5-4-2022

Defund the Police: Snappy slogan or a viable solution? A case study of Savannah, Georgia

Michayla F. Knox
Georgia Southern University

Recommended Citation

Defund the Police: Snappy slogan or a viable solution? A case study of Savannah, Georgia

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Honors in *Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology.*

By

Michayla Knox

Under the mentorship of *Dr. Akiv Dawson*

ABSTRACT

The notion of defunding the police remains a hot-button political topic since the protests of Summer 2020. The forefront of the debate concerns how defunding the police will impact crime rates. Still, the topic has scarcely been investigated empirically. This thesis provides an early examination into the relationship between "defunding the police", reallocating funding, and crime rates in Savannah, Ga. Several experiments are performed to answer three research questions that involve comparing and manipulating the budget provided for policing and the budgets for neighborhood vitality and poverty reduction. The findings show that Savannah allocates significantly more money to the policing budget than the budgets for neighborhood vitality or poverty reduction. However, increased funding for policing did not have a significant impact on the property, violent, or overall crime indexes in any models. On the other hand, increases in the budget for poverty reduction are associated with significant decreases in Savannah's violent crime rate.

Thesis Mentor:_____

Dr. Akiv Dawson

Honors Director:_____

Dr. Steven Engel

April 2022

Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology

Honors College

Georgia Southern University

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my appreciation to my research advisor Dr. Akiv Dawson, and my honors research professor Dr. Laurie Gould, for their patience, continued support, and encouragement. I could not have accomplished my thesis without their guidance and dedicated involvement. I would also like to give a special thanks to Dr. Saba Jallow for writing a letter of recommendation to the honors college on my behalf. I am so grateful and honored to have the opportunity to present my thesis.

I am grateful to my family and friends for their support and understanding during my research and writing process. I would also like to take the time to acknowledge and give thanks to my ancestors. I would not be here without their persistence to live.

Most importantly, I want to thank God for blessing me with advisors, professors, family, and friends to uplift me during this process and for giving me the strength to bring this thesis to completion.

INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

Beginning with the death of Micheal Brown in 2014 and the resurgence of the Black Lives Matter Movement, the public has become increasingly concerned about police violence. Several high-profile police killings of African American civilians have led to questions about how police use force, especially lethal force. This discourse has also prompted apprehension about the role of the police in society and its legitimacy as a social institution. Recent public opinion polls show that public confidence in the police has declined. A recent Gallup Poll showed that confidence in the police was a record low of 48% in 2020, five points lower than it was in 2019 (Ortiz, 2020). These perceptions also vary by race. African Americans report far less confidence in the police than their white counterparts. About a third of African Americans, compared to three-quarters of their white counterparts, believe that police in their communities do a good job at using the appropriate force on suspects, treating all racial and ethnic minorities equally, and holding officers accountable when misconduct occurs (Morin & Steepler, 2016). As a result of this lagging confidence, most Americans support reforming the police and have demanded to see some changes in American policing. In a 2020 Gallup Survey of U.S. adults, aged 18 and older, 58% of Americans believe that major changes in policing are necessary (Lowry et al., 2020).

The calls for police reform reached their peak in 2020 following the killings of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd. Their deaths led to historic protests and calls from activists and some policymakers to defund the police. Still, much of the calls to defund the police have not been grounded in research. Empirical scholarship about defunding the police is severely lacking (Lum et al., 2021). The purpose of this study is to investigate the impact of defunding the police on crime in a major U.S. city. In doing so, it adds to the growing body of literature on defunding the police.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Defunding the police is a term that has been raised to the public's awareness by the social and political movements in the United States and worldwide (Eaglin, 2021). Historically, social movements have used the term *defunding the police* to expose the deeper governmental practices that have allowed them to normalize the marginalization of certain communities including people of color (Eaglin, 2021). These movements focus on defunding the police to create an awareness that will help them observe and resist the structural marginalization of people of color and vulnerable communities by the police or the government. The defunding of the police movement was brought back to the public's conscience by the Black Lives Matter movement (Schirmacher, 2021). According to Cobbina-Dungy & Jones-Brown (2021), the police force has become the bane of society because of the increased cases of police violence and killings against people of color. These cases have led to an increase in protests which are actively against racial profiling done by the police against people of color. The authors explain the two-tier policing problem within the criminal justice system. The first is the brutal training police officers undergo that shapes their mentality that civilians are not supposed to question their

authority, and when they do, the police have to respond with physical violence. Secondly, the police use their authority to enforce racial dominance against people of color. The authors express that these two problems within the police structure influence their reactions and actions towards the public, especially people of color. Considering these structural problems with the policing institution, giving further resources and funding would be a waste. Therefore, they recommend that part of the funding allocated to police departments should be distributed among other social and community structures that will benefit everyone, especially the marginalized and disadvantaged communities.

While not the position of most Americans, support for defunding the police has grown in recent years. Therefore, it is important to understand what defunding the police means.

The research literature on defunding the police has consistently defined it as reducing the police budget and reallocating the funds to other budgetary areas including those that improve the community. Using Nevada as an example, Royster & Smith-Peterson (2021) investigated how states can reduce police budgets and reallocate goods and resources to other services and programs in the state. Nevada allocates these resources to programs that deal with post-traumatic stress disorder from military service, mental health, gambling, and drug addiction. These allocations reduced the rates of crime and mental health treatments (Royster & Smith-Peterson, 2021). Similarly, Cobbina-Dungy and Jones-Brown (2021) note that defunding the police "means that some portion of funds previously earmarked for police budgets will be reallocated to agencies that address the general welfare and needs of the public, especially those who live on the

margins. This reallocation would mean increased financial support for social services and anti-poverty measures" (p. 11).

Still, it may be too soon to fully understand the effect of reallocating funding from policing budgets. Doyle and Sakala (2021) investigated the different approaches that cities have taken to reducing police budgets and reinvesting the funding in more community-based programming and infrastructure. These reallocation approaches included the city budget process which involves (1) shifting civilian divisions from the police and (2) participatory budgeting, which involves centering the voices of community members in budget reallocation to "generate more [democratic] and equitable relocation efforts," (p.1). For example, Doyle and Sakala (2021) observed that large cities like Seattle reduced the police budget by over $69 million and shifted police divisions into civilian divisions. For instance, victims' advocates, 911 call systems, and parking enforcement were shifted from the police department to two new civilian departments. This shifted the funds going into the police department to the civilian department.

Doyle and Sakala (2021) identify five important questions that must be addressed when cities consider police budget reductions and reallocations. First, cities must consider who the decision-makers are in the budget reduction process—is it a chief executive or a legislative body. This is important so that critical decisions for adjusting police budgets can be done in a timely and effective manner. Second, cities should consider the goals of budget reduction and how it will impact how some communities experience and interact with the police. As Doyle and Sakala (2021) pointed out, "some budget reductions are intended to adapt as cost-saving measures or to free up resources, while others are explicitly tied to reducing policing impacts on communities" (p. 2).

Third, cities must identify which elements of the policing budget will be impacted by the reductions and if the changes will be permanent. Fourth, cities must consider whether the funds from the policing budget will be repurposed and allocated to building broader public safety through community infrastructure. Fifth, cities must consider the reinvestment decisions designed to reflect residents' priorities" (Doyle & Sakala, 2021, p.2). According to Doyle and Sakala (2021), "Some jurisdictions have embraced participatory budgeting, which empowers community members to decide where money is allocated. Jurisdictions have implemented this with varying degrees of success and fidelity to the principles of participatory budgeting" (Doyle & Sakala, 2021, p.2).

While the questions posed by Doyle and Sakala (2021) are important, they do not address the impact of defunding the police on communities that have concluded that financing the police is important for ensuring the well-being and protection of society. For example, Thomas (2021) recently investigated the relationship between police budgets and police killings between 2013 and 2019. Using fixed-effects models, Thomas observed that increases in the policing budget were associated with significant decreases in the number of arrests and police killings. Furthermore, providing the police with resources such as sensitivity training and body camera gear lowers the number of police-involved killings for every 10,000 arrests. Thomas' (2021) study suggested that the police should have resources and funding allocated to them; to reduce the number of killings involving the police.

Likewise, Bernier (2021) collected panel and cross-sectional data from twenty states in the United States over ten years to investigate the benefits of funding the police or community outreach programs. Bernier's (2021) study indicated that if cities decide to

stop funding their police, crime is likely to increase and reduce the quality of life of many residents. At the same time, funding community outreach programs did not associate with significant reductions in police-involved killings. Therefore, Bernier (2021) concluded that defunding the police on its own might not be a viable solution for addressing the uptick in police-involved deaths. On the other hand, adequately funding the police, especially in terms of training and resources, will lower the crime rate and; lead to reductions in police-involved killings.

Similarly, Lum et al. (2021) analyze millions of 911 calls for service from nine U.S. agencies with a focus on the types of calls that the police handle. They observed that the police attend to a high volume of phone calls about many types of incidents. According to Lum et al. (2021), "the vast majority [of the calls are] not transferable to other organizations or government sectors without significant resource expenditures or adjustments" (p.1). Thus, Lum et al. (2021) observe that the defunding of the police is beneficial because it would provide funding and resources to the poor and marginalized communities, however, defunding the police would also mean increased rates of crime and violence within the same communities.

Overall, the empirical literature on the possible outcomes of defunding the police is limited. While scholars have offered a consistent description of what defunding the police will entail, few studies have investigated the potential outcomes of defunding the police. The few that have, involve multi-agency analyses. Furthermore, these studies use the amount of the police budget to make claims about its relationship to police killings and crime. Other studies have examined the types of requests for service that the police receive to make statements about the feasibility of defunding the police. These studies

have generally concluded that defunding the police would have a negative impact on public safety concerning crime and police killings. While insightful, it is worth noting that none of the studies defunded the police. Therefore, the current study makes an important contribution to the scholarship on defunding the police.

THEORY

Crime Reduction Strategies & Defunding the Police

Recent officer-involved deaths of African Americans by police officers increased the demand to defund the police. At the center of the debate about "defunding the police" is concern about what best prevents or reduces crime. Opponents of "defunding the police" maintain that a strong police presence is essential for public safety and preventing crime. Thus, "defunding" the police will result in rising crime rates. This view is most associated with the deterrence theory, in that the belief is that police as capable guardians are good deterrents for would-be offenders and as a result, crime rates decrease. This belief has led to support for different models of policing that promote stringent crime controls tactics such as broken windows or order maintenance policing and problem-oriented policing. Proponents of "defunding the police" maintain that improving other areas of community life beyond the police such as schools, parks and recreation facilities, and programs that address drug addiction and homelessness, is essential to community well-being and preventing crime (Vermeer et al., 2020). Thus, "defunding the police" and reallocating funding to these more critical areas will have more of a positive impact on crime than the police. This view emphasizes inequality and is most associated with strain theory and social disorganization theory in that it emphasizes community/neighborhood structure and resources (lack thereof) as important

predictors of crime and the effectiveness of crime prevention strategies. This belief has led to support for different models of community interventions such as investing in programs that build collective efficacy and promote crime prevention through poverty reduction and community programming. This section will provide a review of different models of policing and community interventions and describe their theoretical effect on crime. It begins with models of policing that have developed from the position of policing as a deterrent. This is followed by models of community intervention that are also believed to reduce crime.

Models of Policing

The broken windows model of policing states that any indicators of crime and civil disorder create an environment that promotes more crime and disorder. The visible signs of crime and disorder include broken windows, jaywalking, public drinking, fare evasion, loitering, and vandalism (Ponsaers, 2001). The model argues that concentrating on eradicating misdemeanors can assist in creating a lawful society. Thus, regulating low-level disorders is viewed as a better way of preventing widespread disorders. The model has been tried in various cities such as New York with mixed reactions. The theory is of the assumption that the environment communicates to the residents in a certain way. Police officers are tasked with assisting in the preservation of order in communities. This can be done through conducting patrols, stops, and undercover investigations. The model provides police with the power to detain and stop people they deem suspicious (Ponsaers, 2001). The intervention of behavior that is deemed to threaten peace is essential in reducing the crime rates.

The broken windows model of policing reduces social and physical disorders. This may be because the model concentrates on misdemeanors. It also enhances joint safety strategies between the community and the police. This is essential as the police perform better at their work when collaborating with the community. The other advantage is that it brings the whole community together. The main criticism of the broken windows policing model is that it criminalized the poor and homeless. The physical signs that are in neighborhoods with appearances such as broken windows, vandalism, and loitering become police targets.

Problem-oriented policing is a method that involves the identification of a particular problem, thorough analysis to understand the issue, development of a strategy to respond to the issue, and an assessment of the effects of the strategy (Ponsaers, 2001). This approach develops targeted/tailored responses to crime problems. This model can be applied to all kinds of criminal disorders and should not be viewed as an alternative to other approaches. People applying the method may use the SARA (scanning, analysis, response, and assessment) model of problem-solving (Ponsaers, 2001). The first stage of the SARA model involves scanning which is the process of identifying potential crime and disorder problems. The second stage involves analyzing which is gathering information to identify the underlying causes of the problem. The third stage is the response which involves the development and implementation of the tailored approach. The last stage is an assessment which involves the measurement of the impact of the tailored approach.

The advantages of problem-oriented policing are that it provides better services to the public; by prioritizing the crime problems that need urgent attention, the police can

enhance service delivery. It also increases the job satisfaction levels for police because of the success they gain from meeting the community objectives. The disadvantage of the policy is that agencies have to solve crime and disorders that could range from anything. This requires the availability of adequate personnel and resources to create an enabling environment to deal with the identified issues.

Recently, the broken windows model of policing has been regarded by some scholars as problematic because it profiles poor people and the homeless (The Crime Report, 2016). In America, the highest number of people living in poverty are minority groups (Ponsaers, 2001). This means that the use of the model on citizens may harm minority groups. The problem-oriented approach is better suited to solving modern-day policing issues. Users of the approach should ensure the issues identified are not discriminatory to any group. Research indicates that officers may fail to take the approach seriously due to the procedural model; and the hassle of paperwork. This is a challenge that can be solved by automating most of the procedures that officers need to fulfill.

Models of Community Intervention

Investing in programs that enhance the collective efficacy of community members is one of the interventions proposed to fight crime. Research indicates that treatment of some issues such as mental health and homelessness as criminal offenses affects the overall community (Atchison, 2018). Incarceration is not an effective strategy for some crimes and disorders. Investing in community programs that address issues such as homelessness, lack of food, and mental health can have a positive effect on the overall community. Drug abuse has increased as the cost of living in different cities increases.

Many people are resorting to drug abuse as an escape from the harsh economic times. This point of view is similar to the strain theory, which indicates that the presence of certain stressors increases the chances of committing a crime. Community programs can help address these issues because of the close connection that exists in a community.

Offering support to community organizations is a strategy that has produced positive effects. This is because it is difficult to address crime and disorder without addressing the underlying issues. Community organizations play an important role in reducing crime rates by providing support to vulnerable people (Atchison, 2018). This is essential as it creates a community where people have a connection with each other. Rates of crime in such a community are likely to reduce. Community organizations engage in activities such as neighborhood development, youth programs, and workforce development. Research at New York University found that focusing on substance abuse had the biggest influence on crime rates (Atchison, 2018). Therefore, focusing on programs that reduce crime and disorder is one of the strategies that have a positive influence. Community organizations are at the forefront of enhancing these programs.

Research suggests that poverty reduction and community programming are other strategies that cities use to reduce crime. Communities have diverse people who come from different economic and financial backgrounds. Research shows that vulnerable people or people affected by poverty are more likely to engage in criminal behaviors (Levin, 2021). Also, it is essential to handle the underlying issues such as poverty to prevent crime. Poverty reduction can be done by community organizations in partnership with the government and other non-governmental organizations. More funds should be provided to the community organizations that are involved in the eradication of issues

such as poverty and drug abuse. Defunding the police and providing the funds to the organizations dealing with social issues can have positive effects on crime rates. This ideology is closely related to the social disorganization theory, which focuses on the neighborhood development and availability of resources as crime prevention strategies and factors for predicting crime.

Furthermore, there are benefits of using community organizations and actively working to reduce poverty and other social issues. One of the benefits is the creation of a low-crime community. This is significant because it enhances the ability of the community to advance. New business opportunities can crop up which will result in additional employment for the people. Another benefit is that it creates a connection between community members and the government. When people collaborate, it becomes easier to make quick decisions on issues affecting them (Levin, 2021). One of the challenges to this model is that it increases the likelihood of dependence on assistance. The beneficiaries of the program may develop a dependence on such assistance, which may be challenging for community organizations.

Research Questions

Based on the theories and crime prevention strategies outlined above, the current study addresses three research questions in a bid to understand more about defunding the police. The first research question asks, "Does Savannah spend more on law enforcement than community resources that could help reduce crime?" This question is about whether more resources are spent on enforcement and control than on community resources which could help reduce crime. Data from the US Census Bureau indicate that police spending in 2017 was higher than spending for parks and recreation, corrections and housing, and

community development across all states (Auxier, 2020). Spending on health and

hospitals was higher than that on police. 97% of the police budget was spent on salaries,

pensions, and benefits (Auxier, 2020). Different states have different police budgets

depending on the services that police officers are required to offer in that state. Funding is

shared between the local governments and the federal governments. Defunding the police

and providing the money to other social issues can change the way problems such as drug

addiction and homelessness are addressed (Jacobs et al., 2021). The funds can be diverted

into neighborhood development programs, poverty reduction, and enhancement of health

and sustainable environment practices. These are strategies that have been found to have

a positive effect on the community, and which can ensure a reduction in crime rates

(Jacobs et al., 2021). There is also the concern that for some cities, such as Chicago,

which has the highest crime rates, defunding the police may result in increased criminal

behavior. This means that defunding should be done in a way that promotes positive

benefits to the community.

The second research question asks, "What is the relationship between spending on

strategic priorities and crime?" It is accompanied by three sub-questions. Does spending

on law enforcement reduce crime? Does spending on neighborhood vitality and poverty

reduction reduce crime? Which strategic priority has the greatest effect on crime? Over

the last 40 years, police spending in the United States has risen astronomically even with

threats of financial problems (Auxier, 2020). This has made the country the world leader

in incarcerations and police killings as police try to justify the increased expenditure.

Research indicates that an increase in police spending does not correlate to a reduction in

crime rates (Auxier, 2020). This is because increased police spending still fails to address

the underlying factors that cause crime. Another issue is that increased police spending has resulted in the purchase of more lethal weapons that are intended on deterring criminals. Based on the deterrence theory, police organizations have argued that the acquisition of lethal weapons deters criminals from committing crimes (Vermeer et al., 2020). However, evidence suggests that criminal behavior is still prevalent even with the acquisition of powerful equipment. Another aspect is the use of weapons against minority groups. Evidence suggests that officers are more likely to use force when dealing with people from a minority group. Thus, the idea that an increase in police funding reduces crime rates is wrong; because current data shows a rise in crimes such as murder and robbery with violence in cities like Chicago and New York.

The third research question asks: How would defunding the police and reallocating the funds to neighborhood vitality and poverty reduction affect crime? Defunding the police means reallocating money to other local agencies that could share the burden of police officers to reduce fatal police interactions (Ray, 2020). Supporters of defunding believe that moving funding to social services can improve societal issues, such as mental health, addiction, and homelessness. Research conducted by the Director of the Lab for Applied Social Science Research at the University of Maryland, College Park, Professor Ray, shows that police officers respond to everything from potholes in the street to cats stuck up in trees (2020). It has been argued that reducing officer workload and insignificant tasks would increase the likelihood of solving violent crimes (Ray, 2020). Police officers are often called to respond as caseworkers and social workers for people experiencing homelessness and mental illness. Advocates for defunding the police assert that police are likely to respond with lethal force when addressing

emergencies involving a person experiencing psychiatric distress. Independent agencies such as CAHOOTS should be put in place to ease police officers' workloads. CAHOOTS stands for crisis assistance helping out on the streets. CAHOOTS provide intervention for non-criminal issues such as homelessness, drugs and substance abuse, mental illness issues, disorientation, dispute resolution, and intoxication. According to Black Lives Matter Canada (2020) countless reports on how to address root causes of violence in communities, including gun violence, have been conducted and they do not call for increased or more militarized policing, but for increased funding for community programs, art programs, and after school programs. However, current research on defunding the police, suggests that defunding the police may lead to higher crime rates, and therefore reduce public safety (Bernier, 2021).

DATA AND METHODS
Description of Savannah, Georgia

Savannah, Georgia was selected as the case study for the current research project. With 147,780 residents, Savannah is the 5th largest city in Georgia and its police department is the 5th largest in the state. It is located in East Georgia along the North Atlantic Ocean and it borders South Carolina in the north. The little Ogeechee River outlines its southern border and the Savannah River outlines its northern border (GisGeography, 2022). In terms of demographics, the city is 53.9% Black, 38.9% White, 5.8% Hispanic/Latino, 2.8% multiracial, 2.6% Asian, 0.3% American Indian and Alaska Native and 0.1% Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander.   The city is divided into six principal areas: (1) Downtown, (2) Midtown, (3) Southside, (4) Eastside, (5) Westside, and (6) Southwest Chatham. The Downtown area contains the Landmark Historic District

and the Victorian District, one of the nation's largest historic districts (savannah.com, 2022).

The Economy in Savannah

The most recently available statistics from November 2021, indicate that Savannah's total civilian labor force is approximately 200,000 people, and the rate of unemployment is approximately 2.1% (BLS, 2022). The top three employment sectors in Savannah, Georgia are transportation and material moving, office and administrative support, and sales (BLS, 2022). Savannah is a great setting to study the effect of city budgets on crime, especially violent crime, as the city's violent crime rate ballooned from 2010 to 2020. In 2014, there were 927 violent crimes reported in the city of Savannah (UCR, 2014), and by 2016 that number had increased to 1,174 (UCR, 2016). There was a decrease in crime from 2016 to 2018 that has been attributed to the growth of the Savannah Police Department during this period. By 2018, violent crime in the city decreased to 982 incidents (UCR, 2018), however in 2019 and 2020 violent crime saw increases.

The Savannah Police Department has also been involved in several officer-involved deaths. For example, the death of Oldrich Fejfar involved a police officer shooting a homeless person who had failed to listen to orders and charged at the officer aggressively. For example, the death of Oldrich Fejfar involved a police officer shooting a homeless person who had failed to listen to orders and charged at the officer aggressively. Other cases from Savannah Georgia that will be explored are Charles Boyd (2014), Tyrie Cuyler (2016), Ricky Boyd (2018), and Deandre Lee Seaborough-Patterson (2020).

To begin with, the Adopted Service and Program-Budget for seven years (2014 to 2020) were collected from the City of Savannah Website. In each budget, the Strategic Plan for the year is identified. The plan includes the (1) organizational structure of the city, (2) the city council's strategic priorities, (3) the city's strategic priority goals, and (4) performance measures. The Council Priorities Expenditures by Department (strategic priority) were recorded. The City of Savannah had nine strategic priority categories from 2014 to 2020. From these nine strategic priorities, only the six that are included in every budget from 2014 to 2020 were considered. From these six strategic priorities, budgets for two strategic priorities, poverty reduction and neighborhood vitality, are used as social disorganization indicators. The budget of the public safety strategic priority was used as the measurement of law enforcement spending. Within the budget for the public safety strategic priority, there are other areas of spending related to other areas such as 9-1-1, fire and rescue, storm water management, street maintenance, etc. The current study uses the portion of the budget allocated specifically for policing.

Next, the number of violent crimes, the number of property crimes, and the number of police officers in the City of Savannah for seven years (2014 to 2020) were collected from the *Uniform Crime Report* (UCR). The Uniform Crime report generates reliable statistics for use in law enforcement and provides information for students of criminal justice, researchers, the media, and the public. The UCR includes data from more than 18,000 cities, universities, colleges, county, state, tribal, and federal law enforcement agencies. The number of violent crimes and property crimes were recorded from Table 8 of the UCR for each year under study, except for 2020. The information included for the year 2020 was collected using the End Year CompStat Report provided

by the Savannah Police Department. Together, these values were used to compute three dependent variables: (1) the violent crime index per 100,000 residents, (2) the property crime index per 100,000 residents, and (3) the crime index per 100, 000 residents.

Measures

Independent variables

Based on the theoretical arguments outlined in the theory section, three independent variables were created: (1) Law Enforcement Budget (Deterrence), (2) Neighborhood Vitality Budget (Social Disorganization), and (3) Poverty Reduction Budget (Social Disorganization).

According to the City of Savannah budget, the goal of the Law Enforcement Budget is to provide a City where citizens are safe and feel safe from crime. The goal of the Neighborhood Vitality Budget is to provide a city with strong and vibrant neighborhoods that are clean, and safe and encourage a sense of community. The goal of the Poverty Reduction Budget is to provide citizens with a community that reduces poverty by empowering motivated people to become economically self-sufficient.

Dependent variables

`   Based on the theoretical arguments outlined in the theory section, three dependent variables were created: (1) the violent crime index per 100,000 residents, (2) the property crime index per 100,000 residents, and (3) the crime index per 100, 000 residents. The violent crime index was computed using the following formula: the number of violent crimes divided by the total population and multiplied by 100,000. The property crime index was computed using the following formula: the number of property crimes divided by the total population and multiplied by 100,000. The crime index was computed using

the following formula: the number of total crimes divided by the total population and multiplied by 100,000.

ANALYSIS

All analyses were conducted using IBM SPSS 27. The data were analyzed using ratios and correlation techniques like the method used by Wellford (1974). A ratio is a comparison of two quantities that shows how many times one quantity is represented in the other quantity (Khan Academy, 2019). It indicates how large or small is when compared to another (*Ratio - Meaning, Simplification, Table, Examples*, n.d.). First, ratios of spending on strategic priorities were computed to compare spending on police, neighborhood vitality, and poverty reduction. Then, ratios were used to compare experimental spending in each area after dollars were taken from the law enforcement budget.

Bivariate correlations are statistics used to determine whether a linear relationship exists between two variables; and take values between -1 and +1 (Allen, 2017). Correlations closer to 1 indicate a strong positive relationship between the two variables. While correlations closer to -1 indicate a strong negative relationship between the two variables. Pearson's R is interpreted, as the most common type of correlation coefficient for bivariate correlations (*Correlation Coefficient*, n.d.). The current study uses standard conventions for interpreting the degree of correlation. When the correlation coefficient is between ± 0.50 and ± 1, then there is a high degree of correlation. Correlation coefficients between± 0.30 and ± 0.49, indicate a moderate degree of correlation. Correlation coefficients below + .29, indicate a low degree of correlation (*Pearson's Correlation Coefficient*, n.d.). Bivariate correlations determine the relationship between

21

spending on strategic priorities, property crime, violent crime, and the overall crime index.

R-squared is a statistical measure that represents the proportion of the variance for a dependent variable that's explained by an independent variable or variables in a regression model (Investopedia, 2022). R-squared is always between 0 and 100%. R-squared of 0% indicates that the independent variables explain none of the variability of the response data around its mean (Editor, n.d.). R-squared of 100% indicates that the model explains the total variance in the dependent variable around its mean. In general, the higher the R-squared, the better the model fits the data (Editor, n.d.). R-squared is used to measure how much variance in the dependent variables (property crime index, the violent crime index, and the overall crime index) is explainable by the independent variables (spending on law enforcement, neighborhood vitality, and poverty reduction).

RESULTS

Research question 1

Ratios were used to answer research question one, "Does Savannah spend more on enforcement and control than community resources that could help reduce crime?" A ratio comparing spending on police to spending on Neighborhood Vitality and spending on Poverty Reduction was computed using the following formulas:

- LE BUDGET/NEIGHBORHOOD VITALITY BUDGET
- LE BUDGET/POVERTY REDUCTION BUDGET

The results show that the City of Savannah spent significantly more on policing than on Neighborhood Vitality and Poverty Reduction (See Table 1.). For example, in 2019, the City of Savannah spent 24 times the amount on policing as it did on Neighborhood Vitality and 186 times on policing than it did on poverty reduction.

Table 1. Ratios of Spending on Strategic Priorities

year	Public Safety (Police)	Neighborhood Vitality	Poverty Reduction	Ratio of $LE to $NV	Ratio of $LE to $PR
2014	$ 60,199,080	$ 26,312,014	$ 1,319,097	2:1	46:1
2015	$ 62,650,774	$ 24,036,523	$ 1,309,747	3:1	48:1
2016	$ 67,338,596	$ 24,254,146	$ 1,632,317	3:1	41:1
2017	$ 67,608,241	$ 23,036,298	$ 1,725,169	3:1	39:1
2018	$ 60,007,170	$ 25,270,012	$ 589,235	2:1	102:1
2019	$ 59,114,940	$ 2,447,477	$ 316,617	24:1	187:1
2020	$ 64,254,743	$ 19,431,071	$ 679,478	3:1	95:1

$LE: law enforcement budget
$NV: neighborhood vitality budget
$PR: poverty reduction

Then, percentages of the law enforcement budget were computed using 10% intervals up to 30%. (See Table 2. below). These percentages (in dollars) were used to conduct three experiments. The experiments involved ratios of experimental policing budgets to neighborhood vitality and poverty reduction budgets.

Table 2. Percentages of Law Enforcement Budget

Year	LE Budget	10% LE Budget	20% LE Budget	30% LE Budget
2014	$ 60,199,080	$ 6,019,908	$ 2,039,816	$ 18,059,724
2015	$ 62,650,774	$ 6,265,077	$ 12,530,155	$ 18,795,232
2016	$ 67,338,596	$ 6,733,860	$ 13,467,719	$ 20,201,579
2017	$ 67,608,241	$ 6,760,824	$ 13,521,648	$ 20,282,472
2018	$ 60,007,170	$ 6,000,717	$ 12,001,434	$ 18,002,151
2019	$ 59,114,940	$ 5,911,494	$ 11,822,988	$ 17,734,482
2020	$ 64,254,743	$ 6,425,474	$ 12,850,949	$ 19,276,423

LE: law enforcement budget

To begin with, **Experiment 0** "defunded" the police in 10% intervals up to 30% by subtracting the percentages computed above from the original funding allocated to the policing budget and computed a ratio comparing the experimental dollars spent on policing budgets to dollars spent on the original budgets for Neighborhood Vitality and

Poverty Reduction. The following ratios were used to compare the experimental law

enforcement dollars to the original dollars spent on Neighborhood Vitality.

- ▪ LE BUDGET (-10%)/NEIGHBORHOOD VITALITY BUDGET
- ▪ LE BUDGET (-20%)/NEIGHBORHOOD VITALITY BUDGET
- ▪ LE BUDGET (-30%)/NEIGHBORHOOD VITALITY BUDGET

The following ratios were used to compare the experimental law enforcement dollars to
the original dollars spent on Poverty Reduction.

- ▪ LE BUDGET (-10%)/POVERTY REDUCTION BUDGET
- ▪ LE BUDGET (-20%)/POVERTY REDUCTION BUDGET
- ▪ LE BUDGET (-30%)/POVERTY REDUCTION BUDGET

Experiment 0 showed that reducing the policing budget without reallocating the

funds had virtually no effect on the disparity in spending between policing budgets and

budgets for Neighborhood Vitality and Poverty Reduction. Even when the policing

budget was reduced by up to 30% the city still spent twice as much on policing as

neighborhood vitality for most years under study. The disparity was more pronounced

between policing and poverty reduction budgets. For example, in 2019 even when the

policing budget was reduced by 30%, the city still spent $131 on policing for every $1

that it spent on Poverty Reduction. (See Table 3. below).

**Table 3. Ratios of Experimental Police Budget to Neighborhood Vitality and
Poverty Reduction Budgets: Experiment 0**

	$LE (-10%) to $NV	$LE (-20%) to $NV	$LE (-30%) to $NV	$LE (-10%) to $PR	$LE (-20%) to $PR	$LE (-30%) to $PR
2014	2:1	2:1	2:1	41:1	37:1	32:1
2015	2:1	2:1	2:1	43:1	38:1	33:1
2016	2:1	2:1	2:1	37:1	33:1	29:1
2017	3:1	2:1	2:1	35:1	31:1	27:1
2018	2:1	2:1	2:1	92:1	81:1	71:1
2019	22:1	19:1	17:1	168:1	149:1	131:1
2020	3:1	3:1	2:1	85:1	76:1	66:1

Next, **Experiment 1** "defunded" the police in 10% intervals up to 30% and

reallocated the funds to neighborhood vitality by adding the funds to the original budget

for neighborhood vitality. A ratio comparing the experimental dollars spent on policing to

the experimental dollars spent on neighborhood vitality was computed using the

following formulas:

- LE BUDGET (-10%)/NEIGHBORHOOD VITALITY BUDGET (+10%
  LE BUDGET)
- LE BUDGET (-20%)/NEIGHBORHOOD VITALITY BUDGET (+20%
  LE BUDGET)
- LE BUDGET (-30%)/NEIGHBORHOOD VITALITY BUDGET (+30%
  LE BUDGET)

This experiment showed that reducing the law enforcement budget and reallocating the

funds to neighborhood vitality greatly reduced the disparities between spending in these

two areas. When the policing budget was reduced by 30% the budgets between the two

areas were nearly equal for the years understudy (See Table 4.).

**Table 4. Ratios of Experimental Law Enforcement Budget to Experimental
Neighborhood Vitality Budget: Experiment 1**

	$LE (-10%) to $NV (+10% of $LE)	$LE (-20%) to $NV (+20% $LE)	$LE(-30%) to $NV (+30 $LE%)
2014	2:1	1:1	1:1
2015	2:1	1:1	1:1
2016	2:1	1:1	1:1
2017	2:1	1:1	1:1
2018	2:1	1:1	1:1
2019	6:1	3:1	2:1
2020	2:1	2:1	1:1

$LE: law enforcement budget
$NV: neighborhood vitality budget
$PR: poverty reduction

Experiment 2 "defunded" the police in 10% intervals up to 30% and reallocated the funds to poverty reduction by adding the experimental dollars taken from the policing budget and added them to the budget for poverty reduction. A ratio comparing the experimental dollars spent on policing to the experimental dollars spent on poverty reduction was computed using the following formulas:

- LE BUDGET (-10%)/POVERTY REDUCTION BUDGET (+10% LE BUDGET)
- LE BUDGET (-20%)/POVERTY REDUCTION BUDGET (+20% LE BUDGET)
- LE BUDGET (-30%)/POVERTY REDUCTION BUDGET (+30% LE BUDGET)

Even with the dollars deducted and reallocated, the city would invest between 3 to 9 times more on policing than efforts related to poverty reduction. (See Table 5).

Table 5. Ratios of Experimental Police Budget to Poverty Reduction Budget: Experiment 2

	$LE (-10%) to $PR (+10% $LE)	$LE (-20%) to PR (+20% $LE)	$LE (-30%) to PR (+30% $LE)
2014	7:1	4:1	3:1
2015	7:1	4:1	3:1
2016	7:1	4:1	3:1
2017	7:1	4:1	3:1
2018	8:1	4:1	3:1
2019	9:1	4:1	3:1
2020	8:1	4:1	3:1

$LE: law enforcement budget
$NV: neighborhood vitality budget
$PR: poverty reduction

Research question 2

Research Question 2 asked, "What is the relationship between spending on strategic priorities and crime in Savannah, Georgia?" It is followed up by three specific

sub-questions: (1) Does spending more on law enforcement reduce crime? (2) Does spending on neighborhood vitality and poverty reduction reduce crime? (3) Which strategic priority has the greatest effect on crime? Correlations are used to answer these questions. The results are shown in Table 6. Strategic Priority Budgets on Crime in Savannah, Georgia Bivariate Correlations.

The law enforcement budget was not significantly correlated with the property crime, violent crime, or crime indices. In terms of the direction of the correlations, the law enforcement budget was associated with a decrease in the property crime index and the violent crime index. However, when the total crime index is considered, the correlations show that overall crime continues to increase even as spending on law enforcement increases. Together, these findings suggest that spending more on law enforcement does not reduce crime in Savannah, Georgia. Spending on Neighborhood Vitality was not significantly correlated with any of the dependent variables. The direction of the correlations shows that while Neighborhood Vitality was not associated with a decrease in the property crime index, it was associated with decreases in the violent crime and overall crime indices.

Lastly, correlations show that only spending on poverty reduction was significantly correlated with a reduction in the violent crime index (r= -.858, p=. 014), but not property crime or the total crime index. This negative correlation shows that when spending on the poverty reduction strategic priority increases, the rate of violent crimes in the city declines. Furthermore, r2 shows that the Poverty Reduction budget accounts for 74% of the variance in the violent crime index (Table 6.) Figure 1 shows the simple line

mean of the violent crime index. It shows a clear decline in the violent crime rate as

spending for poverty reduction increases.

Table 6. Strategic Priority Budgets on Crime in Savannah, Georgia: Bivariate Correlations

DV: Property Crime Index	r	r²
Neighborhood Vitality	0.34	0.12
Poverty Reduction	0.08	0.01
Law Enforcement	-0.29	0.08
DV: Violent Crime Index	**r**	**r²**
Neighborhood Vitality	-0.43	0.18
Poverty Reduction	-0.86*	0.74*
Law Enforcement	-0.61	0.37
DV: Crime Index	**r**	**r²**
Neighborhood Vitality	-0.16	0.02
Poverty Reduction	0.37	0.14
Law Enforcement	0.44	0.19

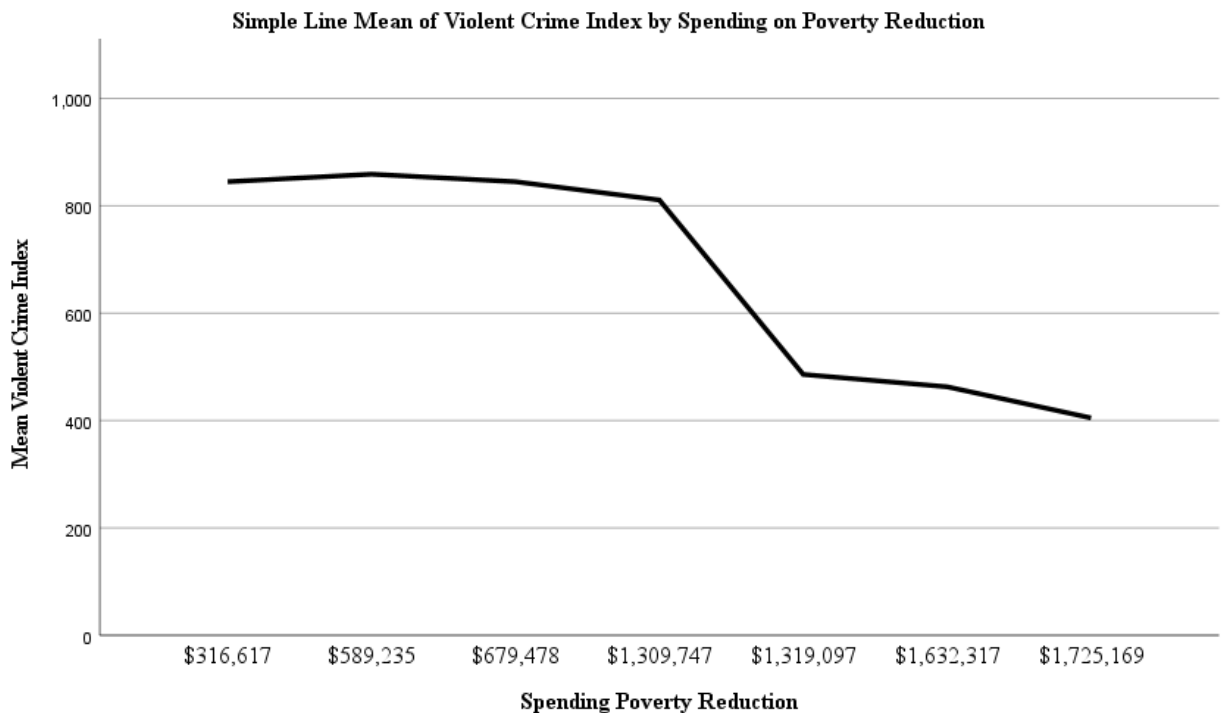Simple Line Mean of Violent Crime Index by Spending on Poverty Reduction

Figure 1. Simple Line Mean of Violent Crime Index by Spending on Poverty Reduction

Research question 3

      Research Question 3 asked, "How would defunding the police and reallocating the funds to neighborhood vitality and poverty reduction affect crime?" Correlations and experimental manipulations of the budgets were used to answer this question. The first experiment defunded the police in 10% intervals up to 30% but did not reallocate the funds to Neighborhood Vitality or Poverty Reduction. Correlations were computed using these experimental budgets. The results show that defunding the police without reallocating the funds had no significant association with any of the dependent variables. (Shown in Table 7) In terms of the direction each "defunded" law enforcement budget was associated with decreases in the property and violent crime indices, but not the overall crime index.

Table 7. "Defunding the Police" and Crime in Savannah, Georgia

DV: Property Crime Index	**r**	**r²**
Law Enforcement (-10%)	-0.29	0.08
Law Enforcement (-20%)	-0.29	0.08
Law Enforcement (-30%)	-0.29	0.08
DV: Violent Crime Index	**r**	**r²**
Law Enforcement (-10%)	-0.61	0.37
Law Enforcement (-20%)	-0.61	0.37
Law Enforcement (-30%)	-0.61	0.37
DV: Crime Index	**r**	**r²**
Law Enforcement (-10%)	0.441	0.19
Law Enforcement (-20%)	0.441	0.19
Law Enforcement (-30%)	0.441	0.19

The second experiment defunded the police in 10% intervals up to 30% and then reallocated the funds to Neighborhood Vitality. The results show that adding the

experimental dollars to Neighborhood Vitality was not significantly associated with

reductions in any dependent variables. (See Table 8 below).

Table 8. "Defunding the Police", "Reallocating the Funds" to Neighborhood Vitality, and Crime in Savannah, Georgia

DV: Property Crime Index	r	r^2
Neighborhood Vitality (+10% LE)	.32	.10
Neighborhood Vitality (+20% LE)	.31	.09
Neighborhood Vitality (+30% LE)	.29	.08
DV: Violent Crime Index	r	r^2
Neighborhood Vitality (+10% LE)	-.45	.20
Neighborhood Vitality (+20% LE)	-.46	.21
Neighborhood Vitality (+30% LE)	-.48	.23
DV: Crime Index	r	r^2
Neighborhood Vitality (+10% LE)	-.14	.02
Neighborhood Vitality (+20% LE)	-.12	.01
Neighborhood Vitality (+30% LE)	-.10	.01

The third experiment defunded the police in 10% intervals up to 30% and then

reallocated the funds to Poverty Reduction. The results show that adding the

experimental dollars to Poverty Reduction was significantly associated with reductions in

the Violent Crime Index, but not in the Property or Overall Crime indices. (See Table 9.

below). Furthermore, r2 shows that reallocating funds to poverty reduction can explain a

significant amount of variance in the violent crime index. When 10% of the Law

Enforcement Budget is added to the budget for Poverty Reduction it accounts for 66% of

the variance in the violent crime rate in Savannah, Ga. When 20% of the Law

Enforcement Budget is added to the budget for Poverty Reduction it accounts for 59% of

the variance in the violent crime rate in Savannah, Ga. Figures 2 and 3 show the

relationship between poverty reduction spending and the violent crime index when 10%

and 20% of the Law Enforcement Budget were added to the budget for poverty reduction.

Table 9. "Defunding the Police", "Reallocating the Funds" to Poverty Reduction, and Crime in Savannah, Georgia

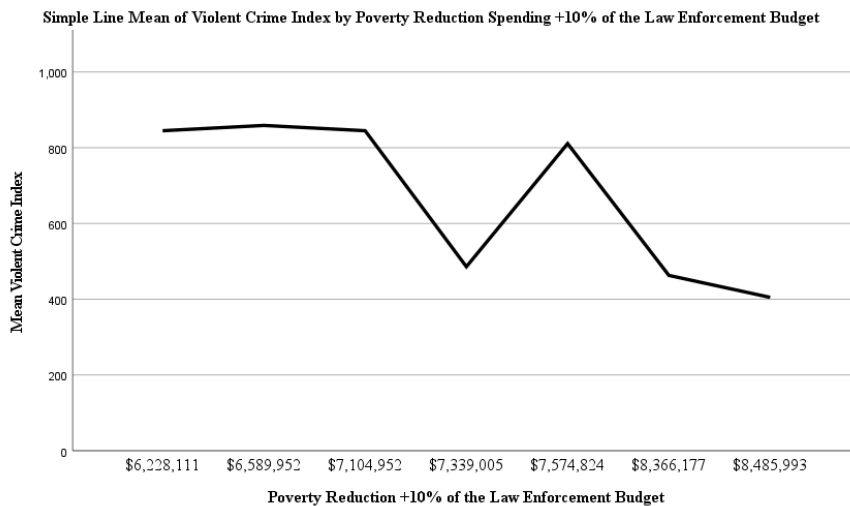| DV: Property Crime Index	r	r^2
Poverty Reduction (+10% LE)	-0.071	0.01
Poverty Reduction (+20% LE)	-0.139	0.02
Poverty Reduction (+30% LE)	-0.176	0.03
DV: Violent Crime Index	r	r^2
Poverty Reduction (+10% LE)	-0.81*	0.66*
Poverty Reduction (+20% LE)	-0.77*	0.59*
Poverty Reduction (+30% LE)	0.71	0.50
DV: Crime Index	r	r^2
Poverty Reduction (+10% LE)	0.43	0.18
Poverty Reduction (+20% LE)	0.44	0.19
Poverty Reduction (+30% LE)	0.45	0.20

Figure 2. Simple Line Mean of Violent Crime Index by Poverty Reduction Budget +10% of the Law Enforcement Budget (p<.05)
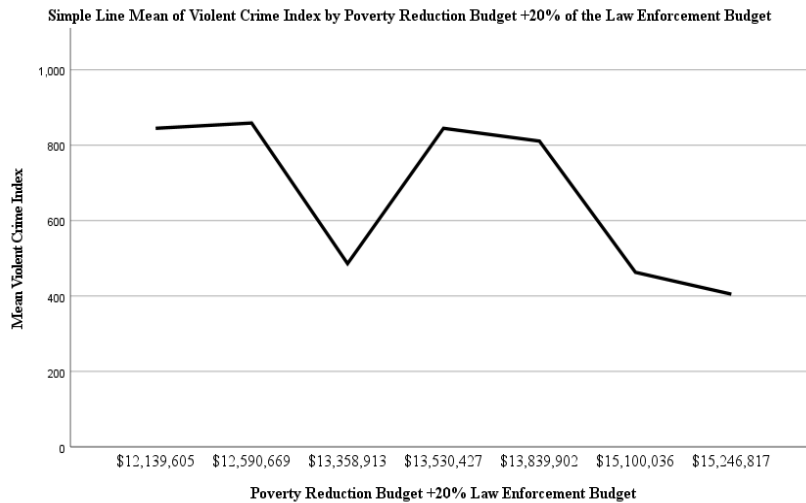
Figure 3. Simple Line Mean of Violent Crime Index by Poverty Reduction Budget +20% of the Law Enforcement Budget (p<.05)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

More than a snappy slogan: Defunding the Police and Crime

While concerns over the size of policing budgets are not new, they have been reinvigorated in the wake of the death of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor in 2020. These recent calls to defund police highlight the relations between law enforcement and the communities they serve. As described earlier, at the center of the debate is concerns over how communities can respond to crime without the police and the foundation of the debate is staunch disagreement about what best controls crime. Proponents of defunding the police maintain that crime is the result of inequality in the broader sense and therefore more spending on community investment should be the priority of local governments who are interested in crime control. Opponents of defunding the police argue that strong well-funded police departments are necessary to control crime and protect community members. Given this important inflection point for the nation and the future of policing it is necessary to investigate the potential impact of defunding the police and reallocating the funds to other areas. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to investigate the

impact of defunding the police on crime in a major U.S. city. The current inquiry uses Savannah as a case study to understand whether defunding the police is a viable option. The results of the study suggest that defunding the police is "more than a snappy slogan". Taking money from the policing budget and reinvesting it back into communities may have a positive effect on crime.

The study was guided by three research questions. The first research question asked, does Savannah spend more on law enforcement and control than community resources that could help reduce crime? The results show that the city spends significantly more on policing than on neighborhood vitality and poverty reduction. The ratios that were calculated showed that the city spent many times more dollars on law enforcement than the other strategic priorities. Several experiments showed that the city's funding for law enforcement dramatically outweighed spending in other areas. Even if 30% of the budget were reallocated the disparities in spending still would not disappear. The largest disparity exists between dollars spent on law enforcement and poverty reduction. This finding highlights how funding law enforcement has been prioritized over "other government and community-based structures that function to enhance the ability of people to survive and thrive" (Cobbina-Dungy & Jones-Brown, 2021, p. 11).

The second research question asked, how would defunding the police and reallocating the funds to neighborhood vitality and poverty reduction affect crime? The question is addressed in three parts by three sub-questions: (1) does spending more on law enforcement reduce crime; (2) does spending on neighborhood vitality and poverty reduction reduce crime; and (3) which strategic priority has the greatest effect on crime? The results showed that spending more on law enforcement was not significantly

associated with reductions in the property crime index, the violent crime index, or overall crime in Savannah. Furthermore, the direction of the correlations between law enforcement spending and the dependent variables suggests that more spending on law enforcement may have the opposite effect on crime. Only spending on poverty reduction appears to influence crime, particularly violent crime. As the amount of spending on the poverty reduction strategic priority increases the violent crime index in the city decreases. Taken as a whole, the findings support Cobbina-Dungy and Jones-Brown's (2021) point that "contrary to what some believe, increased spending on police does equate to less crime because police cannot solve structural problems and crime …" (p. 13).

The third and final research question asked, how would defunding the police and reallocating the funds to neighborhood vitality and poverty reduction affect crime? The question was addressed through a series of experiments. The first experiment reduces the police budget without reallocating the funds to either neighborhood vitality or poverty reduction. The results showed that defunding the police without reallocating the funds does nothing to reduce violent crime, property crime, or overall crime in the city. Though they were not significant it is worth noting that the direction of the correlations suggests that defunding the police is associated with lower property and violent crime indices. The next experiment defunded the police and then reallocated the funds to the neighborhood vitality strategic priority. The results showed that this did not have a significant impact on any of the dependent variables. However, again in terms of direction, it is worth noting that more funding for neighborhood vitality is associated with declines in the violent crime index. The last experiment defunded the police and reallocated the funds to the poverty reduction strategic priority. The results showed that reallocating 10% and 20% of

the policing budget to the poverty reduction strategic priority significantly reduces the violent crime index in Savannah.

The findings from the current study are important for city governments and community members. They bring attention to how tax dollars are being spent, and whether those efforts are having the desired effect on the quality of life in the city. As it stands, Savannah spends significantly more on law enforcement than neighborhood vitality and poverty reduction even though it does not appear to reduce crime, especially violent crime. This is problematic given that violent crime, particularly gun violence has been increasing in the city for the last several years. The problem has not happened in a vacuum. Rather, it is a part of broader patterns of inequality and other crises that the city is also facing such as rising poverty, unemployment, and crumbling housing. The findings support the community intervention (Atchinson, 2018) and justice reinvestment (Cobbina-Dungy & Jones-Brown, 2021) arguments for defunding the police, and suggest that the city may benefit from defunding the police and reinvesting in communities through efforts to reduce poverty. This may create a real opportunity to prevent and reduce violent crime in Savannah and improve the quality of life of Savannah residents.

Overall, the study's results indicate that the City of Savannah should make changes regarding budgetary investments. This is especially important related to investing in poverty reduction as a strategic priority. The findings also have implications for cities other than Savannah and the nation broadly. The federal and state governments should prioritize efforts toward reducing poverty nationally. Poverty has consistently been found to be a predictor of crime rates, with higher poverty being associated with more crime (Lieberman & Smith, 1986). Therefore, if we, as a nation, are serious about

preventing and reducing crime then we must get serious about reducing poverty. This aligns with recommendations made in The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing Implementation Guide, regarding how local governments can improve community-police relationships. Among other things, the Task Force recommended that local governments "recognize the correlation between poverty, urban decay, and unemployment to quality of life, the breakdown of community cohesion, and the increase of crime. Link economic development and poverty reduction to longer-term problem-solving strategies for addressing crime (President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015, p. 7).

While the findings of the current study are important, they are not without limitations. First, the current study uses bivariate analysis to understand the relationship between law enforcement budgets and budgets in other strategic priorities. Future studies should incorporate multivariate models when investigating these relationships. These models would provide scholars and the public with a fuller understanding of crime and crime prevention. Second, the current study focuses on Savannah, Georgia and therefore the findings may not be generally applicable to other cities. Future studies should incorporate other cities that are similar and different from Savannah to see if the patterns observed in this study continue. Lastly, the current study focuses on three strategic priorities only, however other spending areas may also be important correlates of crime. Future researchers should reproduce the study and include other strategic priorities.

Bibliography

Allen, M. (2017). *Simple Bivariate Correlation*. The sage encyclopedia of communication research methods. Retrieved April 17, 2022, from https://methods.sagepub.com/reference/the-sage-encyclopedia-of-communication-research-methods

Alternatives to police services. *Defund The Police*. (2020, September 20). Retrieved April 17, 2022, from https://defundthepolice.org/alternatives-to-police-services/

Auxier, R. (2020). *What Police Spending Data Can (and Cannot) Explain amid Calls to Defund Police*. Urban institute. Retrieved April 17, 2022, from https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/whatpolice-spending-data-can-and-cannot-explain-amid-calls-defund-police

Barefield, D. (2021). *Internal Affairs Unit 2020 Calendar Year Summary Report*. Savannah police department.

Benson, B.L., Kim, I. & Rasmussen, D.W. (1994). Estimating deterrence effects: a public choice perspective on the economics of crime literature. *Southern Economic Journal*, 61, pp.161-168.

Bernier, J. A. (2021). *Should We" Defund the Police"*. Georgetown University

Cobbina-Dungy, J. E. & Jones-Brown, D. (2021, October 22). Too much policing: Why calls are made to defund the police. *Punishment & Society.*

CAHOOTS FAQ. *White Bird Clinic*. Retrieved April 17, 2022, from www. whitebirdclinic.org/cahoots-faq

Doyle, L. & Sakala, L. (2021). *Shifting Police Budgets: Lessons Learned from Three Communities*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

Eaglin, J. M. (2021). To "Defund" the Police. *Stanford Law Review Online*, *73*, pp. 120-140.

Ebbinghaus, M., Bailey, N. & Rubel, J. (2021). *Defended or defunded? Local and state policy outcomes of the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests*. University of Oxford & Tufts University.

GaNun, J. & Freeman, J. (2021) *Robberies keep violent crime top of mind for many Savannahians.* The Current. Retrieved April 17, 2022, from www.thecurrentga.org/2021/07/08/robberies-keep-violent-crime-top-of-mind-for-many-savannahians/

GisGeography. *Savannah Georgia Map*. *GisGeography*, 2022, Retrieved April 17, 2022, from www.gisgeography.com/savannah-map-georgia

Greenberg, D. F., Kessler, R. C. & Loftin, C. (2020*). Social inequality and crime control. *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*,76(3), pp.684-704.

Heise, M. & Nance, J. P. (2020). Following Data: The "Defund the Police" Movement's Implications for Elementary and Secondary Schools. *Criminal Law & Criminology Online, 63.*

Jacobs, L., Kim, M. E., Whitfield D. L., Gartner, R. E., Panichelli, M., Katarri, S.K., Downey M., McQueen S.S, & Mountz, Sarah E. (2021). Defund the Police: Moving Towards an Anti-Carceral Social Work. *Journal of Progressive Human Services*, 32(1), pp. 37-62.

Khan Academy. (2019). *Ratios & Proportions*. Retrieved April 17, 2022, from https://www.khanacademy.org/test-   prep/praxis-math/praxis-math-lessons/praxis-math-number-and-quantity/a/gtp--praxis-math--article--ratios-and-proportions--lesson

Lin, M. (2009). More police, less crime: Evidence from US state data. *International Review of Law and Economics*, *29*(2), pp. 73-80.

Lum, C; Koper, C. S. & Wu, X. (2021). Can we really defund the police? A nine-agency study of police response to calls for service. *Police Quarterly*.

Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. (2015). *The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing Implementation Guide: Moving from Recommendations to Action*. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

Ray, R. (2020). *What does 'defund the police' mean and does it have merit?* The Brookings Institution. Retrieved April 17, 2022, from, www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2020/06/19/what-does-defund-the-police-mean-and-does-it-have-merit/

Royster, S & Smith-Peterson, J. (2021). *Defunding the Police: Possible Benefits* of *Reallocation*. Nevada lawyer.

Schirmacher, M. (2021). Constitutional Roadblock: Racial Equality and the Defund the Police Movement's Fourth Amendment Hurdle. S*tudent works*.

Terrill, W., Leinfelt, F. H. & Kwak, D. (2008). Examining police use of force: A   smaller agency perspective". *Policing: an international journal of police strategies & management.*

Thomas, S. (2021). Defund the Police? *An Exploration of the Relationship Police Budget and Officer-Involved Killings*. Claremont McKenna College.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2020). *Occupational Employment and Wages in Savannah*. Retrieved April 17, 2022, from, www.bls.gov/regions/southeast/newsrelease/occupationalemploymentandwages_savannah.htm

United States Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2014). *Uniform crime reporting handbook: UCR*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

United States Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2015). *Uniform crime reporting handbook: UCR*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

United States Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2016). *Uniform crime reporting handbook: UCR*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

United States Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2017). *Uniform crime reporting handbook: UCR*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

United States Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2018). *Uniform crime reporting handbook: UCR*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

United States Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2019). *Uniform crime reporting handbook: UCR*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

United States Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2020). *Uniform crime reporting handbook: UCR*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Vermeer, M., Woods, D. & Jackson , B. A. (2020, August). Would Law Enforcement Leaders Support Defunding the Police? Probably- *If* Communities Ask Police to Solve Fewer Problems. *Perspective*.

Wellford, C. R. (1974). Crime and the Police A Multivariate Analysis. *Criminology*, 12 (2), pp. 195-213.

Woods, J. B. (2021). Traffic without the Police. *Stanford Law Review*, 73, pp.1471.