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POLICING REFORM, ABOLITION, AND DEFUNDING: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

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Abstract

This literature review first covers the administrative and legal scholarship behind police reform debates. It then moves into the central tenants of abolitionist theory before comparing both reformist and abolitionist debates. Next, an overview of transformative justice and reformative justice models are provided in order to expand on key concepts and how these ideas fit into the Canadian context. This is then followed by an evaluation of police reform efforts worldwide, including the UK, Scotland, North America, and Scandinavia. Next, the literature review explores the correlation between increased social spending and lower crime rates. The final section analyzes various disarmament efforts around the world.

Reform: Public Administration

Public administration literature has approached police reform from the angle of understanding *esprits des crops* or "cop culture" and policing institutions' capacity to absorb reforms. Chan (2007) uses a framework of *field and habitus* to explain how reforms alter the occupational environment of police institutions when shared values and understandings already exist between officers. Dixon (2005) takes a methodological approach to answering the question "why don't the police stop crime?" by attributing this failure to pluralization within the public sector, the rhetoric of professionalism, zero-tolerance policing strategies as well as other forces beyond the control of the police, such as economic conditions, education rates and immigration. Finally, Chanin (2017) analyzes the common US. Dept. of Justice policing reform known as "pattern or practice" through an administrative lens and discusses its relation to public personnel management, legal principles on the management of public bureaucracies, and representative democracy.

Reform: Legal Scholarship

Conventional police reform strategies within legal scholarship come in four main forms: (1) more democracy, (2) more bureaucracy, (3) more procedural justice, and (4) more tools and technology (Akbar, 2020). Each of these reform tactics remain centred on repairing and reforming the police, and all have similar assumptions (Akbar, 2020). Police are assumed to be a necessary and legal good that ensures safety, law and order, and protects people from violence (Akbar, 2020). Legal scholarship assumes that police can be fixed if governed, regulated, trained, or equipped better (Akbar, 2020). Further, it asks questions of how to re-legitimize the police in the eyes of the public (Akbar, 2020).

More democracy calls for the increased public participation in law enforcement through laws, regulations, and checks and balances that attempt to regulate police discretion (Bierschback, 2016). However, segments of the population have consented to democratic systems that empower police and punish Black and brown people (Akbar, 2020; Bierschback, 2016). Friedman (2017) points out the veil of secrecy that cloaks the modern policing system. Mass surveillance, unreasonable searches and seizures, and entering homes without warrants are all examples of policing without permission (Freidman, 2017). The *more democracy* reform tactic sidesteps questions of broader systemic racism and "fails to account for the anti-democratic nature of the carceral state" (Akbar, 2020, p. 125).

More bureaucracy calls for greater bureaucratic and expert input, and top-down and data-driven institutions with processes and police that will retrain and curb police discretion, bringing in greater rationality (Rappaport, 2015; Akbar, 2020). Opposite to *more democracy*, this reform approach moves away from democratic procedures and electoral politics towards embracing the bureaucratic system and relying on “rational” experts. Barkow (2019) feels the criminal justice system has failed because it was constructed by non-experts that were not driven by data and rationality (Levin, 2020). However, Akbar (2020) argues that this view posits politics and rationality against each other. Politics and rationality are intertwined, as politics has reason, and what is reasonable can be political (Akbar, 2020). Further, political elites have helped shape the political and bureaucratic system, and were the ones that built the criminal justice system as it is today (Simonson, 2020).

More procedural justice is concerned with improving the legitimacy and authority of the police by encouraging the police to foster a new perception of fairness. Fairness is assumed to be the procedural and neutral treatment of citizens by the police with the opportunity to be heard (Akbar, 2020). It calls for procedural justice training and a switch to a procedural justice model that is focused on building social control, solidarity and cohesion (Tyler, 2017). However, this model does not address the fundamental right that police have to incarcerate and kill, and does not consider diminishing police power (Akbar, 2020). It also fails to account for perceptions of police built on the history and experience of Black, brown and poor communities that have experienced injustice through government agencies, jail staff and emergency responders (Akbar, 2020).

Finally, *more tools and technology* calls for a greater use of technology such as cameras, facial recognition, and weapons scanners (Akbar, 2020). This aims to establish actual reasonable suspicion rather than acting on unconscious biases or racial profiling (Akbar, 2020). This model fails to consider the historical context of policing (i.e., enslavement, Jim Crow, and settler colonialism). Instead, it focuses on modern policing since the start of the twentieth century (Akbar, 2020). Further, the technology remains in the power and control of the police (Akbar, 2020). A recent study on the use of body cameras, for instance, found that body camera usage does not have a statistically significant effect on civilian complaints regarding the use of police force (Williams, Thomas, Jacoby, & Cave, 2016; Yokum, Ravishankar, & Coppock, 2017).

Central Tenets of Abolitionist Theory

Abolitionist theory can be summarized by its historical, material, and ideological perspective of police violence and its connection to the state. Historically, abolitionism looks towards the origins of the police in slave and border patrols, militias, and the Ku Klux Klan (Akbar, 2020). These early slave patrols were state-sanctioned, maintained the purpose of controlling the state population, and had the express purpose of protecting the interests of slave owners (Turner, Giacomassi & Vandiver, 2006).

In Canada, similar roots can be traced back to the surveillance of the Black population in early French colonies with the constant suspicion of "runaways" (Maynard, 2020). This can also be seen in the 19th century with the policing of Black and Indigenous women due to "vagrancy" or prostitution-related offences (Maynard, 2020; Sayers, 2013). Nettleback (2010) evaluates policing within Canada as an evolution of colonial policing by the North West Mounted Police (NWMP). Therefore, Canadian

policing has historically been used as a tool of subjugation and control of minority populations such as the Indigenous peoples. As instruments of colonial governance, early Canadian police forces were enlisted to suppress, surveil, and curtail the independence and mobility of Indigenous groups (Nettleback, 2010). In this manner, the NWMP was instrumental in erasing Indigenous sovereignty and bringing Indigenous peoples wholly under colonial rule.

It is argued that the origin of policing in slave patrols has modernized the anti-Black violence of slave owners and the Klan (Hesse, 2017). The police's historical role- particularly police practices in dealing with civilians- plays a large part in undermining police's role in providing citizen safety and protection for human rights (Goldsmith, 2003). Notably, the potential for public trust is not equally distributed between or within particular societies, as those whose lives are more insecure can less afford to trust police and justice institutions (Goldsmith, 2016). Abolitionists are critical of how slave patrols and early policing have informed the modern system and see this connection as too salient to ignore (Akbar, 2020).

From a material perspective, abolitionists regard the state as investors of policing and prisons as a means to solve political and economic crises (Akbar, 2020). The state has greatly funded policing, while simultaneously cutting investments to basic infrastructure and social safety net programs (Hamaji et al., 2017). As a result, the police have become the first response for social issues such as homelessness and poverty (Akbar, 2020). This perspective is especially critical of the neoliberal state that tends to privatize social services, reduce welfare, and sways towards other austerity measures (Akbar, 2020).

Ideologically, abolitionists seek to challenge the idea that police are agents of public safety and act as a collective good (Akbar, 2020). They counter the idea that the police's primary mission is safety, but instead capitalist relations such as repressing riots and revolts and protecting property over people (Akbar, 2020). This is exacerbated by the binaries of good and bad, criminal and law-abiding, innocent and guilty, that modern criminal justice systems reinforce (Gruber, 2010). These systems mark certain individuals as being outside of the social order and undeserving of social care, thereby continuing the cycle of political and economic crises (Akbar, 2020).

Abolitionists have distinct demands from reformists and look towards a world without police (Akbar, 2020). At its most basic level, their goal is to undermine the idea that police produce safety and to reduce the ideological and material footprint of the police (Akbar, 2020). Abolitionists do not see the core mission of the police to be safety, but instead the protection of property of people through the repression of social change and prioritization of the capitalist class over labor (Akbar, 2020). This is a central tenet of the contemporary abolitionist theory that ties together the historical, material, and ideological perspective on police violence and its connection to the state.

Contrasting Reformist and Abolitionist Debates

There are several key distinctions between the reformist and abolitionist movements that are important to note. Reformists view the police as a necessary legal good, and believe that the primary goal of policing is to ensure safety, protection from violence, and the maintenance of law and order (Akbar, 2020). In contrast, abolitionists view the primary goal of the police as protecting state and capitalist interests rather than

maintaining safety (Akbar, 2020). Reformists seek to re-legitimize police in the eyes of the public and cite trust issues and police consent as major drivers of police violence issues (Goldsmith, 2016). Abolitionists, however, seek to delegitimize the police by reducing the size of the police force and challenging the belief that police reproduce safety (Akbar, 2020).

The fundamental differences between both movements lead to different policy outcomes and solutions to police violence. Reformists seek solutions such as increased use of body cameras, community policing, more training, civilian oversight boards, and increased prosecution of individual police officers who fail to adhere to the law (Akbar 2020; Resistance, 2021). Abolitionists do not advocate for these reforms as they do not reduce the ideological or material scale of the police, or challenge the idea that police increase safety (Akbar 2020; Resistance, 2021).

Alternatively, abolitionists advocate for solutions such as: refusing to rehire officers with past excessive force cases, making officers liable for misconduct settlements, suspending paid administrative leave for officers under investigation, reducing the size of the police force, prioritizing spending on alternative modes of care and community development, withdrawing from militarization programs, and capping overtime pay for military exercises (Akbar, 2020; Resistance, 2021). These changes both reduce the ideological and material footprint of the police and challenge the idea that police reproduce safety. Rather than reforming the current policing system, abolitionist approaches attempt to transform the system and redirect funding and resources to community health, education, social housing and other social provisions.

Community and Transformative Justice

The transformative justice approach reinforces fundamental aspects of abolitionist theory. As mentioned previously, abolitionists consider the historical context of early policing as tools of racial and colonial control (Akbar, 2000). Therefore, services independent from the criminal justice system will better serve and transform individuals and their communities. Transformative justice is an alternative to state policing that aims to "secure individual justice while transforming structures of social injustice" (Generation Five, 2007).

This alternative to the carceral state emphasizes that the state cannot be transformed because it is inherently violent due to its reliance on violence to punish individuals (Generation Five, 2007). In addition, the state has failed to adequately respond to the troubles facing marginalized, racialized, and low-income communities. These communities are disproportionately targeted and have developed a deep distrust of the criminal justice system (Generation Five, 2007). Within Canada, Boutilier & Wells (2018) note that Indigenous, Black, and racialized men are more likely to be wrongfully convicted for sexual violence even though they are less likely to commit these crimes. Moreover, racialized women fear that their partners will experience violence in the criminal justice system and that no true rehabilitation will occur (Boutilier & Wells, 2018). These systemic factors demonstrate how the traditional criminal justice system and current policing have been shaped by white supremacy.

The transformative justice approach does not believe that the state can be reformed. Rather, survivor healing, offender accountability and transformation, and community accountability and transformation of social conditions need to occur

independently from the state (Generation Five, 2007). Transformative justice utilizes a liberatory approach that seeks to provide non-violent alternatives that focus on safety and accountability instead of punishment and shaming (Generation Five, 2007). It acknowledges that offenders' actions are shaped by social conditions and personal histories (Generation Five, 2007). In addition, it places the survivor at the centre to engage in a long-term healing process (Generation Five, 2007). This process utilizes compassion and commitment to allow for individual and collective healing (Chrysalis Collective, 2011).

This approach draws from social justice theory and seeks to challenge existing inequalities such as racism, misogyny, stigma, privilege and oppression, and gender roles (Generation Five, 2007). This also involves addressing structural factors for violence such as racism, sexism, and poverty (Boutilier & Wells, 2018). The purpose of this approach is to truly transform social conditions so that violence does not reoccur (Generation Five, 2007).

Restorative Justice

As indicated by Eglash (1958), restorative justice is one of three types of criminal justice: (1) retributive justice, based on punishment; (2) distributive justice, based on therapeutic treatment of offenders; and (3) restorative justice, based on restitution (Van Ness & Strong, 2014). Zehr (1990) describes restorative justice as a process between offender, victim, and community to search for solutions collectively that promote repair and reconciliation. Wright (1996) sees restorative justice as a process to restore the situation as much as possible, rather than adding harm through punishment. In addition, restorative justice is reflective in most Indigenous societies and the African concept of ubuntu, which means that "people are people through other people" (Williams, 2013, Jenkins, 2006). There is no one understanding of restorative justice that is definitive and whole. However, the core of this model rests with reducing punishment and engaging all stakeholders in a collective process.

In Canada, restorative justice is supported through several pieces of legislation, such as The Criminal Code, The Youth Criminal Justice Act, The Victim Bill of Rights Act, and the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (Justice Canada, 2018). Furthermore, Justice Canada's Indigenous Justice Program, Justice Partnership and Innovation Program, and the Youth Justice Fund support 12 restorative justice initiatives across Canada. Federal, provincial, and territorial governments also provide funding to community-based agencies, Indigenous organizations, and other organizations that facilitate the restorative justice process (Correctional Services Canada, 2016). Currently, over 400 restorative justice programs exist in Canada (Correctional Services Canada, 2016).

Restorative justice programs take many forms, such as sentencing, support, accountability circles, victim-offender mediation, community justice forums, youth justice committees, family group conferencing, and victim and trauma services (Canadian Families and Corrections Network, 2016). There are various points of the criminal justice process that individuals can receive restorative justice. This includes the following stages: policy entry point prior to a charge, crown entry point post-charge, judicial entry point post-conviction, and corrections entry point post-sentence (Office of the Federal Ombudsman for Victims of Crime, 2017). In Canada, the most common

entry-points are the pre-charge and post-charge stages (Correctional Services Canada, 2016).

It is generally agreed that restorative justice is a better alternative than traditional criminal justice methods (Condon, 2010, Gavrielides, 2014, Cario, 2003). While it is the better alternative, state-mandated restorative justice practices are also criticized. Within a Canadian context, current state restorative practices have faced several criticisms. For example, Williams (2013) highlights that restorative justice does not adequately meet the needs of African-Nova Scotian youth because it does not provide a culturally specific response. Likewise, police officers often over police African-Nova Scotian youth and the justice system engages in a biased selection of who does and does not qualify for restorative justice. The community involved in the restorative justice process is not always reflective of the African-Nova Scotian community. The process also does not challenge and transform structural factors, such as racism and misogyny (Boutilier & Wells, 2018, Cairo, 2003, Roach, 2000, Williams, 2013). Gavrielides and Artinopoulou (2013) argue that the Western nature of legal and sociopolitical institutions needs to be considered if restorative justice is to be inclusive. Integrating restorative justice into a system that works against its primary goals remains a challenge.

International Police Reform Efforts

Police Reform Efforts: Overview

The following case studies outline police reforms in three broad geographical regions: The United Kingdom, North America, and the Nordics. This scan will primarily focus on the jurisdictions of Scotland, Northern Ireland, Camden, New Jersey, and highlight the general police reform trends in Scandinavia. A commonality among these case studies is that these jurisdictions have low crime rates and have established firm rules about police conduct that make deadly violence less likely. The United Kingdom, excluding Northern Ireland, Finland, Norway, and Iceland, are all examples of countries in which their police officers are unarmed and have consequently cemented the standard in which there is an expectation among the general populous that officers will police by consent, rather than with the threat of force (Godin, 2020). In unarmed countries, the philosophy of policing by consent is based on the notion that legitimacy and authority are gained by maintaining the public's approval and respect. As a result, governments invest in rigorous and advanced levels of training for law enforcement, and police abide by more stringent rules (Godin, 2020). While the United Kingdom and North America case studies are examples of jurisdictions that enacted reforms in response to high crime rates and violence, the Nordics serve as an example of reforms focused on improving administrative efficiency.

Police Reform Efforts: The United Kingdom

Scotland

In 2005, Glasgow was dubbed the murder capital of Europe and has since taken strong measures to reduce crime and violence. Analysts for the Glasgow City Police led Scotland to become the first jurisdiction in the world to list violence as a public health issue (Bergeron and Mills, 2019). In 2012, the Police and Fire Reform, known as the

Scottish Police Act, outlined that police should be "accessible to and engaged with, local communities" and the police should collaborate with other local agencies to promote "measures to prevent crime, harm, and disorder" (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015). These principles reflected the commitment to a community-oriented policing style that prioritizes cooperation with partner agencies and communities, emphasizing police proximity and visibility. This view greatly contrasts the vision of policing in England and Wales, which is strongly focused on crime-fighting (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2014).

One of the most significant changes ushered in by the Scottish Police Act was the abolition of locally elected police authorities. The main form of statutory governance now operates at the national level through the unelected Scottish Police Authority. In contrast, at the local level, locally elected councillors have limited powers that only extend as far as requesting information and reports from the local police commander and the approval of local police plans (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015). Police reform has resulted in a fundamental shift in the relationship between local authorities and the police away from governance towards what is being referred to as 'scrutiny and engagement' (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015).

The Scottish Police Act dismantled the arrangements of police governance that existed since the 1960s. Under the old arrangements, the government contributed to 51% of local policing costs and maintained the overall responsibility for policing policy. Local police boards contributed to 49% of the costs and set the budget, while the chief constable exercised operational independence in relation to local policing (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2014). Under the Scottish Police Act, local police boards were abolished, and local councils now do not have formal powers related to the governance of the police and merely have a consultative position (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2014). With these changes, the local police commander must consult local councils in setting priorities for policing in their area, submitting a local police plan for approval, and providing reports about local policing (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2014).

Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland has historically engaged in discriminatory police practices and has a history in which the nation's population was divided along ethno-religious lines between Catholics and Protestants. By the 1990s, the Catholic population was disproportionately targeted by the protestant Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) police force and were thus highly distrusting of the police service. In response to low public confidence, RUC rebranded as the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) to include both Protestants and Catholics and adopted an approach that focused on demilitarized and community-based policing (Posner, 2020).

Reforms included neighbourhood policing teams, a commitment to policing via foot patrol, and engaging more directly with grassroots restorative-justice organizations. The notion of community-based policing was strongly linked with the idea that all of Northern Ireland's citizens should see themselves and their communities reflected in the police force (Ellison, 2007). PSNI's commitment to demilitarization and restorative justice helped foster confidence in the police and could potentially reduce police violence towards citizens who disproportionately face violence (Ellison, 2007). Since then, levels of day-to-day violence in Northern Ireland have greatly decreased in scale prior to the 1990s, and police attacks on police and military personnel have been

reduced to almost a non-existent level (Ellison, 2007). This transformation took over a decade since the recommendations were first proposed. It will likely take more time for the reforms to be fully realized and true sustainability in policing to be reached.

Police Reform Efforts: North America

The case of Camden, New Jersey is frequently cited as a successful case of comprehensive police reform with large decreases in violent crime rates. Camden was regularly listed as one of the most violent cities in the United States and had a police force known for fabricating reports and committing perjury (Andrew, 2020).

In 2012, this police force was dissolved and replaced with Camden County Police Department (CCPD). The primary objective of the CCPD was to reduce violent crime and make residents feel safer in their communities. This was achieved through community-oriented policing that prioritized partnership and problem-solving over punishment and violence (Andrew, 2020). The CCPD was also given de-escalation tactics training, and underscoring the use of deadly force is the last option (Andrew, 2020). Finally, the CCPD ensured diversity within the force to serve Black and brown residents (Andrew, 2020).

After its first seven years of operation, the city saw a 47 percent reduction in crime (Andrew, 2020). The White House Task Force pointed out this would not have been achievable without building trust and legitimacy between police and citizens (Robinson, 2020). Community trust is the only foundation that can guarantee the success of reform efforts. The case of Camden highlights that prioritizing community trust in every jurisdiction is critical and that reform will not be sustainable without it.

Police Reform Efforts: The Nordics

Scandinavia has taken a management theory approach towards police reform, with different areas of focus within each respective jurisdiction (Graner, 2017). While reform in Denmark has emphasized objective measures of police effectiveness, reform in Sweden and Norway have been more concerned with citizens' attitudes (Graner, 2017).

In Finland, five objectives guided reform: security of a minimum service standard in the whole country, increasing productivity and profitability, management by results, maintaining cooperative relations with various partners and securing of the personnel's motivation (Graner, 2017). It resulted in reducing local police departments from 90 to 24. The Ministry of the Interior was delegated as the head of strategic planning, and the National Police Board focused on police operational work and national police units (Graner, 2017).

In Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, police reform focused on centralization, improved police contact with citizens, reducing the number of police districts, and uniform organization and service delivery (Holmberg, 2019). These reforms emphasize centralizing police management, regardless of the problems they are expected to solve and have underestimated the resources and time needed for implementation (Holmberg, 2019). In Norway and Sweden, where reforms are recent, evaluations have indicated the need for a prolonged implementation period. In Denmark, where reform

was implemented in 2010, not all of the expected results have been achieved (Holmberg, 2019).

These reforms were framed as a form of decentralization through centralization in terms of releasing resources by larger administrative units (Graner, 2017). Although reform was presented as decentralization in Denmark, the National Police Commissioner's power was strengthened, and the number of districts was reduced from 54 to 12 (Graner, 2017). As illustrated by Denmark, the focus remains on strengthening governmental control, increasing uniformity and cost-efficiency, and the emphasis on more local police has primarily served as a way to promote the reforms (Graner, 2017). In general, the focus on management theories has caused these reforms to disregard the particularity of police work. As experience from police work and organizational cultural assumptions have been neglected, these reforms have been met with resistance from many police officers and often a loss of confidence in the police at the local level (Graner, 2017).

Thus far, none of the reforms have yielded the expected returns from rationalization based on the Scandinavian findings. Critics of reforms in Finland have suggested that reform did not significantly impact police services at the local level, and no major changes to police work productivity were observed (Graner, 2017). Meanwhile, in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, there have been difficulties related to realizing expected timelines, scarce resources, and maintaining control over local policing (Holmberg, 2019). Additionally, while the data is limited regarding the improvement of the relationship between police and the communities they serve, no evidence suggests that reforms have improved this relationship (Holmberg, 2019).

Social Services and Crime Rates

The focus on defunding and reallocating resources away from prisons and police and reinvesting it into institutions and initiatives begs the question of the effects of social services on crime rates. Becker (1968) presents a foundational approach that combines behavioural considerations and economic explanations for criminal activity that is widely empirically supported (Foley, 2011). With this model, individuals are considered more likely to commit crimes when they are less likely to earn more from legitimate activities (Becker, 1968; Foley, 2011).

Empirical research has expanded on this approach, examining the effects of timing and the total size of welfare payments on criminal activity. Foley (2011) and Watson, Guettabi & Reimer (2020) demonstrate that violent crimes and property crimes increase near the end of the month on a monthly welfare payment cycle. However, both authors found an increase in substance abuse within the first week of receiving welfare payments (Foley, 2011; Watson, Guettabi & Reimer, 2020).

Furthermore, individual consumption levels tend to sharply increase when payments are first received (Foley, 2011). Shapiro (2005) found that caloric intake tends to decline between food stamp payments, and Stephens (2003) found that spending increased on goods that reflect instantaneous consumption within first receiving welfare payments. This leaves individuals with depleted funds near the end of a payment cycle and a greater chance of committing a crime (Foley, 2011), especially larceny crimes such as shoplifting, petty theft, or robbery (Meloni, 2014). Foley (2011) suggests that

welfare payments should be staggered and more frequent to smooth crime levels and consumption patterns.

In the cases of Scandinavia, their approach is to view policing as part of the solution to social issues, rather than the solution itself. In Sweden, mental health professionals have been deployed without police officers since 2015 (Adam and Noack, 2020). Finland introduced its "housing-first" program in 2008 and successfully reduced long-term homelessness by 42 percent (Adam and Noack, 2020). By providing people with homes, Finland has helped break the cycle of violence for people trying to find homes or coming out of prison (Adam and Noack, 2020). The Nordic experiences suggest that reforms may need to take place across a range of sectors beyond the police force itself to have a sustainable impact.

International Disarmament Efforts

In many countries, such as England, policing by consent is an essential tenet of the relations between civil society and the police (Goldsmith, 2005; Godin, 2020). Policing by consent iterates that police should not gain their power and legitimacy by instilling fear in the population, but rather by maintaining the public's trust and approval. This model maintains that the use of force should be restrained and defines success not in terms of arrests but rather by reducing crime itself (Godin, 2020). Policing by consent is an essential component of disarmament efforts, whereby police are called upon to exert their authority through the demonstrated maintenance of public respect rather than force.

There are 19 nations in the world today that do not arm police officers. These nations include Botswana, the Cook Islands, Fiji, Iceland, Ireland, Kiribati, Malawi, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Norway, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, the UK (excluding North Ireland), Vanuatu, and the Virgin Islands (Godin, 2020). In these nations, it is policing by consent, rather than through the threat of force, that is a commonality.

Another common feature of nations that do not arm their police is the more stringent requirements of police forces. In countries where forces are disarmed, police are expected to undergo more challenging training and abide by stricter rules. For example, in Finland and Norway, specially trained officers can only pull the trigger after receiving permission from a more senior official (Godin, 2020). In New Zealand, while officers are trained in the use of certain pistols and rifles, these are stored in lockboxes in patrol cars (McCarthy, 2020). In Ireland, the use of firearms is restricted to specific divisions, such as detectives and the Emergency Response Unit (McCarthy, 2020).

In the UK, more than 90% of the capital's police officers do not carry a gun (Smith, 2017). As such, they rely on several tools used as "dissuasive" equipment, such as tasers, batons and canisters of mace spray (Commander, 2018). Very few UK police officers are trained in the use of guns and remain in patrolling pairs. When shootings involving the police do occur, authorities in Britain review each one diligently. In the instance that a British police officer shoots and injures or kills someone, it is automatically referred to a separate watchdog called the Independent Police Complaints Commission, or IPCC, for external review (Smith, 2017).

The disarmament philosophy is rooted in creating stronger links with the community rather than militarized police forces (Smith, 2017). Over the last few

decades, North American police forces have regularly adopted more militarized structures, tactics, uniforms and equipment, particularly in the face of increasing terrorist activity (Farmer & Evans, 2020). It is commonly argued that armed police are inherently better able to protect others, thereby improving safety for everyone. However, there is little empirical evidence to confirm that regions that deploy routinely armed police are safer (Farmer & Evans, 2020).

More guns do not necessarily result in safer policing or police practices. In a study comparing Canada & Australia against New Zealand and England/Wales, the rate of fatal police shootings is statistically higher in the routinely armed jurisdictions (Farmer & Evans, 2020). In Canada, the number of civilians fatally shot by police, per 100,000 population, is more than 18 times higher than in England/Wales, three times higher than Australia, and twice the rate of New Zealand (Farmer & Evans, 2020). The rate of fatal police shootings is notably higher in the armed jurisdictions, countering the argument that routinely arming police inevitably and invariably increases safety.

Conclusion

The differences between police reform and abolition efforts are significant in shaping policy recommendations and outcomes. Reformists seek to improve the ability of police to absorb reforms, increase public participation in its organization, enforce bureaucratic oversight, and equip police with improved tools and technology (Chan, 2020; Akbar, 2020). Where reformists seek to re-legitimize the police in the eyes of the public, abolitionists seek to challenge the status quo notions that police generate safety and are a common public good (Akbar, 2020). This is done by taking into consideration the historical context of police and working toward reducing the ideological and material footprint of the police (Akbar, 2020).

Transformative and restorative justice work towards a similar end as the abolitionist approach. Transformative justice emphasizes that the transformation of the environment and social conditions in which crimes are committed is necessary to prevent further harm towards victims and the community as a whole (Generation Five, 2007). Restorative justice seeks to engage all parties, including offenders, victims, and the broader community, in a collaborative justice process to restore the situation as much as possible (Wright, 1996).

Police reform efforts across the UK fall in line with previous reformist literature. In the UK, oversight committees were established to increase confidence in the police complaint systems and assess police performance. Similar to procedural justice and democratic legal reformist theory, these types of reforms attempt to legitimize police in the eyes of the public (Akbar, 2020). The erosion of public trust must be rebuilt by altering public perceptions of the nature of the policing institutions. By ensuring public confidence, police forces maintain their inherent ability to incarcerate, incite violence, and kill and fundamentally maintain independence (Akbar, 2020).

Scandinavia's focus on repairing public perception embodied both reformist and abolitionist tendencies. On the reformist side, Scandinavia toyed with the location of police power through centralizing control through the government and increasing uniformity (Graner, 2017). On the abolitionist side, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway directly reduced the number of police districts (Holmberg, 2019). At their core, these efforts intended to improve police contact with citizens, an inherently reformist goal.

Camden, New Jersey, took drastic measures by completely replacing its police department. The new CCPD made residents feel safer, prioritizing community policing, emphasizing problem-solving over punishment, and ensuring that officers are ready with the right training (Andrew, 2020). Similarly, Northern Ireland's focus on community policing and its shift away from violent punishment shares many similarities with Camden, New Jersey. Both cases create a new alternative to the traditional punitive justice system and seek to transform the communities they serve.

Research conducted on social services has shown a connection between dollar amount and payment timing of welfare programs. As consumer spending rises at the beginning of welfare cycles, money becomes scarce by the end of the month, leading to a rise in both violent and property crimes. Foley (2011) suggests that welfare payments should be staggered and more frequent to smooth crime levels and consumption patterns.

Finally, international disarmament efforts in 19 countries have produced worthwhile alternatives such as tougher training, stricter rules, guns left in locked boxes in vehicles, and firearms restricted to specific units or divisions (Godin, 2020). These cases challenge the idea that armed police officers provide greater security as countries without armed police have significantly lower rates of civilians shot by police.

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