Objective: Disproportionate harm in policing has been demonstrated across contexts (Hall et al 1978; Razack 2002; Roberts 2004; Vigneswaran 2014; Richardson et al. 2013; Jefferson 2017). In the Canadian case Indigenous Peoples alongside members of visible minority, disability, sexual and gender minority communities, and poor folks are disproportionately imprisoned and otherwise harmed by policing (Malakieh 2020). Harms include direct violence, alongside psychological and social harm, and the violence of neglect (Cooper et al. 2004; Krug et al. 2002; NIMMIWG 2019). The outcomes of the disproportionate harm in policing are also spatial producing carceral geographies, spaces outside of prisons and jails that are still governed by the logics and technologies of those institutions.

Mainstreamed urban and regional planning continues to play a role in disproportionate policing harm generally (Dikeç 2007), and the production of carceral geographies specifically. Mainstreamed planning practices play a role in the disproportionate harm through a focus on ordering and development in service of the values of capitalist growth, white supremacy and white settler colonialism (Simpson et al. 2020). The starting point of the proposed research is to ask how planning practices can instead play a role in producing more equitable conditions that support community safety and thriving.

Recent events, including widespread protests in 2020 in support of the Movement for Black Lives, have sensitized publics to abolitionist ideals (Palacios 2016). Abolition frameworks envision forms of community safety that divest support from incarceration, resources for policing and carceral logics broadly (Davis 2003, 2011; Gilmore 2007; Lesage de La Haye 2019). Over the past decade there has been a flourishing of abolitionist thinking and practice that facilitated the summer 2020 protests and supports ongoing calls for radical transformations of police forces and community safety. Yet there are still barriers and resistance to implementing these ideas. In the proposed research we will develop a synthesis of emerging theories and practices of abolition, ask what planning practice can learn them, and make recommendations for incorporating these ideals into planning practice.

We respond to our questions in four stages: 1) a synthesis of grassroots definitions of abolition. Using automated content analysis, we will draw on transcripts from abolition-focused independent podcasts. These are data-rich, born-digital media, and by prioritizing podcasts created by formerly incarcerated and otherwise systems-involved creators in our selection process, the research outcomes amplify understandings of abolition from communities most impacted by disproportionate policing harm. 2) Podcasts are also imbricated in a rich context of creators, guests, producers and references. We will examine the contexts in which theories and practices of abolition are developing using social-spatial network analysis. 3) We examine the relationship between planning and policing in Canada through a survey of practicing planners. Survey data will provide insight into the Canadian context, and the national survey we will capture information about a wider range of the country that is currently available. 4) in consultation with planning practitioners from the public, private and third sectors, and planning educators, we will translate the findings of the study into recommendations for urban and regional planning practice. The translational stage of research is an opportunity for knowledge mobilization that directly engages with an audience of planning practitioners charged with shaping the future of North American cities and regions. Taken together these outcomes also directly address various social and governance topics identified by SSHRC (2018) as emerging global challenges including questions around emerging patterns of privilege and marginalization, and envisioning governance systems that serve and retain the trust of the changing communities and polities.

Context: Disproportionate harm: Research has clearly identified the disproportionate harm of law enforcement in a variety of contexts, including Canada. Harms in law enforcement range from direct physical violence including death and sexual assaults (Cooper et al 2004), to the psychological impacts of involuntary encounters with police, and fear of violence (Geller et al. 2014). Illness related to incarceration including respiratory diseases and sexually transmitted infections impact incarcerated individuals alongside the communities to which they return (Binswangerr et al. 2016; Pelligrino 2017). There are also social and economic harms for communities with high rates of incarceration including

damage to social ties and networks (Roberts 2004; van Olphen et al. 2006). Additionally the National Inquiry into Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls (NIMMIWG) final report draws attention to the violence of neglect in law enforcement, where those with a responsibility to care, provide service, or protect from harm do not (Cooper et al. 2004; Krug et al. 2002; NIMMIWG 2019). The outcomes of a violence of neglect include difficulty in gaining protection from the police, or as the NIMMIWG (2019) points to, the ways in which Indigenous families and communities were regularly dismissed by police officers when reporting missing loved ones.

Research and reporting demonstrates the role of systemic racism and colonialism in experiences of disproportionate policing harm in Canada. Approximately 4.5% of the Canadian adult population identifiy as First Nations, Métis or Inuit, Indigenous adults were 31% of the population admitted to provincial and territorial custody in the 2018/2019 reporting year. In the federal system the number was 29%. Indigenous women were 42% of women admitted to custody. Indigenous youth were 43% of youth admitted (Malakieh 2020). The Toronto Star (2010), and journalist Desmond Cole (2020) find racial discrimination in carding in Toronto. Carding is a pre-emptive policing technology to stop, detain, and record data about residents based on suspicion of criminal activity. During the 2000s over half of stops were categorized as general inquiry. Young Black men, and more specifically Jsamaican and Jamaican-heritage men, were disproportionately stopped in all neighbourhoods in the city, South Asian, Arab and West Asian young men across most of the city, Stops were also most likely in neighbourhoods with large visible minority populations. Black residents, who make up 8.8% of the population in Toronto were also involved in 28.8% of use of force complaints, 36% of police shootings and 70% of police fatal shootings (OHRC 2018). In Thunder Bay Indigenous-police relationships were described as "nothing short of a crisis of trust" (McNeilly 2018: 6). In identifying the causes of the crisis, the report notes the interrelationships between the impacts of historic and contemporary colonial conditions, lack of resources for the police service, and large and small acts of discrimination by the police against Indigenous Peoples living in, visiting, or travelling through Thunder Bay.

Harm is also gendered and intertwined with sexuality. Women who experience gendered and sexual violence report a lack of response from police officers alongside experiences of re-victimization (Cooper et al 2004). Women and other people who are sex workers have heightened concerns around direct violence, direct sexual violence, and being criminalized or punished for their work rather than cared for or served when harm has occurred (Gallant et al. 2020). Trans* women and men who have sex with men (MSM) report being targeted for surveillance seemingly for being and interacting in public (Hooper 2017). Queer youth who disproportionately experience homelessness, and are less likely to use shelters, are also more likely to have uninvited encounters with police officers.

Other marginalized identities experience specific harms. Expanded mandates around policing mean that people with mental health disabilities increasingly encounter police officers with little mental health training leading to "disastrous results" (OHRC 2014, np). Particularly for people in crisis, behaviour seen as unusual, or an inability to understand or respond to officers can lead to violent incidents. Adorjan et al. (2017) find youth living outside of urban centres in Newfoundland had more negative views of police officers when their impressions were based on their own negative encounters which ranged from feelings of intimidation encountering police officers in school to slow response times in rural communities. This reflects general trends where people with disabilities, Indigenous, and visible minority residents in Canada are less likely to express confidence in police (Ibrahim 2020).

The material outcomes of this disproportionate harm are carceral geographies where communities even outside of jails and prisons are governed through the logics of those institutions (Story 2016; Moran et al 2018). More specifically residents in carceral geographies are surveilled, subject to punishment, criminalization, enclosure and banishment (Beckett et al. 2010). Additionally, carceral geographies draw attention to the ways in which people are cycled in, out (and back in again) of prisons and jails. As such, space in communities that are heavily policed are further disciplined through threats of incarceration and ghosts of people lost to jails and prisons. Carceral geographies also draw

attention to the ways in which resources flow into carceral institutions and away from communities of incarcerated people (Gill at al. 2016; Jefferson 2017; Moran et al. 2018).

Planning and Policing: Urban and regional planning is implicated in the disproportionate harm of policing and the police. Drawing on Rancière, Dikeç (2007) describes the police as the general process of spatial ordering and distribution, an "established form of governance with everyone in their 'proper place' in the seemingly natural order of things" (19). Dikeç (2007) also highlights that uniformed police forces are just one part of a broader technology of policing that includes development, land use zoning and public budgeting (Simpson 2015). In this definition of policing urban and regional planning is closely imbricated into practices of ordering, of putting people in their proper place (Perin 1977; Simpson et al. 2020). Knapp (2020) illuminates the connection through survey research. She finds that in the US planners are not aware of the ways in which policies around housing and employment influence the inclusion or exclusion of people leaving incarceration. Additionally she finds that the lack of knowledge is compounded by the fact that where planners are engaging they are engaging with stakeholders involved in administering incarceration, rather than stakeholders focused on reentry, or people who have been incarcerated.

Research has documented that Canadian planning practices foreground practices of ordering and distribution that buttress white supremacist conditions. As defined by Pulido (2015) white supremacy related to planning and development is characterized by 1) an awareness of harm to racialized, and otherwise marginalized communities; 2) a taking, where the well-being of white and other dominant communities is gained at the expense of others; 3) an attitude of racial superiority that might be expressed overtly through animus, expressed through an elevation of a singular set of values, or the inability to extend care across difference. Pulido's definition highlights the relational character of white supremacy, and the ways in which spatial distributions and ordering that promote safety and thriving in one communities has been purchased at the cost of the taking from, harm and policing of others.

Using the example of relations between the City of Brantford, Ontario, and the Haudenosaunee Development Institute (HDI), Dorries (2017) demonstrates the role of white supremacy in land planning. She traces the ways in which municipal actions simultaneously supported colonial government claims to sovereignty and undermined Indigenous sovereignty through municipal actions predicated on values around property as "a thing rather than a bundle of rights delineated through social relations." (74), alongside criminalization of the HDI, and a rejection of the requirement to consult Indigenous Peoples.

The long history of planning in the Halifax region also demonstrates the role of white supremacy in mainstreamed planning. This includes the ways in which the ordering needed for a good life for white residents in the city was cyclically gained at the expense of Black residents (Rutland 2018). This included the displacement and dispossession of residents from Africville, and the distribution of undesirable land uses, for example industrial waste dumps, which led to disproportionately siting in rural African Nova Scotians and Mi'kmaq communities leading to significant health and environmental harms in the same communities (Waldron 2018).

The disproportionate harm, and the inequity of carceral geographies is longstanding, and not in question in the proposed research. In Toronto alone more than a dozen public reports have been produced related to racial profiling and policing since the 1980s (Jackson 1994; Maynard 2017). Planning is also moving towards an embrace of the digital and smart city logics that employ surveillance in service of efficiency, and reinforce bias by transforming into analysis (Richardson et al. 2014; Vigenswaran 2014; Simpson 2021). As such, to imagine a role for urban and regional planning practice in producing conditions of equitable community safety we employ an abolition framework.

Abolition: Abolitionist movements draw a straight line between chattel slavery, colonialism, current technologies of the police, and work to reject these technologies in favour of wholistic change that addresses social, cultural, and economic conditions at the root (Lesage de La Haye 2019). An abolitionist framework asks how to ensure community safety without increasing the number of incarcerated people, resources for policing, or support for carcearal logics focused on surveillance,

punishment, enclosure or banishment (Davis 2003, 2011; Gilmore 2007; Beckett et al. 2010). The focus of abolition is on producing new systems that centre community, care, economic and racial justice, healing and thriving. As such abolition is largely a generative framework (FFSJ 2015; Palacios 2016; NIMMIWG 2019; Dorries and Harjo 2020).

There are pockets of already existing abolitionist organizing and practice that can serve both as examples for further practice and sites from which new knowledge and theory are being produced. Two important themes that run through existing practices of abolition are restorative justice (Caley 1998) and transformative justice (Morris 2000; Kaba 2021; Dixon et al. 2020). Restorative justice focuses on formal state policing systems to incorporate harm reduction and rehabilitation principles, and avoiding incarceration in favour of community-based programs. Transformative justice is grounded in ideals of non-institutional solutions for community safety, and community accountability that centre those that have been harmed, while still holding space for healing for those that have harmed (Thom 2020).

Space and place are present across both restorative and transformational justice in terms of questions around movement, enclosure, and the spaces where restorative and transformation justice work happen. Affect in space (Simpson 2019) also plays a role as spaces of transformative justice are often produced through what artist Eddie Fake (BAMPFA 2019) describes as "improvisation out of need" or "fabulous resourcefulness," the value and politics of which can be overlooked or mischaracterized in mainstreamed planning practices.

Methodology: The proposed research takes a mixed methods approach incorporating geocomputational, survey and participatory methods. The project is divided into four stages: 1) an analysis of independent podcast transcripts using automated content analysis to categorize emerging theories and practices of abolition. 2) Social network analysis of podcasts creators, guests and references to better understand the circulation and relationships in and through which ideas are developing. 3) A survey of Canadian planners to gauge knowledge and action around preventative and re-entry programs for communities that have been disproportionally harmed through policing, and community members returning from incarceration. 4) Transnational stage of research, working in collaboration with public, private and third sector planners and planning educators to translate findings from earlier stages of research, produce and circulate recommendations for planning practices that promote equitable conditions for community safety and thriving, or planning for abolition.

Defining Abolition: The past decade has seen a flourishing of abolitionist organizing grounded in ideals around restorative and transformative justice, building on foundational examples from the 1970s through to the 2000s, and contributing new practice and theories. Following McKay (2005) we describe the contemporary moment as a new formation in abolitionist thinking. A moment of rupture where inequitable political norms are questioned, and new politics proposed and enacted (see also Isin 2002). Thinking about methodology in historical research McKay (2005) describes a:

> …reliable test, checkable reference, a good empirical indication of such a moment of supersedure [as] a sudden effervescence of unauthorized grassroots writing. In such a time [he continues] radiant with the future, the radical presses blaze with energy. Pamphlets, position papers, manifestos, broadsheets, letters, declarations stream from them, answering each other, creating – as if out of thin air – a new political universe." (McKay 2005, 106)

While the media are different–videos, social media posts, websites and podcasts, for example, instead of pamphlets and broadsheets–the surge of born-digital content focused around a politics of racial and economic justice alongside abolition is evidence of a contemporary moment of political rupture. And it is this new political universe that we set out to understand.

We focus on independent podcasts in the proposed research as data-rich, born-digital, broadly democratic and interoperable media. Unlike commercial tools such as Instagram or Twitter posts, podcasts can be circulated through various platforms, with fine-grained control and greater digital agency (Coleman 2011). In practice podcasting has also been taken up by a diverse community of

creators, and so podcasts are imbricated in networks outside of both mainstreamed media and traditional political organizing (Kidd et al. 2020).

Like other digital media, podcasts serve multiple purposes for the creators and the public that gather around them. Mehta (2017), for example describes the ways in which independent digital media might inform, act as bottom-up journalism, a deliberative forum, network, opportunity for income-generation, and memorializing. By starting with this media we are building an understanding of abolition that is both everyday and engaged with broader structures (Staeheli et al. 2021), and that takes seriously what people find important enough to document and share (Pollen 2015; Pedri-Spade 2016).

We will include independently produced podcasts that started before 2020, in English and French, that focus on issues related to abolition, and that have at least four episodes. We will start with podcasts produced in North America, and extend our search more broadly. We will prioritize podcasts created by people who are, or have been formerly incarcerated, or otherwise systems-involved including those who have experiences with family and child services interventions, immigration detention and surveillance, and victims of policing violence. In preparation for the research we have identified approximately six podcasts that meet the criteria, and will aim for 25-30 total. We will use databases and resources including the Abolition Library Association, and the network around the Preserve this Podcast initiative to begin our search.

Automated Content Analysis and Network Analysis: Our corpus for this stage of research is made up of transcripts from the podcasts. Where transcripts are not already available we will employ a combination of automated transcription and undergraduate research assistants. Our content analysis will focus on categorization to both identify new concepts related to abolition, and test the prevalence of existing understandings (Grimmer at al 2021). We will use a hybrid approach to the categorization that combines human coding on a training set from the larger corpus of transcripts in tandem with automated approaches to analyze the larger data set (Grimmer et al. 2013; Baden et al. 2020). We will focus on categories related to the ideas, sentiments and practices of abolition, with particular attention to the role of space and place in the understandings.

An important critique of quantified methodologies are the ways in which they tend towards atomizing data and obscuring the context in and for which it was created (Haraway 1988; Mattingly et al. 1995; Walter et al. 2013). To address this critique we will also employ spatial social network analysis. This emerging field attends to both network and Euclidean space simultaneously to better understand the structures and identify key actors in networks across scales (Sarkar et al. 2021). For this section of the research we will analyze the networks of podcast creators themselves, their locations and collaborations, alongside references in the podcasts, the publishing platforms, and guests.

The network approach aligns with geographic thinking more broadly paying attention to the relationships between objects or people embedded in material contexts (O'Sullivan 2021). With a focus on born-digital media we are also taking the materiality of digital contexts seriously. For example, by exploring the networks developing around and through the podcasts we will be able to contribute to understandings around geographies of distant closeness where the circulation of digital media enables connection through interactions that are asynchronous (Van House 2007).

Finally we will engage directly with podcast creators to support robust calibration and verification protocols. This will include obtaining permissions for the use of transcripts, working with creators around transcription when needed, requests for review of analysis, and invitations to initiate future participatory and action research driven by creators work and questions.

Current Knowledge + Knowledge Translation: In the second half of the project we turn to the role of planning practice. We will work with staff from the Black Planning Project (BPP) as consultants during these stages of research. BPP began to document the stories of Black planning practitioners in Canada. The Project has expanded to include network building, and developing mentoring and support opportunities for Black planners alongside Indigenous and other planners of colour. We will work with staff including Abigail Moriah, MCIP, RPP who have expertise in facilitation, affordable housing

development, community development and event organizing. This expertise has been applied, for example, in consultations around equity and diversity in Canadian university planning programs.

We will begin this stage of research with an online survey of practicing planners. The survey builds on work completed in the US (Knapp 2020), and so offers a direct opportunity for comparison. The survey will ask about practitioners' knowledge around the connections between planning and policing, about any actions planners are taking around reentry, particularly in terms of housing and employment, and barriers or resistances to engaging in the work.

The translational stage of the research will be in consultation with North American practicing planners and educators. We will develop the protocols for this stage of research through collaboration meetings held virtually between Simpson, Knapp, Mehta, staff from the BPP and a Postdoctoral Fellow during summer 2024, and begin the early stages of participation in Fall 2024 continuing into the final year of the project. The goal of the translational stage of research is to develop a set of recommendations that draw on the analysis of emerging theories and practices of abolition, and that can be applied in planning practice. Some outputs from this stage of research will include the circulation of the recommendations in accessible venues, which could include articles in the Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP) or American Planning Association (APA) trade magazines. Recommendations could also be circulated digitally, for example, as collaborative films, websites or podcasts. The format and audience will be identified through the translational stage of research.

An additional outcome is the participation of a diverse group of practicing planners and educators. Engaging in participatory translational research is in and of itself a type of knowledge mobilization, an opportunity to develop our analysis while nurturing supportive, relational research practices, and to impact planning practice (Ross et al. 2018; Simpson et al. 2019; Cooper et al. 2018). We anticipate that participants will attend multiple sessions spread through this stage of research to gain orientation around the project and findings, share their needs and experiences, including anticipated barriers and challenges, and work with the research team and consultants to develop recommendation and a circulation plan. Working with BPP we anticipate recruiting approximately twenty participants. Here again we will prioritize the participation of people who have been incarcerated or otherwise systems involved. We will also be attentive to sectoral, geographic, gender and racial diversity. We anticipate virtual participation, but will seek out additional funding including from professional organizations such as the CIP and APA during summer and fall 2024 if we decide in person engagement supports the project goals.

Timeline: <u>Y0 (2021/2022)</u> (W) Begin podcast search and transcript preparation in anticipation of funded research. (S) Recruit Master's students if funded. <u>Y1 (2022/2023)</u> (F) Master's student training begins. (W) Recruit and train undergraduate students. Begin content analysis and social network analysis including gaining permissions from podcast creators. (S) Prepare planner survey including ethics board review, consultation with BPP, and setting up survey in Qualtrics. Recruit second Master's student. Continue content analysis and social network analysis prepare journal articles. <u>Y2 (2023/2024)</u> (F) Submit content analysis article. Second Master's student training begins. Launch planner survey including mailing initial recruitment material and email contacts. Begin recruiting Postdoctoral Fellow. (W) Present initial analysis finding at conference. Submit social network article. (S) Postdoctoral Fellow begins. Begin planning process for translational stage including consultation with BPP and ethics board review. Begin recruiting participants for translational stage. Analysis of survey data, begin to prepare journal article based on survey findings. <u>Y3 (2024/2025)</u> (F) Present preliminary survey findings at conference. Complete planning for translational stage. (W) Submit survey article. Begin translational stage. (S) Continue translational stage. <u>Y4 2025/2026</u> (F) Complete transitional stage, begin to finalize translational documents. Postdoctoral Fellow presents initial translation outcomes as appropriate conference. (W) Continue to finalize translational documents. Begin circulation among participants. (S) Broader circulation of translational documents. Complete data archiving. Submit final project report.