

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF COMMUNITY/POLICE
RELATIONS IN A CARIBBEAN VILLAGE**

by

Peter K. B. ST. Jean

AS, Essex County College, 1993

BA, BS, St. John's University, 1996

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the School

of

Criminology

© Peter K. B. ST. Jean 1997

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

June 1997

All rights reserved. This work may not be reproduced
in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means,
without permission of the author.



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-24240-4

Canada

APPROVAL

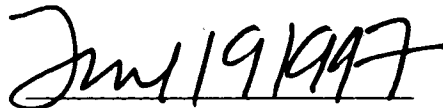
Name: Peter K. B. ST. Jean
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: An Exploratory Study of Community/Police
Relations in a Caribbean Village

Examining Committee:
Chairperson: Joan Brockman, LL.M.

Curt T. Griffiths, Ph.D.
Professor
Senior Supervisor

Margaret A. Jackson, Ph.D.
Professor

Colin Yerbury, Ph.D.
External Examiner


Date Approved

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an exploratory study of community/police relations in the Caribbean village of Grand Bay, Dominica. The research project was designed to gain an understanding of the dynamics that have surrounded community/police interactions, especially those that have resulted in conflict. The underlining premise of this thesis is that the existing state of community/police relations cannot be understood without considering both historical and contemporary factors. The analysis will take the form of action research based on the information gathered from the triangulated process of using focus groups, in-person interviews, survey questionnaires, archival review and participant observation. The research findings are analysed in an attempt to provide policy and practice recommendations that the residents of Grand Bay and the police can use to address factors that affect community/police relations and lead to the situations of unrest in the village.

Following the introduction, Chapter 2 outlines the conceptual framework which is built on five interrelated assertions. Chapter 3 provides a profile of community/police relations in Grand Bay. It outlines details about the research site, the history of Grand Bay, and the history of the Dominica Police Force. Chapter 4 discusses the triangulated method that was used to collect the research data.

Chapter 5 presents the research findings in a format that inquired about existing community/police relations in Grand Bay. This will describe the existing status of the

community/police relations; resident and police perceptions of the causes that have led to conflict; suggestions as to how the conflict can be resolved; and who the residents and police officers believe are able to play a vital role in resolving the existing conflict in order to increase the levels of safety and security in the community.

Chapter 6 sets out the implications of the research findings. It explains how the research can inform a general understanding of community/police relations, Caribbean criminology, and the action research process that was used to implement the research recommendations in Grand Bay village.

DEDICATION

To my son, Sergio;
my very supportive family:
Bennett, Isaline, Marilyn, Cecilia, Newton, Wayne, Sharon, Moses, Jean;
the entire Grand Bay community;
the police at Grand Bay;
other relatives and friends who helped me toil;
to peace.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Special gratitude is extended to my thesis committee: Dr. Curt T. Griffiths and Dr. Margaret A. Jackson. You both demonstrated a very high quality of concern for my work by tolerating my personality and generating remarkably quick returns of my drafts. Thank you for supporting the high level of energy that kept my enthusiasm.

I thank the entire Grand Bay community for being very accommodating to the research team while we demanded from them much time and active participation. The youth, adults, elders, Health Team, Firemen, Police Officers, Teachers, Adult Educator, "Men on the Block" Community Leaders, Church Representatives (especially Rev. Fr. Jerome Moody of the Roman Catholic Church) Prison Staff and others, thank you all for taking the time out to speak and plan.

Research Assistants: Gretta Alfred, Montex Baron, Leanne Brown and Joel Johnson, all members of the Grand Bay community and 'A' Level Sociology students, thank you all for your dedication, patience, comments and intensive note-taking. Peace Corp volunteer Shaunti Mayer and Canadian, Sharon Martin, thank you for taking notes during the more sensitive interviews.

I am thankful to Willie Fevrier for his total commitment to this research. He was my first point of contact in the Grand Bay community after I read the news article that propelled my interest to do research there. Mr. Fevrier endorsed my proposal for research and then took the idea to the Village Council and the general community for approval..

Through the research project he was a firmly interested partner, assisting on many levels

To the members of Youth Against Drugs and Violence (YADAV) I am greatly indebted for their generous collective and individual support. Julian Pacquette, Merlyn Dennis, Nicaise Leatham, Grell Benjamin, Anna Dupigny, Marie Pierre Lomencoborra, Cleo Leatham, Lujah Fontaine, Natasha Bellot and Glen Baron all served with great energy as focus group project assistants. The other YADAV members contributed immensely with their moral support and accommodating demeanour.

Many members of the Dominica Police Force showed special interest as partners to this research project. Commissioner Desmond Blanchard, then acting Inspector Antoine Defoe and Sgt. Cuffy Williams were enthusiastically involved from the very beginning. Deputy Commissioner Hansel Valerie, Superintendent Simon Darroux, Inspector Clem Francis, Cpl. Daniel Carbon, all other officers with whom I spoke while they were stationed at Grand Bay. I thank all of you.

Special thanks to the Grand Bay Village Council and the Local Government Department for allowing this project to share space in the office of the District Development Officer at the Grand Bay Community Center. Karen Brown, Grand Bay Branch Library Assistant, and Athenia Abraham, Clerk of the Grand Bay Village Council, thank you for your assistance.

Finally, thanks to the many family members and friends in and out of Trafalgar, Dominica who were unselfish in supporting me with accommodation and esteem during the data collection process. Thank you Sharon for your total support during this entire process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval	ii
Abstract	iii
Dedication	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Table of contents	viii
List of Appendices	xi
Foreword	xii
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	2
Overview of the Study	4
Profile of Dominica	4
Profile of Grand Bay	5
Outline of the Chapters	5
II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	9
Exploring "Community"	9
Understanding Community/Police Dynamics	12
Informing Policy and Practice	16
The Facades of the Residents and the Police.....	17
Establishing a Caribbean Criminology	21
III. THE POLICE AND THE COMMUNITY IN GRAND BAY: A HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE	26
The Island of Dominica	26
The Village of Grand Bay	28
Police Services in Dominica	42
The Pre-colonial Era	42
The Colonial Era	42
Influence of Events in Grand Bay on Contemporary Police Practices	46
The Post-Colonial Era	51
The Contemporary Era	55

IV. RESEARCH METHOD

Meaning of "community" in this Thesis	57
Selecting the Research Site	59
Community Access	61
Police Access	63
Establishing Credibility with the Residents	63
Establishing Credibility with the Police	65
The Research Team	65
Selecting Participants for Focus Group Discussions	67
Instruments	68
Archival Review	69
In-person Interviews	69
Participant Observation	70
Self Administered Survey Questionnaires	72
Focus Groups	73
Additional Archival Review	76
Conducting the Focus Groups	76
Conducting the In-Person Interviews	78
Administering the Questionnaires	79
Content Analysis	80

V. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Status of Community/Police Relations: Residents' Perceptions	83
Opinions Commonly Expressed	83
Opinions Less Commonly Expressed	87
Dynamics that Characterise Community/Police Relations: Resident's Perceptions	89
MACRO FACTORS	
Economic Factors	90
Social Factors	91
Political Factors	92
MICRO FACTORS	
Inadequate Social Interaction	93
Location of Police Station	93
Opinions Less Commonly Expressed	96
Residents' Perception of Police Misconceptions	97
Suggestions to Improve Community/Police Relations: Residents' Perceptions	98
Opinions Less Commonly Expressed	102
Who is Responsible for Change?	103
Status of Community/Police Relations: Police Perceptions	105
Opinions Commonly Expressed	106

Opinions Less Commonly Expressed	109
Dynamics that Characterise Community Police Relations: Police Perceptions ..	109
MICRO FACTORS	
Limited Staffing	110
Little Assistance from Residents	111
Location of the Police Station	113
Working Conditions at the Grand Bay Police Station	114
Assignments to Grand Bay Police Station as Punishment	116
Pressure from Supervisors to Avoid Embarrassment	117
No Assistance for Troubled Police Officers.....	119
Drug Problems in the Village.....	120
Lack of Police Support from Some Community Leaders	121
Opinions Less Commonly Expressed.....	122
Solutions Proposed by Police Officers	123
Improve Working Conditions for Police Officers	125
Opinions Less Commonly Expressed	127
Who is Responsible for Addressing the Conflicts: Police Perceptions.....	128
VI. IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS	
Understanding Community/Police Relations	131
Residents' Facade	132
Police Facade	136
Caribbean Criminology	137
Policy and Practice Implications	139
Final Note: Action Research Outcome.....	140
Recommended Policy and Practice	141
VII. APPENDICES	
Appendix A	151
Appendix B	152
Appendix C	154
Appendix D	155
Appendix E	157
Appendix F	159
Appendix G	161
Appendix H	163
Appendix I	164
Appendix J	166
Appendix K	167
Appendix L	168
Appendix M	169
Appendix N	170
VIII. REFERENCES	171

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A: Notice for Volunteer Research Participants	151
Appendix B: Consent Form for Parent/Guardians (One)	152
Appendix C: Consent Form for Parent/Guardians (Two)	154
Appendix D: Consent Form for Parent/Guardians(Three)	155
Appendix E: Consent form for Police Officers, Adults, Elders and Community Service Persons	157
Appendix F: Survey Questionnaires for SGT, CPL and line level Police Officers at Grand Bay	159
Appendix G: Survey Questionnaires Police Leadership	161
Appendix H: Letter of Access: Government of Dominica	163
Appendix I: Letter of Access: Grand Bay Village	164
Appendix J: Letter of access: Dominica Police Force.....	166
Appendix K: Map of the Caribbean	167
Appendix L: Map of Dominica	168
Appendix M: Map of Grand Bay Village	169
Appendix N: Newspaper Article about this Research Project	170



OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CABINET SECRETARIAT

Telegrams: External, Dominica.
Telex 613 EXT. DO
Fax 1 809 448 5200
Reference P.

GOVERNMENT HEADQUARTERS
ROSEAU,
COMMONWEALTH OF DOMINICA,
WEST INDIES.

Foreword

Any attempt to study the reasons for the problems that exist in the Grand Bay community is welcome.

It offers an opportunity to examine past events and to seek to identify root causes. Whatever the findings of this study, whatever the recommendations made, the effort is commendable.

This study gives to Mr. St Jean an opportunity to work towards his post-graduate degree in Criminology, and we are happy for that.

The fact that Mr. St Jean has received the co-operation of all concerned in the conduct of his research reveals that there is much goodwill in Grand Bay, and that there is a willingness by most people to work towards solving the problems of the community.

I sincerely hope that this study will serve as a catalyst for indepth analysis of the Grand Bay situation, and for seeking possible solutions to a thorny problem.

We wish Mr. St Jean success in his studies as we continue working towards solving the problems of Grand Bay.

EDISON C. JAMES
PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, IMMIGRATION &
LABOUR

GRAND BAY VILLAGE COUNCIL

Your Ref:
Our Ref:
Phone : 446 3307

Foreword

*Gand Bay,
Commonwealth of Dominica*

It was a propitious morning when I received a telephone call from Simon Fraser University in Canada. On the line was Mr. Peter K. B. St. Jean, a graduate student of criminology, enquiring about the state of affairs in Grand Bay and offering to assist. He stated that he had read about incidents of lawless behaviour and about the efforts of the Grand Bay Village Council to address that matter. As a patriotic Dominican, he offered to participate, through research, in the process of finding solutions, a process initiated by the Council.

Since then Peter and I have been in constant dialogue. It is almost one year now that the initial contact was made and it is a credit to his enthusiasm and sense of purpose that within this short time frame, he has completed the research and has provided a framework for further progress in addressing the situation of indiscipline and lawless behaviour in our community.

The initial work involved the refining and sharpening the focus of the research to the question of community/police relations and then a process of community acceptance and legitimization by discussion of the idea with community leaders and other persons in and out of the community.

It is interesting to note that Peter's research points to the desire of the community to feel a greater sense of safety. This desire is reflected in the theme of a pre-carnival rally held in January 1996, "For the Children sake, keep Grand Bay safe". Hence the question of community safety emerges as the rationale for implementing the recommendations of the research.

The challenge is now ours, to take the necessary actions as recommended, so that within one year, we will start to perceive a greater sense of safety in our community.

Peter hopes to return in one year to evaluate the research recommendations, but we, the community have a greater exercise to perform over a longer period. Only a sustained effort of collaboration between the community and the police over the years will ensure that the goals of this whole exercise will be achieved.

May I take this opportunity to thank the young people who assisted Mr. St. Jean with the research, the many persons who cooperated and gave interviews, the police of all ranks who participated and the entire community for its reception of the project. I wish to say special thanks also to Rev. Fr. Jerome Moody whose idea it was in the first place to form a committee for community/police relations. This committee has had and will continue to have an important role to play in this entire process. Finally and primarily I thank Mr. St. Jean for his outstanding work in searching the hearts of villagers, and emerging with a plan which will guide the Council as it attempts to help our community regain in the minds of all its past glory of warmth and friendliness that we know exists.

Willie Fevrier, Councillor, Grand Bay Village Council.



COMMONWEALTH OF DOMINICA POLICE FORCE

Tel. 82221
Fax No.: 1-809-448-6204
Cable Address: MOMEN — DOMINICA

Office of the Commissioner of Police,
Police Headquarters,
Roseau,
Dominica, W.I.

Our Ref.
Your Ref.

23 October, 1996

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

FOREWORD

The decision by Mr Peter K.B. ST JEAN to undertake a social research project dealing with relations between police and the Grand Bay community was only short of divine intervention. It is public knowledge that unemployed and misguided young persons with a penchant for lawlessness and reckless use of unlicensed firearms, carried away by the effects of prolonged substance abuse, seemed committed to defying all that was orderly and reasonable in a reckless determination to assert what they considered feelings of frustration.

It seemed nothing short of sharp conflict was ever going to resolve the struggle for control of the public areas and ensure safety of villagers and police alike.

Mr ST JEAN's approach was welcome from the start; well balanced in my view, always objective. He was clearly dedicated to making a constructive contribution. The Police at every level provided every facility, all possible support. His meetings with the several interest groups and individuals of different generations within the community, gave rise to intense discussions, to soul searching, and were to my mind instrumental in bringing about a renewal of the spirit of warmth and unity which has always been characteristic of Grand Bay.

In his presentation, Mr ST JEAN has produced what will likely be embraced as a well-designed set of guidelines for addressing proactively the community problems he studied and reported on. It will as well lead to establishment of a strategy aimed at other communities throughout Dominica as the concept of Community Policing is embraced.

On behalf of the Gazetted Officers and other ranks of the Commonwealth of Dominica Police Force, I record grateful thanks to Mr ST JEAN and all who assisted in this worthwhile enterprise.

Sincerely

J.D. BLANCHARD
COMMISSIONER OF POLICE

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an exploratory study of community/police relations in the Caribbean village of Grand Bay, Dominica. The research project was designed to gain an understanding of the dynamics that have surrounded community/police interactions, especially those that have resulted in conflict. The underlining premise of this thesis is that the existing state of community/police relations cannot be understood without considering both historical and contemporary factors. The analysis will take the form of action research based on the information gathered from the triangulated process of using focus groups, in-person interviews, survey questionnaires, archival review and participant observation. The research findings are analysed in an attempt to provide policy and practice recommendations that residents of Grand Bay and the police can use to address factors that affect community/police relations and lead to the situations of unrest in the village.

Grand Bay was selected as the research site because recent social unrest there led the Grand Bay Village Council on 25 November 1995 to begin to focus on what was termed "the situation of violence and indiscipline in the Grand Bay community and to seek ... concrete suggestions as to how the community can correct this situation" (Grand Bay Committee for Community/Police Relations: minutes of 26 January, 1995). Also, having been born in Dominica, and keeping updated with social affairs in the Caribbean, I have an interest in studying social issues there. However, Dominica and the other

Caribbean nations do not have a tradition of empirical research that is related to issues of crime, disorder and criminal justice. As a result, this research depended heavily on limited sources such as the writings of Honychurch (1995), Andre and Christian (1992), government inquiries and research proposals completed by the Association of American States. These sources were composed primarily of historical information and development proposals that provided no structured explanation about crime. Therefore, this study also intends to begin a tradition of an empirical approach to the study of crime in the Caribbean.

Statement of the Problem

Grand Bay is at the southern coastal tip of Dominica and is somewhat geographically isolated, about 12.8 Kilometres from the mainstream population of the capital, Roseau. Throughout the history of Dominica, the village of Grand Bay has had a record of many slave revolts, rebellion against the status quo and uprisings for justice which have often resulted in violence. The village has also had the reputation of being a leading community in Dominica, especially in the area of traditional African art, music, the national dance and herbal healing. The residents have often been portrayed by the status quo in Dominica as suspicious and possessing the powers of black magic. Their culture has, therefore, been somewhat isolated from the rest of Dominica (Andrew: 1990, 58-66).

During the period 1990-1996, there was increased drug abuse (marijuana, crack and cocaine) and other related activities in Grand Bay. This led to confrontations between some residents and the police that included the use of firearms, stoning of police officers and general village unrest. Such problems are evident to a lesser degree in a few other villages in Dominica (*The New Chronicle*, February to December 1995 issues).

Recently, there has been a public call for social research into the problems faced by the general Dominica population. In Grand Bay, on November, 1995, the Village Council held a town hall meeting to confront these perceived social troubles. They formed committees for family life, violence prevention, community/police relations and social and economic development. According to the Grand Bay Village Council,

The catalyst for this meeting was the early morning confrontation between the police and members of the community on 1 November, 1995 which resulted in the death of a young man Hilarion Baron, age 25 (Grand Bay Committee for Community/Police Relations: minutes of 26 January, 1995).

On January 17th 1996, I telephoned Willie Fevrier, an executive of the Grand Bay Village Council to advise him of how my background in Criminology could assist the Grand Bay Village Council in achieving its goal of village harmony. I asked his permission to do this masters thesis research in Grand Bay. He replied favourably.

On January 27th 1996, I sent a letter to Fevrier to inform him that after conducting a literature review, I intended the focus of this research to be an exploration of community/police relations in Grand Bay. During a telephone conversation on February 10th 1996, Fevrier confirmed the approval of the Grand Bay Village Council members regarding this objective. The research was carried out during a six month period (June to

November 1996) and utilised Grand Bay residents as research support staff. At the end of the research process, the Grand Bay Village Council and the police were presented with a document that outlined policy and programme recommendations aimed at addressing the conflicts between the police and residents of Grand Bay.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Profile of Dominica

Often, when foreigners hear the word Dominica (Door-min-EE-Ka) they misunderstand it to mean the Dominican Republic, a Spanish speaking island that borders with Haiti, between the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Dominica, to the contrary, is an island where English and Creole are spoken; it is located between the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Its area is 491 square kilometres and is located in the northern end of the Windward island chain of the Lesser Antilles, in the Caribbean. In 1991 the population of Dominica was 71,183 persons, most of whom are from the African Diaspora. More details about the island will be provided in the Chapter 3, where the research site will be further discussed.

Profile of Grand Bay

Grand Bay village, the research site, is located in the Grand Bay district at the south-east of Dominica, about 12.8 Kilometres from the capital, Roseau. There are many small sections in the village and the total population is 4,180 (1991). Almost the entire population are from African descent and almost evenly distributed between male and female. The residents have had a long history of revolts and unemployment but they have still managed to contribute immensely to the development of Dominica. More details about Grand Bay village will be presented in Chapter 3.

Outline of the Chapters

Following the introduction, Chapter 2 outlines the conceptual framework which is built on five interrelated assertions. The first assertion explores the vagueness of the word "community" and, it is argued that, in spite of many commonalities, a community is not a homogeneous group of people who all share the same experiences and therefore respond the same way to given situations. Further, arguments will reveal that the police too, are not a homogeneous group. Although they may be a part of one police force, their practices vary depending on the dimensions of the particular community being served.

The second assertion provides an understanding of community/police relations in general. Given the diversity of any community, community/police relations cannot be fully understood without a thorough study of the historical and contemporary factors that

shape the dynamics between the residents and the police. Additionally, community police relations exist on both a macro and micro level. Some dynamics that are not directly related to police operations (macro) affect community/police relations but there are other dynamics that are directly related to police operations (macro) that have positive or negative effects on these relations. Some current literature that address this subject (Hess and Miller, 1994, Cox and Fitzgerald, 1983, Kappeler, 1995) will be reviewed in that section.

The third assertion focuses on issues that should be considered in developing policy and practice aimed at delivering efficient police services to communities. It is argued that police officers should not serve under one general directive, but rather, that there is a need for specific strategies that are sensitive to the particular historical and contemporary dimensions of a particular community. Additionally, a generic police model for an entire island will not be effective because the dynamics between residents and the police vary across villages.

The fourth assertion explores the notion of a facade that is apparent with both the Grand Bay residents and the police in their collective effort to rationalise particular aspects of their behaviour that affect community/police relations in the village. In times of crises in the village, both the police and the residents negotiate their survival by presenting certain appearances that will make life easier for themselves. Selected quotes presented in Chapter 5 will further illustrate this phenomenon.

Considerations for establishing a Caribbean criminology is the focus of the fifth and final assertion. The study of crime in the Caribbean is relatively impressionistic and

without a tradition of an empirical base source of information. Most of the available literature has been generated either by journalists who write sensational news articles or persons on vacation trips. The information provided through some of the available literature will be examined, and some suggestions will be made for establishing a Caribbean criminology that is based on valid empirical research. The restrictions that this shortage of empirical information placed on this research will also be discussed.

Chapter 3 provides a profile of community/police relations in Grand Bay. It outlines details about the research site, the history of Grand Bay, the history of the Dominica Police Force and the impact that contemporary social events in Grand Bay have had on contemporary police practices. Chapter 4 outlines the triangulated method that was used to collect the research data. This involved the use of focus groups, in-person interviews, archival review and participant observation.

Chapter 5 presents the research findings in a format that inquired about existing community/police relations in Grand Bay. The existing status of the community/police relations is documented; resident and police perceptions of the causes that led to conflicts between the residents and the police are presented; suggestions are made as to how the conflicts may be resolved; and parties that may be able to play a vital role in resolving the conflicts are identified.

Chapter 6 sets out the implications of the research findings. It documents how the research can inform a general understanding of community/police relations, what contribution this research project can make towards establishing a Caribbean Criminology, and the action research process that was used to implement in Grand Bay, a

policy and practice document that was aimed at addressing the issues of conflict that were identified by the research participants.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Exploring "Community"

The meaning of "community" is often vague. A thorough understanding of community/police relations first requires a good understanding of the meaning given to the word "community." The meaning of community in this research will influence the understanding of the existing community/police dynamics in Grand Bay. Consequently, policy and practice recommendations designed to address community/police relations need to take into account the meaning of this concept. This section will outline some of the various meanings that social scientists have used to describe what defines a community. The meaning of community (a geographic location) as it relates to this research will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Some researchers have referred to community as a geographical location (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990:80; Bain, 1996:5; Miller and Hess, 1994:33). Their definition of community is similar to that proposed by Miller and Hess, (1994: 33) who argue, "Community refers to the specific area served by a police department or law enforcement organisation and agencies within that area."

Many other social scientists have defined community as an achievement, or a sense of commitment (Bell and Newby, 1971:29; Biddle and Biddle, 1965: 77; Mac Iver, 1917:107). Some researchers have argued that a sense of unity is a key element in

defining community. Bell and Newby (1971:29) define community as "...common ties and social interaction," and Biddle and Biddle (1965: 77), a "sense of the local common good citizens." Similarly, Robert Mac Iver (1917:107) stated, "A community is a social unity whose members recognise as common a sufficiency of interests to allow for the achievements of common life." As indicated by Linda Weafer (1986:8-9) in her Master of Arts thesis from the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University, these concepts of community relate to a sense of "achievement," where residents who have something in common work together to achieve a common goal.

The notion that a community is a group of individuals residing in a common location and "have something in common" was also presented by Jayne Seagraves (1995: 4). She noted that a community... "consists of persons existing over a period of time in social interaction within a geographical area and having one or more common ties. More generally the concept of community refers to a group of people who have something in common."

In much of the community policing literature, "something in common" refers to characteristics of a law-abiding residents. For example, the Royal Canada Mounted Police (RCMP) Commissioner, in his 1990 Community Policing Directional Statement, stated that a community is a group of "...private citizens working together in creative ways that can help solve contemporary problems related to crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighbourhood decay" (RCMP, 1990:5). Similarly, Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1994:122) define community as "including everyone, from formal and informal community leaders, such as presidents of civic groups, ministers, and

educators; to community organisers and activities; to average citizens on the street” who are willing to employ the philosophy of community policing.

Wellman and Leighton (1979) proposed that a community should include three basic components: 1) networks of interpersonal ties; 2) sociability and support to members; 3) residents in a common locality (363-390). However, James Q. Wilson (1982) argued that Wellman and Leighton's definition of community is inconsistent because most urban city populations do not reflect these three concepts since city life is often temporary and chaotic. Wilson (1982: 28-38) therefore, defines community only by geographic location. In her Master of Arts thesis, Lesley Bain (1996) also defines community as a specific location. Her research was done in the city of Langley, British Columbia, Canada and she writes this about the meaning of community: “There are many definitions of this word. As Langley City provides the geographical backdrop for this thesis, community will be defined on a geographical basis (Bain, 1996: 5).

Trojanowicz and Dixon (1974:6) agree that there are ambiguities in the meaning of community and this is particularly the case in the community policing literature. They write, “It is understandable why most writers on the police-community relations topic neglect an in-depth discussion of the ‘community:’ it is a difficult and elusive subject that perplexes even the experts.” Some researchers have argued that community is a non-issue because it is too vague a concept. Cowley (1979:5) stated, “To speak of the community when working politically on issues such as housing, health, play or welfare can cause great confusion, since, however one looks at it, no community exists: on the

contrary one is confronted with a cluster of class positions, conflicts, and interests, some of which are irreconcilable.”

Understanding Community/Police Dynamics

Many researchers have indicated that effective community/police relations are an important precursor to creating security in communities (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990; US Department of Justice: National Institute of Justice, 1985; Kelling and More, 1988; Laungren, 1992; Kappeler, 1995; Cox and Fitzgerald, 1992; Miller and Hess, 1994). As Cox and Fitzgerald (1992:1) argue:

Communities and their police organisations are related in many ways - historically, sociologically, politically and economically. Newspaper headlines ... suggest both the significance and the complexity of police community relations in all these dimensions.... Our central theme can be stated simply: Enhancing police effectiveness depends more on building greater citizen co-operation and support than on anything else (such as technological innovations, more police officers, etc.). Improving the quality of life in our communities depends at least as much on improving the quality of general police services as on crime fighting per se. therefore, improving police community relations should be a top priority for police departments and community leaders in the 1990s.

This thesis is based on the premise that the study of community/police relations cannot be effectively undertaken without a close examination of the historical and contemporary factors that have shaped the dynamics between these two groups. A community is comprised of residents, who, although they may share a common space, will be impacted differently by the events that happen in and beyond their village. These persons are of different ages and sexes; have lived through different periods in time; they

have various levels and sources of income; and have different religious, economic, social and political affiliations. Therefore, their attitudes toward the police may vary because they have lived through different periods of history and have most likely had varied experiences with the police. Also, although Grand Bay is one village, it is sub-divided into various sections where residents in each section will most likely have varied attitudes toward the police because of the nature and extent of the crime related activities that occur in their immediate neighbourhoods.

Kelling and More (1988:3) indicate that effective strategies to improve future community/police relations need to be sensitive to events of the past and demonstrate lessons learned from experience:

Policing like all professionals, learn from experience. ...Modern police executives search for more effective strategies of policing, they will be guided by the lessons of police history. The difficulty is that police history is incoherent, its lessons hard to read.

The "lessons of police history" are hard to read primarily because they develop with other dynamics that affect a given society as a whole (macro), or a specific community in particular (micro or local conflicts). Some of these events may have involved police activities and may have taken different forms through history and throughout different communities. Therefore, community/police relations must be examined both in the context of the broad level of dynamics that affect the society in general (macro) and on the specific level of dynamics that may be particular to police operations in the community under study (micro). Cox and Fitzgerald (1992: 3) explain some of the dynamics that affect community/police relations on a macro level:

Perhaps the most important difficulty in community police relations is rooted in the basic structure and values of our society. Structurally, our society is categorised by a highly complexed division of labor.... Exacerbating the problems associated with occupational specification is the fact that our society is extraordinarily diverse ethnically, religiously and ideologically. Stereotypes, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination, and conflict are common.

Cox and Fitzgerald (1992:3) indicate that there are macro dynamics that are particular to certain communities where crime-related police operations are common, and this may require further police related activities that potentially lead to unstable community/police relations:

The social and political strains that accompany class difference are made more acute by urban residential patterns.... Those living in inner-city ghettos, experiencing problems of sanitation, housing, disease, gangs and crime are less likely than those living in more affluent areas to have access to visible representatives of authority other than the police. As a result, they are more likely to express their frustrations to, or vent their frustrations on, the police, even when such frustrations deal with issues over which the police have no control.

These conditions, some of which were evident in Grand Bay during the research period, create an atmosphere where community/police conflicts are almost inevitable:

All of these differences make understanding and communication difficult among citizens from different segments of a community. They also make identification with and genuine commitment to the welfare of the larger community problematic. Furthermore, nuclear families are geographically mobile and extended family members are scattered, making communities and neighborhoods somewhat unstable. In such a society, police community tensions are inevitable (Cox and Fitzgerald, 1992:3).

This concept can also be generalised to the wider Dominica population. Although Dominica is one island with one police force, the relationships among villages vary because the historical and contemporary factors that shape these relationships may not be

the same. Therefore, the experiences that various residents have with the police may also vary according to island. This means that community/police relations are a dynamic, rather than static phenomenon. They evolve over a period of history and vary across communities as a result of many factors, some of which have little to do with police operations. Since the roots of some of these conflicts are beyond the direct control of the police and residents of Grand Bay, and therefore require the intervention of other agencies such as the national government, some aspects of community/police conflicts in Grand Bay may not be able to be resolved by the combined efforts of the residents and the police:

In some circumstances and in some extent, then, the structure of our society and the values we espouse may produce conflicts. Such conflicts often are manifested in police community relations problems. Since at least some of the problems are deeply rooted in our society, it is unlikely that perfect, permanent solutions will be found for them. In fact, this should not even be our goal; living with some of these problems is undoubtedly preferable to some solutions that might be devised (Cox and Fitzgerald 1992: 3).

Although some of the community/police conflicts may be unresolvable, there is still a possibility that the residents and the police of a community can develop relations that can assist in establishing safety and security in the community. As Cox and Fitzgerald (1992:4) note:

Nevertheless, there are some police community relations problems that certainly deserve our attention and ameliorative efforts. And there is a good deal to be gained from even partial solutions for both the police and the citizens they serve. More public approval of police efforts, more effective crime-prevention programs, better crime-clearance rates, less public fear of both crime and the police, and safer communities are among the important benefits that are clearly possible.

Therefore understanding the historical and contemporary factors that have shaped community/police relations in a particular community will not only assist with knowledge of how these patterns evolve, but will also assist in designing action-based policy and programme recommendations that can address these conflicts. Additionally, an understanding of these dynamics can enable a determination of which conflicts can be resolved.

Informing Policy and Practice

As a consequence of the aforementioned variations, any policy or practice aimed at effectively addressing community/police relations must take into account the specific factors that affect the particular community. In this regard, any model of policing designed for Grand Bay must take into consideration the diversity that exists throughout the community and include strategies that can meet the needs of that population.

This also means that there most likely will not be an efficient generic model for policing in Dominica because, although there is one police force, policing is done in different community environments, each with its own history and resident attitudes. In order to develop effective strategies that can keep those communities safe, policy and practice must consider the community dimensions identifying the historical and contemporary factors that have affected community/police relations.

This researcher had no illusions about being able to identify all of the factors that have shaped community/police dynamics in Grand Bay. However, this study did

attempt to determine the role of key individuals and events, social factors, political factors, geographic factors, historical and contemporary factors that occurred in the community to shape the existing relationship between the residents and the police.

The Facades of the Residents and the Police

An important concept in understanding community/police relations is that of the facade which describes the appearance that seems to exist among some Grand Bay residents and some police officers, as an effort to rationalise certain aspects of their behaviour that affect the status of community/police relations in the village. Each side seems to construct realities that they believe will ensure their survival during times of conflicts. As will be further illustrated in Chapter 5, some residents “cover up” for certain lawbreakers and at times, interrupt the police during investigations in the village. Many dynamics may contribute to such behaviour; some of these dynamics may be related to macro factors (such as unemployment or a sense of loyalty to the community) and micro factors (e.g. distrust of the police because of past experiences, or possible retaliation by the accused). Kratcoski and Dukes, (1995: 72-73) argue that it is not uncommon for residents of small communities, because of fear of retaliation by the offender, to avoid intervening if they observe a crime in progress. However they made no mention of police operations being interrupted by residents. Kratcoski and Dukes, (1995) indicated in their study that residents in a small community, “...were less likely to intervene if they heard a scream or glass breaking, or if they saw someone breaking into a

house. In small communities, there may be an increased fear of retaliation that manifests itself in [an] increased unwillingness to intervene” (73).

Police officers, as well, may develop certain strategies in an attempt to avoid harm. This will involve the use of certain appearances that can make their work less confrontational. This notion presents an opportunity to examine the psychological dimensions to community/police relations. Chapter 5 will provide details of these dynamics that derived from statements made by the research participants.

A review of the literature on community/police relations and other related subjects did not reveal any information that was directly related to the notion of a facade. However, some researchers have referred to similar concepts, such as the effects of loss of police authority in a community (Miller and Hess, 1994:77; Wasserman and Moore, 1988), community vigilantism (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990: 50-52, 89, 96); police discretion (Miller and Hess, 1994: 70); community social cohesiveness (Kratcoski and Dukes, 1995: 72-73); and, cognitive traits and lack of communication skills (Kratcoski and Dukes 1995: 117-118).

According to Wasserman and Moore (1988), the loss of police authority in a community may lead to many complications, some of which have negative consequences for both residents and police officers:

When a police agency has lost its community authority, a range of responses always occur, from widespread dissatisfaction with the department to substantial disorder when the police apply the law in the neighborhood (Wasserman and Moore, 1988, in Cox and Fitzgerald, 1992: 2).

Miller and Hess (1994:79), argue that the loss of police authority in a community where high community/police conflicts exist may lead to an inconsistent use of police discretion and force:

Police use of discretion and force will profoundly affect police-community relations. A police officer or police agency may be said to exercise discretion whenever effective limits on his, her, or its power leave the officer or agency free to make choices among possible courses of action or interaction.

It is argued in this thesis that some police officers in Grand Bay exercise discretion as a means of surviving adversarial forces because sometimes their work appears not to be worth the potential stress and embarrassment that may be encountered. Cox and Fitzgerald (1992:8) point out, although some police officers may have done all that they could to bring offenders to justice, there are still potentials for frustrations and embarrassment:

Even the best-prepared cases in the hands of incompetent or corrupt prosecutors or judges may make the police look bad. The public may blame the police when judges grant probation or parole boards grant parole to someone who then commits another serious crime. Legislative, judicial, correctional and police agencies at the state and federal levels may also impact directly or indirectly on local police and community affairs.

Cox and Fitzgerald (1992:26) also argue that the feeling of powerlessness that can sometimes accompany police work, may lead to the use of excess force, further complicating community/police relations:

When officers are confronted by an unfriendly or suspicious group of citizens, they feel that their authority is being threatened. Since police in these circumstances cannot obtain respect on a voluntary basis, they may resort in using authority (sometimes inappropriately) to coerce and/or respect obedience.

Such use of authority may lead to the use of excessive force by the police to avoid “loss of face,” but this may lead to further damage to community/police relations:

If citizens persist in defying that authority, the police may fall back to the use of physical force and/or the threat of arrest in order to gain control of the situation. This raises the level of danger considerably for both the officer and the other citizens involved as there is a possibility of loss of face (Cox and Fitzgerald, 1992: 26)

Furthermore, Cox and Fitzgerald argue that the police subculture indicated that some police officers develop categories for certain residents and they use these categories to guide their discretion in given situations:

...The value of police subculture, from training through active duty, determine the way in which police officers approach and interact with other citizens. The subculture creates categories of citizens, classifications into which police officers believe they can place most of those with whom they interact (Maanen 1978: 221).

In times of conflicts these cognitive categories may lead police officers to rationalise the costs and benefits of the risks involved in certain aspects of their work. To avoid appearing totally useless, police officers who feel powerless in a community may use these categories to determine which behaviours and persons deserve strict law enforcement. The police, therefore, may create a subculture that functions to protect the discretionary practices that they believe are necessary to survive in high community conflict situations. Many of their daily actions may be more focused on their survival and well-being, rather than on law enforcement, order maintenance and other crime prevention activities. As Cox and Fitzgerald (1992:28) have stated, these actions may even involve covering up certain wrongful actions by fellow police officers:

...The police subculture requires that its members be loyal and trustworthy, even, at times, to the point of covering up illegal activities committed by

its members. Therefore, the police subculture is a major force to be reckoned with in attempting to understand and improve police community relations.

Establishing a Caribbean Criminology

One of the major challenges encountered by this research was attempting to access empirical research that could be used to help understand some of the issues under study. Unfortunately, a scientific approach to the study of crime in the Caribbean is relatively non-existent. However, there are a few academic efforts that are currently being made to establish a scientific approach to the study of crime in the Caribbean.

Bennett and Lynch (1995) have written:

Currently, we know very little about the causes of crime in the Caribbean. The vast majority of research on crime in the Caribbean is descriptive rather than analytic and focuses mainly upon the larger nations of the English speaking Caribbean (Mahabir, 1988; Ellis, 1991; De Albuquerque, 1994, 1995). Thus, we know something about the levels of reported crime in the region, but we know very little about the correlates of these differences and nothing about the linkages between micro-social factors and individual offending patterns. This body of literature suggests three things: that crime rates vary from Caribbean nation to nation, that crime rates vary over time, and that crime rates vary over time across Caribbean nations (Bennett and Lynch, 1995: 16).

Bennett and Lynch (1995) also argue that the Caribbean is unique in four ways that do not make it adaptable to the existing theories of crime. These differences are scale, tourism, the drug trade, and vintage of colonialism. First, they argue that, because the islands are relatively small and the distances from the rural areas to the cities are short, theories of urbanisation are not applicable because they assume that people will be

able to attend work in the cities and return home to their villages every day. Second, because of the perceived heavy dependence of Caribbean nations on tourism, there are unique opportunities for committing crimes that make victims of tourists. Third, the Caribbean nations are conveniently located between major drug suppliers in South America and major drug consumers in North America. This location makes residents of the islands very vulnerable to involvement in the drug trade. Finally, some Caribbean islands are still under colonial rule and others have only recently obtained independence from larger nations such as France, Britain and the Netherlands. The authors (1996: 21-25) argue that the immaturity of the political and social institutions of those independent islands reflect the long effects of colonisation. Nations with close colonial ties may be more stable economically and therefore have different crime problems.

These speculations led the writers (1996: 15) to suggest that there is need for a separate body of theories that attempt to explain crime in the Caribbean:

..Existing theories of crime do not fit the current situation of Caribbean nations very well. They omit a number of factors that are unique to these countries and that should be taken into account in building theory relevant to them. It may well be that with sufficient attention and thought, existing theories can be adapted to include more transparently the situations currently confronting Caribbean nations. At present, they do not. We argue that this inability to account for the [four] areas of uniqueness of the Caribbean constitutes a plausible argument, on intellectual grounds, for the creation of a sub-discipline of criminology: Caribbean Criminology.

According to the authors (Bennett and Lynch, 1996: 32), "Unless there is a concerted effort on the part of governments and others to collect data that links the social structure with individual behavioural determinants of criminality, we cannot begin to develop a Caribbean criminology."

During the 1996 annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Dr. John King (1996) presented a paper entitled "Paradise Lost? Crime in the Caribbean: A Comparison of Barbados and Jamaica." The paper outlined his concerns about the safety of North American and European tourists that visit the Caribbean on brief vacations:

Crime in the Caribbean in a very real sense touches the lives of North Americans -- throughout the influx of violent drug traffickers and gang members wannabes into our cities and through the victimisation of tourists who seek a brief respite from the hectic pace of America living. It is the combination of factors [of economic inequality, law enforcement responses, and outside influences: mass media and tourism] discussed in this paper that created a level of crime and violence in this region of the world that must be reversed before 'paradise' is lost forever (King, 1996: 18).

The conclusions of King's presentation are not founded on empirical research, are drastically sceptical about the safety of tourists in the Caribbean, and very generalised. There is very little contribution that his information makes toward understanding crime in the Caribbean. It demonstrates the lack of academic rigidity that exists among much of the literature relevant to Caribbean criminology.

As a consequence of this trend of literature on Caribbean criminology, one of the major challenges of this research was locating empirical information that could assist with fulfilling the research objectives. This has led to the realisation that there is a paucity of empirically focused research projects in the Caribbean that generate data within valid methodological frameworks. As noted earlier, most of the literature related to crime in the Caribbean is impressionistic, much is done by outsiders while they are on short vacation visits to the islands and drawn on sensationalised media presentations. Additionally, scholarly works relevant to sociology or crime in Dominica are written as

parts of chapters in the history books of writers such as Honychurch (1995) and Andre and Christian (1992). Much of the statistical information collected in Dominica is presented in forms that are not readily usable for empirical analysis. Therefore, this research has limited the amount of crime related statistics as presented by the police and the statistical division of Dominica. However, in spite of that fact, the available literature was valuable in developing an understanding of historical and contemporary factors that have shaped community/police relations in the community under study. The findings of this research are compared with the available literature to assist in establishing a scientific approach to the study of crime in the Caribbean.

A major limitation of the research is the a reliable body of empirical information to build on. This study, therefore, is exploratory in the true sense of the word because there are so few empirical studies done to know whether or not there is a Caribbean criminology that is defined by any factor other than geographic location. A Caribbean criminology needs to be defined by factors other than geography. Within the Island Nations, there is considerable variability that only reliable empirical research can capture. Scholars interested in knowing whether or not there needs to be such a study as a Caribbean Criminology need to take these points into consideration and begin a body of empirically generated research data. As Bennett and Lynch (1996:32) have indicated, "unless there is a concerted effort on the part of governments and others to collect data that links the social structural with individual behavioural determinants of criminality, we cannot begin to develop a Caribbean criminology."

Scholars interested in studying issues relevant to crime in the Caribbean also need to note that, while it is true that crime in the Caribbean affects some visitors, a Caribbean criminology must be primarily concerned with studying the life of island residents to understand how their realities lead to certain harmful behaviours. Scholars need not only be interested in studying crime in the Caribbean because of the effect on tourists. Rather, they should attempt to make a valuable contribution, to above all, the maintenance of safety and security in the Caribbean, for both those who reside and visit there.

Additionally, Caribbean criminologists should not simply adopt the arguments of theories relevant to developed. In a real sense, Caribbean criminologists can be leaders in the field of study. They may need to significantly deviate from the traditional criminology focus on crime and punishment and begin changing the language and focus of criminology to the study of safety and security. Because many of these nations have had a justice system imposed on them by colonial rule, there may also be an urgency to research alternate forms of justice, such as restorative justice, that can meet the needs of the very diverse communities in the Caribbean.

CHAPTER 3

THE POLICE AND THE COMMUNITY IN GRAND BAY: A HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

This chapter provides background information on the research site by presenting details about the island of Dominica and the village of Grand Bay village. The history of Grand Bay will be particularly detailed to provide insights into the dynamics that characterise community/police relations.

The Island of Dominica

Dominica is often referred to as the “nature island of the Caribbean” because of its natural beauty and lush greenery. Approximately 60% of the land is under forest and it is one of the most mountainous countries in the world, second only to Switzerland (Philips, 1995, 11). Making reference to the prominent Dominican history book, *The Dominica Story* (by Lennox Honychurch), Kevin Menhinick, wrote, “in 1492, Christopher Columbus, the Italian explorer, sailed into the Caribbean while searching for Asia. Consequently, he named the islands he had unwittingly stumbled upon the West Indies”. One year later Columbus returned and on 3 November 1493, he landed on an island of rugged mountains and natural beauty. The day being a Sunday, the island was called Dominica (the Latin word for Sunday being Domingo) (Menhinick, 48).

As years went by, Dominica shifted between being a French and British possession. In 1748, there was an agreement between the English and the French to leave the island to the Caribs, one of the original inhabitants. The 1763 Treaty of Paris assigned Dominica to Britain but the treaty was broken when the French made two subsequent attempts to recapture Dominica in 1795 and 1805. Until 1967, the island remained a British colony, and later, a self governing Associated State. November 3, 1978 marked the nation's full independence from Britain. Dominica is now officially known as the Commonwealth of Dominica, although it maintains republic status within the British Commonwealth. The French influence is evident in the names of various villages, through Creole, which is spoken as an informal language, and the variety of French surnames. Creole is French-based with English and African words, and, until recently, was only an oral language (*Discover Dominica*, 1994: 4).

There are no international or jet airports in Dominica as there are in Puerto Rico, St. Thomas, Antigua, St. Martin and Guadeloupe to the north or Martinique, St. Lucia, and Barbados to the south. Consequently travel by air to Dominica is usually done by international jet travel to an island with an international airport and then by transfer on a smaller aircraft to one of the two airports in Dominica. Melville Hall Airport is the larger of the two and is located near Marigot to the North of Dominica, thirty miles from Roseau, the Capital. The smaller and busier Canefield Airport is located three miles north-west of Roseau.

People on the Island are mainly from the African Diaspora and very friendly. It appears almost an insult to walk by and not greet another person even though he or she

may be a stranger. Most of the houses on the Island are built of "block and concrete" to withstand the often severe yearly hurricane season (July-October). The warm tropical climate encourages that people wear comfortable light clothing and have within close reach an umbrella or rain coat to guard against the frequently unexpected warm rainfalls (field notes).

According to the 1991 census, the population of Dominica was 71, 183, and that was 2, 612 less than 1981. The male and female populations are almost evenly distributed with 49.8 percent male and 50.2 percent female. Interestingly, the natural increase in population (registered birth less registered death) was 12, 713, implying that the net migration was 15, 325 during that period. Most of these migrants went to North America or the neighbouring islands of St. Martin, Martinique, Antigua and Guadeloupe (Phillip: 1995, 17). Fifty three percent of the population is under the age of twenty five, of which 62 percent have not reached the age of fifteen. In 1991, the labour force was 26, 364, of which 2, 531 (9.6 percent) were unemployed, most of whom had either recently completed elementary school or high school (Phillips, 1996: 11).

The Village of Grand Bay

The boundaries that define "Grand Bay" vary widely depending on the purpose for which the location is being referenced. Elders in the community often tell stories about when Grand Bay meant the entire range of villages from Petite Savanne at the north-east to Tete Morne to the south-west (about ten villages and 4,600 acres of land).

The Local Government Department and the Ministry of Health refer to this area of land as the Grand Bay District.

For the purpose of this research, the boundaries of Grand Bay are defined by the Grand Bay Village Council: North: Mitchum Ravine/Geneva River; East: Sea; South: En Ba Sou River; West: Mountain Ridge (Hagley-Centre). This community is composed of eight major sub-sections namely Geneva House, Geneva, Hagley, Ma Bush, Back Street, Meeting Stone, Berricoa (L'alley and Tete L'alley) and Highland. The total population is about 4,180 (1991) all of whom are of African descent except for about five persons from European descent (field notes).

Grand Bay village is located in the Parish of St. Patrick on the South Eastern coast of Dominica. St. Patrick is divided into three districts: Grand Bay, La Plaine, and Dalices, with a total of about 22,500 acres of land most of which are very steep and unusable, except for limited remote farming and wild forest activities. The district of Grand Bay contains about 70 percent of the population and accommodates most of the activities in the Parish. Within the Grand Bay District is Grand Bay village, the most densely populated in that Parish (OAS, 1983: 3). In Grand Bay village, there are the sections of Geneva and Berricoa to which much reference will be made throughout this thesis. Geneva was the hot-seat for slave revolts and uprisings for land ownership well until 1974, and Berricoa entertains the majority of contemporary community/police conflicts in Grand Bay village.

The history of Grand Bay is the retelling of a turbulent past. Each document or article written about the village seems to support this theme. Written history of the

community begins at 1691 when French settler from Martinique, Jeannot Rolle, arrived in La Grande Baye (the wide bay as Grand Bay was first called) to cut wood for boat building. He had with him two slaves and they were welcomed by the Caribs, the indigenous people, with whom Rolle was familiar when they visited Martinique to trade trips. Rolle could speak their language and he traded rum and other goods with the Carib Chief in exchange for help in building boats that he sold across the 30 mile channel in Martinique. He used the profits to purchase more slaves who helped with boat building as well as cultivating the land Rolle later occupied (Borome, 1972: 87).

One of the first documented conflicts in the village began when Rolle, a devoted Catholic, insisted on building a huge wooden cross on his property. The Caribs disliked that idea as it conflicted with their beliefs; therefore, they uprooted the cross, tossed it into the sea and burned the remainder of Rolle's property. A minor guerrilla war occurred in 1692 when Rolle eventually ordered cattle from Martinique to drag huge stones so that his slaves could carve a big cross that could withstand attack from the Caribs. The 10 ft high, 6 ft wide, 15 X 11 inches wide white cross, at the foot of which Rolle was buried when he died, still stands erect overlooking the cemetery and the sea. It is the oldest remains of early European settlement in Grand Bay (Honychurch: 1995, 56).

In 1747, Fr. Antoine La Vallette, a Jesuit Priest residing in Martinique, arrived in Grand Bay at the request of Rolle to bless the cross. That same year, he purchased land from another French settler and Rolle used that land for the cultivation of coffee, tea, cane, sugar, cocoa and indigo. In 1747, La Vallette went to Barbados where slaves could be purchased cheaper and returned to Grand Bay with about 200 slaves. When his

plantation was thriving, he left another Jesuit Priest in charge and returned to Martinique (Borome, 1972: 87).

By 1753, many French ships loaded cargo from Grand Bay for trade elsewhere. La Vallette used the profits to purchase more slaves to increase the plantation yield. He was later called to France by the Minister of Marine to answer charges that he had exploited foreign trade, charges which he cleverly avoided by claiming that his activities in Grand Bay were necessary to convert the stubborn Caribs into Christianity. When he returned to Dominica, British pirates, an epidemic and a hurricane had almost totally destroyed his plantation. La Vallette attempted to revive it by approaching new creditors and selling produce through agents in Roseau. La Vallette was again called to France to answer allegations of wrongful foreign trade practices and this time he admitted his guilt. The head of the Jesuits in Rome refused to pay the outstanding debts and the holdings in Grand Bay, with 194 slaves, many buildings and valuable coffee were later sold to British creditors (Borome, 1972: 95-96).

During the Seven-Year-War (1756-1763), when the British and the French battled throughout the West Indies, in India, Canada, their own countries and on sea, the Caribbean islands were being seized by the two powers to be traded as ransom in exchange for Canada. The British took over Dominica from the French on 6 June, 1761 and it remained in their possession as a part of the Peace of Paris agreement in 1763, when the two fighting countries bargained for Canada (Honychurch, 1995: 47).

Some of the slaves in Grand Bay took advantage of the change in national control and many escaped into the woods and became a part of the first Maroons (run-away

slaves fighting for freedom) who would later lead attacks against the European settlers. The British creditors sold Geneva Estate to British planters in 1764, and in 1778, another slave uprising occurred on the Grand Bay plantation. The French Revolution (1789-1799) made its mark on Dominica when Maroons, who were already in rebellion, caught on to the revolutionary ideas of the French. It is alleged that the French settlers who remained in Dominica after the 1763 war undermined the British by assisting the Maroons secretly. Lennox Honychurch (1995:103) explains the 1791 slave revolt in Grand Bay:

This outbreak in Grand Bay in the parish of St. Patrick was the first of a new form of revolt, inspired not merely by the yearning for freedom but fed by the philosophy of French revolutionary ideas. The leader among these agents operating in the south was a Martiniquan mulatto called Jean Louis Polinaire. His attempt to mobilise and control the southern parishes was part of a plan to effectively take over the whole island by starting from the windward areas.

The uprising was unique in the history of the West Indian slave revolts. What the slaves under Polinaire's influence were demanding was freedom to work for themselves for more days in the week, as well as the customary one and a half days on weekends. When this demand was refused the slaves virtually went on strike 'without going off the estates or attempting any acts of violence.'

The slaves later broke out in revolt on 20th January, 1791. The British captured Polinaire with the help of a Carib informant and they took him to Roseau for trial.

Honychurch (1995:103) describes the events:

He was found guilty and sentenced to one of the most horrific executions recorded in the local Minutes of the King's Bench. On 7 March, Polinaire was taken from the common jail to the Newtown Savannah and hanged; his body was cut down while still alive, his bowels removed before his face and his body cut into four quarters to be disposed of at the King's pleasure (103).

The second Maroon War began in 1812 and the following year, then Governor Ainslie offered pardon to Maroons who would surrender. But his plea was rejected and his messengers were killed. Twenty two Maroons were killed and 555 later surrendered during the ordeal. The final Maroon War ended in 1814 by which time there were hundreds of casualties from both sides. Most of the Maroon leaders were captured and killed. Some were exposed on iron frames and took as long as a week to die (Honychurch, 1995: 55-58).

The Maroons did not win the war but their actions lead to the jury trial of many plantation owners on charges of treating their slaves with cruelty. No one was prosecuted despite substantial evidence. In 1821, several laws were passed with respect to slavery: "Owners were required to supply minimal clothing, dry and comfortable lodging, medical assistance, at least one half acre of land to work and one day on which to work it; iron collars were forbidden; obeah (black magic) was punishable by death; slaves could make no music in Roseau after 8 p.m." (Jacobs: 1994, 4). Slavery was abolished by the London House of Commons in 1833 and the following year, on 31 July, the emancipation of slavery was made official. The British Government compensated slave owners in Dominica with 265, 071 pounds for freeing 14, 175 slaves (Jacobs, 1994: 4).

Grand Bay experienced another disturbance in 1844 when rumours stated that a census was being taken to reinstate slavery. Ex-slaves in other sections of Dominica were a part of the revolt but most of the disturbances occurred in Grand Bay. Geneva estate was set on fire, five people were wounded, three killed, one prisoner was executed and 239 other prisoners were prosecuted (Jacobs, 1994: 6).

Two hundred years after many disturbances over building a cross on Grand Bay soil, the anti-cross sentiments were still present in the village. The stone cross that was built in 1692 was uprooted in 1892 and was found at the sea-shore by a priest. It was salvaged and placed in the position where it still stands in the Grand Bay cemetery (Honychurch, 1995: 56). Interestingly, up to this day, the cross is still subjected to small attacks and abuse by perceived obeah (black magic) practitioners.

Another uprising took place in Grand Bay in 1930 when the then Geneva Estate owner, the Lockhart family, attempted to stop small farmers from squatting on the estate. Most of the workable flat land in the community was located in Geneva estate, and for many years after the emancipation of slavery local farmers occupied small sections for farming. This was the beginning of a series of disturbances directed toward ownership and occupation of land. Tenants again burned the estate in 1932 when talks about their right as tenants did not satisfy their demands (Honychurch, 1995: 56).

The crash of the New York stock market in 1929 and lime disease forced a drop in the lime industry. The Lockhart family had slowly lost hope for the estate and almost ignored the growth in the number of squatters. In 1949, Norman Lockhart sold the entire Geneva Estate to Elias Nassief. Nassief immediately began evicting tenants and other occupants of the land (Jacobs, 1994: 5). In some cases, his methods of eviction were perceived as harsh and unusual by the occupants who often reacted with different forms of revolt. Some Grand Bay residents today still tell stories of when the dwelling homes of villagers were damaged and left in ruins at the roadside (field notes).

In spite of these disturbances, the community of Grand Bay still had not faced its most challenging ordeal, which occurred in 1974. The 1974 uprising on Geneva Estate left permanent marks on the contemporary Grand Bay community. Not only was this the last major uprising, but it also led to a series of efforts by the government of Dominica to address land availability issues that had precipitated small acts of mischief in the village.

On 5 April 1975, a Commission of Inquiry was ordered by the government of Dominica into the Geneva Estate uprising. The following is a diary (Burton, Castor, and Dagazon, 1995: 8-10) of events as presented by the inquiry:

On the 1st of February, 1974, the Commissioner of Police received from the Chairman of the Jaycees Standing Committee of Grand Bay, a carbon copy of the letter addressed to the Permanent Secretary, Minister of Home Affairs, expressing deep concern over the success of the coming Carnival festivities, and reporting that in previous years persons dressed in black devil outfits and the prohibited sensay costumes, armed themselves with weapons. It was feared that these persons were again preparing themselves to disrupt the planned celebrations at Grand Bay. The Chairman appealed for police reinforcement in Grand Bay to ensure the observance of law and order.

(ii) On Carnival Monday, 25th February, 1974, at 10:45 a.m., a party of 12 policemen under Inspector P. James, left by police truck to Grand Bay to reinforce the Grand Bay police station and assist in taking care of the conditions there as reported by Inspector Telemacue. On arrival on the main village road, the police met a band with a number of persons dressed in sensay costumes. Persons in the band began throwing stones and bottles at the police. Pistol shots were also fired from the band at the police. Seven arrests were made.

(iii) Road blocks were put by the villagers at a point between the Grand Bay Police Station and the Geneva House to prevent the Police truck from taking the arrested persons to Roseau. The truck was damaged at a road block (windscreen and oil sump). Police Constable I. Richards suffered a fractured small finger and other policemen including Constable Jim Lloyd were hit.

(iv) On the same night, corporal M.X. Pascal of the Police Force was struck on the jaw with a stone while sitting in the house of Mr. Patrick Guiste. He was hospitalised and had to be sent to Jamaica for attention.

From then onwards the village remained tense and persons blamed the Carnival incidents on the Police. The arrested persons were prosecuted and duly convicted.

(v) Between the 9th and 10th March, 1974, a bull, the property of Elias Nassief was stolen from the Geneva Estate. Between the 15th and 16th March, 1974, a cow, property of Elias Nassief was also stolen from the Geneva Estate. Between the 17th and 25th March, 1974, 17 coconut trees were hewn down on the Geneva Estate and others were damaged. Between the 24th and 25th March, 1974, 5 sheep, property of Elias Nassief were stolen from the Estate.

(vi) On the 25th March, 1974, Phillip Francis (alias Unisef) seized a 5 ton truck, Reg. No. 954 owned by Elias Nassief from its driver, Octave Alexander, while the truck was parked in the yard at the Geneva House. He threatened and assaulted the driver and other persons with a pistol and drove the truck away with a .410 shot-gun which was on the truck. The truck was later found parked on the main road at Berricoa, but the shot-gun was missing. Another shot-gun was stolen from the Geneva House by Phillip Francis.

(vii) On the same 25th day of March 1974, Phillip Francis was arrested by Superintendent T. Bannis and Corporal S. Jon. Baptiste on six (6) 'Commitment in Default Warrants.' He was found in possession of a .32 automatic pistol with one live round in the magazine, also with a quantity of galignite and two detonators. He was taken to Her Majesty's Prison at Goodwill and delivered to the prison authorities. The same day he escaped from the prison. He was duly charged with Intimidation, Larceny of a short-gun, taking of a vehicle without consent of the owner, being in possession of a pistol without being the holder of a Firearm User's Licence and being in possession of explosives, to wit detonators. The cases were then pending.

(viii) On the 25th March, 1974, the strength of the Grand Bay Police Station was increased from 6 to 8 including the Inspector.

(iv) On the 26th March, 1974, road blocks from hewn coconut trees were erected on the Geneva Estate Road, from Geneva Works at the beach, and along the beach to the Roman Catholic Church.

(x) Between the 26th and 27th March, 1974, the Copra House of Elias Nassief at the Geneva Estate Works was set on fire, tyres, cocrus bags, coals and tarpaulins were destroyed.

(xi) Between the 26th and 27th March, 1974, telephone lines between Roseau and Grand Bay were cut at Geneva Estate.

(xii) Between the 27th and 28th March, 1974, the Grocery and Liquor shop of James Cuffy at Berricoa, Grand Bay was broken into and goods and cash to the value of \$851.63 were stolen.

(xiii) It is to be noted that most of those incidents were directed at the property of Ellis Nassief, the owner of Geneva Estate. The blocking of the roads and the cutting of the telephone lines postulated a definite plan, the main purpose of which was to attack the Geneva Estate and intimidate its owners.

(xiv) On the 1st of April, 1974, two policemen were put on duty to guard the Geneva Estate House. These men had subsequently to be removed. The cutting of the telephone lines and the blocking of the roads made it impossible to reinforce their strength.

The Geneva Estate House was destroyed by fire at about 2 a.m. on the 2nd of April, 1974. at about the same time of shortly after, the business premises of Ellis Nassief in Roseau, were also in flames and were later burnt to the ground, leaving only the walls standing.

(xv) On the 3rd April, 1974, the Defence Force was embodied and a Police Emergency declared. In due course, the Governor issued a proclamation banning public meetings and joint contingents of the Police and Defence Force were dispatched to Grand Bay on the same day. On the 4th April, 1974, the manager's house near the Grand Bay Hospital was also destroyed by fire. On the 4th of April, 1974, Emergency Power Regulators were issued by the Governor, and on the 9th of April, 1974, the Commissioner of Police published the general information, a statement that the Geneva Estate in Grand Bay district was a protected area and it would so continue during the State of Emergency declared in respect to that area on the 3rd of April, 1974, and that no persons should, therefore, enter the said Estate for any purpose except as authorises by the occupier or Senior Police Officer in the district of Grand Bay.

(xvi) Between 5th and 12th of April, 1974, 10 persons were arrested and charged variously with setting fire to the Geneva Estate House, the Geneva Estate Works, being in possession of explosives, being in unlawful possession of firearms and house breaking and Larceny. —

(xvii) On the 17th April, 1974 the Police Force and the Defence Force combined contingents left Grand Bay for Roseau leaving six (6) C.I.D. and uniformed personnel at Grand Bay Police Station to continue investigations under the direction of the Deputy Commissioner of Police.

(xviii) On the 25th of April, 1974, eight, (8) of the persons arrested were re-arrested and under paragraph 11 (1) of the Emergency Powers Regulation, S.R.O. No. 15 of 1974 and, detained in Her Majesty's, Prison for 28 days under the authority of and in accordance with paragraphs 11 (2) and 11 (3) of the said Regulations.

(xix) On the 2nd May 1974, the Overseer's house, located East of the burnt House was destroyed by fire at about 10 p.m.

The Commission went on to recommend the following:

- a 25% increase for both the police and the prison staff;
- more Special Constables in the Grand Bay Community;
- increasing building security at the state prison;
- an inquiry into preparing titles for the ownership of land;
- widespread political education for the youth of Dominica; re-location of the Grand Bay Police Station, or establishing village police substation closer to the more densely populated section of the village .

Social, economic and land issues were identified as the primary causes that lead to the 1974 disturbances (Burton, Castor, and Dagazon, 1995: 14-21).

Although the commission was reported to have spoken to over fifty witnesses, there was no mention in the report about the perceptions of residents who were involved in the uprising. Having observed this in the literature review, I attempted during the research to capture the story of those involved. In brief, the perpetrators had much to say about their feelings of frustration and the manner by which the Geneva Estate

management dealt with intruders. One man claims to remember being about age 16 at the time when he would cross the fence of the estate to get some mangoes or dry coconuts from the plantation and pellet shots were fired, or on some occasions, dogs were set loose after him. He also claimed that derogatory slurs were often used to get squatters off the land. There was, as the commission revealed, an undercurrent of left-wing literature that promoted the idea that the land was that of the people and should be distributed to enrich community well-being.

Contrary to what the commission indicated, community members revealed to this researcher that there was no deliberate organised effort to begin the 1974 uprising. A combination of factors led to mischievous actions by some residents of Grand Bay who felt victimised by, or envious of the Geneva Estate owners. Many persons who were actively involved in the uprising said that there was no time to become organised. As one adult male stated, "I did not care why people started fires. What I know is that I always wanted a reason to do something to these people because they were pressing Grand Bay people. When the fire started, I start burning too."

In 1976 the Caribbean Agro Economic Society (1976:11) made similar remarks about the Geneva events of 1974, stating, "The upsurge of violence during March-April, 1974 has historical antecedents and was the immediate outcome of previously contained feelings of discontent and resentment against the management of Geneva."

In 1979 the Grand Bay residential area was expanded when the Geneva Estate was sub-divided into housing and agricultural lands. "Some 107 farmers operate half acre plots, planting ground provisions, bananas and now ginger" and by 1987, approximately

730 acres of the 1,360 acre Geneva Estate were sold to 370 farmers in small plots (Jacob, 1994, 5).

On 10 January, 1994, several Grand Bay community leaders and other concerned residents met with the cabinet of then-Prime Minister Eugenia Charles to discuss issues directly confronting their community. Recommendations from this meeting included,

Greater economic activity in the Grand Bay area for job creation; utilising land located at Geneva for industrial development; greater police presence, relocation of police station to the centre of the village, police outpost in main street (L' allay); face lift for L' allay to include paving, drainage and more street lamps; improvement in sporting facilities; a proper secondary school for the south; and development of plantation ruins as tourist sites. According to Acting Village Council Chairman, Fevrier, some of these recommendations were made as far back as the middle 1970's" (Raphael 1995, 3).

The Charles administration did not deliver on those recommendations but in 1995, soon after the Edison James administration entered into office, they held a similar meeting with some residents Grand Bay village. That Administration offered the Village Council \$20,000.00, a promise to which was kept.

During the last three years, the Grand Bay village has been subjected to much national criticism for the recent uprisings which occurred in their community. Many of the positive achievements of the community are over shadowed by the existence of these social ills. In 1995, it was reported in the Dominica national newspaper that Dominica Police Chief, Desmond Blanchard, "identifies Grand Bay as one of the communities in which criminal activities were on the upsurge, and he observed that Grand Bay was crying out for leadership." The Grand Bay Parliamentary Representative, Pierre Charles, referred to the Commissioner's comment as political "and that his pin-pointing Grand

Bay was unfortunate, as criminal activities are on the upsurge in many other communities in the island” (*New Chronicle*, 3 March, 1995 p.1).

Another newspaper article revealed, “three Grand Bay policemen in plain clothes were attacked with stones and bottles coming from the Block 44 area while they were on investigative duty at about midday....” (*The New Chronicle*: 1 December, 1995 p. 2). This action followed a long series of road blockages, tyre burning, stoning of vehicles belonging to utility companies or that of suspicious visitors, as a form of protest after the death of a young Grand Bay resident, Hilarion Baron, on the morning of 1 November 1995 (field notes).

There are other dimensions of Grand Bay village that often escape the attention of the public because, as one Grand Bay resident noted, “bad news sells best from Grand Bay.” One contemporary journalist, Moses Raphael, wrote a documentary on Grand Bay village and he tried to present the more “ple~~asure~~” aspects of Grand Bay. He notes that many residents of Grand Bay are very artistically talented, and fun loving people, who, because of their firmness for upholding what they believe are right, are often misunderstood as a violent people. Raphael presented excerpts of interviews with community leaders, the parish priest, and police officers who all agree that people must learn to see the good in Grand Bay and not simply be prejudiced by the superficial media portrayal of the community. Grand Bay people have gained the reputation of being very generous, especially in times of crises, not only to their own people but also to those outside of their community. They have been leaders in the fields of culture, education

and sports and there are many young Grand Bay residents who exemplify that spirit, Raphael concludes (Raphael, 1996: 4).

POLICE SERVICES IN DOMINICA

The Pre-colonial Era (5000 BC- 1493)

The first settlers on Dominica, the Ortoiroid people, arrived about 5000 BC from the coast of South America. They were hunter-gatherers who depended on shell fish and wild plants for food. There is no record of their methods of resolving disputes. Later settlers on the island were Amerindians who maintained an informal social order as predicated by a chief (Honychurch, 1995: 15-17).

The Colonial Era (1493-1978)

Dominica became first known to Europeans on November 3, 1493, "when Christopher Columbus inadvertently came upon the island. The subsequent arrival of Columbus irrevocably changed the course of the island's history" (Andre, Christian, 1992: iii). Up until November 3, 1978, (the date of independence from Britain) the Island went through a series of changes by colonial governments. Andre and Christian write, "These changes ranged from using the island as a pawn during the 18th century, developing it as a plantation in the nineteenth and finally disregarding it as an improvised

appendage of the British empire in the twentieth century” (iii). The British abolished slavery in 1834 and by the 1868, the local elite gained control of the government (Andre, Christian, 1992: iii).

During the period of slavery, the maintenance of law and order within the plantation was the responsibility of plantation overseers, owners and their attorneys. Slave Drivers who were employed by the land owners “to keep the Blacks in order.” They served the estates as a sort of police force, and mainly spearheaded the capture of run-away slaves who were viewed as a bad example for the Blacks, both enslaved and free. (Honychurch, 1995: 212). Run-away slaves were captured and hanged in a manner which could take as much as two days before their deaths. They were to remain in public view as an example to others who wished to revolt against colonial rule (Honychurch, 1995: 97).

Additionally there was a militia system which had been established during the early periods of colonisation. This system divided Dominica into different districts, and once a month, the members assembled for field practice, and they could be called upon at any time for active duty. Until 1832, when discrimination on the grounds of colour was abolished in Dominica, the makeup of the militia was all White males, between the ages of 16 and 65. Mulattos were allowed to join the militia after 1832. Therefore, until the emancipation of slavery in 1834, law and order was administered in a two-level system: that is, a very private control on the plantations, and for the districts, the militia system that was called upon to deal with the Maroons. In the event that there was an invasion the militia would assist the British forces in Dominica. These soldiers were stationed at Fort

Young, the Cabrits and Morne Bruce, and were not to become involved in internal law and order (Honychurch, 1988: 16-17).

The members of the militia who were allowed to interfere in internal issues were known as the Parish Militias, part-time foot soldiers from any section of the free population. They included, "all descriptions of white men and free people of colour from the age of 18-50 years old who were able to bear arms. The militia in each parish met on the first Monday of every month for drill and arms practice. Those who refused to join or were absent without excuse were fined" (Honychurch: 1988, 11). The mixed composition of the Parish Militias made for unstable security within the parishes across Dominica. For example, there were British and French residents, along with the coloured, and each group had different loyalties and this sometimes caused internal chaos.

When slavery was finally abolished in 1834, a new system of security was established in Dominica. The control that was formerly exercised by the estates under the slavery system was changed and there was the beginning of the police services, with the appointment of constables to be placed in different districts across Dominica. "Everybody was free and society had to be regulated as a whole rather than by being segmented into master and slave, black and white" (Honychurch, 1988:12). However, the militia continued to exist and could be called upon at anytime to provide the Island with added security. The new police were tasked with ensuring that the laws passed by the colony were adhered to by the new free citizenry.

In May, 1840, legislation was passed in Dominica to appoint Rural Constables, and another Act in 1941 to improve criminal justice services in Dominica. These were

the beginnings of what is today the Dominica Police Force. Under the colony of the Leeward Islands there was established a single police force under the 1907 Federal Police Act, with a Superintendent on each island and the headquarters located in St. John's Antigua. Recruits usually came from the Leeward Islands although they could be recruited from any island within the British colony. The Governor of the Leeward Islands was also located in Antigua and as were the prison and mental institutions that housed serious offenders from islands in the Leeward colony (Honychurch, 1988: 13).

When Dominica became a member of the Windward Islands in 1940, the police headquarters was located in St. George's Grenada. Then, in 1956 constitutional changes in the Windward Island colony resulted in the creation of a ministerial system that allowed each island to develop its own police department under the command of a Chief of Police.

Another change occurred in the Dominica Constitution in 1967 when the Island became an Associated State, a self governing state in association with Britain. Indeed, almost 90 percent of the Island's independence was granted in 1967 when it received total self government, control of the budget, and all ministries, except for external affairs and defence. When Dominica became independent in 1978, external affairs and defence were added to the responsibility of the Island's government.

In 1967, under the new status of Associated Statehood, the office of the Chief of Police was changed to Commissioner of Police. The word "Royal" was permitted to be added to the name of the local police force and the term "Commonwealth" was added as a prefix to the new Island Republic (Honychurch, 1988; 13). The new police service,

however, continued the practice of shifting policemen from one location to another to avoid too much loyalty to locals. The first woman joined the force in 1960. Currently, women only serve the force at attachments to the police headquarters in Roseau (Honychurch, 1988: 13).

Police service under the new republic was not restricted to the narrow mandate of preserving law and order:

During their history of service, policemen have been required to perform many varied duties. Before the establishment of the inland postal service they had to deliver mail around the island. Before health inspectors existed, policemen had to inspect drains and had to report on garbage and "nightsoil" disposal. They once had to be responsible for street lighting and to check food prices, help the volunteer fire brigade, survey abandoned and dangerous buildings, keep the harbour lights lighted, stand guard at Government House gates, day and night, fire off a cannon whenever the Royal Mail Steamer arrived and also fire the cannon every night at nine o'clock from the ramparts of Fort Young (Honychurch, 1988: 12).

The Dominica Police Force experienced tremendous political pressure during the 1970's. It was during this period that the roots of contemporary community/police relations in Grand Bay were generated. The following section will provide a close exploration of the influence that events occurring in Grand Bay had on contemporary policing in Dominica.

Influence of Events in Grand Bay on Contemporary Police Practices

During the 1960's, there was a rise of the Black Power Movement in Dominica in which many residents of Grand Bay played an active role. The main objectives of that

movement included seeking equality for the perceived marginalised groups on the island, and to prepare for independence from Britain. During this period, some members of the Dominica Police Force used forceful tactics to maintain law and order. Many residents of Grand Bay village were among those who retaliated aggressively against the colonial system. According to Andre and Christian (1992:25), that system, “was called ‘babylon;’ with the police enforcers of that system being designated as ‘babylons’ or ‘babylonians.’ The new terminology of disdain and resistance had been popularised in the rousing lyrics of the new reggae superstar Bob Marley....”

Throughout these events, the villagers of Grand Bay were active leaders in the struggle for independence and the struggle against police brutality. “Before any ‘fall’ babylon was to be confronted by the masses again and again. Enter the radical people of ‘Sout’ as the area around the big Southern village Grand Bay was called” (Andre and Christian, 1992: 26). Those authors (1996:26-27) further explain:

Grandbay, a heavily populated southern village, was the strong hold of opposition: First, as a Freedom stronghold in the early 1970’s, later as a redoubt of black power thoughts. The records reveal that Grandbay has always been a cockpit of violent conflict between the masses and the landowners. With its settlement origins rooted in slavery, that conflict has almost invariably made the struggle a black/white issue. However, the root cause reposed in what was an inequitable land distribution in the area of the village.... Grandbay would transfer its allegiance to Dominica’s left and would be the site of the main library and literature centre of Dominica’s political left between 1975-1980.

In 1974, the Patrick John Administration passed legislation entitled *The Prohibited and Unlawful Societies Act*, better known as the “Dread Act.” Dreads are

individuals who wear the Rastafarian hairstyle. The Act, “made the killing of dreads a lawful act. However, dreads were to be killed, or have their [hair] forcibly cut, in many cases for no better reason than being classified as a member of an ‘unlawful society’” (Andre and Christian, 1992:32). Grand Bay is one of the communities in Dominica with the largest “dread” population.

That same year, Premiere John formed the Dominica Defence Force which was primarily a highly paid military force under his direct control, because he did not trust the local Royal Dominica Police Force. The Defence Force began as a volunteer activity group and maintained that status until the Labour Party Government, under Patrick John’s leadership, made it permanent in November of 1974. Two Canadian citizens were murdered near Pond Case on 22 November 1974 and within two weeks after that incident, the government established a permanent Defence Force (Honychurch, 1995: 245-250).

It is very important to note that in 1969, Forbs Burnham, the then leader of Guyana, visited Dominica on an official visit for National Day in November. From that moment onwards, there appeared to be an interest by the Labour Party, until John became prime minister in 1974, to adopt the style of government of Guyana. Burnham described this style of government as a Co-operative Republic but it was very heavily concentrated on a one-party government with an executive president. This system significantly deviated from the Westminster system, so that the president was in fact running the country. It was also a very heavily militarised form of government and this influenced Patrick John to follow the same pattern of government in Dominica. Also, John’s “right

hand man,” Attorney General Leo Austin, a Guyanese, could have been encouraging that system of government for Dominica (Honychurch, 1995: 261-266).

These shifts in policing took their toll on the Grand Bay village. Changes in social demands that occurred in the 1960's in Dominica and the rest of the world, in terms of certain freedom such as Black power, private ownership of land and the liberalisation of drugs, had influenced uprisings such as the February to May 1974 uprising at the Geneva Estate in Grand Bay. These movements were often marked by rallies and protests to which the police were called to help restore law and order (Andre and Christian, 1992 30-41).

Another event that contributed to the rise of this radical trend of thought in Dominica was the very sudden expansion of the education system in the 1960's. These expansions occurred at the Dominica Grammar School, Saint Mary's Academy and the Convent High School. By the 1970's, there was the first generation of the more widely educated young persons going into the workplace and the political arena in Dominica. More young children from primary schools in the countryside were able to attend high school in Roseau because there were new roads built at the Eastern and Northern districts of the Island. Saint Mary's Academy and Convent High School had hostels to accommodate students from the countryside who were unable to commute to Roseau.

When the secondary school expanded, children from the rural villages such as Grand Bay who began attending high school in the mid-1960's, graduated in 1970. Many became politically active in their respective rural communities. Until the 1950's, high school education was essentially left to the preserves of the town based, middle and

upper-class. Some of the new rural village high school graduates brought a different flavour to society by helping to articulate the social issues that affected their communities and Dominica in general. These issues were often related to private land ownership and national independence from Great Britain. In the 1970's, the first big flow of secondary school graduates entered the political arena in Dominica and at the centre of politics was the Freedom Party, established in 1968. The party entered the 1970 election and gain seats in the House of Assembly.

Dominica experienced intense pressures from the new politics: increased secondary school graduates; pressure from the 1960's radical movement, the visit of Forbs Burnham; and the rise of cultural awareness as declared in 1965 by then Premier E.O. Leblanc. The residents of Grand Bay village lived through these periods, and some were active in the movements for change. It was several years before this new awareness took effect on their behaviour. The cultural musical lyrics of the late 60's and early 70's were also about to take effect. At that time, many Grand Bay residents were at the forefront of raising the folk culture of Dominica to a higher level. No longer was their cultural history looked down upon. Because Grand Bay was at the forefront of this declared cultural awareness, it too developed a major status.

Then came the John administration that inherited the backlash of this changing society and it was unable to handle the pressures and challenges without adopting heavy brutal military tactics toward a radical, more educated, more aware, culturally proud people. The Defence Force and the Special Services Unit (SSU) made habitual trips to the woods to "hunt down" and kill dreads on sight. In retaliation, the dreads killed a few

farmers. This escalated the actions of the SSU and the Defence force who continued the hunt (Andre, Christian, 1992: 74).

The Grand Bay community continued to resist these new changes in law and order: "In that way a successful literacy campaign was launched in the South, at Grandbay. Grandbay had always represented the core of Dominican resistance to oppressive government, and was to give birth to a host of radical community groups, most of which published weekly newsheets" (Andre and Christian, 1992:35). Newsletters of this sort circulated throughout the island but Grand Bay village continued to lead the nation with socialist literature distribution and in resistance against perceived oppression. Andre and Christian (1992:35) conclude, "During the 1974-1979, period at least half a dozen [newsletters] were published by various community groups in Grandbay alone."

The Post-colonial Era (1978- Present)

When Dominica obtained independence from Britain in 1978, the Patrick John Administration was still in power and proceeded to shift command of the new Defence Force from the police commissioner to the Office of the Prime Minister. At that time the public was active in protest against the government for its new legislation which sought to curb public demonstrations, the use of slogans, and the wearing of certain clothing. These Acts were entitled the *Public Order Act*, and the *Public Order (Amendment Act)*.

The government sought 'to deal very effectively' with the problem by unleashing the island's security forces on the unsuspecting public. It sought to gain the loyalty by the passage of legislation which had as its primary focus, the promotion of the welfare of the security forces. This

legislation created a congruence of interests between the government and the security forces with the result that the fortunes of the forces became inextricably intertwined with those of the government.... Furthermore, whereas the police force was dispersed throughout the island, thereby, making full control difficult, the Defence Force remained in the capital, making it more malleable to the wishes of the premier.... The passage of new legislation in May 1979 and the need to keep the population in check provided just such a mission for members of the force (Andre and Christian, 1992:73-74).

According to these two authors, during this period, the Royal Dominica Police Force was unable to suppress the public. The then 255 member force had failed in its previous endeavours to quiet public protest in 1971, and during a state of emergency in 1973: "During the 'dread crisis' of the mid-70's the ranks of the police force were augmented by a unit of special constables who relinquished the opportunity for exacting acts of brutality on the public, pursuant to the Dread Act" (Andre and Christian, 1992: 75). The administration, in efforts to gain police loyalty, lavished the police with new incentives, a new pension plan, and additional benefits for the families of officers who were killed while on duty:

Of concern to the opposition was the open support of certain police officers for the government, indiscriminate shooting of civilians and insubordination among the ranks of the police. In exacerbation of the problems were the reports of policemen speaking on political platforms and Cabinet Ministers interfering with transfer of policemen to various parts of the island.

The negative influences on the members of the Police Force took their toll on morale and discipline. ... It became evident that the leadership of the police forces held the view that they were distrusted by the political leadership of the island because they felt that the maintenance of law and order was not a political question (Andre and Christian, 1992:76).

In 1980, the John administration lost the national election to Eugenia Charles and the Dominica Freedom Party. The Defence Force was immediately disbanded. In 1981, a coup attempt was planned by ex-members of the Defence Force, dread recruits, and American and Canadian Mercenaries, who included members of the KKK and the Neo-Nazis. The island was to be used as a drug trafficking haven and for international fraud. John and others were imprisoned for their role in the coup which was disrupted by the CIA and the FBI. In December of 1981, there was a second coup attempt which resulted in the death of one police officer and one ex-Defence Force member. As a result of being found guilty by the state for his involvement in the coup attempt, another ex-member was hanged by the state (Honychurch, 1995:279-282). The Dominica Police force is still looked upon with suspicion and the public has continued to refer to the police as "babylon" (*New Chronicle*, 1995: May-Dec.).

The police and some residents of Grand Bay village again got into confrontation on 1 November 1995 when the police entered Berricoa in an attempt to suppress drug related activities. In the process, a young Grand Bay resident, Hilarion Baron, was shot and killed. There were also other injuries to members of both the resident and police factions. As a result, there was unrest that lasted for three weeks in the village. Police officers and government and private utility workers who entered Berricoa during this time were verbally or physical assaulted by angry residents (*The New Chronicle*, Nov-Dec 1995 issues).

What follows are two accounts of the incident of November 1995 as provided by both a Grand Bay resident who claimed to have been a witness to the episode, a police

source. According to an adult male resident of Grand Bay who claimed to have been a witness to the 1 November 1995 event that resulted in the death of Hilarion Baron, the details of the event were as follows:

The police were planning a drug raid on the Block and about a few days before November 1, 1995, they could be seen outside of the village planning their strategy. They used the incident to raid the place when a Cocoa Cola truck driver was harassed by some guys. They arrived in the village with full military gear, like they were ready for battle. They used tear gas in the village and this got a lot of people upset and they started stoning them. There were no guns being used. It was about 1, 2 or 3 a.m. and many people had to come out of their house because the tear gas made it impossible for them to stay inside. Some people just came out to see what was going on.

After things were calming down, a police officer who was going up L'alley turned around and shot at the crowd. That is when the young man was killed. Some other people got injured too. For many days after that, angry villagers were rebellious against people who came to the village and were suspicious. Police could not come down L'alley for a while. Later the police said that the bullet that killed Hilarion was from friendly fire from the villagers. They said the bullet that killed him was from a .45 and they did not have such weapons when they came to Grand Bay. They said Hilarion had many wounds, but the one that killed him came from the people of Grand Bay. We need for them to admit to their wrong. They will be wanted in Grand Bay until they give retribution for killing one of our young Brothers (field notes).

A police statement about the same incident was as follows:

Grand Bay Police had been receiving numerous reports of unlawful use of unlicensed firearms in the Village by persons of questionable character. Also used were illegal delays in defiance of the law. This was ongoing behaviour of some residents, most of them wanted by the police for various offences including numerous burglaries. A Coca Cola commercial truck was stopped and an attempt was made by some men to rob the driver of the sales made on October 3, 1995. Gun men paraded the street of Grand Bay day and night. There were incidents of persons being shot and injured by persons using unlicensed firearms.

On October 31, 1995, police mounted an operation in the village of Grand Bay in an attempt to bring the offenders to justice. During this operation,

police encountered a [significant number] of stones and guns fired from the villagers. The police, in an attempt to safeguard themselves dove for cover and threw a few tear gas canisters at the crowd. This didn't deter them. Several police officers were wounded and 5 young men were wounded. The following day, November 1, 1995, one of the wounded men, Hilarion Baron, died at the Princes Margaret Hospital.

This incident provoked the law breakers to block the Grand Bay main road, burn tires on the road, cut down telephone poles and the utility lines, causing damage to both private and public property. The car of Laurant, a young man from Petite Savanne who visited Grand Bay during the night, was totally damaged by a crowd of young men. Journalists who came to witness the event were threatened and asked to leave the village. Government became concerned and invited leaders of the area to meetings in an effort to get a solution to the situation. This was accepted (police records).

The Contemporary Era (Last two Years)

There are 400 members in the existing Dominica Police Force and they are challenged with a multitude of problems that face the contemporary society. Among these are issues related to illegal drugs, child abuse, property crimes and assaults. According to a 1996 Police Week bulletin, "For the period of January to July, 1996 more than 128 arrests were made for drug related offences; more than 142, 000 marijuana trees destroyed, over 32 kilograms of cured marijuana and 1.5 kilograms of cocaine seized" (Police Week Bulletin, 1996: 7).

In recent times, there have been no major changes in policing philosophy in Dominica. Interviews with senior police officers reveal that recently the Department has been experimenting with the concepts of Neighbourhood Watch Programmes in the areas

of Bath Estate and Point Mitchel and have achieved favourable results. Small budget allocations, a lack of motivation among certain officers and a breakdown in officer discipline continued to affect the ability of the police service to adequately perform their duties in a manner that could reasonably gain the respect of the general public.

In 1996, nonetheless, the Department received much praise from the general public for making strong attempts to prosecute persons involved in the illegal drug activities. The DARE Programme has been introduced to the Island, but though it has not been fully implemented, it has gained the favour of the public and some police officers. Some members of the police services have also been making efforts to adapt the concepts of community policing, with the view that a closer collaboration with the community at large will yield more effective national security. With this in mind, community members and police representatives have met in the villages of La Plaine and Grand Fond to devise strategies to develop collaborative initiatives to protect these communities from the dangers imposed by lawbreakers. Neither of these efforts have resulted in a workable plan. According to one police leader, on one occasion, a constable was about to begin a community visit and a supervisor told him to forget the idea since there were "other things to be done." A lack of man-power and transportation have been the most popular reasons for not having closer collaborations with the communities that are being served police stations across the country.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHOD

Meaning of “Community” in this Thesis

The discussion in Chapter 2 demonstrated that the term “community” is ambiguous, vague and often confusing. At the very least, a community is a group of individuals who share residence in a particular geographic location and have one or more common attributes. However, it is questionable what these attributes may be and how they are determined.

For the purpose of this research, the term community includes all the contents within a particular geographic location: Grand Bay village. Throughout this thesis, the term community is interchangeable with the word “village.” Grand Bay village is the combination of all persons and things within that jurisdiction, and the same refers to the Grand Bay community. Both are based on the geographic location under the jurisdiction of the Grand Bay Village Council: North, Mitchum Ravine/Geneva River; East: Sea; South: En Ba Sou River; West: Mountain Ridge (Hagley-Centre).

This definition is partly an attempt to deviate from the trend in the community policing literature that defines community as the group of law-abiding citizens who reside in a particular geographic location. The problem with this definition is that it invokes further problems of defining who are “law-abiding residents. This may exclude many persons from participating in activities that are designed for the “community.” Another

difficulty is that if a community only includes law-abiding residents, or only those who share “something in common,” it is not clear what happens to those who are not considered law-abiding or do not share this “something in common.”

In this thesis, therefore, the Grand Bay community is referred to as every person and thing that exists within the confines of the boundaries that define the village of Grand Bay. It will be noted later in this thesis that the residents of Grand Bay refer not only to themselves as a part of their community, but also their schools, hospital, shops, land, rivers, and other non-human elements. Based on this notion of community, this thesis acknowledges that, although there are many similarities among the people who live in Grand Bay, there are many variations in their experiences, attitudes and opinions. Therefore, during the data collection process, attempts were made to capture both the common and unique experiences and opinions that the participants believed contributed to the existing status of community/police relations in Grand Bay.


This conceptualisation of community has also provided the rationale for the method used to collect the research data. To capture the variety of dynamics that might have affected community/police relations in Grand Bay, focus group discussions were conducted with specific groups of residents divided by gender and age. This procedure will be elaborated in this chapter and the findings from the focus group sessions will be presented in Chapter 5.

Selecting the Research Site

Although focus groups and in-person interviews were the primary instruments used for data collection, the actual research method process began long before anyone was interviewed. The process began soon after I read a newspaper article that precipitated my interest in Grand Bay. In fact, being indigenous to the Dominica population and a subscriber to the major newspapers of that country, I knew about some events that were existing in Grand Bay at that time, and had an interest in conducting research there. It was then a matter of awaiting for the correct moment and opportunity to gain access to conduct the research.

One of my greatest concerns was to justify why, of all possible places, Grand Bay was selected for research on community/police relations. As anticipated, the most common question that I have been asked about this research is, "What made you choose Grand Bay?" To this I responded that it was because I was looking for a project for my thesis and, while reading the *New Chronicle*, I came across an article entitled "Grand Bay Gets Organised." The article outlined the efforts of the Grand Bay Village Council to address issues of social unrest in the community. I then called to inform them of the ways that research can contribute to the dialogue, and they agreed. That article read as follows:

The Grand Bay Village Council last Sunday held a "Town Hall" meeting with various adults and youth group leaders, shopkeepers, bus drivers and church leaders to begin a process of problem solving related to lawless and indiscipline behaviour in the community.



In a welcome and introduction, the acting chairman of the council, Willie Fevrier, recalled some of the glorious days of the past when Grand Bay was recognised as a community which stood up for “justice and things uplifting”. He referred to past years of dominance in sports, folklore, and literary arts. He highlighted some of the village personalities of the past and present who are making their mark nationally, regionally and internationally, and reminded his audience that the community is a fertile ground for that human achievement. However, he warned that if the right environment was not created in the community, “we would be hopeless underachievers” .

With reference to the recent incidents of unrest, the chairman asked the question, ‘Do you like that acts that of lawless behaviour in your community these days’? The answer was a resounding ‘NO’. He announced that the meeting intended to get solutions to some of these problems....

A major outcome of the meeting was the formation of four committees to address specific concerns arising from the discussion. These committees are Family Life Committee, Violence Prevention, Police Community Relations, and Social and Economic Development. Members of the audience volunteered to work with the Council in each of these committees (*New Chronicle* 1 Dec. 1995, pp.)

As was often the case, when the “why Grand Bay” question appeared and was explained, I usually stated, “if that article was about Portsmouth, Roseau or Marigot or anywhere else, that is where I would be doing research right now.” To that response, persons often said, “thank God it was Grand Bay” or “well I’m glad it was Grand Bay.” These are favourable responses to establishing credibility because, if my reasons for selecting Grand Bay had been different, residents could dismiss the research effort since they might have believed that the selection of their community meant that I was like most other people who thought that the residents of Grand Bay were all “bad” people who needed discipline.

Community Access

After deciding that the newspaper article would assist in legitimising the selection of Grand Bay as the site for the research project, the next concern centred on gaining access to the community. I learned from the article that someone by the name of Willie Fevrier was the Acting Village Council Chairman at the time of the meeting and it appeared that he would be a good person to contact. However I knew nothing about him and, from my graduate qualitative research methods class, I had learned that the gatekeeper is very important to the entire research process. The gatekeeper is the primary assistant of the researcher, especially during the early stages of the research process. He or she plays a key role in legitimising the research in the community under study and therefore, her or his credibility is important as it might impose both positive or negative connotations on the research. Some researchers refer to gatekeepers as “stars”:

In a manner similar to what Bogden and Taylor (1975: 30-33) describe as accessing *gatekeepers* developing a relationship with a star may be a critical element.... A star may hold the key to deeper penetration into the lives and perceptions of inhabitants of that setting. Sometimes a single gesture or word from a star will open more doors than weeks and weeks of attempts to gain access to those portals. Consequently, the same single gestures can slam doors that took months for the [researcher] to get opened. Whenever possible, it is advisable to find and gain the confidence of a star as soon as possible... (Berg, 1995:107).

Being indigenous to the Dominica population, I decided to use some of the advantages that came with this status. I listed names of persons that I knew and could trust to provide me some information about Willie, and anyone else who would be a reliable gatekeeper. My father, a debt collector in Dominica, with over 35 years

experience in that business, knew many residents of Grand Bay. An additional personal contact was very helpful and provided me with the information that I needed. Her information, combined with that from my father, revealed that indeed, Willie was the best gatekeeper to the community.

Being aware of the political culture of Dominica, and Grand Bay, it was important that the first person I spoke with about the research was appropriate. Several long distance calls and additional days of research were helpful to avoid speaking first to someone with a questionable reputation. The reputation of this individual could affect, for better or worse, the ability to establish the credibility of the research project in Grand Bay.

During the background check, I learned that a peace and unity rally was scheduled to take place in Grand Bay on Saturday 27 January, 1996 at 10:00 a.m. and Willie would be one of the keynote speakers. I decided, therefore, to call him about two hours before the rally to inform him about my interest in conducting research in Grand Bay, and to solicit his interest in and support for the research project. I chose that time because the conversation was anticipated to last for at least 30 minutes, leaving 1.5 hours before the rally. Having recently discussed these matters with me on the telephone, it was likely that Willie would meet others during the rally and speak to them about the research idea. And, so he did. The following day he reported to me on the rally and his brief mention to others about the proposed research. Immediately, I felt comfortable to rely on Willie as a gatekeeper to the research project.

Police Access

After speaking to Willie on 27 January, I immediately called the police station at Grand Bay to speak to the Acting Inspector, Antoine Defoe, to inform him of my interest in conducting research in the community. I also informed him that the project design required that police officers stationed in Grand Bay to be interviewed. I inquired about this possibility, and about the best approach for gaining access to the police at Grand Bay and the leadership at the police headquarters. Again, considering what I knew thus far about the political culture of Grand Bay, the research credibility could be negatively affected if the police discovered that I had contacted them long after contacting the villagers. This could create a complex problem that could make difficult the ability to gain access to the police. Soon after, I received a letter from the Commissioner of the Dominica Police Force, allowing me access to interview any police officer. A letter of access to conduct research in Dominica was also received from the office of the Prime Minister who is also the Minister of Defence. Having had final approval from Simon Fraser University I left Canada for Dominica to gather the research data.

Establishing Credibility in the Residents

I refrained from entering the village for a few days, waiting for what I considered the right moment to make the first appearance. As planned, my arrival in Dominica was near the Grand Bay village feast, St. Isidore; and this would be a good opportunity for

Willie to introduce me to the community. The first appearance was made with Willie one evening on the weekend of the Village feast. He introduced me to many merry celebrants including the Parliamentary Representative, some of his former students (Willie was a school teacher), youths, adults, elders and the "guys on the block". We entered Block 44 (one of the perceived trouble spot of Grand Bay) that night and I had the opportunity to have brief conversations with many of the Rastafarians and Dreads in a building full of marijuana smoke. We walked the Berricoa area for two hours, by which time a wide variety of persons knew of my presence and had an idea about the research project.

The following day I was invited to a Catholic Church service to commemorate the Village feast. There, Willie again introduced me to the audience of over seven hundred and I had an opportunity to thank them for approving the research, inform them of ways to get involved, to tell them about the location of the research office and to remind them to tell their neighbours about the research project. Subsequent information was released to all the other religious denominations and groups in Grand Bay. Appearances were also made on both the Grand Bay local radio station, Radio En Ba Mango, and the Dominica national station, DBS Radio to inform the general public about the research and to further inform residents of Grand Bay about how they could get involved as participants in the research. Posters were placed in designated areas to advertise the research in every section of the village.

Establishing Credibility with the Police

All efforts were made by the researcher to ensure that both the residents of Grand Bay and the police were equally informed about the objectives and stages of the research.

It was important for the police to believe that they were 50 percent partners in the research project to ensure their co-operation. The fact that police members knew that I had already served a period of time as a soldier in the US military (some of this time as a military police officer) and had worked at the United Nations at the Dominica Mission, and had respectable family ties on the Island helped to establish my personal credibility. After I was introduced to the police officers in Grand Bay they expressed curiosity about the purpose of the research and had many questions, mainly about the intended use of the information gathered during the project. With my credibility established, the next major task was to solicit the participation of residents in the focus group discussions. Before that could be done, a research team had to be formed.

The Research Team

In the same manner that I was concerned about finding a comfortable reason to justify selecting Grand Bay as the research site, I was concerned about the selection of a research team. The main concern was to select the research team in such a manner that if someone would ask the question "how come it is these people you chose as your

assistants” (as I was often asked) my response would be one that would not attach a burden of unnecessary bias to the research.

While at the Grand Bay Branch Library one day, I saw a student with a sociology text and I began a conversation with her. She was a sociology major at the only college in Dominica and needed assistance with the concepts of symbolic interactionism. I assisted her and then spoke to her about the possibility of being a research assistant for the research project. She revealed that there were three other college Sociology majors in Grand Bay. They all were later invited to be research assistants and they all agreed. Later, when the question about the selection of research assistants was asked, my response indicated that they were all Grand Bay residents who were college Sociology majors and were selected because the experience would assist their educational endeavours.

Project assistants were added to the research team. They were all members of Youth Against Drugs and Violence (YADAV). The research assistants worked out of the research office and took notes during focus groups interviews. They received training about important research issues as confidentiality, effective note taking and issues of appropriate behaviour. Project assistants primarily did ground work such as locating participants in the community, reminding them of their interview appointments and assisting them with transportation if needed. All of the assistants received certificates of appreciation at the end of the research. Having established the major aspects of credibility and having selected a workable research team, I proceeded to solicit the participation of Grand Bay residents in the various focus group discussions.

Selecting Participants for Focus Groups

Obtaining a random sample of residents and police officers from the focus group discussions would have been very difficult and too time consuming. There was a two-year-old (1994) voters list at the local library but it excluded residents under age 18, who too, were expected to participate in the research project. The 1991 census list was available but two major problems existed. First, Grand Bay has a high percentage of in and out migration and the population may have shifted quite significantly within the last four years. Second, the census records persons by their birth names and many people in the community are known by an alias. Although the project assistants were indigenous to the village, they could not identify some persons from the names given on the census sheet.

The next option was to solicit volunteer participation. The research project was widely publicised by mass media throughout Grand Bay and the rest of Dominica. Project assistants placed posters at designated locations throughout the community and additional solicitation was made on various radio programmes and newspaper articles. Community groups were sent letters and copies of the poster to inform their members about how to participate in the data collection process, and the deadline date for registration (see poster as Appendix A).

After the volunteer registration date had expired the list was cross-checked to ensure that each sub-section of the village was represented by at least one person in each focus group. The registration list for some focus groups exceeded the target number of

ten persons, but in such cases, no one was eliminated, in the belief that some persons whose names are on the list might not have been available on the day of the interview. The size of the focus groups ultimately ranged from seven to eleven participants, with each sub-population and sub-section of the village represented. All of these focus groups were conducted in a central location (adult education classroom) at the Grand Bay Community Centre.

Obtaining participants for focus group discussions with the police, the Grand Bay Health Team and fire-fighters were less complicated than obtaining participants from the village residents. Appointments were made with the leaders of each group and the focus group discussions were conducted at designated locations.

Instruments

Focus groups, in-person interviews, archival review, participant observation and self administered questionnaires were the research instruments used to collect the research data. A combination of these instruments was most desirable because each technique has limitations that can be compensated by the use of another technique. This combination of techniques is called triangulation:

The use of several different research methods to test the same finding is something called *triangulation*, and you should always keep it in mind as a valuable research strategy. Because each research method has particular strengths and weaknesses, there is always a danger that research findings will reflect, at least in part, the method of inquiry. In the best of all worlds, your own research design should bring more than one research method to bear on the topic (Babbie, 1992: 109).

Archival Review

Extensive review of selected university and public libraries revealed very little information related to the research topic. As a result, certain private archives in and out of Grand Bay were reviewed, but still, little relevant information was found. The minutes from meetings held by the Grand Bay Committee for Community/Police Relations, and issues of the *Dominica Police Week Bulletin* were borrowed from a private library.

In-person Interviews

These were conducted with individuals who were identified as important to the research but were not a part of a particular sub-population. They either held an only position in the community or the country (i.e. Police inspector and Prime Minister). The police leaders denied permission for tape-recorded interviews and stated that interviews could be conducted only after they had completed a questionnaire at a date prior to the interview. The in-person interviews with the police leaders were conducted to clarify or elaborate on answers they provided on the questionnaires. All other participants who were selected for in-person interviews agreed to be tape recorded and were not administered questionnaires.

Participant Observation

Throughout ~~the~~ course of the study, field observations were conducted in the community. The observations assisted ~~the~~ researcher in gaining additional insights and understanding of the dynamics between the Grand Bay residents and the police. I attended several community functions (athletic, religious, political, cultural, entertainment) police functions (socials and meetings) and community/police relations related activities (police week sessions, meetings, entertainment, athletic) to witness the behaviour of the two groups when they were apart and together. As Judd, Smith and Kidder (1991:301) state in their text *Research Methods in Social Relations*, participant observation can take many forms, but its main purpose is to interact with human subjects under study to better understand their reality:

Some field-workers participate fully in the lives of the people they study, by being or becoming a member of the group. Others remain outsiders, purely observers. Between these two extremes are countless possibilities, with more or less emphasis on being a participant.

Earl Babbie (1992:286) supports the notion that observation helps a researcher to understand more fully the social phenomenon under study:

One of the key strengths of field research is the comprehensive perspective it gives the researcher. By going directly to the social phenomenon under study and observing it as completely as possible, you can develop a deeper and fuller understanding of it. This mode of observation, then, is especially, though not exclusively, appropriate to research topics and social studies that appear to defy simple quantification. The field researcher may recognise several nuances of attitude and behavior that might escape researchers using other methods.

Participant observation was an important technique because it allowed the researcher to observe, in the village, many of the dynamics that participants discussed in the focus groups and in-person interviews. Additionally, by attending social functions, participating in athletic activities, and socialising with both factions, the researcher was able to observe dynamics, some of which would not have been retrievable from focus groups, in-person interviews or archival review.

For example, I attended four village concerts and observed the interaction of the residents and the police. On three of these occasions I observed a uniformed police officer drinking an alcoholic beverage from a bottle. On two of these occasions I overheard attendees at the function making negative comments about that same observation. Also, in close proximity to two uniformed police officers were young men smoking marijuana, about which I overheard the officers making comments; however, they took no action. During the focus groups and in-person interviews, mention was made of the smoking of marijuana at public functions and that the police usually made no immediate efforts to address the issue. However, no one had mentioned about observing the officers drinking bottled alcohol while in uniform in public. Observing these episodes afforded me additional insights into what the participants meant when they made statements relevant to the lack of police discipline and incompetence.

Also, my attendance Grand Bay Community/Police Relations Committee meetings allowed me to listen to intense community/police relations matters without having to ask the questions. Such participation allowed me to understand the structure of the committee and how its planning process was formulated. This was important in

assisting me in understanding how to formulate strategies that could encourage the Committee to adopt the policy and practice recommendations that were to be made by the research.

Socialising at informal village activities such as playing pool, playing “pick-up” basketball, stopping at “rum shops” (small grocery shops where rum is sold) for a beverage, or sitting in on a street corner conversation provided the researcher with very spontaneous insights into understanding the experiences of the villagers. Some of these insights were entered into a journal as field notes.

Participant observation, however, was not used as a rigid data collection technique for this research. Although it afforded some new insights, participation observation mainly provided a backdrop for understanding much of the information provided by research participants during focus group discussions, in-person interviews and survey questionnaires.

Self Administered Survey Questionnaires

Some police leaders and all of the police officers who were stationed in the Grand Bay Police Station at the time of the research completed survey questionnaires (see Appendix F and G). The questionnaires allowed the police officers stationed in Grand Bay an opportunity to document many of their experiences, but particularly those that they might have found too discomfoting to reveal in the police focus group discussion.

Focus Groups

Focus group discussions were conducted in two forms: individual focus groups and community focus groups. The individual focus groups were comprised of sub-populations from Grand Bay and included: male youths, female youths, female adults; male adults; male elders; female elder; fire fighters; police officers; and members of the Grand Bay Health Team. The community focus group which was conducted last, was comprised of two randomly selected individuals from each of the primary focus groups.

As noted earlier in Chapter 2, the Grand Bay community is divided into different geographical sub-sections, age groups and genders. This means that the residents may have different experiences with the police. To capture these varied opinions and attitudes, focus groups were utilised for the following reasons: First, it allowed for insight into the variety of dynamics from the particular sub-populations in the Grand Bay community. Second, it was cost and time efficient. Third, it allowed particular sub-sections of the Grand Bay population to "tell their story" among others with similar or varied views, therefore adding richness to the discussion and providing the opportunity for the researcher to understand how opinions and attitudes about the police are formed in the village.

Fourth, since the research took the form of action research and was aimed at developing recommendations that could address some major issues identified as problematic by the participants, the focus groups discussions allowed individuals to become actively involved from the beginning of the process. Fifth, the combination of

individual and community focus groups not only allowed the participants an opportunity to speak among other members of their particular sub-population, but it also provided them with the opportunity, during the community focus group, to sit with police officers and residents from other sub-populations in the village for the purpose of planning strategies to address perceived community troubles.

Focus groups afford several advantages because participants are able to interact and generate information related to the particular subject. As Field and Morse (1995:31-32) explain,

One premise related to the use of focus groups is that attitudes and perceptions are not developed in isolation but through interaction with other people.... In selecting participants for a focus group, the researcher selects a relatively homogenous group because the goal in using this technique is to encourage individuals to share their ideas and perceptions. A group is typically composed of 7 to 10 participants who are selected because they are knowledgeable about the topic that is focal to the research. Because the purpose for using focus groups is to produce self-disclosure, homogeneity is seen as reducing perceived risk to the informants. For this reason, several focus groups are generally used within a research project to increase the range of beliefs and values that will be represented in the population under study, with the aim to have heterogeneity between the groups.

Other reasons for utilising focus groups as a primary data collection technique included: representation of members throughout the entire Grand Bay community; it assisted in creating an understanding of the extent of community group dynamics; and, the focus groups facilitated the community coming together to begin talking about issues of their concern. The focus groups also allowed some village residents and police officers an opportunity to identify individuals whom they believed could play key roles in implementing the recommendations made by the research project.

However, certain weaknesses are associated with the use of focus groups as a research technique:

First, the focus group interview allows the participants to influence and interact with each other, and, as a result, group members are able to influence the course of the discussion. This sharing of group control results in some inefficiencies such as detours in the discussion....

Second, data are more difficult to analyze. Group interaction provides a social environment, and comments must be interpreted within that context.... Occasionally participants will modify or even reverse their positions after interacting with others.

Third, the technique requires carefully trained interviewers.... The open ended questions, the use of techniques such as pauses and probes, and knowing when and how to move into new topic areas require a degree of expertise typically not possessed by untrained interviewers.

Fourth, Groups can vary considerably. Each focus group tends to have unique characteristics.... Because of the differences in groups, it is recommended to include enough groups to balance the idiosyncrasies of individual sessions.

Fifth, groups are difficult to assemble. The focus group requires that people take time to come to a designated place at a prescribed time to share their perceptions with others.

Sixth, the discussions must be conducted in an environment conducive to conversation. These factors often present logistical problems and may require participant incentives to participate (Krueger, 1994: 36-73).

Despite these limitations, focus groups still served as an effective instrument for achieving the objectives of this research.

Additional Archival Review

After gaining access, the next major stage was getting into the community to further establish legitimacy. However, before that could be done it was important to visit the local public libraries, private libraries and documentation centre in Dominica to conduct a more intensive literature review. This additional review was important because very little information about Dominica, and specifically Grand Bay, was available in North American libraries. Although I subscribed to the local Dominica newspaper and had also received copies of documents from previous research done in the Grand Bay, it was important to conduct an additional search of local sources.

The additional literature review provided little, yet significant, new information about Grand Bay. Much of the literature were project proposals and reports related to land occupation and the construction of public roads. A brief meeting was organised with Lennox Honychurch, the national historian of Dominica, to ensure that there was nothing new to add to the literature review. He made minor updates and provided some new suggestions.

Conducting the Focus Groups

Since the nature of this research was exploratory, an objective was to present the participants with an environment where they felt private, comfortable and free to express

their opinions without many unnecessary restrictions and concerns. During the introduction, groups were read the consent form (see Appendix B to E). Each group was provided with refreshments, the discussions were all held in the same quiet room, and all groups were asked the same opening question, and subsequent questions, in the same order.

Questions asked in focus groups have a direct bearing on the quality of information gathered, as explained by Richard A. Krueger (1994) in the text *Focus Groups*:

Much of the success of focus groups depends on the quality of the questions. Quality questions require forethought and planning. Successful focus groups begin with well-thought-out questions that are appropriately sequenced. Open-ended questions allow the respondent to determine the nature of the answer. Dichotomous questions and 'why' questions are to be avoided" (Krueger, 1994: 69).

Each group was asked the same opening question; for example, participants in the young females interview were asked, "Explain to me what life is like for you as a young female living in Grand Bay." The police, fire-fighters and health team participants were all posed the question, "Explain to me what life is like for you as a (profession) working in Grand Bay." Subsequent questions were developed from the responses to the opening question. For example, the young men answered that life was boring, confusing and risky; the subsequent question was, "explain what you mean when you say life is boring." The purpose was to have the participants tell their story and identify, on their own, the issues they perceived to be problematic in the village. When these troubles were identified, the focus group participants were asked questions in a format that inquired

about what they believed the cause of the trouble to be, what needed to be done about them, and who should do something about the troubles.

During the focus groups, at least one research assistant sat at the back of the room, out of the immediate view of the participants, and recorded in writing, the contents of the discussions. Because of the perceived sensitivity of the information that was to be gathered from the police, fire-fighters and health team focus groups, and to avoid added pressure to the participants, the research assistants assigned to those discussions were from outside of the Grand Bay Community (Canada and United States natives).

Conducting the In-Person Interviews

The police leaders denied tape recorded interviews and requested self administered questionnaires instead. However, they agreed to subsequent in-person interviews, at a later date, to further discuss the answers they provided on the questionnaires. Community and religious leaders agreed to tape recorded interviews and therefore, were not administered questionnaires. There were no research assistants assigned to any of the in-person interviews. See interview schedules and examples of the survey questionnaires in appendices.

Administering the Survey Questionnaires

Questionnaires were administered to all police officers working at the Grand Bay Police Station at the time the research was conducted. All of the police officers, except the Inspector, sat in one room, in the presence of the researcher and one research assistant, to complete the questionnaires. This process was conducted five weeks before the focus group discussion with the same group of officers. The format of the questionnaires allowed for the officers to document a variety of opinions, but especially those that might cause them too much discomfort to express during the focus group discussion. This process also gave the researcher an opportunity to observe some other issues, such as level reading competence and writing skills that could not have been understood during the focus group discussions. That procedure was useful because it allowed the researcher to observe some of the interpersonal interactions among the officers. These observations were helpful to the researcher in preparing for the focus group discussion with the same group of police officers. For example, while completing the questionnaires, some of the officers periodically made certain comments about Grand Bay residents, but these comments were made only when the research assistant had left the room. This reaction made it apparent that to allow the officers to speak freely, the research assistant indigenous to Grand Bay should not be assigned to the future police focus group discussion.

Content Analysis

After all the data were collected a content analysis was conducted. During the focus groups, a flip chart was used by the researcher to outline the main points made by the participants. One assistant was specifically instructed to concentrate on taking extensive direct quotes while the other focused on following the main points and outlining the discussion.

Since there was only one assistant during the focus groups with the police, fire-fighters and health team, the assistant was instructed to concentrate on recording direct quotes while the researcher focused on getting an accurate outline of the points made by the focus group participants. On some occasions, direct quotes were written by the researcher. Immediately after every focus group, a debriefing was held with the researcher and the assistant(s). The purpose was to compare notes, to discuss ways to maintain uniformity in note-taking and other related issues.

At the end of each briefing, the researcher immediately wrote the contents of the discussion in detailed note form and the research assistants were instructed to do the same within 24 hours. The notes were compared for accuracy and, if major differences occurred, they were addressed and corrected. When all the focus groups were completed, the researcher analysed the findings. The notes from each discussion were compared with one another to identify the common and divergent opinions expressed.

The contents from the in-person interviews were also transcribed (if recording was permitted) and were analysed by the researcher. The interview schedules were

extensively reviewed to understand the nature of community/police relations as expressed by the interviewees. The recommendations made by those who participated in in-person interviews were compared with those from the focus group discussions. Parallels were drawn to form a final analysis.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS

As stated in Chapter 4, focus groups, questionnaires, in-person interviews and archival review were used to collect the research data. Although the various groups and individuals interviewed provided a wide range of information that can be used to understand the many aspects of life in Grand Bay village, this chapter will focus mainly on the research findings that are specific to understanding the dynamics that directly characterise community/police relations in Grand Bay. In keeping with the premise of the conceptual framework, which indicated that a community is composed of a variety of perceptions, the findings of this research will outline both common and less common perceptions that were presented by the research participants.

Also, the perceptions of the residents and the police will be presented separately, and respectively, in four sections. The first part will identify the status of community/police relations in Grand Bay. Second, the dynamics that characterise these relations will be outlined. Third, suggestions that can improve community/police relations will be discussed. The fourth section will outline the various individuals and groups identified by the participants as capable of helping to bring about the required changes for improved community/police relations in Grand Bay.

STATUS OF COMMUNITY/POLICE RELATIONS: RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS

The major findings of the research indicates that the majority of participants, both from the resident and police factions, believed that community/police relations in Grand Bay were very unsatisfactory. The main cause for the status of these relations, as indicated by residents, was insufficient interaction between the two groups. This lack of interaction resulted in each faction forming general assumptions about each other and acting on those assumptions. Little effective attempts were being made by either side to develop organised strategies that would allow them to learn more about each other and work toward any common goal.

Opinions Commonly Expressed

The information gathered from the focus groups and in-person interviews with Grand Bay residents, Grand Bay fire-fighters and members of the Grand Bay health team indicated that the majority of these participants were not satisfied with the status of community/police relations in Grand Bay. Discussions about this dissatisfaction centred around one main theme: The inadequate police presence in the Grand Bay caused most residents to perceive the police as outsiders who had no genuine interest in the village. This resulted in the perception that the police had little or no impact on reducing crime and disorder in the village. The following section will present selected quotes from

participants in various focus groups and in-person interviews who described how they characterised community/police relations in Grand Bay.

One participant from the young female focus group blatantly denied that there were police officers working in Grand Bay. Her views were applauded by some of the other participants in that focus group. She said the Grand Bay police had little effect on the smoking of marijuana in public and the stealing of agricultural crops by drug users:

Police, what police you talking about? In Grand Bay? There haven't got no police in Grand Bay, aha, police. You mean the jokers on the hill up there? People can do what they want and the police cannot do anything about it. Guys can smoke marijuana and use crack openly on the block anytime, even when the police are around and they cannot do anything. I am tired of those guys who steal food from people's garden to sell to buy drugs and the police cannot do anything about that (young female focus group).

The female adult focus group members also expressed their dismay with police services in Grand Bay. Some said the police offered them little protection in the community and primarily responded to calls drug related calls. An adult female expressed concerns about walking alone at night on the dark roads in the village because she believed that anyone who decided to do mischief was almost free from police detection. Additionally, she was concerned about the drug problem in the village that the police appeared to have little control over:

We have no police protection in Grand Bay. It is as if they are not there because they don't do anything. When we call them they will come if it is drug related, but anything else, they always have a reason why they cannot come, or they will say they are coming and will never show up.... I try my best not to walk the streets alone at nights because if something happens there will be little help from the police.... The biggest problem, though, is the marijuana, crack and cocaine problem that is getting worse and nothing is really being done about that (adult female focus group).

Some of the adult male focus group participants believed that the police were not adequately performing their duties in Grand Bay because they were not visible enough in the village "doing the things that they should be doing." They said the police should be more concerned about providing services such as "controlling traffic so that school children can cross the street" instead of "harassing people about smoking marijuana on the streets...."

Grand Bay people do not fuck with police, none of them. They come here with an attitude as if they are here to straighten up Grand Bay people but we are ahead of them. They have no control here. There are many things that they could be doing in the village like controlling traffic so that school children can cross the street but they do not do that. They need to help out Grand Bay people instead of harassing people about smoking marijuana on the streets (adult male focus group).

The young male participants said the Grand Bay police were "a waste of time" and were unable to make arrests and peruse investigations in Grand Bay with the same swiftness and ease as they could in the other villages:

Police cannot have their way in Grand Bay. Some people interrupt them when they are on drug raids on when they try to arrest somebody in the village. They (police) hate when that happens because they cannot have their way. So when they finally make an arrest, there is police brutality. They are a waste of time in Grand Bay because they can do what they want in other villages (young male focus group).

Several elderly female participants expressed strong concerns about the what they termed the "terrible" state of community/police relations in Grand Bay. One of the focus group participants stated that she was concerned about the future of the community since "things are getting worse with the drug problems and the police cannot seem to handle the situation:"

Terrible, is the word that I would use to describe the relationship between the Grand Bay police and the public. Plenty of the young guys interrupt the police when they are on the job. Some of them do not like to see the police in Grand Bay and the police have a hard time doing their work. I am concerned about what will happen to Grand Bay in the future because things are getting worse with the drug problem and the police cannot seem to handle the situation (elderly female focus group).

An elderly male participant stated that throughout his life he had always been aware of some friction between the Grand Bay residents and the police. However, he had never known the police to be afraid of visiting the village as they were in 1995-1996:

Grand Bay is a rough place to live and there are always little troubles every now and then. But I have never in my life seen policemen afraid to come to Grand Bay like last year and this year. After the young man was killed [in November 1995] the problem got worse but it started to become bad since 1994 when there seemed to be the start of plenty crack and cocaine coming in Grand Bay. They must do something to make Grand Bay the sweet place it used to be (elder male focus group).

All the community leaders interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the police services and community/police relations in Grand Bay. One community leader explained:

The people here are very united and some are not always friendly with the police for one reason or the other. The notion that all Grand Bay people are bad is established in the minds of many, and it seems, even the police. People here have always had to fight for what they wanted and this has given them a stigma. Sometimes the police have been opponents to these struggles and this has taken its toll on the relationship between the villagers and policemen. The work of the police is not easy in Grand Bay and I believe that the majority of Grand Bay people are not pleased with their services. But police need to reach-out to the villagers and stop being concerned about the negative stereotypes that people place on Grand Bay (community leader interview).

Status of Community/Police Relations: Opinions Less Commonly Expressed

Aside from the majority of participants who expressed strong dissatisfaction with the delivery of police services and the status of community/police relations in Grand Bay, a significantly smaller number of persons, including the fire-fighters, health team and the adult males, stated that there were some satisfactory aspects of police services in Grand Bay. The fire-fighters and health team participants all stated a belief that the police faced immense difficulties in delivering services to the residents of Grand Bay village and the residents showed signs that they were not satisfied with police services. However, the fire-fighters and health team participants made distinctions between the quality of service that the Grand Bay police officers provided to their respective agencies and that which was provided to the Grand Bay residents. Some members of the Grand Bay health team stressed that while they believe that community/police relations are "strained," their relations with the police were satisfactory.

Participants in the fire fighter focus group were generally pleased with the support that the Grand Bay police provided to their department. According to the station officer,

The police and the firemen work very closely in Grand Bay. We have no problem with them in terms of back-up when we need them. They are our neighbours in the back over there, they are right here. When we call them to back us up for a fire they respond very quickly, almost instantly.... Sometimes when we are short staffed and there is an emergency, or we have to go out for some reason, a police officer will come and man the station for us until we get back, because we may not always have time to close the station. We have a real good working relationship with them (fire fighter focus group).

The fire-fighters revealed that, although their relationship with the police were satisfactory, the same could not be said about community/police relationship and this had an effect on their work:

Fire and police have no problems but there is a lot of friction between some members of the Grand Bay community and the police. The police are not effective in making arrests and doing things that are related to their work because they are not liked in the village. People see them as outsiders there... This poor relationship with the Grand Bay people affects our work because sometimes if there is a fire that was set as a rebellion against the police, we cannot put out the fire because we will get assaulted. Late last year [1995] angry villagers were burning tires in the streets of the village and we were threatened for attempting to put out the fire. So, although the police work well with us, the efficiency of our work is sometimes affected because the police do not have much control over some of the villagers (fire-fighters focus group).

Participants from the Grand Bay health team focus group stated that they too had a good working relationship with the police but there was a "strained state of police/community relations" that affected their work in different ways. In the words of one nurse:

When we need the police for security or for some other reasons, they are always quite reliable. If someone is dead or if there is a trouble and a person gets badly injured, sometimes there is a crowd at the hospital. The police will ask if we are okay and they will hang around until every thing is back to normal.... The big problem the police have is with dealing with the people of Grand Bay. They cannot stop the guys from smoking on the streets and do not have a handle on the drug problem and violence problem. We now see more patients come to the hospital with injuries from violence and for matters that are drug related. Our workload is increased because of that (health team focus group).

One participant from the male focus group said the Grand Bay police were not effective in “upholding law and order in Grand Bay” but he believed this was a good thing:

The police want to uphold law and order in Grand Bay as if they can have control over the people but we are not letting them do that. They are having a hard time here and cannot control people the way they want but this is the way it should be. Grand Bay people have never allowed others to control them and those police should know that. Grand Bay is a place where people should be free-up and I like the fact that the police have no control here (adult male focus group).

The main cause for the status of community/police relations in Grand Bay was identified as an insufficient interaction between the two groups. The following section will present the views of some participants about some of the perceived causes for this lack of interaction.

DYNAMICS THAT CHARACTERISE COMMUNITY/POLICE RELATIONS: RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS

The dynamics that characterise community/police relations in Grand Bay existed on two levels: macro and micro. The macro level referred to certain factors that were imbedded in the community and have affected community/police relations, but were not directly related to police operations. These factors are economic, social, and political. Residents also identified inadequate social interaction between the residents and the police, and the distant location of the Grand Bay police station from the more densely populated section of the community, as the two major micro factors that affected their relationship with the police.

MACRO FACTORS

Economic Factors

Many residents, (and police officers) revealed that they believed the high unemployment rate in Grand Bay placed great restrictions on the ability of the residents and the police to foster good relations. Economic restrictions led to social frustrations that were often expressed by some residents in acts of violence or defiance of the police. Therefore, although the police are not responsible for creating employment in the village, their ability to maintain a good relationship with the residents was affected by social pressures that derived from inadequate means to generate legitimate income. One male youth explained:

...I don't think the police and Grand Bay people will ever get along unless there are more jobs and good things for people to do to make money.... It is really frustrating to live in Grand Bay because the young people have nothing to do. You cannot expect people to agree with the police when they are frustrated about jobs (male youth focus group).

During a social gathering at one of the local shops in the village, one adult male who identified himself as a Rastafarian and a leader of Block 44 offered this explanation:

The police have to understand the job situation here. A lot of the guys that you see hanging out here [Block 44] sell their little ganja [marijuana] to send their kids to school, feed the rest of their family and support the village. What jobs you see in Grand Bay.... What they need to do is to find a way to make money [out] of the weed instead of pressing it (field notes).

Social Factors

As stated in Chapter 3, throughout the history of Grand Bay, residents have been involved in many uprisings, most of which were associated with obtaining various forms of freedom. Many participants expressed a belief that these historical episodes had attached a stigma of anti-authority to Grand Bay residents in general. According to one adult female,

The police working in Grand Bay will not be liked because of a long history of resistance here. After what happened in 1974, young people seems to have a pride in saying that they do not like the police.... They always say that they hate the police. It is like a fashion, a kind of patriotism to Grand Bay to not like the police (adult female focus group).

Other social issues identified by the residents were migration by many young parents who leave their children to the care of grand parents or other relatives. These children are believed to progress through life with little economic support and parental guidance, thus becoming involved in illegal behaviour. Illiteracy, jealousy, drug dependence were also identified as macro social issues that affected community/police relations in Grand Bay, as this quote by an elderly male reveals:

Grand Bay is a tough nut to crack! There is so much jealousy here you will not believe. People hate each other because the other is succeeding, especially if you were not born in the village.... Plenty of the young people do drugs and I believe this affects their ability to be responsible and know right from wrong... A lot of the young guys go overseas to live and get deported because of bad things they did. They come back to the village and spoil the younger ones (elderly male focus group).

Political Factors

Some residents and community leaders believed that the Grand Bay village had been neglected by the former Eugenia Charles Administration (Freedom Party 1980-1995) because the Grand Bay Parliamentary Representative was a member of the opposition. One young female stated,

Grand Bay has been in the opposition for a long time. The people here seem to vote for the opposition all the time. We have not been a part of the Government since Dominica became independent. I believe Grand Bay people suffer for that.... It seems that Grand Bay is always resisting and I believe this is a part of why police are being sent to Grand Bay as punishment (young female focus group).

The existing Grand Bay Parliamentary Representative at the time of the research period said that he believed that politics played a major role in increasing the level of frustration in the village and this he believed, had an effect on community/police relations in Grand Bay.

We do not get a lot of support here. It is politics. Grand Bay is a part of the opposition and I think certain games are being played to discredit certain efforts. There seems to be a sort of satisfaction that some people get when they hear that something bad happened in Grand Bay. People here get tired of this sort of thing and they show their dissatisfaction in many different ways.

MICRO FACTORS

Inadequate Social Interaction

A majority of Grand Bay residents who participated in the research seemed to believe that, although the police live in Grand Bay village, they appeared to be strangers to the community for two reasons. First, the police station is located away from the more densely populated section of the community and this negatively affects the level of interaction between the residents and the police. Second, most residents believed that the police had too many misconceptions about them.

Location of Police Station

The Grand Bay police station is located in Centre, a section of the village that is about one half mile from Berricoa, the most densely populated section of the Grand Bay village. A narrow circular motorable road with an uneven surface and many sizeable pot-holes lead up-hill to the police station. The Grand Bay fire station, hospital, police station and major recreational ground (that includes a basketball court and cricket ground) are all located in that vicinity. In the words of one participant from the young female focus group,

I believe that because the police station is located all the way in Centre, the police just stay up there and do not interact with the people. If the police station was located more in the centre of L'alley, people would be more accustomed to seeing them and it would be easier for them to do their work (young female focus group).

Similarly, some of the young males believed that because the police station was located "far from where most of the people are living" police officers are encouraged to be lazy and not care about "what happens in Grand Bay".

I hardly see the police in the village. They live far from where most people are living and we cannot see what they are doing. It is easy for them to say that they are busy doing work in other villages but we cannot be sure because they live all the way up there. Some of those police hang out at the station without shirt, with short pants and slippers and one day when I went there to make a report I found this was terrible. If the station was in the middle of the village I sure they would dress properly (young male).

Most adult female focus group participants had experiences to add to the notion that the physical location of the police station negatively affected community/police relations. One group member stated,

One day I called the police because of a little problem that was going on in my home. The police said that the transport was out and he did not know if he could come down until tomorrow. Man, this made me mad. I know the police station is on the hill over there but I still believe the police could make an effort to come (adult female focus group).

One adult male said it "is a shame" that the police are "so rarely involved in village activities..." and that they should not be surprised that the many people in the village are dissatisfied with their services:

How would you feel if you lived here and the only time you see the police is when there is a trouble or when they come to the shop in their vehicle and pass right through the village? These guys do not want to be here. Why should they bother? They live up the hill and hardly know what is going on down here. I think it is a shame that they are so rarely involved in village activities like sports and so on (adult male focus group).

Participants in the elderly female focus group also believed that the location of the police station had a major influence on community/police relations and one woman

questioned the government's rationale for building the police station in its existing location:

The government said that the police station is located where it is because this was the only place that they could find affordable land that was big enough for the building. But, to my mind, from what I am seeing going on in Grand Bay, if the police station was in L'alley, most of those problems like what is happening with the drugs would not be happening (elderly female).

Some elderly male participants gave accounts of what community/police relations were like when the police station was more centrally located in the village. One elderly man explained,

The [police] station was situated first in L' alley and then Fete L'alley in the 1920's, as I remember. It was then moved to Geneva in the 1970's to 80's. When I was growing up and the station was in L'alley, the police and the people were living good. Police could walk the streets at any time and not prevented from performing their duties..., and they were not attacked by the young people. Today, the young people do not want the police to be in the village because they want to protect their drugs. (elderly male focus group).

A community leader added that while the remote location of the police station is a crucial contributor to the status community police relations in the village, equally important is the lack of effort by many police officers to interact with the community:

People say all the time that the remote location of the police station is a problem because it is very far for people to walk and make reports and they hardly see the police in the other parts of the village. That is true, ...but equally important is the lack of will by the police officers to reach-out to the Grand Bay people and get involved in the community (community leader interview).

Opinions Less Commonly Expressed

Although the majority of the residents interviewed indicated that the location of the Grand Bay police station contributed significantly to the status of community/police relations in Grand Bay, a smaller number of participants identified other causes. Some of the participants from the fire-fighters focus group made comments which indicated that they shared similar views as one of the colleagues who said, "The problems with high unemployment in the village causes most residents to be sympathetic to drug dealers in the village and help them hide from the police" Similarly, another fire-fighter said,

The gap that exists between the police and the villagers exists because the drug dealers do not want the police in the village and many other residents have no choice but to act in public as if they are against the sale of drugs in their community, but in a secret way, they benefit from the sales and justify why the drugs are being sold by blaming unemployment (fire fighters focus group).

The majority of participants from the health team focus group attributed the status of community/police relations in Grand Bay to factors other than the location of the police station. One health team member stated that an "anti-authority mentality" of the residents was the reason for strained community/police relations in Grand Bay:

All the time I listen to people saying that the police station is too far for them to go and make reports and the station should be in the middle of their village. But, what they need to realise is that the Grand Bay police serve the entire Grand Bay district and their village is the only one with major problems but the police station is not only for them.... If Grand Bay people complain that the police station is too far, what should Petite Savanne and Fond St. Jean people say? I believe that the major problem is not with the location of the police station as much as it is with the attitude of the people that live in Grand Bay.... They have an anti-authority

mentality that generally causes them to dislike the police. It is a part of a subculture to hate the police.

One religious leader attributed what he called "a sense of fiery independence of the Grand Bay people" to the status of community/police relations in the village:

Grand Bay people have a strong sense of what is right and wrong. They are a very charitable people and their basic premise is that every man should have a chance to eat. They know well of the unemployment situations in the village and because of that some people make a living through illegitimate means to feed their families, buy fancy things and service generally. They have therefore created a system for survival by protecting each other even if the law believes that some of the actions of these people are wrong. It is a type of fiery independence of the Grand Bay people... that puts its people first and the police are viewed as enemies to this survival strategy. This is what I believe is the big reason that there are all these conflicts between the police and the people who live here (religious leader interview).

Residents' Perceptions of Police Misconceptions

The majority of residents who participated in the research revealed that, in addition to the distance of the police station from the majority of the population, the many misconceptions that the police possessed about the residents of Grand Bay was another reason that explained the poor status of community/police relations in the village. This section will not list many of the selected quotes from each focus group and interview because the quotes relevant to this notion of police misconception are very similar. Rather, selected quotes that captured the general essence of the statements made by most of the participants will be presented. The following quote from a member of the young

male focus group reflects many of the points that were repeated throughout each of the eight individual focus groups:

Police get sent to Grand Bay as a punishment and are afraid to walk the streets by themselves because they believe that all Grand Bay people are bad and are out to get them.... I believe because Grand Bay has a rough history and there is a drug problem and many guns in the village, the police are afraid to come to the village on their own and sometimes they will not come down at night time, even in a group. If a person from the village calls them for some problem... They do not get to know the people of Grand Bay and have many misconceptions that they use to judge us. If they mingled more they would get to know that what they think about Grand Bay people... that we are no good, trouble makers, and hate police, is not true for most people (young male focus group).

One community leader indicated that, since the 1974 Geneva incident when the estate of Nassief was burned, the police have increased their scepticism about Grand Bay residents:

Poor relationship between the police and the people of Grand Bay has its modern origins from back in 1974. The take-over of Geneva estate involved a lot of public defiance. Police action was necessary to counteract the protesters and many villagers despised that because they thought it was the right thing to do. Today, many of the young men who were very young at the time of the Geneva uprising are grown-ups and have internalised defiance of the police. In the same way, many of the young policemen grew up hearing that Grand Bay people are bad boys because of what happened in Geneva in 1974. That old stigma has not been erased (community leader interview)

SUGGESTIONS TO IMPROVE COMMUNITY/POLICE RELATIONS: RESIDENT'S PERCEPTIONS

There was one major theme from among the many suggestions made by most research participants about ways to improve the relationship between the police and

Grand Bay residents: A programme needs to be developed to allow for more open dialogue between the residents and the police. The suggestions from the young male focus group were as follows:

- “[The] distance between the police and the community members needs to be reduced.”
- “A programme needs to be set-up with the main aim of improving police and community relations by having more discussions with the police”.
- “Police officers need to respect themselves and other members of the community.”
- “Police officers need to be taught about the community before they come to work there.”

Some suggestions from the adult male focus group included:

- “A police/community [relations] committee needs to be set up to create dialogue between police and community people to deal with the problems between them.”
- “Police should be involved in social activities.”
- “More locals should be employed as police officers.”
- “Police officers should wear uniforms when they are in the village so that people will respect them more.”

The suggestions of the adult females were similar to that of the adult males but additionally, one participant stated that the police officers needed to develop a particular policing strategy to be used in the village. Additionally, police officers needed to treat with more confidentiality the evidence that they received during investigations.

- “There needs to be a catalyst to increase and improve interaction between the police and the residents.”
- “Police need to develop a philosophy of policing and use it.”
- “Police officers need to visit village schools, give talks, and acquaint themselves with the youth.”
- “Officers should attend some community group meetings.”
- “More Grand Bay people should be employed as police officers.”
- “Police officers should behave in more respectable ways so that they can be respected.”
- “Officers need to be more trustworthy and secretive with information people give to them.”

Participants from the young female focus group added to this list of suggestions the building of a police sub station in the more densely populated section of the village.

One of the young female participants said,

The location of the police station is a big problem as most of us are saying but the government is always talking about not having enough money. I do not think it would be possible to build a whole new other building in L'alley. A small police office can be built there instead (young female focus group).

Other suggestions from the young female focus group included the following:

- "The current community/police relations committee should be expanded to deal directly with police and community relations."
- They should develop social programmes so that the police and the people can get to know each other better and begin some sort of trust for each other."
- "Police need to change their tactics and instead of trying to brutalise the public, they need to show that they care."
- "Some police women should be assigned to Grand Bay and more efforts should be made to employ Grand Bay people as police officers."
- "The police commissioner must stop making stupid comments in the media about Grand Bay."

Some participants from the health team focus group believed that an effective community/police relations committee would be useful but first, "influential people in Grand Bay" should begin condemning the wrongful actions of some residents. One participant stated,

It is not really the fault of the police. It is more the fault of the community residents. Educated people [in the village] expect the situation to be addressed [but they] give an impression that things are not so bad. The conflict with the police and the residents is blamed on unemployment, but influential people need to state the situation as it is and stop dancing around the issue (health team focus group).

Another health team participant added:

There is a big drug problem in the village, a lot of young people walk around with weapons like knives all the time and the police are afraid of the people because they think they are all bad and against them. That is the issue and influential people need to call it like it is (health team focus group).

One of the health team participants believed that influential people in the village may be afraid to speak out against the public because they are afraid of losing political support or because some of their relatives are involved in questionable behaviour:

They may be reluctant to saying what they think. If they condemn too much wrongdoing in Grand Bay, they may lose political support. The children and relatives of some influential people are involved in drugs and that could make it harder for them to speak out (health team focus group).

All of the community leaders interviewed suggested that a committee comprised of residents and the police should be established to address issues that could improve community/police relations in Grand Bay. However, some of the community leaders believed the Commissioner of the Dominica Police Force was not genuinely interested in establishing safety in Grand Bay. In the words of one community leader,

I believe the police commissioner gets an erection every time something bad happens in Grand Bay. He makes many general silly statements in public about Grand Bay and the leadership of the village. I don't think these guys are serious about the problems in the community (community leader interview).

Opinions Less Commonly Expressed

Not all the participants believed that measures should be taken to improve community/police relations in Grand Bay. Additionally, some participants were very pessimistic about workable solutions to community/police conflicts in Grand Bay. One participant from the male adult focus group stressed that the residents and the police would “never unite in Grand Bay” because the police are too deceitful:

It will take one thousand years for the police and the Grand Bay people to unite. The police are a bunch of crooks. You cannot trust them. They are deceitful, very deceitful. They act as though they want to be your friend but what they are trying to do is to find a way to get you. Police and Grand Bay people will never unite in Grand Bay. I do not think any thing can be done (adult male focus group).

One male youth believed that the tension which existed between the police and the residents should not be removed because it was necessary for some people to “make a living:”

I don't think we should try to make the police and the villagers closer because since the police are afraid to come in Grand Bay, we can live a free-up life and not have to worry about them hustling us. If they stay away it will be less police brutality too. Some fellers... can only make a living because they can scare the police (male youth focus group).

The majority of fire-fighters seemed to have believed that the conflicts that existed between the residents and the police could not be addressed unless more legitimate means of employment became available in the village:

As long as there is such a big unemployment problem in Grand Bay, there will always be a problem between the police and the residents. It is not all Grand Bay people that have problems with the police. It is mainly the guys on Block 44 and the drug dealers. Some people in the village that are honest and hard working find themselves covering-up for those guys

because they say things like, 'what else can these guys do, there is no work for them to do' (fire-fighter focus group).

One religious leader believed that divine intervention was the only thing that could address community/police conflict in the village:

“People can do all they want and say what they want but the only power that can change conditions in Grand Bay is the Lord. People need to pray more and start believing more in God” (community leader interview).

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR CHANGE?

The majority of participants from both the focus groups and in-person interviews stated that they believed an improvement in community/police relation in Grand Bay depended on the following:

- All individual residents;
- all village groups or organisations;
- the Grand Bay police;
- leadership of the Dominica Police Force;
- the mass media;
- the national government.

However, most of the participants stated that the committee for community/police relations in Grand Bay should act as the catalyst to bring about the needed changes by soliciting the involvement of every individual or group that can assist in this endeavour. In the words of one community leader, “I am personally responsible as a villager in Grand

Bay and so are all the other individuals. The churches, youth groups, schools, police, village council and business people must all play a part” (community leader).

The essence of this statement was reflected in every focus group discussion and in-person interview.

In summary, the majority of residents who participated in the research indicated that the existing status of community/police relations in the village was unsatisfactory. Most participants believed that although there were some macro factors such as political social and economic that affected community/police relations indirectly, the major dynamics that directly affected the status of community/police relations in the village were the distance of the Grand Bay police station from the most populated section of the village and the many misconceptions that the police had about the residents. Many suggestions were made to improve community/police relations in Grand Bay. Most popular among these suggestions were an increase in active police involvement in community activities, developing a committee to overlook issues relevant to community/police relations in Grand Bay; a change of police behaviour that is more respectable and community oriented; and the building of a police outpost in L'alley. Most participants indicated that the necessary changes can only come about through a combined effort of many individuals and groups including residents, the police, and mass media.

STATUS OF COMMUNITY/POLICE RELATIONS: POLICE PERCEPTIONS

During the data collection process of this research (June-October, 1996) a maximum of fourteen police officers were assigned to the Grand Bay police station. Research questionnaires were completed by thirteen of these fourteen police officers. One police officer did not complete the questionnaire because he was attending court duty in another village on the day the questionnaires were administered. These thirteen police officers included one inspector, one acting inspector, one sergeant, two corporals and eight line-level officers. The average time served by these officers in the Dominica Police Force was eleven years (ranging from 2 years to 24 years), and fifteen months (ranging from 1 month to 42 months) was the average time officers were stationed at Grand Bay. Questionnaires were also completed by the Superintendent of the Southern Division, (of which Grand Bay is a part) and the Commissioner of the Dominica Police Force.

All the police officers who participated in the research indicated that they were not satisfied with the status of community/police relations in Grand Bay. Most of the police officers expressed a high level of dissatisfaction with the quality of services that they were able to provide to the Grand Bay village. In identifying the cause of this problem, some of the most common responses given by the officers included the following:

- limited staffing;
- lack of assistance from residents;

- the distant location of the police station from the most populated section of the village;
- terrible working conditions at the Grand Bay police station;
- assignments to Grand Bay as a form of punishment;
- pressure from high level police officials to avoid embarrassing the police force;
- village drug and unemployment problems;
- lack of police support from some community leaders.

The police participants made many suggestions to address the issues they believed that negatively affect community/police relations in the village. Some of these suggestions included: increasing the level of police interaction in the village; getting residents more involved in the safekeeping of their community; and, community leaders condemning in public the wrongful actions of residents. Less commonly expressed suggestions included, killing the “so called bad guys” and leaving the Grand Bay alone so that the residents could kill each other.

Status of Community/Police Relations: Opinions Commonly Expressed

In describing community/police relations in Grand Bay police officers used words such as “very unpleasant,” “not good at all,” “poor,” “very poor,” and “in a very bad state.” Most of the officers stated that they believed policing Grand Bay was more difficult than policing other villages. One officer wrote,

Policing Grand Bay is tough unlike the other villages, for instance, when ever an officer goes in the village, he should always expect the worse so he always has to be alert. An officer should always be alert in any case but in Grand Bay it is too much tension. It's like the people are always ready for a battle with the police. Another thing, you never know who to talk to or who to say hello to (police questionnaire).

Another police officer said that because of the many challenges that were involved in policing Grand Bay, when some police officers get transferred from Grand Bay to other villages, they often are reluctant to arrest persons for minor possessions of marijuana:

It hurts to see guys smoking weed in your face and there is nothing you can do about it, while if that happened in any other part of the Island an arrest will surely be made. That's why after working in Grand Bay you have no feeling to arrest anyone for smoking marijuana in other communities (police questionnaire).

One police leader said he did not believe that the Grand Bay residents were pleased with the quality of police services and while he was optimistic about future community/police relations in the village, he knew such relations were very undeveloped:

I do not believe that the villagers are currently satisfied with policing in the village.... I believe that a greater percentage of villagers are in support of the police than against. However, they believe that the police are not doing enough ... much more is required to bring the village back to normal. I am of the opinion that police/community relations in my entire jurisdiction are in the baby stages and need a lot of nurturing to bring it to acceptable standards (police leadership interview).

Most of the officers stated that the very unsatisfactory state of community/police relations in Grand Bay in conjunction with the unsatisfactory working conditions at the police station, made their work "challenging", "frustrating", "depressing" and "stressful" (Police focus group and questionnaires). Some officers stated that if they had a choice they would not have been stationed at Grand Bay. One police officer wrote,

If I had a choice I would not (emphasis in original) be stationed in Grand Bay. One of the main reasons is that police and public relations are in a state of disrepair and politics seems to have played a major role to it being so. Your powers as a police officer (arrests) seems to be so very limited and the half-literate people are adding injury to insult (police questionnaire).

One other police officer noted that while patrolling the streets of Grand Bay he had encountered many challenges that made him feel “unwanted:”

Working in the village of Grand Bay is a very difficult task to perform. It burdens me to be dressed in uniform patrolling through the village of Grand Bay and observing persons committing offences, and when an attempt is made to arrest such persons, other members of the public turn a blind eye on the offender actions and look at the police as the offender. On many occasions, persons have taken drugs in my presence in the village of Grand Bay and told me that I cannot do anything to them. It makes me feel unwanted and unrespected (Police questionnaire).

Another police officer stated during the focus group discussion that most residents provided assistance to the police only when he or she was directly affected by the actions of another resident and wanted justice done. Otherwise, many villagers simply wanted to impose their own version of justice:

The only time we get assistance is if they are directly affected, that is if their drugs have been stolen. When they aren't affected, they have nothing to do with it. When police shoot a guy, there are big protests, but when the community shoots someone, it's because he is a rat and should have been killed.... If there is a murder at 7 p.m., we will ask them to bring the body to the hospital and we will go down there to investigate in the morning. It is a matter of personal safety too. Sometimes you have no choice (police focus group).

Another police participant in the focus group discussion said that much of the trouble that they experienced with the residents occurred during the carnival season in Dominica. Some people dressed in costumes committed mischief on other persons and personal property in the village. One police officer predicted that the 1997 Grand Bay carnival would involve much violence (according to police reports it did). He believed that this violence was a cultural tradition that the residents wanted to protect:

Stay for Carnival and see the men in masks cutting down poles with axes and the leaders say this is a cultural tradition and should stay. It used to

happen with stones and axes and now it's happening with fire and guns; who can change it? They cherish this as the culture. The people of Grand Bay protect each other and stand behind each other even if they are enemies.... They are together as a culture, from slavery time. A rebellious attitude and don't want it to change. The same mentality, also in St. Thomas, both sexes. Grand Bay has a reputation of being threatening, they hold on to that and protect it (police focus group).

Opinions Less Commonly Expressed

Although all the line level police officers indicated that community/police relations in Grand Bay were poor, some police leaders believed otherwise:

The majority of Grandbarians welcome the presence of the police in their community and enjoy a pleasant relationship with the officers. Police are in regular contact with the public at large. The information flow is appreciable, the crime detection rate is fair. Personnel are able to operate without fear, in general (police leadership interview).

Another police supervisor said,

We do the best that can be done at this time in Grand Bay. Considering the fact that there are so many odds against us in terms of limited resources and man-power, the police in Grand Bay are doing quite well. There is room for improvement, but overall, things are fine (police leadership interview).

DYNAMICS THAT CHARACTERISE COMMUNITY/POLICE RELATIONS: POLICE PERCEPTIONS

Similar to the residents who participated in the research, many of the police participants suggested that their relationship with the public was affected by both macro and micro level factors. The macro level referred to factors that were imbedded in the

community and had an effect on community/police relations, but were not directly related to police operations. Eleven macro factors were identified:

- lack of available legitimate employment;
- unclear reasons for feelings of frustration by many in the village;
- teenage pregnancy;
- a low rate of adult literacy ;
- migration, especially by parents who leave young children to caretakers;
- substance abuse;
- health care inefficiencies;
- unorganised recreation;
- acts of black magic that are motivated by jealousy;
- inadequate care for the mentally ill;

The micro level referred to factors that affected community/police relations and were directly related to police operations. Such factors included:

- limited staff
- little assistance from residents
- location of the police station
- working conditions at the grand bay police station
- assignments to Grand Bay as punishment
- pressure from supervisors to avoid embarrassment
- no assistance for troubled police officers
- drug problems in the village
- lack of police support from some community leaders

In this section emphasis will be placed on the micro factors since they are stated by the participants as having direct effects on community/police relations in the village.

MICRO FACTORS

Limited Staffing

Many of the police officers believed that more police officers were needed in

order to serve better the entire Grand Bay district, but especially the village of Grand Bay:

Demands by the other communities served by that station do not permit devotion of an adequate amount of police time and energy at Grand Bay. More personnel need to be posted within the community to permit for a more regular presence (police leadership interview).

One line level officer said “limited man-power” restricted police officers from taking aggressive actions with offenders in the village:

We are outnumbered by far in the village. The people here are very united and two or three policemen on a patrol cannot do much when a mob of people attack you. There are too few policemen here to serve such a large district so it is impossible to spend enough time in Grand Bay. But we cannot bring more people here because this station is too small and already overcrowded (police focus group).

Little Assistance from Residents

Some of the police officers interviewed provided some accounts of their experiences with the villagers to demonstrate their belief that most of the villagers were unwilling to co-operate with the police. One officer explained:

You can't work as you like to because the public doesn't assist you. It is difficult to get information from them in reports. You know they are witnesses, but they don't want to tell you what happened. There is 0% public assistance.... For example, a boat came up two weeks ago with no people in it. We seized the engine, no one has said anything about it or how it got there. Not one piece of information about it and we seized the 2 engines and petrol.... They say it's the first time they've seen it. In any other community, there would be rumours. They will ask you questions about why you are in the community but you can't get to step two.... It is a general attitude of phobia to police (police focus group).

Another officer said that sometimes when officers went to L'alley to respond to reports made by residents there, they were often interrupted, and to the dissatisfaction of the victims, they had to return to the police station, unable to make an arrest:

...When reports are made and we go out there and respond to those reports, most of the time arrests can't be made because we would be fought against and stoned at. So, by this they must be unsatisfied when we attend to their reports and these things are happening. We leave [the village] and go back [to the police station]... Nothing can be done. When I say nothing I mean no arrests can be made even if you see RASTAS with their marijuana smoking. This place is sick (police questionnaire).

Some officers believed that many of the villagers simply had a deep hatred for the police, sometimes for no reason, and that this affected the amount of assistance that they were willing to provide to the police:

Because of their own negative Anti-Police Community Policy, they don't want to be law abiding citizens and because of that they just hate police. Even children who do not have any personal reason to hate police will just hate police.... In Grand Bay they unite, but it is just a pity that a lot of the times they unite to fight against the police (police questionnaire).

One officer believed that, because of the level of unity that existed in the community historically, some persons remained reserved and were afraid to assist the police because this would appear as a sign of community betrayal:

I try to meet with the community and try to build a trust in them. I want to let them know that I am a friend to them. Gaining trust and confidence in the people is the greatest challenge.... Because of these two factors, the Grand Bay community is very much reserved and they keep to themselves when ever it comes to assisting the police. I believe it is a historical factor. I understand it has been so from long time. I also believe fear has a part to play. The community is afraid of assisting the police (police questionnaire).

Police officers reported that some residents went as far as interrupting the police while they were in pursuit of an arrest, even though the residents knew little about why the arrest were being attempted:

The people of Grand Bay protect each other and stand behind each other even if they are enemies. People on the bus from Grand Bay will stop and yell at the police to let go of someone they're arresting, and they don't know anything about it. The Parliamentarian keeps backing up the people in Grand Bay; also the police can't do anything (police focus group).

Because of this lack of community assistance, some reports made by residents were left unattended by the police. One officer explained, "Some reports have to be unattended to because of the attitude of the villagers and most people do not want to give police officers information" (police questionnaire).

Location of the Police Station

Many comments made by the police officers indicated that most of them believed that the remoteness of the police station from the centre of the village had many negative effects on community/police relations and on the ability of the police to provide better services to the residents of Grand Bay village. According to one police leader,

I believe that the current location of the Grand Bay police station has a negative impact on police community relations, because it is out of the way and creates a division between the police and the community. Because of lack of interaction, the people see the police as belonging to one community and they to another (police leadership interview).

Another police leader said that the location of the police station was unfortunate and consideration should be given to building a police outpost in the centre of the village:

The station's (insecure) location so far removed from the village proper is unfortunate. As financing for the lands and construction of a new building within the village itself would be difficult to find, and considering competing demands by the Police Force elsewhere, consideration must be given to finding temporary accommodation in the L'alley when the law enforcement climate is most conducive (police leadership interview).

Seventy two percent of the officers who completed a questionnaire believed that the police station was too isolated from the residents. Some of them also believed that if the station was situated at a more central location in the village less community conflicts would occur. In this regard, some of the statements made by the police were as follows:

- "I think the station is too isolated. Although things are not good, I think if the station was situated somewhere in the interior we could control things better" (police questionnaire).
- "The police station is too far away from the public and the people see less police presence in the village. Some people also find the police station is too far to make certain reports" (police questionnaire).
- "I believe that because the station is so far from the people, it gives them the impression that we do not want to socialise with them and that we are different, which is definitely not the case. In summing up, it has a negative impact" (police questionnaire).
- "The building is too far away from the people" (police questionnaire).

Working Conditions at the Grand Bay Police Station

Seventy seven percent (n=10) of police officers who were stationed in Grand Bay at the time of the research project, and completed a questionnaire, indicated that police leadership at the station was either "excellent", "very good", "good" or "okay." Twenty

three percent (n=3) believed it was “bad”, “poor”, or “not being at the standard it should be”. However, few of the officers expressed confidence in the leadership of the Dominica Police Force. Some police officers did not provide any response to the question that asked for their evaluation of leadership of the Police Force; however, most of those who answered were dissatisfied with the leadership of their “top brass.” Selected quotes that demonstrated some of the opinions that some of the officers had about the leadership of the organisation are presented later in this chapter.

Ninety two percent (n=11) of the officers who were assigned to the Grand Bay police station and lived there (one police leader did not reside at the station) stated that living conditions at the station were inadequate. Among the observations offered by the officers were the following:

- “The working conditions at the Grand Bay station [are] a disgrace. There are too many men packed up in one little barrack room. The entire station is just a miserable little box. Generally the station in its current condition is just not suitable to work in” (police questionnaire).
- “Working conditions in terms of the building is real bad but working conditions in terms of the men working together it is good. We have a good understanding of each other” (police questionnaire)
- “The general working condition at the Grand Bay police station is poor” (police questionnaire).
- “Pathetic, may be sub-human. Only Dominica police could live in conditions like this. Cramped sleeping quarters, broken furniture, leaking roof, just to mention a few” (police questionnaire)
- “Deplorable” (police questionnaire).
- “...The dilapidated state of the station itself dampens your ego at work” (police questionnaire).
- “Very limited supplies” (police questionnaire).

During the police focus group discussion, some police officers made comments similar to those that were written on the questionnaires about living conditions at the

Grand Bay police station. One officer said he believed that police work was not intended for persons from the upper class:

Living conditions here are awful here. The people in charge don't seem to care about it. The tables are old, we eat here, recreate here and this is where people have to come to make reports. Guarding officer is in uniform and the rest respond to reports. Conditions have a lot to do with your output. This has been going on for years and we are always complaining. The force is for people who need it. We should get rich, intelligent and independent people, but they won't because they couldn't live here. Policing is the most difficult job, because everyone hates us. Our pride is destroyed. Should I dip into my own pocket to repair a government building? It's not fair. We hardly have any money to eat well. Should we pay someone to fix it and clean it? (police focus group).

Assignments to Grand Bay Police Station as Punishment

Eighteen percent (n=2) of the police officers (police leaders not included) who were stationed in Grand Bay at the time of the research said they were sent to that station as a form of rotation because new recruits in the Dominica Police Force were sent to different villages to develop a diverse experience. However, 82 percent (n=9) of the police officers who had received indefinite assignments to Grand Bay believed that their assignments were intended to be a punishment. During the focus group discussion, one officer referred to the station as "another penitentiary." He explained:

When we get sent to Grand Bay, the first thing that is often asked is "what did you do wrong.... This is a place for punishment. No sooner you make a mistake you get punishment. This is referred to as another penitentiary. Men are often transferred here as a punishment. You can't speak your mind in the police force and not get punished somehow (police focus group).

Other officers wrote similar comments on the questionnaires. The following quotes reflects some of those opinions:

Sometimes we are frustrated because of the reason why we were sent to work at Grand Bay. To be honest, almost everyone working in Grand Bay were sent there as a form of punishment and that alone can cause one to have a lazy attitude, while those people who want to work there are never sent there” (police questionnaire).

One police officer believed that speaking against the operations of the Dominica Police Force or criticising the upper management of the organisation were almost guaranteed grounds for punishment:

I am stationed in Grand Bay because I am being punished (emphasis in original). You are usually victimised for expressing your views, especially when the head (upper management) is the topic of discussion, or when the operation of the force is being criticised” (police questionnaire).

Pressure from Supervisors to Avoid Embarrassment

Some officers believed that the police supervisor in Grand Bay was too concerned about embarrassment and was afraid to be aggressive with the residents:

He is afraid of being aggressive and put law and order in the village. The way that some leaders want to say that you do a good job is to be able to visit you in the hospital and say that you did a good job, or to do as much as you want to prevent embarrassment. This needs to be changed. There are enough problems out there against us to have to worry about what the supervision will say about the way we do our job, if more arrests are to be made. We cannot control the drug problem because if we are to be effective, a lot of people will die and this will be too embarrassing for the top administration (police questionnaire).

Some police officers who participated in the focus group discussion elaborated on the effects that trying to avoid embarrassing their supervisors has on their work:

- “Those in charge don’t want an embarrassment. No one likes to talk to the media, answer questions or justify their actions to the community. They don’t like making excuses. Because of that, you have to lie low and it affects your output. Professional diplomacy! You can’t apologise to someone if you’re right. It affects your mode of operation” (police focus group).
- “For example, Ninja is terrorising farmers: he is a predator, we have 3 warrants for him, but we know the minute we arrest him he will die; we’ve already shot at him 2 times and he is aggressive. But we can’t embarrass the administration. So we have to leave him be. He won’t pay the money and has a tremendous reputation. Farmers are afraid of Ninja. If you shoot the Ninja for \$240, it will be questioned and there will be a revolt, a demonstration, by the farmers and the community you’re trying to help. We aren’t officially advised to leave him alone, but we know not to bother him” (police focus group).
- “Some of us run from the people instead of shooting at them to avoid embarrassing the administration. I play coward and it will make me a dumb and stupid policeman. I run from the block and this does not encourage anyone to respect me” (police focus group).

Some police officers believed that a major aspect of the pressure to avoid embarrassment was the politics that were involved at the highest level of the Dominica Police Force. Seventy three percent (n=8) of the participants expressed a lack of confidence in the leadership of the Force and believed that this placed major restrictions on their work performance:

- “The leadership of the police force is very, very poor. There is absolutely no foresight. It cares very little about the well-being and the welfare of the men. Their sole concern is to ensure that the work is done, irrespective to the condition that exist. The top brass holds very petty grudges and victimises for unfounded reasons. They spend their 8-4 hoping and praying that a police officer falls short in order to punish him. In other words, there is a very small margin for errors (duty wise) with the present head. If you excuse my language, they are ‘shitty’ and a bunch of ‘jokers’” (police questionnaire).
- “The leadership of the Police Force is too limited to the politics of the government” (police questionnaire).
- “The leadership of the Dominica Police Force is not at all good, in that politics plays too much of a great role in it. The leaders too many

times try to please the government rather than the men that they work with" (police questionnaire).

- "Waste of time -- there is no leadership" (police focus group).

No Assistance for Troubled Police Officers

Some police participants said that adding to the frustration of their work was the fact that there was no departmental counselling available for them. One officer described how he and some other officers release stress:

[We] Talk shit! Everyone has his own way - sex, promiscuity, exercise, alcohol. But deal with personal problems privately. It's the worst thing to bring domestic problems into the Force. There is no confidentiality in the Force. Word spreads fast. If you tell someone your personal business then everyone else will know and this might cause you further shame so you keep it to yourself and deal with the stress in what ever way you find is best (police focus group).

One officer explained the consequences of having no counselling available by explaining an incident that occurred during the research period at the neighbouring village of Pichlin. An intoxicated police officer allegedly assaulted a Pichlin villager. One officer said that the fellow officer had indicated signs of personal problems but no one came to his assistance:

Man is weak, you can offend someone if you approach them and talk to them. They want to use their own judgement. I always listen. There should be experts to talk with them to deal with them before it gets to be a problem. Leaders should have pulled him out sooner. He was destined to failure. Don't wait for them to fall. It gives you an inferiority complex. We are called "parliament's dogs", told we are getting blood money for salary. True that they designed police for the underprivileged. We are always a target, anywhere we go. No one thinks of police as professionals. All of this makes it depressing, and fatalistic. You go home and want to pass it to family (police focus group).

Some officers mentioned that the morale of the profession was being negatively affected by the inappropriate behaviour of some members from within their ranks. One officer said that some police officers need to show greater respect to young women and conduct their lives in a manner that brings respect to the profession:

Policemen are dating young girls when they are married, doing drugs, and this affects your image. You must be a monument in both public and private life. We should be this way, but men have weaknesses. We have to release our pressures and enjoy ourselves. But it will affect us when we approach people, because they may think we have different motives (police focus group).

Drug Problems in the Village

Drug related problems in Grand Bay were affected by both macro and micro factors in the Grand Bay community. Most police officers stated that a high unemployment problem and a “serious drug problem” were among the many external factors that created a major hindrance to workable solutions toward community/police relations in Grand Bay. However, the problem is also related to direct police operations:

There are a lot drugs in this community and they [the villagers] want to stay and smoke that drug in the public road and if and when the police would intervene, it would be a war. Therefore, to avoid this they stay one way and the police chose to stay the other way.... When the police has no trouble with them they tend to [chase] the police by sending bottles, stones and anything they get, at us. Our efforts have not been effective with the drug problems in Grand Bay (police questionnaire).

A police leader offered this explanation: “...There is the drug problem, the tendency to acquire firearms.... The sheer number of dynamics, conspicuously

unemployed, idle and unskilled people on the roads, consumed by the feeling that no one cares, requires attention..." (police leadership interview).

Another police leader offered an explanation of how many factors combined to create obstacles to establishing better community/police relations in Grand Bay:

The village of Grand Bay is one of the most difficult to operate in presently for the following reasons: The structural arrangements (sub-culture), the little or no support from the public, a high percentage of the villagers are involved in anti-police activities which are most likely to bring a fast income to families in the face of poverty. In order to do so, they guard themselves against the law enforcers. For that reason, they arm themselves with dangerous weapons such as cutlasses and fire-arms. Fire-arms are being discharged high day and drugs dealing are made with no regard for the legislation of the land. In order to maintain their illegal activities, they branch off from one crime to another.... The village structured arrangements create coverage for wanted persons and not enough easy access for police operations (police questionnaire).

Lack of Police Support from Some Community Leaders

Most of the police officers interviewed believed that some community leaders in Grand Bay, especially the Parliamentary Representative, did not adequately condemn the wrongful actions of some residents. These beliefs are reflected in the following selected comments:

- "People are supposed to be leaders, but do not speak out enough against the illegal actions in Grand Bay. It is difficult for them because they have to protect their own interest and their own life could be in danger, but still, they need to condemn what is wrong" (police focus group).
- "The village of Grand Bay is a community in which the people are strongly united with each other. They are always aspiring for improvement in their most profound belief. But often confused and misled by persons who they see as leaders in their community" (police questionnaire).

- “The Grand Bay Parliamentary Representative does not condemn the villagers when they do wrong. He always blames the police and the villagers are picking-up on these vibes. It is true that he wants to secure votes, but look at the results” (police questionnaire).

Although many of the police officers provided many reasons for disliking the conditions of their work in Grand Bay and resented the behaviour of some residents, most of them also made positive comments about the village and its residents. Some of these comments include,

- “They are very active and culturally aware people. Some of them are very hospitable and warm” (police questionnaire).
- “The people are very co-operative with each other” (police focus group).
- “The youth group YADAV is active and doing the right thing” (police focus group).
- “Yet, if ever disaster management anywhere requires persons of courage, resilience and determination, Grand Bay would provide a ready reservoir” (police leadership questionnaire).
- “From time immemorial, Grand Bay generally has always been a very productive community. A large number of Dominican academics came from Grand Bay, which without any doubt, is in the forefront of culture in the Commonwealth of Dominica” (police leadership questionnaire).

Opinions Less Commonly Expressed

Twenty seven percent (n=4) the officers who participated in the research believed that the current location of the police station had a positive impact, or no impact at all, on community/police relations in Grand Bay. Quotes from some of these officers as follows:

- “[The location of the police station] reduces the chances for the police to have a close relationship with the people but because of the present situation, the police station is perfectly located” (police questionnaire).

- “The location of the station has a positive impact in terms of security and free operation” (police questionnaire).
- “The police station has no impact on community/police relations” (police questionnaire).
- “None, because the problem is not the location of the station but the mentality of the people” (police questionnaire).

Solutions Proposed by Police Officers

A majority of the police participants in the research indicated that improving community/police relations in Grand Bay would be a very time-consuming process because many of the issues that affected their relationship with the public went beyond the immediate control of both the residents and the police. These issues are what have been identified earlier in this chapter as macro factors.

In spite of these factors, 80 percent (n=12) of the officers who participated in the research believe that there could be workable attempts to establish a satisfactory level of community/police relations in Grand Bay. Twenty percent (n=3) either believed that the Grand Bay people should be left alone to “kill their own selves”, or that the only way to resolve the conflict was to “...gun any person who tends to be bad or is giving the police trouble.”

The more popular suggestions that police participants provided to address community/police conflicts in Grand Bay can be placed in two categories: 1) to develop police strategies that encouraged a more trusting relationship between the villagers and the police; 2) to improve working conditions for police officers. Suggestions to develop police strategies included,

- police officers should be more actively involved in village social activities such as sports, visits to schools, and village groups or clubs;
- programmes need to be developed with the main aim of improving community/police relations;
- discipline in the police service needs to be drastically enhanced;
- police officers need to learn more about the village before working there;
- relocate the Grand Bay Police Station or include a substation in L' alley;
- Grand Bay should not be used as a punishment for police officers;
- villagers need to take more responsibilities for keeping their village safe;
- police administrators need to allow line level officers to exercise more discretion in performing their duties;
- policing needs to be less political;
- community leaders need to publicly criticise the wrongful actions of villagers;
- community persons need to stop "covering up" for lawbreakers

The following quotes from some of the police participants illustrate some of these suggestions:

- "Greater involvement of the police in activities taking place in Grand Bay -be it sports, social and school programmes, etc." (police leadership interview).
- "The public needs to realise that the police represent law and order and that Grand Bay should be no exception to the rest of Dominica" (police questionnaire).
- "Educating the youth, and cleansing Grand Bay of all trouble makers and giving the police a little more latitude in dealing with Grand Bay" (police questionnaire).
- "The need for organising more groups [such as] scouting, and anti-drugs organisations where the anti-police persons can get involved and the police given the opportunity to speak to them" (police questionnaire).

Some police officers applauded the efforts that were being made by the Grand Bay Village Council to address the status of community/police relations in the village. One police leader wrote:

The Grand Bay Village Council in collaboration with the police and Parish Priest shape the police and community relations by keeping meetings, educating the public and addressing problems which bring about bitterness between the police and the community.... The community should educate themselves in matters concerning the police, show respect for law and

order, know their rights and responsibilities, see the police as a friend and assist them in their endeavour to work within the community.... The police public relations committee needs to plan strategies in uniting the people of Grand Bay and educating them in areas of community policing, and respect and knowledge of the law in regards to the daily routine of their lives (police questionnaire).

Another police leader identified the efforts of the government of Dominica, the police and the public, to address matters that could improve community/police relations in Grand Bay:

The government has embarked on initiatives that will bring employment and recognition to all at Grand Bay, while at the same time renouncing the vandalism, tension, drug abuse and spirit of confrontation. Community leaders from the village council, the religious, importantly the youth and others, all have expressed their public commitment to join hands with the police in an attempt to purge the influence of the more extremist and reckless individuals on the Block (police leadership interview).

Improve Working Conditions for Police Officers

Most of the police participants who were stationed at Grand Bay believed that there was a great need to improve their working conditions at the station. They believed that change would improve their job satisfaction and increase the quality of services that they delivered to the village. Some of the proposed changes were as follows:

- establish a police human resource department;
- renovate and expand the police station in Grand Bay;
- increase the number of police officers assigned to Grand Bay;
- assignments to Grand Bay should not be intended as a punishment;
- police supervisors need to pay more frequent visits to the Grand Bay police station;

One police officer noted that many talents were wasted in the Dominica Police Force because some persons who were highly skilled in certain areas were not assigned to departments where their expertise could be utilised. To rectify this situation, he suggested that the police department establish a human resource department:

We need a human resource person to deal with this and identify where people would be best suited for. Some guys are sent away to do training in some areas that could be useful to better police work and when they come back to Dominica they are sent to a desk or they do not work in areas that they are trained for. People have different talents and interests, some like office work, some like the bush (police focus group).

Another officer believed that the human resource department should also make provisions to assist police officers who are confronted with personal problems that negatively affect their work performance:

You have to find a balance between sacrificing yourself for the force and protecting yourself and your family. If you fall short, you have no one to turn to. We really need the human resource department to handle some of the personal problems that some of us are having. This is a stressful job. It is ridiculous that there is no organised form of assistance for the officers who are going down the wrong road. Then, people are surprised when a police officer does something bad when he is drunk or under severe stress. This is a sign that the officer needs help and the resource department should be there to handle that problem before the officer becomes a time bomb (police focus group).

The pressure imposed by some police supervisors who do not want to be embarrassed was another problem identified by some officers. To address this issue, one police officer offered these suggestions:

Not everyday can we give a lollipop to people. There are times when we have to be aggressive, assertive and be policemen. We can't just lay low. Diplomacy doesn't always work here. We are being ineffective. We must vary our situation depending upon the situations. People who are too diplomatic are not respected here (police focus group).

Another officer said that it is important for the line level officers to be able to use their discretion and address the problematic issues in Grand Bay because other villages were beginning to reflect problems similar to those in Grand Bay:

Other districts are getting vibes from Grand Bay and it's spreading. There are other blocks surfacing all over the country. Grand Bay is becoming a model. We must be flexible. The flexibility needs not only be in on the level of the line officer but also within supervisory ranks. We can't adapt one style, in the long run it will be ineffective. We have to shuffle it around, that is one week being aggressive, one week being diplomatic. It must be shuffled at the top too. Top should allow police to be police, and support the officers (police focus group).

Opinions Less Commonly Expressed

Twenty percent (n=3) of the police officers who completed survey questionnaires believed that no effective attempts could be made to improving community/police relations in Grand Bay without committing many violations of established human rights:

I think they [villagers] should come together and work with the police in order for things to change. That excludes the guys on the Block because things cannot improve with they being a part... The pal-rep and government need to come and allow the police to do their work like they have been doing the other parts of the Island even though that means killing quite a few of the so called bad guys (police questionnaire).

This same officer suggested that all police presence should be removed from Grand Bay and the villagers should be left to their own destruction. He said if police officers are to be used to improve conditions in Grand Bay they should "kill as many people as possible and rebuild the place:"

I would get rid of all police in Grand Bay, since they [villagers] have no respect and regards for the police. I would let Grand Bay people fight their

own battle all by themselves. In any case, the damage is being done to themselves and their people. I would even prevent them from going in the other parts of Dominica. They want to do what they want so why not let them do it alone and in their place. It makes no sense risking the life of police for some "Shit-Heads". Or, if not, I would just pick up a hand full of men who are willing and clean up the place. Kill as many as possible and rebuild the place (police questionnaire).

Another police officer was similarly pessimistic about developing workable solutions that would result in better community/police relations in Grand Bay. He wrote,

I believe there should not be a police station in Grand Bay. The people should be left alone to fight their own battle.... I also believe that the government or the Chief of Police should make a hit man squad to go to Grand Bay and gun away any person who tends to be bad or give the police trouble. And more so, bomb the whole village and wipe out these foolish people (police questionnaire).

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ADDRESSING THE CONFLICTS: POLICE PERCEPTIONS

All of the police participants who believed that there were workable solutions to improving the existing status of community/police relations in Grand Bay believed that those solutions would require a collective effort from many individuals and groups within and outside the village, including:

- the Parliamentary Representative;
- the individual villagers;
- churches;
- community leaders;
- the police (especially those stationed at Grand Bay);
- the mass media;
- drug dealers;
- social workers;
- the Grand Bay Village Council;

- all community groups;
- the government of Dominica;

In conclusion, the majority of participants, both from the resident and police factions, said that they were not satisfied with the status of community/police relations in Grand Bay. Most of the residents who participated in the research believed that many of the Grand Bay police officers were unable to provide Grand Bay with the level of police services that was deserving for two main reasons: First, the police station was too isolated from the centre of the village. Second, most police officers held many misconceptions about the villagers.

Conversely, while most of the police participants agreed that the location of the police station was one of the factors that affected negatively the state of community/police relations in Grand Bay, most said that they were willing to provide the village with the quality of services that it deserves, but they were faced with many other obstacles. Some of these other obstacles include working conditions at the Grand Bay police station; assignments to Grand Bay as form of punishment; pressure from police supervisors to avoid embarrassment; no counselling for troubled police officers; unemployment and drug problems in Grand Bay; and a lack of police support from some community leaders.

Although many participants from both sides stated that resolving some of the factors that negatively affected community/police relations (such as unemployment, adult illiteracy, migration, teenage pregnancy) were beyond their combined abilities, most believed that there were strategies that could improve the quality of their relationship and

increase the levels of safety and security in the community. The most commonly offered suggestion was to develop procedures that would increase the level of positive interaction between the residents and the police so that they could learn more about each other, and hopefully develop a trustworthy relationship. The majority of citizen and police participants believed that no one individual was responsible for bringing about the required changes, but rather, a collaborated effort was required. Among those identified as capable of assisting in bringing about the required changes for an improvement in community/police relations in Grand Bay were: individual village residents; village groups; business persons; community leaders; police leaders; Grand Bay police; the Grand Bay Village Council; and, the mass media.

CHAPTER 6

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Understanding Community/Police Relations

The findings of this research have revealed that community/police relations are not a static enterprise. Rather, these relations develop over a period of time, often in very subtle ways. Many factors affect community/police relations and many of them may have nothing to do with police operations (e.g. unemployment, perceptions of inequality, scarcity of land). This means that in order to adequately understand the existing status of community/police relations in the particular locale, one must consider both the historical and contemporary factors that have had an impact on that locale, and may have helped to shape the relationship between the residents and the police.

Throughout its history, Grand Bay has been a hot bed for many slave revolts and a leader in struggles for certain forms of freedom. The villagers have earned a reputation for possessing a particular form of ideology that is very independent and anti-authoritarian. This makes fostering good community/police relations in the village even more difficult because a major aspect of the village history has been an involvement in certain expressions (such as a distinct form of carnival) and protests (as the Geneva uprising in 1974) that could have only been successful without efficiency in police operations. The history of Grand Bay indicates that many of the villagers have perceived themselves as oppressed in many ways and whatever progress has been made to help

themselves out of this perceived oppression, has been determined, for the most part, by their ability to resist the imposition of status quo authority.

Therefore, many residents in Grand Bay have learned from history that the police do not approve of the actions they have taken to achieve certain forms of freedom. This does not mean that all the villagers are involved in this questionable behaviour. However, because some of them believe that an effective way that they can prosper is to support each other, some of the lawbreakers can be protected in that community because, to many residents, giving the police information about the wrongful action of certain residents is a form of betrayal. In such instances, the efforts that police officers put into their work may never be effective because residents will not co-operate with the officers by providing them with information against fellow villagers, unless of course, the particular individual is somehow negatively affected by the actions of the suspect. This introduces the notion of a facade as a form of survival for many residents in the village.

Resident Facade

If most residents in a particular community perceive that they face a high unemployment rate without much prospects for positive developments in the near future, as in Grand Bay, there is a capacity for many of them to console and cover-up for some lawbreakers who appear to be acting in the interests of the community. This makes it very difficult for any agent of control to function effectively when the majority of residents in the community participates in this facade. Although many residents may be

aware that certain acts are forbidden by law (such as drug dealing) they may be reluctant to co-operate with law enforcement authorities who wish to prosecute these offenders, because many residents may believe that given the high unemployment rate the offenders have no choice but to participate in unlawful activities to supplement their income.

Similarly, if many of the residents perceived themselves as oppressed and frustrated, as in Grand Bay, they will develop a sort of unity with each other that would enable them to survive and to preserve what they believe is their culture. This is evident from some statements made by both residents and police participants in this research, who said that it was very difficult for the police to obtain information from residents to prosecute persons who acted violently during carnival celebrations. Many residents would protect these offenders from legal prosecution because they believed that this form of carnival is a part of their tradition that should not be changed.

However, they are also aware that the law of the land should be obeyed and they would not like to bring any more problems on themselves by blatantly telling the police that they were not willing to assist them with investigations. Instead, many will appear to be interested in bringing the offenders to justice, but because of their loyalty to the community, and their lack of trust in the police to treat the offender fairly, will appear to be unaware of any evidence that could cause the offender to be arrested. There would be exceptions to this facade if the resident perceived that the offender had acted against the interests of the community and therefore deserved to be punished.

Any given community or an individual will likely design a system that they believe will ensure their survival. If survival can be achieved more efficiently by being

aggressive, docile or self depriving, then so it will be. It can be assumed that the individual or the majority of residents will arrange what they perceive to be most advantageous to their survival for the moment. The survival mechanism that is devised may depend on the circumstances in which the individual or community finds itself.

The facade of a community will not be spontaneous, but rather intuitive, and it develops over a period of time. It is also not calculated, but inherited as a tradition. The people of Grand Bay have come out of the plantation system where they were denied basic necessities that other communities took for granted (such as land holdings and income). They found themselves in a situation where, in spite of their large population, access to land was limited, and because of external economic pressures and other factors, they were in a situation with little turnover of money. They had to survive under these conditions and anyone who attempted to prevent them from finding their own way out of the perceived deprived situation, was the enemy. In most of the cases, the police were the ones who were called upon to intercept their creative survival strategies. During the plantation period, the police were called upon to evict delinquent tenants or squatters. In the 1970's, they were called upon to control protesters; and in more contemporary times, they have intercepted persons who make a living through illegal activities such as drug dealing.

The historical and contemporary conditions in Grand Bay indicate that some of the residents have devised a system or method by which, given all the pressures coming from different angles, they are able to survive. From the Lockhart period (early 1900's to 1949), their survival depended on squatting. They developed ways in which they could

find “loop holes” and advantages, such as subsistence farming. After the crash of the New York Stock Market in 1929 and a drop in the lime industry after the lime disease outbreak in the 1920’s to 1930’s, Lockhart had relaxed from full use of the Geneva estate. The new pressures created by Nassief when he bought that estate in 1949 forced them to devise another system for survival. It took time for another generation to be born out of this new pressure and react as they did in the 1974 uprising.

The reaction of the residents will be influenced by all of the various forces that enter the given situation. The resulting reaction was to revolt, to support those who are revolting, or to be sympathetic to them and “cover up,” as the police said most villagers do. Some persons, because of their status in society, cannot openly revolt although they are in support of the cause. They will therefore give passive support, knowing well that in the long term the action of those revolting may benefit them.

Most likely, land in Geneva would not have been so readily distributed if it was not for the 1974 uprising. Many persons who benefited from the land distribution that came as a result of that uprising may not have played an active role during the chaos. In a similar manner, there may be certain persons in Grand Bay currently (as shop-keepers, friends, siblings, relatives) who are not directly involved in the sale of drugs but somehow benefit by the sales. They then play their role in the facade by giving silent support and do whatever little they can to protect the drug dealer who some perceive as a vital contributor to their survival, given the economic conditions in the community.

Another contributing factor to this facade is the series of statements made by the research participants which indicate that many residents, especially community leaders,

will not provide the police with any information about the illegal activities of some residents due to fear that they may be assaulted by the accused and they may not receive any protection from the police. Therefore some community leaders have indicated that they are almost forced to be silent, out of concern for their own safety. However, the residents are not the only ones who participate in this facade. The police too are challenged to negotiate their own survival.

Police Facade

Because of the pressures they confront such as the lack of villagers' support, terrible working conditions, pressures by supervisors to avoid embarrassments and a concern for their personal safety, many of the Grand Bay police officers appeared to have devised a system to make their own lives easier and safer. They cannot be aggressive in the village because many of the residents deceive them and sometimes violently chase them out of certain sections of the village. Also to satisfy their supervisor, they must be careful not to be too aggressive in the village. If they are to penetrate the community facade, and make many arrests, they believe that there may be bloodshed. When bloodshed occurs, the villagers revolt and the higher police administration is likely to become agitated. Most of the line level officers, therefore, believe that they are being pressured, and wonder whether the job is worth their efforts to be firm, in the manner that they believe is efficient.

Because of the pressures and frustration that most of the Grand Bay police officers experience, they calculate whether it is to their advantage to simply let certain events go undetected or unattended. It is questionable how much of the police effort is a token fight as much as a true effort to get to the roots of problem and eliminate them. Ultimately, this involves survival through accommodation and negotiation. Some of the officers apply token pressure on the residents because they do not want to appear totally useless, but at the same time, they do not want to make life more difficult for themselves, considering the existing conditions of their work and the conflicts in the village. They will therefore “soft-pedal” certain aspects of their work if their survival will be compromised and strictly enforce the law when they believe they are able to do so.

Caribbean Criminology

As stated in Chapter 2, currently there is not a tradition of empirically based information relating to crime in the Caribbean. For this reason, this thesis intends to make a contribution to the beginning of such a tradition. This thesis has raised some issues that are crucial for the understanding of crime in the Caribbean. It has questioned the use of the term “community” and made suggestions as to how it may be used to assist with an understanding of the variety of dynamics that exist in a particular space under study. Although there may be many similarities in a village, there are many variations in the experiences of residents and therefore, their views will be different. Any research that attempts to fully understand the dynamics of a community must take into account both the

historical and contemporary factors that have affected that particular locale. Also, consideration should be given to both the common and unique opinions of the residents.

Similarly, there cannot be blanket generalisations about the social dynamics of one Caribbean nation to another without a thorough understanding of both historical and contemporary factors that have affected the island as a whole, because there are many variations in opinions, attitudes and experiences of the residents throughout the region. There are differences in ideologies, languages and culture that will cause certain actions to be interpreted differently.

Also questionable is the notion of what constitutes crime and deviance since many of these islands had imposed on them laws that were contrary to what the indigenous population believed to be acceptable behaviour. Therefore, this thesis proposes that instead of the traditional approach of studying crime, deviance and punishment, Caribbean criminologists should first attempt to understand the issues relating to the safety and security on particular islands and in specific communities. After there has been a long tradition of empirical research that attempts to understand and explain patterns of crime across many communities and Islands in the Caribbean, there may be the possibilities of generating relevant theories that attempt to explain certain aspects of crime in the Caribbean. It will also be necessary to examine the possibilities for alternate systems of justice, such as restorative justice, which attempts to involve residents in justice issues through mediation, conflict resolution and other forms of negotiation.

POLICY AND PRACTICE IMPLICATIONS

The Grand Bay village is challenged with a multitude of social issues. Aside from its geographical limitations and a lack of ongoing projects to effectively address the economic conditions a major stumbling block is the reputation of being unstable and unsafe. The nature and frequency of community/police conflicts in Grand Bay have led to the popular stigma that the village is unsafe for business, recreation or casual visits.

Establishing better community/police relations in the village will not resolve all of the hardships faced by residents. However, developing better community/police relations has been identified by the research participants as a major prerequisite to provide the village with the reputation and stability that is necessary to attract changes with respect to other social issues.

The research data indicate that safety is the key issue that needs to be established. During the community focus group, most participants suggested that to improve community/police relations in Grand Bay village, a document should be developed, with the major focus of outlining the role that both residents and the police can play to establish a safer community.

FINAL NOTE: ACTION RESEARCH OUTCOME

Action Research

After data collection and analysis were completed, a policy document was formulated to guide practices that could enhance safety in the Grand Bay community. The process for forming this policy was interactive since it involved the input from the police and community residents. Drafts of the policy were presented to attendees at a town-hall meeting that was held at the Grand Bay Community Centre, after the data collection and analysis were completed. The purpose of that meeting was to inform the general public about the research findings and to solicit their continued involvement in the final drafting of the policy and in the implementation of the research recommendations. Some suggestions made by attendees at the town hall meeting were used to develop the final draft of the policy which was later assembled in book form by the government of Dominica, through the Department of Local Government and Community Development. The Prime Minister of Dominica, Hon. Edison James, the Chairman of the Grand Bay Committee for Community Police Relations, Willie Fevrier and the Commissioner of the Dominica Police Force, Desmond Blanchard, each wrote a foreword to the policy and programme recommendations. That document was adopted by the Grand Bay Community and the police on 10 October, 1996, and the recommended practices were implemented on 1 January, 1997. That document reads as follows:

RECOMMENDED POLICY AND PRACTICE

Title of the Programme

The programme shall be known as the GRAND BAY COMMUNITY POLICING PROGRAMME.

Explanation

Community policing is “an innovative process between the police and the community to mutually identify and resolve community problems” (Lee P. Brown :1990:8). In recent years this philosophy of policing has been used in many countries as an attempt to successfully maintain community safety. This programme does not attempt to duplicate any particular existing programme. Instead, it is a culturally sensitive programme designed specifically for the dimensions of the Grand Bay community based on data and analyses of the Grand Bay Social Research Project.

Purpose of the Programme

This programme is to facilitate an ongoing interactive partnership between the Grand Bay Police and other members of the Grand Bay community for the purpose of collectively identifying and resolving community troubles.

Mission statement

To maximise safety in the Grand Bay Community.

Meanings and Interpretations

MAXIMISE means to improve as much as possible.

SAFETY means protection from injury.

Injury means damage, loss or hurt, or fear of damage, loss or hurt.

Damage and loss relate to belongings, hurt relates to persons and animals.

GRAND BAY means the boundaries of the Grand Bay Village Council: North, Mitchum Ravine/Geneva River; East: Sea; South: En Ba Sou River; West: Mountain Ridge (Hagley-Centre).

COMMUNITY means a group of individuals who reside within a particular geographical location.

Aims and objectives

1. To achieve holistic safety in the Grand Bay community.
2. To have the police perform their duties in such a manner that identifies them as a professional inside-community agency working for holistic community safety.
3. To have the Grand Bay community interact in such a manner which indicates that they perceive the police as an inside-community agency working for holistic community safety.

4. To provide incentives for community safety through the support of community policing in the Grand Bay community.

Implementing Objective One

Objective one will be implemented through the implementation of Objectives two, three and four.

Implementing Objective Two

It is suggested that ZONE POLICING be adopted in the Grand Bay community. Zone policing is an innovative policing philosophy and practice that promotes more personalised police-citizen contact, increased community involvement in crime prevention, and creates a greater sensitivity to diverse community safety needs (Calgary Police Service: 1995).

Each major zone (e.g. Hagley, Back Street, etc.) of the Grand Bay community should be assigned a COMMUNITY POLICE OFFICER whose responsibility it will be to become familiar with members of the particular zone. The officer will interact with the section COMMUNITY SAFETY PERSONS to help collectively identify and address community troubles.

Implementing Objective Three

A group of COMMUNITY SAFETY PERSONS should be organised throughout the various main zones of the community. This will be a rather informal group of zone residents who are interested in keeping their section safe. They will also be responsible to interact with their community police officer to help collectively identify and resolve community troubles. It is the intention that each section resident perceives his or her self as a community safety person and interacts with all community police officers as a friend to their community.

Implementing Objective Four

The directors should devise creative ways to encourage supporters of the programme by organising a variety of incentives such as annual certificates of appreciation, youth model behaviour awards, good effort awards for police and other community members, etc.

Evaluation

After one (1) year from the date of implementation, the programme should be evaluated to examine its effectiveness in assisting public safety in the Grand Bay

community. The method of evaluation should be focus group discussions which follow the same format as the implementation research done during the period of June to October 1996. The evaluation should be used to strengthen the programme.

Signs Of Progress

(S) represents short-term signs (less than one year) and (L) represents long term signs (more than one year less than five years).

- (S) When the police are significantly less fearful about performing their duties at any hour.
- (S) When the community is significantly less reluctant to report troubles to the police.
- (S) When the police appear that they are equally willing to assist other community persons with both criminal and non-criminal matters.
- (L) When there is convincing evidence that the community perception of the police has changed for the better.
- (S) When members of the community stop interrupting the police in the performance of their services.
- (L) When there is convincing evidence that the general public has significantly changed its negative perception about Grand Bay.
- (L) When community members appear to stop “covering up” for wrong-doers.

- (S) When community members readily assist the police in performing their duties.
- (S) When the police appear to perform their duties in a more professional manner.
- (S) When community/police interaction has increased and improved.
- (S) When community fear of crime significantly reduces.
- (S) When there is a significant increase in the number of visitors to community festivities.
- (L) When there is a progressive increase in the number of Community Safety Persons.

Managing the Programme

The programme will be managed by the Grand Bay Committee for Community/Police Relations which should consist of the following characteristics:

1. Should represent a cross-section of the community, including the health team, police, fire, schools, business persons, churches, politicians, youth organisations, clubs, etc.
2. Should utilise to maximum the various skilled persons in the community
3. Should make special effort to utilise retired persons with available volunteer time.
4. Should be an organ of the Grand Bay Village Council but still maintain a certain degree of autonomy.

STRATEGIC ACTION PLAN

Strategic Objective

To implement community policing in the Grand Bay community on 1 January, 1997.

1. to educate all concerned about the proposed Grand Bay community policing programme
2. to organise directors for the programme
3. to organise community safety persons
4. to designate and prepare Community Police Officers
5. to organise a programme implementation date

Objective 1 (to educate all concerned about the proposed Grand Bay community policing programme)

1. during the Grand Bay community Town Hall Meeting and press conference to be held on Sunday 27 October, 1996
2. meetings with police authorities
3. by use of various media outlets
4. through involvement of various artists

Objective 2 (to obtain directors for the programme)

1. meeting with Committee for Community/Police Relations on October 9th 1996

2. another meeting with proposed directors

Objective 3 (to organise community safety persons)

1. to solicit participants during the Town Hall Meeting
2. to provide guidelines for the community safety persons
3. to prepare for implementation date 1 January, 1997

Objective 4 (to designate and prepare Community Police Officers)

1. to get authorisation of the programme by the necessary police authorities
2. to inform CPOs about their role and to solicit their response and support
3. to prepare for implementation date 1 January, 1997

Objective 5 (to organise a programme implementation date)

1. to consolidate all preparations into the target date for programme implementation

RECOMMENDED GUIDELINES FOR COMMUNITY SAFETY PERSONS

A Grand Bay community safety person,

1. should reside in the Grand Bay community;
2. should not be restricted by age but should demonstrate maturity in thoughts and actions, and is subject to screening by the directors of the programme;
3. should show interest in keeping his or her community safe;
4. should encourage other residents to keep the community safe;
5. should attend workshops or meetings organised for their purpose;

6. should not use his or her association with this programme as a reason for vigilantism;
7. should not interrupt police officers while in performance of their duties;
8. should not expect to be treated extraordinarily in the event that he or she violates the law;
9. should make efforts to include the police in activities that can potentially reduce the gap between them and other members of the community
10. should receive incentives for exemplary efforts in community safekeeping

RECOMMENDED GUIDELINES FOR COMMUNITY POLICE OFFICERS

A Grand Bay Community Police Officer (CPO),

1. should be a police officer of any rank who is attached to the Grand Bay Police Station;
2. should be acquainted and committed to the philosophy of community policing;
3. should always attempt to wear the uniform when on beat in the designated zone;
4. should be assigned a beat schedule that is sensitive to restrictions in police manpower and other resources;
5. should maintain a journal that documents the activities each time a beat is completed and this journal should be written within 24 hours to guard against memory lapse (such journal should be given protection to prevent unauthorised disclosure of sensitive information);

6. should be encouraged to be innovative and helpful while still maintaining a professional distance and firmness in the performance of duties;
7. should be evaluated mainly on indications of reduction in community fear of crime, increased community trust and respect for the police; and innovation in addressing community troubles;
8. should not turn a blind eye to law-breaking and violations of community safety but approach them in a manner that demonstrates creativity, authority and care;
9. should attend scheduled meetings to exchange ideas with CPOs or others;
10. should be rotated according to determining factors;

Note: These guidelines are expected to assist with the selection of CPOs and provide a sort of structure to programme activities. The guidelines will be examined during the first year evaluation of the programme.

**APPENDIX A
NOTICE FOR VOLUNTEER RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS**

**THE GRAND BAY
SOCIAL RESEARCH PROJECT**

NOTICE

This notice is to obtain volunteers to participate in group discussions for a social research project in the village of Grand Bay.

During the period of June to November, 1996, Peter K.B. ST. Jean, a fellow Dominican, and a graduate student from the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University in Canada (604-291-3213 for any questions about authorisation), will be conducting his thesis research project in the Grand Bay community.

The purpose of the research project is to explore a general understanding of what life is like for the residents of Grand Bay, and more specifically, to examine the conditions that characterise community-police relations in the village. To understand these dynamics, discussions will be held with eight main groups in the village: female youth; male youth; male adults; female adults; female elders; male elders; the police; and people who work in Grand Bay but may not be from the village.

The final product of these discussions will include recommendations for the implementation of policies and programs that the Grand Bay community may use to improve generally, the overall well-being of the community, and specifically, the police / community relations.

This project also serves as the thesis research for a Master of Arts degree in Criminology at Simon Fraser University, Canada. The thesis will also be placed in the university library or otherwise disseminated as public information. A revised final copy of this research may also be available in book or article form at libraries in and out of Grand Bay.

NOTE: Youth participation will be first subject to parental approval.

Individuals who wish to be involved in these discussions should register by telephone (446-3307) or in person at the research office in the Grand Bay Community Centre.

PLACE: GRAND BAY COMMUNITY CENTRE LIBRARY

TELEPHONE #: 446-3307

DAYS AND TIMES: MON-FRI, 10AM - 1PM AND 2PM TO 5PM

SATURDAYS: 9AM TO 1PM

LAST DAY FOR REGISTRATION: JULY 8TH, 1996

NOTE: Discussions begin in July, 1996.

APPENDIX B

PARENT/ GUARDIAN INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN FOCUS GROUPS (Form One)

PROJECT TITLE: An Exploratory Examination of Community / Police Relations in a Caribbean Village

RESEARCHER: Peter K.B ST. Jean, AS, BS, BA

The purpose of this research project is to explore a general understanding of what life is like for the residents of Grand Bay, and more specifically, to examine the conditions that characterise community-police relations in the village. To understand these dynamics, discussions will be held with eight main groups in the village: female youth; male youth; male adults; female adults; female elders; male elders; the police; and people who work in Grand Bay but may not be from the village.

The final product of these discussions will include recommendations for policy and program implementations that the Grand Bay community may use to improve generally, the overall well-being of the community, and specifically, police / community relations in the village.

This project also serves as the thesis research for my Master of Arts degree in Criminology at Simon Fraser University, Canada. Therefore, the final product will include academic analysis. The thesis will also be placed in the university library or otherwise disseminated as public information. A revised final copy of this research may also be available at libraries in and out of Grand Bay.

CONDITIONS FOR YOUTH PARTICIPATION

A youth can only participate in the youth focus group discussion after his or her parent or guardian has initiated the voluntary process. The fact that the parent agrees to the youth's volunteered participation does not mean that the youth must participate. The youth will then be approached for his or her own willingness to participate in the focus group discussion. After both the parent and the youth have agreed for the youth's volunteer participation, the youth will be given the date, time and place for the discussion.

Before the discussion begins, the youth will be reminded that they may remain for the discussion only if they are willing; their participation is totally voluntary; the report will not include their names or other obvious indications through which they may be identified; the final report of this project will include recommendations for programs and policies to overall improve the quality of life in Grand Bay and improve police-community relations; the final report will also be used as the thesis research for my MA in Criminology, and that the thesis will be shelved at the university library as well as

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED)

distributed in other ways to the general public. The youth will be reminded that they should not say anything that they feel pressured to say and that they may stop participating in the discussion at any time, without any penalties or otherwise negative consequences from the researcher or others involved in the research.

They will also be provided with the name and telephone number of Neil Boyd, the director of the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C., Canada V5A 1S6, (604)-291-3213, who they may address with any concerns about this research project. They will be told that a final copy of the research report will be made available through the Grand Bay Village Council and eventually, a version of the final product will be available in book or article form at the libraries in and out of the community.

APPENDIX C

**PARENT/ GUARDIAN INFORMED CONSENT FORM
FOR YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN FOCUS GROUPS
(Form Two)**

PROJECT TITLE: An Exploratory Examination of Community / Police Relations in a Caribbean Village

RESEARCHER: Peter K.B ST. Jean, AS, BS, BA

I, _____ the parent / guardian of _____, do certify that I have read , fully understood, and have been given the opportunity to ask whatever questions I desire about the purpose and intent of the community research described on the attached page.

I understand that if I agree to my child's participation in the youth focus group discussion, my child will then be approached by the researcher, Peter K.B. ST. Jean, to be asked for his or her own willingness to participate. I understand that even though I approve, the decision of whether or not to participate is left to my child. My approval does not mean that my child must participate.

I understand that if I do not agree for my child to volunteer as a participant to this research project, my child will not be approach about his or her willingness to participation.

I also understand that if my child decides to participate, his or rights and character will be protected as indicated an the attached form.

____ I agree for my child to participate

____ I do not want my child to participate

Signature of parent

Signature of researcher

Signature of witness

Date

APPENDIX D

PARENT/ GUARDIAN INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN FOCUS GROUPS (Form Three)

PROJECT TITLE: An Exploratory Examination of Community / Police Relations in a Caribbean Village

RESEARCHER: Peter K.B ST. Jean, AS, BS, BA

After the parent has agreed for the child's volunteered participation, the child will be approached for her or his willingness to participate in the youth focus group discussion. The following statement reflects what will be said to the child:

Hi, my name is Peter ST. Jean, how are you today? Although I am not from Grand Bay, I am a Dominican, I am from Trafalgar. I am also a student, a university student in Canada. I have finished high school, finished college, finished two university Bachelor (four year) degrees, and right now I am doing what is called a Masters degree. To complete this degree, I have to do what is called a thesis research project. For my project, I have decided to try to understand what life is like for people who live in your village, Grand Bay, especially when it comes to the way the police and the community get along with each other.

To understand what is going on, I will be speaking to the youth, adults, and the elder people about their general views about living in Grand Bay. As I just said, I want to speak to the youth. I want to listen to their side of their story about living in Grand Bay.

Before I ask a child if they want to participate, I first ask their parents, and if they say yes, I then ask the child if he or she is willing to participate in my project. If your parents had said that they did not want for you to take part in the discussion, I would not have asked you. Because they agreed, I am now asking you if you want to take part in the discussion with about 7-9 other children in your age group, who will be talking about what it is like to live in Grand Bay.

But, before you tell me if you want to be a part of the discussion, let me tell you more about what will be going on if you decide to take part. You and about 9 other children will be in a quiet room with me and one other person who will be taking notes. We will be discussing generally what it is like to live in Grand Bay.

In the discussion, you do not have to say anything that you feel pressured to say. You will be able to stop participating in the discussion and leave the room at any time that you want, before or during the discussion. It is not about passing or failing, you do not have to worry about me thinking that you did a bad thing if you changed your mind about continuing the discussion.

If you decide to stay, do not say any thing that you feel is too personal although you do not have to worry about me using your name in the report. I will not be telling anyone the names of people who take part in the discussion, nor will I give hints about who you are. I will protect your identity and will do my best to make sure that you feel

APPENDIX D (CONTINUED)

very comfortable to say what you want to say, talk when you want to talk and keep quiet when you want to, without feeling uncomfortable.

I will also give you and your parents the name and telephone number of Neil Boyd, the director of the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C., Canada V5A 1S6, (604)-291-3213, who you may call or write if you have any complaints about the discussion. When I have finished all the discussions, you will be able to get from the Grand Bay Village Council, a report about the general things that the different groups said in their discussions. Later, the report may become a part of a book or article that the general public will be able to read.

Would you like to be a part of the discussion? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, the date time and place are as follows: _____

APPENDIX E

CONSENT FORM FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF POLICE OFFICERS, ADULTS, ELDERS, COMMUNITY SERVICE PERSONNEL IN FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

PROJECT TITLE: An Exploratory Examination of Community / Police Relations in a
Caribbean Village

RESEARCHER: Peter K.B ST. Jean, AS, BS, BA

The purpose of this research project is to explore a general understanding of what life is like for the residents of Grand Bay, and more specifically, to examine the conditions that characterize community-police relations in the village. To understand these dynamics, discussions will be held with eight main groups in the village: female youth; male youth; male adults; female adults; female elders; male elders; the police; and people who work in Grand Bay but may not be from the village.

The final product of these discussions will include recommendations for policy and program implementations that the Grand Bay community may use to improve generally, the overall well-being of the community, and specifically, police / community relations in the village.

This project also serves as the thesis research for my Master of Arts degree in Criminology at Simon Fraser University, Canada. Therefore, the final product will include academic analysis. The thesis will also be placed in the university library or otherwise disseminated as public information. A revised final copy of this research may also be available at libraries in and out of Grand Bay.

I understand that if I agree to participate in the focus group discussion, before the discussion begins, I will be reminded that I may remain for the discussion only if I am willing. I am aware that my participation is totally voluntary; the report will not include my name or other obvious indications through which I may be identified; the final report of this project will include recommendations for programs and policies to improve the overall quality of life in Grand Bay and specifically improve police-community relations; the final report will also be used by the principal researcher, Peter K.B. ST. Jean as the thesis research for the MA in Criminology; the thesis will be shelved at the university library as well as distributed in other ways, in book or article form, to the general public.

I understand that I am, under no pressure to provide any information and that I do not have to reveal any information that may cause me too much discomfort. I am aware that I may stop participating in the discussion at any time, without any penalties or otherwise negative consequences from the researcher or others involved in the research.

I understand that I am provided with the name, address and telephone number of Neil Boyd, the director of the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University,



APPENDIX E (CONTINUED)

Burnaby, B.C., Canada V5A 1S6, (604)-291-3213, who I may address with any concerns about this research project.

I am aware that a final copy of the research report will be made available through the Grand Bay Village Council and eventually, a version of the final product will be available at the libraries in and out of the community.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT I, _____ (please print name) HEREBY agree to participate as a volunteer in the above-named project. I have been given the opportunity to ask whatever questions I desire, and all such questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Participant

Witness

Researcher

Date

APPENDIX F

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SGT, CPL AND LINE LEVEL POLICE OFFICERS AT GRAND BAY

PROJECT TITLE: The Grand Bay Social Project: Profile of Police-Community Relations

RESEARCHER: Peter K.B. ST. Jean

NOTE: GRAND BAY REFERS TO THE AREA SERVED BY THE GRAND BAY VILLAGE COUNCIL

Organisation: Dominica Police Force

Date: Wednesday June 26th, 1996

Please write your response to the following questions on the attached ruled paper.

1. Why did you want to become a police officer?
2. What is it like for you as a member of the Dominica Police Force?
3. Why are you currently stationed in Grand Bay?
4. If the choice was solely yours, would you be stationed in Grand Bay?
5. What do you like about being stationed in Grand Bay?
6. What do you dislike about being stationed in Grand Bay?
7. What is it like to police the village of Grand Bay?
8. Each day about how many times do you patrol the village of Grand Bay?
9. How would you characterize your supervision at the Grand Bay Station?
10. How would you characterize leadership of the Dominica Police Force?
11. How would you characterize general working conditions at the Grand Bay Police Station?
12. How would you characterize the support given to your station by the Police Force?
13. What are some of the challenges that you face in your working capacity?
14. What would you consider the greatest of these challenges?
15. Why?
16. Do you have a particular philosophy for policing?
17. If yes, what is it and if no, why?
18. Are you attempting to use this philosophy in policing Grand Bay?
19. Is this philosophy succeeding?
20. If yes, why; if no, why?
21. How would you characterize police-community relations in your entire jurisdiction?
22. Why do you believe it is this way?
23. How would you describe the village of Grand Bay?
24. How do you believe the villagers of Grand Bay characterize the Grand Bay police?
25. Do you believe that the villagers of Grand Bay are satisfied with the services of the Grand Bay police?

APPENDIX F (CONTINUED)

26. Why?
27. What would you say are the positives of Grand Bay?
28. What would you say are the negatives of Grand Bay?
29. What impact does the current location of the Grand Bay police station have on police-community relations?
30. How would you characterize your fellow Grand Bay Police officers?
31. What would you say are the merits of the Grand Bay Police officers?
32. What would you say are the demerits of the Grand Bay Police officers?
33. Do you believe that the police officers in Grand Bay are facing any problems?
34. If no, why and if yes, what would you say are these problems?
35. How would you characterize police-community relations in Grand Bay?
36. What do you believe that shapes police-community relations in Grand Bay?
37. Do you know of any plans to address police-community relations in Grand Bay?
38. What do you believe is the role of the police in community?
39. How do you believe the community should respond to the Grand Bay police?
40. What, if anything that needs to be done regarding police-community relations in Grand Bay?
41. Who or what is responsible to address police-community relations in Grand Bay?
42. Are you aware of any other research into current police-community relations in Grand Bay?
43. What do you believe is the role of the police in Grand Bay?
44. Do you believe that your peers have confidence in the leadership of this station?
45. Why?
46. While serving in Grand Bay what do you hope to accomplish?
47. How long have you been a member of the Dominica Police Force?
48. How long have you been stationed at Grand Bay?
49. Please feel free to make any additional comments.

APPENDIX G

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POLICE LEADERSHIP

PROJECT TITLE: The Grand Bay Social Project: Profile of Police-Community Relations

RESEARCHER: Peter K.B. ST. Jean

NOTE: GRAND BAY REFERS TO THE AREA SERVED BY THE GRAND BAY VILLAGE COUNCIL

Organisation: Dominica Police Force

Name of participant: _____

Title: _____ Since: _____

Date: Wednesday June 26th, 1996

Please write your response to the following questions on the attached ruled paper.

1. How long have you been a member of the Dominica Police Force?
2. What is your work responsibility (i.e. who do you supervise and who supervises you)?
3. What is it like to work in your position?
4. How would you characterize the leadership of the Dominica Police Force?
5. How would you characterize the support given to your station by the Dominica Police Force?
6. How would you characterize the support given to you by your subordinates?
7. What are some of the challenges that you face in your working capacity?
8. What would you consider the greatest of these challenges?
9. Why?
10. Do you have a particular philosophy for policing?
11. If yes, what is it and if no, why?
12. Are you attempting to use this philosophy in policing Grand Bay?
13. Is this philosophy succeeding?
14. If yes, why; if no, why?
15. How would you characterize police-community relations in your entire jurisdiction?
16. Why do you believe it is this way?
17. How would you describe the village of Grand Bay?
18. What would you say are the positives of Grand Bay?
19. What would you say are the negatives of Grand Bay?
20. Each day, about how many times is the village of Grand Bay patrolled?
21. Do you believe that the villagers of Grand Bay are satisfied with current policing in their village?

APPENDIX G (CONTINUED)

22. Why?
23. How would you characterize policing the village of Grand Bay (village council area)?
24. How do you believe the villagers of Grand Bay characterize the Grand Bay police officers?
25. What impact does the current location of the Grand Bay police station have on police-community relations?
26. How would you characterize the Grand Bay Police officers?
27. What would you say are the merits of the Grand Bay Police?
28. What would you say are the demerits of the Grand Bay Police?
29. Do you believe that the police officers in Grand Bay are facing any problems?
30. If no, why and if yes, what would you say are these problems?
31. How would you characterize police-community relations in Grand Bay?
32. What do you believe that shapes police-community relations in Grand Bay?
33. Are there any plans to address police-community relations in Grand Bay?
34. What do you believe is the role of the police in community?
35. How do you believe the community should respond to the Grand Bay police?
36. What, if anything that needs to be done regarding police-community relations in Grand Bay?
37. Who or what is responsible to address police-community relations in Grand Bay?
38. Are you aware of any other research into current police-community relations in Grand Bay?
39. What is the role of the police in Grand Bay?
40. What sort of leadership do you provide in your capacity?
41. Do you believe that your subordinate have confidence in your leadership?
42. Why?
43. In your term in this position, what do you hope to accomplish?
44. Please feel free to make any additional comments.

APPENDIX H



OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CABINET SECRETARIAT

Telegrams: External, Dominica.

Telex 613 EXT. DO

Fax 1 809 448 5200

Reference P 069/02/893

GOVERNMENT HEADQUARTERS

ROSEAU.

COMMONWEALTH OF DOMINICA,
WEST INDIES

7th November, 1995

Mr Peter K.B. ST JEAN
Simon Fraser University
Graduate School of Criminology
Burnaby, BC
CANADA V5A 1S6

Dear Mr ST JEAN

Thanks for the warm greetings contained in your letter of 24th October which arrived here from Dominica's UN Mission in New York.

Allow me to assure you that my government will do everything possible to improve the lot of all Dominicans, and mankind generally.

Let me congratulate you on the many outstanding achievements you listed. There is every reason to believe you will go on to even higher heights, accomplish still greater success and become a more admirable ambassador of this country.

By copy of this letter I am directing the Commissioner of Police to allow you every facility in your post graduate studies on crime in Dominica and possible solutions. You may wish to communicate with Mr J.D. BLANCHARD, Commissioner of Police, directly at Tel. 809-448-2222/Fax 809-448-6204, or write to Police Headquarters, Roseau.

Thanks again for your good wishes and best of luck with your continuing education.

Sincerely,

~~EDISON C. JAMES~~
PRIME MINISTER

APPENDIX I

February 1, 1996

Mr. Peter K. B. St. Jean
Simon Fraser University Graduate School of Criminology
Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6 Canada

Dear Peter,

I am extremely happy to know that you are interested in the social problems affecting the Grand Bay community with a view to doing research into the causes of these ills and to help us find a way to improve the existing situation. As I told the audience at a "Peace and Unity" rally on Sunday 28th January, we are not alone in trying to improve the situation; we have friends locally and in the wider world who are trying to help us. Therefore, we should be encouraged to continue our non-violent war against the scourges that plague our community.

In order to brief you on the current situation, one might have to go back in the annals of our history to demonstrate that this community has been involved in assertive behaviour in an effort to seek justice, often resulting in violence. There are records of slave revolts and acts of defiance against the status quo from long ago. Lennox, I am sure, will give accurate details of this phenomenon.

In my own lifetime, I recall quite vividly the uprising in 1974 which resulted in the ravaging of the Geneva Estate and the burning of Nassief's store in Roseau. I have not fully rationalised the true motive of these acts because even today as I reflect on what I remember, there are doubts in my mind as to whether the perpetrators of the violent acts were themselves clear of their motive.

Then there is the history of neglect suffered by the community, particularly during the tenure of the Freedom Party in Government between 1980 and 1995. As I see it, the previous Labour Government did not pay much attention to the problems of the community either. As a young man growing up in Grand Bay, in the 1960's I always felt that for the size of Grand Bay and its importance as a leading community in the country, we were always short-changed.

The other thing that strikes me is that somehow Grand Bay has always been perceived in a negative light by the rest of Dominica, particularly the townfolks or bourgeoisie who regarded "country" people with some suspicion of being able to do "obeah." They saw Grand Bay as the seat of African witch, perhaps because the community engaged in the traditional African art of bellaire, lawon and the use of herbs for healing. Some of these factors may have had unfathomable psychological effects on Grand Bayrians resulting in assertiveness, resentment and other negative behavioural traits.

APPENDIX I (CONTINUED)

It may also result in positive features, as some of this assertiveness is channelled into superior performances in the folklore and in self-development. It is also manifested in Grand Bayrians' tendency to seek each other out when they are overseas and maintain a high level of social contact.

Recently, though, with the advent of the abuse of drugs including crack and cocaine, the defiance and unsoial behaviour manifested among the many unemployed youth have turned things backwards in a direction that has escalated into police confrontation, the use of firearms and an unprecedented level of disrespect and undisciplined.

Mind you, had the earlier sign of these social conditions been dealt with in their budding stages, we might not have been experiencing these problems today.

Now all what I am saying here is mere speculation from someone who has lived in Grand Bay all his life except for the period 1980 to 1987 when I took up a teaching contract in Bermuda. That is why it is important that some systematic research be done in this area. I do not know the pain or the aspiration of the young man on the block. No attempt has been made to "hear out." However, in order to truly get the thoughts and feelings of the marginalized young people and to get to the root causes of the problems of the community, I recommend the undertaking of a serious social research.

This is why I am excited by your call and I think the entire council will welcome your intervention, particularly if, as you suggest, the exercise would not end with the research but would go on to actually implement some activities that would bring a greater degree of harmony in the community.

I must say that for the period before Christmas and up to now, things have been extremely quiet. There have not been any serious acts of lawless behaviour, yet there is the spectre of guys still openly and (I guess) defiantly smoking marijuana.

We look forward with our fingers crossed that Carnival will be peaceful. We are encouraging the formation of organised carnival bands but some people are pessimistic about the outcome of the revelry. So let's pray that common sense will prevail and the festival will proceed without any unsavoury incidents.

I look forward to your visit and will continue to be in touch with you.

Sincerely,

Willie

APPENDIX J



COMMONWEALTH OF DOMINICA POLICE FORCE

Tel. 82221
Fax. No.: 1-809-448-6204
Cable Address: MOMEN — DOMINICA

Office of the Commissioner of Police,
Police Headquarters,
Roseau,
Dominica, W.I.

Our Ref: C/11/96/7
Your Ref:

April 23, 1996

Mr Peter K.B. ST. JEAN
Simon Fraser University
Graduate School of Criminology
Burnaby, B.C. Canada
V5A 1S6

Dear Sir

This serves to acknowledge receipt of your fax message dated April 16, 1996, requesting permission to have a focus group discussion with members of the 'Force' who served in Grand Bay within the past twenty years.

I am pleased to inform you that the Commissioner of Police has acceded to your request and pledges the support of the Police Force towards the realization of this exercise.

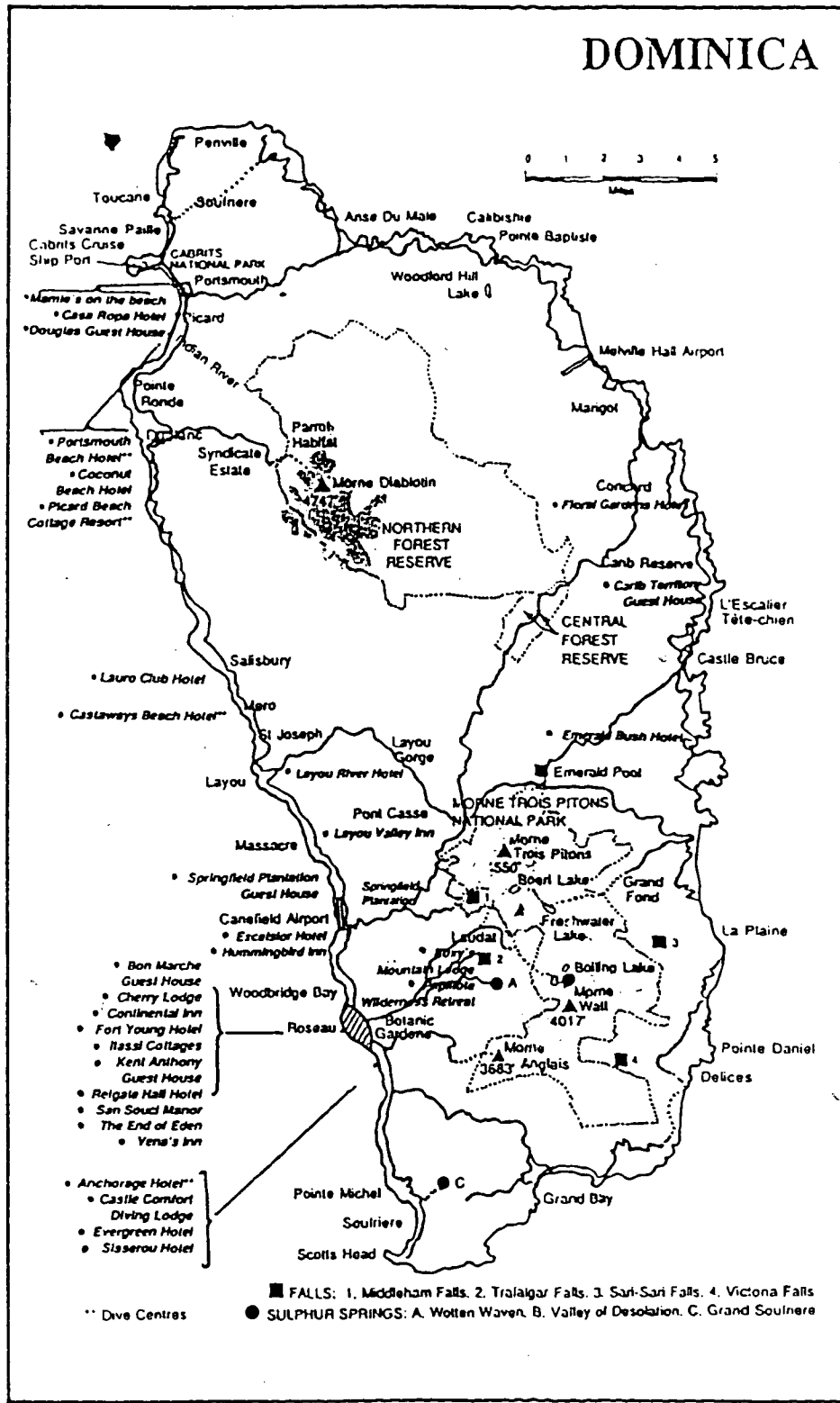
Yours faithfully

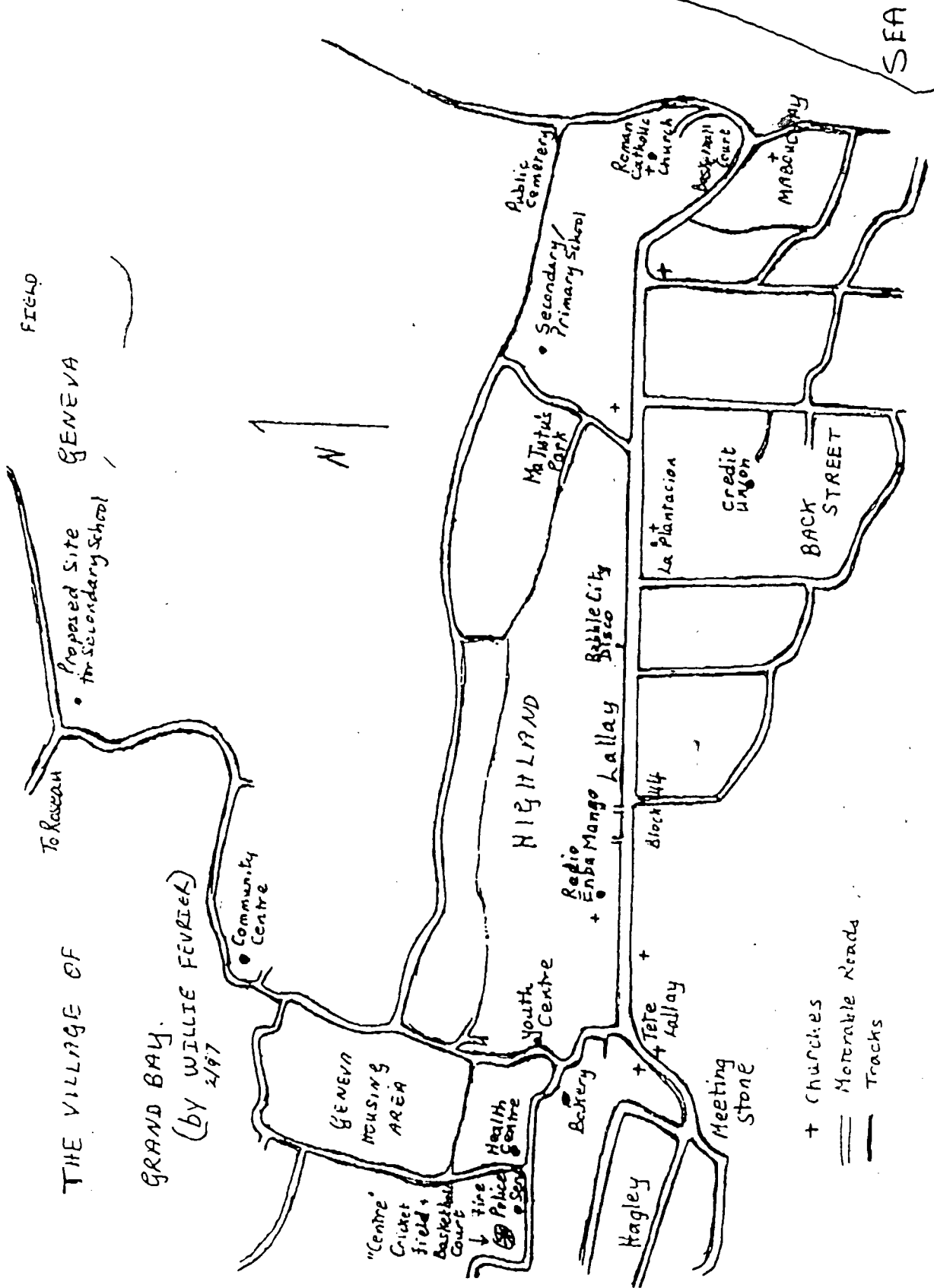
~~STAFF~~ OFFICER
FOR COMMISSIONER OF POLICE

APPENDIX K



APPENDIX L





varieties perform differently under various conditions of soil, climate and management. Consequently, varie-

land as small as Dominica, conditions vary from one area to another, so that the farmer will need to ascertain

Good viable seed i.e. seed which is able to germinate, is absolutely essential for the successful production of crops. Generally, it is safer

Grand Bay works on Police, community relations

The Police, Community Relations Committee, a sub-committee of the Grand Bay Village Council, is working towards bridging the gap between the Police and the Grand Bay community by involving the police in community activities unrelated to law enforcement.

So says Chairman of the Committee Willie Fevriere who said that the Committee would be using recommendations from Mr. Peter St. Jean, graduate student of Criminology from the Simon Fraser University in Canada. Mr. St. Jean had

conducted extensive research in Community Police Relations in Grand Bay. His research was carried out over a six-month period, and from it came wide-ranging recommendations, among them:

- identification of "community safety" person or persons who feel a certain sense of responsibility for, or are advocates of disciplined behaviour among persons in their community, and

- zone policing through which an officer would be assigned to a particular

zone within the community so as to become acquainted with persons there.

In his research, Mr. St. Jean observed that cooperation between the Police and the Grand Bay community was at a low level, and while the Police felt that they are being ostracised, people in the community felt that the police are not doing their job. For these reasons, Mr. St. Jean sets the need for greater collaboration between the Police and members of the community.

COMMONWEALTH OF DOMINICA

Printed in the New Chronicle 3 Jan. 1997 pp. 19

References

- Andre, Irving W. Gabriel J. Christian. (1992). *In search of Eden: The Travails of a Caribbean Mini State*. Toronto: Pond Casse Press.
- Andrew, Natalie. (1992). *Fanm Kouway: Profile of Seven Rural Women in Dominica's Development*. Dominica: Tropical Printers Ltd.
- Babbie, Earl. (1991). *The Practice of Social Research*. sixth ed. California, Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- "Bad Apples in the Grand Bay Barrel." *The New Chronicle*. Dominica, 10 Nov. 1995, pp. 8.
- Bain, Lesley L. (1996). *Community Consultative Groups: Bringing the Community into Policing*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Canada: Simon Fraser University, Department of Criminology.
- Bell, Colin and Howard Newby. (1971). *Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Bennett, Richard R. James P. Lynch. (1996). *Caribbean Journal of Criminology and Social Psychology*. "Towards a Caribbean Criminology: Prospects and Problems" Trinidad: University of the West Indies Press. 9-37.
- Berg, Bruce, L. (1995). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. second ed. Toronto: Allyn & Bacon.
- Biddle, William W. Loureide J Biddle. (1965). *The Community Development Process*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, Inc.
- Borome, J. (1972) *Aspects of Dominica History*. "The French and Dominica 1699-1763". Government Printery. 80-102.
- Brown, Lee P. (1990) "The Police-Community Partnership." *The Police Chief*. Dec., 8.
- Bucqueroux, Bonnie. Robert Trojanowicz. (1994). *Community Policing: How to Get Started*. Cincinnati, Ohio: Anderson Publishing Co.
- . (1990). *Community Policing: A contemporary Perspective*. Cincinnati, Ohio: Anderson Publishing Co.
- Cowley, J. (1979). *Community or Class Struggle*. London: Stage Books.

- Cox and Fitzgerald. (1992). *Police in Community Relations: Critical Issues*. Second ed. Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Publishers.
- Dagazon, F. E., E Caston, D.K., Berton. (1975). *Report on the Commission of Inquiry Appointed by His Excellency the Governor to Inquire into the Disturbances of the Grand Bay Area*. 14 Jan.
- "Dominica National Structure Plan 1976-1990". (1991) Government of Dominica.
- "Dominica Police seek Co-operation". *The New Chronicle*. Dominica. 17 Mar. 1995, 1.
- Field, P.A., J.M. Morse. (1995). *Qualitative Research for Health Care Professionals*. California: Sage Publications Inc.
- Grand Bay Committee for Community Police Relations. (1996). Minutes of meeting, Jan-Nov.
- "Grand Bay Gets Organised." *The New Chronicle*. 1 Dec. 1995, 7.
- "Grand Bay and Police to Work Together". *The New Chronicle*. Dominica, 6 Nov. 1996, 19.
- "Grand Bay Works on Police, Community Relations." *The Chronicle*. Dominica, 3 Jan. 1997, 19.
- Greenberg, Stephanie W. William M. Rohe, Jay R. Williams. (1995). *Executive Summary: Informal Citizen Action and Crime Prevention at the Neighborhood Level*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice National Institute of Justice.
- Honychurch, Lennox. (1995). *The Dominica Story: A History of the Island*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd.
- Jacobs, Jenno. (1994). *Remembering our Past Building Our Future*. Grand Bay.
- Judd, Charles M. Eliot R. Smith, Louise H. Kidder. (1990). *Research Methods in Social Relations*. sixth ed. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.
- Kelling, George L, Mark H. Moore. (1995). "The Evolution of Policing." in *The Police and Society: Touchstone Readings*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press Inc. 3-27.
- King, John. (1996). "Paradise Lost? Crime in the Caribbean: A Comparison of Barbados and Jamaica". Unpublished academic paper presented at the 48th meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago, IL, November.

- Kratcoski, Peter C. Duane Dukes. (1995). *Issues in Community Policing*. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing Co.
- Krueger, Richard. (1994). *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*. second ed. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994.
- Lungren, Daniel, E. (1992). *Community Oriented Policing & Problem Solving*. California Department of Justice Attorney General's Office Crime Prevention Center.
- Maanen, John Van. (1978). "The Asshole." in Peter K. Manning and John Van Maaner, eds., *Policing: A View from the Street*. California: Goodyear Publishing Company, 221-237.
- MacIver, R.M. (1917). *Community: A Sociological Study*. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited,
- Menhinick, Kevin. (1989). "The Best Kept Secret in the Caribbean." *Dominica: Nature Island of the Caribbean*. London: Hansib Publishing Ltd. 48-100.
- Miller, Linda S, Karen M. Hess. (1994). *Community Policing: Theory and Practice*. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Company.
- Organization of American States Executive Secretariat for Economic and Social Affairs. (1983). *Dominica: Integrated Rural Development Project Grand Bay Project*. Vols. I-III July.
- "Paramount Driver Attacked at Grand Bay." *The Chronicle*. Dominica. 10 Nov., 1995, 2.
- "Police Attacked at Grand Bay." *The New Chronicle*. Dominica; 1 Dec. 1995, 2.
- "Police Chief Criticizes Grand Bay Leadership." *The New Chronicle*. 24 Mar., 1995, 11.
- "Police Injured in Grand Bay Shoot-out." *The New Chronicle*. 3 Nov., 13.
- Phillip, Melboute. *Dominica Industrial Potential Report: Survey Report*, 3 Jan., 1996.
- Rappel, Moses. (1996). "Grand Bay Revisited: A Look at Good Side." Unpublished.
- RCMP. (1990). *Community Policing: Manual*: Ottawa.
- Seagrave, Jayne. (1995). *Changing the Organizational Culture : Community Policing in British Columbia*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Burnaby: Simon Fraser University School of Criminology.

Trojanowicz, R.C. and Dixon, S. (1974). *Criminal Justice and the Community*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Weafer, Linda M. F. (1982). *The Development and Implementation of Community-Based Justice Programs for Native and Northern Communities: The Justice of the Peace Program in the Yukon Territory*. Unpublished M.A Thesis: Burnaby: Simon Fraser University School of Criminology.

Wasserman, Robert. Mark H. Moore. (1988). "Values in Policing." Cox and Fitzgerald. (1992). *Police in Community Relations: Critical Issues*. Second ed. Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Publishers.

Wellman, D. and Leighton, E. (1979). "Networks, Neighborhoods and Communities." *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 14 (3), 368-390.

Wilson, J.Q. and Kelling, G.L. (1982). Police and neighborhood safety: Broken windows. *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 249.