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**Introduction of a Community Involvement Component in
Policing in Trinidad and Tobago: Reality or Rhetoric?**

Wendell C. Wallace

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Introduction of a Community Involvement Component in Policing in Trinidad and Tobago: Reality or Rhetoric?

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ABSTRACT

In 2002, Trinidad and Tobago embarked on a developmental program for the transformation of society by 2020 as formulated in its National Strategic Plan. Part of its 2007 – 2010 plan included the creation of “a society free from the scourge of rampant crime in all its manifestations and where the justice system is transparent, swift and incorruptible and anchored in the Rule of Law”. However, community residents were excluded from the plan. The study examined the merits and demerits of involving community residents in policing in a manner which reflects the ‘wide blue line’ rather than the ‘thin blue line’ of policing.

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Introduction of a Community Involvement Component in Policing in Trinidad and Tobago: Reality or Rhetoric?

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Introduction

The Police are the public and the public are the Police, the Police being members of the public that are paid to give full attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen, in the interests of community welfare and existence (Sir Robert Peel, 1829).

The aim of all modern states is to ensure that its borders are safe and secure from foreign intervention and that its citizens are protected from crime, fear of crime and deviance. With this in mind, the state coercive powers are legally vested in local law enforcement agencies, namely the Police. They are tasked with the onerous responsibility of maintaining law and order and the preservation of peace. The Police are therefore situated at the gateway of the Criminal Justice System and their task is a conundrum of complexities, because 'crime is complex'. Policing is indeed complex and policing techniques may change over time to meet with the demands of modernity. As such modern democratic countries actively seek to have a modern responsive Police Service. However, it seems that the system of policing in Trinidad and Tobago has failed and the law enforcement agencies still reflect a traditional rather than a contemporary mode of policing. Ongoing research on policing has shown that policing has evolved from the traditional to the modern due to the inherent weaknesses and subsequent failure of traditional policing.

Policing strategies in Trinidad and Tobago are generally viewed as being reactive rather than proactive and the result is manifested in yearly increases in the crime rates. Further, an important element in contemporary policing - community involvement - is seen by local policy makers and the political executive as an addendum or seemingly a ploy by political parties to garner support and votes when some heinous crime occurs in a community, without any consistency or continuity. The techniques presently employed by members of the Trinidad and

Tobago Police Service are consistent with what has been termed in the literature as 'traditional policing'.

Within this traditional policing model, Police officers usually remain in the Police station when not on patrol. They would respond when a call or an individual come to report that a crime has occurred. Once the officer has responded to the crime, the officer would then take a report and deal with the matter or, depending on the nature of the incident, hand the investigation off to a detective. At this point, the officer would go back to his desk duty or patrol car and wait for another call to come in that a crime had occurred. The academic literature contends that traditional policing usually consists of officers answering calls for service and that this method of policing relies heavily on deterrence through a visible presence of the Police on patrol.

Indeed, with the traditional approach to policing the officer has little interaction with the citizens within a community and can end up responding to crimes at various points in the community. The officer hardly knows anyone in the areas where he is responding nor do the citizens really know the officers. Further, with this type of policing, there is very little besides patrols in place to try to prevent crime from occurring. It is just a supply and demand sort of policing system. However, many societal changes have occurred over the decades and traditional policing methods may not be as effective in addressing the needs of the communities in Trinidad and Tobago. Communities have become more diverse and the problems have changed as drugs and violent crimes have become more common in urban communities. Additionally, the shrinking National Security budgets of the late 1990's and early 2000's has prompted citizens, the political executive and even local law enforcement administrators to seek out more creative solutions for providing law enforcement services to the communities they service.

It is argued that crime is inevitable in all societies and some theorists even posit that crime is functional (Mead, 1934, Durkheim, 1951, Erickson, 1966; 2004, Chambliss, 1974; Turner, 1974). However, crime prevention via community involvement in policing is a viable addition, as well as a creative alternative to the reactionary law enforcement system which presently exists in Trinidad and Tobago and can serve as a catalyst for crime reduction, increased quality of life, the sense of security, well-being, safety and self-determination within local

communities. It is important to be mindful that based on the operational nature of traditional policing methods which are used by the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service; its members do not have a long tradition of partnership with the citizens it serves.

While there have been recent, individual surveys of citizens and members of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service conducted in the island, there has been little if any published work showing the results of surveys or interviews which had been conducted with Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's), Community-Based Organizations (CBO's) or local community residents on their views of their willingness to work with the Police and others on crime prevention initiatives (Cain, 2000; and Deosaran, 2002). It is instructive though, that whilst public bodies such as the Ministry of Public Administration and Information (2003, 2004, and 2005) has conducted surveys on feelings of safety, experience of crime, Police performance, as well as on the image of the Police and individuals such as Vernley Gift (unpublished MBA dissertation, 2008) and Anthony Rosales (unpublished Masters dissertation, 2008) has sought insights into certain aspects of the operational procedures of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Services (TTPS), the institution itself has not done so in any meaningful way. Therefore it seems that the TTPS has "ingested the tranquillizing drug of gradualism" (Martin Luther King, 1964) and has consequently failed to perform any major acts of introspection and this may eventually render the organization obsolete and antiquated if its' members hold steadfastly onto its self-imposed autonomy and fails to involve their respective communities, thus harnessing the public's views on intervention strategies. This has served to further the common view that the view that the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service is 'steeped in antiquity'.

In this article, it is submitted that the aim of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service should be to work closely with businesses, schools, local associations and civic groups to make the nation a safer and more enjoyable place to live. The qualities of dedication, loyalty, integrity and willingness to serve as partners in the communities are key values which should be encouraged with the aim of providing public safety and protection to the public. With this in mind, a major goal of this paper is to enhance the overall safety and quality of life for the

citizens of Trinidad and Tobago by encouraging the development of Police/community partnerships and efforts in education and crime prevention.

Role of the police

The word "Police" means, generally, the arrangements made in all civilized countries to ensure that the inhabitants keep the peace and obey the law. The word also denotes the force of peace officers (or Police) employed for this purpose. The origin of the contemporary Police Service lies in early tribal history and is based on customs for securing order through the medium of appointed representatives. In effect, the people were the Police. The Saxons brought had bought this system to England and improved and developed the organization. This entailed the division of the people into groups of ten, called "tythings", with a tything-man as representative of each; and into larger groups, each of ten tythings, under a "hundred-man" who were responsible to the Shire-reeve, or Sheriff, of the County. After contact with Norman feudalism, the tything-man system changed considerably but was not wholly destroyed. In time, the tything-man became the parish constable and the Shire-reeve the Justice of the Peace, to whom the parish constable was responsible. This system, which became widely established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, comprised, generally, one unarmed, able-bodied citizen in each parish, who was appointed or elected annually to serve for a year unpaid as parish constable. He worked in co-operation with the local Justices in securing observance of laws and maintaining order. In addition, in the towns, responsibility for the maintenance of order was conferred on the guilds and, later, on other specified groups of citizens, and these supplied bodies of paid men, known as "The Watch", for guarding the gates and patrolling the streets at night.

The eighteenth century saw the beginnings of immense social and economic changes and the consequent movement of the population to the towns in England. The parish constable and "The Watch" systems began failing completely and the impotence of the law-enforcement machinery became a serious menace. Existing conditions became intolerable and this led to the formation of the "New Police" by Sir Robert Peel who is often seen as the 'father of modern policing'. In 1829, Sir Robert Peel was the then Home Secretary and it was he who introduced the

first Metropolitan Police Act which was passed and the Metropolitan Police Force was established. This new force superseded the local Watch and global policing as it is known today continuously evolved from the Metropolitan Police Force.

Indeed, all law enforcement agencies, more-so, the Police Service in Trinidad and Tobago is a very significant, even essential, public agency. Its members are important in the practical results they try to achieve, the social relations they seek to secure, the specific actions they take as the means to their desired ends, and in the quantity and character of the assets they deploy as they go about their work. As the organization which enacts the state's "monopoly on the legitimate use of force," the Police are counted on to protect life, liberty, and property from criminal attack. In doing so, they help ensure that life will not be, as Hobbes described it, "nasty, brutish and short" (The Leviathan. Part i. Chap. XVIII). In short, the Police are a key part of the state apparatus that helps to "promote domestic tranquility", "assure justice" and maintain social order, however, they are not the repository of all knowledge on social control and should not continue to be treated as such in Trinidad and Tobago.

In the academic literature, policing is seen as a method of social control (Tyler 1990, Tyler and Huo 2002). Mechanisms for social control are a universal feature of all existing human societies, and it is difficult to imagine a culture that lacks the means of ensuring that its people follow its norms, rules, or laws. Bringing the behaviour of members of the public into line with norms, rules, and laws is a core function of legal authorities and this is usually done by law enforcement agents, the Police in conjunction with the Criminal Justice System. As a consequence, understanding how people respond to different potential mechanisms of social control is important to policy makers, legal scholars, and social scientists (Tyler, 1990, Tyler and Huo, 2002) because there are other mechanisms for social control besides members of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service. However, in countries such as Trinidad and Tobago where the paramilitary, top-down, traditional method of policing (social control) is still practiced, devoid of any real communal involvement, with high levels of tokenism and patronizing of local residents regarding their involvement in policy decision making on how the community is policed, it is posited that crime (social) control is difficult.

The Concept of Social Control

The academic literature suggests that the purpose of policing is the promotion of social order via social control in different communities, usually by the state law enforcement agents, the Police. Since the 1950's, social control has been more narrowly conceived in relation to deviant behaviour and crime (Martindale, 1978). There are, however, many ways to promote social order, for example the Chinese and the Western approaches, and indeed there are many other views about what constitutes social order. The literature on social control therefore shows a wide variety of perspectives. Formally defined, social control refers to those social mechanisms that are brought into play to react to (prevent, reduce, and detect) crime and secure obedience to social norms. Social control, therefore, has differing perspectives based on geographic location and culture. Siegel (2006) says that as a concept social control refers to the fact that 'all people have the potential to violate the law and that modern societies presents many opportunities for illegal activities'. As such it is submitted that societies are in need of regulation. Our society is influenced and held together by a variety of forces known as control mechanisms or simply put, social control.

Indeed, policing is but one method of social control and begs the question as to whether it is the only method of social control or should communities be involved in this process and to what extent? Control can be simply built-in and institutional to a given system as well as specifically conspiratorial and conscious. Social control can range from covert policies of influence or manipulation to overt use of force such as is used in policing. It is interesting to note that nearly everyone seeks to control their world to a certain degree. But some are more systematic, sophisticated and influential in their efforts and governments seek to establish and use a variety of social controls to control deviance and crime through the state law enforcement agents, the Police. However, it is questionable whether they (the state law enforcement agents-Police) have the intrinsic right to do so acting in isolation or whether communities should be actively involved as a tool of social control. How to involve citizens in making policies which affect them is at the core of numerous academic discussions over modernizing governance and building a stronger civil society. Community involvement is therefore a means to

ensure that citizens have a direct voice in public decisions that affect them and policing should be no exception.

This interest in social control via citizen involvement in policing is not just a passing fad, but stems from a worldwide shift towards a more horizontal model of governance and toward a more organized, diverse and empowered civil society with the capacity to assist in the determination of a wide range of issues which affect them. However, whilst there is no shortage of global, political talk and rhetoric about the need to reduce the democratic deficit and involve citizens in policy processes, there is seemingly little in the way of genuine progress in the Caribbean and more-so, in Trinidad and Tobago, the topic of this paper.

No one can sensibly argue that the Police are not needed in Trinidad and Tobago or in any other jurisdiction as agents of social control. There will always be criminals and the Police are needed to arrest them. Police officers are also needed to handle numerous emergencies, regulate traffic, maintain order and create a sense of security in our nation. However, the members of every Police unit must be seen as part of the community. Further, the Police cannot do its job without the support and invaluable assistance from members of the public and the community will not have peace and order without the Police.

The history of the role of the Police strongly indicates that as societies began increasing in diversity and complexity, policing systems based on self-policing and individual responsibility deteriorated. It has been submitted that generally, communities have gradually abdicated their role in peacekeeping and law enforcement and have increasingly expected the Police to take on these responsibilities which were once a citizen's civic duty. There has also been increasing pressure on members of various Police agencies to intervene in civil matters. Therefore, the emerging role of the Police, globally, in the 1990's was one characterized by expansion and change. Therefore, "there is considerable uncertainty on the part of both the Police and public about the role of the Police" (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1994).

Sadd and Grinc (1994) contends that the Police and the community must work together to define and develop solutions to problems of crime and deviance. Therefore, crime prevention is a two way relationship involving the Police and the

community. With this in mind, Police chiefs or Police Commissioners have the responsibility and obligation to educate the public about the many causes of crime and the inability of the Police, acting alone or on their own, to control crime (Dempsey, 1999). It is therefore questionable whether the Police in Trinidad and Tobago should be the sole agency for social control at the expense of local residents. This monopoly on social control by the Police has its genesis in early policing. Historically, crime prevention worldwide, and indeed in Trinidad and Tobago, was considered to be the sole responsibility of the Police and this historical legacy is still evident in the form of the dedicated Police officer and the ranting of many local Police officers who are averse to change. This historical antecedent is firmly rooted in the work of Sir Robert Peel and the Police Metropolitan Act of 1829 in London, England and who opined that a special body of men was needed to maintain law and order. There is now evidence from many researches conducted by metropolitan Police units such as those in the U.S.A and Great Britain that effective crime prevention can only be achieved through co-operation between the Police and the community.

For example, by the early 1980's the Conservative Party in the U.K showed a definitive focus on a community based understanding of crime prevention. This became quite evident in Home Office Circular number 8/84 which stated that crime prevention was no longer, only or simply, an issue to be addressed by the Police (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001). Further, a Scottish circular on the same issue stated 'Just as the incidence of crime can affect the whole community, so too its prevention is a task for the community' (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001). The change in emphasis from the Police to the community, in metropolitan countries crime prevention policy seems to reflect two assumptions. Firstly, a new understanding on the causes of crime and subsequently how it might be prevented and secondly, an understanding of the nature of communities and the role they should play in policy formulation.

Origins and Background of Policing in Trinidad and Tobago

An examination of the academic literature on policing in the U.K., after which policing in Trinidad and Tobago is modeled, reveals that the first paid force was the Bow Street Runners, which protected merchants' goods being shipped into the

city. The Dock Police, whose duty it was to protect the West Indian sugar merchants, was the first patrolling force to receive statutory legitimatization in 1800. Notwithstanding this fact, many people believe that the Police in Trinidad and Tobago are natural phenomena that go hand-in-hand with civilization, but these assumptions are not entirely true. In order to understand the dynamics of the current Police power structure in Trinidad and Tobago, we need to revisit the underpinning of our society. It is no accident that modern policing has its origins not only in industrialization and its need for a cheap, compliant, concentrated labour pool, but also in the enforcement of slavery. Therefore, to understand the genesis of policing in Trinidad and Tobago, we have to go further back into mid-seventeenth century to examine what the ideals of colonial policing were at that time and continue the examination of current policing systems in an effort to ascertain whether there has been any changes in the ideology as well as the methodology of policing.

Prompted by semi-frequent slave revolts, the first slave patrols and the slave codes that created them were established in 1649 in the Caribbean. Early agricultural mass production is different from mass commodity production. The agricultural process of production could not be concentrated in a factory. Also, the process required much cheap labour since modern farming tools like the tractor were not available. Hence, mass enslavement became the favoured tool. However, plantation owners constantly worried about revolt, despite the widespread belief that the enslaved Africans were natural slaves. This fear also helped create the slave codes, which date as far back as 1680 in the Caribbean. These codes required the few local white men or men of colour to perform nightly patrols, and the codes also placed rules on slaves, such as prohibiting them from gathering in groups, possessing weapons, and storing excess provisions. By the 1750's, similar codes were enacted in every Caribbean colony. Indeed, Britain's attempt at social control (policing) under the slave system was transmitted to the post emancipation era (Mars, 2002). In examining colonial policing in Guyana (Mars, 2002) further elucidated that this type of policing had "emphasis on control and coercion rather than service". What Mars (2002) is intimating is that pre-emancipation model of policing which treated local residents as voiceless subjects was transmitted and continued in the post emancipation and even to the post-colonial method of

policing. This phenomenon is not limited to Guyana, but to almost every country where Britain had colonial control and this includes Trinidad and Tobago.

Early policing in the U.K and the Caribbean was therefore an institutional response by the plantocracy to the perceived threat, firstly from the African slaves and later from the indentured East Indians, which essentially sought to keep both groups voiceless and lacking in involvement in the policing process. Prior to the emancipation of slaves in 1834, it was possible for some blacks to buy their freedom; however, these individuals were still subject to constant harassment by members of Constabulary and remained voiceless in the policing process. Harriott (2000), in his work on Post-Colonial policing in Jamaica, submitted that the Jamaican Constabulary Force is still “cultivated by structures of power, originating in the colonial period, that treat the policed like subjects rather than citizens.” What this type of policing ensured was an almost voiceless policed citizenry and the genesis of non-involvement of communities in the creation and implementation of Police intervention strategies began.

Harriott (1998, 68) proffered the view that this type of policing (traditional, paramilitary, colonial model) “carried the baggage of being originally fashioned as an instrument of domination” which basically left the policed communities ‘voiceless’ in the decisions on how they are policed. Further, Johnson (1991) in an enquiry into colonial policing in Trinidad noted that the Police were used ‘to maintain the class structure that existed during slavery’. Thus, what does all this mean? How does this relate to our understanding of the role of the Police and policing in society today? Or to our understanding of the use of force backed by the state to effect social change? Does it legitimize the modern manifestation of the Police Service, especially if they evolved for the benefit of the merchant class? Modern policing in Trinidad and Tobago, therefore, has its roots in many of the traditions and practices of the night watch system which was developed in England in the 17th and 18th centuries.

From its introduction in Trinidad and Tobago through to the mid 1990’s, what is commonly called ‘traditional policing’ with its attendant low level of community input remains this country’s dominant style of policing. From inception to contemporary time, traditional policing has developed a number of identifying characteristics such as:

1. The Police are reactive to incidents. The Trinidad and Tobago Police Service is driven by calls for service.
2. Low level of community involvement. Policy decisions are made either by the political directorate or the Police executive.
3. Information from and about the community is limited. Planning efforts focus on internally generated data.
4. Police departments operate as entities unto themselves with few collaborative links to the community.
5. Management uses an authoritarian style and adheres to the military model of command and control.
6. Agency effectiveness is based on data, particularly detection and conviction rates.
7. Performance evaluations are based not on outcomes but on activities. Number of arrests made and tickets issued are of paramount importance.

Attempts at Reforming the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service

From the inception of state policing in Trinidad and Tobago, the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service began using the colonial model of policing (Mastrofski and Lum, 2008), (based on the Irish Constabulary model). This model of policing is referred to as 'the traditional or paramilitary policing model' in the literature on policing. Due to the weaknesses which were associated with traditional law enforcement and the admission that those approaches were malfunctioning (Deosaran, 2001, 2 ; Harriott, 1998, 66-68) several attempts at reformation aimed at overcoming the deficiencies of the traditional policing system were attempted in Trinidad and Tobago. An evaluation of these reform efforts have been conducted by the author of this research paper and it was revealed that the reform attempts did not seek the active solicitation of inputs from local residents in a meaningful and consistent manner. The first attempt to move away from the traditional model of policing by the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service took place in the 1996 with the introduction of community policing in the island.

Community Policing

Trojanowicz et al., (1998, 5) defines community policing as 'a new philosophy of policing based on the concept that police officers and private citizens working

together in creative ways can help contemporary community problems related to crime, social and physical disorder and neighbourhood decay'. As noted by Clegg et al (2000, 88),

“Community policing is a concept. It is not a particular model which can be transferred mechanically from one context to another. It is a series of principles which underpin policing and the application of those principles will differ from place to place, even within one country, to take account of the different cultures, religions, social mores, traditional and informal structures”.

Community policing was implemented and tried in Trinidad and Tobago from 1996 (Deosaran, 2000, 6 ; Deosaran, 2001, 6) to 2002. In 1996, a community policing secretariat was created and housed at the Police Administration Building, Port-of-Spain (the Police Headquarters in Trinidad and Tobago) and selected Police officers from various divisions and branches within the organization were trained in community policing. Community Police officers were trained in investigative techniques as well as techniques for dealing with victims in a non-invasive, caring and understanding manner. Community policing personnel were also trained in areas such as conflict resolution, mediation, reactive problem-solving, psychology, and counselling, which prepared them for effective interventions (www.ttps.gov.tt).

The Community policing secretariat was meant to function as a community effort between law enforcement and the community, which sought to identify problems of concerns to communities and work toward finding solutions to those problems (www.ttps.gov.tt). Attempts were therefore made to have the community police officers and the communities work together to solve mutually defined problems through a deliberate effort aimed at reducing crime, violence, fear, insecurity and community decay. The role of the community police officers in the community were as follows; lecture at schools, (elementary, secondary, vocational), Parent Teacher's Association, youth groups, neighbourhood watch groups and public and private sector organizations on crime prevention with matters incidental to the Domestic Violence Act (1999), display booths, career guidance, Police youth clubs, counseling, mediating, annual church services, military funerals, town meetings, sport and culture. Further to the creation of the community policing

secretariat, Police officers were attached to every Police Division in Trinidad and Tobago with specific functions as community police officers.

According to Deosaran (2000, 2) the turn towards community policing in Trinidad and Tobago was not only based on its intrinsic merits but on two other related factors. These factors are:

1. An admission that traditional law enforcement approaches were not working, and
2. Mainly because of its' widely expressed civic purposes and community partnerships.

However, community policing failed due to several reasons inclusive of the global perception that it was transferred mechanically from Britain and the USA, (see Clegg et al., 40) without an appreciation and understanding of cultural differences which existed in other countries and that the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS) was underprepared for this new policing initiative. Instructively, Deosaran (2001, 14) noted that 'the degree of organizational readiness must be improved in order for the organisation (TTPS) to frame and implement an effective community policing programme.' Commenting on the failure of the community policing model in the Caribbean, including Trinidad and Tobago, Deosaran (2001, 14) posited the view that 'The concept and practice of community policing need to be sold more effectively to the community in order to attract a viable degree of social capital and leadership in community partnerships.'

Community policing was largely truncated as a method of policing in Trinidad and Tobago in 2002 and it has been submitted that its marginalization was due to its ontology which saw community policing being interpreted as being 'soft' on crime (see Clegg et al., 2000, 46) by citizens and legislators alike at a time when society wanted immediate results to the continued upsurge in vicious crimes in the island. After the collapse of community policing in 2002, policing in Trinidad and Tobago returned to the traditional model of policing.

Policing for People

In 2002, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago embarked on a development program for the transformation of the society by the year 2020. The document outlining this admirable plan was labeled the 'Vision 2020' document or the

National Strategic Plan. Part of its Vision 2020 Operational Plan, 2007 – 2010, included the creation of “A society free from the scourge of rampant crime in all its manifestations and where the justice system is transparent, swift and incorruptible and anchored in the rule of law” (Vision 2020 document). In attempting to pursue the stated objectives of the plan the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS) was chosen as one of the foremost organizations to accomplish this noble aim. The objective of the reform of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS) was to create a modern, responsive Police unit to facilitate a reduction in rampant crime. In pursuit of that organizational goal an initiative was designed to structurally and culturally transform the Police Service and one of the aims of this initiative was to ‘Initiate the re-branding of the Police Service in the context of a newly adopted service oriented approach of policing for people’ (Trinidad and Tobago Police Service Newsletter, 2007, 1-3). The document submitted that there were five key goals of the policing for people approach of which goal number one was to reduce crime and fear of crime and goal number three was to increase citizen/community focus.

The policing for people approach as espoused by the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service Newsletter (2007, 1: 3) had several key drivers to reforming the organization, one of which was community participation. By community participation the newsletter meant ‘Involving the community in identifying needs and priorities and enlisting their support to address them’. It also staked the claim to a commitment to the philosophy of democratic policing by stating that the organization intended to make itself (TTPS) a more flexible, service oriented organization driven by the policing for people approach, which fundamentally subscribes to the values of democratic policing. According to the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service Newsletter (2007, 1: 3), it aimed to achieve this elusive goal by being accountable to the democratic government and the community and by being transparent in its activities. This type of policing, policing for people was implemented and tried in Trinidad and Tobago from 2007. However, it was not successful as a tool of crime reduction as data from the Crime and Problem Analysis (CAPA) Branch (2010) (a statistical department of the TTPS) indicated a continuous increase in the serious crime rates of approximately 44% from 2000 to 2010, hence this author’s description of policing for people (as well as

traditional and community policing) as a failure. Additionally, there has been a sharp increase in the homicide rates, rising by more than 400% from 7 per 100,000 in 1999 to 30 per 100,000 in 2007 in Trinidad and Tobago (Tsvetkova, 2009).

Whilst the wording of the document (Trinidad and Tobago Police Service Newsletter, 2007, 1: 3) espoused community involvement, the processes and results which followed were dysfunctional ones of tokenism and patronizing treatment, as the policing for people initiative had placed high value on several factors, but none consistently involved communal residents. This was evident as the policing for people initiative in Trinidad and Tobago had an inherent focus on staffing, equipment, training and Police procedures rather than on the people in the affected communities. Indeed, there were several community involvement interventions such as town hall meetings and community consultations with the Police, but these were short term, reactive responses facilitated by the occurrence of particular heinous murders, for example, the June 17th, 2009, strangulation of 10 year old John John, Laventille, schoolgirl, Tecia Henry, or the attempts to stop the flow of homicides in neighbouring communities in East Port-of-Spain conducted by Deputy Commissioner of Police Stephen Williams in 2010 (Interview with Deputy Commissioner of Police Stephen Williams on May 22nd, 2011). However, the involvement of community residents in a continuous, consistent manner was not realised under the policing for people initiative in Trinidad and Tobago. The following view was proffered by Mastrofski and Lum (2008, 481),

“In response to a crisis of heightened crime and lowered public confidence, Trinidad and Tobago has embarked upon a package of reforms intended to transform the governance, and ultimately the performance, of its Police Service. Trinidad and Tobago's governance problems issue from its colonial heritage and conflicts between cultural groups in the society. The old system of governance created the appearance of governance, but dysfunctional results. Adapted from the model of the Independent Commission on Policing for Northern Ireland, Trinidad and Tobago's reformed system consolidates more administrative

authority in the office of Police Commissioner, enhances the Government's capacity to provide policy direction, while creating independent watchdog entities to hold the Police Service accountable.”

The independent watchdog entities which Mastrofski and Lum (2008) correctly referred to were not created per se, but were already in place years ago (Police Service Commission and Police Complaints Authority). For example, the Police Complaints Authority (PCA) was created by Act 17 of 1993 and is an independent and impartial review body. The purpose of the PCA is to ensure that when a member of the public makes a complaint about a Police officer's conduct, it is dealt with thoroughly and fairly, whilst the Police Complaints Authority was created in 1965 with the following functions:

1. Power to appoint persons to hold or act in an office in the Police Service established under the Police Service Act, 1965, including appointments on promotion and transfer and the confirmation of appointments, and to remove and exercise disciplinary control over persons holding or acting in such offices and to enforce standards of conduct on such officers shall vest in the Police Service Commission.
2. The Police Service Commission shall not remove, or inflict any punishment on, the holder of an office in the Police Service on the grounds of any act done or omitted to be done by him in the exercise of a judicial function conferred upon him unless the Judicial and Legal Service Commission concurs therein, and
3. Before the Police Service Commission makes an appointment to the office of Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner of Police it shall consult the Prime Minister, and a person shall not be appointed to such an office if the Prime Minister signifies to the Police Service Commission his objection to the appointment of that person to such an office.

Quite admirably, these institutions have been constantly upgraded and reformed, but instructively, what these reforms brought about was more control by the civilian/governmental authorities. The end result was not a strengthening of the “vertical governance” mechanism whereby the communities were given a

prominent position in decision making on how they should be policed, but greater civilian, administrative control of the police. For example, ‘civilian oversight’ which is an important step towards controlling the police and involving citizens in the policing process, was absent in the reforms to which Mastrofski and Lum (2008) alluded to. The focus was clearly on infrastructure and staffing. According to Mastrofski and Lum (2008, 481) the reformed policing system consolidated more administrative authority in the office of Police Commissioner and enhanced the Government's capacity to provide policy directions and this approach was in keeping with the views of Herman Goldstein (1979, 1990) who submitted that too frequently crime plans and reform efforts do not focus on or involve the people most affected by crime and deviance, the communal residents, but are often focussed on staffing, structure, equipment and administrative issues associated with the Police.

Though not an approach to policing, five model Police stations were implemented at the Morvant, West End, Chaguanas, San Fernando and Arouca Police stations in 2007 as part of the policing for people approach (TTPS Departmental Order, 87, 1-5) with five other Police stations acting as comparison stations. These model Police stations were meant to establish that the reporting of crimes and other activities associated with policing should be conducted in a permissive environment in these ‘model stations’ in Trinidad and Tobago. This initiative was due to the constant complaints by residents about the poor treatment meted out to them at Police stations. When evaluated, the model station concept again highlighted that the focus was largely on infrastructural development, with limited to no focus on the persons who are mostly affected by crime – communal residents – though the initiative sought to alleviate the poor treatment which was suffered by community residents. Presently, the model station concept is partially in place at the aforementioned Police stations.

Though there is no available academic literature to explain the rationale for the apparent shift away from the policing for people initiative in Trinidad and Tobago or which sought to evaluate its performance, the method of policing has been disbanded and replaced by the 21st Century Policing Initiative replete with a model Police Division. Despite the lack of academic reference or evaluation of the policing for people initiative in Trinidad and Tobago (due to the recency of its

disbandment), this author's evaluation is that the failure of the policing for people initiative in Trinidad and Tobago was due to its lack of commitment in involving local residents at any phase of the decision making process on how they should be policed, coupled with the appointment of a new Commissioner of Police in Trinidad and Tobago in 2010. An objective evaluation of the performance of the policing for people initiative from 2007-2010 revealed that though the involvement of communities seemed paramount, civilian oversight boards, community involvement networks, neighbourhood enhancement teams, community crime prevention specialists etc. were not created and crime fighting remained in the domain of police officers.

Presently, the approach to policing in Trinidad and Tobago which is being utilised is referred to as 21st Century policing. This initiative was introduced in 2010 by Dwayne Gibbs, the Canadian born Commissioner of Police for the TTPS (www.ttps.gov.tt). However, this was implemented on a trial basis in the Western Police Division only. This modern, contemporary and innovative deployment model, 21st century policing has transformed the Western Police Division from its historical creation (traditional policing) to what is now known as a 'model Police Division' which again focuses on the Police by constantly having Police officers on the beat and out of the Police stations. An integral part of the 21st Century Policing initiative is the introduction of continuous foot and mobile patrols throughout the divisions and communities of Trinidad and Tobago. Though the latest reform effort seems geared at the Police, it can be seen as having the propensity to increase the Police/community involvement levels, however, it is too early to attempt an evaluation of this new method of policing in the Western Division.

Generally, there have been several efforts to reform the traditional method of policing in Trinidad and Tobago. However, these attempts have brought more control by the civilian/governmental authorities and not the communities. These reforms generally failed to involve community residents in the policing process, did not lead to the creation of sustainable partnerships with businesses or NGO's, nor the creation of local boards of crime prevention and oversight involving community residents. Instructively, the main measure of crime and safety in every country, the crime rate, continued to increase as data from the Crime and Problem Analysis (CAPA) Branch (2010) indicated a continuous increase in the serious

crime rates of approximately 44% from 2000 to 2010. In other words, the reforms from traditional to community policing to policing for people all failed to reduce crime and it is posited that the involvement of community residents in the policing process in Trinidad and Tobago is the solution to the pervasive issue of crime and deviance.

Involvement of Communities

It is false to assume that community involvement must take the form of a dichotomous (two especially opposite parts) relationship between individuals and organizations, and that one happens at a cost to the other. Throughout this research paper it has been revealed that the two play a complementary role. In a vibrant democracy, voluntary organizations are themselves spaces for the exercise of citizenship and conduits for connecting local citizens to Government. Effective citizen involvement not only promotes the direct participation of individuals in policy processes, it also encourages the development of strong associational networks with active, democratic memberships. These serve as intermediary sites of deliberation and as vehicles for ownership, that is, collective action that link citizens to policy processes. Therefore, it is posited that by involving local residents in the process of determining how they are policed will increase participation, enhance ownership, increase co-operation and ultimately serve as a better tool of crime reduction than the traditional method which leaves residents voiceless and non-participatory in a major issue which affects their well-being and safety. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1999, 11) submits ‘benefits accrue to community involvement initiatives.’

The academic literature proffers the view that communities can no longer stand in isolation from the Police, neither can they be seen as an addendum in policing, nor should the Police seek to retain their high levels of autonomy. Instead, constant and consistent communication should be shared between the two major stakeholders. Extensive research has shown that involving local residents in the policing process beyond being the ‘eyes and ears’ of the Police is beneficial as a tool of crime reduction and creating safer communities (Godson, 2000, Lyons, 2002). Therefore, there is a strong theoretical case for community engagement and involvement in policing and Myhill (2003) supports the notion of engaging and involving communities in the policing process. However, in Trinidad and

Tobago community involvement in the policing processes in local communities is limited to town hall meetings as a result of some form of protest action or due to some heinous crime which was committed in the community necessitating some dialogue, often between Police/politician/residents or in terms of reporting incidents as victims/witnesses and providing covert information.

Shortcomings of the traditional policing system

This method of policing, traditional policing has been implemented and tried and retried under various guises in Trinidad and Tobago. The present crime and detection rates support the academic literature that there is little or no positive results to be attained when using this approach and that it is an antiquated system. It is instructive to note that Trinidad and Tobago today is different from what it was half century ago. The emergence of high proportionate poverty and unemployment, the collapse of families, the decay of moral values, etc. has tended to increase levels of crime. Police officers can no longer be confident that patrol deters crime (Keeling et al., 1974) or that rapid response will result in the apprehension of offenders (Kansas City Police Department, 1977-79). This reactive mode of policing, minus a community involvement component, sharply limits its crime control potential. Reliance on patrols and rapid response to calls for service means waiting until an offense has occurred. If the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service is to appear customer-oriented, Police personnel will now have to listen to the public's need. Unfortunately, traditional policing cannot offer the service that the public need. As Carter (1999) opined:

'The fact is that what a Police department views as good for the department may not necessarily be good for the community; or it may be good only for that part of the community to whom the Police are particularly responsive and not for other parts. Frequently, some parts of the community are not adequately consulted in matters that ultimately affect all members of the community.'

The academic literature has noted that beginning in the 1980's, Police administrators began trying to improve the Police effectiveness and efficiency because of the shortcomings of the traditional policing.

Historical recognition of community involvement as a tool to ameliorate social problems

In contemporary societies, community involvement is acknowledged as a significant tool to ameliorate social problems. However, prior to the 1960's there was little recognition given to this (Filion, 1999). The challenge of involving citizens in policy processes is now a central theme in discussions about modernizing governance. Discussions about involving citizens and reducing the democratic deficit seems to be everywhere and enthusiasm for the idea that citizens could and should be involved in policy processes is not new or confined to any one area of research. The public participation movement in urban planning that began in the late 1960's marked a watershed in making concerted efforts to open insular, expert-based, rational planning processes to citizens and civil society organizations (Filion, 1999; Stroick, 1998).

In spite of the global desire for greater levels of citizen involvement, the policy processes in which citizens are involved are not all the same and, consequently, the forms of involvement used may differ across policy stages and nation states. The reasons and mechanisms for involving citizens at the stage of identifying policy problems, for instance, may be quite different from those at the later stages of policy design or implementation. Recognizing that governing at the beginning of the 21st century would have presented new challenges for effective citizen involvement in policy processes worldwide, another political goal was to create, in a practical way, a different model of social control to enhance citizen involvement. To a large extent the recognition of the need for public participation in the policy formulation processes have bypassed the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service and the organisation remains largely insulated by public officials from citizen inputs.

This lack of involvement by community residents in policy formulation is not a new phenomenon nor is it restricted to Trinidad and Tobago, the subject of this paper. This lack of involvement can be traced back to 1987, when the Development Group for Alternative Policies submitted a report to the United States of America's House of Representatives criticizing the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which was a pre-NAFTA trade agreement. The criticism was based on

six principles which had relevance not only for development but also for reform of the Criminal Justice System and policing in particular. Of the six principles which were outlined, principle number two was most poignant as it spoke to a deficiency in the 'Participation of the Caribbean people in definition and implementation of policies'. This phenomenon has not escaped Trinidad and Tobago and like a malignant cancer, policy makers have largely ignored inputs from community residents in their policy formulation exercises, especially with regards to policing.

Community and Community Involvement

Community

In the last four decades the word 'community' has been increasingly and extensively used. Williams (1976) describes the word community as a 'warmly persuasive word intended to encourage public support for a policy that is primarily intended to benefit policy makers'. The overuse of the word community in titles of programs seems to have been exacerbated on a global scale in the 1980's in the wake of government policies directed at de-institutionalisation. There were community mental health programs, community supervision units, community centres, community alcohol and drug centres, community health centres, community youth projects, community outreach information. Even in the private sector companies were finding the word community useful. Cohen (1985) contended that almost anything appeared under the heading of community and almost anything was justified if the prefix was used.

Indeed, there are numerous calls for a return to community values and neighbourhood governance that are being heard from across a wide and varied spectrum. There are now calls from politicians (on both the left and right), private foundations, real estate developers, government officials, communitarians, and social scientists, and the appeals to community seem ubiquitous. Intellectual interest in the idea of community is of course, quaint. In the mid-20th century, Robert Nisbet (1953) noted what he called the 'ideology of lament', a widespread concern that something has been lost in modern society, and that a return to community is in order. Yet again, Robert Putnam (2000) has bemoaned the loss of community and decline of civic society as we exited the first decade of the 21st

century. One of the dangers of using 'community' is that it encourages people to jump from one meaning to another, resulting in confusion. Those advocating a new initiative, and similarly those attacking or defending a particular point of view, often invoke the community in support of their case, without making it clear which community they mean or in what sense it is likely to be affected. In this way the word is often used to conceal rather than reveal and hence a problem exists in relation to 'community' in community involvement in policing.

The original basis of the word community refers to people who have something in common and communities help to generate a shared language, rituals, customs and collective memory of those that join the group. Types of community can, of course, overlap. For instance, in any one geographical area there may be many types of interest communities such as church, ethnic, business and sporting groups. It is quite possible, too, for some people to live in a particular area and have no sense of attachment to it, or the people in it, because their family, work and leisure activities all take place in areas away from where they live. UNESCO (2006) says that 'Communities are networks of people whose sense of identity or connectedness emerges from a shared historical relationship (...).' In this dissertation 'community' refers mainly to communities defined by geography.

Community Involvement

Community involvement has come to be recognised as an essential part of the planning of all major service providers. Increasingly it is recognized that involving communities is likely to lead to more appropriate and sustainable services through an increased sense of ownership in promoting activities. Involvement is also important in its own right through strengthening the democratic processes and encouraging active citizenship. What is more, there is considerable evidence that communities with self-esteem and self-confidence are able to directly address their needs and inequalities. Community involvement must be seen as a two-way process that results in clear benefits for communities and their members as well as the relevant organization. This two-way process is based upon actions and decisions that ensure inclusivity and capacity. Community involvement describes the full range of research, consultation and participation of

communities and individuals in the decision making process (Herefordshire Council, 2008).

Involving communities in policing will be challenging for members of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service who have not been accustomed to working with communities. However, the effort will be worthwhile for at least five reasons:

- 1) Services will be provided that meet communities' wants and needs and will be appropriate;
- 2) Transparency can be promoted and communities provided with a better understanding of the complex decision-making in the policing process, thus leading to greater openness, accountability, and confidence;
- 3) Groups who were traditionally excluded or marginalized can be identified and appropriate plans made to work with these people;
- 4) Communities can identify the wider determinants of crime and deviant behaviours and develop plans and frequently implement strategies to address inequalities; and
- 5) Communities can be empowered and their capacity released to promote self-control and self-confidence to address their needs through greater confidence in their ability to inform the direction of law enforcement services.

The Principles of Involvement

Unlike community, the concept of involvement seems to have appeared quite recently in the policing vocabulary. However, there are other terms that can be seen as being encompassed by the concept of involvement, such as 'participation', 'consultation', 'engagement' and 'partnership' and have been around longer and may be used interchangeably. However, this study focuses on 'involvement.' There are different guidelines and principles of involvement; recommended approaches and methods and phases of involvement. Based on prior research, there are certain principles that should underpin any community involvement in policing activity and these include:

- The necessity of understanding the community/communities in which policing is to be conducted. The composition, needs, priorities, tensions, strengths and existing networks in the communities must be clearly understood to offer something relevant and tangible accordingly.
- The need for partnership working and resourcing of participation at all stages of the process and the need for recognition of long term involvement.
- The necessity of understanding that meaningful relationships take time to establish and that involvement becomes tokenistic if relationships are not maintained in the long-term.
- Sensitivity around accountability and representation structures – building effective groups/structures that strengthen communities rather than divide them.
- The need for a range of wider (formal and informal) ways in which people can participate - creating some community ownership and control.
- The need for clarity and recognition of influence e.g. evidence that communities have been heard.
- The recognition that people participate from a variety of starting points and cultural experience and that this has implications for how people learn and contribute.
- The need to be flexible and responsive leading to adaptations where necessary in project methods, timetables and outcomes.

Phases of involvement

It is important to understand that ‘communities are complex and individuals within groups and communities may have different perspectives and agendas’ (Weston Park Museum Project, 2003). Therefore conflict within groups is always a possibility. There are different phases of involvement in designing any community involvement intervention strategies and these are to:

- Begin
- Plan
- Involve
- Sustain

Community involvement in policing

A casual reading of the multiplicity of literature on community involvement in policing can create confusion and perplexity. This is as a result of the fact that the problem being studied and the terminology used is highly diverse and additionally investigators who claim to be studying the problem frequently do not look at the same variables or employ the same methodologies and even when they are investigating the same variables, different investigators may use completely different terms to describe and discuss these variables. As a result, it is imperative that I explain what I mean by the term community involvement in policing, a construct that should not be either esoteric or mysterious. Involvement refers to the amount of physical and psychological energy that is devoted to an experience. In certain respects the concept of involvement closely resembles the Freudian concept of cathexis. Freud believed that people (communities) invest psychological energy in objects and persons outside of themselves. In other words, people can cathect on their friends, families, schoolwork, neighbourhood and jobs. The involvement concept also resembles closely what the learning theorists have traditionally referred to as vigilance or time-on-task.

In this paper community involvement in policing is operationalised as:

“a process by which local people are empowered to become genuinely and continuously involved in defining and identifying crime and deviant activities which are of interest to them and in becoming part of the decision making process on those issues, so that they are involved in formulating, planning, developing, implementing and delivering policies and services aimed at taking action to alleviate and change them.”

Simply put, community involvement in policing refers to the amount of physical and psychological energy that communities collectively devote to the policing experience. Thus, a highly involved community is one which, for example, devotes considerable energy to ensuring that the community is safe, reports criminal activities to the relevant authorities (crime stoppers, Police etc.) spends much time working with other residents to reduce crime, seeks to forge relationships with the Police, attempts to create a safe and secure environment

using creative methods, participates actively in community organizations, and interacts frequently with the Police and other residents with the aim of devising plans and policies to alleviate crime and deviance. Conversely, a typical uninvolved community, neglects the community, spends little time in and dealing with the community, abstains from communal activities, and has infrequent contact with the Police and other residents and displays a general apathetic behaviour to the community and crime related issues.

As such, community involvement in policing in Trinidad and Tobago should reflect five basic principles, namely:

1. Involvement refers to the investment of physical and psychological energy into various law enforcement objects.
2. Regardless of its object, involvement occurs along a continuum; that is, different communities will manifest different degrees of involvement in the given object, and the same community may manifest different degrees of involvement in different objects at different times.
3. Involvement has both quantitative and qualitative features. The extent of a community's involvement in attending meetings aimed at social control, for instance, can be measured quantitatively (how many hours residents spend at meeting) and qualitatively (whether the community contributes to the meetings or sits passively).
4. The extent of crime and deviance reduction associated with any law enforcement program is directly proportional to the quality and quantity of community involvement in that program.
5. The effectiveness of any policy or practice is directly related to the capacity of that policy or practice to increase levels of involvement.

It is instructive to note that the last two principles are, of course, the key policing principles, because they provide clues for designing more effective policing programs for residents. However, they are merely principles, because they are subject to empirical proof.

Is Community Involvement in policing reality or rhetoric?

In spite of the considerable impetus to involve communities in the policing process, there is little understanding of the implications of community involvement in practice. The term community involvement is applied loosely to activities which involve lay-people. Defining any program as community involvement where another term would be more appropriate will lead to disillusionment amongst NGO's and communities because expectations may not met. It is instructive that both communities and local Police organisations should have a clear sense of purpose in developing community involvement in policing strategies.

Community theories suggest that social order is maintained primarily by the informal social control processes within the various neighbourhoods and not solely by Police activities. This underscores the importance of citizen participation and the utilization of available community resources to prevent crime (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993). Despite these postulations, Rosenbaum (1988) and Skogan (1990) elucidates that community involvement advocates, inclusive of those aligned with community involvement in policing and community policing, have advanced the idea that organized citizens can control crime and improve neighbourhood conditions, and therefore Police officers should mobilize neighbourhood groups. Unfortunately, they posit that the empirical support for this idea is limited. As a result of this conundrum on community involvement in policing, it is an academically penumbral area that needs further research and the author will utilize available literature to demonstrate that it is a viable alternative to the traditional methods of policing which are presently employed in Trinidad and Tobago.

The goal of community involvement in policing

The main aim of involving community residents in the policing process in Trinidad and Tobago will be to empower citizens, via real, not token involvement in the decision making process on how they are policed. Empowerment has been defined as “a social action process in which people and communities gain mastery and control over their lives” (Wallerstein 1999, 40). Empowerment conveys a sense of personal psychological control and actual influence in social, political,

and economic spheres (Rappaport, 1987). Empowerment applies equally to communities and professionals. Empowered communities should have mastery over the process of defining their law enforcement needs and identifying how these might be addressed. Empowered professionals should control the direction of service delivery and apply targets to be achieved. Of course this is a dichotomy which simplifies the real world. Professionals will always be influenced by lay-people, although this influence may be indirect. Yet, policing in Trinidad and Tobago is invariably hierarchical. Professionals hold positions of power to make and implement decisions, while communities are often powerless. As a result this research will seek to redress this power relationship between the Police and the communities they serve.

Evidence suggests that empowered communities are healthier communities (Wilkinson, 1999). Empowered communities will have both a perception that they can control decision-making about aspects of their lives and access to the resources to address their policing needs through social support networks. Empowered communities will have the power and control to fulfill their material needs. Trojanowicz (1986) posited that, the overarching goal should be for the Police to become partners with the community, empowering them so that they can shoulder their share of the responsibility and the tough work of making their neighbourhoods safer. Conversely, disempowered and atomised pluralities of individuals living in poverty perceive they have no decision-making power over their lives and the distribution of resources (Wallerstein, 1992). To address inequalities in the provision of services it will be necessary to address the structural relationships that perpetuate disempowerment (Marmot and Wilkinson, 2001). Community involvement strategies can contribute to the creation of communities with the power to address deficiencies in policing in Trinidad and Tobago. Powerlessness and alienation have been the focus of much consideration within law enforcement in Trinidad and Tobago. Low self-esteem, lack of perceived control over one's life, and an inability to influence decision-making processes characterised by voicelessness (remnants of colonial paramilitary, traditional policing) have all been considered important elements in perpetuating what passes for policing in Trinidad and Tobago.

It is instructive to note that Cogan et al., (1986, 284) in a study entitled 'The Theory of Citizen Involvement' identified five benefits of citizen participation in the planning process. These benefits are outlined below and it is the author's submission that the five benefits are applicable to community involvement in policing in Trinidad and Tobago. The benefits are:

- Information and ideas on public issues;
- Public Support for planning decisions;
- Avoidance of protracted conflicts and costly delays;
- Reservoir of good will which can carry over to future decisions; and
- Spirit of cooperation and trust between the agency and the public

The academic literature on policing strongly suggests that in order for Police strategies which are directed at addressing crime and disorder to have an effect on crime, they must include a greater range of tools rather than simply enforcing the law (Clarke and Eck, 2002). Clarke and Eck (2002) noted that "research has proven that working with the public and going beyond law enforcement have modest crime and disorder reduction affects. They also noted that the more personal the Police contacts are, the more likely it is that they will have an effect on crime". When communities are involved in the policing processes, all the members of the community become active allies in an effort to improve the safety and quality of life in the community. According to Grinc (1994) crime and disorder are the joint property of both the community and the Police, and this joint effort is carried out within an interactive, cooperative and reciprocal relationship. Whereas traditional policing patronizes the community by establishing the Police as the experts who have all the answers, community involvement in policing empowers the average citizens by enlisting them as partners with the Police in efforts to reduce crime and make their communities safer places to reside.

Supporting Theories

Critical Social Theory

Critical Social Theory (CST) also referred to as Critical Theory of Society is a label used by the Frankfurt School and those influenced by them intellectually, to describe their own work which was oriented toward radical social change, in contradistinction to "traditional theory," i.e. theory in the positivistic, scientific, or

purely observational mode. Critical research focuses on the oppositions, conflicts and contradictions in contemporary society, and seeks to be emancipator. The key elements of CST are:

- Enlightenment - Give information.
- Empowerment - Take action to improve conditions.
- Emancipation - People can achieve through social action.

CST, when defined, has at its fulcrum an emancipatory function and can play a part in explaining and understanding the circumstances of a desire to involve residents in the policing process. It is therefore submitted that the CST can be used to underpin community involvement in policing as a tool of crime reduction and eventually reduce the crime rates in Trinidad and Tobago over time. This is quite evident as the theory espouses the view that by enlightening residents by giving them information, they will become enlightened and take action to improve their social conditions within their society. The theory says that this will serve to emancipate them, as people in any society can do so through their own social action and not necessarily by the total action of outsiders.

Normative Sponsorship Theory

Sower et al., (1957) posited via the normative sponsorship theory that most people are of good will and are willing to cooperate with others to satisfy their needs. The theory proposes that a community effort will only be sponsored if it is normative (within the limits of established standards) to all persons and interest groups involved. One of the major considerations when attempting to initiate community development is to understand how two or more interest groups can have sufficient convergence of interest or consensus on common goals to bring about the implementation. Each group involved and interested in program implementation must be able to justify and, hence, legitimize the common group goal within its own patterns of values, norms, and goals.

The more congruent the values, beliefs, and goals of all participating groups, the easier it will be for them to agree on common goals. The participating groups, however, do not necessarily have to justify their involvement or acceptance of a group goal for the same reason. With community involvement in policing, critical social science is practiced and it assists the police and citizens to gain an

understanding of the quasi-causes of their problematic situation, which aid citizens to solve their own problems. The Normative Sponsorship Theory posits the following:

- Most people are of good will.
- They will cooperate with others to facilitate the building of consensus
- The more the various groups share common values, beliefs, and goals, the more likely it is that they will agree on common goals.

Search for the Democratic Ideal

Citizen involvement is a process which provides residents with an opportunity to influence public decisions about societal issues which affect them and has long been a component of the democratic decision making process. Democratic decision-making, in contrast to bureaucratic or technocratic decision making, is based on the assumption that all who are affected by a given decision have the right to be involved and participate in the making of that decision. The roots of citizen involvement/participation can be traced to ancient Greece. Cogan et al., (1986) note that before the 1960's, governmental processes and procedures were designed to facilitate "external" participation. They posit the view that citizen participation and involvement was institutionalized in the mid-1960's with, for example, USA's President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs. Public involvement is therefore a mean to ensure that citizens have a direct voice in public decisions and this serves to reduce the democratic deficit and strengthen democracy.

Therefore, the governing process has been altered in significant ways by two broad but related trends. The first is the emergence of the philosophy of New Public Management. The essence of New Public Management is to encourage governments to steer not row, meaning that they should set basic priorities and policy directions. The other is the shift from a top-down model of government to horizontal governance, which is the process of governing by public policy networks including public, private and voluntary sector actors (Lemieux, 2000; Jenson, 2001). Whereas a traditional top-down approach emphasizes control and uniformity, horizontal governance recognizes that governments alone may not have the capacity, knowledge or legitimacy to solve complex public policy

problems in a diverse society. Therefore, it emphasizes the active collaboration and coordination of individuals who are ultimately affected by the problem which the policy aims to alleviate.

Hall (1999) and the Canadian Centre for Philanthropy, et al., (1999) submits the view that the organization of civil society and the structure of social and political relations within it conditions the level of interest in and capacity of citizens to be involved in meaningful ways in both traditional democratic processes and new forms of governance based on the democratic ideal. They both suggest that the convergence of several long-term trends in civil society has contributed to the renewed interest in citizen involvement in designing remedies for problems that affect them. A basic factor is rising education levels. It is well established that participation in civic affairs increases in direct measure to education levels and is particularly influenced by levels of postsecondary education.

Finally, the search for the democratic ideal lends support to this study and has found support in the contemporary literature on policing from several scholarly writers such as Pino and Wiatrowski (2006) and Pino (2009) in the form of principles of democratic policing. Pino and Wiatrowski (2006) submit that the people need to be equitably involved in policy making; that local structures and capacities ought to be strengthened by enhancing social and human capital (see Critical Social Theory) and that the goal of sustainability must always be present, keeping long term goals in mind.

Conclusion

The choice of tools used to solve a problem depends on the purpose of the exercise. For example, many organizations use client surveys to measure progress towards closing the 'service gap' over time. Others employ surveys to gauge public attitudes on proposed changes in programs or policy direction. Engagement tends to involve citizens rather than as clients or stakeholders, and this tool is based on an open agenda involving "dialogue," leading toward a common ground. In the process, citizens listen to and learn from one another, and may change their perspectives, make trade-offs, and perhaps build a stronger foundation for public policy. While engagement cannot provide an exact measure of citizen or client satisfaction, as surveys do, it does offer limited benefits.

Consultation and involvement of community residents is a more direct tool for obtaining citizen input on a wide range of issues. This promotes a two way flow of information between the citizen or client and the organization. Consultation and involvement will therefore provide an avenue for the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service to explain its business, to manage citizen or client expectations when they exceed the organization's limitations or mandate, to devise public policy solutions with direct feedback, and to build partnerships. Consultation with and involvement of local residents in the policing processes can serve to provide a general picture of citizen or client satisfaction, expectations and needs.

What is noted in the literature is that whether the term used is engagement, consultation or involvement, there is a renewed vogue and emphasis on having affected persons input into the democratic process of decision making and it seems rather theatrical that policing is left out. The desired approach is therefore community involvement and not engagement. The emphasis on community involvement in policing means that the political directorate, academics and members of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service must set aside their preferences and values and incorporate those of the community in ways that are workable. Additionally, it should be noted that emerging forms of governance and the desire to create a more empowered civil society has created an interest in, and a need to rethink how citizens are involved in determining processes which affect them. The shift from talking about public consultation to citizen engagement and involvement reflects an interest in creating more interactive forms of governance that leads to policy learning and promotes the development of citizenship skills, ownership and community capacity. Considerable reform is therefore necessary, among the major institutions of state in Trinidad and Tobago, more-so, the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service, in order to achieve their present mandate of crime reduction.

Though the objective of encouraging more effective citizen involvement in policing is widely lauded, it is usually met with considerable resistance once the idea moves from rhetoric to implementation. A key challenge in advancing community involvement in policing is to eliminate the myths surrounding citizen involvement. Perhaps the most well entrenched myth is that if policy formulation and implementation takes on a greater role in involving citizens, it will come at

the expense of the role of elected Members of Parliament. This concern stems from an underlying tension over competition for knowledge acquisition. Globally, Members of Parliament have long been the primary source of experiential knowledge from citizens, while the public service has had a near monopoly over expert knowledge. As the public service and more-so the communities move increasingly into becoming a source of experiential knowledge through an expanded role in citizen involvement, Members of Parliament are likely to feel displaced. This is not the inevitable outcome, however, for several reasons.

Firstly, MPs' could link with opportunities for citizen involvement led by the various communities by participating in them directly. The knowledge emanating from citizens is by no means necessarily consensual in nature, and there is usually a need to balance expert with experiential knowledge in decision-making. This task will still fall primarily to legislators. Secondly, greater opportunities for community involvement undertaken by the public could also strengthen and expand the role of MPs', because such opportunities can create more knowledgeable citizens with higher expectations of how Government should deal with them.

In a vibrant democracy, voluntary organizations are themselves spaces for the exercise of citizenship and conduits for connecting local citizens to Government. Effective citizen involvement not only promotes the direct participation of individuals in policy processes, it also encourages the development of strong associational networks with active, democratic memberships. These serve as intermediary sites of deliberation and as vehicles for ownership, that is, collective action that link citizens to policy processes. Therefore, it is posited that involving local residents in the process of determining how they are policed will enhance ownership of crime intervention plans, increase co-operation and ultimately serve as a better tool of crime reduction than the traditional method which leaves residents voiceless and virtually non-participatory.

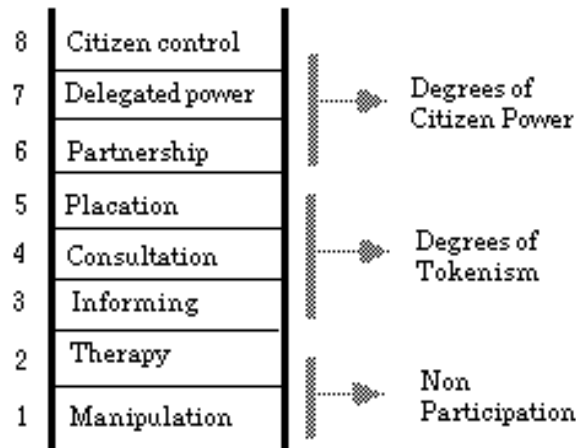
Active and constant citizen participation and involvement, not mere representation, is what supports arguments in favour of the value of citizen involvement as co-producers of crime and the design of policies to ameliorate their problems. The author of this dissertation submits that it is imperative that communities are involved in the policing exercise, somewhere along the

continuum in the policy decision process, from planning and design to implementation, otherwise there will be a continued disconnect between the Police and the community, with the communities being voiceless and a proliferation of crime plans which yield little or no results in terms of a reduction of the crime rates due to a lack of ownership.

It is instructive to note that reducing the crime rate by using Police intervention strategies in the various communities throughout Trinidad and Tobago takes more than just concern or wishful thinking. For members of the Police Service to be truly effective in this changing, complex society, they must recognize that it is in their own self-interest to administer and oversee an organization that is responsive to the needs of the individual citizenry. The Trinidad and Tobago Police Service in conjunction with the political executive must establish an effective partnership with communities as a whole for crime and deviance to be curtailed. Law enforcement agents must be sensitive to the fact that virtually every phase of their operations has an eventual impact on the communities under their jurisdiction and that token or artificial efforts towards community involvement in the policing process will quickly be recognized as an insincere gesture, which can only invite public ridicule and repudiation.

Contemporary policing in Trinidad and Tobago should now resemble what Arnstein (1969) referred to as the ladder of citizen participation. Importantly, social issues (such as crime and crime reduction) stand a better chance at being ameliorated when citizens are involved (Arnstein, 1996), not at the non-participation or degrees of tokenism level, but when they are in partnership, given delegated power and there is a very high and active level of citizen control.

Figure 1 A Ladder of Citizen Participation



Source: Arnstein (1969).

In concluding, what the author of this dissertation is alluding to is real community involvement, not what currently passes for involvement, where community residents are subjected to tokenism and patronizing treatment by Police Officers and policy makers who come into their communities as crime control experts. Though trite, it has been frequently pointed out that the Police alone cannot successfully achieve crime control or reduce the rates of victimization and that the support and involvement of the community is critical. History will reveal whether the political and Police executive in Trinidad and Tobago had adopted the contemporary, wide blue line approach to policing which unlike traditional policing, seeks to treat residents as part of the policy making process or whether the search for the ‘democratic ideal’, community involvement in policing remained simply as rhetoric or became a reality in Trinidad and Tobago.

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