CALGARY POLICE SERVICE
ANTI-RACISM PROMISING PRACTICE PROJECT

LITERATURE REVIEW

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DR. PATRINA DUHANEY

LEAD RESEARCHER

Dr. Patrina Duhaney, PhD
Assistant Professor
Faculty of Social Work
University of Calgary

CONTRIBUTORS

Emily Han
Ranece Gordon-Folkes
Sepideh Borzoo
Rhea Bhalla
Ebony Morris
Kaltrina Kusari

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Introduction

There is a significant body of evidence indicating the presence of institutional racism in the criminal justice system (Comack, 20212; Giwa, 2018; Henry & Tator, 2009; Owusu-Bemphah et al., 2021; Schwartz, 2020), which may stem from a long history of racialized people being frequently stopped by the police, at a greater risk of police violence (Tyler, 2017; Weitzer, 2002; Weitzer et al. 2008), disproportionately killed by the police (Schwartz, 2020) and overrepresented in the criminal justice system (Wortley, 2003). For example, Black and Indigenous people are disproportionately overrepresented in the Canadian criminal justice system (Department of Justice Canada, 2018; Government of Canada 2013; Public Safety Canada, 2017; Statistics Canada, 2018). This historical and present-day reality of racism has led to the current social climate in which Indigenous and racialized communities are less likely to view the police as credible and trustworthy (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Murphy & Cherney, 2011; Stuart & Benezra, 2018; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Van Craen, 2012; Warren, 2011; Weitzer, 1999; Wortley, 2003; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009; Young & Petersilia, 2016). Black people in Canada and the U.S. are more likely to report experiencing biased or disrespectful treatment from the police, having lower confidence in the police (Cao, 2011; Engel, 2005; Weitzer, 2008), and are less likely to trust the police than white individuals (Tyler, 2017). A pattern of under-policing (lack of protection or response) and the simultaneous over-policing of racialized communities, excessive use of force, stop-and-searches, and invasive surveillance tactics (Ben-Porat, 2008) not only amplify existing inequalities (Young & Petersilia, 2016) but call into question the police's legitimacy within these communities. It has been argued that a color-blind discourse permeates the criminal justice system in both Canada and the U.S., where police officers claim being "blind" to racial differences (Hughes et al., 2016; Glover, 2007). However, such discourse in policing demonstrates, "1) a disregard for historical context and the experiences of community members who are often racially stereotyped; 2) communities' perception of the police, and 3) the long-term effects of this dynamic on health and well-being" (Welsh et al., 2021, p. 388).

Perceptions of the police as an illegitimate institution makes it less likely for citizens to comply with police rules and requests, report crimes and seek protection (Bradford & Jackson, 2010; Stuart & Benezra, 2018; Sunshine & Tyler 2003, Tyler 2006; Young & Petersilia, 2016). Creating a positive public perception of the police may help deter crime (Myhill, 2012), sustain safety and protection of racialized community members, build trust (Jackson & Bradford, 2010), and improve community perceptions of the police (Cao, 2011; Weitzer et al., 2008). In addition, equitable treatment of the public, transparent decision-making practices, and other forms of procedural justice (Public Safety Canada, 2019) are necessary to improve public confidence, increase police legitimacy as well as repair and strengthen relationships with historically marginalized communities. This is particularly pertinent with racialized communities that have traumatic experiences of police violence, whether through direct exposure or vicariously as residents of overpoliced neighbourhoods. Moreover, given the unprecedented increase in racialized populations in Canada, police services must make concerted efforts to respond to the needs of these groups (Giwa, 2018).

Public confidence in the police and a fair impartial judicial process are key components to effective policing and cements the legitimacy of police (National Research Council, 2004). Trust in the police force is linked to the ability of a nation to provide its citizens with basic security (Goldsmith, 2003), and is therefore essential in building and sustaining citizen cooperation and compliance with the law (Engel & Eck, 2015). Community policing, based on the premise that police officers and residents of a community collaborate to solve local problems, has been put forth as a potential solution to deteriorating community-police relationships. This practice is thought to increase trust, shared responsibility, and public awareness of the police. Some studies, however, suggest that this approach has not had this intended effect (Morabito, 2010; Weitzer et al., 2005). Policing agencies such as Calgary Police Services,

are attempting to respond to these challenges by developing partnerships with experts to build knowledge and strategies. They are also reaching out to leaders in racialized communities to identify protective and restorative practices to remediate longstanding systemic racism against racialized communities.

Purpose of Review and Research Questions

A review of the literature was conducted to (a) better understand the state of knowledge in the policing literature (b) ascertain strategies to build and sustain trust in racialized communities; (c) identify the role of racialized communities in the development and implementation of anti-racism and or equity diversity, and inclusion (EDI) strategies; and (d) establish the context for further research and action (Hempel, 2019). This review aims to respond to two questions, (1) in policing organizations, how is trust built and sustained within communities? and (2) what role could communities play in both the development and implementation of the anti-racism/equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) strategies?

The review begins with an overview of the methodology, followed by theories that inform community policing, a discussion of various conceptualizations of community, then highlighting the meanings attached to community engagement, community policing, criticisms of community policing, public perception of community policing, building, and sustaining trust in racialized communities.

Methodology

A detailed plan and search strategy (Uman, 2011) was developed to guide our work followed by a scan of academic scholarship and grey literature. Relevant data was synthesized as defined by the search strategy and the inclusion and exclusion criteria (Drucker et al., 2016; Uman, 2011). Inclusion criteria included scholarship on community engagement, community policing, neigbourhood policing, ethnic minority/minorities, racial minority/minorities, people of colour, racial or race or ethnic or culture or Black or Hispanic or Immigrant or Indigenous or Aboriginal or American Indian or Native American or American Indian or Native or African Canadian or African Canadian or Caribbean Canadian or ethnic minority or visible minority or newcomers. The next step involved identifying and selecting relevant sources and material from data retrieved (Winchester & Salji, 2016); including academic journals, books, and websites (Kitely & Stogdon, 2014) and grey literature (McDonagh et al., 2013).

Bias or "preconceived ideas about [a subject area]" (Winchester & Salji, 2016, p. 309) can impact a literature review at all stages, including the procurement of sources, the selection of chosen articles for inclusion, evaluation of the literature, and analysis of the data (Winchester & Salji, 2016). We took several steps to circumvent bias in our search. A formal protocol was used prior to conducting the review (Drucker et al., 2016; Winchester & Salji, 2016). We first defined the specific objectives and scope of the review. This step helped to establish the parameters of the study, selection of keywords, and the formatting of the review (Winchester & Salji, 2016). Defining specific inclusion and exclusion criteria in the protocol also helped to address potential bias in the selection of sources (Winchester & Salji, 2016). The main goal of inclusion was to reduce ambiguity that could lead to poor reproducibility of the review and its results (McDonagh et al., 2013). Inclusion criteria was developed before the review and was based on an analytic framework using a protocol (McDonagh et al., 2013). The quality of selected studies was appraised which included examining the study's design, methodology, data collection strategies, data analysis methods, and the interpretations and conclusions of the data (Drucker et al. 2016; Winchester & Salji, 2016). Exclusion criteria were as follows: articles published before 1990; and non-English articles.

Theoretical Approaches in Community Policing

There are several theories that have been used to explain the socially constructed root causes of the relational divide between the police and specific communities; these include legitimacy theory, legal estrangement, group position theory, normative sponsorship theory, social disorganization theory, communitarian theory, minority threat and social resource theory.

Legitimacy Theory

Legitimacy theory has been used to explain the frayed relationship between police officers and the communities they serve. This theory holds that African Americans are less likely than other groups to see police as legitimate, and therefore unlikely to cooperate with them (Tyler et al., 2014). However, Bell (2017) argues that legitimacy theory does not offer an adequate explanation of the pervasive practices of over-policing, and fails to consider structural issues and police violence, which explain the problem of policing.

Legal Estrangement

Legal estrangement theory holds that the law operates to exclude poor racialized communities from society. This theory recognizes that a person can believe in the police's legitimacy, but also feel estranged from it (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998). To this end, people might recognize the legitimacy of the policy and empathize with certain police officers, but consider the police, as a system, that is corrupt and biased, thus making them untrustworthy.

Group Position Theory

Blumer's (1958) group position theory has been used to explain a group's perception of other groups and institutions. (Cao, 2011; Weitzer et al. 2008). This theory holds that:

> "racial attitudes reflect not merely individual feelings and beliefs but also a collective 'sense of group position' vis-a`-vis other racial groups. The dominant group members are afraid of losing their privileges or resources to the growing competition of minority groups, and members of minority groups believe that their group interests will be enhanced by challenging the prevailing racial order" (Cao, 2011, p. 3).

According to this theory, race relations between racialized communities and the police are largely influenced by competition and conflict over resources, rewards, power and status (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Racialized groups may be more critical of the police and in favour of police reform, because of the belief that the police are more likely to advance their own interests.

Normative Sponsorship Theory

First proposed by Tiedke et al. (1957), the normative sponsorship theory contends that since a significant number of people have goodwill, cooperation among various community stakeholders is a key component of social stability. Thus, "the police cannot achieve any positive transformation without the support of the public" (EU, 2016, p. 47).

Social Disorganisation Theory

This theory holds that any visible signs of crime and civil disorder leads to increased complexities of urban life (Oliver, 2000). Considering this, the main approach used by the police should be neighborhood-oriented and include helping communities to regulate the conduct of their members (Walker, 2015). This can be done by encouraging citizens to report crimes, vandalism, and other forms of disorder. However, those who critique this theory note that there is lack of evidence to support a clear causal relationship between lack of order and crime (Walker, 2015).

Communitarian Theory

Communitarian theory suggests that one's identity and personality are shaped by community relationships, thus individuals are willing to cooperate with police if such cooperation leads to order in their communities (Etzioni, 1998). This theory explains the increase in crime rates by noting the declining sense of community in contemporary societies.

Minority threat

The theory of minority threat hypothesizes that police officers utilize greater force and violence to maintain unequal distributions of power to prevent resistance from the minority group to redistribute resources in the face of economic and racial inequity (Jacobs, 1998; Liska & Yu, 1992). This theory is based on empirical findings of higher rates of Black citizens killed by police officers in areas with higher concentrated populations of Black community members, and/or in areas with recent significant increases in the population of Black residents (Jacobs, 1998; Liska & Yu, 1992).

Social Resource Theory

The social resource theory (Wong, 2009) approaches crime and policing from the citizens point of view, rather than the state or police agencies. From this perspective "crime is a personal problem resulting from people's unmet expectation, scarcity of resources and police inefficiency" (Yero et al., 2012). Thus, the theory seeks to answers three main questions "a) what is the role and function of the police? b) what is the relationship of the police with the people? c) why do people call the police?" (EU, 2016, p. 50).

Literature Review

Conceptualizations of Community

The meanings attached to community vary, are fluid and ever-changing. According to Murphy (1988), there is no theoretical consensus in the scholarship on what constitutes a contemporary, urban community (Murphy, 1988). Individuals belonging to a community may share a geographical location, certain demographic characteristics, or shared interests (Murphy, 1988; Rex, 1981). Individuals may also be "members of multiple communities at any one time and move in and out of one or more communities over the course of time" (Murphy, 1988, p. 15). Somerville (2009) defines communities as "those living, working, or otherwise interacting in identifiable contexts such as neighbourhoods" (p. 261). In contrast, Fielding (2005) argues that general understandings of community evoke images of homogenous neighbourhoods with shared, universal values, however these constructions are problematic because, "communities are more diverse than ever" (p. 460). Specific to the topic of community policing, Lynes (1996) problematizes a singular conception of community, stating that the territory in which community policing functions is inhabited by increasingly diverse groups of people. A community is not homogenous, and its members have different experiences and concerns.

Neighborhood context is a key component of police-community interactions and engagement. For example, there is a significant body of evidence pointing to the double standards of policing in Canada, where racialized people are most at risk for biased police treatment (Comack, 2012; Giwa, 2018; Tanovich, 2006). Specifically, disadvantaged neighbourhoods with higher crime rates are more likely to be surveilled more frequently by police, and tensions between officers and residents may arise as residents perceive that they are unfairly targeted (Reisig & Parks, 2004). This is partly a result of the problematic labeling of a neighborhood as high crime, which leads to negative stereotypes of its residents. This, in turn, signals to police officers that aggressive behaviours within these communities are warranted and necessary. Such practices contribute to a negative view of the police, thus hindering community engagement efforts (Weitzer et al., 2008). Considering the history and present realities of policing in racialized communities and its differential impacts on specific groups across gender, race, Indigeneity, class, and disability lines, attempts to improve relations between police and the communities pose various challenges.

Community Engagement

There is no consensus on a definition of community engagement (Myhill, 2012). Moreover, the terms "engagement," "participation" and "involvement" are often used interchangeably. Myhill (2012) defines community engagement as "the process of enabling the participation of citizens and communities in policing at their chosen level, ranging from providing information and reassurance, to empowering them to identify and implement solutions to local problems and influence strategic priorities and decisions" (p. 19). Elder et al. (2018) describes community engagement as a process of working in collaboration with groups of people, who are themselves affiliated through location, interest, or circumstance to tackle issues of relevance to those groups. This often involves partnerships among different actors to mobilize resources and change policies and practices (Eder et al., 2018). Community engagement operates at three levels: the mandate level, which deals with a philosophy for policing; the neighbourhood level, which focuses on local issues; and the strategic level, which is concerned with broader regional matters (Myhill, 2012).

There are several challenges in community engagement: a lack of acceptance by police services regarding the importance of community engagement; community engagement is given as a task to specific groups within police services, rather than being part of core training; difficulties with police officer's willingness to share power with communities; adoption of one-size-fits-all approaches with communities that are diverse; lack of reward for effective community engagement; lack of defined roles and necessary skills for both police and residents in community activities; an absence of consideration for the impact of prior relations; low quality of communication; lack of partnership building efforts; and limited resources dedicated to community engagement (Myhill, 2012). Despite these challenges, effective police engagement with communities can have several benefits, including reduced crime; reduced disorder; increased feelings of safety for all community members; improved police-community relations and community perceptions; greater community capacity; and progressive shifts in officers' attitudes and behaviour (Myhill, 2012).

Community Policing

Community policing efforts have been increasingly adopted by police services over the last few decades in efforts to improve community relations, safety, trust, and engagement as well as reduce crime. Weitzer et al. (2008) note that the need to improve police legitimacy and public perception in immigrant and racialized communities has been a driving force for implementing community policing. Community policing is considered a popular model of service delivery for police services in Canada, with almost all police services expressing commitments to this model and attempting to incorporate it in practice (Forcese, 2002; Giwa, 2018).

Despite its popularity, there is not an agreed upon definition or model of community policing (Fielding, 2005). While community policing may lack a clear consensus on its specific definition, there are some common principles identified in the scholarship. These include, (a) utilizing a problem-solving approach; (b) identifying and engaging key community stakeholders (Morabito, 2010; Myhill, 2012; Perez, et al., 2021); (c) building the capacity of neighbourhoods to prevent crime through the implementation various programs (Perez, et al., 2021); and (d) changing the organizational structure of police agencies to facilitate community participation in public safety (Morabito, 2010). Lynes (1996) contends that, community policing strategies include a wide range of practices and models to bring police closer to communities; control crime in collaboration with the public (e.g., neighbourhood watches); or as a communication strategy to engage the public (e.g., consultation meetings) (Lynes, 1996). These approaches are alternatives to reactive, enforcement-focused policing. Gathering a wide variety of activities under its helm, community policing can be described at its core as a certain form of policing where the agency develops a closer relationship and proximity to the public (Fielding, 2005). A key feature of community policing, noted by Somerville, is an interaction between police agencies and communities. Community policing seeks to foster a sense of community within a locality to improve the residents' wellbeing and quality of life, generally done through police decentralization, redistribution of police resources, proactive programs to increase interaction between police and community members, and efforts to address the root causes of criminal activity. Further, community policing also works in tandem with social services and other community agencies, to prevent and minimize crime and increase well-being within the community (Somerville, 2009). In community policing, the principle of partnership and collaboration leans away from the hierarchy of police as experts and promotes community participation in crime prevention as equal partners (Giwa, 2018).

Some studies have documented positive outcomes associated with community policing measures such as foot and bike patrols and community meetings (Weitzer et al., 2008). Weitzer et al. (2008) found that community policing can help improve the relations between residents and police, as it decreases the

likelihood that residents will perceive police misconduct to be a problem in their neighbourhoods. This finding was particularly significant for Black Americans (Weitzer et al., 2008). Public perception is pertinent because the ability of police to enforce laws and investigate crime is linked to public trust (Tyler, 2017). Reisig and Parks (2004) note that communities where residents and police officers have collaborative partnerships report fewer issues and express a higher sense of security. This improved collaboration between police and the community can also help to mitigate the impacts of socioeconomic marginalization and disadvantage on neighbourhood wellbeing (Reisig & Parks, 2004).

Although some police agencies have made a progressive shift to community inclusion, these strategies of community policing are not always implemented successfully due to its vague definition, the difficulty for both police officers and communities to predict and prevent issues that might come up, a lack of time and resources, and the large areas that each police officer covers. Moreover, most police agencies remain resolute in their objective to prevent crime through a hierarchical structure Glowatski et al. (2017). Despite these nuances, researchers argue that improving police-citizen interactions is necessary (Kearns, 2017; Glowatski et al., 2017).

Criticisms of Community Policing

Community policing has been criticized by some scholars who argue that while this approach may seek to overcome the coercive and repressive dimension of policing, these dynamics are embedded in these institutions (Fielding, 2005). Furthermore, the one-size-fits-all model often employed with community policing downplays the dynamics of power and subordination that are present in the police relationship with communities. There remain inalienable differences between the police and the "policed" (Lynes, 1996) where power dynamics influence police community relations (Lynes, 1996). While community policing purports to share power with and collaborate with communities, this is not always put into practice (Giwa, 2018). The police continue to hold decision making power, therefore, power differences are always at play (Somerville, 2009). Despite the centering of community in community policing, the extent to which community members can truly influence police policy, practice and decision-making is limited (Giwa, 2018). For example, Giwa (2018) states that while community input may be solicited and non-police agencies may be brought into the work, the police ultimately have the final say on what priorities to pursue and coordinate other agencies under its own leadership to do so. The police decide what community problems to respond to therefore, issues such as unemployment, lack of housing, and poverty that exacerbate crime may be put on the back burner as "second order issues" (Brogden & Nijhar, 2005).

Giwa (2018) also notes that an overreliance on community policing decenters race and racialization and detracts from conversations addressing racially biased policing. The principles of community policing fail to reckon with historical legacies and present realities of racism and colonialism and their impact on relationships with racialized and marginalized groups (Giwa, 2018). Moreover, although the intent of community policing's adoption by police services is often to improve relationships with racial minority communities, some scholars have found that community policing has a more positive effect on white people and relations with predominantly white communities (Mirksy, 2009; Skogan, 1990; Thomas & Burns, 2005). White people were more likely to participate and benefit in community policing initiatives compared to racialized people, as their privilege and capital allowed them to participate fully in the program and its benefits.

Fielding (2005) found that the body of literature on community policing has evidence of less effectiveness in disadvantaged, high-crime areas -- exactly the kind of areas that community policing seeks to improve conditions and community relations in. Further, Skogan (1990) found that police tended to avoid areas they felt were hostile to them and focused on areas they had previous successes in. According to (Giwa (2018) there is a lack of conclusive literature that shows that community policing

not only may not work to reduce crime in racialized communities, but it does not improve relations with the police and those communities. Somerville (2009) concurred that community policing seems to work best where it is least needed -- in other words, it is most effective in improving public perception and relationships in homogeneous communities with little crime, as opposed to diverse and poor communities with higher rates of crime. Community engagement and community policing's viability hinges upon the assumption that police and citizens can and will act in collaboration to address community issues and crime; as such one of the greatest barriers to implementation of community policing is the ability to engage and involve residents (Liederbach et al., 2007).

Other critics assert that the continued conceptual and theoretical ambiguity of community policing gives police agencies the leeway to redefine it according to their own interests and needs, allowing them to improve their image in a community without achieving significant change (Henry & Tator, 2009). Similarly, Brogden and Nijhar (2005) argue that community policing is more so a public relations strategy to convince the public that it is taking action, while not making substantial or durable changes in policing structure or practices as it allows police services to act under its own definition of the community's problems and priorities. As such, the lack of strong conclusive evidence on the positive outcomes of community policing for improving relations may be due to this ambiguity and lack of commitment (Giwa, 2018).

Building and Sustaining Trust within Communities

Building and sustaining trust between the police and the community (Chrismas, 2012; Goldsmith, 2005; Stoutland, 2001) help increase police legitimacy. According to a 2012 report, public confidence in the police is "widely accepted as being central to domestic police effectiveness and legitimacy" (Goldsmith et al., 2012). Jackson and Bradford (2010) state that trust in police and building police-community relationships have three benefits: "(a) encourage active citizen participation in priority setting and the running of local services, (b) make public bodies more locally accountable and responsive, and (c) secure public cooperation with the police and compliance with the law" (p. 241). Trust is not only mutual understanding between the community and the police but also is about "the judgments that ordinary citizens make about the rightfulness of police conduct and the organizations that employ and supervise them.

Not only does trust facilitate productive dealings between the police and the public, but it eases relationships between the force and individuals (Goldsmith et al., 2012). Nonetheless, public trust is not "equally distributed between or within particular societies" (Goldsmith, 2005, p. 444). Those who have had negative experiences with the police, whether personally or historically, may have less trust in the police. The presence—or absence—of trust is linked to the public's feelings of safety within their communities. To better reform police thinking, a deeper understanding of the relationship between public confidence and policing is crucial.

Scholars have identified several factors that erode community's trust in police such as neglect and indifference towards public concerns, expectations and calls for service (Horowitz (2007; Goldsmith, 2005; Reisig & Parks, 2000), police incompetence in preventing and/or investigating crime (Boateng, 2013; Reisig & Parks, 2000), corruption in the police system (Alemika, 1999; Goldsmith, 2005), discriminatory behaviours towards certain groups of the society (Wetzer & Tuch, 2002), police use of excessive force and brutality (Caldeira, 2002) all being specifically against immigrants, Indigenous, racialized groups (Goldsmith, 2005). Undertaking actions that citizens do not support such as the implementation of certain policies (Goldsmith, 2005; Wetzer & Tuch, 2002) or when the police fail to investigate police wrongdoings and hold them accountable for breaking the law, may jeopardize the legitimacy of the police. As Goldsmith (2005) notes, "The failure of police to be governed by the law is

evidence of double- standards and hypocrisy, as well as an imbalance of expectations between citizens and police officers" (p. 453).

Strategies for Building and Sustaining Trust

Public perceptions of police are a major factor affecting racialized individuals' confidence in police. Racialized communities are more likely to view policing as oppressive and even life-threatening (Pastore et al., 2001). In Morin et al. (2016) study, only 14% of African Americans and 31% of Hispanics reported high confidence in their local police, whereas 42% of white people reported high confidence in their local police. Implementing strategies that repair and nurture police relations with racialized communities is crucial to promote transparency, accountability and build trust. Scholars have identified several strategies to address these issues: increase police transparency and accountability, implement alternative approaches to criminalization and strengthen diversification mechanisms.

Police Transparency

Transparency in policing provides citizens with insight into police decision making processes and operations, at the micro (e.g., individual officer decision-making) and macro (e.g., strategy, policy, budget) levels (Chrismas, 2012; Engel & Eck, 2015). It also aims to address community concerns (Wood et al. 2020) with the goal of lowering the number of negative police-citizen interactions (i.e., excessive use of force, or unjust/biased treatment).

The implementation of body cameras for police officers on duty are often considered a mechanism for increasing police transparency and ensuring accountability. Despite the great public interest in expanding the use of body-worn cameras for the police, the data supporting the use of body cameras have not been rigorously tested and may be unreliable (Barak et al. (2017).

Fan (2018) also points out the potential downsides and risks of wide-scale implementation of body-worn cameras in police agencies. To retain body camera footage requires monumental amounts of data and energy, incurring massive financial – and potentially environmental – risks (Barak et al., 2017; Fan, 2018). Barak et al. (2017) also note that body cameras should not be treated as an all-encompassing fix to systemic inequities that influence policing practises and outcomes. However, despite these mixed findings on the true benefits and cons of body-worn cameras, the use of body-worn cameras can increase the transparency of police activities by recording and analyzing footage of police encounters with communities.

Police Accountability

Accountability is a key part of building trust (Chrismas, 2012). Accountability includes clarifying the organizational performance and responding to the community concerns. Accountability can be used to describe all the procedures and methods that are used to hold a police officer or police authority accountable to another party or body (Walsh & Conway, 2011). Some examples of accountability mechanisms include internal disciplinary procedures; judicial inquiries; civilian complaints, civil lawsuits, and criminal prosecutions; body cameras; and independent oversight boards (Barak et al, 2017; Fan, 2018; Walsh & Conway, 2011). Independent mechanisms for accountability have been established in many police jurisdictions in both national and international contexts, such as independent bodies that are given the powers and resources to investigate various citizen complaints against the police (Walsh & Conway, 2011). Judicial inquiries are sometimes implemented as a means of looking into issues of broad public concern to increase transparency and accountability, but their implementation often hinges

upon whether enough political pressure may motivate a formal inquiry (Walsh & Conway, 2011). Internal discipline within the police agency is another important mechanism for ensuring police accountability. Yet there may be tensions within the agency on what level of disciplinary action is appropriate (Walsh & Conway, 2011).

Alternative Approaches to Criminalization

Another approach suggested by Tyler (2017) to improve police-community relations is "diversionary approaches," which can involve directing people towards support services as an alternative and trying to avoid arrests where possible. For example, instead of arresting a mentally ill person who may be disrupting public order, the police can connect them to mental health support services. Studies have suggested that these alternative approaches focused on supportive service can lower long-term rates of crimes. Similarly, Giwa (2018) makes the case for expanding the role and presence of social workers in non-emergency situations, such as wellness checks and domestic incidents. Social workers have a unique position as members of a helping profession that is committed to social justice and are trained to work with people from diverse backgrounds, which makes them uniquely suited to supporting police agencies' efforts to connect to racialized communities. There is already precedent for interprofessional collaboration with police in child welfare cases (Giwa, 2018).

Increased use of restorative justice processes has been proposed by some scholars as they help "[reduce] reliance on policing and corrections processes (Chrisma, 2012, p. 463) empower the community and increases their involvement (Chrismas, 2012). One strategy proposed by Merkey (2015) is the use of restorative circles. The restorative circle can be used to address the conflict between police and the community as well as build trust between them. In these circles, members of communities and police share their concerns. Flexibility is one of the strengths of these circles which are designed to reflect the needs of different communities. The hierarchy between police and the community is reversed through facilitating the meetings by neutral parties. Participation in these circles is voluntary.

Diversification

Policing services have sought to diversity their staff to improve their reputation in the communities which they serve (Ben-Porat, 2008; Wilson et al., 2016). However, strategies to diversify police services have been criticized by scholars. It is assumed that if police forces are diversified to reflect the communities they serve and interact with, less tension and conflict will occur. Yet the ability of these diversification hiring efforts to improve community relationships may be overstated; the continued existence of significant tensions between police and certain overpoliced communities remains (Lynes, 1996).

The data on the effects of diversity in the police force have been largely inconclusive (Fernandez, 2017). Some studies found diversification reduced discrimination and violent encounters (Fan, 2015), while others noted an increase in these areas. Increasing diversity in police agencies is often suggested to improve community relations, reduce racially biased policing (Gustafson, 2013), and decrease the incidence of violent encounters between police and citizens (Smith, 2003). Some studies have found decreases in reports of police misconduct and racially biased policing as representation diversity increased (Hong, 2017). Racial diversity in the force may help to change police subculture, as racialized officers may be more knowledgeable about and empathetic to racialized communities and the increased contact between white and racialized officers may help the white officers to develop more cultural sensitivity (Rigaux & Barton Cunningham, 2017; Smith, 2003). However, assuming that racialized

officers will be more knowledgeable or representative of disadvantaged communities assumes the homogeneity of entire racial and ethnic groups (Smith, 2003).

Communities Role in the Development and Implementation of the anti-racism/EDI strategies

There is limited scholarship that discusses how to effectively engage communities when developing and implementing EDI strategies and a paucity of literature on implementing anti-racist action strategies and initiatives within police services. Much of the literature on EDI in policing suggests increasing representational diversity of officers, civilian employees, and police leadership within police services and strengthening and improving police-community relationships. Further insights can be gained from other disciplines like education and community development.

Community dialogues are seen as a proactive strategy to increase community engagement and open lines of communication between racialized communities and police services. Community dialogues and consultations are an essential way for the public to voice concerns and provide feedback to police agencies (Giwa, 2018). In these dialogues, communities play a significant role in the police service decision-making processes, are given opportunities to voice concerns and provide feedback.

These dialogues are also a space for police services to educate and inform the public about police policies, procedures, and decision-making processes to cultivate public transparency and trust (Perez et al., 2021). Racialized communities can also be engaged in "developing an inventory [of policies] and practices that [sustain inequities]. Developing consensus on which of these is most actionable can be a starting place for community mobilization" (National Collaborative for Health Equity, 2015, p. 7). In recognizing the legacy of past discriminatory policies, communities can move from cohesion to mobilization. This is particularly pertinent with racialized communities that have diminished trust of police agencies, as well as traumatic experiences and memories of police violence, whether by direct personal experience or vicariously as residents of an overpoliced neighbourhood.

However, each community must be assessed within its own context to better understand what community development actions are most relevant (Somerville, 2009). Recognizing communities' strengths, assets, resources, and capacities (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003) and their capacity to identify and address social issues affecting their everyday lives are necessary to strengthen a sense of community pride and identity, empower marginalized community members to share their voices and stories, and influence systemic change (Sweatman & Warner, 2020).

Engaging communities in EDI initiatives may include collecting stories of community successes; mapping assets in the community; forming a working group; and building key stakeholder networks (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). Other possible actions include creating a joint police and community safety council to set priorities for increasing public safety; implementing independent community-driven reviews of police agencies; creating crime prevention volunteer groups; and educating residents on crime prevention and policing; and opening more lines of communication for community members with the police (Schneider, 1999).

Police services will require expertise from a wide array of stakeholders and organizations in areas including economic development, housing, healthcare, family support, transport planning, recreational management, neighbourhood planning, when engaging racialized communities in the implementation of anti-racism strategies. While community consultation and dialogue are often a major part of community policing strategies (Giwa, 2018), consultation fatigue may arise when communities are asked to share painful experiences over and over. When community consultations become a recurring phenomenon only in the wake of high-profile incidents of racial bias to manage public relations, communities may view the police as failing to create actual changes using the information and contributions extracted from the community in those consultations.

Strengths and Limitations

Given the scarcity of research in this area, a primary strength of this review is its focus on racialized communities. This review intends to fill a major gap by identifying barriers to police engagement with racialized communities and the community involvement in implementing anti-racism strategies. This review was not intended to be an exhaustive review of existing scholarship or evaluation of authors' point of view, the strength or weakness of their arguments or contribution scholarship.

Conclusion

Racialized people in Canada, particularly Black and Indigenous people are disproportionately overrepresented in the Canadian criminal justice system (Department of Justice Canada, 2018; Government of Canada 2013; Public Safety Canada, 2017; Statistics Canada, 2018). The highly strained relationship between racialized communities and the police is intensified by both personal and vicarious experiences of racism and discrimination (Madon et al, 2017). Systemic racism is a deep-rooted issue within policing, with deleterious impacts on Black, Indigenous and racialized communities. Police violence against members of the Black community has had traumatizing effects and has led to increased negative health consequences, as well as a "collective" trauma held by the Black community (Waldron, 2020).

Given the limited disaggregated data on racial disparities in the Canadian criminal justice system, the extent of this disparity is unknown. Nonetheless, police services have long been critiqued for disparate treatment of racialized communities (Liederbach et al., 2008). There is also ample evidence that reveals that these racial disparities have impacted police relations with racialized communities.

While there is no guarantee that police organizations can successfully collaborate with or engage communities, even if they are following a community policing model (Liederbach et al., 2008), community policing has been considered a proactive strategy to increase community engagement and open lines of communication between citizens and police services. Engaging with racialized communities is particularly pertinent at a time when trust has diminished and strained communication lines between police agencies and the communities they purport to serve. However, a community policing model on its own is insufficient to improve relations between the police with racialized communities, given that it largely neglects to contend with the complex impacts of historical racism and colonialism (Giwa, 2018) and decenters issues related to race, racism and racialization. Furthermore, given that the intersection of race and mental illness may increase vulnerability to police violence (Thompson & Kahn, 2016; Waldron, 2020), any attempts from police agencies to engage the community must be set in this intersectional context.

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