

Police and Community: Making it Happen

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Policing *For* Women

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I am delighted to have been invited to speak at your 7th Australasian Women and Policing Conference--and what a wonderful place to hold your conference. My travels to and around Australia have never included Tasmania so I am extremely pleased to have this opportunity. You held your Sixth Women and Policing conference at the in Perth, Western Australia where I had taught from 1973-75. I remember an extremely macho culture and the wonderful sight of hard-hats in the back windows of Mercedes and roo-bars on rovers. There was money to be made and rugged white men to make it. Australia has changed wonderfully since that time. This conference and the previous work of the Australasian Council of Women and Policing is proof of that.

I have been asked to speak specifically on ‘policing *for* women’ and we have all heard the excellent presentation by Dorothy Schulz on women *in* policing. It is important I believe to see a relationship between how women are treated within policing organizations and how policing services treat women in the community. All police services are not the same in this regard and the differences may be instructive for our purposes. A problem with speaking on the second day of a conference with in this case 16 earlier panels with approximately 36 speakers is the potential either to overlap—or worse still to contradict—or even worse, to miss the point entirely! I have sat with pen-poised to make emergency alterations to my talk. As I observed last year when I spoke at Alice Springs, Canada and Australia share not only research findings but the actual researchers who carry out the projects. We learn from each other—or try to—sometimes against a lack of political will or a mis-directed political enthusiasm! Policing operates very much within a political arena but even in our countries where policing is to be operationally separate from politics political decisions can impact policing. The “Making it Happen” theme suggests that some individuals or groups *must* serve as the driving force behind desired, well-considered change—and I am assuming that the focus is on what women (hopefully together with their male colleagues) can do to make things better for women in need of policing services—providing a safer, more just, more respectful, more appropriate response.

A difficulty that we have with this topic is a critical piece of missing data—“Will more female police officers make a fundamental difference to how policing is done?” We may think so—we may hope so—and we may have some limited offense-specific evidence to support this vision. What we do not have in any of our jurisdictions—so far as I am aware—is a critical mass of female officers to allow for research that moves beyond offense specific evidence. Will more women impact what is generally seem to be aspects of a police culture that could be made more effective in serving a wider and extremely diverse community—a culture that in some of our jurisdictions appears to have moved away from negotiated discussions for achieving compliance. These interpersonal skills are being replaced with the quick use of weaponry for enforcement i.e. tasers, guns, violent physical altercations. This year is the 100 year anniversary of the birth of the Canadian Marshall McLuhan, among whose famous quotes is “We shape our tools and afterwards our tools shape us.” There is a stupid ad on our televisions (for movies/TV on demand I think) where two cowboys are punching each other out and a kid says—don’t they

know they have guns? There has to be a consequence from knowing that one need not ‘ask’ for compliance but can ‘first off the mark’ demand it with force. Canadian police are laden with every conceivable form of enforcement tool—missing is perhaps the time-honoured skill of verbal dexterity that earns one compliance.

The July 2011 *UN Report title “Justice Still out of reach for Millions of Women”*¹ found that globally, women average just 9% of the police. Referring to the ‘steady climb’ in the numbers of female police in Canada, the figures reveal that we now average about 20% female in Canada and 23% in Australia.² The breakdown of ranks is less encouraging: 9% of senior officers in Canada and 8% in Australia fall within the senior ranks³. There has been relatively slow movement up through the ranks—and the typical response to the slow movement is that ‘it takes time’ to move women up. It appears to take quite a bit of time! However, the Australian Institute of Criminology did find that women look approximately 13 years to reach Inspector rank while men on average took 15.

The few years immediately following 1998 were notable for the number of women in key Canadian policing roles. The Commissioner of the Ontario Provincial Police was Gwen Boniface (who went on to an advisor role as *Deputy Chief Inspector of the Garda Síochána Inspectorate in July, 2006 in Dublin Ireland*) and the interim Commissioner of the RCMP was Beverley A. Busson. There was a female head of the Organized Crime Agency of British Columbia, the successor to the B.C. Coordinated Law Enforcement Unit (Beverley Busson before she stepped in as Commissioner); a female head of training at Depot Training Center (Chief Superintendent Lynn Twardosky); a female head of the Canadian Police College (Tonita Murray); and at least two female Chiefs of Police across the country (Christine Silverberg in Calgary and Lenna Bradburn in Guelph).⁴ The majority of those roles have reverted to male-holders. As a new Commissioner of the RCMP is soon to be appointed (to replace a failed male, political, civilian appointee and a ‘fired’/resigned previous male Commissioner), various names have been suggested as being ‘contenders’—no women are among this rumoured list.

Whether or not the females in leadership positions and the increasing number of female members across the country and in international police services have ‘left their mark’ is open for debate. The changes may be more subtle than the boastful exploits of male police leaders that we are perhaps more used to. As one tribute to Christine Nixon stated:

¹ United Nations Entity for gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. July 6, 2011 Press Release announcing the UN, 2011. Progress of the World’s Women: In Pursuit of Justice.

<http://www.unwomen.org/2011/07/justice-still-out-of-reach-for-millions-of-women-un-women-says/> See <http://progress.unwomen.org/pdfs/EN-Report-Progress.pdf> for the full report.

² Statistics Canada, 2010. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-225-x/2010000/ct003-eng.htm>

³ See <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-225-x/2010000/part-partie1-eng.htm> for Canadian figures. Proportion of female constables in Canada is approximately the same percentage of constables as in 2005. See Australian Institute of Criminology, *Trends and Issues*, No. 370, February 2009.

<http://www.aic.gov.au/documents/F/3/6/%7BF36A0098-DD14-4AF4-A168-53CDD2867D54%7Dandi370.pdf>

⁴ This group of women, including myself (as Director of the Nathanson Center for the study of Organized Crime and Corruption) had our pictures taken together at the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police meeting that year. They said that none of our pictures turned out—proving that the devil is in the detail!

“Even leadership researchers who should know better remain attached to a masculine kind of leadership sometimes termed ‘heroic leadership’, those who lead from the front with a loud voice and over-confident vision.⁵

There appears to be more optimistic news outside of Canada. Internationally, we are gradually acquiring empirical evidence that supports our belief that more women in policing *will* impact how policing is done. The UN *In Pursuit of Justice* calls for putting “women on the frontline of justice delivery” and provides examples of campaigns for reforms led by women pertaining to issues from equal pay, inheritance rights, labour rights, abortion rights, and perhaps closest to our topic, rights to be secure against violence. The report argues that in fulfilling the roles as police, judges, legislators and activists, women in every region are making a difference and bringing about change.

I was asked specifically to give some thought to the role of community policing in bettering the policing of women. Sir Robert Peel (1829): the “police are the public and the public are the police”. This sounds wonderful and forms the roots to at least the rhetoric of community-based policing. The problem comes from the fact that some of our ‘publics’ hold views—and in some cases these views are put into laws—that work against women or against some women. Naturally some of our police members (men and women) will share those views. There is never ‘one’ community but rather several competing communities—and some have much louder voices and louder political clout than other gendered segments of the society. ‘Women’ are not a uniform group and the age categories and to a lesser extent cultural differences may require different policing responses. I have been following with some concern the recent debate in Australia regarding the wearing of a *niqab* and the prospect of a Muslim woman being sentenced to prison and/or fined.⁶ The issue of police needing to identify citizens is less contentious and requires a rational debate, as compared to some of the comments ‘from the community’ that follow the media discussion on the proposed legislation. One of the first citizen comments came apparently from someone in Canada stridently telling the Muslim women to basically ‘go home’ if they didn’t like the proposed new Australian laws. Bad cases can result in very bad law—prompted through a potent mix of racism, political platforming, and the media including ‘talk shows’ and social media networking. The result can target some groups—and in this case, some women—with the seeming support of the ‘community’.

I sit as a member of my local Police-Community Liaison Committee with representatives from the various community groups in our neighbourhood. The membership on the Committee is largely white, middle-class, seemingly well-educated, and forthcoming in their likes and dislikes—they dislike most everything that does not reflect their lifestyle and what they want is more policing, more laws and more surveillance to ensure that ‘their’ community is not altered or diluted in any manner. A statistical look at ‘their’ community would reveal a different demographic and a demographic that is more concerned with racial profiling, and aggressive

⁵ Amanda Sinclair “The Leadership of Christine Nixon”, *The Journal for Women and Policing* Issue No. 24 Winter edition, 2009. <http://www.acwap.com.au/journal/issue24.pdf>

⁶ July 10, 2011, posted on World News, <http://www.somalilandinfo.com/home2/2011/07/10/australian-government-banned-from-muslim-women-to-wear-veil-or-fine-5500-and-send-to-prison/>

surveillance techniques. The ‘community’ can on occasion be an intolerant and aggressive collective.

My talk will focus on the policing of women as victims of sexual assault, women as victims of domestic abuse, and women as mothers.

Sexual Assault

The first topic I will look at is the policing of sexual assault cases. Since my town and my University—and my faculty—was the ‘epicentre’ of the global ‘slut-walk’ movement, I really must comment on it. I certainly realize that the terminology that the organizers have used is not to everyone’s liking and perhaps more alarming these slut-walks will provide the fodder to endless graduate feminist thesis—however, the terminology comes from the word that the police officer used and the originators of the slut-walk argued that

“If ‘slut’ is thrown around at so many people day in and day out . . . we will take it and take it to mean someone who is in control of their sexuality.”

Regardless of the terminology, I do however think the movement has some merit. Recently at least three female students had been sexually assaulted at York University—two in their beds after they had gone to sleep and one wearing over-alls while crossing the campus. Members of Toronto Police were invited to the campus to speak to the students at a ‘Safety and Security’ session at Osgoode Hall Law School on January 24th 2011.

There are several unfortunate aspects to the comments from one of the two officers. First he was speaking at a law school and one might have thought he would have spoken with a degree of care. He began by saying “I’ve been told I shouldn’t say this”...and then he went on to say that in order to avoid sexual assault, a woman should not “dress like a ‘slut’”. This suggests that the message that ‘slut’ clothing was in part ‘to blame’ for the rapes had been part of conversations that he had had with his colleagues and that somehow the advice he received was that it would be merely ‘politically incorrect’ to mention it—although they ‘really knew’ what was to blame. Likewise, the police response following the incident revealed the lack of seriousness with which the police service took the comments and a disregard for the response from the law school. Like so many things the Canadian police have done recently, the issue might have gone immediately away if there had been an immediate apology. However, numerous phone calls from Osgoode to the Police service asking for a response and an apology went unanswered. A letter from Osgoode brought forth a delayed comment from a police spokesperson that ‘if these comments were made, it is definitely something that we will act on”. On February 17th an official apology came from the Inspector from the specific Division—but not from the Chief and delivered not in person but rather by a constable. Ignore...minimize...acknowledge with a belated and/or inadequate apology.⁷ The result of this response was of course the now global ‘slut-walks’ that have graced Australia as well as Europe, UK, parts of Asia, South/Central America and most recently India.

⁷ See Steve Paikin The Agenda, Published date listed as July 19, 2011, “Slut walks and Modern Feminism” panel. <http://www.tvos.org/TVO/WebObjects/TVO.woa?videoid?934463278001>

No city did a slut-walk as well or at least as colourfully as Melbourne...Melbourne put 'her' soul into the event:⁸

'SlutWalking' movement takes off in Australia



Toronto



⁸ "Thousands turn out for Melbourne SlutWalk" *The Australian* May 28, 2011 7:42PM
<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/nation/thousands-turn-out-for-melbourne-slutwalk/story-e6frg6nf-1226064712915>

Headlines announced that the 'SlutWalking' phenomenon was coming to the UK on June 4th with demonstrations in four cities: Cardiff, Newcastle, Edinburgh and Glasgow.⁹



And most recently India:¹⁰



⁹ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jun/07/marching-with-the-slutwalkers>

¹⁰ CBC July 31, 2011 India's Slut Walk brings tamer, smaller crowd. Associated Press. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2011/07/31/india-slutwalk.html> and *The Australian* "Delhi Women protest attacks in 'Slut Walk'", August 1, 2011



"In India, no matter what we wear, even if we are covered head to toe in a sari or a burka, we get molested and raped," Ms Sabarwal said before the protest. "If we are victimised, it is justified by saying we asked for it."¹¹

The CBC article stated that national statistics show that Delhi, the capital accounts for twice as many abuses as other Indian cities. India recorded 21,467 rape cases in 2008, up 18 per cent from the 18,233 cases in 2004. However, most cases still go unreported because victims fear having to face male police officers who dismiss or deride their complaints. Police in the capital attempted two years ago to make it easier for women to report abuse by putting female officers at front desks in police stations across the sprawling city. The city's police chief said that women should avoid going out late at night and advised them to take a male relative or friend with them for their own safety.

Now—what if anything does this mean to women, to policing, to the policing for women? I included this discussion on slut-walks because to me the comments by the Toronto police officer demonstrated how *entrenched* the idea is that rape is a sexual act of passion that occurs when women entice men to act upon their seemingly uncontrollable urges. The fact that women of all ages and all physical descriptions are raped does not appear to change these beliefs. In both of our countries—Canada and Australia, aboriginal women and aboriginal children are disproportionately the victims of sexual assault and death.

¹¹ *The Australian* Delhi Women protest attacks in 'Slut Walk', August 1, 2011. <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/world/delhi-women-protest-attacks-in-slut-walk/story-e6frg6so-1226105535184>

Even the ‘informed’ discussions around the slut-walk phenomena often missed what to me was the key point. Some of the comments stressed the ‘right’ of women to dress how they pleased and that men would just have to control themselves—again, ignoring the motivations behind rape. Australian commentator Andrew Bolt (an Australian newspaper columnist and radio commentator/blogger) observed that guidance on how to dress in any given context is simply ‘risk management’ and such advice need not be mutually exclusive with opposition to victim-blaming. The opposing view—expressed by Jessica Valenti—is that the idea that women’s clothing has some bearing on whether they will be raped is a dangerous myth feminists have tried to debunk for decades.”¹² Likewise, Australia’s Sex Discrimination Commissioner, Elizabeth Broderick, emphasized “the way a woman chooses to dress has no link to the likelihood that she will be sexually assaulted.”¹³ Sexual assault is a power-based crime. In a judgement in the Supreme Court of Canada, by Justice Peter Cory stated:

Sexual assault is in the vast majority of cases gender based. It is an assault upon human dignity and constitutes a denial of any concept of equality for women. The reality of the situation can be seen from the statistics which demonstrate that 99 per cent of the offenders in sexual assault cases are men and 90 per cent of victims are women.¹⁴

Statistics Canada found that only 20 % of sexual assaults are by strangers—with 41% by an acquaintance, 28% by family members, 10% by a friend.¹⁵ The majority (80%) of cases in each of these categories are committed within the woman’s home.

Why therefore would the police make such a statement? When the women were raped in their residence dormitory, the male officer on the scene commented that ‘the lesson here is to keep your doors locked’—at least that accurately related to how the rapist got in—although even then the fault was placed on the failure of the women to prevent the rape. Toronto Police Service, more so one would think than almost any other police service, would have been well-versed in the realities of rape and other forms of sexual assault. The infamous ‘Jane Doe’ law suit against the police¹⁶ ought to have taught the Toronto police a number of important and expensive lessons. In 1986, Jane Doe was raped at knife-point by a stranger who broke into her apartment from her balcony, while she was sleeping. In the seven months prior to the attack, four other women in her neighbourhood had reported to the police that they had been raped by a stranger in similar circumstances. The perpetrator became known to the police as ‘the balcony rapist’. Jane Doe sued the police on three grounds: negligence, a violation of her Charter equality rights, and an infringement of her Charter right to security of the person. Doe’s argument was that the reason for the shoddy investigation was that the police did not take the crime of sexual assault seriously.

¹² Valenti, Jessica (June 8, 2011). "[SlutWalks and the future of feminism](http://host.madison.com/news/opinion/column/article_bcd1828b-7c59-5115-bee4-a7fddb9482b1.html)". *Wisconsin State Journal*. http://host.madison.com/news/opinion/column/article_bcd1828b-7c59-5115-bee4-a7fddb9482b1.html. Retrieved Jul 10, 2011.

¹³ <http://news.ninensn.com.au/national/8251376/slutwalking-movement-takes-off-in-australia>

¹⁴ Mr. Justice Peter Cory, Supreme Court of Canada, writing in *R. v. Osolin* [1993], 4 S.C.R. 595.

¹⁵ *Statistics Canada*, 2003. The daily, 25 July, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/030725/dq030725-eng.pdf> Quoted in *Sexual Assault Victims Service Worker Handbook*, British Columbia Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General. 2007. <http://www.pssg.gov.bc.ca/victimservices/service-provider/docs/victim-service-worker-sexual-assault.pdf>, Section I.13. .

¹⁶ <http://www.sgmlaw.com/media/PDFs/Cases/Civil/JaneDoe>.

On July 3, 1998, Madam Justice Macfarland ruled in her favour.¹⁷ She found that the problems stemmed from the fact that the police were motivated by rape myths and sexist stereotypes about women, which impeded their investigations. Sexist thinking also informed the police investigators' decision not to warn the women in Jane Doe's neighbourhood about the "balcony rapist" believing that, if warned, women would panic and become hysterical. Joan Grant Cummings,¹⁸ then the president of the National Action Committee, stated that the decision "propel[ed] us miles in dealing with state accountability where women's security issues and the violation of our human rights [were] concerned". Before Jane Doe and after—leading up to the present there has been what appears to be a concerted effort to address the policing of sexual assault in Toronto.

1975 Report of the Police Committee on Rape--only 37.5% of reported rape cases were 'confirmed' and the report comments on the need to examine whether or not this figure was too high—especially when compared to almost any other reported crime. The report recommended that the attitudes of officers taking these reports needed to be scrutinized and that senior investigators should oversee these reported crimes. Training was deemed to be adequate but the needs of the victims ought to be taken into account to a greater extent.

1983 Report of the Godfrey Task Force on Public Violence against Women and Children. This task force pointed out that some police officers were better suited to be involved in sexual assault cases than others. The report mentioned the low rate of reportage of sexual were to be supervised by senior experienced officers who would read and sign-off on occurrence reports.

1986 Report authored by Det. Sgt Margo Boyd documenting the problems that still existed even following what was called a 'training blitz'. **The office of the Sexual Assault Coordinator was created.** Det. Sgt. Margo Boyd reported to the Justice Macfarlane regarding the function of this office and noted that the main difficulty with the office was in gaining legitimacy with the officers who were investigating the sexual assaults.. Less compliance with the policies regarding monitoring and sign-off by superiors. Fewer resources given to these types of crimes. Less support given to victims. In some of the investigative reports the police officer expresses disbelief by threatening the victim with polygraph testing or warning her regarding the seriousness of public mischief complaints. Throughout there appeared to be a reliance on evaluations of the woman's character and her demeanour rather than police work. In a majority of the sample cases reviewed by Judge Macfarlane, the police had listed 'sexual gratification' as the motive for the assault.

¹⁷ <http://www.sgmlaw.com/media/PDFs/Cases/Civil/JaneDoe.PDF>. Jane Doe was granted in excess of \$220,000 and a formal apology from the police. Twelve years after the legal battle began, amounted with interest to almost \$500,000.

¹⁸ Teresa DuBois Police Investigation of Sexual Assault Complaints: How far have we come since *Jane Doe*? www.ruor.uottawa.ca/.../08-DuBois--Police_Investigation_of_Sexual_Assault . Taken from "(Jane) Doe victory sparks demand for better treatment" *Horizons* (Fall 1998) 8. See also http://www.ruor.uottawa.ca/en/bitstream/handle/10393/19876/08-DuBois--Police_Investigation_of_Sexual_Assault_Complaints.pdf?sequence=19

1999 and 2004 and 2010 Audit Processes. The city mandated that audits be carried out following the Jane Doe case to see how the police were handling sexual assault cases. The audit produced the 1999 *review of sexual Assault Investigations: Toronto Police Service* report. Fifty-seven recommendations were made. Eighteen of these recommendations related to inadequate training and concern over the classification of unfounded reports. This audit, stipulated that there needed to be a follow-up audit which was duly carried out with a report published in 2004. The 2004 Recommendations Report stated:

The Chief of Police ensure that under no circumstances should a first-response officer make a determination as to whether a sexual assault is unfounded. The determination of this matter be reviewed and approved by a sexual assault investigator. The Chief of Police further ensure that all occurrence reports contain an appropriate level of information to substantiate conclusions and that all such reports be approved in writing by supervisory officers.¹⁹

A table in the 2010 report outlined the changes that were made to the policies in the investigation of sexual assaults.²⁰ There still appeared to be *slippage* between policies and practices. There remained an issue with ‘unfounded’ cases. In an evaluation of the Sexual Assault and Child Abuse course, Beverly Bain and Nora Currie attended the training and wrote an *Executive Summary of the Assessment of the Course*.²¹ They note that there was still no reference to sexual assault as being a crime of power and control and a repeated theme that as a starting point the police ought to take the position that ‘women lie’ and somehow the police must separate the liars from the rest. *The Baeza False Report Index* (The BAFRI) or aspects of this index are still being used to ‘red flag’ liars. The flags that identify potential liars include rape victims who:

- ask to speak to a female police officer or to a female investigator
- females who cannot identify the suspect or provide details of the crime
- a victim who focuses on moving to a new home or apartment during the investigation
- a victim who cries at various stages during the interview to avoid answering questions
- a woman who displays ‘TV behaviour’ when initiating a complaint—i.e. hysterical, demanding a female officer, catatonic etc.

And the list goes on...²²

¹⁹ 2004 Recommendations Report of the Auditor General’s Follow-up Report on the October 1999 Report Entitled: “Review of the Investigation of Sexual Assault – Toronto Police Service”, http://www.toronto.ca/audit/2004/followupreview_1999tps_appendix4.pdf

²⁰ 2010. The Review of the Investigation of Sexual Assaults – A Decade Later Toronto Police Service April 14, 2010 http://www.toronto.ca/audit/reports2010_april14.htm P. 6

²¹ Beverly Bain and Notra Currie 2007. *The executive Summary of the Assessment of the Sexual Assault and Child Abuse Course*, Sexual Assault Steering Committee. January 26. I thank LLB student Louise Marriott for this reference. <http://ifls.osgoode.yorku.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Exec-Sum-Framework.pdf>

²² See “False Reports in Cases of Sexual Assault: Literature Review and Investigative Suggestions” by Det. John J. Baeza (ret.) & Brent E. Turvey, MS, *Journal of Behavioral Profiling, Volume 1, #3 December 2000*. See also *Criminal Profiling* by Brent Turvey <http://books.google.ca/books?id=Oge7LFaN5xYC&pg=PA404&lpg=PA404&dq=baeza+false+report+index&source=bl&ots=h0ScLAR4J5&sig=UCVrfNbqugAsVPtdwpYhGn2hqqU&hl=en&ei=rbo0TtDyBYzogOeRsL33DA&sa=>

The over-all theme is that the police should go into the interview “bearing in mind the possibility that the woman is making a false charge”. CTV did a 2-part series on the Ottawa Police Force interrogation of two sisters who had claimed they had been given the date-rape drug and raped. Through access to information the video’s of the police interrogation of the ‘victims’ reveal the strategies that women fear. In this case the interrogator is a female.²³

The issue of unfounded cases is too large to go into in this paper but the comparisons between unfounded rape cases and all other criminal cases is too large to be ignored. According to the *General Social Survey on Victimization* (a national Canadian survey), the nonreporting rate of sexual assault in Canada has risen from 78% in 1999 to 88% in 2004 and one of the factors that contribute to such low reporting rates is the higher proportion of allegations that are classified as “unfounded” by police, compared to other violent offences.²⁴

Just a few comparisons from Canadian data:²⁵

Ottawa	2,314 720	Total Reports Unfounded	31.11 %	239,957 6,390	Total Reports Unfounded	2.66 %
Ontario (OPP)	9,990 3,013	Total Reports Unfounded	30.16 %	750,800 85,801	Total Reports Unfounded	11.43%
Peel Region	2,697 541	Total Reports Unfounded	20.06 %	230,525 4,923	Total Reports Unfounded	2.14 %
Toronto	12,879 990	Total Reports Unfounded	7.69%	999,826 7,331	Total Reports Unfounded	0.73%
Windsor	572 11	Total Reports Unfounded	1.92 %	204,003 648	Total Reports Unfounded	0.32 %

[X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CCcQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=baeza%20false%20report%20index&f=false](#)

²³ YouTube “Cops Ignore Rape Part 1” <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GhpZjpRd420&feature=related>> and “Cops Ignore Rape Part 2” <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hO1BiRnnS7o&feature=related>>.

²⁴ Department of Justice, *Just Research: Issue no. 14* (Ottawa: Department of Justice, 2007), “Highlights from a Preliminary Study of Police Classification of Sexual Assault Cases as Unfounded”, Tina Hattem, Senior Research Officer, Research and Statistics Division, Department of Justice Canada. <http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/rs/rep-rap/jr/jr14/jr14.pdf>

²⁵ Teresa DuBois Police Investigation of Sexual Assault Complaints: How far have we come since *Jane Doe*? [http://www.ruor.uottawa.ca/en/bitstream/handle/10393/19876/08-DuBois--Police Investigation of Sexual Assault Complaints.pdf?sequence=19](http://www.ruor.uottawa.ca/en/bitstream/handle/10393/19876/08-DuBois--Police%20Investigation%20of%20Sexual%20Assault%20Complaints.pdf?sequence=19). See also

[http://www.ruor.uottawa.ca/en/bitstream/handle/10393/19876/09-Crew--Striking Back.pdf?sequence=20](http://www.ruor.uottawa.ca/en/bitstream/handle/10393/19876/09-Crew--Striking%20Back.pdf?sequence=20)
Striking Back: The Viability of a Civil Action against the Police for the “Wrongful Unfounding” of Reported Rapes
A. Blair Crew

****NOTE:** pressures on Toronto to keep the ‘unfounded’ percentage low may account for this relatively low figure. Of course these figures tell us nothing about the non-report numbers.

When rates of “unfounded” sexual assault reports are compared with “unfounded” rates for other crimes and other assaults, sexual assault reports have been shown to be “unfounded” at much higher rates. For example, in 2002, Statistics Canada determined that 16 percent of all sexual offences reported to police were deemed to be “unfounded”, while other types of violent offenses were “unfounded” at a rate of seven percent. In the UK and US out of nine studies published between 1996 and 2007, five found that reports of sexual assault were “unfounded” at rates ranging from 25 to 43% and none fell below 10%.²⁶

DuBois concludes:

“Radical changes are required in order to stop the wrongful “unfounding” of sexual assault reports and ensure that women who are sexually assaulted are not re-victimized when they report to police. Police forces will not be held accountable until the problem of wrongful “unfounding” is given more attention. No Canadian police force has been scrutinized in the same way that the Toronto Police Service has since the *Jane Doe* decision. Yet, even in Toronto, sexual assault reports continue to be classified as “unfounded” at a higher rate than reports of other crimes.”

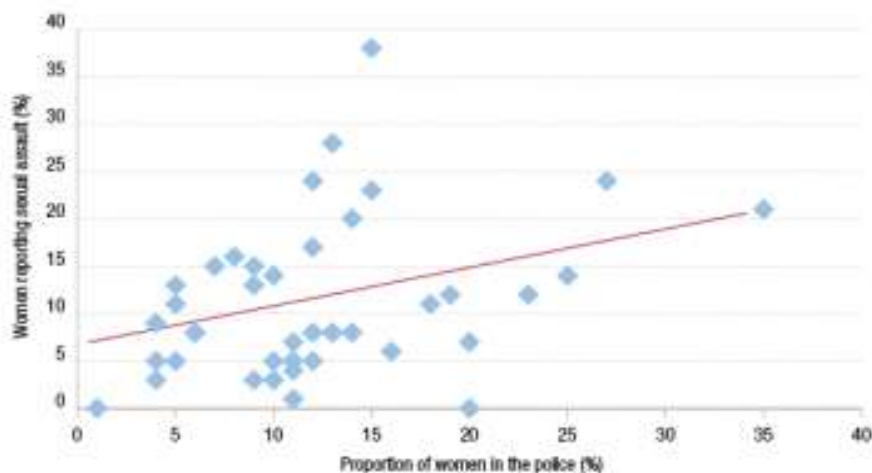
All of this focus on sexual assault—and yet still the officer could come in and refer to sluts asking to be raped. Therefore—how might women receive better policing? So—back to slut-walks! As stated by Lauren Rosewarne at the University of Melbourne, rape mythology isn’t something we can relegate to the bad old days.²⁷ However—there is some good news. The UN *In Pursuit of Justice Report* presents the data that indicates that in 39 countries the presence of women police officers correlated with a reporting of sexual assaults.²⁸

Proportion of Women in Policing compared to Women reporting Sexual Assault

²⁶ Ibid. Research included in the findings included: Jeanne Gregory & Sue Lees, “Attrition in Rape and Sexual Assault Cases” (1996) 36 *The Brit. J. Crim.* 1 at 3 [Gregory & Lees]; UK, Home Office, *A Question of Evidence? Investigating and Prosecuting Rape in the 1990’s* by Jessica Harris & Sharon Grace (London: Home Office, 1999), online: Home Office <<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs/hors196.pdf>> [Harris & Grace]; Jeffrey A. Bouffard, “Predicting type of sexual assault case closure from victim, suspect and case characteristics” (2000) 28 *J. Criminal J.* 527 at 532; U.K., Her Majesty’s Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate, *A Report on the Joint Inspection into the Investigation and Prosecution of Cases involving Allegations of Rape* (London: Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2002) [HMCPSI]; Susan J. Lea, Ursula Lanvers & Steve Shaw, “Attrition in Rape Cases: Developing a Profile and Identifying Relevant Factors” (2004) 43 *Brit. J. Crim.* 583 at 587 [Lea, Lanvers & Shaw]; U.K., Home Office, *A gap or a chasm? Attrition in reported rape cases* (Research Study 293) by Liz Kelly, Jo Lovett & Linda Regan (London: Home Office, 2005), online: Home Office <<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/hors293.pdf>> [Kelly, Lovett & Regan]; London Metropolitan Police, *supra* note 8; U.K., Her Majesty’s Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate, *Without Consent: A report on the joint review of the investigation and prosecution of rape offences* (London: Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2007), online: Home Office

²⁷ Lauren Rosewarne. 2011. *The Conversation: Sex, Lies and Slutwalking*. <http://theconversation.edu.au/sex-lies-and-slutwalking-1166>. She mentioned what she described as “one of the ugliest examples from Australia” which occurred in 2006 when a Muslim cleric not only blamed women for their own victimisation, but compared them to meat left uncovered and cats come to eat—“Whose fault is it, the cats or the uncovered meat? The uncovered meat is the problem.”

²⁸ <http://www.undispatch.com/un-women-the-pursuit-of-justice/screen-shot-2011-07-06-at-9-48-06-am>



Source: UN Women analysis based on police representation data from UNODC 2009 and reporting of sexual assault calculated from ICVS (latest available).

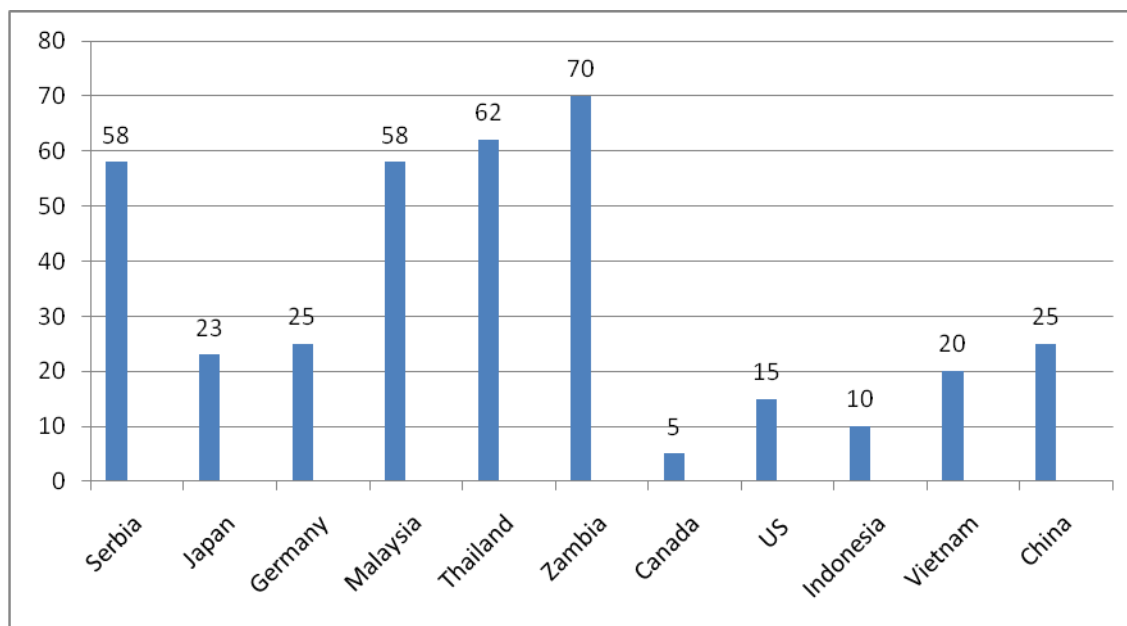
What all of these figures appear to mean is that more women are entering into police work and maybe at some time in the future there will be a critical mass large enough so that one can reasonably hope for a wider change in policing cultures rather than a mere difference in isolated—while essential—responses—and that these changes will address current issues that reduce the satisfaction women receive from our policing services. However, while some victims express a strong preference for female officers, research also indicates that ‘any woman will do’ is not necessarily good enough. It is essential that women as well as men obtain the proper training. Research such as the study published by Jan Jordan in New Zealand found that the gender of the police officer who responded to the rape victim was less important than a demonstrated ‘professionalism, warmth, and sensitivity’ of the responding officer. Well selected men as well as well selected women are what are required.²⁹

Policing Domestic Violence

This topic is as complex as policing sexual assault against women because they both relate most specifically to how the society regards women—as property or as equals. We therefore ask the police to respond in ways that might be quite contrary to the beliefs within the very society from which the police officer comes. Quoting the UN Report: “In 17 out of 41 countries, a quarter or more people think it is justified for a man to beat his wife”. The following chart provides the approximate percentage of people who felt abuse of women was ‘sometimes justified’.³⁰

²⁹ Jan Jordan. 2002. “Will any Woman do? Police, Gender and Rape Victims”, *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, Vol.25: 2, pp. 319-344.

³⁰UN 2011. <http://progress.unwomen.org/pdfs/EN-Report-Progress.pdf> Page 3



Police have traditionally shown a reluctance to interfere in domestic cases³¹. Some police officers do not share the professed governmental opinion that private matters between husbands and wives are the business of the police and they therefore attend reluctantly with little enthusiasm for ‘righting’ the situation rather than merely stopping the immediate violence. In other cases they find themselves in the middle of a situation where the policy dictates that they are to lay charges but where the victim refuses to cooperate even when it is obvious the spouse should be charged and taken away. In these situations the police officer may be in a ‘no-win’ situation—wrong if he/she takes no definitive action or alternatively forced to take an action that causes more harm. As Dianne Martin points out, not only was this legalistic ‘mandatory’ response overly narrow, but for many women it offered no remedy and could make a nearly intolerable situation even worse.

What appears to be well considered policies, which turned into laws, may result in quite different results than anticipated, again to the detriment of some women. Research by Canadian criminologists such as Laureen Snider and Dianne Martin have looked at the impact of the ‘mandatory charging’ (called pro-charging officially in Canada) policies which were introduced into Canada with the support of a significant percent of the feminist scholars and others. These policies ‘appeared’ to reflect the need to address the serious societal problem of spousal assault. The policy was introduced in Canada with the same fan-fare as in many other countries—at last, a recognition that spousal assault was not the private domain of the male dominated household but was in fact a legal matter. The police were to lay charges where there are reasonable grounds to believe that an offence has been committed.

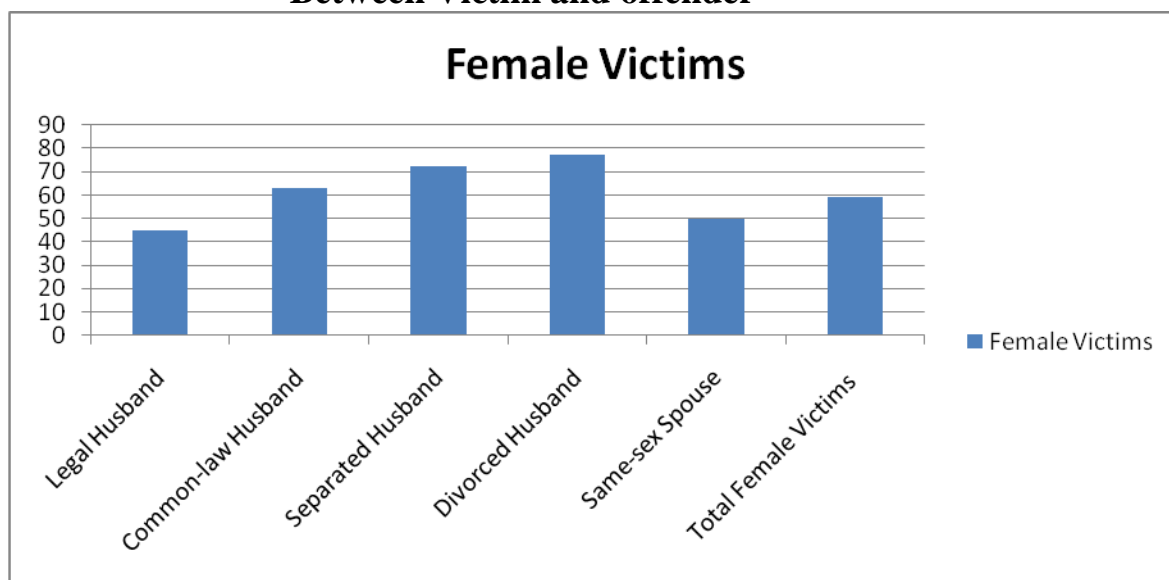
Critical research now indicates that this charging policy worked best for middle-class employed women who had options besides the economic support of their husbands and who had

³¹ Upon which a number of myth collide—i.e. the notion of increased danger—while in fact statistics of ‘dangerous’ domestic enforcement incidents that are quoted often include other ‘private’ locations including pubs and pub fights.

the legal and financial resources to ensure that they would be safe after the spouse returned to the home. However, the policy also did not take into account the likelihood that the police would charge both partners and in cases where the women refused to testify, that she could herself be charged. In Canada there has been some limited ‘fine tuning’ of the policy. Following a review of the application of the policy, recommendations were made that “Where the facts of a particular case initially suggest dual charges against both parties, police should apply a “primary aggressor” screening model, seek Crown review and approval of proposed dual charges for spousal violence...”³² These consequences could and should have been anticipated—and perhaps anticipated most clearly by women working within the justice fields as lawyers, judges and police officers. The important of the policy was in part symbolic in bringing spousal or domestic assault into the realm of the formal justice system. However, it ignored a resistant acceptance of ‘discipline’ for misbehaving spouses.

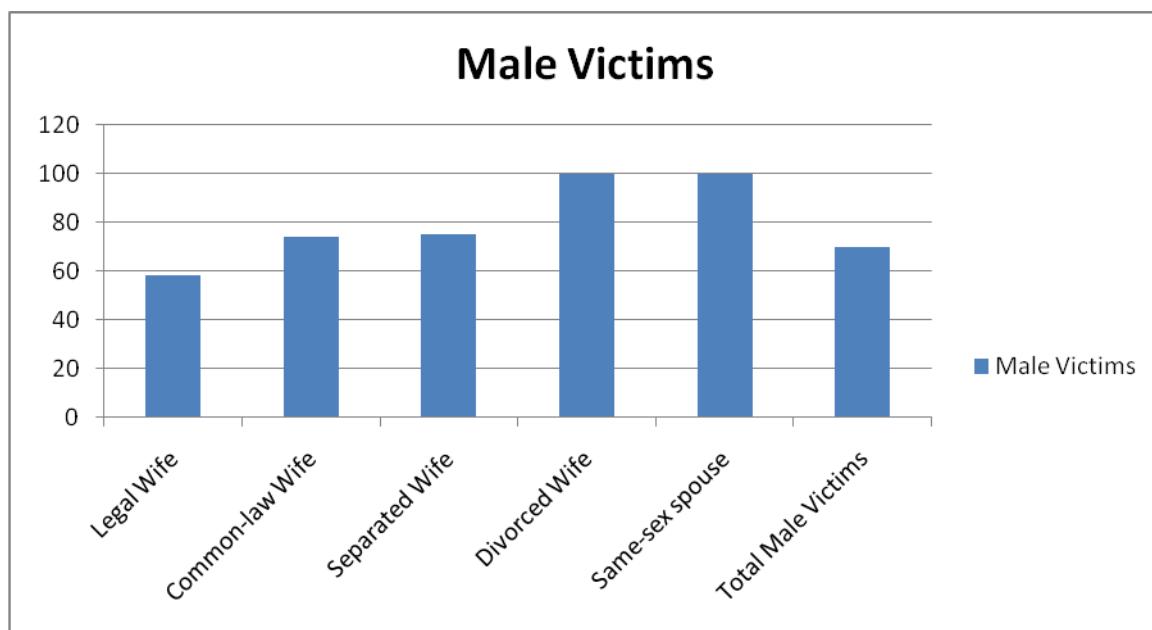
In Canada the rates of domestic abuse have decreased from 1999 to 2004—however, women reported higher rates of violence by *previous spouses compared to current spouses*. In a majority of spousal homicides, there is a history of violence between the victim and the accused person. Between 1991 and 2004, there was a history of domestic violence in 59% of homicides against women by their male partners and 70% of homicides against men:

Percentage of Spousal Homicides with a History of Domestic Violence Between Victim and offender³³



³² Department of Justice, Canada. *Family Violence Initiative*, Policy Development Strengthening the family violence network. <http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/pol.html>

³³ <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-570-x/85-570-x2006001-eng.pdf>



Now---these charts tell us very little. The high percentage of ‘history of violence’ in the cases of male homicide could speak to on-going violence against the female—or not. What seems obvious is that histories of violence must be taken seriously—and a dangerous period for women appears to be after they separate from their partner. This may speak to the ‘property’ aspect in the sense that she dare not leave her abusive or undesired circumstances unless she has permission to do so.

A separate issue is domestic abuse and violence that disproportionately targets aboriginal women. The issues here go far beyond ‘policing’ into the conditions in some of those communities, systemic racism, unemployment and illiteracy—and the violence that comes from the males, often elders, within the communities. Efforts to institute alternative dispute resolution and community justice models rather than the formal justice system and First Nations policing instead of the Canadian public police forces (RCMP or Ontario Provincial Police etc) can have the affect of leaving the women to the mercy of the abusive men. An awareness of all of these issues and viable options for the most vulnerable within these communities is essential. In many of our countries, discrimination and violence against Indigenous women is a major problem. Police forces must learn to work better with indigenous organizations. In Canada aboriginal women ‘go missing’ and there is certainly the accusation—well supported with evidence—of delayed or non-existent investigations that appear to indicate that some missing women are more important than others.

Because violence against women has been criminalized, protection of women in many societies is now under the jurisdiction of the police. What happens in multicultural communities? The notion that community-policing might be used to ‘understand’ the community norms and values and therefore to improve the safety of minority women from violence has been questioned by research that looked at the violence in Israel against Arab women. The researchers found that there were tensions between the arguments that societies ought to respect the beliefs of the various cultural, racial/ethnic or religious segments within the

society *versus* recognizing the rights of each individual to be safe and share equally in the protections of the state. They found evidence that the police ‘expected’ Arab women to be more passive and tolerate more violence and they accepted the Arab men’s excuses for their violence. The researchers refer to the double bind of “gendered racism and racialized sexism”—minority women were subjected to racism and sexism in the dominant culture *and* sexism and male domination in their own community.³⁴ Similar to the realities of violence with aboriginal communities in Canada, ill-conceived ‘community policing’ that focuses on empowering local community leaders can exacerbate pre-existing inequalities.

Domestic Assault by Police

Some of the most difficult cases involve spousal assault *by* police officers against their spouses. A literature review acknowledges that this may be a particularly serious issue within police departments since some United States studies have found that domestic violence *by* police officers is higher than in the general population. In 2003 legislators in Washington State drafted a law that they claimed would make Washington the first state in the nation to *require* every police department to have a domestic-violence policy for its officers.³⁵ The fatal shooting of his estranged wife by Tacoma police Chief David Brame's served as the catalyst for this legislation. He had been accused of repeatedly choking and threatening his wife in the months leading up to the murder-suicide. A survey of 78 US police departments³⁶ revealed that the existing policies varied greatly but only a third of the policies included the removal of an officer's gun at the scene (and removed for the duration of the investigation), offering counselling or automatically launching internal investigations and only 3 addressed victim safety or how to assess the danger posed by an abusive officer. None of the policies included tools to prevent such violence—from screening applicants for past abuse or doing regular criminal/civil background checks. Whether or not the policies were being followed, even where they were in place, given the lack of an independent oversight body in most of the services.

In 2005, Commissioner Gwen Boniface of the Ontario Provincial Police together with the Commissioner of the RCMP (Zaccardelli) and the Chiefs of Police for Toronto (Blair) and Ottawa (Bevan) formed a committee to study police perpetrated domestic violence. Among 35 police agencies surveyed across Canada, 80% did not specifically track incidents of police perpetrated domestic violence nor did they have comprehensive directives addressing what the police response should be to violence by police in domestic situations and obviously no standardized Canadian response protocol. Among the 20% that did track this form of violence, 92% had recorded at least one incidence of police officer perpetrated domestic violence—and some forces had many such incidents. Regardless of the rate as compared with the general population, the Canadian police forces involved in the study feared that the rate was increasing

³⁴ Madelaine Adelman, Edna Erez and Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian. 2003. “Policing Violence Against Minority Women in Multicultural Societies: Community and the Politics of Exclusion” *Police & Society*, Issue No. 7, pp 105-133.

³⁵ Ruth Teichroeb. 2003. *Seattle Post-intelligencer Reporter* “Lawmakers want to require domestic-violence policies”, October 23, http://seattlepi.nwsource.com/local/144908_policies22.html (retrieved April 16, 2007)

³⁶ Kimberly Lonsway did the survey for the National Center on Women and Policing in Arlington, Va. Lonsway is a professor at California Polytechnic State University.

and that there was evidence that there was an even higher rate of unreported police officer perpetrated domestic violence.³⁷

While stress on the job may be one of the reasons, there are additional factors that may more directly speak to the prevalence and in some cases the deadly nature of these assaults when they involve police officers. This audience will be familiar with the factors that include issues pertaining to training to show power and control, training to intimidate, training in the use of weapons and techniques to inflict violence, training in ‘empty hand’ and ‘pressure point’ techniques that may terrorize but leave no marks, and perhaps most importantly police will have knowledge of the law of evidence, and contacts within the justice system. If the victim is also a police officer, there is concern that reporting the violence will jeopardize both of their careers and spouses may fear the reaction of police officers colleagues—either after reporting the crime in the form of retaliation, or in coming to the scene and failing to take any action and allowing the assaults to continue or to escalate.³⁸ Ensuring that policies are in place and that the policies are strictly adhered to in cases involving spousal abuse by police is the necessary first step.

Policing Youth

This category relates more to the ‘style’ of preferred policing rather than gender issues per se and I shall use Toronto again as the example. Thirteen communities have been identified as ‘Priority Areas’ (PAs) across Toronto (and other identified areas reaching across the Province). The city’s own statistics illustrate that these so-called ‘high risk’ communities are distinct in the percentages of: un/under employment, single parents (predominantly mothers), visible minorities/ recent immigrants.³⁹ Communities’ resources rather than enforcement would seem to be required and yet, the ‘guns and gangs’ task force approach to community safety is the ‘crime prevention’ strategy of choice.

Beginning in earnest in 2006, the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy (TAVIS) presented the ‘on-the-ground’ presence—with surveillance cameras, and rapid response teams of highly training police officers.⁴⁰ These teams target key neighbourhoods in a manner that critics claim stigmatize and terrorize whole areas of the city. Large scale ‘swoops’ result in arrests that the courts and the legal-aid system cannot cope with. For those who are actually convicted and sentenced to jail time—prisons prove to be excellent arenas for gang recruitment and the cycle therefore continues. To date the Toronto Police have received over \$37Million and the Province of Ontario received over \$30 million for the ‘gangs and guns’ task forces. Guns are taken off the street and some essential arrests are made—but at a cost in addition to the dollars.

³⁷ See for example, Shayna Hinck. 2005. “Police Families and Domestic Violence—Four Mediating Factors” *The Canadian Journal of Police and Security Services*, 3:3. pp. 175-177.

³⁸ Lorraine Greene. 1998. “Domestic Violence Scope and Research” in *Domestic Violence Within Police Agencies, Concerns for Police Executive*, Major Cities Chiefs and Federal Bureau of Investigation, National Executive Institute, December p. 87.

³⁹ City of Toronto, *2006 Census Update on Social Risk Factors in the City’s 13 Priority Areas* http://www.toronto.ca/demographics/pdf/priority2006/background_socialriskfactors_priority.pdf

⁴⁰ Ontario, 2011. *Protecting Toronto from Guns and Gangs*, July 12. <http://news.ontario.ca/mcscs/en/2011/07/protecting-toronto-from-guns-and-gangs.html>. In 2007 PAVIS (Provincial Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy) received funding to spread the strategy across the Province.

Some of the mothers within those targeted communities fear the police cars that race through where their kids are playing. Mothers fear that the behaviours of their teenagers will be labelled and classified in a manner quite different from the treatment accorded teenagers in other parts of the city. Some criticism focussed on the discretionary use of what are called ‘208 cards’—index cards the use to collect information of mainly young black males regardless of where they are or what they are doing). Chief Blair in Toronto explains that this is all part of “getting to know the neighbourhood.” He acknowledges that these are often ‘racialized’ areas and hence he is ‘getting to know’ a disproportionate number of black males. This ‘getting to know’ practice can obviously be counter-productive. Canadian Civil Liberties Association general counsel Nathalie Des Rosiers argues that the questioning and carding practice regardless of the intentions can be intimidating and coercive:

“When perceived as excessive or discriminatory, it can create distrust in law enforcement, undermine public faith in police, and, ultimately, weaken efforts to root out and punish crime (Rankin 2010).”

Chief Blair admits there are issues with this approach:

“...nine out of 10 youths stopped and documented on a street corner may be perfectly good kids, and the encounter might leave them “pissed at us”...Those relationships are the toughest things,” says Blair. He expects his officers to be sensitive to how the youth feel and explain themselves. Even then, he acknowledges, the encounters may not go well (Rankin 2010).”

One exchange between youth and two TAVIS officers provides some evidence that some of his officers may have a limited concept of being ‘sensitive’:

"We're just walking around here and they stopped us and started asking for our names," Martin says. "We didn't do nothing. What did we do? Why did they stop us?"
 "And the other guy started acting rude," he says. "They know this is Regent Park and every black person is the same. We're not all the same."
 "He approached me nice, he has my I.D.," Martin says pointing to good cop.
 "But the other guy, I wasn't going to give him my I.D.," nodding to the other officer. "I'll tell my friend not to give him his name."
 "I work and now today it's Saturday and Sunday, and I want to party with my friends," Martin says. "That's it."⁴¹

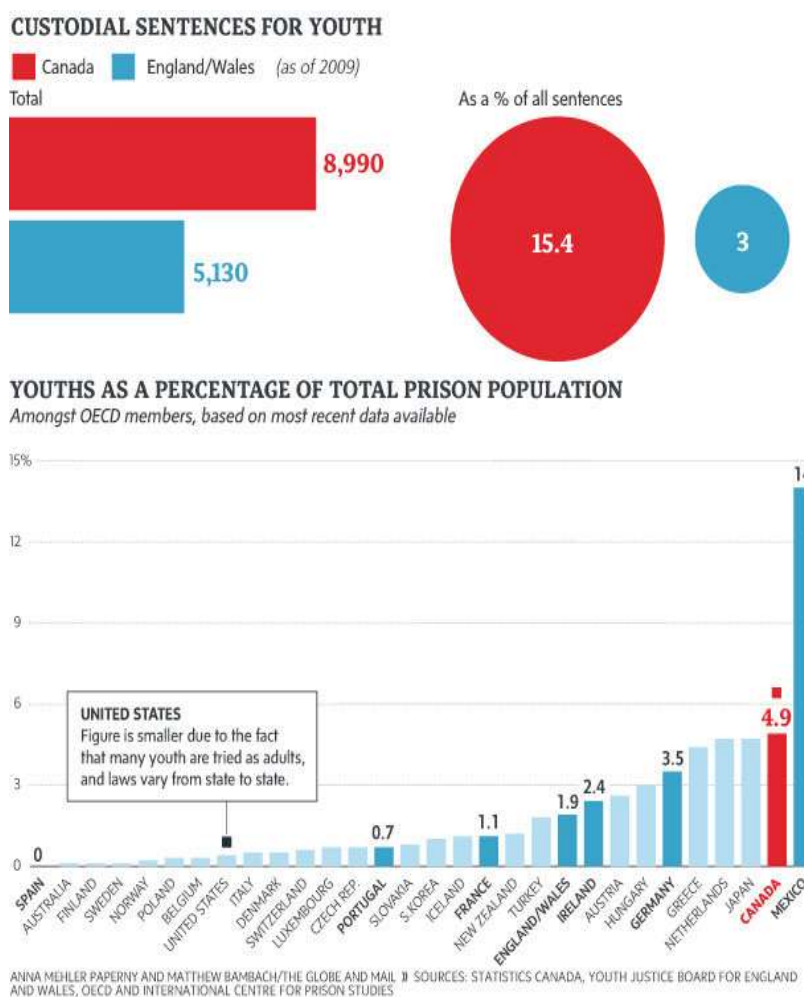
In Canada we ‘think’ of ourselves as having a somewhat enlightened ‘community-oriented’ type of justice system and yet the following chart reveals that in terms of youth justice, we must do much better. While Canada is not a country that massively incarcerates citizens, as the chart indicates, we put a far higher percentage of youth in prison than any other country that we aspire to be compared with—especially in comparison to Australia and 5x more than England/Wales.⁴² Like most criminal justice issues, incarceration rates are vulnerable to

⁴¹ *Toronto Sun*, February 8, 2010 “TAVIS: Busting The Bad Guys” by Rob Lamberti.
<http://www.torontosun.com/news/torontoandgta/2010/02/07/12782041.html>

⁴² *The Globe and Mail*, Monday July 11, 2011, “Time to Lead>>Youth in Jail” by Anna Mehler Paperny. P. A8
<http://m.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/time-to-lead/young-criminals-in-canada-victims-of-federal-legislation/article2100253/?service=mobile>. See also *The Globe and Mail*, July 19, 2011 “Canada's youth crime plans bewilder international observers” By Anna Mehler Paperny
<http://license.icopyright.net/user/viewFreeUse.act?fuid=MTM1NDM3MTk%3D>

political will. Youth incarceration in Australia apparently was going down until about four years ago—with an upward trend that was claimed to be caused in part by the Bail Act. There has apparently been an outcry—not heard outside of academics in Canada—that has caused the NSW State Premier to change the trend. Even Texas has reduced youth incarceration institutions from 15 to 6. Youth are recognized as the group that are the most amenable to rehabilitation—unless they do prison time and are then ‘recycled into more offending’.

Policing operates within a political environment. We currently have a ‘get tough’ government in power in Canada—and in power with a large majority of support that in contrast to international trends has proposed new legislation that will result in more youth doing to jail and for longer period of time with less possibility of bail and in cases where the youth is diverted into non-judicial measures, the police will be required to keep a record so that ‘criminal tendencies’ can be documented.



“Prevention” is a boring topic! It is boring for the public to read about and it is boring for the

police to be involved in. It was boring when the police were ‘supposed’ to be committed to community policing and any notion of actual *prevention* of gang violence remains boring! Community policing morphed into community mobilization so that police could remain the enforcement arm that linked in some vague sort of way with community concerns. In the ‘at risk’ communities the ‘getting to know’ carding that stigmatizes entire communities is being sold as something akin to community policing while allowing the police to do ‘enforcement’.

Alternatively, what is not boring is ‘gangs and guns’ and the resources allocated to this enforcement activity accentuates the drama of this policing strategy. The label, the resources, the specially built but secretly located ‘Operations Centre,’ all speak to an elite crime fighting operation. While the governments and the police will list off a series of prevention-type initiatives, closer examination reveals that in some cases the best of intentions fail because of a lack of commitment, a lack of coordination between the police activities and other agencies within the communities, and the lack of interest on the part of the police to ‘provide policing’ rather than ‘to police’ the declared high-risk’ areas. A focus group was held on September 24, 2010 with high school students from Malvern (Jamaican, Tamil and Indian youth). There was an overwhelming negative response when asked about their overall impression of the police. The youth were adamant in believing that they are unable to trust the police. Specifically, they felt the police often speak disrespectfully and unnecessarily harsh to youth, mix up the statements youth make as a means to criminalize them, never believe what the youth say, harass and search youth without reason thereby abusing their powers. It was interesting to note that when asked what powers the police have, none of the participants in the group were sure.

In 2008 Ontario Government report titled, *The Review of Roots of Youth Violence* (conducted by the Honourable Roy McMurtry and Dr. Alvin Curling) concluded that the roots of youth violence are “widespread and pervasive” and only a serious effort and a sincere commitment to actually bring about change will have any impact.⁴³ Similar points have been made by virtually every other serious project that has looked at youth violence. The answers lie in ‘boring old prevention’ that unfortunately requires fundamental changes within the society i.e. housing, job opportunities (real jobs), mental health facilities, and a policy of zero tolerance—not zero-tolerance for school misbehaving that gets vulnerable youth expelled, but zero-tolerance on racism and discrimination.

At the very least, police officers ought to treat youth in these communities as they would treat adults in any other part of the city. Would female police officers work to enlist the support of the mothers within these targeted areas? Would female police officers bring greater sensitivity to these policing strategies? Would a stronger cohort of female police officers help to shift the balance from the aggressive ‘guns and guns’ approach to community prevention via an insistence on resources for the community and community security via the ‘winning’ over of the community to work with, rather than against, the police? Would the result be less prisonization of young girls and boys and more empowerment for their mothers who are trying to raise them?

⁴³ Ontario, 2008. *The Review of Roots of Youth Violence*, Ministry of Children And Youth Services 2008. <http://www.children.gov.on.ca/htdocs/English/topics/youthandthelaw/roots/index.aspx>

Conclusion

Better policing for women—what can we conclude?

- Slutwalks may not be everyone’s answer for better policing for sexual assault victims but years of ‘training talk’, and hand wringing has also not had a major impact on some of our police forces and even less of an impact on the behavior of men in our societies. The treatment that women in society receive from the police is related to the treatment women receive in the communities BUT with the right direction and leadership—and carefully selected officers—police can serve as a powerful catalyst for change. Given that the change has not been amazing to date—the change catalyst may need to be female police officers—female lawyers, judges, legislators.
- Domestic assaults have been brought out of the home and into the criminal courts—with uneven results in terms of the gains felt by the female victims. The criminal justice cannot be the answer to all societal problems and alternative forms of dispute resolution may in some circumstances be more appropriate. Getting the balance right between going the route of the formal justice system and looking for alternatives will be the challenge. Domestic assault *by* police officers must now be brought out of the homes and into the criminal courts and driven by a commitment to clear department policies. The most vulnerable women in our societies are still the most victimized by domestic assaults—aboriginal communities, the disabled, the poor, and otherwise marginalized groups must be heard.
- Working with youth in a committed community policing manner with well-funded initiatives may be less macho than the ‘gangs and guns’ approach, but may make a greater contribution to the safety and sense of security of the communities and serve to empower the mothers trying to cope within those neighbourhoods.

One does not have to be a female police officer to operate with ‘professionalism, warmth and sensitivity’—but it improves your chances!

Thank you