

Introducing Service-oriented Policing to Trinidad and Tobago¹

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The Trinidad and Tobago Police Service Transformation Project was launched in September 2004. George Mason University and partners at other institutions and organizations are working together to assist the Ministry of National Security of Trinidad and Tobago to improve the quality of policing in this small Caribbean island nation (about the size of Delaware) located seven miles off the northeast coast of Venezuela. This paper provides a brief description of Trinidad and Tobago (T&T), the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS), and the project¹. It then provides some results from our evaluation of the project implementation and some reflections on what we have learned so far.

Trinidad and Tobago

This former British colony became an independent nation in 1962 and was established with a constitution as a republic within the Commonwealth in 1976. The two-island nation of 1.2 million people is a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral legislature. Parliament elects a president, who has authority to make some appointments but who otherwise holds a ceremonial office. The head of the executive is the Prime Minister, who appoints members of the cabinet, including the Minister of National Security, who is responsible for overseeing the TTPS.²

T&T is racially and culturally diverse. East Indians constitute the largest group (40 percent), followed by African (37.5 percent), mixed (20.5 percent) and other (2 percent). The breakdown by religion is Roman Catholic (25 percent), other Christian (27.6 percent), Hindu (22.5 percent), Muslim (5.8 percent) and other (18.1 percent).

Control of the national government has in recent times passed back and forth between two nearly evenly matched political parties, both of which play heavily to the racial and ethnic identity of their core constituencies – one principally of African descent and the other of East Indian. The ancestors of the former were brought to the colony as slaves,³ and the latter immigrated as indentured servants after emancipation in 1838.⁴ The cultural identity of the party

¹ A more comprehensive description, from which the following sections are drawn, may be found in Stephen D. Mastrofski and Cynthia Lum. 2008 “Meeting the Challenges of Police Governance in Trinidad and Tobago,” *Policing* 2 (4): 481-96.

² The TTPS is one of several organizations falling under the responsibility of the Ministry of National Security; others include the military, coast guard, immigration, fire service, and prisons.

³ Africans also immigrated to Trinidad as free men in post-slavery times, including a number from the United States after its Civil War.

⁴ Emancipation had been theoretically granted in 1834 but did not become a reality until 1838.

currently forming the Government is Afro-Trinidadian, while that of the Opposition is predominantly East Indian.

Although T&T is regarded as a developing nation, it is the wealthiest in the Caribbean, due largely to its large natural gas and oil reserves, which makes petroleum and petrochemical industries the driving force behind what has in recent years been a growth economy. The government has launched a development program that has targeted 2020 as the date by which the nation will achieve developed status. However, as with many developing nations that come into great wealth, much of it is held by a few. Nonetheless, unemployment has been relatively low in recent years.

Trinidad and Tobago Police Service

TTPS has approximately 7,000 sworn and is the primary police service provider for the nation.⁷ The operational elements of the Service are divided into divisions and branches. The divisions are dispersed geographically around the nation and are somewhat similar to uniformed patrol precincts in American police agencies. Branches are specialized units, of which there are many. About 50-55 percent of the officers are assigned to the divisions. Many officers assigned to branches perform functions that would be done by civilians in most U.S. police organizations.

Traditionally, the TTPS operated similarly to its predecessor British colonial policing model. Officers assigned to divisions and districts rarely patrolled, waiting instead for residents to bring problems to their attention at their stations.

The Ministry of National Security is responsible for general oversight of the Commissioner of Police (COP) and TTPS, but day-to-day operational decisions are the responsibility of the COP. Other oversight bodies include the Police Service Commission, responsible for the selection, evaluation, and discipline of the COP and the Deputy Commissioners (DCPs). Another outside unit, the Police Complaints Authority is responsible for the investigation of all complaints against the police.

Challenges for the TTPS

When the Transformation project was initiated, the TTPS faced a crisis in public confidence. First, violent crime rates in Trinidad and Tobago were high and rising, and the public held the police responsible for doing something about them. Between 1999 and 2005, the murder rate rose from 7 to nearly 30 per 100,000 persons². A 2005 public opinion survey found that 87 percent of T&T respondents listed crime as the most important problem facing the country, and a 2003 survey found that only 60 percent of the respondents felt very or fairly safe walking in their neighborhoods alone at night. Sixty-two percent identified the police as the entity that should be most responsible for tackling crime, but by early 2006 the detection (clearance) rate for homicides had dropped to a new low of about 13 percent.

⁷ Some municipalities have small police forces of their own, and there is a Special Anti-Crime Unit of Trinidad and Tobago that provides investigative services for serious crimes.

² In 2008 the rate was 50 per 100,000.

A second source of the public's unhappiness was that the police themselves were believed to contribute directly to crime and injustice due to corruption and abuse of authority. Scarcely a day passed without a story in the press about one or more officers charged with a corrupt or abusive practice. Not surprisingly then, in 2005, 43 percent of public opinion survey respondents described the police as corrupt, and 60 percent were concerned that the police service was too much in league with criminal elements. In its 2004 report on human rights, the U.S. State Department expressed concern about police killings during apprehension, deaths of persons in police custody, and police abuse of prisoners (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2004).

The third element in the TTPS crisis was the large portion of the public who viewed the police as incompetent and uncaring. Newspapers frequently reported instances where citizens reported a serious crime to the police, only to be told to contact some other unit. Officers might not arrive on the scene until hours later, if at all. In 2005, 41 percent of respondents to a national survey described the police as providing poor service, 32 percent said they were slow, and 30 percent termed them unresponsive. Only 14 percent characterized the police as efficient, and an equally low percentage said they were friendly. Forty-eight percent of respondents said they had little or no confidence in the police. Fifty-five percent indicated that they do not trust the police to tell the truth, ranking them only slightly above the least-trusted entities asked about (government ministers and politicians).

To place all of this in a broader perspective, only 48 percent of T&T survey respondents indicated that they were satisfied with their police in 2003, while it is common for large local police agencies in the United States to achieve responses in the 80-90 percent range. Conversely, while nearly half (48 percent) of T&T residents had little or no confidence in their police, the typical portion of Americans holding that view fluctuates around only 10-12 percent. And while only 35 percent of T&T residents trusted the police to tell them the truth in 2003, the figure was 64 percent in Great Britain. And finally, the public opinion polls show that generally the public's confidence with the TTPS has been declining over recent years.

Responding to These Challenges -- Model Stations Initiative

In 2004 the Ministry of National Security initiated a program to transform the TTPS to a modern, service oriented police force. The largest transformation initiative in scope is known as the Model Stations Initiative, which officially began January 1, 2007. The MSI was undertaken in five station districts as a pilot project. The sites for these pilots -- West End, Morvant, Arouca, Chaguanas, and San Fernando -- were selected for their high level of crime and geographic diversity. The intent was that lessons learned during the trial period would then be applied to instituting reforms nation-wide.

The Model Stations Initiative constituted a comprehensive package of reforms to change the culture of the TTPS. The traditional cultural orientation fostered in the Police Service paid little attention to the aspects of policing that the public values most highly: protection of the public, service to those victimized by crime, and energetic initiative in dealing with the day-to-day problems the public asks the police to handle. The MSI sought to change this orientation,

aiming to instill values attentiveness, reliability, responsiveness, competence, manners, and fairness.

The object of this part of the TTPS transformation was to instill in officers the will and skills needed to “police for people.” The reform package included measures to give officers the motivation and capabilities to deliver policing for people. It also provided for systems to monitor the progress of TTPS and of individual officers in meeting these expectations and provide consequences based on the level of performance.

The “theory” behind the initiative is this – working backward from the ultimate goals of reducing crime and increasing public confidence in the police. Reducing crime requires that the public have trust and confidence in the police so that they will cooperate with police and assist them in reporting crime, testifying in court, and working to solve community problems. This requires changing police practices at the stations so that more service and higher quality service are delivered to the public. More and better service requires (a) personnel who are better-trained, (b) better managed and supervised, and (c) better equipped and housed. When officers experience these things, their will to perform and their capability to do so will be sufficiently enhanced to produce changes in their behavior.

The following are the major components of the Model Station Initiative:

- a. *Committed and Capable Leadership for Selected Pilot Areas.* TTPS assigned high quality managers to the divisions and stations selected for the pilot intervention. Where necessary, current leadership was replaced at the beginning of the project. The expectation was that managers/supervisors assigned to the selected divisions and stations would not be transferred, retired, or take extended vacation leave during the two-year trial period. These people received extensive and intensive on-site training and coaching to enhance their leadership, management, and supervisory skills.
- b. *Adequate Staffing of Stations.* The selected pilot stations received additional personnel bringing all close to 100 sworn, plus some additional civilian personnel.
- c. *Increasing Vehicle Availability at the Stations.* Over the course of the following year, each model station received up to 20 vehicles.
- d. *Improving the sanitation, space, and structural integrity of station facilities.* Each model station was assessed to determine short-term and long-term needs for upgrading the facilities and expansion. Short-term changes began immediately.
- e. *Providing Adequate Equipment to Station Facilities.* Commensurate with the enhancements above, TTPS and the Ministry ordered computers and peripherals, flashlights, cameras, tape recorders, weapons, handcuffs, protective vests, cell phones, furniture, lockers, kitchen appliances and supplies, air conditioning, etc.

- f. *Priority for Policing-for-People Training.* Model Stations personnel received top priority for all training on policing for people that is offered by the Police Training Academy. In addition, GMU provided intensive training modules to each pilot station.
- g. *Office of Victim Support in Each Model Division.* TTPS created a Victim Support unit in each Model division that is responsible for mobilizing and coordinating police and other government services to help crime victims cope with their trauma.
- h. *Improve Crime Documentation and Analysis.* TTPS implemented computerized crime reporting in the Model Stations to increase the reliability and timeliness of data and its application for decision making.
- i. *Field Advisors.* Three police technical experts working for GMU spent 12 months on site to support the initiative in the Model Stations. These advisors evaluated the needs of the pilot stations and worked with station and division commanders to devise solutions to problems.

Evaluation Methodology

We are assessing the progress of this initiative’s implementation and its impact by comparing the performance of each model station to a similar “comparison station” that did not receive the benefits of the Model Station treatment. Below are the matches.

<u>Model Station</u>	<u>Comparison Station</u>
West End	St. James
Morvant	Belmont
Arouca	Arima
Chaguanas	Couva
San Fernando	Princess Town

The comparison group stations were matched as closely as possible to the five pilot stations in the nature and intensity of crime and disorder problems of the area.

Extensive data were collected at each model and comparison station, including: (a) monitoring agency records, (b) conducting random-sample surveys of residents of the five pilot stations and a comparison group of five similar stations that are not receiving the policing-for-people intervention, and (c) conducting periodic surveys of personnel working in the pilot station and comparison-group stations.

The *Model Police Station Survey* is a large, in-person survey of residents in the Model Police Station districts and Comparison Districts matched to them. Approximately 300 residents were interviewed in each station district in each year. Interviews were conducted by HHB Inc. of Belmont, Trinidad. The Baseline Survey was conducted in January-February, 2007, and the Year One Survey in April-May, 2008.

The *Model Police Station Officer Survey* is an anonymous, self-administered questionnaire distributed to TTPS officers working in the Model Police Station districts and Comparison Districts. Two hundred and twenty-seven officers were interviewed in 2007 (34 percent of Model Station officers and 30 percent from Comparisons stations), and 327 were interviewed in 2008 (46 percent of officers assigned to Model and to Comparison stations). George Mason University field personnel distributed surveys to officers on duty in the stations on many different days and shifts to get as wide representation as possible. GMU personnel waited at the stations after distributing the surveys to collect the completed surveys. Officers completed the surveys in private, placed them in sealed envelopes, and deposited them in a sealed box that GMU personnel took with them as they left. This procedure was followed to assure officers that their survey answers would be confidential, and not shared with their superiors or peers.

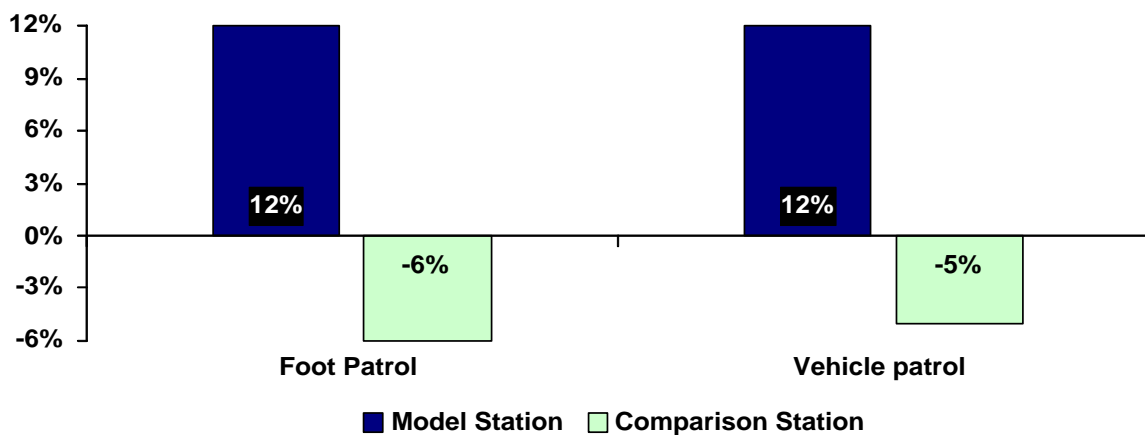
GMU field personnel engaged in *Field Observation* during Model Stations implementation, and accessed crime data recorded for the Model and Comparison stations. In this paper we report results from the resident and officer surveys.

Model Station Accomplishments in Year One

Increased Patrol Activity

Model Station officers reported significant increases in their foot and vehicle patrol activities from 2007 to 2008, while Comparison Station officers reported decreases. Nearly 70 percent of the Model Station officers reported having been on three or more vehicle patrols during their previous four work shifts, compared to but 44 percent in the Comparison Stations. Reported foot patrol activity doubled among Model Station officers. This increase in Model Stations patrol activity reported by officers is consistent with observations by George Mason field staff and the increased police visibility reported by Model Station residents (see below).

Change in Patrol Activity 2007 to 2008
(percent 3 or more patrols in last 4 shifts)

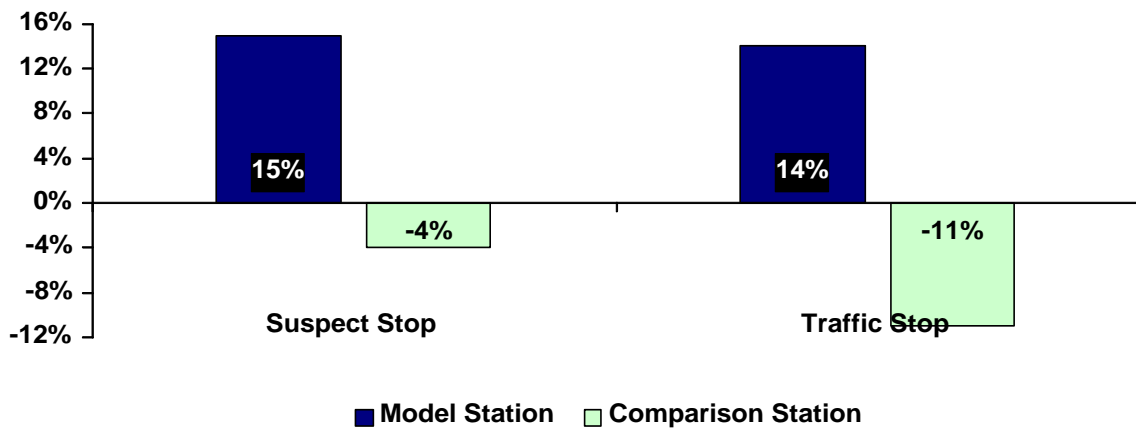


Our field staff noted an increased emphasis on patrol placed by Model Station supervisors in 2008. Station personnel worked with CAPA to map crimes and create patrol zones, then used these maps to deploy patrol units accordingly. Together with increased vehicle availability, this patrol emphasis has worked to significantly increase police presence in Model Station communities.

Increased Suspect and Traffic Stops

TTPS officers on patrol in the Model Station districts were substantially more aggressive in 2008 than in 2007. They reported significant increases in suspect and traffic stops—nearly two-thirds said they had stopped a suspect for questioning three or more times in their last four work shifts, and 58 percent had stopped a vehicle three or more times. Over the same period these stops declined in Comparison districts—to 42 percent for suspect stops and 34 percent for traffic violations. Model Stations began drug interdiction efforts in 2008, stopping to question and search known and suspected dealers at an accelerated pace. Most Model Stations also increased their traffic enforcement efforts, striving to reduce accidents and also to reduce auto theft. These new initiatives help to account for the increased activity officers reported.

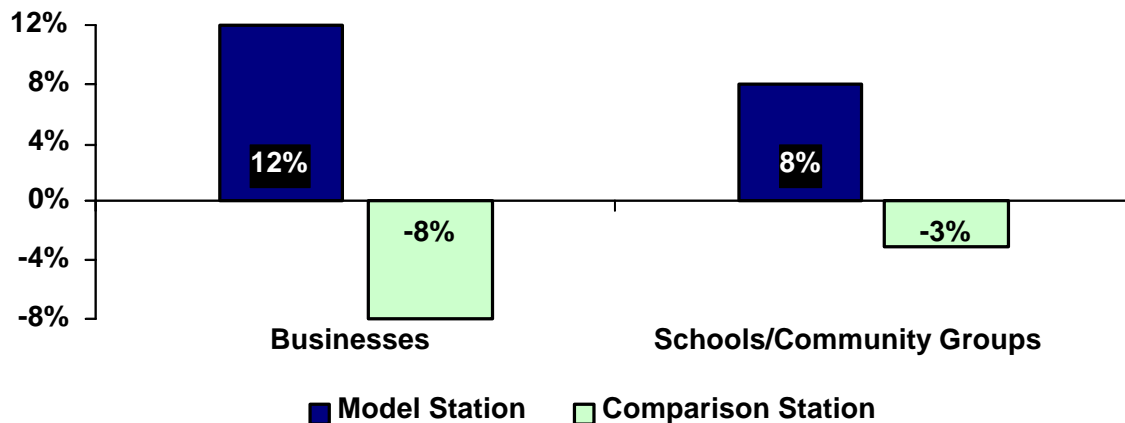
Change in Stop Activity 2007 to 2008
(percent 3 or more stops in last 4 shifts)



Increased Contacts with Businesses, Schools and Community Groups

In addition to aggressive patrolling and stopping of suspects and traffic offenders, Model Station officers initiated more contacts with business owners, school officials, and community groups in 2008. Three-fifths of the officers said they made three or more contacts with businesses, and two-fifths with schools and community groups. In these contacts they introduced themselves and distributed contact information, urging those contacted to call them whenever they saw problems arise. Officers also queried their contacts about problems they had seen recently, collecting information to develop plans for focused patrolling in the districts. Model Station officers began working with Community Security Programme personnel in 2008, joining them in outreach to community groups in their station districts.

**Change in Contacting Activity 2007 to 2008
(percent 3 or more contacts in last 4 shifts)**



Improved Police Visibility

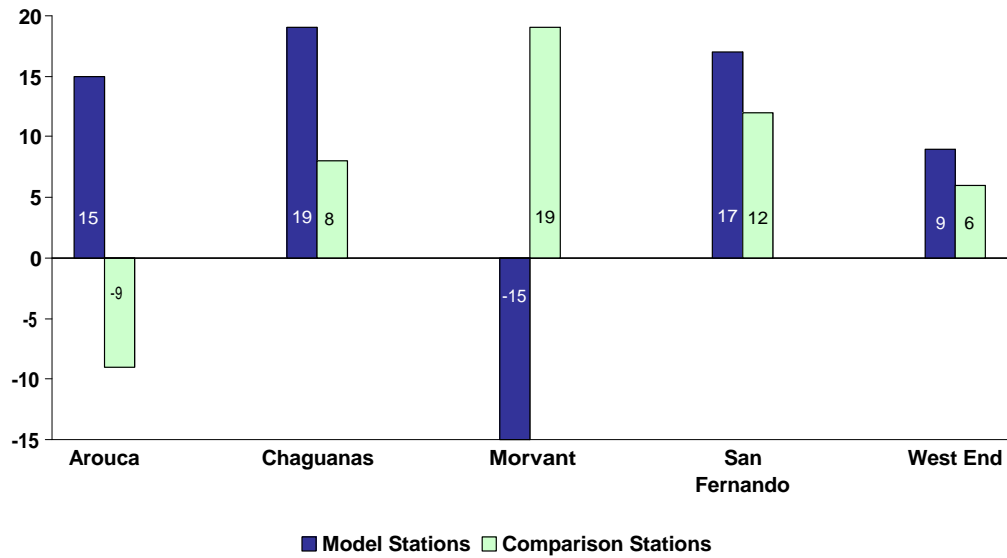
An important aspect of Policing for People is deploying officers for work out in the community, rather than congregating at the station. When officers are patrolling and responding to requests for assistance or reports of crime, residents are likely to see them and so feel more secure. By increasing the number of officers available, equipping them with additional vehicles, and training supervisors on the importance of patrols in the community, the Model Stations initiative intended to increase police visibility significantly.

Consistent with the increased patrol and contact activity reported by officers assigned to Model Stations, the desired increase in police visibility was found in most Model Station Districts. The percent of residents who said they had seen a police officer in their community during the past week increased in four of the five Model Stations—in each of these the increase was more than in their Comparison. This increased visibility may help to explain the reductions

in concern for victimization and fear discussed below, although we note that concern and fear declined in Morvant despite the decrease in visibility reported there.

Change in Police Visibility 2007 to 2008

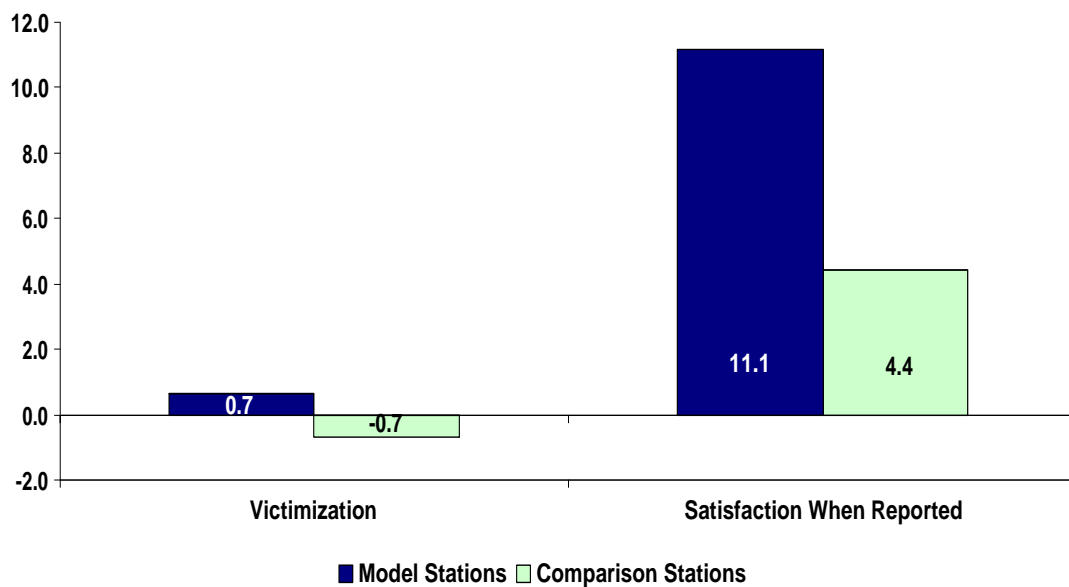
(Percent who saw police in community within last week)



Increased Victim Satisfaction

There was little change in victimization reported by residents of the Model and Comparison districts from 2007 to 2008. The combined incidence of burglaries, robberies and assaults increased by less than one percent in the Model districts and decreased by less than one percent in the Comparison districts. Satisfaction with police service after being victimized did change, however, with the greatest improvement occurring in the Model Stations. This improvement can be attributed to improved conditions in the Model Station Charge Room/Reception Areas and to improved attitudes and behaviors of Charge Room officers and officers who encounter victims in the community. This improvement in attitudes and behaviors was an intended outcome of the Policing for People training received by officers assigned to the Model Stations.

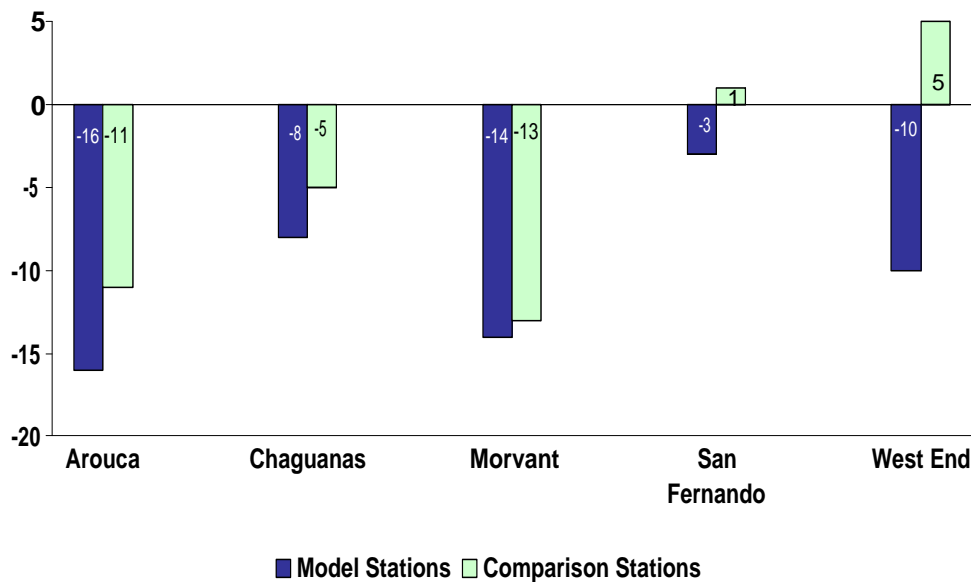
Change in Victimization and Satisfaction 2007 to 2008 (Percent Victimized and Percent Satisfied by Police Response)



Reduced Concern for Robberies and Home Break-ins in the Community

While there was little change from 2007 to 2008 in residents’ experiences of victimization, residents’ perceptions of their likelihood of being victims did change. The percent of residents who thought it very likely they would be robbed in their community dropped in all of the Model Station districts and in all Model Stations the decrease was larger than in their Comparison district. West End, in particular, showed significant improvement relative to its Comparison, St. James. The on-street presence of West End’s Focused Mission Team— using information from CAPA mapping to identify crime hot spots—seems to be having positive effects.

Change in Likelihood of Robbery 2007 to 2008
(Percent very likely)



A similar pattern emerged for residents’ perceptions of the likelihood their home would be broken into while they were away from home. Here too most Model Stations outperformed their Comparisons—only in San Fernando did residents feel break-ins to be more likely. As with robberies, the greatest improvement relative to its Comparison district was found in West End, and for the same reasons. West End crime analysts identified a pattern of daylight break-ins in residential areas, and Focused Mission Team patrols targeted persons on the street and in vehicles in those neighborhoods during normal working hours. Morvant’s High Performance Team engaged in these activities too, and also outperformed its Comparison by a significant margin.

Reduced Fear at Home or in the Community at Night

Fewer residents of the Model Station districts reported feeling very unsafe at home after dark in 2008 than they did in 2007. The largest improvements were in Chaguanas and Morvant. Four of five Models showed larger improvement than their Comparisons. Fear of walking alone after dark also declined in four of five Model Stations, and the improvement in each of these four exceeded that in their Comparison district.. The largest declines in fear were found in Arouca, Morvant and West End.

Commentary on victimization and crime problems in the neighborhood

Although the actual rates of victimization remained stable between 2007 and 2008, the Model Stations did a better job at satisfying those residents who reported their victimizations to the police. And despite the regular media drumroll on crime, police in the Model Stations benefited from an increased citizen sense of security from crime. Gaining such confidence is an important element in Policing for People, which requires a basic degree of confidence that safety is increasing as a precursor to greater resident cooperation with police.

Challenges Remaining After Year One

Policing for People

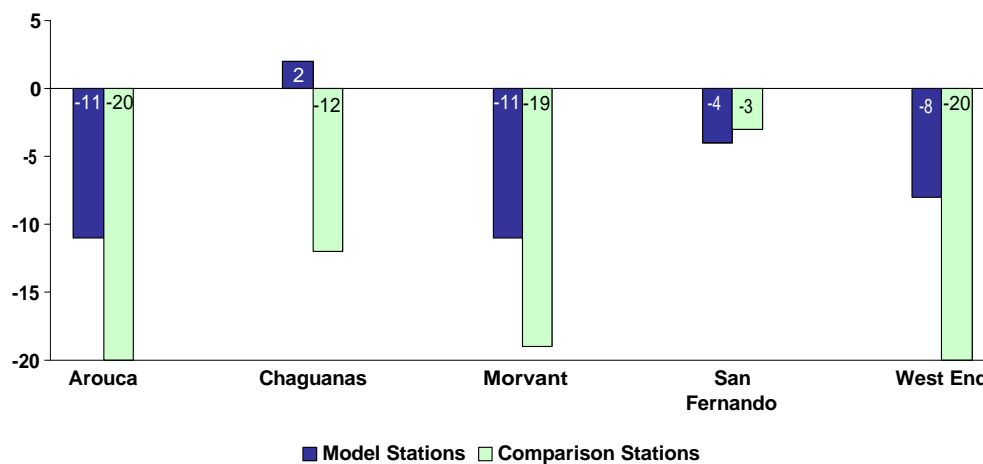
A series of survey items asked respondents to offer their general impressions of police service in their communities. Note that respondents were not asked to reflect on specific contacts they had recently had with the police, but rather to offer their general impressions. Therefore, their responses to these items could be influenced by a variety of other factors, such as what they hear from their neighbors and friends, and what they see and hear from the news media, community leaders, and politicians.

Police response speed

Equipping the Model Stations with additional vehicles and officers trained to drive them was expected to improve the speed of police response when called for help. The 2007 to 2008 results indicate this expectation was not met. Residents' perceptions that police respond quickly when called for help declined in four of the five Model Stations—only Chaguanas showed a slight improvement. However, with the exception of one case (San Fernando), the decline was much less in the Model Station than the comparison station. So, although citizens' perceptions of police response speed tended to decline over time, the decline was not nearly as bad in the Model Stations as the comparison stations.

Change in Perceived Response Speed 2007 to 2008

(Percent Agree Police Respond Quickly)



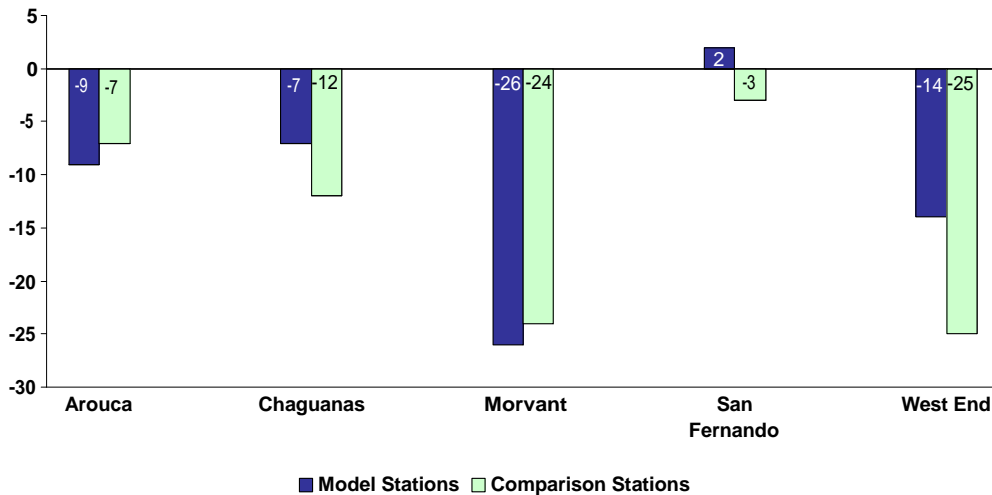
The decline in perceived speed of police response in most stations, Model and comparison, suggests a systemic challenge for which we do not have an immediate diagnosis. One can speculate that a bottleneck occurred at emergency call centers (E999) or that there were delays in getting requests for help to patrol units more likely to be deployed in the community in 2008 than in 2007, but these remain just speculations. The smaller decline in Model Stations suggests their additional vehicles and trained drivers helped to offset this systemic challenge.

Police help citizens solve problems

Community residents were less likely in 2008 than they were in 2007 to report that police tried to help citizens solve problems. This decline was observed in all but one station (San Fernando). Two of the Model stations (Arouca and Morvant) showed a somewhat greater decline in problem solving performance than their comparison station, while two (Chaguanas and West End) showed a smaller decline than their comparison stations. An increased emphasis on working with community residents to solve local problems is anticipated in the coming year, especially in those communities where the police are partnering with the Citizens Security Programme.

Change in Problem Solving 2007 to 2008

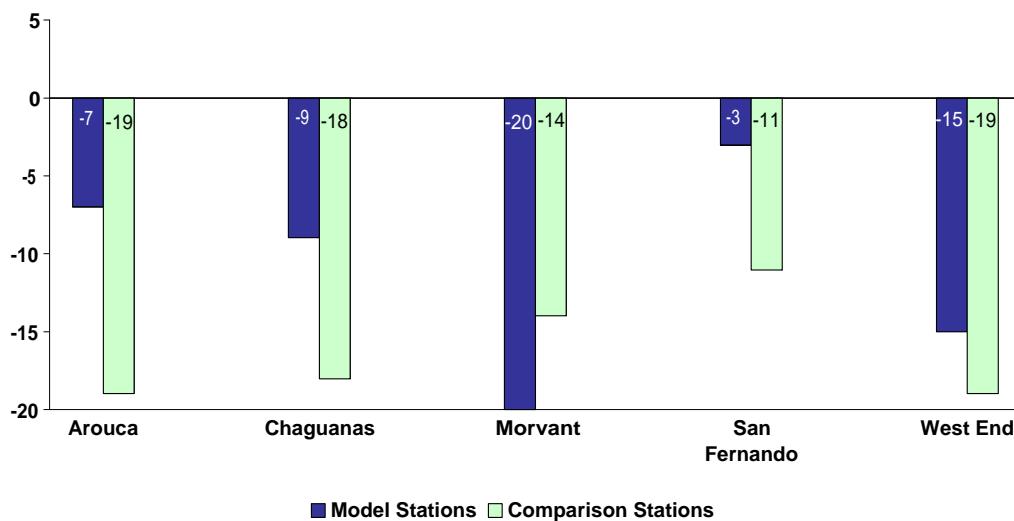
(Percent police help citizens solve problems)



Police respect for citizens

Unfortunately this indicator declined in all model and comparison stations. However it declined substantially less in four of the five Model Stations than in their Comparison stations. In all but Morvant, the Model Stations demonstrated superior performance.

**Change in Police Addressing Citizens With Respect
(Percent Agree Police Address Citizens With Respect)**



Citizen satisfaction with police service

Only two of the model stations (Chaguanas and San Fernando) showed a gain in satisfaction with police service from 2007 to 2008. Satisfaction remained the same in Arouca and declined in Morvant and West End. However, in all but Morvant, Model Station change in level of satisfaction was superior to that of its comparison station.

Summary of Model Station Results for Year One

The results from the Model Station Initiative were mixed. Police officers in the Model Stations greatly increased their activities on the street in the communities they serve. Even though there was no appreciable change in the level of victimization for burglary, robbery, and assault, citizens in the Model districts felt safer on several fronts after a year of the Initiative. More importantly, the Model Station's performance on all these perceived safety indicators exceeded on average that of the Comparison Stations. Furthermore, victims who reported their experience to the Model Stations were substantially more satisfied with the police response than were victims reporting to the Comparison Stations.

The results were more troubling when measuring various aspects of Policing for People. For the Model Stations, only one of seven indicators of policing for people showed a net improvement from 2007 to 2008. The perception that officers stopped citizens without reason declined during this time period. However, it is encouraging to note that for all seven indicators, the performance of the Model Stations on average exceeded that of the Comparison Stations. Although the situation deteriorated on these indicators, they did not deteriorate as much for the Model Stations as they did for the Comparison Stations. On this basis the Model Stations were less affected by a country-wide decline in appreciation for the police than they would have been in the absence of the Initiative.

It is also important to note that these Policing for People items were based on residents' general impressions, not their directly observable personal experiences. Such general impressions are far more susceptible to influence from other sources that could easily distort perceptions of what is actually going on in the community. For example, citizens' perceptions of police respect could decline because of negative stories in the press - even stories about police failures to show respect in an entirely different region of the country. These highly publicized stories can easily affect a citizen's response, even when the question asks about impressions in the citizen's own community. And further, citizens who have not had a direct experience with the police must rely upon their memory of experiences before the model stations initiative began, and they may draw on other friends and family as well.

This is not to say that citizens' general impressions are meaningless. They do allow us to gauge the general image of the police on a given aspect of policing for people. But these items should not be used to measure actual changes in citizens' experiences. Quite notably, the item that measures the victim's satisfaction with the police experience showed a substantial improvement for the model stations over time, and a more positive pattern than observed in the comparison stations.

What this suggests is that citizens' experiences are changing faster than their general impressions, which is of course quite logical and to be expected. Over time, these positive experiences may accumulate and improve citizens' general impressions as well.

Lessons Learned from the Model Station Surveys

The most direct lesson learned from these results is that as TTPS officers change their behaviors, residents recognize these changes and respond accordingly. A fundamental change in the Model Stations in the past year occurred in their Reception Room areas. Physical changes were made in each station to make these areas more comfortable and accommodating—previously imposing, even forbidding desks were cut down to bring police and persons seeking their aid eye to eye across the counter. Chairs and water coolers were added for citizen comfort. Most important, Reception Room officers changed their behavioral style to be more welcoming to those in need, greeting them as they entered the station, taking their requests for aid seriously, expressing concern for their problems, and taking action to deal with these. As we see from the

marked improvement in satisfaction with the police response from victims, these physical and behavioral changes are appreciated.

From field observations reported in our earlier Model Stations Interim Report (May 2008), we know that officers in the Model Stations have become more active, indeed aggressive, in patrolling their districts, stopping suspicious individuals, and introducing themselves to community residents. This activity is reflected in officers' reports of their own behavior and resident reports of greater visibility. That activity and visibility, in turn, have led to reduced fear of crime and greater sense of safety in the Model Station districts.

These positive results from physical and behavioral changes in the Reception Rooms and from the shift of officer activity from the stations to the streets of their districts were anticipated to be the first of the Policing for People goals to show improvement. Indeed, until these physical and behavioral changes took place, there was no reason to anticipate any success.

But it is also clear from the Model Station Survey findings that improvement did not occur on all Policing for People goals. Despite greater police presence in the Model Station communities, fewer residents believe police respond rapidly. Fewer say that officers treat citizens with respect. Fewer say that they are satisfied with police in their community. These findings do not damn the Model Stations, as the Model Station results are better than the Comparison Station results over the first year, but they do indicate a need for further tuning of the initiative.

Now that officers are more active and more visible in the Model Station communities, it is time to attend further to how they interact with community residents. Aggressive patrolling and stopping suspicious persons are important activities that can, as we have seen, contribute to greater sense of safety. But they can also contribute negatively to police community relations if not well executed. Concentrating resources on hotspots identified by CAPA crime mapping can at the same time reduce capacity to respond quickly. Aggressive patrolling and stopping can make residents perceive less respect from the police if not done with the utmost professionalism. This in turn can reduce public satisfaction.

In the second year of the Model Station Initiative it will be important to address these issues. Experience in many police departments indicates that a firm but polite approach can serve both safety and police community relations goals. Indeed such an approach appears to be catching on in the station Reception Rooms. Now it is time to take it to the streets. Now that officers are more active in their communities, training and coaching in how to approach residents and transients becomes of ever greater importance. Also important is strengthening the accountability of officers to their immediate supervisors and the station commander for behaving in ways consistent with the Policing-for-People philosophy. This can happen through two mechanisms: (a) supervisor personal observation of their subordinates at work, and (b) supervisor follow up with selected citizens who have had a recent interaction with the police.

In 2009 we are repeating the Model Stations Community Survey. As the TTPS has continued its transformation implementation, we anticipate progress toward successful Policing for People.