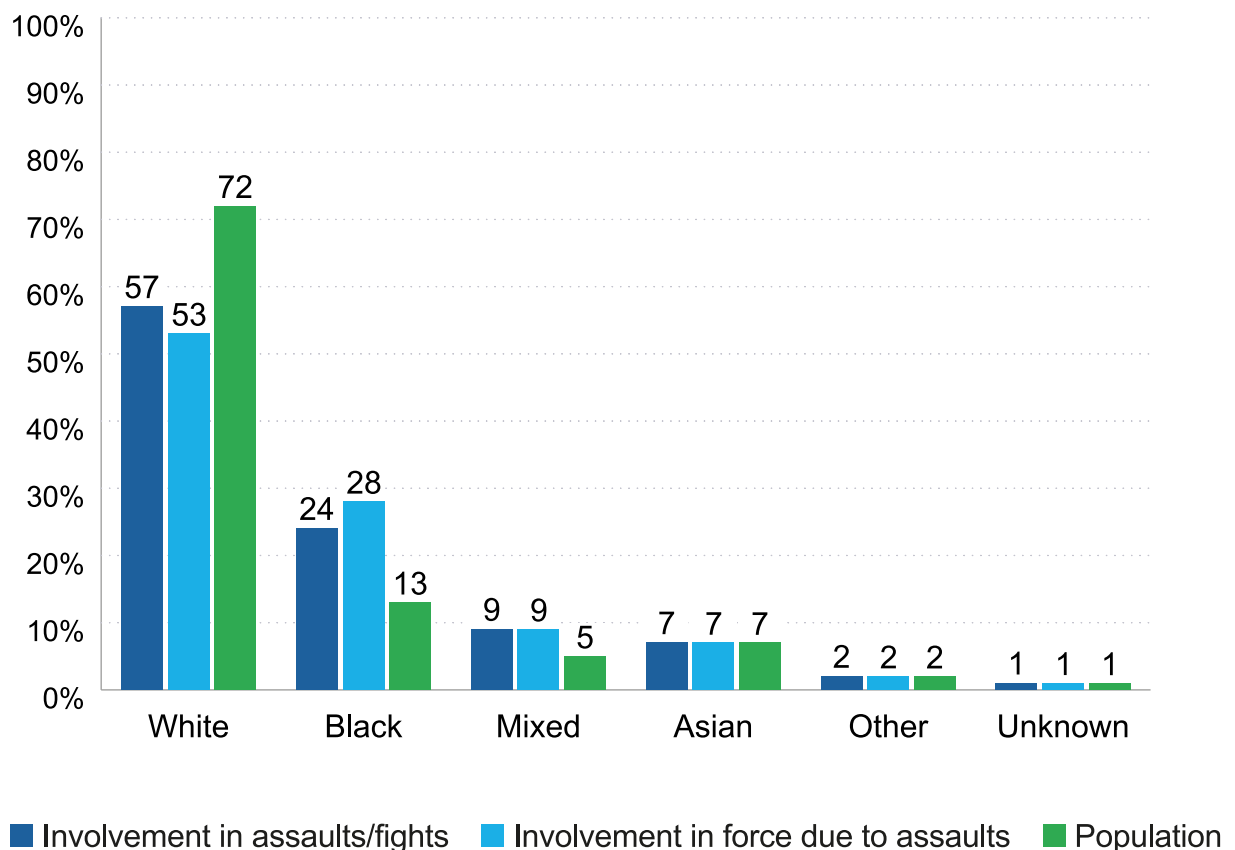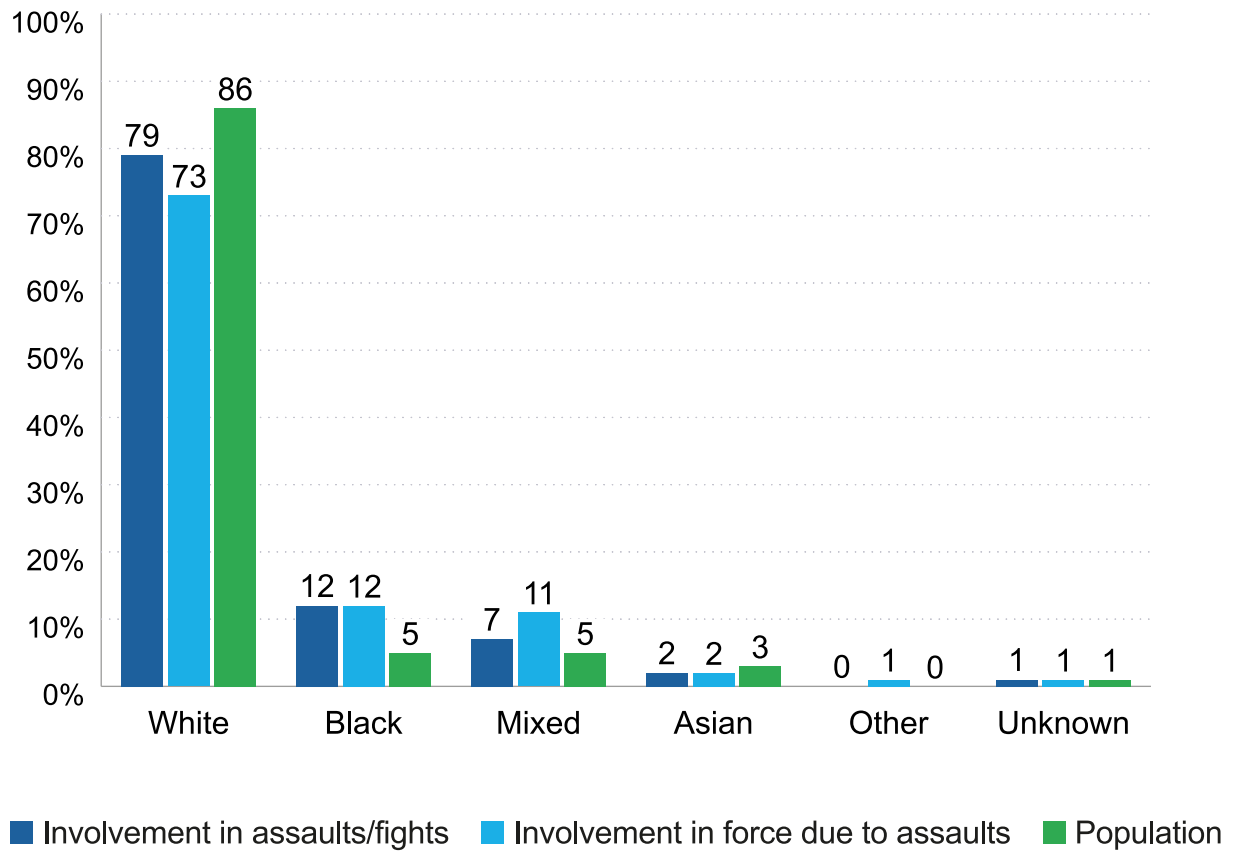
Figure 15: A representation of the proportion of the national prison population and involvement in assaults/fighting, force by ethnicity for women (2021/22)

Legend: Involvement in assaults/fights ◼ Involvement in force due to assaults ◼ Population ◼

Annex D
Progress update

The authors understand that work is already underway to meet some of the issues and recommendations highlighted in this report:

1. Recommendation 2: Continue to improve and streamline data collection processes and increase quality assurance procedures to enable the publication of Use of Force data.
   - Data capability has been improved, including the design and roll-out of a Use of Force data dashboard in April 2024 allowing prisons and Governors, Prison Group Directors, and Area Executive Directors to more easily access and understand trends in UoF data.

2. Recommendation 5: Develop training and support to be responsive to the needs of officers, support data literacy, and improve assurance and governance. Ensure sufficient emphasis on procedural justice and encouraging staff to look beyond the behaviour to understand the person. This should include a focus on mental health and neurodiversity. Frequently collate feedback and update packages and policy regularly to reflect the latest evidence.
   - Since this report was completed a new UoF policy and training curriculum has been implemented (went live December 31, 2023). These changes place a new professional standard (LACES) at the centre of an officer's UoF training with the aim of ensuring that all force and the decisions before and after are *Lawful, Accountable, Considered, Equal,* and *Set the Standard.* Additionally, training packages regarding UoF and Neurodiversity are being piloted and evaluated at specific prisons.
   - An internal evaluation of the roll-out of the new package is ongoing; this is intended to identify where progress has been made, and which areas require further attention.

- The Good Governance Toolkit[49] has been updated to support sites and additional assurance leads have been recruited for these roles.

3. Recommendation 6: Conduct further research to understand the causes of injury and hospitalisations, specifically the sequencing of injuries when PAVA and/or Batons are used.

- There is ongoing work to link injury data to UoF data.

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[49] The Good Governance Toolkit compliments the LACES approach to UoF assurance to support sites in their UoF assurance processes and adherence to the UoF Policy Framework and legal obligations, encouraging procedurally just/fair outcomes.

Annex E
Example interview structures for prisoners and staff

Interview guide for prisoners:

Prisoner's perception of UoF in prisons

1.   When we talk about prison officers 'using force' what do you think of? What is your understanding of this?

2.   What do you think is the highest-level UoF that officers can use? What is the lowest level?

3.   Do you think there is a need for staff to use force in certain situations?

4.   Do you trust the staff in this prison to carry out force within the law and HMPPS guidelines?

5.   When were you told about officers being able to use force on you if required?

Prompt: Were you told on arrival to this prison? Have you been told at every prison you have been in? Were you given the opportunity to ask any questions regarding this? How were you told?

6.   How do you think using force impacts on the culture in this prison? Do you feel safer in prison knowing that staff can use force if needed?

7.   Have you been in another prison or only this one? Do you notice any difference in the culture between this prison and any other prisons you have been in?

Prompt: Are the officers more or less willing to use force in this prison compared to others? Is the culture more or less rehabilitative here?

8.   How do you feel about officers using a guiding hold e.g. to return you to your cell? Are there circumstances where you feel this shouldn't be used?

Incident specific

1. Have you ever been part of or witnessed an incident where prison staff have needed to use force? What was your experience of this?

Prompt: In this prison? In other prisons you have been in? How many times? What level of force was used?

2. If you have had force used on you, how did you feel? How did you feel after?

3. Did it change your relationship with the member(s) of staff that were involved? How do think staff could restore/maintain a good relationship with you after they have used force?

4. Have you ever had a debrief following an incident where force has been used? What did this involve? How soon after the incident did this happen? What was your experience of this?

PAVA specific

Pre-requisite: Do you know what PAVA is?

If not, PAVA spray is an incapacitant spray similar to pepper spray. It is dispensed from a handheld canister, in a liquid stream. You might have seen some staff carrying this on their belt.

1. Have you been involved in or witnessed an incident where PAVA was used? What was your experience of this?

2. What have you been told about prison officers being able to use PAVA now? When were you told? By whom? Did you have an opportunity to ask questions?

3. What do you think of prison officers being able to use PAVA? Do you think it will change your relationship with officers?

4. Would a staff member drawing PAVA (but not using) change your behaviour during an incident?

5. Do you think PAVA will make this prison a safer environment?

6. (If they have had PAVA used on them) Did you receive any aftercare following the PAVA use on you? Did you have any contact with healthcare? Did the staff debrief the incident with you?

Annex F
Experiencing prolific force

A brief analysis was conducted to try to understand better the force experienced by the three prisoners[50] who encountered most force in 2021/22.

	Prisoner A	Prisoner B	Prisoner C
Number of times force used	65	96	148
Gender	Male	Male	Female
Age	27	31	21
Ethnicity	Asian	White British	White British
Religion	Sunni Muslim	Church of England	Church of England
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	Heterosexual	Gay/lesbian
Disabilities	ADHD mentioned in case notes	Depression, ADHD, epilepsy, difficulties reading and writing/dyslexia	None recorded
Offence	Robbery	Possess knife blade / sharp pointed article in a public place – Criminal Justice Act 1988	Affray
Alerts	Youth offender, hostage taker, assaults staff, climber, risk to staff, risk to females, rule 46 prisoner.	Racist, risk to females, violent, staff assaulter, risk to staff, risk to others in custody, visor nominal, vulnerable (accused another prisoner of touching their genitals), bully (has attacked another prisoner), controlled unlock.	Violence, risk of escape.

Prisoner A

The prisoner experienced force in six establishments over the course of the year. HMP Gartree (1), HMP Long Lartin (28), HMP Whitemoor (33), Full Sutton (1), and HMP Wakefield (1) before returning to Whitemoor (1). 57 of the encounters were

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[50] Selected based on experiencing the most uses of force that year.

planned incidents and only 8 were unplanned. Control and restraint techniques were used in all, with no batons or PAVA used. No medication was given under restraint, and neither staff nor prisoner reported any injuries.

Prisoner B

The prisoner experienced force in three different prisons over the course of the year – HMP Littlehey (43), HMP Norwich (18) and HMP Bullingdon (35). Unlike prisoner A, only 17 uses were planned, and 79 uses were unplanned. The reasons provided for using force were mainly for non-compliance (55), followed by assault/fighting (24), threatening (7), escorting (4), staff assault (1) or more than one reason (5).

Control and restraint techniques were used in 78 instances and handcuffs in 29. No medication was issued under restraint and batons and PAVA were not used. 68 out of 96 were captured on BWVC. 3 injuries were reported from staff, and 1 to the prisoner, with none requiring outside hospitalisation.

Prisoner C

The prisoner experienced 131 uses of force at HMP Peterborough during a 7-month period and a further 17 at HMP Bronzefield over a further month. 33 of these were planned incidents, and 115 were unplanned. The reason specified for force being used was mostly to prevent self-harm (83 uses). The remaining reasons were for non-compliance (48), assault/fighting (6), and threatening (10) or other (1).

C&R was used in 140 with defensive moves used in the other 8. Batons and PAVA were not used in any, and no medication was issued under restraint. 92 out of 148 were captured on BWVC. 1 injury to staff was recorded, and 3 to the prisoner, with none requiring hospital attention.

Case study conclusions

While all three prisoners experienced multiple uses of force, the reasons behind the uses were all very different. The evaluation makes no judgement as to the appropriateness of force in each scenario, but raises that without such analysis, at a national level there would be a lack of awareness about these prisoners. Compounding this issue is that all these prisoners moved establishments in the year

and so the full scale of the level of force these individuals would have experienced may not have been known to all those who engaged with them. It appears a sensible safe-guarding step to ensure that those in the custody of the prison service who experience extremely high levels of force in a relatively short period have their situation monitored to a greater extent with additional support provided. It may be appropriate to ensure that there is a system in place which triggers actions (local, regional, or national) to be considered when a person experiences a specified frequency of force incidents in a given period.

Frequency of force by gender (2021/22)

Number of times force used	Men		Women	
	%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	59.35	59.35	56.90	56.90
2	19.16	78.51	17.05	73.95
3	8.81	87.32	6.96	80.91
4	4.61	91.93	5.52	86.43
5	2.66	94.59	2.52	88.95
6 – 10	4.23	98.82	5.65	94.60
11 – 20	0.98	99.80	3.36	97.96
21 – 50	0.19	99.99	1.68	99.64
More than 50	0.01	100	0.36	100

Annex G

Use of PAVA data: April 2019 to April 2023

Total Number of Incidents:	609	

Total Number of Drawn and Deployed Incidents	409	67.2%

Total Number of Drawn only Incidents	200	32.8%

PAVA by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Individuals Impacted	%	Drawn and deployed	%	Drawn only	%
Asian/Asian British	80	6%	66	7%	14	4%
Black/Black British	536	40%	416	43%	120	31%
Mixed	148	11%	112	12%	36	9%
Another ethnic group	39	3%	25	3%	14	4%
White	508	38%	341	35%	164	43%
Not recorded	36	3%	3	0%	33	9%
Total	1347	100%	963	100%	381	100%

PAVA by Age

Age	Individuals Impacted	%	Drawn and deployed	%	Drawn only	%
18–20	655	49%	515	53%	140	37%
21–24	297	22%	220	23%	75	20%
25–29	174	13%	110	11%	63	17%
30–39	144	11%	92	10%	52	14%
40–49	33	2%	18	2%	15	4%
50–59	10	1%	7	1%	3	1%
60+	1	0%	1	0%	0	0%
Not Recorded	36	3%	3	0%	33	9%
Total	1350	100%	966	100%	381	100%

PAVA by Religion

Religion	Individuals Impacted	%	Drawn and deployed	%	Drawn only	%
Buddhist	6	0%	3	0%	3	1%
Christian	579	43%	424	44%	154	41%
Hindu	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Jewish	10	1%	6	1%	4	1%
Muslim	373	28%	287	30%	86	23%
Sikh	2	0%	1	0%	1	0%

Religion	Individuals Impacted	%	Drawn and deployed	%	Drawn only	%
Other	23	2%	17	2%	6	2%
No religion	302	23%	215	22%	85	23%
Not recorded	43	3%	6	1%	37	10%
Total	1338	100%	959	100%	376	100%

PAVA by Disability

Disability	Individuals impacted	%	Drawn and deployed	%	Drawn only	%
Yes	240	18%	175	19%	65	18%
No	880	68%	655	70%	222	63%
Not known	178	14%	111	12%	67	19%
Total	1298	100%	941	100%	354	100%

Annex H
Adherence to UoF committee guidance

Activities recommended in guidance	Prison						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Mandatory attendees present*	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Other operational staff present (officers/SOs/CMs)	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Prisoner representative(s) present	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Previous actions discussed	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Trends and patterns in UoF identified	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Specific incidents reviewed from footage	Yes	No	No**	No**	Yes	No	No
Specific incidents reviewed from statements/ written evidence	Yes	No	No**	No**	Yes	No	No
Learning points discussed	Yes	Yes	No**	Yes	Yes	No	No
Complaints or investigations reviewed	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Debriefs, including lessons learned from the experience of prisoners	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Update from healthcare	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Training levels/ training plans discussed	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Interventions discussed to reduce force (individually or collectively)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
New actions taken	Yes	N/A***	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

*　Mandatory attendees outlined in the Good Governance Toolkit (GGT): Governor/Deputy Governor, Head of Safer Custody (or equivalent), Healthcare representative, UoF Co-ordinator and Instructors, D&I manager/representative.

**　Observed during a weekly meeting but not monthly committee.

***　Minutes unavailable to check