

# PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE OFFICERS

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By

Michael Mathura

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## **ABSTRACT**

To generate an understanding of the public's perception of police officers has taken precedence for reform efforts in recent years, especially in post-colonial societies like Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) with the aim of getting their police institutions to forge closer working relations with their citizens. Developing closer and harmonious relationships between citizens and the police bodies are more likely to foster and increase public trust and confidence in officers, implement consolidated working relationships between both parties and reduce citizens fear of crime, especially when the increasing crime rate in T&T during the past two decades has been considered out of control.

Due to the lack of research on the subject of policing and furthermore on the public perception of police officers in T&T, this study was aimed at addressing the deficiencies in the literature by providing insights and understanding on the perception of police officers through the following research questions: (I) What are the variables that affect citizens perception of the police in T&T? (II) Do citizens demographic characteristics affect their relationship with the police and if yes, how and why? (III) In what ways can citizens perception of the police in T&T be improved?

This study used a qualitative approach in order to bring some prospective on citizens subjective experiences by interviewing 50 adult members of the public within two geographic locations in T&T relative to people and police, contact, legitimacy, services and performance. The snowball sampling technique was used to obtain participants and the adaptive theory approach was used to analyse the data obtained. The study focused on key variables such as contact, age, socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, police behaviour and justice. The results obtained suggested that these key variables were consistent with previous studies, however, new

variables such as politics, gender and gang involvement were identified and acknowledged as being further responsible for how citizens perception of the police in T&T are shaped. As a result, the theoretical concepts used in this study could be expanded to include these new variables. The findings from this study suggested that the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS) colonial legacy have an active participation on the role and function of the police in T&T and this created an impact on the performance of the police. This study further suggested that police reform in T&T would become an important factor for improving the public's perception of police officers. Because of previous failed police reform attempts in T&T where officers were identified as being reluctant to participate, this study has proposed training methods to improve officers' attitude towards accepting changes as an initial priority before applying methods to improve the relationship with the public.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

❖	Abstract -----	2
❖	Acknowledgement-----	4
❖	Table of Contents-----	5
❖	List of Figures-----	8
❖	List of Tables-----	8
<b>Chapter 1 – Introduction</b>		
❖	1.1 Perception of the Police-----	9
❖	1.2 Public and Police Relations in Trinidad and Tobago-----	10
❖	1.3 The Problem -----	13
❖	1.4 Contribution to Development of Knowledge-----	15
❖	1.5 Aim of Research-----	17
❖	1.6 Research Questions-----	18
❖	1.7 Significance of Study-----	18
❖	1.8 Scope of Thesis-----	19
<b>Chapter 2 – Literature Review</b>		
❖	2.0 Overview-----	23
❖	2.1 Colonial Policing Model-----	23
❖	2.2 Trinidad and Tobago Police Service-----	28
❖	2.3 Marxist Framework-----	34
❖	2.4 Theoretical Background-----	43
❖	2.4.1 Deference Theory-----	43
❖	2.4.2 Legitimacy Theory-----	49
❖	2.4.3 Satisfaction Theory-----	56
❖	2.4.4 Service Theory-----	58
❖	2.4.5 Performance Theory-----	65
❖	2.5 Demographic Theory-----	71
❖	2.5.1 Contact Perspective -----	72
❖	2.5.2 Age Perspective-----	78
❖	2.5.3 Socioeconomic Perspective -----	82
❖	2.5.4 Race/Ethnicity Perspective-----	86
❖	2.5.5 Justice Perspective-----	90
❖	2.5.6 Police Behaviour Perspective-----	93
❖	2.6 Summary-----	98
<b>Chapter 3 – Methodology</b>		
❖	3.0 Overview -----	101
❖	3.1 Adaptive Theory-----	102
❖	3.2 Research Design-----	107
❖	3.2.1 Qualitative Research-----	108
❖	3.2.2 Primary Data Collection Methods -----	110
❖	3.2.3 Research Population-----	111
❖	3.2.4 Qualitative Interviews-----	114
❖	3.3 Sampling Strategy-----	117
❖	3.3.1 Snowball Sampling-----	119
❖	3.4 Data Analysis Method-----	121
❖	3.5 Research Ethics-----	124
❖	3.6 Researcher Impact on the Study -----	127
❖	3.7 Limitation of the Study-----	130
❖	3.8 Summary -----	130

## **Chapter 4 – Results**

❖	4.0 Overview-----	132
❖	4.1 Theoretical Concept 1- Contact-----	133
❖	4.1.1 Majority Group-----	133
❖	4.1.2 Minority Group -----	136
❖	4.1.3 Group Demographics-----	137
❖	4.2 Theoretical Concept II- Age-----	138
❖	4.2.1 Majority Group-----	138
❖	4.2.2 Minority Group -----	141
❖	4.2.3 Group Demographics-----	143
❖	4.3 Theoretical Concept III- Socioeconomic -----	144
❖	4.3.1 Majority Group-----	144
❖	4.3.2 Minority Group -----	147
❖	4.3.3 Group Demographics-----	149
❖	4.4 Theoretical Concept IV- Race/Ethnicity-----	150
❖	4.4.1 Majority Group-----	150
❖	4.4.2 Minority Group -----	153
❖	4.4.3 Group Demographics-----	155
❖	4.5 Theoretical Concept V- Justice-----	156
❖	4.5.1 Majority Group-----	156
❖	4.5.2 Minority Group -----	159
❖	4.5.3 Group Demographics-----	161
❖	4.6 Theoretical Concept VII- Police Behaviour-----	162
❖	4.6.1 Majority Group-----	162
❖	4.6.2 Minority Group -----	170
❖	4.6.3 Group Demographics-----	171
❖	4.7 Theoretical Concept VII- Politics-----	172
❖	4.7.1 Majority Group-----	172
❖	4.7.2 Minority Group -----	176
❖	4.7.3 Group Demographics-----	177
❖	4.8 Theoretical Concept VIII- Gender-----	178
❖	4.8.1 Majority Group-----	178
❖	4.8.2 Minority Group -----	183
❖	4.8.3 Group Demographics-----	184
❖	4.9 Summary-----	185

## **Chapter 5 –Discussion**

❖	5.0 Overview-----	187
❖	5.1 Theoretical Concept I- Contact-----	187
❖	5.2 Theoretical Concept II- Age-----	192
❖	5.3 Theoretical Concept III- Race/Ethnicity-----	197
❖	5.4 Theoretical Concept IV- Socioeconomic-----	201
❖	5.5 Theoretical Concept V- Justice -----	207
❖	5.6 Theoretical Concept VI- Police Behaviour-----	212
❖	5.7 Theoretical Concept VII- Politics-----	218
❖	5.8 Theoretical Concept VIII- Gender-----	225
❖	5.9 Summary-----	229

## **Chapter 6 – Conclusion**

❖	6.0 Overview-----	231
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❖	6.1 Summary of Main Finding- -----	232
❖	6.2 Theoretical Implications -----	239
❖	6.3 Recommendations -----	249
❖	6.4 Future Research-----	253
❖	6.5 Final Conclusion-----	254
 <b>Appendices</b> -----		<b>256</b>
 <b>Bibliography</b> -----		<b>267</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

❖	Figure 1. Normative Resistance Model-----	44
❖	Figure 2. Legitimacy Model-----	51
❖	Figure 3. Service Model-----	59
❖	Figure 4. Performance Model-----	66
❖	Figure 5. Demographics Characteristics Model-----	71
❖	Figure 6. Map of Trinidad and Tobago-----	114
❖	Figure 7. Theoretical Concepts-----	133
❖	Figure 8. Theoretical Concepts I- Contact-----	191
❖	Figure 9. Theoretical Concepts II- Age-----	196
❖	Figure 10. Theoretical Concepts III- Race/Ethnicity-----	200
❖	Figure 11. Theoretical Concepts IV- Socioeconomic Status-----	207
❖	Figure 12. Theoretical Concepts V- Justice-----	211
❖	Figure 13. Theoretical Concepts VI- Police Behaviour-----	217
❖	Figure 14. Theoretical Concepts VII- Politics-----	224
❖	Figure 15. Theoretical Concepts VIII- Gender-----	228

## LIST OF TABLES

❖	Table 1. Complaints Against Police Officers-----	31
❖	Table 2. Potential Participants-----	119



## **I - INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Perception of the Police**

Citizen's perception of the police is formulated through evaluations and interpretations from direct and indirect contact with officers and where people generate specific attitudes and individual judgements relative to police officers, police institutions and the field of policing (Frank et al., 2005; Warren et al., 2006; Eller et al., 2007). Attitudes and judgements are sociologically imperative when considering the coercive authority that police officers are granted (Bittner, 1970) and becomes a critical factor that guide and determine institutional efficiency and effectiveness (Skogan, 2005) and police legitimacy (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003b; Rice et al., 2005; Skogan, 2006).

It was suggested by Turk (1969) that direct contact between citizens and the police is dependent on an individual's position within the social hierarchy, resulting in the police expectation of deference from young, poor and ethnic minority people due to their status. The group theory by Blumer (1958) suggested that people of ethnic minority generally occupy subordinate social status and the police frequently give little or no deference to them. Therefore, these citizens often reciprocate minimal or no deference to the police (Bowling and Phillips, 2007; Reiner, 2010). The normative justice theory was developed by Tyler (1990), where he suggested that when citizens are treated fairly and equally, they become more satisfied and perceive the police as doing their job well (Brown and Benedict, 2002; Engel, 2003; McVein and Neyroud, 2012).

Several previous studies have focused on public perception of the police (Turk, 1969; Tyler, 1990; Mastrofski, 1999; Brown and Benedict, 2002; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005). Most of these studies have focused predominantly on factors of individual demographic characteristics such as race/ethnicity, attitudes, social stratification, age and legitimacy, quality of service and satisfaction (Mastrofski, 1999; Lundman and Kaufman, 2003; Engel, 2003; Johnson et al., 2008; Sharp and Johnson, 2009). Up to date, according to my knowledge there haven't been any reports of previous research done in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) that explores the variation of factors that are responsible for influencing and shaping citizens (adults) perception of the police.

## **1.2 Public and Police Relations in Trinidad and Tobago**

The relationship between citizens and the police in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) has historically been unstable and strained and this can be traced back to the country's colonial legacy (Deosaran, 2002; Wallace, 2011; Pino and Johnson, 2011). When taking into consideration that the colonial model of policing which was imported to T&T during British colonisation, the model has become known for its use of brutal force onto citizens (Anderson and Killingray, 1991; Cole, 2003; Mars, 2007), officers' ineptitudes (Sinclair, 2006; Stanislas, 2014) and poor community relations (Deosaran, 2002; King, 2009; Johnson and Kochel, 2012; Adams, 2019). Instrumental to colonisation was the desire for economic exploitation of the colonies whereby a socioeconomic hierarchy was established and maintained which allowed the elite and powerful ruling class to utilise the police system as an apparatus to dominate and exploit the weaker lower class (Chambliss, 1975; Quinney, 1977; Box, 1983; Reiner, 2010). As a consequent, the T&T local population have distant themselves from the police which have

resulted in legitimacy being undermined (Mastrofski and Lum, 2008; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Kuhns et al., 2011; Maguire et al., 2017).

During and after independence in T&T, the police have frequently become affiliated with government and politicians which initiated social segregation between the population based on support towards political parties by virtue of race/ethnicity (Clarke, 1993; Brereton, 1996; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). Within the past decade in T&T, the country has been experiencing a continuous increase in violent crimes which has quadrupled within that time (Wells and Katz, 2008; Pino, 2009; Townsend, 2009; Maguire et al., 2017) especially in the disadvantaged communities of Northern and Eastern Trinidad (Townsend, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Johnson and Kochel, 2012) with the police only being able to solve no more than 13% of the crimes committed (Wells and Katz, 2008; Pino and Johnson, 2011). Some of the possible reasons for the low detection and clearance rate of crimes in T&T relates to police officers' ineptitude, their involvement in corruption, especially the drug trade and gang activities, many of which involves police officers as the mastermind and instrumental for its existence (Scott Drug Report, 1984; Townsend, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011).

One of the complexities with policing is that, laws, policies and techniques often changes with time in order to achieve modernisation, therefore police institutions are required to adopt these changes simultaneously (Wallace, 2012). Within the past three decades there have been significant focus on the effectiveness and modernisation of the TTPS such as reform efforts to improve training, education, governance, accountability and transparency (Deosaran, 2000; Mastrofski and Lum, 2008; Pino, 2009) and attempts to create a service-oriented style of policing with increased patrols and visibility (Parks and Mastrofski, 2008; Wilson et al., 2011; Wallace, 2011). Despite several efforts to reform the TTPS into a modern police institution,

they have failed (O'Dowd, 1991; Seaby, 1993; Critchlow, 2012; Wallace, 2012) because citizens of T&T were not aware of the efforts due to poor communication, officers were reluctant to participate and opposed the attempts, political complexities/influences and police corruption (Parks and Mastrofski, 2008; Pino, 2009; Wilson et al., 2011; Critchlow, 2012). Therefore, the TTPS have continued to be characterised by the colonial police model which focuses on public order duties, the use of coercion when attending and assisting the public and by treating citizens as government subjects (Deosaran, 2002; King, 2009; Wallace, 2011; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

Because of the failed attempts to reform the TTPS, the institution has been considered ineffective and outdated which contributed to increased crimes, low levels of community-police cooperation and involvement (Wilson et al., 2011; Wallace, 2012; Critchlow, 2012; Maguire et al., 2017). According to Pino (2009), citizens of T&T are fearful of crimes in the country but are simultaneously fearful of approaching the police. Citizens of T&T have become resentful towards the police and developed a lack of trust and confidence for reasons such as officers being involved in the drug trade, police corruption, officers brutal treatment, police involvement in gang and organised crimes and the police ability to manipulate the law and not be punished for committing crime (Scott Drug Report, 1984; Townsend, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Pawelz, 2018).

During the past three decades, police officers in T&T have become increasingly involved in delinquent and illegal activities. Police officers have been involved in activities such as narcotics trafficking (Griffith, 1997; Scott Drug Report, 1984), extra judicial killing (Samad, 2011), human trafficking (Dowlat-Rostant, 2020; Wilson, 2020) and gangs (Townsend, 2008,

Pawelz, 2018). Because of these negative and unfavourable changes which are more likely to become counterproductive towards citizen and police relations, many citizens have developed a lack of respect, faith and trust and confidence in the TTPS (Deosaran, 2002; Park and Mastrofski, 2008; Pino, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011).

### **1.3 Problem**

The perception and relationship that exist between citizens and the police in T&T are vital issues that need to be addressed. The strained and turbulent relations between both parties, have created the need for improved relationship and changes to the institution's practices and policies (Seaby, 1993; Deosaran, 2002; Job, 2004; Pino and Johnson, 2011).

Together citizens and the police in T&T are key stakeholders in the different communities and they both contribute towards an important role in providing and maintaining the highest levels of safety, security and welfare (Deosaran, 2002; Mastrofski and Lum, 2008; Maguire et al., 2017). Failure to provide safety, security and welfare often results in community decay (Grohe et al., 2012; Wallace, 2012) and citizens negative perception of the police may result in loss of lives and liberty due to lack of communication and networking. If citizens of T&T have a negative perception of the TTPS, it is more likely for the strategies of community-oriented policing (COP) to become weakened and elements such as communication, transparency and accountability might collapse (Deosaran, 2002; King, 2009; Critchlow, 2012; Maguire et al., 2017).

Until recent times, the exact variables that influences and shapes citizen's perception of the police in T&T remains unknown. However, the small number of previous research and studies that have been done on policing in T&T identified several problems that existed between citizens and the police. Such problems are, officers being accused of profiling, selective enforcement, using excessive force (Trotman, 1986; King, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011), lack of trust and confidence from the public (Deosaran, 2002; Mastrofski and Lum, 2008; Kuhns et al., 2011), incompetent at their jobs, demonstrated favouritism towards friends and family, corrupt and often victimise people that were seeking assistance (Deosaran, 2002; Parks and Mastrofski, 2008; Townsend, 2009), legitimacy (Wallace, 2012; Adams, 2019) and police extrajudicial killings (Amnesty International, 2006; Samad, 2011).

Further problems were identified by King (2009) within his study of the paramilitary police model and its existence and application in the TTPS. The study concluded that the TTPS had minimal changes from the colonial era where the paramilitary model of policing was practiced and relied upon (Johnson, 1991; Seaby, 1993; Wallace, 2011). This model of policing was highlighted as being counterproductive because it was unconstructive towards police and citizen relationships, promoted the use of brutal force upon citizens, reliant on firearms and used military tactics (Mars, 2002; Kuhns et al., 2011; Bell, 2013; Stanislas, 2014). Officers of the TTPS were found to be involved in gangs and working in collaboration with criminals (Townsend, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Pawelz, 2018), and some officers were accused of drug trafficking, having a lack of discipline and unaccountable for their actions, (Scott's Drug Report, 1984; Seaby, 1993; Wells and Katz, 2008; Pino and Johnson, 2011). As a result, these problems have fostered an atmosphere of doubt and resentment within some T&T communities towards the police causing citizens to distant themselves, become reluctant and unsupportive of policing initiatives (King, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Wallace, 2011).

Previous researches have suggested that white-collar crime committed by the elite, powerful and ruling class in T&T appeared to be invisible to citizens and the offenders were not investigated and prosecuted by the criminal justice system (Nader, 1972; Townsend, 2009; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013). On the other hand, it was more likely for the less powerful and deprived citizens to be prosecuted and incarcerated for blue-collar crime. Consequently, the participants of blue-collar crimes in T&T became over-represented and attracted the focal point whilst a blind eye was turned to the offenders of white-collar crimes (Townsend, 2009; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013). As a result, the offenders from the elite, powerful and ruling class were more likely to be shielded by the criminal law system and policies that they created, and the less powerful and deprived class was stigmatised and sanctioned for their crimes. Based on these suggestions, it is important for this study to examine how citizens perception of the police are shaped based on the dynamics of socioeconomic stratification in T&T. To accomplish this task, the Marxist framework and its impact on the criminal justice system will be explored (Chapter II).

#### **1.4 Contribution to Development of Knowledge**

Considering the scarcity of research on the subject of policing in T&T and furthermore, the public perception of police officers, this study focused on exploring and applying the theoretical concepts of Turk (1969); Tyler (1990); Mastrofski (1999); Moore and Braga (2003) and Webb and Marshall (1995) in a T&T context. There was no evidence of any previous researches using these theories to evaluate the public's perception of the police in T&T.

The variables of contact, age, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status and legitimacy relative to public perception of the police has been explored in other developed societies such as the UK, US, Canada and Australia (Tyler, 1990; Webb and Marshall, 1995; Brown and Benedict, 2002). However, there have been no studies known off in T&T that used these variables to evaluate the public's perception of the police. Therefore, this study has been the first in T&T to use the mentioned variables to evaluate the public perception of police officers in the country.

An integral contribution of this study has been the demonstration of why it is imperative and vital for the police in T&T to have positive perceptions from citizens. Considering the strained and distant relationship that exist between citizens and the police, citizens fear of crime, lack of trust and minimal confidence in the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS), it is imperative that the police officers forge and maintain good working relationships with members of the public and the communities whereby both parties can form an alliance to prevent and resolve neighbourhood problems, prevent community decay and promote community tranquility. This can only be achieved from reform according to democratic policing principles.

The TTPS have maintained several aspects of the colonial police model which has been proven as counterproductive for developing and maintaining police and citizens relations (Anderson and Killingray, 1991; King, 2009; Bell, 2013). This model has been acknowledged for its extensive use of brutal force, military tactics, police deviance, lack of accountability and distant relationship with citizens. This study explored the consequences of poor police reform and how it affected citizen perception of the police in T&T.



When considering that the colonial policing model was designed and assisted colonisers to economically exploit and manifest a socioeconomic hierarchy system on colonies such as T&T, this can be aligned to the Marxist framework which suggested that the elite, powerful and ruling class and their apparatuses were dominant and exploited the less powerful and deprived class (Bonger, 1916; Chambliss, 1975; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013). However, according to my knowledge there has been no study or research known of in T&T which attempted to explore or provide an understanding of citizens perception of the police as shaped or developed in the context of Marxism.

### **1.5 Aims of Research**

This study was aimed at developing an understanding of and how theoretical concepts by Turks (1969); Tyler (1990); Mastrofski (1999); Moore and Braga (2003) and Webb and Marshall (1995) was applicable in a T&T context when evaluating citizens perception of the police. Variables such as contact, age, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic, justice and police behaviour were identified in previous studies as being instrumental for how citizens perception of police officers were developed (Tyler, 1990; Webb and Marshall, 1995; Brown and Benedict, 2002). However, because it was not known if and how these variables correlate within a T&T context, this study was able to provide an insight and understanding of the variables that were applicable to T&T. This research showed several new variables that the above theories did not identify. As a consequence, these new variables identified could be used as opportunities for expanding and/or extending the current theories.

The TTPS has been identified as a post-colonial institution. According to different studies such as Deosaran (2002); King (2009); Townsend (2009); Pino and Johnson (2011); Wallace (2012) and Maguire et al. (2017) the TTPS has maintained several aspects of its colonial legacy. This study explored the type of reform efforts adopted by the TTPS and the colonial characteristics that are currently being used by the institution (i.e., citizens treatment by demographics, officer's accountability, use of coercion, officer's delinquency) and the impact that these characteristics have on public perception of the police. This study also explored the variables that could improve the relationship and perception between citizens and the police in T&T.

### **1.6 Research Questions**

- I. What are the variables that affect citizens perception of the police in T&T?
- II. Do citizens demographic characteristics affect their relationship with the police and if yes, how and why?
- III. In what ways can citizens perception of the police in T&T be improved and any possible obstacle for improvement?

### **1.7 Significance of Study**

This study played a vital role by making contributions towards filling the deficiency 'gap' in literature associated to citizen's perception of police officers in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T). This research was considered relevant and necessary due to the increasing amount of negative cases mounted against police officers and the police institution made by citizens of T&T

because of poor levels of service, unnecessary use of coercion and officers' involvement in delinquent activities. As a result, this poses questions on the efficacy of the TTPS and the need for reform in the institution. The results highlighted strengths and weaknesses relative to particular variables that influence the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. The results from this study suggested recommendations that could assist citizens, the police and local government to establish working relationships in an effort to assist each other, the creation of new policies and the updating of existing policies which could forge safer communities, reduce/eliminate fear of crime and promote better citizen and police engagement in T&T.

The findings and conclusions of this study provided much better insight and understanding of people's experiences and expectations relating to citizens engagement with police officers in T&T. Positive social change and adjustments are necessary in a society where perception/perspectives create strained and fragile communication and relationships between citizens and the police which could prevent or interrupt human growth and economic development. This study might have contributed positively towards social changes by highlighting actions that could be implemented by stakeholders to develop and maintain transparency, accountability and engagement that could promote positive relations between citizens and the police in T&T leading to positive and favourable perceptions.

## **1.8 Scope of Thesis**

Literature Review (Chapter Two). This chapter begins with an overview of the colonial police model, a background of the TTPS and a review of the Marxist critical criminology theory. This is followed by a theoretical review of Turk's (1969) Deference Theory, Tyler's (1990) Legitimacy Theory and the Satisfaction Theory which were a combination of Mastrofski's

(1999) Service Theory and Moore and Braga's (2003) Performance Theories. Webb and Marshall's Demographics Theory was reviewed based on variables such as contact, age, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic, justice and police behaviour which have been identified as being responsible for how citizens perception of the police were influenced and developed in countries such as the US and UK. Simultaneously, existing literature in T&T relating to these variables were also explored. Finally, a summary of this chapter was provided.

Methodology (Chapter Three). This chapter began with an overview explaining its importance and what it aimed to achieve. The adaptive theory approach was then explained, and its significance highlighted. The research design is explained and then the type of research that this study employed, which was qualitative. The primary data collection method for this study was explained, which was face to face interviews. The research population involved in the study was identified and a brief overview provided. This was followed by an explanation of qualitative interviews where details of the various stages used to collect data were highlighted. The sampling strategy was explained, and demographics of potential participants were highlighted. The method used to collect samples for the study was explained and its importance above other methods were highlighted, followed by the data analysis process. Finally, the ethical code of conduct followed during this study was identified and the limitations encountered were highlighted.

Results (Chapter Four). This chapter began with an overview of its purpose. This was followed by the identification of eight theoretical concepts which were developed from the data obtained when the sampling strategy was employed. Theoretical concepts TC7 and TC8 were identified as new concepts because previous literature and theories did not identify these as being important towards citizens perception of police officers. Each of the eight theoretical concepts

are explained in a three-tier style. The first tier relates to the results obtained from the majority group. This group represented citizens who participated in this study and held similar views and opinions and formed the higher percentage of the overall sample size. The second tier refers to the minority group. This group held similar views and opinions, however they accounted for the lower percentage of the overall sample size. The final tier provided a description of interviewee's demographics which became useful to demonstrate how citizens develop perception of the police in accordance to their personal characteristics.

Discussion (Chapter Five). This chapter started by providing an overview for its purpose and importance. This is followed by individual in-depth discussion and an analysis of all eight theoretical concepts against existing literature and also included illustrations to demonstrate connections and how different variables influence citizens perception of police officers in T&T.

Conclusion (Chapter Six). This chapter began with an overview of its purpose. Then it provides a summary of the key findings obtained from results when the sampling strategy was employed. This is followed by an explanation of how the main findings satisfied the aim and significance of the study. Contributions to the development of knowledge were identified and explained and this was followed by theoretical implications which were discussed. These implications were based on a literature review and how this study could expand previous theories and provide further insights and explanations. Recommendations were provided at the end of this chapter. These recommendations were mainly directed to the TTPS who might want to implement strategies for police reform in T&T. However, the recommendations could also become useful to other societies who need to implement police reform strategies especially those with a post-colonial system. This study was able to identify areas that would benefit from future research

which includes independent research and also the expansion of this study which would be able to develop further understanding and knowledge of the topic, public perception of police officers not only in T&T but other societies. The chapter ended with final conclusions.

## **II - LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 Overview**

This chapter consist of three sections. The first section starts by providing some background information on the model of policing upon which the TTPS was designed and constructed from and which became the foundation of policing in T&T as well as an overview of the TTPS. The second section provides a theoretical review of public perception of police officers and the final section provides a theoretical review of the demographic characteristics that might be responsible for how citizens perception of the police is developed.

### **2.1 Colonial Policing Model**

The Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) was established and designed to suppress disorders and political agitations in the Irish countryside because the previous police system was ineffective and the Army became very expensive to maintain (Tobias, 1977; Arnold, 1986; Sinclair, 2006). The RIC was a police force that looked and functioned like the Army because many of the police officers were ex-soldiers and continued to dress and behave similar to military officers (Tobias, 1977; Anderson and Killingray, 1991; Sinclair, 2006). In charge of the RIC was an Inspector General who reported directly to the chief secretary. Arnold (1986) debated that this rank was military and not used in England and Wales because of its interpretation as being overly militaristic and authoritarian for a democratic society (Jeffries, 1952; Sinclair, 2006).

A debate by Ellison and Smyth (2000) indicated that the RIC's allegiance to the government result in oppression and lacked support from the Irish communities (Sinclair, 2006). Lowe and

Malcolm (1992) opposed Ellison and Smyth's debate by stating that the RIC attended to the socio-economic needs of the Irish people and their function was intelligence collection and not suppression. Despite these debates, the RIC was a paramilitary institution where officers participated in target practice until perfection, officers were drilled like the military and they were responsible mainly for public order suppression duties (Brogden, 1987; Anderson and Killingray, 1991; Sinclair, 2006). In May 1922, the RIC was eventually disbanded, and many officers accepted jobs on other British colonies.

Expansion of the British Empire created security problems on the newly acquired colonies and the Imperial army became too small and expensive for the task. As a result, the British adopted the Irish police system on their new colonies (Clayton and Killingray, 1985; Arnold, 1986; Sinclair, 2006). Applying the colonial police system on the colonies were never straightforward or simple and were frequently met with hostility and rejection from the local people because colonies varied in size, race/ethnicities and culture which was not parallel to Ireland. Therefore, the British experimented with the system across the individual colonies (Arnold, 1986; Das and Verma, 1998; Sinclair, 2006). Anderson and Killingray (1992) debated that the Irish police system was developed to police non-British colonies and people and simultaneously enforce the British laws and ethos on the new colonies. It was at this point that the term "colonial policing" began (Arnold, 1986; Sinclair, 2006; Bowling and Sheptycki, 2012).

A statement by Anderson and Killingray (1991) indicated that all senior officers (gazetted) and most Inspectors were Caucasians (white) and recruited directly from the army because of their military training and lifestyle (Tobias, 1977; Cole, 2003; Bowling and Sheptycki, 2012). Sinclair (2006) highlighted that this was imperative for maintaining a military ethos since officers took their military training, personal habits, experiences and culture to the colonies.



Mawby (2005) added to Sinclair's statements by indicating that significant to recruiting white senior officers was the idea of minimal interaction between these officers and the local people. Junior officers (constable to sergeant) were mainly recruited locally or from other colonies, but there was also a small amount of whites (Cole, 2003; Sinclair, 2006; Bell, 2013). This was done to ensure that indigenous officers never attained a management rank, allowing them power and authority which may jeopardise the British objective and ethos (Tobias, 1977; Mawby, 2005; Sinclair, 2006). A debate by Stanislas (2014) suggested that colonial police officers of all ranks were recruited with very poor levels of education (Tobias, 1977; Harriott, 2000). Sinclair (2006) highlighted that, to become a police officer on a British colony, it was imperative to have a likeness for sports, be under the age of 35 years and be physically fit and well-built.

According to Ryder (2000) the training of junior officers on the colonies were done parallel to the RIC which was of a military/ paramilitary style and emphasised on drills, weapon and public order suppression (Sinclair, 2006; Stanislas, 2014). Sinclair (2006) indicated that basic police training on colonies were generally six months but could have been extended if necessary, to attain perfection in the use of arms and drills. She explained that it was common to find books at police stations which contained records of drills and target practice. Tobias (1977) added to Sinclair's contributions by stating that police training was at depots which were identical to military barracks (Mawby, 2005). Whilst each of the colonies had their own training depots, officers were sometimes sent to the RIC in Dublin, Ireland, for training to acquire a first-hand experience of paramilitary policing (Sinclair, 2006).

The role and function of the police on some colonies were in some ways similar, however they differed according to problems and needs experienced on each colony (Anderson and

Killingray, 1992; Mawby, 2005; Sinclair, 2006). It was highlighted by Bell (2013) that unique to all colonies, the police were responsible for protection from internal and external threats, the economic success by ensuring the local workforce did not rebel and protecting the traders. Arnold (1986) highlighted that the role and function of the colonial police was never restricted to law enforcement but also included the circumvention of the legal process in satisfying the colonial need for rapid retribution and punishment. Therefore, police officers frequently fulfil the role as judge, juror and executioner. The role and function of colonial policing was politically motivated and crime control was not imperative unless it involved a white person as the victim (Arnold, 1986; Sinclair, 2006; Bell, 2013).

It was debated by Mars (1998) that a fundamental aspect of policing the indigenous areas of colonies were the use of coercion and violence onto locals during public order duties (Jefferies, 1932; Brewer, 1994). Arnold (1986) added that the use of coercion by colonial officers were intended to minimise and prevent any form of challenge to the colonial power and authority, whereby only a single law and order paradigm was maintained (Das and Verma, 1998; Anderson, 1994; Bell, 2013). As a result, colonial police officers developed a reputation for being rude, unhelpful and unsympathetic with the local people (Anderson and Killingray, 1991; Cole, 2003). Problems involving police officer's behaviour, for example, corruption, perceived as enemies and oppressors, intimidation tactics, agents of the state and persistent coercion all contributed to the police becoming alienated from the local population (Arnold, 1986; King, 2009; Bell, 2013). However, Sinclair (2006) disagreed with these statements and highlighted that this may be true for some, but not all colonies. Sinclair (2006) supported her statement by highlighting that in Hong Kong, the police practices were civil, and that coercion was uncommon and only used as last resort.

According to Fanon (1963), colonisation was an apparatus for white-collar crime and corruption controlled by European explorers that became a project to acquire political and economic success over other countries (Agozino, 2003; Sinclair, 2006; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013). In T&T, the colonial policing system was instituted so that police officers became the state's apparatus of unquestionable authority and simultaneously fulfil the aims and objectives of the colonial government, whilst ensuring that the local people (subjects) complied with the law and not rebel (Anderson and Killingray, 1991; Deosaran, 2002; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). Amongst the majority of colonies, colonisation established racial tension, a socioeconomic hierarchy and status differentiation. White European colonisers were the elite, powerful and ruling class and dominated the local indigenous people who were considered the less-powerful, weak and lower class (Anderson and Killingray, 1991; Cole, 2003; Sinclair, 2006).

Colonisation in T&T instituted stratification which permeated all aspects of life such as race, ethnicity, culture, economy and politics mainly because of the elite, powerful and ruling class dominance and exploitation of the weak and deprived class (Agozino, 2003; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013). As a result of colonisation in T&T, a foundation for racial tension and segregation together with social and economic stratification was established and this continued even after independence. During the run-up to independence, political parties strived for support and power via racial dominance and segregation. After independence in T&T, political parties who formed the government, became an apparatus for acquiring power and dominance through racial segregation, social status, corruption and exploitation in T&T. In essence, they copied and followed the capitalist ideas of the colonisers (Yelvington, 1993; De Sardan, 1999; Johnson and Kochel, 2012; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013). A study by Townsend (2009) highlighted that political parties in T&T were involved in the development and support of gangs who were used to threaten and dominate the less powerful and lower-

class citizens of various ethnic groups into voting for specific political parties. This study also highlighted that the state was instrumental in supporting gangs financially via employment contracts many of which were overpriced or non-existent. Another study by Kerrigan and Sookoo (2013) highlighted that white-collar crime in modern T&T are committed within the fraternity of the elite, powerful and ruling class and identical to the economical exploitation of the colonial legacy. This study further suggested that white-collar crimes in T&T are supported and protected by political connections affiliated to state agencies (Sharma, 1998; Clinard and Meier, 2011).

## **2.2 Trinidad and Tobago Police Service**

When Spain first colonised Trinidad in 1492, San Jose de Oruna was the capital (now St. Joseph) and the town council office (Cabildo) was responsible for the police force. Police duties were restricted to San Jose de Oruna only because the police force never exceeded six officers (Ottley, 1964; de Vereuile, 1986; Pino, 2009). When the British ceded T&T in 1797, they gradually replaced the Spanish police system with the Irish police system which became known as the “traditional police system or Colonial police” (Johnson, 1991; King, 2009; Wallace, 2011).

During the colonial period in T&T, senior police officers (gazetted) were (Caucasian) white, brought from England and Ireland and mainly had a military background. Junior officers (none-gazetted) were mainly recruited from the local population or other British colonies. Only a very small number of these officers were white (Johnson, 1991; Sinclair, 2006; Wallace, 2011). By 1843 the T&T police force began to expand and there were 12 police stations and approximately 100 officers across the country (De Vereuile, 1986; Pino, 2009).

During this time white police officers (non-gazetted) who held a rank equivalent to the local officer were paid much higher salaries in comparison to the locals. As a result, the T&T police force was racially mixed, but significantly strained because of racism and bias treatment between foreign and local police officers (De Vereuile, 1986; Pino, 2009; Lutchman, 2012).

During the run-up to independence in T&T, the police became synchronised with politics, as new political parties began to emerge. As a result of increasing political developments and tensions, many police officers were assigned to monitor and regulate political activities (Anderson and Killingray, 1992; Brereton, 1996). During this pre-independence period, there were two main political parties in T&T who were seeking to form the first local government. These were the People's National Movement (PNM) who was supported mainly by Afrotrinidadian people and the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) who received the majority of their supported from the Indotrinidadian people. Consequently, this created political tension, segregation and ethnic polarisation amongst the local population adding to the existing segregation and tensions between the European whites and the indigenous population (Trotman, 1986; Johnson and Kochel, 2012; Lutchman, 2012). As a result of political tension, ethnic polarisation and officer's involvement in political activities, the police force was accused of racism and being instrumental towards government's power and authority (Segal, 1993; Critchlow, 2012; Ellison and Pino, 2012).

During the mid-1960s in T&T, the police force was officially recognised as a service and by 1970 had acquired its first local Commissioner of Police (CoP) and expanded to approximately 4000 officers inclusive of females. However, the TTPS was racially imbalanced due to its recruitment pattern (Ellison and Pino, 2012). The recruitment of police

officers for the TTPS in post-independent T&T were deliberately done to favour Afrotrinidadian people because of their physical strength and endurance when compared to Indotrinidadian people who were considered to possess lower physical strength and endurance (Segal, 1993; Critchlow, 2012; Ellison and Pino, 2012). During the early 1990s a previous prime minister of T&T publicly expressed his views and criticised the recruitment pattern in the TTPS. He highlighted that there were cliques in the TTPS who were loyal to the PNM political party hence the favouritism (Taitt, 2004). As a result, during the mid-1990s there were some changes to the recruitment in the TTPS whereby officers were recruited from a diversified racial background. In 2017 the Police Manpower Audit Committee (PMAC) reported that it was unable to establish the precise number of police officers in the TTPS because of a lack in official information. However, according to this report, the TTPS unofficial information suggested that the institution had 6768 police officers which represented 86% of the required 7884 (PMAC, 2017). The report further stated that the TTPS was ethnically mixed, but females were fewer in comparison to males (PMAC, 2017).

Police reform efforts in T&T can be traced back to pre-independence from as early as 1959 (Job, 2004; Wallace, 2011). Since 1959 to present there has been several commissions of enquiry and no less than 200 recommendations for police reform (Job, 2004). The Lee committee in 1959 recommended changes to the rank structure between junior and senior officers in the TTPS. In 1964 the Derby committee recommended an upgrade to the administration of the TTPS, accountability procedures for officers, higher education and training for entry officers and advanced investigation techniques. The Carr committee in 1972 recommended changes to improve effectiveness and efficiency for the TTPS. In 1984 the Bruce committee recommended a complete restructure of the TTPS and in 1991 the O'Dowd committee recommended changes for improved resource management, advanced

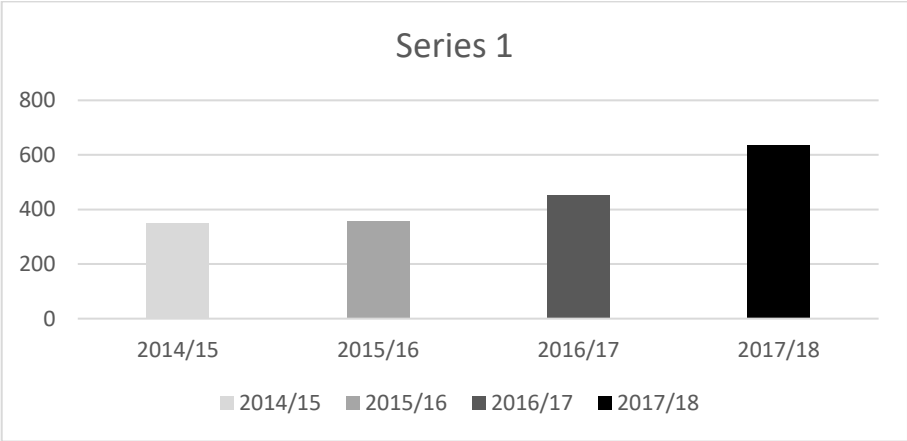
training for new and serving officers and revised duties for all officers (Job, 2004). However, the majority of these recommendations were never adopted into the TTPS as governments and their security minister ignored most (Job, 2004).

Apart from the reform committees, there has also been a small amount of research done on various aspect of policing in T&T. Authors such as Johnson et al. (2008); King (2009); Wallace (2011); Pino and Johnson (2011); Ryan et al. (2013); Seepersad (2016) and Adams (2019) have made several recommendations for policy and practice rereview and changes within the TTPS. However, many of these recommendations were ignored by the governments that came and went and also by the majority of police executives (Job, 2004; Maguire et al., 2017; Watson and Kerrigan, 2018).

Within the small but gradually increasing number of researches and studies concerning the TTPS, there has been a growing body of knowledge and understanding about the institution to a limited extent. A community policing study by Deosaran (2002) suggested that citizens of T&T were not satisfied with the performance of the TTPS because many officers were involved in corruption and treated citizens unfairly. This study highlighted that some officers used brutal and excessive force towards citizens, accepted money from criminals to destroy evidence, rented their service firearms to criminals and gave special treatment to friends and family. Another study by Wells and Katz (2008) suggested that officers in the TTPS were ineffective at their job because of the increasing crime rate and low solvent rate of only 13% (Kirton et al., 2010; Pino and Johnson, 2011). A further study by Townsend (2009) suggested that some officers have a significant contribution towards the illegal drug trade (Scott Drug Report, 1984; Griffith, 2000) and gang activities (Scott Drug Report, 1984; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Pawelz, 2018).

The Trinidad and Tobago Police Complaints Authority (PCA) is an independent institution which was established to receive and investigate complaints from members of the public relative to misdemeanours from police officers because of the increasing number of such incidents. In 2005 the PCA publicly disclosed that the institution was in receipt of increasingly high volumes of complaints from citizens annually (PCA, 2005; Pino and Johnson, 2011). During the last four years (2014-2018) the PCA had received a consistent increase in the amount of complaints made against police officers (PCA, 2019). Table 1 shows that for the period 2015/2016 there was an increase of six complaints when compared to the previous period and for the period 2016/17 there was an increase of 93 complaints when compared to the previous period and finally for the period 2017/18 there was an increase of 274 complaints when compared to the previous period.

*Table 1: Statistic of Complaints Against Police Officer*



*Source: Police Complaints Authority (Extracted November 2019)*

There have been some experiments with policing strategies in T&T because of the escalating crime rates in recent years (Katz and Maguire, 2006; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Seepersad, 2016). However, the majority of these experiments were conducted by foreign researchers



and mainly adopted an American and European “one size fit all” approach (Pino, 2009; Watson, 2016b; Watson and Kerrigan, 2018). This ideological assumption and approach are more likely to become a failure by attempting to synchronise North American and European societal dysfunctions and those of T&T (Watson, 2016b; Watson and Kerrigan, 2018). Such assumption might not acknowledge the distinctions and implications between the different societies, cultures and crime patterns (Harkness et al., 2015; Watson, 2016b; Watson and Kerrigan, 2018). According to Kusow (2003) foreign researchers often lack symbolic interaction with the local population. This is more likely to cause alienation and present an outsider position whereby citizens lack faith and confidence in the researcher (Cui, 2015; Coombs and Osborne, 2018).

According to Watson and Kerrigan (2018), policing and crime fighting strategies in T&T has often been influenced and guided by political affiliation and police executives on one hand (Maguire et al., 2017; Watson and Kerrigan, 2018). On the other hand, politics in T&T has been historically aligned to ethnic polarisation and competition especially between the Afrotrinidadian and Indo-Trinidadian population and their geographical locations (Trotman, 1986; Brereton, 1996; Johnson and Kochel, 2012; Watson and Kerrigan, 2018). As a result, these factors often produced a reduction in police activities and support within communities, especially in the disadvantaged areas of T&T (Wallace, 2014; Maguire et al., 2017). Because of the police reduced activities and support, citizens of T&T are more likely to question, become sceptical and less supportive and committed to the TTPS. Therefore, because of policing strategies, policies and poor reform efforts in T&T, policing remains a challenging topic to this present day (Wallace, 2014; Maguire et al., 2017; Watson and Kerrigan, 2018).

After independence in T&T, the police service had adopted the motto “to protect and serve with pride”. However, the small number of studies/ researches on the institution have frequently challenged this motto. Authors such as Deosaran (2002); King (2009); Wallace (2011); Maguire et al. (2017) and Adams (2019) have highlighted the TTPS’s participation in deviant practices, lack of regard for assisting members of the public in solving problems, officers involvement with politics and state enterprises and the police involvement in racial segregation and tensions in T&T. Many of these authors and others have suggested that T&T’s colonial legacy might be responsible for these problems. According to King (2009) colonisation was solely focused on economic exploitation to benefit the elite powerful class at the detriment of the weak lower class. The police in colonial societies like T&T became the state’s main law enforcement apparatus and assisted in achieving such economic aims. After independence, many of the newly formed government adopted and maintained many aspects of colonisation to this present day, hence the ongoing problems (Agozino, 2003; Sinclair, 2006; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013).

### **2.3 The Marxist Framework**

People are naturally born with conscience and social instincts. As people grow older, their conscience and social instincts develops. However, their environments are more likely to influence and have some impact on such development (Bonger, 1916; Delattre, 2011). Therefore, the development of people’s conscience and social instincts often influence and shape their egoistic thoughts and behaviour which might contribute to crime (Bonger, 1916).

Societies which are constructed upon economic systems whereby production requires capitalist exchange, are more likely to establish conflict and stratification (Bonger, 1916; Chambliss, 1975). This is because, people who participate in capitalist exchange are more likely to become solely focused on their personal advantage, even with exaggeration and to the detriment of others (Bonger, 1916; Chambliss, 1975). As a result, capitalist exchange involves superfluous profiting, depreciation, exaggeration and conflict with no morality for the consumers and such actions are more likely to influence and shape people's conscience, social instincts and egoistic behaviour (Bonger, 1916; Chambliss, 1975). For example, merchandisers are more likely to depreciate with exaggeration, the goods of a wholesaler so that they can purchase at the lowest price possible. Then merchandisers are more likely to appreciate the value of the same goods with exaggeration to potential customers in an effort to obtain the highest price possible and maximise the profit margin. To no avail are merchandisers concerned with the wholesaler or the consumer, putting moral and social conscience aside, they are only concerned with their personal advantage (Bonger, 1916; Bottomore and Rubel, 1965; Chambliss, 1975).

The work and theoretical concepts of Karl Marx suggested that when capitalism influences and shapes the egoistic behaviour of people, this is more likely to create divisions and conflicts between the owners of production, the bourgeoisie (who are the controller of resources and becomes the powerful and elite class) and the proletariat (the weak lower class) who exchange their labour for a salary (Bottomore and Rubel, 1965; Chambliss, 1975). Marx's framework further suggested that the state becomes an organ for capitalism and are more interested in the success of the powerful and elite class because of the profits and advantages involved and its benefits to the state (Young, 1979; Chambliss, 1975).

The state comprises of a minority group and represent the interest of the powerful elite class which is constructed on common views, experiences and future interest. The state and the powerful elite class are more likely to develop a common force for change to their benefit, through laws and sanctions and simultaneously coercing the proletariats into submission (Chambliss, 1975; Young, 1979; Bystrova and Gottschalk, 2015). As a consequent, laws and sanctions are created for the economic advantages of the state and the powerful elite class to advertently control the weaker class (Chambliss, 1975; Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 2014; Bystrova and Gottschalk, 2015).

The establishment of laws and sanctions which are proposed by the state and the powerful elite class, defines the behavioural patterns which requires penal consequences, and these are legalised through legislation and court decisions (Chambliss, 1975; Bystrova and Gottschalk, 2015). This often vary according to specific societies, but in general, specific bodies of powerful elites declares what behaviour is considered punishable and enforceable by the state. During these circumstances, the state act as an independent agent for enforcing the morality of the citizens in the community. Laws and sanctions are often portrayed as a creation of change in the interest of the citizens and a presumption of community efforts and consensus. However, this is not accurate and just an illusion. The laws and sanctions do not reflect a representation of community consensus, but rather that of the state and elite powerful class who seek their personal economical interest and advantage over the weaker class (Chambliss, 1975; Petrocelli et al., 2003; Lanier and Henry, 2009b; Bystrova and Gottschalk, 2015).

Laws and sanctions achieve their social power and shape specific behavioural patterns in society through enforcement. On one hand the laws and sanctions which were established

through community consensus are rarely enforced. However, on the other hand, laws and sanctions established by the state and powerful elite class are more likely to be enforced with rigor. When this situation occurs, social life differs significantly because the enforcement of laws and sanctions are viewed from the lens of stratification (Chambliss, 1975; Box, 1983; Petrocelli et al., 2003; Lanier and Henry, 2009b).

Whilst laws and sanctions are established by the state and the powerful elite class in society, they do not gain social power or control aspects of society until they are enforced. Unenforced laws and sanctions have minimal or no benefit to the state and the powerful elite class (Mankoff, 1976; Box, 1983; Bystrova and Gottschalk, 2015). To enforce the law and sanctions, the state created the criminal justice system, but more importantly, the police institution as its main apparatus for law enforcement. The earliest forms of policing required members of the various communities in England to enforce the customs and practices (laws) which were dictated by the Crown (Head of state). The Crown saw the need to generate revenue, so penalties and fines became an imperative aspect of law enforcement (Riggs, 1963; Simpson, 1981; Rawlins, 2005). Later forms of policing required able-bodied men from the working-class communities to perform watch duties in the towns. They were not given any form of training, not paid and duties were compulsory and controlled by the economic elites and political offices (Reith, 1952; Park, 1970; Mankoff, 1976). Centuries later policing became more professional and developed whereby officers were trained to use force in many aspects of their duties especially during public disorders “riots”. Public disorders are usually related to economic inequalities where the working-class people seek redress for grievance caused by the powerful elite class (Park, 1970; Chambliss and Mankoff, 1976; Rawlins, 2005).

*“The paramilitary form of early police bureaucracy was a response not only or even primarily to crime per se, but to the possibility of riotous disorder. Not crime and danger but the “criminal” and “dangerous class” as part of the urban social structure led to the formation of uniformed and military organised police. such organisations intervened between the propertied elites and the propertyless masses who were regardless as politically dangerous as a class”.*

*Bordua and Reiss (1967: 282).*

A significant aspect of the elite powerful class hierarchy is the ideological mystification that is established by these people and handed down to citizens of the lower powerless class (Chambliss, 1964; Box, 1983). The elite powerful class are more likely to create an exaggeration of the crimes committed by the weak and powerless class through the use of the criminal justice system such as the police, court and prisons to foster concerns and fear amongst the population for two reasons. Firstly, to shamelessly disguise and distract attention from the crimes of the elite powerful class (white collar crimes) whilst simultaneously direct the public attention towards the misdemeanours of the powerless class (blue collar crimes). Secondly, to justify the importance of the elite powerful class and their position in society (Chambliss, 1964; Duster, 1970; Box, 1983).

According to Matza (1969) the state and the powerful elite class reinforces and conceptualise their violent and serious crimes through illusion and mystification of the truth;

*“in its avid concern for public order and safety, implemented through police force and penal policy, the state is vindicated. By pursuing evil and producing the appearance of good, the state reveals its abiding methods – the perpetuation of its good name in the face of its own propensity for violence, consequence and destruction. Guarded by a collective representation in which theft and violence resides in a dangerous class, morally elevated by legitimacy of its pacific intention and the acceptance of legality – even when it goes to war and massively perpetuates activities it has allegedly banned from the world. But that, the reader may say, is a different matter altogether. So, say the state – and that is the final point of the collective representation (i.e. Ideological construction).*

*(Matza, 1969: 196)*

During the 1970s, criminology took a different turn from the labelling approach towards an approach involving research on the function of the criminal justice system and the characteristics of the capitalist system of production. It was here that focus turned from who were the criminals, towards who were considered the targets (Becker, 1962; Anitua, 2005; Weis, 2017). An important study by Taylor, Walton and Young (1973) demonstrated that centuries of criminology studies/research/ reflections failed to consider and acknowledge the inequalities of the criminal justice system and its relationship to the socioeconomic hierarchy (Weis, 2017). As a result, authors such as Chambliss (1975), Quinney (1975), Box (1983) and Weis (2017) resorted to the work of Karl Marx. The theories and concepts of Marx’s work offered valuable and contrasting insights which were used to establish a link between economics and criminology. When these authors applied Marx’s work on economics and social

stratification and linked it to the criminal justice system, it highlighted the class character of the criminal justice system and also the criminal behaviour patterns which forms an expression of society's class hierarchy (Chambliss, 1975; Spitzer, 1975; Weis, 2017).

*“The criminal law is not the reflection of customs (as some theorist argue) but are rules imposed by the state in the interest of the ruling class and which are inherent conflict with the class society. Criminal behaviour is then the inevitable expression of class conflict resulting from the explosive nature of economic relations”*

*(Chambliss, 1975: 151)*

Authors such as Gouldner (1973) and Zaffaroni (2011) argued that the work of Marx did not contribute specifically to the field of criminology. However, Weis (2017) disputed these arguments and she stated that the work of Marx should not be interpreted as a compilation of his thoughts but rather a holistic analysis of how materialism impacts on the role of law in society.

*Although Marx did not develop a systematic theory of law in the traditional sense; this does not mean Marx considered the issue irrelevant. By contrast, he addressed the issue in all his major writings from both periods, although true, it was not treated autonomously and systematically, but in the field of philosophy, economics and social theory.*



(Baratta, 1974: 25).

Class tensions and dominance in T&T is not a new phenomenon as this can be traced back to the country's colonial legacy which promoted segregation between the bourgeoisie (colonial leaders and business class) and the proletariats (local indigenous class) based on race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status (Segal, 1993; Deosaran, 2002; King, 2009; Kochel and Johnson, 2012). During the run-up and after independence in T&T, class tensions and dominance played an important role in the struggle for political power to form a government (Yelvington, 1993; De Sardan, 1999; Kochel and Johnson, 2012; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013).

The various governments of T&T have often been accused of using the state's criminal justice system, especially the police institution as an apparatus for creating and promoting advantage in favour of the state. Government ministers and the elite powerful class benefitted at the expense of the less powerful, lower class (King, 2009; Wallace, 2011; Kochel and Johnson, 2012).

*White collar crime is a generic term for the whole range of illegal, prohibited, and demonstrably harmful activities involving a violation of a private or public trust, committed by institutions and individuals occupying a legitimate, respectable status, and directed toward financial advantage or the maintenance and extension of power and privilege.*

(Friedrichs, 1997: 10)

A study by Pawelz (2018) suggested that the state in T&T operates like a gang. The study suggested that the gangs in T&T co-exist with the state. Another study by Townsend (2009) suggested that the state in T&T used the police institution to protect the gangs and not take legal actions against members as the gangs supported government's aim and objects of being in political power.

In small society such as T&T, it could be suggested that white collar crimes and criminals create instability for economic development, undermine the state's integrity and threaten the security of the country which collectively diminish the prosperity of such state (Rider and Long, 1988; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013). It could be suggested that in T&T, the social and economic composition of the country promotes white collar crimes. For example, the politicians and the business class people were more likely to associate within their own circle, professionally and socially. As a result, close relationship and comradeships were maintained and these citizens protect each other from being exposed and prosecution (Clinard and Meier, 2011; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013).

A major downfall with the work of Karl Marx and other authors such as Chambliss (1975); Quinney (1977); Box (1983) and Weis (2017) is their lack of contributions to analyse and consider the impact of their work on economics, law and stratification in relation to post-colonial societies and post-colonial policing. There is no study known of which attempted to apply the work of these authors in a T&T context. As a result, this created a deficiency "gap" in knowledge and this study aims to apply the work of these authors in a post-colonial to fill

such “gap” and simultaneously extent their work to provide an understanding of its application and relation to such societies.

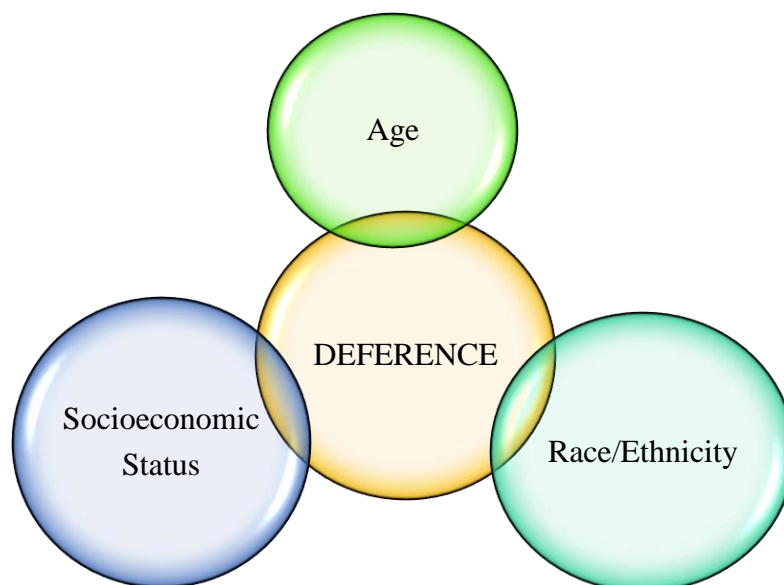
## **2.4 Theoretical Background**

Extensive reading and research on public perception of policing has demonstrated that citizens perceptions were derived from satisfaction where people felt satisfied with the police. Consistent theories relating to perception of the police were, Turk (1969) who suggested that deference between citizens and the police was responsible for fostering satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Legitimacy was identified by Tyler (1990) as being imperative for the development of perception. On the other hand, Mastrofski (1999) stated that the quality of services that the police provide to citizens is responsible for how perception is developed and Moore and Braga (2003) suggested that the performance of the police is imperative for how citizens perceptions is shaped. These theories were considered relevant because of their consistency and application towards how citizens perception of the police is developed.

### **2.4.1 Deference Theory**

The *Norm Resistance* theory by Turk’s (1969) presented explanations of different patterns of how groups and categories of people interact with each other. This theory highlighted the relationship between authority (police officers) and recipient (members of the public) and the factors which influences their relationship, such as demographic characteristics inclusive of social class, race/ethnicity and age (Figure 1). This model proposes an explanation of how

structured inequalities affect social conflicts. Turk (1969) suggested that norm resistance comprises different levels of conflicts but are mainly due to cultural norms (values) and social norms (behaviour). As a result, he indicated that the cultural norms are associated with laws in the way they are written and social norms are the unwritten laws that are enforce (Vold and Bernard, 1986; Lanza-Kaduce and Greenleaf, 1994). Norm resistance is more likely to become noticeable when the police and citizens behave in accordance to their personal cultural norms. Therefore, if either party do not act in this way, norm resistance is very unlikely.



**Figure 1** Norm Resistance Model (Adapted from Turk, 1969)

The norm resistance theory by Turk (1969) suggested that individuals who are part of a group might become more reluctant and resistive to change compared to someone acting on their own. As a result, conflicts are more likely to occur from groups (Lanza-Kaduce and Greenleaf, 2000; Weidner and Terrill, 2005). Conflicts are also likely because of sophistication of the police and the public. Turk (1969) explained that sophistication refers to behavioural patterns which are used to manipulate others. He explained that sophisticated

people may be able to determine the strength and weakness of the police and sophisticated police officers should become less likely to rely on their coercive authority especially if they had received proper training (Trebach, 1964; Weidner and Terrill, 2005).

A proposal by Turk (1969) indicated that there is another possible influence on norm resistance. He suggested that cultural similarities between citizens and police norms could create an acceptance amongst both parties. However, when norms between citizens and the police are not similar, citizens and the police could maintain social order via norm of deference (Lanza-Kaduce and Greenleaf, 2000). Therefore, Turk's (1969) theory is based and dependent on norm deference.

It was suggested by Turk (1969), that during a citizen and police face to face contact, it was less likely for officers to show respect towards people who are from a low social status and vice-versa whereby people from a lower social status might become reluctant and/or less likely to extend any form of respect towards the police. This could be because police officers consider themselves as occupying a superior position in society based on their coercive authority to enforce the law onto the public and therefore acknowledge citizens to be subordinate in comparison to them (Maguire and Pastore, 1997).

People from the lower-class in the social hierarchy often resides in economically disadvantaged communities where contact between the police and the people are often inharmonious and confrontational. As a result, these citizens frequently accuse the police of using excessive force and oppressive tactics (Websdale, 2001; Brown and Benedict, 2002; Johnson and Kochel, 2012; Bell, 2013). This might cause citizens from these communities to become unhappy and dissatisfied with officer's behaviour and actions and this is more

likely to result in people showing little or no respect to the police (Turk, 1969; Brown and Benedict, 2002).

A debate by Turk (1969) showed that it could become likely that young people might experience a lack of respect from the police. This could be because young people are more inclined to develop increased attention and contact with police officers because of their elevated participation in criminal offences and delinquency within the communities (Bradford et al., 2009; Dai et al., 2011; Ryan et al., 2013). Reiseg and Correia (1997) added to Turk's (1969) debate that due to increased freedom and autonomy at young people's age, they might become inclined to offer less respect towards police officers because they might instead perceive officers as a problem who are obstructing their social independence (Fagan and Tyler, 2005; Hinds, 2007).

People of ethnic minorities, especially black people are more likely to become arrested and incarcerated by the police for various offence such as gang involvement and drugs trafficking (Chambliss, 1994; Websdale, 2001; Ryan et al., 2013). These citizens are often targeted by the police and feels that they are victims of racial abuse (Anderson, 1999; Harris, 2002; Lundman and Kaufman, 2003). Anderson (1999) highlighted that people of ethnic minority are usually treated more aggressively and profiled compared to white people (Weitzer and Tuch, 1999; Brown and Benedict, 2002). As a result, contact between ethnic minority citizens and the police are often confrontational and causes the police to show minimal respect to these citizens and vice versa, where citizens may extend little or no respect to the police (Websdale, 2001; Brown and Benedict, 2002; Schafer et al., 2003). As a consequence of poor levels of respect between citizens and the police, people's dissatisfaction with officers are

more likely to occur which might then affect how citizens perceive the police (Turk, 1969; Pino and Johnson, 2011).

People who become victims of crime might be more inclined to contact the police to report the crime because they have an expectation of receiving assistance from officers. Victims expect information, recognition as injured people and their situation to be taken seriously by police officers (Kelly, 1982; Shapland, 1984; Skogan, 1989). The contact between victims and the police are more likely to be influenced by officers' actions, such as their ability to solve the crime, allowing the victim to feel satisfied and their respect for victims (Skogan and Antunes, 1979; Koster, 2016). Based on police officers' actions, victims might become influenced to make future contact with the police. According to previous studies by Baumer (2002), Hart and Rennison (2003) and Tarling and Morris (2010), victims of crime could become more inclined to contact the police because of the seriousness of the crime committed. However, this was disagreed with by Kidd and Chayet (1984) and Shapland (1985) who debated that crime victims are more likely to contact the police for assistance based on any previous experiences they had with the police or the experiences of people they know. For example, if crime victims feel satisfied that officers were helpful and respectful to them or other victims, they are more likely to develop a positive overview and might want to cooperate with police officers. However, if victims perceive the police in an opposite nature, it is more likely for them to become reluctant in contacting the police (Tyler and Fagan, 2008; Tyler, 2011; Koster, 2016).

According to Maguire (1982) some police officers might often be impersonal. On the other hand, crime victims are less likely to have a positive overview of the police based on the quality of assistance and respect that officers give (Skogan, 1989; Koster, 2016). For

example, some police officers might often develop a negative perception with rape victims. The reason being that these officers might believe that rape victims were responsible for initiating the crime, such as females with a promiscuous reputation being raped or it is not possible for rape victims to know the offender. Therefore, these victims are not respected by officers as injured people (De Mont, 2003; Page, 2007; Wentz and Archbold, 2012).

Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) is considered the rainbow nation of the Caribbean mainly because of its racial/ethnic diversity (Brereton, 1996; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). Previous studies by authors such as Deosaran (2002); Adams (2012); Wallace (2012) and Maguire et al. (2017) have concentrated mainly on citizens and police relations in the Northern and Eastern areas of Trinidad which are occupied mainly by people of African race/ethnicity (Trotman, 1986; Clarke, 1993; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). According to these studies, the relationships between citizens and the police are strained and contentious and connected to citizens poor level of education, their extensive involvement in delinquency (Townsend, 2009; Wallace, 2012; Maguire et al., 2017) or the police lack of respect for these citizens because of their community demographics (Trotman, 1989; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

Citizens in the Northern and Eastern areas of Trinidad have described police officers as being unhelpful, profiling, dominating and physically abusive (King, 2009; Wallace, 2011; Maguire et al., 2017). For example, police officer has often been involved in many extrajudicial killings in these areas, many of which the people being killed was not in possession of weapons as stated by the police (Samad, 2011; La Vende, 2018; Bassant, 2019). Therefore, officers have failed to treat these citizens with respect and consequently, citizens have developed a lack of support and respect for the police (Samad, 2011; Wallace,



2012; Maguire et al., 2017) which is more likely to generate negative perceptions towards the TTPS.

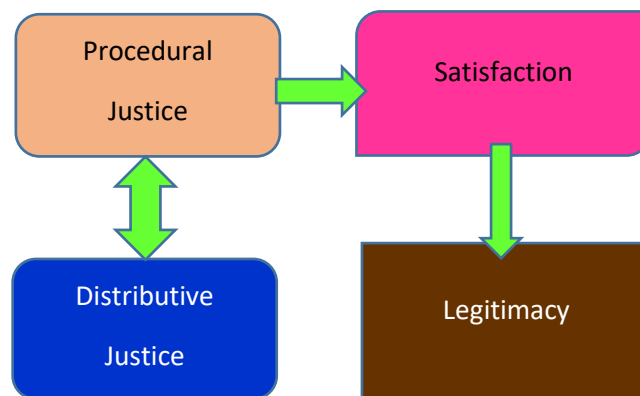
Considering the minimal amount of research on policing in T&T, there has been no specific studies found which attempted to evaluate deference between citizens and the police in T&T. Whilst studies on community policing (Deosaran, 2002; Maguire et al., 2017) and police deviance (Pino and Johnson, 2011) have highlighted some issues that was connected to deference between citizens and the police in T&T, Turk's (1969) theory remains unexplored in T&T and its application and results remain unknown until this study.

#### **2.4.2 Legitimacy Theory**

Many people are generally law-abiding, however total compliance is not possible. Everyone breaks the law at some point either consciously or unconsciously, but some people are more likely to do so more frequently than others (Tyler,1990). According to Tyler (1990) legal authorities are always conscious that their effectiveness depends on when citizens obey the law and as a result, these authorities place major emphasis on compliance (Jackson et al., 2012; Tankebe and Mesko, 2014). Tyler (1990) suggested that the instrumental and normative perspectives are why people obey and comply with the law. The instrumental perspective suggested that legal authorities make changes to the law to create change in people's behaviour. For example, increased severity and certainty of punishment to law breakers as measures of deterrence. The normative perspective is concerned with people's moral obligation to be compliant with the law.

When citizens are of the belief that their compliance with the law was justifiable based on their attitudes and an expectation of behaviour, it is more likely that they naturally comply with rules, policies and laws. When people feel committed to obey the law because of their moral values, it is more likely for these people to feel committed in accepting the authority as legitimate (Tyler, 1990; Jackson et al., 2012; Noppe, 2017). Tyler (1990) argued that legitimacy have more benefits from the normative perspective when compared to the instrumental perspective. For example, instrumental perspective requires the use of force, threats and large amounts of resources to enforce policies and laws. Legitimacy on the other hand only requires authorities to treat citizens fairly and equally. As a result, there is a higher possibility that people who are compliant with the law might contact the police and feel satisfied as opposed to people who might have experienced force or threats and who are more like to feel dissatisfied and reluctant to make contact.

The *legitimacy* theory by Tyler (1990), showed in Figure 2 explains that the framework for this theory lies within the psychological elements of authority from an institution or social control that causes participants who are connected to become convinced that the institution or social control is acceptable, fair and justifiable (Beetham, 1991; Zelditch, 2001; Tyler, 2005). A debate by Tyler and Huo (2002) highlighted that legitimacy contributes to voluntary acceptance of an authority and motivates people to become obligated and responsible towards shared norms and values (Tyler, 2005; Bradford and Jackson, 2010; Tankebe and Mesko, 2014).



**Figure 2** Legitimacy Model (Adapted from Tyler, 1990)

Police legitimacy is not connected to one element, but rather two which are, citizen’s moral conscience for compliance with the law and their support for policing and officers (Tyler, 1990; Johnson et al., 2014; Tankebe et al., 2014). Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) debated that police legitimacy is established from a framework of authority (the police) and recipients (citizens) where the recipients acknowledge and supports the authority (Beetham, 2013; Tankebe et al., 2014; Noppe et al., 2017). Beetham (1991) debated that legitimacy is endorsed by correctness/ rightness where the norms, rules and principles of an institution like the police are socially accepted (Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012; Tankebe et al., 2014).

The legitimacy theory by Tyler (1990) suggested that legitimacy is shaped and constructed from justice, which is derived from the principle of fairness. If fairness is considered imperative to justice, then fairness should have a significant impact on how people generate satisfaction with police contact, performance and behaviour (Tyler and Folger, 1980; Engel, 2005; Skogan, 2005). Therefore, how citizens perceive justice could be based on demographic characteristics such as socioeconomics, neighbourhoods, individual experiences and collective attitudes (Rawls, 1972; Engel, 2005). This proposal was

challenged by Tyler (2006) who debated that citizen's satisfaction does not solely depend on demographics, but mainly from the treatment that they received from a police contact. Tyler (2001) indicated that citizens are mostly concerned with satisfaction based on fairness and equality because anyone can experience a positive encounter with the police regardless of their demographic characteristics (Engel, 2005).

A debate by Lind and Tyler (1988) suggested that people often formulate evaluation of experiences, relationships and institutions based on fairness of the process used and the outcome that was established. Lind and Tyler (1988) further explained that some people might receive a favourable outcome but could be dissatisfied because of the procedure used and vice versa where some people might be satisfied with the procedure used but not with the outcome. Therefore, Tyler (1990) argued that people are mostly concerned with evaluating the police in two ways, procedural justice and distributive justice.

*Procedural Justice* relates to the establishment of fairness and impartiality of a process whereby the police officer concerned made decisions and used his/her authority to deliver fair results (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006). Tyler (2003) debated that procedural justice is established from two aspects which are, the quality of how a decision was made and quality of interpersonal treatment (Tyler and Blader, 2000; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003b). The quality of decision-making becomes imperative in the process because of reasons such as, it allows people to have an input before a decision is made, it establishes the decision-maker competence and neutrality and the level of consistency throughout the process. The quality of interpersonal treatment is where people evaluated if the decision-maker treated them with respect, dignity and privacy. When people accept these aspects as positive, they might become inclined to interpret the decision made and the decision-maker as fair and then

accept the institution as being legitimate (Tyler, 1990; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tankebe et al., 2014).

An argument by Tyler (1990) highlighted that if procedural justice was exercised by the police, people might become satisfied because it communicated crucial information and reflected that officers have acted fair and equal (Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012). However, if this process was abused by officers, people are more likely to generate a feeling of being violated and further developed a lack of trust in the police (Tyler, 1989; Boateng, 2012; Tankebe, 2010). According to Jackson et al. (2012), when people feel satisfied, they might become more inclined towards displaying loyalty and might behave more obedient and acceptable to the law and police, thereby promoting legitimacy (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Reisig et al., 2012; Augustyn, 2015).

Procedural justice was suggested as being responsible for promoting acceptance and compliance with police decision. When people develop the feeling of being satisfied that they were treated justifiably, they are more likely to become convinced and morally obligated to cooperate and comply with the legal aspects of society and become inclined to desist from participation in criminal activities (Tyler, 2006; Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012; Jackson et al., 2012). Procedural justice was acknowledged as a factor for improving people's attitude and acceptance of the police, increases citizen's trust for the police, transparency and respect for human dignity and fairness (Tyler and Huo, 2002; Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012; Noppe et al., 2017).

*Distributive Justice* refers to a person's evaluation relating to an outcome received from a police contact. This depends individually on what a person might consider being justifiable,

fair and equal treatment which could be acceptable irrespective of demographic characteristics and where satisfaction is achieved (Rawls, 1972; Lind and Tyler, 1988; Engel, 2005). There are three principle aligned to distributive justice which are *equity, equality and need* (Rawls, 1972; Lind and Tyler, 1988). *Equity* refers to an acceptable level of treatment where an outcome is proportional to the input. *Equality* refers to a uniform and even outcome to each person involved. *Need* refers to each participant being important and relevant where they have a necessity to a fair outcome (Rawls, 1972; Thibaut and Walker, 1975; Engel, 2005). Distributive justice is associated with the cooperation of people in society, which was considered imperative for determining people's desire to collaborate with policing (Tyler, 2009). When people are treated fairly, this allows an attribution towards authority and construct obligations to conform their norms and values. Therefore, justice derives from fairness which assisted in developing attachments and bonds to the law, norms and values and construct legitimacy (Tyler and Huo, 2002; Bradford and Jackson, 2010; Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012).

Justice from the police in T&T have been a longstanding and debatable subject (Mastrofski and Lum, 2008; Johnson et al., 2014; Adam, 2019). A survey on policing in T&T suggested that the greater proportion of participants were dissatisfied with the police and felt pressured to accept the outcomes from decisions reached by police officers even if the process was considered as being unfair or unjustifiable. This was mainly because of citizens fear from perceived retaliation by officers (Deosaran, 2002; Mastrofski and Lum, 2008; Pino, 2009). On the other hand, when these surveys were conducted in the US, the majority of citizens were favourable towards the police (Gallagher et al., 2001). In 2007 a Freedom House report suggested that police corruption in T&T was endemic. For example, the TTPS ranked 168 out of 180 on the Transparency International Corruption Index (Transparency International,

2007a). Some of the main reasons to the hinderance of police legitimacy in T&T have been identified as poor quality of service provided by the TTPS, officers increasing levels of delinquency, favouritism and miscarriage of justice by officers (Samad, 2011; Johnson et al., 2014; Adams, 2019).

In T&T, police legitimacy has suffered from a lack of institutional reform because the TTPS has retained several aspects of its colonial legacy which was characterised by unfair police treatment, brutal force and alienation from the citizens (Wallace, 2011; Maguire et al., 2017; Adams, 2019). Studies on police legitimacy in other post-colonial societies such as Jamaica (Harriot, 2000) and Ghana (Tankebe, 2008) suggested that treatment, satisfaction and trust were major contributors towards how citizens might accept the police as legitimate. Therefore, T&T being a post-colonial society, these factors were expected to be similar (Johnson et al, 2014). However, Smith (2007) and Tankebe (2009) suggested that police legitimacy is not universal and might vary in accordance to culture and societal constructs. Therefore, it is important to evaluate the concepts that influenced police legitimacy in T&T and the effects it had on how citizens perceived the police. While there might be a very small number of studies done on police legitimacy in T&T such as Johnson et al. (2014) and Adams (2019), these studies focused mainly on community policing in the Northern and Eastern areas of Trinidad and bore no relevance on how legitimacy shaped citizens perception of the police in T&T. On the other hand, this study was focused on obtaining citizens perception of the police based on legitimacy in the Central and Southern areas of Trinidad with the aim of filling the deficiency ‘gaps’ that previous studies failed to address.

### **2.4.3 Satisfaction Theory**

Police institutions, policy makers and researchers are frequently evaluating police performance based on citizens satisfaction. One reason for this evaluation is that police institutions and their officers might only be considered as efficient and effective in delivering their services when they have acquired recognition, acceptance and support from the general public (Carter, 2002; Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012; Rogge and Vershelde, 2012). Another reason for such evaluation is because of the rapid changing nature of society where the lives of citizens are constantly changing, therefore the role and responsibility of the police in the communities might need to be redefined (Rogge and Vershelde, 2012). Because of these changes amongst citizens and the communities, police institutions might need to reform their services to become responsive to the expectations of the communities. Simultaneously, citizens can provide feedback to highlight strength and weakness in police operations (Hesketh, 1992; Rogge and Vershelde, 2012).

Traditionally, satisfaction of the police was evaluated by asking citizens if they felt satisfied with the services of the police (Rogge and Vershelde, 2012). However, authors such as (Webb and Marshall, 1995; Kusow et al., 1997; Cao, 1998; Worrall, 1998; Schafer et al., 2002) disagreed with that traditional method. These authors argued that satisfaction with the police should be a diverse measurement and should not utilise a single simplistic instrument to formulate an evaluation. Schafer et al. (2003) further debated that a multicriteria approach is needed because people evaluate the police differently (Kusow et al., 1997; Rogge and Vershelde, 2012).



The propensity for police officer to reduce victimisation, protect people, minimise the fear of crime and generate feelings of safety are reliant upon citizens perception of the police institutionally and individually (Bouranta et al, 2015). In order for the police to achieve positive perception from citizens, it is important that people develop satisfaction with the quality of service that they are given by the police (Bouranta et al., 2015).

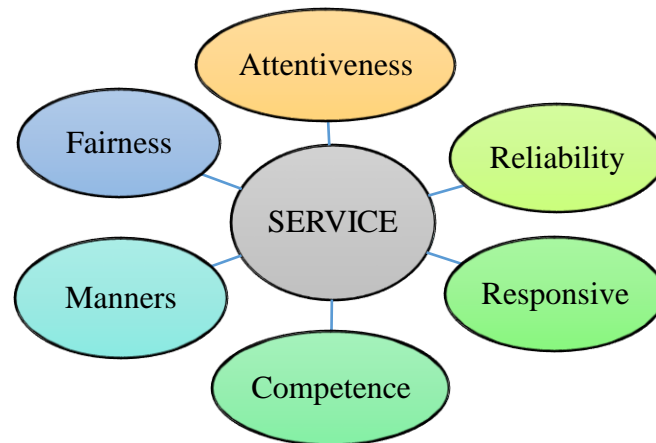
People frequently relate to their encounter and experience with the police according to the quality of treatment and service police officers gave to them (Jackson and Sunshine, 2007; Lloyd and Foster, 2009). For example, the greater proportion of people who had some type of contact with the police are less likely to complain about being stopped but more likely to complain about the service they received and the way they were treated (Maguire and Corbett, 1991; Fielding and Innes, 2006). According to a suggestion by Skogan (2005) people in the US are more inclined to rate the police on the quality of service they received from officers during an encounter. In the UK, Myhill and Beak (2008) argued that police officers must be seen as delivering the highest level of service possible so that citizens can acquire satisfaction. A study by Lloyd and Foster (2009) highlighted that the manner in which police treat citizens might not solely relate to satisfaction, but equally important is consideration towards citizens dignity, fairness and trust and confidence in the police (Jackson and Sunshine, 2007, Boateng, 2012; Tankebe et al., 2014). On the other hand, if these characteristics are minimised or absent during citizen and police contact, dissatisfaction leading to negative perception of the police are more likely to be established (Blang et al., 2006; Lloyd and Foster, 2009).

Two theories were explored in this study to gain an understanding of what make people satisfied with the police. Because there is no single theory that fully explain satisfaction with

the police, to effectively evaluate citizens satisfaction of the police it has become vital to study what the police do (services) and how they do it (performance). Therefore, Mastrofski's (1999) service theory and Moore and Braga's (2003) performance theory were reviewed. Having completed an in-depth secondary research on public perception of police officers prior to this study, the author found these two theories most applicable due to its importance for shaping perceptions.

#### **2.4.4 Service Theory**

The *service* model within the field of policing was introduced by Mastrofski (1999) and can be seen in Figure 3. While this theory's history is deeply embedded within the business and service sectors, Mastrofski (1999) debated that the police institution and officers provided a multitude of services to the public and a priority service is safety and security of citizens (Parasuraman et al., 1988; Maguire and Johnson, 2010). Mastrofski's (1999) suggested that people generally appreciate things such as safety, comfort and the absence of fear, meanwhile policy makers are oblivious to these and more concerned with end results such as fulfilling statistical results to demonstrate success rate (Reiss, 1966; Caldwell, 1978; Maguire and Johnson, 2010). Therefore, Mastrofski's (1999) six dimensions theory demonstrated the aspects that matters and are considered important to people, and which are more likely to establish and maintain satisfaction and then shape how citizen's perceptions of the police are developed.



**Figure 3** Service Model (Adapted from Mastroski, 1999)

Unlike tangible goods, services are intangible and can only be measured successfully from customer’s perception of quality. One strategy that has been proven successful of delivering service, is the delivery of its superior quality (Parasuraman et al, 1988). Therefore, to successfully measure service quality, customer’s judgement and overall experience of excellence and satisfaction is needed to ascertain levels where satisfaction of expectation has been achieved (Zeithaml, 1987; Parasuraman et al., 1988; Mastroski, 1996).

It was suggested by Mastroski’s (1999) six dimensions service theory, that people expect police officers to be *attentive* to their needs. Citizens need their police institution to be present and visible in the communities and on the streets. Mastroski (1999) debated that people are more likely to feel appreciated and valued when their local police officers are on patrol in the communities as it provides a sense of comfort and safety (Reiner, 2010; Vidal and Mastrobuoni, 2018). Officers presence in the communities has been a major influence for

crime prevention efforts (Chalfin and McCrary, 2014; Vidal and Mastrobuoni, 2018) and a debate by Di Tella and Schargrodsky (2004) indicated that elevated levels of crimes might be due to the increased amount of static duties that police officers perform which might be responsible for their reduced presence in the communities (Draca et al., 2011; Chalfin and McCrary, 2014; Vidal and Mastrobuoni, 2018). On the other hand, Zhao et al. (2002) disagreed with Mastrofski's (1999) debate and stated that from their study on Fear of Crime, police increased presence in a community are more likely to cause citizens to feel that the area is unsafe. While it might be impossible to have police officers on every street simultaneously, predictive policing has become more effective as officers can concentrate on specific high crime areas within communities from data collection and maintain effective presence (Pease, 1998; Perry, 2013; Vidal and Mastrobuoni, 2018). It was suggested by Bernasco (2008) that criminals have been found to revisit their crime scene soon after commission of the activities therefore causing citizens to be fearful of further victimisation (Ross and Peace, 2007; Perry, 2013; Vidal and Mastrobuoni, 2018). Based on Mastrofski's (1999) attentive dimension, it is more likely that when police officers maintain a presence in the community, this could cause citizens to feel safe and comfortable, simultaneously, citizens might be more inclined to establish satisfaction with officers resulting in positive perceptions (Reiner, 2010; Vidal and Mastrobuoni, 2018).

A debate by Mastrofski (1999) suggested that citizens need a *reliable* police institution with reliable officers whereby the communities can obtain quick and error-free assistance. Mastrofski (1999) indicated that if police institutions wish to attain reliability, they will need to become predictive of how to effectively and efficiently serve the communities and citizens. For police institutions to become predictive, they will need to compile complex data on crimes, criminals and patterns (*modus operandi*) (Ruben, 2010; Perry, 2013; Vidal and

Mastrobuoni, 2018). As a result, the Temporal Patterning (TP) theory suggest that opportunities for crimes and criminal behaviour happens in two ways, which are long- and short-term conditions. 'Long term' refers to the level of surveillance and presence of others whilst 'short term' refers to the attractiveness of the opportunity without capable observance (Rebellon et al., 2009; Agnew, 2011). A debate by Guerette and Santana (2010) indicated that police institutions might need to utilise their data collection resources and formulate prediction as how best to distribute their physical resources to achieve effectiveness and efficiency (Browning et al., 2010; Stacey et al., 2011; Vidal and Mastrobuoni, 2018). When citizens can obtain the assistance of the police quickly and without problems, they are more likely to feel satisfied and develop favourable and positively perception towards officers (Lloyd and Foster, 2009).

*Responsive* was highlighted by Mastroski (1999) as being imperative to people as they expect officers to be client-oriented, engaging in communication, comforting and reassuring citizens when traumatised and vulnerable, rather than being in an office involved with administrative duties (Brodua and Reiss, 1967; Maguire and Johnson, 2010). Being responsive comprises of three imperative elements which are, information, redress and participation (Jones et al., 1996; Clarke et al., 2007; Manning, 2010). The police might be called upon for a wide range of individual, group or institutional problems (Loader and Walker, 2007), however, the distribution of services can become competitive and selective. As a result, to reduce bias three elements were introduced (Jones et al., 1996; Clarke et al., 2007; Manning, 2010). Information, this provides citizens and officers with important data about policing which in return can assist officers in assessing, planning and managing situations before acting. Redress allows citizens to express their discontent with police actions for which officers can be called upon to be accountable and remedies can be

formulated. Participation, this involves citizens being able to have an input on how their communities are being policed and if changes are required. It also gives citizens an opportunity to express their concerns or expectations that they might have (Jones et al., 1996; Marenin, 1998; Manning, 2010). Citizens who have an opportunity to engage with the police regarding issues in their communities might become more inclined to establish a sense of satisfaction that the police appreciate and respect them. When this occurs, citizens might develop a positive perception towards officers.

It was suggested by Mastrofski (1999) that people expected police officers to be *competent* at their job because citizens feel satisfied when officers respond to a situation and knows exactly what actions are required to resolve the problem and can maintain control all the way throughout the situation (Herman, 1998; Maguire and Johnson, 2010). Competency is reliant upon police officers having the necessary skills and knowledge to perform their job (Bittner, 1970). Officers are expected to educate and guide citizens and are responsible for making decisions that could impact on people's lives either positively or negatively (Bittner, 1970). Therefore, having the appropriate skills and knowledge is imperative. The police institution is a major representative of the legal system and emergency arm of the communities and citizens. Therefore, discretion and its application strongly depend on officer's skills and knowledge (Reiss, 1971; Roberg et al., 2005). Since societal and economical fluctuations can create citizen's expectations from the police to change simultaneously, officer's competency should be tested often and needed to be of the highest stand to deliver superior quality (Mastrofski, 1999; Roberg et al., 2005). When police officers attend to the public and have the skills and experience to solve citizens problems or assist the communities, people are more inclined to feel satisfied with officers knowing that the police were successful. This is more likely to foster citizens favourable and positive perceptions towards the police.

*Manners* was suggested as being essential since people usually expect to be treated with respect and this can only be accomplished when officers possess and display respect for the public (Skogan, 1994; Walker et al., 1996). Mastrofski (1999) explained that a powerful predictor of how people respond and communicate with the police is dependent on the level of respect that officers show the people (Turk, 1969; Lanza-Kaduce and Greenleaf, 2000). Officer's level of respect for the people also predict citizens interest in future interactions with the police (Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012), people's likelihood to comply with the law (Jackson et al., 2012) and community participation to desist from disorderly and violent behaviour (Mastrofski et al., 1996; Paternoster et al., 1997; Augustyn, 2015). Manners is associated with ethics and principles which are responsible for officer's behavioural patterns (Pagon, 2000; Delattre, 2011). Police ethics and principles are derived from three aspects which are; beneficence, respect and justice (Pagon, 2000; Delattre, 2011). Beneficence refers to the responsibility that the police must care and protect the interest of the citizens. Therefore, officers should not cause harm to citizens but protect them from any possible harm and serve people in the interest of providing happiness. Respect refers to police officers having dignity and reason to honour people's choices. Respect derives from officer's ability to serve citizens in a professional manner, attending to people's needs and to prevent pain and loss of life and upholding liberty. When citizens feel that police officers have respected them as human beings, acknowledged and respected their opinion and choice, people might become more inclined to develop satisfaction with the police and this is more likely to foster a favourable and positive perception.

Mastrofski (1999) indicated that *fairness* is imperative as people develop trust in the police when they feel satisfied with officer's actions as being fair during the management of a

situation. People have an expectation that police officers should be neutral and give them an opportunity to become involved in the process of making decisions, even if it would not produce the result that they desire (Mastrofski et al., 1996; Paternoster et al., 1997; Tyler, 2001). This dimension can be traced back to Tyler (1990) legitimacy theory. When people accept police officers for conducting their duties in a fair manner, it is more likely for these citizens to feel satisfied and establish a positive perception towards officer.

When Mastrofski's (1999) six dimensions of *attentiveness, reliability, responsiveness, competence, manners* and *fairness* is taken into consideration, it demonstrates the importance for the public to evaluate the services provided by police officers and their personal satisfaction with the work that officers do and how it was done. This is more likely to influence people's perception of the police in a specific way, either positive or negative (Tyler, 2006b; Liu and Crank, 2011).

When reflecting on the TTPS, the institution has never practiced a service-oriented style of policing (SOP) (Parks and Mastrofski, 2008; King, 2009; Maguire et al., 2017). Considering the institution's colonial legacy and style of operation which was deeply embedded in oppressive tactics, suppression of the local citizens and a strong affiliation to government as opposed to supporting the indigenous people (Anderson and Killingray, 1991; Cole, 2003; Sinclair, 2006). The handful of existing studies on policing in T&T have demonstrated that citizens had minimal levels trust in the police because many officers were considered to be rude, unhelpful and physically abusive (Deosaran, 2002; King, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011). Citizens of T&T have described most officers as lazy and sat in the stations waiting for reports to come in (Deosaran, 2002; Wallace, 2011; Maguire et al., 2017). Officers were habitually informing citizens that there were no vehicles or insufficient officers to attend to



their reports or render assistance (CRPS, 1984; Pino, 2009; Johnson et al., 2014). According to Parks and Mastrofski (2008) the police institution and officers in T&T lack a service-oriented approach to their work and towards the communities. They further highlighted that citizens were approaching the police for assistance and officers were reluctant to assist but rather forceful towards the people (Mastrofski and Lum, 2008; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Maguire et al., 2017).

To date there is no evidence to suggest that any attempts has been made to apply Mastrofski's (1999) six-dimension theory in a T&T or post-colonial context. Therefore, this service theory remains unexplored in this specific context and its application, effects and results remained unexplained.

#### **2.4.5 Performance Theory**

The police institution is not only important because they are the state's apparatus to achieve results from law enforcement activities, but they are also required to provide services to citizens such as solve and prevent crimes, minimise people's fear of crime and maintain tranquility in the communities which are often referred to as 'output' (Goldstein, 1977; Moore and Braga, 2003; Maslov, 2015). Police outputs can be directly observed and evaluated, for example, when officers are skilled, disciplined and resourceful this can result and be interpreted as the police having successfully satisfied their customers, similar to commercial organisation (Reisig and Chandek, 2001; Moore and Braga, 2003; Maguire and Johnson, 2010). In a similar manner when officers successfully apprehend criminal suspects and respect these people's individual rights, this can be considered as having satisfied their

customers. On the other hand, if officers do the opposite, they might not achieve customer satisfaction (Moore and Braga, 2003; Maslov, 2015).

The diverse nature of police work requires officers to adopt a multi-functional approach to their duties which is more likely to be evaluated by using a multitude of indicators. However, the most imperative indicator is the public's satisfaction (Moore and Braga, 2003; Neyroud, 2008; Maslov, 2015). Moore and Braga (2003) suggested a seven-dimension theory (Figure 4) which is capable of measuring police performance based on the public's satisfaction. According to the public's level satisfaction, this is more likely to influence and shape their perception of the police (Gallagher et al., 2001; Kiedrowski et al., 2013; Maslov, 2015).



**Figure 4** Performance Model (Adapted from Moore and Braga, 2003)

***Reduce crime and Victimization*** - many citizens often consider this dimension to be paramount within the role and function of the police in any democratic society. Citizens generally have an expectation that the police will protect their well-being and reduce

perceived fear of victimisation and criminal behaviour in the communities (Moore and Braga, 2003; Maslov, 2015). This dimension has historically been evaluated by police officers receiving reports from citizens which constructed the basis of a measurement. On the other hand, citizens might not always report crimes to the police. For example, citizens might not have high levels of trust and confidence in the police, might perceive their problem as trivial and do not want to disturb the police or some citizens might just leave the matter to go unnoticed (Moore and Braga, 2003; Maslov, 2015). However, if the public accept the police as being helpful, effective and trustworthy, then citizens might become more inclined to approach the police and report crimes (Moore and Braga, 2003; Boateng, 2012; Maslov, 2015). For example, when officers are able to demonstrate to citizens that they are capable of reducing crime and victimisation, citizens are more likely to develop satisfaction with the police efforts and this might lead to positive perceptions towards the police.

***Arresting Offenders*** – This dimension relates to offenders of the law being held answerable for their actions. For example, criminals need to be punished (Moore and Braga, 2003; Maslov, 2015). However, modern methods and strategies of policing have implemented policies for not being dependant on arrest rates/ statistics but instead being more focused on educating the public on preventative methods of reducing crime and victimisation, such as awareness on consumption drugs and alcohol whilst drive or the potential dangers of drugs seminars (Moore and Braga, 2003; Maslov, 2015). However, to educate the public, officers need to obtain support, acceptance and cooperation of citizens. To acquire support, acceptance and cooperation, the police need to convince citizens about their modern approach towards crime and criminal. If this is successful and citizens are satisfied, it is more likely for citizens to develop positive perception of the police.

***Fear Reduction*** – Previous research by Moore and Tranjanowicz (1988) and Skogan and Hartnett (1997) have demonstrated that the fear of crime in communities are not solely based on the rate of crime. Fear of crime can often be aligned with people perceptions of social disorder. For example, loud crowd of people, visible public prostitution and drunkenness. These images can contribute to citizens developing perceived fear (Moore and Braga, 2003; Maslov, 2015). However, reducing these perceived fears is an imperative role and function of the police because failure to address these problems by police officers are more likely to cause citizens to feel unsafe and vulnerable. Therefore, when citizens are satisfied that the police have performed their job by reducing fear of crime, these people are more likely to establish favourable and positive perceptions of the police.

***Civilisation*** – Because many crimes are committed in the public domain, citizens have and expectation from police officers to protect people who occupy public spaces. For example, against assault, violence and vandalism (Moore and Braga, 2003; Maslov, 2015). On the other hand, if the police fail to protect citizens in the public arena, it is more likely for people to have a poor evaluation of the police and become dissatisfied. When this occurs, negative and less favourable perceptions towards officers are more likely to develop.

***Use of Force*** – Police officers in democratic societies are given the authority to coercive methods if necessary, to accomplish their role and function successfully. The police use of coercive methods in a fair manner has often been a debatable subject (Kuhns et al., 2008; Maslov, 2015). Within recent years police institutions has been trying to adopt new practices whereby officers are trained to use minimum force only when absolutely necessary. According to Moore and Braga (2003), the use of coercive methods by police officers should be based on necessity (for example, as a last resort) and not favourability (Kuhns et al., 2008;

Terrill and Paoline, 2010; Delattre, 2011). These authors also debated that police institutions should have and encourage rigorous measures on their policies relating to the use of coercive methods and be open to complaints about officer's unfair distribution of forceful tactics. When police officers resort to the use of coercive methods as opposed to moral judgement, citizens are more likely to become dissatisfied and resentful towards officers. Consequently, citizens might develop a negative or less favourable perception of the police.

***Use of Resources*** – This dimension is an indirect approach to policing. However, citizens are observant of police officers and what they do and how it is done (Davis, 2000; Kuhns et al., 2008). People expect the police to perform their role and function efficiently, economically and sustainably to minimise waste and loss. Consequently, citizens perception of the police could be influenced by outputs of policing that citizens consider to be a waste or misuse. For example, misuse of police vehicles, officers conducting private affairs whilst on duty and being reliant of traditional paperwork when technology is available. When citizens are convinced that the police have used their resources wisely and in a manner that minimised loss and damages, it is more likely for these people to feel satisfied with officer's performance and thereby establish a positive perception towards the police.

***Customer Satisfaction*** – The courtesy and services that police officers extend to the public assist in shaping this dimension. A debate could be raised assuming that police officers should not be polite and courteous to the criminal offenders that they attend and interact with. However, if citizens have knowledge that police officers have treated citizens (criminals or non-criminals) in an abrasive and uncaring manner, it is more likely for these people to become dissatisfied with the police performance and therefore develop a negative or less favourable perception of the police.

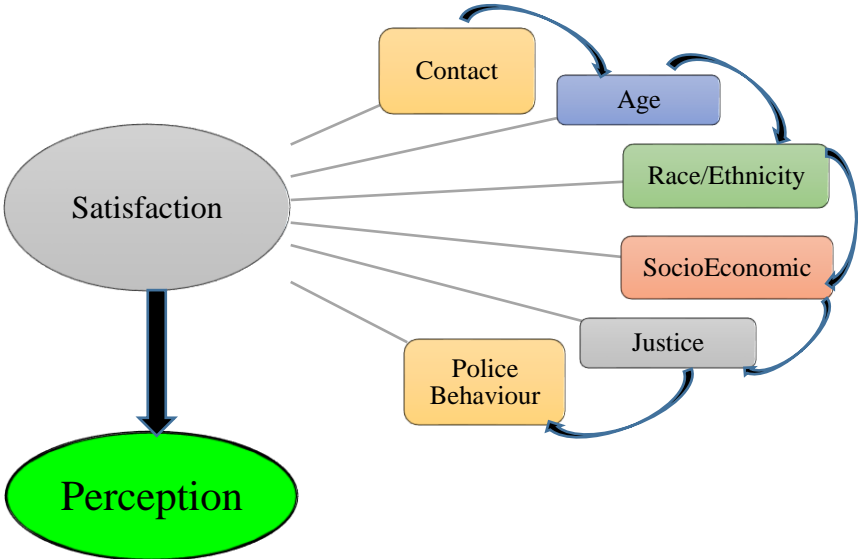
Performance of the police in T&T has been a long and debatable subject (CRPS, 1984; Job, 2004; Adams, 2019). Considering the institution's colonial legacy which mainly focused upon police officers being concerned and attentive towards the aims and objectives of the imperial government's and not the interest of local citizens, the performance of the police in T&T has never been evaluated from citizens perspective (King, 2009; Wallace, 2011; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

Based on the limited amount of studies on policing in T&T, the majority of these focused-on community policing in the Northern and Eastern areas of Trinidad. As a by-product of these studies, there have been a small amount of data brought to light which suggested that citizens of T&T were dissatisfied with the performance of the police, for example, police poor crime rate detection (Wells and Katz, 2008), officers involvement in corruption (Pino and Johnson, 2011), citizens fearful of police retaliation (Townsend, 2009), officers forceful tactics (King, 2009) and officer being rude and unhelpful towards citizens (Deosaran, 2002).

Consequently, there has been no evidence up to date of any independent study on how citizens evaluate police performance and how such evaluation influenced people's perception of the police in T&T. Furthermore, there is no evidence to demonstrated that Moore and Braga's (2003) performance theory was applied in T&T and the outcomes when applied.

## 2.5 Demographic Characteristics

Previous research have indicated that citizens perception of the police is formulated differently, but often from the demographic characteristics of people as showed in Figure 5. Webb and Marshall (1995) highlighted that citizens perception of police officers are often developed by virtue of demographic characteristics. They explained that officers sometimes treated citizens according to their demographics which could create different level of satisfaction. This is more likely to result in people’s perception of the police becoming influenced because not everyone might have been treated equally or fairly or perceive equal and fair treatment from the police (Lundman and Kaufman, 2003; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Adams, 2019).



**Figure 5** Demographic Characteristics Model (Adapted from Webb and Marshall, 1995)

### **2.5.1 Contact Perspective**

Citizen's contact with the police have been a consistent factor in research relative to the public's perception of the police (Skogan, 2005; Flexon et al., 2009). It was highlighted by Hurst and Frank (2000) that when measuring contact, it is imperative to understand that it is made in two ways; personal or vicarious. Personal contact can be either voluntary, where citizens make the initial contact with the police or involuntary where police officers make the initial contact with citizens. Vicarious refers to indirect contact whereby a citizen who encountered either voluntary or involuntary contact shares their experience with further associates which causes these people to formulate a perception of the police without any personal contact (Hurst and Frank, 2000; Skogan, 2005).

From significant research that examined contact between the police and citizens, it was discovered by Reisig and Parks (2000) that voluntary contacts are frequently less formal and causes citizens to become more relaxed during an interaction with the police therefore resulting in favourable and positive perceptions. On the other hand, involuntary contacts are often formal, and the interaction can be more intense as officers may pose questions and demand answers from individuals which may cause people to become agitated and uncomfortable thereby developing a less favourable and negative perception of the police (Ashcroft et al., 2003; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005; Wentz and Schlimgen, 2011).

People who experienced frequent and multiple involuntary contact with police officers have been found to develop a less favourable perception of the police in comparison to those with minimal or no contact being it voluntary or involuntary (Rosenbaum et al, 2005; Bradford et al, 2009). Therefore, increasing amounts of police contact with citizens could be translated



in greater negative perception of the police (Decker, 1981; Hinds, 2007). On the other hand, citizens who experience minimal or no contact with police officers might become more inclined to have positive perception of police (Eller et al., 2007; Bradford et al., 2009). A debate by Brown and Benedict (2002) suggested that people who have minimal or no contact with police officers are more likely have a positive and favourable perception because they might not be exposed to any form of confrontation or demands from police officers which resulted in poor treatment or lack of services (Eller et al., 2007; Bradford et al., 2009). However, Miller et al. (2004) disagreed with Brown and Benedict (2002) by stating that people who have minimal or no contact with the police might have a negative perception of the police in a vicarious manner, example, from the media, friends or family.

A debate by Hinds (2007) suggested that younger people are more likely to become in frequent contact with the police and most of which are contentious when compared to older people (Bradford et al., 2009; Dai et al., 2011). Some reasons for this could be because of the increasing amount of time young people are on the streets with peers (McAra and McVie, 2005), their lack of respect for police officers and the law (Turk, 1969; Dai et al., 2011) and their involvement in delinquency and criminal activities (Hinds, 2007; Steinburg, 2009). Because of younger people's contentious contact with the police, they are more likely to become dissatisfied with officers, causing them to develop less favourable and negative perceptions of the police.

People from ethnic minorities, especially younger black males were found to have elevated and contentious contact with the police when compared to white people and other ethnicities (Cao et al., 1996; Skogan, 2006; Wentz and Schlimgen, 2011). A debate by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) indicated that this could be because of ineffective parenting. They stated that

poor parenting might be responsible for a lack of discipline and self-control which eventually contributes to the likelihood of delinquency and criminal behaviour, therefore resulting in frequent contact with the police. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) further added that such parenting problems are more common in minority homes and less likely in nonminority communities. As a result of contentious contact, both the police and ethnic minorities may exchange minimal respect to each other, whereby the minority group become less satisfied with the police and develop an unfavourable and negative perceptions.

Eller et al. (2007) argued that the majority of people who occupies subordinate status in the social hierarchy might become more likely to experience personal and involuntary police contact. This could be because of these citizen's antagonising contact with officers where a lack of respect could be exchanged during the contact (Brown and Benedict, 2002; Wentz and Schlimgen, 2011). Such contacts often lead to poor relationships between the police and public where citizen's evaluations of police satisfaction and service could become negative (Parasuraman et al., 1988; Mastrofski, 1999).

Females might sometimes be more inclined to have favourable and positive perception of the police in comparison to males (Dukes and Hughes, 2004; Brick et al., 2009). This could be because females have a lower propensity of being involvement in delinquent and criminal activities, which leads to less confrontational contacts with the police (Hinds, 2007; Bradford et al., 2009). Skogan (2006) debated that men are more inclined of becoming involved with illegal drugs, assaults, theft and driving offences when compared to females. Therefore, males are more likely to have less favourable and negative perception of the police because of their elevated contact with the police when compared to females (Smith and Ecob, 2007; Brick et al., 2009). On the other hand, the majority of police officers are males when

compared to females. Therefore, it could be that females are more inclined to give respect to males or it could be that males are more sympathetic with females (Lundman et al., 2004).

The TTPS inherited its history, culture and modus operandi from the British colonial era where there were major divides, segregation and uneven distribution of treatment from the police (Sinclair, 2006; King, 2009; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). This was because of the difference in social stratification which created a variance in the types of contact that existed between the police and the different communities (Cole, 2003; Sinclair, 2006; Bell, 2013). Communities occupied by the indigenous working-class people (non-whites) were policed in a paramilitary manner. Officer's contact with citizens were mainly involuntary and frequently accompanied the use force and violence which were inflicted upon citizens (Mars, 1998; Sinclair, 2006; Bell, 2013). The urban areas occupied by Europeans (whites) where the police behaved in civil manner and police contact with these citizens were voluntary (Anderson and Killingray, 1991; Sinclair, 2006; Bell, 2013).

Within recent times, T&T has been experiencing significantly high levels of crime, homicides and firearm related offences such as armed robberies and gang executions (Townsend, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Seepersad, 2016) which are predominantly in the Northern and Eastern areas of Trinidad (Johnson and Kochel, 2012; Seepersad, 2016). These areas are predominantly occupied by unemployed and working class African-Trinidadian (Afrotrinidadian) people where educational attainments are minimal, employment opportunities are scarce and house ownership are relatively low (Trotman, 1986; Clarke, 1993; Kuhns et al., 2012). Because of these factors, many citizens have increased levels of involvement in criminal activities causing police officers to have increased visibility in these communities (Townsend, 2009; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

Citizens from these areas have objected to the increased police presence in their communities and as a result, have accused the TTPS of making involuntary contact with citizens, unnecessarily stopping and searching residents with no valid reason, but most importantly, profiling young Afrotrinidadian males and killing several people whom officers suspected of committing crimes (Kowlessar, 2008; Renne, 2008; Samad, 2011; Kuhns et al., 2012). As a result of these police contentious contact and experience with citizens, the people from these communities have developed a lack of trust, confidence and respect for the police, as they accused officers of being bias, incompetent and disrespectful (Deosaran, 2002; Johnson and Kochel, 2012; Maguire et al., 2017). This has resulted in poor levels of service to citizens, causing strained communication and relationship (Mastrofski, 1999; Deosaran, 2002; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). Subsequently, citizens from these communities have become dissatisfied with officers and developed a less favourable and negative perception towards the police.

A suggestion by Reisig and Correia (1997) highlighted that people's involuntary contact with the police might not necessarily generate negative perception because the contact may not be of a criminal nature. Likewise, Ren et al. (2005) suggested that elevated voluntary contact can contribute to levels of citizen's dissatisfaction with the police generating negative perceptions. It was suggested that people may contact the police for assistance and might not get the service expected, causing dissatisfaction and leading to negative and unfavourable perception of the police (Mastrofski, 1999; Engel, 2005).

Cheurprakobkit (2000) added to Ren et al. (2005) statement by highlighting that people who experience elevated voluntary contact with the police could be unhappy with the service or treatment received. This can cause dissatisfaction and development of unfavourable and

negative perceptions. Therefore, citizen's expectation of a specific type or level of treatment from the police could have significant impact on perception (Brandl et al., 1994; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005). A study by Engel (2005) suggested that a person's preconceived expectation from the police could be initiated before the contact happens and this could overwhelm the overall process of the contact and impact on the person's perception of the police (Sullivan et al., 1987; Rosenbaum et al., 2005).

It was suggested by Avidija (2010) that females might not necessarily have favourable and positive perception of the police but could also develop negative perception of the police based on expectation. There are suggestions that females often have higher expectations than males and for this reason, females might expect respect and higher levels of service from the police (Skogan, 2006; Bradford et al., 2009). A debate by Lundman (2004) highlighted that because of tradition where gender and rituals acknowledged that men should be respectful and kind to women and considering that the majority of police officers are male, it is more likely that females might have a higher expectation from the police. When these expectations are not delivered, it is more likely that females could develop unfavourable and negative perception of the police (Hurst and Frank, 2000; Skogan, 2005).

It was demonstrated by Sinclair (2006) that whilst post-colonial societies such as T&T, Jamaica and Guyana were policed in a paramilitary style and contact between the police and citizens are likely to be contentious, this was not the situation on all the colonies, because British Hong Kong was policed in a civil manner, the use of force was very uncommon (Grant, 1992; Lo, 1993) and officers maintained a good relationship and harmonious contact with citizens. As a result, both the police and citizens in Hong Kong shared information and therefore citizens

were influenced to have a more positive and favourable perception of the police (Lo, 1993; Sinclair, 2006).

### **2.5.2 Age Perspective**

Younger people are more likely to have a less favourable perception of the police and officer's performance when compared to older individuals (Brown and Benedict, 2002; Dukes and Hughes 2004; Brick et al., 2009). Previous research highlighted that younger people become less satisfied with the police because of factors such as, poor efforts in reducing crime (Hindelang, 1974; Brown and Benedict, 2002), unnecessary high levels of force used by officers (Langan et al., 2001; Brown and Benedict, 2002) and the degrading treatment officers give to them (Weitzer, 1999; Brown and Benedict, 2002). Therefore, younger people may develop a less favourable and negative perception of the police (Brown and Benedict, 2002; Hinds, 2007).

A debate by Web and Marshall (1995) proposed an additional explanation for people's perception of the police based on age. That is, younger people are more concerned with their autonomy and freedom compared to their safety and security, whereas older people value their safety and security more. Therefore, this may be responsible for the increased and antagonising contact between the police and younger people (Reisig and Correia, 1997; Bradford et al., 2009; Wentz and Schlimgen, 2011). Some of the reasons for such antagonising contacts might be, as suggested by Turk (1969), that officers show less respect to young people because of the age difference, young people occupying a lower social status when compared with police officers, younger people's attitude of challenging society's authority (Reisig and Correia, 1997; Dai et al., 2011) or the amount of time that young people

spend on the street away from their homes becoming more visible to the police (McAra and McVie, 2005; Crawford, 2009) especially when involved in delinquency and criminal activities (Hinds, 2009; Steinberg, 2009). When younger people's contact with the police becomes frequent, involuntary and confrontational, this can cause them to develop dissatisfaction with officers and have negative overall experience thereby leading to less favourable and negative perceptions (Kusow et al., 1997; Leiber et al., 1998; Snyder and Sickmund, 1996).

Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) is a developing nation and research on its policing system is relatively new. To date, there have only been a small number of studies done on policing in T&T such as Deosaran (2002); King (2009) Wallace (2011) Adams (2019) and prior to 2008 there has been no studies on young people's attitude/perception of the police which is known off.

A study of young people in T&T and their perception of the TTPS showed different results, especially amongst the different races (Johnson et al., 2008; Ryan et al., 2013). A large proportion of young Afrotrinidadian male respondents indicated that they perceived officers of the TTPS as unapproachable, corrupted and untrustworthy due to their involvement in illegal activities (Johnson et al., 2008; Pino and Johnson, 2011). On the other hand, a large proportion of young Indotrinidadian respondents, both male and females indicated that they perceived officers of the TTPS as approachable and helpful (Johnson et al., 2008; Ryan et al., 2013).

Another study on crime and ethnicity in T&T highlighted that a high percentage of young Afrotrinidadian males from disadvantaged communities were involved in delinquency and

criminal activities such as gangs, homicides and robberies (Hunte and Bonaire, 2010; Johnson and Kochel, 2012; Ryan et al., 2013), attracting increased police attention compared to older people and other ethnicities (Maguire et al., 2008; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). As a result, young Afrotrinidadian males in T&T, specifically from disadvantaged communities indicated that they were dissatisfied with officer's profiling behaviour which caused them to have a negative perception of the TTPS, whilst young people of other ethnicity had a more positive perception (Hunte and Bonaire, 2010; Johnson et al., 2008; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

A study by Ryan et al. (2013) suggested that there might be several reasons why young people in T&T (especially Afrotrinidadian males) are involved in delinquency and criminal activities, experience increased confrontational contact with officers and have a negative perception of the police. Ryan et al. (2013) explained that as part of T&T's cultural heritage, it is the norm that parents and guardians taught their children to defend themselves from perceived threats and resolve personal conflicts with the use of aggression and violence (Montoute and Anyanwa, 2009; Plummer and Geoffroy, 2010). Ryan et al. (2013) further highlighted that many young males in T&T, (especially Afrotrinidadian) are not attracted to education and align it as being nerdy. However, T&T's females regardless of ethnicity have been more successful in education than their male counterparts (Reddock, 2009). Ryan et al. (2013) continued by explaining that it is more likely for many Indo-Trinidadian parents to make numerous sacrifices to ensure their children matured with family values and received a high level of education to acquire higher paid jobs or invest in private enterprises. Unfortunately, there was a less likelihood for Afrotrinidadian parents to do the same for their children (Rampersad, 2013). Consequently, this might have been responsible for Afrotrinidadian males being less educated and exposed to a higher chance of becoming



involved in delinquency and criminal activities which would be accompanied by increased police contact and then resulted in less favourable and negative perceptions of the TTPS (Miller, 1991; Chavannes, 1994; Ryan et al., 2013).

Historically, there have always been gang activities in T&T. However only a small amount was active and caused minor disturbance as most were inactive and involved older males (Brereton, 1996; Anthony, 1997). However, there was a sudden change during the late 1980's when a local Muslim group overthrew the then government. The group consisted of a small number of older males, (mainly Afrotrinidadian) but the majority of members were heavily armed teenaged Afrotrinidadian males from disadvantaged communities in Northern and Eastern Trinidad (Hunte, 2006; Katz and Fox, 2010; Bryan, 2011). At the end of the failed coup attempt, all members of the group were arrested and charged. To date, this religious group frequently experience confrontational contact with the TTPS and have develop a less favourable and negative perception for officers and the TTPS (Ryan and Stewart, 1995; Hunte and Bonaire, 2010).

A further problem in T&T is the Jamaican dancehall music and its association with homophobia which was found to be aligned to the promotion of violence and gun activities by young people in many Caribbean countries (Brereton, 1996; Stanislas, 2013; Ryan et al., 2013). It was argued by Ryan et al. (2013) that many of the young people both male and female in T&T have become fond of the Jamaican dancehall music during the late 1980s. Ryan et al. (2013) explained that this type of music strongly support violence, gang activities and held very negative views on Gay and Lesbian people which often incited that such people should be shot and killed. As a result, many young people in T&T who followed this music started abusing people suspected of being Gay or Lesbian and therefore having increased

contact with the police. These young people often accused the police of supporting Gay and Lesbians and developed a less favourable and negative perception of the police (Ryan et al., 2013; Stanislas, 2013).

A debate by Hinds (2007) suggested that it is not necessarily young people's increasing contact with the police that influences their perception, but instead the level of respect that officers give to them (Turk, 1969; Mastrofski et al., 1996). Carr et al. (2007) highlighted that whilst young people may develop negative perception of officers, they hold positive perception for policing and the law (Stoutland, 2001; Solis et al., 2009). Therefore, young people's perception of the police should be viewed from an individual level and not collectively. Wentz and Schlimgen (2011) debated that whilst age is a factor to be considered when measuring the public's perception of the police, it is not highly important because younger people 's perception eventually becomes positive with time (Hurst et al., 2000; Fagan and Tyler, 2005; Brick et al., 2009). Davis (1990) supported Wentz and Schlimgen (2011) highlighting that according to his studies, age had no correlation and impact on perception (Parker et al., 1995).

### **2.5.3 Socioeconomic Perspective**

People's personal status in society are usually measured by their salaries, educational attainment and house ownership which places them into specific classification and often influences the type of communities that they reside in (Payne and Gainey, 2007; Wentz and Schlimgen, 2011). People who earn higher salaries, often possess higher educational qualifications, own their homes and are usually from the upper class and resides in the affluent communities, whereby people opposite to them usually occupy the lower class and

resides in disadvantaged communities. The people between these both classifications usually occupies the middle class (Sampson et al., 1998; Schuck et al., 2008; Wentz and Schlimgen, 2011).

Research by Payne and Gainey (2007) suggested that people from disadvantaged communities are more likely to have a negative perception of the police (Collins, 2007; Avdija, 2010) compared to people from the middle and upper-class communities (Schuck et al., 2008; Wentz and Schlimgen, 2011). Several reasons for this suggestion was that, disadvantaged communities are more prone to having high levels of crime and delinquency due to unemployment and poor levels of education (Ashcroft et al., 2003; Wentz and Schlimgen, 2011). This is more likely to cause residents to experience increased police presence and encounter a higher volume of involuntary contact with officers (Skogan, 2005; Crawford, 2009), of which, many might be confrontational, causing citizens and the police to show little or no respect for each other (Turk, 1969; Brown and Benedict, 2002). People from these communities are mainly of ethnic minority background and view the police as racist and dominating their subordination (McAra and McVie, 2005; Schuck et al., 2008) whilst the younger people often perceive the police as obstructing their independence (Websdale, 2001; Collins, 2007).

Police officers working in disadvantaged communities are frequently accused of profiling citizens, especially young black males (McAra and McVie, 2005; Collins, 2007) and interactions with these citizens are often contentious, resulting in officers extending little or no respect and citizens reciprocating (Turk, 1969; Crawford, 2009). As a result of officer's behaviour, citizens frequently become dissatisfied and accuses the police of not caring or assisting them to improve their communities by reducing crime (Bridenball and Jesilow,

2008; Lui and Crank, 2010). This might cause citizens to develop a lack of trust and confidence in officers (Mastrofski, 1999; Flexon et al., 2009) which is more likely to result in people's perception of the police becoming less favourable and negatively influenced (Solis et al., 2001; Reisig et al., 2005; Hough et al., 2010). It was identified by Correia (2000) that the police perceive citizens from disadvantaged communities to be less interested in the quality of their neighbourhood and have no respect for the law. Therefore, officers become unconcerned about what these citizens think of the police and prefer to seek positive and favourable evaluations from the middle- and upper-class communities.

Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) being a former British colony, its administration and management were controlled by upper class white immigrants from England and the working class were indigenous and other ethnic minorities (Brereton, 1996; Kirton et al., 2010). As a result of this foundation established by colonisation, T&T has continued (even after independence) along the lines of its colonial legacy by differentiating between social classes (Trotman, 1989; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

When slavery was abolished in 1839, the majority of free Afrotrinidadians people moved towards the Northern and Eastern urban areas seeking employment opportunities. Simultaneously, the East Indian (Indotrinidadians) people in T&T moved towards the Central and Southern rural areas and began agricultural production (Richardson, 1975; Trotman, 1989; Henry, 1993). Both races became the majority ethnic groups in T&T and their geographic divide brought a separation of communities based on ethnicity (Henry, 1993; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

The areas occupied mainly by Afrotrinidadians has always been turbulent since the end of slavery because of high unemployment, low salaries, poor education and illegal housing infrastructures thereby classifying them as disadvantaged communities (Trotman, 1993; Deosaran, 2002; Hunte and Bonaire, 2010). The areas occupied by Indo-Trinidadians, are more developed due to these citizens obtaining higher education, higher employment (especially in the agricultural sector), citizens financially able to own their houses and have a lower propensity to participate in crime and delinquency (Henry, 1993; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). Residents from most disadvantaged communities in T&T have been accused by the police of being involved in increasing levels of criminal activities such as drug trafficking, robberies, gang operations and homicide (Kuhns et al., 2008; Townsend, 2009; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

Disadvantaged communities in T&T have been experiencing increased police presence due to suspected criminals residing in those areas and residents have complained of their communities being over-policed, officers' involuntary and contentious contacts and the habitual profiling of young Afro-Trinidadian males (King, 2009; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). As a result, citizens have become dissatisfied with the police performance and behaviour resulting in a lack of trust, confidence and respect for officers and developed a less favourable and negative perception of the TTPS (Deosaran, 2002; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

Previous research has indicated that aspects such as education and home ownership are influential factors responsible for how citizens from disadvantaged communities' perceptions are shaped towards police officers (Brereton, 2010; Hunte and Bonaire, 2010). However, Brown and Benedict (2002) debated that people from different status and

communities behave and responds differently, so their perception becomes a personal judgement of experience and not collective. It was highlighted that people with high income (Priest and carter, 1999; Weitzer and Tuch, 1999), high education (Correia et al., 1996) and own their house are not an influential factor in measuring people's perception of the police because these have previously been reported as both favourable/unfavourable and positive/negative towards perception formation (Brown and Benedict, 2002).

#### **2.5.4 Race/Ethnicity Perspective**

Within the study of public perception of the police, race/ethnicity has been one of the most extensively researched factors (Winfrey et al., 2001; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005). In the US, ethnic minorities, mainly black people are frequently arrested, convicted and incarcerated for criminal offences when compared to white people (Chambliss, 1994; Brown and Benedict, 2002). Much of these issues were caused by intensive police surveillance of economically disadvantaged communities which are mainly occupied by black people (Anderson, 1999; Websdale, 2001; Schuck et al., 2008).

Police officers are often accused of targeting black people and other ethnic minorities (Chambliss, 1994; Lundman and Kaufman, 2003) by directly profiling potential offenders based on group association (Websdale, 2001; Lundman and Kaufman, 2003). Racial profiling has become a debatable subject and some studies described it as being necessary to successfully prevent and solve crimes but on the other hand, it was classified as racist and bias (Kennedy, 1997; Harris, 2002). Research has indicated that many ethnic minorities, especially black people are treated with less respect during contact with the police as compared to white people (Turk, 1969; Websdale, 2001). This in return often causes many ethnic minorities to become

less satisfied with officer's behaviour and their performance, thereby causing a negative and less favourable perception of the police (Garcia and Coa, 2005; Geistman and Smith, 2007).

A consistent factor with the way some ethnic minority perceives the police is that, they view the police as a harassment with the intentions to dominate their subordination within the social structure (Weitzer and Tuch, 2005). It was debated by Davis and Hendricks (2007) that ethnic minority groups report less satisfaction with police performance compared to white people which might also be responsible for influencing this group's expectations and experiences with the police (Reisig and Parks, 2000; Engel, 2003; Lundman and Kaufman, 2005).

In T&T, race/ethnicity has been a long and contentious issue which can be traced back to the country's colonial administration. Colonialism was constructed and depended on a "divide and rule" system where whites were superior, and the local non-white people of different race/ethnicities were the subordinate lower class (Cole, 2003; Sinclair, 2006; Ngomesia, 2008). Senior police officers during the colonial period were white and often treated the local non-white police officers in harsh ways, example, unequal salary, and poor working conditions. White senior officers were also the instigators for local officers to treat the indigenous people unequal and with brutal force (Mars, 2002; Sinclair, 2006; Bell, 2013). Therefore, the local indigenous people have always held less favourable and negative perceptions of the police (Anderson and Killingray, 1991; Sinclair, 2006).

During the run-up to independence in T&T, local political parties focused on race to establish their support and by doing this, they created further racial divide amongst the local people (Brereton, 1996; Ryan et al., 1997). The two main political parties were mainly of

Afrotrinidadian or Indotrinidadian ethnicities and comprised of supporters accordingly (Brereton, 1996; Lutchman, 2012).

Recent evidence has highlighted that gangs in T&T are mainly comprised of Afrotrinidadian males and a very small number of Indotrinidadian and mixed-race people (Townsend, 2009; Johnson and Kochel, 2012; Ryan et al., 2013). Modern gangs in T&T are highly active in criminal activities such as robberies and homicides which are often accompanied by firearms (Ryan et al., 1997; Maguire et al., 2008; Seepersad, 2016). It was debated by Katz and Choate (2010) that people involved in gangs, especially young Afrotrinidadians were from disadvantaged communities (Townsend, 2009; Seepersad, 2016) most of whom have been previously arrested, possess a criminal history and have been in frequent involuntary and contentious contact with the police (Katz and Maguire, 2006; Seepersad, 2016).

There is evidence to suggest that the majority of young people in detention centres across T&T are Afrotrinidadians and predominantly males (Deosaran, 2007; Johnson and Kochel, 2012; Ryan et al., 2013). This could be because of their heightened involvement in delinquency resulting from poor parenting and/or being from disadvantaged communities (St. Cry, 1994; Deosaran and Chadee, 1997; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). Most of these young people have previous involuntary contact with the police most of which were contentious (Deosaran, 2007; Ryan et al., 2013).

Afrotrinidadian people especially males, are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police because of their propensity to participate in criminal activities compared to other races (Johnson et al., 2008; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). As a result, Afrotrinidadians often accuse



the police of being racist and insulting them (Johnson et al., 2008; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). Whilst Afrotrinitadians are less likely to make voluntary contact with the police, evidence suggest that Indotrinitadians are more inclined to make voluntary contact with the police to report victimisation and provide information regarding crimes (Johnson and Kochel, 2012). Indotrinitadians were also found to become less satisfied with their police experience because they did not receive the level of service expected (Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

Evidence highlighted that there are a higher percentage of Afrotrinitadians in T&T's prisons when compared to other races/ ethnicities (Ramdhanie, 2007; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). An explanation for this could be because of these people's increased involvement in crime and delinquency (St. Cry, 1994; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). As a result of Afrotrinitadian people heightened involvement in criminal activities, they are more likely to have frequent involuntary contact with the police, to which they are more inclined to become dissatisfied and report less a favourable and negative perception of the police (Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

A debate by Hurst et al (2000) indicated that the effects of race on perception of the police is inconsistent. Skogan (2005) found no relationship of how perception is developed between ethnic minority groups and the police. However, contrary to the US, in the UK, it was discovered that many people of ethnic minority groups held favourable and positive perception of the police (Kautt, 2011; Hough et al., 2010) and in other instances, race/ethnicity did not exist when researching public perception of the police (Hinds, 2007; Bradford et al., 2009).

### 2.5.5 Justice Perspective

The *Justice* theory by Tyler (1990) suggested that people who experienced personal contact with the police and considers the officer's act of fairness as most important above everything, might become convinced that they received justice from the police. Tyler (1990) debated that the level of fairness perceived by citizens individual encounter with the police, becomes the main factor which influences citizen's perception. The justice theory is based on *legitimacy*, which can be defined as the public's moral obligation to be compliant and cooperative with the law and the police because citizens perceived officer's actions as fair and unbiased (Fagan and Tyler, 2005; Hinds, 2007; Reisig et al., 2014).

According to Tyler's (1990) justice theory, people often rate police officers on two different dimensions of justice, which are, procedural and distributive. Procedural justice relates to people's interpretation of being satisfied that they were treated fairly by an officer during a contact with the police and distributive justice refers to people's interpretation of being satisfied that they received a fair and unbiased outcome from an officer, at the end of a contact with the police (Tyler, 2001; Skogan, 2005; Johnson and Maguire, 2010).

Procedural justice is based on a police officer's attitude during a personal contact causing citizens to become convinced that the police are being objective, prompt, helpful and polite (Engel, 2003; Frank et al., 2005; Tyler, 2005). Therefore, citizens might believe that the officer was not disrespectful or forceful during the contact (Mastrofski, 1999; Sun et al., 2011) and the officer was understanding and considerate (Reisig and Chandek, 2001; Skogan, 2005). As a result, people may interpret these aspects as fairness of treatment which may become the most

important and influential factors of citizen and police contact; citizens satisfaction on the type and quality of services the police provided, citizen's satisfaction with police decisions but most of all, distributive justice. This is more likely influence how citizen's perceptions of the police are developed (Mastrofski, 1999; Engel, 2005; Skogan, 2005).

Whilst the justice theory by Tyler (1990) helps to explain how citizen's perception of the police are influenced by justifiable qualities during and at the end of a contact, it fails to consider that citizens might have pre-existing perceptions of the police before any contact is made (Slocum, et al., 2010; Gau, 2011). As Engel (2005) argued, people's perception of the police may not only be influenced by the behaviour of the police but also by the expectation of how citizens want the police to behave. Therefore, a citizen's perception of the police could be influenced before any personal contact is made (Scaglione and Condon, 1980; Webb and Marshall, 1995).

Police justice is not a new subject in T&T and has always been contentious and strained. Reflecting on T&T's colonial heritage and its paramilitary police system which was designed to facilitate the needs of Britain and not that of the local population, justice for the local people who were abused by the police was not perceived as important to the coloniser (Mars, 2002; Mastrofski and Lum, 2008; King, 2009). It was highlighted by Wallace (2011) that the TTPS has maintained many aspects of its colonial heritage and operation of paramilitary policing including the use of coercive tactics and poor levels of accountability which eventually provide a lack of justice to the people. This ultimately creates negativity on trust, confidence and perception of the police from a citizen's view (Seaby, 1993; Maguire et al., 2008; Johnson et al., 2014).

Within recent times T&T began experiencing elevated levels of crimes, especially homicides and firearm offences (Wells and Katz, 2008; Pino, 2009; Seepersad, 2016), causing the people to become scared and intimidated of victimisation from rogue police officers. As a result, citizens have become reluctant to approach the police for assistance (Parks and Mastrofski, 2008; Townsend, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011). Some officers have been accused by the public of collaborating with gangs and having family and relatives who are gang members. It was highlighted that officers were supplying information (given in confidence by the public) to their criminal associates who would then victimise or kill citizens (Townsend, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011).

Citizens of T&T have since accused the police of being corrupt, incompetent, unresponsive to their needs, unsympathetic with their problems and brutal in their behaviour (O'Dowd, 1991; Samad, 2011; Deosaran, 2002). Citizens further accused the police of being bias and displaying favouritism to friends and family (Bennett and Moribito, 2006; Parks and Mastrofski and Lum, 2008; Pino, 2009). Some officers were found to be accepting money from citizens in exchange for assistance and in some instances, officers were blackmailing citizens for cash (Seaby, 1993; Pino, 2009).

In 2003, the Police Complaint Authority of T&T (PCA) indicated that they began receiving increasing amounts of complaints from the public regarding police officer's misbehaviour (Pino and Johnson, 2011). The PCA blamed officer's use of informal culture, excessive force and lack of respect towards the people of T&T as the main reasons for increased complaints (Bennett, 1997; Pino and Johnson, 2011). Consequently, citizens have since developed a lack

of trust and confidence in the police and feel that they do not receive justice from the police (Pino and Johnson, 2011; Wallace, 2011, Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

### **2.5.6 Police Behaviour Perspective**

As human beings' people are not born with good or bad behaviour, but as people develop with age, their environment and education, so does their emotional feelings, judgement, aspirations and self-discipline (Urmson, 1988; Delattre, 2011). One of the fundamental roles of the police is to safeguard the rule of law in democratic societies (Mawby, 2003; Reiner, 2010). Because police duties are performed in collaboration with the citizens from the communities, it is imperative for officers to acquire the trust and confidence of the people (Tyler, 2003; Delattre, 2011; Boateng, 2012). This can only be possible when officers are perceived as fair, impartial, and accountable, have integrity, positive attitude and respect for the dignity and fundamental right and freedom of the people, which will then be accepted by the public as good behaviour (Alderson, 1998; Kleinig, 1996; Neyroud, 2005).

Police behaviour is in no way a single entity, but comprises of several factors such as *culture*, *accountability*, *trust and confidence* and *deviance*. When these factors are pooled together, they formulate ethics and when applied in the policing arena, officers are expected to practice and demonstrate ethical behaviour towards the people they serve (Delattre, 2011; Mc Vean and Neyroud, 2012; Mc Cartney and Parent, 2015).

Police *culture* entails characteristics such as norms, beliefs, values and attitudes associated with an officer's job, personal life and social world (Manning, 1977; Punch, 2009). A debate by

Reiner (2010) indicated that police culture is concerned with the ways in which officers acquire a variety of aspects relating to their job and how it is transferred into the public domain. Waddington (1999) suggested that police culture is complexed and diverse because they consist of positives aspects such as loyalty and respect, but also negatives such as corruption, code of silence and work avoidance (Harriott, 2000; Punch, 2009).

*Accountability* is imperative in the field of policing because of officer's coercive power, authority and discretion and how these are used. Ultimately, these can lead to abuse if not controlled and monitored, therefore causing officer's behavioural patterns to fluctuate and become unacceptable (Mawby, 2003; Roberg et al., 2005; Reiner, 2010). A debate by Bayley (1983) highlighted that police accountability provides a platform to demonstrate competence, responsibility, scrutiny, legitimacy, professionalism, compliance, respect, trust and confidence and responsiveness to oversights (Loveday, 2000, Roberg et al., 2005; Punch, 2009).

Citizens *trust and confidence* in police officers becomes dependent upon specific actions and behavioural patterns which officer's uses when communicating with the people they serve (Giddens, 1991; Bradford and Jackson, 2010). Tilley (2005) demonstrated that people develop trust and confidence in the police because they both share mutual beliefs and interest, agreements and relationships (Six, 2003; Boateng, 2012). Additionally, Coa (2001) stated that people's trust and confidence in the police are associated with citizen's perceived risks, their dependability and reliability on the police based on faith, belief and feelings that the police will act in their best interest by behaving morally, ethically and fairly (Tankebe, 2010; Bradford and Jackson, 2010; Boateng, 2012). Tyler and Huo (2002) debated that it's imperative for a powerful institution like the police to gain the trust and confidence of the public because this is

the domain in which they exercise their coercive power and authority, these are the people they serve and it's where officers earn their legitimacy (Lyons, 2002; Reiner, 2010; Boateng, 2012).

The police are a vital arm of the criminal justice system and integrity and ethical behaviour from the officers are imperative because any amount of perceived *deviance* could jeopardise these elements (Bayley, 2002; Jones, 2005). Officers are expected to comply with the same laws that they enforce onto the public and when they are found in breach, they must become accountable for their actions (Mawby, 2003; Roberg et al., 2005; Ivkovic, 2005). Punch (2009) argued that when officers deviate from professional practice, the law and ethical behaviour, they are abusing their power and authority, either for gain or their personal satisfaction (Ivkovic, 2005; Klockars et al., 2006; Newburn, 2015). It was suggested by Punch (2009) that police corruption is a major problem in law enforcement as it diminishes the trust and confidence which citizens might have for the police, which eventually create an impact on people's perception towards officers. Ivkovic (2005) added to this statement by highlighting that police coercive and brutal behaviour towards the public might also be a major contributor towards trust and confidence which might influence how people's perception of the police are developed and shaped (Johnson and Cox, 2004; Punch, 2009; Jenks et al., 2012).

A debate by Bayley (2002) indicated that whilst police officer's deviant behaviour is difficult to measure and detect because of officer's code of silence, its effects are more visible because it erodes citizens lack of trust and confidence in the police. Consequently, the community is more likely to withdraw their support from the police and this might influence citizens perception in a less favourable and negative way towards officers (Park and Mastrofski, 2008; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Wright, 2012).

When the police can be perceived by the people as having behaved ethically, it means that officers made the right choice, acted within the law and did these with the intention that it benefited the relationship between the citizens and the police (Jones et al., 1994; Neyroud and Beckley, 2001). It was debated by Jones et al. (1994) that ethical behaviour from officers becomes imperative because of the coercive power and authority that the police possess, how and when it can be used, discretion in its use and how its use can impact on the lives of people (Neyroud and Beckley, 2001; Tyler and Huo, 2002; Delattre, 2011).

The TTPS is a post-colonial institution and inherited its modus operandi (especially culture) from the former British colonisers who used a paramilitary style of policing (Johnson et al., 2008; King, 2009; Wallace, 2011). The paramilitary style of policing was practised on most British colonies including T&T, where local indigenous people were treated as subjects of the state and the use of force (often brutal) was a common practice (Deosaran, 2002; King, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011). After T&T became independent from its coloniser, until present the TTPS have retained many aspects of the paramilitary style of policing (King, 2009; Katz, 2010; Wallace, 2011). From a wide body of previous international studies, there is evidence to suggest that the paramilitary style of policing is counterproductive in fostering and maintaining viable police and citizen relations and providing services to a population equally (Mars, 2002; King, 2009; Wallace, 2011). Whilst the TTPS culture remains mainly paramilitary due to a lack of reform (CRPS, 1984; O'Dowd, 1991; Seaby, 1993), the relationship between the police and citizens continue to be strained and weak (Deosaran, 2002; Park and Mastrofski, 2009; Johnson and Kochel, 2012) and officers contentious contact and use of excessive force has continued to



be a major concern especially for citizens (Mars, 2007; Mastrofski and Lum, 2008; Johnson et al., 2014).

Citizens of T&T have accused the police of being unconcerned for their safety and security and view officers as attempting to utilise any possible opportunities to harass and intimidate people for no genuine reason (CRPS, 1984; Pino and Johnson, 2011). Therefore, citizens have been reluctant to contact the police and when they did make contact, officers habitually formulate excuses such as, there was no vehicle or officers are available to assist (Parks and Mastrofski, 2009; King, 2009). However, if officers did respond, their attitudes were unhelpful, rude and often resorted to the use of excess force in dealing with the situation (Deosaran, 2002; King, 2009; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

The findings of an investigation into the TTPS suggested that police officers were often impolite when dealing with the public, frequently discriminated against people, involved in corruption and lacked basic skills to successfully accomplish simple jobs (O'Dowd, 1991; Amnesty International, 2006; Pino and Johnson, 2011). There is evidence to suggest that officers sometimes pervert the course of justice by accepting money from criminals and citizens to destroy or tamper with evidence (Seaby, 1993; Parks and Mastrofski, 2009; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). The Scott drug report (1984) which investigated the illegal drug trade in T&T highlighted that several junior and senior police officers were involved including the then police commissioner who were protective of several major drug kingpin in the country (Griffith, 2000; Nanton, 2004; Pino and Johnson, 2011).

A report by the CRPS (1984) indicated that the TTPS has failed to make any serious attempts to investigate officers suspected and accused of committing criminal offences (Pino and Johnson, 2011). If there were any investigation of police offices, they often produced a lack of transparency to the public and victims (Amnesty International, 2006; Pino and Johnson, 2011). As a result of these failures and shortcomings of the TTPS, citizens of T&T have lost trust and confidence, withdrew their support and alienated the police. Therefore, people perception of the police has become less favourable and mainly negative (Deosaran, 2002; Bennett and Moribito, 2006; Pino and Johnson, 2011).

## ***2.6 Summary***

To establish an understanding of the public's perception of the police in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) this is more likely to come from individual characteristics such as contact, age, social class, gender, race/ethnicity and legitimacy. The deference theory by Turk (1969), the legitimacy theory by Tyler (1990), the service theory by Mastrofski (1999), the performance theory by Moore and Braga (2003) and the demographic characteristics theory by Webb and Marshall (1995) have demonstrated their importance and application on how specific factors can influence citizen's perception of the police.

Turk's (1969) deference theory highlighted that people's individual characteristics could determine the level of respect that police officers give to citizens and also the level of respect that citizens give to the police in return. Tyler's (1990) legitimacy theory has showed that people's perception of the police might often become influenced by how fairly the police treat citizens and such fairness may have various types of impact on how citizens accept the police and their level of moral obligation to comply with the law. The service theory by

Mastrofski (1999) demonstrated that citizens have expectations on the type of services they would like to receive from the police. This theory also indicated the importance of why the police needed to have constant dialogue with citizens so that they can share knowledge and identify problems. The service theory is imperative because if the police fail to deliver high quality services to the citizens, they can lose the support and cooperation from the communities. Moore and Braga's (2003) performance showed that citizens need to become satisfied with the police, for example, what the police do and how it is done. This theory demonstrated that when citizens develop satisfaction with the police it is more likely that they will develop trust and support for officers. Therefore, citizens might become more inclined to have positive and favourable perceptions towards officers. The demographic characteristics theory by Webb and Marshall (1995) showed how citizens personal attributes such as contact, age, race/ethnicity, social and economic status and also the behaviour of police officers might impact and influence how people might perceive the police. This theory demonstrated a person's individual situation and circumstances might influence how they interact with the police, how they are treated by the police and how such person perception of the police might develop and become moulded.

When these theories were applied in T&T, they demonstrated relevance because of citizen's dissatisfaction with the police. Turk's (1969) deference theory proved that T&T citizens received deference from the police based on demographic characteristics. In return, citizen's demographics also became an influential factor that determine the level of respect that they give to the TTPS. Tyler's (1990) legitimacy theory was found to be applicable to T&T's society because it demonstrated that based on police officer's actions such as corruption and criminal involvement, a feeling of distrust with the police was developed amongst the population. Citizens were victimised due to these actions and fairness of treatment became

questionable. When this occurred, citizens lost the acceptability of the police as being legal and people's compliance to the law were jeopardised. The service theory by Mastrofski (1999) also proved that the TTPS was not providing citizens of T&T with high quality service because it was distributed in accordance to demographics and not equally. When Moore and Braga's (2003) performance theory was applied in T&T it proved that many citizens were not satisfied with the performance of most police officers. Performance varied in accordance to demographic characteristics and also by officer's behaviour. Many officers were identified as being involved in corruption and treated citizens with brutal force whilst they were described as lazy and unwilling to assist the people in the communities.

These theories and their variable have been applied and tested in developed countries such as US, UK and Canada. However, there are no evidence to support they have been applied and tested in Trinidad and Tobago and how they have influenced citizens perception of the police, considering that the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service has maintained characteristics of a colonial system. As a result of the deficiencies 'gap' that this literature review has identified, the design and outcomes of this study aim to fill such 'gap' by reaching conclusions and recommendations which would contributions to knowledge relative to the topic of, public perception of police officers.

### **III - RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Overview**

The literature review chapter demonstrated an imperative direction for this study which is the lack of literature relative to knowledge and understanding about the public perception of police officers in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T). It was highlighted that there is the need for research to be conducted to ascertain the factors that influences and shapes how citizens of T&T perceive police officers. Considering the country's colonial legacy which caused strained and fragile relationships between citizen and the police, together with unsuccessful reform attempts, there is a need for the police institution to become modern and improve its relationship with the citizens to acquire positive perception and foster better collaboration between both parties.

This chapter outlines the research methodology used. It started by identifying the adaptive theory approach used. This approach highlights the connections between existing theories and empirical research, explained why it was used in comparison to other approaches and how it shaped the design and analysis of this study. Then the research design was highlighted. This explained, qualitative research, the primary data collection method used, the research population and qualitative interviews. The sampling strategy highlighted snowball and justified the reason for its use when compared to other methods. An explanation of the analysis process that was used to collect the research findings was provided. This was followed by a brief biography of the researcher and the impact that it had on the study, especially during the data collection process. Finally, ethical issues and challenges experienced during this study were mentioned with reference to the limitations they posed to this study.

### 3.1 The Adaptive Theory Approach

According to the literature review, instrumental for how citizens of developed societies such as the US, UK and Canada perceive police officers were reliant upon citizens demographic characteristics and satisfaction (Webb and Marshall, 1995; Brown and Benedict, 2002 and Moore and Braga, 2003). However, due to the lack of existing literature and empirical research in T&T the reasons and factors responsible for how (adult) citizens perceive police officers remain unknown which ultimately created a deficiency ‘gap’ in knowledge and understanding relative to the topic, public perception of police officers. Because of this deficiency that exists in T&T, but also considering that there is existing literature from other societies, this study combined these existing theories together with empirical data from this study performed in T&T relative to citizens perception of police officers. As a result of combining existing theories and empirical research, it would be most appropriate to use Layder’s (1998) Adaptive Theory Approach for this study. However, before exploring the Adaptive Theory Approach, it is important to understand how and why this approach was established and its importance in the research world.

*“Adaptive theory is a systematic approach which borrows from a number of others but also provides a distinctive alternative to them”*

*(Layder, 1998:132)*

Human behaviour and attitudes are often responsible for determining the social structure of people which ultimately shapes individual behaviours and personality (Giddens, 1979; Hewege, 2010). As a result of behaviour and attitude changes, there is frequent shaping and reshaping which can be interpreted as a circular process and be studied continuously to obtain

a holistic understanding (Giddens, 1979; Hewege, 2010). Research which focuses on a single process is more likely to become bias towards social structure (Hewege, 2010). For example, surveys could become overly bias towards social structure and individual based studies such as grounded theory could become bias towards individual behaviour. Therefore, a combined approach is needed for a balanced, subjective and more accurate understanding and insight (Layder, 1998; Hewege, 2010).

Considering the imbalance, less accurate and subjective understanding that exist between social structure and individual behaviour, Derek Layder (1998) developed the Adaptive Theory Approach which is aimed at overcoming these issues. According to Hewege (2010) it is imperative to have a consistent relationship between the researcher; the subject being studied and the method of investigation in order to generate knowledge and understanding of any field or discipline. As a result, ontology (the presumption about reality that is being observed) and epistemology (the method of obtaining knowledge) become paramount for research (Bryman, 2008). Briefly, the general presumption of conducting research is to generate and develop an understanding which is more likely to assist in explaining the reality of the world/ environment that we live in (Saunders et al., 2003; Bryman, 2008). The reality of the world/environment we live in is generally divided in two categories, natural and social. The discipline of policing lies within the social category.

Before attempting to undertake a research project, a researcher should normally have some type of presumption of the problem or reason for his/her intension to investigate, hence the purpose of the research. Such presumption about the perceived problem or reason should relate to the reality of the world/ environment that we live in (Ontology) the people (ethnography) and the institution that exist in the world/environment (Bryman, 2008; Newege, 2010). However, the

real world/ environment consists of different social structure and this makes it multi-layered. These layers produce events and activities some of which are by action or omission. According to Layder (1994) social relationships within a multi-layered structure are transformational and can be reproduced therefore generating different social behaviours and patterns of events (Hewege, 2010).

The adaptive theory approach by Layder (1998) was developed to extend and elaborate existing theory and simultaneously develop new theory from empirical data. As a result, a link was created which merged both social structure and people's social action and reasoning in this world/ environment. Layder (1998) argued that the adaptive theory approach uses the inductive and deductive theory generating procedures for developing and elaborating theory because both mechanisms uses an opposite framework. As a result, this provides opportunities for a more detailed analysis which will eventually produce a more robust and accurate understanding and insight on the topic (Hewege, 2010).

Adaptive theory was developed to specifically adopt existing theory within ongoing empirical research thereby providing guidance, ideas, vision and strength to emerging empirical data (Layder, 1998).

*“specifically, adaptive theory attempts to combine an emphasis on prior theoretical ideas and models which feed into and guide research while at the same time attending to the generation of theory from ongoing analysis of data”*

*(Layder, 1998:19)*



According to a debate by Layder (1998), adaptive theory is a combination approach which is formed from theory testing (deductive) and generating (inductive) approaches which were used by authors such as Rose (1984), Lewins (1992), Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1990). However, it additionally provides opportunities for extending theory beyond its present state by identifying alternative options and expand explanations about the topic being researched by way of the empirical data that was collected. In other words, the adaptive theory approach ‘takes existing theory beyond its horizon’.

In Layder’s (1998) adaptive theory approach, he drew on the mid-range theory by Merton (1967) and the grounded theory by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Layder (1998) argued that the mid-range theory by Merton (1967) was solely deductive and provided no form of flexibility or open-ended opportunities (Hewege, 2010). Merton (1967) theoretical approach suggested that researchers should develop theoretical explanations of a phenomenon through logic. He explained that researchers should then attempt to acquire more facts and information about the topic or research question in order to test the original theory. As a result, the generation of empirical evidence either confirmed or rejected the original theory (deductive). Layder (1998) rejected this approach and described it as bias because it depended on quantitative data and statistics to become precise and systematic (Newege, 2010). Layder (1998) further argued that this approached was preconceived and was developed independently prior to empirical data collection making it highly speculative (Hewege, 2010).

On the other hand, Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed the grounded theory approach to counteract Merton’s (1967) mid-range theory approach which they considered ‘ungrounded’ and ‘speculative’. As a result, Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggested that social theory construction should be developed from personal interactions and reflect the experiences of

people to create an understanding in the world/ environment we live in (ethnography). They insisted that concepts and theories can only be developed from emerging empirical data (Bryman, 2008; Hewege, 2010). Therefore, the grounded theory approach is solely concerned with empirical data that reflects the everyday life situations of the people concerned in the research. Ultimately, grounded theory approach is not a theory testing approach because it does not contain or regard elements of testing as important and relies on a constant comparison between ideas and empirical data that have been gathered and which continue to emerge (Strauss, 1987; Layder, 1998; Hewege, 2010). As a result, Layder (1998) argued that grounded theory lack social structure, was overly reliant on epistemology and ontology, weak in preconceived hypotheses, existing theoretical ideas and concepts and framework (Hewege, 2010).

A debate by Layder (1998) indicated that because of the shortcomings and limitations with Merton's (1967) mid-range theory approach and Glaser and Strauss (1967) grounded theory approach, he (Layder) became inspired to develop the adaptive theory approach which formulated a balance between both the mid-range and grounded theories. Layder (1998) suggested that his adaptive theory approach brings together behavioural and systemic phenomena. As a result, the approach traces influence and connections of people's social activities and their intentions, then compares it to empirical data obtained from the world/environment that we live in. Therefore, this approach provides a form of equilibrium to existing theories and emerging theories from empirical data and simultaneously creates reciprocation between both. He further debated that the adaptive theory approach constantly reformulates itself by re-evaluating existing theory and comparing it to empirical data. It was highlighted that existing theories suggested patterns, direction and insights for empirical data

and should not be easily discarded but should be used to elaborate on existing framework and models (Hewege, 2010).

The adaptive theory approach became useful for this study because it promoted the use of existing theories and concepts from other societies (USA, UK, Canada) which provided direction and guided the research process, but simultaneously provided unlimited opportunities for the generation, development and expansion of theory from the analysis of the empirical data obtained in T&T. For example, the literature review focused on previous researches and studies relative to how public perception of police officers were influenced and developed. As a result, these provided explanations and insights on the topic and became paramount for guiding and directing this study. This literature review demonstrated that the subject of, public perception of police officers in T&T was understudied and this created a 'gap' for knowledge and understanding of the topic. This highlighted the importance of why theories such as deference by Turk (1969); legitimacy by Tyler (1990); service by Mastrofski (1999); satisfaction by Moore and Braga (2003) and demographics by Webb and Marshall (1995) should be tested in T&T.

### **3.2 Research Design**

Taking into consideration the lack of research on policing in T&T, this research design was aimed at exploring and establishing the public perception of police officers in T&T. This research project was focused on a qualitative design, which assisted in providing descriptive information on public perception of police officers in T&T. This type of data was best obtained from in-depth dialogue and where participants were given undivided attention and opportunities to fully express and discuss their views and opinion. These dialogues have

provided rich data which gave this project the information needed to answer the research questions; (I) What are the variables that affect citizens perception of the police in T&T? (II) Do citizens demographic characteristics affect their relationship with the police and if yes, how and why? (III) In what ways can citizens perception of the police in T&T be improved?

### **3.2.1 Qualitative Research**

This section explained qualitative research design and demonstrated the rationale for using this design. Qualitative research is considered to be most suitable for exploring an area of study which lack research or where present work was established based on concepts and theory from another indirect research. For example, the adaptive theory approach by Layder (1998). Qualitative research consists of field work within the natural world and recognises that the researcher is studying the subjective reality of other people and his/her own personal experiences. A qualitative researcher might objectively consider existing theories but simultaneously becomes concerned with factors that influences the reality of what has begun to emerge (Layder, 1998; Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

Public perception of the police has received intense research over the past three decades in developed countries such as US, UK and Canada where studies have explored several emerging concepts of how the public perceive police officers. To date, research has focused mainly on refining the concepts that shape citizens perception of the police in developed countries while little research was focused on developing societies and even less on post-colonial countries. Therefore, research studies relative to public perception of police officers in T&T remained nascent and dependent on prefigured concepts.

Qualitative research can be described as a research methodology which is characterised by the aims of understanding and evaluating aspects of social dimensions of life and focuses on experiences and attitudes (Alder and Alder, 1985; Charmaz, 2006; Bryman, 2008). It also aims to provide answers to questions such as, what, how and why, with the use of high-quality descriptive information rather than statistics (Saunders et al., 2003; Charmaz, 2006; Bryman, 2008).

For this research project, the qualitative research method was chosen over the quantitative or mixed methods. The quantitative method was not used because it focused on statistics as opposed to rich descriptive open-ended questions. With quantitative method, preference is given to obtaining a high volume of samples which are mainly done via a prepared questionnaire which are distributed and little time (if any) are given to interviewing or opinions, consequently leaving room for many unanswered questions, especially those that have been generated from a participant's response (Saunders et al., 2003; Charmaz, 2006; Bryman, 2008).

Like the quantitative research method, the mixed research method was not used. Mixed method uses a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. However, if mixed method was used for this study, this might have presented a risk of the quantitative method over-shadowing the qualitative method. The aim of this study was not to obtain high volume of data to support existing theory but rather rich descriptive answers to questions on the public perception of police officers in T&T which was only possible by refinement of open-ended questions and answers which can lead to the emergent of theoretical concepts.

### **3.2.2 Primary Data Collection Method**

The primary research method for this study used a semi-structured type of interview. In semi-structured interviews, the researcher benefitted from flexibility by being able to reconstruct the way in which the questions were asked and make way to develop an opportunity of his interest to design and put forward new questions (Robson, 2002; Saunders et al., 2003; Bryman, 2008). The interviewer had the advantage of being able to develop new questions, which were constructed from a response obtained during a previous interview which was not part of the original schedule (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002; Robson, 2002; Bryman, 2008). This allowed the researcher to ask further questions which therefore encourage the interviewee to become more descriptive about the topic that was discussed, which ultimately lead to the refinement of questions asked and responses obtained. One disadvantage of this method is that it could be a very expensive process because the researcher had to spend more time conducting the interviews (Robson, 2002; Saunders et al., 2003).

The interviews for this research were conducted in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T). The assistance of leaders and managers of social clubs, sporting clubs, school associations, religious organisations and trade unions were used to recruit potential participants. The researcher contacted the different group leaders and managers who assisted in recruiting people to participate in the research-based study using a variety of criteria such as age, sex, ethnicity, employment, housing status and contact with the police. The researcher gave all interested personnel a written document outlining the purpose of the research and a consent form. All face to face interviews were conducted in private offices in the selected areas to which only the participants had knowledge and access to.

Telephone interviews were also provided for potential participants who were not able to attend the specific meeting, for example the elderly, sick and single parents or any other potential participant who would prefer to participate through this method. However, telephone interviews were kept to a minimum number to avoid any potential bias. The potential for bias with telephone interviews was a risk for this study. For example, with telephone interviews there was a perceived risk that the participant might have been prompted by another person in their presence to give answers that were not genuine to his/her knowledge or the participant body language could not be observed when answering as this is sometimes useful in evaluating how genuine the answers given are. Interviews were scheduled for a maximum time of 40 minutes (approximately) with small gaps in-between each and they were recorded using a digital device and a numerical coding system. The researcher made observations during the interviews which was handwritten and referred to if and when necessary (Saunders et al., 2003; Bryman, 2008). For this study there were no telephone interviews and no interviews went beyond 40 minutes.

### **3.2.3 Research Population**

It was suggested by Bryman (2008) that the population of a study object might consist of one or more of the following, individuals, groups, organisations or events. The population usually acknowledges that there is reason or the need for research to be conducted and they can relate to a specific problem or event that exist. Therefore, the population encompasses the total collection of all units which will be used for research, upon which the researcher can make specific conclusions (Saunders et al., 2003; Bryman, 2008).

The population used for this study were members of the general public in T&T, who may have some type of interest/concern about the TTPS. The geographical locations selected by the researcher were two of the nine police divisions in T&T. Whilst only two divisions were selected from the population, these two were perceived as being inclusive of ordinary communities and the everyday policing issues experienced by a cross section of T&T society that could provide a valuable insight and understanding on public's perception of the police in T&T. It does not intend to represent a comprehensive or national picture of the TTPS but more about developing an understanding of the topic, public perception of police officers.

The population of T&T is approximately 1.25 million people (Pino and Johnson, 2011; Bryan, 2011) with approximately 7000 police officers (TTPS, 2013). The two geographical areas elected are, South Western Division (SWD) and Central Division (CD). The South Western Division (SWD) is a medium size police division and is the closest geographical location to Venezuela, South America as shown in Figure 6 which is approximately seven miles in distance and has a history for contraband imports (Griffith, 2000; Townsend, 2009; Pino & Johnson, 2011). The population in the SWD comprises of a very mixed ethnicity (such as people of Indian, African, Chinese, North & South American and European origin) many varied religious backgrounds and a variety of educational establishments at different levels including the prestigious Iere High School (Ministry of Education Census, 2011). There are some areas within this division which are wealthy and home to many whom have gained their wealth from employment and investments in the petroleum and natural gas sector (eg, Fyzabad and Point Fortin) and others which are less wealthy such as Erin and Cedros. There are several well developed and commercial areas (e.g. Siparia and Penal) and less developed and rural areas such as Chatham and Quinam which are solely dependent on agriculture and fishing.



The Central Division (CD) was chosen because it has a medium size land mass in comparison to other divisions. Within the past two decades the population grew into a very mixed ethnic balance, a diversity of religious backgrounds (such as Muslims, Hindus and Christians) and educational institutions including the prestigious Presentation College (Ministry of Education Census, 2011). The division has some areas which are densely populated, commercial, wealthy and urban (for example, Chaguanas and Piarco). There are areas which are less populated, not wealthy, rural and mainly dependant on agricultural for example, Londonville and Caroni (Central Statistical Office- CSO, 2011).

The SWD and CD provides a balance and diversity in terms of community's size and people characteristics. Unlike other divisions such as the Port of Spain Division (POSD) which is densely populated and urban, there is no other division which has similar demographic characteristics. This division mainly comprises people of a single ethnic group (Afrotrinidadians). On the other hand, Tobago Division (TD) is a very small division in terms of demographics and the population is heavily influenced by tourism and does not reflect the type of police concerns experienced by ordinary citizens of the country.

In the SWD, there are two sub-divisions, West and East. In the West area, there are five police stations and approximately 100 police officers in total. In the East area, there are six police stations with approximately 200 police officers in total. Whilst in the West area has more than 20,000 residents, on the other hand East area has more than 30000 residents. Both areas have many lawyers, Commissioners of Affidavits, Justice of the Peace, Councillors and members of Parliament. The SWD is managed by the Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP) South. In the West area, the Cedros district was selected whilst in the East area, Penal district was selected for the collection of qualitative samples (see Figure 6).

In the CD, there are two sub-divisions, North and South areas, which are managed by the Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP) South. In the North area, there are four police stations, approximately 300 police officers in total and more than 35000 residents. In the South area, there are four police stations, approximately 100 police officers in total and more than 25000 residents. Both areas have many lawyers, Commissioners of Affidavits, Justice of the Peace, Councillors and members of Parliament. In the South area, the Caroni district was selected whilst in the North area, the Chaguanas district was selected for the collection of qualitative samples (see Figure 6).



**Figure 6** Map of Trinidad and Tobago (Extracted from Phillips, 1992)

### 3.2.4 Qualitative Interviews

Interviews can be considered as the most known method of data collection in qualitative research (Robson, 2002; Charmaz, 2006; Bryman, 2008), because there is a greater opportunity

to obtain valid and reliable data which is important for answering the research questions (Robson, 2002; Saunders et al., 2003; Charmaz, 2006). Personal face-to-face interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis for this study. This method provided more opportunities for open discussions, possessed the ability to acquire rich sources of data, exploratory, descriptive and elaborative in nature and provided an opportunity to build and expand on responses (North et al., 1983; Saunders et al., 2002).

The one-to-one type of interviews were chosen above other methods such as focus groups, emails, conference calls, postal or questionnaire for several reasons. For example, people who are part of a group might hold similar views and opinions, therefore there was a risk of not being able to obtain a spectrum of views and opinions, people within a group might all want to discuss and contribute to a question simultaneously therefore the responses might become unclear and pose a risk of not projecting clear and concise answers, some participant within a group might feel uncomfortable and therefore become reluctant to contribute or some participants might have a personal experience and not want to share the information with others especially with members of a group who might be strangers or acquaintances. Therefore, the one-to-one method was interpreted by the researcher as being the most appropriate method for this study as it presented participants with the opportunity for anonymity, the interviewer can concentrate on one interview and one participant at a single time and the interviews promoted the best level confidentially possible.

The interviews were conducted in four different areas in Trinidad and Tobago. Two areas were selected in the SWD; Cedros and Penal and two others in CD; Chaguanas and Caroni. Interviews were carried out in private offices of each area which was arranged by the researcher and only disclosed to participants for privacy policies. Interviews were recorded electronically,

and participants fully briefed prior to the start of the interview and were only allowed to participate if they felt comfortable to do so. It was explained to all participants that they can conclude the interview at any stage without any explanation. Interviews were given codes and personal details of interviewees were not recorded to protect anonymity. For example, interviews from Penal and Cedros were given codes of SWD which represented the geographical location and a number which ran consecutively (1-25) and interviews from Caroni and Chaguanas were given codes of CD which also represented the geographic location and consecutive numbers (26-50).

Having considered there were no previous studies which specifically evaluated adults' perception on the police in T&T and also none that applied Turk's (1990) deference theory, Tyler's (1990) legitimacy theory, Mastrofski's (1999) service theory and Moore and Braga's (2003) performance theory in a T&T context, during the interviews, questions to participants focused on these theories. For example; experiences with police officers during a contact; such as, respect, helpful and level of response; officers' levels of fairness and equality in the way they treated people and how this affected legitimacy; services received from the police and satisfaction with officer's performance. Questions were also focused on how people's demographic characteristics impacted on the way they were treated, example, age, race/ethnicity, socioeconomical status and officer's behaviour.

The process for data collection was conducted through four stages:

- ❖ Stage one - interviews with members of the public from Cedros.
- ❖ Stage two - interviews with members of the public from Penal.
- ❖ Stage three - interviews with members of the public from Caroni.
- ❖ Stage four - interviews with members of the public from Chaguanas.

### **3.3 Sampling Strategy**

A debate by Henry (1990) suggested the use of sampling provides a platform for higher accuracy, due to the size of the population, less time the researcher can devote to designing and executing the project, the more time can be spent conducting interviews in the search of higher quality information (Saunders et al., 2003; Bryan, 2008). It is imperative to have a manageable sample size which has the potential of producing results that can be used to formulate valuable insights and understandings of the topic being studied (Saunders et al., 2003; Bryman, 2008). However, this can only be achieved by using a non-probability sampling strategy because the sampling unit is not random but, in some ways, already known (Patton, 2002; Saunders et al., 2003; Bryman, 2008).

The sampling population for this research project consisted of T&T residents older than 18 years, as the survey was not designed to explore the views of children/minors. Adults were chosen above children/minors for different reason. For example, there was one previous study which specifically evaluated young people (under the age of 18 years old) perception of the police in T&T. On the other hand, there is no evidence which demonstrated that a specific study was done to evaluate adult's perception of the police in T&T. Secondly, to evaluate young people (under the age of 18 years old) perception of the police in T&T, these young people were legally required to be accompanied by an adult for supervision. This posed two risks; the first one will be that these young people would have been accompanied by another individual, then there is a potential risk that they might not want to fully express their experiences since their confidentiality was no longer protected. The second potential risk is associated with the researcher being unable to secure sufficient people for supervision, for example teachers or parents/guardians. Taking into consideration that the researcher did not reside in T&T and this

being a self-funded study conducted by the researcher only, it would have been very difficult, time consuming and expensive to arrange legal supervision for young people.

Those selected to be interviewed at this stage were:

Member of the public from SWD (Penal and Cedros) numbering not less than 25 in total

*(Example: member of sport clubs, religious organisations, government departments, trade unions, private companies).*

Member of the public from CD (Caroni and Chaguanas) numbering not less than 25 in total

*(Example: member of sport clubs, religious organisations, government departments, trade unions, private companies).*

Table 2 illustrated the demographic characteristics of potential participants for this study. Fortunately, because of an overwhelming response of approximately 200 potential participants, 60 potential participants were selected as the final sample size and match the characteristics as initially set out in the table. However, from the 60 potential participants, only 50 were selected as the final participants with 10 being surplus should anyone of the final 50 decided to discontinue. In this way the initial quota of 50 participants was maintained. The final 50 participants were members of the general public, people who wanted to share their views and opinion about the police in T&T. Some of the participants had some type of contact with the police whilst others did not.

*Table 2: Demographics of Potential Participants*

A total of 50 interviews were conducted.

POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS					
<i>Code</i>	<i>GENDER</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>INCOME</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
A1	Male	25	E1	Unemployed	10
A2	Female	25	*	Employed (full-time)	20
	<i>RACE/ETHNICITY</i>		E2	TTS <5000/month	5
B1	Afrottrinidadian	15	E3	TTS 5000 - 10000/month	5
B2	Indottrinidadian	15	E4	TTS 10001 – 20000/month	5
B3	White	5	E5	TTS >20001/month	5
B4	Mixed	15	E6	Self Employed	10
B5	Other	0	E7	Retired (pension)	10
	<i>AGE</i>			<i>MARTIAL STATUS</i>	
C1	18-30	18	F1	Single	20
C2	31-50	18	F2	Married	20
C3	50+	14	F3	Widowed	10
	<i>EDUCATION</i>			<i>CONTACT</i>	
D1	No Formal	10	G1	Yes	40
D2	Primary	15	G2	No	10
D3	Secondary	15			
D4	Tertiary/ University	10			

### 3.3.1 Snowball Sampling

Snowball sampling can be defined as a sampling approach where a researcher initially contacts a small amount of people who might have some level of relevance or have some interest on the topic being researched. The initial contact may be with group leaders, people of significant positions or influential status (Bryan, 1999; Saunders et al., 2003). The initial contacts make further contacts with other people through knowledge, common bond or social/professional affiliations, who are then asked to participate in the study (Saunders et al., 2003; Bryman, 2008).

A debate by Becker (1963) suggested that snowball sampling approach is in no way random because the initial contacts are usually associated in some way with the topic and usually in association or contact with others who may also be linked or interested likewise. Therefore, the

initial contact may use their immediate association being it formal or informal to obtain potential participants for the research. It is very unusual or highly unlikely for the initial contact to approach people on a random basis that may not be familiar or associated with the topic (Coleman, 1958; Bryman, 2008).

The snowball sampling approach has its advantages and disadvantages. Some advantages are, it allows the research to progress as it provides an availability of potential participants, it shows a variation of characteristics in a population to be discovered and it is time and cost effective in locating potential participants. Disadvantages are, the initial subject may sometimes recruit potential participants who are like-minded or share similar views and opinions and the researcher may have a lack of control on the potential participants because they were recruited by another person (Saunders et al., 2003; Bryman, 2008).

To mitigate any opportunities for bias when using snowball sampling, the researcher used the initial contacts to obtain a larger than required sampling group. From the acquired group, the researcher himself handpicked the desired quorum for interviewing. This provided the researcher with the opportunity to select participants and avoid/ reduce the risk of any initial contact having any influence on the people who will become the final participants. The researcher also used participants to obtain new potential participants for interviews. Therefore, not all people obtained by the initial contact became final participants. This is imperative in reducing bias regarding the initial contact becoming excessively controlling of participants based on their personal preference, but also to encourage greater opportunities for diversity in participants contributions.



Upon the researcher arrival in T&T, he was presented with 100 potential participants who were recruited via initial contacts. The researcher wanted to reduce the risk of bias, so he asked the 100 potential participants to assist in obtaining a further 150 participants who were less likely to be directly connected to the initial contacts. Unfortunately, only 100 further potential participants were recruited making a total of 200. From the 200 potential participants, the researcher downsized to 60 based on the criteria highlighted in Table 2. During downsizing for the final 50 potential participants, three people opted out of the study. The researcher later discovered that the three people were police officers and did not want to be involved in any type of study regarding the TTPS. The researcher did not approach these people for any type of further communication and respected their choice not to participate. As a result, the researcher had 57 participants at his disposal. There was 50 as the research sample size and seven additional in the event that anyone from the final 50 opted out. No participants from the final 50 opted out. Overall, the recruitment process for potential participants was straightforward especially with the assistance of citizens from the communities who were forthcoming.

### **3.4 Data Analysis Method**

This study adopted a methodological approach using Layder (1998) adaptive theory where existing theories and empirical data are compared and contrasted to provide new theory, elaborate or affirm the existing theories (Layder, 1998; Hewege, 2010). Consequently, to allow this approach to take its course, an analysis approach that considers both existing theories and empirical data was used. As a result, the abductive analysis approach by Timmermans and Tavory (2012) was used in this study. Before moving onto this approach, it is imperative to

understand how this approach was developed and this will simultaneously establish why other analytical approaches were not used in this study.

A crucial aspect of conducting social research is to construct theoretical ideas from the collection and analysis of data (Saunders et al, 2003; Bryman, 2008; Timmermans and Tavory, 2012). Since the 1960s the process of theory development from empirical data was dominated by the Grounded Theory Approach (GTA) which was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Author such as Bryant (2002), Charmaz (2006) and Clarke (2005) have debated that GTA is inductive in nature and gives codes and labels to any piece of data which is considered incomplete and inaccurate (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012). Charmaz (2009) have considered abduction as an analytical framework, however, she concluded that an abductive approach is secondary in comparison to an inductive approach (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012).

On the other hand, Peirce (1935) debated that an abductive approach to research analysis provides opportunities for logic and reasoning whereby creativity is applied to empirical evidence which could produce theories, explanations and alternatives (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012). Because of the GTA deficiency, which is inductive, Timmermans and Tavory (2012) developed the Abductive Analysis approach to construct theory. The Abductive approach was developed with its foundation being based on the GTA to construct theory. Abductive analysis begins with an inductive framework where important ideas form GTA but moves onto an abductive process which allows and promotes creativity by examining and comparing existing theories with the empirical data which might foster interpretations of the social world (Layder, 1998; Newege, 2010; Timmermans and Tavory, 2012).

The Abductive analysis approach uses a thematic coding framework whereby themes are developed from the empirical data (Hewege, 2010; Timmermans and Tavory, 2012). For this study the thematic process was done in a hierarchy of five stages to reduce the data and provide opportunities for themes and concepts to be established. The first stage was familiarisation/summarising and reflecting. At this stage the interview recordings were manually reviewed to obtain a closer relationship with the data. A summary of the data was undertaken and compared with existing theories. The second stage is initial coding. This is where the researcher began transcribing the data manually and gave codes to the emerging themes in accordance to their relevance. Specific codes were given to the themes that was not comparable with existing theories. For example, initial coding began to highlight the relevance of demographic characteristics, such as Afro-Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadians, disadvantaged and affluent communities. The third stage involved grouping the similar themes into concepts. For example, citizens felt fearful of the police because of many officers' involvement in the illegal drug trade and acceptance of bribes which identified the theme of 'police delinquency' and also police officers resorting to the 'use of force' to deal with minor situations. These themes formed the concept of police behaviour. The fourth stage involved comparing and contrasting the concepts with the social theories identified in the literature review (Chapter II). The fifth and final stage involved the development of new theories, elaboration and/or affirming the existing theories.

According to Timmermans and Tavory (2012) Abductive Analysis is a recurring process involving fitting and refitting of empirical data and theories to generate an understanding of the social world we live in. They debated that the more empirical data that emerges, the more opportunities there is for alternatives and explanations which can strengthen, elaborate and confirm theories.

### **3.5 Research Ethics**

Procedures to ensure that adequate ethical standards and principles were applied and supported good practices and provisions in this study was imperative. The Social Research Association (SRA, 2003) highlighted that the integrity of social research depends on the behaviour of individual researchers and how this impacted on the society. Blumer (2008) debated that social research has a responsibility to be objective in nature whilst searching for knowledge about the truth. Therefore, the researcher has a responsibility to uphold ethical standards of the society in which research is being conducted. The researcher for this study was concerned with providing an understanding on citizens perception of police officers in T&T and had an obligation for ensuring that the research was conducted with strict professional competency, integrity and methodology (BSA, 2002).

A debate by Tyldum (2012) suggested that participation in research might be motivated by the participant's desire of wanting to be heard or as a platform to promote issues of concern and importance especially when the study was viewed as beneficial to the community and the people involved. In this study, there was no anticipation for immediate gain and gratification linked to participation. Tyldum (2012) indicated that it is difficult to evaluate the impact and importance of any research especially before the fieldwork is completed. However, this study was focused on the advancement of knowledge and simultaneously improving humanity from the conclusions if and when implemented. This study had substantial implications for theory and policy and was beneficial to the researcher, participants and the public who are concerned about policing in T&T or other post-colonial societies.

The works and contributions of academics were appropriately acknowledged, and

constructively criticised but unhealthy criticism was avoided throughout this research. Maximum efforts were made to recognise, appreciate and protect the privacies, interests and sensitivities of all participants. As a result, codes were used to replace the original identities of participants. The researcher made all efforts to ensure the fundamental rights of all participants were upheld during the interviews.

Information relative to the topic, its background and purpose of the study were given in details to participants in order to prevent any form of suspicion especially with T&T facing many security challenges. Therefore, the aims, objectives, implications and nature of the research are made known to all participants, and their freedom to withdraw from the study. According to Bulmer (2008) informed consent provided people who were invited to take part in research activities an opportunity to choose to participate or decline, having been provided with all the information relating to the research. It was suggested by Lunnay et al. (2014) that adequate measures must exist to ensure that participants are given respect and recognised for their contributions in developing research outputs. This aspect of ethical procedure ensured that participants were comfortable to share important aspects of their personal life or those of other people they know with the researcher. SRA (2003) highlighted that research ethics required that ethical research should avoid or minimise harm, risk, injustice, but promote respect in order to gain quality, transparency and integrity. This is because research innovation and responsibility are associated with potential risks and complications which require that management skills should be employed (Lunnay, et al., 2014).

A debate by Tyldum (2012) suggested that that there is a needed to consider the possible consequences associated with breach of confidentiality. This is imperative where sensitive information was disclosed and tied to participants in the study. However, Tyldum (2012)

indicated that some researchers do attempt to give respondents adequate confidentiality. As a result, a researcher might try to ensure maximum anonymity and confidentiality was maintained, but there are situations which could be beyond the control of researcher or participants. The researcher's responsibility within this study has honoured assurances of confidentiality and also ensured that there was adequate security of information transmissions. The data collected were used solely for this study and under no condition the identity of the participants was disclosed in any analysis (SRA, 2003; Bulmer, 2008). After the analysis process, all interview material was destroyed to protect confidentiality as these were no longer required.

Empirical research is concerned with observations of actual experiences of a phenomenon which is being studied and aimed at improving knowledge and understanding of such phenomena in the social world (Bryman, 2008; Nahrin, 2015). In the process of undertaking empirical research, researchers must remain mindful of producing evidence which are value-free (unbiased) regardless of the discipline of study. Values are an active part of everyone's lives and vary in accordance to individual personalities, group association and different societies (May, 2001; Nahrin, 2015). As a result of value-free research, objectivity becomes paramount.

Objectivity can be described as a regulatory process aimed at promoting precision, unbiased, transparency, honesty, openness to criticism and being comparable (Saunders et al., 2003; Bryman, 2008; Nahrin, 2015). Lather (1990) suggested that objectivity is being conscious and honest relative to the perceived impact of a researcher's beliefs, values and bias whereby evidence is collected and analysed dispassionately and simultaneously promoting rational and impartiality. Bryan (2008) further suggested that objectivity comprises of reliability and validity. He argued that reliability involves consistency and freedom from a researcher's

personal creativity and subjectivity. Validity involves precision whereby the finding of a research is really what they are and not misinterpreted and excludes inconsistencies and inaccuracies (Saunders et al., 2003).

To promote objectivity throughout this study, the researcher adopted a neutral stance by removing any previous professional and personal experiences relative to policing and life in T&T that he acquired over the years. The researcher was not interested in the application of his personal subjective creativity and preconceptions about policing in T&T but was solely interested in the views and opinions of participants who formed the wider population of T&T and those who were able to contribute towards answering the research questions. The researcher was also very conscious of avoiding leading question. This was considered imperative as it might have jeopardised objectivity, participants honesty, accuracy in participants views and opinions on the subject, but more importantly, a misrepresentation of the truth. For example, when a participant gave an answer, the researcher might ask for an explanation to obtain more simplified detail, to clear up any ambiguities or to obtain examples to assist in providing a clearer understanding towards refinement of answers. At no time did the researcher attempt to use a particular question and reword it in a different way to maintain the question but obtain a varied answer, as this would have caused researcher subjectivity.

### **3.6 Researcher Impact on the Study**

When carrying out a research project especially one that involves ethnography, the researcher should become conscious about his/her presence in the research environment and the possible impact or alteration that such presence might present (Cui, 2015; Coombs and Osborne, 2018). If a researcher becomes overly absorbed in the research environment, this is more likely to

cause him/her to develop an obscured view throughout the process and might neglect participants independent contribution (Coombs and Osborne, 2018).

According to Cui (2015), the insider/outsider positions held by researchers especially during an ethnographic study is imperative. These positions are more likely to determine the advantages and disadvantages of support that researchers will obtain from participants and also their understanding of the intricacies between different societies, cultures and modus operandi (Harkness et al., 2015; Watson and Kerrigan, 2018). The insider position is more likely to have the advantage of in-depth local knowledge and understanding of culture and problem on one hand, but on the other hand might have the disadvantage of transparency, as participants might think their contributions will not be taken seriously. The outsider position is more likely to have the advantage of transparency, as participants might think their contributions will be taken abroad and become useful. On the other hand, it is more likely to have the disadvantage of local knowledge and understanding. The semi-insider/outsider position incorporates a balance of both positions (Coombs and Osborne, 2018; Watson and Kerrigan, 2018).

The researcher of this study on meeting potential participant presented himself as the sole interviewer for this study and as a student from De Montfort University in the UK. Whilst the researcher had a local T&T accent, he acknowledged to the potential participants of having been born and raised in South, Trinidad, but have been residing in the UK for approximately two decades. At no time during the data collection process did potential participants or interviewees ask the researcher questions relating to his professional background and at no time did the researcher explained that he was an ex-police officer in the TTPS. The researcher did not interpret his previous role in the TTPS as being imperative for the study and simultaneously wanted to maintain a neutral stance and allow the data to guide the study whilst avoiding any



form of bias.

The researcher being of a mixed ethnicity felt accepted, comfortable and neutral during the process especially considering that the majority of T&T's population comprises of Afrotrinidadian and Indotrinidadian citizens. The researcher's neutral stance and ethnic background became useful for the data collection process as it promoted a sense of balance which provide opportunities for trust and confidence and open dialogue between the participants and the researcher. As a result, the researcher in this study held a semi-insider position because of his roots in T&T but also because of his residence and commitment to the UK.

The researcher's local knowledge and experience of T&T became beneficial to this study by providing a good understanding of the country geographically and the location of the areas selected for sampling. This allowed the researcher to minimise time during commute and simultaneously maximise time set aside for interviews. Maximising time towards interviews were very important as this allowed greater opportunities for participants to feel relaxed and not rushed, which might have been vital for them to fully express their views and opinions and also to provide fruitful responses towards answering the research questions. Another benefit to the researcher's local knowledge and experience was his ability to understand T&T's culture, the local dialect and colloquial. This is important as an outsider might have found it difficult to understand and caused major to communication problems. Good communication is imperative for research as it plays a significant role in promoting healthy rapport and obtaining the necessary data for answering the research questions.

### **3.7 Limitations of the Study**

A significant and notable limitation to this research study is the sampling size. With 50 qualitative interviews and only two geographical locations in T&T, the data collected cannot be representative of the entire population of 1.3 million people, but rather developing an understanding on the topic, providing citizens views and opinions of police officers in T&T from a sector of the population (Saunders et al., 2003; Procter and Allan, 2006; Bryman, 2008).

This research has a lack in the methodology which is triangulation. Triangulation refers to the use of more than one source of data or methods which provides an opportunity for research findings to be crossed examined (Denzin, 1970; Bryman, 2008). Because of a single type of data collection (qualitative interviews), this method does not allow triangulation which has the potential of providing a more robust approach to the findings rather than a single sided view (Lindegaard, 2010).

### **3.8 Summary**

This chapter highlighted and discussed the adaptive theory approach which was used in this study and the rationale for its use compared to other approaches. A qualitative research design was used in this study to fulfil the empirical investigation which was dependant on rich data from in-depth interviews. The data collection process was conducted in two geographical locations in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) and used a sample size of 50 where members of the public were recruited via the snowball technique and willingly obliged to participate, and Table 2 illustrated the demographics of the participants. The data analysis method was explained and identified as the most suitable method for developing theoretical concepts which was

imperative due to the limited amount of studies that existed in T&T relative to policing. Research ethics was discussed, and the chapter ended with an explanation of the limitations that the study was exposed to.

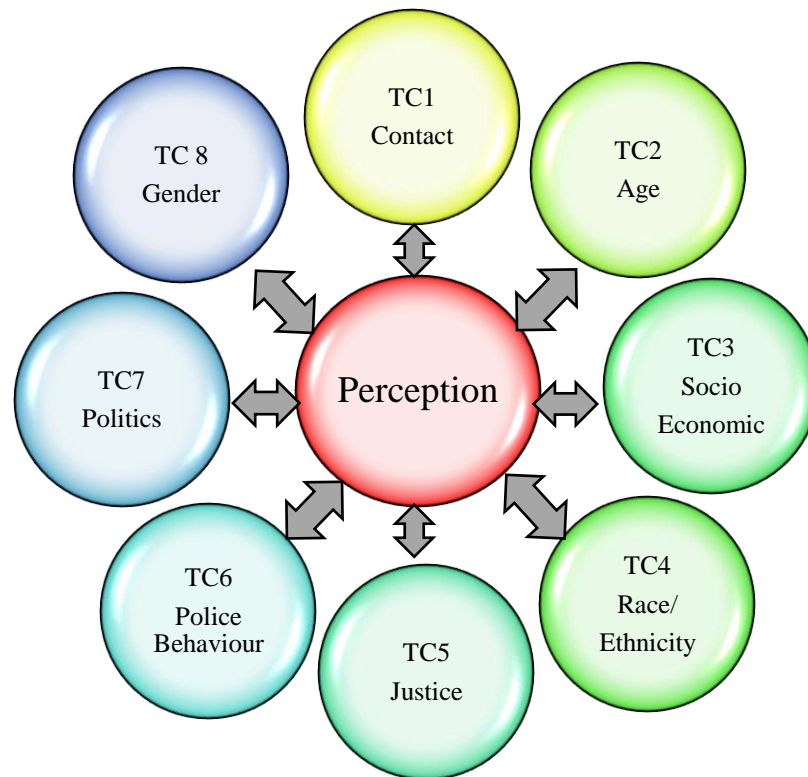
## IV- RESULTS

### 4.0 Overview

The methodology chapter highlighted and justified the process used to undertake an investigation into the public perception of police officers in T&T to provide empirical data relating to the topic. The chapter highlighted the adaptive theory approach as the best option for this study taking into consideration that existing theory provided some guidance on the topic and this will be merged with empirical findings to provide explanations.

This chapter highlighted the results obtained from 50 interviews which was conducted as the main framework for undertaking this research project and contribution to knowledge. The analysis of the data from the interviews produced eight Theoretical Concepts (TC) which were illustrated in *Figure 7*. The results have been explained in a two-tier style. The first tier represented interviewees who formed the majority group, meaning that they accounted for the larger proportion (percentage) of the overall sample size. These interviewees held similar/equal views and opinions during the interviews when various topics were discussed. The other tier represented the minority group meaning that they accounted for the smaller proportion (percentage) of the total sample size. This group of interviewees shared similar/equal views and opinions during the interviews. However, the groups had opposite views and opinions hence the reason for a two-tier style. Unfortunately, there were no interviewees who refused to answer or was neutral in their views and opinions, so no such group was formed. This framework was imperative because it produced new theoretical concepts which was pertinent

towards developing a deeper and valuable understanding of public perception of police officer in T&T considering that no previous studies attempted to research this topic in T&T.



*Figure 7: Theoretical Concepts*

#### **4.1. TC I-Contact**

##### *4.1.1 -Majority Group*

The members of this group ( $N=41$ ) confirmed that they made voluntary contact with the police when seeking assistance, either to make a report, to give information related to a crime in their community or seeking assistance being a victim of crime. They indicated that according to their knowledge, observations and experiences, it was less likely for their local police officers to conducted foot or mobile patrols in their communities (Peak and Glensor, 1996; Harriott, 2000). This group described their local police teams as lazy and sat in the station waiting for calls from the public who needed assistance. However, it was indicated that when patrols were conducted

in this group's communities, it was a common practice for (mainly male) police officers to stop and search the young men walking on the streets without a valid reason. This was more common with the Afrotrinidadian communities/people when compared to the Indo-Trinidadian communities/people, with people under 30 years old and from disadvantaged (poor) communities (Benedict and Brown, 2002; Weitzer and Tuch, 1999).

When asked about the process for contacting the police in T&T, members of this group agreed that it was not a major problem because contact can be made by either telephone or in person at the nearest police station. According to the group's experiences, contacting the police either ways could be unpleasant and frustrating because when calling the police by telephone it was common to hear the officer trying to have another conversation with other people in the station. Therefore, it's highly possible that the caller's information is not recorded accurately or given the level of attention needed. This group also explained that when visiting a police station, it could also be problematic because there is often a shortage of police officers on duty and it can take more than one hour to speak to an officer, as it was previously reported by Mastrofski (1999) and Maguire and Johnson (2010).

According to this group's previous experiences, police officers in T&T frequently told citizens seeking assistance that there are insufficient officers on duty or vehicles available to attend to their requests and reports. The members of this group explained that from their personal experiences, officers deliberately scrutinise citizen's reports and requests and are more likely to respond to situations of a critical situation such as firearms and murder (Crank, 1998; Trojanowicz et al., 2002). It was stated by this group that when reports or requests relating to less critical situations such as domestic disputes or larceny are made, it is less likely for the

police to assist or even contact the people involved as previously demonstrated by Pino and Johnson (2011).

Members from this group who were victims of crimes and contacted the police for assistance highlighted that their experiences were not good. They stated that having visited their local police station officer (especially males) treated them as perpetrator and not as victims. These interviewees expressed that they are sometimes accused by officers of encouraging the crime to happen. Example, females who reported sexual offences were accused by officers as having been dressed in a provocative way which contributed to the crime.

This group indicated that they were very reluctant in contacting the police due to officer's poor level of response. They explained that on the occasions when the police did respond, officer's attitudes towards them were often unhelpful, rude, aggressive and uncaring. The responding officers appeared to be uninterested in solving citizen's problem/s and mainly dominating and forceful when dealing with the situation. The members of this group explained that from the contact they personally had and that of other people they knew, most police officers appeared to have a lack of knowledge about their job especially in the distribution of the law and paramount above all, the ability to communicate with the public in a respectful manner.

An example was obtained to support the statements and explanations received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences about contact between citizens and police officers in T&T. The example demonstrated how contact have impacted on the relationship and service offered by the TTPS and how the impact of both have affected people's satisfaction with the police. A 21-year-old Afrotrinidadian male interviewee (SWD 3) from this group gave an account of his personal experience;

*“I don’t like contacting the police and prefer if they don’t contact me either. About two years ago my neighbour was smoking marijuana and the smoke and smell was coming into my house and affecting my young children. I reported the problem by telephone to the police, but they never came or contacted me. About one year ago I could not tolerate my neighbour’s marijuana problem anymore, so I went to the police station myself. Approximately three days later the police came to investigate the problem. They spoke to my neighbour at first and then came to my house. The officers began speaking with me and one of the male officers push me against my living room wall and slapped me for no reason. He told me to stop making stupid reports and wasting the police time because they had better things to do. The same officers warned me that if I harassed the police again, he will personally shoot me”.*

*(Interview # 3)*

#### *4.1.2- Minority Group*

The members of this group ( $N=9$ ) had different views and experiences compared to respondents from the majority group. According to this group’s experiences, police officers often contacted the residents in their communities, and this was possible because of frequent mobile patrols carried out. It was highlighted that when time permitted, officers normally stopped and held conversations with residents to ensure that the people were safe and to discuss any concerns. This group stated that because of frequent police patrols, residents have developed a close working relationship whereby they are familiar with most local officers. During these police and residents contact, this group found officers to be polite, caring and genuinely interested in helping the people in their communities. Officers did not appear rude or forceful and were knowledgeable and experienced in carrying out their duties and assisting citizens. This group further explained that in their communities, if the police felt that someone was suspicious or broke the law, officers might search that person and it was done in a professional manner and not because of person’s demographic characteristics.



This group highlighted that from their experience when contacting the police either by telephone or in person, they have never experienced any problems. They explained that when they contacted the police, officers would respond within a reasonable time and tried their best to resolve any problem. If an officer needed to use force to control the situation, they never use excessive force beyond what was needed or abused anyone.

An example was obtained to support the statements and explanations received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences about contact between citizens and police officers in T&T. The example demonstrated how contact have impacted on the relationship and service offered by the TTPS and how citizens react to the impact. A 59-year-old Indotrinidadian female (CD 44) interviewee from this group explained her personal experience;

*“I arrived home from work one Friday evening and found my front door slightly opened. I immediately drove to the police station and made a report. There were many people at the station, and I was told that all vehicles were out on various enquiries. I volunteered to take the officers to my home and back and the sergeant on duty immediately got two officers to accompany me. The officers investigated and discovered that the lock on the door was not working properly and needed to be replaced. They carried out a full check of the entire house and found nothing unusual. They contacted a local locksmith on my behalf and waited for the lock to be replace making sure that I was safe. I took the officers back to the station as agreed”.*

*(Interview # 44)*

#### *4.1.3 – Group Demographics*

When the researcher conducted interviews and the data was analysed, it was observed that most interviewees who formed the majority group ( $N=41$ ) resided in disadvantaged and middle-class

communities whilst only a small amount were from affluent communities. Simultaneously, most interviewees were of Afrotrinidadian and Indotrinidadian ethnicity, a small amount of mixed race, however, no whites or other ethnicities. Most of these interviewees were employed and from the income category (E2 & E3). A small amount was unemployed, and a few were self-employed. Most interviewees were from South Western Division (SWD) both Cedros and Penal and a small amount from the Central Division (CD) mainly in the Caroni area. There was a balance in the male to female ratio and the single and married categories. However, most respondents were from the age categories C1 and C2 and had educational attainment at categories D2 and D3.

On the other hand, the minority group ( $N=9$ ) was observed as having interviewees mainly from the upper class and only a few from the middle class and disadvantaged community. The interviewees from this group were mainly white and wealthy Afrotrinidadians and Indotrinidadians. Most of these interviewees were self-employed and fell into category E5, from the age group C2 and was married. These interviewees were mainly educated to D3 and D4 levels and were mainly males. Refer to Table 2 for coding.

## **4.2. TC II- Age**

### *4.2.1- Majority Group*

According to the experiences and knowledge of this group ( $N=36$ ), police officers in T&T treat citizens differently based on their age. They indicated that it is more likely for police officers to treat younger people under 30 years old (approximately) in a hostile and profiling manner

which is often accompanied by physical abuse. The members of this group explained that according to their personal experiences and those of people they were associated with, when police officers are patrolling their communities, officers frequently stop and search the young people (mainly Afrotrinidadian) for drugs and firearms without any valid reason as demonstrated in previous studies by (Johnson et al., 2008; Kuhns et al., 2011). It was stated by this group that on many occasions police officers might find nothing illegal on the individual, but some officers frequently put small amounts of drugs on the person's body and then arrest and charge them for the offence to justify the reason for their stop and search.

According to the contributions from this group, they have first-hand experiences and knowledge which suggested that many police officers in T&T hold a presumption that young people are, less educated about the laws, possess less experienced about life, have a lack of knowledge on the procedures for reporting police officers and do not know or understand their rights as citizens. As a result, young people are more likely to become an easier target for police to abuse as highlighted by Johnson et al., (2008). It was stated by this group that information they received from police officers' associates and family members, many junior officers in the TTPS needed to demonstrate and impress their senior officers that they are doing their job by arresting criminals and worthy of promotion. As a result, many young people often became victims of police statistics.

Based on the knowledge and experiences from members of this group, it could be suggested that police officers in T&T are less likely to harass, intimidate or abuse people over 30 years old (approximately) regardless of affiliation with affluent people or not. This could be because police officers expect a higher probability for older people to retaliate against any form of

mistreatment, poses a better understanding of their rights, to be more experienced and knowledgeable about the laws and might be more inclined to lodge formal complaints against an officer and follow it to the end.

This group further explained that police officers were often selective in harassing and intimidating young people in T&T. They explained that young people (mainly males) who are involved in the drug trade are less likely to experience police mistreatment because of their connection with government ministers or senior police officers. Simultaneously, young people who are connected or related to affluent people in T&T are less likely to experience police mistreatment. On the other hand, young people who are not connected or related to affluent people are more likely to experience police mistreatment.

When the members of this group was asked about young people's involvement in delinquent behaviour, such as, narcotics, prostitution, robberies and firearm offences, they agreed that there is a small amount of young people who are involved in these activities, however the majority of young people are not involved. They highlighted that police officers in T&T created a stereotype to all young people (especially those not connected to someone affluent) as being criminal and lawbreakers. Hence the reason those young people being victims of police mistreatment.

An example was obtained to support the statements and explanations received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences about age and how it impacted on the correlation between citizens and police officers in T&T. The example demonstrates how age

determines the service that citizens receive from the police and its effects. A 19-year-old Indotrinidadian male (SWD 14) interviewee described his personal experience;

*“I was walking home from work one day and my jeans was not exactly on my waist but much lower as this is the style of many young people at present. Suddenly a police van stopped alongside me and a woman officer in the van told me to pull my jeans up. I told her I felt comfortable this way and I was not hurting anyone. Immediately after my comments, two male officers came out the van and started asking me if I didn’t hear the female officer and if I had a hearing problem. I told them I didn’t have a hearing problem and they began searching my body for drugs. They emptied my backpack and my lunch box on the road and when they could not find anything illegal on me one of the officers dropped a small foil paper on the ground. They asked me what was in the foil paper and I looked at them and said you know that did not belong to me. One of the officers picked up the foil paper and opened it and it contained a small amount of marijuana. The both male officers began laughing and proceeded to arrest me for the marijuana. I was taken to the police station and whilst there I asked for my phone call to inform my mother of what had happened. One of the male officers who arrested me told me young stupid criminals have no rights, so I didn’t need a phone call”.*

*(Interview #14)*

#### *4.2.2- Minority Group*

The members of this group ( $N=14$ ) stated that based on their knowledge and experiences, the police in T&T do not treat citizens differently because of their age. However, they explained that it is more likely for the police to treat people according to their behaviour, attitude and the type of activities that they participate in. From this group’s experience and the information, they received from the media, younger people in T&T (mainly Afrotrinidadian) have heightened involvement in activities such as, gangs, illegal drugs, firearms and robberies and which are mainly accompanied with very bad attitude and minimal discipline and respect for others. As a result, these young people and their activities are more likely to become of interest

and be monitored by the police. As a result, some citizens of T&T might accuse the police of profiling the young people, but there are justifiable reasons why their activities and behaviour are being monitored by the police as showed in studies by Trotman, (1989); Johnson and Kochel, (2012) and Ryan et al., (2013).

This group had experiences and knowledge which suggested that police officers in T&T do not monitor older people because it is less likely for these people to be involved in illegal activities. It was further explained that older people have more respect, positive and developed attitudes and a more mature type of behaviour. Therefore, when older people are in contact with the police, they are more likely to be respectful and cooperate with officers and it is more likely that police officers will reciprocate respect and cooperation. On the other hand, younger people are more rude and more disrespectful and may often attempt to question the police authority even when they are caught participating in illegal activities. As a result, officers might become firmer in applying the law and use less discretion in dealing with younger people which can be misinterpreted for treatment by age.

An example was obtained to support the statements and explanations received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences about age and how it impacted on the correlation between citizens and police officers in T&T. The example demonstrates how age determines the service that citizens receive from the police and its effects. A 73-year-old Afrotrinidadian male (CD 31) interviewee gave details about his interpretation;

*“The younger people in T&T have become very lazy and arrogant. These young people only interested in quick money by selling drugs, gangs and robbing innocent people. When I was young, I never did those things because I would have been disciplined very seriously. Now it impossible to discipline the young people so they got out of control and have no manner and*

*discipline. They speak to adults in very rude ways and have no respect for the law. When the police become firm in dealing with them, these young people start complaining of police abuse and officers being aggressive”.*

*(Interview # 31)*

#### *4.2.3 – Group Demographics*

Observations that were made during this section of the study highlighted that most interviewees who formed the majority group ( $N=46$ ) were from disadvantaged and middle-class communities and only a small amount was from developed communities. Interviewees were mainly of Afrotrinidadian ethnicity, a small amount of Indotrinitadians and mixed race and a few whites. These interviewees were mainly employed and from the income category E2 & E3 and a few from (E5). A small amount was unemployed, and a few were self-employed. There was a balance in the ratio of interviewees who were from South Western Division (SWD) both Cedros and Penal and the Central Division (CD) both in the Caroni and Chaguanas areas. There was also a balance in the male to female ratio and the single and married interviewees. However, most respondents were from the age categories C1 and C2 and had educational attainment at categories D2 and D3 and a few from D4.

Opposite in context when compared to the majority group, the minority group ( $N=14$ ) consisted of interviewees mainly from the upper class, a small amount from the middle classes and only very few from disadvantaged communities. Interviewees from this group were mainly white and a very small amount of wealthy Afrotrinitadians and Indotrinitadians. Most of these interviewees were self-employed and from category E5 who claimed to be business owners, from the age group C2 and C3 and was married. These interviewees were mainly educated to D4 and a small amount at D3 levels. There was a balance in the ratio of males and females.

### **4.3:TC III- Socioeconomic**

#### *4.3.1- Majority Group*

This group ( $N=41$ ) stated that according to their knowledge and experiences, police officers in T&T treat people from disadvantaged, middle class and affluent communities differently. It was explained by members of this group that most people from disadvantaged communities are not highly educated, earn low salaries, do not have large house or expensive cars and mainly consist of the working-class who live in rented properties or small houses built on self-purchased land, rented land or some illegally on empty land (squatting). Squatting was identified by this group as being mainly associated with areas such as Port of Spain in the North of Trinidad and Cap de Ville in the South. On the opposite hand, most people from affluent communities are highly educated, earn high salaries, have large houses, drive expensive cars and are mainly employed in senior government job, senior jobs in companies both in T&T and overseas and businesspeople. The middle-class communities are not poor as people from the disadvantaged communities, but not rich as people from the affluent communities. These residents live a relatively modest and comfortable lifestyle.

The group explained that disadvantaged communities in T&T are mainly occupied by Afrotrinidadians and a smaller amount of Indotrinidadians. They explained that police officers are less likely to carry-out regular patrols and when patrols were carried out, it was mainly done in a profiling manner where officers randomly stopped people walking on the street and searching them with no reasonable cause. It was further explained that when police searches are being done, it was common for officers to become disrespectful, aggressive and forceful (Trotman, 1986; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). According to this group's personal experiences,



they found many officers who patrol disadvantaged communities to be unhelpful and uncaring about citizen's problems and concerns furthermore assisting with solutions. These results are comparable with previous studies by Deosaran, (2002); Harriott, (2007) and Johnson and Kochel, (2012).

In accordance with the experiences and knowledge of members from this group and people they are associated with, many police officers working in disadvantaged communities are of the assumption that most residents are uneducated, involved in illegal drugs, gang activities and participate in petty crime such as stealing and prostitution as forms of employment. This group acknowledged that there are some people from disadvantaged communities who are involved in illegal activities but not all residents, because there are many educated and hardworking people also. They also acknowledged that some family units in disadvantaged communities in T&T are broken and consist of a single parent. It was then explained that such family units are often challenging and exposed to many social problems causing the children to become easily misled into criminal activities as it was reported in studies by Trotman, (1986); Deosaran, (2002) and Maguire et al., (2008). However, these citizens would like the police to assist by having better communication skills, giving residents respect, listen and understand residents' problems and offer guidance and not be dominating, aggressive and rude. It was explained that most police officers aggravate the situation by harassing the people and did not try to assist and educate residents in a professional manner. This group were of the view that police officers were mainly interested in making arrest to demonstrate to their seniors and the government that they are doing a good job.

According to this group's personal experiences and that of their associates and family, police officer's carryout regular patrols in affluent communities. They explained that these patrols are

conducted as welfare checks and officers frequently stopped and have friendly conversations with residents. It was further explained that many of the residents from affluent communities have very influential positions in T&T and other countries, so they are treated with care and respect. This group stated that, many residents from affluent communities have children who are involved in illegal activities such as drugs, guns and driving when intoxicated. However, police officers turn a blind eye to these offences and do not stop and search these people mainly because of their parent's status in society. Police officers who work in affluent communities respond to residents call for assistance very quickly compared to disadvantaged communities where officers often refuse to assist. This group have experience and knowledge which suggested that officers are caring, professional and try their very best to solve problems in affluent communities, but on the other hand, treat people from disadvantaged communities in an opposite manner.

According to the experiences and knowledge of this group, in disadvantaged communities a single family might continuously be involved in delinquent activities such as robberies or firearm offences. However, the police often develop preconceived attitudes towards those specific communities and label them as problematic. As a result, when the names of these communities are mentioned, officers respond in a negative manner without trying to understand the full circumstances resulting in a less helpful approach towards the citizens.

An example was obtained to support the statements and explanations received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to socioeconomic status and how it impacted on the relationship between citizens and the TTPS. The example demonstrated how socioeconomic status influenced the service level that police officers provide to citizens based on different statuses and which eventually determined how satisfied citizens became with the

police. A 44-year-old mixed-race female interviewee (CD 37) gave an account of the situation based on her knowledge and experience;

*“Police officers in T&T have always treated poor communities differently from rich areas. Officers working in poor communities treat the residents like suspects and do not respect them. If police officers have a little patience and understanding, then these residents may want to cooperate with the police and give officers some respect. But the police just come into these poor areas and start searching people for no reason and this gets the residents frustrated and angry. Another problem is the police dominance and controlling attitude towards citizens from poor areas. Police never listen to these people, so they never know what the problems are and how to solve it. I know that residents in the rich areas are treated differently. These rich people and their children are involved in crimes and illegal things in T&T, but the police never arrest them. I have a friend who is a car dealer and he live in a rich gated community. His son is always driving when drunk and the police always stopping him, but he never got charged. This is because when police officers want a car, they would go to the car dealer who gives the officers discounts and even arrange payment plans. So, it would not be beneficial to the police to arrest his son. Unfortunately, this is how T&T police officers are”.*

*(Interview # 37)*

#### *4.3.2- Minority Group*

This group ( $N=9$ ) stated that from their knowledge and experience, police officers in T&T did not discriminate or treat people differently because of their personal, financial or community status. They explained that most people from disadvantaged communities have limited amounts of education and are mainly from broken family units where it is very difficult to have proper supervision and moral guidance. Because of these shortcomings, residents from these communities have a higher inclination to become involved in illegal activities and delinquent behaviour. Therefore, police officers may need to adopt a firm stance against such behaviour by these residents and this could be misinterpreted as poor police treatment because of social status (Maguire et al.; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

According to the members of this group, many people from disadvantaged communities are very lazy and do not like to work hard and live honestly. It was stated that many residents from disadvantaged communities have accepted crime as a way of earning money to support their lifestyle. This group are of the belief that most people from disadvantaged communities in T&T are involved in illegal drugs, gangs, firearms, prostitution and robberies. Therefore, they are always wanted by the police for these crimes and may experience firm treatment as officers may not use discretion because of the seriousness of these offence to which resident often complain about (Katz and Choate, 2008; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

This group indicated, people from affluent communities have endured many struggles in their lives to overcome poverty and hardships. These residents have studied for many years, have started businesses from almost nothing and have worked many long and difficult hours to become successful and live in affluent communities. The group explained that they have withdrawn themselves from negative and misleading influences and associates that could have led them into a criminal lifestyle and have fought effortlessly to become honest citizens. It was highlighted that people from affluent communities have always try to use their time constructively to enhance their lives and that of their family.

An example was obtained to support the statements and explanations received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to socioeconomic status and how it impacts on the relationship between citizens and the TTPS. The example demonstrates how socioeconomic status influences the service level that police officers provide to citizens based on different statuses. A 67-year-old Indotrinidadian male interviewee (SWD 5) from this group gave details of his beliefs;

*“People from disadvantaged communities have a completely different frame of mind, attitude and outlook about their future compared to people from developed communities. Most people from disadvantaged communities prefer to sit in their communities and do nothing constructive, not even educate themselves whilst most education in T&T is free. These people prefer to participate in crime and fund their lifestyle in this way. People from affluent communities on the other hand, prefer to work hard and long hours and even seven days a week if necessary, so that they can pay their bills and provide a comfortable life for their families. Rich people do not break the law or participate in illegal activities. Therefore, the police have no reason to chase after people from these communities and it’s not about special treatment. However, people from disadvantaged communities are constantly chased by the police because of their involvement in crimes and illegal activities. Not long ago a video was made public where the electricity company was installing new cables in a disadvantaged community in Northern Trinidad and the residents’ accosted the electricity workers and robbed them at gun point of their personal belonging, tools and electrical cables. The workers left and refused to return. Therefore, the citizens from disadvantaged communities are the ones to be blamed for their confrontational contact and the treatment they receive from police officers”.*

*(Interview # 5)*

#### *4.3.3 – Group Demographics*

According to observation made by the researcher during this study, most of the interviewees who formed the majority group ( $N=41$ ) resided in disadvantaged communities whilst the others were from the middle-class, however there were no interviewees in this group from developed communities. Simultaneously, most interviewees were of Afrotrinidadian ethnicity, and others were Indotrinidadians and mixed race. Consequently, there were no whites or other ethnicities. Most interviewees were employed and from the income category (E2, E3 & E4). A small amount was unemployed, and a few were self-employed. The interviewees from this group had an equal ratio being from South Western Division (SWD) both Cedros and Penal and from the Central Division (CD) both Chaguanas and Caroni areas. There was a balance in the male and female and also the single and married interviewees. However, most respondents were from

the age categories C1 and C2 and only a few from C3 and held educational attainment at categories D2 and D3.

The minority group ( $N=9$ ) was observed as having interviewees mainly from the upper class and only a few from the middle class and none from the disadvantaged communities. The interviewees from this group were mainly white and wealthy Indotrinidadians but no Afrotrinidadians. Most of these interviewees were self-employed, from category E5 and only a few from E7. They were mainly from the age group C2 with a few from C3 and were mostly married with a few F3. These interviewees were mainly educated to D3, but few were at D4 levels. There was a balanced ratio between males and females.

#### **4.4. TC IV- Race/Ethnicity**

##### *4.4.1- Majority Group*

This group ( $N=30$ ) stated that according to their knowledge and experiences, police officers in T&T treated citizens differently because of their race. It was explained that officers treated and communicated with many Afrotrinidadians and a small amount of Indotrinidadians in a harsh, disrespectful and aggressive manner compared to whites and Chinese. It was further explained that between Afrotrinidadians and Indotrinidadians, the former receives the worst treatment from police officers. The members of this group explained that based on their past experiences and those of acquaintances, police officers in T&T treat white and Chinese people with respect, respond to their calls for assistance promptly and patrol their communities frequently where friendly and polite communication is considered normal. Indotrinidadians and their

communities are not given the best treatment as whites, but they are not given the worst as Afrotrinidadians. Indotrinidadian communities are patrolled at an average level and officers treat the wealthy Indotrinidadian citizens with maximum respect and in a dignified manner. The Afrotrinidadian people receives the worst treatment in T&T according to this group. They explained that there is small amount of wealthy Afrotrinidadian people are treated like the rich Indotrinidadian people. However, the poor Afrotrinidadian people are treated with very little or no respect, aggressively and suspiciously by most officers. Police officers often ignore request from poor communities occupied by Afrotrinidadian people, patrols in these communities are not frequent and when they were carried out, officers often performed body searches on residents without a justifiable reason as previously highlighted by Premdass, (1999); Meighoo, (2008) and Johnson and Kochel, (2012).

According to this group's experiences and information from associates, family and the media, police officers in T&T often arrest Afrotrinidadian people innocently (some Indotrinidadian people to a lesser amount) for illegal drugs, gang involvement and illegal firearms. This group explained that because many police officers have the misconception of most Afrotrinidadian people being involved in drugs, gangs, firearms and robberies, officers have become more persistent in stopping and searching this race of people. Also, when the police searches deliver nothing illegal, some officers often place small amounts of drugs and even firearms on these individuals and then arrest and charge them for the offence (frame/set-up). This group stated that a small amount of Indotrinidadian people especially those from the disadvantaged communities are treated in a similar manner by the police. On the other hand, police officers do not stop and search white and Chinese people for having drugs or illegal activities. It was highlighted that many white, Chinese and rich Indotrinidadian and Afrotrinidadian people in T&T uses drugs and drive when intoxicated, but they never get arrested or charged. This group

stated that they have personally witnessed where police officers found illegal drugs on these people and it was taken from them and they proceeded without being arrested or charged.

When this group was questioned further on their views and opinions about the possible reasons for the difference in treatment from the police, they explained that white people have always held an authoritative position in T&T since colonial times. As a result, the police automatically give maximum respect to white people and also many whites occupy influential and senior management jobs, whilst others are business owners. This group explained that Chinese people have been in T&T for a very long time now. However, in recent times there has been increasing amounts moving to T&T and most of whom are investors. Therefore, these Chinese people are responsible for many large government contracts which generate a high level of finance and they give many gifts to police officers. This group also highlighted that many Chinese people are owners of a vast majority of fast food restaurants in T&T. Therefore, when police officers purchase food in these restaurants, officers received major discounts and complimentary gifts. Consequently, police officers are very respectful and lenient towards these races/ethnicities.

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relative to race/ethnicity and how it impacts on the relationship between citizens and police officers in T&T. The example demonstrated how race/ethnicity affects the service that police officers provide to citizens and how it fluctuates according to this demographic factor. A 21-year-old Indo-Trinidadian female interviewee (SWD 23) explained her interpretation of the subject;

*“Police officers constantly harass, intimidate and profile Afro-Trinidadian people especially from poor communities. Officers treat these people as if they are worthless or not humans like*



*others. Afrotrinidadian people should be treated equally and given respect just like people of the other races. Because many Afrotrinidadian people live in poor communities, this does not signify that they are different or less significant. Whilst some of the Afrotrinidadian people do commit crimes, not all are the same and the police should not stereotype for this reason. The whites, Chinese and the rich Indians and Africans are given special treatment by the police because of their influence in T&T”.*

*(Interview # 23)*

#### *4.4.2- Minority Group*

Members of this group ( $N=20$ ) stated they are of the belief that police officers in T&T do not give people special treatment based on their race/ethnicity. They highlighted that according to their knowledge and experiences, the police treat citizens of T&T in accordance to their behaviour and compliance with the law and not because of their race. The group explained that police officers do not profile Afrotrinidadians. However, people of this race were considered to have a higher probability of becoming involved in crimes such as gangs, robberies, murders, and drug trafficking when compared to any other race in T&T. These results were comparable to studies by Katz and Choate, (2006); Deosaran, (2007) and Johnson and Kochel, (2012). As a result, people involved in delinquency are more likely to become noticeable and wanted by the police for their criminal activities and involvement. Because of these reasons, Afrotrinidadian people become in frequent contact and have contentious and unfavourable experiences with the police and might interpret this as police harassment, profiling and racism. However, this group explained that such interpretations are false and a totally wrong illustration and a misconception of what the real problems are.

It was the views of this group who explained that a small amount of Indotrinidadian citizens especially those from disadvantaged communities are also involved in criminal activities and

for this reason they are monitored and may experience frequent and confrontational contacts with the police. Therefore, it's not true that they are profiled or abused because of their race. The group indicated that if these people were not involved in criminal activities, they would not be of interest to the police or their lifestyles and activities would not be monitored by officers. This group acknowledged that many upper-class people may be white, Chinese or rich Indotrinidadians and Afrotrinidadians, but it is not illegal for Afrotrinidadian people to reside in these communities. However, they need to work hard, stop participating in criminal activities and make better choices for themselves, their families and their future (Katz and Fox, 2010; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relative to race/ethnicity and how it impacts on the relationship between citizens and police officers in T&T. The example demonstrates how race/ethnicity affects the service that police officers provide to citizens and how it fluctuates according to this demographic factor. A 47-year-old mixed-race male interviewee (CD 29) provided an explanation of his views on the subject:

*“People need to take responsibility for their action and behaviour. In T&T Afrotrinidadians are highly involved in violent crimes and constantly being in contact with the police because of their actions. Afrotrinidadians and some Indotrinidadians needs to look at themselves and realise that other citizens are honest and hardworking, and they should also do the same to improve their lives. People who live in develop communities were not born rich, but they or their parents are hard workers and honest people. If Afrotrinidadians can do this, they will have less confrontational contact with the police and not feel profiled or treated like suspects. They also need to stop making excuses and try to work hard for what they want and not use crime as an easy opportunity”.*

*(Interview # 29)*

#### *4.4.3 – Group Demographics*

The majority group ( $N=30$ ) was observed by the researcher as having a balanced ratio of Afrotrinidadian and Indotrinidadians. There was a small number of mixed-race interviewees and only a few whites and no other ethnicities. Most Afrotrinidadians and Indotrinidadians were employed, a few unemployed, self-employed and retired. Most interviewees accounted for the E2 and E3 income categories whilst few accounted for the E5. Most interviewees were from the C1 and C2 age categories and only a few from the C3. Most interviewees were educated to D3 category, a small number at D2 and only a few at D4. There was a balance in the male and female ratio, most were married and had some type of contact with the TTPS. The majority of interviewees were from the South Western Division (SWD) mainly Cedros and a small number from the Penal area. Other interviewees from this group accounted for the Central Division (CD) mainly the Chaguanas area and only a few from the Caroni area. Most interviewees from this group resided in the disadvantaged and middle-class communities whilst only a few were from developed communities.

The minority group ( $N=20$ ) consisted of mainly interviewees mainly from the upper class, only a few from the middle-class and none from disadvantaged community. Interviewees were mainly white and wealthy Afrotrinidadians and Indotrinidadians and a few mixed-race. Most were from the age categories of C2 and C3, educated to D3 and D4 levels and had an income range in the E4 and E5 categories. Most were married and few single and everyone had some level of contact with the police before. There was a balanced ratio between males and females and these interviewees were mainly from the Central Division (CD) especially the Chaguanas area and from the Penal area in the South Western Division (SWD).

## **4.5. TC V- Justice**

### *4.5.1- Majority Group*

This group ( $N=39$ ) possessed knowledge and experiences which suggested that police officers in T&T do not exercise fairness and equality when they perform their duties especially the process they use to deal with a situation and how they distributed final decision. The group explained that due to the police ability to use discretion, many officers developed an inclination towards manipulating specific situations so that it will become beneficial to their personal preference. Members of this group stated that according to their knowledge and experiences and those of other people they knew, many police officers in T&T when dealing with situations that involved family and associates, officers were more likely to treat the situation and the other people involved in a bias way so that the process and final decision became favourable to the officer's family/ associates. As a result, the other people involved were not treated equally or fairly, which was reported in previous studies by Bennett and Moribito, (2006); Pino, (2009) and Johnson et al., (2014).

According to the knowledge and experiences of this group, many police officers in T&T were involved in various illegal activities and in recent times some officers have been accused and charged for being associated with gang leaders and members. As a result, some police officers use their authority during various situations to manipulate and cause processes and outcomes to favour their gang associates so that these people are not arrested, charged or convicted for their crimes. It was further indicated by member of this group that they were familiar with and became victims in situations where police officers altered statements and intimidated witness

against testifying in court cases which involved criminals with whom some officers were associated with (Townsend, 2009; Parks and Mastrofski, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011).

It was highlighted by this group who had experienced situations which involved people from disadvantaged and affluent communities being treated in a bias manner by police officers in T&T. The group indicated that in situations involving people from these two communities, it was more likely for officers to manipulate the situation so that it became favourable to the person/people from the affluent community. According to the knowledge of this group, many police officers are in receipt of gifts and favours from people in the affluent communities or these people's status may have some influence on the TTPS and/or senior police officers. As a result, people from disadvantaged communities who are not able to offer gifts and favours to the police or who are less influential in society might have a higher chance of being treated unfairly and unequally by the police.

According to the members of this group previous knowledge and experiences, many male police officers in the TTPS manipulate situations to favour women who they perceive as being attractive. It was explained that some male officers are womanisers and often treat a situation in an unfair and/or unequal manner to acquire a decision that will be favourable towards an attractive woman so that the officer might impress her and eventually gain sexual favours. This group stated that such bias actions by male police officers in T&T are more likely to become distressing to other people from the public, including males and other females because these people have a higher probability of receiving unjustifiable treatment from the police, as it was showed in previous studies by Punch, (2009); Reiner, (2010) and Pino and Johnson, (2011).

An example was obtained to support the statements and explanations received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to justice and how justice it was distributed and impacted on the relationship between citizens and the TTPS. This example illustrated how justice affects the services provided by police officers in T&T and how it fluctuated with demographics. A 45-year-old Indotrinidadian male interviewee (CD 40) gave details of his personal experience;

*“Some time ago I was driving to work and a female driver travelling in the opposite direction swerved onto my lane to avoid a pothole in the road and her car collided with my car causing minor damages to both vehicles. We both came out and looked at the damages and she began to apologise and explain her reason for swerving and would accept liability for the accident because she came over on my lane. Because the road was single lane on both sides, we decided to move our vehicles to release the traffic that began to pill up. We agreed that the accident needed to be reported to the police, so we both drove our vehicles to the nearby district police station and made a report to a constable. The constable informed us that he needed to take a statement individually, so I went first. When I was finished, it was the female driver’s turn and she accompanied the constable to the statement room. I noticed an Inspector went into the statement room and was there for approximately 30 minutes. The constable and the Inspector came to me and the Inspector told me that I needed to repair my own vehicle since the accident was my fault as I was driving on the middle white line causing the vehicles to collide. I immediately began to argue because I know exactly what happened and what I agreed with the other driver. I asked to speak with the female driver by the police refused saying I am being aggressive. The police asked me to leave the station and repair my vehicle because the accident was my fault. I saw the female driver car parked outside the police station, so I took the registration and went to my insurance company. My insurance company sent for a copy of the police report and I was shocked to discover that the report stated that I was wrong in the accident. Therefore, my insurance company could not help me because I had a third-party insurance. Approximately one month later I met a school colleague who is a police officer and I explained the circumstances of the accident. He promised to look into it for me. Approximately one week later my school colleague informed me that the female driver was the daughter of the senior superintendent of that division and the officers altered the information to favour her. I did not take the names of any witness since we had agreed that she was accepting liability. I had to repair my own car”.*

*(Interview # 40)*

#### *4.5.2- Minority Group*

The members of this group ( $N=11$ ) stated that from their knowledge and experiences, police officers in T&T appeared to be fair and equal when dealing with situations and making final decisions and how these are distributed to citizens. They explained that male police officers who are accused of favouring women in the hope of obtaining sexual relationships is incorrect. It was further explained that generally many men in society are kind and pursue women for different reasons, some for sex, some for friendship and others for marriage and this did not make them a womaniser. Therefore, male police officers are also men and they may pursue women for different reasons. However, being a male police officer do not automatically make them a womaniser or favouring women for sex.

According to this group, police officers in T&T treated all citizens fairly and equally and not because of their demographics. The group explained that many Afrotrinidadian people occupies the disadvantaged communities in T&T and had an increased likelihood to participate in criminal activities. As a result, these people are always wanted by the police because of their behaviour and activities and this may often lead to confrontational contact and experiences. Therefore, because of these people criminal activities, police officers may need to apply the law firmly and Afrotrinidadian people may interpret this as unfair and unequal treatment.

This group explained that they have knowledge relating to rumours of police officers in T&T being involvement in gangs and other criminal activities. However, they were not aware of any police officer being charged or convicted for any type of gang related offences. They further explained that gang members have families, and some might be police officer. However,

families communicate and socialise, but these activities do not constitute that police officers are involved in gang and criminal activities.

According to this group, they are aware that there are some corrupt police officers in the TTPS. However, they explained that, not all police officers in the TTPS are delinquent, because they (interviewees) have first-hand experiences of many hard working and honest police officers who have the public's best interest. Therefore, it's not fair to categorise all police officers as being unequal or to label the entire TTPS as being corrupt, unfair and bias.

An example was obtained to support the statements and explanations received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to justice and how justice it is distributed and impacts on the relationship between citizens and the TTPS. This example illustrates how justice effects the services provided by police officers in T&T and how it fluctuated with demographics. A 37-year-old Afrotrinidadian female interviewee (SWD 19) explained her interpretation of the situation in T&T;

*“Some people in T&T accuses police officers of being unfair and unequal in carrying out their duties. However, if you take a closer look at the people who make these accusations, they are the people who sit on street corners selling drugs and/or prostituting themselves in poor communities, constantly getting involved in illegal activities such as guns and gangs and displaying aggressive and violent behaviour. On the other hand, people from rich areas are always busy working, studying or doing something constructive. Therefore, people from poor communities are more likely to be arrested, have confrontational experiences with the police and have aggressive and threatening behaviour towards society. People from rich areas are the opposite because it is less likely for them to have many contacts with the police or become wanted by the law. Therefore, the police do not favour people from rich areas and be bias to poor people. Justice has always been misinterpreted by the poor people because they fail to comply with the laws of T&T”.*

*(Interview #19)*



#### 4.5.3 – Group Demographics

The researcher observed that the greater number of interviewees who formed the majority group ( $N=39$ ) were from disadvantaged communities, a small number was from the middle-class whilst only a few were from the affluent communities. There was a balanced ratio of males and females and also interviewees of Afrotrinidadian and Indotrinidadians ethnicities, whilst there was a small number of mixed-race ethnicities. However, there were no whites or other ethnicities. Most of these interviewees were from the C1 and C2 age categories whilst there was a small number from C3. Most interviewees were employed and from the income categories E2 & E3, a few had an income from the E4 category, a small amount was unemployed, and a few were self-employed. There was a balance ratio of interviewees from the South Western Division (SWD) both Cedros and Penal and from the Central Division (CD) Chaguanas and Caroni area. These interviewees were mainly educated to categories D2 and D3 levels with only a few at D4.

Interviewees from the minority group ( $N=11$ ) were mainly from the upper class, with only a few from the middle-class and disadvantaged communities. Interviewees were mainly white and wealthy Afrotrinidadians and Indotrinidadians and a few mixed-race. There was a balanced ratio the age categories of C1 and C2 and a few from C3, educated to D3 and D4 levels and had an income range in the E4 and E5 categories, with only a few at E6 and E7. There was a balanced ratio of married and single interviewee but no widowed, also between males and females and these interviewees were mainly from the Central Division (CD) especially the Chaguanas area and from the Penal area in the South Western Division (SWD). The majority had some level of contact/ interaction with the police previously.

## **4.6. TC VI- Police Behaviour**

### *4.6.1- Majority Group*

According to this group's ( $N=43$ ) knowledge and experiences and those of their acquaintances, there were many police officers in the TTPS who are involved in corruption, favouritism, bullying and the abuse of their authority to which many citizens of T&T were aware of, either from personal experiences, experiences of others and/or the media which publishes articles and reports relating to officer's behaviour as it was previously reported (Townsend, 2009; Parks and Mastrofski, 2009; Pino and Johns, 2011). The members of this group stated that some police officers in the TTPS were known to be involved in narcotic trafficking, robberies and other serious crimes and it should not be forgotten that a previous Commissioner of Police was named as the key person who was investigated for involvement in T&T's narcotic trade and also the protection of several major drug traffickers in T&T (Scott Drug Report, 1984; Deere et al., 1990; Klein, 2004).

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to police behaviour and the impact it has on the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. This example demonstrates how police behaviour affects the services that the TTPS provide to citizens and how the public feel about it. A 22-year-old Indo-Trinidadian female (SWD 11) respondent provided details of an incident;

*“A member of the public approached a police officer dressed in uniform whilst on official duty and asked the officer for some weed (marijuana) to buy. The officer decided to deliver the drugs, negotiated a price and an approximate time for delivery. This was recorded on video unknown to the officer. When an official report was made and the officer interviewed, the officer claimed to be intoxicated from having two beers during his shift and misinterpreted the question as being seed since he was involved in agriculture. No formal action was taken against the officer and he continue to work as normal”.*

*(Interview # 11)*

This group explained that some officers used their authority to participate in very serious crimes and on some occasions, the officers plan the crimes and might obtain assistance from a non-police associate or family member to execute the offence. It was stated that there has been information made available to the public (via television and newspapers) where some police officers rented their service firearms to their criminal accomplices to carryout illegal activities especially robberies and the corrupt officers collected a percentage of the loot. When the victims phoned the police and reported the crime, corrupt officers often delayed the response time to facilitate their accomplice’s successful escape (Townsend, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011).

According to this group’s knowledge and experiences, some officers have been involved with gangs and criminal activities. It was explained that some corrupt officers deliberately used their authority to participate and facilitate gang activities in T&T from which they received financial rewards. This group highlighted that based on their knowledge from the media, several police officers within recent times have been under investigation for gang involvement and to date, they were aware of three officers formally charged for gang related offences as previously reported by Townsend, (2009); Pino and Johnson, (2011) and Ramdass, (2019).

It was highlighted by this group that police officers in the TTPS had a lack of care for the people in T&T. According to their experiences, when some police officers attend to citizens from the public, officers showed little or no compassion for the people with problems (Parks and Mastrofski, 2009; Johnson et al., 2014). It was further stated that some officers deliberately ignore reports or requests for assistance and often fail to investigate reports made by the public (especially disadvantaged communities) and often treat these same people with arrogant and aggressive behaviour. The group indicated that many police officers in T&T behaved unprofessionally and often used insulting and offensive language when trying to avoid their duties, these results are comparable to studies by Harriott, (2000) and Deosaran, (2002).

Based on the experiences and knowledge of this group, many police officers in the TTPS abused their authority. It was highlighted that some police officers use the authority entrusted to them for soliciting personal favours, obtaining discounts, gaining priority, corruption and sexual favours (Parks and Mastrofski, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011). According to this group's experiences, some police officers in T&T used their uniform as a form of intimidation since they might not be on official duty but dresses in their uniforms to obtain preference and make other citizens aware of their authority. It was stated that police officers from non-uniform departments such as Criminal Investigation Department (CID), used the opportunity of not being dressed in a uniform to disguise their unprofessional behaviour, such as participation in the illegal drug trade and transporting illegal immigrants as part of the human trafficking problem in T&T. This group further explained that some officers in the TTPS used their authority to solicit sexual favours and relationships with female members of the public. These officers frequently display a high level of macho behaviour and exploited their authority to prove to females that they were superior to other men.

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to police behaviour and the impact it has on the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. This example demonstrates how police behaviour affects the services that the TTPS provide to citizens and how the public feel about it. A 56-year-old Afrotrinidadian female interviewee (CD 47) described a situation which she personally witnessed;

*“There are some drug addicts who live on my street. On several occasions after midnight, I observed from my window which is two floors up, the CID van and male plain clothes officers with guns searching several addicts who were on the street. On more than one occasion, it appeared that officers found drugs on the addict and allowed the males to leave whilst the female addict went into the back seat of the van and began giving oral sex to the male officers in turns”*

*(Interview # 47)*

According to this group, the level of professionalism amongst police officers in the TTPS was poor and unsatisfactory based on their previous experiences. They highlighted that there is a serious problem with professionalism starting from the most senior down to the most junior officer. The group explained that they were aware of some type of mechanisms such as the Police Complaints Authority (PCA) and professional Standards Bureau (PSB) in the TTPS that investigate and manage police professionalism, but these mechanisms were mainly managed and operated by several police officers. They explained that based on previous situations, officers employed in these departments manipulated the system and laws to protect their fellow officers (Townsend, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011).

An explanation provided by this group indicated that some senior officers are involved in illegal and unprofessional activities whilst many junior officers and members of the public are aware

of these activities. It was highlighted that senior officers often get the junior officers to assist in carrying out illegal activities and/or participate in unprofessional behaviour. As a result, senior officers were not in a position to reprimand their juniors for delinquent behaviour. According to the members of this group, senior officers should be setting better examples for juniors, but this was not the case in the TTPS. It was stated that police professionalism does not solely relate to deviant behaviour but also includes the level of punctuality, respect, consideration and service. This group believed that there is no proper or functional system in place to ensure that police officers execute their job fairly, professionally and offer the best possible service to citizens, as highlighted in previous studies by Mastrofski and Lum, (2008); Pino, (2009) and Johnson et al., (2014).

It was stated by this group the recruitment process in the TTPS appeared to be biased and corrupted. They explained that based on information received from the media and mainly from police officer's poor attitudes and inability to carry out their duties (experienced and new officers) they are convinced that many of these police officers do not have the basic skills required for policing, especially techniques to pacify and rectify problematic situations. It was the view of this group that many serving police officers used their authority to have their friends and relatives recruited into the TTPS. As a result, these people might not possess the necessary skills and personal qualities for the job. A further point mentioned was the problem of increasing unemployment in T&T within recent times and considering this, some people view the TTPS as an employment opportunity in difficult times. The group believed that applicants who possess the required academic qualifications and passes all the processes, might not genuinely be interested in becoming a police officer, but rather in becoming employed. Also, officers who were recruit by means of corruption or bias processes, are more likely to be

incapable of performing the role and function of a professional police officer (Multu, 2000; Renne, 2012; Stanislas, 2014).

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to police behaviour and the impact it has on the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. This example demonstrates how police behaviour affects the services that the TTPS provide to citizens and how the public feel about it. A 40-year-old Indotrinidadian male interviewee (SWD 24) explained her experience;

*“My neighbours have a teenage son in his early 20’s and he received a good secondary school education. However, he has been a troublesome child due to lack of discipline and have many rude, lazy and disrespect ways. During a conversation with his father, I learnt that a sum of \$10,000 Trinidad and Tobago dollars was paid to a very senior police officers for the young man to be recruited into the TTPS. I was informed by the young man’s father that if any of my children wanted to join the TTPS I should let him know and he will introduce me to the senior officer”.*

*(Interview # 24)*

This group stated that they did not have precise knowledge of the various aspects of the police training programme at the police training academy but felt disappointed based on their personal experiences and information from the media (television and newspapers) about the behaviour and attitude of some police officers. They explained that some officer’s behaviour and attitude towards members of the public were unprofessional, degrading, humiliating, rude and unhelpful. From those feelings, the group stated that there were many recently trained police officers within the TTPS who lack the basic knowledge and skills in public relations and how to communicate with the population in a dignified manner. It was stated that when some officers

approach members of the public, these officers might start treating individuals in an aggressive and/or unpleasant way without justifiable cause. The members of this group recalled and highlighted a specific incident in Trinidad's Southern city of San Fernando where a newly recruited police officer in full view of the public physically assaulted a disabled man who was wheelchair bounded. The incident caught the attention of the world. This group were curious about the type and level of training officers received and the recruitment process used to recruit these new officers (Deosaran, 2002; Pino and Johnson, 2009; Parks and Mastrofski, 2009).

According to this group's experiences and that of other people they know, it is common for police officers in T&T to be intoxicated and under the influence of drugs whilst on duty. It was highlighted that on many occasions this group have witnessed intoxicated officer on duty carrying firearms and need to be assisted by colleagues because they were too drunk to walk, and marijuana can also be smelt on some officer's uniform. This group are of the belief that some pubs and clubs give free alcohol to police officers because the TTPS are responsible for inspecting and granting renewal licences to these businesses and to encourage a police presence which may act as a deterrent to potential criminals and troublemakers. According to this group, on many occasions when citizens contact the police for assistance, it was common for officers to state that there were no available police vehicles or officers to assist. But on the other hand, police vehicles could be seen parked at pubs and clubs where officers on duty are seen consuming alcohol or even police vehicles parked at private residents where officers visit women for sex.

This group was of the view that because of reasons such as poor behaviour and abuse from police officers in T&T, citizens have lost trust and confidence in police officers which resulted in the overall institution having a poor reputation and image. It was highlighted that not all



police officers are directly involved in criminal behaviour because there are some honest and hardworking officers. However, it was not simple to differentiate individual officers who were corrupted against those who are honest, so it was best not to trust all police officers. This group were also of the belief that officers who are not involved in rouge behaviour and crimes are likely to have some knowledge about their colleague's rouge behaviour and activities. Because of the police code of silence where officers protect each other by not reporting their colleagues, these honest officers are also guilty of supporting their rouge colleagues and the continuation of criminal activities (Park and Mastrofski, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Wilson, 2016).

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to police behaviour and the impact it has on the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. This example demonstrates how police behaviour affects the services that the TTPS provide to citizens and how the public feel about it. A 59-year-old Afrotrinidadian male interviewee (CD 27) gave an explanation;

*“Within recent times a male police officer had been formally charged for human trafficking in T&T. The officer with more than 25 years’ service had connections in South America where he was illegally bringing Latin women into T&T by boat at night and using a marked police vehicle as transport. He was supplying the women to hotels, clubs and pubs as prostitutes”.*

*(Interview # 27)*

#### *4.6.2- Minority Group*

This group ( $N=7$ ) acknowledged that there are some bad and negative publicity about police officers in the TTPS relating to problems such as corruption and physical abuse. However, it was stated that they have never personally experienced or know of anyone who has been the recipient of bad treatment causing them to develop a lack of trust and confidence in the police. They stated that not all police officers were the same, therefore it would be unfair and bias to treat all officers equally and accuse them collectively.

According to this group's experiences and that of people they know, officers in the TTPS were generally caring, gentle and kind when performing their duties. They explained that it was their belief that police officers in T&T tried their best to resolve any problem which citizens might have and were sympathetic when attending to people in the communities. The group were of the belief that police officers in T&T are accountable for their actions and did not abuse their authority. According to their experiences, officers they interacted with appeared to have taken their job and citizen's concerns seriously and did not ask for favours, bribes or did not try to intimidate anyone. The members of this group explained that there are internal and external organisations that investigate and manage any police officer accused of misbehaviour and if found guilty, these officers are disciplined.

This group highlighted that from their interactions and experiences with the TTPS, they found police officers to have the necessary knowledge and skills to accomplish their job and address the situation for which their assistance was required. They explain that the officers who assisted

them was not aggressive or forceful in their actions and appeared fit for their job and were of the view that these officers were deserving of being recruited.

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to police behaviour and the impact it has on the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. This example demonstrates how police behaviour affects the services that the TTPS provide to citizens and how the public feel about it. A 29-year-old Indotrinidadian female interviewee (CD 32) gave details of her personal experience;

*“I was driving home alone after working late. It was approximately 2am and there were no other vehicles on the roads. Suddenly my car got two flat tires and I was stalled. I began to panic because being a single female, at night on a lonely road and no one to call for help at that time was scary and not safe. I decide to call 999 because I had no other options and a male operator sent a police vehicle and two male officers. Unfortunately, they could not fix my tires, but they stayed with me and called a tow-truck. My car was taken into the city and the tow company was able to repair the tired. Both officers stayed with me until the car was functional and they gave me the station telephone number to call when I arrived home to ensure that I was safe. I really appreciate and applaud the police for their assistance. The police did not solve a crime, but they did prevent one from happening especially if I was there alone”.*

*(Interview # 32)*

#### *4.6.3 – Group Demographics*

When the researcher conducted interviews and the data was analysed, it was observed that the majority group ( $N=43$ ) had a balanced ratio of male and female interviewees. Interviewees of Afrotrinidadian ethnicity accounted for the greater proportion of the group, followed by a balanced ratio of Indotrinitadians and Mixed-race. However, there were no whites or other ethnicities. Most interviewees were from the age category C1, a small amount from the C2 and

only a few from C3. Most were educated to D3 level, a small amount at D2 and a few at D4, whilst most received an income at category E2, a small amount a E3 and few at E4. There was a balanced ratio of single and married interviewees and only a few from category F3. Most of the interviewees were from the South Western Division (SWD) both Cedros and Penal having an equal ratio whilst in the Central Division (CD) Chaguanas had the second most and Caroni had the least.

The minority group ( $N=7$ ) had a balanced ratio of male and female interviewees. They were mainly of white ethnicity, with a small number of wealth Afrotrinidadian and Indotrinidadian. There were no mixed-race or interviewees of other ethnicities. Most interviewees were from the age category C2 and only a few from C3. Most were educated to D3 and D4 levels, whilst most received an income at category E3 and at E4. There was a balanced ratio of single and married interviewees and none from category F3. Most of the interviewees were from the South Western Division (SWD) Penal area and Central Division (CD) Chaguanas and Caroni area.

## **4.7. TC VII- Politics**

### *4.7.1- Majority Group*

This group ( $N=38$ ) stated that according to their knowledge and experiences, the operation and management of the TTPS are influenced and manipulated by political interference to a high level, which might be responsible for many problems such as bias, racism and deviance. They explained that the TTPS has become a political platform for many politicians and their family/associates to obstruct and break the laws of T&T and not suffer the consequences.

According to the beliefs of this group, the TTPS is a state institution and there are independent bodies that manage and monitor various aspects of its operations, such as complaints from the public against officers (Police Complaints Authority - PCA), officer's behaviour and misconduct (Professional Standards Bureau - PSB) and management of the Commissioner of Police (CoP) and deputies (DCP) (Police Service Commission, PSC). However, members of this group stated that they have experienced and heard of different occasions where politicians intervened and used their authority to manipulate how officers process specific situations and the how outcomes are distributed. They gave details of several situations where politician's family members or associates have broken the law and was arrested by the police. The politician would often contact the Commissioner of Police (CoP) or other senior officer and request that the junior officers release the person without charge or manipulate how the situation was resolved.

It was highlighted by this group that on many occasions when junior police officers deny personal request made from politicians, the officer could be victimised and transferred to a station or department that might cause inconvenience to him/her. The group indicated that the position of CoP is a political appointment and dependant on the political party in office, they are more likely to appoint an individual of their personal preference. As a result, politicians occupy an advantageous and unique position that provides opportunities to make bias request and use their authority to manipulate and intimidate the CoP, which is more likely result in unequal and unjustifiable treatment to some citizens.

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to politics in T&T and how it might impact on the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. This example illustrates how politics could affect policing and the services that the police provide to citizens. A 45-year-old white female interviewee (CD 35) highlighted a situation;

*“Two government ministers used an emergency door to evade customs and exercise at Trinidad’s airport. When the emergency door was opened, it activated an alarm and airport police officers responded and caught the two ministers. The ministers identified themselves and their position within the government. They were informed of what they did wrong and they repeated their position in government and began to verbally abuse the officer. The ministers reported the officer to his seniors who was suspended without pay for being rude to the ministers. The officer took legal action and won his case and was reinstated after CCTV footages revealed the minister’s appalling behaviour. Both ministers returned to work and the Prime Minister (PM) made a public statement indicating that the ministers were not at fault”.*

*(Interview # 35)*

According to the beliefs of members from this group, the political system in T&T and the politicians personally causes and influences the TTPS and its officers to behave racist and participate in racism. The group indicated that during elections, political parties and politicians’ campaign for elections and because the PNM party is mainly supported by Afrotrinidadians, these politicians often make racist comments against the Indotrinidadian people and vice versa where the UNC party which is mainly supported by Indotrinidadian people, make racist comments towards the Afrotrinidadian people. It was stated by this group that they personally experienced situations where police officers were told by politicians and their senior officers that they should not arrest people for making illegal racist statements since these politicians could be the next leaders of T&T and have an influence on the TTPS (Anderson and Killingray, 1992; Harriott, 2000; Townsend, 2009).

It was explained by this group that depending on the government in office, either Afrotrinidadian or Indotrinidadian, this could be very influential on the ethnic group of police recruits that will become appointed. When an Afrotrinidadian government is in office, there are higher amounts of Afrotrinitadians recruited and vice versa for the Indotrinidadian government. They highlighted that a previous Prime Minister publicly stated that there were too many of a particular ethnicity in the TTPS therefore, more of another specific ethnicity should be recruited. According to this group's beliefs, the previous Prime Minister wanted more police recruits to be appointed who were of his ethnicity (Taitt, 2004).

An explanation given by this group indicated that government ministers in T&T are known to citizens for being well connected with people who are accused and arrested for criminal offences, especially gang members and leaders. It was stated that some ministers use their office to manipulate the police to favour these criminal associates. This group stated that government ministers were found to be awarding state contracts to gang leaders as forms of payments for intimidating opposition supporters and for purchasing arms and ammunition. According to the group, when these gangs are investigated by the TTPS, ministers usually get involved and manipulated the investigations causing their associates to be released without charges (Townsend, 2009; Pino and Johnson, 2011; Ramdass, 2012; Alexander, 2017).

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to politics in T&T and how it might have impacted on the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. This example illustrates how politics could affect policing and the services that the police provide to citizens.

A 19-year-old mixed-race female (SWD 16) shared her interpretation of the topic;

*“A previous Prime Minister (PM) of T&T arrange and attended a meeting with known and wanted gang members and leaders in a Northern district of T&T. The meeting was kept confidential from the public’s knowledge and police officers from the PM’s security team were given instructions by the PM that no attendants should be arrested or detained. When the meeting became public, the PM denied that attendants were gang members and leaders but acknowledged that it was a community meeting but denied giving any instructions to the police. Later on, one gang member who attended spoke to the media on anonymity. He confirmed the meeting did happen and also confirmed that there was an outstanding warrant for his arrest, but he was not arrested on that specific day. However, he was arrested approximately one month later”.*

*(Interview # 16)*

#### *4.7.2- Minority Group*

This group ( $N=12$ ) highlighted that they were not aware of any government minister who manipulated police officers and their work. They indicated that the police are professional and makes independent decisions which provides fair and equal treatment to everyone regardless of political affiliation or demographic characteristics. According to this group, they are not aware of any politicians who approach or pressurised the CoP and other police officers to grant special favours or give preference treatment to family and associates. They also indicated that they never heard of politicians causing police officers to be transferred or victimised for failing to give special treatment or favours.

According to the knowledge of this group, the politicians or state were not responsible for any specific individual getting recruited into the TTPS and this was not done by racial selection. The group expressed that they are aware of a minister who took a friend to a ceremony at the president’s office. However, it was a private ceremony where attendance was only by



invitations and the gentleman in question was invited by the minister. Therefore, he was not an intruder and also, he has never been charged for any gang offence so he could not be considered a gang member/leader.

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to politics in T&T and how it might have impacted on the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. This example illustrated how politics could affect policing and the services that the police provide to citizens. A 53-year-old Indo-Trinidadian male interviewee (SWD 7) elaborated on her answers by providing an explanation;

*“During a previous government’s tenure approximately five ministers were dismissed for misbehaviour inclusive of some who were arrested and charged by the police. The Prime Minister (then) did not pressure or influence the police or the legal system to favour these ministers. The government allowed the law to take its course and the ministers were given fair trials and faced the consequences”.*

*(Interview # 7)*

#### *4.7.3 – Group Demographics*

According to observations made during the interviews and data analysis stages, the majority group ( $N=38$ ) had a balanced ratio of male and female interviewees. Most interviewees were of Afro-Trinidadian ethnicity, a smaller amount of Indo-Trinidadians and a few mixed-race and whites. However, there were no interviewees of other ethnicities. Most interviewees were from the age category of C1 and C2 and only a few from C3. Most were educated to D2 and D3

levels and only a few at D4, whilst most received an income at category E2 and E3 and a few at D4. There was a balanced ratio of single and married interviewees and only a few from category F3. Most of the interviewees were from the South Western Division (SWD) both Cedros and Penal having an equal ratio whilst in the Central Division (CD) Caroni had a higher number when compared to Chaguanas where there was the least.

According to the observations of the minority group ( $N=12$ ), it had a higher ratio of males when compared to female interviewees. They accounted for an equal ratio of whites, wealth Afrotrinidadian and Indotrinidadian, However there were no mixed-race or interviewees of other ethnicities. Most interviewees were from the age category C2 and only a few from C3, whilst most were educated to D3 and D4 levels. Most interviewees from this group received an income at category E3 and E4 with a few at E6 and E7. There was a balanced ratio of single and married interviewees and none from category F3. Most of the interviewees were from the South Western Division (SWD) Penal area and Central Division (CD) both Chaguanas and Caroni areas.

#### **4.8. TC VIII- Gender**

##### *4.8.1- Majority Group*

Based on the knowledge and experiences of this group ( $N=40$ ), many male police officers in T&T often display a macho type of behaviour and attitude when dealing with situations, especially involving young females. It's the belief of this group that these male officers display macho behaviour and attitude with the intention of obtaining sexual relationship with females

in T&T. They explained that many of the macho type male police officers when dealing with situations involving females, frequently display behaviour changes from being normal to becoming rude, aggressive and dominating towards the other people present especially towards males. The members of this group indicated that from their past experiences, they have noticed that macho officers speak gently, try to comfort and do everything possible to assist females especially the younger women, but simultaneously becomes dominant towards other males and even some older females with whom officers might not have a sexual interest (Shah, 2018).

According to this group's knowledge and previous experiences, the police in T&T frequently make excuses such as lack of vehicles and officers for not being able to respond to call for assistance, but can be seen driving around the communities in both marked and unmarked police vehicle doing their personal errands such as, taking their wife/fiancée shopping and vehicles being parked at homes where officers (mainly males) were having sexual affairs with women, as previously highlighted in a study by Pino and Johnson, (2011).

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to gender and how it might have impacted on the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. This example demonstrates how gender could affects policing and the services that the police provide to citizens. A 63-year-old white female (SWD 13) gave details of her knowledge and interpretation,

*“Some time ago a police vehicle from the SWD went missing. It was published in the newspapers and TV were the police were asking for the public's help in locating the vehicle and the two officers last seen with the vehicle. Approximately three days later the vehicle was*

*found parked in a private garage of a club owned by three young women. The club was the centre of several investigation for human trafficking and prostitutions of underage females. The three young female owners had previously made public comments that they give police officers sex and free alcohol and also made allegations of having sex with most male officers in the SWD. The two male police officers were found intoxicated and naked in a room attached to the club and their service firearms found in the same room. However, no actions were taken against them because they are still police officers to date and one of them even got promoted”.*

*(Interview # 13)*

According to the beliefs of this group, many male police officers (married/unmarried) in T&T frequently pursue sexual relationship with females in the various districts that they were deployed to. The macho officers might sometimes spend large proportions of the salaries or turn to corruption to gain extra money to facilitate their lifestyle. The group explained that these police officers try to overwhelm females with expensive gifts and a party lifestyle which are usually expensive. As a result, these officers, (especially those that are married) find it difficult to maintain such expenses and might become more likely to accept bribes, renting their service firearms to criminals or even get involved in the illegal drug trade to earn additional money (Holder, 2006; Townsend, 2009; Kowlessar, 2012).

This group explained that police officers in T&T are more likely to pursue sexual relationship with younger females under 30 years old (approximately) from disadvantaged communities. The group are of the belief that macho officers assume younger females from these communities are less educated, financially poor, from broken family units and inexperienced which may cause them to be interpreted as vulnerable and become an easier target when compared to young females from developed communities who might be more educated, have strong family ties and whose parents might be more protective. According to this group, male police officers are more likely to have increased contact with young women from disadvantaged

communities because of the frequent problems in those communities which these women may reach out to the police for assistance and protection which can make them appear vulnerable. It was the view of this group that many male police officers in T&T do not pursue older females because these women might be perceived by officers as being more knowledgeable and experienced and potentially a difficult target for some officers. However, the group explained that some macho male police officers might pursue older females who are single, those experiencing marital problems, others who are vulnerable or women who are interested in short term sexual encounters only.

According to this group, many police officers in T&T (especially males) are homophobic. The group explained that these police officers frequently victimise and torment gays, lesbians, bisexual and transgender citizens because of these people choice of sexuality. It was indicated that the general population of police officers in T&T are heterosexual and male officers frequently displays a high level of macho behaviour. As a result, when many officers have contact with non-heterosexual people, officers often insult and treat them with resentment and on some occasions, physically assault them. Based on this group's previous experiences, many police officers often refuse to assist or respond to non-heterosexual people in the communities and if officers did respond, these people are frequently treated in a hostile manner (Stanislas, 2014).

The female interviewees from this group when asked for their views and opinion on police officers' sexual behaviour towards females, specifically expressed that they were harassed by male police officers for sex. These females explained that it was not necessary to have a problem and need the assistance of the police to be harassed. They highlighted that male police

whilst in the public are more likely to observe women and try to start a conversation and quickly move to complementing the female on her beauty and attractiveness. Officers were more likely ask for a telephone number or try to make a date. These females indicated that male police officers will try to obtain sex with females from within the public domain, regardless of the females being married or not and regardless of the officer being successful or not. When males were specifically asked about their views and opinions on officer's sexual advances towards females in the public, they explained similar to the females.

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to gender and how it might have impacted on the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. This example demonstrates how gender could affects policing and the services that the police provide to citizens. A 27-year-old mix-race female interviewee (CD 39) gave details of an incident relating to the subject being discussed;

*“Not long ago a male police officers claimed to have fell in love with a female prisoner whom he had met whilst she was arrested for several crimes. The male police officers forged several senior police officer's signatures and prepared false documents for the woman's release from the state's jail. The male officers produced the documents to the jail and was able to have the woman released using a marked police vehicle and the assistance of another police officer. The male officer took the woman to a house in Southern Trinidad where she was kept. Eventually, the situation was discovered to be a fraud and the male officer was arrested and charged and the woman was recaptured approximately two weeks later. The incident was called (THE GREAT ESCAPE)”.*

*(Interview # 39)*

#### *4.8.2- The Minority Group*

The members of this group ( $N=10$ ) did not believe that police officers in T&T pursued females especially younger women from disadvantaged communities for sexual relationships. They did not have knowledge or experience of police officers being bias to older females or males and were of the view that the police treated all citizens equally regardless of gender or sexual orientation. This group explained that many men in general flirt with women, treated females gently, give compliments and displays a gentleman's approach to females and these men may include male police officers. However, this do not mean that officers are pursuing a sexual relationship for personal gratification.

According to this group, they have never observed male police officers who displayed macho behaviour being aggressive or dominating towards members of the public because they wanted to impress females. When asked about police officers using the institution's official vehicles for personal use such as ushering their fiancées, the group stated that they have never witnessed or heard of this before. They are of the belief police officers in T&T are not involved in illegal activities to maintain extra marital affairs. However, the group acknowledged that some police officers participate in illegal activities and believed poor salaries was to be blamed for this. When asked about "THE GREAT ESCAPE" incident, this group acknowledged that they previously heard of it but were of the view that the junior officers who carried out the act was pressured, bullied or threatened by either senior police officers, gangs or politicians to do such activity.

An example was obtained to support the explanations and statements received from this group who expressed their views, opinions and experiences relating to gender and how it might have

impacted on the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T. This example demonstrates how gender could affect policing and the services that the police provide to citizens. A 61-year-old Indo-Trinidadian female interviewee (CD 48) explained her personal situation;

*“My husband has been a police officer for more than 25 years. We have been married for 30 years and he has never been unfaithful to me. We have a wonderful family and do lots of family activities together. I have never heard of any rumours or anything of that nature about him having affairs with other women. I know that there are some police officers who cheat on their wife and husbands, however not all officers are the same. My personal view is that each officer needs to consider what they want and what is best for them. Therefore, police officers, especially the men should not be labelled collectively as womanisers, macho, have big ego or bias because it’s an individual choice”.*

*(Interview # 48)*

#### *4.8.3 – Group Demographics*

Interviewees who formed the majority group ( $N=40$ ) had a balanced ratio of male and female. Most interviewees were of Afro-Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadian ethnicity, whilst a smaller amount was of Mixed-race and only a few whites. There were no interviewees of other ethnicities. Most interviewees were from the age category of C1 and C2 with a few from C3. Most were educated to D2 and D3 levels, however there was a few at D4. Whilst most received an income at category E2 and E3 there was a few from the E4 and E7 categories. There was a higher ratio of single females, whilst most males were married and a few from category F3. There was a balanced ratio of interviewees from the South Western Division (SWD) both Cedros and Penal and the Central Division (CD) Caroni and Chaguanas.



Interviewees who formed the minority group ( $N=10$ ) consisted of a balanced ratio of males and female also whites, wealth Afrotrinidadian and Indotrinidadian. However, there was few of mixed-race, but none of other ethnicities. Most interviewees were from the age category C2 and only a few from C1 and C3, whilst most were educated to D3 and D4 levels. Most interviewees from this group received an income at category E4 and E5 with a few at E6 and E7. There was a balanced ratio of single and married interviewees and a few from category F3. Most of the interviewees were from the South Western Division (SWD) both Penal and Cedros areas and Central Division (CD) both Chaguanas and Caroni areas.

#### **4.9 Summary**

To develop an understanding of public's perception of the police in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) individual characteristics such as contact, age, social class, race/ethnicity, police behaviour and legitimacy were explored. The deference theory by Turk (1969), the legitimacy theory by Tyler (1990), the service theory by Mastrofski (1999) and the performance theory by Moore and Braga (2003) have demonstrated their importance and application on how each impacted-on citizen's perception of the police.

Having conducted 50 face to face interviews in two geographical locations of T&T, eight theoretical concepts (TC) were produced (*Figure 7*). From the eight TCs identified politics and gender were identified in this study as being unexplored by previous research, but more importantly they were unique to T&T society and policing system. Whilst gender was identified in the context of deference, this study has identified it as an opportunity for police officers to participate in sexual harassment and satisfy their macho behaviour. Significant to

the results of the analysis carried out in this study was that in T&T, citizens demographic characteristics such as age, social class, race/ethnicity and gender played an important role on how citizens were treated and the level of service they received from police officers. These variables have demonstrated citizens perception of the police in T&T.

## V - DISCUSSION

### 5.0 Overview

The results chapter highlighted and explained the data obtained from the interviews carried out in T&T which provided the empirical evidence to support the aim of this study and to answer the research questions. The results identified eight theoretical concepts (TC), which were *Contact, Age, Socioeconomic Status, Race/Ethnicity, Justice, Police Behaviour, Politics and Gender*. This discussion chapter provided a platform for debate between the empirical data and existing theory. It is here that the empirical data was compared and contrasted with the present theories and concepts and where the empirical data demonstrated how it filled the deficiencies in knowledge, literature and understanding about public perception of police officers in T&T.

**5.1 Theoretical Concept I** – *Contact is defined by Citizens Demographics, Police Behaviour, Communication and Service variables.*

The police institution is an arm and representative of a country's government, democracy and enforcer of the legal system which provides citizens in liberal democratic societies with security and safety and maintains social conditions (Johnson and Shearing, 2003; Emsley, 2005; Wallace, 2011). Citizens are more likely to contact the police when they feel that the laws have been broken, the social conditions are jeopardised, and the happiness and safety of citizens have been compromised causing fear (Neocleous, 2000a; Dubber and Valverde, 2006; Reiner, 2010).

The data obtained from the majority group in this study demonstrated that it was more likely for citizens to make initial contact (voluntary) with the police in T&T because it was less likely for officers to carry-out patrols their communities. These results are consistent with a study performed by Harriott (2000) which suggested that in post-colonial police institutions like Jamaica and T&T officers are lazy, sat in stations waiting for the public to contact them and officers' attitude were generally reactive and not proactive towards problems in the communities. Other studies by Moore et al. (1988); Bayley (1994) and Ashby and Thompson (2015) suggested that many police institutions are generally reactive in their performance and consequentially, officers contact are mainly directed to the citizens who contact them for assistance.

It could be suggested when police officers carry out patrols in disadvantaged communities, it was more likely for officers to make initial contact (involuntary) with mainly young Afrotrinidadian men and Indotrinidadian and mixed-race men but to a lesser extent, where these individuals were stopped and searched for drugs and weapons. These results are consistent with studies carried out by Weitzer and Tuch (1999) and Benedict and Brown (2002) who suggested that people of African ethnicity had a higher probability of becoming involved in delinquent activities which might cause them to have increased and confrontational contact with the police. Additionally, studies performed by Maguire et al. (2008) and Johnson and Kochel (2012) suggested that most people arrested for criminal offences in T&T are Afrotrinidadians whilst the minority are Indotrinidadians and mixed-race.

Contacting and accessing the police in T&T was relatively simple and not complicated or difficult according to the data obtained. These results are consistent with those reported by Mastrofski (1999) and Maguire and Johnson (2010) where it was suggested that being able to

access the police was important for obtaining their services. On the other hand, this study has shown that obtaining the services of the TTPS was not straightforward but rather problematic.

An interesting outcome from this study was that police officers in T&T scrutinise calls and were reluctant to assist citizens especially those from disadvantaged communities. It was indicated that when officers responded to calls especially in disadvantaged communities, they were dominating, forceful, aggressive, rude, uncaring, unhelpful and had a lack of knowledge about their duties. These results are consistent with a study done by Mastrofski (1999) where it was suggested that police should be responsive and reliable when attending to citizen's needs. Another study by Harriott (2000) on the Jamaican Constabulary described officers in post-colonial societies as ineffective due to their work avoidance attitude, lack of care and being unhelpful to citizens. Studies done Deosaran (2002) and Pino and Johnson (2011) on the TTPS suggested that the police officers in T&T are uncaring about citizens, incompetent in being able to fulfil their basic role and function, abusive and forceful towards citizens.

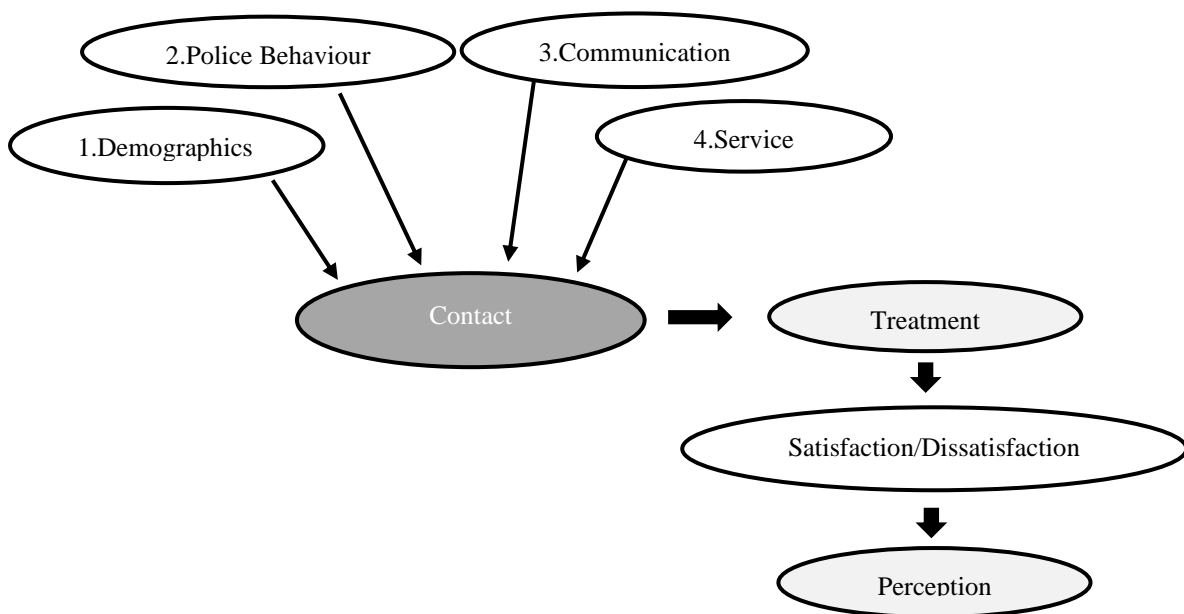
An important point to highlight from the data obtained, is the presence of a major problem between the police and citizens in T&T which is the strained and distant relationship that existed and impacted on contact between both parties. A possible reason for this problem might be the barrier that officers created between themselves and the citizens. It was highlighted that the term "us and them" created by police officers is responsible for the barrier. This terminology is consistent with a study by Reiner (2010), who defined it as, "us" referring to police officers and "them" referring to the citizens. Reiner (2010) suggested that when this barrier is formed, it can develop strained and fragile relationships. Harriott (2000) made a similar finding in his study of the Jamaican Constabulary. He suggested that the police officers in many post-colonial societies distant themselves from the citizens which was a typical characteristic of the colonial

police model and its institutions. As a result, working relationships between both parties are often weak and eventually deteriorate posing challenges to democracy, legitimacy, trust and confidence. Studies by Anderson and Killingray (1991); Cole (2003) and Boateng (2012) showed that the relationship between colonial police officers and the local citizens were mainly fragile because of the police forceful tactics and suppression of these citizens, which created major relationship barriers and lead to trust and confidence problems.

Data obtained from the minority group showed an opposite approach with police contact in T&T when compared to the majority group. Data from the minority group indicated that contact with the police were positive because officers were helpful, caring and polite. Police officers conducted frequent patrols in their communities, had friendly conversations with residents, had adequate knowledge and experience of what needed to be done to resolve their problem. These results obtained are consistent with studies done by Anderson and Killingray (1991); Cole (2003) and Sinclair (2006) where it was suggested that police officers contact with citizens in colonial societies were dependant on demographics and citizens from the developed communities were policed in a civil manner where officers did not use force or aggression which ultimately prompted these people to view the police in a positive manner.

Whilst the results from the majority and minority groups were opposite in context, the demographics of the majority group reflects the views, opinions and experiences of mainly the lower class, the middle class to a lower extent and a minimum amount of the upper-class citizens. However, the minority group represented an account of predominantly the upper-class citizens.

The data obtained in this study shows important evidence which suggest that contact between citizens and the police in T&T are dependent on four variables, (1) *Citizens Demographics* (2) *Police Behaviour*, (3) *Communication* (4) and *Service*. Each variable has a direct impact on citizens contact with the police. The type of contact that citizens have with police officers are more likely to influence the treatment they receive. Depending on how satisfied or dissatisfied citizens feel, this might shape their individual perception of the TTPS (Figure 8).



**Figure 8.** Variables that have an impact on Contact and Perception of the police in T&T. Citizens Demographics, Police Behaviour, Communication and Service have a direct contribution on the type and impact of contact that citizens might have with police officers.

It could be suggested that contact between citizens and the police in T&T are strongly associated and influenced by citizens demographics which might determine how various groups have contact with the police. The treatment individual groups receive from officers and how the needs of each groups are satisfied by the TTPS might vary in accordance to group stratification. How police officers in T&T communicate and interact with citizens from individual groups might also vary based on status.

Different studies performed by authors such as (Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Frank and Hurst, 2000; Hagen et al., 2005; Skogan, 2005; Eller et al., 2007; Paine and Gainey, 2007 and Went and Schlimgen, 2011) have suggested that variables such as citizens age, frequency of contact, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic stratification, deference and propensity to delinquency each contribute to how people's perception of police officers are developed based on the contact and the level of satisfaction that these citizens obtained from officers.

The Marxist framework and other studies done by authors such as Chambliss (1964); Quinney (1977); Box (1983) and Weis (2017) occupy an important role on contact between the criminal justice system (police) and the public. The work of these authors suggested that contact between the elite powerful class and the weak powerless class are often contentious because of socioeconomic stratification. The state and the elite powerful class uses the criminal justice system, especially the police institution, to gain advantage over the weak powerless class and were more likely to label the powerless class as the "criminals" and "dangerous class" (Bordua and Reiss, 1967; Chambliss and Mankoff, 1976; Box, 1983).

As a result, the data obtained in this study have now brought forward two new variables which are, Police Behaviour and Service. These were highlighted as important contributors to how citizens of T&T perception of the police was influenced and developed.

## **5.2 Theoretical Concept II – *Age is defined by Citizens Demographics, Deference, Citizens Delinquency, and Contact.***



Younger people in democratic societies are mainly concerned with their independence and believes that law enforcement departments such as the police are an obstruction and domination to their freedom (Hurst and Frank, 2000; Brown and Benedict, 2002; Duke and Hughes, 2004). Because of young people's negative interpretation of the police, when officers contact them, it is more likely for these young people to show less respect to the police and become reluctant to comply and cooperate with officers' instructions (Hinds, 2007; Johnson et al. 2008; Dai et al., 2011).

The data obtained from the majority group indicated that police officers in T&T treat citizens age 30 years and younger on average in a hostile manner, profile and often physical abuse them, gave little or no respect and frequently stop and search these people (especially Afrotrinidadians males) for various crimes without any justifiable reason or evidence. The data suggested that when the police do not find anything illegal on young people, very often the officers might place something illegal on the individual's body and initiate an arrest and charge them for an offence. Studies by Carnegie (1991) and Punch (2009) suggested that police officers sometimes plant evidence on citizens to obtain criminal convictions. A study by Harriott (2000) on the Jamaican Constabulary suggested that police officers in many post-colonial countries were known for planting evidence on citizens to obtain convictions.

Police officers in T&T often abuse younger people because officers presume these people possess a lack of knowledge about the procedures for reporting police misbehaviour, not adequately understand their rights as citizens, have less life experiences so might not know how to react or what action to take and reluctant to follow-up complaints against officers. As a result, police officers in T&T might interpret younger people to be easier targets to victimise and

obtain high arrests statistics which would validate their success and performance as a police officer.

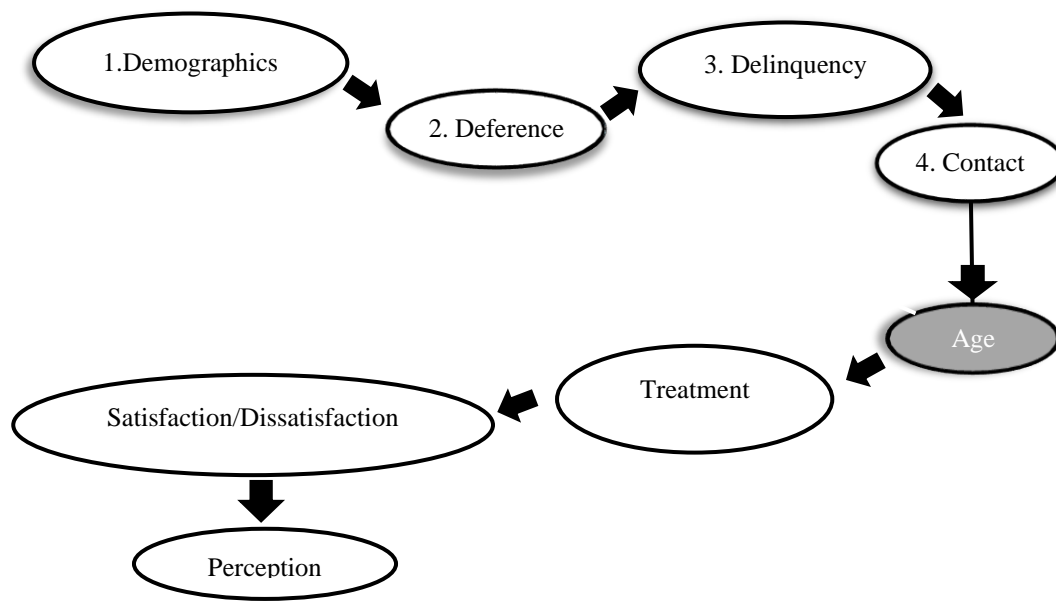
An important point highlighted by the data showed that police officers in T&T are less likely to stop and search or falsely arrest older people who are on average over 30 years old. It was suggested that this could be due to officer's interpretation that older people are more likely to retaliate against police mistreatments, might have a better understanding of their rights, might have more life experiences and know how to react or what to do and might be more knowledgeable about making complaints against police officers.

Studies by Reiseg and Correia (1997); Brown and Benedict (2002) and Johnson and Kochel (2012) suggested that younger people are more likely to have a higher propensity of being involved in delinquent activities which might account for their increased and confrontational experiences with police officers and regular stop and search. These studies also suggested that older people are less likely to be involved in delinquent activities and might have less confrontational experiences or stop and search by the police. Deosaran (2002) and Ryan et al. (2013) suggested that mainly young Afrotrinidadian males had higher levels of dissatisfaction with the police because of profiling, stop and search and abusive treatment. Their studies also demonstrated that young Afrotrinidadian people were more likely to be involved in delinquent behaviour and often more reluctant to comply with the laws when compared to other age groups.

Data from the minority group showed that the police in T&T do not treat people differently because of their age. However, it was suggested that people are treated according to their activities and compliance with the law. It was highlighted that younger people in T&T

(especially Afrotrinidadians) had a higher propensity to be involved in delinquent activities. As a result, they are more likely to have heightened contact with the police which might be confrontational. On the other hand, it was suggested that older people in T&T are more likely to be compliant with the law and be respectful in their contact with the police. Therefore, older people are more likely to be treated with respect by police officers.

Evidence from the data obtained suggested that age had an impact and influence on citizens perception of the TTPS and why police officers might treat young people differently. These are dependent on four variables (1) *Citizens Demographics* (2) *Deference* (3) *Citizens Delinquency* and (4) *Contact*. According to the data obtained, citizens demographics are associated with levels of deference which then contributes to delinquent behaviour. Various levels of delinquency are more likely to be associated with different age groups and this might impact on the level of contact that individual groups might have with the TTPS and how police officers might treat each group. Based on the type of treatment that individual age groups receive from police officers in T&T, this might determine citizen's satisfaction levels and how their perception of the TTPS is influenced and shaped (Figure 9).



**Figure 9.** Variables that have an impact on Age and Perception of the police in T&T. Demographics, Deference, Delinquency, and Contact have a chain reaction type of effect on how citizens age might have a contribution and impact on their perception of police officers.

The quantity of data from the majority group was greater than the data from the minority group when compared in size. However, evidence from previous researches supports the views and opinions of the minority group but was less supportive of the majority group. Studies performed by (Trotman, 1986; Johnson and Kochel, 2012 and Ryan et al., 2013) suggested that young Afrotrinitadians under the age of 30 years old from disadvantaged communities in T&T were predominantly involved in delinquent activities such as gangs, firearms offences, robberies and homicides. Indo-Trinidadian and mixed-race young people in T&T were also highlighted as being involved in delinquent activities, however, to a significantly lower extent when compared to Afrotrinitadians. An important point to highlight in this section is the demographics of the majority group which comprised predominantly of citizens from disadvantaged communities. Therefore, this might assist in explaining the reasons for their views and opinion when compared to the minority group who were predominantly from affluent communities.

The variables obtained in this section relates to a T&T social setting. However, these variables are consistent with the results obtained from previous studies by (Brown and Benedict, 2002; Dukes and Hughes, 2004; Johnson et al., 2008; Brick et al., 2009; Bradford et al., 2009; Hinds, 2007; Dai et al., 2011; Stanislas , 2013 and Ryan et al., 2013) which suggested that variables such as citizen's race/ethnicity, socioeconomic stratification, frequency of contact, propensity to delinquency and deference each contribute to how people's perception of the police are developed.

### **5.3 Theoretical Concept III – *Race/Ethnicity is defined by Citizens Demographics, Delinquency, Contact and Police Behaviour.***

The police occupy a special position situated between the government who makes the laws and the citizens who are expected to comply with these laws. Officers are expected to investigate crimes impartially regardless of citizens race/ethnicity. Therefore, officers are seen and expected to be upholders of racial equality (Bowling et al., 2015). The principle of impartiality is deeply embedded within balanced reasoning and justice, without fear or favour regardless of identity status and authority (Waddington et al., 2004; Parmar, 2010).

It could be suggested from the data obtained that police officers in T&T treat citizens differently because of their race/ethnicity. Police officers were found to profile, stop and search mainly young male citizens of Afrotrinidadian ethnicity, primarily from disadvantaged communities and some from the middle class to a lesser extent. Indo-Trinidadians and mixed-race people from disadvantaged communities are also treated similarly, but also to a lesser extent. On the other hand, police officers do not treat White and Chinese people in this manner. The data from this

study suggested that it is less likely for police officers to profile, stop and search Afrotrinitadians and Indotrinitadians from the upper-class communities since these people are treated similar to whites and Chinese.

The data obtained suggest that mainly Afrotrinitadian citizens and a small amount of Indotrinitadian and mixed-race citizens occupied disadvantaged communities in T&T and many of these citizens are involved in delinquent activities such as gangs, firearms, robberies and prostitution. It was also showed that police officers frequently treat these citizens more aggressively, suspiciously, with little or no respect and are often reluctant to assist these people.

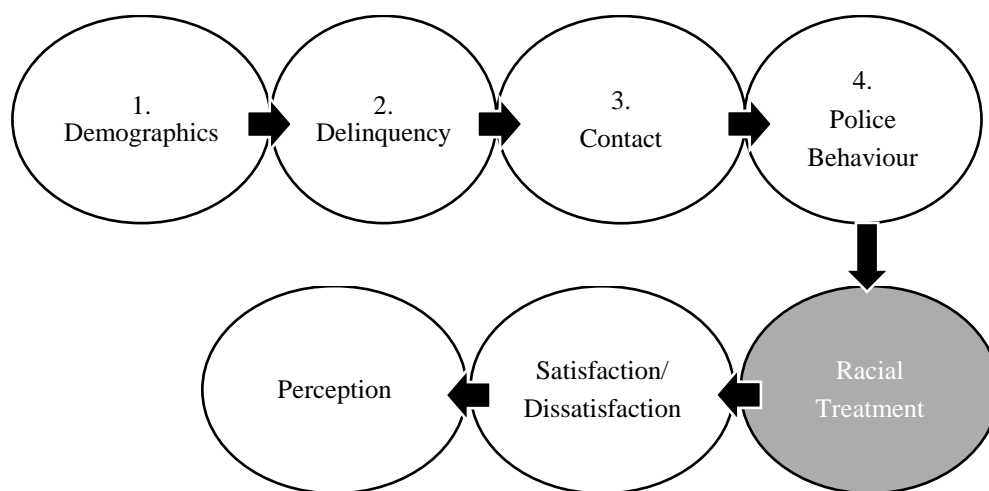
Studies performed by Katz and Choate (2006); Deosaran (2007) and Johnson and Kochel (2012) suggested that Afrotrinitadian citizens have a significantly higher level of involvement in delinquent activities such as gangs, drugs, firearms offences, robberies and prostitution when compared to other ethnic groups in T&T. Indotrinitadian and mixed-race citizens were found to be the less involved in delinquent activities and there were no findings of Whites and Chinese involvement. These studies simultaneously indicated that ethnic groups who mainly resided in disadvantaged communities in the Northern and Eastern arears of Trinidad were more likely to be involved in delinquent activities. Other studies performed by Trotman (1986); Maguire et al. (2008) and Kuhns et al. (2011) suggested that Afrotrinitadian people are more likely to be involved in delinquent activities in T&T and have increased and confrontational contact and experiences with the police. Therefore, it is more likely for these people to hold negative perception of the TTPS.

Citizens from developed communities such as Whites, Chinese and wealthy Afrotrinitadians and Indotrinitadians are sometimes in possession of gun and drugs according to the data

obtained in this study. However, police officers do not profile or stop and search these people randomly. On the other hand, if the police found anything illegal on these citizens, officers were more likely to confiscate the items and allow them to proceed without being charged for an offence. Studies by Anderson and Killingray (1991); Cole (2003) and Sinclair (2006) suggested that police institutions who maintained aspects of the colonial police model (including the TTPS) often treat people of various races/ethnicities differently. These studies suggested that affluent communities which were occupied by White Europeans were policed in a civil manner and officers treated these people with respect, was not forceful and overlooked any wrongdoings. However, disadvantaged communities occupied by local citizens were policed in a military style which frequently involved officer's hostile and aggressive behaviour and treatment, and many residents were arrested innocently.

On the contrary, the minority group showed a different approach where police officers in T&T did not profile or treat people differently because of their race/ethnicity. However, police treated citizens in accordance to their behaviour and activities. An explanation showed that in T&T, it was mainly the Afrotrinidadian citizens and to a lesser amount, some Indo-Trinidadian and mixed-race citizens who were involved in delinquent activities. Therefore, these ethnic groups are more likely to have heightened contact, contentious relationships and be monitored by the police. A distinct observation was that citizens from the minority group were predominantly from the upper-class communities. Because the TTPS retained aspects of the colonial police model which encouraged officers to treat citizens differently based on race/ethnicity, this might assist in explaining the views and opinions of the minority group as being opposite in context when compared to the majority group.

The data obtained suggested that race/ethnicity has a major influence and impact on perception between citizens and the police which is dependent on four variables, (1) *Citizens Demographics* (2) *Citizens Delinquency* (3) *Contact* (4) *Police Behaviour*. Based on the data, citizens demographics are found to be associated with the propensity of becoming involved in delinquent activities. Therefore, delinquency might predict the type of contact that citizens have with the TTPS and how police officers might behave towards citizens. According to the treatment citizens receive from the police, this will determine their level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with officers and this might influence how people’s perception of police officers are shaped (Figure 10). The data obtained from the majority and minority groups varied significantly, however, it could be suggested that people of Afrotrinidadian ethnicity are more involved in delinquent behaviour, might experience increased police contact and develop less favourable perception of the TTPS.



**Figure 10:** Variables that have an impact on Race/Ethnicity and Perception of the police in T&T. Citizens Demographics, Citizens Delinquency, Contact and Police Behaviour have a chain reaction type of effect on how race/ethnicity contributes and impacts on citizens perception of police officers.



The results and variables obtained in this study showed consistency with different studies performed by different authors such as, (Brown and Benedict, 2002; Engel, 2003; Lundman and Kaufman, 2003; Garcia and Coa, 2005; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005; Schuck and Rosenbaum, 2005; Tyler, 2005; Sharp and Johnson, 2009 and Johnson and Kochel, 2012); these studies suggested that variables such as citizens age, socioeconomic status, deference, contact with the police, propensity to delinquency and officer's behaviour each have a contribution on how citizens perception of police officers are developed.

#### **5.4 Theoretical Concept IV – *Socioeconomic Status is defined by Citizens Demographics, Citizens Delinquency, Contact and Police Behaviour.***

Policing a democratic society requires the cooperation and participation of all citizens regardless of socioeconomic status (Johnson et al., 2008; Pino, 2009). When a society is in a position to accept its policing system as legitimate, the citizens are more likely to become compliant with the laws and support the police in their crime fighting efforts (Tyler, 2006; Johnson et al., 2008).

It could be suggested that the police officers in T&T treat citizens differently based on socioeconomic status. The data obtained indicates that T&T's society comprises of a three-tier social hierarchy, the lower class (disadvantaged communities), middle class and upper class (affluent communities). The disadvantaged communities are predominantly occupied by Afrotrinidadian and a small amount of mixed-race and Indo-Trinidadian citizens who account for the working-class, earners of low salaries, mostly educated to primary level, some at secondary level and very unlikely to degree level. Many citizens in these communities live in rented homes or in self constructed homes using land illegally (squatting). Many of the families

from these communities are single parent and more likely the mother being head of the family and sole provider of income and support. Studies performed by Trotman (1986); Clark (1993) and Johnson and Kochel (2012) suggested that mainly Afrotrinidadian and a small amount of Indotrinidadian and mixed-race citizens live in disadvantage communities in T&T and many of these people are involved in delinquent activities.

The data obtained suggested that some citizens from disadvantaged communities in T&T are involved in delinquent activities such as robberies, gangs and illegal drugs. Simultaneously, not all citizens from disadvantaged communities were accused of being involved in delinquent activities because there are many hard-working and honest citizens. It could be suggested that because of poverty and broken family units, some young people (mainly Afrotrinidadian males) from disadvantaged communities are easily influenced and mislead into delinquent activities. Studies done by Deosaran (2002), Maguire et al. (2008) and Ryan et al. (2013) highlighted that mainly Afrotrinidadian males from disadvantaged communities had a high propensity of being involved in delinquent activities which causes them to experience increased and contentious contact with the police.

An interesting point to highlight in this section was that police officers in T&T often aggravate difficult situations in disadvantaged communities causing it to escalate unnecessarily. The data obtained suggested that police officers performed minimal amount of patrols in disadvantaged communities and during these patrols, officers mainly profile young Afrotrinidadian men and on many occasions would stop and search them for guns and drugs with no valid reason or evidence. When the police stop these young men, officers' often approach them in a very hostile and aggressive manner and do not give any form of respect to these citizens. It was very common for officers to become overpowering during the situation and these citizens are not

given an opportunity to speak or converse with the police. This situation eventually causes these citizens and others present to become dissatisfied with the service and treatment from the police and its more likely for citizens to become disrespectful to officers in return. As a result, the citizens often become distant from the police (sometimes referred to as, anti-police in T&T). Studies performed by Harriott (2000); Deosaran (2002) and Pino and Johnson (2011) suggested that police officers in post-colonial societies such as Jamaica and T&T often treat people from disadvantaged communities in a profiling and aggressive manner and do not respect these citizens.

A suggestion from the data highlighted that police officers in T&T treat the upper class (affluent communities) differently compared to the middle and lower class. It was showed that affluent communities comprise mainly of citizens who are very educated, business owners, owners of large houses and luxury vehicles. These citizens were mainly White, Chinese or wealthy Afrotrinidadians or Indotrinidadians. These communities also have large numbers of White foreigners who are employed in T&T's petroleum industry and are housed there because of its status. Affluent communities mainly consist of families with both parents, children are chauffeured to and from private schools and some might even drive to school as their parents can afford to buy vehicles for them. Studies performed by Clarke (1993) and Johnson and Kochel (2012) indicated that in T&T, Whites, Chinese and wealthy Indotrinidadian and Afrotrinidadian citizens mainly resides in the affluent areas of Western, Central and Southern Trinidad where they are treated differently because of their colour and socioeconomic status.

It was highlighted that police officers in T&T gave special treatment to people from affluent communities. Police officers performed frequent patrols in these communities and held friendly conversations with citizens to discuss any concerns or problems. It was showed that officers

were very calm and polite in their approach when attending to these citizens. Officers normally gave their full attention and listened to these citizens and solve any problems they had. These results are consistent with suggestions from studies by Anderson and Killingray (1991) and Cole (2003) which showed that officers from the Colonial police systems treated affluent communities occupied by European business class in a civil manner. Police officers were calm and respectful and officers behaving in a hostile towards these citizens was non-existent.

The data obtained showed that citizens from middle class communities were treated between the lower and upper classes. Middle-class citizens were mainly educated to a degree level, earn a reasonable salary to live comfortably, might have a small business, normally have their own homes whilst others rented, and many had a reliable family vehicle. The family units in those communities usually consist of two parents and had a strong family bond where children attend the more prominent public schools and are driven to school by parents or private transport. It was indicated that citizens from middle class communities had a lower propensity of being involved in delinquent activities. A notable point was that police officers do not give these citizens special treatment, but they are spoken to politely and with respect and younger people are less likely to be profiled and stopped and searched by the police. However, if the law was broken by these young people, officers might become harsh and aggressive.

According to the data obtained, it could be suggested that police officers give special treatment to people from the affluent communities for two reasons. These are, upper class people often have greater influence in large companies, government departments, community organisations and sometimes in foreign institutions. If the police were helpful to these citizens, it might be possible for officers to approach them and obtain assistance when needed. For example, employment opportunities for family and friends, gifts or financial assistance. Secondly, upper

class people usually give donations and assist in funding with police activities such as, sporting, dinners, charities and police sport clubs. Therefore, it is important to care and safeguard the interest of these citizens.

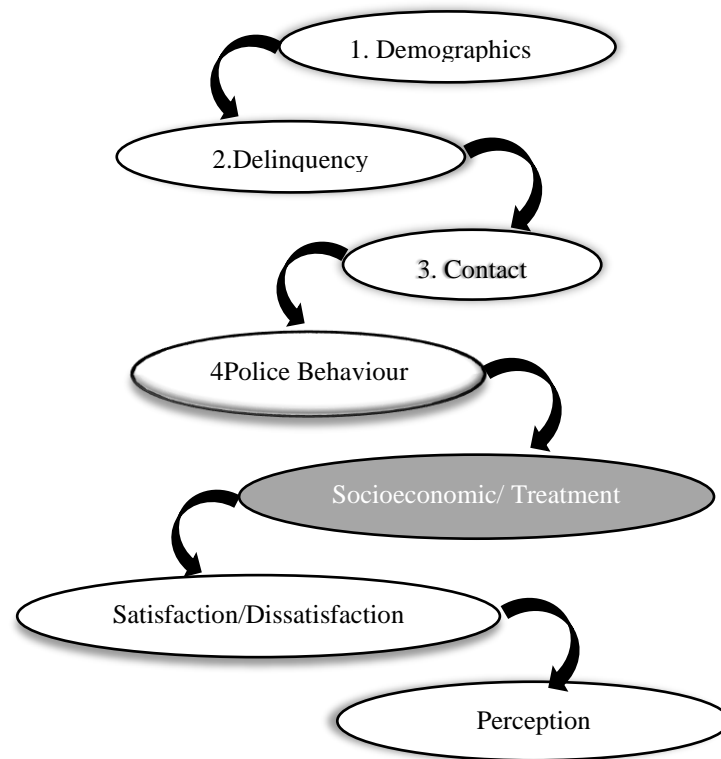
On the other hand, the minority group showed that police officers in T&T do not discriminate against citizens. However, many citizens from disadvantaged communities might perceive the police in a negative manner because of the confrontational contacts that they are more likely to have with officers. The data highlighted that many citizens from disadvantaged communities are the main participants in delinquent activities that are affecting T&T at present, such as robberies, homicides, firearms and gang involvement causing them to become wanted by the police and are more likely to become arrested and have confrontational experiences with officers. These results are consistent with studies performed by Kalunta-Crumpton (2012) and Ryan et al. (2013) which suggested that in T&T Afrotrinidadian people especially from the disadvantaged communities are more likely to be involved and become arrested for delinquent activities when compared to people from other socioeconomic status.

Studies by Deosaran (2002); Katz and Choate (2008) and Johnson and Kochel (2012) suggested that disadvantaged communities are mainly occupied by people of the lower class in the socioeconomic structure of T&T. Most citizens found to be residing in these communities are of Afrotrinidadian race and a small amount of Indotrinidadian and mixed-race people. Citizens from these disadvantaged communities were found to have a higher propensity of being involved in illegal activities such as gangs, illegal drugs, robberies, firearm offences, prostitution and homicides. Because of these citizens participation in delinquent activities, they are more likely to have a higher probability of experiencing involuntary contact with the police, increased stop and search by officers and a higher rate of arrests.

According to the work of Karl Marx and other authors such as Bottomore and Rubel (1965); Chambliss (1975); Young (1979) and Bonger (1916) the capitalist economic system fostered and promoted tension between the elite powerful class and the powerless class based on superfluous gains. It was highlighted that the powerful class were more likely to create an ideological mystification by exaggerating the crimes of the powerless class (blue collar crime) whilst they shamelessly conceal crimes committed by their own class (white collar crime). The powerful class often perpetuate its good name whilst neglecting their propensity toward violence and destruction and simultaneously labelled the powerless class and violent and dangerous (Chambliss, 1964; Matza, 1969; Duster, 1970; Box, 1983). The state and powerful class have often been accused of using one of the main law enforcement apparatus (the police institution) to enforce laws and sanctions through the lens of stratification whereby the police institution were more likely to arrest and perpetuate the crimes of the powerless class and simultaneously neglect crimes committed by the elite powerful class (Chambliss, 1964; Box, 1983; Petrocelli et al., 2003; Bystrova and Gottschalk, 2015).

Evidence from the data obtained suggested that socioeconomic status had an impact and influence on how citizens perception of the police is shaped. Consequently, Socioeconomic status impact on perception in four variables, (1) *Citizens Demographics* (2) *Citizens Delinquency* (3) *Contact* and (4) *Police Behaviour*. Citizens demographic characteristics are more likely to predict and influence their propensity to be involved delinquency. The various levels of delinquency are more likely to determine the level of contact citizens might have with police officers. Based on the different contacts, this might influence how police officers behave towards citizens which might then impact on how officers might treat citizens individually. Based on the treatment citizens receive from the police, this might foster various levels of

satisfaction which might become imperative in shaping how citizens formulate perceptions of police officers (Figure 11).



**Figure 11:** Variables that have an impact on Socioeconomic status and Perception of the police in T&T. Citizens Demographics, Citizens Delinquency, Contact and Police Behaviour have a chain reaction type of effect on how citizens position on the Socioeconomic hierarchy influences and shapes their perception of police officers in T&T.

Variables such as citizens age, race/ethnicity, propensity to delinquency and deference all had a contribution on how people’s perception of police officers are formed and shaped based on socioeconomic status according to suggestions from previous studies (Correia, 2000; Brown and Benedict,2002; Skogan, 2005; Collins, 2007; Payne and Gainey, 2007; Schuck et al., 2008; Crawford, 2009 and Wentz and Schlimgen, 2011). The suggestions from these studies are found to be consistent with the results and variables obtained in this study.

**5.5 Theoretical Concept V – Justice is defined by Police Behaviour, Citizens Demographics, Citizens Delinquency and Contact.**

Justice is based and constructed on the principle of fairness. According to Tyler and Folger (1980) fairness is considered imperative for generating citizen's satisfaction with police performance and attitude (Engel, 2005; Skogan, 2005). Therefore, citizens satisfaction is concerned with a person overall experience with the police and the level of equality and impartiality that citizens received from officers (Lind and Tayler, 1988; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003b; Tankebe et al., 2014).

From the results in this study, it could be suggested that police officers in T&T do not carry out their duties fairly and equally which causes citizens to be treated in a bias manner. Police officers in T&T have been found to manipulate situations and abuse their ability to use discretion so that processes and outcomes can favour their associates or family. Some police officers in T&T have been identified as being involved in illegal activities such as gangs, drugs and human trafficking. Consequently, officers are more likely to manipulate situations to protect their delinquent activities and those of their associates. Studies performed by Townsend (2009); Pino and Johnson (2011) and Johnson et al. (2014) suggested that there are major trust issues between citizens and the TTPS because of police abuse and delinquency which has caused citizens to hold negative feelings about police officer's honesty and integrity.

According to the data obtained, police officers treat people differently based on their demographic characteristics. Because of this, people of predominantly Afrotrinidadian ethnicity and a small amount of Indotrinidadian and mixed-race citizens are more likely to receive unfair and unequal treatment from the police when compared to other races/ethnicities. It was indicated that police officers manipulate situations for their personal gains and treated citizens from disadvantaged communities in a bias manner compared to citizens from affluent



communities. Studies by Trotman (1986); Johnson and Kochel (2012) and Wallace (2014) suggested that citizens from disadvantaged communities are predominantly of Afrotrinidadian ethnicity and the police treat these citizens unequally and unfairly when compared to other ethnicities.

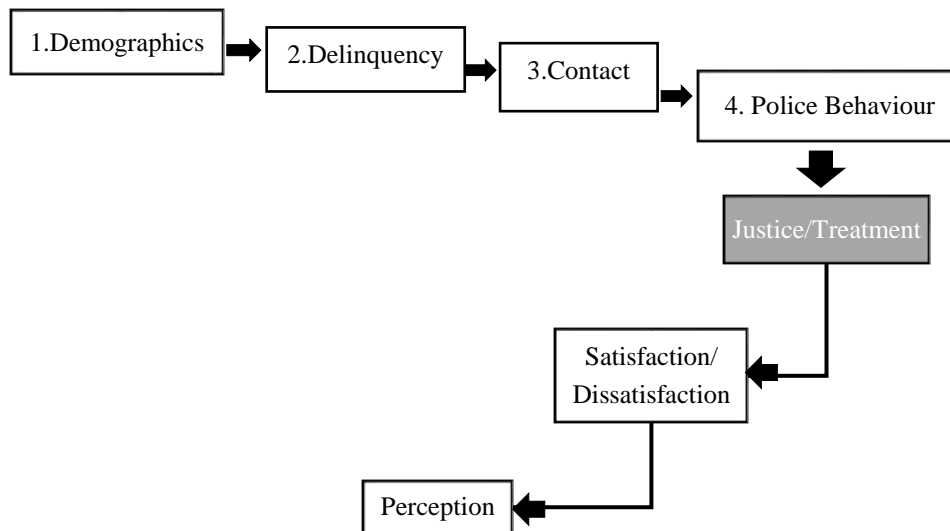
It could be suggested that many male police officers in the TTPS manipulate situations to favour females. The data showed that many male officers in T&T are womanisers and when dealing with a situation, these officers often become biased and treated the other person/s involved unfairly and unequally in an effort to impress the female involved with the intention of obtaining sexual relationships. Studies by Roberg et al. (2005) and Reiner (2010) showed that many male police officers are womanisers and often use their authority to obtain relationships with females from the public which are consistent to the results obtained in this section.

The data obtained is consistent with studies done by Townsend (2009) and Pino and Johnson (2011) which suggested that police officers in T&T were habitually manipulating the course of justice to facilitate their own personal gains and those of their associates and families. According to these studies, innocent citizens were treated unfairly and unequally causing them to become dissatisfied with the way in which police officers treated them and the performance of the officers involved.

On the contrary, the minority group, showed a different approach when compared to the majority group. The minority group stated that police officers in T&T treated all citizens equally and fairly. They highlighted that most men in general are gentle with women and some male officers being men, do not make them womanisers. It was also indicated that many people from disadvantaged communities who are mainly Afrotrinidadians were involved in delinquent

behaviour. As a result, when they became in frequent and confrontational contact with the police because of their behaviour, they complain of unfair and unequal treatment from the police and try to compare their treatment to citizens from the affluent communities. It was suggested that people from affluent communities are less likely to become in frequent and confrontational contact with the police because these citizens are compliant with the laws and as a result, do not need to complain about the police being unfair or unequal to them. The results obtained from this group was predominantly a representation of citizens from the developed communities. Therefore, this may explain the opposite views and opinions when compared to the majority group. Studies by Anderson and Killingray (1991) and Cole (2003) suggested that officers from the colonial police institutions often treated citizens unfairly and unequally based on their demographic characteristics.

The results from this study suggested that justice has an impact on how citizens perceive the police in T&T and is shaped by four variables, (1) *Citizens Demographics* (2) *Citizens Delinquency* (3) *Contact* and (4) *Police Behaviour*. The data showed that citizens demographics are more likely to influence their levels of propensity to participate in delinquent behaviour. Levels of delinquency is more likely to have an effect on the type of contact that citizens might have with the police. The data then showed that different types of contact might impact on the behaviour of police officers. Based on the quality and quantity of the contact that citizens might experience with officers, it is more likely that some level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction might be generated based on how justification was distributed. From the level of justifiable treatment that citizens received, this might influence how their perception of police officers in T&T is shaped (Figure 12).



**Figure 12.** Variables that have an impact on Justice and Perception of the police in T&T. Police Behaviour, Citizens Demographics, Citizens Delinquency and Contact have a direct impact and contribution on the level of justice citizens might receive from police officers in T&T and how this might shape their perception of police officers.

From the data obtained, it can be suggested that justice between citizens and the police in T&T are strongly associated and influenced by citizens demographics and might be responsible for people being treated in a justifiable or unjustifiable manner because of their personal characteristics. Another reason could be because of police officer’s behaviour where they might sometimes manipulate the course of justice to satisfy their personal benefits and simultaneously become bias to other citizens.

Previous studies (Tyler, 2001; Engel, 2005; Brown and Benedict, 2002; Skogan, 2005; Hinds, 2007; Johnson and Maguire, 2010; Jackson et al., 2012; Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012; Beetham, 2013 and Tankebe et al., 2014) have suggested that police legitimacy is mainly concerned with citizens acceptance of the police as being equal and fair in carrying out their duties and includes variables such as citizens age, race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status. This study has now brought forward two new variables which are Gender (Demographics) and Gang involvement

(Police Behaviour). These were highlighted in this study as being imperative variables for shaping citizens perception of the police especially in a context that relates to T&T.

**5.6 Theoretical Concept VI – *Police Behaviour is defined by Police Culture, Recruitment, Training, Accountability and Police Delinquency.***

Civilisation depends on people whose behaviour and attitude are civil and decent. Whilst total civilisation is difficult to achieve and preserve, the guardians of civilisation, the police, are expected by the public to behave with morals, integrity and compassion (Urmson, 1988; Reiner, 2010; Delattre, 2011). However, police behaviour and attitude are strongly based on the culture of policing which includes but not limited to, ethics, machoism, deviance and isolation from the public (Westmarland, 2001a; Reiner, 2010; Delattre, 2011).

Based to the data obtained, it can be suggested that the behaviour of police officers has been considered unacceptable by citizens because many officers are involved in corruption, favouritism, bullying and abuse of their authority. It was highlighted that some police officers were instrumental in the thriving illegal drug trade, human trafficking, prostitutions and gang activities in T&T. These results are consistent with suggestions from studies by Scott Drug Report, (1984); Townsend, (2009) and Pino and Johnson, (2011) which suggested that some police officers in the TTPS were actively involved in the illegal drug trade in T&T and found to be colluding with drug traffickers and gangs in T&T.

Some police officers were described as the criminal mastermind of illegal activities such as robberies where officers rented their service firearms to criminals in exchange for a percentage of the loot. It was highlighted that these same officers would delay any police response when

their criminal associates were performing a crime to facilitate a successful escape. Studies by Townsend (2009) and Pino and Johnson (2011) suggested that many police officers in T&T were corrupt and involved in some type of delinquent practice. These studies also suggested that some officers were arresting delinquent citizens for illegal firearms and after the court case concluded, the same officers were trying to re-sell the firearms to criminals.

An important outcome from this study was that police officer's in T&T had a lack of care and compassion for citizens. When citizens contacted the police for assistance and officers responded, it was frequent for some officers to behave unprofessionally and would normally become aggressive, unhelpful, insulting and uncompassionate towards citizens who were depressed or suffering. The data highlighted this as a common occurrence especially in disadvantaged communities. Studies done by Harriott, (2000) and Deosaran (2002) suggested that some officers in ex-colonial police institutions have a lack of care for citizens and often treat these people in an unprofessional and degrading manner.

The data obtained indicated that police officers in T&T abuse their authority. Some police officers were accused of frequently using their uniforms to gain preference even when not on official duty and other officers from non-uniform departments such as CID were observed by citizens participating in delinquent activities such as the drug trade and illegal sexual activities. This data is consistent with suggestions from studies performed by Parks and Mastrofski (2008); Townsend (2009) and Pino and Johnson (2011) where it was indicated that some police officers in T&T abuse their authority to manipulate the laws for their personal benefit including their participation in the import and export of illegal drugs and were using the police resources to facilitate this.

Police officers' level of professionalism in T&T was described as being very low according to the data. It was highlighted that officer's professionalism does not solely relate to delinquent behaviour, but includes punctuality, respect, consideration and quality of service. Some officers whilst on official duty have been observed using police vehicles for their personal use such as visiting their fiancée/ acquaintances of extra marital affairs and frequenting pubs/clubs and consuming alcohol. According to studies by Harriott (2000); Deosaran (2002) and Ryan et al. (2013), it was suggested that approximately half of the police officers in the TTPS are involved in some type of delinquent activities and unprofessional behaviour. As a result, citizens have lost trust and confidence in police officers individually and the TTPS as an institution.

Some senior officers have been accused of participating in delinquent behaviour according to the data. As a result, it became difficult for senior officers to reprimand junior officers. This could be a possible reason why junior officers were involved in delinquent behaviour and was less fearful of being reprimanded or disciplined. It was also suggested that citizens were aware of departments/institutions such as the Police Complaints Authority (PCA) and the Professional Standards Bureau (PSB) but had no faith, confidence and trust in these because they are both affiliated to the TTPS and some investigators were police officers. Therefore, these officers were believed to protect their fellow officers by compromising the investigations. Studies by O'Dowd (1991); Seaby (1993) and Pino and Johnson (2011) suggested that the TTPS suffers from poor managements, a lack of self-discipline amongst junior officers, senior officers' failure to discipline subordinates and the heightened amount of complaints against officer's relative to poor behaviour.

From the data obtained, it can be suggested that base on the behaviour and attitude displayed by many police officers in T&T, citizens believed that the training officers received was not

providing the necessary skills and competency to allow officers to carry out their job and serve the public at the highest possible standards. It was highlighted that many officers in T&T were not capable of rectifying and pacifying minor problematic situations in the communities and often resort to forceful tactics when they are unsure of what should be done. It was also highlighted that some officers in the TTPS were unaware of how to apply and distribute the laws of T&T onto citizens. Another interesting point was, because of increasing unemployment in T&T, many people who possess the required academic qualifications to enter the TTPS were more likely to apply and pass the various stages mainly to become employed. As a result, these people might not have any interest, personal qualities or desire in serving as a police officer. However, they are mainly concerned about being employed and able to gain a salary as opposed to providing the public with a high level of safety, security and service. A study by Ryan et al. (2013) suggested that many police officers in T&T are incompetent in reading, writing and being able to communicate with the citizens in a professional manner and were forceful when performing duties.

From the data obtained, it could be suggested that some police officers in T&T were being recruited by corrupt means and favouritism. Some senior officers were accused of accepting payments for citizens to be recruited into the TTPS. Therefore, the quality of police officers being recruited has been compromised and this might be visible through poor quality of services. It has been suggested that many serving and ex-police officers, politicians and influential people in T&T were manipulating the TTPS recruiting system to facilitate their associate and family to become employed. These results are consistent with those reported by Stanislas (2014) in his study of the Royal St Lucian Police Force (RSLPF) which suggested that in many post-colonial countries like St. Lucia and T&T, police recruitment is strongly influenced by nepotism.

The poor behaviour and attitude of some officers were highlighted by the data as being responsible for many citizens having to endure and become victims of police brutality. As a result of the police ability to use force and officers lack of care for citizens, many people were not treated with the respect and dignity they deserved. The data showed that the police code of silence where officers do not report their colleagues for wrong doings, corrupt officers in T&T have been able to go undetected and unpunished for their behaviour and actions.

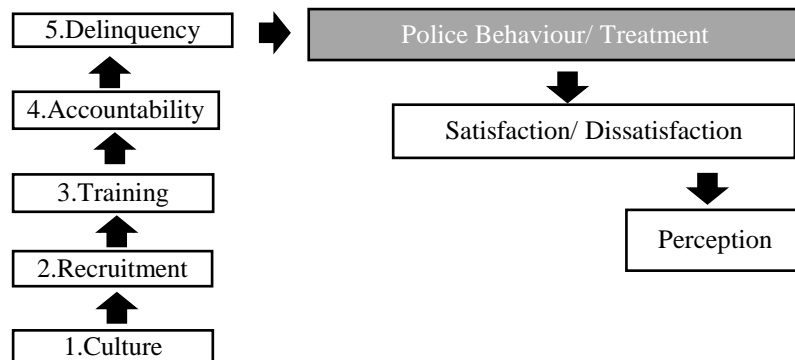
The minority group on the other hand, showed that citizens are aware of some issues relative to police officers in T&T associated with physical abuse and delinquency. The data showed that this group has never experienced such police behaviour and did not know of anyone who did. It was highlighted that not all police officers are involved in unprofessional or delinquent behaviour, because the officers this group interacted with, displayed a high level of professionalism, accountability and care. A striking observation in this section was the minority group mainly represented people from the affluent communities. Studies performed by Anderson and Killingray (1991) and Cole (2003) suggested that citizens from colonial societies were treated based on social stratification. This might assist in explaining the difference in treatment, views, opinions and experiences between the majority and minority groups in this section. Another important observation with the minority group was that, police officers who attended to these people might have been intimidated by their influential status which is likely to be associated with government ministers or senior police officers. Therefore, officers might have taken precaution and displayed the highest level of professionalism.

From the data obtained in this section, it could be suggested that police behaviour has a major impact on how citizens perceive the police in T&T and is characterised by five variables, (1)



*Police Culture (2) Recruitment (3) Training (4) Accountability and (5) Police Delinquency.*

The existing colonial culture in the TTPS has been identified by the data as being responsible for influencing poor and compromised recruitment which was more likely to impact on the quality of recruits. The quality of recruits appointed might impact on candidate's ability to accept and comprehend the training given and was more likely to reflect a deficiency of imperative skills when compromised. These factors when combined with poor accountability processes, were more likely to affect officer's behaviour especially their propensity to participate in delinquency. Police officer's delinquent behaviour might then impact on the type of treatment citizens receive from the TTPS. This could cause citizens to feel satisfied or dissatisfied and more likely to influence how their perception of police officers in T&T was shaped (Figure 13).



**Figure 13.** Variables that have an impact on Police Behaviour and Perception of the police in T&T. Police Culture, Recruitment, Training, Accountability and Police Delinquency each have a chain reaction type of effect on how police behaviour might impact and shape citizens perception of police officers.

The data obtained in this section suggested that police behaviour in T&T has a major impact on citizens in general, except for a proportion of the upper-class citizens. It could be suggested that the upper-class citizens are given preferential treatment by the police therefore they are not exposed to the treatment that the middle- and lower-class people might receive, hence the

difference in experiences and opinions. The data suggested that police culture in T&T was consistent with the institution's colonial heritage which possess a lack of transparency and accountability and consisted of blatant corruption and coercive tactic onto citizens by the police.

Variables such as police culture, officer's recruitment and training, police accountability and officer's delinquency were each identified as having a contribution on how citizens perceive police officers. These variables were based on previous studies (Harriott, 2000; Mawby, 2003; Roberg et al., 2005; Punch, 2009; Reiner, 2010; Bradford and Jackson, 2010; Tankebe, 2010; Delattre, 2011; Johnson et al., 2014 and Newburn 2015) and are consistent with those identified in this research project.

### **5.7 Theoretical Concept VII – *Politics is defined by Recruitment, Gang Involvement and Police Behaviour.***

Police institutions are the state's representative and enforcers of social control who engages with the public to protect life and promote tranquility in democratic societies (Harriott, 2000; Reiner, 2010). Therefore, police institutions are part of a country's political system, even if the police are not directly involved with political parties' competitiveness, dedication or regime maintenance (Harriott, 2000).

It can be suggested based on the data obtained from the majority group that politicians in T&T often influenced and manipulated the operations of the TTPS to facilitate their personal gains and that of their associates and family. It was highlighted that the rank of Commissioner of Police (CoP) is a political appointment which is determined by politicians' nomination and

preferences. It was stated that politicians often call upon the CoP or other senior police officers to manipulate situations thereby achieving outcomes favourable to the interest of government ministers, their associates or families. The data obtained suggested that when politicians requested the police to treat situations in a bias manner, these types of police behaviour are more likely to cause innocent citizens to be treated in a bias manner. An important point highlighted by the data suggested that when police officers (mainly junior) deny request made by politicians to manipulate the law, politicians might sometimes pressure senior police officers or the CoP to transfer the junior officer/s to police stations or departments far from their homes to cause inconvenience which acts as a form of punishment for not complying with the politician's request.

Politicians in T&T have been accused of being responsible for police officers behaving in a racist manner. It was highlighted that politics in T&T are mainly characterised in a two-tier system where the People National Movement (PNM) are predominantly supported by Afrotrinidadians and the United National Congress (UNC) are predominantly supported by Indotrinidadians. During specific political party regime, the government frequently used the police to enforce bias actions onto the opposition parties such as unjustifiable arrest, detention of candidates, ballot rigging and intimidation of opposition supporters. This group have previously witnessed politician and their political associates making racist comments and remarks publicly and police officers were instructed by their senior officers that no actions should be taken. Studies by Anderson and Killingray (1992) and Harriott (2000) suggested that a typical feature of colonial societies was the government's use of the police to monitor citizens participation in political preference and victimise the opposition party and its supporters. A study by Townsend (2009) suggested that police institutions and their officers, especially in

post-colonial countries like Jamaica and T&T are often manipulated and influenced by politicians and political bias.

Citizens from this group highlighted that they have knowledge of politician's involvement and association with gang members and leaders based on the data. It was indicated that police officers are frequently approached by politicians to not act against the gangs who are associated with government ministers. From the data, it can be suggested that gangs in T&T have obtained state contracts such as landscaping and construction which facilitates payments for their involvement in intimidating the opposition supporters. Studies by Townsend (2009) and Pino and Johnson (2011) suggested that politician in T&T were closely associated with gang members and financially funded most of their operations. The results of this study also suggested that previous senior politicians such as Prime Minister (PM) held private meeting with gang leaders and members mainly in the Northern areas of Trinidad. When the PM was approached by the media and asked to comment on the meeting, it was stated that the meeting was a community event and private, therefore no information was disclosed. This group have personal knowledge of the meeting and indicated that the location was kept confidential and police officers instructed that attendees are not arrested. Gang members who attended the meeting confirmed their involvement in crime and outstanding warrants for their arrest. However, they were not arrested on the day of the meeting.

An important point highlighted by the data was that politicians influence the police recruitment process in T&T. It was suggested that previous government ministers and Prime Ministers publicly stated that there were too many of a specific ethnic group of police officers in the TTPS and not enough of another specific ethnic group. The PM wanted more police officers of his ethnicity to be recruited. These results are consistent with studies by Multu (2000) and Stanislas

(2014) which highlighted that favouritism and bias was a common practice in police recruitment especially in post-colonial societies such as T&T and St. Lucia.

Different views and opinions were obtained from the minority group in this section when compared to the majority group. The minority group suggested that politicians and government ministers did not influence or manipulate the way police officers carry out their duties or victimising officers who refused to give special treatment or treat situations in a bias manner. The data indicated that politicians did not manipulate the TTPS recruitment process to favour a specific ethnicity. This group had knowledge of an accused gang leader attending a ceremony at the President's office. However, the gang leader in discussion was arrested several times, but no charges were laid against him for no type of illegal offences. It was stated that politicians are allowed to have friends and family regardless of these people's activities. On the contrary, this does not make politicians criminals. According to the demographics of this minority group, most of the citizens represent the upper-class. Therefore, it is more likely for these citizens to be influential and associated with the political system and politicians in T&T and might be more reluctant to disclose information of politician's misbehaviour and delinquency.

Studies by Brewer et al., (1996); Hinton (2006) and Reiner (2010) highlighted that police officers in democratic societies usually comes from the working-class and politicians from the upper-class. Therefore, politicians are the people who decides and approves police recruitment, salary and operational policies and for these reasons they are in a position to manipulate the police institution for their personal gains. Other studies by Anderson and Killingray (1992); Harriott (2000) and Sinclair (2006) suggested that police institutions like the TTPS who retained characteristics of the colonial policing model are usually influenced and manipulated by politician who seek to enhance their political agenda and personal status.

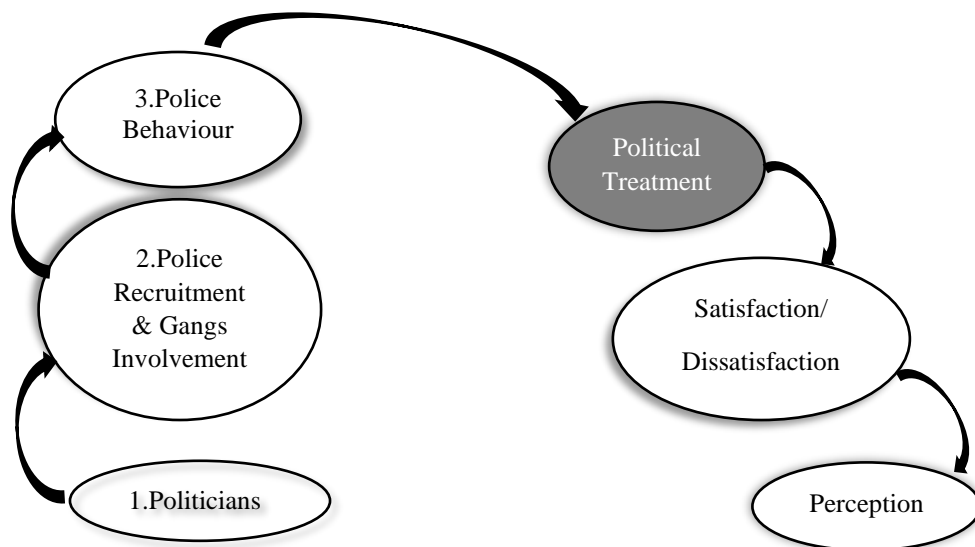
The various statistics put forward to the population by politicians, the police and the media often perpetuate the problems of crime in society and are more likely to cause citizens some level of concerns for their safety and even fear. The state, politicians and its main apparatus for law enforcement (the police) are more likely to label the weak powerless class as criminals, violent and dangerous, whilst the elite powerful class are sheltered from criminal proceedings (Chambliss, 1964; Matza, 1969; Duster, 1970; Box, 1983; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013). The politicians direct their attention and that of the police towards the powerless class of young uneducated males, those unemployed and from minority backgrounds, whilst the more serious and skilful crimes are committed by the respectful, well-educated and slightly older male and female in positions of authority (Chambliss, 1964; Box, 1983; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013).

Whilst the police are busy pursuing people of suspicion such as those with a criminal record of with criminal association, these people are more likely to be defenceless and unable to negotiate with the judicial system. On the other hand, the elite powerful class such as the politicians are less visible to the population with less attention on their activities, they are unobstructed to participate in crime (Chambliss, 1964; Box, 1983; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013). The powerful class who occupies the top of the socioeconomic hierarchy are wealthy, privileged and in a position to negotiate with the criminal justice system if they become exposed, unlike their powerless counterparts (Chambliss, 1964; Box, 1983; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013).

The weak powerless class becomes stigmatised by criminal activities and further discriminated upon. They are unjustifiably labelled as violent and dangerous to society, especially to the powerful class. This could lead to a lack of employment opportunities and repeated injustice

which might cause resentment and desperation and further prompt participation in criminal activities (Chambliss, 1964; Matza, 1969; Box, 1983). The powerless class becomes over-represented and the powerful class of politicians are more likely to gain acceptance, legitimacy and respect from the population who are unaware of the realities (Chambliss, 1964; Box, 1983; Petrocelli et al., 2003; Bystrova and Gottschalk, 2015).

Evidence from the data obtained in this study suggested that politics has a major impact and influence on how police duties are performed, officer treatment and behaviour towards citizens and the use of police officers for the sustainability of gangs. This is based on three variables, (1) *Politicians Delinquency* (2) *Police Recruitment and Gang Involvement* and (3) *Police Behaviour*. The data showed that it is more likely for delinquent politicians in T&T to directly influence the TTPS recruitment process which might cause bias and favouritism, therefore incompetent officers are more likely to become recruited. These incompetent officers are likely to have an impact on how the police behave and treat citizens. Politicians were highlighted as being directly involved with gang which is more likely to pressurise innocent officers to become bias because of politicians demands and manipulation for special treatment especially when they have broken the laws. These three variables might impact on the services that the TTPS delivers which is likely to determine how citizens are treated. Citizens might become either satisfied or dissatisfied based on the treatment received and this might shape how they perceive police officers in T&T.



**Figure 14.** Variables that have an impact on Politics and Perception of the police in T&T. Recruitment, Gang Involvement and Police Behaviour have a chain reaction type of impact and contribution of how politics influences the TTPS and how this shape citizens perception of the police.

Based on the data obtained in this section, it could be suggested that politics and politicians in T&T have a major effect and impact on how the TTPS perform their duties, officer's distribution of fairness and equality and also the propensity for officers to manipulate the law to protect gang members and leaders who are associated with politicians. It could also be suggested that politicians are influential in the racial composition of the TTPS because they were more likely to manipulate the recruitment process. On the other hand, it could be suggested that it's less likely for upper-class citizens to share a negative opinion relating to politicians who manipulate the TTPS because of these citizens closely association to T&T's political system.

Different studies by authors such as Anderson and Killingray (1992); Harriott (2000) and Sinclair (2006) suggested that politics were found to have an impact and influence on how



citizens perception of the police was shaped especially in post-colonial societies. The results from this study has brought forward three new variables which are Racism (Police Behaviour), Recruitment and Gang Involvement. These variables specifically related to T&T society and was highlighted in the data as influential contributors of how citizens perception of the police being formed.

### **5.8 Theoretical Concept VIII – *Gender is defined by Citizens Demographics, Contact and Police Behaviour variable.***

Male police officers are more likely to stop an attractive female drive, not because she committed an offence, but mainly to make personal contact with her (Kappeler et al., 1994; Roberg et al., 2005). According to Krasha and Kappeler (1995) male police officers often attempts to mitigate their macho and womaniser pursuits by stating that their sexual activities with women are consensual, but this could be untrue because women might feel the need to voluntarily comply with officers' sexual relations because of fear and perceived consequences (Krasha and Kappeler, 1995; Roberg et al., 2005).

The data obtained from the majority group showed that many male police officers in T&T display a macho type of behaviour when dealing with the public, especially in the presence of females. Some male police officers in T&T were described as being rude, aggressive and dominating when attending to other males from the public. It was also indicated that these male officers try to impress females to gain sexual relationships and attempt to dominate other males to demonstrate that they (officers) are superior because of their status and ability to use force unto others. Studies by Roberg et al. (2005); Punch (2009) and Reiner (2010) suggested that male police officers often display macho type of behaviour to prove their masculinity because

early forms of policing were dominated by men especially those who were physically well built. As a result, this macho behaviour has become embedded in the police culture amongst male officers.

A common problem in the TTPS identified by the data obtained was the abuse of police resources because of many male officers pursuing females for sex. It was explained that many male police officers in T&T pursue females from the public for sex especially whilst on duty. As a result, these officers used their work time and vehicles to usher women around to do shopping and even to visit these women's homes for sex whilst neglecting their jobs, the needs, safety and security of citizens.

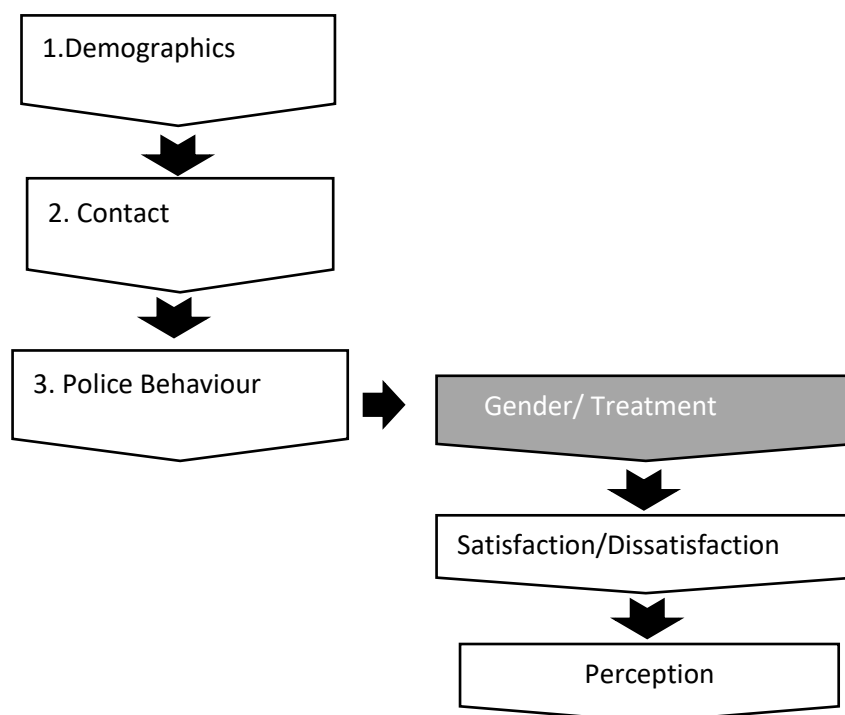
Another important point highlighted by the data was that some male officers who pursue women from the public are married. It was suggested that macho officers are more likely to become financially strained because of their family commitments and their extra martial affairs. As a result, these male officers might have a higher propensity of becoming involved in delinquent activities such as accepting bribes, renting their service firearms or involvement in the illegal drug trade to earn extra money to fund their habits.

Male police officers in T&T are more likely to pursue younger women especially from disadvantaged and middle-class communities according to the data obtained. It was highlighted that police officers might perceive these women as being an easier target and from broken family units and communities. However, some macho police officers might pursue older women but mainly those who are vulnerable such as being single, experiencing marital problems or for sexual encounters only. On the other hand, women from affluent communities are less likely to be pursued by police officers in T&T. This could be because these citizens are

more educated, financially stable and have better knowledge and understanding about the complaint's procedures against police officers. As a result, this portrayed upper-class women as being less vulnerable. The data showed that young women from affluent communities often have strong family units, so parents and relatives are more protective, and this is more likely to become a challenge for macho police officers.

Data obtained from the minority group suggested that police officers in T&T do not treat citizens differently because of their sexual orientation. It was highlighted that police officers treat everyone equally and because many male officers' compliment and treat females gently compared to men, this do not mean that these officers are pursuing sexual relationship. This group declined knowledge of police officer's involvement in delinquent activities to fund their extra marital affairs, but acknowledged that if such did exist, it was mainly because of police officers being paid poor salaries. This group had no knowledge or experience of police officers using official vehicles for ushering women around or for visiting women's home for sex. When asked about police officers' involvement in the "Great Escape", they acknowledged knowing of the incident and believed that the junior officers involved were pressured or bullied by senior officers, gangs or politicians to carry out the event. A noticeable observation about the demographics of this minority group was that these citizens mainly represented the upper-class. As a result, they might have received preferential treatment, and not have the same treatment or experiences as citizens from the disadvantaged and middle-class communities. Another important point that should be taken into consideration with this minority group is their upper-class influential status. This status might have caused macho officers to be reluctant in pursuing females for sexual relationships. Therefore, these factors might explain their difference of opinions and views and why females were not pursued.

The data obtained in this study suggested that gender is an influential factor and has an impact on how officers in the TTPS carry out their duties and treat citizens differently because of their gender. Three variables, (1) *Citizens Demographics* (2) *Contact* and (3) *Police Behaviour* are identified as being responsible for how the police in T&T interacted and treated citizens of different gender. It can be suggested that citizens demographics is an imperative factor which might identify the social stratification of citizens who are more likely to become sexually perused by some male police officers and who are less likely. This was more likely to predict the type of contact that citizens might have with the police and the contact then influenced how officer’s behaviour towards citizens based on their gender. The treatment different genders received from police officers are more likely to cause satisfaction or dissatisfaction which might influence and shape how citizens perceive the TTPS (Figure 15).



**Figure 15.** Variable that have an impact on Gender and Perception of the police in T&T. Citizens Demographics, Contact and Police Behaviour have a chain reaction of how citizens perception of police officers is shaped based on difference in gender.

According to the data obtained in this study, it can be suggested that gender is an influential factor when evaluating officer's distribution of equality and fairness amongst the different genders and the demographics of citizens who are more likely to be pursued by some male officers for sex in T&T. However, studies performed by Kusow et al. (1997); Reisig and Correia, (1997); Benedict et al. (2000) and Chermak et al. (2001) suggested that gender has no effect or impact on how citizens perception of the police is shaped. On the contrary, studies by Cheurprakobkit, (2000); Brown and Benedict, (2002); Dukes and Hughes, (2004); Rice et al. (2005) and Skogan, (2006) suggested that females are more likely to have positive perception of the police. Considering the variables of these previous studies, this study now brings forward two new variables being Police Delinquency and Citizens Demographics which contributes to how citizens perception of the police might shape based on gender.

## **5.9 Summary**

This chapter provided a discussion of the theoretical concepts (TC) that was showed by the empirical data from this study. The discussion compared and contrasted the TCs with existing theories and literature. The discussion demonstrated that previous theories and literature such as, *Deference* by Turk (1969), *Legitimacy* by Tyler (1990), *Service* by Mastrofski (1999), *Performance* by Moore and Braga (2003) and *Demographic* by Webb and Marshall (1995) each played an important role on how citizen's perception of police officers were influenced and shaped. However, those theories were applicable in developed societies and not fully applicable in developing countries. The empirical data from this study showed that some concepts from existing theories were applicable in a T&T context. Therefore, the concepts which the empirical data provided and was not applicable could now be used to give further

explanations and insights on the topic if applied and are more likely to serve as possible extensions to the existing theories and concepts.

## VI – CONCLUSION

### 6.0 Overview

The discussion chapter showed that Theoretical Concepts such as Contact, Age, Race/Ethnicity, Socioeconomic Status, Justice, Police Behaviour, Politics and Gender were the major contributors for how citizen's perception of police officers in T&T were influenced and shaped. That chapter also emphasised that the existing literature and information on public perception of police officers were mainly focused on developed societies such as US, UK and Canada. As a result, they are not fully applicable or transferable to a T&T context or those of post-colonial societies. In this chapter attention is paid to the work of Karl Marx and other authors such as Chambliss (1964); Quinney (1977); Box (1983) and Weis (2017) who used the concepts of Marx framework and created a link to the criminal justice system, especially the police institution. Considering the lack of research, literature and information available on the topic, this study has revealed new concepts, insights and explanations which could be considered as valuable assets in promoting knowledge and understating of the subject.

This chapter first provided a summary of the main findings which were highlighted in this study. It then utilised the findings and provided a comparative analysis on how they interacted with various existing theoretical frameworks. This was followed by a demonstration of how the objectives of this study was accomplished, and then recommendations were highlighted which focused on establishing improvements for the TTPS and its officers. Finally, directions for future research were highlighted.

## 6.1 Summary of Main Findings

*Contact* between citizens and police officers in T&T was found to be influenced and shaped by Citizens Demographic characteristics, the behaviour of police officers, communication and the services that officers provide to citizens. For example, in T&T citizens demographic characteristics such as social status was responsible for shaping and influencing how officers communicated with people in different ways, how officers respected citizens and the services that were offered to citizens of different status. These all contributed to how citizens of different stratification contacted officers.

In T&T, it could be suggested that citizens' perception of the police was shaped by *Age* which was influenced by citizens demographic characteristics, deference, citizens delinquency, and contact. For example, younger people in T&T was found to have heightened contact with the police. this was identified as being common amongst Afrotrinidadian males from disadvantaged communities. This study also highlighted that disadvantaged communities were mainly occupied by Afrotrinidadian citizens and both the police and these young people had a lack of respect for each other because of these citizens high level of involvement in illegal activities. As a result, young people were more reluctant to contact the police and less likely to develop and have positive and favourable perception towards police officers (Webb and Marshall, 1995; Brown and Benedict, 2002; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

This study suggested that people from different *Race/Ethnicity* in T&T were more likely to be treated in different ways by police officers. Citizens Demographic characteristics, delinquency,



contact and police behaviour were found to have an impact on how citizens perceived police officers. According to the findings of this study, it could be suggested that citizens of Afrotrinidadian ethnicity are more likely to occupy disadvantaged communities in T&T. As a result, these citizens had a higher level of involvement in delinquency and are more likely to experienced increased contact with police officers. This study also suggested that Police officers often treated these citizens in a more forceful and unequal manner when compared with other races (Trotman, 1986; Clarke, 1993; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

The *Socioeconomic Status* of people in T&T was suggested by this study as being imperative for shaping citizens perception of police officers. For example, citizens who occupy the lower class in T&T's social stratification, could be suggested as having an increased level of involvement in delinquency and more likely to experience heightened and confrontational contact with the police when compared to citizens from the middle and upper classes. The results from this study also suggested that police officers in T&T were more likely to treat citizens from the lower class in a profiling manner, forcefully and unequally. As a result, citizens from the lower class in T&T are more likely to develop less favourable and negative perceptions towards officers in comparison to people from the middle and upper classes.

*Justice* was suggested by this study as being important for how citizens of T&T perceive police officers. Officers behaviour was highlighted in this study as being responsible for how citizens perception towards police officers in T&T are shaped and developed. For example, when police officers displayed bias behaviour in order to favour a specific person, such as the upper class or females, this is more likely to cause other people to be treated disproportionately, especially people from the lower class or a specific gender. Citizens who are involved in delinquency are

also more likely to experience unequal or unjustifiable treatment from police officers because they might be from the lower class where officers treat citizens differently. As a result, citizens who experienced unequal or unjustifiable treatment from the police might become more inclined to develop less favourable and negative perceptions of the police.

*Police Behaviour* was suggested in this study as a major contributor for how citizens perception of police officers in T&T are shaped and developed. Officers behaviour was defined by Police Culture, Recruitment, Training, Accountability and Police Delinquency. The TTPS colonial legacy where officers were mainly concerned with public order duties as opposed to providing a service and the frequent use of excessive force eventually established an environment and culture for officer's lack of care and accountability. Poor levels of police recruitment principle and practice was suggested as being corrupt and bias and could be responsible for the poor qualities in officers and their inability to perform their role and function as a police officer. This study suggested that the TTPS suffers from a serious problem relating to officer's involvement in delinquency, especially the illegal drug trade, acceptance of bribes and in more recent times, the human trafficking trade. These problems and the lack of adequate supervision was more likely to establish and promote compromised and weak accountability police officers. As a result, citizens lack trust and confidence in officers which contributed towards the development of unfavourable and negative perception of the police. The data from this study suggested that some police officers in T&T behaved without integrity. It was highlighted that some police officers performed their duties with a lack of ethical consideration by being abusive, dominating and overly reliant on coercion and not concerned with assisting the citizens to improve the way they live. It was also indicated that some officers lacked moral judgement. Citizens felt that police officers did not care about how their actions or inactions could affect the future of the people. Some citizens drew on situations where the police lay charges against

innocent citizens especially the younger males where these people are more likely to obtain a criminal record for no wrongdoing.

*Politics* in T&T has been suggested in this study as having a major impact on policing. For example, politicians were identified as being able to manipulate the police recruitment system to allow bias treatment and favouritism whereby people with whom they were associated with, became recruited regardless of their low potentials to function as a police officer. This study also suggested that politician often manipulated police officers and the legal system to favour their associates who are involved in Gangs and illegal activities. Politician who request special treatment for themselves and their associates often manipulated and pressurised senior police officers to participate in delinquency or bias activities in order to fulfil their request. As a result, citizens were treated disproportionately, and this was more likely to influence and foster citizens less favourable and negative perception towards the police.

This study suggested that *Gender* was responsible for how citizens perception of police officers is developed and shaped in T&T. For example, female form disadvantaged communities were more likely to be sexually harassed by many male police officers because they were perceived as being easier targets mainly because of their economic situation. These females were often from broken family units and as a consequence were more likely to contact the police for assistance. As a result, they were more visible to police officers as being vulnerable. The results suggested that many male police officers often display a macho type of behaviour to impress females and achieve opportunities for sexual relationships. As a result, these male police officers were more likely to treat situations with bias, become rude and unhelpful towards other people while trying to impress females for sex. This study suggested that when citizens felt that

police officers have acted in a bias manner to obtain sexual relations with females, and other people have been treated disproportionately, there is a higher probability for citizens to develop a less favourable and negative perception towards police officers.

*Colonisation* was a consistent factor during this study which interconnected all of the eight theoretical concepts. This is more likely because of T&T's colonial legacy which the TTPS has continued to support and practice. The colonial model of police has been repeatedly identified as being counterproductive for developing and maintaining any type of working relationship between the police and citizens (Anderson and Killingray, 1991; Sinclair, 2006; King, 2009; Wallace, 2011). As a result, colonialism had manifested a culture through its aim and objectives which created various negative effects and disadvantages towards the type of contact that local citizens experienced with police officers, how people of different race/ ethnicities were treated, the manner in which police officers interacted with people from different socioeconomic status, the level and equality of justifiable treatment the citizens received, the behaviour of police officer, how politicians interacted with police officers and how the police treated people of different gender (Anderson and Killingray, 1992; Deosaran, 2002; Cole, 2003; Sinclair, 2006; King, 2009; Wallace, 2012).

Colonisation in T&T established a symbolic racial polarisation as the state powerful class were all white and the lower class were all non-white. The state developed a policing system in T&T that became their political apparatus whereby the rich powerful class was able to control the weak lower class by enforcing dominance through police coercion when necessary (Trotman, 1986; Clarke, 1993; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). According to Reiner (2010) the police institution is considered to be a powerful dimension of the state's political system as police

officers enforce the sanctions and laws created by state representative (politicians). Therefore, when a state is divided by class and other social factors, the impact of law enforcement often reproduces social division even if it was designed and intended to be impartially (Porter, 1987; Reiner, 2010). The inequalities of social power are more likely to create an impact on the formulation of legislation and its distribution. This was more likely to cause the law to deviate from impartiality and result in unequal law enforcement whereby groups might be treated differently because of political objectiveness (Reiner, 2010). When this occurs, policing and law enforcement become most applicable to the people within the lowest position of the social hierarchy and least powerful in society (Lee, 1981; Waddington, 1999; Reiner, 2010).

This study provided a significant understanding of how British colonisation in T&T became synchronised with the Marxist theory. Throughout the study it was highlighted that colonisation in T&T created a state whereby the powerful class was instrumental in dominating and oppressing the weak lower class (Trotman, 1986; Brereton, 1993; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). When T&T was colonised by the British, the European explorers were all white and occupied the powerful upper class and the local indigenous population became the less powerful lower class (Trotman, 1986; Clarke, 1993; Johnson and Kochel, 2012). The police became the state's main and fundamental law enforcement apparatus which was used to apply domination onto the lower class even with detriment (King, 2009; Wallace, 2011; Johnson and Kochel, 2012).

The *Role and Function* of the police in T&T was not one of the aims and objective of this study. However, it was a consistent factor which alighted throughout the research process and its fluctuating nature made it difficult to neglect. The TTPS motto "to protect and serve" which reflects the aims and objectives of the institution is more likely to produce cause for a debate.

The findings of this study highlighted that some citizens found officers to be reactive, lazy, unhelpful and rude when dealing with members of the public. However, this was found to be aligned with citizens demographic characteristics, especially social stratification. When considering that the role and function of police institutions in democratic societies (including T&T) should be concerned with enhancing the welfare of citizens in the communities regardless of status (Banton, 1964; Bittner, 1970; Mc Laughlin, 2007) this was not necessarily the case especially in T&T. Citizens from the disadvantaged communities found the police to be uncaring, antagonistic and less concerned about aiding and resolving social problems in their communities. On the other hand, citizens from affluent communities believed that the police were helpful, caring, hardworking and capable of solving problems in their communities.

A major association with the role and function of the police in democratic societies is, officers' presence within the communities. Police officers in these societies are expected to have a proactive approach and maintain a symbolic presence within communities. Officers presence within the communities should not solely be focused upon assisting citizens, but should also be a proactive crime prevention tactic, to reduce the fear of crime and a positive factor for promoting communication (Perry, 2013; Chalfin and McCray, 2014; Vidal and Mastrobuoni, 2018). When positive communication is established, there is a greater opportunity to develop closer working relationships with citizens. As a result, this might produce opportunities for enhanced trust and confidence between both parties. The results from this study showed that police presence in the communities took a rather different approach as suggested by Banton (1964); Bittner (1970) and McLaughlin (2007). It was indicated that in T&T, police presence in disadvantaged communities were relative infrequent, contentious and often involved the use of coercion. On the other hand, a police presence in the affluent communities were identified as being the opposite.

Marxism was a consistent aspect throughout this study. Based on the results obtained from the research conducted, it can be suggested that the framework developed by Karl Marx played an important role in policing in T&T. As previously highlighted, the Marxist framework suggested that in capitalist societies such as T&T, the state and its elite powerful class occupy to a minority group who are responsible for dominating the lower class of weak and powerless people (Chambliss, 1975; Young, 1979; Bystrova and Gottschalk, 2015). The data obtained from this study highlighted that political rivalry and domination in T&T have been responsible for developing socioeconomic inequalities amongst the population to the benefit of the elite powerful class of people. This minority group of people in T&T were also responsible for controlling the state resources and developing laws and sanctions for the population. On the other hand, the weak and powerless class of people were dominated by the laws and sanctions developed by the upper class especially through the criminal justice system mainly the police institution. Another important finding was that the elite powerful class, mainly the politicians, were responsible for associating and funding gangs. These gangs were used to create division amongst the population socioeconomic hierarchy whereby gang members would intimidate people of the weak lower class to vote for specific political parties.

## **6.2 Theoretical Implications**

The data obtained from this study have important sociological implications with existing theories from authors such as Turk (1969); Tyler (1990), Mastrofski (1999); Moore and Braga (2003); Webb and Marshall (1995) and other key authors.

The data obtained from this study suggested that Turk (1969) theory of Norm Deference is consistent in a T&T context. The Norm Deference theory suggested that because of the police dominant position in society where they were able to use coercive authority over other, it was less likely for officers to extend respect to people who occupy subordinate positions in the social hierarchy. For example, people from different levels of the social hierarchy were given respect according to the status. The results from this study suggested that citizens in T&T who occupies the lower class were more likely to receive little or no respect from police officers. Citizens from the middle-class received an average amount of respect and those from the upper-class received the most respect from officers. Therefore, it can be suggested that citizens' perception of the police in T&T varied and was shaped in accordance to the level of deference they received from the TTPS which reflected their status within the social hierarchy.

On the other hand, one of the results from this study highlighted the failure of Turk's (1969) theory of Norm Deference to address the concept of police behaviour and how it impacted on deference between citizens and the police. According to the results of this study, it could be suggested that in T&T many police officers were accused of delinquency which accounted for their participation in gang activities, drugs trafficking, human trafficking and favouritism. Because of these officers' delinquent activities, many citizens were fearful of the police, had lost trust and confidence in officers and developed a lack of respect for police officers which impacted less favourably and negatively on citizens' perception of police officers. In other words, it could be suggested that police delinquent behaviour is more likely to diminish favourable and positive perceptions from members of the public towards police officers.



Based on the result of this study, it could be suggested that the theory of Norm Resistance from Turk (1969) be expanded empirically and theoretically to include *Police Behaviour* so that future studies can adopt and apply this new concept to obtain further understanding and knowledge on the topic of, public perception of police officers. If Turk (1969) Norm resistance theory is expanded to include police behaviour, this can provide an opportunity for the theory to consider the behaviour of police officers together with group dynamics, with the possibility of elaborating and providing a more robust understanding of the topic.

The legitimacy theory by Tyler (1990) suggested that citizens are more likely to accept the police as being legitimate when officers have demonstrated that they treated everyone in a fair and equal manner. Tyler's (1990) theory was found to be consistent in T&T. However, the theory focused mainly on what the police should do to obtain legitimacy from citizens but failed to establish the variables that might contribute to how and why police officers treat people differently.

The potentially coercive nature of policing and discretion granted to police officers is what makes police institutions somewhat different from many other public organisations (Waddington, 2003; Newburn, 2003; Shane, 2016). Where there is the presence of coercive authority, the need for some level of ethical consideration when exercising such authority might become necessary (Kleining, 1996a; Neyroud and Beckley, 2001; Delattre, 2011). In policing, ethics is a vital necessity because police officers do not have a fixed code of ethics. Officers are governed by the criminal law that they uphold and basic professional expectations which is reinforced by sworn oath (Caldero and Crank, 2004; Mac Vean and Neyroud, 2012; Mc Cartney and Parent, 2015). Because police officers are empowered with independent levels of discretion

in making decisions, the authority to use force in difficult situations, the authority to enforce the law, protecting life and liberty, becoming the guardians of citizenship and respect, and this sometimes require making decisions in complicated situations and such decisions should be moral and ethical (Pollock, 2010; Delattre, 2011; Mac Vean and Neyroud, 2012; Shane, 2016).

Police officers are expected to be honest and behave with a high level of integrity (HMIC, 1999; Mac Vean and Neyroud, 2012; Mc Cartney and Parent, 2015). Behaviour is more likely to consist of qualities such as, fairness, probity, decency and equality. This is of paramount importance because a primary function of the police in these types of societies is to uphold the law fairly and without prejudice (Mac Vean and Neyroud, 2007; Delattre, 2011; Pollock, 2010; Mc Cartney and Parent, 2015). According to Neyroud and Beckley (2001) it is often difficult to identify good policing practices, but easier to identify bad practices.

The results from this study suggested that police officers in T&T did not appear to treat everyone in a fair and equal manner because of several compromises based on citizen's demographics and police behaviour. For example, people from disadvantaged communities in T&T were highlighted as being treated with higher level of force when compared to people from the middle-class and affluent communities. In a similar way, people from disadvantaged communities, especially young Afrotrinidadian males were highlighted as being treated like suspects of crimes as opposed to people from affluent communities who were treated in a friendly manner. An imperative finding of this study suggested that police behaviour which were associated with officer's delinquency, such as drug trafficking, human trafficking, gang involvement and accepting bribes contributed significantly to how citizens accept the police as legitimate. Because of police delinquent behaviour, many citizens had lost trust and confidence in officers and became fearful of the police. As a result, these citizens had lost respect for police

officers causing negative and less favourable perception towards the police in T&T. According to these results, it can be suggested that legitimacy depends on deference. Therefore, an intersection exists between Turk's (1969) Deference Theory and Tyler's (1990) Legitimacy Theory, especially within a T&T context.

The results of this study could suggest that Tyler's (1990) legitimacy theory be extended empirically and theoretically to include *Police Behaviour* and *Demographics*. This extension might become important for future research because it could provide opportunities to develop further understanding and knowledge on the topic of, public perception of police officers. Also, because of the intersection that this study identified between Tyler's (1990) legitimacy theory and Turk's (1969) deference theory, it could be suggested that Tyler's (1990) legitimacy theory be extended to incorporate deference. This could provide a valuable opportunity to develop an understanding of how legitimacy is affected by deference and simultaneously making the legitimacy theory more robust.

The proposed six-dimension service theory by Mastrofski (1999) suggested important service-oriented factors that many citizens expect from the police. The various dimension of the theory was found to be consistent in a T&T context. However, while Mastrofski's (1999) service theory was consistent in T&T based on services that police officers provide, the theory failed to identify how it's service-oriented factors varied in accordance to different societies and possible explanations for any variation.

The data obtained from this study suggested that not all citizens in T&T received an equal level of service from the TTPS which was predominantly because of people's *Demographics* and

*Police Behaviour.* This study suggested that services from police officers varied in post-colonial societies such as T&T. For example, police officers in British colonies never practiced a service-oriented style of policing towards the local citizens but rather a forceful and public order style. Therefore, in T&T which has experienced only a small amount of police reform from its colonial legacy, policing remains challenged towards a service-oriented style. Because of the social stratification during colonialism, people received services based on their status, race/ethnicity. For example, white people received a serviced-oriented type of treatment from police officers and local citizens received a more forceful and brutal type of treatment. As a result, the behaviour of police officers and services varied according to citizens social stratification.

A further instrumental finding from this study relates to Mastrofski's (1999) service theory which lacked citizens input/ contribution on the services that they need or would like to receive from the police. Without citizens input/contribution into policing, the work of police institutions could be considered a "supply and demand" principle. By having the input/contributions of citizens, the police are more equipped to focus on proactive approaches and crime prevention (Miles and Sengupta, 2006; Wallace, 2012). Therefore, citizens input/ contribution could be suggested as paramount because it is more likely to foster stronger relations between people and the police and other aspects such as, communities being part of the policing strategy, citizens able to inform the police of their needs which can be used to maximise resources and citizens can add valuable physical and psychological efforts to assist the police. When citizens feel that they are part of the policing initiatives, they are more likely to develop a genuine concern for the police and become self-motivated towards community safety and crime prevention (Deosaran, 2002; Critchlow, 2012; Wallace, 2012).

The results of this study demonstrated that Mastroski's (1999) service theory could be extended to include *Police Behaviour, Demographics and Citizens Input/Contribution*. This is important for future research because it provides fruitful opportunities to adopt and apply these new concepts with the aim of producing further understanding and knowledge on the topic of, public perception of police officers.

The Performance theory by Moore and Braga (2003) suggested that the 'output' of policing meaning officers ability to solve and prevent crimes, minimise people's fear of crime and maintain tranquility in the communities are important factors that shape citizens perception of police officers. Factors of the performance theory were found to be consistent in a T&T setting, however, this theory failed to consider its application in developing and post-colonial societies such as T&T.

The data obtained from this study suggested that citizens of T&T view the performance of police officers differently based on demographics and police behaviour. Based on the Service theory by Mastroski (1999) when people were happy with the service they received, it is more likely for them to become satisfied and acknowledge officers for performing their duties well. On the other hand, if citizens were unhappy with the service they received, they are more likely to become unsatisfied and might think that officers did not perform their duties well.

The results of this study demonstrated that Moore and Braga's (2003) performance theory is not an independent theory because it focused on the "output" meaning performance and disregarded the "input" meaning the services. As a result, it could be merged with the service theory by Mastroski (1999) especially in a T&T context. This could become beneficial for

future research because it might provide opportunities to adopt and apply both theories simultaneously with an aim of producing further understanding and knowledge on the topic of, public perception of police officers in different settings.

Webb and Marshall's (1995) demographic characteristics theory suggested that citizens perceive police officers based on a combination of variables such as, contact with officers, age, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, justice and the behaviour of police officers. When this study tested Webb and Marshall's (1995) demographic characteristics theory in a T&T setting, the results were found to be consistent.

The results of this study suggested that citizens demographic characteristics were the most important variables that influenced and shaped citizens perception of the police officers in T&T. More interestingly, demographic characteristics were found by this study to be intersectional with all of the theories reviewed on public perception of police officers. For example, this study demonstrated that Turk (1969) deference theory where different groups in the social hierarchy respect each other differently. However, the social hierarchy in T&T is constructed based citizens demographic characteristics. The legitimacy theory by Tyler (1990) explained that citizens accept the police as being legitimate when officers treat people equally and fairly. This study suggested that citizens of T&T are treated based on their demographic characteristics. The satisfaction theory which combined Mastrofski (1999) service theory and Moore and Braga (2003) performance theory which suggested that citizens might have various expectation of services from the police and based on the delivery of these services they are more likely to rate the performance of officers. The results of study suggested that citizens of

T&T received services from the police based on demographic characteristics and this determined how they rated police officer's performance.

According to the data obtained from this study, it can be suggested that Bittner (1970) theory, role and function of the police is not fully consistent to these findings. Bittner (1970) suggested that the role and function of police officers in democratic societies such as T&T, should focus upon enhancing the welfare and existence of the populace. However, the role and function of the police often becomes debatable relative to the best way in which it can be described. For example, a "Force" whose primary function is law enforcement or "Service" who assist in pacifying social dysfunctions and enhancing the lives of citizens (Cain, 1979; Reiner, 2010). Bittner (1970) highlighted that the police are considered to be peacekeepers rather than law enforcers by citizens. He argued that this was mainly because police officers utilise the greater proportion of their time to maintain the peace by observing and monitoring activities (symbolic presence) within the communities and aiding as opposed to pursuing and arresting criminals (Punch and Naylor, 1973; Reiner, 2010).

The data obtained from this study suggested that the role and function of police officers in T&T is not as Bittner (1970) explained. This is more likely because citizens from disadvantaged communities in T&T viewed the police as being dominant, oppressive and unhelpful. Therefore, these citizens interpret the TTPS as a "Force". On the other hand, citizens from affluent communities in T&T viewed the police as friendly and helpful. As a result, these citizens interpret the TTPS as a "Service". An important factor that might explain the reason for a fluctuation with the police role and function in T&T, could be traced back to the country's

colonial legacy. Colonialism was based on social stratification and the police role and function varied according to citizens position on the social and economic hierarchy.

Whilst Bittner's (1970) theory, role and function of the police might partially synchronised with policing in T&T, his theory lacked the emphasis to demonstrate that the role and function of the police in modern societies fluctuated according to social stratification especially in post-colonial and diversified societies. Based on the data from this study it could be suggested that Bittner's (1970) theory emphasised on a system of equilibrium. However, data from this study demonstrated that the police institution in T&T is not balanced because it represented an apparatus of the state which was designed to assist the rich powerful class in dominating the less powerful class (De Sardan, 1999; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013).

The results of this study demonstrated that Bittner's (1970) role and function theory could be extended to include *Demographics*. This is imperative for future research because it provides opportunities to adopt and apply this new concept which could provide contrast and alternative understanding and knowledge on the topic of, public perception of police officers.

According to the results obtained from this study, it can be suggested that the Marxist framework is synchronised with the socioeconomic hierarchy and policing in T&T. As a result, the Marxist framework and the work of authors such as Chambliss (1975); Quinney (1977); Box (1983) and Weis (2017) could now be extended to include colonialism and the colonial model of policing. Such extension could become imperative for future research as it might provide opportunities to adopt and apply this new framework with an aim of providing further understanding and knowledge on the topic of socioeconomic hierarchy, its application and



stance in post-colonial societies and its effects on the state and policing in such societies and any impact it might have on public perception of the police.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

This study was performed with the aim of gaining a better understanding of the public perception of police officers in T&T. The results suggested that it was more likely for police officers to give respect, treat citizens fairly and equally and distribute their services based on people's demographic characteristics. It was highlighted in this study that the TTPS has maintained characteristics of the colonial police model. This model of policing has been proven to be counterproductive for promoting citizens satisfaction and positive/ favourable perception of police officers. As a result, it could be suggested that the TTPS adopt reform principles which might assist in applying contemporary practices and simultaneously eliminating the colonial legacies.

This study would recommend the establishment of a Police and Citizens Networking (PCN) system in the TTPS. This could foster and promote better networking and communication between citizens and the police which can be done by through a customer-oriented style of policing (COP). This system could allow shared information and knowledge of citizens needs and concerns and simultaneously allow the communities to have an input on possible solutions for the problems in their communities. Citizens are more likely to become aware of the police intentions and develop a shared value in the police efforts to solve their community's problems.

Based on the results of this study, police officers possessed a deficiency in education and training in modern principles, problem solving and communication techniques. Therefore, the establishment of a Contemporary Training and Education Model (CTEM) would be recommended. The aim of the educational aspect of this model would be to develop and enhance officer's mental capacity. By improving the mental capacity of police officers in T&T, there is a likelihood that these officers would be able to acquire new and advanced knowledge, such as modern principles, laws and regulations relative to policing and equally important, the moral and ethical expectation of police officers by members of the public. The training aspect of this model relate to providing police officers in T&T with opportunities of developing non-physical intervention methods (soft skills) as opposed to coercive tactics which is a key feature of the colonial police model. Paramount to this recommendation is its key feature of "filling the gap" between present out-dated practices used by police officer and those of contemporary practices caused by modernisation of society. Such modern education and training might equip police officers with the necessary knowledge and skills to efficiently and effectively serve the public and foster harmonious relationships.

Enhanced Police Accountability (EPA) is another possible recommendation based on the results obtain in this study. Police deviance was demonstrated as major impact on how citizens perceived the police and many officers were not being held accountable for their actions. If EPA is established, all officers should be made accountable for their actions which could be used to inform citizens of police officers acting within the law and simultaneously obtain legitimacy. EPA could become instrumental in promoting effective police performance as officers time and activities would be better managed.

The role and function of the police institution in T&T needs to be reviewed along the lines of democracy and liberalism. This study has demonstrated that the TTPS is an apparatus for the state elite class to dominate the weak class. The role and function of the police in T&T do not fully represent a services function to the entire population especially to the citizens from disadvantaged communities. Throughout this study it was demonstrated that the role and function of the police in T&T were mainly aligned with law enforcement duties which focused on the weak lower class. The TTPS would benefit from the role and function of its officers being focused towards a service style of policing. The benefits of this style of policing would tackle the causes and prevention of crime as opposed to the investigation of criminal offence. Authors such as, Wells and Katz (2008); Pino and Johnson (2011); Seepersad (2016) and Adams (2019) all wrote about the escalating crime rates in T&T especially homicides. However, there has been no study known off that attempted to address the prevention of crimes via the role and function of the police.

The results and recommendations of this study will be disseminated to the TTPS by approaching senior officers and the government minister responsible for the police and also policing practitioners in T&T as suggestions for reform. The results and recommendations will act as a 'steppingstone' for the direction and future of policing in T&T and if implemented, could produce better police and citizens relations in the short term and with further research, in the long term.

When considering the implementation of these recommendations within the TTPS, it is imperative to acknowledge and understand any possible obstacle or hindrance associated with the process. Throughout this study it was highlighted that politics in T&T played an important

role in the TTPS. Therefore, it is vital to understand the correlation between politics and police reform in T&T. To accomplish this, the Marxist framework was reflected upon for direction and insight. Firstly, it should be acknowledged that the TTPS (amongst the other public institutions in T&T) are the main apparatus for enforcing governments policies, laws and sanctions in T&T. The TTPS is a government department and whilst there are some insights from other independent departments/ institutions, the state has the overall mandate of the TTPS (Police Service Act. Chapter 15:01).

The Marxist framework suggested that even if a state claims to be democratic, this might not be the situation (Johari, 2005; Obo and Coker, 2014). As a result, such state might be mainly concerned with the powerful class dominating and exploiting the weak lower class (Engels, 1969; O'Malley, 1987; Obo and Coker, 2014). The state can therefore be considered as an influence for regulatory dominance, economic development and political conditions. Therefore, the influential powerful class exercises authority and dominance on the less influential class (Engels, 1969; Jessop, 2012; Obo and Coker, 2014).

Colonisation of countries such as Africa and T&T have often considered to be an economic white-collar crime of the state which created a foundation for controlling and exploiting the weak lower class (Fanon, 1963; Agozino, 2003; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013). After independence, many newly formed local governments retained aspects from colonisation and became an apparatus for corruption and exploitation of the lower class (Sardan, 1999; Kerrigan and Sookoo, 2013). The recommendations of this study suggested reform efforts for the TTPS whereby police officers should receive advance training and education to promote equality amongst all social stratifications in T&T via better relations with citizens. Considering that the

police institution in independent countries such as T&T are instrumental for the state's aim and objectives and the state's primary concern being the support for the powerful upper class to maintain dominance over the weak lower class, there is a possibility that these recommendations might not be implemented.

#### **6.4 Future Research**

This study was based on two geographic locations of T&T and should not be interpreted as a representation of the general population. Therefore, it would be useful for further research to be conducted in different geographic locations of T&T which can be added to this study thereby formulating a more comprehensive understanding of the public's perception of the police in T&T.

During this study it was highlighted that there is a lack of previous studies on the public's perception of police officers in T&T, but also within the English-speaking Caribbean countries. As a result, it would become beneficial to extend this study into a Caribbean setting to obtain a better understanding of the subject, which could present vital information on contemporary policing methods and strategies that other post-colonial Caribbean countries might have adopted to replace their colonial legacy which could be useful to T&T. Therefore, this study could be extended based on the results of any further studies.

This study was focused at gaining knowledge and understanding about citizens perception of police officers in T&T. Samples were taken from members of the public and not police officers.

It would become beneficial for future research to take samples from police officers to gain knowledge and understanding about officer's perception of the public and also how officers of the TTPS perform their duties.

## **6.5 Final Conclusion**

This study was undertaken to provide a better understanding and knowledge on the public perception of police officers in T&T. Having completed the study where interviews with members of the public was carried out to obtain their views and opinions of how they felt and their experiences with police officers, data was obtained and analysed to produce results. These results were aimed at answering the research questions which was the focal point of this study.

The research questions were:

- I. What are the variables that affect citizens perception of the police in T&T?
- II. Do citizens demographic characteristics affect their relationship with the police and if yes, how and why?
- III. In what ways can citizens perception of the police in T&T be improved?

This study demonstrated that the variable of citizens demographic characterises such as, age, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status and gender was most imperative for how police officers treated citizens, and this influenced and shaped how they perceived police officers. Citizens demographic characteristics was identified as being intersectional with other variables such as police behaviour and legitimacy.

Results from this study demonstrated that citizens relationship with the police depended on demographic characteristics. For example, citizens from disadvantaged communities were treated harshly, profiled and not given assistance by police officers. On the other hand, citizens from affluent communities were treated in a caring manner, was not profiled and officers responded to their needs quickly. As a consequence, the relationship between citizens and the police in T&T varied in accordance to demographic characteristics. In light of these results, this study could suggest that citizens position within T&T's social hierarchy might become a pivotal factor towards how they would be treated by the police, their relationship with officers and how different groups might formulate different perception of the police.

The results of this study recommended three major areas of reform aimed at implementing changes that could foster better citizen and police relationships which might lead to citizens developing positive perception of police officers. These are, Police and Citizens Networking (PCN); Contemporary Training Model (CTM) and Enhanced Police Accountability (EPA).

## APPENDICES

Sample Questions
Have you contacted the police in the last 6 months?
Did the police contact you within the last 6 months?
Is it easy to contact the police?
Does the police respond when citizens need help?
Are the police consistent in responding?
Do officers treat people with respect?
Did the officer know his role and function when attending to you or someone you know?
Does the police show care and concern for you or another citizen?
Are the police forceful when attending to you or other citizens?
Do the police have good communication skills?
Were the police able to assist you or solve your problem or that of another citizen?
Did the police behaved professionally?
Would you contact the police again?
Have you ever been treated differently by the police because of your age?
Do you know anyone was treated differently because of their age?
Did your age affect a decision made by the police?
Does the police treat citizens in your community differently based on their age?
Have you ever been treated differently by the police because of your social status?
Do you know anyone who has been treated differently by the police because of their social status?
Does the police treat citizens differently because of their employment status?
Does the police treat citizens differently because of the community they live in?
Does the police give respect to citizens according to their status?
Does the police judge citizens on their appearance?
Have you ever been treated differently by the police because of your race?
Do you know anyone who was treated differently by the police because of their race?
Do you know anyone was treated differently because of their race?
Does the police treat citizens in your community differently based on their race?
At the end of a contact with the police, do think you were treated fairly?
Was the officer neutral during the contact with yourself and everyone involved?
We you given an opportunity by the police to have an input into your matter before a decision was made?
Did you feel happy with the decision made by the police?
Do you consider the police as being neutral and fair when dealing with other citizens?
Do you trust the police?
Do you think other citizens trust the police?
Do you think the police accept payments and favours from criminals?
Do you think the police treat all citizens equally?
Have you ever witnessed the police treating people unfairly?
Are you satisfied with the service provided by the police?
Do you think officers are held accountable for their actions?
Are you aware of police officers being involved in illegal activities?



## RESPONDENT CONSENT FORM

I am a PhD student carrying out research on the public perception of police officers in Trinidad and Tobago.

I write to obtain your consent to participate in the research by means of an interview. I take this opportunity to guarantee you that your response and all information you provide is for the sole purpose of the research and your confidentiality is of paramount importance. Your personal details (e.g. Name, address etc) will not be required during the interview. At no time will any information be recorded which may reveal your identity or put you at any kind of risk or possible harm. You are not obligated to participate in the research study and if you do wish to do so, you may feel free to withdraw at any time without an explanation. Under the data protection Act 1998 (UK) I will under no circumstances pass your responses or any other information that you provided to any other party/ parties. I will not be asking any questions about matters that are under investigation and considered to be confidential. If at any time you feel uncomfortable by a question being ask, please feel free to indicate your concern immediately. The interview would take approximately forty-five (45) minutes maximum and will be recorded for ease of the researcher.

In case you have any queries or want to speak to someone other than myself about the research or to lodge a complaint, you can do so by contacting my research supervisor, whose contact details are;

Dr. Perry Stanislas

Senior Lecturer, Department of Community and Criminal Justice

De Montfort University, Leicester, UK LE1 9BH

Email: pstanislas@dmu.ac.uk

Telephone: 011441162577146

Thanking You,

Michael Mathura: Research Student ID 12207837

De Montfort University, Leicester, UK LE1 9BH

## A CASE STUDY OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO POLICE SERVICE

### Information Sheet

I am a PhD student carrying out research on the public perception of police officers in Trinidad and Tobago.

I write to invite you to participate in my research which will contribute as the basis of my findings. Only your views and opinions will be required.

I take this opportunity to ensure you that your response and all information you provide is for the sole purpose of the research and your confidentiality is of paramount importance. Your personal details (e.g. Name, address etc) will not be required during this exercise. At no time will any information be recorded from you, which may reveal your identity. You are not obligated to participate in the research study and if you do wish to do so, you may feel free to withdraw at any time without an explanation. Under the data protection Act 1998 (UK) I will under no circumstances pass your responses or any other information that you provide to any other party/ parties. I will not be asking any questions about matters that are under investigation and considered to be confidential. If at any time you feel uncomfortable by a question being ask, please feel free to indicate your concern immediately.

In case you have any queries or want to speak to someone other than myself about the research or to lodge a complaint, you can do so by contacting my research supervisor, whose contact details are;

#### Dr. Perry Stanislas

Senior Lecturer, Department of Community and Criminal Justice

De Montfort University, Leicester, UK LE1 9BH

Email: pstanislas@dmu.ac.uk

Telephone: 011441162577146

Thank You,

Michael Mathura: Research Student ID 12207837

De Montfort University, Leicester, UK LE1 9BH

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

INDEX	
MM	The Researcher/ Interviewer- Michael Mathura
SWD 7	The Respondent/ Interviewee. Interview #7 from South Western Division
CODE	Emerging data relevant for developing themes
THEME	Groups of similar codes
CONCEPT	Groups of similar themes
MM	Have you contacted the police in the last 6 months? If YES, why?
SWD 7	Yes. To make a report that my neighbour was making sexual advances to my teenage daughter.
CODE	Make a Report
THEME	Contact
CONCEPT	Contact
MM	Was it easy to contact the police?
SWD 7	Yes, after work I walked to the station and waited about 10 minutes before being attended to.
CODE	walked to the station                      10 minutes before being attended
THEME	Accessibility
CONCEPT	Contact
MM	Did the police contact you within the last 6 months? If YES, Why?
SWD 7	Yes. To inform both my daughter and me of the outcome of the report I made.
CODE	Provide Information.
MM	Does the police respond when citizens need help?
SWD 7	Sometimes.
MM	Could you explain why you said sometimes?
SWD 7	Ok, in my situation they took about a week before I was contacted about what the police did. But I know people who personally made reports and never got an answer.
CODE	a week before I was contacted                      never got answer
THEME	Police Officers Unresponsive/ Unhelpful
CONCEPT	Contact
MM	Are the police consistent in responding?
SWD 7	According to my knowledge and experience, No.
MM	Why do you think so?
SWD 7	Well, from what I see in T&T, police officers mostly help the people from rich areas. The poor people are not really taken seriously or given help by most officers.
CODE	officers mostly help rich people. Poor people are not really taken seriously

THEME	Citizens Social Status/ Police Officers Responsiveness
CONCEPT	Socioeconomic and Justice.
MM	You mentioned most officers, could you explain what you mean?
SWD 7	Sure. There are some hard working and honest officers, but they are not a lot in numbers. These officers really try to help the people regardless of status. Well, they try to be equal and fair to everyone.
CODE	some hard working and honest officers.
THEME	Police Officers Behaviour
CONCEPT	Police Behaviour.
MM	Why do you think police officers treat rich and poor people differently?
SWD 7	Ok, rich people in T&T are rather influential. That is because of their job position, wealth, family status, or even their friends. So, these people are more connected to people in authority, I mean senior police officer, government ministers or other people in high positions. So, these people are in a position to ask for favours from the police, especially from senior officer and the this is passed down to the constable as instructions. The poor people have limited or no connection to people in authority. Poor people just trying to survive and look after their family. I personally think police officer treat poor people like if they are less educated and stupid. Look at it, most poor people in T&T don't really understand the laws.
CODE	rich people in T&T are rather influential/ job position, wealth, family status, or even their friends/ connected to people in authority/ senior police officer, government ministers or other people in high positions/ police officer treat poor people like if they are less educated and stupid/ most poor people in T&T don't really understand the laws.
THEME	Citizens Social Status/ Politicians Influence/Police officers Behaviour
CONCEPT	Socioeconomic, Politics, Justice and Police Behaviour.
MM	Do officers treat people with respect?
SWD 7	Like the question before, this is the same. Many police officers in T&T give respect to people based on their status. Rich people like the Whites, wealthy afro & indo Trinidadians, Chinese and Syrian are given lots of respect and attention by officers because of their status. Poor people are generally treated harsh and unfair. As I said before, there are a small number of officers who will treat everyone fair. I personally think this small number of officers were brought up well at home and will not accept bullying from senior officers. That's how I feel.
CODE	Police give respect according to status/Whites, wealthy afro & indo Trinidadians, Chinese and Syrian are given lots of respect because of their status/ poor people are generally treated harsh and unfair.
THEME	Citizens Social Status/Citizens Race
CONCEPT	Socioeconomic, Justice and Race and Ethnicity.
MM	Did the officer know his role and function when attending to you or someone you know?
SWD 7	Yes. He wasn't too bad. He had a good idea of what my problem was and how it needed to be solved.
CODE	Knew what the problem was and how to solve it
THEME	Competency

CONCEPT	Police Behaviour.
MM	Does the police show care and concern for you or another citizen?
SWD 7	With my situation, the officer was understanding. He showed that he cared. But I have many friends to had problems in the past and went to the police. they told me the officer's attitude was very bad and that those officers really didn't care. These friends explained that the officer they had experiences with was just taking the reports as a routine process but didn't show any form of care for the pain and suffering that the person was experiencing.
CODE	Understanding/ Bad Attitude/Uncaring/ Unsympathetic
THEME	Police Officers Behaviour
CONCEPT	Police Behaviour
MM	Are the police forceful when attending to you or other citizens?
SWD 7	In my case the officer was not forceful or anything like that. But I know many people who told me about the bad experiences with the police especially where officer would be forceful and physically assault (beat-up) young men. Well, mostly the young black men.
CODE	Not Forceful/Caring. Bad Experience/Forceful/Physical Assault/Young Black Men
THEME	Behaviour/ Race/Age
CONCEPT	Police Behaviour, Race and Ethnicity and Age.
MM	Do the police have good communication skills?
SWD 7	Well, that goes back to a sought of class issue. Many officers communicate with the rich people in a professional manner. Then officers might communicate with the poor people in a less professional manner. But remember the small number of officers who treat everyone equally. I think the majority of officers behave like this because of their assumptions. Example, rich people are more educated, so officers need to communicate with them more professional and poor people the opposite. Well, middle class falls somewhere between both.
CODE	Class Issue/ Rich People-Professional/Poor people- Less Professional/Police Assumption- Rich People Educated and Poor People Less Educated.
THEME	Social Status/ Police officers Behaviour
CONCEPT	Socioeconomic and Police Behaviour.
MM	Were the police able to assist you or solve your problem or that of another citizen?
SWD 7	For my situation I was fortunate to get it solved. But many of my friends who had problems and went to the police was not so lucky. Many made reports and never heard from the police after that.
CODE	My problem was solved/ Other people never heard from the police
THEME	Justice/ Police Officer Unresponsive
CONCEPT	Justice and Police Behaviour.
MM	Did the police behaved professionally?
SWD 7	When I made the report, I went alone after work. So am a mature woman and the officer young. I would say late 20s or early 30s. so there was a good level of professionalism. However, when the officer visited my home to speak to my teenage daughter, professionalism went out the door. The young officer became

	attracted top my daughter. He was not rude in any way, but his focus turned on my daughter and not really my neighbour.
CODE	Mature woman/ Late 20s-early 30s/ professionalism/ teenage daughter/officer attracted to my daughter/ focus on my daughter.
THEME	Age/ Professional/ Police officer Behaviour
CONCEPT	Age, Gender and Police behaviour.
MM	Would you contact the police again?
SWD 7	I would but only if it's a last option. Am not a big fan of theirs but when you have a problem that needs their attention, I guess people have to approach them.
CODE	Last option/ Not a big fan/ Need help
THEME	Contact
CONCEPT	Contact
MM	How about the people you know? Would they approach the police again?
SWD 7	From what I gathered about our discussions, most of the people who I know would only contact the police if absolutely necessary. Again, from bad experiences these people don't really want to have much contact with the police.
CODE	Absolutely Necessary/ Bad Experiences/Don't want much contact
THEME	Contact
CONCEPT	Contact
MM	Have you ever been treated differently by the police because of your age?
SWD 7	Am not really sure. I know from my experience I was treated in a respectful manner. I guess it's because I was mature. But from discussion with friends, I believe that some officers are very rude, abrupt and rough with young people. When I say rough, I mean physical. I was told by a few friends that their sons were sometimes slapped and kicked by some police officers. So that said, my experience as a mature person and those of young people seems to be a bit different.
CODE	Respectful manner/Mature/officers are very rude/abrupt and rough with young people/physical/sons slapped and kicked by police officers/ mature person and young people different
THEME	Police Officers behaviour/ Citizens Age/ Physical Assault
CONCEPT	Police Behaviour, Age and Justice.
MM	Do you know anyone was treated differently because of their age?
SWD 7	Well, as I said before, I think some officers do treat people according to their age. Well, from my personal experience and from what I found out from other people.
CODE	According to age
THEME	Age
CONCEPT	Age and Justice.
MM	Did your age affect a decision made by the police?
SWD 7	No. well not from what I can see. But am not sure. Although the officer might have realised that I was a mature woman and know my way around the system, so he did his job properly. I really can't say. But that is a possibility.
MM	Does the police treat citizens in your community differently based on their age?

SWD 7	Again, taking my experience and those of other people, it seems to have some type of different treatment happening.
CODE	Different Treatment
THEME	Police Officer Behaviour
CONCEPT	Police Behaviour.
MM	Have you ever been treated differently by the police because of your social status?
SWD 7	From the experience I had with the police, I will say no.
MM	Do you know anyone who has been treated differently by the police because of their social status?
SWD 7	Remember our conversation before about rich and poor people in T&T? well that answers this question perfectly.
CODE	Rich and poor people
THEME	Citizens social status
CONCEPT	Socioeconomic
MM	Does the police treat citizens differently because of their employment status?
SWD 7	Yes, I believe so. Again, this relates to the social status of the people in T&T.
MM	Does the police treat citizens differently because of the community they live in?
SWD 7	Yes. This is a perfect example of social status in T&T. I will give you an example. Look at Morvant in north Trinidad and Edinburg in central Trinidad. Morvant is a mainly black/ Afrotrinidadian poor community and rampant with crime, lack of education, drugs and prostitution. Police always have some type of shoot-out with the citizens there. The situation between the police and people there is very intense. Ok, look at Edinburg in Central. Most people are white, Syrian or Indotrinidadian and live in a mansion and drive expensive cars. The police never shoot anybody there, never. but these rich people children always smoking marijuana and driving drunk. The police never arrest them for it.
CODE	Afrotrinidadian/ Indotrinidadian/Social status/ poor community/ rampant crime/ lack of education/drugs/prostitution/police and citizens shoot-out/intense situation/mansions/ expensive cars/ rich children smoking marijuana and driving drunk/ no arrest.
THEME	Race/ Citizens Social Status/Police Officers Behaviour/Justice.
CONCEPT	Race and Ethnicity/ Socioeconomic/ Police Behaviour/Justice.
MM	Does the police give respect to citizens according to their status?
SWD 7	Yes, definitely. Look back about our discussions about the rich and poor in T&T.
MM	Does the police judge citizens on their appearance?
SWD 7	I can't say for sure about this but considering that rich people might often have a more professional appearance and drive expensive cars does not mean they are not criminals or involved illegal things. Also, because poor people might have a less professional look does not mean they are criminals or involved in crime. If you remember our last conversation, rich people and their children are treated in a more polite and positive way compared to poor people who are treated in the opposite way. I don't have personal experience, but I can only assume that appearance have some influence on how police judge people.

CODE	Rich people/ professional appearance/expensive cars/Poor people/less professional appearance/ rich people-polite and positive/ poor people- opposite
THEME	Citizens social status/ Police officers behaviour/Justice.
CONCEPT	Socioeconomic, Justice and Police Behaviour.
MM	Have you ever been treated differently by the police because of your race?
SWD 7	No, I have no personal experience of that. But I do know that T&T have a big problem with race especially with politics. Am not sure about the police being racist to people. I think officers are afraid of racist accusations. But what I do think and have heard off is officers picking on their own kind. By that I mean black officers picking on black people and Indian officers picking on Indian people.
CODE	T&T have a big problem with race/ especially politics/officers pick on their own kind/black officers pick on black people/ Indian police pick on Indian people.
THEME	Race/ Politics/Police officer's behaviour.
CONCEPT	Race and Ethnicity, Politics and Police Behaviour.
MM	Do you know anyone who was treated differently by the police because of their race?
SWD 7	No. I do not know anyone personally. But I have heard of few situations where police officers were accused of racism. Another point I think is important is where police officers give special treatment to white and Chinese people especially those involved in crime. Officers don't arrest and charge these people. So, in reality, the police are racist.
CODE	No personal experience/officers accused of racism/special treatment to Chinese and Whites/ These people not arrested for crimes.
THEME	Race/ Justice/Police officer's behaviour
CONCEPT	Race and Ethnicity, Justice and Police Behaviour.
MM	Does the police treat citizens in your community differently based on their race?
SWD 7	I have no personal experience of this. But as I said before, I think officers pick on their own kind. So, it's not often you hear about police accused of racism. I think it's done in a technical way.
MM	What do you mean by a technical way?
SWD 7	Well, Indian officers don't really bully a negro person and the opposite. If they pick on their own kind people cannot really say its racism or bias treatment. However, I think differently for white and Chinese people. I think they get off easy because of their status as being rich. These rich people give things to the police. things like donations, discounts and gifts.
CODE	India, negro, Chinese and White people/ Rich people/police obtain gifts
THEME	Race/Citizens social status/ police corruption
CONCEPT	Race and Ethnicity, Socioeconomic and Police Behaviour.
MM	At the end of a contact with the police, do think you were treated fairly?
SWD 7	In my situation, I think I was treated fairly. My problem was solved so I was happy.
MM	Was the officer neutral during the contact with yourself and everyone involved?



SWD 7	Yes. The officer came and spoke to my daughter and myself.
MM	We you given an opportunity by the police to have an input into your matter before a decision was made?
SWD 7	Yes. When I made the report, the officer gave me a few options. I told him I just want my neighbour warned to stop harassing my daughter.
MM	Did you feel happy with the decision made by the police?
SWD 7	Yes. He said he was going to speak to my neighbour.
MM	Do you consider the police as being neutral and fair when dealing with other citizens?
SWD 7	No. from the discussion I had with friends and from the TV and newspapers, there are always some kind of article that show how the police was unfair or bias.
CODE	Friends/ TV/Newspapers/ Police unfair and bias
THEME	Police officer's behaviour/Justice
CONCEPT	Police Behaviour and Justice.
MM	Do you trust the police?
SWD 7	No. the police in T&T is very corrupted. Well not all but most. But you don't know who is honest and who is corrupted. Police in T&T always in some type of illegal things. Drugs, prostitution, human trafficking, bribes and gangs. And many more things.
CODE	Police in T&T corrupted/unsure who is corrupted or honest/ Drugs/ prostitution/ human trafficking/ bribes/ gangs
THEME	Police Officer's behaviour/Justice
CONCEPT	Police Behaviour and Justice.
MM	Do you think other citizens trust the police?
SWD 7	No. in my department at work there are 30 people, and none trust the police.
MM	What could be the reasons for that?
SWD 7	Police officer in T&T do things to benefit themselves. These corrupted officers don't think about citizens, well at least not the poor people. The ones who are not corrupted cover for those who are so they still guilty. So, people simply don't trust the police.
CODE	Corrupted Officers/poor people
THEME	Officer's behaviour/Citizens social status
CONCEPT	Police Behaviour and Socioeconomic.
MM	Do you think the police accept payments and favours from criminals?
SWD 7	Yes, this is an ongoing problem in T&T. this is nothing new.
CODE	Officers accept payments from criminals
THEME	Corruption/ Delinquency
CONCEPT	Police Behaviour.
MM	Do you think the police treat all citizens equally?
SWD 7	No, not at all. Look back at our conversation about status and race.

MM	Have you ever witnessed the police treating people unfairly?
SWD 7	No, I have no personal experience.
MM	Are you satisfied with the service provided by the police?
SWD 7	No. personally my problem was solved and thanks for that. But there are many people out there that make reports and heard nothing from the police. as a matter of fact, these people still have the same problem for years now.
MM	Do you think officers are held accountable for their actions?
SWD 7	No. Too much corruption in the government and police. Nobody at the top really acting against people at the bottom for doing wrong things. So, everybody just doing what they want and no consequences. Well, that is what I think.
CODE	Corruption in government/police/nobody acting against wrongdoing/ no consequences.
THEME	Politicians/police delinquency
CONCEPT	Politics and Police Behaviour.
MM	Are you aware of police officers being involved in illegal activities?
SWD 7	I don't have personal experience of this. But if you open a newspaper or watch TV you sure to see something about the police especially something illegal or wrong.
CODE	No personal experience/Newspaper or TV/ Police illegal or wrong doings
THEME	Behaviour of police officers
CONCEPT	Police Behaviour.

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