

# African American Perceptions about Crime in Cincinnati, Ohio since the 2001 Riots: Over a Decade Later

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## ABSTRACT

**Introduction:** In 1994, the city of Cincinnati, Ohio was named the most livable city in America by Places Rated Almanac (Clark, 1993). Couched within this distinction is the variance of perceived categorizations as the building blocks of a utopian-esque society such as a robust job market, low cost of living, affordable housing, highly educated populous, high arts and recreation and low crime rates. What happened within under a decade that transformed the national perception of the queen city from the most livable city in 1994 to the most recent and largest urban hot bed of racial and civil unrest since the Los Angeles riots? However, no study has explicitly assessed the perceptions of crime in Cincinnati, Ohio. The purpose of this study is to assess perceptions about crime in the local community since the 2001 Cincinnati riots

**Methods:** We surveyed 71 participants as part of a cross-sectional study designed to assess perception of crime in Cincinnati, Ohio. We conducted a questionnaire of a random sample of African American residents in Cincinnati, Ohio. The city of Cincinnati was chosen because of its large African American community and in part due to its long lasting history of police violence and riots in the African American community.

**Analyses:** Most participants felt the level of crime in Cincinnati, Ohio was a very serious problem. However, a large majority of both males (22.6%) and females (10%) believed crime in Cincinnati, Ohio was somewhat serious. The remaining respondents perceived crime in Cincinnati as serious (males: 16.1%, females: 12.5%) or not at all serious (males 3.2%, females: 0%). A larger portion of the males (54.8%) than females (40%) responded that in the last 3- year's crime in Cincinnati, Ohio relatively stayed the same.

**Conclusion:** The results indicate that there was little difference in African American perceptions of violence in Cincinnati in 2001 and 11 years later in 2012. Most people felt that violence in Cincinnati is a very serious problem, with more than half of the respondents indicating that in the past 3 years violence in Cincinnati stayed the same. More importantly, these findings emphasize that the riots in Cincinnati is not a central event in the African American community, instead for some, it represents another example of why violence always seem to exist and there is a low morale among the African American community and police officers

**Key Words:** African American, Cincinnati Riots, Community, Crime, Violence

## 1. Introduction

In 1994, the city of Cincinnati, Ohio was named the most livable city in America by Places Rated Almanac (Clark, 1993). Couched within this distinction is the variance of perceived categorizations as the building blocks of a utopian-esque society such as a robust job market, low cost of living, affordable housing, highly educated populous, high arts and recreation and low crime rates. The latter of these categories (crime) will prove to be the lynch pin by which the margins between chaos and optimal community were defined. Issues around policing crime and interpretations of crime and its perpetrators will be the catalyst to a philosophical war that will careen into a war waged on asphalt and concrete between the police and its citizens. What happened within under a decade that transformed the national perception of the queen city from the most livable city in 1994 to the most recent and largest urban hot bed of racial and civil unrest since the Los Angeles riots? What tipped the uneasy balance of community policing and the community which was policed?

The answer is palpable and yet politicized to a fault. The overarching answer is a tragic timeline plotted with the untimely deaths of 15 black men all under the age of 45 at the hands of the Cincinnati Police, accompanied by the heightened sense of public distrust, contempt and fear of the agency with each incident. The underpinning answer is one that replies of the omni-present antagonism played out by both the police department and the citizens of some of the most crime-ridden neighborhoods in the city of Cincinnati, an enduring antipathy that existed long before the Places Rated Almanac rating and long before police run-ins which threatened the civil nature of a city divided along racial lines. A chronological assessment of the events leading to the 2001 spring riots will contextualize this discourse.

On February 1, 1995, Harvey Price, 34, was shot five times after being sprayed with a chemical irritant and shocked twice with a stun gun after refusing to put down a butcher's knife he had raise above his head, according to the police. Prior to the police shooting, Price killed the 15-year-old daughter of his girlfriend with an axe. Police were called when neighbors witnessed blood in the hallway leading to the door of the victim to the basement where Price left her. The police officers were exonerated of any wrong doing. On April 4, 1996, police were called as a man named Darryll C. Price jumped on the hood of a car stuck in traffic. He was heard shouting that he was going to shoot somebody. Police responding to the incident struggled with the man just before he hit his head on the ground while restrained and sprayed with a chemical irritant. Bleeding from the head, Price stopped breathing while restrained on a paramedic stretcher from a sudden death syndrome called "agitated delirium with restraint." The police were cleared of any wrongdoing (Predergast, 2011).

Lorenzo Collins, a 25-year-old mentally-ill man was shot to death when surrounded by 15 police officers after refusing to put down a brick. He died five days after the incident on February 23, 1997, sparking public outcry and protest from many groups in the city. The peaceful protest went on for weeks. The city created a review panel to examine the frequency of escalating incidents of violence between citizens and the police. An independent federal investigation found no wrong doing on the part of the two officers who shot the mentally-ill man. Officer Douglas Depodesta received counseling for the shooting. A local attorney recently filed a lawsuit and won a settlement of \$200,000 for the Collins family due to a wrongful death. Nearly one year later, on February 2, 1998, a man hailed a passing police vehicle. As 23-year-old Officer Kathleen Conway stopped, he hit her with a .357 magnum in the face and fired four shots into the vehicle, hitting Conway in the legs and abdomen before pushing the wounded officer to the passenger seat. Daniel Williams, a multiple felon, proceeded to jump in the driver's seat. Conway returned fire from her service revolver hitting Williams in the head twice, killing him. The death was ruled as a justifiable homicide. Tensions between certain members in the community and the police heightened when a citizen's review board, which would critically examine police protocol, was proposed in the wake of the death of

Officers Daniel Pope and Ronald Jeter three months earlier. The fraternal Order of Police took the gesture to be an insult to their policing efforts and wanted an independent review board to investigate why there were so many assaults and deaths amongst their ranks in the line of duty. The summer of the same year on June 3, 1998, Jermaine Lowe took police on an 8-minute police chase in a stolen car. He was connected to the arm robbery of a neighborhood deli. After crashing into another car, Lowe pointed a pistol out of the driver's side door and unloaded his hand gun at three police officers. Officers Scott Bode, Scott Krauser and Michael Ammann returned fire, killing Lowe instantly. All three officers were cleared of any wrong doing (Klepal & Andrews, 2001).

A month later on July 17, 1998, Randy Black, a 23-year-old University of Cincinnati student, robbed a local credit union. Officer Joseph Eichorn pursued Black. After an on-foot chase, Black picked up a two by four wood filled with rusty nail and proceeded to lung at the police. Eichorn pulled his revolver and hit Black, who had a gun during the robbery but tossed it while fleeing. Officer Eichorn was cleared of any wrong doing in the two-shot death of Black. The first death in which a police officer was reprimanded came on March 19, 1999, when Michael Carpenter, a 30-year-old man who was driving his friend's car with expired tags, was pulled over. As Officers Brent McCurley and Michael Miller approached the car, they noticed Carpenter reach towards the glove box. Officer Miller reached for Carpenter through the window. Carpenter hit the gas driving a short distance, hitting a parked car and dragging Officer Miller. Officer McCurley, who was standing behind the car, opened fire, killing Carpenter. After investigation, the United States Department of Justice absolved McCurley of unlawful actions. However, the Independent Citizen Review Board and the Office of Municipal Investigation reviewed the shootings and ruled that they were procedurally unjustified. As a result, McCurley received a written reprimand and 40 hours of retraining.

James King, a 44-year-old man, walked into a Fifth Third bank and demanded money with a note that also threatened to take a hostage. After receiving a bag of money, he got into his Chevrolet Celebrity, only to be closely trailed by three police cars. After a short pursuit, King turned into a dead end at a construction site. Surrounded by the police, King jumped out of the car with gun in hand and sent construction workers running for cover. The police ordered King to throw down his weapon. After refusing to comply with the officers, King was shot by Officers Jason Drach, Rachel Folk, Andrian Gibson and Randy Webb, and was cleared of any charges in the death. The date of King's death was August 20, 1999, less than two months before the demise of Carey Tompkin, 28, whose death was the third in five months. Officer Craig Ball is called to a 9-1-1 dispatch to say that a man is threatening his girlfriend with a pistol. As the officer knocked on the door, he came face to face with Tompkins. The officer reached out his hand to stop the suspect from leaving the apartment and felt a gun under Tompkins' shirt. He then went to remove the 9mm hand gun and a scuffle ensued. The altercation ended with Tompkins dead in a narrow apartment hallway. The death of "C-Murda" Tompkin, as he was called by friends, sparked great tension in the West End Community as anti-law enforcement graffiti began to show up in various places around the urban neighborhood.

Eventually, an apprehensive calm settled over the city of Cincinnati in the aftermath of the deaths. This calm was once again ruptured on March 14, 2000, when 23-year old Alfred Pope, a troubled young man with 18 felony charges and five convictions, was gunned down in a hail of bullets. Pope and another man beat and pistol-whipped three people in a hallway when shots were heard and police responded to the incident. As the police arrived, a chase ensued and Pope pulled out a 9mm pistol. He first pointed it at himself before pointing it at the police. Officers Kenneth Grubbs, Jason Lamb and Daniel Carder opened fire, killing Pope. Neighbors, believing the shooting was justified, questioned the amount of rounds spent to subdue the suspect. Between the three police officers, 31 shots were fired, deepening the animosity in the community. The officers were exonerated after investigation. Courtney Mathis, a 12-year-old child, sneaked out of his parent's house on the evening of September 1, 2000 and took the family car for a joy ride. Stopping at a convenient store up the street from his family's apartment, Mathis was approached by Police Officer Kevin Crayon. Crayon,

suspecting Mathis of being below the legal driving age, asked the boy for a driver's license. The young Mathis panicked and put the car in reverse. Crayon then reached into the vehicle, either to put the car in park or to turn off the car. Courtney sped off as the officer trapped in the steering wheel dangled from the driver's side door. Approaching a busy intersection at high speed, Officer Crayon managed to pull his service revolver and shot Courtney in the chest. The shot enabled Crayon to dislodge from the vehicle, hitting his head on the exhaust pipe and pavement at excessive speeds. Both the pubescent Mathis and Officer Crayon became fatalities of the situation. After the death of both Mathis and Crayon, the two families, understanding the burgeoning tensions, came together as an act of solidarity, urging the city to be at peace (Prendergast and Goetz, 2000).

The Cincinnati police, feeling threatened at the reality that there had been four police officers killed in the line of duty in three years, were growing increasingly frustrated at the hazards posed in serving. The community also grew tired and agitated at the perception of disproportionate deaths of African American men at the hands of the Cincinnati police. The perceptions worsened on November 7, 2000, when Roger Owensby Jr. died of suffocation during an arrest for a court ordered warrant. Owensby, 29, was spotted for an outstanding warrant and when approached by the Cincinnati police, tried to run and was immediately tackled, sprayed with a chemical irritant, cuffed and thrown in the backseat of the police cruiser. He was found shortly thereafter unconscious and eventually died. The officers in the incident were arrested for wrongful death (Cline, 2001). The Owensby family received a settlement in 2006. The next evening after the Owensby death, on November 8, 2000, Jeffrey Irons walked into a local supermarket and allegedly stole a stick of deodorant and shaving cream. Police were called and Officers Tim Pappas and Frederick Gilmer responded to the supermarket call. Irons was approached by the police and a struggle for Officer Pappas' gun resulted. Irons' revolver was wrestled away from him, shooting him in the hand. Officer Gilmer fired on Irons, killing him. With two deaths in two days, community leaders called for federal intervention. The United States Department of Justice, The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the United States Attorney's Office were called to investigate.

On January 31, 2001, Cincinnati police answered the complaint of drug trafficking in an apartment building. As Officer Craig Gregoire knocked on the door of the suspected trafficker, he was met with an abrupt door slam. 26-year-old Adam Wheeler who had just been released from prison for drug trafficking pulled out a pistol as Gregoire pushed open the door. Wheeler was heard screaming "you want war? You got a war," as he fires six shots at the police officer. Gregoire dived into the bathroom and returned fire, killing Wheeler. Officer Gregoire was found to have followed procedure in the shooting. On April 7, 2001, Timothy Thomas, a 19-year-old with a dozen misdemeanor warrants, was spotted by two off-duty police officers working a local club. As Thomas noticed the attention he received from the officer, he decided to run. Thomas led the two police on a chase through several alley ways when a dozen other cops joined in the chase. Thomas, who had eluded the police on two other occasions, jumped a fence and was met by Officer Steven Roach who fired one shot and hit Thomas in the chest, killing him. Upon department inquiry, Roach said that Thomas reached for his waist, prompting him to shoot. Thomas did not have a gun on him. This incident was the spark that ignited the city into a blaze of violence and chaos, a chaos which some say still exists in the form of ramped violent crime and systemic malfeasance (Vela, 2001).

Since the four-day riots that divided the city in the spring of 2001, police relations have slowly improved, while crime in the city has nearly reached pandemic proportions. Are there any correlations between police relations with the black community and the crime rates in the city? Since 2001, the crime rate has grown and in 2009, the city of Cincinnati, Ohio was ranked the 19<sup>th</sup> most dangerous city in the country (Hedges, 1996). In 2006, the crime indexes for Cincinnati was nearly double that of the national average 100,000 per capita. The crime index for the nation was 4479.3 per 100,000 while for the city of Cincinnati, it was 8370.3 (Federal Bureau of Investigation Crime Report,

2006). Most of the crimes in the city have been concentrated in black communities. In an article entitled *Black on Black Violent Crime Rate Rises* which was published ten years later, O'Rourke (2011) suggested that the ten years after the riots has shown that poverty is concentrated in certain neighborhoods and that certain factors such as educational attainment, lack of viable employment opportunities, as well as an undercurrent of a criminal economy all have attributed to the swell in criminal activity since 2001. As of the year 2008, the most serious crimes in the city (murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, larceny and auto theft) were all concentrated in 10 of 53 neighborhoods according to CQ Press Crime Ranking of 2009.

The murder rate became a cause for alarm as the city, which is traditionally accustomed to fairly low homicide rates, saw the body count rise after 2001 (Edwards, 2001; Johnson, 2002). As of December 2005, the city of Cincinnati had recorded 79 murders. The next year, the Queen city, as Cincinnati is also known by, recorded the highest number of murders on record with 86 in 2006 (Korte, 2007). Since 2006, the murder rate in particular has gradually declined and many attribute this decline to a multiagency effort called The Cincinnati Initiative to Reduce Violence (CIRV, 2008). The CIRV is a violence initiative designed to instantly reduce rates of violence through a method of call-ins with probation officers, parolees, police, street workers and media outlets. All these sources came together with the Cincinnati police to complete a homicide review to determine the extent to which violent crimes were related to street groups. This model was adopted from a Bostonian gun deterrent model from the mid-nineties.

Beyond the CIRV initiative the Cincinnati Police Department assessed many areas of deficiencies and collaboratively worked with community leaders and produced the Collaborative Agreement and Memorandum of Understanding signed in 2002. The Collaborative Agreement had five goals: 1) Police officers and community members will become proactive partners in community problem solving 2) Build relationships of respect, cooperation and trust within and between police and communities 3) Improve education, oversight, monitoring, hiring practices and accountability of the Cincinnati Police Department 4) Ensure fair, equitable and courteous treatment for all 5) Create methods to establish the public's understanding of police policies and procedures and recognition of exceptional service in an effort to foster support for the police (Mc Kee, 2011). The agreement created the Community Problem Oriented Policing (CPOP) and the Citizen Complaint Authority (CCA) in the city. The Memorandum of Understanding weighed pre-existing policing policies and made several recommendations for the improvement of citizen engagement. A few of the 100 recommendations included a distinct citizen complaint process, the use of video cameras on cruisers during routine stops, incident documentation and reviewing investigations. These agreements enacted more community oriented policing and aligned these programs and the Cincinnati Police Department as the model for strong police/community relations.

There have been other law enforcement-driven initiatives to address both the crime in Cincinnati and also the sociological perspectives that aided in the proliferation of crime in the city. Over the past decade, these factors have been assessed through surveys, interviews and other methodologies that provide limited data and answers to aspects of the socio-cultural phenomenon that gripped the population for nearly a decade. Several studies have measured violence as a public health concern and a major epidemic in our society. However, no study has explicitly assessed the perceptions of crime in Cincinnati, Ohio. The purpose of this study is to assess perceptions about crime in the local community since the 2001 Cincinnati riots. This research is an effort towards this end.

## **2. Methods**

During the month of December 2011, representatives from Harmony Garden and the Department of Africana Studies at the University of Cincinnati collaborated to assess the perception of crime in Cincinnati, Ohio since the Cincinnati riots of 2001, which was the largest urban disorder in the United States since the Los Angeles riots of 1992. We surveyed 71 participants as part of a cross-sectional study designed to assess perception of crime in Cincinnati, Ohio. We conducted a questionnaire of a random sample of African American residents in Cincinnati, Ohio. The city of Cincinnati was chosen because of its large African American community and in part due to its long lasting history of police violence and riots in the African American community.

### **2.1 Measures**

Perceived crime was assessed by four items. Examples of items included in perceived crime scale are: "How serious do you feel the level of crime is in your community," "In the past 3 years did the level of crime change at all," "How safe do you feel going out at night," and "How safe do you feel in your community?," The final item asked "what do you feel police patrol in your community should be?"

Types of crimes were assessed by using categorical questions. Response codes were "property crimes" "violent crimes" and "about the same." Example of item included: "What type of crime do you feel is more of a problem?" Who are most likely to commit crimes was assessed by using categorical questions. Response codes were "juveniles" "adults" and "about the same?" Both questions showed good reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.76).

Other measures used in the study were age, sex, household income, and education status. Age, income, sex, and education were analyzed as continuous variables. Sex was analyzed as a binary variable. Education status categories were less than high school, high school diploma or GED, some college, college degree, and graduate degree.

**Table 1. Demographic Profile of the Sample (N= 71)**

Variable	Percent	N
<b>Age</b>		
12 – 17 years old	1.4	1
18 – 24 years old	13.9	10
25 – 34 years old	16.7	12
35 – 49 years old	18.1	13
50 or Older	48.6	35
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	43.1	31
Female	55.6	40
<b>Household Income</b>		
Less than \$10,000	54.2	39
\$10,000 - \$19,000	12.5	9
\$20,000 - \$29,000	11.1	8
\$30,000 - \$39,000	1.4	1
\$40,000 - \$49,000	2.8	2
\$50,000 or above	2.8	2
Currently employed	13.9	10
<b>Education</b>		
Less than H.S.	28.8	20
H.S. Diploma or GED	36.1	26
Some College	23.6	17
College Degree	4.2	3
Graduate Level Degree	5.6	4

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 Respondent Characteristics

Table 1 shows the demographic profile of the sample, which is not unlike the distribution of demographic characteristics for the city of Cincinnati. There was a broad range within the sample, although 48.6% of the sample was 50 years of age or older. Gender was divided almost evenly, with 55.6% female and 43.1 percent male. Income ranged from currently unemployed to > \$50,000. The majority of the sample earned less than \$10,000 per year and was currently unemployed 54.2% and 13.9% respectively. Nearly one-third of the sample (36.1%) reported graduating from high school or GED, 28.8% had less than a high-school education. The rest of the sample reported having graduated from college (4.2%) or having completed some college (23.6%) without graduating. After the surveys were administered and completed, all of the participants received a ten-dollar incentive and were involved in a raffle.

#### **4. Analyses**

Table 2 shows the results of responses to the perceived crime questions regarding Cincinnati, Ohio. Most participants felt the level of crime in Cincinnati, Ohio was a very serious problem. However, a large majority of both males (22.6%) and females (10%) believed crime in Cincinnati, Ohio was somewhat serious. The remaining respondents perceived crime in Cincinnati as serious (males: 16.1%, females: 12.5%) or not at all serious (males 3.2%, females: 0%).

A larger portion of the males (54.8%) than females (40%) responded that in the last 3- year's crime in Cincinnati, Ohio relatively stayed the same. However, the majority of the females (52.5%) believe that crime has increased in the past 3-years compared to males (38.7%).

The vast proportion of both males and female respondents despite living in Cincinnati, Ohio do not feel their local community is unsafe. The most common response for males (51.6%) and females (40%) feel that their community is safe. Only 3.2% of males and 7.5% of females in the study feel as though their community is very safe.

In 2001, Cincinnati had the second largest riot in U.S. history and increased its police patrol in the African American community. More than 77.4% males and nearly 72.5% females currently feel that there should be more police patrol in Cincinnati, Ohio. Only 19.4% of males and 27.5% females felt that police patrol today in their community stayed about the same. A small proportion of males (3.2%) and no females (0%) felt that we should have less police officer patrolling the streets of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Most respondents reported that they did not feel safe going out at night in Cincinnati, Ohio. The vast majority of males (38.7%) and almost half the females (42.5%) believed this to be true. A substantial percentage of male respondents (48.4%) felt that violent crime was more of a problem in Cincinnati, Ohio than other types of crime. In addition, a significantly higher proportion of females (55%) also felt violent crime in Cincinnati was a problem. The belief that violent crimes was popular in 2001 and is still an issue of concern today makes our study want to know the perceptions of who might be responsible for committing the crimes in Cincinnati, Ohio.

A substantial percentage of males (41.9%) and females (47.5%) perceived that juveniles were responsible for the crimes committed in Cincinnati, Ohio. However, a higher proportion of males (45.2%) and females (47.5%) perceived that most crimes in Cincinnati, Ohio are committed by juveniles and adults about the same number of times.



**Table 2. Perceptions about Community Crime among male and female respondents in Cincinnati**

Question	Responses	Males (n=31)	Females (n=40)	P Value
Please rate how serious you feel the level of crime in your community?	Very serious	58.1%	77.5%	<b>0.294</b>
	Somewhat serious	22.6%	10%	
	Serious	16.1%	12.5%	
	Not at all serious	3.2%	0%	
In the past 3 years would you say the level of crime in your community has?	Increased	38.7%	52.5%	<b>0.421</b>
	Stayed the same	54.8%	40%	
	Decreased	6.5%	7.5%	
How safe do you feel in your community?	Very Unsafe	9.7%	20%	<b>0.538</b>
	Unsafe	35.5%	32.5%	
	Safe	51.6%	40%	
	Very Safe	3.2%	7.5%	
How safe do you feel going out at night?	Very Unsafe	25.8%	35.0%	<b>0.019</b>
	Unsafe	38.7%	42.5%	
	Safe	29.0%	15.0%	
	Very Safe	3.2%	7.5%	
What do you feel the police patrol in your community should be?	More police patrol	77.4%	72.5%	<b>&lt; 0.001</b>
	Stay the same	19.4%	27.5%	
	Less police patrol	3.2%	0%	
What type of crimes do you feel is more of a problem?	Property crimes	12.9%	2.5%	<b>&lt; 0.02</b>
	Violent crimes	48.4%	55%	
	About the same	35.5%	40%	
Who do you feel most of the crimes in your community are committed by?	Juveniles	41.9%	47.5%	<b>&lt; 0.05</b>
	Adults	9.7%	5.0%	
	About the same	45.2%	47.5%	

## 5. Discussion

The results indicate that there was little difference in African American perceptions of violence in Cincinnati in 2001 and 11 years later in 2012. Most people felt that violence in Cincinnati is a very serious problem, with more than half of the respondents indicating that in the past 3 years violence in Cincinnati stayed the same. These findings suggest that violence in Cincinnati is an ongoing occurrence in the African American community and continues from generation-to-generation. More importantly, these findings emphasize that the riots in Cincinnati is not a central event in the African American community, instead for some, it represents another example of why violence always seem to exist and there is a low morale among the African American community and police officers.

Nearly twice as many females respondents thought it was unsafe to go out at night in Cincinnati, Ohio, males compared to females were much more inclined to perceive their community as safe

regardless of the history of crime that exist over the last decade. These two questions relate to the issue of visibility of law enforcement in the community. There are significant gender differences where males view safety as an abundance of police officers patrolling the streets while female's perception is that there are not enough police patrolling the community especially at night. Put another way perceptions about crime varies by gender, but it is unlikely that after a decade later the 2001 Cincinnati riots are associated with much of the crime Cincinnati, Ohio is experiencing today. Most likely, crime in the African American community stems from a larger complex system that many African Americans experience across the nation. The experience of discrimination, unemployment, and poverty faced by African Americans in Cincinnati, Ohio forces an environment of crime and violence. As long as high levels of unemployment and poverty exist among African Americans, there will be continued higher rates of crime and violence in Cincinnati, Ohio.

## 6. Study Limitations

The study does have several limitations. First, there was a small sample size used in the study. Second, the results may not be generalized to a national sample. Third, the analyses only included black male and female participants: therefore we cannot be sure how the perception of crime, could have been perceived in Cincinnati in other minority groups. In spite of these limitations, we believe this remains a valuable study and advances our understanding of gender differences as it relates to crime in Cincinnati, Ohio.

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