

POLICEWOMEN AND WELFARE

a thesis submitted by

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ABSTRACT

POLICEWOMEN AND WELFARE

This study examines the welfare role of policewomen in Victoria as this is the area of police activity upon which they have traditionally concentrated.

It is based on an analysis of records kept by policewomen in seven Women's Police Districts of Metropolitan Melbourne.

Equal Opportunities legislation in this State has contributed to a changing role for policewomen. The consequences of this development for the future management of social assistance by police generally in Melbourne Metropolitan Police Districts are also discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to record my gratitude to the Criminology Research Council for providing a grant of nearly \$17,000. Without this financial support the project would not have been possible.

The Victoria Police Force allowed me access to the internal records of Women's Police Districts and both male and female members of the Force have been unfailingly helpful. Policewomen in the Districts surveyed were undoubtedly inconvenienced during the data collection process but they have given their time and wisdom for which I am also extremely grateful.

My Supervisor, Professor Ronald Henderson and Assistant Supervisor, Dr. Patricia Leaper have been generous with their professional knowledge and experience. They have read and constructively criticised drafts and made positive suggestions for which I wish to record my appreciation.

I am also indebted to Professor Sam Hammond for reading a draft of the thesis and his constructive remarks. Professor Donal MacNamara's encouragement has also been appreciated.

The Baillieu Library and Computer Centre at the University of Melbourne and librarians at the Victoria Police College and the Australian Institute of Criminology have also been very helpful for which I thank them.

The idea for the research and execution of the project has been my own original work but during the research process many other individuals, apart from those named above, have provided advice, assistance and information. This generous support has been a rewarding experience.

My family have patiently suffered my many absences of both mind and presence with fortitude and I am grateful for their support.

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EXPLANATORY NOTE RELATING TO THE PRESENTATION OF TABLES:-

Unless otherwise stated, all percentages cited in the tables represent the relative frequency of the total sample for all stations. The total sample gathered from the internal records of policewomen was 2,300 cases.

The stations at which policewomen operated and from which the samples were drawn are as follows:-

Avondale Heights (Av)	Heidelberg (Hb)
Fitzroy (Fit)	South Melbourne (SM)
Flemington (Fl)	Nunawading (Nun)
Frankston (Fr)	

The full names of the seven stations have had to be abbreviated on a number of the tables to enable the data to be presented, within the space available, in a manner in which the intra-station data can readily be compared. The name abridgements used are set out beside the names of the stations in the above list.

Due to rounding, some tables do not add to 100 percent and in some cases, for ease of presentation and appropriate interpretation, it has been necessary to rearrange data. Thus the tables do not always faithfully reproduce the information contained in the computer print out which is contained in Appendix 3.

All absolute, relative, cumulative and adjusted frequencies are contained in Appendix 3. For ready reference a short comparative list of absolute frequencies with percentage relative frequencies of the total sample is provided on the following page as, also due to space constraints, it has not always been possible to include both sets of information in the tables.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ABSOLUTE FREQUENCIES
 WITH PERCENTAGE RELATIVE FREQUENCIES
 TOTAL SAMPLE SIZE = 2,300 CASES

NUMBER OF CASES	EQUALS	RELATIVE FREQUENCY %
11.55
23	1.0
46	2.0
57.5	2.5
69	3.0
92	4.0
103.5	4.5
115	5.0
172.5	7.5
230	10.0
287.5	12.5
345	15.0
402.5	17.5
460	20.0
575	25.0
690	30.0
920	40.0
1150	50.0
1380	60.0
1610	70.0
1840	80.0
2070	90.0
2300	100.0

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1

INTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted that one of the traditional roles of police has been 'to befriend anyone who needs their help and at any time to cope with the minor and major emergencies.'¹ Although, in considering the future role of police, not everyone would agree that this should be a continuing role. For example, Morris and Hawkins argue that police ought to concentrate on 'the prevention and control of serious crime.'²

Nevertheless, overseas studies of police functions suggest that a considerable amount of police time is spent on such matters and Cinzanckas, for instance, has remarked that:-

'...by far the greater part of police business remains, and is likely to continue to remain, in providing a community service role unrelated to crime.'³

-
1. For example see:-
 - i. British Royal Commission on the Police, 1962.
 - ii. R. Jackson, 'Law Enforcement - Problems of the Police', Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology (herein abbreviated to ANZJ) 3,1, March 1970. The author, an ex-Commissioner of the Victoria Police Force said that the police role 'extend(s) from such mundane matters as directing a stranger to his destination, to problems of such gravity as organizing and participating in search and rescue operations'. (p. 31).
 - iii. August Vollmer, 'Abstract of the Wickersham Police Report, Journal of Criminal Law on Criminology, 22, January 1932 at p. 716 asserted 'the policeman is no longer the suppressor of crime, but the social worker of the community as well'.
 2. Norval Morris and Gordon Hawkins, Letter to the President on Crime Control, University of Chicago Press, 1977, pp. 8 and 9.
 3. V. Cinzanckas, 'A Profile for Tomorrow's Police Officer and his Organization', Police Chief 41, 6 June 1975 at p. 16.

Goldstein⁴ in examining the time spent by police on tasks unrelated to crime illustrates, by citing four recent studies that, depending upon the police agency examined, between 50 percent and 90 percent of police time is spent on tasks unrelated to crime control and prevention.

Other overseas writers have also given the social assistance function of police (or welfare role as it is generally called in Australia) some attention,⁵

-
4. Herman Goldstein, Policing in a Free Society, Ballinger Publishing Co., Cambridge, Mass., 1977. p.24.
 5. The following examples of contributions to the social assistance role of police and interaction with other welfare agencies illustrate that more attention has been paid to this aspect of police activity in the United States than elsewhere. Further articles are included in the concluding bibliography.
 - J. Burns, 'Distinguishing the Rules and Responsibilities of Police and Social Workers', Social Work Today 6, 23, 19 February 1976, p. 709.
 - E. Cumming, I. Cumming & L. Edell, 'Policeman as Philosopher, Guide and Friend', Social Problems 12, 3, 1965, p. 276.
 - P.H. Ephross & P. French, 'Social Service and the Police', Hospital and Community Psychiatry 23, 2 February 1972, p. 45.
 - J. Euler, D. Brand, C. Fosterling & E. Coleback, 'The Police Social Worker: A Community Broker', Police Chief 41, 6 June 1974, p. 28.
 - B. Forward, 'Gang-Smashers or Hand-Holders: A View of the Police Role', Police Review 79, August 1971, p. 998.
 - R. Kilby & T. Constable, 'The Police and Social Workers', in The Police and the Community, by J. Brown & G. Howes (eds.) Saxon House, Farnborough, 1975, p. 47.
 - V. A. Kowalewski, 'Police and Social Service Agencies: Breaking the Barriers', Police Chief 42, 10, October 1975, p. 259.
 - M. Punch & T. Naylor, 'The Police: A Social Service', New Society 24, 554, May 1973, p. 358.
 - A. R. Roberts, 'Police Social Workers: A History', Social Work 21, 3, July 1976, p. 294.
 - P. G. Shane, 'The Police: Social Controllers or Service Delivers?', American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 44, 2, 1974, p. 197.

but in Australia it is one of the areas of policing which has not been investigated.⁶ Indeed, police research in Australia is still in its infancy⁷ and although there has been a steady increase in the number of policewomen in Victoria, their role also has not been fully explored.⁸

Consequently, the research discussed herein, although limited in scope,⁹ breaks new ground as it is an examination of the social assistance role, within the context of the study of the duties of women police in certain areas of metropolitan Melbourne during 1976.

In addition, the study sought to explore the impact of Equal Opportunities legislation on the continuance of this role by policewomen.

This legislation was passed after the collection of the 1976 data and its implications for police policy and organization in the State of Victoria, is also discussed.

James Q. Wilson asserts that 'it is only a

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6. One article written by a former student of the writer alludes to the issue of the welfare role of police in Victoria, but provides no empirical data. G. P. Brown, 'The Police Role in Public Health', Police Life, March 1976, p. 8.
 7. For details of recent research and trends see: David Biles (ed.) Crime and Justice in Australia, Australian Institute of Criminology in association with Sun Books, 1977. Chapter 8. and Bulletins of the Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, passim.
 8. This research is reviewed in the next chapter.
 9. The limitations, and reasons for these are discussed in the next chapter.

matter of historical accident and community convenience,¹⁰ that police perform a 'service' function, which is how he differentiates their social assistance from law enforcement role. He also remarks that:-

'There is no reason in principle why these services could not be priced and sold on the open market... one can just as easily imagine them sold by a private, profit-making firm ("Emergency Services, Inc.").'¹¹

With respect to the historical perspective, Wilson's comment quite accurately applies to the development of the welfare role of police in Victoria.¹² The divestment of this function by police however could not be so readily achieved by the encouragement of a 'take-over' by private enterprise, one reason being that many of the persons seeking assistance would be in no position to pay for such services.

Furthermore, the organizational structure of the Victoria Police Force firmly enshrines a service function, typified by the motto 'We care!'. The Force

10. James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1978 p. 5.

11. Idem.

12. The social, economic, police and party politics which have impacted upon the development and establishment of the welfare role of police in Victoria are not reviewed herein. Fitzgerald outlines how these have a 'profound effect on establishing and maintaining a particular police style'. Swanton suggests that another factor which may have to be taken into account is the growth of police unionism in Australia, see:-
E. T. Fitzgerald, 'Police Models: An Analysis and Amplification of James Q. Wilson's Varieties of Police Behavior', in Donal E. J. McNamara and M. Riedel (eds.), Police Perspectives, Problems and Prospects, Praeger, N.Y., 1974, p. 110.

B. Swanton, 'Police and Future Issues', A.C.T. Police Journal 2 February/April/May 1977 pp. 17 - 19, 33.

provides a 24 hour service, which to date, no other statutory or voluntary welfare institution in this State has done. In addition, as this study shows, a proportion of the community elect to consult police rather than other welfare institutions for assistance with their problems.

The historical, socio/political background to the development of law enforcement in this State, coupled with the current organizational structure, and attitude to service policing, plus community demands therefore suggest that the Force will continue to provide a social assistance role for some time to come.¹³

This study is therefore not without policy implications for the future social assistance role of police in Victoria. However, essentially it is a descriptive account of the role of women police during 1976.

Where relevant, an attempt has been made to utilize overseas research and discussion but given the variations which exist between local and overseas police forces this has not always been feasible. Decisions about what comparative material ought to be incorporated have been made on the basis of extensive discussions with members of overseas police forces during six observational tours. One visit to England, two visits to Canada and three visits to the United States of America have been undertaken since the study was commenced.

13. Current restructuring of Community Welfare Services may, however, pave the way for greater service delivery collaboration between Police and other helping services in the future.

As there has been recent debate in Australia, within criminological circles, about the desirability of applying a total systems analysis approach to criminal justice research, it is pertinent to comment on this suggestion and explain why this approach has not been followed.

Sallman argues for the application of systems analysis 'to develop a total system perspective in Australian criminal justice'.¹⁴ Although it is agreed that this is a desirable, long term goal and that ideally this research ought to have been set within the context of a full inter-organizational (or institutional) analysis, certain factors prevented the employment of this approach when this study was commenced.

Firstly, financial considerations, the resources required for the accomplishment of a total systems analysis would be vast and beyond the means of an individual researcher.

Secondly, as this project illustrates, the welfare component of policing in Victoria is influenced by intra-organizational, low visibility policy preferences and management discretions which are also inherent, not

14. Peter Sallmann, 'Criminal Justice: A Systems Approach', ANZJ 11, 1978, p. 195 at p. 206.

see also:-

Editorial, 'The Criminal Justice 'System'; The Functional Approach', ANZJ 12, 1979 p. 1.

This editorial, prepared by the writer, and endorsed by the Editor, refers to the interim report of this research as an example of a study which contradicts initiating the total systems analysis approach without obtaining an understanding of the operation of the components of the so called 'system'.

only in the broader functioning of the police, but other components of the so-called 'criminal justice system'.

To describe either criminal justice or welfare as a 'system' in this country is inappropriate as not only do constitutional and political factors obfuscate organizational goals and programs, but the intra-organizational factors mentioned previously add a further substratum to the process of bureaucracy which needs to be understood before the broader approach can be effectively employed.

The identification of these influences, within the context of the social assistance role of police, ought to be useful in furthering a fuller exploration of the police function in this State. When this broader area is more fully understood, then it will be appropriate to extend research parameters and cross fertilize research findings from other studies of the criminal justice process, to gain a fuller understanding of inter-institutional interaction, overlap, gaps and deficiencies.

One of the aims of criminological research in Australia therefore ought to be to examine and explain, not only the currently fragmented criminal justice process, but also to explore its relationship with other areas such as social welfare, education, housing and environment.

The reality however is that progression towards this aim will remain incremental until a body of information on the components of the criminal justice process has been established.

Given the reservations expressed about the utility of applying a total systems analysis approach at this juncture, an attempt has, nevertheless been made, in this study, to describe the interaction of a limited aspect of policing in Victoria with other social welfare provisions. However, the study does not aim to be multi-dimensional, as due to limited resources, it was not feasible to explore the social assistance role of police-women from either the perspective of clients or other helping professionals.

Although this study, therefore, cannot claim to be an extensive examination of any of the triumvirate which collectively are described as the 'criminal justice process', (namely police, courts and corrections) it is embraced within the writer's idea of the nature and scope of criminology.

Criminology is seen therefore to include the study of:-

1. The relationship between individuals and organizations in conflict or contact with the criminal justice process.
2. The definition and measurement of criminal, deviant and other behaviours which result in the individual coming to the attention of the criminal justice process.
3. The efficiency, effectiveness and organization of the components of the criminal justice process and other institutions and agencies which interact with it.
4. The examination of the body of rules which have or might be developed to govern the foregoing.
5. How such rules are developed, perceived and abided to (or otherwise) by individuals, groups and institutions whom they may affect.

6. The development of management policies to combat crime and alleviate social distress.
7. The development and implementation of service strategies for the criminal justice process.

Whilst it is recognized that the foregoing is not a comprehensive statement on the nature and scope of criminology and that it would not please the proponents of certain schools of criminological thought, it does provide an outline to the conceptual framework employed in this study.

Whilst it would be tempting to more fully explore the problematic nature of criminology, the appropriate focus of research and the future of the discipline (or science?), these issues are considered to be outside the scope of relevant discussion in this context.

Summary.

The social assistance role of police has been presented as an incontrovertible (albeit controversial) function. The extent to which this has been examined in this study is alluded to and the conceptual framework briefly explored.

The methods and scope of the study, findings and the policy implications are discussed in the following parts.

In essence, the question sought to be answered, assuming policewomen were found to have an extensive welfare role was - how and by whom should this function be undertaken?

In answering this question, many facets of the work of policewoman have, of necessity been examined.

Their future role, with the advent of Equal Opportunity legislation, had to be taken into account. Their relationship with male police, with the community and other institutions needed to be explored. The changing role of policewomen from mid 1977 also had to be analysed, as well as the shifts in attitudes by male and female police towards the appropriate future role of policewomen in this State.

Consequently the answer to this question is complex, depending upon the extent to which policing in this State is prepared to accept the continuance of the social assistance role, how policewomen are deployed and the participation of other institutions in this function.

At the time of writing, police opinion is ambivalent and directions clouded. Political expediency and operational reality further obscure the appropriate future role of women police in this State.

This study therefore ought to contribute towards a fuller understanding of both the nature of the social assistance role of police and the functions of policewomen.

2 BACKGROUND, AIMS AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1. Background

In the first chapter it was noted that no specific research has ever been undertaken in Australia describing the multiple tasks of policewomen. Nor has their interface with male police been explored.

Two aspects of their work, have, however, been described, peripheral to other major research themes. Namely, their responsibilities and performance with respect to neglected children¹⁵ and families in trouble.¹⁶

In addition, a recently completed Master of Arts thesis recounts the establishment and development of women police in Victoria since the first two women were appointed to the Victoria Police Force in 1917.¹⁷

A further two journal articles¹⁸ and some correspondence to the Editor of the Victoria Police Association

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15. i. Patricia Leaper, Children in Need of Care and Protection: A Study of Children Brought Before Victorian Children's Courts, Mimeo, Department of Criminology, University of Melbourne, 1974, (hereinafter referred to as the 'Leaper Report').
- ii. Catherine King, The Feasibility of Early Intervention, Mimeo, Department of Social Studies, University of Melbourne, 1974.
16. J. McCaughey, et. al., Who Cares? Family Problems, Community Links and Helping Services, McMillan and Sun Books, Melbourne, 1977.
17. A. J. O'Meara, The Establishment and Development of the Role of Women Police in Victoria, M.A. Thesis, LaTrobe University, submitted 19 May 1977.
18. i. V. M. Barlow, 'Policewomen: An Asset to Law Enforcement', Australian Police Journal 29, October 1975, p. 292.
- ii. P. Campbell, 'Time to End Discrimination Against Women Police', N.S.W. Police News 55, May 1975, p. 193.

Journal¹⁹ completes the tally of known, substantial published literature referring to the role of policewomen in Australia as at 31 December 1980. The only recently published Australian text on police devotes no individual space to the role of policewomen, although cover pictures illustrate both male and female sub-officers.²⁰

Certain unpublished material which is not freely available, is relevant. Firstly, an internal, confidential working paper prepared by the Victoria Police Force reviewing the future role of women police, which is not outdated.²¹ Secondly, the verbal evidence, based on written statements of policewomen given before the Police Service Board during 1978. The Board was hearing a claim by the Victoria Police Association for an increase in salaries and allowances. Subsequently police were granted increases ranging from 3.77 percent (recruits) to 10 percent of salary for all officers. The claim, to a large extent was based upon job stress and this is reflected in the evidence of the policewomen which is included in Appendix 5(iii). This evidence has not been freely available to researchers and is appended with the consent of the Victoria Police Association.

-
19. i. B. Kelly, Letter to the Editor, Police Association of Victoria Journal 47, 3, March 1977, pp. 29, 31.
ii. S. Todd, 'Integration of Police Women into the Police Force, Police Association of Victoria Journal 47, 12, February 1977, p. 27.
20. Kerry L. Milte and Thomas A. Weber, Police in Australia: Developments, Functions and Procedures. Butterworths, 1977.
21. The Inspectorate and Future Plans Sections, Victoria Police Force, Research Paper - 'The Future Role of Women Police in Victoria', March 1976.

A literature search of overseas material revealed that only one book specifically on policewomen had been published in the seventies.²² The Police Foundation has sponsored some reports²³ and with the establishment of a National Information and Research Center on Women in Policing²⁴ a surge of detailed information can be expected in the next few years.²⁵

The remainder of the pertinent literature is found in journal articles, not amounting to more than about forty since the 1950's. The bulk of this material is published in American journals.

Details of this literature are included in the concluding bibliography but although it is interesting, and demonstrates a growing concern with the consequences

22. Peter Horne, Women in Law Enforcement, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Ill., 1975. A second edition has since been published but at the time of writing was unavailable in Australia. The book by Michael Fooner, Women in Policing, Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1976 is not included as abstracts suggest that the book was intended for 'Grade 5 upwards'.

23. Notably:-

- i. Peter Bloch & Deborah Anderson, Policewomen on Patrol, Police Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1976.
- ii. Catherine Milton, Women in Policing: A Manual, Police Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1972.

24. See News Release, Police Foundation, October 1 1979.

25. For example see:-

Joyce L. Sichel, Lucy N. Friedman, Janet C. Quint & Michael E. Smith, Women on Patrol: A Pilot Study of Police Performance in New York City, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, January 1978.

Although not funded by the new organization it demonstrates the types of project which are useful and feasible.

of increasing female police strength, the impact of integration and the ability of women police to perform certain tasks, this material is only useful in so far as broad generalizations can be drawn from it. For example, the differences in structure and organization of local and overseas police forces and the varying use made of female police personnel make comparisons difficult. In addition, other factors such as selection criteria and employment of minority groups legislation also prevent valid cross-national comparisons unless these are known factors, which is not always evident from the literature.

In comparison to the thin spread of literature focussing on policewomen, considerably more has been written on aspects of male policing such as organization, discretion, community relations, diversion, crisis intervention, selection and training.

As the examples provided in the select bibliography show, the American material is vast in comparison to literature emanating from other Western countries. This reflects the growth of interest in research into criminal justice in the United States and the extensive finance provided for this purpose.²⁶

26. For an explanation of the reasons why there has been such a surge of interest in criminal justice research in America see:-

Peter W. Greenwood, Jan M. Chaiken & Joan Petersilia, The Criminal Investigation Process, D. C. Heath & Co., Lexington, Mass., 1977 (known as 'The Rand Report'). Foreword by J. Wilson, p. xv.

Note that the findings of this report have been the subject of some critical debate, see:-

The Criminal Investigation Process: A Dialogue on Research Findings, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, April 1977.

What is apparent from a perusal of the literature is that there is a divergence of views emerging as to the present and future directions of policing. One arm of this controversy, already referred to, is whether or not police ought to retain a social assistance or welfare role.²⁷ Additionally, there is a burgeoning interest in the development of specialist agencies to manage the needs of individuals with social and other non-criminal difficulties and emergencies.²⁸

However in Victoria, very little published material is available describing the multiple roles of police, assessing priorities and suggesting new directions.²⁹ The social assistance role has been almost completely overlooked.³⁰

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27. Examples of published material presenting one or both sides of the controversy are included in the first chapter.
28. For example see:-
- i. Harvey Tregar, The Police-Social Work Team: A New Model for Interprofessional Cooperation: A University Demonstration Project in Manpower Training and Development, Charles C. Thomas, 1975.
 - ii. Morton Bard, The Function of the Police in Crisis Intervention and Conflict Management: A Training Guide, U.S. Department of Justice, 1975.
29. There are two exceptions, but both publications are now outdated due to internal restructuring of the Victoria Police Force:-
- i. Sir Eric St. Johnson, A Report on the Victoria Police Force, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1970 - 1971.
 - ii. Paul R. Wilson & J. S. Western, The Policeman's Position Today and Tomorrow: An Examination of the Victorian Police Force, Queensland University Press, St. Lucia, 1972.
30. Apart from the material previously reviewed and one passing reference, see:-
- A. R. Calvesbert, The Police Role in Community Affairs: Police as a Welfare Agency, Eighth Biennial Conference, Australian Crime Prevention Council, Melbourne, August 1975.

Against this background, the reasons why this study was commenced are summarized in the following paragraphs, culminating in a precise statement of the aims of the project and its scope.

2. Problems and propositions.

- a. When the study was contemplated very little was known about the multitudinous activities of policewomen in Victoria.
- b. Whilst some local studies, previously mentioned, touched upon aspects of their tasks, none had extensively explored the nature and extent of the welfare role of women police in this State. It was considered that this probably extended beyond responsibilities with respect to neglected children³¹ and families in trouble.
- c. Furthermore, little was known about what relationships existed between women police in this State, the community, statutory and non-statutory organizations within the welfare sector.
- d. Since the late 1960's in Australia, social policy and welfare services have been the subject of increasing attention at both the federal and state levels. Many new initiatives have been developed but this expansion has not taken into account the nature and extent of social service tasks undertaken by police.

31. The writer was involved in the research for the Leaper Report and based this view upon an appreciation of the other tasks undertaken by women police which were excluded from this study.

If this study demonstrated therefore that they had a significant involvement in social service activities then it was hypothesized that social planning by the traditional welfare sector would need to take this function into account.

For example, a recent report prepared for the then Victorian Department of Social Welfare (now called the Department of Community Welfare Services) remarked that:-

'We accept that the police will retain a residual function in the welfare field but consider that their primary duty of law enforcement makes them generally inappropriate as first points of contact in welfare work.' 32

Whilst this statement at least acknowledged that police had a residual welfare role (although this term remained undefined in the report), it shows how little this Department knew (prior to preliminary publication of the findings of this report³³) about police functions in this State.

e. Therefore the study sought to explore the appropriateness of the following statements, within the context of the local situation.

'.... in each community two separate systems are working on many of the same problems.. One defines itself as a law enforcement

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32. Social Welfare Department of Victoria, Committee of Enquiry into Child Care Services in Victoria, (Chairman J. Norgard) tabled in Parliament, September 1976, p. 6.
33. Lynne Foreman, At the Crossroads? The Functions of Policewomen in Victoria, An interim report to the Criminology Research Council, Mimeo, Department of Criminology, University of Melbourne, October, 1978.

system, including police, courts and prisons.. The second one is the diverse social service and mental health system which provides help for many of the community's dysfunctional families.' 34

'.... it is imperative that law enforcement must be acknowledged as a participating profession in the helping system.. (which) has virtually ignored the implications of order maintenance'. 35

f. It was anticipated, when the study was commenced in 1976 that Equal Opportunities legislation would be enacted in this State.³⁶ The question of how this might impact on the social assistance role of policewomen, the implications of any change in their role, on police policy and organization as well as other helping services, were other issues which were sought to be explored.³⁷

In formulating the nature of the study and its aims, the issues enumerated above provided a framework for the problems and propositions which were to be examined.

34. Edward M. Colbach & Charles D. Fosterling, Police Social Work, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Ill., 1976, p. 75.

35. Morton Bard, 'The Role of Law Enforcement in the Helping System', Community Mental Health Journal 7, 2, 1971, pp. 152 and 153.

36. The enabling legislation came into effect in 1977. Equal Opportunity Act (Vic.), No. 9025 of 1977. The purpose of the Act is to 'promote equality of opportunity between men and women and prevent discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status'.

37. Some two years after the project was commenced an English writer, commenting on the U.K. Sex Discrimination Act and its impact on British policewomen highlighted what she described as a 'disturbing vacuum in police work' as a consequence of the integration of male and female police. This confirmed this writer's prediction of one consequence of integration which was a 'hunch' at the outset of the project. See:-
Doreen May, 'Paying the Price for Equality', Police Review 12 May 1978, p. 692.

The extent to which these matters could be examined obviously depended upon the outcome of certain contingencies such as the enactment of the Equal Opportunities legislation and the extent of the welfare role of policewomen. Other factors have, however, also intruded, as the majority of policewomen still perform a welfare role at this time.³⁸

3. The aims of the study.

Within the context of the foregoing considerations the aims of the study were therefore formulated to determine and systematically examine the following:-

1. The nature and extent of the activities of women police in Victoria.
2. Identification of the types of problems coming to the attention of women police.
3. i) To ascertain the types of action taken by policewomen to resolve presenting problems, and
ii) whether resolutions relied upon the utilization of the criminal justice process or non-coercive techniques.

Certain subsidiary matters were also examined to provide a background to the major aims:-

4. The socio-economic and cultural characteristics of persons seeking assistance.
5. Who referred matters to policewomen.
6. The incidence of police initiated actions.
7. The structure, organization and policies prevailing in the police stations from which records were obtained.

38. The impact of Equal Opportunities legislation in this State is more fully discussed in Chapter 10.

4. Scope and limitations of the study.

The scope of the research was deliberately limited to an examination of the records of policewomen at seven police stations in the Melbourne metropolitan area. The study was not extended to include analysis of the records kept by policewomen at country stations due to the geographic distances involved and the additional costs this would have required in coding outside the metropolitan area. Policewomen who have been stationed in both urban and rural areas not covered by the study have, however, confirmed that practices do not differ greatly between urban and rural areas.

It was not feasible to interview clients, as this would have not only placed an additional strain on resources, but would also have been a breach of confidentiality.

Some welfare organizations were contacted but they were not particularly helpful.

Although it is recognized that extending the study to an exploration of both client and agency viewpoints would have provided further insights, for the reasons given, it was decided not to pursue these areas. In addition, it was considered that to do so might have deflected from the major theme of the specific area of study.

Finally, in settling upon an examination of the role of the policewomen, another factor, access to reliable and relevant data, was a major consideration. A pilot study of the records kept by both male and female

police clearly showed that females maintained more detailed and reliable records of contacts with the public than male police. This is discussed more fully in the next chapter.

The inter-relationship between male and female policing practices was, therefore, only examined so far as these were described in the records of women police, discussions with them, or were evident from the early pilot study of male police records.

In summary, the research aimed to expand the range of knowledge in one particular area, the functions of women police, to recommend future strategies and to a limited extent, assess their interaction with male police, the community and other institutions.

The study does not presume to discuss client needs, although their expectations are discussed at certain stages.

It is noted that there has been a revival of interest recently in both needs theory and needs studies. A discussion of either is outside the scope of this project. Defining the concept of needs and distinguishing this from wants and demands is therefore not considered. There are numerous classifications of needs, such as normative need, felt need, expressed and comparative need.³⁹ There are also other classifications.⁴⁰

39. Jonathan Bradshaw, 'The Concept of Social Need', New Society, 30 March 1972, pp. 640 - 3.

40. For instance see:-

- i. David Macarov, The Design of Social Welfare Holt, Rinehart, Winston, N.Y., 1977.
- ii. J. E. Aponte, 'A Need in Search of a Theory and Approach', Community Psychology, vi, 1978, pp. 42-44.

This study is not, however, concerned with either client or resource needs as such. On the contrary, the emphasis is upon effective planning of police resources. The approach taken does not presume, as some authors would assert,⁴¹ that needs studies are a logical starting point for development of social services. On the contrary, it is inherent in this study that the analysis of preferences and programmes provide a better basis for the development of policies and services. This is essentially the approach of Alfred Kahn who asserts that needs cannot be studied as though they are fixed and discoverable entities.⁴²

41. Robert Moroney, 'Needs Assessment for Human Services' in W. Anderson, B. & J. Frean, & M. J. Murphy, Management of Human Services, Institute for Training in Municipal Services, Washington, D.C. 1977.

Arnold Katz, 'Precursor to Policy, A Model for Policy Development', The Social Worker 43, 2, 1975.

42. Alfred Kahn, Theory and Practice of Social Planning, Russell Sage Foundation, N.Y., 1969 pp. 70 - 71.

3

THE RESEARCH SETTING

This chapter outlines background information on the structure of the Victoria Police Force to provide a setting for the study. It does not, however, aim to encompass all aspects of the organization or bureaucratic structure, but to highlight some of the features of women in police at the time when the research was commenced and at the time of writing.⁴³

In 1979, for example, the ratio of male to female police in this State was 14 males for every female sub-officer or officer. In comparison, the ratio of female to male police in other Australian States and Territories during 1979 was as follows:-

New South Wales	1:54 (males)
Tasmania	1:19
Queensland	1: 8
South Australia	1:25
Western Australia	1:35
Northern Territory	1:29
Australian Federal Police	1:24

When the research was commenced the duties of policewomen, as prescribed by Victoria Police Standing Orders, included the following tasks:-⁴⁴

- (a) Patrolling streets in the city and other areas particularly in the neighbourhood of cafes, licensed premises, amusement

43. The growth and strength of women police in Victoria is more fully explored in Chapter 10 which deals with the impact of equal opportunities legislation.

44. Victoria Police Force Standing Orders Paragraph 1869, 1975 pp. 311 - 312.

centres, railway stations, docks, wharves, parks, open spaces etc., where their presence will have a deterrent effect on indecent behaviour, indecent assaults, and similar offences.

- (b) exercising a general protective supervision and influence over young girls found under adverse circumstances, and visiting the homes of parents or guardians of girls located under such circumstances.
- (c) dealing with young girls engaged, or likely to engage in prostitution and, when necessary, keeping observation on brothels, disorderly houses, and the like.
- (d) conducting inquiries in connexion with women and children reported missing or found wandering, destitute, homeless or in moral danger, or children alleged to be neglected or ill-treated.
- (e) assisting parents or guardians who report that children in their care are beyond control, giving advice and taking action where necessary.
- (f) locating and returning escapees from institutions.
- (g) Co-operating closely with officers of the Social Welfare Branch, Children's Courts, Education Department, Probation and Parole Service and other social welfare organizations.
- (h) exercising vigilance in crowded places with a view to preventing and detecting offences such as shoplifting, picking of pockets, and the like.
- (i) escorting female prisoners, mental patients and children, etc.
- (j) duties associated with women and children who have been involved in sexual offences.
- (k) searching and watching female prisoners when a matron is not available.
- (l) assisting male police in cases where women and children are concerned, or in any other duties of a suitable nature; and
- (m) any other duties as directed by the Officer-in-Charge of the District.

Very recently these Standing Orders were changed. This occurred on the 28 April 1981 as the result of a Force Circular Memo from the Management Services Bureau, which is part of the Chief Commissioner's Office. The full text of this memo is reproduced as follows:-

81 - 3 - 1 Policewomen - Standing Orders

In the interests of efficiency and to more accurately portray the present arrangements regarding policewomen, the following instructions will apply immediately:-

1. Standing Orders, paragraphs 1864 to 1872 inclusive are cancelled.
2. The title of the position known as "Officer in Charge, Women Police Division" ("O" District) is amended to "Policewomen Advisory Officer".
3. (a) Members attached to Women Police Divisions have particular responsibilities in fields relating to children and women. These include -
 - (i) helping with women and children who have been involved in sexual offences or are in need of police assistance;
 - (ii) searching and watching female prisoners when a matron is not available;
 - (iii) escorting female prisoners, mental patients and children;
 - (iv) co-operating closely with officers of organisations involved in social welfare activities;
 - (v) locating and returning female escapees from institutions;
 - (vi) diverting young girls from criminal tendencies;
 - (vii) conducting inquiries in connection with women and children reported missing or found wandering, destitute or homeless, or children alleged to be neglected or ill-treated;
 - (viii) assisting parents or guardians with children apparently uncontrolled, giving advice and taking appropriate action if necessary;

- (ix) providing a uniformed preventive and response patrol function; and
 - (x) any other appropriate duties as directed by the Officer in Charge of the District.
- (b) Female members elsewhere perform similar duties to males members at the same location and share the same chain of command.
4. (a) The Policewomen Advisory Officer is attached to the Office of the Deputy Commissioner (Operations) with particular duties regarding female members including the following -
- (i) making recommendations regarding the establishments of Women Police Divisions;
 - (ii) commenting upon the suitability of female members for specialist positions, if requested;
 - (iii) being a member of the Recruit Selection Panel;
 - (iv) ensuring a continuing level of professional competence and work performance in Women Police Divisions;
 - (v) advising on training needs and desirable changes in training syllabi in respect of Women Police Divisions;
 - (vi) reporting upon suitable or unsuitable fields of employment for policewomen in general and Women Police Divisions in particular;
 - (vii) advising on adjustments to changing circumstances or conditions to policewomen in general and Women Police Divisions in particular; and
 - (viii) advising on matters of health, welfare and morale generally.
- (b) Such Officer shall, for administrative purposes, come under the command of the Officer in Charge, "O" District, and shall visit and inspect policewomen and their stations (with the consent of the Officer in Charge of the relevant District) for the purpose of carrying out such duties.
5. In Executive Instruction 104, dated 13th November, 1978, the paragraph commencing "'O' DISTRICT WOMEN POLICE DIVISION" and ending with the words "that of Deputy Commissioner (Operations)" is cancelled.

(C.C.B. File No.36-1-548/81)
A.W. CONN
Deputy Commissioner (Operations)

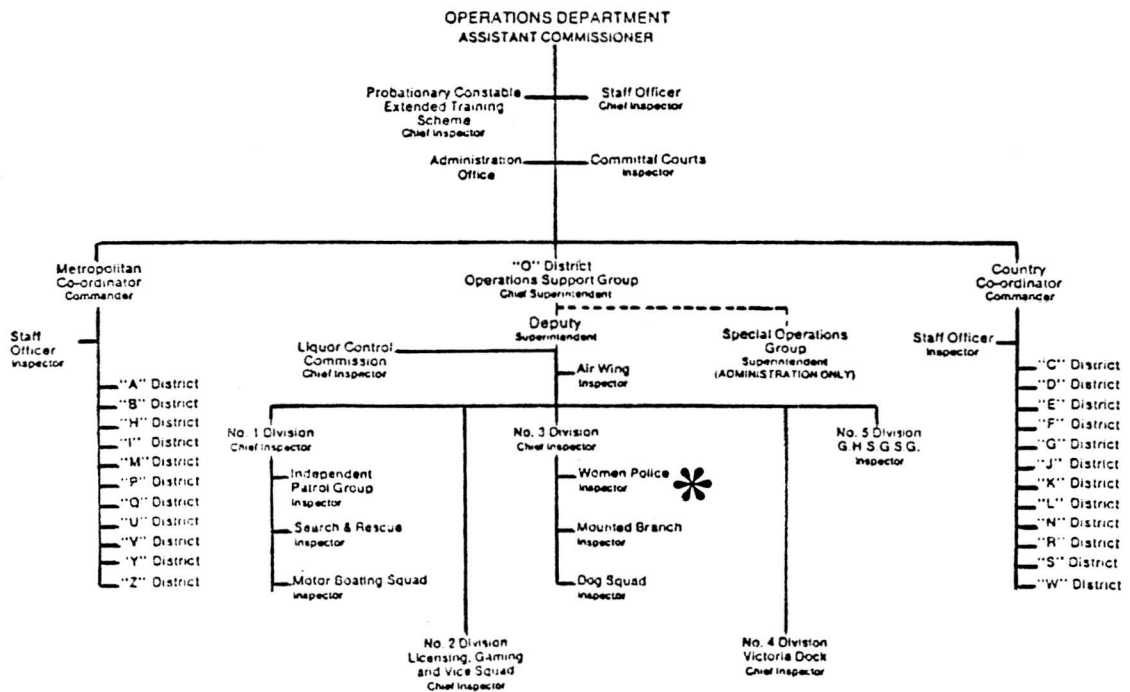
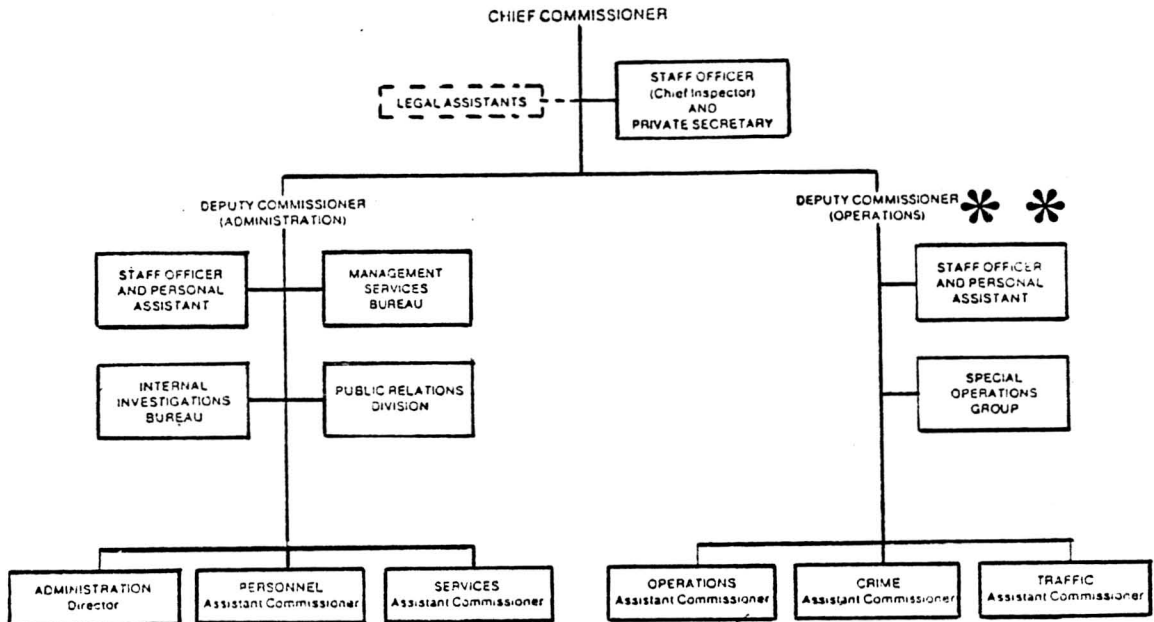
As can be seen from the following chart describing the organizational structure of the Force and the Operations Group (extracted from the 1979 Annual Report of the Force) the new instructions do not substantially change the role of women police.

At the time when the research was commenced the majority of policewomen in the metropolitan area worked in units attached to District and Divisional Headquarters. A small number were at that time working in the Criminal Investigations Bureau, Traffic, Mounted Police and Forensic Science Divisions of the Force. Since the passing of the Equal Opportunities legislation, policewomen have worked on patrols and been more involved in general duties, but to date, there has been no mass exodus from the policewomen's units. The new outline of particular responsibilities (Item 3 (a) and (b)) does not recognise the extent of their special role, as will be seen from the discussion of findings. It adds a general duties/patrol function and recognises the integration of women in policing, but substantially retains the status quo attitude towards the special units. The consequences of the new instructions will be discussed more fully at a later point. One final comment, however, it would seem that the role of the Policewomen Advisory Officer (Item 4) who was previously titled the Inspector of Woman Police, is not a particularly powerful position in the Force.

CHART 1

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VICTORIA POLICE FORCE

Source: Annual Report, 1979, pp. 52 - 53.



- * Pre April 1981 attachment of Women Police Inspector.
- ** Post April 1981 attachment of Policewomen Advisory Officer.

Figure 1 shows how police districts were allocated at the time of the study, each district is signified by a letter of the alphabet. The metropolitan district, surrounding Port Phillip Bay, is hatched.

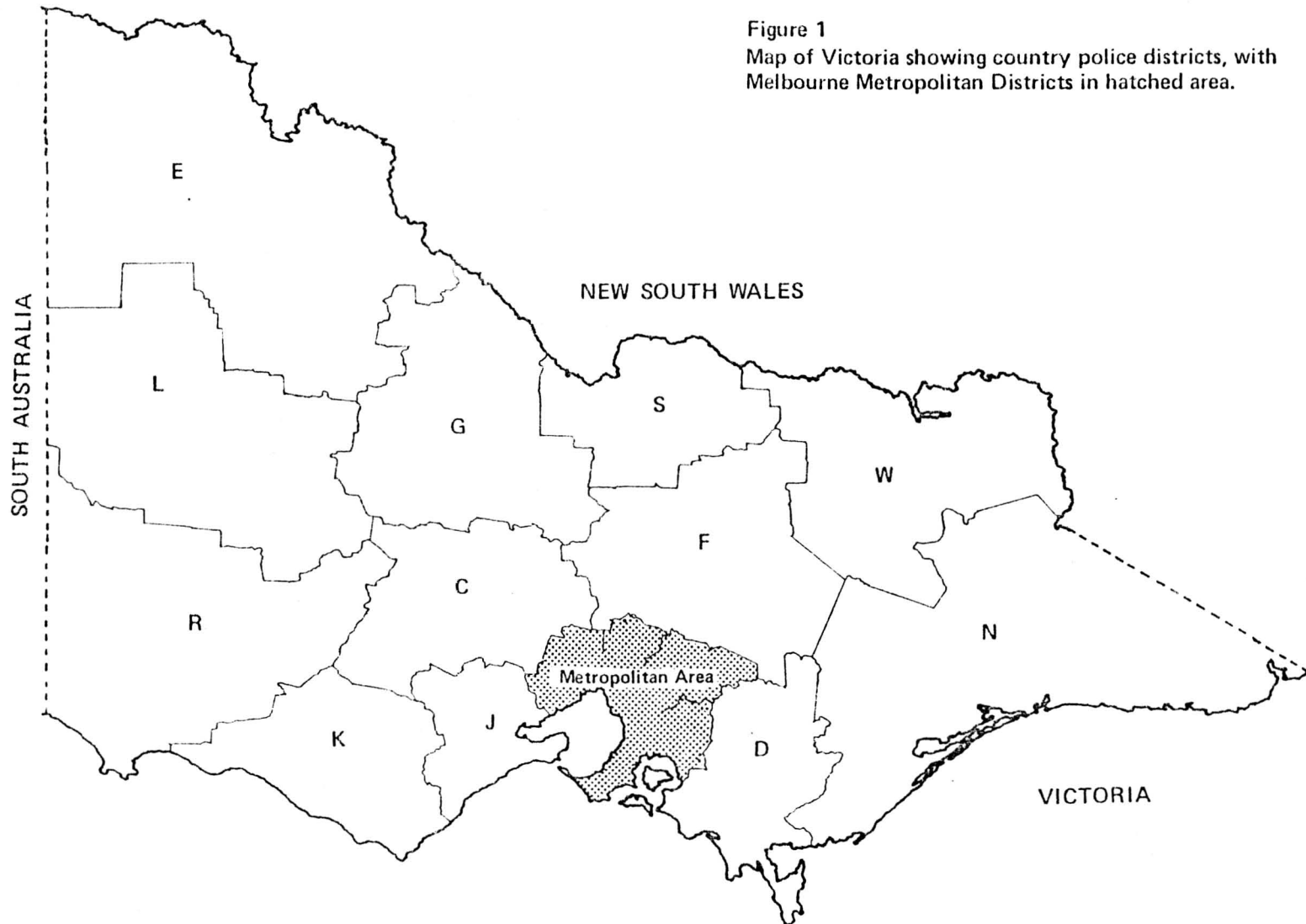
Figure 2 is an enlargement of the hatched area on Figure 1 showing the districts included in the survey. The district and divisional headquarters are indicated for each area, as well as the population and geographic area.

The only substantial change in the interim, apart from some minor boundary changes, has been the re-location of the South Melbourne Women's Unit to Williamstown.

The seven police divisions with women police stationed at them were selected with the assistance of the Inspector in Charge of Women Police. Three districts were excluded from the study. District 'H', Henty was excluded as it was sampled for the pilot study, 'A' District which covers the central business district and which did not keep case books and 'P' District (situated between 'Y' and 'Z' Districts) some parts of which were too distant to include.

The stations, the districts and the abbreviations used in tables in the study are as follows:-

Figure 1
Map of Victoria showing country police districts, with
Melbourne Metropolitan Districts in hatched area.



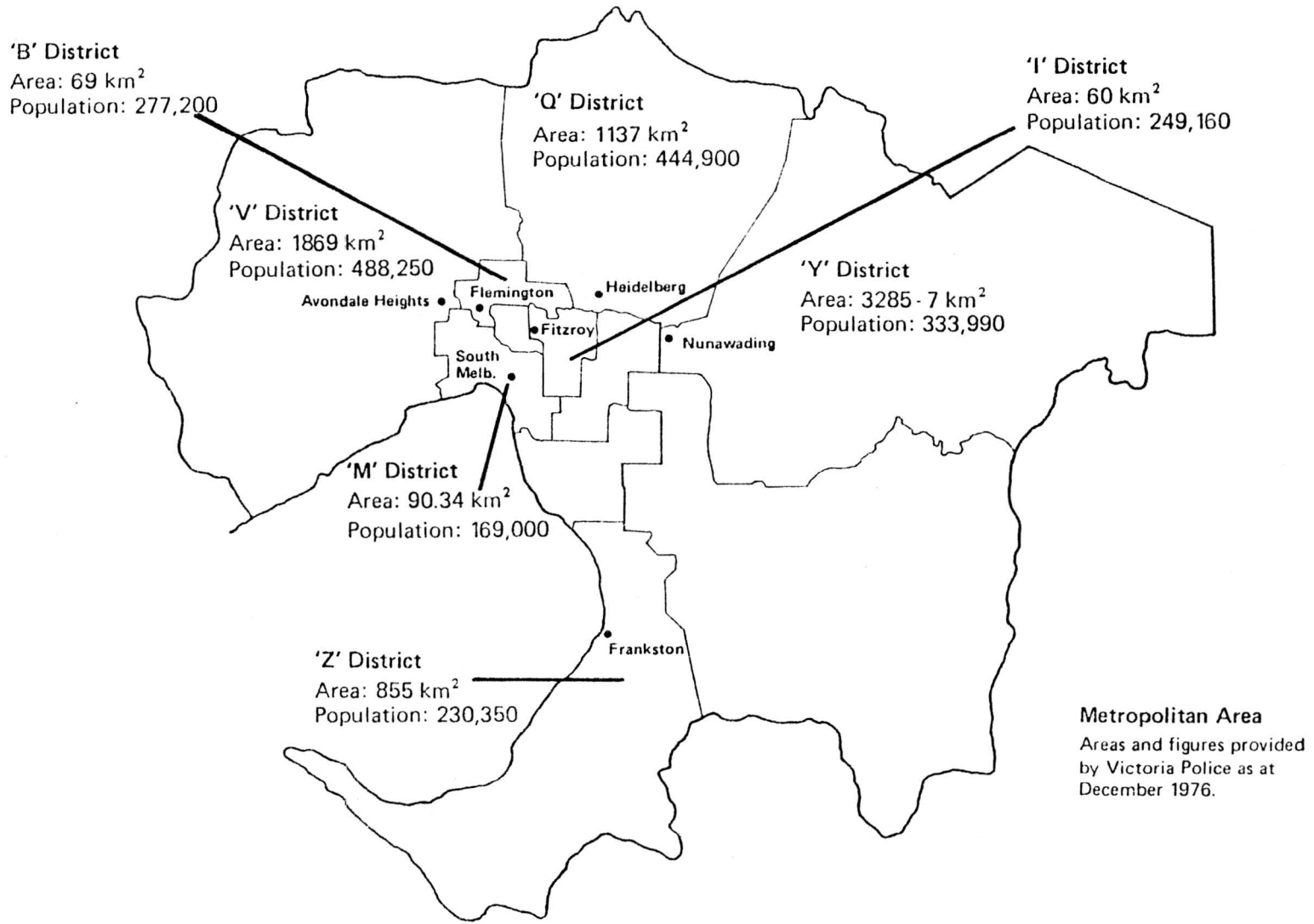


Figure 2
Melbourne and Metropolitan Police Districts contained in survey.

<u>POLICE STATION</u>	<u>POLICE DISTRICT</u>	<u>ABBREVIATION</u>
AVONDALE HEIGHTS	'V' - SUNSHINE	Av
FITZROY	'I' - PRAHRAN	Fit
FLEMINGTON	'B' - MOONEE PONDS	Fl
FRANKSTON	'Z' - WESTERNPORT	Fr
HEIDELBERG	'Q' - HEIDELBERG	Hb
SOUTH MELBOURNE	'M' - MELBOURNE PORTS	SM
NUNAWADING	'Y' - NUNAWADING	Nun

Table 1 following was compiled with the assistance of the Victoria Police and shows that in 1976 the ratio of women to male police averaged out at 1 policewoman for nearly every 31 policemen in the districts studied.

It is also apparent from Figure 1 that on the basis of area and population some police districts appear to have a heavier concentration of police strength than others.

The demographic and social characteristics of the districts to which policewomen were assigned vary considerably from inner suburban high rise, high population density to rural or semi rural areas. Notwithstanding the likelihood that the needs of districts might differ, in six districts eight policewomen were assigned to duty. At Flemington nine policewomen were on strength.

An intensive study of distribution of personnel along the lines of that conducted by Bloch⁴⁵ might well illustrate an inequality of distribution of police services in Melbourne, but without full figures on work load for each district this was considered outside the scope of this study.

45. Peter B. Bloch, Equality of Distribution of Police Services - A Case Study of Washington D.C., The Urban Institute, Washington D.C., February 1974.

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF RANKS AND AUTHORIZED STRENGTH OF MALE AND FEMALE POLICE IN THE DISTRICTS
EXAMINED AS AT DECEMBER 1976.*

The figures in brackets represent male police strength.

	Chief Supt.	Supt.	Chief Insp.	Insp.	Senior Sgt.	Sgt.	Senior Const. & Const.	TOTAL	RATIO FEMALE/ MALE
AVONDALE HEIGHTS 'V' District	(1)	(1)	(4)	(6)	1 (16)	1 (52)	6 (168)	8 (248)	1:30
FITZROY 'I' District	(1)	(1)	(4)	(6)	1 (17)	1 (65)	6 (190)	8 (284)	1:35
FLEMINGTON 'B' District	(1)	(1)	(4)	(6)	1 (16)	1 (46)	7 (163)	9 (237)	1:26
FRANKSTON 'Z' District	(1)	(1)	(3)	(6)	1 (10)	1 (34)	6 (94)	8 (159)	1:20
HEIDELBERG 'Q' District	(1)	(1)	(4)	(6)	1 (14)	1 (61)	6 (156)	8 (250)	1:31
SOUTH MELBOURNE 'M' District	(1)	(1)	(5)	(6)	1 (19)	1 (72)	6 (224)	8 (327)	1:40
NUNAWADING 'Y' District	(1)	(1)	(4)	(6)	1 (15)	1 (50)	6 (160)	8 (237)	1:30

* Note, these figures exclude members of the Criminal Investigation Branch and supplementation of women police strength by recently qualified recruits assigned to stations after initial training.

Table 1 also shows that the separate seniority lists for males and females, which was in force at the time when the study was commenced, but which have recently been changed, resulted in a disproportionate number of female sergeants, relative to males in this rank.

The average age of policewomen is mid twenties, for all ranks of males approximately 32 years of age. As males however may enter the Force at a lower age than females (the minimum age for males is 18½ years of age, females twenty years of age) and do stay longer in the service, age comparisons by ranks are not relevant.

The Women's Police Divisions in each district are usually situated in cramped rooms within the District and Divisional Headquarters. They are answerable to the Officer in Charge of the District, who is ordinarily of the rank of Superintendent. He directs them as to appropriate duties and the Policewomen Advisory Officer (previously the Inspector of Women Police, and until recently the only female member of the Force above the rank of Senior Sergeant) is only able to 'report upon suitable or unsuitable fields of employment for policewomen', in accordance with the new Standing Orders.⁴⁶

Women Police Divisions, due to location and the

46. Inspectors for example can assign the women to typing and other general duties and there is little that the Senior Sergeant in charge of the Women's Police Division or the Policewomen Advisory Officer can do to maintain policewomen strength other than recommending a revision of the procedure or, at short notice rearranging rosters to temporarily relocate staff from another district. This is a difficult task due to sick leave and maternity leave absenteeism.

chain of command, are therefore not autonomous. The Superintendent or his delegate for example have always been able to co-opt the women to other duties. This sometimes results in a significant reduction of women available in the units. Even with supplementation, in some instances, the units have not sustained the official strengths set out in Table 1.

The recent changes to Standing Orders therefore do not substantially reduce some of the organizational difficulties which prevailed at the commencement of the study. Issues such as the chain of command, establishment, location and articulation of the functions of the Women Police Divisions still require fundamental review. Such matters will be more fully discussed at a later point in this study.

Before turning to a brief survey of the demographic and social characteristics of the Divisions studied it should be noted that the attitudes and philosophies of the Senior Sergeant responsible for the day to day running of the divisions (or units as they are sometimes called) can have a considerable impact upon the types of tasks the women under her command undertake and how they manage their functions. These considerations will also be explored more fully in subsequent chapters.

The Senior Sergeant in charge of such Divisions, up until the implementation of Equal Opportunities legislation, was invariably a female. One male has subsequently been appointed to such a position. He was transferred to another position in the Force after a short time serving

in this role and as the appointment and transfer is subject to an Appeal to the Police Service Board it would be inappropriate to discuss the issue at this juncture.

The demographic and social characteristics of each of the districts sampled vary and, as there are no recent studies⁴⁷ of social stratification, functioning or cultural makeup which are suitable for comparative purposes with the districts examined, the following cautious descriptions of the areas are intended to provide only a brief outline. These descriptions are made on the basis of personal observations.

The districts vary greatly in density of population, type of accommodation, multi-culturalism, occupation types, income stratification, poverty levels, unemployment, incidence of crime and other indices of community well-being. The only way in which an accurate picture of the socio/structural characteristics could be obtained is by undertaking a study similar to that of Vinson and Homel⁴⁸ which generated a system of social indicators to guide social planning.. The Victorian Department of Community Welfare Services has initiated a study but there were too many methodological variations between the first stage report

47. Social Dysfunction and Relative Poverty in Metropolitan Melbourne, Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, Planning Branch, Melbourne, May 1974 is based on 1971 figures. Due to increases in housing density and unemployment in some of the areas studied, as well as changes in other factors this study is too dated for comparative purposes.

48. T. Vinson and R. Homel, Indicators of Community Well-Being, Australian Government Printing Service, April 1977.

and this study to utilize the findings.⁴⁹

Overall, this study has not detected any significant variations between the districts in types of cases reported, with the exception that nearly double the number of sexual assault incidents required investigation in the Avondale Heights district than in any other district.

Avondale Heights station is situated in the western suburbs. It is an area with a number of new housing developments, still fringed by rural areas. The district has a high level of youth unemployment, poor transportation and is generally regarded by police as a 'trouble spot'.

The unit of policewomen at Frankston serves the whole of the area known as the Mornington Peninsula, which comprises both rural and urban zones. It has a number of new housing areas around Frankston and in Frankston proper a large shopping complex, which according to local police has a substantial shop stealing problem. This was verified by the study.

The Frankston/Peninsula area is used as a summer holiday resort for many residents of metropolitan Melbourne and during the holiday season local police maintain that the incidence of social dysfunction and petty crimes such as vandalism, shop stealing and assaults increases in proportion with the population influx.

Fitzroy, Flemington, South Melbourne and Heidelberg are all areas with high rise apartments built by the

49. A. F. Armstrong & A. J. Wearing Social Indicators for Victoria: Stage One, Monograph in Public Policy Studies, No. 1, 1979.

Housing Commission of Victoria. Traditionally these areas are regarded by police and many others as being rife with social dysfunction. No study exists to satisfactorily support this assertion however.

Nunawading is an established, outer urban area in the so-called 'sherry/terelyne' belt. Although it is an area which outwardly might not be regarded as being socially dysfunctional, it did not have significantly fewer requests for intervention than the other areas studied. Further, observations at this district revealed that a considerable number of requests for assistance with respect to the behaviour of teenage girls were not entered in the records kept by policewomen, although approaches for assistance were made. This suggested that although there was not an inordinate number of teenage girls in the area, in comparison with the other areas, that either their parents were more concerned about their behaviour and sought police assistance or that they really did cause more trouble. An answer to this situation did not emerge from the study.

All the police districts studied were apparently reasonably well serviced by both government and voluntary agencies but these were normally only open during regular business hours (9 a.m. to 5.p.m.). No evaluation was undertaken of the quality or extent of the welfare services or how relevant programmes were to community needs.

However, an examination of the data by postcodes⁵⁰ revealed that within each district there were several pockets which seemed to have a higher incidence of requests for intervention than others. Interestingly, these pockets were located some distance from the policewomen's units in each district. Consequently one cannot conclude that interventions were requested on the basis of convenience of location in proximity to stations.

Figures 3 to 9 following illustrate the distribution of residences of prime clients in police districts which were plotted by postcodes in relation to the station at which policewomen were situated.

The following maps show that some prime clients were apparently resident in areas well outside the police district which attended the case. This was due to the fact that during the late night shifts policewomen from one district were required to attend calls in other districts.

As clients were not interviewed, it is not clear why they opted to apparently ignore government and voluntary agencies situated in closer proximity to their residential address and to go instead to policewomen's units some distance away. In doing so it should be noted that in some instances they ignored both male and female police

50. It is recognized that postcodes are not an entirely accurate measure of the actual residence of an individual as some persons might inadvertently (or otherwise) provide police with incorrect information but every effort was made to correct wrong information by checking of the suburban district provided against detailed postcode information. The margin of error was therefore quite small.

offices nearer than the one they selected. Some cases were, of course, accounted for due to night shift attendances by policewomen from another district, or were matters that were referred to a specific policewomen's unit by male police. Other cases could be explained as they resulted from policewomen intercepting individuals whilst they were out and about.

However, even when these cases were selected out from the sample, it was apparent that policewomen were expected to cover considerable distances and that a proportion of clients were also willing to travel some distance to consult with policewomen. The records did not reveal, because the question was never asked, as to how many clients were seeing policewomen and other welfare agencies simultaneously.

Beyond the foregoing generalizations, it is difficult to be more specific with respect to the particular characteristics of the districts sampled. There are so many cultural and economic variations in the Melbourne metropolis that each police district can comprise areas ranging from the extremely well-to-do to the poverty stricken.

What is apparent from the study is that requests for assistance came from all social groups and that the only apparent disparity in the management of cases by policewomen was as a result of their assessment of the coping abilities of clients.

AVONDALE HEIGHTS

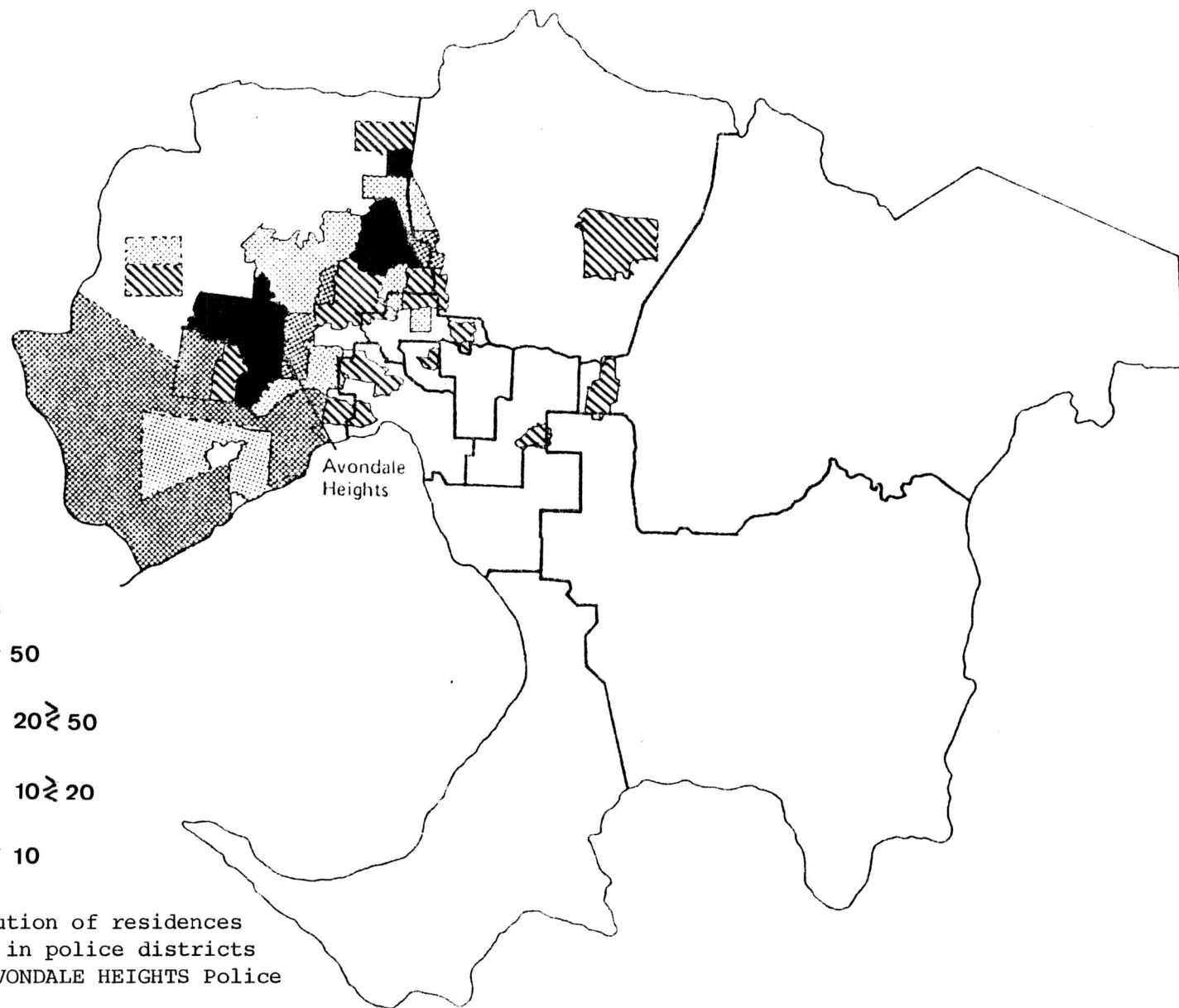
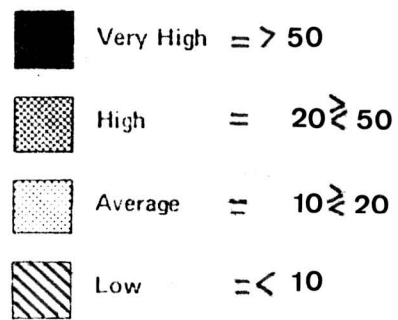
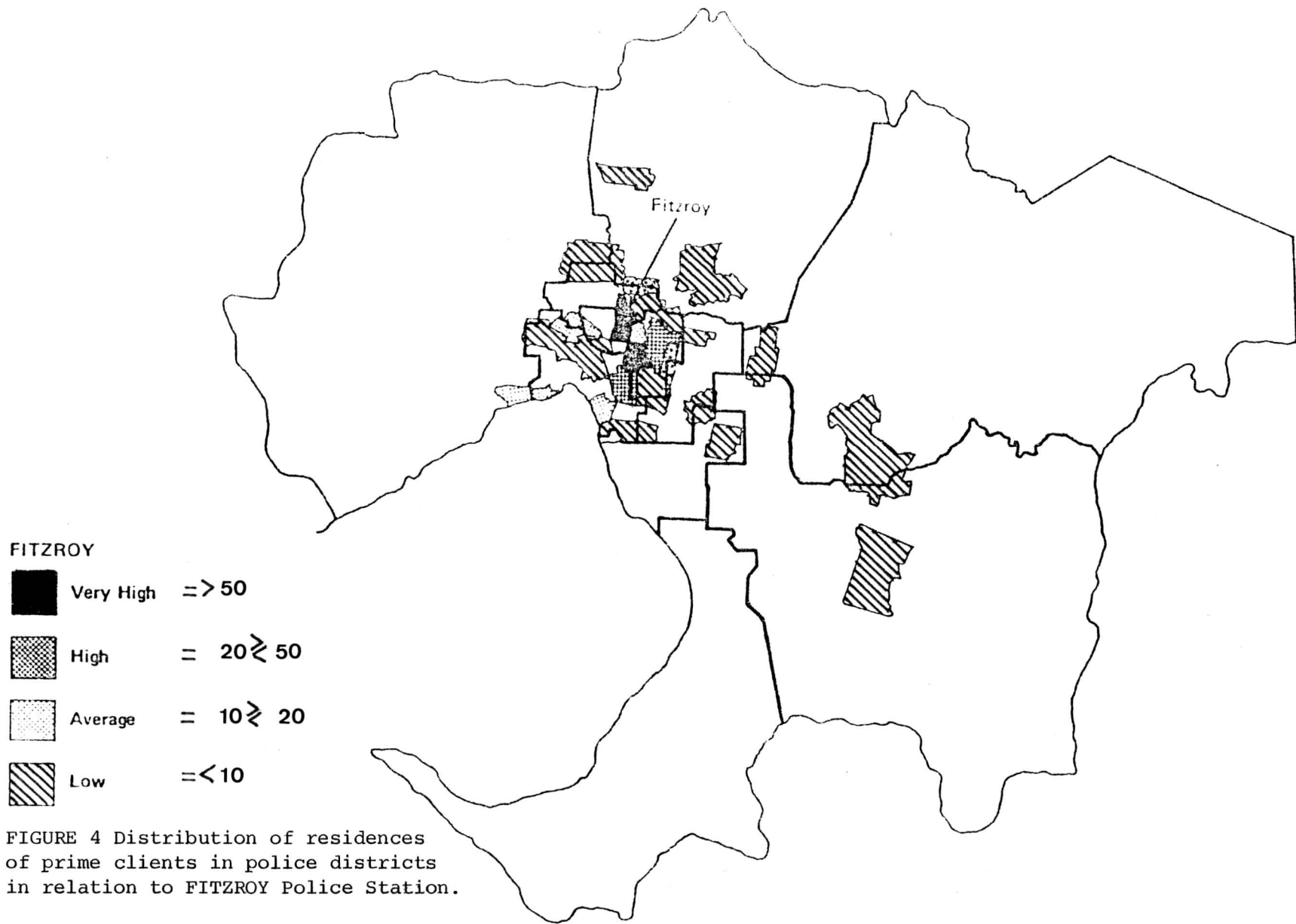


FIGURE 3 Distribution of residences of prime clients in police districts in relation to AVONDALE HEIGHTS Police Station.



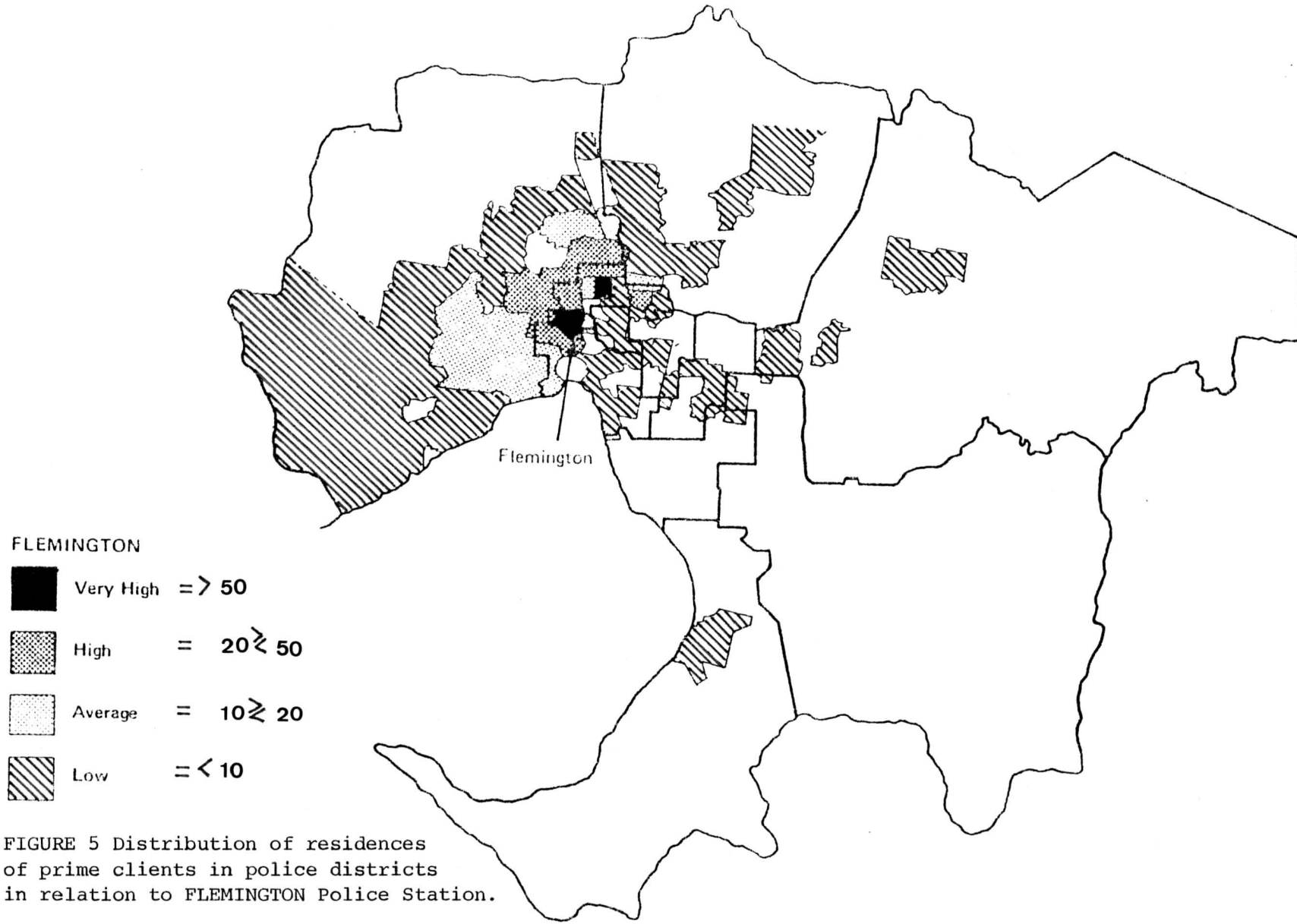


FIGURE 5 Distribution of residences of prime clients in police districts in relation to FLEMINGTON Police Station.

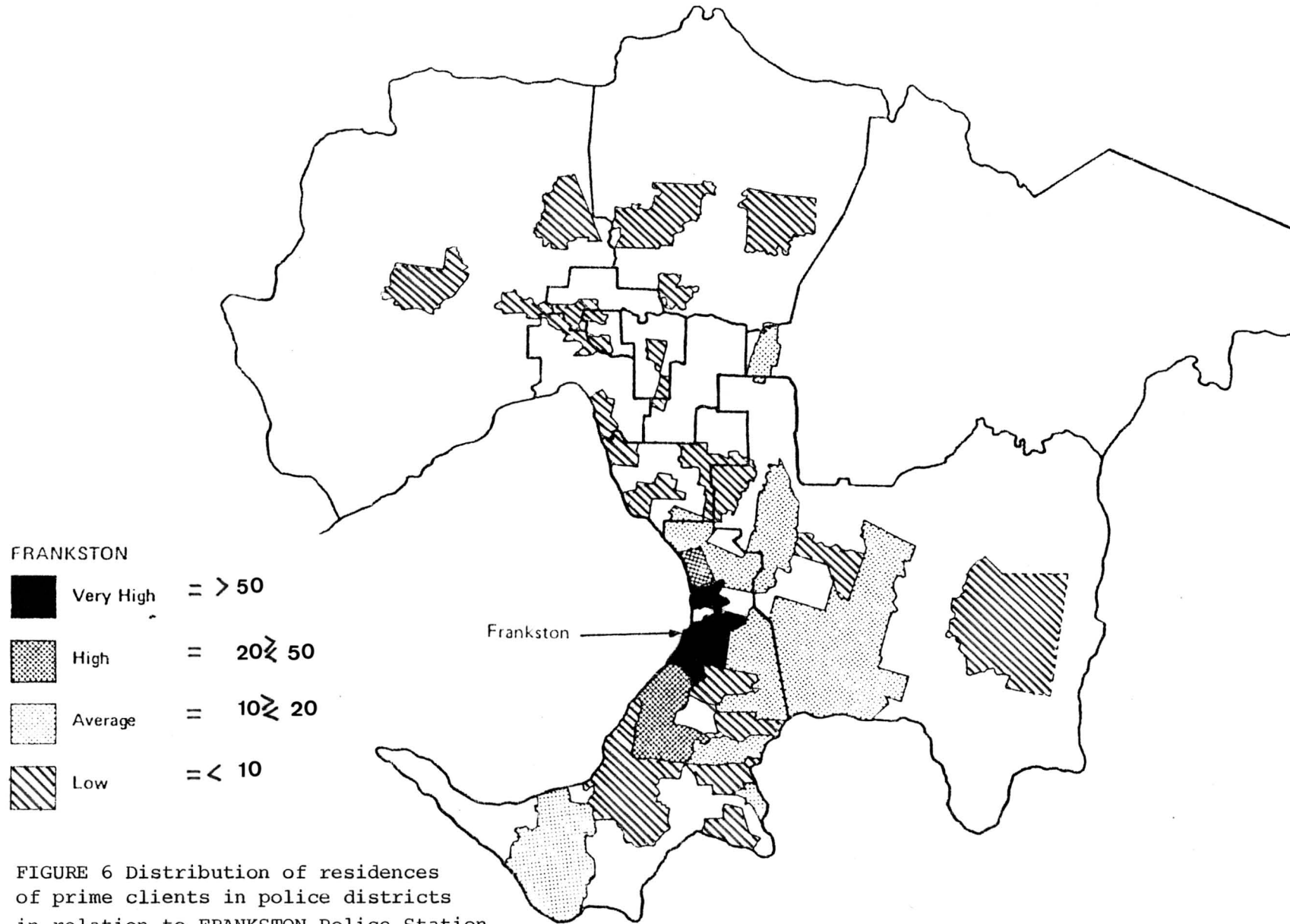
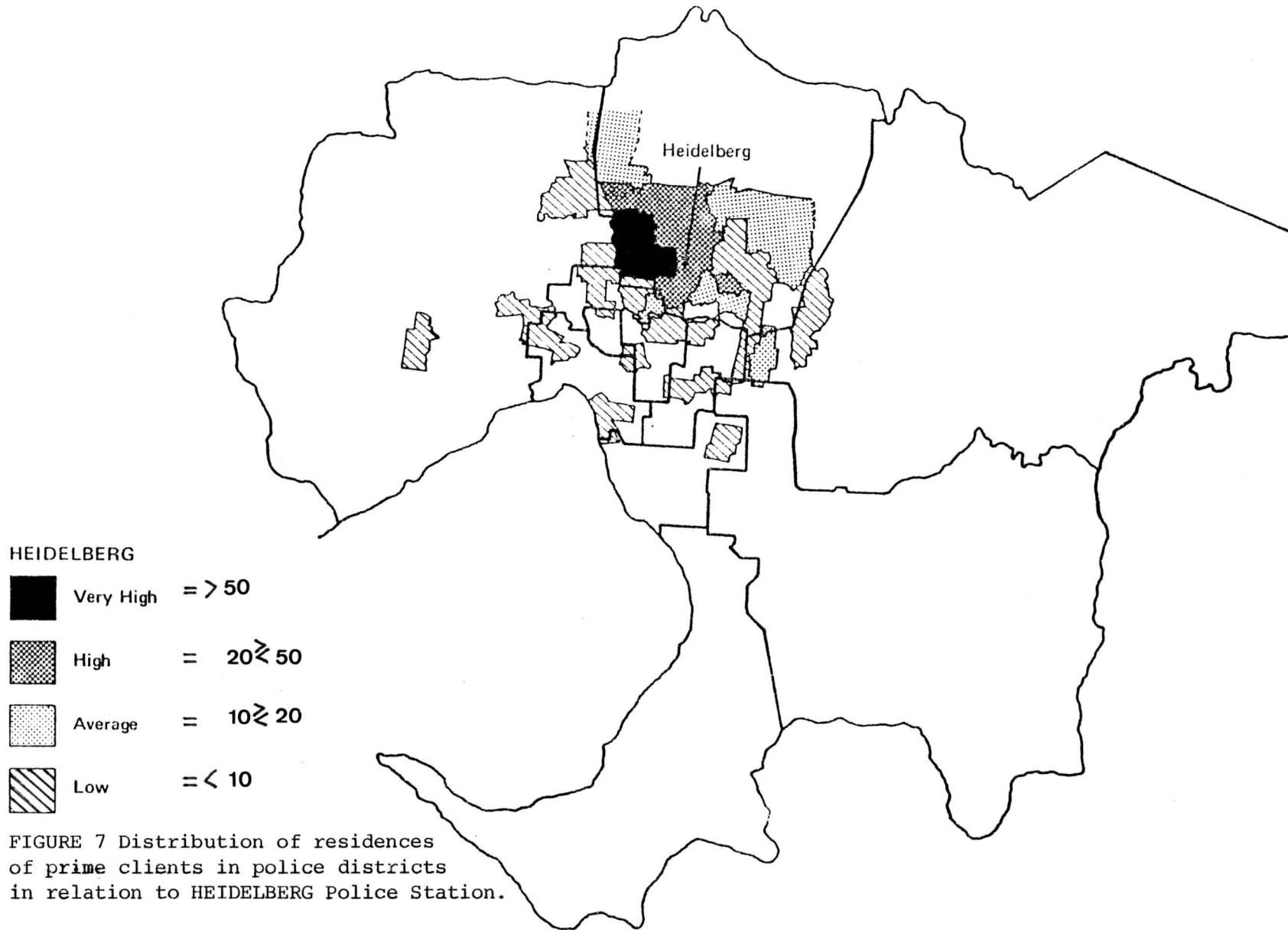
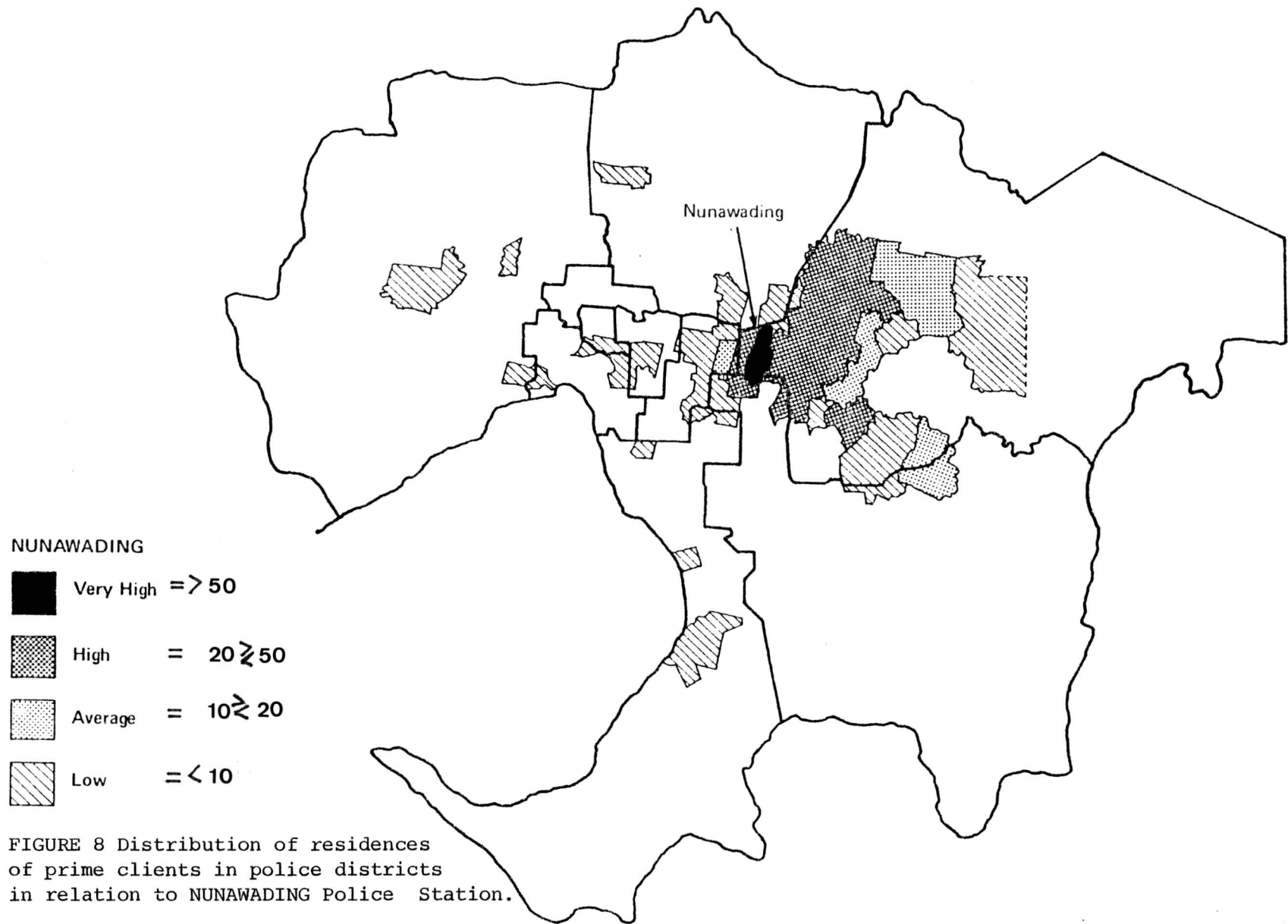


FIGURE 6 Distribution of residences of prime clients in police districts in relation to FRANKSTON Police Station.





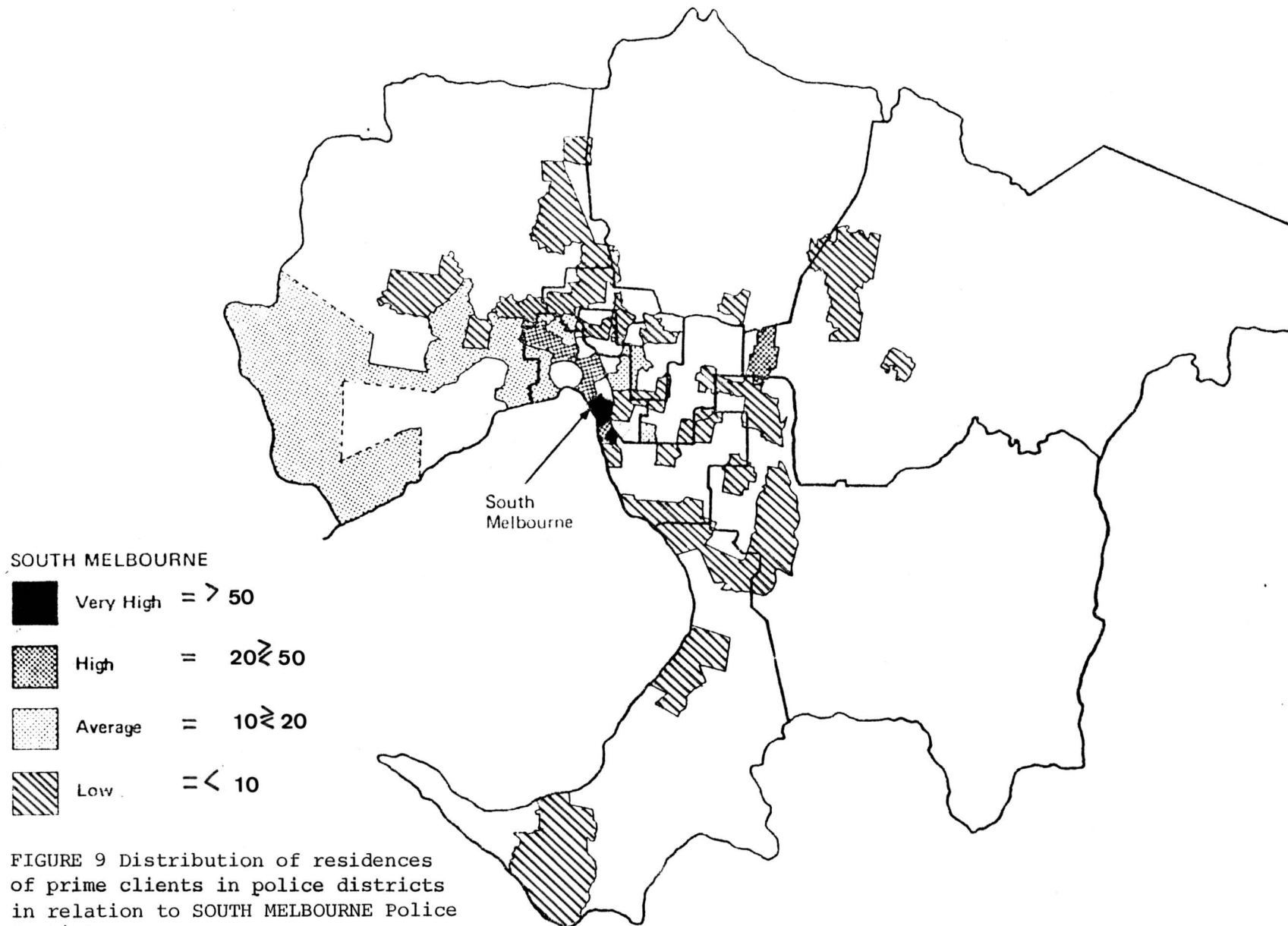


FIGURE 9 Distribution of residences of prime clients in police districts in relation to SOUTH MELBOURNE Police Station.

Neither the observational study or the examination of records produced any evidence to support the view that certain classes are managed differentially. That is, that due to their social position they were immune from coercive action or differentially identified and processed through the courts.

The criteria used to manage cases is discussed more fully later in the findings, but the class, status, race, age, sex or residence of a client was not an apparent factor in determining the type of action taken.

4

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

This chapter describes the preliminary pilot projects and the type and reliability of the information gathered. Problems associated with obtaining access to the data, development of coding techniques, research design and the determination of the sample size are also discussed.

1. The Pilot Studies.

a. The records of policewomen.

With the permission of the Victoria Police Force a pilot study of records kept by policewomen at the Caulfield station was undertaken in 1976.

This project revealed that the case books maintained by policewomen at this unit were a veritable goldmine of information. They dated back over many years and throughout the time that they had been kept, had been cross-indexed, so that it was possible to trace the ebb and flow of social problems in the district for at least two generations.

The extracts from these records, which spanned a number of years demonstrated, that at this unit at least, policewomen had diligently recorded as much detail as possible relating to clients and their problems. It was also evident that if a systematic study was mounted this would reveal the nature and extent of the functions of policewomen.

It was also ascertained that similar records were maintained at other Women Police Districts and after making

a written submission to the Force, to mount the study, approval was granted.

b. The records of policemen.

In comparison with the records of policewomen, those kept by the males were not nearly as revealing with respect to ascertaining the nature and extent of their work.

Mobile patrol running sheets for a two week period from another inner suburban police district were, as an example of male record keeping, examined.

It was found that these consisted of short, abrupt statements of events and did not provide the background data necessary to mount a large scale study. To gain an overall picture of male police work in the general duties area, and their more specialist tasks, it would have been necessary to combine running sheets with other station records. When these were examined, they were found to be similarly lacking in detailed content.

Table 2 following illustrates the results of the analysis of the mobile patrol running sheets referred to previously. This indicates that male police on patrol in this district spent about 4.4 percent of their time on social assistance activities. This finding did not confirm Wilson and Western's⁵¹ estimates of tasks performed by male police on patrol. It was apparent, therefore, that if their findings were to be validated, or otherwise, other

51. Wilson and Western, op.cit., p. 48 estimate that domestic and personal matters accounted for about 8% of patrol time. It is possible that due to the area studied my figures are skewed.

techniques such as interviews and ride-along observations along the lines of the research conducted by Webster⁵² would have to be initiated.

This study was therefore confined to records maintained by policewomen due to the paucity and questionable reliability of the records maintained by male police. Cost factors related to the type of research which would have to be conducted were also a consideration.

52. J. A. Webster, Police Task and Time Study D.Crim., thesis University of California, Berkeley, 1968 pp. 1 - 3 and pp. 140 - 181.

TABLE 2ACTIVITIES OF MALE POLICE UNDERTAKING MOBILE PATROLS

<u>TASK DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>Area</u>		<u>Total calls attended N = 1098</u>	<u>Percent- age of total</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>		
<u>Calls attended</u>				
<u>1. Law Enforcement</u>				
Including investigat- ing consorting alleg- ations, car accidents, making arrests, contacting witnesses.	80	112	192	17.4
<u>2. Public Order</u>				
Arresting for drunk and disorderly, clear- ing and investigating traffic obstructions, attending accidents where no charge resulted. Attending demonstrations and other miscellaneous matters such as capturing a violent dog	37	43	80	7.2
<u>3. Crime Prevention</u>				
Car checks, station checks, hospital and morgue checks, silent alarm checks, person checks	282	490	772	70.3
<u>4. Domestic disputes</u>				
Attending domestic disputes	3	3	6	0.5
<u>5. Other personal problems</u>				
Attending suicides and attempts. Trans- porting homeless persons to emergency accommodation. Deliver- ing messages to relat- ives after sudden death, notifying of illness. Taking mentally ill persons into custody.	24	24	48	4.4

2. Some observations on the records of police.

James M. Edgar, a police specialist with the Department of Justice, Washington D.C. has noted⁵³ that the collection and utilization of information collected by police to more effectively plan services, such as a team policing model, is as yet inadequate. He supports the restructuring of current information systems to 'effectively utilize the information that has been collected to prevent and control crime'. Whilst it is recognized that mobile patrol sheets and other data examined are used for specific purposes it is strongly recommended that a general upgrading of police information systems be done to meet Edgar's criteria.

It is most unfortunate that record-keeping and report-writing has not as yet received a great deal of attention in this country. However, this would not seem to be an uncommon failing as McCabe and Sutcliffe make a similar complaint with respect to the English situation.⁵⁴

They also observe, with respect to the American studies they review that these:-

'devote a good deal of attention to the subject on the ground not only that the shape and extent of records in any organization determine the shape and extent of bureaucratic control, but also that

53. James M. Edgar, Information Model Policing. A design for the Systematic Use of Criminal Intelligence in a Team Policing Operation. Unpublished Paper, Washington, 1976.

54. Sarah McCabe and Frank Sutcliffe, Defining Crime Basil Blackwell, Oxford University Centre for Criminological Research, 1978, p. 25.

the definitions of behaviour take their first shape in the initial reports about it'. 55

More efficient information systems ought to reduce rather than increase police paperwork. As well, they ought to enhance organizational planning, which observations made during this study indicate are sorely needed.

3. The Research Instrument.

In March 1977, after the Victoria Police Force had approved the project and granted access to the case books kept by policewomen, work was commenced on developing an experimental data coding book which would also provide for data which had been collected, to be transcribed direct from the coding books to punch cards. The purpose of this design was to minimize coding errors.

The coding system aimed to capture all recordable data in the records and covered such topics as:-

- the characteristics of police stations to be visited.
- who asked the police to intervene.
- client characteristics such as place of residence, age, sex, relationship to the initiator of the intervention, type of presenting problem and other factors including alcohol and drug dependency, marital, accommodation, financial, mental illness and other social problems.
- police perception of the problem and action taken including the amount of running about involved in resolving cases.

A copy of the coding book is included in Appendix 2. Over 2,300 coding books were ultimately completed. These represented one coding book, comprising

some 35 pages, for each case coded at the seven districts sampled.

As the study progressed it was necessary to develop a supplementary coding book to cover unusual cases which arose but this was not very extensive and the pilot study had enabled most situations to be covered without recourse to the allocation of supplementary codings.

Of course, one had to ensure that the field staff employed to read the records and code information used the classifications consistently. Constant consistency checks were undertaken and adjustments made when necessary - but this was not a grave problem as staff had been well briefed in advance.

The only real problem with using a separate code book to record details of each case was that, at the conclusion of the data collection, the stacked code books were over 21 feet high and comprised over 80,000 pages of coding to be checked!

The distinct advantage of using separate books for each case was that when a suspected error in coding was detected (each book was checked by the writer) the book could be taken back to the station of origin and the specific police record speedily retrieved. If an error or anomaly was apparent after re-reading the facts, the case could easily be recoded.

Before the code books were transcribed into punch cards it was therefore considered that the error margin was minimal.

4. The data source.

For very many years in Victoria policewomen have used a ruled, foolscap sized, leather bound book comprising some 500 pages to record details of cases. At some stations more than one book would be completed each year, depending on the case load.

Until recently this record was called the 'Job Book' but the name was changed to 'Case Book' because a senior member of the Force considered that the former title 'sounded like a mechanics log book'. The change of name did not alter the type of data recorded.

Whilst there was no official requirement in Standing Orders that such a record be kept, the Officer in Charge of Women Police encouraged its maintenance.

Some of the useful purposes it served included the following:-

- i. to enable ready reference if a case had to be followed up by other personnel in the event of a case not being completed before a shift change,
- ii. as a means by which the range of activities undertaken at the station could be recorded,
- iii. to justify the resolution adopted, and
- iv. as an extremely valuable record for staff if a client had dangerous propensities or other characteristics which may have affected management in the event of a future contact.

The current trend seems to be to use running sheets which have the same information restrictions as those kept by male police. At some Women Police Districts fuller records are still maintained, but on a voluntary basis.

When coding of the case books was undertaken, during 1977, they were required to include details of all incidents in which policewomen became involved, either on their own initiative or at the request of the client or some other person. The only exceptions were parking and traffic infringement notices, some counter enquiries and a small number of cases occurring on patrol which were recorded in mobile patrol running sheets.

Details were normally entered in the case books when policewomen initially intervened and added to as the case proceeded. Some entries were written up 'in toto' from memory after the case was concluded but this was rare as it defeated the purpose of the case books, as discussed previously.

All entries were sequentially numbered to enable ready reference and cross-referencing if there were further contacts with the client. Some entries were also notated to indicate that policewomen had had a prior contact with the client. The type of resolution adopted was also recorded with an overview of the background to the case.

The vast majority of entries were handwritten but occasionally a typewritten statement would also be appended to an entry if it was very complex or contacts with the client extended beyond the normal span for intervention. Cases were usually resolved within hours of first coming to notice, but some extended over a period of days. Rarely a case would be alive for a week or more.

The left hand pages of the case books were used to detail the date of intervention, who asked for intervention, the name, address and approximate age of the client and any other persons intimately involved in the case.

The number of the case was recorded in the far left margin and numbers were sequential, commencing with the numeral '1' on the first day of January in each year. This system facilitated calculation of the number of interventions per annum at each station, but as some individuals came to notice or requested intervention more than once each year this had to be taken into account in analyzing the data.

The right hand side of the books were used to amplify the details outlined on the opposite side of the page and to describe the background to the case and client characteristics.

Due to the undertaking given to police to maintain confidentiality with respect to the records prior to commencing the project, genuine police records cannot be reproduced herein. However, sample entries with fictitious, but typical, fact situations were prepared to test the aptitude of potential field staff for coding data and to familiarize them with 'in service' jargon. Some of these sample entries are included in Appendix 1, which further illustrate the previous description of the data source.

Generally, not more than 10 minutes would be spent on coding each entry unless it was very complex

and coders were required to complete a section in each survey booklet describing how difficult the case was to code. The results of this section showed that coders found cases easy to code in 85.6 percent of all cases.

Policewomen were expected to indicate their involvement in a case by printing their name and rank beside each case they attended. In all but 4.5 percent of cases this procedure was followed. The reason for this requirement was to ensure that if it became necessary for another member to follow up a case this could be facilitated. The authors of an unsigned entry could, however, usually be located by the handwriting, even if the entry did not have the name and rank notated.

Table 3 on the following page illustrates that at all stations there was a small incidence of incomplete entries and that normally policewomen worked in teams. The cases in which only one policewoman was involved were generally those matters where the client called at the station in person.

TABLE 3WHO COMPLETED THE CASE BOOK ENTRIES

<u>STATION</u>	<u>ENTRY COMPLETED BY:</u>		
	Policewoman	Policewomen	NOT KNOWN
	%	%	%
AVONDALE HEIGHTS	24.5	72.0	3.5
FITZROY	11.0	82.0	7.0
FLEMINGTON	14.3	82.2	2.5
FRANKSTON	17.7	76.0	6.3
HEIDELBERG	25.7	71.3	3.0
NUNAWADING	16.0	74.3	9.7
SOUTH MELBOURNE	18.3	80.3	1.3
AVERAGE ALL STATIONS	17.4	78.0	4.5

As previously remarked the case books detailed most of the activities of women police and the running sheets were used to record car usage, traffic and parking infringements with other incidentals. But at Avondale Heights there had already been a decided preference for running sheets. This was due to the then policewoman sergeant's view that policewomen should perform the same tasks and complete the same records as male police.

Shortly before this study commenced the then Inspector in Charge of Women Police had insisted that a case book be maintained at Avondale Heights. It was thought that this might have affected the quality of case book entries. This did not prove to be so, but a more limited range of cases was recorded when data at this station was compared with that of other stations.

The running sheets kept by female police were not analyzed in this study because they shared the same defects as those maintained by male police as they did not specify more than the name of the client and the briefest account of the reason for the intervention.

Case books, it must be concluded, were a unique and fertile source of data on the role of women police and, as the following discussion on reliability suggests, may have been more accurate than other internal recording systems.

5. The reliability of the data.

Certain objections can be raised with respect to the reliability of the data. First, as previously remarked, some records were not complete, but this could be expected from records which were never kept with a view to being utilized for research purposes and which were written up hurriedly. Secondly, it could be contended that the records were skewed as they reflected the value judgments and class orientations of their authors. Leaper, who analyzed records of the Victoria Police Force prepared in relation to children's court proceedings, also expressed concern about the limitations on the objectivity and reliability of police data but concluded:-

'.. there is no sound reason for believing that the reliability and validity of the data are lower than those usually found in introductory studies in the social sciences..' 56

This view is supported in this study because the records were prepared with the expectation that a problem may have had to be taken up later by another officer and it was apparent that policewomen were diligent in providing sufficient information for their colleagues to do this.

Two measures to test the objectivity of case book entries were incorporated in the survey and the following tables and discussion illustrate that it was very difficult to interpret the objectivity of entries as these are not normally revealed in the somewhat stoic entries in case books.

56. Leaper Report, op. cit., p. 6.

Table 4 on the next page shows that policewomen only recorded clearly negative attitudes to clients in 4 percent of the total cases. In the vast majority of entries they seemed removed from the personal drama in which they were involved. If this is a reasonable measure of objectivity rather than non-caring (which was not evident) then the data may be regarded as being an objective statement of the tasks.

The other method of assessing objectivity relates to the clients themselves. Only a small percentage of cases reflected an other than neutral stand with respect to the client. Table 5 details the information gained.

Comparison of these two tables shows that policewomen sometimes expressed varying attitudes to the task and to the client. These variations emerged in specific types of cases. For instance, family conflict situations were sometimes regarded as a nuisance but one member of the family unit may have been perceived sympathetically. Another example of this differentiation related to cases where the client had signs of mental illness. Such cases took time and running about to resolve, thus they were a nuisance, but this attitude rarely extended to the client.

These two measures of objectivity were introduced to assist in determining the reliability of the data. No other methods, such as checking with clients, were available. All one can conclude is that there is no reason to believe that station officers would condone the inclusion

of non-factual situations or the exclusion of data which would affect police efficiency, or for that matter, the safety of other officers.

TABLE 4

THE ATTITUDE OF POLICEWOMEN TO THE TASKS
THEY WERE ASKED TO PERFORM

DESCRIPTION OF ATTITUDE TO THE TASK	%
1. No relevant information indicating that although the information may be too vague to rate, the general tenor of the entry was neutral or passive. That is, the police entries were a straight narrative of the facts.	88.7
2. Entries indicated that the police regarded the task as a nuisance or that they expressed annoyance.	2.7
3. Entry indicated that police were pleased to help and/or were willing to assist or help again.	3.4
4. Entry indicated that the police wished they could help more.	.4
5. Police indicated that they were pleased with the response of the prime client(s) or collateral(s).	1.1
6. Police indicated disapproval of the task.	1.3
7. Police appeared to be insensitive to the real issue or to a client.	.1 ⁵⁷
8. Police regarded the task as a nuisance but indicated either tolerance or resignation to the task.	2.3
<hr/>	
57. This rare entry arose when a Social Welfare Agency asked policewomen to investigate home conditions of a child who had only recently been discharged from hospital as a result of injuries received in a 'fall'. The policewomen closed the entry by remarking that the second 'fall' was an accident. The child was a baby of six months who had sustained broken bones and bruises.	

TABLE 5
POLICEWOMENS' OPINIONS OF PRIME CLIENTS
AND COLLATERALS

	PRIME CLIENT (S) %	COLLATERAL (S) %
1. No relevant information, which indicated that although the information may have been too vague to rate, the general tenor was neutral or passive. The statements were a straight narrative of facts.	86.0	91.1
2. Police did not have a high opinion.	8.0	5.4
3. Police were ambivalent, expressing mixed feelings about the client(s) general character as opposed to precipitating behaviour.	2.3	2.1
4. Police indicated that they were impressed with the client(s) character and/or behaviour.	1.7	.8
5. Police were sympathetic to client(s) predicament.	2.0	.6

The variations between women police attitudes to a type of case and to clients indicated that they appeared to accept their role with equanimity. It is not really surprising that the case books ordinarily blandly represented fact situations as the women were expected to use the books to record case management. The records were obviously open to inspection by other officers and peers and it would be rare in any organization for an official record book to be used to vent hostilities or attitudes

to job functions.

The police attitude to the case book, as a record of their activities, appeared therefore to be that they regarded it as a serious attempt to detail their activities. As such, whilst information might not have been sufficiently complete to satisfy a social scientist, its reliability from the police point of view, was indisputable.

The incidence of 'repeaters' in the sample had to be examined to ascertain how this variable might affect the assessment of the nature and extent of the welfare role of policewomen. A 'repeater' was defined as a prime client or clients who had more than one entry in the case book for the period examined. The consequence of persistent repeaters could have been to overly inflate the occurrence of any of the factors or decisions coded in the sample. Care was taken to segregate these cases when a notation of a prior or subsequent entry occurred in the case book. If an individual was particularly troublesome policewomen would note persistent interventions by cross-referencing prior entries onto subsequent entries. They followed this policy for other reasons also. In a situation where persistent intra-family conflict was present, for example, they could build up a social history of the causative factors by cross-referencing. This consolidation of information might then be used to confront one of the parties with their responsibility for the conflict. A case involving poor living conditions might also be cross-

referenced so that policewomen could establish sufficient evidence of deterioration in the home environment's cleanliness to justify intervening to remove children. Normally they either knew from previous interventions when to record a fresh intervention as having appeared previously and they then recorded this, or, if they did not know, and there was some evidence to suggest that the problem had surfaced previously, they would ask the client. In either case they normally located the previous entry in the case book and made a note of the previous case number on the fresh entry. In a proportion of cases they prepared a card, noting interventions and indexed this for ready reference to allow further follow ups from time to time. This procedure more frequently occurred in cases which involved suspected child neglect, poor living conditions and elderly people who it was suspected were not caring for themselves adequately. When time permitted policewomen would then refer to the Index and make spot checks to homes to determine current conditions.

Policewomen took some care to cross-reference to facilitate speedy follow-ups. Table 6 illustrates the number of cases in which policewomen had noted that the client had either come to notice prior to the entry being coded or which had been cross-referenced to indicate a subsequent contact.

TABLE 6

ENTRIES IN THE CASE BOOKS WHICH INDICATED THAT PRIME CLIENTS AND/OR COLLATERALS HAD PREVIOUSLY OR SUBSEQUENTLY COME TO NOTICE WITH RESPECT TO A SIMILAR MATTER

DESCRIPTION	%
1. Case book entries had no notation of prior or subsequent entries, or no relevant information was available.	87.3
2. Prime client(s) clearly had a prior and/or subsequent entry or entries.	6.5
3. Some of the prime clients only had a prior or subsequent entry.	.2
4. Collateral(s) clearly had a prior and/or subsequent entry or entries.	1.5
5. Some of the collateral(s) only had a prior or subsequent entry.	.4
6. All or some of the prime client(s) and collateral(s) had prior or subsequent entries.	.9
7. Some information but too vague to record accurately.	3.2
	<u>100.0 %</u>

Whether or not 87.3 percent of the total cases, as described in Item 1 of Table 6, were first initiations with no prior or subsequent entries, cannot be asserted with certainty. Although, when interviewed, policewomen confidently stated that they did their utmost to cross-reference entries, some method had to be employed to determine what margin of error did occur.

This was done by a manual check of all entries in each of the case books sampled. It was discovered that some entries had marginal notes scribbled on them by other station staff to indicate to the personnel involved in the case that it had come to notice previously. These informal observations, as they were described, occurred in 9.5 percent of all cases. In 6.5 percent of all cases these informal observations had been formally incorporated into the cross-referencing system, 3 percent of the informal observations had not been picked up. Some of these referred to interventions in a previous case book, some could not be related to surnames or other details in the case books but a proportion, approximately 1.5 percent to 2 percent should have been cross-referenced. It can therefore be concluded that the error margin of cases that occurred more than once in the time span being sampled was, on a generous estimate, 2 percent.

If this figure is added to the known previous or subsequent entries, called herein 'repeaters', this means that in nearly 15 percent of the cases sampled there had been more than one intervention in the period.

These repeat interventions might have been excluded from the sample but for the fact that an examination of these cases revealed that they did not always totally replicate the same fact situation as a prior or subsequent entry.

In a number of cases a fresh precipitating factor necessitated intervention. A husband and wife (which is used loosely to include common law relationships) for instance, may have separated after a series of domestic disputes. Previously one partner may have consulted women police with respect to the other's behaviour. The study showed that whilst women usually complained of aggressive behaviour or heavy drinking by the male partner, there were instances where the male alleged that the female had these vices. Counter-allegations and independent complaints were not uncommon for both parties.

These entries would be recorded as entry number one, two or three depending on the number of disputes, each occurring on a different date. Policewomen were well aware of the potential danger of domestic disputes⁵⁸ and dutifully cross-referenced these cases.⁵⁹

In the event of separation, the wife may have consulted the policewomen for help with alternative accommodation or for financial advice or assistance. This

58. See for instance, M. Bard and J. Zacker, 'Assaultiveness and Alcohol Use in Family Disputes: Police Perceptions', Criminology 12, 3 November 1974, pp. 281 - 292.

59. Despite their vigilant bookkeeping at least one case in the sample resulted in murder of the wife and children followed by suicide by the spouse and serious injury to other members of the family.

also would be cross-referenced. A short time later the husband may have come to the station and complained to the policewomen that his wife was neglecting the children or denying him access to them, or property he considered he owned in the matrimonial home. Again, a formal notation would be made.

The conflict might well have been resolved, for the time being at least, when one party visited the station to advise that there had been a reconciliation. The reason for the visit may be two-fold. First, to ensure that the women police did not make a home visit to check on the children's circumstances, which might be considered could have exacerbated any lingering conflict. Secondly, to seek advice about the withdrawal of any proceedings that might have been initiated.

Although each of these interventions may have had a similar foundation, that is, the matrimonial conflict, the nature of the intervention and action taken would differ.

The study of records showed that this was a normal pattern in repeating interventions. Consequently, it was not considered appropriate to exclude repeaters from the sample as they did not unduly skew the variables examined.

Whilst cross-referencing undoubtedly increased the time spent by policewomen on paperwork and record keeping, they maintained that this was a valuable expenditure of time, on the ground that they could follow progress and deterioration in cases in which their intervention was sought.

6. The sample.

a. Sample size and work load of policewomen.

At all stations, except South Melbourne, the case book for the calendar year 1 January to 31 December 1976 was used to collect the sample. As South Melbourne station did not commence operations until October 1976, due to a re-organization of Police Districts, the case book at this station for the period October 1976 to December 1977 was used.

At each station random months were selected for the study and Figure 10 demonstrates the variation in case load for stations during 1976. Table 7 illustrates the total case load at each station during the above period, the sample size selected and the percentage of the total case load coded.

Originally, it was intended to sample 200 cases from four or five stations. However, this was extended after the extent of the police role became evident at the first stations visited, namely Flemington, Nunawading and Avondale Heights. It was also apparent that there was some variation in the types of cases presented and actions taken. As data was available at other stations on request, it was decided to extend the sample size and the areas covered to measure the variations and their effects.

Figure 10
 Case load of each station by month for period 1.1.76
 to 31.12.76 (except South Melbourne which commenced
 operation in October 1976).

- Flemington
- - - - - Avondale Heights
- Nunawading
- - - - - South Melbourne
- . - . - Fitzroy
- Heidelberg
- Frankston

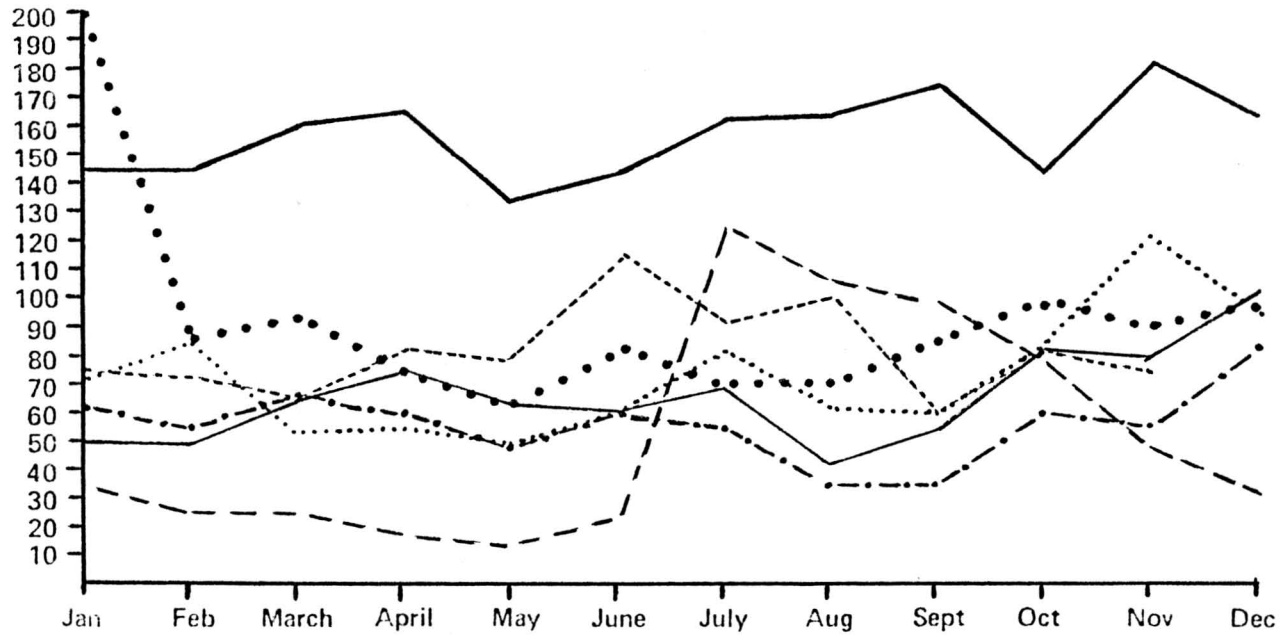


TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL CASE LOAD FOR EACH
STATION INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE

STATION	TOTAL CASE LOAD	SAMPLE SIZE	% OF TOTAL CASE LOAD
Av	646	200	30.95
Fit	687	300	43.66
F1	1891	600	31.72
Fr	1103	300	27.19
Hb	880	300	34.09
SM	889	300	33.74
Nun	807	300	37.17
	6903	2300	33.1 % average.

The total case load for the period for each station was calculated by adding up the entries for each month excluding most entries for parking and traffic infringement notices, with the exception of those included for reasons discussed in the next section.

Figure 2 demonstrates that there were some wide variations in the case loads of stations on a monthly basis. The high peak at Frankston in January and the slump in February is explicable as the Women's Police Division at Frankston serviced beach resort areas with a high transient population during the summer holiday months of late December, January and early February. As one police officer remarked, "The holiday makers who come to our district in the summer months bring their problems with them".

Avondale Heights monthly case load on Figure 2

was quite erratic. In the early months of 1976 the Station Officer at Avondale Heights strongly resisted undertaking welfare activities and was most reluctant to keep a case book at all. However, as a result of the intervention of the Inspector in Charge of Women Police in June 1976, the case book system of recording interventions was reinstated, but by December 1976 standards had again slipped and record keeping was not to the same standard as observed at other stations. Therefore it is not clear whether the Avondale Heights case load would have been similar to that at other stations where trends were fairly consistent.

Although Flemington is geographically one of the smallest police districts in Metropolitan Melbourne it has a concentrated population living in high rise, State controlled, housing developments. For many years policewomen in this district have been renowned for their active interest in the needs of the community and are a well known community resource.

As Flemington recorded the highest number of interventions in 1976 it was decided to sample 600 cases in this district so as to test whether the samples of 300 cases for all other districts (except Avondale Heights) adequately covered the range of types of interventions undertaken by women police. Increasing the number of cases sampled at Flemington did not significantly increase the range of cases presenting but it remained a useful control in other respects.

Because of the problems referred to previously, coding at Avondale Heights presented some difficulties.

It was evident that record keeping at that station was not as thorough as at other stations, nor in the early stages, before a staff changeover, were cases pursued with the same zeal. Furthermore, either a narrow range of cases presented, or they were interpreted narrowly, and it was decided to limit the sample at this station to 200 cases.⁶⁰

South Melbourne station opened in October 1976 and it was decided to include it in the study to test the impact of a new station, how long it takes to establish itself and become known in a district and whether the range of activities differed between long established and new stations. As the Station Officer at this new station had previously been in charge of the Caulfield station where the pilot study was carried out it was the only station sampled where policewomen might have had some prior detailed knowledge of the research. Whilst it had the highest score on a scale testing the clarity of case book entries, with a return of 93.3 percent of the case book entries being clear and precise (mean average of all stations was 85.6 percent) there is no evidence to suggest that the records of this station were written with the research in mind. The integrity of this Station Officer was beyond reproach. Further, personnel

60. Since a change of Station Officer at Avondale Heights the range of cases and number presenting have increased. An interesting subsidiary study could be undertaken examining the effect that such changes have on the incidence and types of reported cases.

under her supervision at her previous station also produced entries of a similar high standard.

The analysis of case loads therefore demonstrated that there were significant variations between the work loads of stations which were not fully explicable when compared with the area and population of districts.

Some tentative explanations can, however, be suggested. At Frankston, for example, it was learnt that the case load could fluctuate seasonably, as previously explained. School holidays, in areas with a high adolescent population could also have an impact on the case load of a district. The available welfare resources and the extent to which these were utilized by clients would also be a consideration. Special police exercises which intensified policing in a district, such as a 'crime beat' operation might also cause work loads to fluctuate and the location of a large public mental institution, geriatric hospital, correctional facility, Housing Commission development or large shopping complex within the boundaries of a Women Police District, certainly impacted upon the work load of that unit.

Despite the fluctuation in case loads between Districts each case book had sufficient cases in the calendar year surveyed to provide a reasonably sized sample, both in the number and diversity of cases.

The degree of selectivity exercised in collecting the sample is discussed in the next sub-section.

b. The types of cases included and excluded from the Sample.

Parking and Traffic Infringement Notices⁶¹

P.I.N.S. and T.I.N.S. were normally recorded in a separate register by women police and their attendance at accidents generally noted in their mobile patrol running sheets. These activities, together with those described in the case books, represented the totality of the types of duties performed at Women's Police Districts in 1976.

As policewomen did not attend a significant number of accidents it was decided not to fully analyse the mobile patrol running sheets. However the Victoria Police Force kindly made available details of the P.I.N.S. and T.I.N.S. issued by women police for the Districts involved in the study and these are detailed in Table 8 together with the total station load of activities recorded in case books. Combined, these two categories represented the total recorded work loads of women police in each district. These totals excluded work detailed on running sheets and interventions which are not entered in case books because the client is referred directly to another agency. Direct referrals in 1976 were not high, but subsequent discussions with policewomen showed an increasing awareness of other resources, although at the time of writing, direct referrals were still not high.

61. Referred to hereinafter as P.I.N.S. and T.I.N.S. the abbreviation preferred by women police.

TABLE 8TOTAL WORKLOAD OF POLICEWOMEN AT THE STATIONS
FROM WHICH THE TOTAL SAMPLE WAS DRAWN

STATION	TOTAL CASE BOOK ACTIVITIES	P.I.N.S.	T.I.N.S.	TOTAL LOAD
Av	646	14	398	1058
Fit	687	103	124	914
Fl	1891	Nil	32	1923
Fr	1103	10	101	1214
Hb	880	10	185	1075
SM	889	38	236	1163
Nun	807	4	149	960

With the exception of South Melbourne these figures are for the calendar year 1st January to 31st December 1976. South Melbourne figures are for the period 10th October 1976 to 31st December 1977.

In the total sample of 2300 only 12 P.I.N.S. and T.I.N.S. were recorded in case books. These occurred at Flemington and South Melbourne and they have not been excluded from the sample because they were instances in which female police were asked to intervene because the client was either evincing bizarre behaviour, the infringement was issued as a result of a neighbourhood dispute or the facts were otherwise quite unique. An examination of the circumstances surrounding the issue of these particular infringements to determine why they had been included in case books, whereas the majority of infringements had not, indicated that in these cases police had some prior knowledge of the client. All were

females and were either known for physical aggression, bizarre behaviour or obstinacy which necessitated the intervention of policewomen. Thus, in these cases policewomen were asked to do more than merely issue an infringement notice.

Criminal Activities - including shopstealing

A proportion of entries in case books had a law enforcement flavour. These cases were segregated and examined to determine whether they should be excluded from the sample.

The incidence of such cases in the total sample for all stations is detailed in Table 9 below. Whilst nearly a quarter of the activities recorded in case books, 'prima facie', seemed to involve policewomen in crime control or law enforcement duties, after consultation with policewomen it was decided that it would be inappropriate to exclude these activities from the sample. Policewomen were emphatic that these cases represented matters in which they were asked to become involved because of their special welfare skills.

Whenever possible, for instance, male police arranged for policewomen to interview sexual assault victims to conform with official policy. There were also a number of alleged shopstealers in the sample who were women and children and it was normally considered preferable, when interviewing such persons, or searching them, to have a policewoman present.

Policewomen were also called upon to assist in

TABLE 9

THE INCIDENCE OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES AND OTHER LAW
ENFORCEMENT TASKS RECORDED IN CASE BOOKS

NATURE OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY OR LAW ENFORCEMENT PROCEDURE	NUMBER OF CASES OCCURRING IN TOTAL SAMPLE	% OF CASES IN TOTAL SAMPLE FOR ALL STATIONS
Enforcement of access custody or maintenance order.	6	.3
Assisting in locating absconders or escapees, including visiting known or possible hideaways.	38	1.7
Interviewing rape victim.	45	2.0
Interviewing indecent assault victim.	210	9.1
Interviewing alleged incest victim.	9	.4
Investigating and inter- viewing shopstealing.	181	7.9
Investigating and inter- views with respect to other miscellaneous criminal activities.	36	1.6
Serving warrant, notice or summons.	27	1.1
	552	24.1%

locating absconders from mental health institutions, geriatric hospitals, childrens' homes and youth training centres or asked to convey people to these institutions. Generally, the women had an intimate knowledge of the police district and not infrequently knew the missing person's peers or likely location from a previous contact. No doubt this is one reason why policewomen were called into such cases by males. In addition, male police

seemed to consider that the women were able to interview people who may have had information about the whereabouts of a client, without unduly arousing hostilities. It was also suggested by some male police during conversations with them, that the women were also less prone to physical assault than male police in such circumstances.

Whether or not the above reasons validly explain why policewomen were co-opted to such cases by male police, or are merely rationalizations by them, because they could not really be bothered with these very time consuming tasks, could not really be resolved by this study. A separate project studying such matters as the personality, attitudes, training and deployment of both male and female police, plus their interactions with each other and clients would need to be undertaken to resolve this issue. Given the increased deployment of policewomen in general duties tasks since the commencement of this study, and the suspected antagonism by male police to this (which will be discussed more fully later), it is probable that male police attitudes to the preferred roles of women in policing will have altered, or at least be differently articulated since the study was commenced.

For the purposes of this study the policewomen's view, that they were asked to manage certain criminal matters, because of their specific social welfare management skills, or to comply with the then prevailing police attitude that certain tasks were sex specific (in that a female was required to undertake or be present on certain occasions) has been accepted.

It should be noted that police policy still requires the presence or attendance of female police in certain instances, although it has been observed during station visits and discussions with police, that this requirement is not always considered to be appropriate. The observance of this policy has continued to be a contentious issue with some male police and some assert that certain male police are as well suited to fulfilling a social assistance role as policewomen.

The reasons given by policewomen for their involvement in the range of tasks enumerated in Table 9 has therefore prevailed and such cases have not been excluded from the sample. In the following section, describing the findings, they were consequently not ordinarily differentiated.

7. Obtaining access to the data and establishing a working relationship with policewomen.

Until the early 1970's in Victoria, researchers wishing to use police records had been denied access. Since then many requests have been made, but only a small number have been granted.⁶² Police have allowed access only in special circumstances and ordinarily only on special conditions such as an express undertaking by

62. See for example:-

- i. D. Challinger, The Young Offender in Victoria, VACRO, 1978. which used the Form 276.
- ii. C. King, op. cit., which used records kept at one police station.
- iii. The Leaper Report, op. cit., which used the Form 276.

researchers to keep confidential the names and other identifying details of persons cited in records.

This study used field staff at seven stations and, once approval had been granted, records were readily available at most stations. This signified a considerable breakthrough for outside researchers and every effort was made throughout the project to ensure that good relationships were maintained.

There are a number of reasons why police are cautious about allowing access to their records and whilst some potential researchers interpret these concerns as being an unreasonable restraint on research, the police perspective must also be appreciated.

Police have a responsibility to the public at large, and their specific clients, to ensure that personal details do remain confidential. Public security and its concomitant, confidentiality about police methods, must also be important considerations when permitting access. Further, police have expressed concern to me that an uncontrolled influx of researchers could also seriously impair their organizational efficiency without producing data which would enhance their operations. Recently the Force has established a Research Review Panel⁶³ to deal with the influx of requests to use records. This screens requests to determine the viability of research proposals

63. This panel is comprised of senior police officers with research experience gained whilst undertaking the Diploma in Criminology at the University of Melbourne and a member of the academic staff of the Criminology Department.

and the type of records required. So far more requests have been denied than granted.

With these considerations in mind it was decided that if access was to be obtained the researcher would have to demonstrate the value and utility of the project, show that it would not impinge unduly on police time, demonstrate that confidentiality would be maintained, reassure police that results would be shared with them and that the researcher was a trusted and respected individual.

Establishing the necessary links with police is not a short-term undertaking and involves a two-way dialogue. One must be known and respected. My experience was that one need not compromise one's views. Police respect constructive criticism, but they will not tolerate humbug.

This author's involvement in various projects spanning a period of five years provided the necessary foundations for a request to analyse the records of policewomen which had never previously been made available to an outside researcher.

Once the necessary consents had been obtained, and this took some time, the full co-operation of the police was forthcoming. At only one station of the seven visited was there any resistance to making the records available and this, whilst time consuming, presented no grave problem because of the support of more senior officers.

In that instance, resistance probably reflected the personality of the then station officer and an apprehension that the quality of record keeping did not compare favourably with that employed at other stations.

From the outset every effort was made to ensure that policewomen understood the nature of the project and they were reassured that confidentiality of personal data would be maintained. Additionally, it was stated that there would be no claims upon their time, unless they wished to participate and that all that was required was the relevant case book and a small area in which to work.

In practice these procedures proved acceptable and at all but one station policewomen developed a friendly and interested rapport with field staff. Policewomen volunteered to discuss their role and future prospects and their participation and interest in the project was most rewarding, although on occasions their enthusiasm became somewhat time consuming.

It became evident that their need to talk was not always related to the research project but rather, a desire to communicate with an 'outsider' who was not beset with the social problems which they encountered in their day to day work. In view of the fragmented hours which they work and the day to day stress which they encounter in the management of social problems, social interaction with individuals from other walks of life is quite limited and the opportunity to talk with an apparently rational, normal non-problematic

person, who is also perceived as non-threatening appeared to be a refreshing interlude for them.

It was evident from these discussions that police-women need to share their troubles, to discuss their role, to rationalize and justify their actions, to vent their complaints about police administration and to generally express job frustrations. Unfortunately due to time constraints and the need to maintain impartiality these discussions were not always pursued but in general terms field staff observed that policewomen rarely felt they were appreciated and displayed a sense of isolation from normal social intercourse.

Police training does not necessarily equip women police to manage the social problems which they encounter⁶⁴ and it was further observed that a considerable amount of time at stations was spent by field staff discussing cases with policewomen. At an informal level, management techniques and an operating knowledge of the law was learnt from their colleagues and this process was actively encouraged. Whilst this may have value there is always the danger that inappropriate management control systems will be perpetuated.

These, and other issues will be discussed in more detail later in the text. They emerged in the process of establishing and maintaining a satisfactory

64. A number of overseas studies confirm that this applies equally to male police. See John L. Hipple & Lee Hipple, 'Training Law Enforcement Officers', Social Work. 21, 4, July 1976 p. 316. In Victoria training in human relationship skills is very limited.

work relationship, as it was recognised that if the data was to be correctly interpreted, not only was access necessary, but also a relationship which would enhance the interpretation of the data. These factors have been taken into account when determining the implications of the data for policy making.⁶⁵

Police say they develop an ability to detect deviousness, dishonesty and half truths. At all times during this project they were provided with as much information about the nature of the research as they desired. From the outset maintaining an ethical and honest approach was stressed to field staff.⁶⁶ The willingness of the policewomen to talk about their role was of great value, but it is suggested that without the necessary foundations being laid, such lively discussions would not have been so forthcoming. In that event, obtaining access to the data would have been insufficient as access without co-operation would have resulted in an unbalanced interpretation of the data.

One example will serve to illustrate this point. At one station coders recorded that a woman who was described by police as 'One bob short' (that is, less

65. Elinor Ostrom, 'Institutional Arrangements and the Measurement of Policy Consequences: Applications to Evaluating Police Performance, Urban Affairs Quarterly, 6:4 1971, p.451, 452 discusses sources in error in the policy process. The error-amplifying feedback loops described have been taken into account in an attempt to overcome the 'gross errors' described.

66. G. Sjoberg, Ethics, Politics, and Social Research, Schenkman Publishing Co. Inc., Cambridge, Mass., 1967.

than full mental capacity) had come to police and as a consequence a statement and fingerprints were taken. 'Prima facie' this seemed a rather strange means of problem solving. Police revealed that the client 'a dear old soul, very lonely and a little eccentric' called at the station from time to time complaining of demons in her backyard. Having assessed that she was capable of looking after herself (for the time being at least) and that she would be satisfied if they took her seriously, a statement was recorded. Further, they confirmed that they would make a follow up call to her home to check out the backyard for 'demons'. This undertaking served two purposes, to check that she was still caring for herself adequately and to assuage her loneliness, which they saw as the root of her problem. The fingerprinting routine had apparently arisen as a result of a request by the client, who believed that the 'demons' would try to take over her body, but could not change her fingerprints. To further reassure the client fingerprints were taken. The 'demons' disappeared after policewomen had arranged for the client to be visited regularly by a municipal social worker.

This example illustrates that a proportion of the records would not have been comprehensible without policewomen interpreting cases from time to time. It also serves as an example of their patience and sympathy for a lonely old woman.

Although there are many police administrators who would argue that the example given is not 'police

work' and certainly not work for policemen this study supports the view that police will continue to be involved in peace keeping and social service tasks as it is very difficult to identify these problems as such without investigation and by the time this is completed they have accepted responsibilities to assist in the outcome, irrespective of how they define the problem.

In a recent study McCabe and Sutcliffe,⁶⁷ in discussing police organization and record keeping, have concluded that:-

'In peace-keeping, in the maintenance of social order, in rejecting or accepting definitions of criminal activity made by the general public, police organisation is not at all bureaucratic and their system of records, their paper work, bears this out'. 68

To this could be added, that with respect to the role of policewomen in Victoria, their mode of operation (in the case cited for example) was novel. Further, the case illustrates the considerable discretionary powers that they have at their disposal.

8. The literature search.

A search for relevant literature has been a continuing project and a select bibliography of known literature concerning police/community relations and particularly their social service role concludes the dissertation.

67. McCabe and Sutcliffe op. cit. pp. 19 - 37.

68. Ibid, p. 37.

Not all the literature included in the select bibliography has been referred to in this text and footnotes have been used discreetly because of the paucity of relevant literature.

It is to be hoped that this bibliography may be useful to others interested in this area as, to my knowledge, only limited attempts have previously been made to produce a bibliography covering these areas.

With the exception of the short discussion in the introductory chapters no comprehensive attempt has been made to critically review all the literature collected. There are three reasons for this. First, as previously mentioned, almost no literature in either of the two main fields surveyed (social service/welfare and policewomen) has been produced in Australia. Secondly, due to the different organizational structures of overseas police forces in comparison to the Victoria Police Force it was considered inappropriate to attempt a comparative review. Finally, although it might have been feasible to compare and contrast the American and British experience in these areas, space constraints did not permit this theme to be developed.

9. Discussion.

This study was conceived as a response to certain problems which have been discussed earlier in this chapter. The aims were developed with the intention of undertaking a systematic investigation to explain and/or

increase our knowledge of the problems. An underlying ambition was to explore the policy development ramifications of the findings.

The theoretical framework is not so easily explained, although the formulation of hypotheses was not difficult. The specific propositions being examined were not, as in Cain's study⁶⁹ for instance, set by developments in role theory,⁷⁰ but in the later stages of the study, Guyot's article⁷¹ on the organizational approach to police research became available. In retrospect this approach is the one most closely linked to this study although at the time when it was commenced the following three principles, which Guyot suggests ought to be fundamental to the analysis of police work, were an implied rather than an express conceptual framework.

Guyot defines organizations as follows:-

'Organizations are groupings of people that are deliberately constructed. Organizations tend to have a proper name, definable boundaries, members who enter and leave while the organization endures, a leadership composed of office holders who make commitments on behalf of the organization and a set of organizational goals'.⁷²

She states the principles to be incorporated in the research design as:-⁷³

69. Maureen E. Cain. Society and the Policeman's Role, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1973.

70. Ibid. pp. 2 - 7.

71. D. Guyot, 'Police Departments under Social Science Scrutiny', Journal of Criminal Justice 5, 2, 1977, p. 105.

72. Ibid. p. 105.

73. Ibid. p. 105.

- I. Treat each police department as a unit.
- II. Structure analysis in terms of subgroups within each police organization.
- III. Recognize that each police department operates in an environment crowded with other organizations.

In the following chapters although the findings are generally presented and discussed on the basis of total data this is due to space restraints rather than research design.

The study then, is experimental and descriptive. It does not rely heavily on theoretical integration for a framework but later in the text, it will be evident that the findings do begin to suggest a metatheoretical construct with respect to some aspects of the welfare role of policewomen, which may also apply to male police.

This must be distinguished from methodological considerations and theoretical frameworks such as that of Guyot's described above.

Although literature on social research methodology is voluminous,⁷⁴ as Lachenmeyer⁷⁵ (in a book which has influenced my thinking on this point) asserts:-

'.. textbooks about social research methodology tend to be atheoretical and uncritical. Where metatheories of research methodology

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74. Two sources which have been used in this study are:
 - i. R.W. Habenstein (ed.), Pathways to Data, Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1970 and
 - ii. Bruce Swanton, The Research Process Australian Institute of Criminology, February 1978.
 75. Charles W. Lachenmeyer, The Essence of Social Research - A Copernican Revolution, Free Press, New York, 1973.

exist, they are duly critical but restricted and fragemented. Such is the state of affairs in research about social research by social scientists.' 76

The critical literature which exists relating to police research is indeed, limited, but insofar as it effects the methodology and design of this study, it is discussed in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, Guyot discusses the limitations of computers for research purposes and summarizes her views thus:-

'The mindless use of computers may contribute substantially to the problem. The unthinking researcher writes 'ALL' on the statistics control card and then hunts for meaning among the proliferation of test results. Since little effort is needed to command a computer, the temptation is to expend little effort in selecting the right commands. Here we take a page from the ethnolinguists who hypothesize that the structure of language differentially facilitates or impedes the expression of particular concepts'. 77

This extract highlights two main problems.

Firstly, the desirability of seeking out and using sophisticated analysis systems, and secondly, the danger of failing to construct unambiguous coding categories which can result in disparate coding of the same data by coders who interpret words used by policewomen differently.

Given that the only feasible means by which 2,300 cases could reasonably be analyzed was by computer the second problem relating to semantics was found to be easier to overcome than the first.

76. Ibid, p. 2.

77. Guyot, op. cit., p. 116.

With respect to the first problem, the study probably does not fully meet Guyot's standards as, although attempts were made to find a computer package which would facilitate cluster analysis and provide data on inter and intra organizational patterns, none were available at that time at the Computer Centre of the University of Melbourne where the results were processed.

The second methodological consideration acknowledges Goldstein's reservations about the comprehensiveness of attempts to describe police activities.⁷⁸ Briefly, he argues that it is insufficient to analyse calls to police because this ignores the roles of specialists; that examining one patrol district is insufficient because of the variations between the needs and practices of areas; that research tends to ignore the exceptional calls for assistance, and finally, some studies ignore self-initiated work whereas others ignore calls from the community. This brief summary of Goldstein's reservations barely does justice to all the dimensions he included, but serves to illustrate the desirability of multi-faceted research. The design of this study supports this view.

Finally there are two important articles⁷⁹ which

78. Herman Goldstein, Policing in a Free Society, op. cit., pp. 25 - 26.

79.i. C. A. Coleman and A. K. Bottomley, 'Police Conceptions of Crime and 'No Crime''. Criminal Law Review June 1976.

ii. Lois B. De Fluer, 'Biasing Influences on Drug Arrest Records: Implications for Deviance Research', American Sociological Review 40, February 1975.

recognize that certain factors can influence the relevance, reliability and validity of police records.⁸⁰

Coleman and Bottomley carefully dissect the varying interpretations of 'crime' and 'no crime' as used by police and others. They advance the view that

'it is important to realise that the police have their own working conception of 'crime' which is a rather different one from that held by members of the public'.⁸¹

and concludes by supporting Cicourel⁸²

'The meaning of official statistics, therefore, must be couched in the context of how men, resources, policies and strategies of the police, for example, cover a given community, interpret incoming calls, assign men, screen complaints, and routinize reports... the set of meanings produced by ex post facto readings of statistical records cannot be assumed to be identical to the situational meanings integral to the various stages in the assembly of the official statistics'.

The majority of findings reported herein rely on data which never finds its way into official statistics and the observations of Coleman and Bottomley, on what judgments police employ to classify an event as a crime or otherwise, were extremely valuable in formulating the research design. The classifications for action taken by policewomen, developed later in the text, reflect the advice offered in this article. The formula adopted to

80. There is also some other literature on the topic, for example:- McCabe and Sutcliffe, op. cit., Chapters III, IV and V. and M. D. Shipman, The Limitations of Social Research, Longman, 1975, pp. 110 - 111.

81. Coleman and Bottomley, op. cit., p. 345.

82. Ibid. p. 359.

classify the nature of the action requiring intervention took into account both the viewpoint of clients and police-women rather than applying objective criminological tests as to whether an event was criminal or otherwise.

DeFluer examined drug arrest statistics for both whites and nonwhites which showed distinct trends and distributions over time and space. Police records were used for the study. She concludes by stating:

'If the present findings are at all representative, agency accumulated data are not valid indicators of deviance. This does not mean that data from agencies should not be used in research for other purposes. Becker (1970) for example, has urged the study of such information as indicators of modes of agency operation or activity'. 83

In supporting her contention that the data cannot be used as indicator of deviance, De Fluer has identified four sources of bias which show:-⁸⁴

- '(1) the nature of particular deviant activities,
- (2) the climate of social control,
- (3) the social organization of agencies producing the indices, and
- (4) the interactive processes between these agencies, the public and potential deviants.'

Account was taken of this viewpoint in designing the research instrument. Although it will be seen from the copy of the coding booklet in Appendix 2 that specific types of acts and behaviours were identified, this was done under broad classifications to take into account the

83. De Fluer, p. 102

84. Ibid. p. 89

biasing factors and, particularly, what Coleman and Bottomley describe as the 'practical reasoning'⁸⁵ of the police officer reporting. As well, this system was designed to take into account an allowance for errors in classification by policewomen, so that categories must not be regarded as conclusive evidence of 'x' number of domestic disputes or neglect cases, but as forming a continuum of social problems under a generic heading. The value judgments, language usage and internal policies of police were also recognized in developing the coding booklet.

Consequently, the findings reported in the following chapters represent conservative estimates of the variables measured, within an experimental framework.

In conclusion, it ought to be noted that although the computer programmes used did enable a range of statistical analysis to be undertaken, due to the small number of cases in most categories, the findings were not statistically significant. These results, have therefore been excluded from the discussion of the findings which follows.

In addition, whilst the data collected contained sufficient information with which to compare the level of activities between Women Police Districts, space constraints prevented a comprehensive examination. Some comparisons of intra-station data are contained in the findings to illustrate varying patterns of activity, the incidence of

85. Coleman and Bottomley op.cit., p. 356.

certain types of social dysfunctioning and unique policing policies, but these have been carefully selected from the vast amount of data collected.

PART TWOTHE FINDINGSINTRODUCTION

This part is divided into three chapters:-

Chapter 5 - Who asked policewomen to intervene.

This comprises three sections:-

1. A discussion of the cases referred by male police to policewomen.
2. An identification of the individuals and organizations seeking the assistance of policewomen.
3. An inquiry into the incidence of cases in which intermediaries or agents initiated the intervention on behalf of individuals requiring assistance.

Chapter 6 - The types of problems encountered.

Discussion in this chapter is divided into:-

1. An introduction.
2. An examination of the types of requests for assistance which policewomen received and other tasks they were required to perform.
3. A discussion of the policewomen's perspective and interpretation of requests for assistance.
4. Summary and discussion.

Chapter 7 - The action or resolution adopted by policewomen to clear cases.

The three areas examined in this part are central to the research. Part three discusses other findings selectively, as considerably more data was collected than could possibly be used without further expanding the length of the study.

As certain data which had been collected, has not been discussed in the body of the study, a copy of the computer print out, listing total data for all stations is included in Appendix 3. It should be noted that the information provided in parts two and three has been refined from this print out, consequently, some data is presented in a different form. Some figures quoted also vary slightly from the computer print out as data collected in general categories was, in some circumstances, reallocated to a specific category to provide a more accurate analysis.

Some explanation of what constitutes a prime client or clients, and collaterals is also necessary. The pilot study showed that some means had to be found to separate individuals, who were the subject of intervention, from persons who were involved peripherally at the time when the problem came to notice, or persons who were in close proximity at some other time during the course of police intervention. Prime clients, it was found, may have initiated an action on their own behalf, or collaterals, or others may have interceded for them. Alternatively, as a case proceeded, policewomen may have contacted relatives or others to further their knowledge of the circumstances, or as a means of resolving the prime client's problem.

A prime client (or clients) was therefore identified as being the focus of intervention. A collateral was defined as an individual involved from the

outset, or at a later point in the investigation. A collateral bore some relationship to the prime client, indeed, their conduct may have affected the prime client, or been affected by the prime client, but a collateral was not the focus of intervention.

In coding information from case books strict criteria was employed to identify and differentiate a prime client from a collateral. This was found to be a most useful discriminatory process, once refined, and it is unfortunate that space constraints prevent a full examination of familial and caring relationships between prime clients and collaterals.

5 WHO ASKED POLICEWOMEN TO INTERVENE?

Three possible routes were identified by which cases came to the attention of policewomen, apart from those matters in which they acted on their own initiative. These are discussed in the following sub-sections. The study also estimated the extent of interaction between male and female police, the types of persons and organizations who requested intervention and the number of incidents in each of the pathways.

1. Cases referred to women police by male police.

As case books were the only record women police had of who requested the intervention they normally noted or identified the initiator, particularly if the request came from male police, so that they could advise them later what action had been taken. Although not all records were sufficiently explicit to assign each fact situation to an appropriate category and a proportion of cases had to be counted as 'details not known' or 'information too vague to code', the records showed that 53.3 percent of all cases were referred directly to women police and the remaining 44.6 percent of cases in which information was available, were re-routed to women police by male police. Referrals from male to women police varied from station to station, depending upon the attitudes of policewomen to welfare work, the expectations of male police with respect to what women police should do, the attitudes of male police to welfare assistance and

other considerations such as pressure of work. Various departments within the Force referred cases to women police (Table 10) and whilst a significant proportion came from male police within the home police district, requests from other departments, branches and police districts also accounted for a proportion of requests.

TABLE 10

DETAILS OF THE PROPORTION OF CASES REFERRED TO
POLICEWOMEN FROM OTHER SECTIONS OF
THE VICTORIA POLICE FORCE

<u>REFERRED FROM</u>	<u>%</u>
1. 'D.24'. (The emergency communications head-quarters).	14.1
2. 'C.I.B'. (Criminal Investigation Branch).	4.5
3. Other Police Districts, department or branch unspecified.	7.1
4. Male police in home Police District specifically requested women to intervene.	18.2
5. Mobile Patrols.	.2
6. Missing Persons Bureau	<u>.5</u>
CASES REFERRED BY MALE POLICE TO WOMEN POLICE	<u>44.6 %</u>

Requests from 'D.24', other districts, Missing Persons Bureau and the C.I.B. were generally related to the location of missing persons, domestic disputes, absconders and other matters centred upon the interviewing of sexual assault victims and shopstealers.

A small number of cases were emergencies, which in the opinion of male police who referred them to the women, were best managed by females. These referrals included such matters as finding the home of a child found wandering in the area, talking to a potential suicide, transporting an elderly person to hospital after a home accident (such as slipping in the bath) or visiting a local massage parlour as a result of a complaint that an under-age female was working there.

In 1976 it would have been very rare indeed for male police to ask females to investigate any situation which might involve them in physical violence, such as certain types of violent domestic dispute or neighbourhood wrangle. Nor were women police asked very frequently to inform relatives of the sudden death of a member of their family.⁸⁶

Male police seemed to have the view that their female counterparts ought to be protected from certain situations where it was considered that women did not possess the physical prowess to control a situation by force, and the nature of work assigned to them by male police reflected this. Male police therefore normally referred non-contentious crime prevention and welfare duties to policewomen, considering that the women would

86. J. A. Graham, 'A policeman's Concern with Death', Australian Police Journal 31, 3, July 1977, p. 143. The writer does not specifically exclude policewomen from this role but the tenor of the article suggests that their role in this area is considered to be very limited.

not have to use force or encounter any physical risk in these types of cases.⁸⁷

Irrespective of the male view, women police did face certain risks then and continue to do so now. Their non-coercive image and the nature of clients somewhat limited the dangers. Nevertheless, records showed that some clients were from time to time difficult to manage and potentially violent. The types of cases therefore, in which males asked the women to intervene, although preselected to avoid violence, nevertheless sometimes contained an element of danger. There were also certain cases such as where males had apprehended a female under the influence of alcohol or drugs, or a female who was emotionally disturbed and required physical restraint, where male police would call for the assistance of women police. Ordinarily this assistance was with a view to calming the client, as males seemed to be acknowledging that female police were better able to relate to such clients and talk to them in an approachable fashion. These calls for assistance nonetheless exposed female police to physically dangerous situations, but males seemed to reason that their presence reduced this danger.

Summing up, male police then and now evinced an ambivalent attitude towards the female police and how far they should be exposed to physically dangerous situations. Peter Horne sees 'male attitudes as the basic

87. Peter Horne, Women in Law Enforcement, op. cit., passim suggests the American situation was also similar.

obstacle confronting policewomen,⁸⁸ but whether women can control dangerous situations as well as males or not, still remains a contentious issue.⁸⁹

Irrespective of whether male or female police were asked to intervene, requests for help came from a considerable variety of sources. These are discussed in the following sub-section.

2. The types of individuals and organizations seeking assistance, irrespective of referral source.

An extensive range of initiators was canvassed and Table 11 groups these to demonstrate the relationship between the initiator and the prime client. This was done by cross-tabulations.

Although 38.7 percent of cases in the total sample could not be coded to identify the source of intervention because case books contained insufficient information, this is not surprising, as policewomen were primarily concerned to record sufficient details to identify the client and not the person initiating the investigation. Initiators names and addresses were noted only when there was a likelihood that policewomen would want to follow the case up with them, which explains why, when policemen referred cases to them, this source was generally noted.

In 12.6 percent of cases policewomen initiated

88. Peter Horne 'Policewomen: 2000 A.D.', The Police Journal 52, 4, October-December 1978 p. 350.

89. Time Magazine, March 10, 1980, p. 48 further discusses the role of women police in dangerous situations.

the action themselves whilst on mobile patrol or as follow ups to previous interventions. Self reports accounted for 12.5 percent of cases. Table 11 illustrates that relatives, cohorts and unrelated individuals with some proximity to prime clients requested intervention in 20.5 percent, or 110 more cases than unrelated individuals and organizations. This latter group represented 15.7 percent of interventions.

It can only be presumed that the 38.7 percent of cases where details of the initiator were not known would fall into the categories enumerated in Table 11, but in what proportion is indeterminable.

The high incidence of mothers reporting shown in Table 11 is somewhat inflated by the number of mothers asking police to intervene when their adolescent daughters were misbehaving (in their view, in any event) in three areas, namely Avondale Heights, Nunawading and Heidelberg.

Self reports were significantly higher at Flemington, a station already noted as being well known in the community, both locally and further afield. One cannot, however, entirely accept self reports as a reliable measure of the public attitude towards using policewomen as a resource centre. It would seem that although certain individuals have a preference for reporting problems to police in the Avondale Heights locality, which was hardly a welfare oriented station, 10.5 percent of cases were self reported interventions. Whether the incidence of self reports would have varied at both

Flemington and Avondale Heights, had Avondale Heights had a better reputation for welfare assistance is speculative.

TABLE 11

WHO ASKED THE POLICE TO INTERVENE *

		%
1. <u>Unrelated individuals and organizations.</u>		%
Storekeepers	5.0	
Welfare agencies and workers	3.2	
Anonymous	1.3	
Hospitals	1.2	
Passerbys	.8	
Magistrates and clerks of courts	.8	
Schoolteachers	.7	
Landlords and tenants	.7	
Government Departments	.5	
Medical Practitioners	.3	
Taxi Drivers	.3	
Probation Officers	.2	
Other assorted individuals such as, employers, fellow employees, a child care worker, a news reporter, a truancy officer, tram drivers and hotel licensees.	.7	15.7
2. <u>Relatives of the prime clients(s).</u>		
Mothers	7.3	
Fathers	3.1	
Both parents	1.3	
Assorted relatives and cohorts including, husbands and wives, divorced and separated spouses, defacto and ex-defacto spouses, aunts, uncles, sons, daughters, step-mothers, grandparents and one mother-in-law.	3.9	15.6
3. <u>Unrelated individuals but with close proximity to prime client(s).</u>		
Neighbours	2.9	
Friends	2.0	4.9
		36.2%

* The Computer Print Out (Appendix 3) Item 4, pp. 3 - 6 provides full details of the incidence of persons and organizations coded. Some categories have been collapsed in the above table.

Table 12, following, illustrates the three categories of intervention which showed the highest variation when individual station data was compared. These variations probably occurred for a number of reasons, such as, the presence of other preferred welfare resources, the extent of community knowledge of the welfare sector in the area and acceptance, or otherwise of policewomen as a welfare resource. Without interviewing clients these propositions could not be tested.

TABLE 12

AN INTER-STATION COMPARISON OF THREE TYPES
OF INTERVENTION BY POLICEWOMEN

TYPE OF INTERVENTION	STATIONS ⁹⁰							TOTAL DATA N = 2300
	Av	Fit	F1	Fr	Hb	SM	Nun	
1. Self Report	10.	9.	17.	12.	13.	11.	9.	12.5
2. Police initiated action	13.	13.	10.	16.	5.	24.	8.	12.6
3. Store-keeper	3.	6.	6.	1.	2.	2.	12.	5.0

South Melbourne's extremely high involvement in police initiated actions is not counterbalanced by a lower rate of initiation in other types of action. Police initiated actions in this area may have reflected the vigour of this new station and its purposeful attempt to become

90. Station percentiles have been rounded to the nearest full number and are % relative frequencies of the types of intervention recorded for each station.

known in the area. South Melbourne had a reasonable number of self reports in comparison to other areas, despite its more recent inception and this indicates that the police-women soon became known in the area.

The category of storekeepers has been included to highlight the incidence of shopstealings in certain districts. For example, Nunawading police station which is in close proximity to a large shopping complex, rife with shopstealing,⁹¹ scored double the number of requests by storekeepers to investigate shopstealing than any other district. Although Frankston had a similar problem, and policewomen became actively involved in interviewing and searching shopstealers, storekeepers did not report direct to them as occurred at Nunawading, but to male police who, it is known from station observations, then sorted the cases and passed on a small number to women police. These cases normally involved children and elderly women.

The only significant variation which emerged when this category of criminal activities was removed from the sample was that, nor surprisingly, there were no self reports of shop stealing!

In undertaking a comparative analysis of the data on an inter-station basis, in relation to the percentage average for the total sample, other variations apart from those detailed in Table 12 did emerge. At South

91. For a contemporary study of shopstealing in Victoria refer to:-

Dennis Challinger (ed.) Studies in Shoplifting, Australian Crime Prevention Council, Melbourne, 1977.

Melbourne, for example, 5 percent of all requests for intervention were made by neighbours, in comparison with the total data average of 2.9 percent. Further, welfare agencies requested intervention in less than half the number of cases at Flemington, Frankston and South Melbourne, than at other stations, thus skewing the percentage average for the total sample. Other examples could be identified, but as there are no other local studies with which to compare the range of initiators, and unique local situations have to be taken into account in explaining these variations, one can only speculate as to whether the types of persons initiating actions were typical or atypical.

It would seem apparent that certain types of persons have a preference for reporting problems to police rather than to a welfare agency. This may indicate an expectation of coercive control or a respect for authority. If the former, then, as will be seen when the types of action taken are examined later, this expectation was not met.

Another view which has been expressed is that certain individuals prefer to deliberately avoid welfare agencies. McCaughey et.al. have remarked, in an analysis of families with problems in Melbourne that 'the poorer and more turbulent .. families seemed to turn to police, especially the women police for help..'.⁹² However this

92. Jean McCaughey et. al., Who Cares? op.cit., pp 71 - 72.

study also noted that in some instances contacts with policewomen were regarded as just as undesirable or unsatisfactory as contacts with the then Social Welfare Department.

One explanation may be that as communities become aware of the non-coercive social control of policewomen in their district, then they exercised their right to seek speedy resolution of their problems from persons with legal authority to determine the seriousness of the problem.

Both this study and McCaughey's show that the delivery of welfare services by the traditional welfare sector in Victoria requires close monitoring as some individuals make a positive choice to avoid such services, whereas, others seem not to know of their existence.

Another possible explanation is that a proportion of the community do not view their social problems as such, but over emphasize the legal component of their difficulties. The development of resource information networks, which is now under way, by the Department of Community Welfare ought to partially resolve this problem.

One group who did not seem to use policewomen as a resource with the same regularity as other groups were persons who come from non-English speaking countries. On the basis of national figures⁹³ half of those born overseas

93. The following material provided sources for the population estimates and characteristics cited:-

The Green Paper: Immigration Policies and Australia's Population, Australian Population and Immigration Council, 1977.

The Borrie Report: Population and Australia, National Population Inquiry 1975.

would come from the non-English speaking countries of northern, southern and eastern Europe. On national figures they account for some 10 percent of the population. In Victoria with a population of approximately 3,502,351 some 797,722 were born overseas (22.8 percent).

An attempt was made to measure the incidence of contact with ethnic groups⁹⁴ but this was extremely difficult to apply as in 81.7 percent of the total cases information was either too vague or not available. In 375 or (16.3 percent) of all cases, the individual had a non Anglo-Saxon surname which does not necessarily mean that he or she had approached police with a problem specifically emerging from ethnic roots, such as cultural conflict. On the contrary, where an individual was clearly noted as having an evident language problem this was categorized separately. Also a separate category was used for individuals with a cultural problem, an example of which would be that of a parent from a southern European country having a very strict, rigid view of how a daughter might behave and the daughter having adopted a more flexible attitude to her conduct being in conflict with her parents.

A total of only 40 cases (1.7 percent) were recorded identifying these characteristics. 24 (1 percent) noted that the client had a language problem, 14 with cultural problems and 2 cases with a combination of language and cultural problems.

94. Survey Book (Appendix 2) Item 17, p. 16.

Although there is a burgeoning awareness of the needs of migrants,⁹⁵ policewomen in the areas studied did not evince great sensitivity to these concerns. In not one case did the records indicate that a qualified interpreter had been summonsed (although these are available) to assist in unravelling a legal or social problem. The reasons why non-English speaking migrants were apparently reluctant to go to police are complex and outside the scope of this study but it seems evident that from the figures discussed above that they were underrepresented as a proportion of the population.

Whether migrants do turn to welfare agencies catering for specific ethnic groups or struggle with their problems without assistance also could not be measured.

It is therefore suggested that further research is necessary to determine whether the social, legal and health needs of migrants are being met.

From a policing perspective particularly it seems obvious that a more intensive effort must be made to appreciate the difficulties confronting the non-English speaking migrant who does request assistance.

It is also desirable that the police give continuing attention to the analysis of the findings and recommendations of contemporary literature from other

95. See particularly:-

- i. Jean Martin, The Migrant Presence, George Allen & Unwin, 1978.
- ii. A. Jakubowicz & B. Buckley, Migrants and the Legal System, Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, A.G.P.S., 1975.

sources to determine the implications of these for police/migrant relations. An example of such a study is the Galbally Report.⁹⁶

The employment of more police in this state from migrant backgrounds and persons who are multi-lingual would also assist.

It is recognised that these processes are already beginning to occur but affirmative, continuing action is required.

3. Intermediaries and agents for persons seeking help.

In only a small number of cases was it apparent that government departments, welfare organizations and others acted as intermediaries on behalf of persons seeking help. In these cases the intermediary would contact police, advise them of the problem and ask policewomen to contact the client directly. When this had been done policewomen would generally report back to the intermediary to advise what action had been taken.

Coding categories⁹⁷ were developed to identify these cases with a view to assessing the degree of interaction and co-operation between policewomen and others in the welfare sector, however, as Table 13 shows, the incidence of interaction is slight. In the total sample of

96. Migrant Services and Programmes. Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programmes and Services for Migrants (Mr. F. Galbally, Chairman), Prime Minister and Cabinet, A.G.P.S., Canberra, May 1978.

97. Survey Book (Appendix 2) Item 5, p.5.

2300 cases only 61 cases were identified as coming to the notice of police by this route.

Allowance was made in the survey booklet for the involvement of Probation Officers and Medical Practitioners, as the pilot study had contained a small number of requests being made by such persons as agents for others. However no interventions of this type occurred in the major study.

TABLE 13

INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHO ACTED AS
INTERMEDIARIES FOR PRIME CLIENTS

	No. of Cases	% of Total Sample
1. Government Department	41	1.8
2. Others	7	.3
3. (Hospitals	4	.2
(Voluntary Welfare Agencies	4	.2
4. (Social Workers	3	.1
(School Teachers	2	.1
	61	2.7%

The government department which almost invariably contacted policewomen was the then Social Welfare Department.⁹⁸ Officers of that Department would, for instance, contact policewomen when the mother of a teenage girl was concerned about the girl's allegedly promiscuous or uncontrolled behaviour and it was not a situation in which

98. Since mid 1978 known as the Community Welfare Services Department.

the Department considered it could act to resolve the problem.⁹⁹

In such cases policewomen would contact the mother and proceed according to her wishes and the situation which they found. In other cases a third party or agent requested intervention on behalf of an individual concerned about their own personal welfare or that of someone else close to them.

The types of problems which precipitated this type of intervention also included instances where a wife was being harassed by a violent husband, an individual was being annoyed by a neighbour or other troublesome individual and situations where parents wanted children to be admitted to a State Institution. In these cases the child's behaviour, or the parents' inability to care for them, due to sudden illness, financial difficulties or accommodation problems prompted the request for assistance.

The constant expectation in such circumstances appeared to be that policewomen could, and would initiate some form of legal proceeding and intermediaries only suggested the intervention when this type of action was envisaged.

These cases must be distinguished from those

99. Prior to legislative change of S.31 Social Welfare Act 1970 (now Community Welfare Services Act 1978) a Protection Application on the ground of 'exposed to moral danger' might be instituted (or threatened) - now S.31 inhibits a Care Application on similar grounds.

contained in Division 1 of Table 11 as in those cases there was no evidence to suggest that the Welfare Agencies, (3.2 percent) Hospitals (1.2 percent), Government Departments (.5 percent), Medical Practitioners (.3 percent) or Probation Officers (.2 percent) were acting with the consent of the prime client.

Whilst their reasons for requesting police intervention were the same, that is, to arrange for police 'to do' something (sometimes in the form of initiating legal proceedings, which were beyond their powers) they did not act as agents but apparently as direct interventionists.

Even when the two types of initiation by other sections of the welfare sector are combined,¹⁰⁰ 8 percent of the total sample is hardly indicative of a significant involvement between police, other welfare institutions and individuals concerned with public health.

Whilst the figures in Tables 11 and 12 must be regarded as conservative estimates only, as inter-station comparisons reveal quite marked variances, which could be construed as underestimating referrals in other areas, it is quite remarkable that there appeared to be such a marked paucity of communication between police and other organizations and individuals concerned with public health and welfare.

100. Intermediaries accounting for 2.6 percent and direct interventionists comprising 5.4 percent. School-teachers (.1 percent) have been excluded.

4. Summary and discussion.

This chapter has therefore demonstrated that of the total of 97.9 percent of cases in which records were sufficiently clear to distinguish between whether male or female police were the first point of intervention, 44.6 percent of cases were referred by male police to female police. The remaining 53.3 percent of cases apparently arose as the result of direct requests to policewomen. Table 10 details the divisions and sections of the Force from which policewomen received requests for intervention.

In 61.3 percent of the sample the case books contained sufficient information to record details of the initiators of interventions and these were comprised of the following broad categories, which are more fully discussed in sub-section two:-

	%
i. Relatives and other concerned persons and organizations. (Table 10)	36.2
ii. Police initiated cases.	12.6
iii. Self reports or requests for intervention.	<u>12.5</u>
	<u>61.3 %</u>

With respect to police initiated cases, cross-tabulation of the data revealed that 8.3 percent of this group were initiated by policewomen, the remaining 4.3 percent by male police, who then referred cases to the policewomen.

Table 13, sub-section three, details the small number of cases (2.7 percent of the total sample) in which an individual or organization acted as an agent on behalf

of persons requiring intervention. These cases were distinguishable from the group of interventionists in Table 10, Division 1, (comprising 15.7 percent of cases) in which an unrelated individual, or organization, requested intervention - not necessarily with the consent or knowledge of the persons they deemed as requiring assistance.

At the time when this study was commenced it would seem that interaction between other welfare organizations and policewomen was slight. Up until the time of writing there is little evidence to suggest that there has been any significant improvement in relationships. The reasons for this will be explored more fully at a later point.

At this juncture, it is considered appropriate to briefly discuss the police welfare role, in relation to some of the troubles being identified as besetting the helping processes in Australia.

There are undoubted inadequacies in the health and welfare system in Australia. This has been documented in recent times by both the Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration¹⁰¹ and The Task Force on Co-ordination in Welfare and Health.¹⁰² The Royal Commission remarked:-

101. Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration. Towards Rational Administrative Structures for Health and Welfare Services in Australia, Canberra. 1975.

102. Task Force on Co-ordination in Welfare and Health. Proposals for Change in the Administration and Delivery of Programs and Services (First Report), Canberra, 1977.

'Despite well intended and intensive efforts, there is a lack of coherence in policy making and planning for health and welfare services in Australia within and among the levels of government and the private sector'. 103

The Task Force stated:-

'... we have found evidence of a degree of overlap, duplication, proliferation and excessive administration with regard to Commonwealth programmes'. 104

It is apparent from the findings in this section that there is limited inter-organizational and intra-organizational¹⁰⁵ concern with the setting and dissemination of the goals and objectives of welfare services, that standards are probably variable, communication and accountability slight and very probably also, the types of defects identified in the above quotations also exist.

The Baume Report¹⁰⁶ on the evaluation of Australian health and welfare services, recently released, is a timely document which argues for appropriate evaluation. It states:-

'Those who have studied the Australian health and welfare scene closely have noted the piecemeal, arbitrary state of the provision of human services. The system is like a giant jelly: it can be moved out of shape only with the maintenance of constant pressure; if the pressure is removed, the jelly resumes its usual and comfortable form.

....

-
103. Royal Commission Report, op.cit., p. 10.
104. Task Force Report, op.cit., p. 24.
105. That is, between police and other welfare services and between various components of the Victoria Police Force.
106. Report from the Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare, Through a Glass, Darkly - Evaluation in Australian Health and Welfare Services, Vol. 1. Canberra, 1979. (Also known as the 'Baume Report').

Evaluation is one tool to help us understand what is going on. It is a tool becoming better appreciated and recognised in Australia today, but it is still far too little applied and seldom funded. Further, there is not an appropriate context - nor are there the structures and processes needed - for development of evaluation activity. Thus present evaluation activity is not part of a coherent approach, not yet one step along the road to the solution of great social problems.

We should not expect evaluation by itself to rationalise health and welfare services; nor should we on the other hand assign it too little value. It can, however, be seen as part of a more general effort to provide better, more responsive and more accountable services.' 107

In examining a miniscule part of the 'giant jelly' in this study, there is evidence to suggest that if we are serious in Australia about increasing understanding of welfare systems, then the recommendations¹⁰⁸ referred to above ought to be seriously considered as a starting point.

As a preliminary however, it may be necessary to attain a fuller appreciation of the networks that operate welfare services and how they presently interact. Few, if any, Australian studies have concentrated on this topic and it was not the purpose of this study to determine what decisions clients made before they approached policewomen. Some of the reasons why they did so, however, did emerge but as will be seen, clients expectations were not always met.

A systematic study of social welfare networks, how they develop, interact, overlap, operate and are used still requires investigation in this country.

107. Ibid., p.1.

108. Appendix 4 extracts the recommendations of the Baume Report as it is not readily available for purchase.

6 THE TYPES OF ASSISTANCE REQUESTED

1. Introduction.

In the next sub-section of this chapter the day-to-day activities of policewomen are detailed. This analysis is based upon classification of the types of problems in which they intervened,¹⁰⁹ as recorded in the case books. These requests were normally entered in case books by policewomen according to the informants' perception of the presenting problem,¹¹⁰ not the policewomen's perception.

On 12 cases in the total sample (.5 percent) did not have sufficient information recorded in the case books to enable the request to be coded under one of the categories provided for in the Survey Book.

After the initial computerized tabulations became available¹¹¹ some cases were re-allocated to other categories to more appropriately reflect the extent of certain types of intervention. This was done by retrieval of certain code books after a computer listing had been raised of the cases in some of the coding categories. The Computer Print Out contained in Appendix 3 therefore reflects the broad categories of cases before reassignment of some cases to more specific categories. This measure was used particularly to reduce the number of cases noted as

109. Survey Book (Appendix 2) Item 10, pp. 8 - 10.

110. Ibid., Field staff were specifically required to identify what the policewomen were asked to do, not their perception of cases.

111. Computer Print Out (Appendix 3) Item 10, pp. 10 - 13.

'general problems' in category 38 of Item 10 of the Survey Book. Before re-assignment, these general cases comprised 15.5 percent (or 356 cases) of the total sample.

Upon completion of this exercise category 38, representing the general cases, had been reduced to represent less than 1 percent of the total sample. The types of intervention which were increased in Table 15 by this method are noted with an asterisk (*) beside the descriptions of requests. Re-assignment of cases to existing categories accounted for 9.1 percent of the 15.5 percent of cases included originally in the general coding category.

Although the coding categories which were developed were reasonably extensive, obviously they were not exhaustive and this is reflected by the assignment of about 6 percent of the category 38 cases to new categories. These are denoted by two asterisks (**).

Given the large number of categories from which a coder could select, it is not surprising that due to fatigue, uncomfortable working conditions, difficulty in reading the writing in case books and a general desire to maintain a steady coding pace, some cases were assigned to the general rather than specific category. Fortunately a firm rule had been established that whenever category 38 was used for coding, a note had to be made in the code book of the circumstances of the request. If this was not sufficient to reassign cases to specific categories, then the code book was returned to the station of origin, the case book reread and if possible the case recoded.

The classifications of the kinds of call for help devised by Elaine and Ian Cumming and Laura Edell¹¹² were used as the initial base for preparation of Item 10 of the Survey Book, but when the pilot project at Caulfield demonstrated that more extensive information could be gathered, the classifications were accordingly expanded.

The third sub-section of this chapter explores the perception of problems, developed by policewomen, after the initial request for assistance was recorded.

The final and fourth sub-section summarizes and discusses sub-sections two and three.

2. The types of requests for assistance which policewomen received and other tasks they were required to perform.

Table 14 summarizes and details by rank order the broad categories of the types of assistance requested or initiated. Table 15 elaborates upon the types of intervention in the broad categories.

112. Elaine Cumming, Ian Cumming & Laura Edell, 'Policeman as Philosopher, Guide and Friend', op. cit., p. 279.

TABLE 14

SUMMARY OF THE TYPES OF REQUESTS FOR
ASSISTANCE RECEIVED OR INITIATED

RANK ORDER	BROAD GROUPING	%
1	THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE PRIME CLIENT(S) OR OTHERS NECESSITATED INTERVENTION	28.8
2	INTERVENTIONS INVOLVING CHILDREN OR YOUNG PERSONS ¹¹³	24.5
3	INTERVIEWING AND TAKING STATEMENTS FROM VICTIMS AND WITNESSES	15.5
4	INTERVENTIONS INVOLVING EMERGENCIES AND OTHER SITUATIONS RELATED TO THE WELFARE OF INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES	12.6
5	POLICE INITIATED INTERVENTIONS	8.3
6	INVESTIGATING THE WELFARE OF FAMILIES	6.9
7	GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES	2.8
	INFORMATION TOO VAGUE TO CODE	.6
		100.0 %

113. Welfare legislation in this State defines a child as aged between 0 and 15 years and a young person as 15 to 17 years. S. 3 Children's Court Act 1973 and Community Welfare Services Act 1978. These distinctions have implications with respect to the range of dispositions which can be invoked and the types of institutions to which a child can be admitted, or a young person committed.

The reasons why interventions in criminal activities have been included in the analysis of the social assistance role of policewomen, it should be noted, has previously been discussed.¹¹⁴ It should also be noted that only the major ground for the request for intervention was coded. In later discussion examples will be provided of how cases became more complex upon investigation.

TABLE 15

<u>THE TYPES OF ASSISTANCE REQUESTED AND DETAILS OF OTHER TYPES OF INTERVENTION</u>		%
1.	<u>CASES IN WHICH THE BEHAVIOUR, ACTIVITIES OR INVOLVEMENT OF THE PRIME CLIENT(S) WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE INTERVENTION.</u>	
	* Investigation of alleged shopstealing and other criminal activities such as obscene telephone calls, vandalism, abduction, assault, drunkenness and drug cases.	11.9
	- Speaking to troublesome individuals and persons behaving in a bizarre fashion.	7.0
	* Attending another police station on re- quest to fingerprint, interview, search or take a statement from an alleged offender.	4.2
	- Attempting to trace missing adults and assisting other stations to locate them.	1.3
	- Assisting to locate absconders or escapees from institutions.	1.7
	Carried forward	26.1

114. Refer to Chapter 4.6b.

TABLE 15 Continued

1.	CASES IN WHICH THE BEHAVIOUR, ACTION OR INVOLVEMENT OF THE PRIME CLIENT(S) WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE INTERVENTION. <u>(Continued)</u>	%
	Brought Forward	26.1
-	Investigating disputes, complaints and hostilities between neighbours, land- lords and tenants and other unrelated individuals, including attending to complaints about noisy parties.	1.9
-	Returning elderly persons and other adults found wandering to their home address.	.8
		<hr/> 28.8 <hr/>
2.	<u>REQUESTS INVOLVING CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS</u>	
-	Investigation of suspected child neglect and/or insufficient super- vision.	7.6
-	Trace and locate missing children and young persons.	6.5
-	Investigate allegation that a child or young person is uncontrolled.	4.9
-	Locate the home of a child found wandering.	1.8
-	Investigate child battering.	1.3
-	Arrange alternative accommodation for children with relatives and friends when the parents are unable to care for them for a short while due to emergency hospitalization or other cause.	.7
-	Investigate truancy.	.7
-	Assist in returning or admitting to institutional care.	.6
**	Administering formal cautions.	.4
		<hr/> 24.5 <hr/>

TABLE 15 Continued

	%
3. <u>INTERVIEWING AND TAKING STATEMENTS FROM VICTIMS AND WITNESSES.</u>	
- Indecent assault.	9.1
** Wilful and obscene exposure.	3.3
- Rape.	2.0
** Carnal knowledge.	.7
- Incest.	.4
	<hr/> 15.5 <hr/>
4. <u>INTERVENTIONS INVOLVING EMERGENCIES AND OTHER SITUATIONS RELATED TO THE WELFARE OF INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES.</u>	
- Emergencies such as suicides and suicide attempts. Requests for assistance with urgent cases such as transportation of clients or relatives to hospital, mental institutions, geriatric homes and other facilities. These requests also sometimes entailed returning persons to such places or arranging admission or discharge.	4.8
* Checking the living conditions and health of individuals such as the elderly person. Finding accommodation for persons in fear of eviction and those who had actually been evicted onto the street. Transporting women and children to refuges and finding them other lodgings after domestic disputes. Generally attending to a variety of other social problems including listening to non-specific, incoherent complaints.	6.2
** Investigation of applications for State Relief, primarily in the Flemington area.	1.6
	<hr/> 12.6 <hr/>

TABLE 15 Continued

%

5. POLICE PASSING BY INITIATED THE INVESTIGATION.

If sufficient details had been provided in the case books, some of these interventions might have been reallocated to prior and subsequent groupings. A surprisingly high number of street interventions had no specific details. Obviously some event must have led to the initiation, such as a known Ward of State or prior offender being seen in proximity to a billiard hall or other public place, an elderly person or child crossing against red lights or other event which led police to believe an intervention should be made. The general tenor of known initiations was the performance of a social control rather than a law enforcement or crime control activity.

8.36. INVESTIGATING THE WELFARE OF FAMILIES.

- Investigating and/or mediating in domestic disputes between husband and wife, defacto relationships which generally did not involve attending violent physical domestics. Although in many instances the female alleged physical abuse. 2.4
- Investigating intra-family disputes, that is, between parents and children and/or other relatives. 2.0
- Follow-up visits to families who had previously come to notice because of poor living conditions or financial difficulties. 1.4
- Investigating financial circumstances of families to determine whether they had adequate means of support. 1.0
- Informing relatives of a sudden death. .1

6.9

TABLE 15 Concluded7. GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES.

8

Including such matters as delivering messages to relatives and others of sudden illness, and arrests on behalf of male police as well as requests that individuals contact another police station. Returning property and providing transport to court for individuals and other miscellaneous matters such as taking stray animals to the local pound. The service of legal documents such as summons and the enforcement of custody orders are included also in this category.

2.8

It is apparent from the foregoing tables that policewomen were asked to, or did, intervene, in a multiplicity of cases. They became involved in crisis intervention, conflict management, law enforcement, individual and family counselling as well as administrative duties.

How they perceived the request, however, affected their management of the case, so, as well as checking the motives of the initiator, they also screened fact situations to assess whether they had been correctly represented.

When a parent, for example, approached policewomen to locate an adolescent who was missing from home, unless the individual was absent for at least twenty-four hours, in unusual circumstances, policewomen would usually enter this type of case in their records as a request to find a missing child, but regard the case as concerning a runaway from home.

The justification for sub-titling the missing

person entry as a 'runaway' would be reinforced if the reporting parent advised that their offspring had a history of truancy, or was frequenting places that they regarded as 'undesirable', or mixing with people whom parents regarded as 'bad company'.

In a number of such cases parents were able to provide policewomen with some indication of the whereabouts of their child.

The initial request, would therefore, be recorded as a request to find a missing child but once an investigation had been initiated, on the basis of enquiries and discussions with persons involved in cases, policewomen did vary their perception of the nature and seriousness of cases and type of assistance required. These perceptions are discussed more fully in the next sub-section.

For coding purposes as the entry concerned a missing person, this was how the case was coded.

3. The policewomens' perspective and interpretation of requests for assistance.

It was observed when the pilot study was done at the Caulfield Station that policewomen in that district appeared to identify and isolate features in cases which initiators had not brought to their notice, and which changed their perception of the presenting problem.

An experimental coding device was developed to test whether this phenomenon occurred at all seven stations and if so, the extent and consequences this had with respect to the management of cases.

Three gradations of the seriousness of presenting problems was included in the Survey Booklet¹¹⁵ and coders were required to indicate from the case book notes what problems were identified in each case as being of primary, secondary or tertiary importance.

Following through on the example of the runaway teenager developed on the previous page, as the enquiry proceeded, a quite different picture of the substance of the case could emerge. Presuming that the runaway was located, during discussion with this individual he or she might allege that the behaviour of one or both parents was the factor that precipitated their running away from home.

The subject of the enquiry or request for assistance may, for example, have convinced the policewomen that s/he had been subjected to physical and/or emotional abuse or that s/he had been told by parents to leave.

If policewomen were satisfied that the allegations were correct or were substantially accurate they would note this in the case books to indicate that the request for intervention had been reinterpreted. They never changed the classification of the type of assistance requested, only their perception changed, which, of course had implications for the type of action they would take to resolve the case.

Another type of situation which policewomen approached with some caution concerned requests by divorced or separated spouses that policewomen visit children of whom

115. Survey Book (Appendix 2) Item 29, p. 25.

the other party had the custody. Generally concern was expressed as to whether the children were being properly cared for. Sometimes an outright allegation was made that they were not.

On the basis of past experience, policewomen were aware that a proportion of these requests were made with a view to embarrassing a separated or ex-nuptial partner, or to inflame an already contentious situation. This might involve a custody, maintenance or access dispute or be made out of sheer malice.

Nevertheless the request for assistance would be recorded as a home visit to check on the welfare of children.

Further enquiries on the other hand might reveal that the concern was justified. Policewomen therefore rarely prejudged this type of situation and although they might proceed with some caution they would routinely follow such requests through and investigate the case.

Until a request for intervention was investigated policewomen had no way of knowing whether it was genuine or malicious,¹¹⁶ unless they had had previous dealings with the complainant. In addition, sometimes the behaviour of the informant, who may have been self-reporting, was so bizarre that there would be almost immediate doubts about the veracity of the request.

This type of situation threaded through the case books of all stations. An informant with a mental disturb-

116. 79 or 3.4% of the total sample were ultimately assessed as being malicious complaints.

ance resulting in a fixed, false delusion, for example, reported that her husband was possessed by the devil. She asked policewomen to exorcise the devil. On the other hand, although 'prima facie' some requests at the outset seemed reasonable, further investigation might well reveal that calls for assistance were the product of a disturbed mind.

One particularly odd, and time consuming case that emerged concerned a woman who presented, covered with welts and lacerations, asserting that her husband was beating her. She asked the policewomen to speak to him, not to initiate legal action. However, he was never home when they called and it was some time before policewomen discovered that the woman was living alone and the injuries were self inflicted. When confronted she denied she had caused the injuries and still denied this even after admission to a Mental Institution.

In such cases as those outlined above, policewomen may, or may not, confirm the informants' perceptions of cases.

The assessment of the policewomens' perceptions of cases, by the measure described, therefore also served to estimate the number of cases in which interpretation of the factors involved varied, vis-à-vis initiators, prime clients and policewomen.

As mentioned, the case book records were generally sufficiently explicit to measure this variation as policewomen took care to describe how their view of cases differed from that of the initiators. Therefore no undue coding difficulties were experienced in isolating the

policewomen's conceptualization of problems or ranking these as being of primary, secondary or tertiary importance.

Table 16 illustrates that in 69.6 percent of the sample policewomen nominated a type of problem as being of primary importance. In 28.4 percent of the sample additional problems, ranked of secondary importance were apparent and in 8.6 percent of cases a third type of problem was also apparently present. The ranking system developed therefore yielded much more extensive information with respect to the primary, rather than secondary or tertiary causal factors.

Although policewomen did not use such a formal ranking system themselves as was developed for coding purposes, it is not considered that the ranking system developed artificially categorized case factors, as the case book records provided the basic data for this measurement. It would not have been possible to develop it unless policewomen had specifically detailed their perception of cases, in contrast to those of initiators.

In comparing Table 16 with the findings contained in Table 15 it will be readily observed, for example, that whereas the initial request for intervention into family disputes was assessed as accounting for only 4.4 percent of requests for intervention, after enquiries by policeman, they regarded this as a very important factor in 6.3 percent of cases coming to notice.

Other examples of variations are also apparent, such as the incidence of mental illness. In 11.5 percent of the total sample it was the basis for the request for intervention, whereas, policewomen perceived mental illness as occurring in 15.9 percent of the total sample. Thus mental abnormality or illness occurred in an additional 4.4 percent of the sample occurring to policewomen.¹¹⁷

In the paragraphs following Table 16 some of the categories are discussed more fully. Not all have been included in these paragraphs (due to space restraints) but the comments included with respect to sexual problems, intra-family conflict, mental abnormality and missing persons illustrate why policewomen sometimes reached different conclusions than informants with respect to the type of problems associated or inherent in presenting problems. These examples also illustrate some of the management techniques used by policewomen to resolve cases.

117. Table 15, the first two groups of Division 6 provide the basis for the estimate of 4.4 percent of cases involving domestic disputes. Table 17 describes the components of the estimate of the incidence of mental abnormality/illness in the sample.

TABLE 16

THE POLICEWOMENS' PERSPECTIVE OF THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC
AND OTHER FACTORS IN THE PRESENTING PROBLEMS

Rank	Type of Problem	Degree of importance			Total Percentage of cases in the sample in which p/ws' perspective was noted.
		Primary %	Secondary %	Tertiary %	
1	Trauma as a result of a sexual assault	13.8	2.3	.5	16.6
2.	Indications of mental illness, retardation, senility or other behaviour/personality disorder.	11.1	3.8	1.0	15.9
3.	Intra-family discord or conflict.	9.8	3.9	1.0	14.7
4.	Insufficient care of a minor.	6.4	2.8	.7	9.9
5.	Missing person.	6.1	2.0	.4	8.5
6.	Prior police record.	4.7	2.6	.8	8.1
7. =	Alcohol/drug dependancy or abuse.	5.0	2.0	.8	7.8
7. =	Accommodation and tenancy problems.	3.4	3.2	1.2	7.8
8.	Marital discord including domestic disputes	4.8	1.1	.4	6.3
9.	Financial problems	2.1	1.1	.6	3.8
	Sub-totals carried forward	67.2	24.8	7.4	

TABLE 16 continued

THE POLICEWOMENS' PERSPECTIVE OF THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC
AND OTHER FACTORS IN THE PRESENTING PROBLEMS

Rank	Type of Problem	Degree of importance			Total Percentage of cases in the sample in which p/ws' perspective was noted.
		Primary %	Secondary %	Tertiary %	
	Sub-totals brought forward.....	67.2	24.8	7.4	
10.	Truancy.	1.0	1.3	.5	2.8
11.	Physical illness and handicap.	1.0	.8	.4	2.2
12.	Migrant and ethnic language/cultural difficulties.	.2	1.2	.3	1.7
13.	Insufficient care of an adult, either by themselves or others.	.2	.3	.0	.5
*****TOTAL OF CASES IN WHICH POLICE SPECIFIED THEIR PERSPECTIVE OF PRESENTING PROBLEMS.		69.6	28.4	8.6	
*****OTHER CASES IN WHICH DETAILS WERE SPECIFIED BUT WHICH WERE TOO COMPLEX FOR INCLUSION IN THIS TABLE.		19.7	2.4	1.2	
Cases in which details were not provided.		10.7	69.2	90.2	
		100.0	100.0	100.0 %	
		=====	=====	=====	

a. Sexual problems.

The majority of cases presenting in this category arose when a female had reported that she had been subjected to some form of sexual abuse. There was little room for variation therefore between the nature of the initial request for intervention and the policewomens' perception of the presenting problem. A significant proportion of these requests were referred to policewomen from male police, which meant that false reports had already largely been excluded.

Table 15, Division 3 shows that 15.5 percent of all requests for intervention were related to the interview of victims of rape, indecent assault, incest and other sexual assaults (including wilful and obscene exposure).

Policewomen therefore estimated that an additional 1.1 percent of all cases contained an element of trauma associated with sexual abuse or activity, which had not been highlighted at the point of their intervention in the case.

The assumption that they therefore seemed to have made was that any case of sexual assault, activity or involvement where the client was seen as a victim, contained an element of trauma and that this also existed in an additional 1.1 percent of all cases. Notwithstanding this viewpoint, only a small proportion of sex assault cases were referred to other counselling facilities such as the Rape Crisis Centre at the Queen Victoria Hospital or a Social Worker specialising in counselling the victims of sexual abuse. As the Police Surgeon's office would also

have been involved in a proportion of these cases it is known that some would have been referred by the Surgeon for on-going counselling, but there would seem to be a strong argument for increased interaction between Women's Police Districts and specialist facilities, if the incidence of associated trauma, estimated by policewomen, was accurately reflected in this study.

It was also observed that in the case books policewomen did not make overt judgments or statements with respect to voluntary sexual involvements. Case books were neutral in this respect and the private values of policewomen regarding moral issues were not ventilated in records.

The only exception occurred in cases in which a girl below the legal age of consent was indulging in excessively promiscuous behaviour which they considered placed the girl in physical or emotional jeopardy. In these circumstances policewomen might annotate the case book with a comment, but not in cases where the sexual activities of minors did not involve these consequences of precocity.

b. Intra-family conflict.

Although the majority of cases in this group concerned disputes between parents and minors, or adult members of a family, occasionally disputes extended to altercations between in-laws and other members of the extended, rather than the nuclear family unit.

The following matters constituted typical

descriptions of intra-family conflict which policewomen encountered:-

1. Child assaulted by parent, foster parent or step-parent.
2. Child assaulted parent or parent surrogate.
3. Child had demonstrated gross disobedience to parent or guardian by staying out all night or refusing to return home or attend school.
4. Child had been harassed by parents or had been excluded from the family home.
5. Evidence that the child was unwanted, although the parents took no specific action to exclude him/her from the home.
6. Severe verbal conflict between child and parents, but no evidence of assault.
7. General family conflict within the nuclear or extended (three generations) family.

The majority of cases arose in category three above and, as previously discussed, parents showed a preference for describing the misbehaviour of their offspring as being 'missing' rather than 'running away from home'.

Cumming, et. al., have remarked that

'police.. are sincerely, if sentimentally concerned about children, and that negligent parents are likely to find the police at their most truculent.' 118

There was evidence in the case books and analysis of findings to support this observation. Policewomen had a tendency to regard gross disobedience, evidenced by running away from home, as a manifestation of intra-family conflict, which presumably would not have been present unless other aspects of the family life were dysfunctional.

118. E.Cumming, I.Cumming & L. Edell, op.cit., p. 281.

They therefore viewed with some scepticism parents' assertions about the stability of the home environment and not infrequently probed deeper to determine whether the gross disobedience was, to an extent at least, justified.

In 14.7 percent of cases policewomen perceived intra-family conflict as an important factor (Table 16). When this finding is compared with the incidence of requests for intervention where it is clear intra-family conflict was the primary reason for consulting policewomen, namely those cases where the case was recorded as intra-family conflict (2 per cent) and requests to speak to uncontrollable children (4.9 percent), it would seem that policewomen considered this to be an important element in an additional 7.8 percent of cases. This estimate is arrived at by combining categories 5 and 7 of page 10 in Appendix 3, of the computer print out. The total of 6.9 percent of cases in which intra-family conflict was the basis of the request for intervention has then been deducted from the 14.7 percent of cases in which this was a feature, from the policewomens' perception.

It is, however, realised that this estimate of 6.9 percent of cases involving intra-family conflict as the basis of the request for intervention is a most conservative estimate. For example, the incest and missing children cases have been excluded. The former category as it would be dangerous to make assumptions about the incidence of intra-family conflict in such situations. The latter because, as previously explained, an unknown proportion of these cases were children genuinely missing.

A proportion were children running away from home.

The incidence and types of intra-family conflict present in the sample were also measured by Item 27 in the code book. Item 27, pages 46 and 47 of Appendix 3 illustrates that in 17.1 percent of the sample a type of intra-family conflict was identifiable.

It would seem, therefore, that in a further 2.4 percent of cases, over and above the estimated 14.7 percent of cases in which policewomen regarded intra-family conflict as the precipitating problem, that an element of this factor was also present.

c. Mental Abnormality.

Policewomen came into contact with an incredible array of problems and circumstances and at the outset it is not always easy for them to distinguish between those cases where the client has a genuine, but false belief that a certain event occurred, and those cases where the fact situation had been accurately portrayed.

For instance, if an elderly woman came to the station and complained that small articles were disappearing from her home and that she had seen children climbing her back fence, 'prima facie', policewomen would initially approach the case as one of petty larceny.

At the station the client might present as a rational concerned individual and manifest no signs of bizarre behaviour but upon investigation and a home visit a different perspective altogether may emerge. The

woman may have been desperately lonely and seeking attention. Policewomen received many requests for help from people who really only wanted to talk with someone. Normally they would allocate some time to visit the client, take tea and just talk. They might contact relatives of the person, after the visit, and suggest that they might visit more regularly. Policewomen might continue to visit and attempt to encourage the individual to join a local Elderly Citizens' Club. But they would never regard loneliness as such as bizarre behaviour.

A home visit, however, might convince them that the client was, at the minimum evincing bizarre behaviour, at the maximum, required admission to a mental institution.

They treated each fact situation on its merits and how they defined abnormal behaviour depended greatly upon the particular circumstances, the views of others (such as relatives and neighbours) and, of course, the behaviour of the client.

Policewomen did not use psychiatric terms to describe behavioural disorders. On the contrary, they relied upon agreed, implicit notions, (which they arrived at by general discussion) of what constituted 'normal behaviour' and what types of behaviour deviated from the 'norm'.

There was an ill-defined continuum of behaviour which they regarded as abnormal, but not amounting to a definite mental illness.

Bizarre behaviour, confusion and lack of judgment

had many manifestations. Many of the shopstealing cases in which policewomen became involved, for example, were dismissed on the ground that the client's behaviour was bizarre, or out of character. The adoption of this view point bore a relationship to the age of the client. Middleaged females (and some males) who were apprehended shopstealing were not infrequently regarded as acting out of character according to policewomen. They adopted a sympathetic attitude towards middleaged and elderly females, explaining that their behaviour was due to the aging process, menopause, dire poverty or the side effects of prescribed medication such as Valium.

In contrast, juvenile shopstealers were treated differently. They might be exculpated on the ground that the offence was really just a 'prank' and that the individual had not formed the necessary intent.¹¹⁹ Although, the value of the property stolen would also be considered.

Another factor taken into account was the utility and inconvenience of court appearances which will be discussed later.

When policewomen were asked to locate an absconder from a mental institution, and this happened with regularity in the districts which had a large mental institution within the police boundaries, policewomen would assume that the client was mentally ill, unless informed to the contrary.

119. The minimum age of criminal responsibility in Victoria is 8 years of age. S.355 Crimes Act 1958. A common law rebuttable presumption of intent also applies in some cases between the ages of 8 and 14 years.

Further, when the client was known to have been an in-patient of a mental institution or was currently under psychiatric care, they would assess the client as mentally ill or suffering from a behavioural disturbance, basing this assumption on the expertise of others.

If it is accepted that the cases extracted from Table 15 and detailed in Table 17 reasonably represent requests for intervention in matters where there was some evidence of mental abnormality, then such requests were the basis of intervention in 11.5 percent of the sample. Policewomen, however perceived mental abnormality to be a precipitating factor in 15.9 percent of cases. Therefore they estimated that 4.4 percent more cases were the consequence of mental illness, retardation, bizarre or confused behaviour than persons requesting intervention.

Specific information on the type of mental abnormality detailed by policewomen was recorded in Item 22 of the Computer Print Out (Appendix 3) and this shows that in 13 percent of cases policewomen attempted to justify their assessment.

Assessments of this type did, however, vary between stations and it was apparent that describing behaviours in this way was a 'hit and miss' occurrence. If the client was described as mentally ill then the description might indicate that the person was 'odd', 'bizarre', 'confused' or had an emotional or behavioural problem.

TABLE 17 ¹²⁰

THE INCIDENCE OF REQUESTS FOR INTERVENTION
WITH RESPECT TO PERSONS EVINCING SIGNS OF
MENTAL ABNORMALITY

	%
1. Speaking to persons evincing signs of bizarre behaviour.	7.0
2. Returning/admitting individuals to Mental Institutions.	1.7
3. Listening to unspecified and incoherent statements and complaints.	1.5
4. Returning elderly persons and other adults to their residences.	.8
5. Attending suicide and suicide attempts.	.5
	11.5 %

Concern is expressed at the apparent alacrity with which policewomen, with little specialized training define behaviour as being the result of mental disturbance. It is recommended that recruit and other courses devote more time to training police to recognize mental illness. It is also noted that it would be interesting to test what variation in these figures occurred if a group of police were given specialized training in the behavioural sciences,¹²¹

120. This table was prepared by extracting data from Table 15, some of which had been collapsed into broader categories for presentation purposes. Thus Groups 1 and 4 in Table 17 are drawn from Division 1 of Table 15. Groups 2 and 5 from Division 4 of Table 15 (Emergencies) and Group 3 also from Division 4 of Table 15.

121. A pilot study undertaken by students in the Department of Criminology, University of Melbourne, also recommended further training in the behavioural sciences for police. R. Stewart, et. al. A Pilot Study of the Exercise of Police Discretion in the Admission of Apparently Mentally Ill Persons. Criminology Department, University of Melbourne, (1977) p. 31.

as Table 17 illustrates that certain assumptions have been made with respect to the mental competence of individuals, which would not necessarily be supported by persons trained in psychiatry.

A study was initiated to ascertain whether the incidence of mental abnormality in the sample, as identified by policewomen, was confirmed, or otherwise, by officially maintained data.

The Mental Health Research Institute in Victoria publishes statistical information on the prevalence of mental illness in the community but although they cooperated by providing data, it was not possible to compare their estimates with those kept by policewomen. The major reason why such a comparison was not feasible was because the Institute's data is not presented on an area basis. If the data had been available by Local Government Area, for example, it might have been possible to compare data as these areas bear a strong resemblance to Police Districts.

As police do not use medical terms to describe a client, the validity of any comparison would, nevertheless, have been of doubtful relevance.

The rudimentary descriptions of mental illness now used by policewomen also indicate that in some circumstances they would be hard pressed to distinguish, for example, between paranoid schizophrenia and depressive psychoses. As each mental state may demand different management techniques in interview, and the veracity of statements taken from persons suffering such disorders

may vary, these are further strong arguments for enhancing the understanding by police generally, of mental illness.

d. Missing persons and others with prior police contact.

(i) Missing persons.

The Annual Report of the Victoria Police Force for 1976 shows that during the period 1st January to 31 December 1976, 5,416 people were reported as missing in Victoria. The recovery or location rate for this period was 98.8 percent, or 5,353 persons.¹²²

In this sample Table 15 shows that 179 or 7.8 percent of requests for intervention related to missing persons.¹²³

Table 16 illustrates that policewomen considered this to be the major problem in 8.5 percent of cases, although as Group 1 of Table 18 reveals, only 4.9 percent of cases had previously been dealt with as a listed missing person report.

The reason why policewomen perceived cases as involving a missing person in .7 percent (or 17) more cases than there were requests for intervention, can be explained by the development of their knowledge of cases after investigation. An analysis of these 17 cases showed that upon investigation policewomen discovered that the person

122. Annual Report, Victoria Police Force, Government Printer, 1976, p. 25.

123. Table 15, Division 1 - missing adults 1.3 percent.
Table 15, Division 2 - missing children 6.5 percent.

they were to interview had left the stated address. This occurred most frequently when women and children had left an address to escape a troublesome spouse, or other persons had left to avoid discovery. Young people running away from home were prominent in this category. Further scrutiny of these cases revealed that in some instances, after fruitless enquiries to locate individuals, policewomen would formally advise the Missing Persons Bureau, in others, they just closed the case as an unlocated 'missing person'. This latter category was picked up and reflected in the coding.

As will be seen in a subsequent section which discusses police resolution of cases, policewomen had an approximate recovery rate of 50 percent of missing person listings.

(ii) Prior police contact.

Table 18 shows that in 14.5 percent of all cases police had had prior contact with the subject of their present investigation.

TABLE 18

CASE BOOK ENTRIES WHICH RECORDED POLICE CONTACT PRIOR TO THE PRESENT INTERVENTION

	%
1. Listed as a missing person.	4.9
2. Wards of the State.	4.7
3. Previously indexed or carded.	2.2
4. Criminal convictions recorded.	1.4
5. Known to be a wanted person, either in relation to a criminal offence or for interview as a witness.	1.3
	<hr/> 14.5 % <hr/>

Whilst some might argue that labelling clients on the basis of past experience is counter-productive, from the police point of view this was not so. Attention to details such as those listed in Table 18 can be extremely valuable in the event of future contacts. In the main, such information was derived from internal sources and was not just hearsay or gossip from other staff.

The information contained in Table 18, (being drawn from Item 25 of Appendix 3, page 42 of the Computer Print Out) cannot be expected to correlate with the 8.1 percent incidence of cases in Table 16 in which a prior police record was deemed, from the perception of police-women to be a causal factor. Indeed, it would be disturbing if there was a close correlation. Table 18 illustrates those cases in which police had had previous contact, in contrast, Table 16 is concerned with those cases in which the prior history of police contact was considered to be a factor of sufficient significance to note. If the figures were closer together, it could be argued that in most cases in which police had had a prior contact they were disregarding the present request for intervention on the basis of a stereotype approach.

The basis for this interpretation is, therefore, that a closer correlation between these two measures of prior police contacts would suggest that police disregarded other factors in presenting problems, in favour of regarding prior contact as an explanation of present conduct or need.

- e. Summary of sub-section three - the policewomens' perspective and interpretation of requests for assistance.

The analysis of the policewomens' perspective was experimental. In retrospect, if some sections of the coding had been sophisticated, the interpretation of the variations between requests for intervention and the policewomens' perspective of what they were required to do would have been less speculative.

Although cross tabulations of the data contained in Tables 15 and 16 were prepared and some aspects were used to describe variations in the preceding sub-sections, without retrieving specific cases they were of limited value.

The information coded in Items 16 to 28 of the Survey Book, with the corresponding results in the Computer Print Out was used to interpret Table 16 to a limited extent. This information, which detailed the incidence of specific causal factors was a useful tool to illustrate the background to cases. It was not discussed more fully due to space constraints.

What was really lacking from this part of the coding was a measure by which one could estimate the degree of variation between what police were requested to do and how they perceived cases. This defect in the coding design did not become apparent until the later stages of interpretation of the data, by which time it was too late to add this dimension.

It is, however, suggested that the experiment was a limited success as it demonstrated that a real variation does exist between the perception of cases by initiators

and policewomen and that this has consequences for case management.

4. Summary and discussion of Chapter 6.

It is estimated that in approximately 28 percent of all cases policewomen were restricted with respect to the course of action that they were able to take upon a request for intervention.¹²⁴ Such cases included requests by male police to interview, search and take statements in a variety of cases, serving legal documents, administering formal cautions and similar prevention and crime control tasks.

In the majority of cases however, they exercised their own discretion regarding how to proceed and the types of action taken are detailed in the next chapter.

It was however considered fundamental to describe the range of requests for assistance which policewomen received. Table 15 served this purpose and also illustrated the constituents of the day to day activities of policewomen.

Given that Table 15 was virtually self-explanatory, and as at this juncture it was not considered appropriate to elaborate upon an analysis of the policing model used by

124. Computer Print out (Appendix 3) Item 10, Categories 9 - .1%, 10 - .3%, 19 - 2%, 20 - 9.1%, 21 - .4%, 24 - 1.6%, 25 - 2.7%, 27 - 1.7%, 29 - .3%, 30, 31, 32 each .6%, 37 - .3%, 58 - .3% and 59 - .5% have been included to arrive at this estimate. Also contained in this estimate are 7.6 percent of the cases reassigned from category 38, Item 10 of the Computer Print Out, as discussed in section one of this chapter.

policewomen, or the sex-specific nature of their tasks, discussion of this table was limited.

Table 16 and the implications of the tentative findings which emerged from the experimental coding device received considerably more attention in this chapter. The conclusion drawn from the discussion of the police-womens' perception of cases is that they closely examined the causal factors, to explain particular conduct and made their management decisions on these factors, rather than ascertaining whether a breach of the law existed.

Whether policewomen realized it or not, they were adopting a deterministic, rather than a free will approach to the concept of criminal responsibility. They would presumably justify this on the basis that their role is one of support rather than control.

Very few studies of police have attempted to determine who calls the police and why. Cumming, Cumming and Edell¹²⁵ observe:-

'.. poor, uneducated people appear to use the police in the way that middle-class people use family doctors and clergymen - that is, as the first port of call in time of trouble.'

and,

'.. many policemen are themselves recruited from, and sympathetic to, the class of people from whom most of the 'interpersonal' calls for assistance come.' 126

As this study was unable to measure the social stratification of informants, grouped by either occupational

125. E. Cumming, I. Cumming & L. Edell, op. cit., p. 276.

126. *ibid.*, p. 285.

or residential information, it was impossible to provide hard data on social background. However, on the basis of station observations,¹²⁷ callers seemed to come from most social strata, with a preponderance of people engaged in unskilled, semi-skilled or clerical employment. Professional groups were not greatly represented.

Rather than being the first 'port of call' clients seemed to regard police as the more preferred resource agency.

With reference to how policewomen related to callers, this varied. The majority of policewomen seemed to be kind, tolerant, people, there were a few exceptions, but on the whole they appeared to communicate well with both informants and clients. Policewomen had the undoubted respect of policemen so far as their support role was concerned.

Whether informants and prime clients however were satisfied with the action taken was not able to be measured.

Therefore this study does not, unfortunately, greatly add to our knowledge of why people call police in preference to other resources. There seems to have been more research done as to why police are not notified than why they are.¹²⁸

127. Due to the location of field staff they were able to observe the day to day interaction of policewomen with callers at most stations - except one where I was placed in a vacant cell to code.

128. P. H. Ennis, 'Crime, Victims and the Police' Trans-Action (Now Society), June 1967, p. 36.

What is clear from Table 11 is that just over 20 percent of all informants were relatives or persons in close proximity to the prime client. In addition, 12.5 percent of the sample requested assistance on their own behalf. Other unrelated individuals and organizations also requested assistance on behalf of the prime client¹²⁹ in 15.3 percent of cases.

This information at least assists in understanding the proportion of various groups requesting assistance, but whether this was due to a desire to invoke the legal process, because they regarded women police as having a sex-specific support role or otherwise, could not be accurately estimated from police records.

At this stage, it is appropriate to make one final point. Clark suggests that police tend to work in isolation:-

'One of the most important contributions to police isolation stems from the general policy (official or unofficial) of policing organizations themselves. That is, in the interest of "good police work" officers are often advised to isolate themselves from certain segments of the public in order to avoid entangling or contaminating relations'. 130

In the interests of 'good police work' policewomen regarded it as part of their job to spend time in clients homes to learn more about their environment, pressures and needs. This involved a good deal of time and patience and,

129. Computer Print Out (Appendix 3) Item 4, pp. 3 - 6.

130. John P. Clark, 'Isolation of the Police: A Comparison of the British and American Situations' in Crime and Justice in Society edited by R.R. Quinney, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1969.

together with other factors, resulted in considerable work pressure. This is documented in the statements of policewomen contained in Appendix 5 (iii).

As far as I was aware, policewomen drew the line at clients visiting them at home but Appendix 5 (iii), plus station observations reveal that policewomen had little time left for socialization outside the Force in any event.

Therefore policewomen did not adopt an isolation policy but developed their own distinctive style of intervention. This might be influenced by the nature and objectives of the policewoman in charge of the unit and specific directives (such as not drinking in a hotel with a client) but policewomen were in many cases able to exercise their own discretion about case management.

In conclusion, it has been seen that Table 15 provides reasonably reliable information about the nature of requests for intervention. Table 16 suggests that upon investigation, policewomen develop a different perception of the important features of cases than initiators. Tentative inferences are drawn from the discussion of Table 16.

Other issues such as why people contact policewomen, the types of people who do so and the impact of police isolation on the style of policing employed are briefly discussed, but for the reasons provided, no firm conclusions could be drawn.

The other important feature of this chapter is

seen to be the descriptions of the day today work of policewomen.

In the next chapter this dimension is further explored in relation to their resolution of cases.

7 THE ACTION TAKEN OR RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY POLICEWOMEN TO CLEAR CASES

1. Introduction.

Eighty-one specific categories¹³¹ were developed in the Survey Book to code and identify the types of action taken by policewomen to clear or manage requests for assistance and other matters.

Additional specific categories which would have isolated unique or unusual cases could have been developed to exhaust the number of categories (100) available in this item. This was not done as it would have made coding an even more complex task. It was considered that coding consistency and reliability would have been affected if coders became overstressed and tired due to an insistence that very specific categories be utilized.

In this chapter the categories have been regrouped¹³² by assigning some cases from general categories to other categories. The computer print out in Appendix 3 provides full details of the results obtained before regrouping was done.

This chapter concentrates on selected findings and the discussion following has resulted from a composition of these findings, station observations, interviews with policewomen and the cross-tabulation of some variables.

131. Survey Book, (Appendix 2) Item 31, Pp. 29 - 31.

132. A similar process was done to re-classify the types of assistance requested. This is described in the introduction to Chapter 6.

In the following discussion selective use has also been made of inter-station comparisons to demonstrate the usage of certain types of control techniques and how these varied between stations.

The following table summarises the ways in which policewomen acted. These actions and decisions will be more fully discussed in the pages and tables following.

TABLE 19

SUMMARY OF ACTION TAKEN BY POLICEWOMEN

RANK ORDER	%	TYPE OF ACTION IN GROUPINGS
1	22.3	Cases resolved without recourse to legal proceedings.
2	14.3	No offence disclosed.
3	12.4	Interviewed alleged offenders, victims and witnesses. Took statements and fingerprints.
4	11.9	Criminal proceedings initiated.
5	8.0	Protection Applications commenced.
6	7.5	Client referred or conveyed to a welfare service.
7	6.4	Warnings or cautions administered.
8	5.1	General duties.
9	4.1	Found, returned or attempted to locate a missing child or adult.
10	2.4	Located or attempted to find absconders and escapees.
11	2.1	State relief investigations.
	<hr/> 96.5	
	3.3	Outcome of investigation not known.
	<hr/> 99.8 % *	

* Not that this table does not add to 100 percent due to the exclusion from the following tables of those categories which are represented in Item 31 of the Computer Print Out as '.0'. The categories excluded are 15,25,29,39,47,65,76 and 78, each contained only 1 case.

2. Resolutions and action taken which did not result in the commencement of proceedings.

McCabe and Sutcliffe have remarked that:-

'In most studies of the discretionary decisions of the police, the emphasis is placed on criminal matters, for it is a common misconception that most of the time and energy of policemen is spent upon the prevention and detection of crime and upon the maintenance of public order.' 133

In the following two tables (20 and 21) various solutions are identified which were responses to particular fact situations. Analysis of these solutions, by cross-reference to the types of request for intervention made, show that policewomen elected not to define certain actions and behaviour as criminal. On the contrary, they adopted management techniques with a view to keeping cases out of the criminal process. It would however be inappropriate to describe such resolutions as passively non-coercive as, in many instances, they sought to be positive in the exercise of their authority. In doing so they sought to arbitrate, conciliate, give advice on courses of action, or take some other positive action such as returning an individual home, rather than initiating criminal proceedings.¹³⁴ Also, there was evidence in some cases that they had maintained a watching brief to see whether further developments might necessitate a charge being initiated.¹³⁵ It would be wrong to assume that these cases did not entail some element of criminal behaviour. On the contrary, a proportion did, but policewomen chose not to initiate proceedings.

133. McCabe and Sutcliffe, op.cit., p.6.

134. For example, a significant number of children and elderly persons apprehended for shopstealing were not proceeded against but instead were taken home. Usually in these cases the stolen goods had been recovered.

135. This attitude was particularly prevalent with respect to domestic and intra-family conflict where assault charges could have been laid.

TABLE 20

THE TYPES OF CASE MANAGEMENT USED BY POLICEWOMEN
WHICH DID NOT RESULT IN THE INITIATION
OF CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS

DETAILS	% IN RANK ORDER
Listening to the problems of prime clients including mediating and defusing conflictual situations and encouraging clients to call again for further assistance if required.	5.5
Unique and unusual resolutions which cannot be fully described as to do so could breach undertakings given with respect to maintaining confidentiality.	5.3
Conveying prime clients back to home address.	2.7
Advising parents or guardians about the behaviour of children or young persons in their charge and giving advice about management, control or discipline.	2.2
Transporting persons to hospital for emergency treatment (1.2%) and arranging for the temporary care of children (.6%).	1.8
Advising prime clients to initiate civil proceedings.	1.0
Arranging for the care of adults by relatives or friends.	.9
Arranging accommodation for persons who had been evicted or were in imminent fear of eviction.	.7
Visiting clients and delivering messages.	.7
Notifying parents of the whereabouts of children and young persons who refused to return home and returning truants direct to school.	.7
Carried Forward.....	21.5

TABLE 20 Concluded

DETAILS		% IN RANK ORDER
Credit counselling and general advice about financial affairs.	B/f	21.5 .3
Contacting the prime client's probation or welfare officer and advising that they had listened to or had intervened with respect to the client.		.3
Temporarily caring for child or young person.		.2
TOTAL GENERAL DISPOSITIONS		22.3 %

TABLE 21

CASES CLOSED OR CARDED ON THE BASIS THAT
ON THIS OCCASION NO OFFENCE WAS DISCLOSED

DETAILS		% IN RANK ORDER
Records closed on the basis that no offence was disclosed.		8.8
As above, but evidence that:-		
a) police had carded the case for future reference, or		2.6
b) evidence that police intended to follow up the case, or		1.2
c) that they did follow up, or		1.0
d) that they nevertheless took some positive action to assist the prime client.		.7
		14.3 %

There was also a proportion of cases in which the fact situations indicated no element of criminality, or where evidence to sustain a charge was slender. Whether or not policewomen closed the case on the basis of 'no offence disclosed' or used one of the other solutions detailed in Table 20 depended more on station policy about becoming involved in social problems than the legality or illegality of clients actions. At Avondale Heights, for example, 19.5 percent of all their cases were closed on the basis of 'no offence disclosed', which was almost double the number of times this resolution was used at other stations. In addition, at Avondale Heights there was rarely any indication that they intended to follow up such cases. At this station it can therefore be concluded, that during 1976 policewomen adopted a passive, non-coercive and non-helping role with respect to nearly 20 percent of cases. In contrast, at other stations, the policewomen became more actively involved in assisting clients with the types of resolutions set out in Table 20.

This conclusion applies also to those cases detailed in Table 22 following, which describes the types of welfare resources to which clients were referred. Avondale Heights did not use welfare resources to the same extent as other stations.

As coding provided only for the major action taken to be recorded, cases in which multiple actions or solutions were adopted were either coded by a specific category, which recognised a composite of actions, or a decision was made as

to what constituted the major solution or action. This technique was not difficult to employ as policewomen ordinarily only recorded the major type of action taken. In some of the cases included in Table 20 however, clients might also have been advised to seek assistance from another welfare resource. In such cases this suggestion was usually not recorded but it became apparent from station observations and interviews with policewomen that this type of advice was informally made in some cases. This depended upon the policewomens' knowledge of the availability of a suitable resource in the area and a willingness to utilise them.

What constituted a 'suitable resource' from the policewomens' point of view was tempered by a number of factors, including their knowledge of available resources and their opinion about the operation of particular agencies. Policewomen, when interviewed, indicated quite strong opinions about certain welfare agencies in their districts. Some they had little time for, others they respected and would use as a referral resource. Whether their opinions of agencies were accurate or otherwise, could not be measured, but as policewomen had no social work training it could be argued that their ability to evaluate the efficiency and effectiveness of professionally trained social work methods was limited. They sometimes vehemently disagreed with the case management methods of a particular agency or disliked a member of an agency for some reason.

In discussions with policewomen other reasons for their attitudes towards some agencies, and for non-referral emerged. Firstly, if policewomen had not approved of the management of a case which they had previously referred to an agency, they were unlikely to use that agency again unless staff changed. Secondly, if they had no informal contacts with the agency or informal lines of communication with a particular staff member, then they would be unlikely to refer clients to an unknown agency. Furthermore, in a proportion of cases they had to handle a crisis which could not wait until agency staff were available during normal business hours.

Nevertheless policewomen did not appear to have a negative attitude towards social workers per se.¹³⁶ They were, however, very reluctant to refer people to agencies in certain circumstances. Therefore, the view of Finney¹³⁷ that police tend to have negative attitudes towards social workers does not appear to be applicable in this State and is supported by the findings of Brown¹³⁸ that:-

'If the findings of the present sample indicates the attitude of the Victoria Police as a whole (and this is by no means certain) Finney's comment would be almost totally inapplicable. Findings that police generally, stereotype

136. On the other hand an overseas study suggests that social workers hold negative attitudes to police. See: - R. Michaels & H. Tregar, 'Social Work in Police Departments', Social Work September 1973, pp. 67 - 75.

137. R. D. Finney, 'A Police View of Social Workers' Police 16,6, February, 1972, p. 59 at p. 60.

138. Gavin Brown, Police and Welfare Workers - Symbiosis Denied, A paper prepared as part of the requirements for the Diploma in Criminology, University of Melbourne, 1976.

social work and social workers as "do gooders" and "busy bodies" appear equally inappropriate in Victoria.' 139

The low frequency of interaction between police-women and the welfare sector, demonstrated in this study, is supported by other local¹⁴⁰ and overseas studies.¹⁴¹ There is obviously room for the development of greater rapport between policewomen and welfare agencies. In 1970 Catherine King commented, with respect to Victorian police-women that:-

'Except with a few familiar favourites, police-women did not seem to regard contacts with other personnel in welfare and related fields as supportive or to see themselves as one group among several occupations working in the welfare field'. 142

Between 1970 and 1976, when the data for this study was collected, there had apparently been no significant improvement. Subsequent periodic interviews with policewomen

139. Gavin Brown, *ibid.*, p. 23. His reservations about the generality of findings related to his sample size.

140. i. Catherine King, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
 ii. Committee of Enquiry into Child Care Services in Victoria, *op. cit.*, p.10.
 iii. 'Leaper Report', *op. cit.*, pp. 222-223.

141. i. R. D. Finney, *op. cit.*, p. 60. 57% of 192 police officers sampled reported little or no contact with social workers.
 ii. E. Cumming, I. Cumming & L. Edell, *op. cit.*, p. 285. 'Police have little knowledge of, and liaison with, social or even medical agencies, and seem to feel that these agencies' activities are irrelevant to the problems they, themselves, face.'

142. Catherine Kine, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

showed that there had been a slight, but not dramatic improvement in the interaction between policewomen and welfare agencies. This was almost totally due to the Victorian Community Welfare Department's policy of developing regionalized welfare agencies. Recently some police districts have initiated police/welfare worker liaison committees and a Police/Community Involvement Program has commenced at Frankston but these projects have not been in progress for sufficient time to evaluate their impact.

Table 22 following illustrates that clients were specifically referred, or taken to, a statutory or non-statutory welfare agency, or other institution in 7.5 per cent of cases. Such referrals were infrequent in comparison to other types of resolutions, particularly, as it must be taken into account that at both Fitzroy and Flemington there were nearly four times as many persons admitted, returned or conveyed to psychiatric and mental institutions than at other stations sampled.

TABLE 22

<u>CASES REFERRED TO OTHER RESOURCES</u>		%
1. Client admitted, returned or conveyed to a psychiatric institution.		3.8
2. Government Department (Social Welfare).		1.2
3. Local Voluntary Agency (i.e. Non-Government)		.7
4. Out-patient psychiatric clinic.		.6
5. Local Government Agency (Municipal Social Worker).		.5
6. Transporting a wife (or defacto) and/or children to a halfway house or other refuge in consequence of a domestic dispute.		.4
7. Salvation Army or other church organization.		.2
8. Infant Health Centre.		.1
		<hr/> 7.5 % <hr/>

The criteria for referral to a psychiatric institution, used by policewomen, was danger to the community, specific persons or self-harm to the individual being referred. This recourse was not taken without consultation with the Police Surgeon or another Medical Practitioner and usually the client would have to be extremely violent or depressed for such action to be taken.

With respect to the victims of sexual assault it was noted that in not one case was the client formally referred to a social worker or other professional for assistance after the trauma. Policewomen may have suggested to clients that they seek expert help in overcoming the trauma, but this was not recorded by them in case records. This may have been due to the fact that in the main, policewomen became involved with the victims of sexual assaults as the result of requests from male police to conduct the record of interview.¹⁴³ The case would then be handed back to male police for processing. Such a suggestion to a client may however have been made informally (but not recorded), as a Personal Trauma Clinic was established in Melbourne during 1976 and other citizens groups were also operating.

Since 1976 there has been a growing awareness of the needs of the victims of sexual assault in this State and a special Rape Squad has been formed. Nevertheless, the Victoria Police Surgeon, Dr. Bush, has detailed a number of deficiencies in present Victorian police

143. This is standard practice in the Victoria Police Force.

practices with respect to the victims of sexual assaults¹⁴⁴ and concludes by suggesting that as well as ensuring that police officers are appropriately trained to manage such cases, a special squad ought to be established, more Police Surgeons ought to be appointed and:-

'Co-ordination of effort by all those in the various disciplines is seriously needed. The sectional interests of individual groups must be subordinated to the overall good of the community..' 145

In addition it would be worthwhile appointing a qualified professional, probably a social worker, to the office of the Police Surgeon, to ensure that when necessary crisis counselling and referral facilities are available to such victims without delay.

Table 22 illustrates that in 1976 policewomen referred very few cases to womens refuges. Policewomen at four of the seven stations examined did take individuals to refuges,¹⁴⁶ but only in 9 cases and in the most urgent of circumstances, such as when a wife had been actually thrown out on the street. Subsequent station interviews revealed that there had been a slight improvement in relationships between policewomen and womens refuges but staff at some refuges indicate that they are opposed to

144. J. Peter Bush, Rape in Australia: An Appraisal of Attitudes, Victims, Assailants, Medicine and the Law, Sun Books, Melbourne, 1977.

145. Ibid., p.180 - 181.

146. Namely, Avondale Heights, Fitzroy, Flemington and Nunawading.

developing a close liaison with policewomen as they are concerned that the whereabouts of refuges may become public knowledge if policewomen, in uniform and marked cars habitually arrive with potential residents. As a recent Victorian study has concluded:-

'The principal reason for seeking accommodation in a refuge was to escape from violence, (or an intolerable domestic situation involving husband or de facto relationship.' 147

It is apparent that it is essential to maintain anonymity with respect to the location of such places. Given that the above study also illustrated that there is a need for the establishment of additional women's refuges in areas in which certain policewomen's units are situated¹⁴⁸ and as this study shows that a proportion of the police-women's clients are potential refuge residents, it would seem reasonable to suggest that policewomen and the organizers of refuges will need to attempt to settle some of the difficulties which currently exist between them.

By combining the total resolutions detailed in the three tables so far discussed in this subsection, a clearer picture of the types of discretionary diversions from the criminal justice system and other actions taken by policewomen emerges as follows:-

147. A. Armstrong and A. Wearing, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

148. *Ibid.*, Map 27 (no page number) and Figure 22 (following p. 30).

	%
Action taken by policewomen that did not invoke recourse to legal proceedings (Table 20).	22.3
Cases closed or carded as no offence was disclosed (Table 21).	14.3
Cases referred to other resources (Table 22).	7.5
	<hr/> 44.1 % <hr/>

Policewomen therefore exercised their discretion to regard cases as non-criminal or welfare orientated in at least 44.1 percent of the total sample and in 35.7 percent of cases took some positive action to assist clients.¹⁴⁹

A further group of cases in which policewomen clearly exercised discretion, were the matters in which they did not initiate criminal proceedings, but warned or cautioned the client. This group accounts for 6.4 percent of all resolutions, but as the incidence of cases in which this type of resolution was used varied between stations, Table 23 itemises the data by an inter-station comparison.

The Standing Orders of the Victoria Police Force at the time when these warnings were administered¹⁵⁰ (and to date) did not provide for adults to be cautioned formally or warned informally. Yet, as will be seen from the following table this was done. Obviously this could be regarded as

149. This figure is arrived at by adding the totals of Tables 20 and 22-but excluding the 8.8% of cases which were apparently (but not necessarily) closed in Table 21 as no offence disclosed. In a proportion of these cases policewomen probably also gave some assistance but did not record it.

150. Standing Orders, Victoria Police Force, Para. 310,311. 310 has since been repealed and on March 10 1977 Para. 311 was greatly sophisticated.

TABLE 23

CAUTIONS AND WARNINGS

DESCRIPTION	Av	Fit	Fl	Fr	Hb	SM	Nun	%
Child or young persons formally warned as per Standing Orders.	1.5	.7	.7	1.3	4.0	1.0	3.3	1.8
Child informally warned either on the street, in an amusement parlour, at the station or other place such as a hotel.	2.0	.7	1.5	1.7	2.0	.3	.7	1.3
Child informally warned in the presence of parents after having been taken home.	1.0	.7	2.2	.3	2.3	.3	3.0	1.4
Adult informally warned or cautioned.	-	1.3	.8	3.0	2.3	2.3	3.7	1.9
	4.5	3.4	5.2	6.3	10.6	3.9	10.7	6.4 %

an excess of power, which it is rather surprising to find documented. Additionally, it is noted, police have no power to informally warn children, yet this also was done.

The next group of cases in which discretion was used, concerned the category of individuals described as missing persons.

Table 24 below, shows the recorded results relating to this group:-

TABLE 24

<u>MISSING PERSONS</u>	%
DETAILS	
Missing child found and returned home.	1.4
Missing person unlocated after enquiries.	1.4
Attempted to locate a missing person who returned home on his or her own account.	1.2
Missing person refused to return home.	.1
	<u>4.1 %</u>

As policewomen were quite diligent in recording the date of birth of children who were missing, to indicate to others on later shifts (if the child was not recovered) that the investigation involved a missing child, it can be presumed that the other missing persons were adults. Every effort was made in the coding to distinguish between the two groups.

It was also noted that although all stations except Avondale Heights received about the same proportion of requests to locate missing children, (between 6.5 percent

and 7.5 percent of all requests to intervene), Frankston had nearly double the recovery rate of any other station.

These variations were not accounted for by significant differences in the number of children in each District, but the Frankston recovery rate for children may have been due to the fact that policewomen at this unit covered seaside resort areas which are relatively small in size and do not have good public transport systems. Therefore children could not travel so far and were more visible.

It is difficult to determine the precise recovery rate with respect to missing persons as in a proportion of cases the incident was closed by notations in the case book to the effect that an individual had been conveyed back home, parents had been notified of the whereabouts of their children, and in some cases, Protection Applications had been initiated.

Table 15¹⁵¹ showed that policewomen received 149 requests to locate a missing child or young person (6.5 percent of requests). Table 24 shows that 1.4 percent of these cases were resolved by locating the child. Cross-tabulation of data obtained relating to requests for intervention on this ground and the action taken shows that in 21 cases (nearly 1 percent), the child was not found. 23 subjects (1 percent) went home of their own accord, 31 were placed on Protection Applications (1.3

percent). In the remaining 41 cases (1.8 percent) various types of action were taken, for example, 7 children were warned and 6 cases were closed 'no offence disclosed'. Children were also admitted to institutions (7 cases), or taken to other police stations for return to parents (7 cases) and a small number of cases (7) were closed when the child refused to go home. The remaining cases (7) were resolved by attempting to mediate between parents and child to effect a reconciliation.

With respect to those cases where children were placed on Protection Applications,¹⁵² the ground used with the most frequency was 'exposed to moral danger', which was used with respect to 18 cases.¹⁵³ Given the fact situations revealed by case books, it is suggested that more cases could have been cleared by the initiation of Protection Applications, but policewomen chose not to do so.

Table 25 following lists the types and extent to which Protection Applications were used as a means of resolving cases.¹⁵⁴

-
152. The criteria for initiating Protection Applications is fully explored in the Leaper Report, *passim*.
 153. Avondale Heights initiated twice as many applications on this ground than any other station.
 154. Since 1978 the title of the Social Welfare Act has been amended to 'Community Welfare Act' and the grounds upon which an application to have a child declared in need of care have been amended.

TABLE 25

PROTECTION APPLICATIONS

SUB-SECTION OF S.31 SOCIAL WELFARE ACT UNDER WHICH THE APPLICATION WAS COMMENCED	%	RANK ORDER ¹⁵⁵	
		A	B
(b) found wandering, abandoned or sleeping in any public place;	.9	3	5
(c) who has no visible means of support or no settled place of abode;	.7	5	3
(f) who is not provided with sufficient or proper food nursing clothing medical aid or lodging or who is ill-treated or exposed;	.4	6	6
(h) who is in the care and custody of any person unfit by reason of his health to have the care or custody of the child or young person;	1.3	2	4
(j) who is lapsing or likely to lapse into a career of vice or crime;	.8	4	2
(k) who is exposed to moral danger;	3.0	1	1
Ground of application unclear	.9		
	<u>8.0 %</u>		

Sub-sections (a),(d),(e),(g) and (l) of S. 31 of the Act were not used. This is consistent with the findings of the Leaper Report. The grounds which were used with the same frequency in this study, in comparison with Dr. Leaper's were the grounds 'not provided' (f) and 'exposed to moral danger' (k). The incidence of usage of the latter ground, was however, skewed in this study by

155. Group A represents the rank order for this study, Group B is the rank order of findings derived from the Leaper Report, op. cit., p. 10.

the high incidence of applications on this ground at Avondale Heights. At that station 'exposed to moral danger' represented 7 percent of all Protection Applications, in comparison with the total sample average of 3 percent.

Why the other rankings differ from those found by Dr. Leaper is speculative. One explanation may be that in the period that elapsed between her report, which received considerable publicity, and the initiation of the Protection Applications in this sample, policewomen took more care in assigning cases to the grounds. Dr. Leaper had commented that grounds were being used somewhat indiscriminately.

Protection Applications have been included in this part of the discussion as they do not involve the initiation of criminal proceedings. They are civil proceedings within the jurisdiction of the Children's Court.¹⁵⁶

Analysis of the cross-tabulations of requests for intervention, with action taken, reveals that with respect to the 182 Protection Applications initiated, the majority of these related to requests regarding missing children (31 cases), uncontrolled children (27), neglected children (27) and cases in which policewomen initiated action themselves (19).

156. Lynne Foreman, 'Children or Families?' A.G.P.S. Social Welfare Commission, 1975 passim. In this book it is particularly noted that some police still incorrectly use Protection Applications (or Care Applications as they are now known) as a sanction and that they do not seem to understand that they are not a criminal proceeding.

Given that there were 149 cases relating to missing children, 112 reports of uncontrolled children and 174 allegations of child neglect it can be seen that Protection Applications were used with some caution. This is further evidenced by the fact that although there were 30 reports of child maltreatment only 5 resulted in Protection Applications.

The 19 cases in which policewomen initiated a Protection Application resulted from cases in which they deemed that children were unsupervised. These children were located in visible places such as amusement parlours, billiard halls and hotels.

One final group, although not large (2.1 percent of the sample), which requires discussion are those matters in which policewomen were asked to investigate State Relief Applications. These are detailed in Table 26:-

TABLE 26

STATE RELIEF APPLICATIONS

<u>DETAILS</u>	<u>%</u>
Investigated and approved.	1.4
Investigated and rejected.	.6
Investigated but outcome not known.	<u>.1</u>
	<u>2.1 %</u>

State relief in Victoria was instituted by Act of Parliament in 1930. The Government of Victoria covers all operating costs, the remainder of funds available for

distribution come from public donations. The Annual Report for 1977 (which covers the 1976 period in part) reports that 'the total value of goods distributed to individuals and benevolent societies amounted to \$180,239'.¹⁵⁷

In an independent study of the organization prepared in 1977 the following comment is made with respect to persons interviewed:-

'Some of the people who contacted State Relief for aid themselves and then had the police call to check that they were in need, objected to this... Their idea of police intervention, was that police only called when death or trouble had occurred, and reported being frightened when the police came... Others felt that there was a stigma attached to police calling, and that neighbours would gossip unnecessarily, with a subsequent loss of face to themselves. Others complained of the brusque treatment by police.'¹⁵⁸

The Chairman of the State Relief Committee which has the overall responsibility for conducting the general business of the organization advised the writer in 1979 that policewomen were 'only used as a last resort to investigate applications, although they brought more cases to the notice of the organization than any other group'.

A representative from Flemington recently confirmed that they were less involved in State Relief investigations now than previously and that they now referred possible cases to a new local community group who pursued applications

157. Annual Report of the State Relief Committee of Victoria, 1 July 1976 to 30 June 1977. p. 5.

158. Loretta Gorfine and Lesley Hewitt, Study of Selected Aspects of the State Relief Organisation a paper prepared in part satisfaction of course requirements for Social Work III, Monash University, November, December 1977. Unpublished. p. 16.

for State Relief. This trend was also occurring in the other districts, so what might have been the subject of criticism at the time when the study was done, seems to have been overcome with the passage of time.

3. Other action taken.

Included under this heading for discussion are the following groupings from Table 19:-¹⁵⁹

	%
Interviewing alleged offenders and witnesses, taking statements and fingerprinting. (3)*	12.4
Criminal proceedings initiated. (4)	11.9
General duties. (8)	5.1
Locating or attempting to locate absconders and escapees. (10)	2.4

* The numerals in brackets correspond to rank order groupings.

Table 15¹⁶⁰ illustrated that 15.5 percent of requests related to interviewing persons, taking statements and fingerprinting. It would seem that these requests were completed in 12.4 percent of cases. Actually the completion rate for these requests was probably somewhat higher but action taken was recorded variously as initiation of Protection Applications (4 cases), 'no offence disclosed' (19 cases), charges laid (4), taken to other police stations (15) and in 2 cases each the client was taken to an

159. Chapter 7.1

160. Chapter 6.2

institution or parents were advised of the nature of the problem that resulted in the child being at a police station. In the remaining 1.1 percent of cases the outcome of the case was not recorded.

A proportion of the cases included in this category would have probably resulted in the initiation of criminal proceedings by male police, but the foregoing illustrates that policewomen only rarely deviated from the request for intervention with an action of their own.

Table 27 below details the incidence of cases in which policewomen did initiate criminal proceedings. The actual nature of these charges was not normally recorded in case books:-

TABLE 27

CASES IN WHICH CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS WERE COMMENCED

<u>DETAILS</u>	<u>%</u>
Proceeded against by summons.	7.2
Arrest.	3.4
Criminal proceedings commenced but whether by summons or arrest not specified.	<u>1.3</u>
	11.9 %

It should be noted that these figures are skewed by a high summons rate at Frankston (18.7%) and Nunawading (10.7%), whereas the mean average for the remaining five stations was 4.5%. Skewing was also apparent in the arrest category. For instance, in South Melbourne, 10% of their cases resulted in arrest, whereas the mean

average for the other 6 stations was 2.5 percent.

Frankston and Nunawading, as previously observed, are close to shopping centres with high shopstealing rates, which partially explains why the number of summons occurred in these areas. South Melbourne station was in close proximity to an area known as St. Kilda which had a high rate of prostitution and drug offending. Arrests made in this area were ordinarily in relation to such offences.

Of the 11.9 percent of cases which resulted in the initiation of criminal proceedings 144 or 6.2 percent of cases were for shoplifting. Policewomen were asked to investigate 181 such cases, therefore the charge rate was high, however in contrast, although policewomen initiated 190 cases themselves only 64 cases (2.8 percent) resulted in the initiation of criminal proceedings.

The remainder of cases in which criminal proceedings were initiated was small, in comparison to requests received to intervene. For example although 99 requests to speak to troublesome individuals were received, only 4 were charged, of the 46 interventions in relation to domestic disputes only 2 were charged and of the 36 neighbourhood disputes in which they were asked to intervene only 2 persons were charged.

With respect to absconders, these persons were differentiated from other missing persons on the basis that they had left or escaped from an institution. Table 15 shows that policewomen received 38 requests (1.7 percent of all requests) to assist in locating absconders or

escapees from institutions. Policewomen, however, took action in relation to this group in 56 or 2.4 percent of cases, 36 persons were located, interviewed and returned to the institution, 6 could not be contacted or found and in 2 cases they had been found by others and returned to the institution by policewomen. In a further 18 cases (.7), although policewomen had not recorded a request for intervention, they found the absconder and he/she was returned to the institution. These cases have been recorded as part of police initiated action in Table 15.

The range of general duties activities undertaken by policewomen is detailed in Table 28. When compared with the tasks of males on patrol, contained in Table 2, Chapter 4.1.b, policewomen obviously undertook a more limited range of tasks than male police, at least during 1976. Policewomen, were not, however, on patrol in the same sense as males who would also undertake a similar range of general administrative tasks whilst at a station.

TABLE 28

THE TYPES OF GENERAL DUTIES UNDERTAKEN BY POLICEWOMEN

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>%</u>
Clients taken or referred to other police stations for assistance or case referred back to police who asked for investigation.	3.2
Serving summons, warrant or other notice.	1.0
Serving Parking or Traffic Infringement.	.5
Transporting persons to court.	.3
Advising relatives of death.	.1
	5.1 %

When compared with the number of requests which were of an administrative nature, detailed in Table 15 (2.8 percent), it is apparent that actual administrative tasks amounted to 5.1 percent of activities. The difference of 2.3 percent is accounted for by police initiated actions.

4. Discussion and summary.

The tables and discussion in this chapter have illustrated that policewomen recorded multifarious activities. Some of their manifold tasks were not, however, recorded but emerged from discussions and observation.

They humoured some people known to them by visiting their homes to search for lost items that the clients had alleged had been stolen, but which policewomen suspected had been mislaid due to the incapacity of the client to organize themselves.

In addition, they assisted in cleaning up homes in a dirty condition and arranged for furniture and bedding to be delivered by voluntary organizations when accommodation was barren.

Policewomen also arranged for people suffering financial hardship to obtain money from the Poor Box at the local Magistrate's Court and in some cases, station observations revealed, (although this was never recorded in the case book), that if funds were not available from the Poor Box or another source, they would donate their own money to tide a client over, or purchase food for them.

As well, some individuals were transported to the local Social Security Office, a regional Community Welfare Services office or to some other place when they had no money to get there themselves or were otherwise incapacitated. In one case, for example, policewomen were called to a local shopping centre to attend to a drunken, hysterical woman. Upon investigation they learnt that the young woman had just been jilted by her fiance. They took her to her home, stayed until her mother arrived and concluded their entry by recording the advice they had given her which was, not to 'get in that state again, men aren't worth it!'.

Additionally, policewomen took care of children so that parents could attend to an emergency situation such as visiting an accident victim. They also spent hours with potential suicide cases calming them down and determining whether they should be transported to hospital or not.

Amongst their other tasks they informally contacted clients' medical practitioners, welfare officers, probation officers, priests, relatives friends and employers with a view to them assisting in the resolution of a financial, accommodation or other problem which had come to their notice.

In summary, these examples illustrate that they undertook a range of tasks aimed at resolving problems without resort to law enforcement. Policewomen did not specifically articulate these tasks as falling within their

crime prevention charter. Pressed, they might rationalize them on this basis but by no means all of the presenting problems which resulted in non-coercive solutions could be classified in this way.

Clearly, policewomen exercised low-visibility discretion in the management and resolution of cases. Whilst they were well aware that they also had a law enforcement role they could see no purpose in initiating proceedings when a case could be resolved by other means.

They took into account the client's incapacities, social problems and other causal factors and displayed a high level of tolerance to behaviour that other sectors of the community might regard as being anti-social, deviant or not in accord with the norms of society.

One matter, for instance, which was entered as a domestic dispute highlights their impartiality. The 'domestic' was between two male homosexuals. Both freely admitted to the police the nature of their relationship, which until March 1981 was an offence under the Victorian Crimes Act. The attending policewomen could have prosecuted, but they did not. Instead, they mediated and defused the situation.

In other cases, particularly those involving underage females who had left home and were living with boyfriends, policewomen did not initiate criminal proceedings against the male on the ground of carnal knowledge, nor did they initiate Protection Applications against the females, provided that they were satisfied that the relationship was viable, even in the short term.

As the parents of these girls generally referred the matter to police with a view to getting their daughters back home or placed in the care of the State they were probably far from pleased that no coercive action was taken. However, policewomen took into account many of the surrounding factors such as the relationship between parents and child, how happy the girl was at home, whether she could support herself, if she was likely to be sensible about contraception and what they knew about the young man concerned. Consequently, they ignored minimum ages of consent and other legislation designed to protect the underage female - if they were satisfied that she was not being exploited.

Another discretionary factor, somewhat related to the foregoing, was that of expediency. Both male and female police spent a considerable amount of their working time (and time in which they should have been off duty) giving evidence in court. Court attendances cut into their effective working time quite considerably and if they were satisfied that diversion from the criminal justice system was a viable alternative to prosecution, then they would elect to divert, rather than spend time in court.

Therefore, policewomen were highly selective in deciding which cases would be processed through the criminal justice 'system'. Expediency was to some extent controlled by both internal and external expectations and responsibilities. Some shopkeepers, for example, insisted

that all reported and apprehended shopstealers be prosecuted. Despite a formal station policy supporting this request it was (and is) still quite easy for it to be ignored by policewomen if they assert that evidence to support the charge is unsatisfactory. In some of those cases the matter would be closed by noting the case 'no offence disclosed'.

Apart from expediency, from the policing point of view, another factor was what impact the criminal justice 'system' might have upon the client. Case book entries occasionally noted that no further action would be taken because it would serve no useful purpose from the client's point of view. A classic example of this type of case would be when an elderly person, or child just above the minimum age of criminal responsibility, had been apprehended for a criminal offence. Policewomen took the view that processing the case through the courts would have no positive impact upon the client but could be harmful, thus they closed cases even when the evidence seemed satisfactory.

It is impossible to rate the extent to which these discretionary factors were used. Expediency, response to client, internal management expectations and rules, law enforcement obligations and consideration for the welfare of clients were all matters taken into account when policewomen were deliberating upon the appropriate course of action. It was possible to identify the existence of these factors but not to rank them with respect to the degree of usage.

However, client welfare seemed to be an overriding consideration. The functions of policewomen in the metropolitan units examined were biased to the extent that they were required to concentrate their attention upon women and children. Some commentators suggest that women and children are the subject of considerable tolerance in the criminal justice 'system', although it is difficult to locate empirical research which supports this proposition. Policewomen seem to reflect this alleged bias towards tolerance, in their dealings with these groups. It will be interesting to observe whether they extend this tolerant viewpoint towards male clients if integration is fully implemented in this State. If so, such an attitude, being one of support rather than control, is bound to engender conflict with male police.

Persons who reported to policewomen, or were referred via male police, and who had an expectation that a control management model would be employed would not always have been satisfied with the outcome of a number of cases included in this sample, whereas, people who used policewomen as an alternative to a welfare agency, who did not have a control expectation, were perhaps more likely to have been satisfied with the outcome. The study, as previously noted, could not measure the clients' satisfaction with outcomes.

It is also quite evident from this chapter that policewomen's units operated with considerable autonomy. Various consequences emerge from this situation with

respect to the future prospects of policewomen in this State. These matters and the consequences of disbanding or continuing the units will be considered at a later point as certain other features of the work of women police need to be examined in the next part before the major aims of the study are completed.¹⁶¹

161. Chapter 2.3.

PART THREEOTHER FINDINGSINTRODUCTION

This part examines the age and sex of prime clients and collaterals and the extent to which the characteristics of these groups influenced the management of cases.

Other factors, such as the time available to policewomen to investigate cases, pressure of work, previous contacts with clients, the place of interview and the amount of running about entailed in resolving cases are also examined.

The major objective in presenting this information is to provide background material for the discussion in the concluding part of this study, of the question of what alternative structures for service delivery are required, should the present arrangements in the Victoria Police Force for social assistance delivery change.

This material has been considerably condensed from available data, particularly the cross-tabulations of certain variables. Therefore, it is in parts, somewhat impressionistic, but it provides the foundation for the aforementioned objective and suggests certain modifications of present service delivery, should policewomens' units be retained. This is also discussed in the concluding chapters of the study.

8 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PRIME CLIENTS AND COLLATERALS

The following table illustrates that the majority of prime clients were adult females. This finding is not surprising as Standing Orders¹⁶² quite specifically vest policewomen with special duties relating to women and children.

TABLE 29¹⁶³

AGE AND SEX CHARACTERISTICS OF SOLE PRIME CLIENTS

Age in years	Females	Males
0 - 2	.9	1.3
3 - 9	2.7	1.8
10 - 14	11.7	1.3
15 - 17	14.9	.7
Adults	20.7	3.0
Elderly persons	4.2	.4
Age not known	7.7	1.2
	62.8 %	9.7 %

The above table shows that very nearly a quarter of the total sample (24.9 percent) was comprised of 573 adult females.¹⁶⁴ When more than one prime client occurred the proportion of adult females is increased by .7, but as will be seen from Table 30 teenage girls comprised the

162. Listed at the commencement of Chapter 3.

163. This table and the following tables in this chapter do not add to 100% due to the exclusion of some minor categories.

164. Arrived at by combining known adult females and elderly females.

largest proportion of cases in which there was more than one prime client. This usually occurred when teenage girls were brought to notice by adults concerned about what they regarded as promiscuous or anti-social behaviour.

TABLE 30

AGE AND SEX CHARACTERISTICS WHEN THERE WAS MORE
THAN ONE PRIME CLIENT

Age in years	%		
	Females	Males	Mixed Groups
0 - 14	4.6	.8	.3
15 - 21	1.4	.6	-
Adults	.7	.2	.3
Underage and overage	-	-	.4
	6.7 %	1.6 %	1.0 %

The final group of prime clients consisted of family members. Some, as will be shown in the following table, were identified singly, others as a family group. Coding was devised to retain familial relationships so that when a family member requested intervention on behalf of another family member this could be identified. An analysis of the cross-tabulations of Items 4, 11 and 12¹⁶⁵ confirmed that this occurred, although it may not be apparent from an analysis of Item 4 alone. For example,

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165. i. Survey Book (Appendix 2) Item 4 - Who asked police to intervene? pp. 3 - 4. Items 11 & 12 - Age and sex characteristics of the prime clients and collaterals. Pp. 11 - 13.
- ii. Computer Print Out (Appendix 3) Item 4 Pp. 3 - 6 Items 11 & 12 Pp. 14 - 22.

mothers, fathers and spouses were reported by children and spouses. As previously discussed, the underage girls described in Tables 29 and 30 were not infrequently reported by a concerned parent.

TABLE 31

FAMILY MEMBERS IDENTIFIED AS PRIME CLIENTS

	%	
(a) <u>Single individuals</u>		
Mother	.5	
Father	.2	
Single Mother	2.4	
Single Father	.5	
Parent	.1	
Spouse	.2	
Daughter	.2	4.1
(b) <u>Members of Family</u>		
Family, composition unknown	1.2	
Family, comprising adults only	.6	
Family, comprising adults and children	2.1	
Mother and children	2.3	
Extended family	.1	
Siblings without parents	7.0	13.3
		17.4 %

In reality, of course, many more cases were concerned with family functioning than appear in the above table as, whilst many children and adolescents were the specific focus of intervention, policewomen viewed them within the framework of the family situation. However,

unless the initial request was to intervene with respect to total family circumstances, such as neglect, lack of provisions, eviction or domestic disputes, the coding quite strictly differentiated between an individual as the prime client and family groups.

This was done on the basis that as coding proceeded the family circumstances surrounding a case would be determined by noting the collaterals who became involved.

For example, when neglected children were reported, they were coded as sibling prime clients and the parent, or parents, as collaterals. Similarly, teenage girls were coded as such and their parents, if they became involved, as collaterals.

In this way it was possible to differentiate between the prime client and others who became involved as the investigation proceeded. If this system had not been employed it would not have been possible to produce the foregoing tables on the characteristics of the major individual involved as the focus of intervention.

The coding instrument was therefore developed to distinguish, as far as possible, prime clients from collaterals so that the age and sex characteristics of both groups could be identified. It was also considered that if this coding system was reasonably successful, it would assist in discussion of the implications of this research, for the range of services which police, or other groups may plan in the future.

Although at the outset 47.2 percent of all cases had no collateral involvement, and in a further 1.2 percent of cases information was too vague to code, when collaterals were evident (that is, in 51.6 percent of the sample), they predominated in certain categories. The largest, by far, category of collaterals was mothers (11.4 percent), followed by fathers (3.7 percent), both parents (6.5 percent), family with non-relatives (2.8 percent) and male adults (1.3 percent).¹⁶⁶

Cross tabulations, plus station observations confirmed that mothers or fathers, or both parents, were closely correlated to interventions concerning small children and teenage girls as prime clients.

When teenage girls were the prime clients, parents (either jointly or singly) were joined as collaterals by two other groups who were classified as non-relatives and adult males. These two groups consisted of the male with whom the teenage female prime client was cohabiting, and frequently his parents, who were of course, unrelated to the prime client.

Therefore the concerned parent or parents of teenage girls combined with the parents of the male sexual partner in attempting to resolve the sexual precocity of their off-spring. In most cases the males involved with teenage girls were classified as adults on the basis that they were apparently over the age of majority (18 years of age). Their parents were concerned about the relationship

when carnal knowledge charges might be an outcome.

As sufficient cross-tabulations were generated from the computer to wall paper an average sized home they have not been reproduced here. The argument for their reproduction would have been stronger if they had resulted in statistically significant findings but, due to the thin spread of cross correlations, this was generally not so.

An attempt was made by the inclusion of Items 16 to 28 in the Survey Book, to obtain some background information to assist in describing the particular problems of prime clients.¹⁶⁷

Subsequently cross tabulations of these variables with the age and sex of the prime clients was prepared but, as nearly a quarter of the sample were adult females, they were more frequently represented in the cross tabulations. This was particularly so with respect to alcohol, marital and mental illness problems. However, teenage girls were overrepresented with respect to underage sexual activities and as the victims of rape, wilful and obscene exposure and other types of sexual abuse.

Language problems were also the prerogative of the adult female who was ordinarily experiencing domestic difficulties. The latter was also associated with both accommodation and financial problems resulting from the

167. Refer to Appendix 2, pp. 16 - 23 for details of coding and Appendix 3, pp. 26 - 49 for results.

breakdown of either a marriage or common law union. The normal pattern was for the wife, generally with young children, to approach policewomen for assistance due to the violent behaviour of her spouse or because he had ejected her (and sometimes the children) from the matrimonial home or left them destitute.

Insufficient care of children was normally diligently recorded, particularly for future reference, but also in case care proceedings were immediately warranted. Truancy, although a recognised problem in Melbourne,¹⁶⁸ was not rated by policewomen as a high level problem in this sample. Probably due to the fact that they regarded children as uncontrolled or unsupervised rather than as truants.

Elderly women were represented in the categories of excessive alcohol intake, financial accommodation, physical illness, mental illness and insufficient care. Primarily their problem seemed to be bizarre behaviour, which was included in the category of mental illness but which was not recognized as amounting to mental illness.

Adult males in the sample who were classified as prime clients, were ordinarily described as having alcohol or domestic problems. Sometimes these were also associated with financial and accommodation difficulties.

Families with children experienced multiple

168. i. D. Challinger, *Juvenile Offenders in Victoria*, op. cit., passim.

ii. Leaper Report, op. cit., pp. 203 - 204.

problems which, on the records, were not significantly correlated with either alcohol or drug abuse problems. Family problems were associated with financial and accommodation difficulties, poor living conditions and insufficient care of children. Insufficient evidence was available to explain the reasons for these multiple problems. 'Prima facie', unemployment¹⁶⁹ did not appear to be a major problem, low income and 'poor management',¹⁷⁰ was, however, highlighted in a general category which was later analyzed. For example, high hire purchase payments, coupled with rent arrears and the ill-health of a family member exacerbated the ability of some parents to cope financially.

Families with a multiplicity of social problems were often well known to policewomen. Generally they would listen sympathetically to the problems of such families but there was no evidence to suggest that they had found a solution to their problems. This they at least had in common with social workers in districts who were interviewed.

Such families would be shuttled between agencies which would provide stop gap measures but were unable to do more than alleviate the distress of the immediate crisis.

No attempt was made to quantify the occupation of prime clients as information was slender. When questioned, policewomen advised that they had contact with 'all types'. However this response depended upon the district in which

169. Unemployment has, however, increased significantly since 1976.

170. 'Poor management' was typified by policewomen as expenditure on items which they considered luxuries. These excluded cigarettes and alcohol.

policewomen were stationed. Some areas, such as Frankston and Nunawading have a higher incidence of so-called 'middle class' people than others such as Fitzroy and South Melbourne. The latter areas for instance contain a number of Housing Commission developments which accommodate people on lower incomes, deserted and single mothers with children and others on pensions. Not surprisingly, people in these areas were more likely to experience financial difficulties.

Although case book records revealed that in a small number of cases policewomen used informal expressions such as 'a decent type', 'mad as a meat axe', 'a no-hoper', 'a nasty type', or 'O.K. when sober' to describe clients, in the vast majority of cases they adopted a neutral stance.¹⁷¹ Individuals were not generally stereotyped into categories such as those described above. The station in life of clients did not seem to be of overriding importance to policewomen and they did not seem to hold particular expectations that people from different walks of life would behave according to any preconceived pattern of behaviour for a certain class, nor that certain people ought to possess superior social skills.

McCabe and Sutcliffe suggest that police develop a standardised approach to incidents on the basis of certain factors:-

171. Table 5, Chapter 4.5 details the attitudes of policewomen towards clients and shows that in the highest proportion of known cases they record a neutral stance (40.3% of the sample).

Computer Print Out (Appendix 3) Item 34, p. 66 further details attitudes.

'Police initiative... seemed often to have its source in stereotypes of individuals; thieves, known and suspected, or tearaway youths. The events or circumstances giving rise to police action in such cases seemed to be less important than the outward appearance or suspected proclivities of the individuals observed. It may be a consequence of this standardised approach to incidents that there appeared to be a difference between the complainant's view of what should be considered offensive or criminal and the definition of crime made by the police officers who dealt with the complaints'. 172

There is scant evidence from this study to support McCabe and Sutcliffe's view with respect to the adoption of a standardised approach, so far as policewomen are concerned. The data discussed in this chapter, on the contrary, suggests that the women favoured an individualised approach. This may have been due to their special role, autonomous work environment and concentration upon women and children.

Whether male police employed the stereotyped approach suggested by McCabe and Sutcliffe could not be fully measured. However, due to the close proximity of the rooms used by women police at some stations, to rooms occupied by male police, some observations were made of the contrast in the approach of male police to social assistance tasks, to individuals and the range of resolutions adopted.

Males were observed to be more prone to stereotype than females, but this depended upon their age. Younger male police seemed more inclined to be impatient with social assistance tasks due, it was considered, to the same reason that McCabe and Sutcliffe identified:-

'.. during the course of our observations there was some evidence of confusion and sometimes irritation when uniformed police officers were asked to perform tasks which did not fall within the two categories of police business which they understood - the prevention and detection of crime and the maintenance of the Queen's Peace'. 173

A consequence of this 'irritation' with requests for support was that male police referred such cases to women police when possible. Therefore, if they did stereotype welfare calls, this had little impact on outcomes. Some cases they did manage themselves and it was observed that they spent less time on these cases than policewomen did and were more likely to adopt a control stance than policewomen. This was evidenced by their approach to domestic disputes for example. If they did respond to a call for assistance (and this was not always certain), they would be more likely to suggest to a battered wife that she support them in the initiation of assault proceedings than female police were likely to do. The latter group would look for some means of conciliation by non-coercive measures.

Cumming, Cumming and Edell suggest police in their study were sympathetic to welfare cases because:-

'.. many policemen are themselves recruited from, and sympathetic to, the class of people from whom most of the "interpersonal" calls for assistance come'. 174

Nevertheless they qualify this statement by remarking that:-

173. McCabe and Sutcliffe, op. cit., p. 10.

174. E. Cumming, I. Cumming & L. Edell, op. cit., p. 285.

'This becomes less true, of course, as the police department becomes more professionalized, and is probably less true of this department (Syracuse Police Force) now than it was in 1961 when these data were collected.' 175

This research did not formally investigate the social status of policewomen prior to entry into the Force. Whether it is relevant to their management of cases therefore is not known. I suspect it is not, but further research would need to be undertaken to measure this properly. Given the wide range of persons seeking assistance how one would measure the impact that previous socializing factors would have on the interaction between police and clients is difficult to envisage.

Other factors also would have to be taken into account such as the current attitudes of policewomen to social values, ethics, norms and preferences.

Certain other matters such as the time available to pursue cases, the extent of stress and the frustrations inherent in investigating cases also need to be considered.

Some of these issues are discussed in the next chapter which explores the interaction between policewomen and clients.

175. Ibid., footnote 11.

9INTERACTION WITH CLIENTS

This chapter examines interaction with prime clients and collaterals and some of the factors which may influence the management of cases.

At the outset of investigations requests for intervention were made in relation to one prime client in 1672 cases, or 72.7 percent of the total sample.¹⁷⁶

When the process of investigation was advanced, however, there were fewer single prime clients and more cases in which two or more persons could be identified as prime clients.¹⁷⁷

As investigations proceeded, therefore, more people apparently became involved both as prime clients and as collaterals, provided that policewomen were able to contact the original person(s) nominated as the prime client.

When investigations had been conducted the original estimate of 72.7 percent of the sample being sole prime clients had dropped to 51.3 percent. Two prime clients had jumped from 12.5 percent to 18.6 percent and three or more prime clients had risen from 9.8 percent to 20.4 percent of the total sample.

The largest increase was apparent in the group of three to seven persons being identified as prime clients.¹⁷⁸

176. Computer Print Out (Appendix 3) Item 9, p.9.

177. Ibid., Item 13, p. 23.

178. Ibid.

To some extent this increase in the number of prime clients, as cases proceeded, is explained by the vague descriptions provided by informants requesting intervention who would ask, for example, that policewomen call and investigate the neglect of a child. Upon investigation policewomen would find, not only a child, but a family, or other siblings in need or with some problem they sought to resolve.

Additionally, if policewomen were asked to call upon an elderly person, upon responding they might discover that more than one elderly person in the house was living in poor circumstances and required assistance.

Further, if a young person had left home and they had discovered his/her whereabouts they might also find other young people in the house or flat who had almost identical welfare needs or problems to the original prime client.

The increase in the number of persons deemed to be prime clients, as cases proceeded, is therefore explained. Policewomen, realising upon investigation, that the initial prime client could not be managed singularly, but had to be seen in relationship to others, expanded the number of prime clients as cases proceeded.

This also, to some extent explains why policewomen preferred to interview prime clients at their place of residence. Table 32 details the places at which prime clients and collaterals were interviewed.

TABLE 32
PLACE OF INTERVIEW WITH PRIME CLIENTS
AND COLLATERALS

Place	P.C.	%	Colls.
Home or flat	34.0		20.4
At a police station	23.6		6.2
In the street	8.2		.8
At place of employment	.4		.3
Other place, including amusement parlours, hotels	14.8		8.2
No interview (which includes no collaterals)	11.7		55.9
No relevant information	7.4		8.2
	100.0	%	100.0
			%

The above table shows that when clients or their associates were interviewed, the most frequent locale was their home or flat. As a large number of cases required policewomen to take statements, conduct interviews and generally attend to other matters at a police station, the number of cases in which the police station ought to be regarded as the desired place of interview is probably overstated. If clients or associates expressed a preference for an interview at a station, rather than have a police car parked outside their home, such a request would generally be complied with if this was feasible. The venue of interviews was therefore related, to an extent, to the wishes of the clients and collaterals, to their willingness to be interviewed and the background circumstances of cases.

Table 32 shows that in 11.7 percent of cases no interview was conducted with prime clients. A proportion of these cases of course included absconders and missing persons who could not be located. In addition, information in case books revealed that in a small proportion of cases clients actively avoided contact with policewomen. Further, when small children were prime clients in neglect cases obviously interviews were not conducted with them.

Provided prime clients could be contacted, it was usual for them to agree to discuss the request for intervention with policewomen and Table 33 shows that in 11.6 percent of cases clients were rated as definitely seeking help. This is slightly lower than the 12.6 percent of cases which were isolated as being self-reports. Given the high proportion of cases in Table 33 in which there was insufficient information to code (79.3 percent), this difference is not great. In coding the information represented in Table 33 unless the case book entry contained specific information to enable it to be assigned to one of the specific categories it was completed as 'no relevant information available'. On this basis therefore not all 'self reports' were automatically coded as 'definitely seeking help'. Additional, clear statements of fact situations were demanded before data was assigned to a category other than 'no relevant information available'. Given the strict coding criteria employed the

TABLE 33PRIME CLIENTS' ATTITUDE TO INTERVENTION

	%
No relevant information	79.3
Definitely seeking help	11.6
Complaint unfounded	3.4
Passively hostile or unco- operative	2.0
Actively hostile with verbal and physical abuse	1.4
Actively hostile with verbal abuse	1.1
Grateful for assistance although it was not actively sought	.5
Ambivalence	.3
Rejecting help or asserting that no assistance was required	.2
	<hr/> 99.8 % <hr/>

information in Tables 33 and 34 represent conservative estimates. Table 34 provides an inter-station comparison of some of the variations which emerged in select categories.

TABLE 34

DESCRIPTION	A. <u>INTER-STATION COMPARISONS OF PRIME CLIENTS' ATTITUDES TO INTERVENTION</u>							<u>TOTAL DATA</u>	% *
	Av	Fit	Fl	Fr	Hb	SM	Nun	Relative Frequency	Adjusted Frequency
Prime client(s) definitely seeking assistance	12.5	8.0	14.3	9.3	16.7	10.3	7.3	11.6	56.0
	B. <u>INTER-STATION COMPARISONS OF CASES IN WHICH POLICEWOMEN DETERMINED THAT THE COMPLAINT WAS MALICIOUS OR UNFOUNDED</u>								
Malicious or unfounded	2.5	5.3	3.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	4.0	3.4	16.6
	C. <u>INTER-STATION COMPARISONS OF CASES WHICH INVOLVED PHYSICAL AND VERBAL ABUSE</u>								
Actively hostile with physical and verbal abuse	-	2.0	1.7	.3	1.7	2.4	1.6	1.4	7.2

- * NOTE: - Due to the high incidence of cases in which no relevant information was available (79.3%) both relative and adjusted frequencies are included.
- As a result of the rounding of station percentiles the total station data relative frequencies do not necessarily add to the sum of the station data.

There can be no certainty that the figures included in groups B and C in the foregoing table are an accurate estimate of either the number of malicious complaints in the sample, or the incidence of cases in which policewomen were exposed to verbal and/or physical abuse. Policewomen, when interviewed, however, were quite emphatic that they diligently recorded these matters because of the implications for future management. They said that they would proceed with great caution in the event of future accusations or reports concerning a person against whom a false report had previously been made. Further, they said that they were careful to record contacts with people who were hostile and violent for their own self-protection in the event of future contact.

Another point worth noting is that when all crimes were deleted from the total sample this showed that where the client had been abusive, particularly with physical force, policewomen were more likely to charge this person with an offence if the intervention related to a criminal activity such as shoplifting. Such persons did not appear to have also been charged with resisting arrest or assaulting a police officer although the facts may have justified such action. In relation to demeanour, other research also supports the conclusion that police generally prefer docile clients.¹⁷⁹

179. I. Piliavin and S. Briar, 'Police Encounters with Juveniles', American Journal of Sociology 70 (September), p. 206.

The term 'running about' was devised to describe the amount of travelling time and degree of personal and telephone contact policewomen had with clients during the life of cases.

Case books did not contain sufficient information to determine either the response time to requests for intervention¹⁸⁰ or to quantify the time spent on different types of cases but as Table 35 illustrates, sufficient information was available to code the running about.

Table 35 presents this information by way of inter-station comparisons as some variations were apparent between stations with respect to the degree of contact policewomen had with clients.

Overall, policewomen contacted or visited clients in 78.3 percent of all cases sampled. More than one visit was made however in only 8.6 percent of cases and this suggests that either policewomen could close cases after only one contact, or did so in order to cope with their workload. The impression one gathered from reading case books and station observations was that the perseverance of policewomen in following through cases depended upon their impression of the seriousness of the request for intervention.

Informal observations indicated that the

180. An example of a recent American study is cited below, there are no similar Australian studies:-
Marvin Van Kirk, Response Time Analysis: Executive Summary, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C., September 1978.

approximate, average time spent on attempting to clear each case varied between one half hour and two hours duration.

It was also observed that policewomen became very exasperated with cases that involved more than what they considered an acceptable amount of running about or an abnormal number of visits to people. If the running about was considered necessary then policewomen were quite patient, but when people were not home as they were expected to be, or demands were excessive, they could be quite firm about curtailing the time spent on a case.

To some extent this was linked to the fact that policewomen did not wish to leave their stations unattended. This nonetheless happened from time to time when all available members were out on calls and since there has been an increase in the amount of general duties tasks undertaken by policewomen (which will be discussed more fully at a later point), absences from stations resulting in them being closed at short notice have increased.

Another finding which has implications for the organization of policewomens' units, or alternative resources, relates to the days of the week which were found to be the busiest.

A special computer program was developed to cross-tabulate the day, month and year of intervention for each case to determine peak work loads. These results are presented in Figure 11.

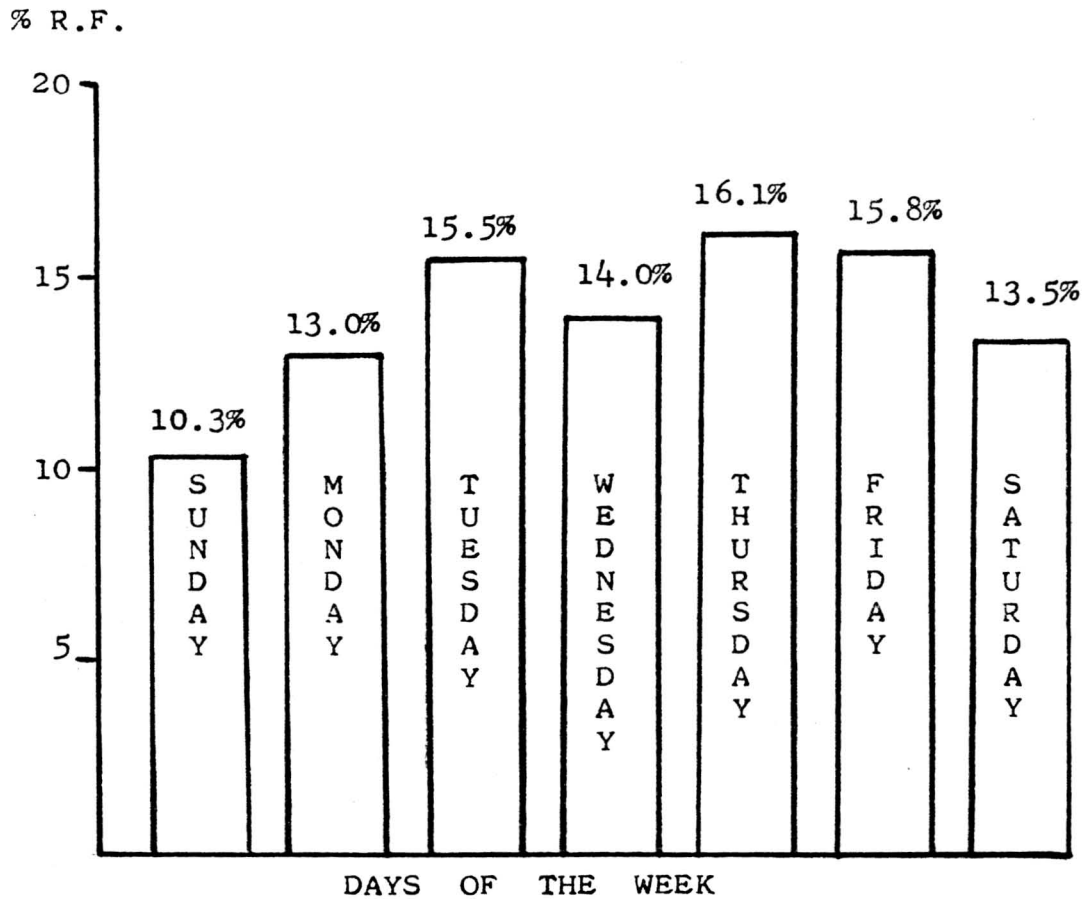
TABLE 35

THE EXTENT OF RUNNING ABOUT INVOLVED IN THE INVESTIGATION OF CASES

DESCRIPTION	Av	Fit	Fl	Fr	Hb	SM	Nun	TOTAL DATA %
Apparently only 1 visit or contact	57.5	48.0	47.8	71.3	66.7	51.7	49.0	54.9
Only one contact but some incidental running about	15.5	26.7	23.8	9.7	12.7	20.3	21.7	19.4
No contact with prime client(s)	7.0	6.0	4.8	3.0	4.0	7.0	5.3	5.2
Only one contact but a fair amount of running about	2.0	3.7	5.7	1.0	4.3	5.3	5.7	4.3
More than one visit	3.0	6.3	4.3	2.0	6.7	2.7	3.7	4.2
No contact with prime client(s) but running about	4.5	4.0	6.0	4.7	3.3	.3	5.0	4.2
No relevant information, or information too vague to code	8.0	2.0	2.0	8.0	1.0	4.7	1.7	3.5
More than one visit but also some incidental running about	1.5	1.3	3.5	.3	-	7.0	4.0	2.7
More than one visit and a fair amount of running about	1.0	2.0	1.8	-	1.3	1.0	4.0	1.7
								<u>100.00 %</u>

FIGURE 11

THE NUMBER OF CASES MANAGED ON EACH DAY
OF THE WEEK



CASE BOOK DETAILS CONTAINED INSUFFICIENT INFORMATION TO CODE THE DAY OF THE WEEK ON WHICH POLICEWOMEN INTERVENED IN 1.8 PERCENT OF THE SAMPLE.

Thursday would seem to be the busiest day of the week in Women Police Districts and Sunday the quietest. Policewomen are available 7 days per week, 24 hours of the day but during late evening and early morning hours only a skeleton staff is kept on duty at one District and policewomen from this District may be called to attend almost anywhere in the metropolitan area. The Districts are rostered to maintain this service.

Reliable information was not available to ascertain the peak hours during which calls for assistance were made as the time of requests for intervention and police initiated actions were not entered in case books. Informal station observations however indicated that mid-morning, late afternoon and from ten p.m. to one a.m. were the peak periods but these were to some extent correlated with the types of assistance requested or initiated.

The majority of shoplifting cases, for instance, occurred during the day. Calls from anxious parents were ordinarily either mid-morning or late at night and requests to assist destitute families and investigate cases of suspected child neglect arose throughout the day.

During the week, when the work load was slack, policewomen would take the opportunity to make follow-up calls to families and individuals regarding whom they had a continuing interest. Such cases were attended to on a rotating basis from the Card Index System which policewomen maintained for this purpose.

From time to time policewomen also initiated

cases themselves on the way to and from attending to other matters, but in 1976, at six of the stations, (Avondale Heights was the exception) it would be rare for policewomen to go out on patrol looking for work.

As policewomen tended to allocate follow-up calls and other routine tasks to the quiet days of the week it is suggested that determination of the number of cases managed on each day of the week is probably slightly influenced by this organizational factor.

Whether other factors, such as school holidays, the week before pensions are paid or the weather, influence contact peaks could not be empirically demonstrated. Policewomen assert that these factors have a bearing on their case load. Some confirming trends could be seen, but insufficient to support or deny these assertions.

Cumming, Cumming and Edell's study¹⁸¹ was able to make a much more thorough analysis of the distribution of calls, by type, through the days of the week and the period of the day than was possible in the present study. They concluded that more calls were received during the second part of the week and explained this as follows:-

'It now appears that the heaping up of calls in the last part of the week is made up of two effects: first, routine police business and persistent interpersonal calls occur most frequently on Thursday, while periodic interpersonal problems heap up on Friday night. The meaning of this is not clear, but it may be that the tensions associated with the instrumental activity of the working week

181. E. Cumming, I. Cumming & L. Edell, op. cit., Pp. 278 - 280.

are increasing by Thursday and are then let go on Friday - payday - and the weekend, when formal constraints are fewer. Because fewer of the other agents are available at these times, the policeman takes over many emergency health and welfare services a kind of division of labor through time.' 182

Two other studies of police calls for assistance indicate that evenings and the second half of the week, peaking in weekends were the prime times during which calls for assistance were made.¹⁸³

Figure 11 shows that similar conclusions could not be drawn from this study, with respect to the days of the week, as with the exception of Sundays, when the call rate dropped nearly 3 percent below the average of 14 percent for the seven days, all other days of the week were closer to this mean average, with the exception of Thursdays.

Case books did not record the time of day during which interventions were sought, so that beyond the foregoing generalizations, based on station observations, it is impossible to further discussion with respect to the reasons why requests for intervention were made during a particular time period.

182. Ibid., p. 280.

183. i. Harvey Tregar, Police Social Work, op. cit., p. 108.

ii. United Way, Social Policy & Research, 'The Social Service Role of Police: Domestic Crisis Intervention - Citizen Requests for Service & Vancouver Police Response', Monograph One, January, 1976. P. 18.

One further factor which may have some bearing upon the interaction between policewomen and their clients is the contribution of job stress. Davidson and Veno, have put the issue this way:-

'What are the implications of the police being an extremely high stress occupation? Clearly there will be a high cost on the members of the force.. But also, it can be easily seen that the community at large will suffer from the police being under a great deal of stress'. 184

Davidson and Veno produce no empirical evidence to support the assumptions inherent in the foregoing statement, but there is ample overseas evidence to suggest that police sustain various types of stress, due to a number of factors and that various management strategies can be utilized to alleviate this problem in policing.¹⁸⁵

The issue of job stress has already received some attention in Victoria as the application by the Victoria Police Association in 1978 to the Police Service Board for a wage increase was, in part, based on this ground.

The evidence of policewomen to the Board, included in Appendix 5 (iii) shows that members of the Board questioned policewomen closely on this topic and that policewomen said that they sustained a variety of stresses in both their social and work life which could impact upon their relationships with the community.

184. M. J. Davidson & A. Veno, 'Police Stress in Australia: A Current Perspective', ANZJC 12, 3, 1979, p. 153.

185. J.T.S. Duncan, R. N. Brenner & M. Kravitz, Police Stress: A Selected Bibliography, National Criminal Justice Reference Service, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C., June 1979.

Although the members of the Police Service Board, which heard the application for salaries and allowances, referred to previously,¹⁸⁶ did not isolate specific stress factors relating to policewomen in the reasons for their determination,¹⁸⁷ they did identify certain stressors which they concluded made policing generally a very stressful occupation.¹⁸⁸ This list of stressors included, role conflict and ambiguity, negative public image, work overload, shift work, inadequacy of resources, hazards and the trauma associated with danger. Finally, the interference with family and social life associated with a policing occupation.¹⁸⁹

In describing the impact of role conflict the Board said:-

'This relates to the frequent occurrence of situations in which the policeman is in a quandry as to the action to be taken in areas in which the law has grey areas or in which his knowledge is uncertain in the circumstances. He is uncertain of the support he will receive from his superiors or the Courts. This stressor includes reference to the widened role of the Force in modern times to include a wide range of social services in which many situations for which police are not fully trained, if at all, nor equipped with appropriate powers to deal fully and certainly with them. It also includes reference to such difficulties as exist in interpretation and administration of

186. Chapter 2.1.

187. The Police Service Board (Victoria) Determination 308 - Salaries and Allowances Claim 1978 - 1979. Reasons for Decision, 14 December 1979. (Policewomen are rarely mentioned in the Report which is written in the male tense).

188. Ibid., para. 537, p. 154.

189. Ibid., para. 508, pp. 145 - 147.

departmental policy. Role ambiguity is a notable stressor'. 190

Earlier in the report, in discussing the development of the police role in Victoria the Board concluded:-

'.. by the end of 1970 a firm foundation for the further development of the social welfare and social assistance or social service roles of the Force had, in practice, been laid'. 191

This role, the Board noted resulted in particular stress for police:-

'...the constant difficulty of after hours availability of those (welfare) agencies asserts itself... the degree of professionalism among such agencies calls for adaptation to and acquisition of higher skills on the part of the police to deal adequately with their responsibilities in this environment. . because the police are available for 24 hours in the day, they must cope after hours with emergencies and problems which then present themselves, and are expected by all concerned to perform in the same manner, and with the same skill, as the trained social worker or specialist would have done if available. The decision making responsibility in such circumstances casts a great deal of responsibility upon the member concerned.' 192

The above considerations, as noted by the Board obviously affect policewomen as well as male police.

In addition, in this study, one factor which quite evidently affected some policewomen related to their relationship with a particular (female) station officer. She insisted that policewomen in her unit should do, what she called 'proper police work', which she interpreted as patrol duty of a crime prevention and crime

190. Ibid. para 508, (b) p. 145.

191. Ibid. para 69, p. 21.

192. Ibid. para 346, p. 94.

control nature. Her subordinates indicated during station interviews that they had joined the Force 'to help people', by which they meant welfare work. Their preference for welfare work therefore conflicted with their superior's view of their proper role. This was the cause of much dissatisfaction at this station.

Another factor which induced stress was the time available to follow through cases. In some areas senior male police in the district used policewomen to process many minor offenders whenever possible. If policewomen did not agree with this, policy conflict resulted.

The small number of policewomen stationed in districts, further exacerbated the performance of what they regarded as their proper duties and undoubtedly reduced the time available for a thorough investigation of some cases. This was sometimes referred to during station interviews as frustrating.

Other factors which emerged during discussions included the social isolation policewomen felt as a result of shift work. Their occupation, they considered also set them apart from social intercourse. In addition, they indicated that they were sometimes aggravated by male police denigrating their role as 'womens' work', lack of job opportunities also featured and they expressed concern over their future role in the Force resulting from integration.

At the time when this study was commenced in 1977 the women who participated had joined the Force

anticipating that they would be undertaking a community assistance role. A few had entered specialist units but the full impact of integration was then an unknown factor. Policewomen who entered the Force expecting to undertake a welfare role were concerned about their ability to transfer into the general duties areas. Yet they recognised that this was necessary so as to obtain promotions.

More recently female recruits have been selected on the basis of their suitability and willingness to undertake general duties work, therefore there are currently two streams of serving policewomen. Those that were employed for their suitability to fulfill a welfare role, and those who were selected for a general duties role.

Periodic follow-ups with policewomen have indicated that this has also produced some tensions.

There are other tensions between male and female police which will be discussed in a later chapter.

The next part aims to discuss the impact of Equal Opportunities legislation and the implications this may have for the future role of policewomen in this State.

PART FOUR**10** THE IMPACT OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES LEGISLATION1. Introduction.

When this study was commenced in 1977 the majority of policewomen were employed in Women Police Divisions. Only a small number had become involved in general duties or specialist squads.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the impact of Equal Opportunities legislation upon the functions of policewomen by reference to the legislation, the response of the Force, the ratio of male to female police, the rank structure of the Force, the deployment of policewomen and other considerations.

2. Equal Opportunities Legislation.

In documenting the movement towards integration of policewomen in the Victoria Police Force, O'Meara concluded that:-

'By world standards then, Victoria was not lagging in its attempts to integrate its police force'. 193

O'Meara also observed that the Victoria Police Force was not the main initiator of the movement towards integration¹⁹⁴ and that there were specific reasons why

193. O'Meara, op. cit., p. 193.

194. Ibid., p. 194 'On 15 June 1973, the Australian Government ratified International Labour Convention No. III - Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) 1958. As a result the Victorian Government established an advisory committee on all matters relating to the status of women'.

police were slow to move in this direction. Prominent amongst these reasons, O'Meara considered was:-

'the sincere doubt on the part of many of the policemen about the effectiveness of women in general police duties. It was also clear though that policewomen themselves, besides cherishing their traditional children and women's welfare roles, also had significant doubts about the worth of integration for them'. 195

These attitudes are reflected in the 1975 report of the Force's Inspectorate and Future Plans Section which amongst its nineteen recommendations included the following:-¹⁹⁶

Recommendation One

That the sex of a member be irrelevant in matters of transfer to vacancies except to positions

- (a) which involve legitimate considerations of public decency and acceptability or
- (b) are identified by function or objective as requiring a male or female appointee.

In these exceptional cases the embargo shall be stipulated in the advertised vacancy.

Recommendation Sixteen

That at a date to be fixed the present Women Police Divisions be retitled "Family Service Bureaux" with

- (a) present strength and staff to continue but filling of vacancies arising from subsequent wastage to accord with the following
 - (i) Sub-officers may be male or female
 - (ii) Minimum female component (excluding Sub-Officers) be 50 per cent during the first twelve months of operation then as determined by the Integration Committee.

195. Ibid., p. 193.

196. Ibid., Appendix XI pp. 245 - 248.

Recommendation Sixteen (continued)

- (b) authorised strength to remain the same but reviewable by the Integration Committee after twelve months of operation.
- (c) duties and training to be decided by the Integration Committee; but to include police matters involving families, children and young persons; provision of school liaison (excluding Country Districts) and liaison with and referral to appropriate concerned agencies.'

The consequence of a conservative application of Recommendation One would have been to preclude police-women from certain duties in the Force, thus inhibiting the extent of integration.

Recommendation Sixteen, has never been implemented and neither recommendation, in any event, would probably have been acceptable with the advent of Equal Opportunities legislation, which came into effect in Victoria in 1977.

Shortly after the Act was proclaimed the Victoria Police Force wrote to the Equal Opportunities Board with a view to obtaining certain exemptions from the operation of the Act with respect to the duties of policewomen. This general request was clarified in correspondence with the Board in March 1978. On the 10 May 1978 the Force wrote again to the Board this time specifically requesting exemptions from the operation of Ss.18(1)(2), 25 and 27(1)(2).

Section 18 makes it unlawful for an employer to discriminate against a person on the ground of sex or marital status in the following circumstances:-

- (a) in determining who should be offered employment;

- (b) in the terms on which the employer offers employment;
- (c) by refusing or deliberately omitting to offer employment;
- (d) by denying the employé access or limiting access by the employé, to opportunities for promotion, transfer or training or to any other benefits connected with employment,
or
- (e) by dismissing the employé or subjecting the employé to any other detriment.

Section 25 provides that it is unlawful for an educational authority to discriminate against a person on the ground of sex or marital status.

Section 27 relates to discrimination in relation to accommodation.

Section 37 provides that the Board may order that an unlawful act be ceased, alternatively it may order specific performance of an act to comply with the provisions of the Act or impose a penalty of not more than \$1,000 on an offender who contravenes the Act or fails to comply with an order of the Board.

As a result of this correspondence, on 12 May 1978 the Equal Opportunities Board granted the Victoria Police Force the following exemptions from the Act:-

1. An exemption for three months from the 12 May 1978 to permit the restriction on the number of policewomen admitted to the Police Academy.
2. An exemption for six months from the 12 May 1978 or until the completion of the new accommodation block at the Police Academy (whichever is the earlier) to permit the selection of persons permitted to reside outside the Academy on the basis of sex.

3. An exemption of six months from the 12 May 1978 to permit the continuation of the present two pronged career structure of the policewomen division and the rest of the police force.

To this point in time the Force had been granted the exemptions requested, but for a lesser period of time than it actually wanted.

Consequently, on the 8 November 1978 the Force again applied to the Board for a partial exemption from the provisions of the Act.

The full text of this application, excluding the supporting Affidavits¹⁹⁷ is included in Appendix 5 (i).

Essentially what the Force requested was an exemption for three years

'so as to allow the Chief Commissioner of Police to take sex of individuals into consideration when selecting or appointing members of the Force for the following positions within the Force:-

- (i) Women Police Divisions in the ranks of Sergeant, Senior Constable or Constable;
- (ii) Police Stations having a strength of only one member;
- (iii) Police Stations in country Police Districts having a Sergeant in charge;
- (iv) Prison Liaison Officers;
- (v) Police Welfare Section;
- (vi) Government House Shrine of Remembrance Security Group, in the ranks of Senior Sergeant and below.' 198

197. The Victoria Police Force kindly supplied this material but excluded supporting affidavits on the ground that it would be improper to include these because witnesses did not appear before the Board to give evidence.

198. Appendix 5 (i) p.1.

The Equal Opportunity Board did not conduct a formal hearing or take evidence from persons who submitted statements supporting the police application¹⁹⁹, but on the 15th December 1978 granted the Force exemptions from the provisions of the Equal Opportunity Act 1977 in the following circumstances:-

- (i) An exemption for two years from 15th December, 1978, to permit the Women's Police Division to be staffed with women only.
- (ii) An exemption for two years from 15th December, 1978, to permit Police Stations having the strength of only one member to be staffed with men only.
- (iii) An exemption for two years from 15th December, 1978, to permit country Police Stations with a Sergeant in Charge to be staffed with men only.
- (iv) An exemption for three years from 15th December, 1978, to permit the Prison Liaison Section to be staffed with men only.
- (v) An exemption for three years from 15th December, 1978, to permit the sex of a person to be taken into account in selection of staff in the Police Welfare Section so that there is always at least one person of each sex in that section.

199. In addition to the supporting statements submitted by the Victoria Police Force a copy of the interim report of this research, which was prepared in October, 1978 for the Criminology Research Council, was made available to the Board. As well, the writer, at the request of the Victoria Police Force swore a supporting Affidavit. The purpose of this Affidavit was to illustrate that a proportion of the work of Policewomen was sex specific. It is apparent from the Board's press release (included in Appendix 5 ii) that this material was of use to the Board in reaching its' determination.

- (vi) An exemption for three years from 15th December, 1978, to permit the employment of men only in the ranks of Senior Sergeant, Senior Constable and Constable in the Government House and Shrine of Remembrance Group.' 200

Equal Opportunities legislation and the determination of the Equal Opportunity Board has had an impact upon the policies and operations of the Victoria Police Force. Certainly, the Force has been urged beyond the limited framework of integration formulated in Recommendation One of the Inspectorate's evaluation of the future role of policewomen. Other recommendations have been implemented fully. The following extract from a recent Annual Report of the Force²⁰¹ illustrates their perception of the current position:-

'Equal Opportunity Act

When the Equal Opportunity Act was proclaimed on 3rd April, 1978, the total number of female members was 355; by the end of 1978 there were 417 female members. Although the Victoria Police had more policewomen than any other Police Force in Australia and had optimised the role of police-women to a greater extent than other Australian Forces, proclamation of the Act brought about a number of changes to previous policies. Among these were the promulgation of a combined male and female seniority list, cessation of dual promotion systems and changes to the recruiting criteria for women which involved recruitment on the basis of ability to perform the total police function, rather than the traditional welfare role.

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200. Victoria Government Gazette, No. 3, January 5, 1979, p. 15.
201. Victoria Police Annual Report for the year ended 31st December, 1978, Government Printer, Victoria. 1979.

Major research was also commenced to identify every separate position held by members of the Force to enable formulation of comprehensive "Position Descriptions". These will allow determination of sex-specific police duties to facilitate the appointment of the most suitable members to vacant positions. We are fully complying with the spirit of the legislation and will continue to select recruits on the basis of their suitability to perform police service without regard to their sex or marital status.

The principal difficulty is in endeavouring to equate policemen and policewomen in terms of height/weight ratios, having regard to the physical demands of police work' 202

It is difficult, during the current period of transition, to accurately measure the extent to which Equal Opportunities legislation, and the exemptions granted to the Victoria Police Force, have effected the role of policewomen in this State, but an attempt is made in the following sections. An analysis of the ratio of male and female police, deployment and other factors are considered. As, at the time of writing, no further applications for exemption from the Act have been made by the Force this is, at least, one of the intangible factors that does not have to be taken into consideration.

3. Police Force Strength.

Table 36 following,²⁰³ details the actual strength or personnel establishment of the Force since policewomen

202. Ibid. p. 3.

203. The figures cited from 1917 to 1973 were compiled by O'Meara, op. cit., Appendix 4 pp. 213 - 215. Figures included after 1973 were obtained from the same sources used by O'Meara, namely Annual Reports of the Victoria Police Force.

were first appointed in 1917 until the end of December 1980.

This table shows that the ratio of female to male police in the Force has risen dramatically in the past nine years. How long this trend can continue, and whether the Force will ever arrive at the situation where it has an equal strength of males and females is debatable. Peter Horne forecast, for the beginning of the 21st century that:-

'females will comprise 10% to 15% (at the utmost) of our national sworn police officer population'. 204

The latest figures available, as provided by the Force, and contained in Table 36 show that females comprise 6.9 percent of the total Force in Victoria. By comparison, recent figures compiled by Dr. Roi Townsey of the Police Foundation, Washington D.C. show that in America:-

'In 1978, the number of women police officers had grown to more than 9,000, constituting slightly less than 3 percent of all municipal, county, state, and federal law enforcement personnel. It is noteworthy that only 10 to 12 major city police agencies currently are at or above the level of 3 percent women, and the majority have fewer than 150 women officers. For example, women constitute

204. P. Horne, 'Policewomen: 2000 A.D.' (1979) op. cit., p. 347.

TABLE 36

VICTORIA POLICE FORCE STRENGTH - 1917 to 1980

Year	Actual strength including police-women. 205	Actual strength of police-women.	Females as a % of the Force.	Ratio male to female police. 206
1917	1,650	2	.12	824:1
1918	1,558	2		778:1
1919	1,719	2		859:1
1920	1,733	2		866:1
1921	1,736	2		867:1
1922	1,741	2		870:1
1923	1,251	2		625:1
1924	1,810	4		452:1
1925	1,875	4		468:1
1926	1,963	4		490:1
1927	1,997	4		498:1
1928	2,142	8		263:1
1929	2,148	8		268:1
1930	2,115	8		263:1
1931	2,107	8		262:1
1932	2,121	8		264:1
1933	2,148	8		268:1
1934	2,170	8		270:1
1935	2,247	8		280:1
1936	2,289	8		285:1
1937	2,280	8	.35	284:1
1938	2,271	8		283:1
1939	2,313	8		288:1
1940	2,352	8		293:1
1941	2,327	8		290:1
1942	2,310	8		289:1
1943	2,263	8		282:1
1944	2,209	8		275:1
1945	2,106	12		175:1
1946	2,188	15		145:1
1947	2,268	16		141:1
1948	2,385	14		169:1
1949	2,597	18		143:1

205. Actual strength means the number of personnel occupying positions.

206. The actual strength of women police has been deducted from total actual strength to provide ratios.

TABLE 36 continued

VICTORIA POLICE FORCE STRENGTH - 1917 to 1980

Year	Actual strength including police-women.	Actual strength of police-womn.	Females as a % of the Force.	Ratio male to female police.
1950	2,751	21		130:1
1951	2,879	25		114:1
1952	2,992	29		102:1
1953	3,047	28		108:1
1954	3,021	30		100:1
1955	3,109	34		90:1
1956	3,392	43		78:1
1957	3,709	55	1.48	66:1
1958	3,754	53		70:1
1959	3,792	51		73:1
1960	3,923	55		70:1
1961	4,030	58		68:1
1962	4,068	57		72:1
1963	4,239	58		72:1
1964	4,344	55		78:1
1965	4,369	56		77:1
1966	4,422	59		74:1
1967	4,617	60	1.30	76:1
1968	4,712	67		69:1
1969	4,722	74		63:1
1970	4,770	69	1.45	68:1
1971	5,089	125		40:1
1972	5,410	158	2.92	33:1
1973	5,628	185		29:1
1974	5,841	200	3.42	28:1
1975	6,156	272		22:1
1976	6,487	295	4.55	21:1
1977	6,819	347	5.09	19:1
1978	7,238	417	5.76	16:1
1979	7,569	526	6.95	13:1
1980 (207)	7,814	540	6.91	13:1

207. The 1980 figures have not yet been published but were kindly provided by the Management Services Bureau.

6.4 percent of the Miami Police Department's sworn personnel, but there are only 49 women officers. The Denver Police Department's percentage of women officers is 4.9, but there are only 67 women. The Detroit Police Department's percentage of women officers is slightly above the national average. There are more than 600 women among Detroit's sworn personnel, comprising nearly 12 percent of the force.' 208

It would seem, therefore, that the number of female personnel in the Victoria Police Force is significantly higher than the American average.

At the time of writing (July 1981) the Victoria Police Force have not issued any policy statements to suggest that the number of policewomen employed will be restricted but as Table 36 shows, the ratio of male and female police has remained stable during the past two years.

Further, during 1980 fewer females were recruited and for a six months period, at least, no female recruits were in training at all.

Additionally, in the extract from the 1978 Annual Report reproduced in section two of this chapter (footnote 202), there is a hint that the Force will be looking closely at the feasibility of a sex equal force. The reference to 'major research' into 'position descriptions' suggests that some tasks may be declared (or attempted to be declared) sex-specific. If this is done and the Equal Opportunity Board is convinced that certain

208. Roi D. Townsey, 'Women in Municipal Policing' (paper presented at the 1980 Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, November, 1980), pp. 3 and 4.

tasks do qualify for exemption from the Act on the basis that they can only be performed by males or females, this in turn may limit the number of females recruited. No results from this 'research' have surfaced at the time of writing.

An incident which occurred during 1980 has been regarded by some as an attempt to restrict the functions of policewomen in this State. During 1980 the Chief Commissioner of Police ordered that no policewomen was permitted to lift a weight in excess of 16 kilos. This restriction was imposed to comply with the provisions of S.132 of the Labour and Industry Act 1958 which forbids female employees to lift weights in excess of 16 kilos.

Strict application of this order would have resulted in policewomen being prevented from undertaking patrol duties on the basis that they could not shift a body. The Breathalyser Squad would have been off limits on the ground that females would not be permitted to carry portable testing equipment and females in the Mounted Branch during the currency of this order had to arrange to share the weights of heavy equestrian equipment to conform with the legislation.

In areas where the provisions of S.132 were strictly enforced (it was ignored in some areas) the order resulted in considerable dissatisfaction and concern about the future role of women in policing. After the intervention of the Victoria Police Association and others,

an amendment to the Act was proclaimed in late 1980 exempting police from the operation of S.132 of the Labour and Industry Act 1958.

The enactment of this amendment, whilst allowing women police the same access to most tasks in the Force as males, has had the effect of allowing senior officers to order females to lift weights in excess of 16 kilos and they have no legal protection if they refuse. All other females in the Victorian workforce, including nurses who often lift heavy weights, are, however, still technically protected by S. 132.

Peter Horne considers that the major obstacle to integration and growth of female police numbers is 'negative male attitudes towards policewomen'.²⁰⁹ Although he does cite other reasons such as national economic growth, costs of recruiting and training females who leave after a short period of service and 'the old boy network'.

All these factors have relevance to the local situation and there is no reason to believe that with a predominance of males in the Victoria Police Force, that even limited integration has not resulted in some antagonism or ambivalence with respect to the future role of police-women.

Correspondence in the Victoria Police Association Journal in 1977 has highlighted the differing views of senior male police towards females.

209. P. Horne (1979) op. cit., p. 350.

For example, Senior Sergeant B. Kelly responded, to a letter to the Editor, written, he alleged by 'a male chauvinist'²¹⁰ in this way:-

'(Policewomen) are generally less aggressive, neater in appearance and work and more amenable to discipline than their male counterparts. The results obtained from a male and female member on vans whether day shift or night shift are better than the results from either two male members or two female members working vans. They can handle anything that comes along without having to call for assistance from either male or female police. If he (the earlier correspondent) has Policewomen at Frankston that he doesn't want there, we will swap him at Springvale. We have had the girls working here and their ability is proven. We want them on the station because we get results." 211

It would be improper and misleading to suggest that the attitude of male police towards working with females in this State is based solely on 'chauvinistic' grounds.

During informal conversations with males they have indicated that they are genuinely concerned about patrolling with females. They wondered whether they will be placed in the position of having to protect their female partner from assault, or whether they will have to manage a situation without assistance as their female partner does not have the physical strength to assist. Some males have also suggested that they prefer not to work on patrols with females as this results in domestic difficulties with their wives who object to them being on patrol with females.

210. S. Todd (1977) op. cit.

211. B. Kelly (1977) op. cit., p. 30.

There is no evidence to suggest that mixed patrols have resulted in liaisons resulting in matrimonial difficulties but this apparently does not appease wives according to male police. It may be, of course that male police use this supposed concern as an excuse to cover up their own reactions to being placed on patrol with females.

Overeras research suggests that females are effective and efficient on patrol,²¹² but no local studies have been commenced exploring how policewomen function on general duties in the local situation. The attitudes of males to females in policing in Victoria may also be coloured by adherence to traditional sex-role stereotypes.

At the present time nearly all jobs are open to women in the Force²¹³, but in a newspaper interview the then Police Assistant Commissioner in charge of Personnel, Mr. Eric Millar, is quoted as saying that he was 'dubious about the benefit of this'. He is reported as having amplified this statement by saying:-

'I think we have got to wait and see. I have some reservations about women being able to carry out some of the more physically demanding jobs... It's my belief that they cannot handle really difficult situations the same as the men can. I am talking about the occasions we have armed offenders with hostages, or when you have those very dirty tasks of pulling badly decomposed bodies out from under houses.' 214

212. i. Catherine Milton, op. cit., passim.
ii. Joyce L. Sichel, op. cit., passim.

213. No females have been appointed to the Motor Cycle Squad on the basis that the machines are too heavy for them to handle and exemptions detailed in section two still prevail.

214. 'The Age' Newspaper, 26 November 1978, p. 22.

The distribution of males and females in the Force will, therefore, depend upon factors such as assumed biological and personality differences between the sexes as well as other matters such as personnel requirements, financial considerations and population expansion. The future passivity or militancy of female police in pressing for acceptance through the Police Association and other forums will also be a consideration.

In America legislation and litigation dating back to 1963 has resulted in:-

'Women (being) hired, compensated, trained and generally deployed throughout municipal, state and federal police agencies without reference to their gender'. 215

Townsey in reviewing the range and content of such litigation concludes:-

'The most commonly litigated issues-- those having the most direct impact on women in policing-- include pregnancy and related maternity benefits; height and weight requirements; veterans' preference; physical agility testing; and, most recently, sexual harassment.' 216

In some Police Departments, in addition, police-women have formed separate unions or associations to represent their interests. Some Departments, such as the New York Police Department, have also appointed a senior officer to deal with equal rights issues.²¹⁷

215. Townsey, op. cit., p. 7.

216. Ibid., pp. 12 and 13.

217. Personal conversation with Assistant Commissioner Louise S. Guidice, Equal Employment Opportunity Office, New York Police Department, October 1980.

To date none of the 'commonly litigated issues' detailed by Townsey, and outlined above, have been the subject of applications by Victorian policewomen to the Equal Opportunity Board and no discontent on these matters has surfaced.

The major contention so far, would seem to be related to the extent to which male police accept females undertaking general and specialist duties extending beyond their well accepted social assistance role.²¹⁸ It is suggested that the attitudes of male police to female police are intrinsically linked to the sexual stereotypes which are culturally accepted in Australian society. Norma Grieve, in reviewing the relationship between traditional cultural ideas and the psychology of sex role behaviour has commented that:-

'The naive psychology which supports and sustains sex stereotype is beginning to be identified... One important outcome of the reappraisal of sex role concepts has been a much sharper conceptualization of the various aspects of gender related phenomena. Distinctions need to be made between sex, gender, gender identity (identification), sexual orientation, sex role behaviour and personality attributes'. 219

Having examined the notion of androgyny and questioning the future of the concept, she concludes:-

218. Section 6 of this chapter provides examples, drawn from the evidence of policewomen to the Police Service Board Salaries and Wages Determination, of policewomen's perceptions of the attitudes of male police to their appropriate functions.

219. Norma Grieve, 'Beyond sexual stereotypes. Androgyny: a model or an ideal?' in Australian Women - Feminist Perspectives, edd. Norma Grieve and Patricia Grimshaw, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, Ch. 21, p. 250.

'It is now clear that psychological variation, both between and within men and women, cannot be represented by dichotomous, either/or categories, nor can it be based on a one dimensional scale, with the end points being defined as masculine and feminine.' 220

In assessing the competency of females to perform the same policing tasks as males, therefore, the measurement should not be by the male standard. Having carefully reviewed a considerable range of research concerning the competence of female police, Bell concludes:-

'Women have shown that they are competent and efficient officers. Females have demonstrated that they can manage preventable violent situations; communicate with citizens, and their attitudes prove to be more effective than male muscle-power. The sex of the officer in itself does not determine whether violence will or will not occur between the citizen and the police. But, if violence were to occur, a well-trained officer, regardless of sex, would handle it to the best of their ability. Those who are concerned that women may be injured must realize that this occurs with men as well.' 221

Although the local and overseas literature reviewed in the preceding paragraphs suggests that the competence of women in policing should be assessed on the basis of their ability to perform the function rather than comparing their performance to that of male officers no research has yet been conducted in Australia using such a formula. Whether there is discrimination within the Force, based on sexual stereotypes also cannot be

220. Ibid. p. 256.

221. Daniel J. Bell, 'Policewomen" Myth or Reality' (paper presented at the 1980 Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, November, 1980), p. 25.

measured. Table 36 illustrates that although there has been an increase, since the mid 1970's, in the number of policewomen employed in the Force, over the past two years this seems to have stabilised. Whether there is a deliberate policy to restrict the number of policewomen is not known, but as will be seen from the next section, the promotional opportunities of policewomen in the Force would seem to be considerably less than those available to males.

4. The rank structure of the Victoria Police Force.

To date no policewoman has been appointed to a rank higher than that of Chief Inspector.²²² The present ratio at the rank of Chief Inspector is 1 female to 107 males and at the rank of Inspector, 2 females to 194 males.

Table 37 shows that the percentage of females in lower ranks is also disproportionate to the number of males.²²³ Although, in comparing the 1979 and 1980 figures there has been a slight shift upwards from the rank of Constable to Senior Constable, this is partially explained by the relationship between period of service in the Force

222. There are four ranks above that of Chief Inspector, namely, Commissioner, Commander, Chief Superintendent and Superintendent. The 71 males occupying these positions account for just less than 1 percent of the total actual strength of the Force.

223. Table 37 is based on figures provided in the Victoria Police Annual Reports for 1978 and 1979 plus unpublished figures made available by the Management Services Bureau.

to promotion. After 2 years service Constables may sit the examination to be promoted to the rank of Senior Constable which usually occurs after 5 years service. At the end of 10 years service Senior Constables are eligible to sit the examination for promotion to Sergeant. Promotion to this rank is usually granted, subject to passing the examination, after 11 to 12 years service. At the expiration of 15 years service Sergeants may sit the examination for promotion to Senior Sergeant and after 18 to 20 years service members of the Force may sit for the Officer's Examination.²²⁴

The drop in the number of females at the rank of Senior Sergeant, from a peak of 6 percent to the present figure of 4.8 percent is due to the abolition of separate promotion lists for males and females.

Table 36 illustrates that there has been a significant increase in the number of females in the Force during the 1970's and given the time spans outlined above which elapse before promotion, a dramatic increase in females in the higher ranks cannot be expected for some time.

In addition to length of service necessary before promotion, two other factors affect the promotional aspirations of policewomen. Whereas males may join the Force at 18½ years of age, the minimum age for a female is 20 years of age. Hence, it can be anticipated that females will be promoted at a later age than males.

224. This information is extracted from recruitment documents prepared by the Victoria Police Training Academy.

TABLE 37

COMPARISON OF MALE AND FEMALE POLICE
IN THE RANK STRUCTURE OF THE VICTORIA POLICE FORCE

RANK	% of Male Police			% of Female Police		
	1978	1979	1980	1978	1979	1980
Above Chief Inspector	1.0	1.0	-	-	-	-
Chief Inspector	1.5	1.5	1.5	.2	.2	.2
Inspector	2.9	2.9	2.7	.2	.4	.4
Senior Sergeant	6.0	5.9	5.7	2.9	2.3	2.4
Sergeant	18.4	19.6	19.8	6.0	4.6	4.8
Senior Constable	32.1	31.4	32.6	16.5	18.2	22.6
Constable	38.5	37.7	36.7	74.1	74.3	69.6

If a policewoman continues to serve in a Women's Police Division for a considerable period of time after completing her basic training, she will be unable to apply for certain positions in the Force as she has not gained the necessary experience in general duties to enable her to fulfill certain tasks. As females already enter the Force at a later age than males, it follows, that if they are located in Women's Police Divisions, their prospects of advancement will only increase if they transfer out of these Divisions. The time spent in acquiring the experience to be eligible for promotion, even after passing the examinations is therefore related to age and deployment.

The highest rank a policewoman working in a Women's Police Division can aspire to is that of Senior Sergeant. Currently the three females appointed to higher

ranks are employed in the Dog Squad (Chief Inspector), in charge of Women Police (Inspector) and Police/Community Relations Project (Inspector) respectively.

One other female Senior Sergeant has passed the examination and training for the rank of Inspector, but as she is employed in a Women's Police District, she will have to transfer from this area to obtain promotion.

Townsey, in reviewing the current rank status of females in American policing concludes that:-

'Although women rank as high as captain, inspector, and deputy chief in municipal agencies such as the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Police Department, the Detroit Police Department, and the New York City Police Department, they are overwhelmingly represented at the rank of police officer in the vast majority of municipal police agencies across the country.' 225

In Victoria, and indeed in Australia generally, a similar situation would seem to prevail. This is linked to the length of service of an individual, but in contrast to males, for females it is also related to her actual deployment in the Force. Some of the implications of being assigned to a Women's Police District have been discussed in this section. The next section more fully examines the changing deployment of policewomen in Victoria, over a five year period.

5. The deployment of policewomen in Victoria.

Table 38²²⁶ demonstrates that there has been an increase between 1975 and 1980 in the number of policewomen assigned to Departments other than Operations, which includes the figures on women employed in Women's Police Districts.

The number of policewomen in the Personnel Department seems to have decreased dramatically from 61 in 1978 to 2 in 1980. This is explained by the decrease in the recruitment of policewomen during this period.

For the period 1975 to 1980 the number of women employed in Traffic has increased by 216 percent, Crime Department has increased by 148 percent and Operations by 117 percent.

The most marked increase in the Traffic Department's employment of policewomen was during the 1975 to 1978 period when the increase was 150 percent. During the 1978 to 1980 period this dropped to a 27 percent increase in females, compared with an increase of 82.5 percent increase in males.

Between 1975 and 1978 the number of females working in the Crime Department had increased by 70 percent, compared with a 46 percent increase between 1978

226. Three sources were combined to produce Table 38. The 1975 figures were derived from the unpublished report on the role of policewomen produced by the Inspectorate and Future Plans Section, referred to in Ch. 2.1. The 1978 figures were obtained from the 1978 Annual Report of the Victoria Police Force, p. 39 and the 1980 estimates were made available by the Management Services Bureau.

TABLE 38

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE DEPLOYMENT OF POLICEWOMEN IN VICTORIA 1975,1978 and 1980

<u>RANK</u>	<u>DEPARTMENT</u>												<u>TOTALS</u>									
	OPERATIONS			CRIME			TRAFFIC			PERSONNEL						* SERVICES		* SDL		CCP		
	1975	78	80	75	78	80	75	78	80	75	78	80	75	78	80	78	80	78	80	1975	1978	1980
Chief Inspector	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		1	1	
Inspector	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	
Senior Sergeant	11	12	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	12	13	
Sergeant	20	21	19	-	2	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	21	25	26	
Senior Constable	25	34	67	1	21	34	1	8	16	2	1	1	-	2	4	-	2	1	29	69	122	
Constable	126	189	298	26	23	27	11	22	22	3	61	2	14	11	22	-	-	3	5	180	309	376
TOTAL	184	258	400	27	46	67	12	30	38	6	62	3	14	13	26	-	4	4	6	243**	417	540

* No 1975 figures available.

** The total for 1975 does not agree with the actual strength of policewomen for this year cited in Table 36. The report of the Inspectorate provides no explanation for this variation.

and 1980. Between 1978 and 1980, by comparison, the number of males in the Crime Department had increased by 14 percent.

The Operations Department figures showed an increase of 40 percent in the number of females in this area between 1975 and 1978 and a 55 percent increase between 1978 and 1980. By comparison there was an increase of only 7 percent in the number of males in this Department for the period 1978 to 1980 - but one must bear in mind in interpreting all these figures that the number of policewomen employed had increased by 95.5 percent in 1980 in comparison with the actual strength of policemen in 1975. Between 1975 and 1978 this was an increase of 53.3 percent and from 1978 to 1980 an increase of 29.5 percent.

Additionally, as the Operations Department figures include appointments in both general duties areas and Women's Police Divisions, it is necessary to examine the staffing of Women's Police Divisions to more comprehensively explore the shift in the deployment of women since the advent of Equal Opportunities legislation in this Department.

Tracing female staff movements accurately proved to be a somewhat difficult task due to the fluid deployment policy in the Force. Additionally, weekly station roster sheets were not always available as they are not kept as long term records and abiding by new rules did not always use the word 'policewoman' (p/w) to

prefix the names of females in a district.

The estimates that were obtained²²⁷ indicated that at the conclusion of 1980 approximately 157 women had actually been appointed to Women's Police Divisions and a further 88 were working on a temporary basis in these divisions. After taking into account females on holiday and maternity leave the actual strength in 1980 would have been about 200, a proportion of whom would have been newly qualified personnel in training. During 1979 approximately 212 females were appointed or working on a temporary basis in Women's Police Divisions. 159 were definitely appointed to these Divisions during 1979.

Since 1975, when 184 females were working in Women's Police Districts throughout the State, there had only been a slight increase in the actual strength of these units, although as will be seen from the next section, there had been an increase in their workload.

With respect to general duties of a patrol nature, it is known that during 1979 126 females were filling appointments, within the Operations Department, as general patrol officers at police stations in the city, suburbs and country. In 1980 it is estimated that 105 females were engaged on such functions. The 1981

227. Figures provided by Management Services Bureau in 1979 and 1980. Separate figures for the deployment of males and females in the Operations Department were not readily available before these years. The information provided was estimates only and further analysis showed that they did not agree with published figures on actual police strength.

figures, when available, may reflect a further drop as it is suggested by one senior officer 'that females are drifting back into Women's Police Districts'. There is no method at this stage of substantiating this comment, or whether it is a 'drift' initiated by males or females.

The discussion of Table 38 and analysis of the deployment of women within the Operations Department shows that policewomen in Victoria are extending into previously male dominated areas of policing. Their numbers in all areas, however, except the Women's Police Districts, result in them making only a small impact. In the general patrol function, for example, when 105 females are spread between 23 police districts, then it will be seen that on average this means that in each police district there would be at the most about 4 or 5 females on patrol over a 24 hour period, in comparison to some 146 or more males of similar rank.

To more fully explore the extent to which the role of policewomen has changed since this study was initiated it is also necessary to examine the nature of the work undertaken in Women's Police Districts since 1977. This is discussed in the next section.

6. The changing role of policewomen working in Womens' Police Districts since 1977.

During the priod of this study policewomen have expressed a continuing interest in the progress of the research, the findings and implications. Their records have always been available to check information, and

they have willingly interpreted data when requested. In addition, they have made many useful suggestions.

Their co-operation has been of paramount importance and therefore they understood why it was necessary to formally revisit each unit during 1978 and 1979 to re-examine case books to ascertain what changes had occurred since 1976 in the nature and extent of tasks undertaken in the seven Women's Police Districts from which records for 1976 were derived.

In addition to the visits made for this purpose, other visits have also been made to ask a series of questions concerning the relationship between policewomen and welfare organizations in their areas, generally to seek out the comments of policewomen on matters related to the research, and to acquaint them with the research findings.

The examination of case books for 1977, 1978 and 1979 was not as thorough as the coding developed for analysis of the 1976 period and was primarily to ascertain the number of cases managed. The results of this examination are set out in Table 39.

This shows that requests recorded in case books had dipped and peaked over the nearly four years period detailed.²²⁸ The busiest station over the time span

228. The analysis of case books was abandoned after September 1979 as at some stations running sheets were being used increasingly with the result that accurate estimates of the work load could not be obtained.

appeared to be Flemington, but the figures in Table 39 have to be treated with some caution, as they are raw estimates only which do not take into account the incidence of 'repeaters'.²²⁹ There was no way of checking whether these had varied without employing the full coding process. A further factor affecting the estimates on Table 39 is, that at all stations revisited, policewomen reported an increased use of running sheets to record their greater involvement in such general duties as attending accidents, investigating crimes, arresting and charging individuals and other matters such as checking stolen car reports and burglar alarms.

TABLE 39

TOTAL CASE BOOK ENTRIES 1987 to SEPTEMBER, 1979

<u>STATION</u>	<u>TOTAL CASE LOAD BY YEAR</u>			Sept. 1979
	1976	1977	1978	
Avondale Heights	646	146	449	343
Fitzroy ²³⁰	687	986	778	500
Flemington	1891	1967	2317	1686
Frankston	1103	2096	1432	1155
Heidelberg	880	Not av.	1079	1064
South Melbourne ²³¹	190	887	971	667
Nunawading	807	1152	1149	889

229. During 1976 'repeaters' were estimated to account for about 15 percent of the sample. Chapter 4.5.

230. Since 1977 Fitzroy has become part of Prahran District and the Women's Police Division has been relocated to Prahran.

231. South Melbourne commenced operations in October 1976 and changed premises to North Altona on 7 October 1979.

Parking and Traffic Infringement Notices served by policewomen at these stations during 1977, 1978, and 1979, as shown on Table 40, have also varied quite considerably. Such infringements were generally recorded in separate books maintained for this purpose and were relatively easy to collate, but at some stations it was stated that some 'infringements with unusual fact situations' were still recorded in case books. At other stations I was informed that some infringements were included on running sheets. Hence, the incidence of issue of such notices, detailed on Table 40 cannot be taken to be totally reliable. Possibly they provide an indication that some Women's Police Districts spend more time on issuing such notices than others. Perhaps Table 39 also highlights the lack of uniformity in record keeping.

The later re-examination of case books demonstrated that they were used to varying degrees. At Avondale Heights they were used discriminatingly to record cases involving families requiring a follow-up visit. All other matters were recorded on running sheets. Whereas, at other stations case books continue to be used to record details concerning shoplifters, which at Avondale Heights would be recorded on running sheets.

As running sheets would have been extremely difficult to code,²³² if they had not already been destroyed, no attempt was made to check on details recorded in this source. Reliance was placed upon the information provided

232. This is fully discussed in Chapter 4.1b.

TABLE 40

TOTAL PARKING INFRINGEMENT NOTICES AND TRAFFIC INFRINGEMENT NOTICES 1976 to SEPTEMBER 1979

<u>STATION</u>	<u>P.I.N.S.</u>				<u>T.I.N.S.</u>			
	1976	1977	1978	Sept.1979	1976	1977	1978	Sept. 1979
Avondale Heights	14	9	-	-	398	267	229	78
Fitzroy (now part of Prahran District)	103	78	51	103	124	89	70	36
Flemington	-	2	2	-	32	79	159	83
Frankston	10	6	6	1	101	108	124	165
Heidelberg	10	18	3	8	185	98	53	161
South Melbourne	-	38	104	39	-	236	170	109
Nunawading	4	5	3	11	149	70	123	67

by policewomen regarding the additional types of cases they were called to attend, unless these had also been detailed in case books which was rare.

Overall, at every station visited policewomen reported that the work load had increased, thus limiting the time available to attend to welfare cases. Table 39 does not entirely support statements that the work load had increased, but policewomen explained this by differentiating between the tasks recorded in case books and those assigned to running sheets.

The evidence of policewomen, to the Police Service Board, supports the opinions of those policewomen who were interviewed.²³³ An example of the increased general duties role which policewomen claim has occurred is provided by the questions asked by Counsel for the Police Association to Sergeant Janet Pearce at the Wage Determination Hearing. In her response, the witness said:-

'It is only really in the last 12 months we have been sent to silent alarms, accidents and brawls as back-up units - not first on the scene. We are even taking crime reports, which we did not get three years ago, and are dealing with "offenders on" situations. That means offenders on premises, to which the nearest cars go as soon as possible..... Twelve months ago we rarely went to a domestic. Now we do not go frequently but they are tending to use us; if there are other cars not available they will send us.' 234

Another witness responded to a question by Counsel for the Association about the increase in general

233. The evidence of policewomen to the Police Service Board Hearing (1978-1979) is contained in Appendix 5 (iii).

234. Ibid., p. 51.

duties, this way:-

'...male members particularly are pushing us into this situation. They believe if you have equal pay you should do equal work, but they do not think that we have other work to do as well. The pressure and the push is just so very obvious and there is no way you can get out of it, yet we are stressing that our work must be done and we feel our work can only be done by us.' 235

The evidence of Senior Sergeant (now Inspector) Oldfield further illustrates the changing attitudes of the Force towards the role of policewomen and the stresses that this can impose.²³⁶

In other respects also the policewomen's units had changed. Although the authorized strength of units had only increased slightly at two places,²³⁷ due to the increased number of policewomen recruited to the Force,²³⁸ there were many more younger women, being allocated to units as trainees. This program placed additional burdens on more experienced policewomen who were expected to train them, as well as performing their welfare tasks and general duties. In addition, the increased numbers of people at stations placed strains on already overcrowded facilities.

In commenting upon the impact of trainees at her

235. Appendix 5 (iii) Senior Constable Smithwick, p. 82.

236. Ibid., pp. 114 - 119.

237. Nunawading and Prahran (Fitzroy previously) have increased from 8 to 10, Flemington from 8 to 9.

238. As discussed in sub-section 3 of this chapter.

unit one policewomen said:-

'I find it rather difficult because you do not know how they are going to react. You are responsible for training, and you are much more conscious looking after the trainee as well as the situation you are handling.' 239

The impact of additional staff on work conditions is emphasised by Constable Smithwick:-

'I am presently stationed at the Flemington Police Station and have been for the past eighteen months. The conditions I have to work under are deplorable. Presently we have 17 members attached to the Policewomen's Section, and all of these members are in two rooms, and are sharing 11 desks. There is one toilet, no shower facilities, no kitchen for the policewomen and we are presently sharing the kitchen of the superintendent and his staff. A kitchen with two chairs, a table (sitting for four only), a sixteen year old 'fridge, and one very old sink and stove. The facilities are inadequate and this in itself tends to make the atmosphere in the office strained. The conditions are not good enough. There is enough stress working let alone coping with these conditions. It makes one wonder whether their work is good enough.' 240.

Staff turnover in Women's Police Divisions have also increased from 1977 onwards. To some extent this has been as a direct result of Equal Opportunities legislation which has made alternative career pathways in the Force available to females. By leaving Women's Police Divisions policewomen can acquire the experience necessary for transfer and promotion to departments of their choice. Some policewomen have also considered it necessary to transfer

239. Ibid., Evidence of Sergeant Pearce, p. 45.

240. Ibid., Evidence of Constable Smithwick, p. 73.

out of Women's Police Divisions for promotion although they have been reluctant to leave the Division.²⁴¹

One consequence of the staff turnover has been that in some Divisions there has been a discontinuity of intimate knowledge of the area and people being serviced. Another is said to be that with the transfer of skilled senior policewomen to general duties the training of junior policewomen for social assistance tasks has been undermined.

A further factor affecting the staffing of Women's Police Divisions relates to a change since about 1977 in the recruitment policy concerning females.

Traditionally, women were selected on their suitability to perform a welfare role. All policewomen of the rank of Sergeant and above and many of the present Senior Constables would have been selected on this basis. Equal Opportunities legislation changed this basis and female applicants since 1978 (approximately) have been advised that if selected, they will be expected to perform general duties and selection will be on this basis.

This change has resulted in two streams of serving policewomen. Those selected with a view to performing the welfare role and those more recently recruited on the basis that they will perform the full range of police duties. The latter group, it has been suggested by some more experienced policewomen, are not dedicated, at the outset of their careers at least, to the welfare role thus

241. For an example see the illustration provided by Senior Sergeant Olffield, Appendix 5 (iii) p. 121.

exacerbating staff turnover and skill reduction in Women's Police Divisions.

The return visits to Women's Police Divisions has shown that the turn-over of staff has not had a notable impact upon the use of social welfare agencies as a referral avenue by policewomen. They still refer cases selectively and there is still evidence of conflict between policewomen and some social agencies.²⁴²

Overall, however, the impression gained during follow up visits was that policewomen had more knowledge of what social agencies operated in their areas, but there are still no 24 hour services run by agencies.

Consequently the unavailability of welfare staff from other agencies after normal business hours; the continued desire of policewomen to respect the wishes of clients who still approach them as a problem solving source; the reluctance of policewomen to divest themselves of their crisis intervention and counselling functions, coupled with low regard and conflict with some appropriate referral avenues; has resulted in a commitment by a proportion of women working in Divisions to the continuance of their social assistance function. In conversations they have indicated concern that the pressure of general duties, promotional considerations, staff turnover and recruitment selection are factors which undermine their function.

242. See for example, Appendix 5 (iii) the evidence of Senior Constable Brown, pp. 27 - 28; Constable Smithwick, pp. 86 and 87; Senior Sergeant Oldfield, p. 132.

On the other hand, they do not consider that social assistance ought properly be regarded as a wholly sex-specific task.

Overall, policewomen seem unsure about the future of Women's Police Divisions and their future role in the Victoria Police Force.

7. Conclusion.

The exemption granted by the Equal Opportunity Board to permit Women's Police Divisions to be staffed with women only expired in December 1980. Presentation of this study has been delayed to assess the results of any further applications - but none have been made.

The only change has been to the Victoria Police Standing Orders.²⁴³ These have been described by one senior (male) officer as 'clarifying the position of policewomen'. The range of responsibilities enumerated in this amendment by no means cover the range of tasks undertaken by policewomen and discussed in previous chapters. The amendment does recognise that Women's Police Districts:-

'(provide) a uniformed preventive and response patrol function.' 244

Further, the amendment carefully refers to 'members attached to Women Police Divisions', which suggests that both males and females may be included in Women Police

243. Detailed at the commencement of Chapter 3.

244. New Standing Orders (April 1981) Chapter 3.

Divisions. The reality is that with one exception,²⁴⁵ all members of Women Police Divisions to date have been females and due to the factors outlined in this chapter, members of the Force with career aspirations would not consider appointment to a Women's Police Division an attractive prospect.

The evidence of policewomen to the Police Service Board²⁴⁶ and station visits revealed that the traditional role of policewomen, prior to 1977, has changed in Victoria. Although social assistance tasks are still attended to, and with about the same frequency as 1976, with about the same staff, policewomen in Divisions are increasingly required to perform general duties tasks as well. Coupled with staff turnover, an influx of trainees and an additional workload, the Women's Police Districts have undergone a significant change of identity and their operational future is not clear.

As section five of this chapter demonstrates, policewomen have now started to perform similar duties to male members of the Force, but their distribution in general and specialist areas, other than Women's Police

245. A male was appointed as Senior Sergeant at a Women's Police District during 1979 but he was transferred out after a short period. As the transfer is still the subject of an appeal by this individual it would be inappropriate to elaborate.

246. Appendix 5 (iii). It has only been possible, due to space constraints, to selectively quote from the evidence of policewomen. This is why the full texts of evidence were included as an appendix.

Districts, is thin.

In the next chapter, the implications of the impact of Equal Opportunity legislation so far as it affects the social assistance role of policewomen will be explored and the study will conclude with proposals for the future management of the social assistance role by the Victoria Police Force.

11

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS
AND
EFFECTING CHANGE

1. Introduction.

The purpose of this chapter is to address the problems and propositions outlined in the second chapter, which provided the framework for this study.

Within this context, the nature and extent of the social assistance role of the Victoria Police Force, in comparison with other components of the welfare sector is also discussed.

This chapter will conclude with some proposals for the future management of the police social assistance role, taking into account the changing functions of police-women in this State, as discussed in the previous chapter.

2. The social assistance role of police.

Women's Police Divisions in Victoria have traditionally provided a firm foundation for the management of social assistance cases.²⁴⁷ Male police, additionally have also received and attended to these types of requests.

The actual number of these types of calls, received by all police in Victoria is difficult to estimate, but Table 2²⁴⁸ illustrated that in one metropolitan area of Melbourne during 1977 service calls accounted for approximately 5 percent of patrol duties.

247. Victoria Police Standing Orders (1975), op. cit., Chapter 3.

248. Chapter 4.lb.

A more recent study, in another metropolitan area of Melbourne, concerned with an integrated community policing project reported that:-

'Crime calls comprised 63.4 percent of the sample and concerned incidents which, if verified, amounted to criminal offences. Service call complainants seldom alleged a specific offence, but requested more general police assistance. They comprised 30.4 percent of people surveyed .. Many involved personal problems. Traffic calls, made by 6.2 percent of complainants, largely comprised matters relating to the control of traffic and road accidents'. 249

The variation between 5 percent of calls being regarded as of a service nature in one area in 1977 and 30.4 percent being so regarded, in another area, during 1978 may be due to socio-economic variations between the areas surveyed. Factors such as the number of business premises, visible and acceptable welfare agencies, the age and structure of the population and housing for example, need to be taken into account.

What does seem clear is that police do receive a considerable number of social assistance calls. Estimates overseas of the proportion of total calls of this type vary between 50 and 90 percent of all calls. In a recent American study it was estimated that:-

' the total percentage of calls unrelated to law enforcement was 69 percent.' 250

249. Gavin Brown, D. Ball and Andrew McNeil, Police Patrol in Victoria; The Prahran Patrol Evaluation, Victoria Police Force, March 1980, p. 210.

250. J. R. Lilly - 'What are the police now doing?', Journal of Police Science and Administration 6, 1 1978 p. 51 at p. 56.

In Victoria, the percentage of calls received by all police of the types detailed in Table 15²⁵¹ cannot be estimated from this study. What is known, is that a proportion of these are referred to policewomen for action. The proportion of cases received by policewomen from male police during 1976 was 44.6 percent of the sample.²⁵² Of all cases attended to by policewomen during the period sampled, only 11.9 percent resulted in the initiation of criminal proceedings.²⁵³

The Victoria Police Service Board in commenting upon the problems of the social assistance role have noted:-

'The police are required to assist generally in social problems specially affecting females, the disadvantaged and destitute, the family, the mentally unbalanced, drug addicts, the aged and members of ethnic groups.

In all these areas, as with juveniles, there has been a proliferation of social organizations and agencies designed to assist. However, this in itself had produced similar problems of liaison and referral, and in many cases, confusion and conflict. Again, the constant difficulty of after hours availability of those agencies asserts itself. Again, the increased degree of professionalism among such agencies calls for adaptation to and acquisition of higher skills on the part of the police to deal adequately with their responsibilities in this environment. Again, because the police are available 24 hours in the day, they must cope after hours with emergencies and problems which then present themselves, and are expected by all concerned to perform in the same manner, and with the same skill, as the trained social worker or specialist would have done if available. The decision making process in such circumstances casts a great

251. Ch. 6.2.

252. Ch. 5.1.

253. Ch. 7.3.

deal of responsibility upon the member concerned.' 254

There is little dispute amongst Victorian police nowadays²⁵⁵ about the reality of their social assistance role, nor concerning some of the problems of organization which it raises. Whether this role is more appropriately done by policewomen or outside agencies continues to be a contentious issue amongst police.

As Chapter 10 documents, the role of policewomen has been changing since about 1978 and even within Women's Police Districts pressures to contribute to general duties tasks have increased. Women's Police Districts are still however primarily concerned with social assistance type cases which a review of case books from 1976 to September 1979²⁵⁶ shows remain a steady source of work. From the male policing viewpoint, the welfare role of policewomen has continued to be regarded as valuable as it has allowed male police to divert a proportion of such matters to a specialist squad, which the Force regarded (at least until December 1980)²⁵⁷ as having a sex-specific role.

Whether the role of policewomen in Women's

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254. The Police Service Board (Victoria) Reasons for Decision in Determination 308 (Salaries and Allowances Claim 1978-1979) Paragraphs. 345 and 346 pp. 94 and 95.
255. When this study was initiated in 1976 some senior male officers argued that male police performed no social assistance functions.
256. Chapter 10.6, Table 39.
257. This was the date upon which the last exemption granted by the Equal Opportunity Board (Victoria) terminated. This is discussed in Chapter 10.2.

Police Districts is sex-specific and the extent to which the community continues to demand police intervention in social assistance tasks will be explored in subsequent sections.

What would currently seem to be clear is that without some positive initiatives from police and other helping agencies, police cannot divest themselves of the social assistance role.

3. The social assistance role of police compared with welfare services available from other components of the welfare sector.

This study suggests that from the community viewpoint, Women's Police Divisions have fulfilled a felt or expressed need.²⁵⁸

The need for such a service, within a policing organization thus has to be measured in relation to the expressed need of the community, but this in turn has to take into account such subtleties as the community's knowledge of other welfare agencies, the reasons why people turn to the police and the ability of other welfare services to provide a similar service to police. This section discusses these issues and raises other considerations which need to be taken into account in promoting the feasibility of a 24 hour Crisis Care/Intervention Service as an alternative to contacting the police.

258. The concept of need has previously been discussed, Chapter 2.4.

One reason why people consult police for social assistance is that their need for help has occurred at a time when other local welfare agencies are not available for consultation.

If this was the only reason why police assistance was requested then quite simply, there is no justification for the continuance of this costly and time-consuming role by police. A Crisis Care/Intervention Service, operating independantly, government funded and servicing the community and police as a referral source, might be considered as one alternative.²⁵⁹

As Table 41 following, illustrates, referrals from police would be a significant source of clientele.

This table was compiled from data gathered for this study and information collated as background²⁶⁰ for a recent Victorian study on social indicators.²⁶¹ It provides information on the number of client contacts with the Department of Community Welfare Services regional offices in local government areas, for the period 1 January to 30 June 1979.

Although local government areas do not totally

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259. The South Australia Department of Community Welfare Services Crisis Care Unit has been operating since the mid 1970"s and could provide a model for the service. An independant facility is recommended to avoid inter-departmental conflict. It might be funded by the Premier's Department.
260. I am grateful to Dr. Anona Armstrong and the Department of Community Welfare Services for making this particular information available.
261. Anona Armstrong and Alex Wearing, Social Indicators for Victoria - Part One, op. cit.

correspond to police districts, if areas of Melbourne are regionalized on the basis of geographic distance from the centre of Melbourne then the following picture of client contacts in the Melbourne Metropolitan area emerges:-

TABLE 41

A COMPARISON OF CLIENTS CONTACTS DURING
1979 BETWEEN REGIONAL OFFICES OF THE
COMMUNITY WELFARE SERVICES DEPARTMENT
AND POLICEWOMENS' UNITS

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY WELFARE SERVICES OFFICES	WOMEN POLICE DISTRICTS	NUMBER OF CONTACTS	
		C.W.S.	POLICE ²⁶²
1. Inner Urban	Fitzroy South Melb.	1794	778
2. Western and Northern	Avondale Heights Flemington	2003	1352
3. North Eastern	Heidelberg	1205	709
4. Outer Eastern	Nunawading	379	592
5. Westernport	Frankston	1082	769
		<u>6463</u>	<u>4200</u>

Ideally, to measure the community's need, even in the metropolitan areas, for a Crisis Care/Intervention Unit, estimates of emergencies received by the broad spectrum of local government and voluntary agencies ought to be added to figures obtained from Community Welfare Services and

262. The police figures are averages over a six month period of the requests for intervention recorded in case books during the period 1 January 1979 to 30 September 1979 as detailed in Table 39 Chapter 10.6.

the Police. It was not possible to do this. Nor was it possible to fully assess the total police requests for social assistance received from all sources and at particular times during the day and night.²⁶³

Additionally, in comparing the figures provided in Table 41 the influence of multiple contacts with the same individual or family ought to be taken into account. Such contacts undoubtedly artificially inflate both the Community Welfare Service and Women's Police District figures for the period. It is also possible that some people may contact both organizations over the same problem.

A further factor which affects the reliability of this table relates to the incidence of uniquely policing activities included in the sample from Women's Police Districts. The analysis of case books for 1976 showed that these accounted for approximately 50 percent of all actions taken.²⁶⁴ A proportion of these cases, would, however, be regarded by policewomen as having a welfare intervention basis.

Finally, in considering some of the factors which may affect the reliability of Table 41, it must be borne

263. To assess the social assistance requests, not only to Women's Police Districts but direct to stations, and D.24 would need to be taken into account. Only a proportion of such calls are directed to police on patrol. An unknown number are managed at stations.

264. This estimate, taken from Table 19 Chapter 7.1 is made up with Interviews (12.4%), Criminal Proceedings initiated (11.9%), Protection Applications commenced (8%), Warnings (6.4%), Missing Persons and Absconders (6.5%) and General Duties (5.1%).

in mind that regionalized Community Welfare Offices have been introduced slowly in certain areas. This may explain, for example, why Table 41 shows that there appear to be fewer contacts with the Outer Region office than there were to the Nunawading Women's Police District.

It has also been suggested that certain people contact police in preference to welfare agencies because they wish to avoid agencies or because they consider police have the legal authority to intervene in what they regard as law enforcement matters. This study could only very tentatively support these views, as client attitudes were not formally measured. They are matters which could also affect the distribution of cases between police and welfare agencies.

Even taking into account the above considerations, it would seem probable that the aggregate total of all social assistance calls to police would be similar, or could even exceed calls to the Government supported Community Welfare Services Department.

If this is so, then this raises serious questions about the availability and acceptability of the Government funded welfare service. The Victoria Police Force receives no special government funding for the social assistance service they provide whilst the government funded service is not operating. Nor are police specially trained in crisis intervention and case counselling techniques. There seems to be an expectation however that police can operate as quasi social workers, as evidenced by the

observations of the Police Service Board, quoted in the previous section of this chapter. The reality is that no police in Victoria possess formal social work qualifications. The utilization of police, as a welfare resource, on a 24 hour basis, whatever the reasons for the community turning to police, could therefore be reasonably argued to be a cost saving for other government funded welfare services, for which police receive no budgetary supplementation for training of personnel or utilization of resources.

A significant part of the work of the Department of Community Services, on the other hand, is to provide child, family and community support services. The Department is funded to provide these services and employ trained personnel - although in recent years the Department's focus of intervention has shifted from individual case counselling to community management.

The individualized type of case counselling which the community perhaps still apparently wants is available at certain local government and voluntary agencies, apart from police. Some of these agencies receive government funding and it can be argued that police ought to refer a proportion of their social assistance cases to these agencies now.

Certain considerations, which will be outlined in the following paragraphs, presently inhibit the adoption of a police policy to refer social assistance cases to outside agencies. The unavailability of another 24 hour service and Community Welfare Services' new direction have previously been mentioned. Community preferences and

perceptions of welfare agencies, in comparison with the legal authority which police possess must also be taken into account.

A further consideration is the extent to which the community is aware of the range of welfare resources available and how they select a suitable resource. It could be argued that people do not know about the availability of statutory local government and voluntary agencies that are, at least, available during business hours. As a page of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Telephone Directory is devoted to the name and telephone number of selected helping agencies, including the Community Welfare Services Liaison and Referral Unit, such an argument cannot be fully supported, particularly as police telephone numbers are not listed on this page.

Ethical considerations must also be taken into account in suggesting that police refer social assistance cases to external welfare agencies. Both police and social workers are ethically bound to respect the wishes of clients and to preserve confidentiality. Members of outside helping professions may not consider the preservation of confidentiality of paramount importance in certain cases where legal intervention seems to be the most desirable means of resolving a problem. Matters such as the initiation of child care proceedings and assault charges in domestic disputes would fall into this category, but in domestic dispute cases the consent of the victim would ordinarily be necessary.

Police are similarly bound to respect the wishes of clients and preserve confidentiality but when a client is willing to be referred to another agency, having attended to the immediate crisis (if this occurs out of business hours) police could refer clients to appropriate agencies.

The reservation with respect to this proposal is that there is a limit to the number of resources available for this purpose. As previously mentioned, the Department of Community Welfare Services' current emphasis upon operating as facilitator for community resource initiatives and management of social problems, has directed their programs away from the provision of individualized crisis intervention and case work counselling. Community management resources are limited, in any event. Additionally, there is a limit to the extent to which non-statutory agencies could be expected to accept additional cases without increased funding, particularly if there was some expectation that some operate on a 24 hour basis. An incidental, but quite important consequence of funding specific agencies for this purpose would be that as funding is limited, some agencies now receiving government support would inevitably receive reduced funding. Many voluntary agencies are now protesting that government funding is inadequate and a further reduction or uncertainty in funding levels could have a significant impact upon the range and quality of welfare services presently available in Victoria.

Previous discussion has illustrated that police-women, who are more familiar with the present range of welfare services available, than male police, are highly selective in the resources to which they will refer clients. One prominent cause for this would seem to be lack of faith in the ability of certain workers in specific agencies which tends to extend to a general, rather than specific, conservatism about using welfare agencies. Other reasons include unavailability of agencies in close proximity to police and their clients specializing in the particular problem of the client; disagreement with agency management techniques; lack of accountability by agencies and communication with police and a general reluctance on the part of policewomen to divest themselves of their social assistance role. Additionally, when the methods used by policewomen are subjected to criticism by agencies, policewomen, as police generally do, tend to close ranks and refuse to communicate with external agencies. This is sometimes referred to as 'a siege mentality'.

There is insufficient evidence to suggest that male police, who are less informed about alternative welfare resources than policewomen, have developed similar attitudes to the referral of social assistance cases as policewomen working in Women's Police Districts. Male police may indeed be more amenable to the referral of social assistance cases than policewomen. Not only are they less familiar with the work of government and non-government welfare agencies and the range of services which are

required to meet needs, but male police do not seem to have such a highly developed antipathy to social workers as policewomen. This may be due to lack of interaction and familiarity with welfare agencies.

Male police particularly, would welcome the opportunity to divest themselves of their social assistance role, which they regard as secondary to their primary functions of crime prevention, crime control and law enforcement. There is also a growing number of policewomen who would support such a move as a means of advancing their integration in the Force, as well as recognizing the primary functions of police. Policewomen who have been committed to the work of Women's Police Divisions prior to the enactment of Equal Opportunity legislation may, however, not be as fully supportive of such a move.

Any proposal that police adopt a policy of referring all social assistance requests to government and non-government welfare agencies would need to take into account the considerations discussed in the foregoing paragraphs. This could, it is suggested, only be achieved by the establishment of a 24 hour basis Crisis Care/ Intervention Unit covering at least the Melbourne Metropolitan area of Melbourne.

The Government would have to provide special funding for the development of this service to ensure that it was staffed with appropriately trained personnel and adequate staff to ensure that equitable shift rosters could be maintained. Accommodation would have to be found, a

fleet of cars equipped with radio communications purchased. A communications network including two-way radios and telephone equipment would also have to be provided.

The service would need to advertise widely and probably engage in a public re-education program as well as educating other agencies, including police, to encourage use of the service.

A network of agencies capable of accepting referrals of cases would also need to be established. The types of requests for assistance received by policewomen and detailed in Table 15 (excluding particularly police matters) would provide a reasonable list of examples of the types of calls which such a service would receive. The types of action which would need to be taken to resolve calls for assistance are suggested in Chapter 7, but the actual initiatives taken by this service may vary from the resolutions adopted by policewomen, as it is assumed that a Crisis Care/Intervention Service would have the means to refer cases to specialized resources and would also be staffed by personnel trained in a broad range of social work techniques. The methods they employ would, therefore, not necessarily be the same, or similar to those presently used by policewomen or policemen.

The establishment of the service would be costly, (a minimum of approximately \$300,000) and in the current economic climate this may override persuasive arguments that it be implemented. Unless the Department of Community Welfare Services could convince the Government to increase

its budget allocation it is unlikely that the Department's present financial resources could be extended to cover the development and recurring costs of this facility.

It is argued that although the Victoria Police Force is already informally subsidising welfare resources, by virtue of its extensive social service role, it is improbable that the Force would be prepared to formally financially support a Crisis Care/Intervention Service. It is proposed that this service would be available not only to police, but the Department of Community Welfare Services, other non-government agencies and the community. For the Victoria Police Force to financially support this service would duplicate the work they are already doing in this field both during and out of normal working hours, further re-inforce their social assistance role when they are striving to direct their resources elsewhere and continue to subsidise the provision of welfare services in this State.

A knowledge of the present relationship between the Department and the Force, and both agencies relationships with other components of the welfare sector, strongly suggests that funding for the service should be provided by the Premiers Department for the establishment of an independant Crisis Care/Intervention Service.

This section has aimed to demonstrate the extent of the police social assistance role in comparison with other helping agencies as a preliminary to discussing

the future role of Women's Police Districts. Extensive reliable information on the number of social assistance requests received by police, the Department of Community Welfare Services and other components of the welfare sector were not available. Therefore, the recommendation made for the establishment of a Crisis Care/Intervention Service has had to be based upon informed speculation.

The background considerations which would need to be taken into account in planning a service of this type is based upon personal knowledge of social welfare in Australia, gained during six years membership, as a Ministerial appointment, to the Department of Social Security National Consultative Council on Social Welfare. The opinions expressed concerning police attitudes and organization were derived during the course of this study.

The section shows that social assistance calls to police probably exceed calls made to other sources. One reason for this is the lack of a 24 hour alternative service. Consequently the section concludes with an outline of the components of such a service. Police would undoubtedly support such a move, to enable them to concentrate upon what they regard as their primary functions.

It is predicated that strong pressure from the Police and other organizations such as the Melbourne Crisis Care Committee,²⁶⁵ may result in the Government funding

265. The Melbourne Crisis Care Committee has been founded by a group of concerned agencies to press for the establishment of a 24 hour emergency resource unit.

a service. This will take about two years to reach fruition. In the interim, police must consider the present and future role of policewomen and how they will manage social assistance calls until a service is established. These issues are discussed in the next section.

4. Towards the future.

a. A recapitulation of problems and propositions.

Chapter 2²⁶⁶ provided a summary of the problems and propositions which provided the framework for the aims of this study.

In responding to these, the study has demonstrated that policewomen undertake a multitudinous range of activities extending considerably beyond responsibilities with respect to neglected children and families in trouble.²⁶⁷

The relationships existing between women police in this State, the community, statutory and non-statutory organizations within the welfare sector have been examined,²⁶⁸ so far as available data permits, and taking into account the limits imposed upon the scope the study.²⁶⁹ This examination shows a proportion of the community have turned to policewomen and police generally for social assistance. One of the major reasons for this has been the unavailability of a 24 hour welfare service. The police regard their

266. Chapter 2.2 points a to f.

267. Ibid, points a and b.

268. Ibid, points c and d.

369. Chapter 2.4.

welfare role as secondary to their primary tasks, as recognised in the recent report of the then Department of Social Welfare.²⁷⁰ The extent of police participation in the management of welfare cases has been documented as far as this is possible in previous discussions²⁷¹ and this demonstrates that police have been operating a separate helping system,²⁷² although they do not necessarily wish to be regarded as helping professionals.²⁷³ Social welfare program planning and services have not overtly taken the welfare role of police into account²⁷⁴ although indirectly police have been supplementing and subsidising welfare work in this State.²⁷⁵ This is not necessarily in the best interests of the community, as police are not trained in social work and evidence a reluctance to refer cases to specialized agencies.²⁷⁶

The enactment of Equal Opportunity legislation²⁷⁷ has had an impact upon the role of policewomen. Particularly, the continued increase of their general duties participation has created a situation where they have less time, and perhaps enthusiasm (due to changed selection criteria for policewomen) for social assistance work.²⁷⁸

270. Chapter 2.2.d, footnote 32.

271. Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 11.3.

272. Chapter 2.2e, footnote 34.

273. Ibid, footnote 35 and discussion in Chapter 11.3.

274. Chapter 2.2.d.

275. Chapter 11.3.

276. Ibid.

277. Chapter 2.2.f.

278. Chapter 10.

In turn, this has probably meant that male police have to manage more social assistance cases themselves rather than refer these to policewomen, although this could not be documented.

The abandonment of Women's Police Districts completely, without the provision of an alternative method of managing social assistance cases would undoubtedly mean more work for police generally. Work for which they are untrained and if not co-ordinated, would result in 'a disturbing vacuum in police work' as documented by Doreen May.²⁷⁹

If the Force is genuine in its response to the provisions of the Equal Opportunity Act 1977, and there is no reason to believe that it is not, then there will be a continued movement towards the integration of male and female police in Victoria. Is it desirable, nevertheless, to declare the welfare role of policewomen a sex-specific task to ensure that a proportion of social assistance cases can be managed by a specialized squad, This question is discussed in the next section.

The issues raised in the problems and propositions have now been explored and summarized above. The questions remaining concern the future role of policewomen and the social assistance role of police.

279. Doreen May, op. cit., p. 692.

b. The Future.

There is no reason why the social assistance role of police and Women's Police Districts could not be phased out if a Crisis Care/Intervention Service, operating on a 24 hour basis, was established.

Police would still be required to decide what matters could appropriately be referred to this service and those that they must continue to manage themselves. One vexed area concerns domestic disputes which comprise elements of emergency social assistance and law enforcement. Another relates to sexual offences. Only practice and co-operation between Police and a Crisis Service can resolve the demarcation points.

The Victoria Police Force is already considering the rationalisation of its social service role.²⁸⁰ It recognises the benefit of community participation in crime prevention and the Police/Community Involvement Project at Frankston aims to facilitate this. As the project is incomplete it is too early to determine whether the scheme can be regarded as a feasible alternative to Women's Police Districts. Early indications seem to suggest that if further projects of this type are developed, whilst they may absorb policewomen retrenched from Women's Police Divisions, the focus will not be upon management of

280. Discussion papers at Command level have been prepared, but consideration of the methods of rationalisation of the social service role is at a very early stage of planning and many unknown contingencies could change the direction of planning. It is hoped that the implications of this study will have some impact upon police planning.

the types of social assistance cases identified as part of police work by this study.

A small proportion of the work of policewomen can validly be considered to be sex-specific. Table 15²⁸¹ identifies that 15.5 percent of the work of policewomen related to the interview and preparation of statements involving females who were the victims of sexual assaults. Additionally, policewomen are occasionally required to conduct body searches and transport females. Male police are reluctant to undertake these tasks, either due to a sense of common decency (particularly in sex assault cases) or because they are concerned that females will make allegations of improper conduct against them. Standing Orders actually require policewomen to conduct certain interviews and take statements from females.

The proportion of sex-specific tasks does not justify the retention of Women's Police Districts for this purpose alone.

An alternative to the continuance of Women's Police Districts may be the establishment of a Police Social Work Team, as described by Harvey Treger,²⁸² but this type of scheme is not considered to be suitable for Victoria at this stage. A project of this type would require the deployment of police, plus civilian employees trained in

281. Chapter 6.2, Item 3 of Table 15.

282. Harvey Treger et. al., The Police-Social Work Team Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Ill. 1975.

social work. As the Police Surgeon has received a number of rebuffs for requests to the Government to fund a social worker position in his area, it is unlikely that a request from the Victoria Police Force for additional funding for this type of project would be well received. Particularly as the Force asserts that the social service role is secondary to the primary policing functions.

If the Crisis Care/Intervention Service proposal does not eventuate, then the Police-Social Work Team model may become more attractive, as it would enable the Force to rationalize diverse undertakings such as the Police Cautioning Program, Women's Police Districts and the Police Community Involvement Project. These functions could be consolidated and regionalized, but once again, it presumes that an extensive proportion of police resources would be deployed on social assistance. The Police-Social Work Team model should not be discarded as a viable alternative, subject to funding, but only considered in the event that the Crisis/Care Intervention Service does not receive Government support.

If a State Family Court was reality in this State²⁸³ then it might be possible to arrange for co-operation with social workers employed as Family Court

283. Lynne Foreman, Family Courts in Australia, a report prepared under the auspice of the Child Welfare Administration Project, Criminology Department, University of Melbourne, 1974. This paper argues that a unified, state family court along the lines of the Vancouver Family Court is desirable in this State. This proposal ought to be distinguished from the Federal Family Court which is primarily concerned with matrimonial causes.

Counsellors to be available as a referral resource for police. The types of cases which could be referred to such a body would, however, only represent a portion of social assistance requests received by police.²⁸⁴ The remainder would need to be referred to other agencies, presently only available on a 9 to 5 basis. These, as previously remarked, are already understaffed and overloaded due to inadequate funding. Competition by these agencies for funding already produces internecine conflicts which would be exacerbated by such a proposal.

Continuance of Women's Police Districts wholly staffed by policewomen flies in the face of Equal Opportunity legislation and it is predicted that these units will fade away within the next couple of years.²⁸⁵

Retention of Women's Police Districts, renamed as Community Welfare (or Assistance) Bureaux, comprised of male and female police may provide an interim solution until a decision is taken by the Government on funding for the proposed alternative. Whether males would wish to join such units, unless promotion prospects improved, is debatable. Further, both males and females join the Force nowadays with the expectation that they will undertake general duties. The specific social assistance role

284. This observation is based upon personal experience as a participant in the Family Court Counsellor/Police Ride-Along Programme initiated by the Royal Canadian Mount Police (Cloverdale) and the Vancouver Family Court (Surrey) British Columbia, Canada.

285. This prediction is based upon discussions with senior officers of the Victoria Police Force.

of Women's Police Districts, as described in previous chapters, demands special training in crisis intervention and case counselling. Members of the Force serving in this type of bureau would require special training, not only in these skills but in the availability and selection of appropriate referral sources. Whether such training is justified with the anticipation of a full time referral source on the horizon is questionable.

The future direction of policing in this State is presently under review and the Force has demonstrated that it is responsive to change.²⁸⁶ The Force faces continual challenge from a number of perspectives. Currently it evidences ambivalence about the integration of police-women into the broad spectrum of its functions. Senior officers involved in policy formulation and implementation do however seem to be positive that the Force should focus primarily upon crime prevention, crime control and law enforcement. The social assistance role they have traditionally performed has been subsidiary to these functions. Until recently there has always been the option for male police to divest themselves of difficult social problems by referring them to policewomen. The point has now arrived when the pressure of this function, due to lack of alternative resources and the reduced ability of

286. Considerably more internal research has been conducted by police in recent years and external research on aspects of the Victoria Police Force has lately been encouraged. In addition the Management Services Bureau which has provided continued encouragement and information for this study has recently been upgraded.

policewomen (due to other work pressures) has resulted in a realization that the social service role has to be rationalised.

The method of achieving this, as previously suggested, is to press for a Crisis Care/Intervention Service to which police can refer a significant proportion of cases.

One can only speculate about the feasibility of this proposal in a period when the Government is enforcing stringent financial controls on the welfare sector. The proposal is cost-effective as it frees police to pursue their primary roles, without the time consuming and costly diversion of the social assistance role. If one asks - what is best for the community? Then the community is obviously going to be better serviced by a Crisis Care/Intervention Service - provided statutory and non-government welfare agencies are reasonably endowed to provide the necessary resources to accept referrals.

It is inevitable that delay will occur whilst this proposal is receiving consideration by the Government. A further delay could be anticipated before establishment whilst necessary resources are being evaluated and implemented. A period of 12 months to 2 years could be anticipated as a reasonable delay.

During this interim period it is recommended that the Force become acquainted with as many referral

sources as possible²⁸⁷ and utilise them when feasible. A member of the Force or officer in each District could be appointed to gather and disseminate this information as required. A former member of the local Women's Police District would be ideally placed to undertake this task provided she did not bring pre-conceived attitudes to the utilisation of external agencies with her to the job.

Women's Police Districts should be phased out. Pending a decision from the Government concerning the Crisis Care/Intervention Service proposal it would be useful to encourage a proportion of the previous female members of Women's Police Districts to remain in the proposed interim Community Welfare Bureaux. Some police-women who have been in Women's Police Districts for the total period of their service would welcome the opportunity to continue to perform the welfare role. They would also be endowed with the special experience necessary to train incoming male and female members of the Force.

If the Community Welfare Bureaux are dismantled upon the inception of a Crisis Care/Intervention Service, then it must be accepted that members of the Bureaux would be provided with the opportunity to retrain for other policing tasks. A small number of police will always be

287. The Victorian Council of Social Services Directory of Human Services would be a necessary starting point although it is noted that the proposed up-date of this massive information source has been abandoned due to the Federal Government's refusal to meet its share of preparation costs.

necessary to manage emergency social service tasks which are coupled with law enforcement, domestic disputes being a particular category. Specially trained members of the Force could be attached to a central district and available to attend cases on 24 hours call. Taking into account the area of Metropolitan Melbourne to be covered and shift arrangements a staff of about 7 or 8 personnel should be sufficient.

If the Government refuses to fund the Crisis Care/Intervention Service proposal then unless the Force is prepared to ignore service assistance calls, which is unlikely, it will have to consider retaining the proposed Community Welfare Bureaux. It might, as previously fore-shadowed, be possible to combine these Bureaux with other specialist functions and consider implementing the Police-Social Work Team model. In the event that the proposal is rejected, it is strongly recommended that the Force urge the Government to increase their funding to sustain the Community Welfare Bureaux.

5. Conclusion.

This chapter has aimed to outline an alternative method of managing social assistance calls on a 24 hour basis. It has also considered alternative proposals on the basis of the present social assistance function of police in comparison with other components of the welfare sector.

Whilst the acceptability of the proposal to

Government is unknown it has also been necessary to outline alternatives for police management of these cases. As the role of policewomen is in a state of flux and the attitudes of the Force to continuance of the social assistance role is as yet not settled it has been difficult to make firm recommendations with any certainty.

It has been assumed that policewomen can be integrated into the mainstream of police functioning and proposals have proceeded on this basis.

During the life of the study many changes have taken place in policing in Victoria and exciting new developments are on the threshold. One of these could well be a new direction in the management of social assistance cases. Another, the acceptance of all policewomen as fully integrated members of the Force.

The findings have illustrated that policewomen have performed a valuable social assistance role and that this role has been shared by police generally. The quality of service delivery and the pressures that the social assistance function has imposed upon the performance of other important police roles now dictates that attention to this role should now be reduced.

Police have shouldered the responsibility for providing a 24 hour emergency service for social assistance for long enough. They will not be able to fully relinquish this role, even with an alternative service. Nor does the reduction of this role mean that police should care less about community problems. Indeed, the reduction of

this role may well illustrate that they care more about what is best for the community in this area.

In the first chapter a remark by Cinzanckas was quoted:-

'...by far the greater part of police business remains, and is likely to continue to remain, in providing a community service role unrelated to crime.' 288

I conclude that this direction is inappropriate. The crime problem in this State is of sufficient magnitude, to demand that the police focus their energies in the areas of crime prevention and control. These are the tasks for which they are trained and expected to produce results. The performance of ancillary tasks such as social assistance deflects police from their major role. The transition in defining and performance of this shift in functions may create problems for the police and the community. They will necessarily have to shed themselves of the image of benign counsellors, always available to exercise gentle persuasion and to listen and attempt to resolve a broad range of social problems.

Police can and ought to continue to exercise their authority with humanity and compassion. Police can explain to prospective clients that it is in their best interests that their problems be referred to a Crisis Care/ Intervention Service. It is also in the best interests of effective and efficient policing that this policy be adopted.

12

POLICY AND PLANNING IMPLICATIONS

Alfred Kahn has defined policy as:-

'.. the general guide to action, the cluster of overall decisions relevant to the achievement of the goal, the guiding principles, the standing plan.' 289

This definition provides a framework to consolidate and discuss some of the more important policy implications of this research.

In the previous chapter it was recommended that future police policy in Victoria ought to primarily concentrate on crime prevention and control. The social assistance role should be relegated to a residual function.

This recommendation, in turn, paves the way for policewomen to become fully integrated into the Victoria Police Force. As Chapter 10 illustrates, to date this has not been done.

Parts two and three of the study demonstrated the nature and extent of the welfare role of policewomen and showed that if policewomen were to cease providing a welfare service overnight there would be a serious gap in community services in this State. Particularly in the more densely populated metropolitan areas.

In realising the aims of the study other matters such as interprofessional mistrust, inadequate police

289. Alfred Kahn op. cit., p. 131.

training in human relationships and current gaps in services provided by both police and other helping agencies became apparent.

From these findings flow the recommendation for a 24-hour crisis intervention service which can provide emergency social services, referral to specialist agencies and follow up when necessary. The development of this facility also, of course, serves to release police from a significant proportion of their social assistance role and provides an avenue by which policewomen can be fully integrated.

Parts two and three serve another purpose. They contain sufficient information on the types of needs currently coming to the attention of police for the planners of the new agency to develop objectives, plan the framework and estimate required resources.

In this regard, however, a warning needs to be made. As previously documented,²⁹⁰ a number of reports have shown that there is an apparent lack of communication between the providers of community services in Australia generally. For this reason it is strongly recommended that the planning committee for the new agency include representatives of police, government departments and voluntary agencies. Additionally, the agency ought to be

committed from the outset to a process of on-going evaluation.

A further reason for recommending that the planning committee represent a broad spectrum of concerned helping agencies and individuals is that all those involved will have to reconsider their operating policies and perhaps adjust their management to respond to the new agency effectively.

From the police perspective for example, decisions will have to be made with respect to the point at which they intervene in domestic disputes. Whether police ought to continue to initiate Protection Applications is another issue. A very fundamental concern will also be whether police will be prepared to refer certain matters to others for evaluation and to act on the advice of professionals as to whether they ought to initiate criminal proceedings or otherwise.

The findings have illustrated a significant lack of rapport between police and social workers for example.²⁹¹ Firm decisions and resolute action by all parties to this dispute will have to be activated to achieve symbiosis.

Although the study has not been able to assess client perceptions of need, the policy recommendations have been designed to ensure that they receive capable,

prompt assistance for social problems. The release of police resources to concentrate upon the primary crime control functions ought also to be the precursor to increased police efficiency and effectiveness. The community ought also to benefit by this concentration of resources.

The recommendations represent a radical departure from the present process, in so far as the relinquishment of the social assistance role of police is concerned. The Force, in recent times, however, has been responsive to taking new directions and it is confidently predicted that they will meet this challenge.

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EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. Literature which has been cited in the thesis is indicated by an asterisk (*) beside the name of the author. Considerably more material was collected and read. References to this literature have been included to illustrate the range of policing issues which are of relevance to the theme of the thesis and those problems which have received the most attention. It will be seen that neither the role of women in policing or the social assistance role of police have figured notably in the literature, although there have been some scattered but outstanding contributions to these fields by researchers.
2. Details of citations were placed on floppy discs which now contain many more references than those included in the following bibliography. It refers to selected

material from the broad categories enumerated below:-

- a. Reliability of police records.
- b. The role of policewomen.
- c. Police and social work.
- d. Police decision making.
- e. Police diversion.
- f. Police and community relations.
- g. Police discretion.
- h. Police and family violence.
- i. Police encounters and citizen attitudes to the police.
- j. Police as a support, not control facility.
- k. Police training.
- l. Police isolation and stress.
- m. Police policy.
- n. Police organization, roles, priorities and the future.

Utilizing a Word Processor has a number of advantages for the preparation of select bibliographies. The only disadvantage which became apparent during this experimental process was the reproduction of a different type face which is negligible from a teaching and research point of view.

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