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**NEPEAN POLICE VICTIM CRISIS SERVICES:
CONTEXTUAL FACTORS AND SERVICE DEVELOPMENT**

by

SUSAN HULLEY, B.A. (Hons.)

**A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Social Work**

School of Social Work

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**"Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services:
Contextual Factors and Service Development"**

submitted by Susan Hulley, B.A. (Hons.)

**in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Social Work**

Thesis Supervisor

Director, School of Social Work

Carleton University

September 23, 1994

Abstract

This study reviewed the historical and political backdrop in which police victim services in reference to woman abuse emerged. Using the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services as a case study example an in-depth examination of the work was performed. The research design followed four successive phases. The first phase explored service development by examining incoming referrals over a five year span. The second phase examined the profile of internally directed "assault" and "domestic" referrals; a database was created by extracting various details from referrals directed during a six month period. The third phase explored the service objectives and the limits and possibilities of the work through telephone interviews with women counsellors. Phase four examined the views and experiences of two women referred to the service.

The study concluded that the crisis unit provides a potentially valuable service which needs to be more integrated with police work. Various contextual factors, most specifically the organizational structure, were established as operating to impede the work. Several recommendations were outlined aimed at improving the service delivery, confronting organizational power imbalances and improving the information/recording systems.

Acknowledgements

This paper is dedicated to my grandparents. To my beloved grandmother, Margaret Gibbs who passed away on September thirteenth, 1994. I always admired her intellectual curiosity and her interest in the world around her. To my grandfather, Ernest Gibbs for immeasurable loving support and his fundamental regard for me both as a child and as an adult.

I would like to acknowledge various family members and friends who contributed to the completion of this paper. Firstly, I am indebted to both my partner Larry Carroll and our son Joshua. It was Larry who encouraged me to begin this journey and who patiently endured throughout all its trials and tribulations. His faith, his tolerance and his love were a source of strength. It was Joshua who provided me with joyful respite and simplicity far from the complications of this task. His youth and innocence were refreshing.

I am grateful to my mother, Shirley Hulley, for her editorial comments, her unconditional support and her love. This paper would not have been possible without her assistance. In addition, I would like to thank my father, Mike Hulley, for providing my son with things that my student budget would not allow me and for urging me on in the end phases of this project. As well, I wish to thank my brother, Michael Hulley and my sister, Linda Hulley. Michael's invaluable knowledge, patience and guidance was crucial to

this endeavour. I have greatly appreciated the support that he has given me throughout all of my academic pursuits. I would also like to thank Linda for her support and for all we have shared over the years.

I wish to express sincere appreciation to two close friends, Natalie Pinch and Marie Turgeon. I thank Natalie for being there when needed and for believing in me when I doubted myself. I thank Marie for her knowledge and her constant faith. I also wish to acknowledge Edith Moore, my thesis advisor and Gillian Mercer, the coordinator of the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit. I thank Edith for her insight, her guidance and her sincerity. I thank Gillian for the valuable learning opportunity that she provided to me during my placement at the crisis unit and for her encouragement with this project.

Last, but by no means least, special recognition is extended to all the women participants who shared their experiences and knowledge with me. Their contributions were invaluable.

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NEPEAN POLICE VICTIM CRISIS SERVICES: CONTEXTUAL FACTORS AND SERVICE DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Present Investigation

This project reviews the development of police services in reference to "wife assault" and highlights more specifically the work of the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services while examining the limits and possibilities of the work given the administrative structure. The aim, in reference to the Nepean Service, was to explore the existing conditions and to use this as a guide towards future change. Although the specific findings speak directly to the Nepean Police Crisis Service they may also be of general relevance to other police based crisis services.

The work of the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services in relation to its involvement in both "domestic" and "assault" incidents is described and explored. Within these incidents the focus was largely restricted to an examination of cases involving male violence towards female partners. The descriptive sections utilized secondary data contained in records and files; the exploratory portions include information from staff working within the unit as well as women referred to the unit. Approval was obtained from the unit supervisor, the civilian coordinator and the Chief of Nepean Police (see Appendix A and Appendix B).

Although the actual primary data collection was limited to the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit, it is essential that one understand this service as one of a number of such services that has been inspired and shaped by structural forces. In general, all services go through a process in which they are shaped and influenced by the dominant ideology in which the service is housed. Additionally, the structure and operation of the organization itself is influenced by the dominant ideologies in society. An analysis of this specific service may therefore serve as a case study example.

Any discussion regarding a service developed by the state to target a "social problem" requires one to consider several important elements. Services of this nature have been developed and shaped by a host of contextual variables including: the organizational setting; the local community; the larger structural context; the academic community; the social service system; the legal system; institutional practices; and the state's political agenda. Hence, this paper, of necessity, is not restricted to a narrow discussion of the Victim Crisis Services within the Nepean Police Service as other influencing factors needed to be addressed.

Services offered to women at the level of policing could have many implications for social work practice. Many women who are being abused by men keep the abuse a secret, nevertheless, police contact may assist in breaking the silence. Police contact likely occurs at a point when the

woman's safety is at serious risk; therefore having a female crisis counsellor available to provide her with support and information could be crucial. This woman-to-woman contact could possibly assist in: facilitating safety; validating the woman's experiences and feelings; explaining women's rights and the judicial system; providing an important confidential individual contact at a time when the woman may be feeling vulnerable and overwhelmed; as well as provide her with realistic alternative options.

I recognize that this short-term service does not exist in isolation as it depends upon the availability of other resources within the Nepean community for referral purposes. However, services for women leaving, or living with, abusive men are insufficient and many of the existing services are vulnerable in terms of long term funding and community support (MacLeod, 1987; Torjman, 1988). Additionally, not all services, including the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services, cater to the needs of all women. Women are not a homogeneous group and forms of male violence and male control therefore, do not equally effect all women. These factors are likely to have an impact upon the Victim Crisis Service.

This research will focus specifically on the area that much of the literature refers to as "wife assault" or "wife abuse". I wish to qualify that this restrictive focus extracts one aspect of women's lives from the totality of their experience. In our patriarchal capitalist society women

are controlled and abused by men in many different ways. Various other forms of male violence and control include: pornography, sexual harassment, rape, child sexual abuse, job segregation, prostitution, and sexual exploitation. All forms of male violence are interrelated and isolating one form from the others may serve to minimize the extent of women's victimization as well as the insidious misogyny within our society. Yet, examining one form of male violence allows for a more in-depth focus and is a more realistic task for a paper of this nature. Nonetheless, this research is undertaken with the recognition of the interrelationship of this form of male violence with other forms of male violence.

Language

In the process of conducting this research I am forced to use expressions which will allow me to communicate to the reader. Inevitably I must use terms which will describe specific phenomena and which also appear in the literature. In doing so, I shall at times be decontextualizing social relations; however, abstractions, despite their limitations, are often necessary in communication. I recognize that many of the terms which appear in this paper are problematic and will highlight further some of the issues in this regard.

The use of language, such as words, theories, categories and concepts is crucial to my discussion. It is language which assists us in interpreting and organizing our world.

Language is a large component of that which enables us to act as social beings. It allows us to formulate and express our ideas and communicate with others. It has the power to shape our perceptions, and more importantly, screen or limit our perceptions.

The present political and institutional processes are mediated textually. Thus, ideologically structured modes of action, including images, vocabularies, concepts and abstract terms of knowledge are crucial elements in the practices of power. Women in our culture have largely been excluded from the formal textual process of constructing ideology (Smith, 1979; Smith, 1987).

The process of abstraction and concept formation is important as it is conceptual discourse which is often used to describe social relations. These terms, however, are abstractions and as such they serve to render important aspects of reality invisible. Yet, socially constructed concepts, theories, labels and categories, which decontextualize social relations, provide the discourse utilized in institutional and government practices (ibid).

The traditional research on men's violence towards women partners continually utilizes gender neutral language. Terms such as "spousal abuse", "spousal assault", "marital violence", "intimate violence", "family violence", "conjugal violence" and "domestic violence" are often employed in discussions referring specifically to men's violence toward

women partners. Within these gender neutral terms the abuser remains unnamed and the power imbalance invisible. Furthermore, they imply a reciprocity of violence and serve to privatize the issue. These terms are also often used by police personnel and in the reporting of woman abuse cases.

The discourse of "battering", "assault", and "abuse" have set the stage for responses within the legal system. Under this system the woman becomes the "victim" and the man the "perpetrator". With the addition of the "domestic" category utilized by the police, the gender relational aspects again disappear and private individualized undertones emerge. As well, the "domestic" category has become so inclusive that cases of male violence towards women partners are embedded within a mass of other reports. Piecing out these specific cases would be a burdensome task; although a necessary step in acquiring the specific incident rates.

The criminalization of "wife assault" has constructed the woman as a "victim". As well, victim services are designed to serve individual victims. What has transpired is a shift away from the oppression of women to the victimization of women. Victims and offenders are neutral terms void of any characteristics such as gender, class, ethnicity, age and ability. Victimization not only implies passivity it also describes a specific predicament involving the interaction of specific actors. It depicts actors as subjects with rights.

Oppression however, describes a much more complex phenomenon (Pitch, 1990).

Terms such as "abuse", "violence" and "threat" are also problematic, as they are very general abstractions. These terms encompass many different actions and are congenial ways of classifying acts which involve harming or controlling women. For example, utilizing the term "abuse" rather than identifying the specific acts of stabbing, punching, kicking, spitting, pushing, or pulling hair serves to obscure what is actually happening. These terms however, do appear in the present study.

The Researcher

It is now essential that I provide the reader with some relevant background information regarding my views. Firstly, I worked within the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services as a Master of Social Work placement student on a full-time basis for a period of approximately eight months. Secondly, I support the involvement of "civilian" women assisting other women at the level of policing. The concern for me however is that I feel these services should be feminist responsible despite the context; hence, they should operate on the basis of women's needs and be accountable to the "victims".

During my time with the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services I began to realize that police based crisis units could be very important in assisting women. Police stations

provide the only mobile twenty-four hour community crisis response and as such are often contacted when someone's life is in danger. The Police respond to a large number of calls regarding male violence towards women. Consequently, having access to police files and police contacts enables one to reach a large number of women who have been abused by men. This will be discussed further in the next chapter in the section which describes the rationale for this study.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: HISTORICAL/POLITICAL BACKGROUND AND STUDY RATIONALE

Introduction

Prior to outlining the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit or the methodology for the primary data collection, it is important that I provide the reader with some relevant background information which will serve to contextualize my research and highlight the concerns which led me to my thesis formation. In this process, I shall outline many of the important elements which have impacted upon the current form of police based victim crisis services and their response to "wife abuse". Male violence towards women has remained an inherent component of our social structure; consequently, examining an issue of this nature is complex as it requires one to address several important areas. As well, any state sponsored social service has arisen within the context of an important historical and political backdrop.

In this section I shall discuss many of the historical and political factors relevant to all police based victim services, including the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services. Firstly, I shall consider the extent of "wife assault" to illustrate that many women are abused and controlled by men and that "home" is not a safe place for many women. Having made reference to the severity of the abuse, I shall then outline a feminist analysis of male violence towards female partners and explore the grassroots feminist efforts which

stroved to bring the issue into the public domain. Once the issue was brought forth the status quo was challenged and various state responses, shaped by professional and institutional forces, ensued; these will also need to be explored. An inclusion of some of the salient needs of women abused by male partners will be required to gauge the feasibility of such services. In addition, I will discuss the inception of police based victim services and the service delivery models utilized. Next I will review evaluations of policed based victim services programs. Finally I will outline the rationale behind my study.

Pervasiveness of "wife abuse"

Numerous reports have documented the overwhelming prevalence of the victimization of women and children. Within the Canadian context, police statistics, combined with victimization survey results, indicate that a significant number of women are abused by men. Additionally, much of the violence is perpetrated by an assailant whom the woman knows. This situation leads one to conclude that violence towards women is a perilous inherent component of Canadian society.

The following figures will serve to illustrate the pervasiveness of violence against women as well as the inadequacy of service provision. It must be qualified that many of these figures exclude psychological, emotional, verbal or economic abuse; furthermore, there exists great

methodological debates which reflect that it is difficult to measure the extent of the problem (Currie & MacLean, 1992).

-At least one in four women are sexually assaulted at some point in their lives and half of these assaults occur before the women is seventeen (Brickman & Briere, 1984).

-A recent telephone survey conducted by Statistics Canada found that fifty-one percent of Canadian Women experienced at least one episode of physical or sexual violence, which could be considered an offense under the Criminal Code, since the age of sixteen. Further, twenty-five percent of the women revealed that they had experienced violence perpetrated by a current or former marital/common-law partner since the age of sixteen. (Statistics Canada 1993).

-Earlier estimates indicated that at least one in ten women is physically and/or sexually assaulted either by her former or present married or co-habiting partner (Lupri, 1989; MacLeod, 1980). Michael Smith's, (1987) research in the Toronto area found this number to be as high as one in four.

-The FBI estimates a women is severely beaten every seventeen minutes in the United States (Sinclair, 1985).

-It is estimated that a Canadian women is raped every eighteen minutes (Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres, as cited in Labatt, 1990).

-Sixty-two percent of all women murdered in Canada in 1987 were victims of "domestic violence" (Statistics Canada, 1988).

-One in 5 murders in Canada is a result of "domestic violence" and 85% of them are by men against women (The Family violence Prevention Project of the Community Child Abuse Council of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1990).

-New homes which open to house battered women and their children usually fill within 1 week of opening (ibid).

-One in 4 calls for space in transition homes in Ontario cannot be accommodated due to lack of space (ibid).

-Many women receive their first violent attack during pregnancy or just after giving birth (ibid; Helton & Snodgrass, 1987).

Within the context of the Nepean community, the Nepean Police Service, during 1991, received 903 calls for service

relating to a "domestic/disturbance" and 97 calls relating to a "sexual assault" (Nepean Police Service, 1992). As police calls involving male violence towards women may also come in under several other incident categories, a significant hidden statistic exists which I am unable to access. In addition, during the period from December 1991 to December 1992, Nelson House, the emergency women's shelter located within Nepean had to turn away 1200 women and children.

Feminist Analysis of Male Violence Towards Female Partners

With the exposure of the widespread prevalence of woman abuse many different approaches and theories have emerged which have attempted to explain its occurrence. Explanations or analyses vary greatly. Many approaches do not consider the structural context nor do they place an emphasis on gender or power issues. The patriarchal structure of society and the subsequent oppression of women would indicate that any interpretation of the phenomenon should incorporate an analysis of these factors. As well, given the pervasiveness of abuse perpetrated by men against women, a recognition of this gender differentiation is fundamental. A feminist analysis of woman abuse provides an appropriate explanation as it considers gender, power, oppression and the structural context.

A feminist analysis offers a guiding framework rather than a detached scientific causal explanation. Consequently,

there is no one unified feminist theory of male violence towards women. All feminist approaches however, consider power differentials and gender imbalances as the basis for their analysis. A feminist analysis of men's violence towards women partners considers the larger structural context in which it occurs and maintains that its occurrence is not pathological as it is structurally sanctioned. Feminists do not attempt to understand the violence by focusing on individual men, women or families; rather, they contextualize women's experiences and incorporate an analysis of the larger unequal distribution of power and the socially structured and culturally maintained patterns of social relations.

Our patriarchal society is structured along the dimension of gender with women being systematically excluded from positions of power. All sanctioned avenues of power and control within our society are dominated by men. This situation applies to judges (Wilson, 1990), the administration of correctional policy (Clark, 1990), the political arena (Gilroy, 1990; Torjman, 1988), social services (Torjman, 1988), universities and educational institutions (Smith, 1987), industry (Wilson, 1986), etcetera. Further, capitalism interacts with patriarchy in maintaining the systematic economic oppression of women. Men therefore, have differential access to important material and symbolic resources.

Feminists maintain that the widespread prevalence of men's violence towards women indicates that it is a sanctioned form of maintaining power and control over women. "Wife abuse" within a patriarchal family is predictable and a common aspect of family functioning as it is structured in our society. Husbands have historically been allowed to control their wives and children. The patriarchal family model operates for the benefit of individual men and the state. The home has long been considered a private realm in which the women and children are not seen as autonomous but are the property of the husband. The historical legacy of the patriarchal family model and the existing institutional structures which support patriarchy are factors which serve to maintain male violence towards female partners. Although the problem is manifested within the family it is also currently reinforced by the institutions, the economic arrangements and the sexist division of labour that exists in our capitalist society. (Bograd, 1988; Schechter, 1982; Wolfe & Guberman, 1985.)

bell hooks (1984) utilizes a broader framework in her analysis of male violence towards women. hooks believes that all forms of violence in our society are connected and that the ideology of domination inherent under hierarchical rule and coercive authority are the core cause. This approach incorporates patriarchy and links all forms of oppression:

...male violence against women in the family is an expression of male domination, I believe that

violence is inextricably linked to all acts of violence in this society that occur between the powerful and the powerless, the dominant and the dominated. While male supremacy encourages the use of abusive force to maintain male domination of women, it is the Western philosophical notion of hierarchical rule and coercive authority that is the root cause of violence against women, of adult violence against children, of all violence between those who dominate and those who are dominated. It is this belief system that is the foundation on which sexist ideology and other ideologies of group oppression are based...(hooks, 1984:118)

hooks further argues that the notion of hierarchical rule and coercive authority are seen as natural and that domination is therefore condoned. In this vein, the use of force by any dominant party or group to maintain and exercise power is sanctioned. hooks advocates that feminist efforts should strive to end all forms of "coercive domination."

The framework espoused by hooks fits with my approach to the issue of male violence towards female partners. Our society is undoubtedly comprised of hierarchies which foster an unequitable distribution of power and privilege. An ideology of domination is required to ensure this structure is maintained. Institutions are organized around this prevailing ideology which also governs many of our normative daily practices and social relations in general. It is difficult to separate oneself from the widespread systems and structures in place and survive.

I believe that the ideology of dominance permeates through the patriarchal structure and the various hierarchical arrangements to ensure systematic subordination and coercive

authority. Capitalism operates to sustain this structure by creating unequitable economic arrangements and labour divisions. Oppression based on gender, race, class, ability, age, and sexual orientation is enforced by the dominant group at the top of the hierarchies. In Canada, this dominant group is largely comprised of white, upper class, heterosexual, non-disabled males. The institutions and systems in place, which have been formed by this dominant group, are self serving for two reasons. Firstly, they systematically exclude other groups from gaining access to power and privilege. Secondly, major institutions such as the legal system, the social system, the political system and the academic system, operate largely for the benefit of the dominant group.

Within this structure men are entitled to maintain domination over women, white Caucasian individuals are entitled to maintain domination over Non-Caucasian individuals, heterosexual individuals are entitled to maintain domination over non-heterosexual individuals, etcetera. All forms of oppression are perpetuated and enforced. Individuals who do not fall within the ideal standards set out by the dominant group are at risk for coercive domination. Should they require assistance, any agency available to them would have been shaped by an ideology which has served to maintain their subordination. All forms of oppression are connected to the ideology of dominance and enforced by the hierarchical arrangements.

The Women's Shelter Movement

Much of the present textual accumulation of knowledge regarding male violence towards female partners can be directly attributed to the efforts of the women's shelter movement. As well, the development of services and resources for women around this issue was justified through the work of this movement. "Wife assault" was not acknowledged as a serious issue prior to the late seventies. Mildred Pagelow (1992:87) indicates that in March 1976 "exhaustive computer searches of the literature on battered women and/or spouse abuse produced only 4 to 6 citations" and that most of these articles were written by psychoanalysts.

It was the shelter movement (or the battered women's movement) which responded to the plight of women through the creation of rape crisis centres, shelters and transition homes for women in need of support and protection. During the seventies, shelters for women seeking refuge from abusive men were set up in Canada, United States and Europe. Collectively women began to speak out about their experiences. These initiatives forced the issue of men's violence against women into the public domain and openly challenged the status quo. The state was forced to respond. (Barnsley, 1988; Currie & MacLean, 1992; Hilton, 1989; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1990; Wolfe & Guberman, 1985.)

Despite the accomplishments of the women's shelter movement, it was not all-inclusive. Consequently, their

efforts did not serve to address the needs of all women and many service barriers exist. For example, a recent national survey was conducted by DAWN Canada (Disabled Women's Network Canada) examining the accessibility of transition houses and women's shelters in Canada. Their results indicated that only fourteen percent of the shelters and houses were wheelchair accessible and "none were accessible to women with other disabilities". It is appalling that this inaccessibility is still in existence in view of the fact that DAWN's research has shown that girls with disabilities are more likely to be abused than non-disabled girls and that women and girls with several disabilities are likely to suffer several forms of abuse. Further research has illustrated that women and children with disabilities are not only abused more often but they have a larger number of abusers. The abusers cover a range of perpetrators including individuals involved in their medical care and home support. (Masuda, 1991)

The women's shelter movement has been criticized as largely including white, middle class, non-disabled women. (For further discussion see for example Ramazanoglu, 1989; hooks, 1984; Masuda, 1991; Rafiq, 1991). Although feminist writings in the 1970's did include some information regarding the variability of women's experiences and women's needs, the variations were not addressed as part of the political movement and women from various groups did not have a voice in the forefront. As a result, the services developed and much

of the political action taken did not target certain groups of women. Noted in this exclusion are lower class women, women with disabilities, lesbian women, First Nation women, immigrant and visible minority women. In the past decade, however, a number of feminist efforts have begun to address the differences between women (for example hooks, 1984; Barrett, 1987 and Ramazanoglu, 1989).

The Social Science Domain:

The consciousness raising efforts of the women's shelter movement placed feminists in the position of having to convey their concerns to the state and the public. In order to protect women and inform the public, it became necessary for feminists to connect with various professional agencies and government departments. Terms such as "wife battering" and "wife abuse" were used to describe women's experiences and render the situation visible. These concepts were also adopted by the professional service providers and policy makers. The "battered wife" became a category for the social science experts to examine. (Loske & Cahill, 1984; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1990.)

Male violence towards female partners became a popular focus of "scientific study". Traditional organizations, particularly academics, began to research and examine the issue. Once placed within the domain of these patriarchal institutions, the issue was transformed. Various intellectual

male experts, whose work was largely funded by the state, began to emerge. Theories and concepts which both explained the phenomenon and offered solutions began to appear in the social science literature. Male violence towards female partners soon became redefined under more neutral terms such as "domestic violence", "family violence", "intimate violence", "marital violence" and "spousal assault". These terms began to commonly appear in the literature and were adopted by various professionals. (Schechter, 1982; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1988; Kurz, 1989; Walker, 1990). The important means of communication utilized for institutional and professional practices became the journal articles and the various intellectual publications.

A large influential body of social science research on "domestic violence" has been published by Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz. (Some examples include: Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1980; Gelles, 1982; Gelles & Cornell, 1985; Gelles & Straus, 1988.) Their work in this area began to emerge shortly after the battered women's movement brought the issue into the public domain. They have received substantial funding from the U.S. National Institute of Mental Health. In their publications they have named the problem one of "family violence." These three researchers have written a bulk of literature on violence between male and female "intimates". (Kurz, 1989.) These specific researchers are continually cited as they lay a framework which provides for clinical

intervention. Of importance, is the fact that they also show a reciprocity of violence which has served to debase feminist claims. In this vein they argue that violence towards men is also a concern as women too are physically violent and abusive. (This concern is discussed in Bograd, 1988; Yllo, 1988; and Walker, 1990.)

This social science literature was designed to inform the professionals who work directly with individuals and families. Thus, the goal was no longer increased political action but extracting social reality for the purpose of scientific study and the development of institutionally state sanctioned intervention. The professional reframing within the social science literature depoliticized the issues.

The social service professionals confronted with woman abuse cases attempted to incorporate them into their mandated concerns which allowed them to serve individuals and families. They allocated labour and resources to "treat" this new social phenomenon. The "battered woman" became a new cliental for the social services (Loseke & Cahill, 1984; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1990).

This process of theoretical and conceptual development is central to the work of professionals and policy makers as it serves to create intellectual experts. The conceptual academic language, of necessity, fits the existing social problem solving mechanisms. The discourse and action are inevitably looped back into the existing structure through

mental health services or the legal system. (Walker, 1990.)

Once the state acknowledged the situation it was immediately directed toward the existing "ruling apparatus" where textual processes are essential. Dorothy Smith (1990) expands upon this process:

...those institutions of administration, management, and professional authority, and of intellectual and cultural discourses, which organize, regulate, lead and direct, contemporary capitalist societies. The power relations which come thus into view from the standpoint of an experience situated in the everyday world are abstracted from the local and particular settings and relationships. These forms of communication and action are distinctively mediated by texts. (p. 2.)

Once the issue had been channelled within the ruling apparatus, what inevitably ensued were task forces, programs for batterer's and more state sponsored research. Safety concerns led feminists to lobby for legal protection and an increase in the policing of wife assault also emerged. The claim arose that the problem was being solved. "Redefining the issue effectively serves to protect the status quo, the existing political system and its structures, all the while bolsters the image of institutions as fair and responsive upholders of the greater good (including women's)!" (Barnsley, 1988:19).

The Progression of the Policing of Wife Assault

Research has indicated that police are more likely than any other outside agency to come into contact with women who

have been assaulted by their male partners (Dutton, 1988). Prior to 1955 however, the Canadian Criminal Code had characterized wife abuse under a separate assault category. According to section 292(c) of the Code, a man could be imprisoned provided he inflicted actual bodily harm on his wife (as cited in Hilton, 1989). In contrast, assaults against others included acts of intentionally applying force, or threatening or attempting to do so. Therefore, in classifying assaults perpetrated by men, actual physical contact occurring was only required if the victim was his wife (ibid).

Many early studies documented the inadequacy of police responses to wife assault cases as they offered abused women little protection and rarely treated the incident as a serious crime. The traditional approach was for the attending officer to attempt to "diffuse" the situation by encouraging a "cooling off" period between the man and woman. Legal action was rarely considered. (See for example, Levens & Dutton, 1980 and Women's Research Centre, 1982.)

A 1980 report published by the Solicitor General of Canada (Levens & Dutton, 1980) analyzed the domestic response training programs of sixty police departments across the United States and Canada. The purpose of this research was to identify the components of "successful police crisis intervention" which would allow for the development of a more effective training package for patrol personnel. This

document clearly highlights the sanctioned belief that "domestic disputes" were rarely criminal and rarely required legal action. The report advocated that police officers act to mediate the situation and make referrals to community resources. The value of these two responses was that they would "divert the disputants away from the criminal justice system, and reduce the chances of further calls on police for intervention" (p.28). An important objective in this research was to "improve control of police officers' handling of domestic crises" part of which would include "limiting the time that police officers spend on this aspect of their work" (p.219, 222). Their concerns were clearly centred around the police despite the fact that their examination of the Vancouver Police reports indicated that a significant number of women and children were being victimized.

Within a few years after this report, however, a directive to lay charges in wife assault cases was issued. The emergence of the women's shelter movement was crucial in bringing about this change. With this movement, several other influential events followed. Firstly, a number of reports appeared which highlighted the failure of the legal system, most specifically the police, to protect women. (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Macleod 1980; Women's Research Centre, 1982; Jaffe & Burris, 1984). Secondly, in 1977 the Ontario Association for Interval and Transition House (OAITH) was formed and served to link shelters across Ontario. Movement

networking and political action such as lobbying, became a very important role for OAITH (see Hilton, 1989 for further discussion). Thirdly, on May 12, 1982, when the issue of wife abuse was raised in the House of Commons laughter arose in the House (Canada, House of Commons, 1982). This episode led to calls of concern from both the general public and front-line workers which politicians soon rallied around (MacLeod, 1987). In addition, the earlier cited actions around crime victim needs, to some extent, illustrated the need for safety and protection.

Although the police have been given directives to press charges in all cases where there is evidence of an assault, this has not been consistently applied and discretion and individual judgement still prevail (Landry, 1989; MacLeod, 1987). The effectiveness of police intervention is highly suspect given the small number of charges, despite the large number of complaints. The woman is vulnerable to both her partner and the justice system (Landry, 1989).

It is important to realize that front-line police comprise only one part of the criminal justice system; albeit, they are notably instrumental in that they customarily screen and detect the people who will be drawn into the justice system. Other important players including crown attorneys and judges have not been given clear enough directives in handling these cases and thus further discrepancies exist here.

Liberalization

In their attempts to protect women, criminalization has been a major focus for many feminists. Indeed, many women have been provided with some legal protection as a result of these efforts. However, the criminal focus has also individualized the issue and in many respects, rendered the structural context as invisible. The strategies and forms of intervention which emerged were guided by a "liberal social-scientific" approach rather than a feminist one. This orientation individualized the situation through the diagnosis and treatment of individual cases. The issue of gender inequality then became placed within "the bourgeois framework of women's rights to protection and freedom from personal violence" (Currie & MacLean, 1992:256).

The legal transition of designating acts of "abuse" as criminal has many implications and consequences. Of importance, is that the criminal justice system individualizes issues in its search for determining the responsible party. An event is described as a conflict between "victims" and "offenders". An identifiable actor is held accountable for violating another person's individual rights and the problem, of necessity, is simplified. Pitch (1990) outlines some of the implications of criminalization:

Criminalization reinforces, but individualizes, the attribution of responsibility. Penal responsibility is personal. To criminalize a problem means to impute it to people precisely individuated. One of the consequences is that it is only these people who are made accountable for that problem. The

more general context in which that problem emerges and is perceived tends to disappear: the criminalization process universalizes the problem and privatizes its causes...demands for criminalization seem to signal the need to stress consciousness, wilfulness, intentionality, personal accountability, even at costs of risking to decontextualize events and to constitute "abstract" actors. (108-109)

The demands for reform could then be accommodated within the existing criminal justice and social service systems. Thus, the structural issues inherent in patriarchy and capitalism were rendered invisible and reformist approaches, which fit within the dominant structure, were adopted (ibid; Snider, 1990).

Snider (1990) argues that:

...a strategy relying on the criminal justice system is practically, theoretically, and morally wrong. While the apparatus of government is too powerful to ignore, the criminal justice system is not a reliable ally. Entrusting more power to it means investing it with increased control over women's lives, control which should be kept in feminist hands to a state bureaucracy with its own agenda-one which will not be consonant with feminist goals. From a moral perspective, strengthening the criminal justice system means encouraging inhumane and repressive solutions against populations already victimized by structural forces. Particularly, such solutions play into the hands of those who are interested in increasing the level of social control over populations seen as potentially problematic (the young, the poor, ethnic groups, women, and "radicals" of all kinds). Politically it facilitates superficial and individualistic analyses by representing the young male, typically lower class (the stereotypical defendant), as the prime and indeed the only villain. Victimized women is not a class specific phenomenon; punishing is. Moreover, the criminal justice system's only documented success is in making those subjected to it more resentful, more dangerous, more

economically marginal, and more misogynous.
(Snider, 1990:144, 145).

I agree with Snider in that mechanisms developed by the state should not be ignored and that the Criminal Justice System is not a "reliable ally." However, as the state has not allowed this issue to remain in "feminist hands", and is unlikely to do so, we must find a way to serve many of the women who are coming into contact with this system. Furthermore, we must monitor and actively evaluate state services in which women are involved, noting contradictions, making recommendations and highlighting inadequacies.

The Needs of Women Abused by Male Partners

It is dangerous to assume that all women who have been abused by a male partner will have the same needs. As previously mentioned, such women will not constitute a homogenous group. Factors such as "ethnicity", class, ability, age, and geographical location may render different needs for different women. In this section I will highlight some of the potential areas of need that may arise for some women who are, or have been, abused by a former or present male partner. The areas of need emerge as a result of the present structure of our legal and social systems.

Several articles, informed by women's experiences, have highlighted some of the following needs: protection and safety, realistic information, short and long-term support,

culturally sensitive service provision, financial security, access to resources, support and information regarding their children, to be believed, to be treated with respect, short and long-term housing, access to legal services, medical treatment, assistance throughout the legal process, advocacy and empowerment, and community based support (Jaffe & Burris, 1984; Sinclair, 1985; MacLeod, 1987; Macleod, 1989; Ontario Association of Corrections & Criminology, Ottawa Branch, Ottawa-Carleton Co-ordinating Committee on Wife Assault, 1990).

Many reports have indicated that women who are involved with abusive men are often isolated from outside support and that an important component in maintaining the abuse is silence i.e. keeping the abuse a secret (MacLeod, 1987; Sinclair, 1985). Additionally, there have been indications that many women may return to, or remain with, an abusive partner due to a lack of access to community resources (Sullivan, 1991). Such resources are often not adequate or equally available and several gaps in services exist which create difficulties for many women. Some of these gaps include: a lack of independent living services to assist individuals with disabilities to live more independently; a lack of the availability of culturally sensitive services; a lack of universal child care services; inadequacies inherent in our welfare system; lack of reasonable pension benefits for elderly women; and lack of shelters in rural areas.

Traditional programs have not addressed the needs of aboriginal, immigrant and visible minority women, and women with disabilities (Torjman, 1988).

All women need to receive culturally sensitive services in their own language. However, given that most of the existing services formed cater to, and are staffed with, white non-disabled anglophone or francophone women, it is apparent that women from these groups are more likely to receive such culturally sensitive services. (Francophone services are not as widely available as anglophone services.) Furthermore, the needs of women from these groups are likely to be seen as the standards for which services are gauged.

State Initiated Victim Crisis Services: Inception and Development

National and international interest regarding the dilemmas encountered by victims of crime has grown significantly over the past twenty years. The attention drawn to the unmet needs of crime victims was, in part, due to grassroot movements such as the women's shelter movement and public pressure. In relation to police strategies aimed at assisting with the handling of "domestic" situations, it appears that many of the state's responses were financially motivated. Levens and Dutton's 1980 report, discussed earlier, clearly highlights desires to reduce the time police were spending on "domestic" calls. According to Jaffe et al. (1984):

Much of the impetus for police innovations in the area of handling domestic disputes tended to be based on the hope that new programs would reduce police time, would reduce officers' frustration in handling repeat calls, and would alleviate the potential dangerousness to the police and family members in repeat calls (p.64).

Within the Canadian context, active state involvement, in the form of creating government victim services, commenced around 1980. With the Cabinet's approval of the Victim Initiative in 1981, the Ministry of the Attorney General was obliged to develop programs and policies aimed at meeting the needs of victims of crime. Consequently, the Ministry's Research Division became involved in a number of projects which focused on three major areas: assessing the needs of victims of crime; examining different victim service delivery models; and researching legal responses to "family violence." Within each of these areas there was a major emphasis on policing. (Bragg, 1986.) The ministers responsible for criminal justice initiated a federal/provincial task force in 1981 which was to examine victim issues and make recommendations for improvements. The Canadian Council on Social Development then conducted two national surveys, one in 1981 another in 1983, exploring victim services in Canada (see Weiler & Desgagne, 1984).

The above mentioned inquiries illustrated that victims required crisis support and information as well as an increased awareness of the services available. Service gaps were also noted. (Ibid; Fiorini & Cimolino, 1985; Bragg,

1986). With increased recognition of the needs of victims and an examination of both services and service delivery models, the development and refinement of many victim services across Canada ensued.

Much of the Ministry's research documented the ineffectiveness of police responses to wife assault cases. Bragg's (1986) review of the research sponsored by the Ministry led her to conclude that "domestic violence" cases received little attention from the legal system. Peter Jaffe and Carole Anne Burris' (1984) examination of police reported wife assault cases documented women's frustrations with policing as well as the low rates of arrest. Donald Dutton (1984) concluded that arrest rates were very low in cases of "wife assault". Colin Meredith's (1984) research into the Victim Assistance Services in Richmond, B.C. found that cases of wife assault within police records were appearing at a surprisingly low rate of one per week. Bruce Levens and Donald Dutton (1980) found that out of the numerous "family trouble" calls made to the Vancouver Police Department, only seventeen percent received a written report. Police Departments were obviously not treating cases of "family violence" seriously and thus were not acting to protect or assist "victims". These reports also highlighted the need for more comprehensive support for these women. Victim crisis services soon identified female victims involved in "wife

assault" or "domestic conflicts" as an important service target group.

Police based victim services have expanded rapidly over the past ten years. This growth coincides with increasing attempts at controlling police policy and procedure in the area of "wife assault". The expansion also closely coincides with the documentation of desires to reduce the time that police officers spent dealing with "domestic" situations and reducing the perceived level of danger posed for police and "family members" (Levens & Dutton, 1980; Jaffe et al. 1984). Victim Crisis Units often play a role in assisting women who have been assaulted or threatened by a former or present partner. The crisis counsellor's response is less likely to be restricted by legislative or mandatory procedures. Consequently, the counsellor may offer the women a confidential supportive service either following or during police intervention. It therefore does seem important to ensure that this service does not serve to redirect cases away from the legal system.

A 1992 study conducted by the Ontario Police College determined that there were twenty-five police services in Ontario which had a formal victim assistance program. The formal victim programs customarily identified themselves in the following manner: "Victim Services", "Victim Assistance" or "Victim Crisis Services". Nineteen of these services were located within the police facility. All of the twenty five

services indicated that they offered crisis support for victims of "wife assault". Several avenues were identified as possible forms of initiating victim contact and variation was noted amongst these services. There would therefore be some discrepancy in terms of the number of women reached as well as the types of incidents in which follow-up actions would occur.

Despite the growing number of victim services, the Solicitor General has not identified an overall policy or coordinated strategy regarding these programs. At present, there are no monitoring standards regarding the operation of these programs. The study conducted by the Ontario Police College (1992) identified four factors as impeding the development of victim services: lack of funds; lack of personnel; lack of information on victim issues; and lack of resources. The study recommended that the Ministry of the Solicitor General develop clear policies and strategies to guide these victim services. Further developments were also suggested in the area of training, funding, resource expansion, more active involvement from the Ontario Association of the Chiefs of Police, and the identification of operational standards for all related personnel. The recommendations would target some of these impediments; however, they would also lead to more state control.

Police based Victim Crisis Units operate within a male dominated hierarchical organization. The criminal justice system, including the police, has always been dominated and

controlled by men (Clarke, 1990; Edwards, 1989; Landry, 1989). This structure inevitably creates conditions which embrace patriarchal values and reproduce the oppression of women (Edwards, 1989; Snider, 1990). Police officers are likely to be influenced by their personal and family experiences and some police officers do abuse their wives (Stith, 1990).

Police based crisis units are often staffed with one police officer, one paid civilian coordinator and several unpaid "volunteers". Such an approach relies heavily upon unpaid labour. Of concern, is that this approach supports the image of services to crime victims (including women who are being abused by male partners) as being charitable rather than a responsibility of the state. Others have raised the concern that it may direct cases of male violence away from the legal system (Snider, 1990). In addition, I feel that this model inevitably creates difficulties for the continuity of service and that it also signifies the organizational value and acceptance of the service.

The entire Nepean Police Victim Crisis Branch is presently staffed with two paid employees. Volunteer workers are therefore central to the operation of the unit. The volunteers utilized within the Victim Crisis Services are, by and large, recruited from post-secondary institutions. The Crisis Unit offers a number of supervised placements, largely to graduate students.

In considering that police services respond to a large number of "domestic" calls each year and the patriarchal context of police organizations, it seems crucial to provide a service of women serving women. However, given that the crisis unit is housed within a police setting and that it is staffed by a number of temporary volunteers, a number of concerns arise regarding the organizational context as well as the experiences of both the givers and receivers of service. I recognize that there is a significant number of important unanswered questions regarding these services and therefore my work will be limited. I shall be examining only some of the important issues as I am unable to look at all of the pieces; nonetheless, this work may highlight other areas of concern which may serve to direct future research endeavours.

Review of Evaluations of Police Based Victim Services

Much of the research evaluating police based victim assistance projects has been sponsored by the government. By and large the research conducted by the Ministry has revealed positive responses from victims contacted. The findings in relation to "wife assault" have largely supported the involvement of victim services. In addition, the studies have highlighted various elements defined as crucial to the success of these services. Aside from the potential biases that may emerge from state sponsorship, several methodological considerations exist. Some of the concerns relate to sampling

and interviewing methods; others relate to the incidents covered and combining data obtained from victims involved in a range of incidents. Other related considerations include a lack of attention to the organizational context as well as a disregard for important gender issues.

Some reports have noted problems in soliciting women involved in "domestic" disputes or assaults (see for example Jaffe & Burris, 1984; Lerette, 1984). This finding seems to occur for four reasons: an inability to locate many women following the incident; the woman's fear of how her male partner might react if he found out; the stigma and shame that many women may feel due to the prevalent victim blaming attitudes and the myths that exist regarding woman abuse; and finally, a woman may not wish to recall traumatic events or discuss them with a relative stranger. This situation highlights the need for sensitivity and an awareness of potential safety/risk concerns in contacting women involved in woman abuse cases. This also suggests the need for a mechanism which would allow for more immediate feedback from these women on an on-going basis; this would allow the women to have a voice and ensure that they provide input into the direction and nature of the service provided to them.

Many studies have used telephone interviews in soliciting information from victims (for example Lerette, 1984; Merdith, 1984; Muir, 1984; Pullyblank, 1986). I feel that this method poses serious safety concerns for the women given that most

abusive men are very controlling and often closely monitor their partners. As well, in some cases the partner may not have been aware of the woman's involvement with the unit.

When assessing satisfaction with the victim services some studies have combined the results of woman abuse cases with the results of victims involved in other crimes or incidents (Muir, 1984; Pullyblank, 1986). This situation combines the results of male and female victims. For example, Muir (1984) grouped data obtained from victims involved in the following "criminal offenses" under a "personal offense category": assault, homicide, sex offenses, robberies, suicides, traffic accidents and sudden deaths. Also of note here is that this study only included cases which were considered "criminal" and many domestic cases are not considered criminal.

An additional concern in the research is the emphasis placed on "family violence" and "family orientated problems". This approach does not place a strong emphasis on the abusive male as it presents the issue as a family issue rather than a gender issue. A description of the Family Consultant Service associated with the London Police Force highlights this emphasis:

The London Police Force chose the "family oriented" intervention model for several reasons. The family is the basic social unit, vital to individual development and ongoing emotional support. The service provided by the family consultant is intended to identify areas of strength and support in a family system. An attempt is made to understand each individual's problems of emotional adjustment within a family context. This philosophy, it is hoped, can lead to the prevention

of future crises or to a natural (family) support system to assist in coping with these situations. (Jaffe & Thompson, 1985:5)

The research sponsored by the Ministry has however, highlighted some key issues in reference to these services. Of note, are the findings relating to the implications of using volunteer counsellors and senior management support. Catherine Bragg's 1986 User Report provides an overview and summary of the results of the research conducted by the Research Division of the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada in the area of victim needs and victim services. The review indicates that victims served by many of the police based victim assistance units generally felt favourably towards the services and that many of their "needs" were met.

In reference to front-line officers, Bragg's report notes that although they generally felt positive about victim assistance programs they did not have complete knowledge concerning the programs within their police service. They were also found to have little confidence in volunteers. The review suggests that officers have increased confidence and are more prone to use the service when the unit is staffed with "professionals" as opposed to "volunteers". Hence, the use of volunteers seems to have implications relating to both the organizational value and service utilization. Yet, most such services rely heavily on volunteers. Bragg also notes that support from senior management is important to the success and operation of such units.

The review indicates that "organizational considerations aside, the evaluation results also showed the effectiveness of the units in meeting the needs of victims" (Bragg, 1986:7). However, these, and other "organizational considerations" are likely to have an impact on both the providers and receivers of service as well as the nature of the service provided.

Judith Muir (1986) examined the development of five pilot projects which sought to provide victim services in conjunction with police involvement. Within this report Muir outlines a model police-based victim assistance program. The model described is based on the conditions which seemed to be essential for the successful implementation of the victim assistance programs reviewed. Of significance is that Muir also discovered that support from senior police personnel was "imperative". Peter Jaffe and Judy Thompson (1985), in their description of the family consultant service provided in association with the London Police Force, also discuss the importance of support from the police organization. Most specifically, they describe support from the chief and senior officers as "crucial components" to the inception and the on-going success of the London based victim service.

Judith Muir's (1986) report describes administrative support "techniques" as ranging from involvement in program training components to participation in public and media relations. Nepean Police senior management have been involved in such "supportive" activities. As well, they have permitted

staff within the unit to be actively involved in community/regional activities as well as research projects with respect to woman abuse, senior abuse, victim services, and adolescent suicide. These actions would seem to indicate support from senior management. However, organizational support cannot be measured solely by visible actions from upper administration. Other relevant considerations exist including: front-line workers perceptions of the organizational value; the position of the service within the organization; and the affiliation of the service with police work.

The research conducted by the Ministry has not critically examined the organizational context of the work in depth nor has it placed a significant focus on the issue of gender. The present investigation includes careful consideration of many such elements that have been excluded in previous studies. In doing so, the findings bring into view knowledge that has largely been absent in much of the literature. I believe that a consideration of these elements serves to highlight the important contextual relevance of such factors.

Rationale

As previously mentioned, I support the involvement of "civilian" women in assisting other women at the point of police contact. However, I have some concerns regarding the manner in which women are defined and identified for service

as well as the service being housed within the police system. Nonetheless, the existing arrangements make this an important point of access, as this is where many women being abused by men come into view and service provision is therefore warranted. As the state has taken a more active role in the policing of "wife assault" the task at hand is for these services to be feminist responsible. An important step in this process is to examine the current situation in an attempt to more clearly define the present arrangements and provide recommendations regarding any possible future improvements.

In my role as a crisis counsellor I followed up on a number of police reports in which women were victimized by men. It quickly became apparent to me that many women did not inform the police of the abuse they were experiencing by male partners and that such abuse was often present in other seemingly unrelated incident reports. Nevertheless, many women were willing to share their stories with me and request my assistance and advice when they were informed that I was not a police officer. In addition, women who had reported abuse to the police would often elaborate on their circumstances and request important legal information and support. This situation enabled me to provide many women with support and vital information that they may not have obtained otherwise. In short, I feel that police based services provide an important point of access to a large group of women who would otherwise be invisible and unserved.

Although I feel that having these services housed within a Police Station is important, as it brings to view a large group of women, I do believe that the organizational environment inevitably impacts upon the service. Additionally, I believe that the service delivery model has implications for the quality of service.

Numerous documents and reports have highlighted the nature and degree of woman abuse within our society as well as the state's involvement with the issue. Various debates have emerged around what would constitute justice for the victim and whether it is indeed even possible to obtain justice from the state. I believe that the present justice system does not adequately either protect women or hold offenders accountable and that it perpetuates all forms of oppression (i.e. racism, sexism, ageism, ableism, and heterosexism). However, I strongly believe that we cannot neglect the women who are presently involved with this system. The fact remains that this patriarchal system has a significant impact and control over women's lives. It is this situation which leads me to consider that having "civilian" women serving other women at the level of policing is crucial. Furthermore, I believe that if these "civilian" women were not housed within a Police setting they would not reach an important segment of women.

Despite my biases, I am open to the finding that these services may not be helpful or that they may even be harmful. I am no longer directly associated with the Nepean Police

Victim Crisis Services and as a feminist, my loyalty remains with the women rather than the organization.

CHAPTER III

NEPEAN POLICE VICTIM CRISIS SERVICES

Introduction

The Nepean Police Service operates from 245 Greenbank Road which is a central location within the city. In 1991 the station expanded as construction commenced and an additional third floor was added to the building. As of December 1992 the Service staff included 141 police members and 53 civilians. Figure 1 presents an organizational flow chart which highlights the patriarchal structure of the organization.

Up until 1993, three separate services fell under the Victim/Crisis Services Branch of the Nepean Police: the Victim Crisis Services, formed in 1983; a Victim Assistant Service, formed in 1985; and a "Teen Talk" telephone service formed in 1989. The Victim Crisis Services offers crisis support to victims and their families. The Victim Assistance program follows up on property crimes by telephoning victims. The "Teen Talk" telephone line was serviced by youth volunteers and involved responding to crisis calls from teenagers. This program was terminated in 1993. This study shall focus exclusively on the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services.

In 1983 the Nepean Police Service, with the assistance of Federal Government funding instituted the Victim Crisis Unit in the form of a six month pilot project. Prior to the

Figure 1

NEPEAN POLICE SERVICE ORGANIZATIONAL FLOW CHART 1992

implementation of this project, informal networking was done to allow for referrals to other agencies. This project commenced in January 1983 and led to its full existence in December 1984. Since this time the unit has undergone a number of changes with regards to structure, staff composition, services offered and service objectives. The responsibilities of workers within the unit have shifted and overlapped.

Objectives and Philosophy

The Victim Crisis Services was designed to offer emotional support and counselling to individuals and families who have been victims of crime. Workers within the Unit follow-up on police reports of homicide; sudden death; suicide attempts; sexual assaults; child abuse; domestic assaults; domestic conflicts; domestic disputes and substance abuse.

The Victim Crisis Services mission statement on file in 1992 highlights the philosophy of the unit at that time:

The Nepean Police Victim/Crisis Service recognizes the effects of trauma suffered by individuals and families who are victims of crime. In the spirit of humanity and excellence, a comprehensive service of emotional support and counselling is offered to all victims.

The Nepean Police Victim/Crisis Service provides a comprehensive service to victims of crime suffering the effects of trauma through emotional and practical support given in a spirit of humanity and excellence. (Files within the branch.)

The focus has changed somewhat as the 1994 mandate discusses shorter term contact as opposed to "comprehensive" service provision:

The current mandate of the Victim/Crisis Service is to provide practical and emotional support to victims of crime and individuals in crisis. Direct crisis intervention, assessment, short term counselling (usually one session) and referral to suitable community resources is provided to individuals and families who suffer the effects of trauma... (files within the branch, 1994.)

Structural Changes and Staffing Developments

The Crisis Unit falls under the administration of the Criminal Investigation Branch (refer to organizational flow chart on page 46). It is presently staffed with a female civilian crisis intervention specialist, one paid assistant crisis intervention counsellor and a number of "volunteers" who are usually exclusively female.

The staff structure and composition has altered over time. As indicated, the victim crisis service began as a pilot project in 1983 and was established in December 1984. During this time the unit was staffed solely with one male constable. This officer received copies of "domestic" incident reports which did not involve charges. From these reports he selected cases for follow-up, crisis intervention and referral. In June of 1985 the range of referrals expanded as the unit was then to receive notification of all suicides, sudden deaths, sexual assaults, child abuse and traffic

fatalities; the unit also began to receive copies of some of the "domestic" reports which involved charges.

A victim assistance program was instituted within approximately, four months after the crisis unit was established. The combined services were then referred to as the Victim/Crisis Branch. Student volunteers were recruited in February 1985. The role of the victim assistance coordinator was to provide crisis intervention in cases which were assigned to her by the officer in charge (at that time was referred to as the victim/crisis branch supervisor). She was involved in supervising volunteers and screening reports for victim assistance volunteers to follow-up. The volunteers dealt largely with property crimes. In addition, she maintained statistical records and prepared reports for the Ministry of the Solicitor General. The officer with the unit was responsible for overseeing the operation of the unit and to continue to provide follow-up intervention/investigation on various police reports.

Over time the civilian coordinator became more exclusively involved in crisis intervention. The position then evolved into the civilian crisis intervention coordinator. Additionally, the use of student volunteers expanded and students in related fields were accessed for crisis intervention work. The role of the crisis coordinator was then to provide crisis intervention to victims and

families; to supervise crisis intervention placement students; and to train and support police personnel.

The officer in the unit then acquired the title of officer-in-charge. He remained the supervisor of the branch and assumed the role of the victim assistance coordinator in reference to supervising victim assistance students who were to follow-up on victims of property crimes. Other duties included officer training, investigating occurrences as directed by the criminal investigation supervisor, budgeting and assisting officers. The role of victim assistance coordination was later transferred to another employee within the branch; the officer maintained all of the other responsibilities until 1993. In December of 1993 the officer-in-charge was transferred out of the unit.

In 1989 the crisis intervention coordinator and the officer-in-charge established a Teen Talk crisis line for youth in response to a rapid increase in youth suicide in the Nepean area. A Teen Talk coordinator was hired to manage the program. She eventually also assumed the responsibility of the victim assistance coordinator and provided support for the crisis intervention service. The Teen Talk program was disbanded as of September 1993 as it was identified as a service duplication. The victim assistance program was transferred to the community policing centres in April of 1994. During 1993 the Nepean Chief of Police was considering cutting this civilian position. However, staff within the

unit argued for the necessity of retaining this second civilian body and an internal audit also noted the importance of this position. Two paid civilian staff remained within the unit and the Teen Talk/Victim Assistance coordinator position evolved into the assistant crisis intervention worker.

In June of 1994 the Victim Crisis Branch was civilianized. At this time the crisis workers began doing liaison work with a team of detectives identified as the vulnerable sector investigation team or the abuse team.

Referral Process and Daily Operation:

The unit receives copies of police reports and counsellors typically initiate contact by telephone. Contact may also occur at the station or at the scene of a crisis if their presence is requested by constabulary staff. As counsellors may also offer services to individuals who request counselling, a police report is not always necessary.

Referrals to the crisis service may arrive from four possible sources: all police reports are screened by the criminal investigation division supervisor who directs certain reports to be sent to the unit for follow-up (this is the most common form of referral); copies of court reports are now sent directly to the unit; clients may call in and request counselling or a community agency may call to initiate a referral; a police officer or a detective may request that a counsellor either attend the scene or meet a client at the

station. A majority of the unit's cases are internally referred.

In the daily operation of the unit, a crisis counsellor usually begins her shift by reviewing the police reports, attempting to telephone the "victims" and entering the case in the log entry form (see Appendix C). Upon reaching the "victim" the counsellor describes the unit as well as her role, inquires as to how the "victim" is doing and offers services. At this point the "victim" may wish to make an appointment, to speak further about the incident or decline to speak at all. Actions taken on any specific case (including a referral to another community resource) are noted on a incident report form (see Appendix D). If counsellors are unsuccessful in reaching "victims" by telephone, they will send a letter to the "victim's" address (see Appendix E for the form letter sent in 1992 and an example of the more personalized letter presently sent) and include a pamphlet which outlines the Crisis Unit (see Appendix F and G for the pamphlet sent in 1992 and 1994 respectively). Once a case has been dealt with the counsellor enters the action taken into the log book and files the report.

Issues Identified in Relation to "Spousal Assault":

Under the category of "family violence" the Victim Crisis Unit defines "spousal assault" as: "physical abuse, violence or threat of violence between two parties who are or have been

intimately involved and are or have been living together" (ibid:70). Further, the needs of the "spousal abuse" victim are noted as: "to have the violence stopped; safety, security, and shelter; information; emotional support and counselling; financial assistance and counselling and support throughout the criminal justice system" (ibid:70).

The Unit has also specified distinct issues which may arise when assisting native, "ethnic" and rural "victims". The specific issues outlined in relation to "Native domestic violence" include: "cultural sanctions against calling the police; distrust of police; a lack of understanding", of resources, legal rights and police procedures (ibid:104-106). Some of the measures outlined in responding to these particular issues include: providing information; involving native counsellors and constables when available; and involving chief band councillors and elders.

Issues discussed in relation to "immigrant victims of domestic violence" include: "language barriers; fear of authority; fear of reprisal; cultural/family reasons and perceived ineffectiveness of a peace bond" (ibid:107-108). Some of the responses mentioned which may assist with these issues include: utilizing a female officer as well as a female counsellor; providing reassurance; explaining and assisting in the court process; and refer the women to ethnic services.

In relation to "rural domestic violence victims" the concerns discussed involve isolation from both the police and

resources as well as the possible impact of the closeness or lack of privacy that may exist within a small community. The responses noted in this area involve helping women connect with other resources.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The Feminist Approach

A paradigm provides a conceptual framework for interpreting and viewing the world. Within disciplines, paradigms serve to shape "what we look at, how we look at things, what we label as problems, what problems we consider worth investigating and solving, and what methods are preferred for investigation and action" (Maguire, 1987:11). Within and across disciplines, different research paradigms exist. Research approaches differ in terms of their underlying assumptions about social relations, the forms of knowledge they believe one may obtain, the purpose and use of the knowledge as well as the range of methodological approaches (Maguire, 1987).

As research paradigms are powerful in shaping and forming investigations, it is crucial that I now declare the framework from which I operate. This investigation was directly influenced and shaped by several important feminist principles and beliefs. A feminist approach is more of a general framework than a detached prescribed scientific methodology. Consequently, a specific concrete unified feminist methodology does not exist. However, feminist approaches are guided by certain principles and beliefs and a feminist analysis includes an examination of issues related to gender and power.

Research informed by a feminist perspective operates

under several important assumptions. Of significance, is that a feminist orientation assumes that research is never apolitical or value free. Consequently, it is essential that the researcher declare her biases and beliefs. Subjectivity is also highly valued. Further, the structural context within which social relations exist is acknowledged and considered. In addition, a feminist analysis seeks to explore issues of power and gender as it assumes that social relations are structured and influenced directly by these factors. Therefore, it is important to connect unequal power relations.

A feminist approach emphasizes that knowledge obtained in research should emerge from women's experiences as this would allow for practical and emancipating applications of the results. The knowledge one acquires through everyday experiences is highly valued and the researcher is not assumed to be the expert. Efforts are taken to respect the participants and not to objectify them. Feminist researchers are particularly sensitive to the relationship between the researcher and the participants and aim at utilizing a methodology that would tap women's everyday experiences and account for the implications of the research process. Consequently, a variety of different methodological strategies are utilized as opposed to a strict adherence to a rigorous scientific format. (Bograd, 1988; Maguire, 1987; Yllo, 1988.)

A gender analysis is at the basis of feminist research; however, it must speak to all women and appreciate diversity.

In this process the research must be inclusive and recognize all forms of oppression.

An important principle in both feminist research and feminist services is accountability to women. This means that women's experiences must serve as a basis for both our work and our research. (Schechter, 1982; Pilot, 1992.) Consequently, it is necessary to "evaluate our work in relation to what we know about women's lives... To remain true to women's experiences requires that we identify and understand the forces that adversely affect our work, and to resist these forces" (Pilot, 1992).

As a feminist approach, through its examination of gender and power issues, highlights the various forms of oppression, it strongly advocates that research should be transformative. That is, research should not simply document the existing situation it should be designed to lead towards positive future change. It is hoped that the findings of the present project will bring about positive changes for both the women receiving victim crisis services and the women working within the unit. The design was directly informed and shaped by my feminist orientation.

Research Design: Research Stages and Focus

This project describes and explores the work of the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit. The central focus includes an examination of internal referrals which have been

classified as falling within either a "domestic" or an "assault" incident type, with particular emphasis on cases involving male violence towards female partners.

Domestic dispute, domestic assault, assault and sexual assault cases were chosen for examination as these categories fit within the focus of the study. Cases of male violence towards women which had involvement with both Nepean police staff and victim crisis counselling staff were of interest and these four categories include a large percentage of such cases. Police based victim crisis units have expanded rapidly over the past ten years and no standardized guidelines exist. It is therefore, important to explore what role these units play in conjunction with police work and if they are useful to women. This focus allowed for an examination of the relationship between the civilian and constabulary staff and a determination of the role the unit played in such cases. As these cases represented internally directed referrals it also provided an indication of the profile of the cases that the organization felt the unit should be involved with. In addition, it assists one in understanding where the unit fits within the organization.

The descriptive portions examined information taken from records and files; the exploratory sections involved contact with civilian crisis counsellors and women referred to the Unit. Both quantitative and qualitative measures were utilized. The methodology followed four successive research

stages, each of which was, to some extent, informed by the previous one.

Each research phase was designed to explore different research questions. The first research phase explored generally the service development over a five year period. Data contained in year-end reports and log books was used in this process. The last three research phases focused specifically on the unit's involvement in domestic dispute, domestic assault, assault and sexual assault incidents during 1992. Phase two examined the profile of internal referrals falling within an assault or domestic category. It utilized data contained in case files and the 1992 log book. Phase three explored the counsellors work objectives along with the limits and possibilities of the work. It examined data obtained from telephone interviews with civilian counselling staff who worked in the unit in 1992. Phase four examined the service needs and experiences of two women referred to the victim crisis service. It utilized information obtained from two face-to-face interviews with women referred to the victim crisis service in 1992.

The year 1992 was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, there was consistency in service delivery within the unit as all three paid personnel remained constant. Secondly, these three individuals had been working together for approximately three years. Thirdly, as the unit would have been in operation for approximately eight years, the systems in place

would have had some stability. These factors combined would seem to indicate that 1992 would have been a stable year to explore in-depth reliably.

This study highlights the experiences and interests of the women who receive victim crisis services as well as the women who work within the unit. In addition, it illustrates the limits and possibilities of working within the confines of the existing structure. The ultimate long term objective was to contribute to future improvements for the women served and to raise the profile of the work of the civilian counsellors. Implications are drawn from this study regarding the economic, political, legal and social barriers that abused women and women service providers face.

Given the fact that the data collected from the present study was limited to information concerning the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services, the findings speak directly to this program. However, certain findings are of relevance to victim services in general.

The Reporting and Classification of Cases: Incident Types

In the process of examining referrals to the Nepean Police victim crisis unit it was necessary to use the classification system utilized by the unit itself. This classification system, therefore requires some explanation and discussion. As the unit is housed within the Nepean Police organization, it is not surprising that it utilises a system

consistent with that used by front-line police officers. However, as police officers do not use one standardized classification system my discussion will include an overview of the different points at which a request for service is named or coded within the organization.

A service request is classified at many different points within the Nepean Police Organization. Three classification points are of interest to the present study. The first point is when a dispatcher informs an officer of a call. Dispatchers use ten codes in their communication with officers on the road. In directing an officer to a particular call, a ten code is used to indicate the type of occurrence and provide an indication of the nature of the call. There are 100 different four digit ten codes, all of which begin with a one followed by a zero. These ten codes are received by officers within their police cars. It is my understanding that all police services have ten codes. Relevant examples of occurrence types corresponding with different ten code numbers include: assault, sexual assault, domestic, dispute custody and dispute neighbour.

Once a police officer responds to a call he or she may submit a written report following the end of his or her shift. All reports contain an information category entitled incident type. It is within this category that the officer enters a few words which serve to code or classify the case which he or she is reporting on. There does not seem to be a standardized

coding system for constabulary staff as variability exists in the incident categories noted. The category indicated may include any one of the following: the name of the initial ten code call received from the dispatcher; a few brief, more specific words; terms from the Criminal Code; or terms found within the Statistics Canada classification system. For example, a report involving an altercation between a man and a woman may have any of the following incident types listed: domestic, domestic dispute or boyfriend/girlfriend argument.

Copies of all written reports are directed to the records branch. The reports then receive a more official coding for statistical and information purposes. It is at this point that information is obtained from each written report to be entered and saved on a computer system. Over twenty pages of incident or case classifications exist as well as three classification systems. One is an internal information system in which mostly non-violent obscure reports are entered and given an incident type code. The second is based on requirements set out by the Ministry, which demands the recording of all cases involving violence between a male and female partner. The third system follows guidelines set out by Statistics Canada and includes the entering of information regarding various aspects of the cases including the relationship of the parties involved, the degree of injury and whether or not a weapon was used. Within the Statistics Canada System there are several possible domestic and assault

violations listed within the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual. (This manual is published by Statistics Canada for the Canadian Centre for Justices Statistics and it is revised periodically.) For example, there are at least thirty different assault violations and twenty different sexual violations listed. Some of the violations are based on the association of the individuals involved as well as their age. In accessing the computer system an officer may obtain information regarding the different reports that individuals have been involved in.

Not all contacts with police personnel lead to a written report. Although there may be no written report regarding an incident each contact is entered into the police computer system as well as the individual police officer's log book. In 1992 there were 30,157 calls to the Nepean Police (excluding alarms) and 18,195 reportable incidents. A total of 25,720 reports were processed. An average of 1.41 reports occurred per incident.

Copies of some reports are directed to the victim crisis service by the supervisor of the criminal investigations branch, who is responsible for reviewing all police reports. In maintaining information on cases the unit relies on organizing the cases by the incident types which correspond with the incident type noted by the police officer. The unit's yearly reports note statistics on the following incident types: domestic assault, domestic dispute, assault,

child abuse, suicide, suicide attempt, sudden death, mentally ill person, sexual assault, information only, request counselling and other.

The domestic dispute category includes cases which have been classified by police officers as falling within a domestic incident (excluding all domestic assaults); this includes domestic, domestic dispute, domestic disturbance and any report in which the category noted indicates a non-violent altercation or conflict between individuals closely related to each other. Request counselling is used to indicate a referral obtained directly from the individual rather than a constabulary staff; although police personnel may have suggested that the individual call, it is not an internally initiated referral. The "other" category includes all internally directed referrals which involve incidents not included in the unit's yearly statistical incident categories. Robbery, shoplifting, and obscene phone call incidents are examples which would be included in the other incident category.

Procedure Phase One: Service Progression and Range

The first phase explored three important questions regarding the range of services provided by the victim crisis unit and the development of victim crisis services over a five year span. Firstly, has the demand for service from the victim crisis unit grown, diminished or remained constant?

Secondly, based on the data available, has there been a change in the distribution of referral incident types? Thirdly, what proportion of incoming domestic and assault incidents are referred to the victim crisis unit? It was expected that the total number of referrals would have increased. Further, with the increased policing of "wife assault", it was expected that an increase in domestic referrals would emerge.

Yearly referral statistics were obtained from both year-end reports and the victim crisis log books. The information gathered covered a five year range commencing with 1989. The total yearly cases were noted and graphed. A correlation was calculated examining the relationship between total yearly referrals over time. The yearly changes were then broken down and examined by incident type. This step allowed for a more in-depth examination of yearly variations by highlighting changes within the different incident types referred over the five year range.

Following this, the total number of incoming calls to the Nepean Police regarding domestic and assault calls were noted and contrasted with the domestic and assault incidents received by the victim crisis unit during 1992. A bar graph was utilized to display this information. It is important to note that referrals to the victim crisis unit falling within a domestic or an assault incident type represent referrals which have been internally directed to the unit by constabulary staff or from police reports. If the contact was

initiated by the victim the case would have received a request counselling incident classification.

Procedure Phase Two: Profile of Internally Directed Assault and Domestic Incident Referrals

An in-depth examination of all domestic dispute, domestic assault, assault and domestic assault cases received by the victim crisis unit during a six month period was performed. The six month sample period included six alternating months during 1992, commencing with January and ending with November. Alternating months were chosen to allow for a range over time and seasons. As previously discussed the year 1992 was chosen as it was perceived to be a stable year, given the staffing arrangements and the years of operation.

Cases of interest here included the following incident types: domestic dispute, domestic assault, assault, and sexual assault, all of which were internally directed to the victim crisis unit. Seven research questions, in relation to these internal referrals, were explored. Firstly, what is the domestic relationship of the individuals involved in the cases? Secondly, what is the gender direction of the violence or abuse? Thirdly, what is the gender direction of the violence within each of the domestic relationship categories for each of the four incident types? (This question assists one in understanding what kinds of cases fall within the four different incident types.) Fourthly, what is the race of the

victims involved in the cases? The fifth question explores the average age of the victims across all four incident types. The sixth question examined the response time from the date the incident was reported to the Nepean Police Service to the date it was received and responded to by the victim crisis unit. The seventh question asks what form does the unit's response take once the incident reports are received?

A dbase III Plus computer program was utilized to record and organize the information obtained from the cases received by the unit within the sample period. A database program allows one to collect several pieces of information on specific cases or items and organize and sort this information in various ways. The telephone book is a good example of a database.

The unit's 1992 log book was used to obtain a six month sample of two-hundred and fifteen victim crisis cases. All cases received by the victim crisis unit are entered into the unit's log book and a different log book exists for each given year. Some of the information contained in the log book for each case includes: the date; the incident type; the victim crisis code; the counsellor responding; the name of the victim; and a brief description of the action taken. (See Appendix C for a copy of the log book information sheet.) The 1992 log book was photocopied and all domestic, domestic assault, assault, and sexual assault incidents were highlighted. The corresponding available case files were then

pulled from the unit's filing cabinet. If the file was not located some information was taken from the log book. Complete information was not always available on all variables.

Case Variables

Construction of the database information system involved the entering of data on up to twenty-three variables for each of the victim crisis cases during the sample period. The variables of interest included: the incident type; the case number; the victim crisis log book code number; the month the case was received by the victim crisis unit; if a criminal charge was indicated; first and last name of the offender; the race of the offender; the age of the offender; the first and last name of the victim; the race of the victim; the age of the victim; the domestic relationship of the parties involved; the gender direction of the violence or abuse; the time it took for the report or case to be received by the victim crisis unit from the date the incident was reported; the time it took for the unit to respond to the referral once it was received; the total response time from the date the incident was reported to the Nepean Police; the form of service delivered by the victim crisis unit; the counsellor involved; the number of contacts with the victim; if the information indicated that the victim was referred to another community resource; and any noteworthy information regarding the case

which had additional implications for the woman's needs. This latter variable category was intended to capture information regarding women with specific needs that were either not being met or were not being fully served. It also allowed me to highlight any noteworthy circumstances regarding specific cases. Information regarding women from marginalized groups or women with disabilities was entered here.

I must qualify that an indication of no charges at the time of the initial report does not necessarily mean that no charges were ever laid as not all charges are laid immediately and in some cases they follow the written report.

In determining the domestic relationship of the individuals involved, the cases were grouped into relational subcategories based on the affiliation of the parties involved. This information was then charted. Ten possible domestic relationship categories were used: neighbours; friends; siblings; child-parent; parent-child; ex-intimate partners; common-law partners; married spouses; other and unknown. Figure 2 indicates the guidelines used for classifying the domestic relationships.

The gender direction of the abuse or violence was designed to capture the offender to victim relationship by noting the gender of both parties as well as the gender direction of the violence. This variable included one of six possible entries: male to male; male to female; female to female; female to male; not applicable (if no violence or

abuse was indicated in the case); and unknown. Although police reports contain information regarding the gender direction of the violence, I explored the police report as well as the notes from the victim crisis staff to determine the gender direction of the violence. The results were then presented in chart form. My findings here were not always consistent with that indicated on the police report. This will be discussed further in the results section.

Figure 2

Domestic Relationship Categories

1. Neighbors: The parties involved in the report lived within close proximity. If it was indicated that the individuals had been involved in an intimate relationship they were not placed in this category.
2. Friends: The parties involved were identified as having had a present or former friendship with each other, excluding any indicated intimate relationship.
3. Siblings: The individuals involved were identified as siblings. The relationship may not necessarily have been of a biological nature as step siblings, half siblings, foster siblings and adoptive siblings were included.
4. Child-Parent: A case in which the individuals involved were identified as a child and a parent. In addition, the information on file had indicated that the direction of the violence or conflict was from a child towards a parent. The parent-child relationship may not necessarily have been of a biological nature as step children, adoptive children and foster children were included.
5. Parent-Child: The individuals involved were identified as a parent and a child. In addition, the case file indicated that the direction of the violence or conflict was from a parent towards a child. Here again, the parent-child relationship may not necessarily be of a biological nature as step children, adoptive children and foster children were included.
6. Ex-Intimate Partners: An incident in which it was indicated that the parties implicated had formerly been involved in an intimate relationship.
7. Common-Law Partners: Cases falling within this category were classified within two sub-groups: together or separated. Incidents in which it was indicated that the individuals were having an intimate relationship and cohabitating were classed as common-law together. Incidents in which it was indicated that the individuals had an intimate relationship and were cohabitating in the past was classed as common-law separated.
8. Married Spouses: This category was also be divided into two sub-groups: together and separated. If the file indicated that the spouses were cohabitating they were classed within the together group. If the file indicated that the spouses were not living together and that they were separated they were classed within the separated group.

9. Other: Reports in which the parties involved were not associated through any of the above relationship categories.

10. Unknown: Cases which did not contain enough information to allow for a determination of the relationship between the individuals involved were placed within this category.

Information regarding the age and race of the victims was obtained directly from the police report and entered in the database. Police reports contain sections in which the officer involved is to note the race and the date of birth of the individuals involved in the report. Using the information compiled in the database, the average age of the victims was determined as well as the number of victims falling within the various race categories indicated.

The form of service delivered for each case was entered in the database under one of five mutually exclusive categories: telephone contact with a civilian crisis counsellor; face-to-face contact with a civilian crisis counsellor; involvement limited to the officer-in-charge; sent letter; or no contact. Figure 3 provides an explanation for each category.

Having this information in the database allowed me to determine the profile of internal referrals falling within domestic dispute, domestic assault, assault, and sexual assault incident types. It allowed me to organize and sort through the cases for different composites. The arrangements of interest included incidents in which: the victim was a female and the perpetrator was a male; the domestic relationship fell within one of the following categories intimate partners, common-law partners, or married spouses. Other arrangements provided important descriptive information.

Figure 3
Service Response Categories

1. Telephone Contact With a Civilian Crisis Counsellor: Cases in which the victim received telephone contact with a crisis counsellor.
2. Face-To-Face Contact With a Civilian Crisis Counsellor: Cases in which the victim had face-to-face contact with a crisis counsellor.
3. Involvement Limited To the Officer In Charge: Cases which were responded to solely by the officer in charge.
4. Sent Letter: Cases in which the victim was mailed a letter explaining the unit and its services. Letters are often mailed to victims when the victim crisis staff are unable to reach a victim.
5. No Contact: Cases in which the unit had no involvement.

Procedure Phase Three: Work Objectives, Internal and External Context

Phases three and four include a more in-depth focus on the unit's involvement in domestic and assault incidents through the collection of primary data. These segments build on phases one and two by further exploring incidents involving male violence towards female partners. Direct contact was made with women involved in such incidents; including women counsellors as well as women referred to the unit.

Phase three explored the objectives of the front line crisis counsellors work in this area as well as the internal and external context in which the crisis unit operates. This was accomplished by means of interviewing the two paid civilian counselling staff as well as any former or present unpaid civilian counsellors involved with the unit during 1992 via telephone. Four questions were explored here. Firstly, what is the profile of the workers? Secondly, what was the nature of their contact with women involved in woman abuse cases? Thirdly, what is the status of the issue of gender within the organization? Fourthly, how does the unit fit within the organization?

A telephone questionnaire was developed and pre-tested on one counsellor. The pretest results were not included in the actual findings. During this pre-test I outlined the purpose of the questionnaire and solicited information regarding: the clarity of the questions; the appropriateness of the

questions; the length of the questionnaire; and any noted areas of omission. The information obtained during the pre-test led to minor amendments in the questionnaire. Completion of the telephone questionnaire required between sixty to ninety minutes.

The telephone questionnaire was divided into four sections with each section focusing on a different research question. An inductive content analysis was performed on this data (Ellis, Reid & Barnsley, 1990; Patton, 1990; Maguire, 1987). See Appendix H for the telephone questionnaire.

Two major sources aided in the design of this telephone questionnaire: *Keeping on Track: An Evaluation Guide for Community Groups*, a research guide developed by the Women's Research Centre (Ellis, Reid & Barnsley, 1990); and information provided in Patricia Maguire's book entitled *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach* (1987).

The evaluation guide written by the Women's Research Centre (1990), describes the importance of meeting with the workers to clarify the focus of an evaluation as well as the assumptions of what success constitutes. They indicate that this step helps to clarify the objectives of the work being done as well as the impact of the context in which the work takes place. Although this inquiry did not take the form of an evaluation, this part of the inquiry certainly assisted in describing and exploring the work of the Unit. In addition,

it allowed the workers to help shape the research process and identify some important issues.

The Women's Research Centre outlines three important areas to target during contact with the workers: clarifying the focus of the inquiry; clarifying the assumptions for success around the work that the group is involved in; and a review of the context of the work. My questionnaire examined these areas.

In my contact with the counsellors I described the aim of my investigation, the area that I was focusing on, and an outline of the methodology, while requesting feedback. I then moved to questions regarding what the staff hoped to accomplish in their work in this area and whether or not they felt that any service barriers existed which prevented them from reaching all women. This was followed by questions addressing the context within which the unit operated and the impact this may have had on the work being done. The Women's Research Centre states that it is important to explore the "physical, social and economic situations in which the project is happening in order to figure out what effect they have on the work" (Ellis, Reid & Barnsley, 1990:25). At the end of this discussion I encouraged the women to feel free to telephone me and provide me with any further information.

Patricia Maguire (1987) has suggested a feminist framework which could be utilized for feminist participatory research. Within the outline of this framework, Patricia

emphasizes that it is important to explore issues related to gender and power throughout the research process. My interview incorporated questions which explored the status of women within the Nepean Police Organization as well as the status and position of the Victim Crisis Unit within the organization.

Procedure Phase Four: Two Case Studies of Women Referred to the Victim Crisis Services

Phase four explored the service needs and experiences of two women who had received service from the crisis unit during 1992. Several research questions were explored here. Firstly, how did the women experience the service: what did they perceive as helpful, as not helpful and how would they like to see it improved? Secondly, how do the women feel about the charging policy? Thirdly, do the women feel that the provision of this service served to redirect their case away from further involvement with the police/the criminal justice system?

Utilizing information contained in the database formed in phase two, twenty-five women were selected as possible participants for face-to-face interviews. The participants were selected based on their meeting specific criteria. The selection criteria included the exclusion of all women whom I had any direct contact with. In addition, the women must have

had at least one face-to-face contact with a crisis counsellor.

I had originally intended to interview twelve women. My plan was to view the pool of women collectively and select a purposive sample which would include women from various racial backgrounds as well as women who were involved with both paid and unpaid staff. Unfortunately, I was only able to obtain two women participants.

Once the twenty-five women were screened out of the database, I telephoned each of the counsellors involved and informed them of my intention to request the women's participation in my study. The counsellors were requested to note any potential concerns. The list of the women was then divided and distributed between the two paid staff working at the victim crisis unit. The paid counselling staff attempted to reach these women by telephone to introduce my study and request their participation on my behalf. The counsellors informed the women that I was conducting an independent inquiry project on my own initiative, that I would keep their responses confidential and that I was not associated with the police service. (See Appendix I for an outline of the introduction to prospective participants.)

From the pool of twenty-five women two were located and interviewed. In ten cases the phone number was no longer accurate; in eight cases the staff were unable to reach the

women by telephone; three women were contacted and declined; two women were to telephone back at a later date but did not do so. Other studies have also noted problems in soliciting women for participation (Jaffe & Burris, 1984; Lerette, 1984).

The women chose the location of the interview: one woman was interviewed in her home, the other at the nepean Police Station. Each woman was provided with a written project description (see Appendix J) which was reviewed prior to the interview. Following this, the woman signed a letter of consent (see Appendix K). The project description and the letter of consent both conveyed the objectives of the study as well as the woman's rights. The interview was expected to last approximately one to two hours and the women were informed of this time frame in advance. Each woman was encouraged to feel free to: quit the interview at any point; to pass on any question; and to take a break at any point. The interviews were tape recorded, with the woman's consent; however, any request to shut off the tape machine would have been respected. The women received a fifty dollar honorarium for their participation.

Participants were given the choice of having the tape returned directly to them, or destroyed by myself upon completion of my study. Confidentiality was assured and the women were encouraged to contact me if they have any concerns or further comments. The women were offered a copy of the recommendations which arise from my study.

An interview guide, identifying several topics and issues to be covered, was used during the interviews (see Appendix L). The topics and issues covered in the interview guide targeted the identified research questions. The interview guide permitted me more flexibility in probing certain areas and in determining the appropriateness of exploring certain issues in greater depth. It also allowed the women to discuss other issues which were not necessarily included in the guide.

Following the conclusion of the interview I asked the women how they found the experience and was prepared to offer support. Further, the women were given resource information as well as information explaining the legal system and women's rights. Several attempts were made to contact both women by telephone for a follow-up conversation. One woman was reached and my attempts to contact the other woman were unsuccessful. This woman was however provided with a telephone contact number at which she could reach me.

CHAPTER V
PHASE ONE
SERVICE PROGRESSION AND RANGE:
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Data Retrieval: Phase One and Two

Three data sources were used in the first two research phases: case files, year-end reports and victim crisis service log books. When there was an information gap in one source it was filled by going to another source. This method allowed for the collection of more complete information.

Considerable effort was required to obtain yearly referral statistics due to variabilities and inconsistencies in the recording of referrals within and between the years. The data collection process involved the use of all three data sources. All referral data for 1989 was taken from the 1989 Victim Crisis log book. The sexual assault incidents for 1990 were obtained from the 1990 log book; all other data for this year was obtained from the year-end report. Year-end reports were used to obtain data for 1991 to 1993 inclusive, as consistency existed in the calculation of yearly statistics for this time period. Resource referral incidents were excluded from all years as inconsistencies existed in the recording of this incident type between the years. When information was required on a specific case and the file was unavailable, information on that case was taken from the log book. Of note, is that occasionally there were slight

variations between my calculations and those indicated in the unit's records. For example, I counted twenty-six domestic and assault cases for June 1992 using the 1992 log book and the total noted in the year end report was twenty-eight.

I had originally intended to include data from 1985, the unit's first year of operation; however, this was not feasible for several reasons. Firstly, I was unable to obtain complete information for this time period. Secondly, variations existed in the types of incidents categorized each year. As well, the unit expanded its focus somewhat over the years as its initial target was domestic incidents which did not involve charges.

Changes within the yearly statistical information system may be explained by the fact that this service was relatively new and likely still developing in 1989. Various staffing and structural changes have also likely contributed to this. In addition, the unit was developing within an already established organization which had its own classification and statistical information system which was not standardized (see page 60 in method for discussion).

The data sources chosen were the best available given the development of the unit over time. Although some inconsistencies and discrepancies existed, the findings presented here provide an accurate general picture of what has occurred over time.

The variability and inconsistency noted in recording of referrals over the years provides evidence for changing the recording system utilized by the unit. Other more specific findings within each research phase will also highlight concerns with regard to the recording/information system.

Question 1.1 Has the demand for service from the victim crisis unit grown, diminished or remained constant?

This research question involved an examination of yearly referrals to the Nepean Police victim crisis unit from 1989 to 1993. Figure 4 displays yearly referrals incoming to the victim crisis unit for this time period. Referrals almost doubled over this five year period. A regression analysis was performed on this data which analyzed the relationship between the increase in referrals and the year. An r-squared of 94 percent indicates that there was a systematic yearly increase in referrals and an apparent linear trend.

There are many possible explanations for this growth. It seems likely that the unit may have become more established and gained legitimacy over time. The visibility of the victim crisis service both within the community and the Nepean police organization has probably increased accordingly. This would lead to an increase in the demand for service. In addition, given the harder economic times and the subsequent stressful impact on individuals, people may be more in need of a service of this nature. Related factors include the relatively fast service response time and the fact that the service does not

2

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

Figure 4

involve a financial fee. In times of fiscal restraint social services tend to have longer waiting lists and private services are costly.

No linear trend increase was observed for 1989 to 1990. This exception could be a reflection of the development of the service within the community and the Nepean Police Service. It takes time for a new service to establish itself within an already established organization and police personnel would likely have to be educated regarding the role of the unit. Another possible influencing factor is that the three paid staff members commenced working together in 1989.

This yearly increase will be explored in greater depth in the following question.

Question 1.2. Has there been a change in the distribution of referral incident types?

Investigation of this question included an examination of the yearly referral incident types to the Victim Crisis Service from 1989 to 1993. Table 1 displays a breakdown of the distribution of referral incident types from 1989 to 1993. This same information is represented in graph form in Figures 5 and 6. The graph depictions provide a more explicit view of the yearly activity within each incident type. The five year range was too small of a time period to allow for statistical tests of significance regarding the distribution of each incident referral type over the years. However, this information does assist one in further understanding the

Table 1

**NEPEAN POLICE VICTIM CRISIS SERVICE REFERRAL
INCIDENT TYPES: 1989 TO 1993**

REFERRAL INCIDENT TYPE	YEAR				
	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Child Abuse	1	4	7	6	2
Sexual Assault	7	11	20	19	19
Information Only	2	0	3	12	40
Sudden Death	14	18	15	21	24
Suicide	4	6	4	9	10
Suicide Attempt	54	73	56	59	59
Mentally Ill Person	15	27	34	43	45
Assault	30	26	25	83	66
Domestic Assault	49	44	106	36	49
Domestic Dispute	223	234	299	236	230
Request Counselling	100	62	88	209	241
Other	94	84	128	164	194
Total	593	589	785	897	979

Figure 5

DISTRIBUTION OF REFERRAL TYPES: 1989 TO 1993

Figure 6

DISTRIBUTION OF REFERRAL TYPES: 1989 TO 1993

overall yearly increases by illustrating the trends within each incident category and providing some insight into which of the incident types contributed to this observed growth.

Not surprisingly, several referral incident types also showed increases over time. The following referral incident types showed at least a two-fold increase from 1989 to 1993: assault, sexual assault, child abuse, suicide, mentally ill person, request counselling, information only, and other.

Cases falling within the "request counselling" and "other" incident types accounted for a large percentage of the total increase over the five year period. These two observations would seem to indicate that the unit has gained recognition both internally and externally.

The request counselling incident represents an external request for service from an individual or an agency within the community. Although there may have been police contact and the police may have suggested the service, contact with the unit was not initiated internally. A growth in this incident category therefore, represents an increase in service demand from the community. This suggests that the unit is becoming more established within the community.

The "other" incident category is used for classifying all internally directed referrals which do not fall within the other eleven incident types listed. A growth in this category therefore indicates an expansion in the range of internal cases that the unit is dealing with. This denotes an internal

increase in visibility and a growth in the range of incidents that the unit is becoming involved in.

Increases were predicted for domestic and domestic assault incident referrals. However, no systematic increases were observed for these two incident types. This observation could be related to the fact that the victim crisis staff is not involved in the screening of police reports for direction to the unit. It suggests that the service is not as integrated with police work in this area. Education workshops focusing on victim issues in relation to violence towards women are conducted by the civilian coordinator for constabulary staff. However, this education may not be enough if it is not supported by the structure and the unit is insulated within the larger organization. An examination of the profile of domestic and assault cases in phase two will yield more insight into this area.

A large increase in domestic assault and assault referral cases was observed for 1991. One can speculate on the meaning of this observation. One relevant factor may be that the Nepean Police Service formally adopted a "domestic violence response policy" during this year. The policy addressed and included all policies and directives issued by the Ontario Ministry of the Solicitor General to date. It was developed by the criminal justice sub-committee of the Regional Coordinating Committee on Wife Assault. This committee included representatives from Police services within the region

(including The Nepean Police Service) as well as the crown attorney's office. The adoption of this policy may have led to a general increase in the reporting and charging of such cases. This then may have led to an increase in the use of the Victim Crisis Unit by the Nepean Police Service.

Question 1.3. What proportion of all incoming internal domestic and assault incidents are referred to the Victim Crisis Unit?

My original intention was to determine what proportion of all domestic dispute, domestic assault, assault and sexual assault incidents incoming to the Nepean Police Service had involvement with the Victim Crisis Unit. Given the previously discussed classification and reporting system it was difficult to track all calls and determine what proportion were referred to the victim crisis unit (see page 60). After careful consideration I decided that the most meaningful way to explore this question would be to contrast the total yearly incoming calls to the Nepean Police Service with the victim crisis unit year-end statistics. It is important to note that the calls to the Nepean Police Station can be reclassified under a different incident type either by the officer involved or by the staff entering the call in the computer system.

I chose to use the number of calls to the Nepean Police rather than the number of reports falling under domestic and assault types as not all calls lead to a written report and one incident can lead to the development of more than one

report. Again, this arrangement makes it difficult to track the types of incoming cases and to trace their path. The data sources utilized were felt to be the most suitable given the arrangements, as they allowed for the best overall picture of the situation.

Figure 7 and Table 2 display the calls to the Nepean Police and the referrals to the victim crisis unit during 1992. Domestic assault incident referrals for the victim crisis unit were grouped with the assault cases as the domestic assault category was not used for classifying incoming calls to the Nepean police service. The victim crisis unit receives roughly between 23 and 32 percent of all incoming assault and domestic calls. In fact, as the unit relies heavily on written reports for internal referrals and not all calls lead to a written report, this percentage is even smaller. This finding illustrates that not all of these incident types are referred to the victim crisis unit. A screening or gate-keeping process exists. If there is a victim involved it would make sense that the case be referred to a service which is identified as meeting the needs of victims.

Assault, domestic dispute and sexual assault victim crisis cases represent referrals which were directed internally from constabulary staff. This internal referral process places a significant amount of control in hands

Table 2

**INCOMING ASSAULT AND DOMESTIC
INCIDENTS FOR 1992**

INCIDENT TYPE	AREA	
	Calls to Nepean Police	Referrals to Victim Crisis
Domestic	746	236
Assault	447	119
Sexual Assault	83	19
Total	1276	374

Figure 7

external to the unit. The figures illustrate that the majority of the domestic dispute, assault and sexual assault cases are not referred to the victim crisis unit. Also of concern is that earlier studies found that domestic and "family trouble" calls received a low rate of written reports (Levens & Dutton, 1980; Merdith, 1984). It would seem very important for the victim crisis unit to be aware of cases in which there is a number of repeat calls as this could provide the staff with important information regarding the context of the situation and the potential risks. Given the male dominated, hierarchical context of the organization, it is unlikely that the best interests of all women are represented. Staff within the unit should be more directly involved with front-line police calls and in determining who is referred to them for service. The present arrangements allow for too much external control.

Summary

It appears that the demand for service from the victim crisis unit has increased dramatically. This would seem to indicate that the unit is becoming more established both within the community and the Nepean police organization. It also indicates that the unit provides a viable service and that future growth is likely. This finding has implications for the service delivery as an increase in service demand indicates an increase in the intensity of the work load.

Although the work load has intensified the civilian staffing complement has remained constant in that the unit is still staffed with only two paid civilian woman counsellors. This would indicate that the unit's reliance on student volunteers has likely increased. It is not clear how the quality of the service provided can remain, given this increase in demand.

The findings illustrated that referrals within the request counselling and the other incident categories accounted for a large proportion of the growth. As discussed, these two categories represent an increase in external and internal demands for service. As these two incident categories are vague and include cases presenting with a number of different issues and concerns, it is difficult to ascertain the nature of this increase. More specific and meaningful referral classifications would allow for a clearer perception of the work of the unit.

The fact that no systematic increases were observed for domestic and domestic assault incidents could suggest that the workers have not increased their involvement with such cases. Alternatively, a number of these cases could be contained in the request counselling incidents. Nonetheless, it does suggest that the police personnel have not become more predisposed to referring these cases to the victim crisis unit. In addition, it implies that the civilian crisis response is not as integrated with police work.

The finding that most incoming domestic disputes, assaults and sexual assaults are not referred to the unit further suggests that the work of the unit is not as integrated with police work. It highlights the need for staff within the unit to be aware of the incoming cases and involved in the screening process.

As previously indicated, there are a number of limitations which arise from the data sources utilized. Of significance, is that three data sources were required to obtain yearly referral statistics. As well, some inconsistencies and discrepancies were noted. An additional difficulty was that I was unable to track all cases incoming to the Police station. It appears that a new system needs to be developed which would allow for consistency in the recording of information. A more systematic information or filing system would allow for the retrieval of more accurate statistical information.

It would then seem that minor trends observed may be a reflection of the data sources used. However, the large trends observed were likely indicative of what has occurred in the unit over time. Utilization all of the data sources was the only way to gain access to what has transpired over the years. It did allow for a general picture.

CHAPTER VI

PHASE TWO PROFILE OF INTERNALLY DIRECTED ASSAULT AND DOMESTIC INCIDENT REFERRALS: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This research phase focused exclusively on referral activity within the Nepean Police victim crisis services during 1992. The incident categories examined included domestic dispute, domestic assault, assault and sexual assault, all of which represent internally directed referrals. Given that the focus of the study was on cases involving male violence towards women with Victim Crisis contact as well as police involvement, it was felt that these categories would capture a large percentage of such cases. The research questions explored the profile of these cases by extracting information regarding different case variables. Certain factors in relation to service delivery are also examined here. This stage of the study illustrates the type of cases that are screened and directed to the unit within these four incident types and highlights the situations, and to some extent the circumstances, that staff within the unit deal with.

By the process described in the methodology chapter, I arrived at a sample of 215 cases distributed across the four incident types. Of note, is that I was unable to locate 24 files and I was unable to obtain complete information for all case variables of interest. In addition some files were not easily accessible and were eventually located within the files

of the officer in charge or on workers' desks. Others had been placed with 1993 reports. I also discovered previous police reports with victim crisis contact regarding individuals already referred to the unit which were not connected to more recent reports.

In responding to cases of this nature it would seem crucial to have all available knowledge regarding previous involvement with the Nepean Police Service as well as the victim crisis unit. Acting without such knowledge could lead to misinterpretation. It is important to have any existing background information when responding to cases of women abuse or "wife assault" as it alerts workers to safety and risk issues and places the woman's experience in a broader context. Previous notes would also contain information on plans and issues which were discussed and worked on in the past and possibly give the present worker a sense of how to proceed. I believe that this continuity is important especially when the setting has a number of temporary student workers. This would seem to indicate a need for a filing system which allows for more consistency and continuity.

Question 2.1 What is the domestic relationship of individuals involved in internally referred domestic dispute, domestic assault, assault and sexual assault incident types?

Utilizing the information contained in the database, the domestic relationship of individuals involved in the four referral incident types (domestic dispute, assault, domestic

assault and sexual assault) was determined. Table 3 presents the findings.

In general, internal referrals falling within these incident categories largely involved people who lived together and/or were likely to have on-going contact. Given that these people were likely to remain in contact, future conflicts and hence future police calls may have been perceived as likely. Involvement of the victim crisis unit may then be viewed as an avenue to reduce repeat police calls and hence work load. As previously discussed part of the incentive for providing victim crisis services at the level of policing was to reduce repeat calls and reduce police time. (See for example, Jaffe et al., 1984). Nonetheless, the victims were provided with a service which was specifically identified as able to meet some of their needs. These findings need to be considered in relation to the goals and objectives of the staff working within the unit. This area is explored in the next research phase.

Offenders within the sexual assault incident referrals were less likely to be related through a familial or marital association. Only one sexual assault referral involved a parent sexually assaulting a child. However, the other six child abuse incidents referred during 1992 (refer to Table 1) may have involved child sexual abuse. These figures are

Table 3

**DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED REFERRAL TYPES BY
DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIP IN THE SAMPLE PERIOD**

DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIP	REFERRAL INCIDENT TYPE				
	Domestic Dispute	Assault	Domestic Assault	Sexual Assault	Total
Friends	2	5	0	2	9
Neighbours	1	0	0	0	1
Siblings	4	1	1	0	6
Parent-Child	18	4	1	1	24
Child-Parent	10	7	1	0	18
Ex-partners	3	4	0	0	7
Partners	8	5	1	1	15
Common Law:					
Together	21	9	2	0	32
Separated	3	1	2	0	6
Married:					
Together	31	7	10	0	48
Separated	13	7	0	0	20
Unknown	12	3	1	2	18
Other	2	4	1	4	11
Total	128	57	20	10	215

surprisingly low given that research has shown that children and women are likely to be sexually assaulted by someone known or close to them (Brickman & Briere, 1984; Russell, 1984). It may be that these cases are less likely to be reported to the police, as the patriarchal family model enforces silence (see for example, Bass & Davis, 1988; Herman, 1992 for a discussion of child sexual abuse and how children are silenced). It seems likely, as not all sexual assault cases are referred to the unit, that more sexual assault cases involving offenders related in a familial relationship are reported to the police but not referred to the unit.

In contrast with the other three incident types, the sexual assault incident category did not include married or common law couples. The likelihood of such incidents being reported is small. Sexual domination and control by husbands over wives within the patriarchal family model has been sanctioned historically and institutionally.

I must qualify that the relational association of the parties involved often depended upon the report containing enough information for this distinction to emerge. All police reports contain a section in which the reporting officer is requested to indicate the relationship between the parties involved. I recognize therefore, that the association indicated may not be accurate as it is based on the officer's interpretation. If no relationship was indicated I reviewed the case file (when available) to determine the association.

Question 2.2. Within each of the four incident referral types what is the gender direction of the violence or abuse?

Using the six month 1992 sample entered in the database, the gender direction of the violence or abuse was determined for domestic dispute, assault, domestic assault and sexual assault cases within the sample period. Table 4 displays the findings. An overwhelming majority of the cases across all four incident types largely involved violence or abuse perpetrated by a male against a female. It seems that this method may have served to capture a significant proportion of cases involving women abuse, as was my intention. Given the patriarchal structure of our society it is not surprising that women are often the victims of violence by men. In addition, in considering the patriarchal structure of the criminal justice system it would make sense to provide these women with a service administered by women who have been identified as having a expertise in victim issues.

This finding indicates that the staff within the unit should be sensitive and aware of the needs of women being abused by men. It also indicates that in the screening of reports the police staff feel that this is the profile of cases that the unit should be dealing with.

The next question will provide further information regarding the gender direction of the violence within each incident referral type by considering the domestic relationship as well as the direction of the violence.

Table 4

**DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED REFERRAL TYPES BY
GENDER DIRECTION IN THE SAMPLE PERIOD**

GENDER DIRECTION	REFERRAL INCIDENT TYPE				
	Domestic Dispute	Assault	Domestic Assault	Sexual Assault	Total
Female to Female	7	3	0	0	10
Female to Male	9	3	2	0	14
Male to Male	11	5	0	0	16
Male to Female	77	44	18	8	147
Not Applicable	4	0	0	0	4
Mutual	4	1	0	0	5
Unknown	16	1	0	2	19
Total	128	57	20	10	215

Question 2.3. What is the gender direction of the violence within each of the domestic relationship categories for domestic dispute, domestic assault, assault and sexual assault cases?

This question involved a more in-depth examination of referrals falling within the four incident types as it broke the cases down by the domestic association and examined the gender direction of the violence. This allowed for a more comprehensive profile of domestic dispute, domestic assault, assault and sexual assault incident types. As previously, discussed these incident types are not standardized categories and this step assists one in determining if these four incident types are commonly understood in some way. To accomplish this task, the six month sample of cases within the database was sorted according to incident type. Cases within each of the incident types were then grouped by the domestic relationship of violence and broken down by the gender direction noted. The results will be presented separately according to incident type.

Domestic Dispute

Domestic dispute referrals comprised over half of the cases within the sample. Incidents reported under this category are usually considered non-violent as they are not likely to include physical or sexual violence. Many of the police reports involved "verbal arguments" rather than physical assaults. Immediate charges were observed in only two of the one hundred and twenty-eight files reviewed; however, not all police reports were located for all of the

files. In addition, as previously indicated, charges are not necessarily laid immediately.

In my determination of the gender direction of the violence I read the report and the victim crisis notes to ascertain if any potential threat or possible violence had occurred. If there was an indication that someone was upset, frightened, or appeared afraid to speak I concluded that the violence was against that individual. In addition, if the person called the police themselves or if the person instructed another person to call the police for them, I considered that the violence was against that individual. Although these reports are largely non-criminal and less likely to involve charges, the potential for a more serious occurrence in the future remains. Victim crisis involvement at this point may be viewed as preventative and/or cost saving.

Table 5 displays the distribution of the gender direction of the violence by the domestic relationship for domestic dispute referrals. Within the domestic disputes, at least one case involving male to female violence was observed across all domestic relationship categories, except for the friend category. Most of the cases with male to female violence involved common-law partners or married spouses. Nine cases involved a male parent directing violence towards a child. In contrast, only four cases involved a female parent directing violence towards a child.

Table 5
DISTRIBUTION OF GENDER DIRECTION BY DOMESTIC
RELATIONSHIP FOR DOMESTIC DISPUTE REFERRALS
IN THE SAMPLE PERIOD

DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIP	GENDER DIRECTION							
	Female to Female	Female to Male	Male to Male	Male to Female	Mutual	Not Applicable	Unknown	Total
Friends	1		1					2
Neighbours				1				1
Siblings	2		1	1				4
Parent to Child	3	1	5	4		2	3	18
Child to Parent	1		3	6				10
Ex-partners			1	2				3
Partners		1		7				8
Common Law: Together		1		18	2			21
Separated				2		1		3
Married: Together		3		25	2		1	31
Separated		3		9			1	13
Other				1		1		2
Unknown				1			11	12
Total	7	9	11	77	4	4	16	128

There was only one domestic dispute referral in which it was indicated that the parties involved were same sex partners. In fact, this was the only case within the entire sample of two hundred and fifteen internal referrals in which it was indicated that the parties involved were same sex partners. It may be that reports involving same sex partners are not directed to the unit in the initial screening process. However, given the homophobic attitude and the oppression that gay and lesbian individuals endure within our society, it is likely that these individuals do not reveal their orientation upon police contact. This finding has many implications. Of concern is that it renders their need for service invisible. There exists a volume of literature and legislation on "wife assault" but very little published information is available on violence between same sex couples. Not being recognized legally as common-law or marital partners silences these individuals and thereby ensures that the system will continue to exclude them.

Domestic Assault

Cases falling within the domestic assault category were more likely to include references to an actual physical assault. Immediate charges were observed in ten out of the twenty files reviewed. Here again not all police files were available and charges may have followed the report date. Given that half of these cases involved immediate charges these cases seemed to be considered more criminal in nature.

Table 6 displays the distribution of the gender direction of the violence by the domestic relationship for domestic assault referrals. An overwhelming majority of the domestic assault referrals involved male to female violence between individuals related through a familial association. Over half of these involved married or common law spouses. Only two of the cases involved female to male violence and none indicated mutual violence in a mutual direction.

Assault

In assault cases there was either evidence of an assault or allegations that an assault had occurred. Assault cases had the highest observed rate of immediate charges as immediate charges were discovered in thirty-two of the fifty-seven cases. Here again not all police files were available and charges may have followed the report date. Given that over half of these cases involved immediate charges it seems that these cases were considered more criminal in nature.

Table 7 displays the distribution of the gender direction of the violence by the domestic relationship for assault referrals. A majority of the cases in this incident category also included male to female violence; however, the domestic relationships spanned a broader range of domestic associations. In comparison with domestic assault cases, a larger number of referrals involving male to female violence within intimate relationships (including married, common law

Table 6
DISTRIBUTION OF GENDER DIRECTION BY
DOMESTIC ASSOCIATION FOR
DOMESTIC ASSAULT REFERRALS IN THE SAMPLE PERIOD

DOMESTIC ASSOCIATION	GENDER DIRECTION					
	Female to Female	Female to Male	Male to Male	Male to Female	Mutual	Total
Friends						0
Neighbours						0
Siblings				1		1
Parent to Child				1		1
Child to Parent				1		1
Ex-partners						0
Partners				1		1
Common Law:						
Together				2		2
Separated				2		2
Married:						
Together		1		9		10
Separated						
Other		1				1
Unknown				1		1
Total		2		18		20

Table 7

**DISTRIBUTION OF GENDER DIRECTION
BY DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIP FOR
ASSAULT REFERRALS IN THE SAMPLE PERIOD**

DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIP	GENDER DIRECTION						
	Female to Female	Female to Male	Male to Male	Male to Female	Mutual	Unknown	Total
Friends			2	3			5
Neighbours							0
Siblings				1			1
Parent to Child			2	2			4
Child to Parent	2			5			7
Ex-partners				4			4
Partners				5			5
Common Law: Together				8	1		9
Separated				1			1
Married: Together		1		6			7
Separated		2		5			7
Other			1	3			4
Unknown	1			1		1	3
Total	3	3	5	44	1	1	57

or dating) was observed in the assault category. (Nonetheless, both incident types contained married, common law and dating couples.) In addition, a larger number of male to female assault cases were noted across all familial associations. There does not seem to be a clear distinction between domestic assault and assault incidents. It is therefore, unclear why these two incidents are viewed separately. If the aim is to keep statistics on cases involving women abuse these cases should then be classed under a different, more specific, category.

Sexual Assault

Sexual assault cases included reports in which a person was sexually assaulted by someone who may or may not have been associated with them in a familial way. In three out of the ten cases reviewed immediate charges were indicated. Most of the sexual assault cases were either assigned or reassigned to an investigating officer and charges may have emerged after the report date. This would indicate that these cases were also likely considered more criminal in nature.

Table 8 displays the distribution of the gender direction of the violence by the domestic relationship for sexual assault incidents. In contrast with the other three incident types examined, no sexual assault cases were observed involving a female to male gender direction of abuse. The one referral involving parent to child sexual abuse included a male parent sexually assaulting a female child. Research has

Table 8

**DISTRIBUTION OF GENDER DIRECTION BY DOMESTIC
RELATIONSHIP FOR SEXUAL ASSAULT REFERRALS
IN THE SAMPLE PERIOD**

DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIP	GENDER DIRECTION					
	Female to Female	Female to Male	Male to Male	Male to Female	Unknown	Total
Friends				2		2
Neighbours						
Siblings						
Parent to Child				1		1
Child to Parent						
Ex-partners						
Partners				1		1
Common Law: Together Separated						
Married: Together Separated						
Other				4		4
Unknown					2	2
Total				8	2	10

shown that the incidence of child sexual abuse perpetrated by a male parental figure is high. Again, it is likely that many such cases go unreported given the patriarchal family structure. However, as illustrated in question 1.3, roughly twenty-three percent of sexual assault calls incoming to the Nepean Police are internally referred to the victim crisis unit. Apparently, many more sexual assault cases are reported to the Nepean Police Service but not referred to the Victim Crisis Unit; it would seem likely that some of the cases not referred would include a male parent sexually assaulting a child.

Question 2.4. Within each of the four incident referral types what is the race of the individuals involved?

Police reports contain an area in which the attending officer is to note a code signifying the race of the individual. This is, in part, to assist in identifying the people involved in the case. There are 8 racial categories for officers to choose from, all of which are coded by letters.

An attempt was made to determine the race noted for each of the victims involved in the two hundred and fifteen cases in the database. The following was observed: this information was unavailable for the twenty-four missing files; in forty-six other cases this information was missing; one-hundred and twenty six cases were coded as race B (European/Caucasian); six cases were coded as race E (Oriental); six cases were coded as race C (East Indian);

three cases were coded as race D (Negroid); one case was coded as race Z (Other); one case was coded as Somalian; one case was coded as Lebanese; and one case was coded as Philippine.

The concept of "race" and all designated "racial" categories are socially constructed and tied to group oppression (Bolaria & Li, 1988). The use of the term "Negroid" in classifying people is appalling given its historical roots.

It appears that this category is not filled in by all police staff and some officers note an ethnic nationality rather than a racial. It may be that they see it as a tiny box which is not significant to fill in. It may be that there is a difference in completing this between old and new officers. One can only speculate as information on the officers involved was not retained.

Out of the reports which did note a race category, over eighty-five percent were caucasian. Very few other racial categories were found. Three possible explanations would seem to exist for this finding: one, the unit is not receiving domestic and assault cases involving non-caucasian victims; two, non-caucasian individuals are less likely to call the police when involved in a domestic or an assault incident; three, a combination of the first two explanations.

It may be that, as staff within the unit generally speak only French or English, police personnel do not refer non-English or French speaking individuals.

During my review of the cases I discovered one case which raised some serious concerns. This particular case involved an "oriental" woman who was physically assaulted by her husband who was charged and taken to court. A counsellor responded to the case by placing a telephone call to the residence and "someone" answered that "could not speak English." It was not clear what interaction took place during the conversation. At a later date another student counsellor telephoned the residence and spoke directly with the abusive husband who indicated that his wife was not home. This counsellor then proceeded to discuss the husband's stressors and frustrations. Clearly, no assistance was given to the victim. In fact, there was reinforcement/justification for the abusive men's actions. This case highlights the need for more training and clear response protocols. As well, it illustrates the need for staff to access interpreters and consult with their supervisor regarding their cases and their actions.

Several reports have discussed the needs of non-caucasian women in relation to wife assault and domestic violence (for example Torjman, 1988; Pinedo & Santinoli 1991; Sales, 1991; Masuda, 1991; Voyvodic 1991; Staddon, 1993; National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women of Canada, 1993). A manual produced by the Nepean Police Service in 1991 entitled Setting up and Operating Victim/Crisis Services also included some discussion in this regard. Some

of the issues raised have included: complex and extensive service barriers, mistrust of police based on previous experience with police in country of origin, concerns regarding immigrant status, language barriers, unfamiliarity with the Canadian legal system, sanctions against calling the police, fear of rejection from ethnic or cultural community, and variations in the cultural roles of women.

These findings would indicate that more outreach to non-caucasian women is necessary. In addition, new counselling staff as well as police personnel and management should receive training and education regarding the issues for these women. The hiring of more non-caucasian women is also required.

Question 2.5. Across the four incident referral types what is the average age of the victim involved?

Utilizing the information in the database the average age of the victim was determined. Summing across all four incident types within the sample indicated that the average age of the victim was thirty and the ages ranged from six to sixty-eight. The average age of a female victim assaulted or threatened by an intimate male partner was thirty-one; the age range in this group was from fifteen to sixty-six. This range illustrates that the abuse may start in adolescent relationships.

One can only speculate on the meaning of this finding. It may be that as a woman approaches thirty she has more

access to financial resources, especially if she is employed. She is also more apt to have contacts outside her home if she is working and this could further break down existing isolation. These two factors combined could possibly serve to make an abusive, controlling man attempt to exert more control and instill even greater fear within a woman. It may also be that she is more likely to have children. Research has shown that abuse often begins or escalates during pregnancy or shortly after child birth (see for example, Helton & Snodgrass 1987). As well, if children are present the abuse may be more visible as it will have an impact on the children. In addition, it may be that women will be more likely to call the police out of fear that the man may harm the child.

As not all incoming domestic and assault cases were examined, this figure does not necessarily reflect the average age involved in all police contacts. It does however provide an idea of the age group that is internally referred to the unit within the four incident types.

Question 2.6. Within each of the four incident referral types what is the response time from the date the incident was reported to the Nepean Police?

Utilizing the information obtained in the database, three time variables were determined: time to Victim Crisis Services; Victim Crisis response time; and total response time. Time to Victim Crisis Services measured the time it took for the referral to arrive at the victim crisis unit from the date the initial report was made. Victim crisis response

time measured the time it took for staff within the victim crisis unit to attempt to initiate contact with the victim and hence, respond to the report. Total response time measured the total waiting time from the initial date that the incident was reported. The mean, mode and the range for each of the time variables are presented in table 9.

The time to Victim Crisis Services would reflect the time involved in the screening of reports. On average, a report of this nature took two days to arrive at the victim crisis unit. Twenty-two percent of these cases were directed to the unit on the same day that the incident was reported. The figures would seem to indicate that the response of the victim crisis unit was often viewed as secondary to police contact as there was usually a delay prior to victim crisis involvement. It seems that the work of the victim crisis unit, in reference to domestic and assault cases, is generally not as fully integrated with police work.

A two day average was also observed before a Victim Crisis response was initiated. However, fifty-five percent of the cases were responded to on the same day they were received by the unit. This may reflect some prioritizing. It also demonstrates that staff within the unit took their work in this area seriously. Another factor to consider here is that the unit depends on students and students often have many schedules to contend with including exams, holidays and paid

Table 9

**TIME VARIABLES FOR SELECTED REFFERRAL
INCIDENT TYPES IN THE SAMPLE PERIOD**

STATISTIC	TIME MEASURE (IN DAYS)		
	Time to Victim Crisis Service (n=185)	Victim Crisis Response Time (n=179)	Total Response Time (n=179)
Mean	2	2	4
Mode	1	0*	1
Range	0-35	0-19	0-35

* 0 indicates same day response

working hours. This would likely create variations in the unit's ability to respond to cases at different time periods.

The average four day response time indicates that the screening process, combined with staffing arrangements within the unit, led to a delay in service response time. This situation presents some concerns. The literature on crisis intervention states that during a crisis an individual is under extreme stress and her internal coping abilities do not seem able to assist her adequately; as well this is the most optimal time for change (Jaffe & Thompson, 1985). This would indicate that the most crucial time for intervention for the woman would be at the point of crisis rather than one to four days after the incident. More specifically, the literature, in reference to women abuse or wife assault and crisis intervention, indicates that when a woman is in crisis it is an important time to assist her in accessing her safety and an optimal time to promote growth. (Sinclair, 1985; Kohli, 1991) A more immediate response would likely be more beneficial to the woman especially when safety is an issue. If the police have been contacted it is likely that the woman or victim is in crisis.

Several other issues point to the need for a more immediate response in relation to women abuse. Included in these issues are the psychological experience of victimization; the response of the male abuser following the

abuse; societal beliefs; a possible fear and/or unfamiliarity with the legal system.

The experience of victimization produces fear and may erode a person's self esteem, especially if the abuse is coming from an intimate partner. Many abusive partners blame the victim and isolate her from friends and family. The literature on male abusers indicates that after an abusive episode they often act very kindly and lovingly and try to instill guilt and responsibility in the woman. This would indicate the need for a more immediate response to help break down the isolation and to assist the woman in dealing with feelings of internalized blame. (Sinclair, 1985; Mathes, 1991; Herman, 1992.)

Another related factor is that not all women are aware of their legal rights or their options for safety; this may be especially true for women who have immigrated to Canada and are not familiar with the Canadian Criminal Justice System. This would indicate the need for a woman to be fully informed of these matters at the time of crisis. I believe that female crisis counsellors are more likely to provide women with this information and that women would be more likely to discuss their needs with a female counsellor as opposed to a police officer.

Having victim crisis contact at the point of police involvement could provide a woman with an important form of assistance given that she may be feeling vulnerable and in a

state of crisis. If one waits four days to respond the crisis may likely be over and the woman may feel guilty and/or afraid to talk.

In summary, I feel that the victim crisis service needs to be more integrated with police work in the area of domestic and assault cases and that crisis workers should respond at the time of crisis and at the point of police contact. Nonetheless, I believe that it is significant that the unit is involved with a number of these cases. The findings in the following question as well as the next two research phases will provide further insight into the possible value of such contact.

Question 2.7. Within each of the four incident referral types within the sample what was the service response?

The service response for each of the cases were sorted and grouped by incident type. The findings are presented in Table 10. Information on victim crisis contact was unavailable in seven cases. Of the remaining only six referrals did not receive contact with the unit; in these cases the staff within the unit were usually unable to contact the victim as they were transient or incomplete information was available. Eleven cases were observed to have contact with the officer in charge only, and hence, no contact with a crisis counsellor. The chart seems to illustrate that once a case is directed to the unit there is virtually no screening as almost all cases are responded to.

Table 10
DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED REFERRAL TYPES BY
SERVICE RESPONSE IN THE SAMPLE PERIOD

SERVICE RESPONSE	REFERRAL INCIDENT TYPE				
	Domestic Dispute	Domestic Assault	Assault	Sexual Assault	Total
No Contact	5		1		6
Sent Letter	8	2	1	1	12
Telephone Contact With Counsellor	72	11	25		108
Face to Face Contact With Counsellor	35	7	20	9	71
Contact With Officer Only	2		9		11
Unknown	6		1		7
Total	128	20	57	10	215

A majority of the cases had contact with a crisis counsellor either face-to-face or by telephone. This indicates that crisis counsellors were able to reach many of the victims and were involved in an overwhelming number of the cases.

Some differences were observed between the referral incident types. Sexual assault referrals had the highest proportion of face to face responses as nine out of ten of these cases had at least one face to face contact with a crisis counsellor. It may be that involvement with these cases was more immediate and integrated with police involvement. Or it may be that the victims involved in these cases were more willing to meet with a crisis counsellor. The most diverse responses were observed for domestic dispute incident referrals. This may be because cases within this category are less likely to involve criminal charges and the individuals may feel that they do not require assistance as there is no continued involvement with the legal system. It may also be because contact often occurs after the incident and people do not wish to discuss it.

The most frequently occurring response was telephone contact. Just over half of the cases received telephone contact. This is likely due to the fact that many of these internal referrals are received after the report date and followed up by telephone. This telephone contact would then seem to occur after a crisis has arisen rather than at the

point of crisis. The literature on crisis intervention suggests that intervention is more likely to be successful when it occurs closer to the crisis point. Following an incident victims may be reluctant to talk and more hesitant to discuss their situation or their concerns.

In summary, it appears that little screening was carried out as virtually all of these internal referrals were responded to. This demonstrates that the unit took these referrals seriously. The service responses observed are likely associated with the waiting time required for a referral to arrive at the victim crisis unit; if it takes a day or two for a referral to arrive at the victim crisis unit the initial form of contact (and perhaps the only form of contact) would include follow-up by telephone. The work objectives and the nature of this contact will be explored more fully in the next two research phases.

Summary

Within the sample period many of the individuals involved in domestic dispute, domestic assault and assault incidents involved people who lived together and/or were likely to have on-going contact. In addition, a majority of these cases contained violence perpetrated by a male against a female and a large number of these involved heterosexual couples. This finding indicates that staff within the unit should receive training regarding the handling of these cases and the needs of the women victims. This highlights, to some extent, the nature of the cases that police staff feel should be directed to the victim crisis unit. The referral to the victim crisis may be viewed as cost saving by providing assistance to the victim which may reduce future police calls.

An investigation of the four incident types revealed that the incident classifications are somewhat vague and that they do not provide enough specific information. More meaningful referral classifications could provide more information regarding the nature of the cases incoming to the unit.

The observed lack of representation of various groups such as immigrant and visible minority women and same sex partners suggests that more outreach is required. In addition, reports within the sample period included almost no

information indicating that the women victims had disabilities. This is concerning given that the earlier discussed studies noted that women with disabilities suffer higher rates of abuse and face more service barriers. (Doucette, 1986; Masuda, 1991). This signifies that the needs of women with disabilities are not likely being identified or met. An involvement in the screening process may enable this.

The average four day response time indicates a delay in assistance for the victim. The finding that a majority of the cases were responded to by telephone, further supports that the response of the unit is secondary to police work. It then appears that many women do not receive victim crisis service when safety and support issues may be paramount.

Some limitations arise due to the fact that I was unable to locate complete information on all of the cases within the sample. In some cases the file was unavailable and data was then obtained from the log book. In other cases the file did not contain all the necessary information. This situation provides further evidence for the development of a more systematic and accurate recording and filing system. An additional concern is that the data used corresponded with the information as presented within the file and/or report which may not have been an accurate reflection of the situation. The data sources used were the best available given the arrangements. Nonetheless, the findings do provide a general indication of what was involved in these four incidents.

categories. These findings provide some groundwork for future studies.

CHAPTER VII

PHASE THREE: WORK OBJECTIVES INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONTEXT: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This section explored the counsellors' work objectives and the limits and possibilities of working within the confines of the existing structure by means of telephone interviews with civilian counsellors. Knowledge regarding the organizational context and the work objectives of women victim crisis counsellors has been largely absent and this research phase is an attempt to fill this gap. In addition, very little qualitative research exploring police based victim crisis counsellors has taken place.

All counsellors contacted agreed to be interviewed. A total of seven counsellors, all of whom worked within the Nepean police victim crisis unit during 1992, were interviewed by telephone (see appendix H for the telephone questionnaire). In addition, another counsellor was used to pretest the questionnaire. Very minor adjustments were made following this pretest and the former counsellor expressed very positive comments regarding both the content of the questionnaire and the purpose of my study. The telephone questionnaire was divided into four sections with each section addressing a different research question. Completion of the interview required between thirty-five and seventy-five minutes. This section is organized into four segments corresponding with the questionnaire format. Questionnaire responses were viewed

collectively and common themes were distinguished; the themes are identified by sub-headings and are supported with direct quotes.

3.1 What was the profile of the civilian crisis counsellors working within the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit during 1992?

Civilian Staff Composition: Graduate Level Caucasian Women

Six out of the seven women were Caucasian. Their ages ranged between twenty-five and fifty-five. No one dominant age group was observed. Five of the women were graduate students working at the unit on placement and two of the women were paid staff members with graduate degrees.

Overview of the Training: Initial Meeting, On-going Supervision and On The Job Experience

All of the counsellors described a meeting with the civilian coordinator as the initial phase of their training. Five counsellors discussed regular meetings with the coordinator as an on-going element of their training. Three counsellors referred to accessing other students to discuss cases. Five counsellors described the experience of working with cases as part of their training. In the words of one counsellor: "I learned as I went along...training was really on the job."

The Training Experience: Positive, Brief and Unstructured

Three elements emerged regarding the training experience: the quality of the training was positive; the training itself was brief; and the training was described as unstructured.

Comments regarding the initial meeting with the coordinator varied. One counsellor indicated a discussion regarding the criminal justice system, crisis intervention, suicide and risk assessment. Another indicated that they discussed wife assault and the most common types of cases. Another stated that they focused on intervention strategies and philosophical approaches. Still another indicated that the focus was mainly on her experience. One worker described a general meeting with the coordinator followed by more specific later discussions after her experiences with various cases. Another indicated that she "needed to get into it before asking the how questions."

The coordinator's initial meeting and later supervisory meetings were described very positively. The supervisor was referred to as "helpful", "extremely good", "supportive", "non-judgemental", and "available." Although the quality of the training experience was described favourably, it seems that the counsellors felt that the training was brief and unstructured.

One counsellor described the experience as "baptism by fire." Three other counsellors talked about the need to ask questions and learn things on their own. One woman stated

that it was "challenging" and that she had to be "self-motivated and willing to ask questions." Another woman remarked:

I kind of trained myself in terms of resources and books. I was quite self-directed...Because I worked in the field I had previous work experience, if I had of been new I would have been lost. I had good books The Courage to Heal and Understanding Wife Assault I copied things out of...I got my own information and I felt better after that.

Comments regarding the unstructured nature of the training included: "there was nothing written", "I asked questions as the need came up", "if the coordinator is not there it has to be more structured", "we talked about it but I was not given steps". Three of the counsellors had some suggestions. One stated that she "felt supervision could have been two hours instead of one." Another expressed that "I think we needed more of a buddy system." A third remarked:

I think there could have been more core strategies to use with common calls you might get and ways of coping with it rather than wait...Should have been a book in the unit with those kinds of things so there was a more consistent approach and there would have been similar types of intervention - options on dealing with situations.

3.2 What was the nature of their contact with women involved in a woman abuse case?

Varied Involvement In The Unit With Woman Abuse Cases

The second section of the questionnaire sought information regarding the counsellors experiences with cases involving a male directing violence towards an intimate female partner. Areas covered included: extent of their involvement

in the unit with such cases; their work objectives; their philosophical orientation to woman abuse; and the organizational and community context.

Responses regarding actual involvement with woman abuse cases ranged from fifteen to over one-hundred cases. Responses varied in terms of what percentage of their caseload woman abuse cases constituted: one counsellor stated five percent; one stated twenty-five percent; another indicated sixty-five percent; two stated seventy-five percent; another indicated eighty percent; and finally, one woman stated ninety percent.

Typical Woman Abuse Referral Received By Way Of A "Domestic" Incident Report

Woman abuse cases were identified as arriving at the unit under several different incident types. Each counsellor used the term "domestic", either assault or dispute, as an incident class which typically contained woman abuse. Woman abuse was also noted as being observed in cases falling under other incident categories, although not as often. Three counsellors identified sexual assault incidents. Two counsellors indicated threat incidents and one included suicide incidents, parent child conflict cases and drug/alcohol abuse cases. The latter counsellor stated that she "would discover [woman abuse] in the follow-up" of other incident cases which were not identified as either assault or domestic.

This last comment highlights the importance of screening for woman abuse in cases which may not contain any information alluding to it. It is important to note that the counsellor's sensitivity to the issue also likely plays a role in her ability to detect woman abuse. This may be why there was a broad range indicated in terms of involvement with such cases.

All counsellors stated that the usual way that they came in contact with such cases was through receiving a written police report and following up on the incident by placing a telephone call to the woman. Five counsellors also referred to "self-referrals" in which the contact was initiated by the woman. Only one counsellor however, indicated that self-referrals were as common as police report follow-up contacts. Self-referrals were largely described as less likely or the "exception."

Five of the seven counsellors indicated that they were never called out to the scene of an incident involving a male directing violence towards a former or present intimate partner. One counsellor indicated that her assistance had been requested at the scene of such an incident on five occasions. The other counsellor stated that she had been directed to the scene of a woman abuse case approximately six times.

All of the counsellors did not feel that this service was reaching all of the women who may have needed it. Four of the counsellors felt that this was because many women may be

afraid to call the police and may therefore not come into contact with the unit. Three of the counsellors responded that some of the women approached by the unit were not receptive to any contact. When asked directly if they felt that all relevant incidents were referred to the victim crisis unit only one counsellor replied yes; five did not feel that the unit received all of the relevant cases and one worker was uncertain.

External Versus Internal Philosophical Orientations to Women Abuse

All counsellors were asked for their opinion on why men abuse women. In general, three orientations emerged, an internal focus, an external focus and a combination of the two.

The external explanations looked beyond the individual and situational circumstances and referred to the societal context. Two counsellors were exclusively externally focused. They emphasized society's acceptance of this behaviour by men against women. One of the counsellors explained:

Because in our society it is still acceptable to do so...come down to it is the acting out phase but not the precursor. It's still okay for men to be abusive, insulting and demeaning...Men still have permission to do so in this society.

Two other respondents were largely externally focused, though not exclusively so. One counsellor indicated that "society accepts this behaviour" and that "men are programmed

that it is okay." However, she also stated that men have lower "self-esteem and self-control." The other counsellor expressed a strong feminist perspective but qualified it somewhat:

From a power point of view symbolic of our patriarchal culture which promotes woman as property and men can do what they want with women. Inequalities between the genders get played out between the genders. Sanctioned on those impulses regardless of their background. The inequitable structure of our society is lenient towards it...I have also changed my perception that that's too simplistic, both men and women have other motivational forces...Hard to use just that-never the whole reason. However, bottom line is that it is a good analogy.

Two counsellors responded with an exclusively internal focus. Both of these counsellors made references to the likelihood of historical violence in the childhood home and "frustrations" or "stress" in the present. They also mentioned possible insecurities within the men. One woman also referred to some cases as being "related to alcohol or drugs."

One counsellor seemed to indicate that the reasons were strictly situational and that they varied dramatically. She stated that there were "one-hundred thousand reasons why" and that "each case stands on its own merit." She referred to "drugs", learning this in the "way brought up", the man may have done "it before and the woman did not object", and that "even women provoke it" as "some did have a case the woman was a real bitch". She clarified this latter statement "I

don't support wife assault but sometimes women have to take responsibility - it depends on the case."

This latter victim blaming stance poses serious concerns. The implications are that the women in contact with this counsellor were likely made to feel responsible for their own victimization. The woman "victim" then potentially becomes even more vulnerable given that she likely views this counsellor as a knowledgeable helper. This counsellor's responses to many of the other questions were atypical.

Assessing Safety, Increasing Connections Through Acceptance and other Counselling Skills

Following a discussion of their views on women abuse, I moved towards looking more directly at their contact with woman involved in abuse cases starting with the objective of their work in this area.

Six out of the seven counsellors emphasized issues regarding assessing safety and creating safety. Comments in this regard included:

Most important thing was to ensure their safety and cover all bases in plan to make her safe.

Number one concern women and children's safety.

First, to find out if she was in danger and if she felt she needed to remove herself.

Another important work objective was to connect the women with other supports and other forms of assistance. Five of

the counsellors referred to informing the women of "resources" or "options" available.

Here again, one counsellor's responses were atypical. She did not make reference to safety issues or resource options as she focused on "support". Again, a victim blaming stance was evident and she was not addressing the problems. Of concern, was that she did not likely provide the women with the crucial assistance that they required:

My aim is to give them moral support - to empower them to stand up for themselves...Abuse is not the way to live. Does not go over well traditionally as women give men excuses. A shoulder to cry on and make them feel they are important and give them strength.

The other counsellors indicated that achieving their work objectives in this area involved assessing safety, informing women of resources and alternatives, having a non-judgemental attitude and using various counselling skills.

As previously stated, six of the respondents referred to issues regarding safety. These counsellors identified assessing safety and risk factors as an important component of the work. Four of these counsellors made specific reference to assisting the woman in developing a safety "plan".

Providing the women with information on resources and supports available was also an important element of this work for many of the counsellors. This step was viewed as broadening the woman's support system, increasing her options and assisting her in creating safety. Some of the comments in this regard included:

...to help them increase their resources and provide them with information for them to increase their own level of control...set up a resource network for them so they have other places/contacts to call.

...felt it was important to do a good assessment including what resources known and used.

...Develop a safety plan inform her about shelters; inform her about legal information...help her contact welfare and Nepean housing.

Responses regarding the percentage of referral for these cases ranged between forty and one-hundred percent. In fact, three counsellors stated that they referred one-hundred percent of such cases. The counsellors appeared very knowledgeable with respect to community supports. Three forms of referrals were identified including shelters, legal resources and counselling/support options. Five of the counsellors made reference to the shelter system. A total of five also discussed legal resources such as legal aid and lawyers. All of the counsellors described various counselling services available.

Six of the counsellors seemed to place an emphasis on having a non-judgemental attitude. Within this theme comments emerged regarding "starting from where they [the women] are" and "not judging". These counsellors seemed to indicate that they always considered and discussed safety issues yet they also recognized that not all women will necessarily leave. Some of their comments included:

...discuss a safety plan with her with the knowledge that not all women leave. If she decides to stay help her develop skills to

survive...Empower her, give her information to help her understand. Help hook her up with outside resources...

...getting to understand what her life is like from her experience...state my real concerns, if I did feel that he could kill her tell her.

...no judgement...try to start with where the women were at that particular time.

Important to listen...I would not tell her - she choose what she wanted. ...Otherwise up to her when, and if, she left. Unless safety of her or her children...The women really directed where they needed to go.

The counsellors also made reference to using various counselling skills including empathy, listening, and reinforcing the women's strengths. Within these skills empathy and understanding seemed to be the most significant. One counsellor focused exclusively on various "counselling techniques", including "reflective listening, watching body movement", providing "encouragement", and giving "one-hundred percent of my attention."

Short-Term Contact Tied to Women's Experiences

Two themes emerged regarding how the counsellors would decide if their work in this area was successful. The most salient theme that emerged was that many of the counsellors viewed their work with these women as one "step" in a process. The second theme was that measures of success were subjective and tied to the woman's experiences.

None of the counsellors indicated that success was defined by having a woman terminate the relationship; although

many of them felt this would have been ideal, they acknowledged that it would likely be an unrealistic expectation.

Six of the counsellors seemed to view their involvement with these women as a "step" or a "short-term" contact within an unfolding process moving potentially towards change. They were aware that the contact they had with a woman was a brief encounter within the realm of the woman's life. Here is how one woman described this:

I felt I was a minor part in their process - a step in their process. I would see them so little - help them a little.

Five of the counsellors seemed to emphasize that measures of success were defined and determined by the women receiving service. In this respect it was not the counsellors who defined success rather it was the women. Some of the comments that surfaced included:

...let them determine that.

...measurable in terms of their experience, like they felt better, gone back to school or the abused stopped

...even the smallest step - having them vocalize other options; even a small step would be significant.

After exploring the counsellors measures of success, I moved towards an examination of the organizational and community context of their work.

Community Context: Support as Well as Concerns

Various answers emerged when the counsellors were asked if any factors within the Nepean community had a bearing on their work with women who were being abused by a male partner. Three women discussed support from particular agencies within the area; including schools, the shelter, and the regional coordinating committee on women abuse.

Four respondents raised concerns regarding resources within the community. One remarked that many of the services women were referred to had waiting lists. One counsellor mentioned that there was only one shelter within Nepean which meant that women often had to leave the city to find a safe place. Another stated that she found one local resource centre "not helpful". One counsellor discussed concerns about an Ottawa based treatment program for men who abuse women. Her concerns were twofold: the women did not seem fully informed about what was occurring in the program and the fact that such programs had "low success rates" and were "not viable". Another respondent commented that the officer in the unit was not always helpful.

One counsellor commented on working with middle and upper class men stating that they would try to intimidate the counsellor's status (especially if she was a student).

Support From Civilian Counselling Staff, Support as well as a Lack of Understanding From Police Personnel and Space Constraints

When questioned regarding what factors in the Nepean Police organization enhanced or improved their work in this area the most significant theme was support from staff within the organization. Five counsellors referred to support from the civilian staff within the unit. Five responses included references to assistance and support from police personnel. The references to police personnel, however, were generally qualified and specific to only certain police officers. Remarks regarding civilian staff within the unit were of a more pervasive nature. One counsellor discussed the benefits of having access to legal information and acquiring a knowledge of legal procedures and processes.

A range of answers emerged regarding issues within the Nepean Police organization which interfered with the counsellors attempts to meet their work objectives in this area. The most heavily loaded theme was a lack of "understanding" from the police regarding the perspective of the woman victim. The counsellors understood the necessity of the legal actions but felt that there was little understanding from constabulary staff in terms of how such actions affected the women involved. Three women made specific reference to this. In the words of one counsellor:

At times the attitude "why is she staying", that point of view. A lack of understanding regarding the abuse relationship, the cycle and the factors associated. At times frustrating - it's not that black and white. Because he's charged does not mean she is not going to stay. Trying to mesh the nurturing social work/counselling approach with the black and white lock him up and charge him. I

understood that she might go back - counsellors understand why. Found there wasn't that understanding and acceptance from police.

Two counsellors referred to a lack of space and interruptions from police personnel while they were meeting with women. Both made comments regarding a lack of adequate interview rooms. One counsellor indicated that once she had to interview a woman "in a broom closet." The other described having to meet with people "in a horrible cell like room on the side."

Varied Collaboration With Police Personnel for Legal Consultation and Case Updates

Responses regarding actual collaboration with police personnel in women abuse cases ranged greatly amongst the counsellors. The range spanned from less than five percent of these cases to over ninety percent. The paid staff revealed a much higher degree of collaboration. One can only speculate on the reasons for this. A number of possibilities exist: it could be because they had been with the unit longer and were more familiar with staff within the unit; they were present on a more consistent schedule and were therefore more visible; or the paid staff had a more significant status than the students.

The purpose of this collaboration was largely described as obtaining clarification and information around legal or

police related issues as well as to gain updates on particular cases.

Civilian Status Allows for Increased Rapport, Increased Options and Brings Cases Closer to the Criminal Justice System

Comments regarding the civilian status of the counsellor's positions suggested that this made the women "victims" more inclined to share their circumstances and elaborate on their needs and concerns. This was viewed as bridging cases with the criminal justice system as it increased disclosures of abuse and allowed the counsellors to convey legal options and choices to the women. Some of the comments were:

Allows us to develop a rapport with the women so we can work with them. So up to them to press a charge when ready. We can give them information that gives them more choices. The fact we were civilian meant more women likely to reach out...

We get a case and there's no charge the woman discusses it with us and we hear about the abuse and explain the options and tell the women they can make a report. Because of where we are sometimes we are the first to hear about it.

I would say we brought more into the system as the women would feel more comfortable...The woman may not have spoken as freely to a police officer.

I thought it probably brought them closer to it because not police. We had trust based on the fact someone outside a legal system who could provide proper legal information.

I think it is important to have a civilian in that environment as it is terrifying for women.. often an effective bridge...Women would generally not approach a police officer.

Victims are nervous with police. More receptive to

you when know you are not police, it increases trust, people more free and open.

Four counsellors commented to the effect that their role in the charging policy was to provide women with information on legal options and processes. One respondent indicated that her role was to ensure that it happens. Two women felt that they did not have a role in the charging policy. Two women felt that if the counsellors did have a legal mandate with regards to the charging policy it would have greatly restricted the counsellors' ability to work with the women.

3.3 What did the counsellors perceive as the status of the issue of gender within the Nepean Police Organization?

Patriarchal Structure:

The counsellors described a male dominated hierarchy. Five counsellors indicated that they did not feel that power and authority were equitably distributed between men and women within the Nepean Police Organization. Although the other two counsellors were uncertain of gender equity, they described a general lack of women within the organization. The counsellors articulated in various ways that women were largely excluded from the upper echelons, were not visible in the organization, and most of the female staff were in lower paying and lower status positions. Comments to this effect were:

Civilians in general are likely paid poorly, particularly secretaries which were all women.

I only met one female detective, and one police woman, there were no female staff sergeants.

I think most of them [women] were secretaries.

Few women in any positions and most of the women in positions seemed to be secretaries.

Other women commented more specifically on the patriarchal structure of the organization:

Still very much an old boys network...Perfect example of patriarchy...The idea is to create a safe place for these women, yet, not a safe place for women - there is a little overt sexual harassment - yet it's a very sexist community.

I could probably say I felt a strong sense of male control. It was definitely male dominated.

And stereotypical issues - male in charge, female represent the soft side. Like a carry over from the past.

This structure raised a number of issues and concerns.

The counsellor's comments speak for themselves:

I think the women are cheerleaders. The officers that are women are put in positions where the public can see them. Counsellors are there to wipe noses - no real respect from administration. I do not think there is any respect.

I do not think women have much of a voice. Not equal to men. The only way is with officers, female officers get equal pay. Even then they have to perform and be better than the men to be accepted.

They had opportunity but not for a moment did I believe it was equal opportunity. Had to be an exceptional women - men not exceptional. The calibre of the women was top percentile of the officers.

To be a women is one thing with drawbacks. To be a woman and a civilian is a double whammy.

3.4 How does the Victim Crisis Unit fit within the organization?

The Unit's Value Lies in Its Political Correctness

In their descriptions of the position and value of the victim crisis unit within the Nepean Police Organization, the term "political" emerged in many of the counsellor's responses. Five out of the seven workers shared that the unit seemed to have a cosmetic value which served to make the organization look good at a superficial level. In this sense the unit was not recognized or highly valued, particularly by upper management. This also relates to the previous theme discussed in terms of the lower status of women within the Nepean Police as the unit is staffed almost exclusively with women. Some of the remarks included:

I do not think there is any respect. We are there because it is politically correct. I do not think it is entrenched in the organization. Old school towards women - there to look good.

By administration it is viewed as a political necessity.

In general I sense it was put there because it was politically correct.

For political speech they would support it one hundred percent but I have my reservations. Would say supported it but in practice no.

It was clear that many of the counsellors felt that the work of the unit was not truly valued. In the words of one woman:

It was "something is being done" ... not an integral part of what was going on. More important to look at "real crime" and not the work of the

victim crisis unit. A sense that robbing the seven eleven was more important.

Three of the counsellors, however, felt that the service was valued by front-line officers. They were seen as having more of an understanding of the role of the unit and the nature of the work. In contrast, two counsellors felt that the unit was in general viewed positively and valued by both administration and front line officers.

Staffing Constraints

No counsellors felt that the unit had an adequate number of paid staff. This raised a number of issues and concerns. One concern was that this arrangement placed a heavy emphasis on both the need for students and the work of the students. Comments in this regard included:

I think it is pathetic to rely solely on students - graduate students.

Most of the counselling done by the students...I got a sense the students were really the front/main line and the coordinator would go out and do the main emergencies and some internal stuff.

Do rely on students disproportionately to the paid staff. Therefore the paid staff may off-load work to unpaid staff.

There was a sense that the perceived lack of paid staff restricted the range of service and impacted on the nature of the service provided. Some of the comments included:

I think they need probably double the paid staff just to break even - to have a skeleton staff... There is no twenty-four hour coverage.

Nothing against the staff and students but if more staff then we could do more follow-up with these

women. We have to refer a lot. A lot of people with expertise doing follow-up but not the time commitment to do that.

I feel it is a good initiative but I feel that the unit should expand to twice the size.

One woman felt that the lack of paid staff was indicative of the organizational value of the unit's work:

I think it is pathetic one paid employee and one contract employee...I think it shows the value - it's obviously not valued.

The Counsellors Valued Their Work and Felt the Unit Provided a Viable Service

Throughout the interviews the counsellors expressed that the service they provided was valuable and that the work of the unit was vital. Of significance, is that many counsellors felt that the unit could play an important preventative role. Various possible preventative actions were referred to including intervening early and providing the woman with options for safety and support. Some of the comments in this regard were:

...valuable even in preventative mode...If I call I would hope we would have less repeat calls or I provided the woman with information on where to go.

A great percentage of the cases do not escalate - others also get in touch with support. Starts a process of intervention at a lower escalation level.

Another reason for the value of the service was in relation to the fact that the service provided the women with a civilian contact knowledgeable in issues related to the

police and the criminal justice system in general. This was already discussed previously.

The counsellors often spoke of their work with pride and commitment. Terms such as "important", "valuable", "critical", and "quality" were used in reference to the service. Some of the comments in relation to the work included:

I believe we are doing important work.

The things we deal with are some of the most critical things that happen in the city.

If anything I would recommend that every department have a unit with a civilian it makes all the difference in the world.

I enjoyed my life there I feel I contributed.

I learned what quality was...I feel lucky to have been involved.

I think it is a service that is very valuable.

Summary

The counsellors working within the unit during 1992 were graduate level, largely Caucasian women. These women had varying involvement with woman abuse cases and different orientations to the issue. Although their training experience was described positively, it appears that there was no consistent training program administered and that it was brief and on-going. Many counsellors described learning on the job and through their own initiatives. As well, the counsellors had different orientations and different approaches. Of significance, is that one counsellor presented with a victim-

blaming orientation. The critical impact that this would have had on her work and her contact with women is concerning.

This situation indicates that not all cases of woman abuse were responded to in the same fashion. This highlights the need for response measures to be in place which would ensure more response consistency. A systematic training package combined with the screening of counsellors with regards to their orientation to woman abuse could enhance continuity. In addition, internal response protocols should be developed outlining certain actions to be taken with woman abuse cases.

These women seemed to have enjoyed their experiences with the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit. They valued their work in reference to woman abuse and highlighted some important issues regarding the context of their work. Of significance were the comments regarding the patriarchal context of the work and the unit's perceived lack of value by the organization. The patriarchal and hierarchical structure operated to devalue women within the organization and the Victim Crisis Services itself. Within this structure women service providers are subordinate. Comments regarding the politically correct value of the unit highlight its place within the organization. It seems that this service has surface value rather than an authentic valued standing within the organization. Issues regarding the heavy reliance on volunteers, inadequate space and the lack of integration with

police work would suggest that the work of the unit is not a priority.

Other comments further emphasized that their work in this area was not integrated with police work. For example, the typical woman abuse referral was directed to the unit following police involvement, they rarely accompanied police personnel on calls of this nature, and students did not often collaborate with police personnel. This latter point is significant as the unit relies heavily on students (which was also observed by the counsellors).

The comments with regard to the civilian status would seem to indicate that this status leads to an increase in rapport in cases where a woman is being abused by a man. This increase in rapport is perceived as leading to an increase in disclosures and a subsequent increase in discussions regarding a woman's options and the resources available to her. A related finding is that the counsellors felt confidentiality was important as it also assisted in building rapport. This suggests that counsellors should not play a role in the charging policy. If the work of civilian counsellors was to become more integrated with police work these elements would need to be maintained.

Some limitations arise due to the questionnaire used, as well as the sample. The questionnaire may have not covered all of the important issues. In addition, one could not necessarily say that the sample of women interviewed was

representative. Nonetheless, the findings likely speak to the circumstances within the unit during 1992 as all counsellors during that year were interviewed. As well, there was some flexibility in answering the questions as many of the questions were open ended and allowed the counsellor to convey broader responses.

CHAPTER VIII

PHASE FOUR: TWO CASE STUDIES OF WOMEN REFERRED TO THE CRISIS SERVICE: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Two women were selected for face-to-face interviews from the pool of twenty-five women screened from the six month data base sample. Each of the two paid staff members from the unit were able to solicit one women for interviewing. The two women were interviewed individually providing for two case studies. The results of the interviews will be presented separately and organized according to the three research questions.

Interview With Woman Number One

Background Information

This woman was referred to the Victim Crisis Services following a domestic assault incident in 1992. The Victim Crisis Unit received a copy of the written police report for follow-up the day after the incident. The file within the unit indicated that she had three contacts with a student civilian counsellor during 1992. In addition, she had two previous contacts with student counselling staff from the unit during 1991 following a domestic dispute incident.

The race indicated on the police report was "b", Caucasian. Her age at the time of the 1992 contact ranged between thirty-five to forty. She is the mother of two

children. The man involved in the incident remains her common-law partner.

The interview was conducted within the woman's home. Completion of the interview required seventy-five minutes. The entire interview was audio-taped with the woman's consent. A follow-up call was placed to this woman approximately one week after our meeting; no concerns or issues were raised.

4.1.1 How did this woman experience the service: what did she perceive as helpful, as not helpful and how would she like to see it improved?

This woman was first informed of the Victim Crisis Unit's existence by one of the police officers that attended her home in response to a "domestic dispute" in 1991. Shortly after this contact she received a call from a counsellor working within the unit; from here she had approximately two additional contacts with the unit in 1991. In 1992 another incident occurred in which she was "slapped" by her partner and a domestic assault incident report was directed to the victim crisis unit for follow-up. She again received a telephone call from a crisis counsellor the following day and an appointment was arranged.

She described positive feelings regarding this initial contact and stated that it felt "good" to know that "there is someone there to help." She informed her partner of this contact and saw the counsellor individually as well as with her partner.

Her experiences with the Victim Crisis Services were described as beneficial and supportive and she conveyed that she would consider using the service again. As well, she had referred friends there and stated that she did not think enough women were aware of the service.

Interactions with the crisis counsellor were characterized positively. She indicated that she felt she could trust the worker, that confidentiality was very important and that the worker seemed to understand and be responsive to her needs. Further, she described feeling very open and comfortable in speaking with the counsellor. Apparently, the counsellor related to her in a non-judgemental and empathetic fashion. Some of the comments in this regard included:

I think it was her attitude. I think she's been there and been through it and can relate. She made me feel comfortable and I had a hard time feeling comfortable with counsellors.

This woman indicated however, that she would not have felt as free to speak with the counsellor if a police officer had been present or if the counsellor had been a police officer.

It appeared that this contact was helpful in three ways. Firstly, her feelings were normalized: "She made me feel in a way that I wasn't wrong to feel the feelings I was feeling." Secondly, it seemed to assist the woman with other issues which were arising due to the arrival of an adolescent step-child. She felt that "most fights" and "arguments" were directly related to the recent arrival of an adolescent step-

child within their home. She seemed to feel that meeting with the counsellor and discussing these issues was helpful for her and her other children. This step-child eventually received individual as well as family counselling and support. During her involvement in family counselling sessions at another agency she felt "blamed" for the situation; she indicated that contact with the crisis worker during this time encouraged her partner as well as herself to see her point of view. Thirdly, the counsellor referred the woman to a program in the community which she felt "benefited" her.

She was provided with information on the legal and the shelter system and other options were explored. This woman expressed that she desired to remain with her partner. In her own words: "Its got to be worked out. A lot of the times it's the problems around you... that's what's causing the fights." However, she indicated that she was always aware that there were other options that the counsellor had discussed with her.

This woman identified her friends as supports, in that, they could "understand" her situation. In terms of other professionals, she revealed that she had seen two psychiatrists, a male and a female, following her contact with the unit. The psychiatrists were apparently not helpful. Their attitude was described as patronizing and contrasting sharply with that of the crisis worker:

They're sitting there looking at you. I found I got more help from [the crisis counsellor] than I did from the psychiatrists I saw after. Feeling I had - what am I doing here I don't feel

comfortable. Like I sat there waiting...snobby attitude - I felt like this little kid in a big chair looking up at these, and they're just staring at you.

This woman's experiences with the Nepean Police officers were described favourably. She felt they understood her situation. In addition, she felt that they were responsive to her needs as they referred her to the Victim Crisis Services and they encouraged her to call a friend to come over. Her comment in this regard was "they made sure I was okay." She did not feel having a male or female police officer made any difference as she had experiences with both and felt they were comparable.

In terms of improving the service this woman highly recommended that the counsellors accompany police to the scene rather than follow up by telephone after the incident.

Probably somebody at the scene would be better because, you know when you're upset and going through that it's like you sort of need it - that person there. Some people don't feel comfortable talking to the police officer and it's like, you know if there was somebody there not connected really in that way it would be better. I think a lot of the times they leave and you're sort of like in limbo, you're upset and you don't have anyone to talk to.

Her rationale for a more immediate response related to the crisis nature of the situation, the feelings and self blame that often follow, and the potential anger and subsequent motivation that the situation may evoke. In her own words:

When you are going through that stuff you need a counsellor there then and not three days down the

road or a day down the road. It's then because so many feelings and emotions and you are wondering did I do it? Did I cause it? What did I do?... You know there's all kinds of stuff going on in your head. You have a lot of anxiety...It would be a lot better to like talk it out right then.

Because when you have all that anger that's when you can do it. If a day or two later - likely make a choice to stay - you worry about money, housing, being alone, lawyers and all that crap.

I had a friend assaulted in Ottawa. I think she needed somebody there then. I mean she took a beating - a pretty bad beating but it was like she should have had somebody there with the police officers and that's the way I felt. I felt she needed it.

These comments point to the need for a more immediate response from civilian crisis workers and the necessity for civilian counsellors to work in a more integrated fashion with police personnel.

4.1.2. How does this woman feel about the charging policy?

This woman was not aware that a charging policy existed. Further, she felt that it was not in effect when she was involved with the Nepean Police Service in 1992. Both she and her partner were under the impression that he was going to be charged, yet he was not. She indicated that she did not want him to be charged:

I said I struck out at him too. They told me they were going to charge him and I said no ...because it was like a heated discussion. I sort of said no I didn't want him charged.

She described this as a turning point in their relationship:

He thought he was going to be charged. So like I mean that was part of it. We both decided okay this was it -no more striking out at each other and it's either we are going to end this relationship and go our separate ways or we work it out.

Charges, however, were not laid against her partner. When asked what impact or effect charges would have had, she could not really identify or conceive "how it would have turned out."

She regarded the mandatory charging policy as "good" and seemed to feel that it should be applied largely when a woman is perceived to have had significant injury or when her safety is in jeopardy. She reflected upon her situation highlighting that she did not feel that she was in danger. To her this seemed to indicate that charges were not necessarily required:

I think that's a good idea because a lot of times your feelings are - you love that person but you don't want to and it's hard for you to make that decision - to charge him. Because a lot of times you're feeling guilty; that maybe I did something to cause it and a lot of men can make you feel that way. Like it is you who caused me to beat you and it's not right. If they come in and a person's in bad shape physically. ...he didn't come back and hunt me or stalk me or whatever or call up and say "I'm going to kill you."

I didn't want him charged and it was a slap and that was it. You know I didn't feel threatened or anything like that - really totally threatened that I couldn't go outside or he was going to hold me hostage I didn't feel that way and I wasn't in that type of situation where some women are. They can't talk really or whatever...

She commented that her fears regarding charges did not effect the way she spoke with the police or the crisis

counsellor as she assumed that they were being laid regardless of what she said.

4.1.3. Does this woman feel that the provision of this service served to redirect her case away from further involvement with the police/the criminal justice system?

This woman responded that she did not feel that the crisis unit moved cases away from the legal system. She felt that the service was important in that it could help women already involved with the legal system as well as provide women with information and options if they were to opt for more legal involvement:

No I'd say if anything, if [my partner] was charged and went to court [the crisis counsellor] would have been there to support me and I think that's what you need - that person there to support you. I knew [the crisis counsellor] would be there to support me if I went to court with [my partner] - whatever, she was going to be there.

No because she was working with the police too. She knew that part. Where you as a person you don't know where you can go or how you can charge him or whatever. I would say she could tell me the information and she told me if I decide to go to court, whatever she could help me.

The woman in a previous question however, indicated that she perceived that her partner "would have been charged if he did not go and see the" counsellor. She also perceived that if the counsellor had felt that she was in danger, charges would have been laid. It is not clear if the counsellor had any role in the charging. This situation indicates that the counsellor's role must be clearly distinguished for the woman.

Interview With Woman Number Two

Background Information

This woman was referred to the Victim Crisis Unit following an assault incident in 1992. The woman met with a paid crisis counsellor at the Nepean Police Station following police contact at the scene. The file within the unit indicated that this was the only contact she had with civilian counselling staff.

The race indicated on the police report was "B" - Caucasian. Her age at the time of the 1992 contact ranged between eighteen to twenty-three. She did not have any children. The man involved in the incident was a partner she had been dating. The relationship ended approximately one year later.

The research interview was conducted in the Victim Crisis Services interviewing room located within the police station. Completion of the interview required fifty-five minutes. The entire interview was audio-taped with the woman's consent. A follow-up call was placed to this woman approximately one week after our meeting; no concerns or issues were raised.

4.2.1 How did this woman experience the service: what did she perceive as helpful, as not helpful and how would she like to see it improved?

Two police officers, one male and one female, were sent to the scene when this woman was assaulted by her partner. Both the woman and her partner were transported separately to

the Nepean Police station. Upon arrival the man was placed in a jail cell and the woman met with a crisis worker. She was not aware of the crisis service prior to this event and recalls being very "surprised":

Because I had a pretty bad eye and everything they brought me in and I sat with [the counsellor] for about two hours and I didn't have no idea it was here so it was good to sit down with somebody...No it was a big surprise...Then they said we are going to have you talk to a victim crisis counsellor and see if she can help you out. Then they put me in here and she came in.

She expressed mixed feelings regarding this initial form of contact:

Because I wasn't expecting it I was really hesitant towards it - it put my back up and I didn't want help I was just thinking if I'm talking to her it's going to get him in trouble. So, you know, you're like I don't want to talk about it - you fell down the stairs - you know you hear the old stories.

It was good at the time they took me right in...

It was forced upon me at the time. That was the only thing I didn't like about it... but I think it was good because I think they saw it in me that I wouldn't have taken to anyone because I was only [young] I was at that age where I was pretty manipulative... I did think it was a good way of getting me in here and it helped - yes.

The way it was handled was perfect for my situation I was in. I got the information. They did as much as they could for me at the time.

Her partner was not aware of this contact, she described the issues that this raised for her:

Not necessarily fear, more like he'd be thinking - oh you're going to rat me out or something. ...He was always - it's never his fault it's always my fault and so if he thought I was in here talking he'd be thinking I'd be blaming him now - which I was and I mean it is his fault but I could never

let him know that; otherwise he'd just get all worked up again so ... it's a fear coming in here just of the reaction you'd get out of your mate.

She felt that service provided by the unit was helpful. She was given information regarding the legal system, the pervasiveness of woman abuse and her options, which she took with her and read later. She indicated that information given was helpful but that it took time for her to look at it:

I looked at it [the information given] - it's scary to see when you're a statistic along with everyone. I just realized - this isn't good... Yeah it was because you can take it home with you. I left it in my car and I was like whatever. But then you get back in your car pick it up and gc I really should read this.

She spent approximately two hours with a counsellor who she described as understanding and empathetic. In addition, she felt she would consider using the service again. In her own words:

She [the counsellor] was really understanding as she took her time which was helpful, at first I wouldn't talk... She was very understanding like she had heard it before....

At first no because it's very hard - you like to hide it you don't want to share anything because you feel like, almost stupid because you actually hear yourself saying this now and you're like - it's really hard even just trying to tell somebody. So it was hard but she gets you going... I knew it was just between me and her.

I think I could call [the counsellor] again because she sat with me for so long that I could pick up the phone and say "look I'm in trouble." She'd be the first person I would call because she was by my side for that one bad episode.

The civilian status of the counsellor combined with

confidentiality was very "important" for this woman. She stressed that it was critical "to get that across" or else she would have been "very hesitant to speak - very hesitant!"

She indicated that, after having some distance from the event and the meeting with the counsellor, she could then put things in a different perspective:

At the time no, at the time I was just like why am I here, I'm tired, I haven't slept, I'm sore, I was hurting, I just wanted to go home? But then after, you know, you'd start to think she was making sense. Why am I leading this life? Like at the time it's the farthest thing from your mind - I'm right you're wrong and I want to go home. But then you realize she's right. She did have a few good points of view.

This woman indicated that she had shared her situation with her friends whom she felt were "on her side". She did not ever receive any medical treatment for her injuries as she feared this would lead to police involvement. She sometimes received assistance from friends. For example, she relayed that "one of my friends stitched me up once because if I went to the hospital the police would come". This woman was fearful of police involvement.

The assault which occurred during 1992 was responded to by two police officers, one male and one female. She indicated a fear of her partner being charged influenced the way she spoke to them. Further, she commented that the two officers had very different approaches to her situation. The woman officer was described as understanding and appropriate. The male officer, in contrast, was described as abrupt and conveying a victim blaming attitude. In her words:

The one officer I was with, the young woman, she helped me too...She got me almost crying. Women understand. She got me here. It was helpful having a woman police officer I think and not just a man - like get in the car.

[the male officer] was ignorant - being a man. I didn't even want to see him because he was ignorant and then she [the female officer] sat with me for awhile. I was rude at first and she was like...it's understandable. I think there should be more education to the men on how to handle these situations. The male officer's attitude was - like why are you doing this to yourself, making it worse than it was already.

In terms of improving the Victim Crisis Services four issues/suggestions emerged in our conversation. Firstly, she felt that a follow-up telephone call from the counsellor one week later would be beneficial and provide further support. Secondly, she felt "it would be helpful if more woman knew about this place" as it did "not seem very well known". She suggested that it could be advertised in the newspaper or flyers distributed. As well, officers could "let more people know" about the civilian counselling service. Thirdly, she indicated that it would have been "easier" if there had been a counsellor at the scene. Fourthly, several comments emerged regarding the service being housed within a police setting and the difficulty that this posed.

Some of her comments regarding the milieu included:

It is hard being in a police station especially when it's for abuse or assault or anything like that. I mean you know that they're not police officers and you walk out and you see them all.

There's cops all over...he was in the holding cell just down at the end of the hall.

It's really hard especially when it's in a police station. If it was out of a police station in a community centre or something I think it would be a little easier.

In general, it seemed that this woman found the contact with the civilian crisis counsellor beneficial. Although she was given the crisis counsellor's number, and she felt a follow-up call from the counsellor would have been helpful, she did not recontact the unit. Consequently, she did not have further support throughout the court process.

4.2.2 How does this woman feel about the charging policy?

This woman indicated that she vaguely remembered the police explaining the charging policy to her but she clearly remembered having very strong reactions to her partner being charged. The charge raised a number of concerns for her and served to exacerbate her fears. Her comments in reference to this experience included:

At the time I was just - you can't do this to me you know...I think it's good but you're there with your mate whatever. It really scares you cause there's a lot of fear like he's going to come back and get me know cause he's gotten caught...I was petrified.

I was scared I was like you're charging him - I'm the one who is going to have to live with it, and they're saying it's for your own good, and you know he shouldn't get away with this. And I was like, I know that but he's going to walk out of here - on you know recognizance - and I'm the one who is going to have to deal with him when he gets out. And they're like, well, and that made me more scared then just having him - just drop it [the charge]...Because I thought he'd come after me know.

Her partner was charged by the police. She would not

write a witness statement. and during the court case she indicated that her injuries were inflicted by other means. Again, grave concerns for her safety arose as she literally feared for her life. Here is her description of the process:

It went to trial and I was testifying for him saying that it never happened - a whole big story and the police said "fine we'll just drop it." We were still in court and the crown attorney came up to me and said "are you still going to stick by your story?" And I said "yes" and they said "okay than we are just going to drop the charges." ...Yeah mostly afraid if I had of gotten up on that witness stand and said "yeah, he hit me" I think I'd be dead now - really I think I would. You know he knew a lot of people...

When asked if she felt that laying the charge against him had any impact on the abuse her response was:

No it scared me more but it relaxed him a bit but then it stopped for a bit then it picked up and then it got worse...Cause he saw that he saw got away with it.

The issue of charging and police contact regarding the abuse raised a number of concerns for her personal safety. There appeared no easy answer to this dilemma:

I've thought about it [safety concerns] and I don't know what can be done to prevent it...You can get a restraining order but those don't seem to work. My friend had one on her boyfriend. I mean she'd call the police and say you know, "he's bothering me he's coming over, he's not leaving me alone." They couldn't do anything because they couldn't catch him doing it.

It seems that the charging policy presented this woman with an increased level of fear as she did not perceive any avenues which would provide her with protection and safety. She chose to go through the legal process without contacting the crisis worker.

This woman did not support the mandatory charging policy as she felt it violated a woman's rights:

In a lot of situations they should be [charged] but I think it is a right to have them dropped... A lot of times charges shouldn't be dropped at all but then again you should have the right to say I don't want to have these charges laid. It wasn't up to me it was up to the crown. If I called him and said "you know I don't want these charges on him - I want them dropped." But because the police had laid them it was only the crown who could say okay we'll drop them.

4.2.3 Does this woman feel that the provision of this service served to re-direct her case away from further involvement with the police, the criminal justice system?

This woman did not feel that her involvement with the victim crisis unit served to move her case away from the criminal justice system or further police contact. She expressed that she knew that the charge was being laid prior to speaking directly with the counsellor and that only the Crown Attorney could drop it. In addition, she liked the fact that the crisis workers were not police officers or court staff indicating that if they were "many women would not speak."

Summary

Both of the women interviewed indicated that they viewed their contact with a civilian crisis counsellor as helpful and that they would consider using this service again. They both felt that the counsellor they spoke with was understanding and non-judgemental and that confidentiality as well as civilian

status was important. Further, the women felt that having a crisis counsellor involved at the point of police contact would have been even more beneficial. As well they indicated that women in the community should be more aware of the services offered by the unit.

These two cases contrasted in a number of areas including: perceived level of personal safety; age of the women; feelings regarding charges; experiences with front-line police officers; and experiences in regards to court and charges. The two women seemed to have different emphasis in the interviews. The younger woman seemed to feel very strongly that a woman should have a right to drop the charges against her partner. She also discussed that having this service housed within a police setting likely served to make women uncomfortable. These concerns seemed to have arisen as a result of her fear for her safety and the lack of protection. The other woman seemed to emphasize the need for a more immediate response and hence on the scene involvement of crisis counsellors. The "victimizing" experiences of these women varied. The younger woman truly feared for her life whereas the other woman did not perceive that her personal safety was at a high risk.

Their stories provided insight into some of the concerns and issues that these women faced. Their comments pointed to many some concerns regarding the service. Some of the concerns raised included: the counsellor should not interview

the man; counsellors should have space outside of the police station; counsellors should be available for on the scene involvement; and counsellors should offer to assist a woman throughout the legal process and be aware a woman's court date.

Although this woman felt positive regarding her contact with the counsellor I feel that the counsellor should not interview the man. In this case the involvement of the man in the counselling process was seen as playing a role in the charging process. As well, in phase two one case emerged in which it appeared that it was the abusive man rather than the woman who was contacted (see page 117). Providing intervention either with the couple or the man individually can be perceived as assisting him in presenting a positive image should the case go to court or should charges be considered after the incident report. Safety concerns do arise for a woman if she discloses issues in the presence of her partner as he may abuse her more for disclosing. The power imbalance between the man and the woman is likely to prevail while the man is present and may serve to silence her. Additionally, if the woman is the victim and the service is for victims then she should be the one receiving the service.

Remarks from the woman involved in the second interview highlighted the necessity of offering services to women outside of a police environment. She clearly emphasized the fear and reluctance that this milieu can provoke. Safety and

risk concerns for women who fear for their personal safety may serve to prevent a woman from entering a police station for counselling, support or information. The fact that this woman also had no external support during the trial indicates that there should be a system in place in which women receive support throughout the legal process.

Comments from the woman interviewed in the first interview highlighted the need for on the scene involvement of a crisis counsellor. She vividly described the range of emotions, the feelings of self blame and the crisis nature of woman abuse cases.

These two case studies served to highlight the views and experiences of two women who were served by the unit in 1992. I acknowledge these two cases are not representative of all women who have received service from the unit. The intention was to provide two in-depth examples of how the service was experienced.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

Conclusions

The present study utilized a broad range of data sources to present a comprehensive view of the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services. The secondary data obtained from case files, records, yearly reports and log books provided valuable descriptive information regarding service trends and case profiles. The primary data obtained through interviews with former counsellors and two women referred to the unit allowed for a rich exploration of women's experiences as counsellors as well as clients. This primary data highlighted important contextual factors.

The specific findings relating to each research phase have been discussed and explored separately. In this section I will only highlight some of the recurring and related themes observed across all research phases. Three salient issues are worthy of discussion here. Firstly, the organizational and institutional context has many implications for the work and the women within the organization. Secondly, the information systems, with regards to classifying cases and maintaining records, require modification as they do not necessarily provide complete and meaningful information. Thirdly, not all cases of woman abuse receive the same response.

The contextual analysis brought into view significant contextual factors which previous studies have paid little

attention to. Police services are para-military structures comprised of male dominated hierarchies. This patriarchal arrangement systematically excludes women from upper positions of power and allows upper male management to determine the role and the position of women as well as the value of their work. The women counsellor's comments regarding the invisibility of women within the organization as well as the perceived lack of authentic value for the work of the unit are, to some extent, a continuation of the same patriarchal structure which has created dilemmas for the two women clients.

Power differentials existed for women in both situations. (Clearly safety and personal risk issues were of a greater concern for the women clients.) Just as "male violence against women in the family is an expression of male domination" (hooks, 1984:118), so to is the status of the Victim Crisis Services and the position of the women counsellors an expression of male domination. The ideology of domination inherent under hierarchical rule (described by hooks, 1984) operates to maintain the oppression of women.

Several findings seemed to indicate that the unit is not integrated with police work. Victim crisis staff are not involved in the screening of cases to be referred to the unit nor are they aware of the majority of cases incoming to the Nepean police station. Their response is usually secondary as it occurs on average four days after the incident and it

typically involves only telephone follow-up. Civilian counsellors rarely accompany police personnel on calls and student counsellors, in particular, do not often collaborate with police personnel. In addition, a majority of incoming domestic, assault and sexual assaults are not referred to the unit.

The Victim Crisis Services was an ad hoc development and the work of the unit has not been integrated with police work. I believe that this civilian service must be more integrated with police work. Integration, for my purposes, does not mean assimilation and mediation. These latter two concepts ignore power issues and imply benign cooperation and a conformity to the hierarchical arrangements. I feel that the unequitable distribution of power needs to shift and that the unit needs to maintain both a separateness and a connectedness in order to have a voice within the organization. This process may be initiated both internally and externally. Internally, the counsellors should have more on-going contact with front-line police personnel and eventually with administration. Externally, staff within the unit should continue to develop alignments within the community. The paid staff already have connections with both the local women's shelter and the Regional Coordinating Committee to End Violence Against Women. These associations should be used to develop an external voice within the organization.

With regards to the classification system the incident type categories used for classifying cases and maintaining yearly statistics are vague and do not provide enough specific information. In addition, variability was noted in the types of classifications used for yearly reports. Although the "other" and "request counselling" incident categories showed significant increases over the years, these classifications are not distinctive enough to allow for a determination of the victim issues which are included in these categories. In addition, there is no clear distinction between a domestic assault incident and an assault incident. Staff within the unit should reexamine and clarify the purpose for classifying cases and maintaining statistics, and develop a more meaningful system.

In terms of accessing records and files, complete consistent information is not always available; earlier referred incident reports are not necessarily filed with newer ones; and in some cases the file itself cannot be located. As well, when a report is directed to the unit, staff within the unit do not always have knowledge of related previous contacts with the Nepean Police Service that were not referred to the unit. Missing information poses serious concerns for the continuity of service as well as the determination of statistics. It appears that counsellors are not necessarily provided with all the relevant background details prior to

responding to a case. As well, statistical information is not always available if data is missing.

The Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit provides a potentially valuable civilian service to women. However, to ensure that all women receive the same basic service, more consistency is required in terms of responding to these cases. Some observations related to this finding include: some cases had a more immediate response; some women were reached by telephone and others had face-to-face contact; the service is not offered to all women; one counsellor responded to the abusive male rather than the women victim; the counsellors have different orientations to the issue and different approaches; one counsellor displayed a victim blaming stance; and interpreters did not always seem to be accessed when necessary. These issues pose serious concerns due to the safety/risk issues and the potentially damaging service responses.

This study has provided the basis for both general and specific recommendations aimed at improving the service provided by the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit in reference to woman abuse. The efforts should be directed towards increasing the outreach to all women, ensuring response consistency and integrating the work of the unit with police work. As well, the information systems should be modified.

I acknowledge that several limitations are inherent. Nonetheless, I believe that the methodology followed allowed

for the collection of rich qualitative and quantitative data. The findings have served to make the work of the unit more visible and provided a deep and critical understanding of many important contextual factors. In addition, the results provide some groundwork for future studies. Future work could also solicit information from police personnel.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation #1: A new referral classification system should be developed for use within the Victim Crisis Unit. More meaningful case classifications could highlight the nature and range of the referrals.

Recommendation #2: A new information/filing system should be developed for use within the unit. There should be a system in place which would allow for quick retrieval of all available information on a particular case. Some of the data of interest would include previous contacts with the Nepean Police service as well as the Victim Crisis Unit; the nature of such contacts; the names of all individuals involved; and any resulting charges or conditions. All staff within the unit would benefit from having this knowledge. A database computerized system would permit the storage of a vast amount of information and provide easy access. Such a program could

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provide reliable yearly and monthly case statistics as well as service continuity.

Recommendation #3: The civilian staff should utilize community connections, most specifically their association with the Regional Coordinating Committee to End Violence Against Women, to challenge power differentials within the organization and promote change.

Recommendation #4: The work of the civilian victim crisis counsellors should be more integrated with the work of the Nepean Police personnel. Crisis counsellors should accompany front-line officers when responding to women abuse cases. In addition, civilian victim crisis staff should be directly involved in the process of determining which cases are to be referred to the victim crisis unit.

Recommendation #5: Civilian crisis workers victim contact in cases involving woman abuse should remain confidential unless a child's safety is a concern. All women who are victims of abuse perpetrated by an intimate partner should be entitled to this civilian contact.

Recommendation #6: The Victim Crisis Unit should develop its own internal protocol regarding response procedures in relation to woman abuse cases. This protocol should provide

clear guidelines for intervention in woman abuse cases by stipulating specific actions and procedures that counsellors are obliged to follow. Of importance, is that the protocol stipulates that the counsellors not speak with the abusive partner, that they focus on assessing the woman and children's safety, and that they access an interpreter when required. Input from the Regional Coordinating Committee to End Violence Against Women should be utilized in this regard.

Recommendation #7: Staff within the victim crisis unit should provide more outreach to immigrant and visible minority women. Utilizing counsellors from an array of "racial" backgrounds would likely assist in this. In addition, an involvement in both the referral process and front-line police work would assist with this. All incoming victim crisis staff as well as all police personnel could benefit from education and workshops focusing on the various issues that may exist for immigrant and visible minority women.

Recommendation #8: Staff within the victim crisis unit should provide outreach to same sex couples. Here again, an involvement in both the referral process and front-line police contacts could assist with this. As well, victim crisis staff and police personnel could benefit from education and workshops focusing on the various issues and needs that may exist for same sex couples.

Recommendation #9: Staff within the unit should provide outreach to women with disabilities. Here again, victim crisis personnel as well as police personnel could benefit from education and workshops focusing on the various issues and needs of women with disabilities. A list of risk indicators for both police and civilian staff could also serve to sensitize staff to possible issues. Involvement in the screening process could again improve this outreach.

Recommendation #10: Nepean Police personnel should receive extensive training regarding the experience of woman victims in cases of woman abuse and the impact of the charging policy. The training should incorporate issues regarding the management of such cases and the importance of conveying some understanding and a non-blaming attitude towards the woman involved.

Recommendation #11: All victim crisis counsellors should receive extensive training regarding women abuse cases and relevant intervention strategies commencing with their hiring. As not all groups of women have the same needs this training should be comprehensive in scope. In addition, counsellors should be screened regarding their attitudes towards women abuse; a feminist orientation is highly recommended. Here again, input from the Regional Coordinating Committee to End Violence Against Women should be accessed.

Recommendation #12: An additional counselling room should be provided for the victim crisis staff. This room should be used exclusively by victim crisis staff. In addition, staff within the unit should have access to space within the community outside of the police station.

Recommendation #13: The unit should be staffed with at least four paid civilian counsellors. This number would allow for more hourly coverage and the staffing required for an increased integration with police work. The salary for the counselling staff should be at least equivalent to that of front line police officers.

CHAPTER XI

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**APPENDIX A
STUDY APPROVAL FORM:
PROJECT DESCRIPTION**

Susan Hulley will be designing and conducting a research investigation which will explore and describe the role of the Nepean Police Victim/Crisis Service in Police reports of male violence toward former or present intimate partners. Susan Hulley is currently enrolled in the Master of Social Work program at Carleton University and this research shall take the form of her Masters Thesis requirement.

This project will obtain information from four sources: referral statistics; case files; and telephone contact with former crisis counsellors and former women clients. The identity of all participants will be kept confidential and the information obtained from the files shall not allow for the identification of any particular client.

The aim of this project is to describe and explore the current outreach to these women and to examine the present model of service delivery. The findings of this project may serve to increase the profile of this service and to inform future practices and policies of the unit.

Required Signatures:

Unit Supervisor _____

Crisis Unit
Civilian Coordinator _____

**APPENDIX B
MEMO DIRECTED TO THE NEPEAN POLICE CHIEF**

MEMO TO: CHIEF WAYNE PHILLIPS

**FROM: SUSAN HULLEY,
MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK STUDENT,
CARLETON UNIVERSITY**

DATE: JANUARY 18, 1994

REGARDING: STUDENT RESEARCH PROJECT

I am currently enroled in the Master of Social Work program at Carleton University. I worked within the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit as a graduate student on placement in 1992. During this time I began to realize that police-based crisis units could be very important in assisting women. Police stations provide the only mobile twenty-four hour crisis response and, as such, are often contacted when a woman's life is in danger. I believe that service provision is crucial, given this important point of access. Therefore, I have decided to more closely explore the unit's service in response to assault and domestic incidents in my Masters Thesis.

My project will obtain information from five sources: the Victim Crisis Services policy manual; referral statistics; case files; telephone contact with former crisis counsellors; and face-to-face interviews with a small number of former women clients. The identity of all participants will be kept confidential and the information obtained from the files shall not allow for the identification of any particular client or counsellor.

My research shall explore several important questions including:

1. Has the demand for service grown, diminished or remained constant since its inception in 1985?
2. Has there been a change in the distribution of referral incident types?
3. What proportion of the incoming assault and domestic incidents are referred to the unit?
4. What is the domestic relationship of the parties involved in a domestic or an assault incident?

5. What form does the Unit's response take in relation to domestic and assault incidents?
6. What is the profile of the counsellors within the Unit?
7. What do the counsellors perceive as the objectives of their work with women victims who have been abused by male partners?
8. What physical, social, organizational and economical factors, both inside and outside of the organization, impact upon the service the counsellors provide?
9. How do former women clients perceive the service?
10. How do former women clients feel about the charging policy?

I must emphasize that this project will not take the form of a project evaluation. The aim of my project is to describe and explore the current outreach to these women and to examine the present model of service delivery. The findings of this project may serve to increase the profile of this service and to inform future practices and policies of the unit.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to call me. My home telephone number is .

[illegible]

APPENDIX D
INCIDENT REPORT FORM

[illegible]

APPENDIX E
1992 FORM LETTER SENT TO VICTIMS

NEPEAN POLICE SERVICE

245 Greenbank Road, Nepean, Ontario, K2H 8W9
Telephone 829-2211

File Ref. No. _____

Dear

The Victim/Crisis Services of the Nepean Police Service has been unable to contact you by telephone since the incident reported on

Please find enclosed, a brochure which describes the services we provide. If you have any questions or concerns, please call 829-2211 and ask for Victim/Crisis Services. A counsellor is available between 8.00 a.m. and 4.30 p.m., Monday to Friday and Wednesdays in the early evening.

Yours truly,

Victim Crisis Services

Wayne Phillips, B.A.
Chief of Police

ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO CHIEF OF POLICE

1994 SAMPLE LETTER

Dear

We are sorry to learn that you have been the victim of an assault. It is extremely beneficial to be able to talk about your feelings surrounding the incident, with someone who listens and cares.

The Victim/Crisis Branch has been unable to contact you by phone. Our service provides crisis and short term counselling as well as information on agencies within the City who may be able to provide you with counselling, reassurance or other services that you feel you may need. Please call the Victim/Crisis Branch at 829-2211 between 8:00 a.m. and 10:00 p.m. Monday to Friday.

Yours truly,

Crisis Intervention Worker
Nepean Police Service

APPENDIX F 1992 VICTIM CRISIS PAMPHLET

The Victim/Crisis Branch of the Nepean Police Service can be contacted at the following:

Crisis Services Unit
829-2211 Ext. 242/218/200

Victim Services Unit
829-2211 Ext. 262/282

To phone TEEN TALK, dial 820-TTTT

or write to: **TEEN TALK**
245 Greenbank Road
Nepean, Ontario
K2H 8W9

EMERGENCY SERVICES FOR WOMEN AND TEEN CHILDREN

NELSON HOUSE 225-5977
INTERVAL HOUSE 234-5181
LA PRESENCE 233-8297
MAISON D'AMITIE 747-0020

OTHER COMMUNITY RESOURCES

**SEXUAL ASSAULT
SUPPORT CENTRE** 725-2160
RAPE CRISIS CENTRE 729-8889
DISTRESS CENTRE 338-3311
**NEPEAN COMMUNITY
RESOURCE CENTRE** 596-5626
**CARLINGTON COMMUNITY
RESOURCE CENTRE** 722-4000
**KANATA COMMUNITY
RESOURCE CENTRE** 591-3686
**ONTARIO LEGAL AID
PLAN** 238-7931
**JUSTICE OF THE
PEACE** 236-1169

EMERGENCY CALLS

POLICE
FIRE
AMBULANCE

911

OTHER POLICE RELATED CALLS
829-2211

HELP FOR VICTIMS

VICTIM CRISIS SERVICES

YOU ARE NOT ALONE

The Nepean Police Victim/Crisis Service is dedicated to providing a comprehensive service to victims in a spirit of humanity and compassion.

CRISIS SERVICES

Victim/Crisis Services provide to victims of crime a service which offers practical and emotional support during the initial crisis phase and throughout the victim's involvement in the Criminal Justice System.

Victims of crime include not only those who have suffered directly, but relatives and friends who must deal with its far-reaching consequences.

Direct crisis intervention, assessment, short term counselling and referral is provided to individuals and families who suffer the effects of trauma due to the following:

- * HOMICIDE
- * SUDDEN DEATH
- * SUICIDE AND ATTEMPTS
- * SEXUAL ASSAULTS
- * CHILD ABUSE
- * ELDER ABUSE
- * DOMESTIC ASSAULTS
- * DOMESTIC DISPUTES
- * CUSTODY DISPUTES
- * SUBSTANCE ABUSE

VICTIM SERVICES

Victim Services Volunteers working within the police station will provide assistance in the following areas:

- * CRIME PREVENTION INFORMATION
- * RESIDENTIAL
- * PROPERLY CRIME
- * PROPERTY RETURN
- * HARASSING AND
- * OBSCENE PHONE CALLS
- * CASE INFORMATION
- * REGARDING INVESTIGATION
- * COURT INFORMATION

The unit operates Monday to Friday between 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. The prime purpose of this unit is to contact, by telephone, the victims of property crime. The victim is kept informed about the progress of their case and any questions or concerns are addressed.

YOUR CONCERNS

Your needs are a major concern to the Nepean Police Service. A criminal offence against you or your property may be the first official contact you have had with the criminal justice system. If you have questions, do not hesitate to ask them, either at the time of the initial investigation or later in any follow-up telephone calls to your police service. Please refer to the incident number that has been assigned to your case.

INFORMATION

If, at a later date, you are called as a witness in a court trial, ask for a full explanation of the proceedings and your responsibilities.

It is your right to know

In the distress that follows a crime, it is important that you know what services are available to you. Feel free to ask your investigating officer or the Victim/Crisis Services.

Help is available

CRISIS TELEPHONE LINE FOR TEENS

The Victim Crisis Services also provides a peer support telephone line for teens. The phone line is called 'TEEN TALK'. Two independent phone lines are operated by trained teens between the ages of 15-20 years. They answer calls from teens who are feeling the need to talk or discuss their everyday problems with people of their own age. Having to deal with their problems alone can be one of the most frightening and loneliest experiences in their life.

TEEN TALK is a confidential service, which is open 7 days a week and operates between 5 p.m. and 11 p.m. each day. TEEN TALK also provides a mail-in service to teenagers, who may prefer to write about their problems.

APPENDIX G

1994 VICTIM CRISIS PAMPHLET

The Victim/Crisis Branch of the Nepean Police Service can be contacted at the following:
Victim/Crisis Services
 829-2211 Ext. 200/284/218

EMERGENCY SHELTERS FOR WOMEN AND THEIR CHILDREN

NELSON HOUSE225-5977
 INTERVAL HOUSE234-5181
 LA PRESENCE233-8297
 MAISON D'AMITTE747-0020

OTHER COMMUNITY RESOURCES

SEXUAL ASSAULT725-2160
 SUPPORT CENTRE
 RAPE CRISIS729-8889
 CENTRE
 DISTRESS CENTRE238-3311
 NEPEAN COMMUNITY596-5626
 RESOURCE CENTRE

CARLINGTON722-4000
 COMMUNITY
 RESOURCE CENTRE

KANATA COMMUNITY591-3686
 RESOURCE CENTRE

ONTARIO LEGAL AID238-7931
 PLAN

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE236-1169

EMERGENCY CALLS

POLICE
 FIRE
 AMBULANCE

911

OTHER POLICE RELATED CALLS
 829-2211

HELP FOR VICTIMS

VICTIM CRISIS SERVICES

VICTIM/CRISIS BRANCH

YOU ARE NOT ALONE

The Nepean Police Victim/Crisis Service offers extensive services to victims of crime. The Centre and its staff offer practical and emotional support during the initial crisis phase and throughout the victim's involvement in the Criminal Justice System.

SERVICES

The Service provides direct crisis intervention, assessment, short term counselling and referrals to individuals and families who suffer the effects of trauma due to the following:

CHILD ABUSE
WIFE ABUSE
SENIOR ABUSE
DOMESTIC DISPUTES
SEXUAL ASSAULTS
SUICIDE AND ATTEMPTS
HOMICIDE
SUDDEN DEATH
CUSTODY DISPUTES
SUBSTANCE ABUSE

In the distress that follows a crime, it is important that you know what services are available to you. Feel free to ask your investigating officer or the staff at the Victim/Crisis Branch.

YOUR CONCERNS

Your needs are of major concern to the Nepean Police Service. A criminal offence against you may be the first official contact you have had with the criminal justice system. If you have questions, do not hesitate to ask them, either at the time of the initial investigation or later in any follow-up calls to your police service.

INFORMATION

If you are requesting any further information on your case please refer to the incident number that has been assigned to your case.

If, at a later date, you are called as a witness in a court trial, ask for a full explanation of the proceedings and your responsibilities.

It is your right to know all the legalities and factors involved in your case. The Victim/Crisis Branch ensures that you are not further victimized by being uninformed about the criminal justice system.

SAFETY PLAN

FOR ABUSED WOMEN

1. Protection

▶ CALL 911 IF YOU FEEL AFRAID.

▶ Know the danger signs and circumstances that occur before your partner becomes abusive.

2. Become Aware Of Services That Can Help You

- ▶ shelters
- ▶ community service (child care)
- ▶ lawyers
- ▶ housing

3. Have A Plan

▶ Decide where you will go if you have to leave and how you will get there.

▶ Pack a small bag with necessities, spare house and car keys, and a little money.

▶ Tell your trusted neighbours and/or friends about your situation so they will be helpful in an emergency.

4. What To Take If You Leave

- ▶ legal documents:
 - Birth and Marriage Certificates
 - Deed to your house or your lease.
 - Bank Books
 - Your partners most recent pay stubs.
 - Charge Cards
 - Passport and Immigration Papers
 - Health Cards
- ▶ Clothing and personal necessities.
- ▶ Your children's favourite toy or blanket.
- ▶ Keys for the car, home and safety deposit box.
- ▶ Medication
- ▶ Extra cash if possible.

APPENDIX H
TELEPHONE QUESTIONNAIRE

Preamble:

I.) Hello my name is Susan Hulley. I am a graduate student from the school of Social Work at Carleton University. As part of my Masters thesis requirement I am conducting a study which will be examining the role of the Nepean Police Crisis Unit in response to cases in which women have been abused by male partners; such cases are often referred to as wife assault or woman abuse. I understand that you worked on placement at this Unit during 1992 and I am calling to seek some feedback from you regarding your experiences there. I wish to inform you that I am presently not directly associated with the Unit, although I did work there on placement as part of my course work. You are in no way obligated to participate in my study and should you choose not to your wishes will be respected. However, if you do decide to participate your responses will be kept confidential and you will not be identifiable in the presentation of my findings. This telephone questionnaire will require approximately 20-40 minutes of your time (depending on the length of your answers).

II.) (If the women responds positively I shall then proceed with this second section.) As previously mentioned I am examining the role of the Nepean Police Crisis Service in response to "wife assault" or woman abuse. I must clarify that I am only focusing on cases involving male violence towards a former or present intimate female partner and that the man and woman need not have been married or lived common-law. Further, I am interested in examining the form of service delivery as well as the organizational context. You should feel free to decline from answering any question and to terminate the interview at any time.

The present questionnaire is intended to obtain information around your needs and experiences as a counsellor working with the Nepean Police Crisis Unit. It is divided into 4 sections with each section addressing a different area. Do you have any questions before I begin?

Section 1: In this first section I shall request for some information regarding your personal background.

1. While working with the NPS during 1992 which age range did you fall within?

20-25 years	_____
25-30 years	_____
30-35 years	_____
35-40 years	_____

40-45 years _____
45-50 years _____
50-55 years _____
55-60 years _____

2. What is your ethnic or cultural background?

3. a. During your time working at the Nepean Police Crisis Unit were you a student on placement? _____

b. If yes, what school program were you from?

c. If no, what form did your involvement take?

4. How long did you work at the unit?

5. a. How were you trained for your job at the station?

b. Could you comment on this training experience?

Section 2: This next section will seek information regarding your experiences with cases which involved a male directing violence towards an intimate female partner. The violence may have taken the form of threats, or physical, mental, emotional, or sexual abuse. Please keep in mind that the man may not necessarily have lived with the woman and that the relationship could have been in the present or past.

6. a. In your work at the station, approximately how many cases did you have contact with which involved women who were being abused or threatened by a present or former intimate male partner?

0	_____	51-60	_____
1-10	_____	61-70	_____
11-20	_____	71-80	_____
21-30	_____	81-90	_____
31-40	_____	91-100	_____
41-50	_____	over 100	_____

b. What percentage of your case load would this have comprised? _____

c. What incident types did such cases come in under?

7. a. What percentage of these cases would you have referred to other community resources? _____

b. What community resources did you suggest?

8. In your opinion why do men abuse women?

9. What was the usual way in which you came into contact with women who were being abused by a male partner?

10. a. Were you ever called out to the scene of an incident which involved a male directing violence towards a former or present intimate female partner? yes ____ no ____

b. If yes, on how many occasions? ____

11. In terms of your involvement with these women, how would you define the objectives of your work?

12. Would you explain how you went about achieving these objectives by describing your work in this area?

[illegible]

yes _____ no _____

b. Would you comment on this?

[illegible]

15. Would you describe any factors in the Nepean Police Organization which may have interfered with your attempts to meet your work objectives in this area?

[illegible]

16. a. Was there anything in the Nepean community which had a bearing on your work with women who were being abused by a male partner?

yes _____ no _____

b. would you comment on this?

[illegible]

17. a. Do you think that this service was reaching all women who may have needed it? yes _____ no _____

b. Would you comment on this?

[illegible]

18. a. Do you feel that the fact you were a civilian counsellor rather than a police officer served to move these cases away from the police and the criminal justice system?
yes _____ no _____

b. Would you comment on this?

19. What did you see as your responsibility in relation to police charging?

Section 3: This next section shall focus on obtaining information regarding gender issues within the Nepean Police Organization.

20. a. During your time at the station did you think that power and authority were equally distributed between men and women within the organizational structure? yes ____ no ____

b. Within the Nepean Police Service was there equal opportunity for advancement and promotion among men and women?

yes ____ no ____

c. Would you comment on your perceptions of the general status of women within the Nepean Police Service?

[illegible]

Section 4: In this section I shall be exploring your perceptions regarding the position of the Victim Crisis Unit within the Nepean Police Organization.

21. Based on your experience at the unit how do you think the police organization viewed the Victim Crisis Unit?

[illegible]

22. a. Would you say that the unit had an adequate number of paid staff? yes _____ no _____

b. Would you comment on this?

[illegible]

23. How often did you collaborate with police personnel?

with all cases _____

with some cases

with a few cases _____

with no cases _____

24. Describe the different forms this collaboration took?

[illegible]

25. Do you have any further comments?

[illegible]

Concluding comments: Thank-you for taking the time to share your experiences and knowledge with me. If at some point in the near future you feel that you have any additional comments, please feel free to contact me by telephone. My telephone number is .

APPENDIX I
INTRODUCTION OF STUDY TO PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS

Hello _____ this is _____ calling.
I am a crisis worker with the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit. I understand that you had some involvement with the unit during 1992.

The reason for my call is to ask if you would be willing to speak with a graduate student, named Susan Hulley, who is doing a study of the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services. Before you decide, let me tell you a bit about it. Susan is interested in examining the services offered to women who have had problems with male partners. She would like to ask how women have found the service, whether it was helpful, and how the service might be improved. The overall goal of Susan's project is to come up with recommendations aimed at improving the service. All women who participate will receive a fifty dollar honorarium.

Susan Hulley does not work for the Nepean Police or the Crisis Service, although she worked as a student in the crisis unit during 1992. This means that anything you discuss with her will not be used for any legal purpose. Further, Susan will keep your conversation confidential and not mention your name anywhere in her research project. The meeting with Susan would take approximately one to two hours of your time. I wish to emphasize that you are in no way obligated to volunteer nor are there any consequences for not participating.

If you are interested in speaking with Susan, either she can call you or you can call her to set up a convenient time and place. Would you be interested? If so I will let her know.

(My present work number was given if the woman wished to telephone me.)

APPENDIX J
PARTICIPANT PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The present project has been designed to explore the work of the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services in relation to its involvement in incidents which involve a man threatening, assaulting or harming an intimate female partner. The researcher shall be collecting information from three sources: records and files within the unit; staff working within the unit; and women who have received services from the unit. The aim of this project is to highlight the existing conditions and to use this as a guide to suggest possible future changes.

This study is being conducted by Susan Hulley, whom is a graduate student from the School of Social work at Carleton University. Susan Hulley is not presently associated with the unit, although she did work there as a student during 1992. This research represents an independent inquiry project which Susan initiated on her own. The recommendations which emerge from this project will be directed back to the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Services, however, they may not necessarily be acted upon.

Your participation in this study will involve one interview, which should last approximately two hours. You may quit this interview at any time. With your permission, this interview will be recorded, however, the tape may be turned off at any time. If you so desire, the tape will be returned directly to you. You will receive a fifty dollar honorarium for your participation. With your permission, I will telephone you within two weeks after the interview for a follow-up conversation.

Although the results of this study may be published your identity will be kept confidential.

You are encouraged to contact me by telephone if you have any additional questions or would like to add any further comments.

Your participation in this project is greatly appreciated.

Susan Hulley,
Masters of Social Work
Student,
Carleton University,
Phone Number: (613)

**APPENDIX K
LETTER OF CONSENT**

I _____ agree to participate in the project being conducted by Susan Hulley. I have been informed that Susan Hulley is currently enrolled in the Master of Social Work program at Carleton University and that this project will take the form of her Masters Thesis requirement. Further, I am aware that my role will be to provide information regarding the needs and experiences of women who have been involved with the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit. I have read the project description which describes the project as well as my rights as a participant.

I understand that my participation in this study will involve one interview which will last approximately two hours plus one follow-up conversation and that I may withdraw from this interview at any time. Further, I understand that the findings of this study may be published and that my identity will be kept confidential.

Signed: _____

Dated: _____

APPENDIX L
INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. COVERING INFORMATION SHEET

1. Report Number(s): _____

2. Number of recorded contacts with the unit: _____
3. "Race" noted on report: _____
4. Date of birth: _____
5. Date of interview: _____
6. Location of interview: _____
7. Starting time of interview: _____
8. Completion time of interview: _____

II. PREAMBLE TO THE INTERVIEW:

Thank you for agreeing to share your experience and knowledge with me.

As you are aware my study will be looking at the work of the Nepean Police Victim Crisis Unit. I have chosen to obtain information directly from you, and other women that have been involved with this service, as I believe that you are the expert on your needs and your experiences.

Again, I wish to point out that I am not directly involved with the Nepean Police Service. Our conversation will not be discussed with anyone from the police or crisis service. This means that the information you discuss about your situation will not be used for legal purposes. The things that you share will have no impact on any possible court case or on any charge.

I must tell you however, that if anything arises about the abuse or safety of a child, I would not be able to keep such information confidential.

Finally, there is no right or wrong answer to any of the questions. I hope that you will feel free and safe enough to say whatever you think and feel.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

III. INTERVIEW GUIDE OUTLINE:

QUESTIONS	PROBES
1. Were you aware of the Nepean Police victim crisis unit and the services it offered?	*when found out *how felt when heard about the service
2. a. How did you first come to have contact with <u>(crisis counsellor)</u> from the Nepean Police victim/crisis unit?	* phoned by counsellor *counsellor at the scene
b. How did you feel about <u>this form of contact</u> ?	*were you aware *receiving the call or meeting her at the scene
c. Did <u>(partner)</u> know about this contact?	*how he found out *want him to know *fear he might find out
3. How long after the police came was it that you spoke with <u>(crisis counsellor)</u> ?	*same day *one day later
4. Did you find this contact helpful?	*in what way *resource *given legal information *support
5. In what way was it not helpful?	*too late *ineffective *way treated eg. patronizing
6. Would you consider using this service again?	*when *why or why not
7. What suggestions would you have for improving this service?	*hours *availability of counsellors

- *enough follow-up, information
- 8. Did you feel free and able to speak with counsellor's name about your situation?
 - *why or why not
 - *trust
 - *police presence
 - *confidential
 - *responsive
 - *did they listen, understand and seem knowledgeable?
 - *attitude
- 9. How about the police officer, did you feel comfortable and free to tell him or her about your situation?
 - *why or why not?
 - *fears
 - *response of police
 - *did they listen, understand and seem knowledgeable?
 - *responsive
 - *attitude
- 10. a. Did you tell anyone else about your situation?
 - *who
 - *friends or family
 - *doctor
- b. What kind of response did you get?
 - *supported
 - *believed
 - *attitude
- 11. a. Was there a charge laid against (partner's name)?
 - *by who
 - yourself or the police
 - *how long after
- b. How did you feel about this?
 - *good or bad?
 - *felt should have been
- 12. a. Did you think that (partner's name) was going to be charged?
 - b. Did this affect how you spoke to the crisis counsellor?
 - c. Did this affect how you spoke to

the police?

13. Do you know what the charging policy is?
 - *when and how informed
 - *state and explain
14. What do you think of the charging policy?
 - *good, helpful
 - *protects women
 - *not work
 - *bad
15. Were you aware that counsellor, the crisis counsellor you spoke with, was not a police officer?
 - *how and when
 - *make any difference and if so what?
 - *easier or more difficult to speak?
16. Some people feel that having a crisis unit staffed with counsellors who are not police officers moves the problem away from further police contact or court involvement. What do you think?
17. What advice would you give to a woman who was in a situation similar to yours?
 - *call police
 - *not call
18. Is there anything that you would like to add?
 - *any questions
 - *thoughts or ideas
19. How did you find this interview?
20. May I contact you by telephone in one week for a follow-up conversation?

END

0 1 - 0 6 - 9 5

FIN