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PRIMARY MEMBERSHIP COMPRISED FROM



'The State we are in' – Thoughts about devolution proposals for Welsh policing

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Abstract

The recent publication of the Silk committee's second report into devolved powers to the Welsh government situated in Cardiff has included a suggestion of transfer of policing powers from London to that body. These recommendations are now under consideration by the UK parliament. However, should these recommendations be adopted, then there are several major areas that would need to be carefully considered and plans provided to ensure that policing provision, both in Wales and in England are not adversely affected by such a move. This article considers some of the major concerns and issues surrounding the possible devolution of policing powers to the Welsh Government and includes thoughts and considerations regarding their potential impact and repercussions.

Introduction

In light of the recent anniversary of the restructuring of the Scottish police into one national police force and with local control over policing gaining momentum through the introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners throughout England and Wales (Home Office 2011), the idea of devolved policing powers for Wales may not be as far away as some people may imagine. However, there are several important areas for discussion and consideration before such a step is undertaken, and there is a need to remember that police accountability in the United Kingdom, as in most other countries, is complex. The police in England and Wales are not a unitary body similar to national police forces that exist in many different countries. In England and Wales there are 43 forces which undertake territorial policing on a geographical basis. In Scotland there were 8 regional police forces which were amalgamated into one national Police Service for Scotland (Home Office 2013). The Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) came into being in November 2001 following the recommendations of the Patten Commission on policing in the province (The Northern Ireland Office, 2001).

In addition to these forces, there are a number of non Home Office forces that have a specialised remit and exercise jurisdiction throughout the UK. These include the British Transport Police (BTP), the Ministry of Defence Police (MOD) and the Civil Nuclear Constabulary (CNC). The Jersey, Guernsey and Isle of Man police are separate organisations that carry out policing in those islands.

Recognising the need to adapt to transnational and cross border issues the Government and the police service have also developed national policing agencies. Legislation has been passed in Parliament recently which amalgamated previous agencies such as the Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA) and others into a new organisation called the National Crime Agency (NCA). It is against this background that a recently published report, known as The Silk Committee report, (Silk 2014) recently recommended the devolving of police powers to the Welsh government in Cardiff. This article will highlight the main recommendations of this report and consider some of the perceived problems and advantages of such a move. It may also have resonance and insights for other countries that intend to or are considering devolving or restructuring their policing services.

The current position

Headed by the First Minister of Wales, the Welsh Government is responsible for areas such as health, education, language and culture and public services, apart from the police. It is based at the Senedd (Senate) in Cardiff, the capital city of Wales. The Welsh Government is separate from the British Government, which retains overall responsibility for UK-wide areas such as tax, defence, foreign policy and benefits. The Welsh Government is elected by the people of Wales to carry out a programme of government and this involves making decisions and ensuring delivery on the areas devolved as set out in Schedule 7 of the Government of Wales Act 2006 (Home Office 2006).

This is achieved through a programme of:

- developing and implementing policies
- setting up and directing delivery and governance in these key areas, such as local government and the National Health Service in Wales
- proposing Welsh laws (Assembly Bills) and making subordinate legislation (e.g. regulations and statutory guidance)

With regard to policing arrangements in Wales, there are currently four police force areas, namely North Wales, Dyfed Powys, Gwent and South Wales, and following the introduction of the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011 (Home Office 2012), each of these police force areas has a directly elected Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) who holds the police to account on behalf of the population of the area that they serve (Fleming 2013). The PCCs replaced police authorities and they represent a substantial decentralisation from the Home Office, reversing a previous trend towards centralisation (Williams 2003). However, the Home Secretary based in the Home Office in London is responsible for legislative framework, for overall funding and for setting the strategic policing requirement.

Whilst policing is currently non-devolved in Wales, the four Welsh police forces have strong links with the Welsh Government. They have a permanent police presence with the Welsh Government in the form of two seconded officers, a superintendent and an inspector, who make up the Police Liaison Team. The Police Liaison Team provides a single point of contact with the four Welsh forces and they work close with the Community Safety Division, engaging on police and community safety related matters with officials from across Welsh Government and the National Assembly.

This team operates on a number of levels but allows for an all-Wales response on particular issues that may involve policing. For example, each Association of Chief Police Officer (ACPO) Wales officer has responsibility for particular areas such as community safety or transport. The police liaison team makes arrangements for ACPO members to have access to the relevant minister in order for police input and advice on certain matters. The unit mainly interacts with the civil service in achieving these objectives.

At present the core priorities for policing in Wales are as follows:

- To ensure public protection and the protection of vulnerable persons through a joined up approach

- To effectively counter terrorism, organised and major crime to ensure public safety across Wales
- To ensure that neighbourhood policing is embedded and remains local
- To promote joint working and collaboration both within the police service and with partners in local Government and the criminal justice system, including the private and voluntary sectors
- To continue to engage with Central Government for sufficient funding to provide an efficient and effective police service in Wales
- To raise the profiles of the police and their governing bodies and fully engage with the Welsh Government

(The National Policing Plan for Wales 2011)

Police forces in Wales interact in many ways with services that are already devolved to the Welsh Assembly Government. Health, housing, education and highways policy all have a direct impact upon the work of the police and what the police are involved in has implications for those areas. The police work very closely with already devolved fire and rescue and ambulance services and partnership working in Wales means that the police forces here work very closely with the current 22 local authorities, although the number of these authorities may reduce in the future.

The four Chief constables in Wales regularly attend meetings with the Welsh Government Cabinet on occasions and there are regular meetings between the PCCs and Welsh Ministers, as well as many meetings between senior police officers and officials of the Welsh government. In addition to these functions, the Welsh police forces engage directly with the Welsh government on some matters despite the absence of formal accountability arrangements.

The Silk Commission

Since the creation of the National Assembly for Wales in 1999, the devolution process has undergone a number of distinct phases, supported by an apparent acceptance that parts of the political landscape in the UK is changing dramatically.

Following the UK general election in May 2010 the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties formed a coalition government and included in that coalition agreement was a commitment that, depending upon the result of a March 2011 referendum on primary legislation powers for the National assembly, an independent commission would be set up to consider further devolved powers to the Welsh Government. Consequently, following that referendum which showed the Welsh public in favour of such a course of action, a commission on devolution in Wales was established, known as the Silk commission after the name of the chairperson, Paul Silk.

The Silk commission's remit was divided into two parts. In Part I, it considered the National Assembly for Wales's current financial powers and how its financial accountability could be improved. On 19 November 2012, the commission published their first report *Empowerment and Responsibility: Financial powers to strengthen Wales*, (Silk 2012) recommending taxation and borrowing powers for the National Assembly. The UK Government announced that it accepts, in full or in part, all but one of the recommendations contained in it. In December 2013 it published a draft Bill that would implement many of the proposals.

The commission began work on Part II of their remit, reviewing the non-financial and wider powers of the National Assembly, immediately after the publication of the first report. The terms of reference for Part II were:

To review the powers of the National Assembly for Wales in the light of experience and to recommend modifications to the present constitutional arrangements that would enable the United Kingdom Parliament and the National Assembly for Wales to better serve the people of Wales.

Consequently, Silk released his second report in March 2014 (Silk, 2014). This report considered Youth justice and other matters but primarily its major recommendations concerned the policing arrangements for Wales. Briefly the recommendations of the Silk committee regarding policing in Wales are as follows:

1. Policing and related areas of community safety and crime prevention should be devolved
2. Existing levels of cross border police co-operation should be maintained
3. Powers of arrest, interrogation and charging of suspects and the general powers of constables, should not be devolved unless and until criminal law is devolved
4. The National Crime Agency should not be devolved
5. Police pay should be devolved but police pensions should not be devolved and
6. The two governments should agree charging systems and terms of service provision for the Police College, Independent Police Complaints Commission, HM Inspectorate of Constabulary and common services such as the Police National Computer System

(Silk, 2014: 111)

Clearly these recommendations have major implications for policing and other criminal justice agencies, not just in Wales but in England also.

Despite the apparent support for devolved policing to Wales, there are several areas of concern that have been raised and need to be carefully considered. Firstly, there is the problem that policing is inextricably linked with the wider elements and other agencies within the criminal justice system as a whole, which is not devolved to Wales. The suggestion is that there would be a dislocation between other criminal justice agencies should only policing are devolved. However, it is entirely possible (and probable) that other parts of the Criminal Justice System will be devolved in the future. The Silk commission itself suggests that Youth Justice should be devolved at the same time as Policing so there appears to be a momentum and desire for other agencies to ultimately be run by the Welsh Government.

Notwithstanding the implications for other criminal justice agencies there are two other major areas of concern regarding the idea of devolved policing powers to Wales. These are in the areas of police response to national threats and the cost of running such a model. The first of these concerns is explained in the strategic policing review (Home Office 2012).

The Strategic Policing Review

The Strategic Policing Review (Home Office 2012) is a document published by the Home Secretary in accordance with section 37A Police Act 1996 (Home Office 1996) as amended by section 77 of the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011 (Home Office 2011). Its purpose is to set out what are considered at the time to be the national threats and the appropriate policing requirements to counter these threats.

Often forces have to work in a collaborative way to deal with cross border and national issues it highlights not just what the threats are, but what chief constables and PCCs are required to do to assist in tackling these threats.

The current national threats highlighted by this report briefly are as follows:

1. Terrorism
2. Other civil emergencies that are defined in the National security risk Assessment and require a cross border police response
3. Organised crime activities such as financial crime, border security, and child sexual exploitation.
4. Threats to public order or public safety which cannot be managed by a single police force alone
5. A large scale cyber incident

In order to counter the threats illustrated above, the strategic policing review also sets out what outcomes are expected of the police service in managing each of the threats. The broad themes for police requirements are that of capacity and contribution which means PCCs and Chief Constables need to account for such activities as providing capacity to contribute to the Government's strategy on counter terrorism, organised crime and any other incident that requires a major mobilisation of resources to counter a major spontaneous or planned event. In addition, they must be aware of their contribution under the Civil Contingencies Act 2004 (Home Office 2004). In essence, all police forces in England and Wales must contribute some resources, staff and equipment, and provide training and support for the national requirements of policing including such concepts as mutual aid, tackling serious and organised crime. Therefore, despite the fact that there is a momentum for the devolution of policing powers to the Welsh Government, at present, these policing powers can never be fully devolved to the governance of the Welsh Government due to the agreements for a strategic response to perceived UK national threats.

Clearly, the management of national threats would require suitable cooperation between the Home Office and the Welsh government but drawing on experiences from Scotland and Northern Ireland suitable co-operation systems could easily be put in place. Further, there is no suggestion in the Silk Report that existing functions of the National Crime Agency be altered, and of course the Silk Commission endorsed this idea. The second main area of concern lays in cost issues and in particular how the funding model for policing may be affected.

Police funding for England and Wales

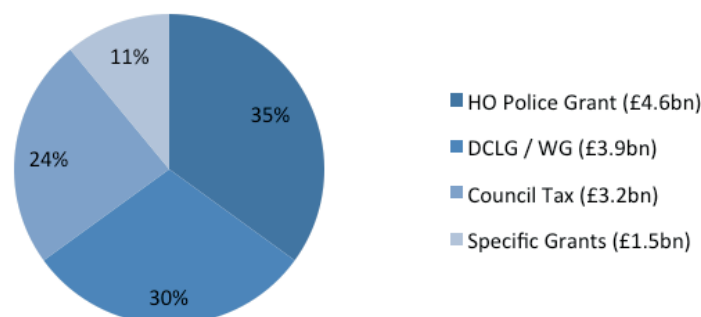
The funding arrangements for policing are perhaps the most complex of all public sector services in England and Wales. This is in part due to the complexities surrounding governance and the structure of policing across England and Wales. Funding across both central Government and local Government is difficult enough. However, the fact that the Welsh Government also provides some funding, along with almost 16 other sources, makes this multifaceted landscape of funding extremely difficult to navigate.

The main funding for police services within England and Wales comes from central government. This accounts for 76 per cent of all police funding and comes directly from the Home Office, the Department of Communities and Local Government, and within Wales, the Welsh Government. Police authorities account for 24 per cent of funding, being raised through council tax. Specific grants, relating to issues safety and security account for 11 per cent of funding.

This funding distribution is illustrated in Figure 1 below. It is from this figure that 20 per cent savings must be made leading up to 2014-15. The total expenditure in 2010-11 reached £13.02 billion.

Figure 1: Principal Funding Sources 2010-11

Police Spending Distribution



Source: The author

However, following the election of the coalition Government in June 2010, an emergency budget was undertaken resulting in departments across Government losing £6.2 billion, of which £125 million came from savings in the police budget. This reduced police expenditure to £12.9 billion.

Police spending in Wales

Policy responsibility for the police service in Wales is currently non-devolved and rests with the Home Office. However, funding for the previous police authorities was traditionally provided through a three-way arrangement between the Home Office, the Welsh Government and council tax payers, as shown in the box below.

Welsh police funding (Police Authorities) 2011-12

- The provisional Home Office 'core' funding for the four Welsh police authorities for 2011-12 totals **£232.7 million**.
- Two of the authorities (Dyfed Powys and North Wales) qualify for a 'top up' of **£13 million** of Home Office funding. Top up grants are calculated using many indicators including an assessment of student populations, employment figures and welfare claimants.
- The four police authorities will also, provisionally, receive **£14.7 million** from the Home Office for neighbourhood policing. This will come from the specific Grant scheme.
- Therefore total provisional funding for the four authorities from Westminster stands at £260.4 million.
- Welsh Government funding for the four police authorities for 2011-12 totals **£161m**.
- In total, the four police authorities will receive **£421.4 million** in UK central and Welsh Government revenue funding for 2011-12 (excluding anti-terror funding – which is not revealed)

Source: Home Office and Welsh Government.

This approach is now being altered and the role of the Police and Crime Commissioner has been enhanced to include responsibility for all funding streams for tackling crime and policing.

Devolved spending considerations for Wales

There are additional devolved spending areas that must be considered when evaluating expenditure on policing within Wales. The landscape of policing is far from simple, and often overlaps with devolved areas in which the Welsh Government has control. Because of this, some spending relating to devolved responsibilities must be recognised and considered in any new spending model. These include spending on 'supporting communities and people' and 'safer communities'. Table 1 illustrates such spending, exploring some of the specific areas within both spending allocations.

Table 1: Police Spending Distribution

Devolved Spending Area	Example
Supporting Communities and People (£53m)	Financial Inclusion (£4.3m)
	Communities First (£40m)
Safer Communities (£44m)	Youth Justice (£4.9m)
	Domestic Abuse (£3.6m)
	Substance Misuse (£27.4m)

Source: the Author

Therefore the fact that the Welsh Government already spends a considerable amount of money on policing issues such as community safety, through responsibilities already held by the Welsh Government, adds to the complexities of the situation when it comes to deciphering the financial future of any devolved policing models.

Additionally there are cost implications which are inevitable in any such organisational change. However, within Wales itself there appear no major implied or hidden costs involved in the devolving of police powers for police agencies themselves, due to the fact that the four police forces are organisationally and geographically already situated within the country. However, there would be additional Welsh government civil service costs which have been estimated at between 2-3 million pounds a year, which equates roughly to the cost of administrating policing services for Wales from current central government arrangements.

Further discussion

Notwithstanding the major discussion points surrounding national responses to threats and the costs involved, there are some further issues that need to be considered. Newman and Clarke (2009) point out that in political science it has become commonplace to refer to the rise of multi level governance indicating the multiplicity of levels, scales or tiers of governance bodies or processes that may be 'nested' together and involve differentiated but overlapping authority over, and claims upon, particular governance issues and governable places. Such would be the model should policing responsibility be devolved to the Welsh Government, with presumably that body being responsible in the main for local or community based policing whilst national threats will be coordinated by Central Government in London.

There are however, problems with this concept of 'nesting' together in tidy, large spaces. They are perhaps better compared as uneven entities, with sometimes uncomfortable alignments, held in a precarious balance, rather than a neat set of 'Russian doll' type arrangement, with each doll neatly nested inside a larger one. Additionally there is the problem of introducing yet another structure in a complicated landscape and one that may not yet have sufficient

people skilled enough to deliver what is required of it. This may lead to the processes of the police being more difficult to track both politically and analytically.

Concluding thoughts

Despite the potential problems and concerns discussed with the idea of devolved policing to the Welsh Government, devolving policing powers to Wales could bring a range of benefits. Firstly, given the predisposition of local authorities, police forces and the Welsh Government, there is potential for improved communication and closer partnership working. Secondly, whilst reform of public services in related areas of community safety is not dependent on transfer of policing powers, the latter could act as a catalyst to their reform. Redesigning service delivery could, in turn, serve to make Wales' police forces more effective and efficient than at present. Thirdly, with powers devolved, Welsh Government Ministers would need to become fully informed about policing matters. In combination with their working more closely with Chief Constables, this should lead to clearer lines of accountability, both between police forces and the Welsh Government, and between these bodies and the Welsh public.

However, while benefits arising from proximity are evident, there could be pitfalls, such as the potential for politicisation of policing matters. This risk has been underlined by the new system of Police and Crime Commissioners, but could possibly be even greater where working relationships were particularly close.

The most significant practical consideration in the debate on devolution of policing is the financial effect of transfer of powers. There are two elements to this. Firstly, resources would need to be sufficient to ensure at least as good a standard of delivery as under the existing settlement. Over one third of funding for policing comes from the Home Office. Should powers be transferred, not only would associated monies need to be transferred in full, but the need for additional resources to establish structures to replace those at the UK level would have to be accounted for.

Secondly, problems may exist with the possibility that funding of existing priority areas – notably health and education – could be prioritised at the expense of funding the police service, to the detriment of public safety.

New agreements on the operation of mutual aid would need to be reached. Clarity would be needed on how cross-border operations would be arranged and funded. This is equally true of the way that Welsh police forces would continue to interact with UK-level organisations such as the National Crime Agency and its constituent commands, and satisfy the Strategic Policing Requirements.

Devolution of policing could ultimately entail the establishment of a police training institution in Wales, possibly under the umbrella of the newly established College of Policing. Much senior and specialist officer training is currently undertaken in England, with attendant implications for officers' understanding of the contextual differences between England and Wales.

However, although Scotland has its own police college, senior officers from Scottish forces are also trained in England. Improved training capacity in Wales need not therefore imply separate provision of all aspects of police training. What must be better understood is the likely impact of transferring powers on cross-border knowledge sharing and recruitment, particularly of senior officers.

Devolution of policing would involve significant enhancement of civil service capacity. In Scotland, development of skills in this field has occurred over the course of decades. In the event of the transfer of powers Wales might not necessarily be able to rely on on-going expert advice from London-based civil servants.

It is clear that the devolution of policing powers to the Welsh government would be a complex and sometimes difficult process, involving significant resources. Whilst the debate in Wales continues, it may be the case that a close study should be made of the recent changes to policing in Scotland. Despite the history of devolution in Scotland being different to that of Wales, the structure for accountability and governance of the new national force for Scotland may provide a basis for a framework for any future arrangements in Wales and help inform any serious discussions and debate around the devolvement of policing powers to the Welsh government.

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2. Contributions should be between 4-8 single-sided A4 pages (including references) using single spacing and 12 point font.
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4. When an acronym is first mentioned, it should be written in full with the acronym in brackets immediately following. The acronym is to be used thereafter. Uncommon abbreviations should be explained in full. Full stops should not be used in abbreviations or acronyms, eg NSW.
5. Use single quotation marks to introduce a word or phrase used as an ironic comment, as slang, or which has been coined. Use quotation marks the first time the word or phrase is used; do not use them again. Do not use quotation marks to introduce a technical or key term. Instead, italicise the term.
6. Tables to be created in the document (do not paste in as a picture from another application).
7. Charts to be created in Excel using placement instructions in the Word document, ie 'Insert Fig X here'. Charts are to be formatted as follows: Arial 10pt, no chart title, standard black for text and chart axes, no background colour and the legend placed at the bottom of the chart. Separate Excel files must also be provided so that the charts can be reformatted if necessary.
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Online Investigation: Using the Internet for Investigative Policing Practice

Steve Elers

Introduction

Digital technology continues to advance with devices such as smart phones, tablet devices and personal computers containing a growing number of features and applications that facilitate both interpersonal and mass communication. The internet has become an important part of global culture in the 21st century (Witkowski, 2002) and provides additional options for how messages are generated and received (Day, 2013). This rapid development of technology has impacted upon how law enforcement agencies collate digital evidence (Nelson, Phillips & Steuart, 2010). The training of police officers in the use of digital and online investigative techniques appears to be restricted to police officers in specialised units. The purpose of this paper is to present some examples of basic online investigative tools which utilise freely available methods that are accessible to anyone with an internet connection. The methods that are discussed below may assist police officers with their investigations. This paper is an introductory guide and serves as an *approach* as opposed to a rule book or manual. By understanding an *approach* to online tools, it becomes easier to extrapolate suitable methods of inquiry when required. This paper does not cover techniques which gain unauthorised access to data in a system or any other activities that would require a court order or warrant to execute. Further, it is important to note that the process or procedures in gathering digital evidence has a direct influence on the outcome of an investigation (Yusoff, Ismail & Hassan, 2011). Therefore it is recommended that the methods explained in this paper are rigorously documented if used in an investigation and that advice from specialists is sought during all stages of the investigation.

Digital Images

The cliché of “a picture is worth a thousand words” is certainly applicable to a criminal investigation. Digital imaging has surpassed traditional photography due to the increase in ownership of mobile phones, digital cameras and other digital devices which feature image capturing capabilities. One advantage of digital imaging for an investigator is the

exchangeable image file format (EXIF) data which is automatically embedded in digital images by most mobile phones, digital cameras and other digital devices. EXIF is a type of metadata (Nelson et al., 2010) which can determine what make, model and type of camera was used, but more importantly it can ascertain the location, date and time of where and when the image was taken. In some instances it is merely a matter of viewing the properties of the image to determine the make, model and other information.

To establish the location of where a digital image was taken, there are multiple free EXIF readers/viewers online which will detail the metadata including the global position system (GPS) coordinates. The GPS coordinates can be entered into digital mapping applications such as Google Maps which will pinpoint the approximate location of where the digital image was taken. Some EXIF readers will simultaneously display a map of the approximate location as it presents the metadata. This tool can be useful when attempting to ascertain locations of interest. While this method has its advantages, the predominant social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter remove EXIF data from digital images.

Further, if the digital image has been altered or enhanced by software or applications such as Photoshop then the EXIF data is often removed. The EXIF data can also be manipulated to give false metadata. Despite the possibilities of EXIF data being removed or altered, digital images that are captured directly from the device i.e. seized mobile phone or emailed directly from the device will most likely contain the EXIF data unless the device settings were changed. Thus, it is worthwhile to scan digital images with an EXIF reader/viewer. The entire process takes only a few seconds.

Another digital image tool that can assist an investigation is Google images. This is located at www.google.com/images Click on the camera icon in the search bar then click on “Upload an image”. This tool will compare your digital image with others on the web. If the exact image is online, Google may be able to locate it. It can be used in cases of identity fraud whereby an individual uses a random photograph of an unrelated person

sourced online. Digital images of individuals are often used to lure unsuspecting targets in dating scams or the infamous “Nigerian scams”. The website www.tineye.com also does the same task. A website called www.facesaerch.com (purposely spelt incorrectly) searches the internet for facial images. This functions similarly to a standard Google image search, albeit for faces.

Websites

To determine the owner (registrant) of a particular website and to ascertain his/her contact details, a quick search of the WHOIS database directory of domain names will most likely provide the information. The Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) requires registries and registrars to “collect and display technical information and contact details for all registrants” (Burshtein, 2005, p. 77). There are various entry points on the internet to access a WHOIS database directory to query domain registrant details; an easy to remember website is: www.who.is This site enables a search to be conducted using only a website domain (name). A search will return the registrant’s name, address, phone number and email address. Some registrars offer a service to anonymise details by providing their own details instead of the actual registrant which will result in the required information not being available.

Another worthwhile online instrument for websites is the Internet Archive’s Wayback Machine <https://archive.org/web/> This is essentially a repository of webpages that have been archived since as far back as 1996 (AlNoamany, Weigle & Nelson, 2013).

A search engine technology called Alexa Crawl scans the worldwide web and periodically takes snapshots of websites which are then permanently archived (Howell, 2006). By visiting the Internet Archive’s Wayback Machine, a website can be viewed in previous versions despite whether or not the website has been updated or removed completely by the owner.

This tool will prove to be a goldmine for sociologists, anthropologists and political analysts in years to come (Denev, 2012).

For investigators, the archived repository can be of assistance when online content has been removed or modified (Howell, 2006), or the website no longer exists. According to Andersen (2013), data captures from the Internet Archive’s Wayback Machine have been used in federal court cases in the United States. The Internet Archive’s Wayback Machine may not necessarily capture historical records of all websites, particularly if the website owner has utilised technology to prevent web crawling (Andersen, 2013). Google also permits viewing of cached pages but has limitations such as not being able to view multiple captures of the one page.

The website www.copyscape.com scans the internet for plagiarised web content. This interface allows a user to simply enter a webpage address, and results will appear of other websites that have identical content. For instance, this can be used to track the viral nature of certain information that is relevant to an inquiry, or merely establishing links between two or more individuals. Like the other online tools mentioned in this paper, other alternatives exist in the worldwide web that should also be explored.

Google Commands for Data Mining

From personal interaction with police officers and academics (both staff and students) I have noticed that many do not know how to drive Google correctly in order to find the relevant information that is hidden among the plethora of online data. Police investigators and academic researchers have similar goals, to systematically collect and interpret information in order to gain understanding. Google commands, or Google operators, use advanced search methods which enable a user to refine a search “by limiting the index by web location, content type, and various search metadata” (Spencer, 2011, p. 7).

Google commands are essentially a method of inputting search queries with advanced functions in order to locate the most relevant information. Google, like Yahoo, is a searchable database of websites and other online content which are obtained from a type of software called web crawlers or spiders that methodically scan the worldwide web by following links from one page to another (Taylor, 2010). Table 1 demonstrates three Google commands.

The use of Google commands for an investigation requires innovative thinking dependent upon the information you are attempting to locate. Hackers have used

Google Command	Function
site:	The site: command instructs Google to search specific websites/ domain names/domain extensions. For example: site:nz Results only from .nz websites (New Zealand) site:au Results only from .au websites (Australia) site:police.wa.gov.au Results only from the WA Police website. site:nzherald.co.nz Results only from the NZ Herald news site. IMPORTANT – There is no space between site: and the domain. Each country has their own domain extensions i.e. .nz, .au etc. For a full list enter “country domain extensions” into Google.
filetype:	The filetype: command instructs Google to return results with a specified file format. For example: filetype:pdf Results only in PDF format. filetype:doc Results only in Microsoft Word format. filetype:xls Results only in Excel spreadsheets. filetype:ppt Results only in PowerPoint. IMPORTANT – There is no dot or space between filetype: and the format abbreviation.
link:	The link: command instructs Google to return website pages that link to a specific website. For example: link:police.wa.gov.au Returns websites that have linked to the WA Police website. IMPORTANT – There is no space between link: and the domain.
For a full list of Google commands visit: http://www.searchcommands.com/google/	

Table 1

Google commands to exploit vulnerabilities on servers for a number of years (Wong, 2005). The approach or mindset of using Google commands will generate interesting results. For example, the **link:** command in conjunction with the Facebook address of a particular gang returned results of individuals and websites that had links to the gang’s Facebook site. Google commands is a very useful data mining tool but proficiency is required to maximise the search function benefits. I recommend readers undertake their own study about Google commands and become familiar with it.

Social Media

It is fast becoming a necessity for police to monitor social media communications as the information that is generated from social media networks can impact upon tactical policing decisions and provide a

plethora of intelligence for analysis. It is interesting to note that some people willingly post comments and photographs of criminal behaviour. The observation of potential out-of-control parties, social disorder, activism activities and many other concerns are valid reasons for police to be actively involved in monitoring social media. The New Zealand Police have used a paid software package called Signal which monitors social media posts (New Zealand Police, 2012). I have not had the opportunity to evaluate this software but similar monitoring technology is freely available online. Twitter searches can be conducted on <https://twitter.com/search-home> It would be advisable to take advantage of Twitter’s “operators” and “advanced search” tips which is located on the same page. The website www.socialmention.com searches not only Twitter, but also Facebook and several other social media networks in “real-time”.

To search older Twitter posts, www.topsy.com is able to search older tweets which are no longer available from the Twitter interface.

Google Alerts is a recommended tool to stay up to date with information you would like to follow.

By registering for free at www.google.com/alerts, Google will email a notification to the user whenever a keyword appears online that you have designated to track. For example, if I sign up to Google Alerts and enter "Mike's Outlaw Motorcycle Club" as an alert; whenever "Mike's Outlaw Motorcycle Club" appears on news sites, blogs, discussions and other content, Google will immediately email me with the direct links. A similar tool is www.mention.com but is limited to just one keyword or search term under their free plan.

To learn more about the use and monitoring of social media for policing, the IACP Center for Social Media website is highly recommended as it contains a corpus of resources and information about the topic for law enforcement agencies. The IACP Center for Social Media website is www.iacpsocialmedia.org

Applications for Frontline Duties

The New Zealand Police recently circulated iPhones and iPads to frontline police in order to "do their job better and faster" (New Zealand Police, 2013). The rationale behind this distribution was to allow instant remote access to the national police computer in order to conduct background checks on persons of interests, victims, vehicles and so forth. There are a number of free applications that can provide frontline police with a range of utilities at their immediate disposal. One such application is Google Translate which is available as a free download for both Apple and Android. This tool currently supports translation between 80 languages and allows the user to "speak, type, write or take a picture to translate" (Google, 2014). The Asian population is rapidly growing in

New Zealand, with almost one in every four Aucklanders being Asian (Collins, 2013). This handy application can assist to remove communication barriers between police and non-English speakers and provide frontline officers with an immediate translator on the spot. Given that there are approximately one million Android applications available for download in Google Play and a similar number in Apple's App Store (Elgazzar, Ejaz & Hassanein, 2013), there should be an abundance of relevant applications that are useful for policing. I encourage frontline officers to spend some time to familiarise themselves with such applications.

Conclusion

This paper has presented some basic online investigative tools that may assist police in the function of their duties. The examples that were presented are just a small representation of the many free online tools that are available in the growing internet technology sphere. As technology is constantly improving, some of these tools may become obsolete. Thus, it is important to maintain an active interest and maintain skills in this area. I recommend that police organisations incorporate training in online technology for investigation purposes to all police officers from recruits to existing staff. It should be mandatory for all police officers attached to an inquiry or investigation unit to receive training in this area in order to further enhance their investigative skills.

About the Author

Steve Elers is a Vice-Chancellor's Doctoral Scholarship recipient at the Auckland University of Technology where he is undertaking a PhD in communication studies. A former police officer (Western Australia Police), he has a master degree in public relations.

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Social Media and Police Leadership: Lessons From Boston

Edward F. Davis III, Alejandro A. Alves and David Alan Sklansky

Executive Session on Policing and Public Safety

This is one in a series of papers that will be published as a result of the Executive Session on Policing and Public Safety.

Harvard's Executive Sessions are a convening of individuals of independent standing who take joint responsibility for rethinking and improving society's responses to an issue. Members are selected based on their experiences, their reputation for thoughtfulness and their potential for helping to disseminate the work of the Session.

In the early 1980s, an Executive Session on Policing helped resolve many law enforcement issues of the day. It produced a number of papers and concepts that revolutionized policing. Thirty years later, law enforcement has changed and NIJ and Harvard's Kennedy School of Government are again collaborating to help resolve law enforcement issues of the day.

Learn more about the Executive Session on Policing and Public Safety at:

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Introduction

The Boston Police Department (BPD) has long embraced both community policing and the use of social media. The department put its experience to good and highly visible use in April 2013 during the dramatic, rapidly developing investigation that followed the deadly explosion of two bombs at the finish line of the Boston Marathon. BPD successfully used Twitter to keep the public informed about the status of the investigation, to calm nerves and request assistance, to correct mistaken information reported by the press, and to ask for public restraint in the tweeting of information from police scanners. This demonstrated the level of trust and interaction that a department and a community can attain online. In the aftermath of the investigation, BPD was "applauded for leading an honest conversation with the public during a time of crisis in a way that no police department has done before."¹

In critical ways, BPD's successful use of social media during the marathon bombing investigation relied on previous trust building by the department — including a longstanding, if more mundane, use of social media.² This paper discusses the lessons to be learned from BPD's use of social media during the marathon bombing investigation and earlier. However, it is not strictly or even primarily a case study.

It is an effort to contribute to a broader, ongoing discussion about police and social media. It is a reflection, in light of Boston's experience, on the opportunities and challenges that social media present to the police and on the ways in which social media can help develop new models of policing that are adapted to our 21st-century world but rooted in traditions of community engagement stretching back through the community policing movement to Robert Peel's 19th-century goals for a modern constabulary.

Police can learn some tips and tricks about social media from the corporate sector because businesses have already encountered some of the same challenges in this new environment that police departments are now facing. However, police departments are not corporations, businesses nor even run-of-the-mill government agencies; they have unique powers, unique responsibilities and a unique relationship to the public. Police need their own models, their own best practices, and their own discussions and philosophies about how to incorporate social media to achieve their distinct purposes.

This is especially true because the police may have distinct and natural advantages in this area, and the imperatives of social media coincide in important respects with the perennial imperatives of law enforcement. Social media are a means of communication and conversation, which have always been at the center of policing.³

Social media also draw upon communities and can help to build them; using social media is thus a way for police departments to take community policing into the networked age of Web 2.0.⁴ The promise of social media for policing is not to transform or add to the work of law enforcement but to emphasize the deep connection with the community that has always been the focus of good police work. Among the central tenets recognized by social media practitioners is that "to speak with a human voice, companies must share the concerns of their communities... but first, they must belong to a community."⁵

That is a familiar, even foundational idea in law enforcement; it echoes Peel's enduring principle that "the police are the public and the public are the police." More than 2,800⁶ law enforcement agencies in the U.S. have social media accounts, and that number is growing every day.⁷ This paper focuses more on social media as a tool for engaging with the community than on the use of social media as an investigative tool, a practice that raises distinct issues pertaining to privacy and the risk of damaging public trust.⁸ The two topics overlap, though, partly because an engaged community is itself an invaluable asset in an investigation and partly because the clumsy or irresponsible use of social media as an investigative tool can do immense damage to the public's trust in and willingness to engage with the police.

Social Media and the Marathon Bombing

At 2:49 p.m. on April 15, 2013 — Patriot's Day, a public holiday in Massachusetts — two devices detonated in quick succession near the finish line of the Boston Marathon, causing three deaths and approximately 280 injuries. The bombings set off a weeklong series of events that gripped not only Boston but also the nation. The week's social media milestones are cataloged here and are referenced in a discussion of lessons learned later in this paper.

Immediate Response

Boston police officers at the scene realized quickly that social media would play an important role in keeping the public informed about the explosions and their aftermath. En route to the scene of the bombing, police commissioner Davis instructed the Media Relations Office to prepare to use all forms of social media and to push accurate and complete information to the public. About 10 minutes after the detonations, a BPD commander on the scene called for the use of social media to communicate to the public the steps the police were taking: “I need somebody up there to get on social media and let people know what we’re doing here.”⁹ Within an hour of the detonations, BPD sent a tweet confirming what had occurred: “Boston Police confirming explosion at marathon finish line with injuries.”¹⁰

In the ensuing hours, BPD used its official Twitter account to request public assistance;¹¹ to keep the public and the media informed about road closures, news conferences, and police activities;¹² to reassure the public and express sympathy to the victims and their families;¹³ and, crucially, within two hours of the explosions, to give the public accurate information about the casualty toll and the status of the investigation.¹⁴ BPD promptly alerted the media and the public that there had also been an incident at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library; it sent another tweet half an hour later indicating that this incident appeared to be fire-related rather than a bombing.¹⁵ (By the next day, fire department investigators concluded that the fire had been caused unintentionally by “careless disposal of smoking material.”¹⁶) When the FBI took control of the marathon bombing investigation on the evening of April 16, BPD sent a tweet noting that fact¹⁷ but continued to keep the public informed via its Twitter feed and to correct erroneous reports sent by others. Shortly after sending the tweet about the FBI, BPD tweeted that three people had died from the blasts (correcting inflated fatality reports by some media sources) and that no suspect was in custody (in response to media speculation that a Saudi Arabian man had been arrested).¹⁸

All of the BPD tweets about the bombings on April 15 were sent on the department’s official Twitter account, which was directly overseen by BPD’s public information bureau chief, lawyer and former television journalist Cheryl Fiandaca.¹⁹ Assisted by two sworn officers and three civilians, Fiandaca operated @bostonpolice as a 24-hour “digital hub” for information about the investigation over the next several days.²⁰ She and her staff were briefed by commanders three to five times per day during this period.²¹ BPD tweets rapidly became the most trusted source of information about the status of the investigation and were often retweeted hundreds, thousands or tens of thousands of times.²²

The day after the bombings, other BPD personnel also used Twitter to communicate with the public. One of the most active Tweet from the Beat accounts (by BPD deputy superintendent John Daley) posted information about street closures and took questions from other users about whether the police needed volunteers to answer phones, whether flowers could be placed at the site of the bombings, and how to submit pictures and videos as evidence.

False Leads and Real Leads

In the days following the bombing, most of BPD’s social media activity occurred through its official accounts (overseen by Fiandaca and her staff). One of the most important uses was correcting the misinformation that was spread through both professional media and social networks.

Early in the afternoon on April 17, CNN reported that an arrest had been made in the case.²³ Within minutes, other media outlets echoed that report. Tweets by CNN and the Associated Press containing this report were retweeted more than 5,000 times.²⁴ BPD responded promptly, also through Twitter, that no arrest had been made.²⁵ CNN retracted its report almost immediately, and the BPD tweet was amplified by nearly 11,000 retweets.²⁶

The following day, after photographs and videos of the scene were rapidly circulated through social media, public networks began speculating based on those images. On April 18, possibly fueled by social media discussion and image sharing, the *New York Post* ran its “Bag Men” cover, which identified Salah Barhoum as a suspect in the case. This report was corrected later that afternoon, when the FBI released surveillance camera footage of the two individuals whom law enforcement actually considered to be suspects in the case.

The FBI made its announcement in a formal press conference; minutes later, BPD again turned to social media, releasing a series of tweets containing videos and pictures of the two suspects. These posts were retweeted thousands of times each — far more than the department’s earlier, more open-ended requests for assistance.

The Public’s Own Investigation

As information was being released online, both through official and unofficial channels, the social media audience was conducting its own “investigation” in parallel with law enforcement efforts.

As early as April 17 (and likely much earlier), online forums such as Reddit began independent efforts to identify the bombers, even before the FBI had singled out any images of potential suspects. These efforts were met with mixed reactions. At least one notable online news source was skeptical of the effort, and commenters worried about the possibility of racism and false information being perpetuated by Reddit users.²⁷

Reddit users ramped up their efforts after official images of unnamed suspects were released. This led to the false identification of Sunil Tripathi, whose name first surfaced on Reddit sometime on the evening of April 18 for reasons that remain unclear. The rumor that Tripathi, a college student who had been missing for about a month at that time, was suspect #2 gained energy overnight.²⁸ The information was widely retweeted (including by staff and reporters at CBS, Politico and BuzzFeed and by the “hacker collective” Anonymous, whose 3 a.m. tweet on April 19 sent the name to more than one million followers).²⁹ The theory about Tripathi was refuted later the same morning, first by television news reports clarifying that he was not a suspect and later when BPD released the names of the true suspects.

Identifying and Pursuing the True Suspects At 4:02 a.m. on April 19, the BPD commissioner sent a tweet on his own Twitter account, which is distinct from the department’s account, noting that one of the two suspects had been killed and that the second was at large and dangerous.³⁰ Ninety minutes later, at 5:34 a.m., the commissioner tweeted again to share a picture of the surviving suspect. At 8:24 a.m., BPD tweeted the suspect’s name: Dzhokhar Tsarnaev. As the manhunt continued, and with hundreds of thousands of individuals listening to scanner feeds online, BPD asked the media (via Twitter) not to “compromise officer safety/tactics by broadcasting live video of officers while approaching search locations.”³¹ By the time the second suspect was captured on the evening of April 19, BPD’s Twitter account had more than 300,000 followers, up from about 40,000 prior to the week’s events. The official tweet reporting the suspect’s capture was retweeted more than 140,000 times. In the aftermath of the investigation, BPD was “applauded for leading an honest conversation with the public during a time of crisis in a way that no police department has done before.”³²

A Presence on Multiple Platforms

Although Twitter updates were more rapid and seemingly captured more attention, the department also leveraged its already popular Facebook page to publish information and establish a connection with the public.

Throughout the week, the official page published images of the suspects, license plate information to support a BOLO (“Be On The Lookout”), a map of the cordoned-off area in the immediate aftermath, maps directing the media to conferences and approved parking areas, and updates about public transit service interruptions related to the investigation. In the days that followed, BPD also used its Facebook page to memorialize the deceased victims and to send messages of condolence and support to survivors.

Early postings of the suspects’ images were shared more than 6,500 times. The posting that garnered the most interaction (more than 35,000 “likes”) was a message from media officer James Kenneally returning thanks to members of the public who had sent in encouraging and supportive correspondence: “We hear you. We thank you. God Bless you all.”³³

Tweets From the Beat

In late 2011, BPD began its Tweet from the Beat program to connect officers directly with the department’s social media audience. BPD had operated a Twitter account under the @bostonpolice handle since 2009; all tweets were sent by designated personnel in the Media Relations Office and Operations. The Tweet from the Beat program uses the GroupTweet application and allows authorized members of the command staff to post directly from their personal Twitter accounts to the BPD official Twitter account by using the #TweetfromtheBeat hashtag.³⁴

The program was developed as an extension of BPD’s community policing activities. Members of the command staff (deputy police superintendent and above) set up individual Twitter accounts and were encouraged to post using the #TweetfromtheBeat hashtag during their walking beats or in regard to other positive interactions with the community.

Whereas BPD’s social media accounts had primarily been used to broadcast more traditional police communications (crime alerts, arrests, officer commendations and safety tips), the Tweet from the Beat program allows command staff to show a more personal presence within the city of Boston. Even when posted to the @bostonpolice feed, the GroupTweet application identifies the author of the message so that subscribers to the official BPD feed still know which officer shared the message. It also allows command staff to publicize positive interactions with the community that are important but would not be picked up by traditional news outlets.

The subjects of #TweetfromtheBeat messages range from formal community meetings and events to humorous pictures and personal encouragement.³⁵ Twitter messages are sometimes used to direct people to Facebook, YouTube or the BPD website, where more information is available. Likewise, some Facebook and YouTube postings encourage citizens to connect with the BPD Twitter account. Despite the range of topics, command staff have used the program judiciously, using their personal accounts for replies that are of less general interest.³⁶ Although #TweetfromtheBeat messages have received fewer retweets, favorites and replies than other items within BPD’s Twitter feed, they are still (at least in theory) reaching the same broad audience. Moreover, the tweeted photo or message demonstrates the officer’s active interest in the community, in the true spirit of community policing.

Characteristics of Social Media

What lessons can be drawn from BPD’s use of social media both before and during the marathon bombing investigation? Perhaps the most important lesson concerns the implications of new communication technologies for the traditional goals and concerns of the police.

Law enforcement should not be defined by the tools it uses but rather by the values it embraces and seeks to promote. New tools, such as social media, should be applied in ways that further the longstanding mission of the police and that incorporate the lessons learned in the late 20th century about the importance of partnering with the community. In other words, while the use of social media creates new capabilities and possibilities for the police, law enforcement agencies should make sure they are shaping the tools rather than the other way around. Effective use means respecting the characteristics of social media but using them in ways that are adapted to the traditions and goals of community policing.

At the same time, incorporating social media into the police mission is not simply about extending current thinking with a new tool. In some ways, social media are indeed platforms for communication, to be used in ways that best suit policing. However, social media have their own logic, norms and culture, and the police need to understand and respect the nature of social media if they are to use them effectively.

Fortunately, some of the most important characteristics of social media are entirely compatible with the best traditions of policing. In fact, the new networking capabilities provided by social media allow the police to rethink how they communicate with the public. The essential characteristics of social media offer possibilities for law enforcement agencies to return to and deepen their commitment to the ideas at the heart of community policing — rethinking what the police want to get across to the community, how the police should listen to the community, and how the police and the community can work together in pursuit of their common objectives.

Social media have three sets of characteristics with important implications for law enforcement: scope, structure and tone. The scope of social media is staggering and is continually growing. In 2010, almost half of all adults in the United States were using social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, MySpace and LinkedIn. At that time, 59 percent of all Americans who used the Internet were using social media.³⁷ By 2012, 67 percent of Internet users were using social media.³⁸ From 2011 to 2012, the amount of time Americans spent on social media increased by 37 percent, from 88.4 billion minutes to 121.1 billion minutes.³⁹

This is not simply a matter of how Americans spend their leisure time: more than half of all people ages 25 to 34 are now using social media at work.⁴⁰ Nor is it only about youth: although younger Americans still tend to be the most active online, social media sites are no longer gathering places for teenagers and young adults exclusively. The average age of social media users is gradually increasing, and the age profile of social media users now aligns more closely with the general population.⁴¹ In 2012, for the first time, more than half of Americans older than 65 were regular users of the Internet.⁴²

Equally important is the **structure** of social media. Social media are essentially networks in which each user can serve both as a recipient and a source of information. This means that social media can give the police an opportunity to have a two-way conversation with the community. More than that, it means that when the police use social media, they join — for better or worse — an ongoing, multidirectional conversation that can have hundreds or thousands of participants at any given time. When police converse with an individual online, many other members of the public can see that interaction. If the interaction is positive, observers benefit from the information transmitted, and police also can benefit from increased awareness of their services and from the public’s recognition of their willingness to engage in conversation. Moreover, the networked nature of social media means that information can be transmitted, and updated, very rapidly.

The conversation that takes place on social media also tends to have a distinctive **tone**: informal, conversational, sometimes humorous and quite distinct from traditional press releases or marketing messages. Corporate messaging on social media fails when it neglects to conform to that tone.

Traditional advertising and public relations often fall flat on social media, precisely because they are “not funny ... not interesting ... [and] only wants us to buy.”⁴³ Police departments, with their ingrained, bureaucratic approach to public relations, can easily make a similar mistake when attempting to use social media. On the other hand, police departments — particularly line officers — have a lot of practice talking with the public directly and informally, and the community policing movement did much to refocus attention on the importance of this kind of communication. Therefore, the tone of social media may come more naturally to the police than to corporations.

Because of their distinctive characteristics, social media provide the police with two different opportunities — the **power of publication** and the **power of conversation** — and certain distinct and natural advantages within each of these opportunities. The first is more obvious and is easier to pursue, but ultimately the second is more important and more potentially rewarding. In addition to these opportunities, the special characteristics of social media also present some special challenges for the police. These challenges will be discussed later in this paper.

The Power of Publication

The scope and speed of social media make them a highly attractive way for police departments to get information to the public. This is the power of publication. It is the opportunity to expand communication beyond the traditional press release model and to send a message without using the press as an intermediary. Using social media, the police can deliver information in a nonsensational and expedited way.

This can include information not traditionally reported by commercial news operations. BPD, like many police departments, was long frustrated by the failure of traditional media to report on the day-to-day work of the police outside of the spotlight: identifying problems, crafting solutions and responding to calls for assistance. Social media provide a way for the police to pass along information directly to the public. The Tweet from the Beat program has allowed BPD to inform citizens in a direct way about the day-to-day activities of its officers. The marathon bombing investigation highlighted a different, but equally important, way that police using social media can take advantage of the power of publication. Social media can help the police ensure that the public has accurate, timely and balanced information about highvisibility criminal investigations. Years ago, moving a public statement on a major incident such as a homicide was significantly timeintensive, requiring interoffice memos as well as the writing and screening of statements. It took time not only to approve the statement to ensure uniformity and strength in messaging, but also to deal with the logistics of getting the information distributed to and published by reporters. Today this process can be abbreviated: The use of social media allows the police to push information to the public directly and instantaneously.

Coordination still takes place, but electronic communication allows even that process to be much faster. During the pursuit of the marathon bombing suspects, BPD and the Massachusetts State Police were able to coordinate very quickly to release updated images of one of the suspects. The BPD commissioner was able, with three clicks of a mouse, to distribute to the public the same image that the State Police sent on its own social media accounts. This happened without a formal press statement or scheduled press conference. Embracing this opportunity to broadcast widely and instantaneously requires a significant cultural shift for many law enforcement agencies. In many ways, law enforcement communications in recent times have been characterized by efforts to control rather than distribute information. However, any hesitation to be more open and prompt in releasing information should be tempered by the fact that police information will be broadcast rapidly on public media regardless of whether the police choose to do the broadcasting themselves.

Every major newspaper and television or radio news department now has social media accounts, and — as the marathon bombing investigation highlighted — many users of social media post information they obtain from police scanners, observe at a scene or fabricate themselves. If the police do not use social media, they risk having information about their activities distorted, sensationalized or circulated irresponsibly.

The social media audience will not patiently wait for information to be released through official channels. If the police are not on social media, someone else will shape the way that information from the police is presented on social media. On the other hand, if police do provide information through social media — and if they have worked to maintain the community’s trust — the police can play a powerful role in shaping the story. In Boston, long before the marathon bombings, the department found that when it issued press releases on Twitter and Facebook, reports by local newspapers and commercial broadcasters relied heavily on those releases, both for content and for tone.

One of the lessons of the marathon bombing investigation is that a police department that has worked to earn the public’s trust can use social media to disseminate information directly to the public without the traditional intermediary of commercial news operations. This is the power of publishing: the ability of the police, with reasonable effort, to be the source for accurate, timely information that seizes the public’s attention and contributes to public awareness and understanding in critical ways.

Advantages of publication. In employing social media for the power of publication, police have two notable advantages over traditional media channels. The first advantage is that police control much of the information in which the public is most interested. The American public is turning more and more to social media for their news.

For people younger than 40, the Internet is often the main source of information.⁴⁴ More importantly, the nature of the information people are interested in overlaps significantly with areas in which police are routinely involved. Breaking news, crime, community events and traffic information are among the local news topics that most interest the public.⁴⁵ Police, by virtue of their day-to-day activities and responsibilities, have much of this information, and at a level of detail and understanding much greater than the commercial media.

This is particularly true because of the geography of police work. Patrol officers, detectives and neighborhood liaison officers often spend their time in troubled parts of the community: places that many members of the public are greatly interested in but rarely, if ever, enter. In this respect, as in others, the normal, day-to-day operations of the police put them in a position to provide nuanced, ground-level information on subjects of great public interest.

The second advantage to police flows naturally from the first: Police have more time to process and publish information on social media without losing the public’s attention. That is, police do not need to be the first to “break” a story in order to capture the most attention.

Speed can be important when releasing information on social media. In the absence of information from a reliable source, inaccurate or misleading information can circulate rapidly on social media. However, because the police department is the source of information, it maintains an advantage in reliability and trust — assuming, again, it has worked over the years to maintain the community’s trust. Commercial media outlets, under pressure for ratings, often move extremely rapidly in an effort to be the first to break a story. A police department that has earned the public’s confidence must still move swiftly with information, but is afforded a reasonable amount of time to shape and verify information before releasing it and will still have the upper hand in shaping the story.

During the marathon bombing investigation, traditional news media, facing intense competitive pressures, made significant errors.⁴⁶ Using social media, the police were able to correct the mistaken reports quickly and convincingly. CNN erroneously tweeted that an arrest had been made early in the investigation, and that report saw about 1,400 retweets. About 20 minutes later, a police tweet with accurate information — “there has not been an arrest” — had nearly 11,000 retweets in a matter of minutes.

Later, when an arrest was actually made, commercial news outlets again took to Twitter with the report. A local news network in New England had about 150 retweets of the message. CNN’s tweet of the same information had about 2,000 retweets. The impact of those reports seems minuscule compared to the 140,000 retweets of BPD’s original posting.⁴⁷ By the time the surviving suspect was arrested, it was clear that the public was listening much more intently to police accounts than to the commercial news media, regardless of who broke the story first.

The Power of Conversation

Publishing can be extremely powerful, but it only works in one direction. Social media work in two, three, or a thousand directions at once. The power of publication is only part of what social media can do for policing — and it is the lesser part. The more important part is the power of conversation. Social media are about conversation, and the social media audience is sensitive to any interactions that do not feel genuine.

When BPD began using Twitter, it saw social media as a way to send out press releases so that the public received the information at the same time as news organizations. In other words, BPD saw Twitter simply in terms of the power of publication — a means for broadcasting information widely and rapidly.

However, the department quickly learned that social media are networked forms of communication. Members of the public react to the information they receive, provide rapid feedback, and add their own thoughts and impressions to messages available to others. The dissemination of information in this way is distinct from simply broadcasting.

Social media’s potential benefits to policing go far beyond the ability to notify and to broadcast. Social media allow police to engage in open dialogue with the communities they serve in an instantaneous, networked manner. Social media also allow departments to build relationships with the public that provide benefits — not only in a crisis such as the marathon bombings but also in the day-to-day work of fighting crime, reducing fear and improving the quality of life.

Social media should not be used primarily as an exercise in public relations but as an extension of community policing. They can enhance and build on community policing principles, allowing police to reach and engage people who do not attend community meetings or other traditional venues through which police have sought to listen to and partner with the community. They can allow police to interact with citizens much more rapidly than was previously possible, and they can offer both police officers and citizens the opportunity to join in ongoing conversations not limited by physical location.

One of the key lessons of community policing is that effective partnership with the community requires the police not only to talk but also to listen, and social media offer the police such a platform. During the Occupy protests, for example, BPD used social media to monitor and engage with protesters so police could gauge the crowd’s intent and adjust tactics in real time. More importantly, police officers were able to engage in dialogue with the protesters. Social media allowed officers to address protesters in a direct and personal way that would be impossible through news media. They allowed police

to communicate with the public about their intentions and to assure protesters that police would seek to relocate the protest rather than end it. Social media also allowed the police to listen, and to be *seen* as listening, to the concerns of protesters and the public throughout the process.

Advantages of conversation. In this area, police enjoy certain natural advantages. As with publication, making full use of these advantages may require shifts in police culture, but these shifts may also be seen as a return to fundamental principles rather than the adoption of new norms.

The first natural advantage, one that is not yet fully realized, is that police can adopt a much more genuine tone of engagement. As noted earlier, social media public relations efforts can easily fall flat if they do not sound genuine or sincere. This is a significant challenge for corporate marketing. Efforts of that nature must, by definition, have an agenda that goes beyond sincere relationship building — the goal is to sell a product. The underlying motive of profit is everpresent, always preventing genuine conversation.

Police, on the other hand, “don’t have to sound like [they] are trying to sell me something, because unlike so many other entities on social media today, [they] actually aren’t.”⁴⁸ Policing is (or should be) rooted in public service. The end is not about securing revenue but rather providing a service to society, although often the police seek to provide that service in part through influencing public behavior. This creates the opportunity for dialogue that is more about sincerity than about marketing spin.

This is, however, an opportunity that may be overlooked by parts of law enforcement today. Sincere relationship building is a foundation of community policing. Yet many law enforcement agencies have adopted a culture of silence and have overly guarded information, which forces an unnaturally bureaucratic tone to communications through any media. Police leaders at times recognize that this is not best suited to true community partnership. Hence the important advantage in building genuine engagement.

A corporate entity that tries to take on a genuine, human tone finds itself out of its element. A police department that does the same may find it is, in fact, shedding a burden that conflicts with the foundations of the profession. Law enforcement leaders should recognize this opportunity to lower some of the walls that inhibit genuine dialogue.

The second advantage, once again flowing from the first, is that police departments (particularly those that already embrace the principles of community policing) may find it easier to determine what they want to gain from social media engagement and how to measure it. Even as police move into a networked age, their activities will still be derived from a basic core mission — one that already includes elements of engagement, information, communication and public cooperation. This was true even after the marathon bombings and is evidenced by how quickly the call came out from leadership at the scene to begin using social media to inform the public.⁴⁹

Learning to measure success on social media will be a major challenge and is discussed in the following section. However, police may adapt more naturally than corporate or commercial entities. Those organizations will struggle to adapt return on investment, added value measures, click-through rates and other marketing techniques that may prove ill-suited to sincere engagement. Police, on the other hand, may find metrics derived from a core mission that already includes public engagement and, with some effort, conform them to social media.

Challenges for the Police in Using Social Media

Although social media offer important opportunities to the police, taking advantage of such opportunities will also present the police with significant challenges. This section discusses one of these challenges in detail — one that arose during the marathon bombing investigation — and briefly mentions four others.

Monitoring and Managing Public Information

Because of the networked nature of social media, any information the police release through this means can quickly be reshaped or put to new uses by anyone participating in the network. This is the flipside of the ability that social media give the police to speak directly to the public. Social media can operate like an amplified, multidirectional version of the old game of “telephone” to produce distorted information, a fact that police must keep in mind. The misidentification of Sunil Tripathi as a suspect in the marathon bombing illustrated this danger.⁵⁰

This presents an interesting dilemma — both a hazard to be aware of when releasing information and a powerful and untapped opportunity. The hazard comes in the form of information being misused and distorted through public sleuthing. The opportunity lies in the potential to leverage social media to enlist public assistance in a police investigation, or indeed in any police operation. The police have long used wanted posters, public alerts and traditional news channels to get the public involved in criminal investigations — but only when and to the extent that the police thought public involvement would be helpful. Social media offer the police new and powerful ways to enlist the public’s assistance, but they are also far more challenging to manage. The police cannot shut down social media discussions of fast-moving investigations, nor should they want to do so even if they could. However, the police need to be aware of how the public may use the information they release; in appropriate cases, the police may need to intervene to correct false, misleading or irresponsible use of the information they have provided.

Tone

In many ways, the informal tone of social media is well-suited to bringing community policing into the 21st century. Using social media, police can speak with the public casually — but not unprofessionally — in a way that invites cooperative dialogue across a broad section of the community, including young adults who may not have engaged meaningfully with the police in the past. Over the years, however, many police departments have grown accustomed to bureaucratic ways of speaking, both internally and in communications with the public. Effective use of social media will require breaking those habits.

Careful use of humor can be an important and effective way to set the right tone. When BPD’s website was attacked by the “hacktivist” group Anonymous, for example, the department released a widely praised, satirical video⁵¹ on YouTube that made light of the situation — while at the same time underscoring the department’s commitment to keeping lines of communication with the community open and publicizing the many channels through which the public could access information from the department, even when the website was down.⁵² Within days, the video had been viewed more than 150,000 times.⁵³

Similarly, the Toronto Police Service was mocked on Twitter with a photograph of an unauthorized sign warning motorists about an upcoming speed trap. Instead of responding with anger or by threatening arrest, as might have been the response elsewhere,⁵⁴ the department took the matter in stride, retweeting the image and commenting “That’s a win for us. People will slow down!”⁵⁵

Internal Coordination and Control

Social media allow both individuals and organizations to contribute content. Police departments need to consider not only their use of social media as organizations but also the use of individual social media accounts maintained by line officers, supervisors and command staff.

In Boston, a trained communications manager oversaw the police department’s Twitter and Facebook activity throughout the marathon bombing investigation. To keep accurate and relevant information flowing smoothly, the Media Relations Office had great leeway in deciding what to publish as well as a high degree of access to the command teams of the agencies involved.

As part of BPD’s Tweet from the Beat program, the department’s superintendents have their own Twitter accounts. However, in the days following the marathon bombings, a deliberate decision was made to silence those accounts so that the department would be speaking with one voice. The BPD commissioner maintains his own Twitter account. This account sees less traffic than the department’s official Twitter feed; however, the public interacts more with this account than with the department’s because of its pseudopersonal nature. During the marathon bombing investigation, it was used for some of the most critical messages, including disseminating the photographs of the suspect at large.

Social media accounts maintained by line officers raise 21st-century versions of longstanding questions about maintaining the image and integrity of the police while allowing officers to have personal lives. A growing number of departments have promulgated rules regarding how officers should present themselves in social media.⁵⁶

Measuring What Matters

Social media are easily measured — maybe too easily. At the end of the day, a user has a concise tally of followers and retweets, fans and “likes,” views and subscribers, and total impressions made that day. It is simple to compare the numbers compiled by different departments.⁵⁷ It can be tempting to build a social media strategy that focuses on numbers alone and that judges its success solely in terms of these numbers.

This strategy should be avoided. If social media are seen — as they should be seen — as a way for police to extend their efforts at community policing, it should be clear that simple statistics quantifying the amount of contact with the community and crudely measuring public response can tell the police only so much. Tallies of retweets, followers, views and subscribers are measures of process, not outcomes, and one of the most important lessons of community policing is to focus on outcomes — improvements in community safety, confidence and vibrancy — not simply or even primarily on process.⁵⁸

Ultimately, the question should not be how extensively, visibly or artfully the police use social media; the question should be how effectively the police are making use of social media, and all of the other tools at their disposal, to improve the lives of the people they serve.

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Gender and Perceptions of Police: Findings from the Australian Community Capacity Study

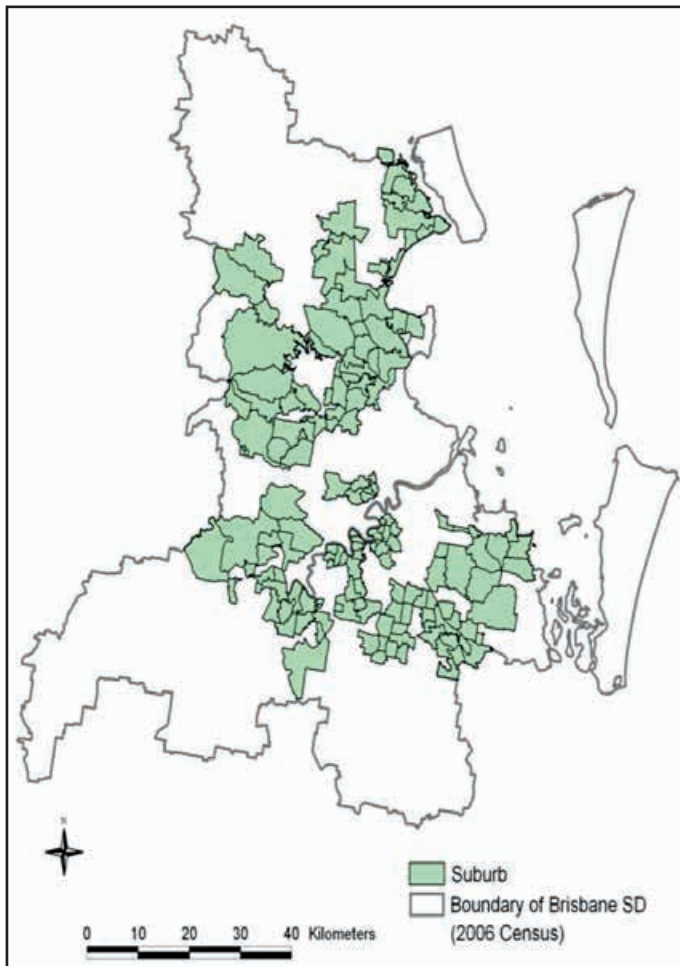
Elise Sargeant and Lorraine Mazerolle

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Introduction

The way police engage with people in the community is a topic of great interest to police, politicians and to a wide range of groups across different types of communities. One of the questions that women in policing might ask is whether or not males and females in communities think differently about police. In a unique study of policing in communities across Brisbane and Melbourne, researchers at the University of Queensland (see www.uq.edu.au/accs) are studying the dynamics of police-citizen relations. In this article, we describe the Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS) and report the results of how differently male and female citizens think about police across communities in Brisbane and Melbourne.

148 Final Suburbs – Brisbane

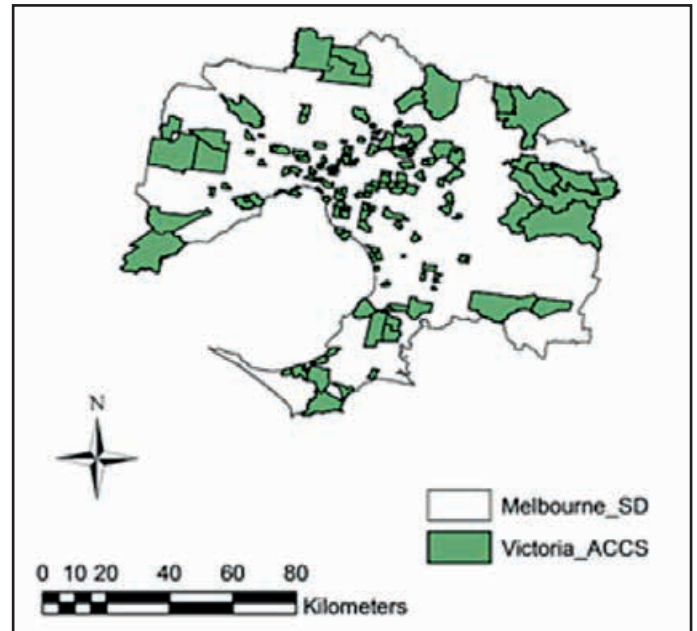


Map 1

Data and Sample

We used data collected in the Australian Community Capacity Study Wave 3, funded by the Australian Research Council. The Australian Community Capacity Study Wave 3 surveyed approximately 10,000 people living in 298 randomly selected suburbs or neighbourhoods in Brisbane and Melbourne (the capital cities of the states of Queensland and Victoria respectively), and their surrounds. The

150 Final Suburbs – Melbourne



Map 2

survey was conducted by trained interviewers using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing. The consent rate was 50.14%. This is calculated as $\frac{\text{completes}}{\text{completes} + \text{refusals}} * 100$. In addition to this primary sample, the ACCS also included a booster sample of participants from Ethnic Minority Groups in Brisbane and Melbourne (see maps 1 and 2 below). This included 328 people from Indian, Vietnamese and Arabic speaking groups.

See the Wave 3 technical report for the methodology (http://www.uq.edu.au/accs/docs/FINAL_ACCS_Technical_Report%20Wave%203%20Brisbane%20Wave%201%20Melbourne_June%202012.pdf). The ACCS included measures of perceptions of procedural justice, law legitimacy, police legitimacy, trust in police, police effectiveness and cooperation with the police.

Method

The total sample following data cleaning was N=9,346 (3,665 males and 5,681 females). To examine perceptions of police, the law across gender, we compiled mean scales of our key constructs.

Items included in each scale and Cronbach's Alpha reliability statistics are included in the Table 1 below. Items were measured on 5-point Likert scales ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5), or in the case of the police effectiveness items, from very poor job (1) to very good job (5). We computed a pairwise correlation matrix to examine the relationship between perceptions of police and the law and gender. The results are presented in Table 2.

We also graphed mean differences in scale scores across gender. See Figures 1 through 6.

Key Findings

We find that women consistently report more positive perceptions of police and the law compared to men. Mean differences show slightly higher average perceptions of police among women compared to men. We note, however, that the sample generally displays positive perceptions of police overall.

Table 1. Items and Cronbach’s Alpha reliability statistics for Key Scales

Construct	Items	Alpha
Procedural Justice	1) Police try to be fair when making decisions 2) Police treat people fairly 3) Police treat people with dignity and respect 4) Police are always polite when dealing with people 5) Police listen to people before making decisions 6) Police make decisions based upon facts, not their personal biases or opinions 7) Police respect people’s rights when decisions are made.	.898
Law Legitimacy	1) You should always obey the law even if it goes against what you think is right. 2) I feel a moral obligation to obey the law. 3) People should do what our laws tell them to do even if they disagree with them. 4) Disobeying the law is sometimes justified (reverse coded).	.691
Police Legitimacy	1) Respect for police is an important value for people to have. 2) I feel a moral obligation to obey the police.	.698
Trust in the Police	1) Overall, I think that police are doing a good job in my community. 2) I trust the police in my community. 3) I have confidence in the police in my community.	.899
Police Effectiveness	On the whole, how good a job do you think the police are doing in your neighbourhood at: 1) Solving crime. 2) Dealing with problems that concern you. 3) Preventing crime. 4) Keeping order.	.881
Cooperation with Police	1) If the situation arose, how likely would you be to call police to report a crime? 2) If the situation arose, how likely would you be to help police find someone suspected of committing a crime by providing them with information? 3) If the situation arose, how likely would you be to report dangerous or suspicious activities to police? 4) If the situation arose, how likely would you be to willingly assist police if asked?	.833

Figure 1. Mean differences across gender in perceptions of procedural justice (scale range 1-5)



Figure 2. Mean differences across gender in perceptions of law legitimacy (scale range 1-5)

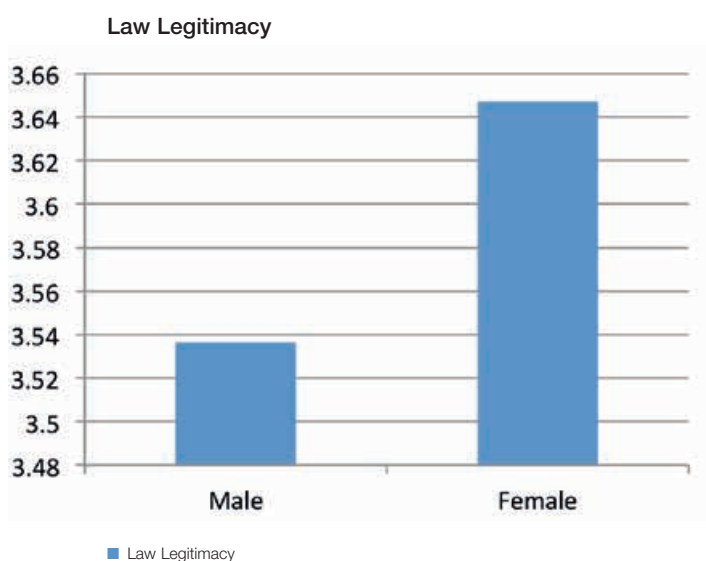


Table 2. Pairwise Correlations for Key Variables

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	
1. Gender	1.0000						
2. Procedural Justice	0.0463	1.0000					
3. Law Legitimacy	0.0852	0.2793	1.0000				
4. Police Legitimacy	0.0487	0.4226	0.4665	1.0000			
5. Trust in Police	0.0781	0.6733	0.2885	0.4874	1.0000		
6. Police Effectiveness	0.0963	0.5338	0.2009	0.2962	0.6239	1.0000	
7. Cooperation with Police	0.0652	0.2751	0.2136	0.3419	0.3048	0.2701	1.0000

Gender (0=Male, 1=Female); All Correlations Significant at p<.001

Figure 3. Mean differences across gender in perceptions of police legitimacy (scale range 1-5)

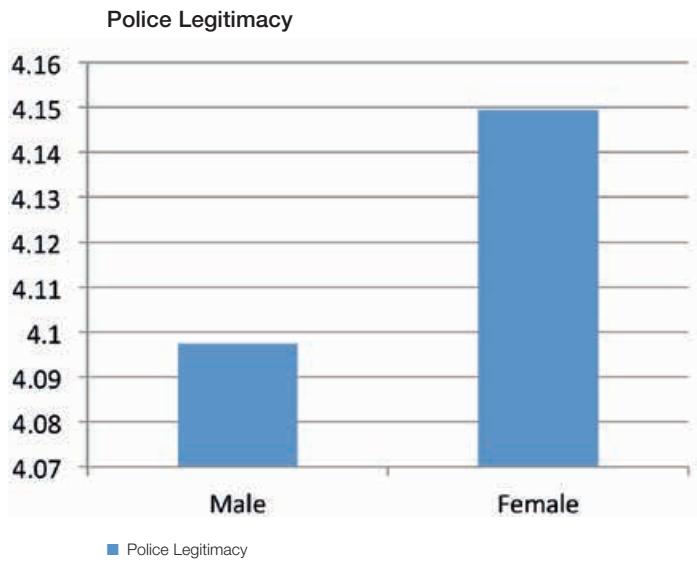


Figure 5. Mean differences across gender in perceptions of police effectiveness (scale range 1-5)

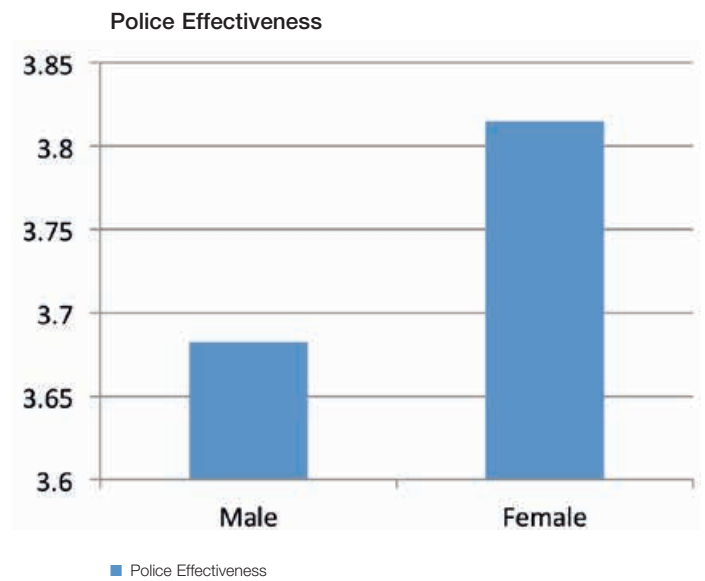


Figure 4. Mean differences across gender in trust in police (scale range 1-5)

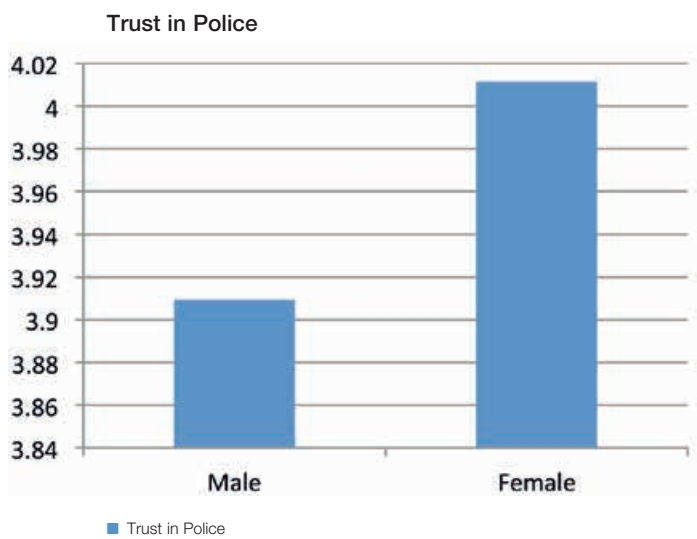
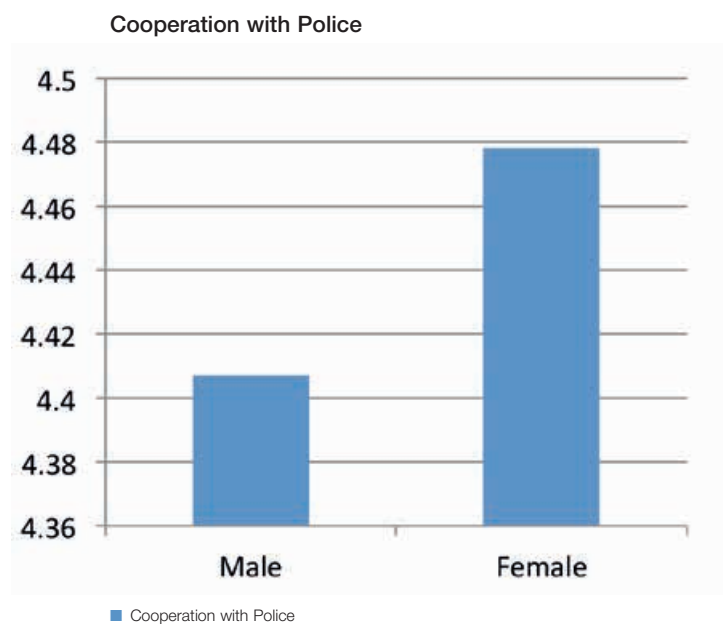


Figure 6. Mean differences across gender in willingness to cooperate with police (scale range 1-5)



Long-Term Declines in Firearms-Related Deaths and Injuries for Officers and the Public

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Falling crime rates in New York City have received a great deal of attention from the media and from academics—especially those crime rates from the 1990s. However, a closely related area that has received much less attention is the large, long-term reductions in firearms discharges by police, with apparent flow on effects to injuries and fatalities. A 2011 article in the *New York Times* described “the steep decline in shootings by the police in recent decades,” noting that 2010 data revealed record lows.¹

Data in the New York City Police Department’s (NYPD’s) annual firearms discharge report include the numbers of shots fired, injuries and fatalities, and associated demographic data. Time-series data in the figure show a fluctuating but overall downward trend in total shots fired, from a peak of 2,510 in 1972 to an average of 343 in the last three years of reporting (2008 through 2010). This represents an 86.3 percent reduction. Regarding total incidents where one or more shots were fired, data show a decline of 89.8 percent from a peak of 994 in 1972 to an average of 101 during the last three years of reporting.

What is interesting is the apparent effect of the reduced discharges on injuries and fatalities. The number of persons shot and injured by police declined from a peak of 221 in 1971 to an average of 18 in the last three years of reporting. In addition, the number of persons shot and killed declined from a peak of 93 in 1971 to an average of 11 in the last three years of reporting.

These data represent declines of 91.8 percent and 88.1 percent, respectively. What is then particularly interesting is the apparent win-win situation for both citizens and the police. The number of officers shot and injured peaked in 1973 at 50 and then declined by 96.8 percent to an average of 1 or 2 per year from 2008 through 2010. The number of officers shot and killed peaked in 1971 at 12 and then declined by 100 percent to 0 in the last three years of reporting.

The NYPD attributes these remarkable reductions in large part to Standard Operating Procedure 9, section 69, introduced in 1969, which involves documenting shooting incidents for the purpose of informing prevention efforts.² The reductions have also been associated with the influence of tightened rules, specifically introduced in 1972. These rules limited justifiable deadly force, mandated investigations of all firearms discharges, and required officers be disciplined for breaches of the guidelines.³

Police shootings and associated fatalities and injuries remain major problems worldwide. A more in-depth examination of the NYPD experience may reveal lessons that will have implications beyond the walls of the agency. In the interim, it will be good to see just how far the NYPD can push these positive statistics.

End Notes

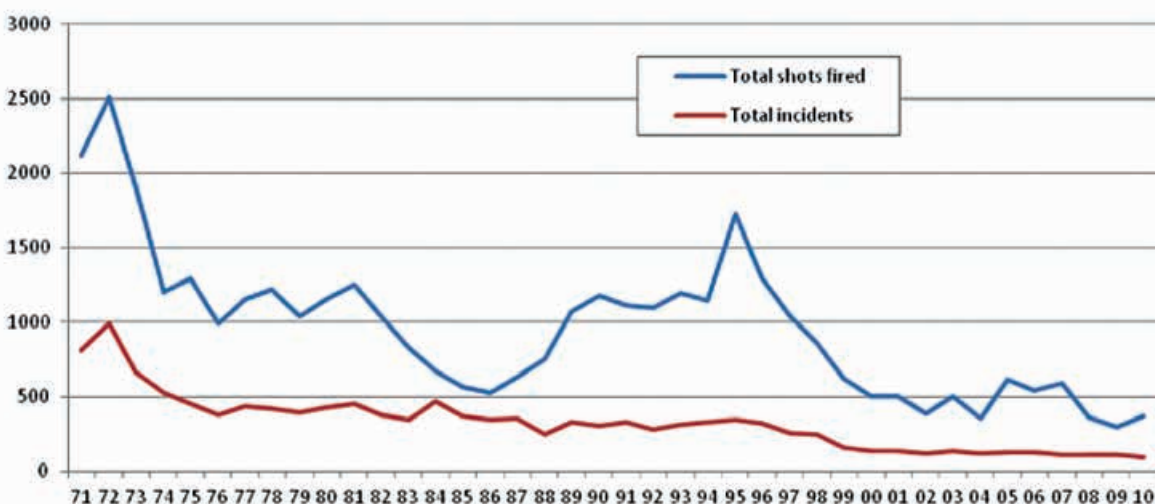
1. Joseph Goldstein, “Beyond the Record Lows, Data on Police Shootings Offer a Wealth of Details,” *New York Times*, November 24, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/25/nyregion/2010-ny-police-shooting-report-shows-record-lows.html> (accessed August 15, 2012).
2. New York City Police Department, *Annual Firearms Discharge Report 2010*, xi, http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/downloads/pdf/analysis_and_planning/afdr_20111116.pdf (accessed August 15, 2012).
3. Bernard D. Rostker et al., *Evaluation of the New York City Police Department Firearm Training and Firearm-Discharge Review Process* (Santa Monica: RAND Center on Quality Policing, 2008), 11, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG717.pdf (accessed August 15, 2012).

For additional information regarding 2010 NYPD firearm discharge statistics, please visit

http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/downloads/pdf/analysis_and_planning/afdr_20111116.pdf
(accessed August 15, 2012).

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NYPD, Total Shots Fired and Total Incidents, 1971-2010



Source: New York City Police Department, Annual Firearms Discharge Report 2010.

Modern, Motivated, Progressive & Professional?

Flexible Work Practices & the Retention of Female Members in SAPOL

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“If women are required to absent themselves from the workforce for lengthy periods when they have children, or if they have to work part-time for many years, they are not going to be able to have the kinds of careers that men, or women without children, can have. They will lose the skills, and the confidence, to resume a career path. Therefore, there will be fewer women in the pipeline, making it much harder for women to reach senior levels. And this is why so few of them do.”

Anne Summers, *The Misogyny Factor*, 2013, p. 139.

Introduction

The discussion in this paper is framed by a concern, supported by both Australian and international studies, that a disproportionate number of female members resign from policing due to conflict between work and home commitments. Firstly, this paper contends that Australian society has undergone enormous social change, particularly in the last 50 years, and this is further examined with reference to the changes in modern policing policy and practice during the same time period.

Secondly, this paper examines the conflict between work and home commitments that has led to a higher resignation rate amongst female members compared to male members across all jurisdictions, and contends that simply focusing on increased recruitment does not address the issues underlying this trend. This discussion is framed within an examination of issues of culture versus gender, and that flexible work practices have been identified as crucial to retaining female members. There then follows a discussion regarding the negative attitudes towards flexible work practices and the related need for a perceptual shift amongst managers and senior police, and a cultural shift within the organisation as a whole, regarding their implementation.

Thirdly, this paper examines these issues within the context of the South Australia Police and questions its status as an employer of choice. It concludes with a number of recommendations to improve female retention rates such as allowing greater access to flexible work practices, supporting parents of both genders through changes to leave arrangements, and operationally viable rostering options for part-time members.

The Changing Landscape

Since the 1960s, Australian society has undergone tremendous social change, particularly in terms of the increased participation of women in the paid workforce and higher education (Parliament of Australia, 2006). In 1984-85, women comprised 45.7% of the paid workforce, while in August 2011, this had risen to 59.2% (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Not bad when we consider that in the 1960s women often lost their jobs when they married, had no access to superannuation schemes, and could not obtain a housing loan without a husband. In 1951, women made up only 20% of university enrolments, a rate that had swelled to 58% by 2010 (ABS, 2013).

Furthermore, the widespread availability and use of contraceptives has given women and (by extension) men unprecedented control over their reproductive decisions (Parliament of Australia, 2006). As a result of all of these factors, the fertility rate in Australia has declined steadily from 3.5 babies per woman in 1961 to 1.89 babies per woman by 2010 (ABS, 2013). Since 2000, women aged 30 to 34 have experienced the highest fertility rate of all age groups, with a median child-bearing age

of 30.7 years (ABS, 2013). Higher material standards of living, housing prices, the cost of tertiary education, and higher household debt may also delay the decision to start a family (Parliament of Australia, 2006). For women, being a stay-at-home mother is now no longer correlated with higher fertility. In fact, fertility is now positively associated with participation in the paid workforce (Parliament of Australia, 2006). Therefore, organisations need to remove the obstacles that make it difficult for women to combine work with having children in order to address the decline in fertility and provide the services required to support our ageing population.

In 2001, of the total of 44 922 sworn police employed in Australia, only 18.9% were women (Leane & Durand, 2004). By 2011-2012, this had risen to 32.5% of 67 156, which included both sworn and unsworn members (Report on Government Services). In 1915, South Australia appointed the first women to any Australian police service with powers of arrest, closely followed by New South Wales in the same year and Victoria in 1917 (Leane and Durand, 2004). By 1923, all states except Queensland had appointed women as sworn officers (Leane and Durand, 2004). Until the 1970s, the duties of female members in Australian police services were limited primarily to community policing roles, such as dealing with “at risk” children and caring for female prisoners in custody (Leane & Durand, 2004). In addition to these limitations, in many jurisdictions married women were unable to join and those who married while in the service were forced to resign (Leane & Durand, 2004).

While slow to fully embrace Equal Opportunity Legislation and reform, the 1980s saw police departments across Australia expand career paths for female members (Leane & Durand, 2004). The call for affirmative action to address the under representation of women in policing rang out during the 1990s (Leane & Durand, 2004). In 1990, Queensland removed the quota system that had limited the number of women accepted into the service, and in the same year, Victoria Police conducted an internal review of the impact of equal opportunity legislation on policing in their state, with somewhat disquieting results (Leane & Durand, 2004). The survey indicated that women represented only 20% of applicants to the service and 14% of the sworn workforce (Leane & Durand, 2004).

In 2000, the Australian Institute of Criminology reported that 3.6% of senior management positions (Inspector and above) in Australian police departments were held by women (cited in Adams, 2001). This figure had risen to 5.9% by 2003 (Boni, 2005). Baxter & Wright (2000; cited in Adams, 2001) argue that to effect even a small increase in the proportional representation of women in senior management positions, there must be a substantial increase in the representation of women at lower levels of policing. However, increasing overall numbers of women will not automatically translate into increases in women managers if female members are not given opportunities to be full and effective contributors to the organisation (Baxter & Wright, 2000).

Hence, the underrepresentation of women in senior management positions is not due to a lack of qualified women; rather, it is more a result of the organisation's inability and hesitancy to remove structural and cultural barriers that impede a woman's career. Adams (2001) argues that the so-called "glass ceiling" stems from the masculine organisational culture of work and the belief that a good manager is male or at least masculine. It is ironic that the masculine stereotype of the crime fighting police officer persists at a time when policing has embraced the community-oriented, problem-solving model that promotes values such as interpersonal communication and conflict resolution (Adams, 2001), skills perhaps seen as more readily attributable to women.

As part of the part-time employment review funded by the Victorian government in 2003-2004, which included a review of part-time work policies in Victoria Police, Charlesworth & Whittenbury (2005) noted that of the few women in senior management positions, most have neither married nor raised children. This raises an important question: do family responsibilities hamper progression towards senior management positions in police departments for women? And are female members therefore expected to choose between their career and having children? Charlesworth & Whittenbury (2005) note that in the Victoria Police study, some managers suggested that prior to "choosing" to have children, women should consider whether they will be able to continue to meet the requirements of the job. This highlights the dominance of the male breadwinner model given that men are not expected to "choose" between a career and having children (Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2005). Presumably their family and domestic needs are looked after by someone else.

The greater participation of women in the Australian workforce as a whole is not reflected in significant gender equality in policing (Quirk, 2002). Unlike even a generation ago, women today expect to be able to combine a career with motherhood. However, women returning to policing after having children often find themselves scaling down their career aspirations, settling for a different role, or leaving the job altogether (Bradley, 1999). The promulgation of the myth that women can "have it all" (i.e. a satisfying and rewarding career as well as the joys of motherhood) has no doubt led to the thwarting of both career and life aspirations, and an enduring sense of disillusionment and failure. It has been estimated that approximately 78% of Australian women will have children, and police services cannot expect to only recruit the remaining 22% who do not (Bradley, 1999). The responsibility, therefore, lies with police departments around the country to roundly embrace "family-friendly" policies and practices in order to not only attract future employees, but perhaps more importantly, retain existing members in an increasingly competitive global labour market.

Recruitment Versus Retention

At a time when policing is no longer seen as a "job for life", police departments across the country are faced with the challenge of increased competition to not only attract, but also retain quality employees. Yet it would appear that the emphasis remains on recruiting new employees rather than implementing policies that encourage and support existing members to stay.

The primary focus of the 2009 review of the Victoria Police by the Office of Police Integrity (OPI) was an exploration of flexible work practices and their role in the evolution of police services to meet the future needs of the Victorian community. A fundamental challenge for modern police services is the development of practices that promote the recruitment and retention of the **right** staff in an increasingly competitive, global labour market characterised by the fluid movement of employees between jobs and an expectation that more flexible working arrangements will be provided (OPI, 2010).

The OPI study found that since 2000, the retention rate of police recruits has been declining, with an increasing proportion of members resigning after 7 to 10 years of service to take up other career opportunities. Yet, there has been an historical alignment of debates regarding police numbers with political (and increasingly, media) law and order campaigns, with a focus on the assumption that more police results in a more efficient and responsive service to the community. The OPI (2011) asserts that recruitment should instead occur in the context of strategic, long-term workforce planning based on estimated population growth, demographic change and technological development, rather than following a political cycle.

In their study of voluntary turnover in Australasian police organisations, Lynch & Tuckey (2004) interviewed employees who had resigned in order to identify contributing factors to their separation from policing. They found that there were higher resignation rates among female than male sworn officers across all jurisdictions, and a marked increase in resignation rates of female sworn members around the 25 to 39 year age group, a time when women are most likely to experience family demands such as childbirth and child care issues (Lynch & Tuckey, 2004). Hence, a conflict between work and home commitments was often cited as a reason for female members resigning. So, it would appear that being a parent has very different consequences for male and female members, in that the lack of access to flexible work practices and the necessity of working shifts impacts on the ability of female police officers, as primary caregivers in the majority of cases, to care for their young children.

These issues are particularly pertinent for women returning to policing after maternity leave. Adams (2001) found that maternity leave seems to have a negative impact on career opportunities, particularly in relation to loss of opportunities for promotion or training. Working part-time for reasons other than family responsibilities may be seen by managers as somewhat more acceptable; for example, working part-time to study or taking time off work to attend sporting events is not seen as demonstrating a lack of commitment (Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2005).

Culture Versus Gender

Charlesworth & Whittenbury (2005) characterise the dominant occupational identity of police work as masculine, defining commitment as putting up with danger, working long and unsociable hours, and being available to work at all hours of the day and night, often at short notice. "Police culture" is seen as a dominant set of values accompanied by supporting attitudes and beliefs, which become common knowledge held by all members (Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2005). Dick & Hyde (2005) cite Institutional Theory as a means of understanding how and why organisational forms, structures and practices come to be seen as normal. They hypothesise that organisations tend to model themselves on other successful organisations within their field to obtain legitimacy from important stakeholders and thus ensure their survival. Hence, most contemporary police services around the world are based on the military model, and the masculine culture that accompanies it.

Study after study show that part-time work in particular, and flexible work arrangements in general, are the key mechanisms for retaining women who have been recruited to police services. However, the same studies also show that there is a low take-up of such options, with part-time workers in policing concentrated in the lower ranks in administrative or non-operational areas (Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2005). As at 30th June 2012, 488 SAPOL employees utilised part-time and job-share working arrangements, of which 452 (93%) were women (SAPOL, *Annual Report 2011-2012*). This also includes unsworn employees. While many would like to argue that the lack of part-time opportunities in police services is not a gender issue, if 93% of SAPOL employees currently in part-time or job-share positions are women, then it is undeniably a gender issue.

Part-time work in general is also not gender neutral, in that where a labour force is predominantly female, employers are more likely to introduce and support part-time working arrangements (The State of Victoria, 2005). Nurses, for example, have been using flexible and individually negotiated roster systems for years, primarily out of necessity in order to address recruiting difficulties (Bradley, 1999). While it would be somewhat churlish not to concede that Australian police services have made attempts to introduce “family-friendly” work policies to assist female members to balance career and family responsibilities, such measures only realistically give women a choice when there is a critical mass within the organisation (Quirk, 2002). With women representing only 26.5% of the sworn workforce in SAPOL, there is a long way to go before anything even slightly resembling a critical mass is reached. Thornthwaite (2004) found that in Australia, there is a preference among men and women with dependent children for a modified dual earner model (i.e. one full-time worker and one part-time worker), with the mother usually working part-time. Hence, part-time work for women generally follows motherhood, while for men it is more likely to be at the point of labour market entry or exit (State of Victoria, 2005).

Baird, Charlesworth & Heron (2010) state that there is considerable political and cultural ambivalence in Australia regarding the role of mothers in the workplace. While the 1980s and 1990s saw a marked increase in part-time work and a concomitant decrease in the proportion of dual full-time earner families, part-time work was generally of poor quality and offered limited scope for career progression (Baird, Charlesworth & Heron, 2010).

While other organisations identify positions suitable for part-time work, the common practice in police services is for staff to reduce their hours in a position they previously worked in a full-time capacity (Tuffin, 2001). As a result, managers often find it hard to manage part-time employees within systems designed for full-time employees (Dick & Hyde, 2005). Hence, part-time workers are seen as a problem for traditional methods of resourcing with the perception that “real” police work involves working full shifts and that any other arrangement is aberrant. Such views encourage the retention of conservative work practices driven by tradition, outdated legislation and a strong and highly politicised industrial environment (OPI, Sept 2011). Dick & Hyde (2005) suggest that for part-time or other flexible work arrangements to become more widespread in police services, an almost complete re-think about what contemporary policing involves is required.

Policing traditionally has a work culture that measures performance by the hours worked as well as meeting targeted statistical benchmarks. Perhaps a perceptual shift is required to recognise that the nature of work in the modern labour force is changing and that we should therefore emphasise outputs as a measure of job performance rather than hours worked, with “outputs” also including the sometimes intangible results arising from contact with victims and community groups that does not lead to an arrest, report or other prosecutorial outcome.

Resistance is also underpinned by a concern regarding residual hours when a full-time position is converted to part-time, with the related issue of the lack of backfilling (Charlesworth & Robertson, 2012). There is also a lack of clarity regarding expected workloads, and precluding part-time members from work generated by arrests or reports is justified with reference to a lack of continuity due to part-timers being less available (Charlesworth & Robertson, 2012). However, Charlesworth & Robertson (2012) point out that leaving an individual responsible for brief preparation, whether full-time or not, results in considerable continuity problems for everyone, and suggest that a case management model where members work as a team with shared responsibility could address this issue. With almost half of all employed women in Australia working part-time, the unfortunate (but perhaps not surprising) response from police services has been to limit access to flexible work practices (Charlesworth & Robertson, 2012).

Dick (2006) states that part-time work is associated primarily with feminised occupations, enabling management to meet peaks and troughs in demand by a strategic patterning of hours. However, in male-dominated industries, peaks and troughs in demand are met through overtime rather than part-time (Dick, 2006). Flexible work practices therefore represent a challenge to historical modes of resourcing, with the current “command” approach enabling managers to make unilateral resourcing decisions without needing to consult individuals (Dick, 2006). While flexible work practices are touted as a core method of retaining female members, at a day-to-day management level, the retention of skills is not a management priority – meeting organisational demands is (Dick, 2009). And while management emphasise balancing the needs of the organisation with individual needs, what this often translates into is that the pattern of hours proposed by part-timers has to mesh within the current shift system worked by full-timers to be considered as meeting the department’s operating requirements (Dick, 2009).

SAPOL as an Employer of Choice

Boni (2005) describes an employer of choice as being recognised for leadership, culture and best practices to attract, optimise and retain a pool of skilled employees. It would appear that SAPOL’s focus remains squarely on the recruitment end of the equation, with not enough being done to retain skilled and experienced employees, in particular, female sworn members.

As an organisation that relies on “on the job” training and supervision of new recruits by experienced employees, SAPOL must recognise that the changing and dynamic nature of modern policing requires employees with increasingly diverse skills. When considering the recruitment and retention of female members, it must also be recognised that women are not an homogenous group and their experiences are becoming more and more diverse (Quirk, 2002). SAPOL has partly recognised this increasing diversity by broadening its recruitment to include (historically) women, and more recently, people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds as well as more mature recruits with previous work experience. However, being recognised as an employer of choice involves more than simply saying it is so. In an increasingly competitive, global employment market, SAPOL must not only embrace “family-friendly” policies, but also actively promote and encourage their utilisation.

Recommendations

Historically, policing was seen as something akin to a vocation or a calling, where people with certain characteristics were selected and moulded to suit the societal expectations of the time about what constituted a police officer. This view of the “perfect policeman” existed at a time when there were also widely held beliefs about the roles of men and women within both the microcosm of the home and society as a whole.

However, things have changed. At a time when women represent 59.2% of the paid Australian workforce and at least 58% of university enrolments, they represent only 26.5% of sworn members in SAPOL. While many Australian and international studies have identified flexible work practices, including part-time work, as the key mechanism to retain women who have been recruited to police services, it is obvious that problems still remain in relation to attitudes towards them and the practicalities of enabling women (and men) to combine caring responsibilities with a career in policing.

Flexibility

First and foremost, SAPOL must allow greater access to flexible work practices. SAPOL almost exclusively focuses on job-sharing, to the extent that members are told they cannot work part-time unless they find someone to job share with. In the case of female members returning to work after maternity leave, this essentially means having to find someone else who has conceived and given birth to a child at the same time, and who also wants to return to work at exactly the same time.

SAPOL needs to widen its vision to include other flexible work practices such as permanent part-time work, temporary transfer to non-operational positions, career breaks and other forms of leave without pay. More part-time positions need to be created that allow members to further develop existing skills and acquire experience; positions that encourage career development and permit members to apply for merit-based promotion in the same manner as full-time members.

Under clause 3.1 of the Police Officers Award, a SAPOL employee with at least 12 months continuous service can request permanent part-time employment for a fixed or indefinite period, theoretically in any position within the department. Personal criteria such as family responsibilities, handicap or medical conditions, preparation for retirement, and returning from maternity leave are considered.

The South Australia Police Enterprise Agreement 2011 offers SAPOL members a number of options related to achieving work/life balance, including paid maternity/adoption leave of 16 weeks; family carer's leave of 10 days per year; reimbursing reasonable child care expenses if an employee is given less than 24 hours notice of a shift change; purchased leave enabling employees to exchange a pro rata agreed reduction in their salary in return for extra periods of leave up to a maximum of 4 weeks per year; and offering career breaks enabling an employee to take leave without pay for up to a maximum of 3 years, which may be taken in conjunction with other types of leave without pay, such as parental leave.

Consideration should also be given to the introduction of paid paternity leave for male members upon the birth of a child, so that they do not have to utilise annual leave for the purpose of spending time with a new addition to the family.

Furthermore, family carer's leave should be interchangeable between members who have partners in SAPOL; i.e. if a member uses all of their allocated family carer's leave days, they can then use those allocated to their partner.

Good positions, whether part-time or full-time, attract good people. So let's focus on providing **quality** part-time work and acknowledge that part-time members bring a full set of skills to the workplace.

Resources – Valuing Our People

Rather than viewing female members who have returned from maternity leave as a stagnant pool of rostering dilemmas, they could instead be utilised as a relief pool which would help SAPOL meet staff shortages as well as ensuring members retain their existing skills. For example, part-time members could be placed on a patrol roster whereby they rotate around the patrol teams. Hence, extra members would be available for the patrol teams and their files could be vetted by the Sergeant on whichever team they happen to join for that shift. Consequently, extra patrol officers would be available to cover unforeseen absences due to sick or urgent necessity leave, as well as members who are attending training courses or who are on annual leave. This pool of part-time patrol members could also be utilised during peak demand periods, for special events, or for operations within the Local Service Area. Furthermore, LSAs such as South Coast

that have “shop front” police stations at major shopping centres could also utilise part-time, job-share or members on the abovementioned relief pool, as working in line with trading hours offers greater flexibility in shift times.

Morale, productivity and efficiency increase when people know their employer has invested in them and values their contribution to the organisation.

Training and Development

Part-timers often shelve their needs for training, development and promotion because they are reluctant to risk having their pattern of hours changed by moving to a different area (Dick, 2009). Training at the Local Service Area level in SAPOL is only offered on one day of the week, requiring part-time members who are not rostered on that day to change their work days and therefore their child-care arrangements in order to attend. Similarly, training courses that lead to either promotion or a change of position are only offered in blocks of many weeks at a time, some with live-in components.

From an LSA perspective, training should be offered on an additional day of the week during each training cycle to provide part-time members with an opportunity to attend if they are not rostered on the existing training day.

In relation to other courses, in particular those that run for weeks at a time and have live-in components, consideration could be given to scheduling these courses in smaller segments with breaks in between to assist attending members with primary caregiver responsibilities to achieve a greater work-life balance.

In mid-2009, SAPOL introduced the Retraining Action Plan, including the Long-Term Absence Course, to assist members to identify, undertake and complete relevant training after an extended absence from the workplace (i.e. more than six months). It includes new and amended legislation, General Orders, corporate training, changes to procedures and local training. Let's extend this plan so that while members are on maternity leave, for example, training materials covering legislative updates, policy changes and copies of the Police Gazette could be collated and sent to them via post or e-mail. Members on extended leave would therefore still feel connected to the organisation and valued as a SAPOL member, despite their absence from the workplace.

Management and Leadership

The success of flexible work practices, and the above recommendations, depends on the degree to which they are supported by senior officers and supervisors. Similarly, members must feel free to access such policies without incurring criticism, negativity or career disadvantage.

Hence, training on the management of flexible work practices needs to be incorporated into existing courses aimed at supervisors and senior officers to encourage cultural change within the organisation from the top down. The policies already exist; what we need is a framework that supports both management and staff to implement them to meet the changing needs of members and the community we serve.

We also need to challenge the view of a career in policing as exclusively a linear progression. SAPOL should not view success as just a step up a hierarchical ladder, but also recognise that members may want to specialise in a particular area or take extended time off from being a police officer to focus on their lives closer to home.

Policies regarding flexible work practices are already in place; changing organisational culture is now the focus. Let's look at the issue of flexible work practices with a new perspective.

Let's abandon the current "square peg in a round hole" approach to dealing with part-timers by developing management systems **specifically** for them; by updating pay roll systems to accommodate non-generic rosters without constant retro adjustments; and by having the courage at an organisational level to see flexible work practices as modern and innovative rather than as a challenge to the legitimacy of tradition that underpins policing.

Child Care

With the recent launch in July 2013 of child care flexibility trials in New South Wales and Victoria, the Police Federation of Australia and Family Day Care Australia aim to identify ways to better meet the child care needs of policing families by providing access to "flexible care", including overnight, weekend or non-standard care. The trials, with approximately 100 police families, will help to determine what would be required to support a sustainable model of more flexible child care in the future. The issue of accessible and affordable child care for shift working families remains critical in supporting members with children to remain in policing, and is of particular importance for members in country areas who often do not have the support of friends and extended family in providing out-of-hours child care.

Retention of Female Members

Numerous studies, both in Australia and other jurisdictions, show that conflict between work and home commitments is most often cited by female members as the reason they resign from policing, with the result that a disproportionate number of women leave policing compared to men. The same studies have also shown that the implementation and support of flexible work practices is the key mechanism to retaining female members who have been recruited to police services. Yet, there appears to be a lack of ongoing data collection and assessment in SAPOL in relation to this issue, with a resultant dearth of information to inform the development of retention strategies.

At a time when work-life balance has become a key federal election issue, SAPOL has the opportunity to be a leader in the field by not only embracing "family-friendly" policies, but also by encouraging a cultural shift within the organisation to recognise flexible work practices as not only a viable but an imperative business need.

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About the Author

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What is Primary Prevention?

The main focus of the White Ribbon Campaign is primary prevention on the issue of violence against women. By engaging men as part of the solution, the White Ribbon aims to challenge the cultural norms that inform the attitudes and behaviours that 'give licence' to some men to be violent towards women. Primary prevention efforts complement work with victims and survivors, but do not replace or take priority over it. Activities to prevent and respond to sexual violence can be classified in a number of ways. One of the most common is a three-part classification of activities according to when they occur in relation to violence:

- **Before the problem starts: Primary prevention**
Activities which take place before sexual violence has occurred to prevent initial perpetration or victimisation.
- **Once the problem has begun: Secondary prevention**
Immediate responses after sexual violence has occurred to deal with the short-term consequences of violence, to respond to those at risk, and to prevent the problem from occurring or progressing.
- **Responding afterwards: Tertiary prevention**
Long-term responses after sexual violence has occurred to deal with the lasting consequences of violence, minimise its impact, and prevent further perpetration and victimisation.

Primary prevention strategies are implemented before the problem ever occurs. In relation to sexual violence by boys and men against girls and women, primary prevention strategies aim to lessen the likelihood of boys and men using violence or girls and women suffering violence in the first place. They strive to circumvent violence before it occurs (Cornelius & Resseguie, 2007, p.363). They are successful when the first instance of sexual violence is prevented (Foshee, et al., 1998, p.45).

Primary prevention strategies seek to remove the causes or "determinants" of sexual violence, to prevent the development of risk factors associated with violence, and/or to enhance the factors protective against violence (Chamberlain, 2008, p.3). To give some examples, prevention efforts may address rape-supportive attitudes and norms through public information and awareness Campaigns in mass media or in particular contexts such as sports and workplaces, education programs, or 'edutainment'.

They may address gender inequalities and patriarchal power relations through policies promoting gender equality, skills training in respectful relationships, or community development and the mobilisation of women's and men's networks for change (Harvey, GarciaMoreno, & Butchart, 2007).

Secondary prevention focuses on early identification and intervention, targeting those individuals at high risk for either perpetration or victimisation and working to reduce the likelihood of their further or subsequent engagement in or subjection to violence. Secondary prevention aims "to identify the problem before it becomes evident and to intervene as soon as possible to prevent the problem from occurring or progressing" (Chamberlain, 2008, p.3). It is intended to reverse progress towards sexual violence and to reduce its impact. For example, activities may focus on reducing opportunities for sexual violence by supporting the men who are at risk of perpetrating violence. Secondary prevention efforts are successful "when victims stop being victimized [e.g. by leaving violent relationships] or perpetrators stop being violent" (Foshee, et al., 1998, p.45).

Tertiary prevention is centred on responding after sexual violence has occurred. Activities focus on responding to or treating the problem by minimising the impact of violence, restoring health and safety, and preventing further victimisation and perpetration (Chamberlain, 2008, p.3). Mostly, these activities include: crisis care, counselling and advocacy; referral for victims and survivors of sexual violence; efforts to prevent additional abuse (Chrisler & Ferguson, 2006, p.245); and criminal justice and counselling responses to perpetrators of violence aimed at punishment, rehabilitation, and the prevention of further violent behaviour.

Some would suggest that 'tertiary' activities are not strictly about "prevention" but are really forms of 'intervention', as they take place after sexual violence already has occurred. Certainly, tertiary activities such as work with perpetrators or victims should not be all we do in the name of prevention. However, they do contribute directly to the prevention of sexual violence.

For example, rapid and coordinated responses to individuals perpetrating sexual violence can reduce their opportunities for and likelihood of further perpetration, while effective responses to victims and survivors can reduce the impact of victimisation and prevent revictimisation (Chamberlain, 2008, p.4).

Tertiary responses also contribute indirectly to prevention. For example, when community members perceive that the criminal justice system intervenes in and punishes domestic violence, they are also more likely to have supportive attitudes towards victims and towards legal responses to violence (Salazar, Baker, Price, & Carlin, 2003). Tertiary activities therefore are legitimate components of the prevention spectrum. Their effective and systematic application complements and supports primary prevention.

In a second method of classifying prevention activities, efforts are grouped according to the population they address. Again, this is a three-part classification. Universal prevention measures are aimed at the general public or at all members of a specific group such as adolescents or young men.

Selective measures are aimed at individuals or groups that have a higher risk of developing a problem. For example, a school program may be aimed at young people who have histories of delinquency or other risk factors relevant to sexual violence. Indicated measures are aimed at high-risk individuals or groups that have detectable signs of the problem, in other words, who show any identifiable risk factor or condition that makes it highly likely that they are experiencing or perpetrating sexual violence (Chamberlain, 2008, p.4-5).

Thus, a universal strategy targets an entire population without regard to their exposure to sexual violence, a selective strategy targets those who have a heightened risk of becoming a victim or perpetrator of sexual violence, and an indicated strategy targets those who are victims or perpetrators (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention., 2004, p.6).

In so far as there exists some overlap between these two methods of classifying prevention activities, it should be noted that this is not always the case:

Universal preventive measures are usually primary prevention strategies... Selective prevention measures typically focus on secondary prevention strategies while indicated prevention measures usually involve tertiary prevention strategies directed to high-risk groups (Chamberlain, 2008, p.5).

While the classification of prevention work into three types – primary, secondary, and tertiary – is widely used, there are some complications to note. First, the distinction between primary and secondary prevention is blurred. In some instances this is because the rationale for the activity spans both primary and secondary prevention. For example, an education program among young people in school may be seen as primary prevention in seeking to prevent sexual violence in young people's relationships before it occurs, but as secondary prevention in targeting a group seen as at higher risk of both perpetration and victimisation. In addition, while primary prevention efforts are intended to prevent initial perpetration or victimisation, in many cases the actual activities take place with groups which include individuals who have already perpetrated or experienced sexual violence. This is also true of work with secondary school classes: in any general class, there are likely to be some individuals who have assaulted or been assaulted. This means that prevention workers must be prepared to respond to instances of disclosure, whether of victimisation or perpetration, drawing on strategies and resources which are associated more strongly with secondary and tertiary prevention activities. Second, in some accounts there are only two categories of prevention, not three, corresponding to efforts before or after violence has occurred.

Here the third category, 'tertiary', is merged with the second, such that only two categories of activity are used, primary and secondary. 'Secondary' prevention then becomes a wider term for activities which aim to stop violence from recurring, e.g. by targeting known perpetrators or victims (Whitaker, et al., 2007).

White Ribbon – <http://www.whiteribbon.org.au/>

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This summary combines and modifies the accounts given by the CDC (2004, p.3) and Chamberlain (2008, p.3).

See both documents for more sophisticated matrices of various strategies of prevention.

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Therapeutic Jurisprudence and Partnerships

Magistrate Noreen Toohey, Regional Co-ordinating Magistrate, Sunshine Magistrates' Court

The Victorian Magistrates' Court has increasingly adopted a multi-disciplinary approach to addressing the underlying causes of offending. Specialist Courts such as The Family Violence Division, Drug Court, Koori Courts (Indigenous Victorians), The Neighbourhood Justice Centre and the Assessment and Referral Court (ARC) have all been established to ensure a specialist response by the court and also to help address particular offending behaviour in a more holistic way. Many Judicial Officers have embraced the principles of therapeutic jurisprudence or solution focussed judging in everyday lists.

The concept of therapeutic jurisprudence was developed in the 1980's by Professor David Wexler and Professor Bruce Winick. Since then much has been written on the subject. In Australia, Dr Michael King has been a key proponent of therapeutic jurisprudence. He has written many articles and prepared a "Solutions – Focused Judging Bench Book" for judicial officers.¹ Solution focused judging focuses on the court as a facilitator of change rather than asserting that the court solves a participant's problems. It is generally available from the AJJA and I commend it to you.

Commonly, as we all know the courts are presented with offenders who have problems of alcohol and drug abuse, trauma often as a result of sexual abuse or family violence, grief, mental health and cognitive impairment, illiteracy, homelessness and lack of education, training and employment. Where they offend in one way- it is very common they offend in many ways.

The establishment of specialist courts with specialist staff, training and multi-disciplinary teams enable a Magistrate to understand, identify and hopefully – address the underlying issues leading to offending behaviour.

Currently, the specialist courts established in the Victorian Magistrates' Court are:

- **The Drug Court.** This Court operates out of Dandenong Magistrate's Court but its catchment (defined by postcode) extends into the Frankston, Moorabbin and Ringwood Magistrates' Courts. Drug Court is a sentencing court and targets offenders with significant criminal histories where a term of imprisonment is warranted. Offenders are sentenced to a term of imprisonment and then released into the community on a Drug Treatment Order where they are provided with intensive supervision, support and intervention. One magistrate is allocated to sit full time in the Drug Court.
- **The Koori Court is in both the adult and Children's Court of Victoria.** The Koori Court, also a sentencing court, hears pleas of guilt and aims to sentence in a way that takes into account the particular disadvantage of offenders who identify as Indigenous Victorians. A Magistrate sits in Koori court with two elders from the indigenous community providing advice to the magistrate. The sentencing decisions are the magistrate alone. Magistrates who sit in the Koori courts have specialist professional education about responding to our first nation peoples.
- **Family Violence Court Division.** This court operates in one metropolitan and one regional Victorian court at Heidelberg and Ballarat. This court list provides a specialist approach to family violence proceedings including specialist training for magistrates, lawyers and prosecutors, legal support, support workers for victims and perpetrators and the expectation men subject to an intervention order will also be ordered or mandated by the court to complete a specific Men's Behaviour Change Program. Only Magistrates who have undertaken specialist professional development, and assigned by the Chief Magistrate to undertake this work may sit in the FVCD.

They are called "gazetted" magistrates. It is expected only police prosecutors who have undertaken the regular specialist FV training will be allocated to prosecute the intervention order applications for police applicants and the criminal matters.

Specialist Family Violence Courts with an Applicant support worker and a specialist Family Violence Registrar have also been established at three suburban courts at Melbourne, Sunshine and Frankston. These courts do not have specialist training or mandated programs, however the lists are organised in a similar way and where possible gazetted magistrates are expected to be allocated to the lists.

- The Neighbourhood Justice Centre, Collingwood. This is a community justice centre modelled on the Red Hook Community Justice Centre, New York and other centres around the world. The court is located in Collingwood, an inner city suburb of Melbourne. The court has a large multi-disciplinary team, for example family violence workers, who work intensively with offenders.
- The Assessment and Referral Court (ARC). This is a specialist criminal sentencing court located at the Melbourne Magistrates' Court for people who suffer from a mental illness or disabilities, for example acquired brain injuries. Offenders in this list are judicially monitored each month for up to 12 months by the same specialist magistrate, supported by an allocated specialist court clinician providing intensive support with respect to housing, drug and alcohol issues, mental health assessment and treatment.

At some Victorian Magistrates' courts, support workers are available to assist people experiencing mental health issues or to assist Koori offenders. Other programs have been established to provide support for offenders on bail such as the Credit Bail and Court Integrated Services Program (CISP). Both programs are designed to support offenders with case management and to broker funding arrangements with external service providers to access a range of supports such as drug and alcohol counselling, psychological assessment and treatment, housing and employment. These programs have produced positive results in addressing the underlying offending behaviour.²

An important component of the CISP program is judicial monitoring of offenders. Once placed on the program the offender returns usually on a monthly basis, sometimes within a much shorter time frame, to the magistrate who bailed the offender with the CISP bail condition. This ensures that the same Magistrate is in a position to encourage behaviour change.

Unfortunately, these specialist courts, lists and programs are only available at a limited number of courts throughout Victoria.

Faced with limited resources how can the court utilise partnerships within the community to achieve better therapeutic outcomes. Reducing recidivism is in the interests of the community. Imprisonment is costly and typically does not result in rehabilitation. In Victoria now, prisons are full to capacity with many prisoners serving sentences in police cells. Police are performing duties as prison officers and our courts are experiencing significant delays in the movement of prisoners. There is no question serious offending must attract imprisonment but much of the offending behaviour before our courts is capable of being addressed by appropriate referrals and support. The focus should be to change behaviour, to put in place supports that will motivate an offender to change and to sustain that change over the longer-term.

You may have seen an article in the Victorian Age newspaper by Andrea Petrie on 25 August 2013 regarding the prison population in Victoria. According to the article, there has been a 40% increase in the prison population over the last decade, with a 151% increase in government expenditure on prisons. Yet there has been an overall drop in crime. The government estimates that more prisons will cost taxpayers more than \$1 billion over the coming decade with annual operating costs expected to exceed \$200 million. Fifty percent of Victorian prisoners have been to prison before. The Department of Justice figures reveal about 40% of inmates return to corrective services within six months of release and close to 70% are back in prison within a year. Half the Victorian prisoners come from backgrounds of serious disadvantage. Between 70-80% have psychiatric disorders and between 50%-80% have drug and/or alcohol problems.

Building community partnerships involves the Court meeting with police, legal services, government agencies, non-government organisations and members of the community, especially those from culturally and linguistically diverse communities. Often agencies operate in silos where each agency has knowledge and expertise in addressing a particular issue. By building community partnerships those silos are broken down and the information is shared resulting in a more efficient and effective use of resources.

I would like to outline just a few examples of how my court has successfully developed or participated in partnership with other agencies and or communities to produce better outcomes for the community as a whole.

The Sunshine Region is located in Melbourne's west. There are courts at Sunshine and Werribee, which is one of the fastest growing regions in Australia. There is significant social disadvantage. Drug use, alcohol abuse, unemployment, lack of housing, significant pressure on mental health services and one of the highest rates of family violence in Victoria, poses a challenge for the court.

Prevention of Alcohol and Risk Related Trauma in Youth (PARTY)

In 2009, S/C Gerard Dickinson, the local Youth Resource Officer from Keilor Downs Police Station, approached the court with a proposal to form a partnership with Victoria Police, the Alfred Hospital and the court to set up a program to address young offenders in the 18 to 25 year age group who engaged in risk taking behaviour. Youth Junction Inc at the Visy Cares Hub joined the partnership to facilitate assessments and coordinate the program. What followed in 2010 was the successful establishment of a Hospital based program not only involving offences risk taking behaviour on our roads but also involving violent behaviour. In 2011 the program was extended to include the Royal Melbourne Hospital.

Following a plea hearing, participants are referred by a Magistrate to the program which consists of an induction session, a full day at the hospital and a de-brief session at Youth Junction, where the young person is required to prepare a report for the magistrate.

Each participant also undergoes a psychosocial assessment that enables staff at Youth Junction to address other factors that might be affecting the young offender's life such as employment, training, substance abuse, mental health, housing and financial issues.

The participants spend one day at the hospital with staff in the emergency/trauma centre, the intensive care unit, trauma wards and rehabilitation units. Through DVD and PowerPoint presentations, interviews with patients and their family members the young offenders gain insight in to the impact of risk taking behaviour.

At the sentencing hearing, the Magistrate asks the young offender about the impact of the hospital visit, what changes they would make to their behaviour and how they would seek to prevent risk taking

behaviour by their friends and family. This is not a diversion program. All sentencing dispositions are available to a Magistrate when sentencing the young offender.

Each participant is part of a 12-month research evaluation that involves four follow-up surveys conducted by Youth Junction at three-month intervals. To date 649 young offenders have participated in the program. Although a formal evaluation is yet to be conducted, the available data reveals a recidivism rate of only 9%.

Youth Community and the Law Program

Sunshine Court, in partnership with Youth Junction Inc. developed this program. It is designed for young offenders between the ages of 18 and 25 years who appear at Sunshine and Werribee Courts. Following a plea hearing, the young offender is referred for an assessment. The case is adjourned for a period of three months for the young offender to address the issues leading to the offending behaviour. A "one stop shop", tailor made package is developed for the young person which may include housing, employment, education and training, drug and alcohol counselling and treatment, offence focused counselling, financial assistance, physical and mental health assessments, recreation and culturally specific programs. Youth Junction Inc. provides a comprehensive report when the offender returns to court. This is also not a diversionary program. All sentencing dispositions are available to a Magistrate. This program has been very successful in assisting young offenders break the cycle of offending. The program was recently featured on the ABC 7.30 Victoria.³

Legal Assistance and Financial Counselling Project

In 2010, the Sunshine Court partnered with the Footscray Legal Service and Anglicare to provide legal advice and financial counselling to people who have had civil judgements entered against them. Prior to this program, all those required to attend court to answer a summons for oral examination would attend court regarding their ability to repay outstanding debts with no assistance available to them.

The Legal Service provides advice on bankruptcy, financial hardship, instalment applications under the Debt Recovery Act. The program commenced at the Werribee Court in September 2012. The Footscray Legal Service has identified particularly vulnerable groups within the community such as those having difficulty making their council rate payments and taxi drivers, who are often newly arrived migrants on student visas. The Legal Service negotiates with creditors and makes representations on behalf of those before the Court.⁴

Community Engagement with the African Australian Community

The Sunshine region has a high proportion of newly arrived migrant and refugee communities. In order to engage offenders, it is necessary for the court to understand where the people are from, what they have experienced and to develop a supportive network within their own community to assist in addressing the offending behaviour.

In October 2011, following a community forum organised by Western Region Health, Sunshine Court commenced a series of dinners with members of the African Australia community. Initially, Magistrates, our Family Violence Registrar, S/C Richard Dove from the Victoria Police Multicultural Unit and Theresa Dowd from Western Region Health met with local religious leaders, Imams from Mosques from the northern and western suburbs of Melbourne, for dinner at an African restaurant in Footscray.

Over the next eight-month period, further dinners were held with community elders at a variety of African restaurants. The dinners provided an opportunity to meet and discuss every day concerns in the local community including their children, particularly their contact with the criminal justice system, the difficulties experienced as newly arrived migrants, child protection, family law and family violence issues.

Arrangements were put in place for the Imams and community members to visit Sunshine Court. On each visit our Senior Registrar, Lee Arbaci, conducted tours of the court that involved observing court proceedings, meeting staff and visiting various registries. Following the tour, afternoon tea and a "Q & A" session was held with the visitors and members of the Victoria Police Family Violence Unit, our Family Violence Registrar, our Applicant Support Worker, Legal Aid Lawyers, Magistrates, our Judicial Registrar, Teresa Dowd and Richard Dove. Moses Lado, who is the New and Emerging Community Liaison Officer for the North West Metro region of Victoria Police, also attended dinners and court visits.

In June 2012, a dinner was arranged with the young African Australian leaders, the Neighbourhood Justice Centre, Sunshine Court and the Brotherhood of St Lawrence. A Reference group has been formed to ensure ongoing communication between the court and the community.

Family Violence partnerships

I am the Lead Magistrate at the Magistrate's Family Violence Division at Ballarat and I am the Regional Co-ordinating at Sunshine Court. Each of the courts relies on partnerships in the community to deal in a more holistic way with families experiencing family violence. Both courts have legal aid lawyers and lawyers from the community legal services to provide advice and appear on behalf of the parties. Sunshine Court has a specialist legal service for women and children of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities. This unique service, the In Touch Legal Service, commenced as a pilot project on 14 January 2013. Referrals are made by an In Touch family violence worker and by the Applicant Support Worker to the legal service, for family violence and family law advice.

As I have previously outlined, the Family Violence Division at Ballarat has a mandated counselling program. On the making of a final intervention order, all respondents who fall within gazetted postcodes are referred for an eligibility assessment for the counselling program. The Respondent worker conducts the eligibility assessment and prepares a report for the Magistrate who makes the counselling order. The Respondent worker also makes referrals to drug and alcohol agencies, for physical and mental health issues, housing and employment.

Since the Family Violence Division commenced in June 2005, there have been many occasions where police and other agencies have collaborated to make a difference to the lives of the people who appear before the court. I recall one case where a woman with an intellectual disability was in a relationship with a violent partner. Police would regularly bring an application to protect the applicant but she would attend court and explain that she wished to remain in the relationship. The Office of Public Advocate became involved and police worked with various community agencies to support the applicant who ultimately managed to separate from her partner and dramatically change her life.

Sunshine and Werribee courts make referrals to family violence services such as Men's Behaviour Change Programs, specialist family services for women and children, including specialist CALD community services and other agencies. Over time community networks have developed. For example, on 24 September 2010, the Sunshine court, in partnership with the Immigrant Women's Domestic Violence Service, organised a community forum to address increasing rates of family violence within the Indian community. The forum attracted

lawyers, police, academics, and a large number of community and support agencies within the Indian community. Partnerships were created at the forum that enabled the court to make appropriate referrals and ensure greater safety in that community. The court has regular contact with the Australia India Society.

A support group for CALD women has been established through a partnership with the Sunshine Court and Djerriwarrah Community Health Centre. Women who attend court in relation to a family violence application are often isolated and have little or no support. Currently about 25 women with their children attend a multicultural group to meet and share experiences.

The court also participates in White Ribbon Day celebrations and has been involved with the EVA family violence, media awards since they commenced. In my view, it is important for the court to join with other partners in the community to draw attention to the nature and prevalence of family violence. Family violence is not a court or policing problem, it is a community problem that will only be addressed by taking a whole of community approach. We need good role models from every section of the community.

Road Trauma Awareness Seminars

We are fortunate in Victoria to have the Road Trauma Support Service (RTSS) that is a state-wide counselling, education and support service specialising in the impact of road trauma. I regularly sit on a panel with a member of the support service, police, local council, victims and family members of road trauma and offenders who have served terms of imprisonment for culpable driving.

These panels are the result of partnerships designed to create greater community awareness of risk taking behaviour on our roads.

I have endeavoured to give just a few examples of the systematic way in which our Magistrates' Court takes a multi-disciplinary approach to offending behaviour. I have not touched upon the extensive partnerships currently in place and programs that have been developed in our Children's Court.

By forming partnerships in the community, the court is likely to achieve better outcomes for offenders and of course the community by providing support and maintaining that support over time.

I expect you will agree this is a critical matter for the whole justice system- and the whole community.

(This paper was delivered at the Australasian Council of Women and Policing Conference in Adelaide, August 2013).

End Notes

1. M.S King "Solutions-Focused Judging Bench Book "The Australian Institute of Judicial Administration Inc & Legal Services Board. <http://www.ajia.org.au/index.php/ajia-publications>
2. An evaluation of the CISP program has been conducted. See Dr S Ross, Evaluation of the Court Integrated Services Program Melbourne Consulting & Custom Programs, University of Melbourne 2009. Courts & Tribunal Unit 8 June 2010 www.justice.vic.gov.au
3. The program featured on the ABC 7.30 Victoria on 21 June 2013.
4. 6 December 2012 "Report Council Debt Collection Alternatives to Suing Ratepayers in Hardship" www.footscrayclc.org.au

About the Author

Noreen Toohey has been a Magistrate and Coroner for 19 years. Prior to her appointment, Noreen was in private practice and a solicitor with the Victorian Office of Public Prosecutions. She is the Lead Magistrate at the Specialist Family Violence Division at Ballarat and is the Regional Co-ordinating Magistrate for the Sunshine Region in the western suburbs of Melbourne. Noreen is a member of the Victorian Magistrates' Family Violence and Family Law Portfolio Committee.

Dynamics of Gender and Police Culture: A Case Study of Tamil Nadu, India

Professor Mangai Natarajan, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, The City University of New York

Introduction

In 1997, Indian Labour Law legislation required a 33% representation of women in all government sectors. The then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Ms. Jayalalitha Jayaraman (a champion for women and their welfare), one of the southern states of India, seized the opportunity to ensure that 33% of new recruits to the state's police force were women.

This raised the representation of women in the Tamil Nadu police from less than 5% to almost 15% now, way above the national average. The increased representation of women in the police has begun to change the culture of the organization which had been an almost exclusively male preserve.

The influx of new cohorts of women into the police provided the opportunity to undertake this study to understand and assess the changes in police constabulary culture since 1997.

Using a structured questionnaire and group interviews, I gathered data in 2010 from 222 men and 218 women police constables with 13 years or less service in the Tamil Nadu Police.

The purposes of my study were to examine:

- how well women have been integrated into performing police tasks and the degree to which they are interested in performing various police tasks in comparison with their male counterparts
- how their male counterparts judge their performance
- how contented they are with their roles

Demographics

Most of the study participants were young and were raised in villages. A large majority (above 40%) stated they joined the police force to serve society; a quarter joined the police as a career and the rest joined the police just as any other job. Women officers in the sample were somewhat younger and less experienced than male officers. Also a higher percentage of women studied in single sex schools.

Assignment to police tasks

No significant differences between men and women officers were found in the tasks to which they were assigned. This indicates that the police management has been allocating officers impartially, presumably to serve the goals of integration.

Interest in Police Tasks

Officers were asked if they are very interested, interested and not interested in the tasks. More than half the respondents were very interested in all law enforcement tasks including interviewing suspects, community relations, collecting evidence, surveillance, assisting in making arrests and service duties including giving advice to the public, dealing with general disputes and in intervening in family crisis and clerical and station duties.

Women officers showed much less interest than men in dealing with traffic patrol (also general purpose motor patrol); dealing with traffic accidents and offences and traffic management.

Capabilities of undertaking police tasks:

Assessment of the opposite sex

The Tamil Nadu constabulary undertakes 35 police tasks within six categories.

1. Law and order duties;
2. Investigative duties;
3. Traffic management;
4. Escort duties;
5. Service duties; and
6. Clerical and station duties

Significant differences were found between men and women officers' assessment in all but one of the 35 of the tasks (escorting women prisoners between jail and court). The Kolmogorov Smirnov test indicates striking gender differences ($p < .000$ level) in 22 of the tasks where men appraised women as performing worse. Men thought women were better suited to just a few tasks: questioning victims of rape, interviewing female suspects, mobile counseling/child/women helpline duties, and clerical work.

Finally, women officers thought they were equal to men in performing the following tasks: child abuse cases; community liaison; domestic disputes; 'eve-teasing' patrolling; postal duty; court duty; computer work and writing reports.

Preferred Role

Distinctly fewer of the present sample of women than samples I have previously questioned preferred an integrated role. Particularly notable is that a much higher percent (41.9) preferred a traditional gender role when compared to the officers' responses in 2000, the cohort which was hired under 1997 labor law legislation, of whom only 7.9% preferred a traditional role. When originally questioned, those officers were very young and had spent less than two years in the force. It is therefore surprising that the women of the present sample who had undergone several years of training equal to men overwhelmingly preferred a traditional role.

In sum:

- (1) there were no differences between men and women in the duties to which they had been assigned during their service;
- (2) men and women were equally interested in performing the full range of police duties, except that women officers were much less interested in duties involving traffic patrols, traffic accidents and offenses, and traffic management;
- (3) there was general agreement between men and women that most police duties were performed more effectively by men, with just a few exceptions including dealing with domestic disputes, incidents where the offenders or victims were women or children and some clerical and station duties; and
- (4) a notably higher proportion of the current sample of women than in previous studies undertaken since 1988 said they preferred a traditional policing role.

Conclusions: Dynamics of Gender and Police Culture

The main conclusion of the study is that in spite of the increased representation of women in the police force and their broad exposure to wide range of duties, they are still negatively perceived by their male counterparts. These negative perceptions seem to have been internalized by women officers who believe that male officers are more suited to undertaking a broad range of police tasks. Furthermore, they themselves generally prefer a more traditional “gendered” role in the police force than an integrated “police task” role.

But perhaps it is simplistic to put all the blame on negative attitudes of male officers. The truth is that there are other important factors that could help explain the gender and police culture which were substantiated by the group interviews of this study.

These include:

1. Public perceptions;
2. Inherent problems of policing;

3. Gendering of police tasks and
4. Gender (in) sensitive management.

Final Words

Policing is still seen in countries such as India as an “unsuitable job for a woman”. The belief that women are unsuited for policing, has become an inherent part of the police culture which seriously hinders women’s progress in policing. While reshaping these beliefs is important, reshaping the beliefs about women in the society at large will also play an important part in re-shaping police culture.

The “mantra” of equal representation holds that men and women in policing should be equally valued and rewarded for the work they perform. But gender stereotypes have impeded the progress of women in policing and have played an unfortunate role in devaluing their work. However, due to their increased representation in the police forces throughout the world, women have proven that they have a place in police forces equal

to men. Though equality in terms of the numbers may be denied to women in the police forces, women have special tasks to fulfil. If women succeed in achieving their personal and professional goals, whatever the hindrances, they will be role models for future generations of women police.

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About the Author

Mangai Natarajan Ph.D is a Professor in the Department of Criminal Justice at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, the City University of New York.

She is an active policy oriented researcher, and has published widely on the topic of women in policing. Her current research includes compiling an inventory of best practices of police responses to domestic violence across cultures.

Women Police Networking in Pakistan

Aliya Sethi, Senior Gender Advisor, Gender Responsive Policing Pakistan

Networking is an empowering process for women to galvanize initiatives aimed at cultivating women's leadership, empowerment and equality across identity lines. The context of women in policing in Pakistan unfolds a set of opportunities and challenges to engage in collaborative actions to improve the situation of women in police and enhance delivery of police services for women in the community.

The successful practice of networking worldwide for participation, development, empowerment, equality and justice inspires the beginners to replicate and adapt the process in their specific settings to accomplish similar ideals. The experience of women police networking establishes the ground for equivalent initiatives in other parts of the world to deal with a combination of structural and systemic barriers causing policy, organizational and policing service related gender issues. It is understood that networking is not the only solution and a stand-alone enterprise, however, if functions effectively can prove to be a powerful instrument for collective thinking, learning and action.

The value of networking becomes more evident while dealing with a complex set of gender based challenges. The social construction of gender relations and its manifestation in the form of inequalities between women and men through various institutional settings calls for conscious and extensive struggle to change the norms of inequality. Individual consciousness and collective will to act are the key requisites for the process and the outcomes of empowerment and equality.

The vision and scope of gender driven networking are, however, dependent upon the contextual reality, which is from where we are starting, with whom we are working, how much we can deliver, how long we can rely on an external support, what are the options for sustainability, and to what extent we can leverage change. The functionality of the network is largely conditional to the level of the consciousness of the leaders and the members. Their awareness, personal belief, motivation, and a sense of communal responsibility and direction determine the pace and progress of the network.

Women's Identity in Police

The institution of police in Pakistan, being part of the society, exhibit values and norms that reinforce gender stereotypes consciously or unconsciously. Traditionally, the institution is mostly represented by the male segment of the society. The organizational culture invariably personifies male norms of engagement, and hence the workplace offers more space and voice to the policemen relative to the women police. The gendered nature of the institution has cause and effect implications on the issues of exclusion, inclusion, engagement, contribution and elevation of women in police. A major challenge in the way of change is the organizational claim of gender neutrality and equation of gender equality with a sameness of the sexes. The dominant view within the police is that it's a man's field and if women enter the profession then they should be ready to fit into the existing model. A model that characterizes male traits and expects both men and women to conform to the same with little recognition of gender differences and capacity to systematically address the distinct needs and interests of both women and men.

The dominant masculine culture of the police invariably disqualifies feminine values and rules of engagement at work. It creates tensions and contradictions for women in the performance of the policing role and behaviour at work. Women police on the one hand are expected to display men's style of work while at another end are being judged for not conforming to a standard pattern of feminine behaviour. The constant dilemma of fitting in or fitting out at work and the act of

balancing life between work and family are the real pressures for women police to deal with. These challenges are common to all women police though with a varying degree of prevalence. The gender based challenges since caused by entrenched ideologies, thus cannot be tackled just by targeting the individual's behaviour and capacity.

The ideologies of male breadwinner and female home maker, man in public space and woman for a private sphere, man head of the household and woman a caregiver, and man responsible for production and woman for social reproduction etc. influence the identity of women and men and shape the culture of the different institutions. Power relations and discriminatory practices are maintained and justified on the basis of the structural ideologies. Therefore an institutional approach is essential to introduce a system wide reform.

Women in law enforcement constitute less than 1% of the police personnel. Women are mostly concentrated at the lower ladder of the institutional hierarchy. The combination of external and internal factors discourage qualified women to enter the profession. Limited strength and invisible role and profile of women police constraint the possibility of demonstrating female role models within the profession. There is a little need and no urgency on the part of the police institution to increase the number of women police, enhance their role and positioning and engage women police in dealing with community women and improve policing services for combating gender based crimes. There are isolated examples of motivated women and willing men supporting the agenda of women's inclusion and progression. A critical mass of individual strength and collective support appears to be missing, which is necessary to create an impact for empowerment of women within and outside the police.

Initiatives for Empowerment

Empowering women police to assert their role and positioning in police and expanding options for community women to avail sensitive policing services are the two key aspects of empowerment in the context of policing. Women's inclusion in police is critical from the perspective of the rights based approach for realization of a range of individual's rights as rights holders. The state institutions as duty bearers are responsible and accountable for ensuring a level playing field for inclusive participation and assurance of basic services to women citizens.

The presence of women in police requires acceptance, recognition, visibility and diversity; the ingredients that establish relevancy of women's role in policing. Enhanced status of women in police can also have an empowering effect as it promotes a women friendly image of police enabling women in distress to access police with a confidence to be heard empathetically and facilitated immediately.

Gender sensitive measures are essential to deal with explicit and implicit challenges of inequality. Readiness of the institution to create space for transformation is crucial. Meaningful dialogue with policy and decision makers is fundamental for initiating a process of change. External support in terms of technical assistance can provide a necessary support to generate demand for change and mobilizes resources for realizing the desired outcomes. The commitment and capacity of the steering stakeholders (implementers) are determining factors for success of the empowerment initiatives in police. In Pakistan, the empowerment initiatives in police are underway with the objectives to foster inclusive participation within the organization and facilitate gender just access to policing through improved service provision.

In situations, where there is a lack of recognition of women's role in police and the number is abysmally low, an emphasis on improved representation of women in police is of strategic value. The increased number can draw attention of the decision makers to accommodate the professional interests of women police alongside men. Developing capacities and competencies of existing cadre of women police is another element of empowerment for performing the policing functions as per the professional standards.

The transition of women's role from auxiliary to the core policing has been slow, and thus the focus is on enhancing the role, visibility and positioning of women in police. Inclusive participation entails moving women from margins to mainstream of policing by revisiting the expectations and diversifying women's role in policing. Cultivating gender sensitive environment is an important dimension for building confidence of women police on organizational values and expanding opportunities for them to contribute fully and progress equally.

At the service provision level, two overarching priorities for police are to assimilate gender sensitive learning into police training and enrich policing services with a gender-equality perspective. Minimum standards on gender learning guides the training policy of the police to ensure analysis, development and integration of standard values, content and skills in police training curriculum and the training environment.

The sensitization on gender issues and dealing with gender based crimes through implementation of standard operating procedures are significant interventions for improving awareness and skills of men and women police on effectively handling the cases of violence against women. Establishment of women desks in mainstream police stations and assigning women police to facilitate women in distress are measures included in the action plans of the police organizations to promote responsiveness to the distinct protection needs of citizens and particularly empower women in need of the police assistance.

The Gender Strategy of Police 2012 – 2016 captures all the strategic priorities outlined above for cultivating gender sensitive thinking and practice in police. The Gender Strategy provides guidelines to the police organizations to systematically plan and implement the initiatives given their specific gender and security situations. The real measure of success would be how far the police organizations move forward on the strategic priorities.

Women Police Network: Expanding Options

The establishment of the Women Police Network (WPN) in Pakistan is a nascent initiative, emerged out of deliberations of the first National Women Police conference. The Gender Audit of Police Organization identified the need for a collective forum for women police to share professional experiences and influence policy actions for women's status elevation within the police. The Gender Strategy of Police proposes networking among women police to promote learning, collaboration, inspiration and action for better positioning of women in police and improved service provision for women in distress.

The Network, established in July 2012 with representation from eight police organizations of Pakistan, aims at enhancing the networking and learning opportunities to promote women's status and leadership in police service and facilitate gender just policing practices especially on issues of crimes against women.

The Network operates at the national and organizational level through the Board of Directors and the Women Police Councils respectively. The Board of WPN comprises of senior rank women police officers as Directors, two from each of the eight police organizations. A senior most Director serves as the President of the Network. The organizational level Women Police Councils have 6-10 women police as office bearers representing different geographical divisions/regions. A Gender Crime Centre based in the National Police Bureau acts as

secretariat of the WPN and coordinates the meetings and functions of the Network. The Network protocols are in place and its activities revolve around the following key functions;

- Capacity Development (skill training and core competencies development)
- Awareness raising (seminars, orientation sessions, campaigns)
- Sharing of best practices (conferences & publications)
- Lobbying for policy actions (discussion forums); and
- Linkages (interaction with community and related stakeholders)

The process of awareness and capacity building is happening to inspire the WPN office bearers as leaders and change makers to discover their passion, purpose and power of engagement. Formalizing the Network and working beyond the official assignments for professional interests is a new concept and experience for many of the women police officers. The variation in leadership ranks and positioning within their respective police organizations make it challenging for them to garner support for steering the respective Women Police Councils.

A constant interaction is hence essential to promote a shared vision of the WPN and enable the WPN leaders to think big and act proactively. It is important to develop requisite capacities of the office bearers to feel motivated and capable of communicating the WPN vision, informing and inspiring the women police (members), building alliances within and outside the police, profiling the Councils, developing and implementing the activity plans, engaging with seniors for policy actions and dealing with the resistance.

The journey of the Network begins by taking into account the organizational and professional realities of women police. Networking is not a linear process and needs to align with the organizational hierarchy, present capacity of the Network leaders and possibilities for positive change. The role of the leadership, especially the President and the Directors is a key to set the vision and strategic priorities for the WPN. The Councils needs guidance and facilitation from the Board on how to plan and prioritize activities and engage in policy action so as to influence confidently.

The WPN's priorities are set in synergy with the Gender Strategy of Police and the annual activity plans are developed to complement the priorities. The meetings, conferences and symposiums are being organized to promote mutual learning, educate on essentials of networking, illustrate networking practices and highlight the role of WPN leaders as change makers to inspire and empower the process of networking for the women police at large. Under the banner of WPN, a Leadership Development Training Program (LDTP) is being conceptualized for WPN leaders and members. The training on Personal Effectiveness was conducted for the Councils as a part of the LDTP.

The Women Police Councils are taking different initiatives to share WPN information, create awareness on the issue of Violence against Women and legislation on sexual harassment at the workplace, encourage recruitment of women in police through campaigns and liaise with service providing NGOs on VAW. The Councils are also engaging with senior police officers on issues concerning professional interests of women police, such as keeping women's recruitment target, assigning investigation duties to women police, involving them in crime management meetings and rectifying barriers to their promotion.

The value of the Networking is being recognized by the women police. The Board and the Councils are confident to contribute towards strengthening of the WPN. The President of WPN believes that the 'Network can become an effective forum, if we all commit ourselves to contribute, engage, support and perform to deal with issues affecting women in police and improve policing services for women in distress'.

The WPN Directors have started internalizing the notion of collective thinking and action for empowerment. They consider it a forum with potential to identify challenges, propose actions and lobby for change.

In a WPN Symposium, the Directors mentioned that the Network gives members a collective strength and voice to raise their issues with the senior management. Referring to the attributes of the networking, a Director stated that 'the WPN must plan and implement its initiatives and the office bearers should show commitment, raise professional standards and take swift actions on important matters'.

Another Director affirmed that 'Our scope of work has extended beyond the police stations and our responsibility towards women has considerably increased. The Network can add value to the empowerment initiatives of enhancing the role and status of women in police and changing the culture and image of the police.' A Council lead stated that 'the Network is a promising step, a significant shift from a conventional approach to deal with issues of women's inclusion, visibility, and progression in police and address concerns of women victims of violence through sensitive policing services'.

Conclusion

The statements of the Network leaders illustrate their resolve to progress by investing in personal change, strengthening leadership, building effective team, and carving spaces for bargaining and influencing the decisions affecting women's well-being in the policing context. One of the tasks of the WPN is to extend its outreach and establish linkages with similar regional and international networks, learn from their good practices and improve their own processes. The participation in international police conferences is part of this learning and experience sharing process.

Going forward, the WPN will also contribute to the initiative of the international women police network on Gender Responsive Policing. The formalization of the international network is in progress. The idea of the international network emerged out of the deliberations of the 2nd International Islamic Women Police Conference held in Pakistan.

The success of the WPN will bear results for the women police officers as members of the Network and for the police as an institution to showcase its ownership and policy support for the WPN. The Network leaders and members through their passion, participation and action for change can make the WPN a rewarding experience and weave the success story of the Network to be told to others with pride.

(This paper was delivered at the Australasian Council of Women and Policing Conference in Adelaide, August 2013).

About the Author

Ms Sethi specializes in social and gender in development field and has an academic qualification in Public Administration and Gender & Development. Her technical assistance in the field of gender and policing at policy level includes engagement in Gender Audit of Police, development of Gender Strategy of Police & Gender Training Standards and facilitation in Networking of Women Police. The Gender Responsive Policing Project was implemented by the National Police Bureau and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH in Pakistan with the support from the German Federal Foreign Office"

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Arresting Behaviours

Social Media and Its Uses in Helping Victims of Sexual Assault

Carolyn Worth – South Eastern Centre Against Sexual Assault, Victoria

This article offers an alternate view about social media and its possibilities for victims of sexual assault to the e-crime version where people are at risk of predators. It also looks at some of the questions we receive from users of social media and how we deal with the issues.

History

The South Eastern Centre Against Sexual Assault (SECASA) started in 1977, 36 years ago, providing a service to female victims of recent sexual assault. By the late 1990s services were available for child victims of sexual abuse, male victims who preferred a male counsellor, children with problematic sexual behaviour; a program for adolescents with sexually abusive behaviour was available, as was alternate therapeutic approaches such as mosaic, clay and art groups. SECASA also had a Legal Clinic for clients wanting assistance with compensation claims, prevention programs in primary and secondary schools run with peer educators and had started working with victims of family violence.

All these additions to service provision came about as we tried to make our service more accessible to various groups. We moved into the community out of a large teaching hospital. We opened locations in population growth areas trying to cover our region of 1.2 million people in a more accessible manner. We marketed the service to the gay community by attending Pride March and Midsumma, and liaising with CALD groups.

We accessed indigenous communities by using Aboriginal paintings for our service posters, Making Rights Reality for victims with a cognitive impairment and alternate therapies for clients who did not find talk therapy useful. By 2000 we had 45 workers and 8 locations. In 2007 we co-located with Victoria Police in a Multi Disciplinary Centre where 16 SECASA staff share with four Department of Human Services Child Protection workers and 23 Victoria Police members.

We were conscious, however, that there were people who did not access our service for a range of reasons including:

- Mobility problems

- Not being ready for face-to-face counselling or therapy
- A desire to anonymously access information
- Psychological problems
- Preferring to use on line services rather than attending at an office

We had started in the late 1990s looking at the newly developing web technology as an option for providing services for additional groups of clients who we thought were not interested in face to face services or found them too difficult to access but still wanted information or support. There are two inter-related issues that are relevant to our service development. First, the prevalence of sexual assault and second, the extraordinary proliferation of social media over the past decade and what that means for organizations such as SECASA as they come to terms with these changes.

Statistics

Sexual assault is mostly a hidden crime which takes place in private and is no respecter of class or gender. Marginalized and disadvantaged people are more likely to be assaulted. This poses specific problems with making a service available to different populations of victims and survivors, especially people in isolated and remote areas and with mobility issues.

Fergusson and Mullen (1999) in a review of international research concluded that 1 in 3 females under the age of 18 would experience a sexual assault and 1 in 6 males under the age of 18. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Personal Safety Survey (2006) reported that most people do not report a sexual assault to anyone, even their closest friend or relative, and that 1 in 5 females and 1 in 20 males had experienced sexual violence since the age of 15.

These statistics pose a specific issue for sexual assault centres as they work in an area with a high prevalence of criminal offences and limited reporting for many reasons including embarrassment, distrust of the judicial system to treat victims respectfully and the different ways people deal with trauma.

Social Media

How does social media fit into the prevalence of sexual assault and the low rates of reporting? In 1998 SECASA created a static website whose primary purpose at the time was to reduce the number of brochures we printed and talks we gave to students, members of the public and professionals. We won awards for our website and for a while thought that would be sufficient involvement in the new technologies.

By the mid 2000s it became apparent that there were other changes happening in the world of the internet that could not be ignored if you were committed to accessible service delivery. Website users were surveyed and if it was found only 5 percent were under 18 years of age. This was on a website which, at that time, had 350,000 unique visitors per year. A number of overseas surveys concluded that the internet was increasingly pivotal in the lives of teenagers for information finding and as a hub of their social lives (Keffer 2008). Another researcher, Borzekowski found that 1 in 5 adolescents stated they went to the internet to research a difficult health topic.

Other research indicated that young people were using the web in different ways to adults. It was suggested that they preferred to ask their on-line friends for information rather than their parents. Clearly sexual assault comes into the arena of difficult topics and for many young people a difficult health topic.

We created a youth website, **SECASAYouth**. The youth website is small and colourful with an emphasis on constantly changing content delivered in small blocks that are easy to read on a mobile phone screen. It directs users wanting more information to on-line and downloadable resources on other sites.

It promotes youth oriented messages about safe partying, safer sex, cyberbullying and keeping yourself safe in relation to web cams, and mobile phone cameras. Later, the website was made mobile phone friendly as it became clear that young people are more likely to look for information via their smart phone than on a computer.

SECASA also started to deal with the issue of sexting following a large number of requests from schools and workers for information about the legal situation after a number of young men were put on the Sex Offender Register in Victoria over sexting charges. Magistrates have no discretion in this matter in Victoria at present, whatever their views about the situation. It was clear there was a clash of adult and adolescent cultures. Adolescents see sexting or selfies as a private activity when between boyfriend and girlfriend. However, sending photos of yourself either naked or in intimate poses is currently a criminal activity in Victoria if you are under 18. This will be the situation until legislation intended to catch paedophiles is amended. Police have generally stopped charging young people of similar ages when the photo is not transmitted to a third party without the consent of the original sender but the activity is still illegal.

In 2005, SECASA decided as an agency to address the social media issue and see what worked. There was a brief flirtation with Second Life which did not prove very successful. Our Avatar was sexually assaulted which was an interesting way for SECASA to discover how on line virtual realities can work. A Myspace site was created which in retrospect was not the best choice but eight years ago it was not that clear whether Myspace or FaceBook would be more popular. Now with over one billion FaceBook users against 120 million for Myspace it is clear. However, this is not an area where there are any certainties.

The one fact we know is that the top 15 social networking sites have over 1.5 billion users. The opportunities for providing a service and information free to such a huge audience are unequalled in any other forum. In addition you receive instant feedback and that for a direct service agency is invaluable.

Our Myspace site proved successful. A FaceBook page was set up and that was also successful. We had new friends, visits, group memberships and blog viewings. We used weekly bulletins to deliver sexual assault information in a non-threatening manner. These bulletins were often reposted to the friend networks of our friends and then onto their friends and so on forever giving us greater coverage than old fashioned brochures and posters.

Then we started our involvement with Yahoo! Answers which is a community-driven knowledge market website launched by Yahoo! in December 2005. It is a large site that allows people to ask questions that are answered by the general public. The quality

of the answers depends on who answers the questions. It is a very popular site and has 15 million users daily. We were also asked to be part of the panel answering questions on the Somazone site run by the Australian Drug Foundation.

Here are a couple of examples of the types of questions we find sitting on Yahoo! Answers or are asked to answer on Somazone that will give you an idea why we pursue these options.

When I was sexually abused, the guy who did it, his cousin sat there and watched the full thing. I know it's wrong. If I went to the Police would anything happen about the guy who watched even if he didn't do anything? It's just been running through my head.

I was raped lotsa times when I was a kid by this man. I had counselling and dealt with it. That was over ten years ago tho and I cant have a sexual relations so I haven't had a boyfriend ever. I am really sad and lonely. Please help.

I'm 16 and my Dad has sex with me. Is this right?

I think I am in love but we only text and chat on Facebook. He calls me cute and compliments me. Recently he's been asking for a picture of my boobs. I am not sure what to think about this relationship. Please help me.

Im being bulled a lot at school because of this photo. Please somebody help? I don't know how to get this photo out of google images. I've tried using webmaster removal tool but it didn't work. I can give the image url if any1 can et it removed off google images."

These are questions that are not asked in any other forum. We do not get asked these type of questions on Duty or at Intake. So we continue to monitor these forums and dedicate time to dealing with these questions as a commitment to accessibility and breaking the silence. We understand the risk of questions that are just posted to cause a controversy but we have a policy of dealing with all queries in a respectful manner as they all give us an opportunity to disseminate accurate information.

We were involved in a research project with the Australian Catholic University to look at: 'The use of an on-line site to seek information and help after sexual assault'. We put considerable resources into Yahoo! Answers, and other social media sites and wanted to

make sure that this was an efficient use of resources and was effective. This project analyzed 69 posted questions about sexual assault and 391 answers. A comparison between the answers from SECASA's Cyber Team and the Yahoo Community revealed major differences in the type of tone of the responses. The responses posed by SECASA were more systematic and showed greater detail, accuracy and support than those posted by the Yahoo Community. SECASA received the most votes for the 'best' answer by both Askers and the Yahoo Community. This reinforced our view that it was important we put resources into responding on these sites.

As SECASAs social media presence grew we were seen as knowing more about it than other comparable agencies. That was accurate in the field we inhabit. When the on-line project worker found she was spending large amounts of time talking about various social media, internet and associated issues SECASA created the Social Media Safety brochure in conjunction with Victoria Police.

When the sexting issue started to take up a lot of time we decided to create a sexting information pack and the Department of Education and Early Childhood Development asked us to provide two packs to each secondary school in Victoria. With the aid of a grant from the Victorian Law Foundation we provided over 4000 packs. We also created an app to allow for anonymous reporting of sexual assault S.A.R.A. for people who were not willing to report to the Police and did not use Crimestoppers.

Conclusion

SECASA is still pursuing social media avenues. For all the negative publicity about cyber bullying, the dangers of on line dating and paedophiles grooming young girls, it is an amazing resource. One Billion Rising is a campaign to raise awareness about violence against women. It was publicized almost entirely on line and attracted hundreds of women to dance at Federation Square in Melbourne and at similar events around Australia. They are now planning their 2014 event. We Will Not Go Quietly is a rape victim's brave response to a stranger assault. The woman concerned went public and published a ezine¹ which is an on line magazine. The SlutWalk is also a Facebook event in Melbourne and the initial comment by a Toronto Police Officer in January 2011 that lead to the SlutWalk was also posted on line and went viral.

On a more global level last year there was a Saudi woman detained by the country's religious police after she launched a campaign against the ban on women drivers in the ultra-conservative kingdom, Her supporters through Facebook organized a mass rally about this issue.

The challenge for SECASA is how we keep up with this approach. Counsellors are not usually chosen for their technological skills. Technological skills alone do not answer the types of questions we deal with on Yahoo Answers or Somazone. As an agency we need to put some thought into how we train workers who are interested in this area to provide a responsive appropriate service.

But we have started down this path and have moved from seeing it as a side issue to service provision to being an integral part of our service provision. SECASA now allocates two counselling positions, or the equivalent funding, into this area.

The present SECASA with over 50 workers bears almost no resemblance to the original sexual assault centre started in 1977 at the Queen Victoria Hospital with one person. We can see the same developmental path for our involvement in on line social networking sites. What seems a huge time and resource commitment in 10 years time will appear just a beginning as we move towards on-line counselling.

(This paper was delivered at the Australasian Council of Women and Policing Conference in Adelaide, August 2013).

End Note

1. To view this ezine go to <http://www.wewillnotgoquietly.wordpress.com/>

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About the Author

Carolyn Worth has been the Manager of the South Eastern Centre Against Sexual Assault for 21 years. She has worked in Vietnam for UNICEF providing family violence training and writing manuals for child protection training. Prior to her current position she worked in the Family Court of Australia for 9 years as a Court Counsellor. She is the Spokesperson for the CASA Forum which is the peak body for the Centres Against Sexual Assault in Victoria. Carolyn sits on a number of advisory committees and is the recipient of the Robin Clark Memorial Award and is on the Victorian Honour Roll of Women.

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